White paper

Barcelona, the capital of a new state
White paper

Barcelona, the capital of a new state
Barcelona (capital), motor de Catalunya (estat)

Barcelona, capital dinamitzadora d’un territori viu i complex que configura un país culturalment ric, diversos i en constant moviment.
Barcelona (capital) engine of Catalonia (state)
Barcelona, dynamising capital of an active and complex land which shapes a culturally wealthy, diverse and continually moving country.
White paper

Barcelona, the capital of a new state
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Modernity is a feminine word

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Barcelona, promoter of Catalan culture throughout the linguistic territory

Josep Oriol Pujol i Humet
Education, promoting of the future and of people

Eduard Valls
Barcelona

Dídac Ramírez Sarrió
Barcelona without a university

Martí Sales
A great opportunity

Manel Sanromà and Jordi López Benasat
From BCN.CAT to BARCELONA.CT: Information Technology in a new European state

Xavi Sarrià
Barcelona: language and culture in the context of the Catalan Countries

Quim Torra
Barcelona, capital of culture and memory

Francesc Torralba
Capital of thought and interreligious dialogue

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A country using knowledge as an engine of change

Isona Passola

Vicenç Villatoro
Barcelona: capital of a country, capital of culture and capital in the world

Josep Maria Llop
Firm commitment to the service of personal autonomy and inclusion

Jordi López Camps
Barcelona, a capital for all

Gregorio Luri
My reasonable utopia for schools

Àlex Masilloens Escubós
Capital of equal opportunities

Àngel Miret i Serra
Barcelona, social capital

Fabián Mohedano
Barcelona, capital of the opening hour reform

M. Victòria Molins
The Barcelona, capital of a new state, that I dream of

Àngel Santamaría
Barcelona, social capital

Fabián Mohedano
Barcelona, capital of the opening hour reform

M. Victòria Molins
The Barcelona, capital of a new state, that I dream of

Antoni Trilla
Barcelona, healthcare capital of Catalonia

Montserrat Vendrell
Barcelona, a guiding city

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As the Mayor, it gives me great pleasure to present to you this publication in the form of a White Paper, which includes a series of opinions and proposals for helping us reflect about what being the capital of a new state means for Barcelona.

Barcelona embodies a symbol of Catalanism and freedom that transcends the city itself; a symbol of solidarity, hospitality, wellbeing and quality of life that irradiates a great force, above and beyond the city and its metropolitan area. Barcelona’s strength has always been decisive — and continues to be so — in articulating and defining the political future of Catalonia.

In the political process in which Catalonia is currently immersed, its capital wishes to make a decisive contribution to transforming the legitimate aspirations of Catalan citizens of experiencing a better future into a reality. As a doctor, I have always firmly defended the right of patients to take informed decisions.

And I do the same as a politician. The right to decide is indissolubly linked to the right to know, and for that reason it is essential to have as much information as possible about potential future scenarios.

Based on this quest for knowledge and perspective, we asked a series of representative persons from diverse sectors and with widely differing stances to help us identify those scenarios. Their participation in this publication will no doubt contribute to debating and reflecting on this extraordinary process in which we are immersed. Each one of them offers a very personal contribution about a topic which has chosen and defines the future challenges and opportunities offered in Barcelona.

After reading their contributions, it is clear that Barcelona is a city that is greatly admired and loved in all parts of the world.

A city that is the capital of Catalonia and Catalanism, the economic capital of southern Europe and European capital of the Mediterranean; a city that is a leader among international cities in terms of culture, knowledge, innovation and wellbeing.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your contributions and ask you to ensure that this reflection does not stop here. This is an open document, an invitation to start a dialogue about many topics that are worthwhile discussing. During these times, which are difficult but filled with hope and illusion, this document aims to help build a future project to allow Catalonia, led by Barcelona, to become a fairer, freer country in which citizens can live a better life.

**Xavier Trias**
Mayor of Barcelona
Many answers to one question

Format and document classification

The White Paper contains the thoughts of technologists, experts and well-known people from civil and professional spheres who have been asked to analyse and give their opinion about «what being the capital of a new state means for Barcelona» in any specific field they consider relevant and in which they have wide knowledge and are experts.

All the authors were asked to give their texts a title that would help to differentiate it in terms of the topic covered.

Lengthy texts are also preceded by a brief «Introduction» which introduces readers to the topic being analysed in the article, and they end with a «Conclusions» section which gives a synthesis of the main points or the most significant ideas considered relevant by the author for summarising the aspects dealt with in the text.

The White Paper includes a chapter called «State of the city», prepared by the City Council’s Studies Office, which contains the technical data sheet of the city of Barcelona.

Readers have an «Onomastic index of authors» which includes all the authors in alphabetical order—from the first surname— with the title of their text.

To make it easier for readers to access the content of the White Paper, there are also six thematic indices containing a list of the authors and the titles of their texts, the content of which enlarges on a certain aspect of these six concepts.

Apart from articles, the White Paper also invites professionals to take part and give their opinions through drawings, images or graphic design.

There are six thematic indices:

• Governance
• Metropolises
• Economy
• Knowledge
• Equity
• Illustrations

Obviously, each text expresses the opinion of its author and the respective viewpoints may or may not coincide.

We thank all the authors for taking part and invite you to read the texts, with the hope that they will contribute to enhancing debate in this extraordinary process in which we are immersed, which could lead to Barcelona becoming the capital of an independent state.
El día después de declarar la independencia no va pasar res.
Barcelona is a large metropolis, where everything is well designed, measured and sized. To ensure that the focus is applied correctly to each topic, we thought it would be useful to include a series of data in this paper, which could help readers to discern and quantify the main issues of life in the city. The data included herein were those available at the City Council when the paper was completed for publication and are primarily from 2013.

The year of 2013 was imprinted by the generalised situation of economic crisis, albeit with an improvement in the last quarter, making forecasts for 2014 somewhat more optimistic with regard to recovering positive growth rates. Indeed, the main indicators of the economic situation have recorded positive development in the first months of 2014.

For Barcelona citizens, the main concerns in 2013 were related to unemployment and financial conditions. However, in the last municipal barometer from June 2014, 42% of citizens thought that their families’ financial situation would improve, compared to the 38% who made this affirmation in 2013. Despite this setting, satisfaction with living in Barcelona continues to be extremely positive, garnering a rating of 7.7 out of 10 (two tenths better than in 2012).
Population

Barcelona is the capital of Catalonia.

With an area of 100 km² and 1.6 million inhabitants, it is one of the densest cities in Europe.

Barcelona represents only 0.3% of the territory of Catalonia, but concentrates 21% of the Catalan population.

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<th>Population</th>
<th>Area (km²)</th>
<th>Density (inhab/km²)</th>
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<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>1,611,822</td>
<td>102</td>
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<tr>
<td>AMB</td>
<td>3,228,569</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>5,076</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>7,553,650</td>
<td>32,108</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>47,129,783</td>
<td>505,968</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: INE

Barcelona is the central hub of the Barcelona Metropolitan Region (BMR), which appears among the top 10 largest European urban agglomerations in terms of population and occupancy.

According to official figures from the Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE), Barcelona’s population on 1 January 2013 was 1.6 million inhabitants, a number that has moved toward stabilisation in recent years. Nonetheless, in this last 10-year period, the population did grow by 7.7%, breaking the historic downward trend in population.

Total population: official figures to 1 January

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<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>1,496,266</td>
<td>1,578,546</td>
<td>1,615,908</td>
<td>1,621,537</td>
<td>1,619,337</td>
<td>1,615,448</td>
<td>1,620,943</td>
<td>1,611,822</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>-0.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This change in the population growth trend is basically explained by the significant increase in immigration, especially during the initial years of the period, when there were heavy inflows. Reading the continuous census to 1 January 2014 gives us a total of 267,578 foreign residents in the city, which represents 16.7% of the total population, a figure that has quintupled since 2000. There was a year-on-year decrease of 4.5%.

Foreign population: continuous census figures to 1 January 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2000*</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>% Var 14/00</th>
<th>% Var 14/13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>53,428</td>
<td>202,489</td>
<td>280,817</td>
<td>294,918</td>
<td>284,632</td>
<td>278,320</td>
<td>282,178</td>
<td>280,047</td>
<td>267,578</td>
<td>400.8%</td>
<td>-4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* For the year 2000, figures to 1 March
The distribution of the foreign population is not homogenous throughout the city. Ciutat Vella, Eixample, Sants-Montjuïc and Sant Martí concentrate 60% of total resident foreigners. With the exception of Sant Martí, these districts uphold percentages of foreigners higher than the city average, while Sarrià-Sant Gervasi and Les Corts have a weight of around 11%.

**Foreign population by districts to January 2014**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>% s/total estrangers</th>
<th>% s/total població</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ciutat Vella</td>
<td>42,492</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eixample</td>
<td>47,981</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sants-Montjuïc</td>
<td>34,036</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Corts</td>
<td>8,829</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarrià - Sant Gervasi</td>
<td>16,180</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gràcia</td>
<td>17,963</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horta-Guinardó</td>
<td>19,929</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nou Barris</td>
<td>24,602</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sant Andreu</td>
<td>16,936</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sant Martí</td>
<td>35,263</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No record</td>
<td>3,367</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demographic growth in recent years has entailed a rejuvenation of the city’s population, which has had two notable consequences: reduction of the weight of the elderly in relative terms and an increased number of children in the age range from 0-14 and in the adult population. The population older than 65 changed from 22.1% in 2000 to 21.1% in 2013, although in absolute terms the number of elderly residents is still slightly higher than in 2000.
Evolució de la població per edats: xifres oficials a 1 de gener

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weight out of total population</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>% 2000-13</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>170,874</td>
<td>199,278</td>
<td>16.6 %</td>
<td>11.4 %</td>
<td>12.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>181,359</td>
<td>142,025</td>
<td>-21.7 %</td>
<td>12.1 %</td>
<td>8.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-64</td>
<td>813,296</td>
<td>929,800</td>
<td>14.3 %</td>
<td>54.4 %</td>
<td>57.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and more</td>
<td>330,737</td>
<td>340,719</td>
<td>3.0 %</td>
<td>22.1 %</td>
<td>21.1 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ageing and solitude of elderly 2000-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BCN</th>
<th>Ciutat Vella</th>
<th>Eixample</th>
<th>Sants-Montjuïc</th>
<th>Les Corts</th>
<th>Sarrià-Sant Gervasi</th>
<th>Gràcia</th>
<th>Horta-Guinardó</th>
<th>Nou Barris</th>
<th>Sant Andreu</th>
<th>Sant Martí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>79,1</td>
<td>75,7</td>
<td>80,6</td>
<td>78,8</td>
<td>79,9</td>
<td>80,9</td>
<td>79,9</td>
<td>79,4</td>
<td>78,8</td>
<td>80,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy at birth</td>
<td>176,0</td>
<td>231,3</td>
<td>211,7</td>
<td>171,1</td>
<td>141,2</td>
<td>142,8</td>
<td>207,7</td>
<td>174,9</td>
<td>183,8</td>
<td>152,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ageing rate</td>
<td>46,2</td>
<td>50,4</td>
<td>51,7</td>
<td>44,7</td>
<td>45,1</td>
<td>49,6</td>
<td>50,7</td>
<td>42,6</td>
<td>39,3</td>
<td>43,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced-ageing rate</td>
<td>23,8</td>
<td>32,0</td>
<td>26,4</td>
<td>25,2</td>
<td>20,7</td>
<td>22,5</td>
<td>26,2</td>
<td>20,8</td>
<td>20,4</td>
<td>21,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solitude rate + 65 years old</td>
<td>30,6</td>
<td>39,1</td>
<td>32,6</td>
<td>33,4</td>
<td>26,3</td>
<td>28,6</td>
<td>32,1</td>
<td>27,2</td>
<td>28,3</td>
<td>28,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solitude rate + 75 years old</td>
<td>25,7</td>
<td>32,5</td>
<td>28,0</td>
<td>26,3</td>
<td>23,0</td>
<td>24,6</td>
<td>28,2</td>
<td>23,8</td>
<td>24,6</td>
<td>24,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2013

| Life expectancy at birth* | 83,3 | 80,6 | 83,7 | 82,8 | 85,6 | 84,6 | 83,9 | 83,2 | 82,7 | 83,7 | 83,6 |
| Ageing rate                | 160,3 | 128,8 | 190,6 | 159,7 | 187,0 | 127,3 | 173,3 | 181,5 | 170,3 | 147,7 | 140,7 |
| Advanced-ageing rate       | 54,8 | 57,6 | 57,1 | 55,0 | 50,5 | 54,9 | 55,5 | 54,2 | 54,9 | 52,6 | 54,1 |
| Solitude rate + 65 years old| 25,7 | 32,5 | 28,0 | 26,3 | 23,0 | 24,6 | 28,2 | 23,8 | 24,6 | 24,3 | 24,3 |
| Solitude rate + 75 years old| 31,4 | 37,7 | 33,0 | 32,2 | 28,8 | 29,0 | 33,4 | 29,5 | 30,8 | 31,2 | 30,2 |

Ageing rate = (Population U 65 years old / Population from 0-15 years old) x 100
Advanced-ageing rate = (Population U 75 years old / Population U 65 years old) x 100
Solitude rate U 65 = (Population U 65 years old who live alone / Total population U 65) x 100
Solitude rate U 75 = (Population U 75 years old who live alone / Total population U 75) x 100

* Most recent data available 2011

Life expectancy has increased from 79.1 in 2000 to 83.3 years old in 2011, and the solitude rate also saw a small increase.

Economic activity, a diversified economy

Barcelona generates 30% of Catalonia’s GDP and employs 34% of its workers.

The city’s GDP is 39% higher than the average for Catalonia and 14% higher with regard to per capita income.
Like other large urban hubs, the central area of the city upholds a high level of specialisation in the services sector, which represents 88% of jobs. Industry accounts for 8% of employment and construction 3%. The rest of the metropolitan area has continued evolving toward a larger tertiary economy throughout the past decade, although it still has a higher weight in the industrial sector.

Within the services sector, the weight of sectors related to administrative and auxiliary services merits mention, as well as the health and social services subsector and professional and technical activities.
The city promotes the development of strategic sectors including ICT, logistics, trade and tourism, and new avant-garde sectors such as biomedicine and electric vehicles.

**Strategic economic sectors in Barcelona**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Employees*</th>
<th>Companies**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ICT¹</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logistics sector²</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro-food³</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade⁴</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel / restaurant⁵</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Registered with Social Security (General + Self-employed) ² Contributing to Social Security
1. Manufacturers and services, including wholesale trade and ICT
2. Includes the entire group of transport and storage
3. Food industry and agro-food wholesale trade
4. Except for agro-food wholesale trade and ICT
Source: Department of Statistics, Barcelona City Council from the Spanish National Social Security Institute (INSS)

Barcelona, the mobile world capital, contributes to associating the city with a sector as powerful as new mobile technologies, with noteworthy milestones, including: The holding of the Mobile
World Congress, with 72,000 visitors in 2013, an 8% year-on-year increase, the opening of the Mobile World Centre and the installation of the Mobile World Capital Foundation in the Media-TIC building.

In this framework, sector-based projects have been developed and promoted, such as the health competency centre, and networking actions to promote the incorporation of technology into strategic sectors such as tourism, education, trade, aerospace, logistics and mobility. There are also pilot technologies like the Barcelona Contactless Tour, in the framework of the GSMA NFC Experience, which is under the umbrella of the Mobile World Congress.

Barcelona is established as a capital for congresses related to the health sciences: more than 30% of congresses and conferences held in the city are in this field. In addition, in Barcelona health has an extremely important specific weight at the Mobile Congress. The team of the Mobile World Capital Barcelona is working in two projects framed within the area of mHealth: the Personal Health Folder and a platform to control heart diseases, to name just a couple.

In the area of promoting sustainable mobility, in November 2013 the Expoelèctric Fórmula-e was held, along with the Electric Vehicle Symposium (EVS27). The Expoelèctric Fórmula-e brought together over 35 exhibitors, including important producers like Nissan, Renault, Volkswagen, Green Go and BMW. The first electric taxi was also presented there, produced at the Barcelona Nissan plant. Some 20,000 units per year will be produced in the Zona Franca (duty free zone) district, representing an investment of 100 million euros and the creation of some 700 jobs. EVS27 is the most important itinerant event in the world in the electric vehicle sector, which Barcelona hosted this year, co-organised by Fira de Barcelona and WEVA, with the support of the City Council.

With regard to the corporate fabric, according to the most recent data from the INE’s Central Business Directory (DIRCE in its Spanish initials), there were 169,777 companies in 2013 in Barcelona, 1.2% less than in 2012. The business fabric is primarily companies without employees or with less than 10 employees, a structure very similar to Catalonia as a whole.

Company sizes, 2013

Of all companies, 19% are in the trade and repair sector and another 19% in the professional, scientific and technical activity sector.
To December 2013, the number of enterprises created was 5% higher than last year, translating into more than 7000 new companies. The number of enterprises created has been picking up since 2010.

In the January-July 2014 period, business dynamism has remained stable, similar to last year, with over 4500 new companies created (–0.3% interannual).
Nonetheless, entrepreneurial pursuits in the Barcelona metropolitan area are below the EU average.

**Entrepreneurial activity in the EU 2012**

- Estonia: 14.3%
- Lithuania: 13.4%
- Netherlands: 10.8%
- Slovakia: 10.2%
- Austria: 9.6%
- Poland: 9.4%
- Romania: 9.2%
- Hungary: 9.2%
- Croatia: 8.3%
- Catalonia: 7.9%
- Bosnia & Herzegovina: 7.6%
- Portugal: 7.7%
- EU average: 7.6%
- Macedonia: 7.0%
- Norway: 7.0%
- Barcelona: 6.5%
- Greece: 6.5%
- Sweden: 6.4%
- Ireland: 6.2%

Entrepreneurial rate: % population from 18-64 years old involved in starting up a business
The business climate survey for semester two 2014 reflects greater trust that the economic situation will improve in upcoming months and, as depicted in the graph, the balance between positive and negative responses on business ventures is positive for the first time in the series.

**Business climate: Situation of business progress in the metropolitan area**

Barcelona has logged activity and employment rates higher than the Catalan and Spanish averages, although the crisis has had an enormous impact on the job market.

The unemployment rate (EPA) for the second semester of 2014 was 17.2%, one percent less than last year. This rate continues to be much less than in other regions: 20.4% for Catalonia and 24.6% in Spain. The employment rate was 65.9%, higher than the Catalan and Spanish rates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Activity rate</th>
<th>Employment rate</th>
<th>Unemployment rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barcelona</td>
<td>79.7%</td>
<td>65.9%</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>79.1%</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>75.3%</td>
<td>56.8%</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of employees registered with Social Security dropped between 2007 and 2012, although 2013 closed with a slight 0.2% year-on-year growth. And although there was a slight reduction in the last months of summer, we head into the last third of 2014 with 15,580 more jobs than in August 2013 (1.6% interannual increase).
In the first months of 2013, the crisis continued to have a strong impact on the job market, although starting in May, the number of unemployed registered started to decrease and this declining course has maintained over the last 16 months, so that the 102,096 unemployed persons in August 2014 represents 6% less than last year. Hiring, which ended 2013 with modest positive growth (0.8%), was even more favourable in January-August 2014 period, with an 8.9% increase, due to temporary contracts (7.5%), but also permanent (20%), representing 12% of the total.

In terms of wages and labour costs, Barcelona is an internationally competitive city.
According to The Economist Intelligence Unit, Barcelona is 29th in the quality of human capital out of 120 cities in the world. Within the ranking of wage levels in 72 cities of the world drafted by the bank UBS, Barcelona comes in 29th. It has qualified human capital and an excellent selection of internationally-recognised universities, business schools and master’s programmes: five public and three private universities and 205,000 university students.

Best European business schools: 3rd ESADE 6th ISEE

UB: among the top 75 universities in the world in health sciences

UB & UAB, among the top 200 universities in the world; UPF in the top 300; UPF in the top 350

According to Financial Times

Jiao Tong University in Shanghai

QS World University Ranking

Opening up and renown abroad

Barcelona represents 20% of Spanish exports and 25% of exports with high and medium-high technological contents.

Close to 60% of total is exported to EU countries: France, Germany, Italy, Portugal and the United Kingdom primarily and an additional 10% to non-community European countries.

Exports in province of Barcelona

In millions of euros

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Exports in millions of euros</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>33,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>38,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>43,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>48,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>53,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After closing 2013 with almost complete stagnation (−0.4% interannual), cumulative from January to July 2014 shows a 3.6% increase due to promoting EU trade.
Barcelona is one of the top city tourism destinations in Europe and a focal point to attract visitors for business purposes, with 7.6 million visitors and 16.5 million nights in hotels in 2013. The trend of the tourism sector was positive throughout all of last year, with an increase from 2012 of 1.8% and 3.5%, respectively. The increased number of tourists and nights in hotels during the first five months of 2014, higher than 5% in both cases, extends this rising trajectory from 2013.

Foreigners represent 80% of tourists.
The city is ranked fourth with regard to organising international meetings.

**Meetings held and attendees**

Large international sports events have been hosted in the city in 2013, including: the World Handball Championship; the 10th Barcelona Games and the 15th FINA World Aquatics Championships.

The Prat Airport is number 10 in European airports with regard to the number of passengers. A new record was set in 2013, jumping above 35.2 million passengers (0.2% more than the 2012 figure, and a rate higher than Madrid Barajas and all other Spanish airports together).
The intensification of the rising trend throughout the January-August 2014 period, with a 6.8% interannual increase, is fed by transit with the EU and intercontinental traffic.

Since 2013, the Barcelona airport has:

- **Eight new intercontinental flights**, linking Barcelona with Istanbul and also Chicago, Fes (Ryanair and Vueling), Montevideo, Toronto, Banjul (Gambia) and Beirut.
- **The net increase of 27 flight frequencies or capacities** with respect to 2012; the incorporation of the Airbus A380 to the Dubai-Barcelona route of Emirates Airline; three more weekly frequencies in the Qatar Airways flight to Doha; the establishment of one flight daily with
Buenos Aires on Aerolíneas Argentinas and the expansion of the flight season to Philadelphia, which now runs all year.

With 2.6 million cruise ship passengers, the port is the top destination for cruise ship passengers in Mediterranean ports.

Port passengers and cruise ship passengers

However, during 2014 figures on cruise ship passengers have started dropping due to a reduction in the places available on ships and the balance from January to August was a 9.7% decrease.

Cruise ship passengers

Barcelona appears increasingly more in international rankings.
According to the Global Cities Investment Monitor published by KPMG, Barcelona is ranked tenth among the main urban areas in the world to receive greenfield foreign investment projects (without local partners or in new locations).

**Number of foreign investment projects, 2009-2013**

![Barcelona Investment Projects Chart]

Source: Global Cities Investment Monitor 2014, KPMG
Social cohesion

The estimated household disposable income\(^1\) (HDI) per capita in Barcelona for 2012 likewise reflects the generalised shrinkage that household incomes have suffered due to the general weak economic situation, which has impacted salaries, company profits and welfare benefits. As a whole, it is estimated that per capital income had an interannual 1.1% decrease in nominal terms, a rate similar to that for the whole country.

The distribution of income by districts in Barcelona shows a similar snapshot to that of previous years, with marked stability of levels and positions: Sarrià-Sant Gervasi and Les Corts at the top, and Nou Barris and Sant Andreu at the bottom. The widening of the inequality gap seen in recent years stopped in 2012: The distance between the neighbourhoods at the very top

---

1 Disposable household income is all income that the inhabitants of a territory has available to allocate to consumption and savings. The per capita disposable household income index in Barcelona is a theoretical index that is constructed from several variables (unemployment, level of education, evolution and power of vehicles and real-estate market prices) that are updated regularly. It reveals the relative position of each neighbourhood with regard to the city average, which is set at a fixed value of 100.
end (Pedralbes) and at the bottom end (Ciutat Meridiana) reduced slightly. Compared to 2007, the distribution of income is less equitable.

Like previous years, there is a large concentration of districts that have income around or near the average, but always below, while the values furthest from the average are those for neighbourhoods with very high income.

Once again, the improvement of Ciutat Vella is consolidated, a district that has recorded a long and intense process of urban renewal and economic and cultural transformation. The same thing does not happen in Nou Barris, which has gone down again, while Gràcia continues to be the neighbourhood closest to the average.

In general terms, average incomes have kept their hegemony, but are losing a small part of the ground they hold every year, as the economic dynamic in recent years has led to a chain displacement of part of the population from medium-high incomes to the immediately lower income level. The highest income bracket has remained excluded from this downward movement, which was not generalised, although yes continuous.

### Household disposable income per capita 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Resident population</th>
<th>HDI/capita (€/year)</th>
<th>HDI index BCN=100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ciutat Vella</td>
<td>105,220</td>
<td>14,481</td>
<td>73.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Eixample</td>
<td>265,592</td>
<td>20,914</td>
<td>115.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sants-Montjuïc</td>
<td>183,700</td>
<td>14,430</td>
<td>82.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Les Corts</td>
<td>82,238</td>
<td>26,412</td>
<td>138.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sarrià - Sant Gervasi</td>
<td>145,413</td>
<td>33,469</td>
<td>178.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Gràcia</td>
<td>121,550</td>
<td>19,647</td>
<td>104.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Horta-Guinardó</td>
<td>168,525</td>
<td>15,128</td>
<td>86.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Nou Barris</td>
<td>167,175</td>
<td>10,799</td>
<td>70.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sant Andreu</td>
<td>146,963</td>
<td>13,790</td>
<td>84.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Sant Martí</td>
<td>233,463</td>
<td>15,057</td>
<td>87.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barcelona</strong></td>
<td>1,619,839</td>
<td>18,912</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The calculation of the indexes in 2012 added new methodological features, as there were new data available for the districts. In order to permit homogeneous comparison, the 2011 values were recalculated, applying the new criteria. For previous years, these new variables are not available and, therefore, the comparison may not be entirely accurate.
Household disposable income per capita 2012, Neighbourhoods of Barcelona

**Ciutat Vella**
01 el Raval
02 el Barri Gòtic
03 la Barceloneta
04 Sant Pere, Santa Caterina i la Ribera

**Eixample**
05 el Fort Pienc
06 la Sagrada Familia
07 la Dreta de l’Eixample
08 l’Antiga Esquerra de l’Eixample
09 la Nova Esquerra de l’Eixample
10 Sant Antoni

**Sants-Montjuïc**
11 el Poble-Sec
12 la Marina del Prat Vermell
13 la Marina de Port
14 la Font de la Guatlla
15 Hostafrancs
16 la Bordeta
17 Sants-Badal
18 Sants

**Gràcia**
19 Vallvidrera, el Tibidabo i les Planes
20 la Maternitat i Sant Ramon
21 Pedralbes
22 Sarrià - Sant Gervasi
23 Sarrià
24 les Tres Torres
25 Sant Gervasi - la Bonanova
26 Sant Gervasi - Galvany
27 el Putxet i el Farró
28 Vallcarca i Penitents
29 el Coll
30 la Salut
31 Vila de Gràcia
32 el Camp d’en Grassot i Gràcia Nova

**Horta-Guinardó**
33 el Baix Guinardó
34 Can Baró
35 el Guinardó
36 la Font d’en Fargues
37 el Carmel
38 la Teixonera
39 Sant Genís dels Agudells
40 Montbau
41 la Vall d’Hebron
42 la Clota
43 Horta

**Nou Barris**
44 Vilapicina i la Torre Llobeta
45 Porta
46 el Turó de la Peira
47 Can Peguera
48 la Guineueta
49 Canyelles
50 les Roquetes
51 Verdum
52 la Prosperitat
53 la Trinitat Nova
54 Torre Baró
55 Ciutat Meridiana
56 Vallbona

**Sant Andreu**
57 la Trinitat Vella
58 Baró de Viver
59 el Bon Pastor
60 Sant Andreu de Palomar
61 la Sagrera
62 el Congrés i els Indians
63 Navas

**Sant Martí**
64 el Camp de l’Arpa del Clot
65 el Clot
66 el Parc i la Llacuna del Poblenou
67 la Vila Olimpica del Poblenou
68 el Poblenou
69 Diagonal Mar i el Front Marítim del Besòs
70 el Besòs i el Maresme
71 Provençals del Maresme
72 Sant Martí de Provençals
73 la Verneda i la Pau

Household disposable income per capita 2012 (index numbers; Base of Barcelona = 100)
- Very high (more than 159)
- High (126 to 159)
- Medium-high (100 to 126)
- Medium-low (79 to 100)
- Low (63 to 79)
- Very low (less than 63)
Non-university education

The number of students in general schools for the 2013-14 academic year started with 229,849, which represents an increase of 1298 students with regard to the previous school year, the most important increase among the student body of post-compulsory education, especially in occupational training programmes, which represent half of this increase.

General education students at public, subsidised and private schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2013-2014</th>
<th>2012-2013</th>
<th>Absolute variation</th>
<th>% Variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preschool (3-6 years old)</td>
<td>41,460</td>
<td>41,693</td>
<td>-233</td>
<td>-0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary education (6-12 years old)</td>
<td>80,628</td>
<td>79,985</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsory secondary</td>
<td>53,282</td>
<td>53,214</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total basic education (3-16 years old)</strong></td>
<td><strong>175,370</strong></td>
<td><strong>174,892</strong></td>
<td><strong>478</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.3%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-compulsory secondary</td>
<td>21,973</td>
<td>21,864</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-level occupational training</td>
<td>11,616</td>
<td>11,344</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total secondary education (16-18 years old)</strong></td>
<td><strong>33,589</strong></td>
<td><strong>33,208</strong></td>
<td><strong>381</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.1%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-level occupational training</td>
<td>18,657</td>
<td>18,292</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special education</td>
<td>2,333</td>
<td>2,159</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Barcelona</strong></td>
<td><strong>229,849</strong></td>
<td><strong>228,551</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,298</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.6%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to day-care centres, the 2013-14 academic year started with a total of 7940 students enrolled at the 95 municipal day-care centres. This offering covered 59% of the applications for places (60% in 2012-13 and 52% in 2011-12). The total number of students enrolled at day-care centres and nurseries in the city was 17,941, an increase of 0.8% from last year.
With respect to indicators of academic success, the improvement merits mention of the graduation rate from compulsory secondary (ESO) in the city in recent years.
Culture

The city has more than 50 museums and large exhibition centres, a network of 39 libraries, 51 community centres, over 50 cinema complexes and three large auditoriums.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museums and exhibition centres</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2013/2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Facilities</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4,3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitors (1000s)</td>
<td>11.520</td>
<td>12.443</td>
<td>12.537</td>
<td>12.713</td>
<td>1,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museums &amp; municipal and consortium centres</td>
<td>5.288</td>
<td>5.471</td>
<td>5.397</td>
<td>6.077</td>
<td>12,6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other museums &amp; public centres</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>1.015</td>
<td>1.082</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>-14,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museums &amp; private centres</td>
<td>5.248</td>
<td>5.958</td>
<td>6.059</td>
<td>5.707</td>
<td>-5,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visits to exhibitions (1000s)</td>
<td>14.847</td>
<td>15.718</td>
<td>15.113</td>
<td>15.136</td>
<td>0,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Users (1000s)</td>
<td>16.554</td>
<td>17.380</td>
<td>16.948</td>
<td>16.735</td>
<td>-1,3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Architectural interest sites</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2013/2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Facilities</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilities</td>
<td>6.021,0</td>
<td>7.135,6</td>
<td>7.051,9</td>
<td>8.224,8</td>
<td>16,6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Institute of Culture, Barcelona City Council
*The facilities listed are those that received data and have more than 5000 visitors per year
* The 16.6% increase in the architectural interest sites is because this is the first time that data on Poble Espanyol has been included

Total visitors to the city’s museums, exhibition centres and architectural interest sites topped 20.9 million visitors in 2013, which represents a 6.9% year-on-year increase.

In concordance with the situation, there is some stagnation in attendance at municipal museums and private galleries (~5.8%), although at municipal and consortium museums and centres, and thanks to the opening of the Born Centre Cultural and new proposals, such as the series of actions conducted by the MNAC to bolster access to the museum or the actions done by La Virreina Centre de la Imatge, there was a significant growth in visitors in 2013: 12.6% compared to the year before. In the first semester of 2014, data on attendance at municipal and consortium museums continue to be extremely positive, with a total of 3.9 million visitors (provisional data) and an interannual increase of more than 40%.

The data from 2013 in the music field are not so favourable.

Although the number of viewers at live music shows remained stable in 2013, the figure for macro-concerts (audiences of over 5000) dropped by 16% and the large auditoriums had an overall decrease of 11%, which was more pronounced at the Liceu than at the Palau or the Auditori.

Despite these figures, occupation percentages at the three large music facilities did not vary significantly from last year and, therefore, the smaller audiences are due to a more reduced offering, as it adapted to the drop in demand, possibly due to the leap in VAT that was applied starting in September 2012 (from 8% to 21%). Indeed, the Anuari de la Música 2014 (2014 Music Yearbook), created by Enderrock and the Professional Association of Representatives, Promoters and Managers of Catalonia (ARC per its initials in Catalan), puts forth that the impact of the huge VAT increase in the music industry led to a drop in earnings of some 13.7% during 2013, which translates into a loss of more than 10 million euros.
### Music

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2013/2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Viewers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large auditoriums</td>
<td>1,081,481</td>
<td>1,152,500</td>
<td>987,598</td>
<td>876,025</td>
<td>-11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Auditori</td>
<td>431,409</td>
<td>426,154</td>
<td>354,226</td>
<td>330,102</td>
<td>-7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% occupation</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>-1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Palau de la Música Catalana</td>
<td>403,572</td>
<td>421,726</td>
<td>350,646</td>
<td>311,927</td>
<td>-11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% occupation</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Gran Teatre del Liceu</td>
<td>246,500</td>
<td>304,620</td>
<td>282,726</td>
<td>233,996</td>
<td>-17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% occupation</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macro-concerts</td>
<td>239,913</td>
<td>214,130</td>
<td>283,920</td>
<td>238,569</td>
<td>-16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live music venues</td>
<td>1,024,637</td>
<td>902,816</td>
<td>1,067,340</td>
<td>1,069,371</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaces</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8,7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* variation in percentage points.

On the other hand, in the first four-months of 2014, some recovery was seen in audience numbers and there were 400,000 attendees at shows in the three large auditoriums, representing a year-on-year increase of 5.3%.

### Performing Arts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2013/2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of halls1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viewers (in thousands)</td>
<td>2,538.9</td>
<td>2,816.3</td>
<td>2,609.0</td>
<td>2,318.6</td>
<td>-11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% occupation</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>-1*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) including ‘singular’ spaces | * variation in percentage points

Within the musical sphere, a couple festivals merit mention. The San Miguel Primavera Sound, with 171,000 attendees, is one of the musical events with the most international repercussion in Barcelona, and it just keeps growing; and Sonar, with over 121,000 attendees.

With regard to the performing arts, a field that has also been affected by the leap in VAT, audience numbers (2.3 million in 2013) dropped by 11.1%, in line with the drop in the number of performances (~10.3 %), in total 11,338 throughout the year, while the occupancy percentage of the halls did decrease significantly, remaining above 50%. In the first semester of 2014, the number of viewers has recovered slightly (1.4%).

Following the trend in recent years at a state-wide level, commercial cinema has continued to lose audiences. The 203 theatres and 757 films shown had a total of 5.1 million viewers in 2013, a 21% year-on-year drop.

Year by year, the city has been the scenario selected for shooting a good number of films.

In 2013, there were close to 2500, 16.5% more than in 2012, where the most prominent were feature films (50 productions), shorts (324), TV entertainment shows (433) and adverts (1203). The most requested spaces in the city were in the districts of Ciutat Vella (680 permits), Sant Martí (594), Sants-Montjuïc (371) and Eixample (343). The Parc de la Ciutadella remained the main park selected for filming, followed by the Laberint d’Horta. Of these productions, 81%
were Catalan or with Catalan participation, 4% from the rest of Spain and the remaining 15% have international origins, where Japan and the United Kingdom figure most prominently.

The Grec is notable among the multidisciplinary festivals, with 66,585 viewers in summer 2013, a 5.1% year-on-year increase. In summer 2014, 67,600 tickets were sold, 12,000 more than in 2013, average occupancy was higher than 50% and have of the shows were higher than 70%.

With regard to libraries, the number of visits in 2013 reveals some stagnation due to the closure for remodelling for several months of the Agustí Centelles Eixample Esquerra Library. But the number of cards keeps growing year after year, reaching 905,000 card holders, 12% more than three years earlier. In the first semester of 2014, visits, totalling 3.6 million, started to grow once again (5.1%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barcelona libraries</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2013/2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Facilities</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visits (thousands)</td>
<td>5,982,936</td>
<td>6,178,297</td>
<td>6,439,112</td>
<td>6,343,803</td>
<td>-1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading points &amp; service</td>
<td>5,688</td>
<td>5,960</td>
<td>6,274</td>
<td>6,544</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cards (thousands)</td>
<td>810,431</td>
<td>837,392</td>
<td>880,434</td>
<td>905,060</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documents lent (1000s)</td>
<td>4,439,460</td>
<td>4,467,274</td>
<td>4,639,242</td>
<td>4,229,213</td>
<td>-8.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Changing topic, the city continues to stand out as an urban space with great creative capacity. In the ‘Survey on the Barcelona City Brand’, promoted by the Barcelona Centre de Disseny, it is positioned as the fourth most creative large city in the world, after San Francisco, London and New York.

**Sports**

The city has become established as a stage for sports events, with a total of 92 activities in 2013, bringing together more than 296,000 participants. The success of the World Aquatic Championships has had an important financial and media impact. A recent study ranked Barcelona second in the world for sport cities, with only London above it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sports</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Season-ticket holders to municipal sports facilities</td>
<td>182.367</td>
<td>187.719</td>
<td>194.656</td>
<td>178.880</td>
<td>176.744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of public sports spaces</td>
<td>1.671</td>
<td>1.809</td>
<td>1.776</td>
<td>1.796</td>
<td>1.796</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(data on public sports spaces from 2013 are from 2012)

The year closed with a slight drop compared to 2012 with regard to the number of season-ticket holders to municipal sports facilities (−1.2 %), with 176,744, which represents almost 11% of Barcelona’s population.

The DiR-Guàrdia Urbana race and the Barcelona Desigual Night Run were organised for the first time. The 35th El Corte Inglés Race had more than 72,000 runners and the Barcelona Marathon, 18,389, now established as the fourth largest European marathon. The total number of participants in races in 2013 exceeded 220,860 people registered.
Citizen safety

According to the latest survey on victimisation in 2014, the victimisation rate has dropped with respect to previous years. The index is around the values from the years 2007 and 2008. The rate has dropped in all districts except Sant Andreu, although this district is under the city average (20.8%). The Ciutat Vella is the district with the highest level (26.3%), while Horta-Guinardó is the district with the lowest victimisation rate (16.6%). With regard to police reports, an increased number was recorded among those interviewed (46.4% compared to 35.6% last year).

Development of the victimisation rate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% of population victim of one or more incidents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Victimisation Survey by the Barcelona City Council

Environmental quality

The city’s green spaces have continued to grow steadily, as well as the square metre of urban green per inhabitant, situated at 29.1 million square metres in 2014, which represents 1808 m² per 100 inhabitants. The number of hectares of city urban parks is 577.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City green</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Green area</td>
<td>Area in m²</td>
<td>28,707,181</td>
<td>28,721,312</td>
<td>28,766,563</td>
<td>28,931,127</td>
<td>28,971,419</td>
<td>29,107,514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per inhabitant</td>
<td>m²/100 inhab.</td>
<td>1,776.5</td>
<td>1,771.3</td>
<td>1,776.5</td>
<td>1,790.9</td>
<td>1,784.9</td>
<td>1,805.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Barcelona is a city that is aware of the environmental impact of cities in the territory and its social repercussions, so that it has been applying the principles and values of the sustainability culture in its environmental policy for many years. This commitment to the environment has been made not only by the city’s government, but also its citizens. The stimulus the City Council gave to Agenda 21 Local, the approval of the Citizen Commitment to Sustainability in 2002 and the signing in 2012 of the Citizen Commitment to Sustainability 2012-2022 are a few examples
of citizen participation in activities aimed at improving environmental quality. The number of entities that have signed Agenda 21 has increased from 431 in 2005 to nearly 77 in August 2014. Half of these organisations are schools and, therefore, environmental concern has extended to the new generations for a future outlook.

Citizen concern and involvement with environmental sustainability and, especially, in saving scarce natural resources like water are revealed in the evolution of the city’s water consumption indicators. Total water consumption per inhabitant in 2013 logged values representing 5% less than the consumption recorded in 2008. Efforts made to save on water consumption were accompanied by an improvement in water management, especially with regard to the use of ground water, which increased by 30.2% compared to 2008 values. The use of ground water by municipal services increased from 18.5% in 2008 to 19.9% in 2013.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Water consumption</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total per inhabitant</td>
<td>Litres/inhabitant &amp; day</td>
<td>169.9</td>
<td>164.9</td>
<td>164.8</td>
<td>165.3</td>
<td>163.2</td>
<td>160.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic consumption</td>
<td>Litres/inhabitant &amp; day</td>
<td>112.9</td>
<td>110.1</td>
<td>109.8</td>
<td>109.5</td>
<td>108.2</td>
<td>108.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groundwater consumption</td>
<td>1000 m³</td>
<td>943</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>1,033</td>
<td>1,260</td>
<td>1,228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groundwater consumption by municipal services</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the factors with the greatest impact on a city’s environmental quality is that related to transport and mobility. In order to minimise this impact, the metro and bus networks have both been expanded; hybrid less polluting buses have been added to fleets; the use of electric vehicles and bicycles is actively promoted, with an increased number of parking spaces for bicycles, which now number 22,350 at street level and 1187 in municipal underground car parks and run by the company SABA.

**Average NO₂ levels. Annual average of validated data**

![Average NO₂ levels. Annual average of validated data](image)

Actions in the area of the city’s public transport and mobility, the promotion of energy savings and the use of renewable energy sources have all contributed to reducing greenhouse gas emissions and the fight against climate change and to an improvement in the air quality level. The
latter is confirmed via the main air quality levels, showing positive development with regard to 2008 levels. To August 2014, air quality indicators have remained at the levels recorded in 2013.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Air quality rates</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nitrogen dioxide</td>
<td>micrograms/m³</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carbon monoxide</td>
<td>milligrams/m³</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM10 particles</td>
<td>micrograms/m³</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average PM10 levels. Average levels for validated data

With regard to the collection of urban waste, indicators show positive development in the last five years. The containment of the volume of urban waste generation should be highlighted, with a sustained decrease since 2008 and still maintained in 2014, as well as the four percent increase in the percentage of recycling, which increased from 32.4% in 2008 to 36.2% in 2013, reaching 36.4% on 31 July 2014.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Waste collection</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban solid</td>
<td>tonnes</td>
<td>894,738</td>
<td>864,758</td>
<td>844,140</td>
<td>806,368</td>
<td>753,737</td>
<td>730,286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generation of solid waste</td>
<td>kg/inhabitant day</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recycling collection out of total</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>tonnes/year</td>
<td>31,285</td>
<td>31,674</td>
<td>32,845</td>
<td>32,894</td>
<td>32,543</td>
<td>32,592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>tonnes/year</td>
<td>97,803</td>
<td>87,536</td>
<td>86,756</td>
<td>67,302</td>
<td>58,107</td>
<td>48,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>tonnes/year</td>
<td>18,462</td>
<td>18,749</td>
<td>20,812</td>
<td>20,560</td>
<td>19,735</td>
<td>18,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organic matter</td>
<td>tonnes/year</td>
<td>85,431</td>
<td>84,552</td>
<td>140,427</td>
<td>133,217</td>
<td>122,508</td>
<td>117,477</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The presence of information and communications technologies (ICT) in all areas of society is a fait accompli and represents an essential part of the lives of the large majority of people. Technological innovation is increasingly present and is taking place at a faster pace.

Barcelona has an extraordinary high-speed internet network, with over 460,000 broadband lines in 2012, 52.6% of the city’s total lines.

**Survey of ICT in households** (% of homes from 16 to 74 years old)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Homes with computer</th>
<th>Homes with internet access</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>66.5</td>
<td>63.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>73.8</td>
<td>65.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>72.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>75.7</td>
<td>75.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>78.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Barcelona being awarded the status as the Mobile World Capital (MWC) by the GSMA for the 2012-2018 period is a great opportunity for both Barcelona and Catalonia. Beyond the fact of establishing the annual presence in the city of the Mobile World Congress —which brings dozens of thousands of professionals to the city, who generate large movements of business opportunities and contribute hundreds of millions of euros to the local economy—, the MWC offers an opportunity for Barcelona to become a world leader in the industry of city and mobility management, which goes much beyond just mobile telephony.

**Wi-Fi connection points in Barcelona**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wi-Fi connection points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Housing

Data from 2013 let us confirm a slight positive change in the long downward spiral of residential construction, although not speaking of the number of housing units started, after Barcelona touched bottom in 2012. Unlike the rest of the metropolitan area and Catalonia, in which the trend in 2013 continues to contract, the number of houses started in the city approached 700 units, which represents a 41% increase with regard to the minimums recorded in 2012, when the threshold of 500 housing units was not exceeded. However, other construction indicators, such as new houses planned with works licenses approved dropped significantly in 2013 and new finished houses recorded minimums, making the new supply available scarce and even non-existent in many city neighbourhoods.

Moreover, and like what happens in other large cities, there is a latent demand in Barcelona for first homes that makes the stock of new works on sale, in addition to being relatively small, continue reducing: the 1183 houses on sale that remained on sale during the second semester of 2013 represented 18.2% of the total new promotions, six percent less than one year earlier.

The low level of buying and selling of new houses, only 1393 in 2013 (11.8% less than the year before) is the consequence of the last of supply, as well as their high prices, with respect to used housing, which is much more abundant. The total buy-sell transfers in 2013 was 8839 houses in the city, with a 21% growth with respect to the tiny values from 2012, due to the increase experienced by second-hand transactions (30%), which exceeded 7400 units.

Housing unit prices (euros/m$^2$) continued dropping in 2013. With regard to new works, the price/m$^2$ built was around 4066 euros during the second semester of the year, with a 6.8% year-on-year reduction and a more than 30% decrease in nominal terms with regard to the maximum values reached in the 2007-2008 period. However, the increase in 2013 of the average price per built metre up to 108.4 m$^2$ meant that the average sales price of new housing units increased again slightly last year (1.8%), situated at 453,200 euros, a level similar to 2004.
With regard to used housing, the 2013 price drop was not as intense as in previous years and prices may even have hit rock bottom in the first semester of 2013, as a slight recovery was observed in the second half of the year, with the fourth quarter closing at levels of an average of 3200 euros/m², only 1.1% less than prices in 2012. All in all, from the highs at the start of 2007, the decrease has been around 35% in nominal terms, with prices similar to those in 2003.

In the rental market, price fluctuations have been more modest than the buy-sell market, with prices shrinking an average of 16% since the highs in 2008. Average unit prices in 2013 are some 10.3 euros/m²/month, 5.1% less than last year, when the average monthly rent was 681.60 euros (~5.3%). The economic difficulties faced by households in recent years, added to the financial and credit restrictions, have translated into highly significant growth in new rental agreements. During 2013, new maximum values were reached, with some 44,800 new contracts signed, a 9.2% year-on-year increase.

The economic crisis has also had a significant impact on public spending, and the administrations’ budgetary limitations have caused a decline in subsidised housing right when there is the greatest demand for it. Barcelona has also suffered this shortage of resources and credit, which has led to minimum construction of subsidised housing units in 2013, with only 225 officially approved and 172 with final certification.

Moreover, there were 28,585 cohabitation units valid on 31 December 2013 in the registry of applicants for subsidised housing in Barcelona. At present, Barcelona has 10,311 subsidised homes for rent, of which over 2000 are allocated to social rentals for the elderly, emergencies and vulnerable groups.
Public transport and mobility

Mobility guidelines for the Barcelona Metropolitan Region (BMR) and the city have been affected by the economic crisis. Between 2007 and 2013, the population was growing slightly through 2012 (4.6% in the BMR and 1.6% in Barcelona), followed by a drop in 2013 (–0.2% and –0.6%, respectively). The motorisation rate dropped by 6.7% and through 2013 there were no signs of recovery in vehicle registrations, as confirmed throughout the first semester of 2014.

Data from the business day mobility survey (EMEF² in its Catalan initials) revealed that from 2007 to 2011, daily journeys in the BMR increased greatly to shrink by 3% (480,000 journeys) in the last two years. Estimates for 2013 are 15.89 million. While in 2007, 40.5% of trips were for occupation reasons (work and study) and the rest were personally motivated (shopping, leisure, errands, etc.), in 2013 only 28% were for compulsory mobility.

The most used means of transport is non-motorised, which has increased (42% to 49%), followed by public transport (19% to 21%), in detriment to private transport (39% to 30%).

During this period, internal journeys increased from 83% to 85% and journeys between areas, or hubs, decreased (15% to 13%). Journeys outside the BMR remained constant.

### Daily journeys to the BMR 2007-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>inc. 2013/07</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily journeys (in millions)</td>
<td>14,687</td>
<td>15,895</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
<td>-12 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>59.5%</td>
<td>71.6%</td>
<td>12 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-motorised</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td>49.0%</td>
<td>7.2 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public transport</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>1.7 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private transport</td>
<td>38.7%</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
<td>-8.8 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flows</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>83.5%</td>
<td>85.4%</td>
<td>1.9 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between areas, or hubs</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>-1.7 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside the BMR</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>-0.3 percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EMEF 2007-2013

With regard to the city of Barcelona, an estimated 6.7 million daily journeys were made in 2013. As a single journey may consist of different stages depending on the means of transport employed, transport stages in 2013 were calculated at 7.7 million, the least in the entire 2007-2013 period (–3.3%). Like the metropolitan area, the decrease was particularly large in the last two years.

Journeys inside the city increased by 0.2% (representing 64% of the total), while journeys with connections dropped by 9%. The preponderance of more local routes favours the use of non-motorised means (which increased by 6.4%), in detriment to private transport (–12%) and,  

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² The EMEF quantifies how people move around the territory, asking residents in the metropolitan area what their travel experiences have been like, in which stages and which means of transport they have used.
to a lesser degree, public transport (–4.3%). Public transport is the main means (39% of journeys) and has gained weight in journeys with connections, in which 50% of routes are done via this means. Inside Barcelona, public transport keeps its quota of 39% of journeys and non-motorises travel gains weight.

### Number of stages of daily journeys in Barcelona 2007-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public T.</td>
<td>3,149</td>
<td>3,146</td>
<td>3,076</td>
<td>3,099</td>
<td>3,127</td>
<td>3,011</td>
<td>3,012</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>–4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private T.</td>
<td>2,308</td>
<td>2,228</td>
<td>2,153</td>
<td>2,147</td>
<td>2,088</td>
<td>2,057</td>
<td>2,028</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>–12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-motorised</td>
<td>2,465</td>
<td>2,477</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>2,554</td>
<td>2,618</td>
<td>2,642</td>
<td>2,622</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>7,922</td>
<td>7,851</td>
<td>7,729</td>
<td>7,799</td>
<td>7,833</td>
<td>7,710</td>
<td>7,662</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>–3.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public T.</td>
<td>1,736</td>
<td>1,712</td>
<td>1,680</td>
<td>1,691</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>1,628</td>
<td>1,629</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>–6.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private T.</td>
<td>948</td>
<td>931</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>882</td>
<td>867</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>–8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-motorised</td>
<td>2,211</td>
<td>2,226</td>
<td>2,246</td>
<td>2,346</td>
<td>2,412</td>
<td>2,434</td>
<td>2,411</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4,896</td>
<td>4,869</td>
<td>4,833</td>
<td>4,944</td>
<td>4,999</td>
<td>4,944</td>
<td>4,907</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public T.</td>
<td>1,412</td>
<td>1,434</td>
<td>1,396</td>
<td>1,408</td>
<td>1,427</td>
<td>1,383</td>
<td>1,383</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>–2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private T.</td>
<td>1,360</td>
<td>1,297</td>
<td>1,246</td>
<td>1,240</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,174</td>
<td>1,161</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>–14.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-motorised</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>–16.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3,026</td>
<td>2,982</td>
<td>2,896</td>
<td>2,855</td>
<td>2,834</td>
<td>2,765</td>
<td>2,755</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>–9.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statistics validating the different **means of collective public transport** confirm a 3.7% decrease between 2007 and 2013, which has essentially occurred during the last two years. The means of public transport most affected in this period were bus, TMB (–13%), and the commuter rail, Rodalies RENFE (–10%), and the FGC rail (–4.5%). The rest of public means have remained steady or gained share. In the last two years, rail transport has undergone a significant decrease in travellers.

In 2013, the most used transport was the metro (40%), followed by buses (20% for TMB and 16% for others) and Rodalies RENFE (12%).

No significant variations took place in the first semester of 2014 and collective public transport as a whole increased by 0.8%, where there was an increase greater than 2% for the tram and non-TMB buses and a drop in Rodalies RENFE of 1.4%.

With the exception of extending the bus lane, no other means of public transport had variations in their conditions in the past year.
Barcelona public transport, number of validations

Non-motorised means of transport have increased the most since 2007 according to the EMEF (6.4%). Travel on foot grew by 4%, driven by the increase in mobility within the city, with the exception of 2013. Bicycle journeys increased by 46.4%, greatly motivated by the introduction of the public Bicing service and a large increase in the number of bike lanes.

Non-motorised journeys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>inc. 13/07</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On foot</td>
<td>2,400,266</td>
<td>2,517,702</td>
<td>2,495,843</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By bike</td>
<td>86,406</td>
<td>124,333</td>
<td>126,502</td>
<td>46.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,486,672</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,642,035</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,622,345</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.5%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicing</td>
<td>2,007</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>inc. 13/07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Card holders</td>
<td>101,575</td>
<td>113,787</td>
<td>98,786</td>
<td>-2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trips</td>
<td>3,781,855</td>
<td>16,165,000</td>
<td>14,211,750</td>
<td>275.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stations</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>116.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of bicycles</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Km of bike lanes</td>
<td>129.8</td>
<td>186.7</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Km of bike lanes (one way)</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>104.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to Bicing, the service gained in popularity very quickly after being launched, peaking in 2012 with 16 million trips and 113,000 card holders. In 2013, card holders dropped by 98,000 and trips to 14 million and in the first semester of 2014, the number of annual card holders remained stable, although trips dropped by a further 5%.

Private transport has been the means of transport most affected during the years of crisis. The decline in mobility using this means has been constant, around 12% in six years. It has been
accompanied by a decrease in the number of vehicles in Barcelona, their ageing and a huge drop in the number of registrations.

The number of vehicles dropped by 2.3%, especially vans and trucks and, to a lesser degree, scooters (–11.8%) and private cars (–5.2%). Conversely, motorbikes grew by 15.7%.

### Composition of the vehicles in Barcelona

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private cars</td>
<td>617,022</td>
<td>584,848</td>
<td>–5.2%</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorbikes</td>
<td>184,888</td>
<td>213,875</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>22.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scooters</td>
<td>93,783</td>
<td>82,743</td>
<td>–11.8%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vans</td>
<td>42,234</td>
<td>29,810</td>
<td>–29.4%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trucks</td>
<td>31,257</td>
<td>25,094</td>
<td>–19.7%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other vehicles</td>
<td>21,967</td>
<td>31,962</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>991,151</td>
<td>968,332</td>
<td>–2.3%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Vehicle registration 2007-2013

Vehicle purchases dropped 59% between 2007 and 2013, across the boards. Private car purchases decreased by 56% and motorbikes and scooters 45%. In addition, the vehicles are increasingly older: 43% of private cars, 54% of trucks and 46% of vans are over 10 years old.

For the first time, there was a positive rebound of 3.2% in the number of registrations, which was confirmed in the first six months of 2014, with an increase of 11.9%, in which the increase in private cars (13.5%) and trucks (53%) merits mention.
Traffic management data illustrate how since average daily traffic (ADT) has decreased since 2007, both in accesses to the city (connection mobility) and on the main roads within the city and, to a lesser degree, on the ring roads.

In addition, in recent years elements to manage traffic have also continued to improve: regulation stations, installation of traffic lights, cameras, information panels, etc. As a result of these actions and with respect to 2007, speeds have increased on the access and ring roads and within the city. However, in general, 2009 recorded the best speed records and, since then, a decrease has started, with the exception of on the ring roads.

Another aspect of traffic management is the parking policy. Some 48,500 private car road spaces have been lost since 2007, somewhat compensated by the 40,700 new off-road parking spaces.

Preferential green zones (residents) and reserved spaces have been maximised, at the cost of sacrificing free parking (61,600 spaces) and, to a lesser degree, all other categories, including loading/unloading. At the end of 2013, of the 141,700 road spaces for private cars, 53% were free spaces, 8% were for loading and unloading and the rest are 28% green zone, 7% blue zone and 4% other reserved areas (including parking for the disabled). It merits mention that motorbike and scooter parking increased by 57% and there are now 60,000 spaces.

With regard to off-road parking, the increase has been for reserved parking (hospitals, offices, hotels...) and resident parking spaces.
On road parking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>inc. 2013/07</th>
<th>distrib. 2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blue Zone</td>
<td>10,322</td>
<td>9,280</td>
<td>-10.1%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preferred Green Z.</td>
<td>25,184</td>
<td>36,527</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential Green Z.</td>
<td>4,976</td>
<td>3,461</td>
<td>-30.4%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L&amp;U</td>
<td>12,730</td>
<td>11,252</td>
<td>-11.6%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not regulated</td>
<td>137,119</td>
<td>75,446</td>
<td>-45.0%</td>
<td>53.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserved</td>
<td>5,781</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>190,331</td>
<td>141,747</td>
<td>-25.5%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorbikes</td>
<td>38,040</td>
<td>59,723</td>
<td>57.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Barcelona City Council, basic mobility data 2007-2013

With regard to accident rates, they are down by 14%, as could be expected from the items detailed above. Meriting mention is the reduction of accidents driving within the city (–15.8%), the increased number of accidents on ring roads (14.8%) and the rebound in accident rates in the last two years and first eight months of 2014.

Likewise, injuries due to traffic accidents have decreased in line with accident rates. The continual reduction in traffic accident deaths is notable, which have decreased by 48.8%, with minimums in 2013 (22 deaths).

Private cars represented 80% of the accidents (44% of accidents, plus 60% of Barcelona residents’ registered vehicles), motorbikes (29% of accidents and 22% of vehicles) and scooters (7% of accidents and 8.5% of vehicles)³.

Number of accidents by vehicle type

³ Percentage of accidents for 2013 and the vehicle fleet for 2012 (latest available data)
Since 2007, the accident rates of scooters has plummeted (–60%) and accident rates of vans (–20%) and private cars (–14%) have also decreased, whereas bicycle (42%), taxi (18%) and motorbike (15%) accidents have increased. The main direct reasons for accidents in 2013 were drivers being distracted, illegal turns, not respecting distances and disobeying traffic signals.

Barcelona City Council resources

With regard to the state of municipal finances, the City Council, after obtaining a result of financing capacity — surplus in terms of the European System of Accounts (ESA) — of 60.1 million euros, it had another significant positive result for 2013, of 139.3 million euros. These results spotlight the return to budgetary stability and will allow for the correction of financial imbalances accrued in the 2009-2011 period. In 2013 the cumulative result (incorporating results from previous years and financial operations and using the fiscal year 2000 as a base) moves into the black (23.5 million euros).

Thus, 2012 and 2013 concluded with the current regulation of budgetary stability and the City Council own financial targets were obtained.

- Sustainability: debt cannot exceed 60% of current revenues → a value of 46.7% was obtained in 2013
- Stability: the Barcelona City Council cannot incur deficit → in the end the 2013 budget obtained a result (surplus) of 139.3 million euros
- Investment capacity: the budget must forecast current annual savings of at least 15% of current revenues to finance its own investment policy → a value of 19.8% was obtained in 2013
- Liquidity: the Barcelona City Council must pay its suppliers in a maximum term of 30 days → the accrued annual average in 2013 was 29.2 days


City Council’s average payment period to suppliers

The **indebtedness** volume of the Barcelona City Council to 31 December 2013 was 1,101.4 million euros, 5.5% less than indebtedness on 31 December 2012. Likewise, the average cost of debt (interest, etc.) dropped slightly with respect to 2012 (from 2.85% in 2012 to 2.77% in 2013).

Upholding of the City Council’s credit rating (at same level as State) by the three main rating agencies, Standard & Poor’s (BBB-), Fitch (BBB) and Moody’s (Baa3). All three agencies improved the rating outlook from negative to stable. S&P maintains Barcelona’s ICL at ‘aa’.

It merits mentions that in the 2013 fiscal year, no budget was finally approved (although the Government presented a budget plan for 2013) and, therefore, forecasts and credit from 2012 were extended. Two important budget modifications were also approved in plenary sessions during the year (26 April and 31 May), which finally allowed for a large part of the City Council’s financial capacity to be placed in the service of its citizens.

Budgetary data show the City Council’s execution of revenues (settled rights) of a total of 2500.2 million euros, of which 2430.5 million are for current operations (taxes, prices, current transfers, equity revenues...), 28.4 million are capital operations and 41.2 are financial operations (primarily indebtedness).
In parallel to spending, 2013 execution data show a recognition of obligations totalling 2285.3 million euros, of which 1838.4 million are for current operations (personnel expenses, procurement of goods and services, debt interest and current transfers), 334.1 million euros for capital operations (investments) and 112.8 million euros for financial operations (primarily debt return).

Despite the effects of the budget extension, a very high degree of expenses related to the 2013 fiscal year were executed. Concretely, 97.6% of final credits were executed, where the execution of capital operations (94.4%) was particularly successful which, despite the effects of the extension, obtained a size even greater than in previous periods.

FURTHER INFORMATION AT:
http://www.observatoribarcelona.org
http://barcelonaeconomia.bcn.cat
http://barcelonaeconomia.bcn.cat/de-la-rendafamiliar-disponible-capita
http://barcelonaeconomia.bcn.cat
http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica
Grade of decentralisation and territorial organisation in an independent Catalonia

The role of the city of Barcelona

Núria Bosch
Marta Espasa
Barcelona Institute of Economics
University of Barcelona
Introduction

Territorial organisation is an important aspect to consider in terms of organising public administration in an independent Catalonia; exactly how many levels of government would there be, and what would be the strategy for decentralisation?

Economic science has put forward several theories in support of decentralising political and fiscal powers. The common thread in all of them is that decentralisation is more efficient. Moreover, the European countries that Catalonia can look to as reference points, with a similar population size and economy, are all decentralised. The objective of this article is therefore to outline the main features of territorial organisation in an independent Catalonia, the degree of decentralisation, and the role of the city of Barcelona within this structure.

The article is divided into five sections: the first is the introduction; the second makes a brief summary of the economic arguments in favour of political and fiscal decentralisation; and the third section examines territorial organisation strategies and the level of decentralisation found in each of the reference countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland; the fourth section details how a decentralised Catalonia would be achieved and the role played by the city of Barcelona; and finally, the fifth section is the conclusion, with an explanation of how the city of Barcelona and the metropolitan area would be dealt with.

Economic arguments in favour of decentralisation

From an economic standpoint, the arguments in favour of the decentralisation of a country’s political power and public sector are based on several different factors. The following is a summary of some of the main points:

- Local governments have closer contact with citizens than a centralised government, and they therefore have a better understanding of what the public want from services, and the cost of the same. The central government could also find this information out, but at a much higher cost, which means they are not as interested in the information.
- Due to political constraints, the central government has to offer the same level of public services to each region, and they are therefore shared equally. Local governments, meanwhile, can offer different levels of output and therefore meet the differing demands of each area.
- Individuals have several local governments at their disposal that provide different levels of public services. Therefore, the population is able to choose where to live based on their personal preferences, which leads to a better allocation of resources.
- Decentralisation means that politicians are held more accountable by the public, and as are in closer contact with the public in general, they have better information and more control over their policies. Some empirical studies show that within, a structure based on decentralisation, these factors lead to less corruption.
- Decentralisation implies a greater fragmentation of public administration, which can lead to competition between different administrative departments, and competition increases efficiency. Some studies show that these factors prevent increases in inefficient public spending.

1. For a more detailed look at these theories, see Bosch (2013).
It must be said, however, that other studies show that decentralisation encourages an increase in spending as there is more bureaucracy and issues with tax avoidance. This happens when sub-central governments are financed with resources transferred from the central government, as citizens underestimate the cost of public services and demand more.

**Reference countries**

Independence for Catalonia would mean creating a new state. Therefore, the next obvious step is to ask which countries in Europe we should aspire to be like. We have chosen five comparable European countries, based on their size and socioeconomic characteristics: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland. Catalonia has the potential to reach the same levels as these countries in terms of economy and quality of life.

**Socioeconomic factors**

Table 1 shows socioeconomic data on these countries. As for population size, Catalonia has a larger population than Denmark and is more similar in size to Switzerland and Austria. On the other hand, Sweden and Belgium have a slightly bigger population.

In terms of GDP per capita based on purchasing power parity (PPP), Catalonia is in last place, with 29,992 euros. However, except for Switzerland, which has a high GDP per capita (40,700 euros), the others have between 31,000 and 33,000 euros, not too much higher than Catalonia.

Table 1 also shows the competitiveness of the reference countries. In a list of 148 countries made by the World Economic Forum, all of the countries are ranked very highly. Switzerland stands out in first place, while Sweden is in sixth. It should also be noted that Spain is ranked 35th.

Table 1. Socioeconomic data for small European countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(a) Population in 2013</th>
<th>(b) GDP per capita (PPP) in euros for 2013</th>
<th>(c) Competitiveness 2013-2014</th>
<th>(d) Unemployment rate in 2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>8,451,860</td>
<td>33,200</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>11,161,642</td>
<td>30,500</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>5,602,628</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>9,555,893</td>
<td>32,700</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>8,039,060</td>
<td>40,700</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>7,553,650</td>
<td>29,992</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (a) and (b) Eurostat and Idescat.
(c) The Global Competitiveness Index 2013-2014. World Economic Forum
(d) Guinjoan, Cuadras and Puig (2013), page 15.

Finally, all these countries have an unemployment rate well below that of Catalonia. The highest is in Sweden (8%), while the lowest in Switzerland (4.2%). These figures should be compared with 22.6% unemployment in Catalonia.

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2. See Bosch and Espasa (2014a) and (2014b).
Catalonia has the potential to reach the same levels of GDP, competitiveness and unemployment rates as those shown in the reference countries. The advantages of being part of a large market for selling products and services have been greatly reduced due to globalisation and free trade agreements. This means that small countries can sell to other countries with the same ease with which large countries can sell to their domestic market.

Empirical data shows that the size of a country does not have much influence on economic growth. Other factors such as economic policies and the quality of social institutions have more of an impact. Moreover, empirical analysis shows that scale effects can be achieved through growth for a larger domestic market or for further trade liberalisation, which is what happens in smaller countries. Therefore, in general, the impact of a country’s size on economic growth is not as important for countries with more liberal trade agreements and, at the same time, the impact of trade liberalisation on growth is lower as the size of the country increases.3

Furthermore, one way of measuring a country’s competitiveness is to analyse the evolution of exports. Accordingly, exports of goods and services in Catalonia accounted for 17.2% of GDP in 1992, increasing to 33.4% by 2002. Subsequently, exports fell in 2007 and constituted 31.2% of GDP, but in recent years they have recovered to represent 37.2% of GDP by 2012. This has led to a gradual improvement in the balance of trade so that it is now positive, accounting for 5.2% of GDP in 2012.

To maintain this trend, it is important to increase productivity in the Catalan economy and make it more competitive. In recent years labour productivity has regained a dynamic similar to that of the EU, but with a very high number of job losses. Indicators for price and cost competitiveness have also improved in comparison with foreign markets. This improvement in competitiveness must come over the medium and long-term, through increases in human capital and investment in R&D. In this regard, it is very important for any financial gains resulting from Catalan independence to be properly channelled into strategic sectors that will improve the Catalan economy. It is a historic opportunity to build a new country that should not be wasted.

Level of decentralisation and territorial organisation4

Out of the countries studied, three have a federal structure (Austria, Belgium and Switzerland) while two are unitary states (Denmark and Sweden). This means that the first three have three levels of government (central, state and local), while the latter only have two (central and local). However, all of the countries are decentralised. The percentage of expenditure at every level of government is normally used to measure the level of decentralisation in a country, although this measurement has its limitations, as it does not consider the real political power at levels held below the central government. Thus, on average, sub-central government spending represents around half of total expenditure, although this figure is sometimes higher. In any case, there are some differences between the five countries.

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3. This issue has been studied by Alesina, Spolaore and Wacziarg (2005).
### Table 2. Degree of decentralisation (% total expenditure by level of government)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th>Local</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria, 2009</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium, 2009</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark, 2009</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden, 2009</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland, 2008</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
<td><strong>51.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>15.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>32.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Austria

Austria is the least decentralised country. The percentage of public expenditure distributed by each level of government is as follows: 68.6% goes to the central government, 17.1% to the state and 14.3% to the local government.

Regarding territorial organisation, Austria has a federal structure made up of nine states (*länder*), where local government has just one level of administration, covering the municipalities. Successive reforms have reduced the number of municipalities by around 40%. This was in order to create larger municipalities with a greater capacity to manage local public services. However, there are still a large number of small municipalities.

To improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the local services provided, they have created a large number of inter-municipal organisations with specific objectives. Most of these organisations were created by the state, while groups that formed voluntarily are less common. The most important types of group are: a) administrative communities used to jointly manage the functions delegated to municipalities and b) organisations with specific objectives that carry out essential local responsibilities, such as the water supply, water treatment and solid waste management, among other things.

Moreover, cities with over 20,000 inhabitants may ask to be granted a special status (statutory cities), which entitles them to define their own municipal charters and administrative structure. The main difference between other municipalities is that they also take on the role of an administrative district (an administrative division of the *Länder*, or state).

The capital, Vienna, is the largest municipality with a population of nearly 1.7 million, and it is the centre of a metropolitan area with 2.4 million inhabitants. Vienna is both a state in the federation and a statutory city.

### Belgium

Belgium is the second least decentralised country of the five. The percentage of public expenditure distributed by each level of government is as follows: 63.4% goes to the central government, 23.9% to an intermediate level and 12.7% to the local government.

Belgium is a country that has been through a dramatic transformation process since the ‘70s, and it has gone from being a highly centralised unitary country to a federal country. One
notable feature is the fact that the country has a double intermediate government made up of three regions (the Flemish region, the Walloon region and the Brussels-Capital region), as well as three communities (Flemish, French and German). This structure aims to reconcile the three linguistic and cultural communities that make up the country, as well as the specific needs of the capital (Brussels).

The regions have very broad regional planning powers for example, covering: the economy, employment, the water supply, housing, public works, energy, transport, the environment and urban planning. Meanwhile the three communities have powers over culture, education (including universities and research), languages, the health policy (prevention and medical services) and social welfare.

As for the local government, it is made up of ten provinces and 589 municipalities. The structural changes in the country have had an impact on local bodies. More specifically, guidance that was once offered by the central government is now the remit of the new federal institutions, especially on a regional level. They are responsible for current changes being made to the local electoral system, municipal boundaries and local funding. This means the future of local government in Belgium might differ in each region.

As for the municipalities, Belgium implemented reforms to merge different areas together, which saw 2669 municipalities reduced to just 589. This change was carried out in two stages, and although the first (1961) was voluntary, the second (1971) was obligatory. This means that the remaining municipalities are now a considerable size. Only 15% of the municipalities have less than 5,000 inhabitants.

The city of Brussels has around 145,000 inhabitants, while the Brussels-Capital region, which covers 19 municipalities, has a population of around 1.1 million, including the capital. Besides being the capital of the kingdom, Brussels is also the capital of the EU and the French and Flemish communities. It should also be noted that the Brussels-Capital region, is responsible for the fire department, emergency medical services and domestic waste, in addition to the usual regional responsibilities.

Sweden

Sweden, Switzerland and Denmark have a high degree of decentralisation, especially the latter. In these countries, the central government manages less than 50% of public expenditure. In Sweden the percentage of public expenditure by level of government is as follows: 46.1% is spent by the central government, and 53.9% by the local government.

There are two levels of Swedish local government: municipalities and counties. The municipalities are relatively large due to two major reforms that took place over the last century. Accordingly, around 60% of municipalities have between 10,000 and 50,000 inhabitants, and only about 5% have a population of less than 5,000. Local governments have key responsibilities for providing welfare services: health, social services and education. Health (hospitals, primary care and outpatient services) is the responsibility of each county, while education (from kindergarten to high school) and social services are the responsibility of the municipalities.

The capital of Sweden, Stockholm, has around 900,000 inhabitants; however, the metropolitan area, which forms the county of Stockholm, reaches two million.
**Denmark**

Denmark is a country with a similar organisational structure to Sweden, but even more decentralised. The central government manages 37.1% of public expenditure, while the local government manages the rest, 62.9%.

As in Sweden, until 2007 the local government was made up of counties and municipalities. However, 2007 saw far-reaching territorial reform, abolishing the counties in favour of five regions, and reducing the number of municipalities was from 271 to 98. Danish municipalities are large (around 55,000 inhabitants), as the reforms established that municipalities should have at least 20,000 inhabitants; this meant that many areas were merged together. There are now very few small municipalities, which have to work together with larger municipalities to provide services, co-operating so that they cover a minimum of 30,000 inhabitants.

Each region is responsible for the following: health care, including hospitals; regional development; social welfare, and regional transport. Moreover, municipalities have been assigned important responsibilities, including kindergartens, primary schools and programmes for senior citizens.

The capital, Copenhagen (with half a million inhabitants), is part of the region called the “Capital Region of Denmark”, with a population of around 1.6 million.

**Switzerland**

Switzerland is a federal republic, which means it has three levels of government, comprised of twenty-six cantons (intermediate government) and a local government made up of many municipalities, although the majority of the cantons also have districts (the second level of local government) that manage specific public services. Switzerland is a highly decentralised country, and government public spending is distributed as follows: 42.5% goes to the central government, 37.7% to the cantons and 19.9% to the municipalities. Compared to the Nordic countries, Swiss municipalities are extremely small: half have less than 900 inhabitants.

The Canton governments manage university and non-university education, healthcare (mainly hospitals), public order and roads, among other things. Municipalities play an important role in providing services relating to social assistance.

**The future territorial organisation of Catalonia and the role of the city of Barcelona**

In the previous section we have seen how the reference countries used when considering the structure of a future independent Catalan state are very decentralised, with powerful sub-central governments. Moreover, economic theory also presents decentralisation as an important factor for efficiency and social well-being.

In this regard, an independent Catalonia would have a decentralised public sector in line with the European countries we have studied. Sweden and Denmark are the most relevant countries, since they have only two levels of government, as opposed to the federal structure of the other three countries; a federal Catalonia does not seem like an appropriate option, due to the character and history of the region.
Thus, an independent Catalonia would probably have two levels of government: a central government formed by the Regional Government and a local government with ‘veguerias’ and municipalities. The ‘veguerias’ would be in charge of providing the services decentralised by the Regional Government. They could also be responsible for health and education, in line with the local governments in Denmark and Sweden.

Law 30/2010, of 3 August, includes the basic guidelines set out by the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia regarding the different ‘veguerias’. It establishes seven ‘veguerias’: Alt Pirineu, Barcelona, Catalunya Central, Girona, Lleida, Camp de Tarragona and Terres de l’Ebre. It also recognises a special area within Catalonia corresponding to Aran, which is governed by the General Council of Aran.

Law 30/2010 also establishes guidelines for the indirect election of ministers for each ‘vegueria’ from municipal election results. This might be inconvenient if ‘veguerias’ were to be given powers to manage utility supplies, which involve a significant percentage of public expenditure. Democratically speaking, and to encourage increased accountability for political representatives, the ministers for each ‘vegueria’ should be elected directly. Therefore this aspect would have to change in the future.

The ‘veguerias’ would have municipalities and ‘comarcas’ below them. However, as we understand it, ‘comarcas’ make more sense in rural areas, as they provide support services to small municipalities that often have few resources due to their reduced size. However, in urban areas ‘comarcas’ are not as necessary, and they could be discontinued to avoid an excessive number of local authorities. The Nordic countries made reforms to cut down on the number of local governments, usually by merging municipalities together. Catalonia has a large number of small municipalities (80% have fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, around 60% have a population of less than 2000 and 35% have less than 500), and they struggle to provide certain public services efficiently and to a high quality. However, the culture of our country makes it difficult to merge municipalities, as it would mean a certain loss of identity. Consequently, municipal cooperation, for example like the creation of regional divisions known as ‘mancomunitats’, might be a way to address the problem of small rural divisions, in addition to the role played by the ‘comarca’.

Regarding the organisation of the Barcelona Metropolitan Area, we have seen that the reference countries have a level of administration reserved for the region or metropolitan area where the capital is located, usually covering the largest city in the state. In fact, the Law on Veguerias already establishes the ‘vegueria’ for Barcelona, made up of Alt Penedès, Baix Llobregat, Barcelona, Garraf, Maresme, Vallès Occidental and Vallès Oriental, covering the area that has the most direct influence from the city of Barcelona. This ‘vegueria’ would include the Barcelona Metropolitan Area, which is already recognised as an urban area. This area would stay the same, and a ‘comarca’ for the Barcelona area would not be needed, as the other public administration in the area could take on the corresponding responsibilities, reducing the number of local government organisations.

We have also seen that the Nordic countries delegate some responsibilities for education (pre-school, primary and even secondary school in Sweden). The city of Barcelona could take on these responsibilities, as it is large enough to manage the task. Education is a municipal responsibility in many countries; the problem is that the small rural divisions mean it would not be possible to extend this responsibility to every municipality. One option would be delegate this responsibility to municipalities of a certain minimum size, and obviously Barcelona would be the first among...
them. Similarly, the city of Barcelona could assume other responsibilities for the ‘veguerias’. Therefore, the city of Barcelona, besides being the capital of Catalonia, would be the capital of the Barcelonès vegueria, with a number of powers delegated by regional administration; education is perhaps the best example. Moreover, the Barcelona Metropolitan Area should be responsible for managing issues in the Barcelona urban area.

Conclusions

- Economic science has put forward several theories in support of decentralising political and fiscal powers. The common thread in all of them is that decentralisation is more efficient.
- Independence for Catalonia would mean creating a new state. Therefore, the next obvious step is to ask which countries in Europe we should aspire to be like. We have chosen five comparable European countries, based on their size and socioeconomic characteristics: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland.
- The reference countries are all very decentralised. Thus, on average, central government spending accounts for about half of total expenditure, although this figure is sometimes higher.
- Sweden and Denmark are the most relevant countries, since they have only two levels of government, as opposed to the federal structure of the other three countries; a federal Catalonia does not seem like an appropriate, due to the character and history of the region.
- Thus, an independent Catalonia would probably have two levels of government: a central government formed by the Regional Government and a local government with ‘veguerias’ and municipalities. The ‘veguerias’ would be in charge of providing the services decentralised by the Regional Government. They could also be responsible for health and education, in line with the local governments in Denmark and Sweden.
- Regarding the organisation of the Barcelona Metropolitan Area, we have seen that the reference countries have a level of administration reserved for the region or metropolitan area where the capital is located, usually covering the largest city in the state. In fact, the Law on Veguerias already establishes the ‘vegueria’ for Barcelona.
- Therefore, the city of Barcelona, besides being the capital of Catalonia, would be the capital of the Barcelonès ‘vegueria’, with a number of powers delegated by regional administration; education is perhaps the best example. Moreover, the Barcelona Metropolitan Area should be responsible for managing issues in the Barcelona urban area.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


If we look back at the history of Barcelona and Catalonia we can draw up an approximate map of relations between them. Starting with the (re)birth of Barcelona after the 1888 Exposition, there was mirroring of the capital and the country and there were also fractures, from every point of view. Human, economical, political and social viewpoints that come down to the 21st century with the need for new relations between Barcelona and Catalonia. A necessary double viewpoint to be able to look in one direction if Catalonia becomes a new state.

The Barcelona Universal Exposition of 1888 was not just a “zero moment” for Barcelona, but also for Catalonia. The Expo had two values: the symbolic and the real. Barcelona looked and was looked at. For this reason, the city raised its global finger for everyone to see: it wanted to be part of the league of metropolises of the new century. If it lifted a finger it was because Barcelona was moving. It had moved. From the belly of the walled city of Barcelona (1854), a city was emerging. It was new, it was young, it had its whole future ahead of it. The city of 1888 was a modern one. A kind of magic password associated with all sorts of words: technology, hygiene, progress, education... “Modern” is an adjective that sticks to Barcelona. But with the Expo another legend was born: the ideal of going to live in Barcelona. The dream.
Eighteen eighty-eight was the signal for thousands of people, until the 1930s, to descend on Barcelona. First, from Catalonia; then, from the rest of Spain. The figures speak for themselves: in 1900 Barcelona had 533,000 inhabitants and by 1930 the figure had reached 1,005,565. The factors that explain these migrations are quite clear: Barcelona was a byword for opportunity. The city was industrial; that meant finding work, earning money, buying things, making progress, learning, enjoying life too, looking forward to a future for oneself and for the family. Barcelona is a social elevator. This elevator set off in 1888. It climbed to the prosperity of the days of the First World War (when Spanish neutrality meant that the city became a great economic factory). And it kept climbing until it reached the 1929 Exposition: the consolidation. The landmark of this doubly new Barcelona: the work of the metro, of Montjuïc, of the streets, the avenues... The city's other great town-planning transformation, which connected with the elation of the Republic. Until the Civil War.

Everywhere, there was an air that transformed us into this all-powerful energy: Catalanism. From the first stone of the Renaixença in the mid-19th century, the Bases de Manresa (1892), the birth of the first modern party to break the rules of the game of Spain’s political system, the Lliga Regionalista (1901), to the hegemony of Esquerra Republicana during the Republic, Catalanism ruled (except for the period of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship from 1923 to 1930): it was the nuclear power station for all these national, social, economic and cultural changes in Barcelona and Catalonia. Barcelona, and Catalonia, changed because they wanted greater freedom. Catalanism was the cement and the spirit, and the wish to be free (existentially, nationally, socially, culturally) brought a new reality clearly into view. It could be seen and the capital saw it clearly: Barcelona was the city of light. Barcelona went from gaslight to electric light. From the dark city to the dazzling city. Barcelona was to become one of the best-lit cities in Europe. The city was electric. It conquered the night. Electric light multiplied the planet by two. It reconquered time from life: night-life, new things to see... New opportunities never before seen in a city which was an all-you-can-eat buffet for everyone. See and be seen. Being able to see also transformed relations between Barcelona and the rest of the country. The last quarter of the 19th century, 1888, saw Catalonia go from being a rural country to an urban one. People from all over Catalonia headed for Barcelona. There was a demographic, geographical, economic, social and political mutation. Barcelona province went from 1,054,51 to 1,800,563 in 1930. Girona from 299,287 to 325,551; Lleida from 274,590 to 314,247 and Tarragona from 337,964 to 350,668. All together, Catalonia jumped from 1.9 million inhabitants in 1900 to 2.8 in 1930. Barcelona was the only place in Spain where the myth of the self-made man was possible. The city was where to start. An existential kilometre zero. Arriving Catalans felt at home there. Barcelona was a kind of free zone: a neutral terrain between old Catalonia and new Catalonia. It gave equal opportunities to people from the mountains, from the plain, from the coast... There was a sort of “double nationality” in the city for those coming from outside: they become Barcelonaons instantly, but they didn't give up their real, emotional passport when they left home. You can see this in commerce: in shops, in bars, the businesses they opened and that always had a nominal reference, of products, of clients, to the land. But also in social networks: people from towns and villages created communities as a link between people arriving in Barcelona. They got together in bars and shops, they enjoyed themselves together. They were like peas in a pod. Barcelona was Catalonias. It couldn’t be any other way.
The historian Vicens Vives once said, in *Notícia de Catalunya*, that Catalonia was a nation of farmers. That means that the structure of the society was permeable, movable, dynamic, edgy... Always exposed to the elements, always changing, but to keep going. This was a central point in relations between Barcelona and the country all those years. Let’s take a look. In a village, the heir, the eldest son, stayed at home and looked after the land, the livestock, the business. The younger son, the **fadri**, emigrated to earn a living. It was largely the younger brothers and sisters who filled Barcelona between 1888 and 1929. This created a new, bi-directional communication between Barcelona and the rest of the country; between the city and the village, between the urban world and the rural world. Behind it there were all sorts of two-way relations, especially economic and political relations, but also leisure, holidays, weekends... This was the birth of Catalonia the city.

The Barcelona that saw the 20th century in also had a new outfit: **Noucentisme**. The **Noucentista** movement (1906) included everything: politics and culture. A new country. Its presentation in public was the establishment of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya (Commonwealth of Catalonia) (1914). It is easy to understand: “We want a state structure for Catalonia”, said the first President of the Mancomunitat, Enric Prat de la Riba. The Mancomunitat was a wish for total freedom. Once again Catalonia’s national aspirations went hand in hand with social aspirations, hand in hand with great changes. The Mancomunitat was built out of nothing: all across the country it brought roads, schools, libraries, telephones, hospitals... National and social. The whole of Catalonia in one. It was the dream of the **Noucentistes**: the imagined, ideal, orderly, reasoned territory... Catalonia is Europe. Structured by a skilful concept of country (an association of the four provincial corporations) and led by an acknowledged capital like Barcelona. The towns and villages responded when they saw that people cared about them in the city. And there was a real and symbolic point in the modernisation of agriculture. Until then neither the capital, nor anyone, had cared about the rest of the country. There was an awareness of a single country, but one based on this sharing between Barcelona and Catalonia. The bi-directionality (heir-younger brother) now became real, tangible, verifiable. It was the step from spirit to matter.

But Barcelona was getting bigger and bigger and it got too big for the country. Some people warned of this. The leader of the Lliga Regionalista, Francesc Cambó, had already seen that Catalonia’s head — Barcelona — was too big in relation to the size and the density of the body. No-one was as outspoken as the journalist Agustí Calvet (Gaziel), with large numbers of articles on the subject. “Catalonia must necessarily suffer from macrocephaly. This head [Barcelona] is too much for such a small body. The limbs can do no more than suffer the damage done to the whole organism by such disproportion. Beware, Catalans! Barcelona, for Catalonia, is a real danger”, he wrote in 1923. Macrocephaly was born. One of the concepts that have dragged on most over the ages to define the relationship between Barcelona and the country. There was debate.

The politician and journalist Antoni Rovira i Virgili (a native of Tarragona in Barcelona) said that looking at the relationship between Barcelona and Catalonia antagonistically was a false debate: the entire country becomes an urban society and everyone is a direct or indirect user of the land. For him, Catalonia the city was a reality. In fact, the debate also shows a bi-directional discourse that is mirrored in reality. Jaume Bofill i Mates (a native of Girona in Barcelona), one of the leading intellectuals of **Noucentisme**, explains: “One speaks of the hegemony of Barcelona and one could also speak of the hegemony of the comarques in Barcelona” and “The concept of Catalonia the city is the consecration of that sentimental balance. It equates to putting Catalonia on a civility footing”. It was Gaziel himself (a native of Girona in Barcelona) who warned of the
macrocephaly, because he saw “the spiritual towns” succumb, he saw that the country’s towns and villages were getting smaller, were being extinguished, were shrivelling up. Remember that this was 1923, the start of Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship. Barcelona and Catalonia once again lose the interaction of freedom.

The Spanish Republic carried on the debate and the model of Catalonia the city. There was a starting point and a finishing point of great symbolism. The Catalan Parliament began to discuss the new regional division of 1931, aware of this modernisation of the country. But the decree was not signed until 23 December 1936. At the height of the Civil War. Catalonia became 9 regions, 38 comarques, 1,070 municipalities. Precisely as a “Sign of submission before a centralism our collective soul finds repugnant, the four provinces Catalonia was divided into in 1833 were replaced to make way for the restructuring of Catalan unity... To govern Catalonia from Barcelona, we need new divisions adapted to the characteristics of our autonomy and based on the natural and economic realities of the land”.

The debate came to a sudden end. One of the great victims of war was the loss of Barcelona’s capital status, as Joan Ramon Resina, lecturer at Stanford University, so rightly says in La vocació de modernitat de Barcelona. Catalonia the city is chopped up and Barcelona becomes a city in which 40 years of history in the consolidation of a large capital are erased. The dictatorship of 1939 annulled, submerged, scattered the shared memory of the people of Barcelona and of the Catalans. The defeat, for everyone, meant withdrawing to a sort of no man’s land to try and maintain the link between past and future. The Barcelona that had hankered to be free since 1888, 1929, 1931, lost precisely this capital status of freedom with the advent of the dictatorship. Without freedom, Barcelona and Catalonia lose their connection. Let’s look at the birth of a shared phenomenon.

Barcelona under the dictatorship — isolated, unlit, dark — now waved the flag of “Barcelonism”. Remain an urban autarky. Navel-gazing. Only seeing itself. Not looking anywhere else. But paradoxically, and in other senses, this “Barcelona-ism” is also a way of drawing attention to the lack of freedom inherent in the city. “Barcelona-ism” also means talking about the city’s problems: the poor state of the streets, absence of waste collection... Pointing out grievances at home is another way of showing that the dictatorship neglects the needs of residents and of the city. If we think about it, this is not something exclusive to Barcelona. For example, this also goes for the rest of the country, but in another sense. Lleida, after the post-war period, saw the rise of leridanismo, which uses an unreal fiction to try and separate Lleida from Catalonia and annex it to the territory of Aragon. The reasons are economic: Lleida is a farming power. The dictatorship is aware of the bi-directionality of Barcelona-Lleida relations and tries to cut it off. This shows that under Franco there was a lack of communication in Barcelona-Catalonia relations. They are for survival, autonomous, isolated, precisely because of this lack of freedom.

Even the second wave of migrations reaching Barcelona in the 1950s and 1960s was different. They certainly shared certain features with the migrations at the beginning of the century. Barcelona, the great capital, vital exoduses for a rural world in its death throes, the desire for a future... A lot of people from other parts of Spain, but also from every corner of Catalonia. But the connections between capital and country are no longer those of Catalonia the city. In fact, relations are more fluid in cultural aspects: things like the Nova Cançó allow concerts around the country and establish this link between Barcelona and the country on the basis of shared interests. Or the first waves of university students from the provinces who disembarked at the
faculties in Barcelona in the 1960s and 1970s. This was no small matter, as they allowed a permanent link that Barcelona had had with the country since the end of the 19th century: culture, shared culture. The arrival of democracy and the new local authorities did redraw the map. Of course, the democratic town halls began to build a new country. Village by village, town by town, basic services were built: schools, parks, gardens, lighting, streets, etc. And of course, Catalan autonomy was the great political and social umbrella for all of this. Another new level of relation. The concept of macrocephaly springs up once again. Barcelona has grown again. Barcelona is Barcelona, but it is also conceived as the great metropolitan area. People begin to imagine there are two territories in the country: this sort of eminently Barcelonian metropolitan region and a country that ends up being comarques, territory... The difference between a Barcelona that takes off independently and some comarques half-way between modernity and rurality marks lengthening borders. The path is slow. The autonomous government has an echo of action of Catalonia the city. One magic word can be heard all the time: “regional re-equilibrium”. Roads, schools, health centres, faculties... a tingling that spreads all over the country. Meanwhile, there was another historic turning point for Barcelona, but also for the country: the 1992 Olympic Games.

After 1888 and 1929, 1992 was Barcelona’s third global vindication. The city once again saw the world and the world saw the city. It is true that the fact that there were secondary Olympic venues around the country (La Seu d’Urgell, Badalona, Banyoles, Terrassa, Castelldefels, L’Hospitalet, Mollet, Montmeló, Reus, Sabadell, Sant Sadurní d’Anoia, Seva, Vic, Viladecans) shows a wish to build the country, but it is also true that for the global imaginary the Games were Barcelona in capital letters. They were not the Catalan Games, nor even the Spanish Games, they were the Barcelona Games. Barcelona was now a city that wants to join the 21st century.

Nineteen ninety-two was a pivot, because after the Games the question of what sort of relation there should be between Barcelona and the country sprang up again. Economists, town-planners, sociologists, geographers, historians, etc. began to reflect on the challenge. Barcelona had grown up, but so had the country. There were a host of realities that were kept in the dark, on the verge of the 21st century. This was described very well during those years by the geographer Ignasi Aldomà in his book Amb el permís de Barcelona. L’altra societat urbana. The gist of it is that Barcelona’s acknowledgement and capital status were not grounds for avoiding the country’s other realities. There was a clash of viewpoints, of stereotypes and of things that can not be seen. The end of Barcelona’s view of the country as a place associated with a bucolic, scenic world full of resources (water, raw materials...), or a summer or weekend postcard. And yet, things were happening in the country: demographic and economic decline in many comarques and at the same time massive housing estates that multiplied the population of villages and towns; the step from an age-old farming world to a modern one; the birth of the tourist industry; cooperativism; new businesses in sectors of all sorts; professionals, the self-employed, also as a new way of earning a living; runaway consumption of the country’s limited resources; the new human mix all over the country (Barcelonians and non-Barcelonians, neo-rurals, Europeans, foreigners...) that totally changed the dynamics and the relations between people; the cultural rebirth (fairs, festivals, music, literature...) not ascribed to Barcelona’s cultural hegemony; the new infrastructures (roads, high-speed trains...); all of this, and much more, was going ahead briskly in the country and parallel to Barcelona’s total ascent.

This clash of viewpoints came at the end of the helter-skelter of the 21st-century. The present moment, when Catalonia is asking a question in need of an answer: whether or not it becomes a
new state. At the end of this historical, political and social helter-skelter the same question also affects the land: a new state should also have a different relationship between the capital and the country. There is, as we have seen, between Barcelona and the country, an ophthalmologic question waiting for an answer, one of viewpoints. Barcelona, at times, has been squint-eyed (it is looked at Paris, Madrid, the world), and the rest of the country, at times, has been short-sighted (it has not been able or has not wanted to look farther afield). A new country has to have a shared viewpoint. Two eyes looking in the same direction. Catalonia’s two eyes are the capital, Barcelona, and the country, the land, the comarques, the towns and villages.

Today, then, there are several factors that mean that Barcelona, as the capital of a new state, can establish a new relationship with Catalonia. The viewpoints and realities of Barcelona and Catalonia are in the air, but also on the ground. Encouraging this shared viewpoint also means turning these potentials into future energy. They are conclusions and notes that are not only historical, but also present.

- Whenever Catalonia has had freedom, relations between Barcelona and the country have taken shape and have had a vision with a shared intention. And also, in the right measure for each moment, they have meant social, cultural, technical progress or advances.
- Barcelona and Catalonia must have a shared relationship. They can not be separated from one another. Barcelona is Catalonia and Catalonia is also Barcelona. The model of Catalonia the city (with all its nuances, adaptations, gradations...) is preserved because there are exchanges of all sorts: from human exchanges to economic exchanges. Catalonia is also Barcelona. This is why a Catalan state marks the start of an obligatory new relation yet to be defined.
- It is true that there is a basis, but it is also true that relations between Barcelona and the country are marked by connections and interruptions. Like a light-switch: they have been going on and off for more than a century. Energy has circulated and has stopped circulating. This coitus interruptus has also led to a far more widespread ignorance. We could say that Catalonia does not know itself. There is a lot of ignorance. Potentially we don’t know everything we ought to know as a country. There is ignorance in Barcelona about the country and vice versa. This is also a basis on which to build new relations: the opportunity of ignorance. Barcelona and Catalonia need to recognise each other mutually.
- Barcelona should also ask itself what elements connect it with the country. In every field. If we accept that we can have a magnet-magnetite relationship, we are agreeing that Barcelona is a large and powerful magnet, but it also needs the country’s magnetite for attraction, and vice versa of course.
- Today, a lot of people from the country live and work in Barcelona who, like at the beginning of the 20th century, are also ambassadors of the rest of the country and could become the main influencers for Barcelona and Catalonia’s communicative bi-directionality. They are people who have studied — most of them — at universities in Barcelona and have then stayed there to work, or professionals who have come to the capital and who nevertheless still maintain links with their home town or village. The new Barcelonians go back home more than ever: weekends, holidays. This is a human communications channel where these new relations can circulate. Keeping these professionals identified is a good way of having new relations. Updating the younger brothers of the 21st century is needed for information to circulate that can lead to social, economic, political, cultural and other relations. This
double nationality of Barcelonian/Catalan talent is vital if it is to work in both directions. This human energy ought to become fusion for the country.

- There is constant debate as to whether Barcelona is macrocephalic, but it is also obvious that Barcelona is the singular majority, the immense minorities live in Catalonia. These immense minorities today have very great professional, economic, social and other skills. They are influencers scattered over the country. If there is a new map of the country, from every point of view, there is also a new human map. Relations are established through multiple real or virtual channels and this, in itself, makes for a new geography of contacts, exchanges, communications between country and capital.

- There is also a question of pride. Pride has two accepted meanings: excessive self-esteem or a legitimate feeling of self-esteem. The relationship between Barcelona and Catalonia also depends on pride. Very often the feeling in the rest of the country has been that it is underrated with respect to Barcelona’s crescendo of pride. Relations between Barcelona and the country must also involve a shared feeling of pride. Pride in Barcelona as the Catalan capital and pride in everything that is happening in the rest of the country. Barcelona, as the capital, should also be able to instil and reap this pride there is in the country.

- Barcelona must seek out bilateral agreements with the rest of the country. At the end of the 19th century, for example, Barcelona and Catalonia reached one of the most fruitful of agreements for this country, the construction of the Urgell Canal. Turning Lleida into the largest irrigated area in Catalonia. An agreement between the city and the country; farmers and bourgeoisie. Western Catalonia, with its cereals followed by its fruit, became a larder for Catalonia. Economic zones, but also cultural zones, or any zone where this two-way channel and these national agreements with shared benefits can be established, must be detected from Barcelona.

- In this respect, if Barcelona is where most of the population lives and if it uses most of the country’s natural resources and energy, there will also have to be investment in all these aspects. If the country gives, Barcelona must in turn respond to the country. The example of a Mancomunitat drawing a new country for all, and everywhere, is more valid than ever. Barcelona at the top of the picture but with a sketch for everyone. Water could be an example. Needed by all, and possibly uniting everyone. Coastal Catalonia — which concentrates 90% of the population — is supplied by the inland basins managed by the ACA (Agència Catalana de l’Aigua, Catalan Water Agency), which account for only 20% of the water there is in our country. In inland Catalonia, the water belongs to the Ebro basin (managed by the Ebro Hydrographic Confederation), which caters for about 10% of the population and contains 80% of the water. The new management of this necessity for the capital, and of the resources arising from it (for example, products of the food industry) is basic for our shared aims. Investment by Barcelona in infrastructures (which benefit the country, farmers, professionals, villages) and returns not only in water, but also in food products and in the environment.

- From an international point of view, there is a mutual need to share this relationship in the relevant fields. Alberto Castellón, General Director of Moritz Barcelona, defends a Barcelona/ Catalonia co-branding. The double brand. We are starting from something already repeated: Barcelona is Catalan and Catalonia is Barcelonian. They have shared, common values. Separating Barcelona and Catalonia is a mistake. Barcelona has Catalonia as its back and Barcelona is Catalonia’s face: a single body. Barcelona is a motor for Catalonia. Catalonia is fuel for Barcelona. Barcelona can be a shop window for Catalonia.
Barcelona as a capital: the city’s values

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Towards the end of 2009, the Values Committee for the Barcelona Metropolitan Strategic Plan presented a brief working paper detailing some of the aspects that Barcelona should take into account in the future when deciding on the city’s vision and strategy.

At the time, the public was unaware of Barcelona’s potential as the capital of a prospective Catalan state. The public were also unaware of the values the city would hold after taking on this new role.

I would like to take this opportunity to go over some of the conclusions reached in the aforementioned paper, argue for their validity, and above all justify why the city would make a good capital and emphasize its potential.

Barcelona is known worldwide as an open and welcoming city, and as an enterprising, creative, innovative and inclusive urban hub that strives to encourage co-existence and opportunities, in order to produce an excellent quality of life for its inhabitants.

This international recognition and view of the city will come under more scrutiny once Barcelona is the official capital of a Catalan state. This challenge could be a great opportunity to identify and strengthen the city’s unique and distinctive qualities, so that becoming the capital is the catalyst for developing the project for the city’s future.

A project is a commitment to planning and “throwing something forwards” (the word comes from the the Latin root *projicere*), whether that something is an idea, an action plan or specific objectives, set out over gradual phases or stages. Barcelona becoming a capital would certainly provide the impulse to promote further collective entrepreneurial activity, because it would force us to answer the following questions: How should we act as the capital of Catalonia? What responsibilities and commitments should we take on with the world watching? What image and brand values should we identify ourselves with when collaborating with international organizations? And many more.

These values are not about what we do, but who we are. They cannot be separated from the idea of the project. A life project is something that brings meaning to our lives. A shared life project means more than having objectives and strategies. A life project should answer two questions: what world do we want to live and work in? And how do we want to live and work in the world? The quality of a shared life project is defined by its values.

Barcelona has a big opportunity to become a leader both internationally and in the Euro-Mediterranean, as a capital that encourages creativity, imagination and efficiency while dealing with the problems and challenges facing Europe and the world head on. Barcelona can add new values without losing sight of its unique appeal. The following are eight key areas for Barcelona as a state capital; these are qualities that, we proposed several years ago in the Values Committee, and that I think are still valid today.

**Open and welcoming**

Barcelona has traditionally been known as a city that is receptive to new trends, ideas and proposals. Becoming the capital will reinforce our status as a leading European city.

This is a respectful, inclusive and accommodating city, where all kinds of people, nationalities, cultures and ideas coexist together in a unique space. (Over recent years, Barcelona has gone from 2% foreign-born residents to immigrants making up 20% of the population, something that has transformed the city, bringing with it different languages, religions, cultures and traditions.)
Barcelona is a multicultural, socially and culturally diverse and cosmopolitan city. A city that has always been open to new ideas and emerging sectors. As a capital, Barcelona should continue its commitment to being a welcoming and diverse city, open to attracting, accepting and retaining the best talent. It must advertise the value of its diversity, and its willingness to become a leader in resolving and making the most of the challenges and any potential difficulties that arise from this diversity. Barcelona is already an example of integration and multicultural coexistence, and it can further this status around the world.

**Entrepreneurial and creative**

Barcelona is and has always been an entrepreneurial city. A restless, rebellious, animated, dynamic and proactive city. A city that doesn’t sleep, where there is always something going on.

Similarly, Barcelona is known for being a creative, advanced, innovative, bold, daring and progressive city in terms of its proposals, initiatives, policies, relationships and how they are all managed. A changing, constantly evolving city that is always moving forward and in a permanent state of regeneration. It is reinvented and transformed everyday.

As a capital, Barcelona must continue to boost its potential as an innovative and entrepreneurial city, investing in talent, knowledge creation and encouraging and channelling creativity and innovation in every industry. Together, we can make the city different, attractive, at the forefront of new ideas, a leader, an innovator, and always one step ahead.

**Inclusive and supportive**

Despite the current financial crisis, Barcelona is an inclusive city, which has an impact in terms of opportunities for innovation; the city welcomes and accommodates newcomers, and builds new frameworks for coexistence between them.

As a capital city, Barcelona could forge a unique, original model for the future based on citizenship and shared responsibility, respect for coexistence, and on an accessible and diversified public space. A city that is committed to social cohesion and combating exclusion and inequality.

**Innovative**

Barcelona must maintain and develop its potential as a creative and innovative city. In order to be more competitive and become leaders, we need to innovate and be flexible.

Barcelona can, as capital city, become a trendsetter and offer creative solutions, opportunities and possibilities for everyone. It can become a city where you can experiment, establish businesses and find other ways to create value. People and talent will always be attracted to the capital. Which is where professionals want to be. We must ensure not only to attract talent, but also to retain it, by looking for ways to share and promote.

Barcelona could build “its own model” as a capital, linked to talent, creativity, knowledge, excellence, participation and coexistence. An innovative, genuine, creative and refreshing model.
Interconnected and participative

Barcelona is a city with tradition and ambition. Proud of its identity and culture, and proud of its unique local character. But it is also open to the world, connected to the outside, and with plans to become a world player and to mark its own path.

As the capital of Catalonia, Barcelona will be able to establish and foster new relationships. A capital made of networks and networking. To make this possible, we need to design, establish and promote the right infrastructure, mechanisms and platforms for citizens, companies, organisations and institutions to be properly interconnected, so that they can communicate and exchange ideas, suggestions and experiences, both among themselves and with the rest of world, while working together to design and develop their city, with their own initiatives and projects.

Unlike other cities, Barcelona has the opportunity to be a capital with close links to the city’s inhabitants and the population of the rest of Catalonia, both now and in the future. A city that is committed to a lifestyle that is shared by all its citizens. One that puts the public at the centre of every decision.

A city with a relational leadership, involving everyone. One where there is dialogue, participation and consensus. A city involving everyone and for everyone. A diverse city that promotes dialogue, debate and exchange to create a living space shared by all.

Outstanding, competent and competitive

Barcelona will have to be outstanding in everything it does, in terms of initiatives and projects, proposals, strategic sectors, products and services, and when solving resource management issues.

Ideally speaking, the best tools for building a prestigious and competitive Catalan capital are quality and high-standards.

That is why Barcelona must invest in training, knowledge and human capital, based on talent and multilingualism.

Barcelona must aim to be flexible, effective and efficient when solving problems and providing services, creating opportunities, managing resources, and when providing opportunities for businesses and attracting companies.

Barcelona already has the foundations to become a model example of public-private collaboration, characterised by:

- Relational, involved leadership.
- A vision shared by all the key players in the city.
- Participation and responsibility (in terms of problem-solving, design, management, financing and evaluation).
- Effective and efficient management.
- Transparency and accountability in public administration.
- Generating opportunities for everyone and in all areas.
Commitment and responsibility

Barcelona must be a committed capital. It should lead the way in defending universal human rights (such as the rights of women and children) and third-generation human rights (such as peace, sustainability, digital access, biodiversity, and so on), creating “its own model”.

Barcelona must commit to growth and sustainable development. For a balance between economic growth, social development and quality of life. To become a city that provides quality of life to its citizens.

With a local government and businesses that are socially and environmentally responsible. Involving ethical entrepreneurs, companies and citizens.

This means choosing clean technology, looking after the environment and recycling. With architecture and urban planning that supports this.

Commitment and sustainability must be the main focus of the city’s goals and actions.

Flourishing, with a high quality of life

Barcelona is committed to the present and future quality of life of all its citizens, and has always been a leader in terms of quality of life, which is a key factor to attract and retain talent, in addition to companies, professionals, students, tourists, and more.

The level of quality of life in the city is the result of policies, investment and actions undertaken in different sectors such as urban planning and design, social policy, housing, education, culture, and so on.

To continue providing a high quality of life for everyone, as a capital city Barcelona would need to maintain and reinforce a number of factors:

- The Mediterranean way of life, in terms of employment and the use of public spaces.
- Considering the human factor for every idea and in everything carried out.
- The quality of public spaces and access to the same.
- Living spaces for everyone, involving everyone.
- Meeting places and sharing spaces.
- A good wifi connection, with universal access.
- Excellent infrastructures.
- Resolving intellectual concerns as well as cultural and material needs.
- Universally available, high-quality services.
- High-quality healthcare and education.
- Variety in terms of culture, gastronomy, leisure and sport.
- Opportunities for everyone.
Barcelona. The European capital of a Catalan state?

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Synopsis

This note is a reflection on the sort of role Barcelona could play as the capital of our own European state. I shall argue that the strategic position in Europe has been more important than belonging to the Spanish state for boosting Barcelona. Barcelona has a significant value in Europe thanks to its position and is unquestionably Catalonia’s greatest asset. Nevertheless, to improve Barcelona’s competitiveness, the challenge is to go from being the “way in” for ideas coming from Europe to being the “way out” for ideas towards Europe. To realise these goals, the development of Catalonia’s home-rule institutions (insofar as they let us redesign activities and aspirations) could be the “trigger for improving its competitive conditions”. The challenge (which is not insuperable) is to put Barcelona among the top ten global European cities and make it the centre of innovation in south-east Europe.

Keywords: Barcelona, Europe, positional capital, business cluster, competition, socialisation hub.

Introduction

Cities are essential agents of economic activity all over the world. The ones that grow into “global cities” are the ones that have become agents of socio-economic change, something which is often preceded by a political and institutional change. There are no global cities that don’t have institutional support from the states they belong to.

The old capital cities, the homes of crowns and empires, no longer define metropolitanisation processes. Traditional urban territorial limits are becoming obsolete. To give one example for the sake of comparison, the United Kingdom’s Greater London is the equivalent (on a larger scale) of Barcelona’s Metropolitan Area. Therefore, the two are therefore what one identifies with London and Barcelona, respectively. In this sense, cities stop being isolated points of concentric attraction to become the nerve centres of a larger area, an economic region that often exceeds them. In other words, they become “global cities”.

For a city to become global, it must be competitive in the most prominent dimensions. Among them we should stress the role of institutional support. Institutions must play the part of prime movers and provide the decisive support that can make a city grow and attract economic activity and talent or, on the other hand, let it become “provincialised”. “Provincialisation” occurs when a city is unable to attract investment and talent for various reasons, either internal (for example, for want of meritocracy) or external (for example, when the capital city has a monopolising effect that makes enriching competition difficult).

Another dimension of cities is determined by their identity. A city’s identity is especially important because of its “positional” value. Cities, especially those that are not capitals, are often associated with the people who have lived there (such as Picasso, Pau Casals or Gaudí), with the companies based there (for example, Grifols, Roca, etc.), and, of course, with the tourist attractions, among other aspects that are added and modified over the course of time. These are often overlaid on top of other more objective dimensions of competitiveness, such as life quality and opportunities, universities, attitude to newcomers and the entrepreneurial profile of the population so as to draw new potential talent.
Once the city has positioned itself, if the objective dimensions reinforce its identity and make business and entrepreneurs choose to settle in Barcelona, this can attract others to do the same. In this respect, Barcelona has a privileged geographical location next to France and the Mediterranean that reduces its competitors to a few cities like Madrid or Marseilles. Its industrial past, which involved the rise of a bourgeoisie and a civic culture in the past, is an advantage when it comes to adopting values of economic and social liberties. It could therefore be argued that its strategic position in Europe has been the most decisive factor for boosting Barcelona and not the fact that it belongs to the Spanish state.

This note is a reflection that looks at the role Barcelona could play as the capital of a Catalan state in Europe. Barcelona is one of Europe’s assets, but at the same time there are objective dimensions of competitiveness that prevent it from growing and being more competitive in this setting, such as accessibility (airport) and the rigidity of university education, to mention just two obvious examples. There is reason to think that if Barcelona were the capital of a state it could overcome some of these limitations. Certainly, this does not mean that being the capital of a state would be enough. But being the capital of a state could be a catalyst for change. On this point, the key role would consist in designing institutions (and also laws, values, customs, etc.) ensuring that Barcelona is a city of opportunities like the great European cities. A new state must involve a “new Barcelona”. Barcelona will have to lead a package of reforms it has not been possible to implement in the framework of a Spanish Barcelona.

The next section documents some of these ideas. First I shall emphasise Barcelona’s role as a global city, before going on to reflect on the role of Barcelona in Europe. I shall devote a short section to discussing the available evidence and end with a reflection on the main assets and reforms Barcelona would have to lead in the framework of a state of our own.

**Barcelona: a global city?**

Cities still take decisions that are fundamental for business groups, consumers and the well-being of their inhabitants. There is currently enough evidence to be able to say that in the coming years the world will be organised in cities. According to the Eurobarometer, the most important opinion poll in Europe, citizens define themselves according to their local identity, rather than their state. Greater participation in decision-making in local matters means that satisfaction with local government is higher than with national governments. If we take these figures seriously, therefore, we can say that the future belongs to cities. Cities are the mould of capitalism, where communication generally costs less and the social distance is therefore smaller.

Barcelona today is a city known everywhere more than Catalonia. It is at one and the same time a catalyst for Catalonia and its reflection. Barcelona is the least peripheral of all of Spain’s principal cities. It would be the leading European Mediterranean city in economic capacity. This goes for its dimensions, as well as for its chief infrastructures. Barcelona as a Roman city has the tourist sites and cultural features of Mediterranean cities, but in addition it has its own institu-
tions going back to the Middle Ages. Today, Barcelona is home to the Union for the Mediterra-
nean, which is acknowledgement for the role it plays.

Some European cities — London, Paris, Frankfurt — have almost reached the status of city-
states and become global cities, so that the cities of the periphery have had to redefine themselves,
in order to keep up with the main central cities. This is the case of Barcelona, which, despite not yet being the capital of a state, is a point of reference in southern Europe. This is underlined by The Economist when it says that whereas larger cities have a greater reserve of manpower on offer and greater demand and economy of scale, crowding and other problems could actively hold back their competitiveness (The Economist, 2012). Without being a capital, Barcelona today is home to 98 consulates and its province produces 20% of Spanish exports. It is therefore foreseeable that it would experience substantial growth in the event that it was a state capital.

A state of our own would allow an institutional framework that would mean that Barcelona could compete in a larger dimensional space than other Spanish cities. For example, Barcelona could be present in the weather section of the world’s leading newspapers, at international conferences and in the country’s products, brands and businesses. Provincialisation, on the other hand, means not being there. If the cities people talk about are state capitals, Barcelona must become a state capital. In this respect, Spain’s economic crisis has only curtailed the Barcelona brand. Certainly there is life outside capital cities, as we see in Milan and Munich, but for this to be possible Spain would have had to be constituted as a federal state a long time ago, or else Barcelona would have to direct the Spanish state. Undoubtedly, today, neither of the two alternatives to a state of our own is viable.

At this moment in time, Barcelona is feeling the need to choose between being a non-global city and becoming the capital of a state. Barcelona’s role in Europe would involve being a place for elites to socialise, a meeting-point and location for business, as well as a research centre and a strategic mainstay for distribution and logistics in south-east Europe. To improve Barcelona’s competitiveness, the challenge is to go from being the “way in” for ideas coming from Europe to being the “way out” for them.

Barcelona: a European capital?

Barcelona has an independent positional value within the “Europe brand” pictured, for example, on the tourist routes and in university activities. At this moment, post-crisis Spain not only adds nothing to Barcelona’s positioning, it decreases its value. Even so, in the Spanish framework, Barcelona competes (in conditions of obvious inequality) with Madrid for predominance as the global city of south-west Europe. One of Barcelona’s weak points, though, is that it is not a state capital. The multinational businesses that depend on regulation have gradually offshored.

Another important point to make is that if it were a state capital it would be of a relatively small state. Therefore, the creation of a new state in Europe would mean a change of objective:

3 Certainly there are cities that are not capitals with remarkable business dynamics, such as Munich or Milan. These are the cities with which Barcelona can be compared.
to go from being “the second city of a large state” to being a city of reference in an evolving Europe. This means adopting European values of democracy and defence of social values of effective freedom, which translates as a model of welfare state of our own, like the Catalan one, in which hospitals and schools, often begun by the civil society, cooperate with the administration regardless of who they depend on. In the same way that a liberal model in public service management makes us Europeans, we must acknowledge and promote the talent associated with the values of effective freedom. One example is the central role of the gay community, which today is comparable only to London, with all that this community brings in the way of urban activity and of innovation and boost for cities. The civil society has been a decisive force behind landmark events (the Olympic Games) and institutions (FC Barcelona) and the success of its people. Politically, Barcelona has been a liberal city (at times of economic growth) and often libertarian in the European sense of the word (at times of crisis). To a great extent, paying more attentive to what happens in other countries than to Spain's economic development.

Economically, Barcelona exports mainly to Europe and attracts mainly European tourism. Traditionally, it has been the point of entry for reforming values in the Peninsula, and therefore the “door to Europe”, but, since it belonged to a Spanish state that was lagging in democracy, it was not able to take part in the founding of the European Union.

We can therefore say that the key factor in boosting Barcelona has not been the fact that it forms part of the Spanish state, but the bridges that open it to Europe and, secondly, its location close to France and the Mediterranean.

Barcelona in Europe: some evidence?

Attracting population

Barcelona has become a city with a progressive ability to attract population. Like other cities all over the world, it has experienced restructuring in the wake of globalisation. In 2014, 17% of the population had been born outside Spain, whereas in 2000 this figure was 3.5%. The population is proportionally younger and has rejuvenated the city, which helps make it more competitive. This has happened at the same time as the local population has dropped as a result of moving to other municipalities, the same as in most global cities.

Competitiveness

The latest estimate of the The Economist’s competitiveness index mentioned above suggests that Barcelona comes below Madrid, in 41st place. In other dimensions, such as physical capital, it ranks among the best in the world (ahead of Madrid). As regards global appeal, it comes 9th, after New York (and ahead of Madrid, which comes 12th). One aspect to be improved is precisely the institutional aspect, in which Barcelona comes 50th. So Catalonia still has a lot of room for improvement. And this precisely is where Barcelona can improve if it is constituted as a state capital.
One of the dimensions to take into account is knowledge of English, which is better than in the rest of Spain. However, the level is still low and perhaps this is unfinished business in most Mediterranean cities. A global city has to speak a global language.

Life quality

Barcelona is ranked in an intermediate position in Europe for quality of life in the 2013 Eurobarometer survey.\(^4\) Even so, 42% say they are very satisfied with the city and 50% say they are fairly satisfied. For citizens, health and education are the main public services, but aspects in which Barcelona needs to improve are noise and safety.

Conclusions

Barcelona is a city that aspires to being global but still falls short of being a leading city in south-east Europe. Among its chief weaknesses is the institutional one arising from not being a state capital, with all that this involves.

A sovereign state would mean that Barcelona had a state government in the city and would therefore improve its capacity for influence and the possibility of self-government.

Similarly, being the capital of a Catalan state would open up the possibility of investments and, more important still, would involve a change in the model of country, with greater awareness of the city’s needs.

If Barcelona were a state capital it would have greater ability to react before tourist shocks, with the possibility of making regulations more flexible.

A state capital would attract more population from the rest of the world and would move up the ranks of global European cities.

Perhaps the main challenge is managing multiculturalism and avoiding an image as a traditional Spanish city. In this respect, it would be necessary to make room for the construction of a mosque (Barcelona is the only global city without a large Muslim place of worship) and promote the progress made in Spain in social rights before the present wave of conservatism. “Greater Barcelona” would have to continue activities to encourage businesses and cultural and scenic tourism as the focus of Catalonia’s ascent.

Barcelona as a global city is the chief asset Catalonia has for talking to the world without intermediaries.

Over the last three centuries, from when Catalonia ceased to be a sovereign state following the defeat of 1714, the city of Barcelona built itself up as a sort of substitute structure for the Catalan State that had been snatched away by Philip V of Spain.

Firstly, because of its size: in 1714 Barcelona had only 37,000 inhabitants (less than 10% of Catalonia’s total population), in 1798 it had already 130,000 (about 14%), 533,000 in 1900 (26%), a million in 1930 (36%), and so on. These figures helped to create a Catalonia with an outsize head. However, they also provided the country (which Spanish centralism wanted as a mere province) with a sufficiently strong demographic centre, a sufficiently rich and powerful concentration of economic activity and social dynamism, a focus of cultural creation and intellectual innovation with sufficient energy to face down and resist the will of Spanish officialdom in Madrid to reduce Catalonia’s status to a province.
In the case of mid- to small-sized nations (such as Denmark, Norway, Ireland or Holland), what use is it for them to have their own state? It preserves their linguistic and cultural identity, it places their nation on the world stage, and it allows an international presence both for its business and cultural interests. Over the past three hundred years, Barcelona has played the role that would have corresponded to a Catalan State; of course not with the same tools or resources, but with a degree of effectiveness without which Catalan culture would not have made it to the 21st century with the vitality it has today.

If Catalonia had had a smaller capital, lacking the industrial drive, the concentration of bourgeoisie and working class, and the ideological effervescence that the city of Barcelona has had, Catalan identity today would have a similar profile to that of Occitan, Breton or Welsh identity, and it would never have been able to challenge the centralism of the Spanish State. It is what was meant by the Francoist general that, on the morning of the 26th of January, 1939, looking down on Barcelona from the mountain of Collserola, stopped in silent contemplation of the great city and, finally, exclaimed in outrage: “But who is the traitor that has allowed this?”

In fact, whenever the world has fixed its eyes on Catalonia, it has done so through Barcelona or through events that have occurred there. It was the economic drive of the city that made the United States of America, in its infancy, open one of its first consulates there already in 1797; and which attracted the countries of Europe to attend the Universal Expositions of 1888 and 1929. It was the sociopolitical upheavals in Barcelona that filled the front pages of the international press in July of 1909 and the summer of 1936 as well. It was the successes of the Barcelona Olympic Games in organisation and sport, in 1992, that shone on televisions around the world, long before the exemplary and enormous civil mobilisations of the past few 11ths of September, Catalonia’s National Day.

With these historical precedents, what would it represent for Barcelona to become again the capital of a state? Predictions are always troublesome, but it is plausible to think that, free from the role of substitute it has had to take on for three centuries, the city could become a capital in a normal sense. In doing so, it would not lose any of its current attractions or attributes, but would be allowed to exercise its natural leadership in a less outsized way, more as a network, more in collaboration with other cities in Catalonia. It would be able to present itself on the world stage in a full and natural manner, without anything hiding or obscuring its thousand-year reality: that of being the centre of the life of the Catalan people.

To put it another way, Barcelona as the capital of a state would not need to publish the advertisements that the Catalan government had to place in the international press in July of 1992, which said: “Where is Barcelona? In Catalonia, of course.”
From Public Security to State Security: A New Model

Joan Delort
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The city of Barcelona offers and provides its citizens and visitors protection and security services aimed at ensuring their peace of mind, as well as amicable and peaceful coexistence; avoiding the victimisation of crime and risk exposure; and, should it be necessary, delivering a dedicated, swift and skilful response to the emergencies and incidents that could affect us individually and collectively, whatever their severity. All of this activity taken together, both in its preventive aspects (avoiding, anticipating) and its reactive aspects (quick response, administering palliative care) forms what is understood as public security.

At a different level of magnitude and priority there is state security. This entails protecting and ensuring the correct functioning of state institutions, with all their structures and infrastructures, institutional and international commitments, and the security of the state itself.

These are two spheres of security, each with their own dimensions. It is thus clear that the goals and objectives of each one are of a different nature, although the resources used to guarantee them – principally, the police – are shared.

In the Catalan process’ intense push for a consultation on independence, creating the possibility of Catalonia becoming a state, there have been many debates, articles and opinions concerning the nature of the consultation itself. Alongside those, smaller in scope in content, there has been a discussion about what an independent Catalonia would mean in concrete terms. Arguments have been put forth and discussed, many explanations and justifications of an economic nature, and others of a more ideological and emotional one. Public opinion, however, does not have access to much more than economic data. The public lacks a complete awareness of the possibilities that the building of a new state could open up for us – and should – in each and every sphere of common life; and it is these various possibilities that, at the end of the day, will in good measure justify the creation of a new state. There have been many papers and studies to that end, but focused as we are more on the attainment of near-term milestones, citizens as a whole don’t have access to all of the proposals and options that are being presented for a new state.

One could suppose (erroneously) that all that is needed is a transfer of the functions of the Spanish State to a new Catalan State, with all of the simplicity or complexity that that would entail. On the contrary, this shift will cause profound changes, both in the content and the manner of organising, structuring and carrying out state functions. One of these changes, security (which must guarantee a country where we can live freely and safely) has not been the object of significant debate. Perhaps with respect to security many think that it’s already complicated enough to consider so many changes, and that it’s sufficient to simply transfer the current model and take over the authority and functions of the Spanish State. In this approach, limited by not addressing the need for new means and more efficient models, it would be enough for the Generalitat, the Catalan Government, to assume the current functions of the Spanish Government and for its administration to carry them out. It would entail the Mossos d’Esquadra, the Catalan police, assuming and carrying out the functions belonging to the security forces of the Spanish State. In the end, seeing the Mossos at Barcelona’s port and airport could be the most visible sign of change, and little else. Along this line, would we also go get our identity cards and passports at one of the Mossos’ stations? Or the license to own a hunting rifle? We would have changed the uniforms and the buildings, but everything else – the country’s public security system, its structures, functioning and composition – would remain the same. Is that all the new Catalan State will offer its citizens, a change of uniforms?
The Security Model Currently in Force

An exhaustive analysis of the Spanish security system concludes, among other things, that the overlapping of police forces is expensive and inefficient, that the distribution of functions between different administrative authorities is unsatisfactory and needs improvement, and that the effort and expense of co-ordination and information-sharing systems are not justified by the results obtained.

In Catalonia, the Generalitat (with the Mossos d’Esquadra) and the municipal governments (with local police) are responsible for assuring basic and everyday police services. The Mossos, furthermore, carry out the specialised police activities of criminal investigation, fighting organised crime, terrorism, and maintaining public order. Security forces of the Spanish State exclusively carry out the function of fiscal oversight, control of arms and explosives, immigration services, monitoring and control of borders and the processing of identity cards and passports.

Thus the three levels of public administration (the State, the Generalitat and municipalities) have security functions, and at the same time they have at their disposal their own means to carry them out (police forces); however, in the case of municipalities, this is not entirely the case. In 213 municipalities – encompassing around 75% of the population of Catalonia – governments have their own local police force, which means that patrolling services are carried out by both the Mossos d’Esquadra and the local police. However, in the remaining 734 municipalities without local police, those services are provided exclusively by the Mossos. In the first group, local authorities have their own resource for addressing their citizens’ need for peace of mind and security; in the second, those needs must be addressed by a force that depends on another administration: the Mossos d’Esquadra.

Barcelona’s case is especially relevant for various reasons. It has a great weight for the whole country, since it serves as a barometer of its quality and it is its foremost representative at the international level. Furthermore, the municipality of Barcelona has at its disposal a local security force – the Guàrdia Urbana – with the most potential and operational capacity in the country. The Guàrdia Urbana and the Mossos d’Esquadra together form the highest standing concentration of police forces in one municipality.¹ If Barcelona’s security is compromised, Catalonia’s is as well.

Since the deployment of the Mossos d’Esquadra in Barcelona, in 2005, they have made important efforts to advance co-operation and co-ordination mechanisms, and to avoid the inevitable and expected dysfunction that arises from a model of overlapping jurisdictions. Information and systems are shared, and more recently procedures have been adopted to disseminate more quickly those requests that require an urgent police response, without regard to the police force that has responded first.

In the work leading up to the deployment of the Mossos in Barcelona, the Generalitat and the City Council agreed that the territorial deployment would respect the ten municipal districts and their administrative limits, and that in each one a commissary would be installed, following the model of deployment for the Guàrdia Urbana and allowing for each district to

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¹ The Guàrdia Urbana and Mossos d’Esquadra in Barcelona have nearly 6,000 individual police officers, about half in each force. Furthermore, the Mossos d’Esquadra deploy specialised forces when needed, principally from the Mobile Brigade.
dispose of municipal resources as well as police resources. This has facilitated and improved the co-operation between public services. At the same time, the Guàrdia Urbana and the Mossos d’Esquadra would have a centre for joint operations. Although it did not cease to be based on Spain’s model of overlapping jurisdictions, it was and has been a great advance. It does not, however, resolve the problems that are intrinsic to these models, here and around the world. They are more expensive (redundant police infrastructure), they require more back-office resources\(^2\) (those of each force), they necessarily duplicate management and planning structures. It is also difficult to incorporate into each administration a holistic view of conflicts and their causes. In some cases, this creates the possibility for approaches that are different and even, at times, contradictory. This kind of model can be effective (or not), but it is clearly inefficient.

Against the view that sees this model as inefficient, there are those who do not consider this important, and highlight the fact that the Police (in other words, the Mossos) should have a high level of operational capacity and technical quality in its most specialised functions. The local police (in this case, the Guàrdia Urbana), then, should focus almost exclusively on addressing problems of coexistence and traffic. This is an outdated and anachronistic view, completely removed from reality, and would be even worse for Barcelona. In the first place, it would be worse because a community’s security and peace of mind cannot be compartmentalised. It is not desirable that conflicts (both anticipating and preventing them, and intervening and resolving them) be cut into pieces, with different visions and separate responses. Secondly, and in Barcelona’s case specifically, can one imagine or desire that the Guàrdia Urbana cease to act in 28% of the crimes and misdemeanours in which it would currently intervene? Surely the result would be a damaged perception of security and increased victimisation.

**A New Model: One Territory, One Police**

“Efficient distribution of available resources, quality of public services, closeness to the community, optimisation of services...” Surely these are some of the principles one would require of public powers when making the transition toward the building of a new state; in other words, what its model (or system) of security should be. Is another model of policing desirable or possible? Is there another type that, with the same resources (or less) could improve territorial presence, response ability and be simpler and more efficient? Yes, clearly there is. The challenge is to provide ourselves with services that are high-quality and, at the same time, efficient. It would be a mistake to take for granted the current model and limit ourselves to a simple transfer.

This means that the Mossos should not automatically take over fiscal enforcement, control of arms and explosives, immigration services, monitoring of borders, and the provision of identity cards and passports – all those things that, until now, have been carried out by the Spanish State security forces – and thereby adopt them as the security and police model for Catalonia. What is needed is a complete rethinking of how best to adapt police services to the needs of the country and its citizens, to its diversity and territorial heterogeneity, and to guarantee the provision of police services that are comparable and equivalent throughout the territory. In its design and

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2. Police resources are considered to be “back office” when they are not related to the provision of services directly to the public: protection and maintenance of institutions, scientific police, prisoner transfers, information systems, command and planning units, etc.
construction, the model adopted for Barcelona is key. Effectively, in resolving the unknowns and uncertainties of a new security model for Barcelona, it would become clear what the best model for the whole of the country would be; and, at the same time, political, administrative and technical difficulties which need to be resolved would be tackled.

In my estimation, police functions should be assumed in their entirety by a single force, ensuring and establishing the mechanisms of oversight and management of the different territorial authorities (political, judicial and administrative). It is a new paradigm that resolves the complexity of models with multiple administrations and authorities and that avoids the maintenance of the same number of independent police services. Because the issue will arise, we should ask: Will Catalonia need the Mossos d’Esquadra and more than two-hundred local police forces, or is a simpler, more equitable and efficient model possible? Will Barcelona (and Catalonia) have to continue to deploy two police forces (the Guàrdia Urbana and the Mossos d’Esquadra) with their corresponding cost overruns and difficulties in co-ordination, or should it choose to deploy a single force throughout its territory? Designing and building something new requires one to look at the future unhindered. The country, as a whole, needs one high-quality, self-sufficient and efficient police force to provide services that are comparable and equivalent throughout its territory, including Barcelona. The current compartmentalisation of services goes in the opposite direction.

We need a police force to operate in all the functional spheres and able to adapt to the political, administrative and judicial agendas of the different Catalan administrations. It should be decentralised and dispersed at the local level, while establishing principles and procedures that permit local authorities to provide police services and participate in the planning, management and oversight of local security; inclusive co-responsibility in the public security for local authorities as well as the Generalitat; with a sole police force that assumes this responsibility to diverse political needs. It is not a new or outlandish proposal. Police models based on the principle of “one territory, one police” exist, as well as those of overlapping forces. The reforms of the police systems of the Netherlands and Belgium, at the end of the last century, were oriented along these lines, and with quite satisfactory results. They are similar but different models, both based on the overcoming of overlapping models, that have given way to a sole territorial police force. Probably, the one that has best overcome the overlapping model was Belgium, precisely because of the numerous forces that existed territorially and functionally on top of one another and with diverse responsibilities.

In Catalonia, the possibility of having a unified police force has never been on the political agenda, although in law enforcement circles some have commented on it. Seeing favourable and unfavourable opinions, one can sense that there could be a passionate debate, both in the realms of politics and law enforcement, stemming in part from reductive views held about security, the concept of authority and its functions, and the police as a public service. In other words, in the realm of local politics, it might be perceived as losing control of an instrument – the police – and how services will be provided by the new police, which depends financially and administratively on the government will not be clear. From the perspective of government policy it might be perceived negatively in a totally opposite sense: “we put the police in the hands of local authorities and we lose control of it”. In law enforcement, local police could see it as an opportunity for professional improvement (to serve in an integrated force) – and others could see it negatively
for the same reason. The Mossos d’Esquadra could see it as an opportunity for the country or an intrusion of local police that would take opportunities away from them.

The fundamental question, however, is not one of police, but rather which model (or system) we will want to take the place of the current one, following principles of efficiency and proximity that should mark our future. From this perspective, it is as important or more to adequately construct the security spheres of Government and local authorities as the police itself. If a police reform were implemented without resolving difficulties of a political nature, there would be no advancement. The unknowns of the equation are simpler to resolve than they might appear. Firstly, with respect to security; if we admit that it has various dimensions, as if we were speaking of map scales, from the level of the neighbourhood, village and city, through the region, to the more all-encompassing levels of the country or the world, it becomes clear that the approach to political functions must respond to these different scales as well. That is to say, in order for security authorities to act efficiently with regard to their proximity to what they must manage, they must also respond to this diversity of scales.

Local authorities (mayors) can manage that part of security which corresponds to their municipality (neighbourhood, district, village, city) and probably different areas related to the local level, but always with the ability to respond to the daily needs of the community. And the Government should have the responsibility to guarantee and oversee that the citizens of Catalonia receive security services that are comparable and equivalent throughout its territory, providing the instrument – that is to say, the police – to local officials. The instrument is the same; the security authorities, varied. The adaptation of the instrument – the police – to this model will not be simple, surely. The deployment of the Mossos d’Esquadra between 1994 and 2008, however, and the territorial model used would be a good starting point to improve on the present model. The incorporation of local police forces would significantly increase resources but also territorial bases (commissaries, police stations) in places where the Mossos currently have no presence beyond the patrols they carry out in their daily rounds. At the very least, the maintenance of the current infrastructure of local police and Mossos d’Esquadra at the municipal level would suppose an increase of local bases of the new police in 150 municipalities.

This proposal is especially significant in the case of Barcelona, a sole police force (the Catalan Police) deployed throughout the city, with wide prerogatives from the municipal government in the management and planning of the city’s security and the prioritising of services; a police force accountable to the Government of Catalonia and also, like any other police force, to judicial authority; and a concept of security that is not limited to crime and incorporates citizen coexistence and peace of mind as a good to be obtained, guaranteed and protected; a model, therefore, for a country and its capital.

The Problem of Police Provisions

Currently, Catalan public administrations (the Generalitat and municipal governments) have at their disposal some 28,000 police officers (Mossos d’Esquadra and local police). Furthermore, it is calculated that the Spanish government has deployed in Catalonia around 7,000 police officers from the Spanish State security forces (the Civil Guard and National Police), for a total of 35,000 police to carry out all police functions. The question is what number of police officers will be needed in a sovereign Catalonia. Will it be the same as now? It depends.
It is obvious that to carry out security functions not now provided by the Generalitat or municipal governments would require more police. The question is how many. The answer will depend on whether we limit ourselves to the transfer of the system currently in force, already described extensively, or if we build a new model. If the option is for a single force, we can affirm that the 28,000 Mossos and local police will be in good condition to carry out more functions and activities than they currently do. In no way, however, can it be assured that they will be able to take on all the new ones with a minimum standard of quality and service. More police will be needed, clearly, but with a ratio for the whole of the country of around four police officers per thousand inhabitants.\(^3\) We would then have some 32,000 police officers, significantly less than the 35,000 currently deployed. It will be necessary, then, to provide an increase of 4,000 police officers on top of those currently serving. That means rounds of hiring in which both new enlistment and the replacement of retiring officers from mature forces are taken into account.\(^4\)

In the case of Barcelona, will the capital of Catalonia have different security needs than it currently has? Will it need more police officers? The answer is simple: it will have to address new needs that are derived precisely from its being the capital of the State, as well as those it already addresses. Principally, these are international commitments to the protection of diplomatic legations, the assurance and protection of State infrastructure and the security of all the activities the State carries out in its capital. All these are not to be underestimated. They require a large quantity of permanent resources. And as in any capital, police provisions will fully exceed the average for the country. We must consider, however, that the main police infrastructure of the Generalitat (the headquarters of the Mossos d’Esquadra) is currently located in Sabadell. The main part of its centralised resources is located there, whereas in other countries it is normally located in the capital, which increases the ratio.\(^5\) With all these considerations, we can estimate the future police contingent of Barcelona at around 7,500 officers, which assumes a ratio of 4.65 officers per 1,000 inhabitants, adding some 1,500 police officers, which would mean a 25% increase.

Security Authority in Barcelona

Having defined the model’s main traits, the new security requirements that the new State’s capital will have, and a single police force as a concept, we should further define the function of security authority, which in this context will correspond to the Mayor of Barcelona and his or her relation to the security authorities of the Government. As I have described before, the police would be one organisation and would be financed by the Generalitat, but its security functions would continue to be spread among various authorities, both local and national.

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3. For years now, the ratio calculated for the whole of Spain is 4.5 police officers per 1,000 inhabitants, but it is calculated according to the overlapping model. In a model of a sole police force, the ratio must be somewhat lower.

4. Local police are demographically mature, with significant annual decreases through retirement and other reasons. The Mossos d’Esquadra have not yet arrived at their maturity and decreases, although they exist, are not significant.

5. The cities of Paris, London and Madrid have a ratio of more than 10 police officers per 1,000 inhabitants.
The municipal government cannot and will not be able to renounce its interests in the affairs that affect the community, because that forms part of its reason for being and the duties it has to its citizens, in particular, to guarantee coexistence in accordance with the principles that govern the city and respecting its history, culture, character and way of being; to resolve conflicts that take place in a big city, which also differ from one city to another; to face the challenges to security that concern the community or threaten the freedom of its citizens; and the design and management of a public space in which to live as a community.

Each and every one of these points forms part of the responsibility and capacity of the municipal government that it has acquired towards its citizens. It has the functions and the resources needed to face them and make them possible, and to understand security in the broadest sense. Precisely because of that, the municipal government must have at its disposal ample prerogatives in the design, direction and management of local security, which cannot be compartmentalised or separated.

The mayor must thus have the capacity to influence the selection of police commandment in Barcelona, plan police infrastructure and resources in the city, establish criteria for intervention in conflicts and prioritise and specify what degree of security and peace of mind will be implemented in each of the neighbourhoods and districts; in sum, a Barcelona actively engaged in the security and welfare of its citizens.
Former President and CEO of companies in the food, chemicals, distribution, corporate social responsibility, strategic consulting and advertising industries, among others.

He is currently a non-executive director for an industrial group, as well as investing on the US stock market.

He has been a member of the American Marketing Association since 1980, as well as member of the Academy of Management and the South Place Ethical Society.

Up until 1714 Barcelona was the capital of a multinational sovereign state, with all the corresponding key institutions in the political, legal and social spheres. The three hundred years that have passed since then have given the invading state a long time to suffocate us, but they have not succeeded in undermining the foundations of this subdued nation.
Barcelona was not the fruit of random or arbitrary decisions made “by the sword and the cross”, when territories and cities were shaped at whim, based on their current status and short-term interests.

Barcelona, with its location in the Mediterranean, was a maritime trading centre from the very beginning of merchant capitalism. The ravages of nature (epidemics in particular) could not halt expansion projects entirely, although this expansion was never intended to force others into submission, but rather to facilitate exchange and economic activity.

A thoroughly analytical approach to the facts shows that Barcelona had and continues to have the conditions objectively required of a capital, the capital of a nation that was taken by force.

When Barcelona fell, so too did the city’s “Constitutions”, full of detailed guidelines, based on experience, showing the world view of Barcelona’s citizens, and by extension all Catalans (the city’s “Weltanschauung”).

However, even after oppression, successive “castilianisation” measures, the destruction of entire districts in the city to build a fortress (the “Ciutadella”) that frightened the population, indiscriminate bombardments from the Montjuïc castle to remind citizens who was in charge, and the brutal killing of civilians by the fascists during the Civil War, the people of Barcelona did not falter. The Catalan way of life, so brilliantly described by Ferrater Móra, continued with the same spirit of their parents before them, and which in turn was handed down by previous generations.

In anthropological terms, this mix of “continuity, common sense, measure and irony” has always been our last defence against any attempt to turn our capital into a purely administrative city. Barcelona has always found ways to overcome attacks from enemies with more resources. These traits were the reason why the progressive plan, carried out by the Commonwealth of Catalonia, for improvements in the fields of science, education and technology, was so successful, and even Primo de Rivera’s coup could not quash it. They were the reason why heads of industry sent their sons to England to learn new trades and bring their knowledge back to the city, sparking a small Industrial Revolution (scorned by the exploiting classes) that turned Barcelona into the factory of Spain. They were the reason why new technologies did not catch entrepreneurs off guard, and why this group quickly connected to new sources of knowledge.

Barcelona has always has worked for its wealth. It is a pragmatic, practical city, more Calvinist than Catholic, that does not give up until it has achieved its goals. Mark Twain’s famous quote fits Barcelona, which does not have any natural resources, as he said: “They didn’t know it was impossible, so they did it.”

Now all we need to is cut ourselves loose, construct or finish the infrastructure we need (road networks, rail services, ports, airports, etc.) and follow the path laid down for us by history.

We know how to create wealth. Now we have to manage it properly. The efforts of so many mean that our cause is well-known. We will have to make certain adjustments to change our position in certain aspects. But, above all, we have to promote the idea that Barcelona and Catalonia work together in tandem, and that Barcelona is the capital of the newly recovered state.

This is a great challenge, and the core component of our strategy. Barcelona needs Catalonia, just as Catalonia needs Barcelona. Central and local governments must work together like a well-oiled machine, so as not to fall into the problems of centralised states. We cannot falter on this historic occasion. And this is perhaps our last, and best opportunity. The thing is that, even though Catalonia stopped being a state, Barcelona never stopped being a capital.
Barcelona: from a European capital to the capital of a country

Martí Estruch Axmacher
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Introduction

For years now Barcelona has played in the first division of world cities and it features in the top positions of a wide variety of rankings - tourist, economic, scientific production and so on. If we were to set a date, we would probably agree that the Olympic Games in 1992 not only changed the urban shape of the city, but also gave it a place in the world. Today, Barcelona is among the top ten European cities that everyone wants to visit at some time or another, whether for business or leisure purposes. Most of these cities are national capitals such as London, Paris and Berlin; however others, like Amsterdam and Milan, are not. Outside Europe, New York is the model for non-national capitals. Barcelona is now ready to move from the second group to the first.

How will Catalan independence impact the internationalisation of Barcelona? What benefits will it gain? Will it bring detrimental aspects too? Will Barcelona as state capital be very different to the city that we all know? Will it be filled with corporate headquarters and delegations of official cars? Will it host yet more conferences and cruises? Will global organisations locate their headquarters there? The following paper aims to answer these questions, starting from a clear premise: Barcelona already behaves like a European capital and a global capital. We now need to see what the impact will be of also being the capital of an internationally-recognised country that forms part of the EU.
Current situation

From an international perspective, the position of the Catalan capital is excellent. The Barcelona brand is recognised worldwide and it is the most powerful city in southern Europe. According to the Barcelona Observatory 2014 report, prepared jointly by Barcelona City Council and the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce, it ranks as the 7th city in the world with strong future prospects, ahead of Berlin and Amsterdam. Every year, this report compares the Catalan capital with major cities of the world, from a set of economic and social indicators taken from official sources and grouped into six areas: business, knowledge, tourism, sustainability and quality of life, prices and costs, and the labour market and training. Barcelona moved up fifteen places in two years and is notable for matters such as business, tourism and global brand.

The city is among the top ten worldwide in terms of key aspects for doing business; and data from various indicators show positive improvements over previous years. In this, it is one of the better performing cities, coming 3rd in Europe according to the prestigious Financial Times. Furthermore, consulting firm KPMG put Barcelona at number ten in the world in 2013 in terms of inward foreign investment for new sites - itself an improvement on 2012. The Spanish Ministry of the Economy maintains that foreign investment into Catalonia in 2014 has dropped 60% compared with the previous year. However, this is due to the investment being calculated according to the location of companies' headquarters, which in most cases is Madrid, rather than where the investment is made, which very often is in Catalonia. Recent projects in Barcelona include those by US corporates Alphanumeric, which set up a customer service centre creating seventy jobs, and eBay, which expanded its presence with a hundred additional jobs.

In terms of the number of international conferences, Barcelona hosts 179, making it number 4 in the world, behind Paris, Madrid and Vienna; these include well-renowned events such as the World Mobile Congress. With regard to tourism, in 2013 - for the first time - Barcelona surpassed 7.5 million tourists staying in hotels, most (80%) of whom came from international markets. The airport at El Prat remains among the European top ten based on passenger numbers (35.2 million), while the port has become number 1 in Europe and number 4 globally in terms of cruise passengers. Barcelona is a green and sustainable city, recognised as the 4th smart city in Europe, and achieved 6th place in the world as a top global brand. With regard to knowledge, the city is placed 5th for scientific production in Europe and 11th worldwide, and technological patents are increasing significantly. With regard to aspects such as training and work, Barcelona stands out for having two of the top ten business schools in Europe. Meanwhile its universities are increasing the percentage of workers with university education throughout Catalonia.

A state that is for or against

These and other indicators demonstrate the city’s good situation on the chessboard of international metropolises. So what will it mean for Barcelona if it moves from being a non-state capital to being a state capital? In international relations, we might expect that there will be no radical changes. The mayor of Barcelona will continue to lead trade missions to China; Barcelona Markets will maintain its network of contacts with markets around the world; and Guàrdia Urbana (city police) governors will continue to participate in international forums and share successful
case studies with other foreign police forces, to give just a few examples. It is clear though that we will notice a lot more in Catalonia, which will suddenly change political status from “Spanish region” to “sovereign state”, with all that that entails. In football terms, it would be like Catalonia being promoted from regional third division to second division. Not, though, to the first division, because - let’s not kid ourselves - that is for G20 countries, which Catalonia will not be part of.

Barcelona itself, however, will not be “promoted” because it is already in the right position. However, staying with the football metaphor, something much more important will happen: the city will no longer have a referee who always calls against it. Cities like Paris and London are great cities in themselves, but it is also clear that part of their prestige and potential is due to them being state capitals. Major infrastructure - airports, museums, ministries, public body headquarters and so on - tend to be concentrated in the capital. These cities benefit legitimately from the political, economic and social influence that their status gives them. In the case of Barcelona, however, the current situation is the reverse: not only does the Spanish State not give Barcelona the political, economic and social influence that it grants to Madrid, too frequently it does its best to take it away.

The case of the high-speed train network and the route of the Mediterranean corridor are particularly wounding decisions recently made by the Spanish State that clearly harm the Catalan economy, and which have been recognised and denounced for years by the country’s business class. There are many more and equally important examples, of course, such as the slowness of building road and (especially) rail access to the port of Barcelona, which jeopardises the investment of Chinese company Hutchinson; and AENA’s non-interest in turning El Prat airport into an international hub. Economists like Ramon Tremosa and Germà Bel have studied this in detail and have written entire books on the matter. These deficits in basic infrastructure for the city and for the economy of Catalonia are unthinkable in a Barcelona that is state capital. The Spanish State, which follows a highly centralised and radial model, concentrates everything in Madrid. It is not like that everywhere. In countries with a genuinely federal tradition such as Germany, this feature is much less intense. There, for example, the country’s largest airport is Frankfurt, which on the other hand has a decentralised management model involving regional and local governments.

Another example of German federalism: the headquarters of an important organisation as is the Constitutional Court is in Karlsruhe. In Spain, however, the decision to move the headquarters of an organisation like CMT (the Telecommunications Market Commission), from Madrid to Barcelona, as agreed in 2004 between Pasqual Maragall and Rodríguez Zapatero, caused a genuine political stir. What could be considered as a demonstration of decentralisation had developed into a court battle. Fewer still had welcomed the possible relocation of the headquarters of Endesa following a takeover bid of Gas Natural in 2005. The president of the Community of Madrid, Esperanza Aguirre, even said that it would be bad news for the headquarters to move out of the “national territory”, while others said they would prefer a German Endesa over a Catalan one.

Therefore, in the minds of many Spanish Government political leaders, of either colour, past and present, Barcelona is not part of the “national territory” and is not therefore a priority target for investment. Nor is it a candidate for locating the headquarters of its organisations, whether national or international. As capital of an independent state and given the disappear-
ance of the current fiscal deficit, this situation would be reversed and an issue as fundamental as infrastructure could be resolved positively in a relatively short space of time. The port, airport, Zona Franca free-trade zone, the Fira exhibition centre and Mercabarna could fully develop their logistical and economic potential and create a new production model for the future. With this updated infrastructure and a healthy economy, foreign investment and installation of new multinationals form part of a much more likely scenario than the doomsday scenarios being announced today by certain malicious voices. The city would also benefit from the state quota of events and international organisations that corresponds to a country the size of Catalonia, similar to Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Austria; although, let’s not forget, more appealing geographic, climate and market conditions than those countries.

Some scenarios for the future

Barcelona is today the world’s 4th non-state capital city in terms of consular representation, behind Hong Kong, New York and Hamburg. There are 98 consulates, which are key players in establishing bilateral relations with the respective states. In an internationally-recognised independent Catalonia, these consulates will automatically become embassies, with an expected increase of working personnel and in a few cases perhaps with a change of location. The embassies will incorporate commercial, tourist and cultural offices, with the increased activity and corresponding dynamism that will mainly affect Barcelona. From a geostrategic point of view, the most important embassies will be, first, those of France and Spain; second, Germany and Portugal; and third, Mediterranean countries such as Morocco, Israel and Turkey. If we incorporate economic and commercial aspects, we should add to the list countries like Japan, China, Brazil and Russia. These embassies will be responsible for collaborating with the future Catalan Ministry for Foreign Affairs during visits by heads of state, which will sporadically fill Barcelona with flags and official delegations.

Like any other sovereign state, Catalonia will be entitled to participate, with greater or lesser influence and more or less directly, in large supranational organisations and become a player in international relations, whether in the European Union, the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund or NATO. In addition to taking part in these, it will be able to put itself forward, with more options than it can currently, as the candidate location for these organisations’ European headquarters or sector offices. Not all offices are in Brussels, Strasbourg and Geneva. The European regional office of the World Health Organisation (WHO), for example, is in Copenhagen, and it has a small branch in Barcelona: the Office for Health Systems Strengthening. With a professionally managed airport and as the hub for southern Europe, Barcelona will have all the necessary elements to accommodate any of these headquarters. Currently, the only top-level international headquarters in Barcelona that of the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM), in Palau de Pedralbes; this has considerable future potential if the tense situation in the Middle East calms down some day.

In fact, for a few months now, Barcelona has had a place where certain important international organisations have already started moving in. Namely, the remodelled Barcelona-Sant Pau Modernist Centre, a unique place in the world which opened last February. Currently located there are Casa Asia, the European Forest Institute (EFI), the Global University Network for Innovation (GUNI), the Secretariat of the Global Water Operators’ Partnerships Alliance (GWOPA),
the aforementioned WHO Office for Health Systems Strengthening, the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT) Profiling Programme for Resilient Cities Profiles, and the United Nations University (UNU) Institute on Globalisation, Culture and Mobility. Aware of the opportunities and synergies that can be created in this environment, the Government of the Generalitat has prepared a law to strengthen it. The final reinforcement will come, however, when Catalonia is a sovereign state and when there will be no lack of suitors for the pavilions that remain empty. There are also international bodies outside Sant Pau, such as United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), a network of cities and local and regional governments in Ciutat Vella.

Barcelona also hosts a number of Catalan bodies that are notable for their international activity. IEMed (European Institute of the Mediterranean), the CIDOB, DIPLOCAT (Public Diplomacy Council of Catalonia), ICIP (International Catalan Institute for Peace) and PEN Català are obvious examples, but there are many more, given the city’s long Europeanist tradition and tradition of looking beyond Catalonia’s borders. Many are grouped under FOCIR (the Federation of Internationally Recognised Catalan Organisations). The activity of this set of organisations in an independent Catalonia would only increase, with a Catalan Ministry of Foreign Affairs also being responsible for promoting Catalonia in the world, with of course an expanded budget.

One area in which the predicted budget increase could be particularly notable is research and innovation. The economic crisis has partially slowed the rapid, positive development of centres and programmes such as ICREA which the Catalan government launched a dozen years ago. As shown in grants from the European Research Council along with other indicators such as scientific publications and patents, Catalonia has positioned itself as an avant-garde location. This is especially true in the field of biomedicine and biotechnology, with the BioCat cluster being a flagship as well as internationally renowned centres like the PRBB (Barcelona Biomedical Research Park), the CRG (Centre for Genomic Regulation) and IDIBAPS (Pi y Sunyer Biomedical Research Institute). Other centres and facilities that now contribute to the internationalising of Barcelona, and which could do so further in the future if more resources are available, are the ICFO (Institute of Photonic Science) in Castelldefels, the MareNostrum supercomputer of the Barcelona Supercomputing Centre (BSC) and, not far from the city, the ALBA Synchrotron in Cerdanyola.

As for major world events, which are often sporting in nature, independence for Catalonia will open a new window of opportunity for its capital. Indeed, after overcoming a predictably brief first phase, when the economy will need to be consolidated and show the world that the country can respond as it had before to major logistical challenges, Catalonia will reset the counter to zero when aspiring to host a World Cup, a Universal Expo or the Eurovision Song Contest (to give three examples at different levels). The obvious exception is the Olympic Games, which are hosted in cities and where Barcelona has already had occasion to dazzle the world in 1992. The city has now chosen however to bid for the 2026 Winter Olympics, with a plan that has already been put together. It is impossible to know whether independence for Catalonia would favour or prejudice this bid, as the route to Olympic diplomacy is very complex. Just as the bid was moved from 2022 to 2026, the option to delay until 2030 will always be there. There is no need to emphasise the economic impact of such events, with millions being spent across multiple industries and the creation of thousands of jobs for some years in advance. Added to this direct impact is the priceless publicity in terms of tourism and brand image.
The challenge for the country’s brand is one that Catalonia will have no choice but to deal with after independence. Until now, it has not been satisfactorily resolved, for a number of reasons that are too complicated to analyse here. Each country has symbols, monuments and cuisine that characterise and project the country internationally. Some cities also have a well-defined and established brand and it is clear that Barcelona is one of these. The combination of Gaudi and Barcelona FC makes it a very powerful brand that is hard to beat. That Gaudi and Barça (among others) are what is most associated with the city can be seen from a Google search of images associated with Barcelona. However, the same search using the word “Catalonia” brings up a mixture of images that illustrates that there is still work to be done. Plenty of castles and cuisine, but surely the smartest and simplest thing is to accept that Barcelona is the most appealing element of the Catalonia brand. In any case, creating synergies and harmonious coexistence between the two brands is a clear challenge for the future, not to mention the present.

Conclusion

With Catalonia’s independence, the internationalising of Barcelona will only increase. Today, Barcelona is already, on its own merits and without being a state capital, a highly prominent place among European and world cities. This can be seen across a range of reliable rankings and indicators. Barcelona has reached this position despite being part of a state as centralised as Spain, which focuses its investment and organisational headquarters in Madrid. Furthermore, in a sector of the economy as strategic as infrastructure, there are obvious signs that Spain has, for political reasons, damaged Catalan business interests. In an independent Catalonia, the country’s major infrastructure such as the airport, port, and road and rail access, would allow Barcelona to fulfil its logistical and economic potential and become a great centre that connects the world with southern Europe and a centre for exchanging goods with emerging countries.

Catalonia has never considered the Pyrenees as a natural barrier, but as a bridge to a Europe that has often allowed it be at the forefront of social and cultural trends. As a sovereign state, fully exercising its powers and resources, and being part of the European Union and internationally recognised, the symbiosis with the rest of the continent will be easier and more fruitful than ever. Barcelona is destined to become a metropolis that is as attractive as it is influential; the headquarters location for multinational companies and international organisations. The recently-opened Barcelona-Sant Pau Modernist Centre offers these companies and organisations a unique and exceptional location. Without a fiscal deficit, Catalan organisations engaged in international relations will have more resources to carry out their work and the great biomedical research centres in Barcelona will be able to compete globally.

With its powerful and well-defined brand, Barcelona has long been a European capital. Being the capital of an independent state will not only automatically help to build Catalonia’s brand but will also clear the way to it becoming a world capital.
Barcelona has never been the capital of a modern state. It has been the capital of a medieval kingdom, though, and also the capital of a Renaissance kingdom and then Baroque, subject to a polisinodial monarchy that systematically suppressed it. Nor has it much less been the capital of an independent industrial state. But it has always been the capital of its country. It is a unique situation that is reflected in the city’s urban configuration. It has numerous notable public buildings, and even royal palaces, but lacks the characteristic eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century architecture of a capital. This architecture (neo-classical royal palaces, parliaments and national assemblies, government offices, ministries, etc.), with great pomp and unobtrusively, is present in Paris and Amsterdam, in Madrid, London and Budapest, but not in Barcelona.

Ildefons Cerdà’s splendid nineteenth century avenue of Cerdà accentuated this phenomenon by deploying an equal and isotropic city that shunned the Champs de Mars, representative palaces and avenues for parades. A great city, a small capital.
Barcelona has made the best of its condition. It is a different, warm and very attractive city. It is enough to see the overwhelming number of visitors it receives each year. Some of its features are indisputable competitive advantages in the new situation as a capital which it will presumably have to bear, but it is advisable for it also to be aware of the inherent limitations. The functions of capital of a modern European state require urban elements that Barcelona still lacks. Some are physical elements, others are functional systems. It must soon be provided with both and also skillfully exploit the advantages it already has.

As a state capital, Barcelona should be governed differently. It will have to resolve its domestic urban challenges, whether they might be urban, economic or environmental in nature, but it also needs to address national challenges. The world must be looked at differently, because Barcelona will not represent itself, but the whole of Catalonia; it always has done, but by default. As the capital, it will have to do so proactively. Three decades of Catalan autonomy will have represented a timid rehearsal of this new role. To be clear, the administrative consulates will become political embassies and the Government departments will become ministries. We will have to invent space to host international organizations, as well as new corporate headquarters.

This will force an old unresolved question to be addressed once and for all: how will we call Barcelona? The municipality of the city has long been functionally full. Where will the new functions reside? The Plaça de Sant Jaume can accommodate the city council, but not the State Government (with the Generalitat alone, only the Presidency is housed there ...). Barcelona municipal area only covers 100 km² (the non-urban half in the Collserola hills) and is home to 1.6 million inhabitants; the real city extends for 633 km² in the metropolitan area, where 3.2 million people live. The capital of the new state will be this area, it cannot be otherwise. The current thirty-six municipalities of the metropolitan area could form the new Barcelona Federal District which the new Catalonia would need.

A Federal District (DF) of 3.2 million inhabitants for a state of 7.5 million in an area of 32,000 km²: these are modest dimensions. Its relevance should be, as it is today, more qualitative than quantitative. So this Barcelona DF will have to be a medium-sized capital in a great small territory, with a port and an airport on a European scale. Materially it already has these, but then they will be able to operate as such. It should be an efficient city, because the times call for this and because its limited space requires it; efficient in land use and in the use of resources.

It has already begun to move in this direction, but will have to excel. I think it could become a global benchmark for urban efficiency and equity. It would be precisely a good way to assume the role of a capital. By making a virtue of necessity, it can lead this advanced urban design. If it does, it will have found its way to an important position in the world, to feel comfortable in its own skin and to draw the Catalan socioeconomic carriage. This is what the capital of a 21st century independent Catalonia must be.
Barcelona, capital of the city of Catalonia?

Ramon Gomis
Doctor and researcher in endocrinology
Any attempt to address this question should keep in mind the state we are discussing. It would be possible to create a centralised state along the lines of French and Spanish models, or we could consider a more decentralised structure, as they have in Germany. In addition to the model for the state, it is also important to consider the possible challenges that lie ahead for Barcelona as the capital of Catalonia, which are key considerations for organising the future state.

The first challenge is economic. It is hard to ignore the fact that Barcelona would be not just the financial capital of Catalonia, but also of a future state in southern Europe. In this sense there are already some key aspects in the city’s favour, as it is the location of the headquarters of two major banking corporations that, in a new state, would take on a more international dimension. However, I am convinced that the economic and social model that Barcelona should advocate for is a clear commitment to meritocracy throughout Catalonia, maximising the potential of research and innovation with an understanding that these are the cornerstones of a competitive state, not only within Europe, but around the world. Barcelona has already taken steps in this direction, but further action is needed to recognise this objective as the backbone of a future Catalan state.

With the foundations of significant financial clout and a great capacity for creativity, Barcelona, as the state capital, has the potential to compete against other European cities, especially in areas such as trade fairs, economic and social events, and conferences. Being the state capital should not be seen as a handicap, and, on the contrary, it would provide the boost needed for the city’s airport to become an intercontinental hub, and would promote the port as a centre for trade in the western Mediterranean.

The second challenge is social and cultural. The country, Catalonia, would not be content with Barcelona as the capital of a new state if it proved unable to invigorate the rest of the country. The clear goal would be to establish a decentralised model, and, without minimising Barcelona’s potential as a capital, ensuring the city would be generous with other areas of the country, so that they too could become important centres for social, cultural, and economic growth. This means that Barcelona must be firmly committed to decentralisation, without wanting to become a mega-city like other cities around the world after becoming the capital of a new state. Aiming for high-quality growth and added value, rather than simply growth for its own sake, as well as avoiding internal migration that could compromise the social cohesion in Barcelona. If this were the plan, the next step would be to encourage the cultural industry to reach a critical mass, encouraging international talent to boost the sector. As the capital of a new state as opposed to the capital of a state province, we would be more capable of dealing with unlimited migration from abroad. Of course, this would not be anything new for the city, or anything that it had not already experienced over the course of its history.

However, the challenge is still a difficult one: combining the necessary economic, cultural and social balance with the rest of the country, building the structure of a decentralised country and maximising potential, while also opening up to the world as a state capital, and becoming an urban reference point in twenty-first century Europe. The process in itself is a challenge.

Nonetheless, the people in this country want to see imaginative solutions to build a better future for future generations of Catalans and, of course, for the citizens of Barcelona.
Barcelona and the urban macrocephaly Challenges and threats for the new capital

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Introduction

Barcelona and its conurbation make up a huge urban conglomeration. Over 1.6 million people currently live in the city, in addition to whom another 1.6 million live in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area and a further 1.8 million live in the so-called Àmbit Metropolità de Barcelona [literally “metropolitan sphere”]. Combined they represent just over 10% of the total area of Catalonia but hold two-thirds of the country’s population. A territory that has an unbalanced structure, for reasons beyond the scope of this study, with a large network of densely populated urban centres in contrast to the rest of the country, where rural spaces prevail.

The problems associated with this urban macrocephaly in Barcelona, the capital of an autonomous region (AR), have not come to the surface. This has probably been due to the limited power acquired by the ARs and the presence of provincial councils with less tightly regulated budgets than those of other bodies below central government in the Spanish State. Madrid’s aggressive policies towards Catalonia over the last few years may have helped to put an end to all that.

The attainment of a Catalan State, however, would create a new and entirely different scenario. Today’s grievances against Madrid would disappear and the new capital of the Catalan State, Barcelona, would acquire a series of new powers (see the book’s other chapters for an idea of how Barcelona could be transformed) that might well open up lines of conflict between the new decision-making centre and the rest of the country.

So, this article will assess the extent to which the new concentration of powers in Barcelona would represent a threat, as well as the possible political criteria and decisions for preventing that threat. The chapter is structured as follows: the section below presents data on population distribution in Catalonia for the purposes of then comparing the Catalan case with others on a European and an international level. The following section will examine two cases that may serve as models for Barcelona and Catalonia: the Netherlands and Austria. The final section will offer a brief summary of the article’s conclusions.

The Catalan case

The debate over the Catalan territorial model is by no means recent. Jaume Alzina and Josep Antoni Vandellós had already raised, during the pre-war period, the issue of the low birth rate among the native population and the consequent depopulation of the Catalan countryside it was causing (Nel·lo, 1991), in contrast to the large influx of immigrants to Barcelona and its environs, in response to industrialisation and the functional specialisation of the various parts Catalonia (Giral i Lluch Carreras, 1971).

It was Josep Iglésies (1961) who first described this population concentration as a “macrocephaly” in what could be understood as “the problem of the concentration of political power resulting” —in a representative political system— “from the concentration of a large part of the Catalan population in the Barcelona area” (Nel·lo, 1991: 85). This concept stems from “the confirmation of the large relative weight that the city of Barcelona (and its metropolitan area) has in the whole of Catalonia”, and which “would be harmful [...] to the rest of the country’s potential
for development, to the functioning of that densely concentrated area and even to the cultural and political development of Catalonia itself” (ibidem: 83).

The problems arising from this macrocephalic country model never overstepped the confines of academic debate. It is probably because of the costly development of the regional autonomy process that the territorial debate has focused almost exclusively on the disjuncture between Barcelona and Madrid, rather than between Barcelona and the rest of the country. However, in an independent Catalonia, the former would gradually disappear from the map, whereas the latter could potentially come to the surface.

**Figure 1. Population distribution in Catalonia**

In any event, the country’s demographic conditions suggest a scenario where such a territorial conflict is a real possibility. Catalonia had a total population of 7,553,650 in 2013, of whom 1,611,822 (21.3% of the total population) lived in the city of Barcelona (0.3% of the total area). The figures for urban concentration, however, go well beyond the city: as many as 2.3 million people live in the immediate surroundings, the Barcelonès comarca [county], which represents a mere 0.4% of the total land area; 3.2 million people live in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area, comprising 36 municipalities around Barcelona and representing 2% of the country’s land area; and as many as 5 million people, 66% of Catalonia’s population, live in the seven counties mak-

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2. See Casassas (1977) and Roca (1980) for further information on the origins and evolution of the debate over the capital’s role in the country’s development during the first years following the restoration of democracy.

3. Data provided by the Catalan Statistics Institute (IDESCAT). Available at: www.idescat.cat.
ing up the Àmbit Metropolità de Barcelona, which covers 10% of the country. Outside this area, only the three other provincial capitals and Reus that have a number of inhabitants comparable to that of the main cities in the Àmbit Metropolità.

Figure 1 shows the population distribution in Catalonia by municipality. The map shows us this is clearly a macrocephalic country, with a surrounding metropolitan area that is much more densely populated than the rest of the country. The municipalities shown in darker colours are in the central Barcelona strip and its most immediate environs, as well as on the Catalan coast. Only in the areas round Lleida and Girona are there Population concentrations approaching those in the vicinity of Barcelona.

Of course, this figure does not allow us to identify with sufficient accuracy the scale of this urban domination that Barcelona and its surroundings have over the rest of the country. Figure 2 shows a cartogram of Catalonia, with the population data providing the basis for showing the size of each municipality. In this new map we can clearly see the magnitude of Barcelona compared to the rest of the country —six times more densely populated than the second largest city, Hospitalet de Llobregat— and how the Àmbit Metropolità de Barcelona ultimately shapes this large macrocephaly.

Figure 2. Cartogram of Catalonia

Undoubtedly, as we have already pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, the attainment of a Catalan State (with Barcelona as its capital) would, perhaps gradually, settle the ongoing grievances with Madrid and Spain’s central government. The country would have to assume a whole series of new powers presently exclusive to Madrid, and Barcelona would become a new and strong centre of power. Looking beyond the hypothetical territorial organisation of the more or less decentralised new State, we need to consider the extent to which this new structure could pose a threat to “territorial peace”. To answer this question, in the next section we shall focus on the extent to which this urban macrocephaly represents an anomaly in the European and international context.

**Capitals and states around the world**

The size of a state, in terms of population, is a key factor when it comes to explaining the percentage of the population that lives in its capital. To be more specific, the percentage of people living in the capital is much higher in smaller states than it is in larger ones. On the one hand, for example, we have Latvia, a country with 2 million inhabitants, where 36% of the population live in the capital, Riga, or Ireland, with 4.5 million inhabitants, where 23% live in Dublin. On the other hand, we have big states such as Indonesia, with 250 million inhabitants, where only 4% live in the capital, Jakarta, or China with 1.2 billion inhabitants, of whom only 1.5% live in the capital, Beijing.

![Figure 3. Population and percentage of inhabitants resident in the country's capital](image)

Where does the percentage for the inhabitants of Catalonia living in the capital (21.3%) stand in comparative terms? Figure 3 shows the negative relationship between a state’s population (on the horizontal axis) and the percentage of people living in its capital (on the vertical axis). The black point marks Barcelona’s position with respect to Catalonia. As the graph demonstrates,

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5. The population variable has been transformed through its logarithm, given that the relationship between percentage of inhabitants of the capital and the State’s population is not only linear but gradually lessens as we approach high population values.
the percentage for Catalonia (21.3%) is higher than the percentages for most countries with a similar sized population, though lower than the percentages for some states such as Jordan, 40% of whose 6.6 million inhabitants are concentrated in the capital, Amman, or the extreme case of the city-state of Singapore, where almost all its 5.4 million inhabitants live in the capital. There are even examples of countries with bigger populations and higher percentages of inhabitants in their capitals: 28.7% of Chile’s 17.7 million inhabitants and 27.5% of Peru’s 30.8 million inhabitants.

Is Catalonia, then, the odd one out on the European continent? Once again the data, albeit on the upper part of the fork, show that there are many similar cases to the Catalan one within Europe itself. More specifically, 20.5% of Austria’s population (8.5 million inhabitants) are concentrated in Vienna and as many as 22.4% of Sweden’s population (9.7 million inhabitants) live in Stockholm. Many of the countries with larger populations are over the Catalan threshold.

Equally interesting, in comparative terms, are the cases of capitals that are not the most populated cities in the state. A few well-known examples include Washington, D.C. in the USA, Ottawa in Canada and Brasília in Brazil. Table 1 shows some more, not so well-known, which highlight how the practice of choosing small cities as capitals is relatively common. The first and second columns state the country and its capital, while the third column shows the capital’s position, in terms of population, compared to the rest of the state.

Two interesting conclusions regarding the case that concerns us here can be drawn from Table 1. First, that many of the countries applying this type of practice are former British colonies (the names of Commonwealth members are suffixed here with an “a” in superscript) and second, that this practice is not at all usual in Europe, if we ignore the microstates and particular case of the Swiss Confederation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>País</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Canberra</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>Porto-Novo (official) / Cotonou (administrative)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>Sucre (official) / La Paz (administrative)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Brasilia</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>Naypyidaw</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>Yaoundé</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Quito</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>New Delhi</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>Yamoussoukro (official) / Abidjan (administrative)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>Astana</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liechtenstein</td>
<td>Vaduz</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>La Valletta</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>Rabat</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Abuja</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>Islamabad</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Manila</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Marino</td>
<td>San Marino</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Pretoria (official, administrative and executive),</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cape Town (legislative), Bloemfontein (judicial)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Khartoum</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Bern</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>Dodoma (official) / Dar es Salaam (administrative)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Ankara</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>Hanoi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a: Commonwealth members.*

So, we can conclude from our comparative analysis that, even though Catalonia, given the size of its population, would have a capital with a population percentage higher than both the European and international averages, there are geographically close cases with very similar data (e.g. Sweden and Austria). We have also seen how the practice of choosing a secondary city as the capital is unusual within Europe.
Case analysis

This section will analyse two cases of European countries that may provide a model for understanding how an independent Catalonia could approach the phenomenon of urban macrocephaly. Before we start, we ought to point out that the existence of this phenomenon is an idiosyncratic fact in every country and that its solution does not lie in the “transfer” of people from the more populated areas to the less populated parts of the country. We are going to begin by presenting a case that is the very opposite of urban macrocephaly, to see how they manage population dispersion with a structure where the population is suitably spread round the country. That case is the Netherlands. We will then look at Austria, whose population and capital are similar in size to Catalonia’s.

The Netherlands

With a population of 16.9 million inhabitants, the Netherlands offers a model of territorial dispersion. The country’s capital and most populated city, Amsterdam, has just under 750,000 inhabitants, while Rotterdam and The Hague, second and third in population size, have 589,000 and 475,000 habitants, respectively. After these three, as many as 25 cities (5.4% of the total number of municipalities) have over 100,000 inhabitants and 394 (86%) over 10,000. Figure 5 shows the distribution of the country’s population.

In view of these features, it has not been difficult for the Netherlands to prevent a concentration of power in Amsterdam. In fact, the institutional design itself made Amsterdam the country’s capital long ago, with The Hague as the seat of the Dutch parliament, government and main
judicial institutions. Rotterdam, given its strategic situation at the mouth of the Rhine and Maas rivers, has become Europe’s most important port and the second most important in the world, after Shanghai. Outside the Amsterdam - The Hague - Rotterdam axis, the country also has sizeable urban concentrations in the south (Eindhoven and Maastricht), west (Nijmegen and Enschede) and north (Groningen).

With its population distribution and three capitals — official, politico-administrative and economic — the Netherlands offers a case that is certainly far removed from Barcelona’s macrocephaly. Even so, the decentralisation of certain centres of power can give us an initial idea of organisation of the future Catalan State. We will look at that later.

Austria

The Austrian case, as we have seen in the section above, is much closer to the Catalan. Austria is a country with a little over 8.5 million inhabitants, 20.7% of whom live in the capital, Vienna, and up to 28% in its metropolitan area. Located in the extreme east of the country and with an exceptional geostrategic position, Vienna has a history strongly marked by having been the capital of a large empire, Austria-Hungary (Nitsch, 2003), for centuries and by its capacity to preserve its status once the empire broke up and Austria became a new state.

Once such circumstances are taken into account, Austria’s urban macrocephaly is hardly surprising. The second largest city in the country, Graz, in the south and close to Slovenia, has some 270,000 inhabitants (415,000 if we include its area of influence). After that, there are only three cities with populations over 100,000: Linz and Salzburg in the north and Innsbruck in the west, on the other side of the Austrian Alps.

Given all that, and like Barcelona, Vienna is not just the country’s political and administrative capital but also its main cultural and economic centre. It is also the seat of a number of United Nations (UN) bodies, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), as well as other intergovernmental organisations such as the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Vienna has become a “supercapital” in many respects, though Graz casts a small shadow over it in higher education, with its 50,000 students (still well below the 170,000 students that Vienna has). Figure 6 shows Austria’s population distribution by province.

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6. The data come from Statistics Austria (http://www.statistik.at/web_en/).
Despite the large concentration of population in Vienna, there are no notable conflicts between the capital and the rest of the Austria. There are at least four factors that help to explain this phenomenon. First, Austria is a quite a homogeneous society\textsuperscript{7}, so one of the main sources of conflict within countries is absent. Second, in spite of its widely dispersed population, both its road and motorway network and its rail network present a structure far removed from the radial ones seen in Madrid and even Barcelona. The country’s main cities are interconnected without the need for passing through the capital, despite having topographical features that often hinder such connections. Third, and probably most important of all, Austria is a federal country. Although, formally speaking, the Austrian Bundesländer have a legislative capacity (self-rule) which is less than that of a Spanish AR, the level of powers shared between each of the Länder and the federal government (shared-rule) is much higher (Hooghe, Marks i Schakel, 2010).\textsuperscript{8} This means a good part of the central government’s policies are decided on the basis of consensus between all the federated states, thus avoiding any inter-territorial confrontation. Finally, and closely linked to the previous point, Austria is divided up into nine Bundesländer, one of which is formed solely by its capital. The level of political decentralisation, along with a consensual model of democracy, and the fact that Vienna is a federated state in its own right, gives the capital greater room for manoeuvre to legislate in accordance with its own interests, without interfering in the affairs of the rest of the country, and the other Länder to implement their own policies without interference from the centre.\textsuperscript{9}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
1942 - 24085 & 7 \\
26040 - 31273 & 6 \\
31672 - 56455 & 32 \\
56504 - 65208 & 15 \\
66269 - 85539 & 16 \\
88355 - 124579 & 12 \\
128568 - 131497 & 2 \\
140078 - 193814 & 7 \\
269997 - 269997 & 1 \\
1766746 - 1766746 & 1 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Population distribution in Austria}
\end{table}

\textbf{Figure 6. Population distribution in Austria}

\begin{itemize}
\item According to Alesina \textit{et al.} (2003), between 0 (completely homogeneous) and 1 (completely heterogeneous), Austria receives a score of 0.15 for linguistic diversity and 0.11 for ethnic diversity, compared to 0.41 and 0.42, respectively, for Spain.
\item For an explanation of the differences between both concepts see Requejo (2007).
\item The practice of having a state itself for the capital of the country is very common in federal states. Berlin, Washington, D.C. and Mexico City are examples of this.
\end{itemize}
Conclusions

We have seen in this chapter how the population in Catalonia is densely concentrated in the Barcelona area, a phenomenon that has been described as urban macrocephaly. Despite this lack of population balance in Catalonia, the debate on the issue has so far been confined almost exclusively to academic circles and never applied to the country’s everyday political affairs. The pre-eminence of the conflict with Madrid may have contributed to that.

If Catalonia became a state in its own right, that would make Barcelona the capital of a new, independent country. We have seen how, in comparative terms, Barcelona would be on the upper part of the fork as regards the percentage of the State’s population living in the capital, on both a European and an international level. Resorting to the establishment of a joint-capital structure or a capital in a smaller city than Barcelona are not the usual alternatives in our situation, nor do they seem suited to the idiosyncrasies of the Catalan case.

By studying other cases we have been able to identify several best practices that could help to improve the country’s internal cohesion and make it harder for conflicts to break out that are inherent in this urban macrocephaly. First, we would have to go further in decentralising the decision-making centres. Although political and economic power is mostly centralised in Barcelona, this does not have to be exclusive. While the country’s main decision-making centres will continue to be concentrated in its capital, we would need to look more closely at experiences of decentralising institutions and public bodies, such as the transfer to Lleida a few years ago of the headquarters of the Catalan Ministry of Agriculture.

Second, we would have to rethink the infrastructure model we require. Urban macrocephaly does not necessarily imply following a radial model like the one in Spain and the autonomous region of Catalonia. The Austrian example shows that an infrastructure model could be created which gives pre-eminence to territorial cohesion and allows connections between people and goods without having to pass through Barcelona. This model would not only make the system more efficient in economic terms but also enable the whole country to maintain its social cohesion.

Finally, a new Catalan State would also have to think carefully about the territorial model it establishes. While social heterogeneity in Catalonia is less than that of Spain as a whole, the population, demographic and economic structures of the different areas that form the country make it necessary to establish a decentralised political model that ensures a certain autonomy within the various territorial units (veguerias) of the new state. The future vegueria of the Àmbit Metropolità could fit in with the idea of a federal state like Vienna, in Austria, without the need, therefore, for creating a specific vegueria for the city of Barcelona.
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A Capital with Knowledge Governance that Serves the Country

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Director (public and private sector), Lawyer

Ensure that things happen

Introduction

The main asset of the public sector in general and the public administration in particular is knowledge. Knowledge resides in people’s minds and in recorded data (yesterday on paper, today in IT systems). The public sector’s challenge is and will continue to be to manage this knowledge to an excellent level.

This article proposes a management model for this knowledge with the objective of obtaining a brilliant public sector that contributes to economic progress and to improving citizens’ quality of life.

In a broad sense, this knowledge management model can also be applied as a governance model for a specific organisation or a management model of the collaborative relationship among several organisations, whether they are public-public, public-private or private-private.

Barcelona has been at the forefront of the commercial revolution and industrial revolution, as Dr Jordi Nadal i Oller has explained. We are also convinced that Barcelona has all the necessary conditions to be a leading city in the knowledge revolution and that achieving this goal will help us build a country in which it is better to live. Being a capital city will give us the opportunity and the responsibility to make sure this comes true.
**Sovereignty**

As the most important factor, securing independence must give us sovereignty so that we can make our own decisions. Definitive independence will mean that we no longer have a state administration that is hostile to our wish for self-determination. Mistakes will be ours and ours alone; as will be the ability to correct them. Blame will then only be ours. We will have no excuses to hide behind.

One of the challenges of the new state will be to build an excellent public sector. The role of the capital will be a decisive factor in the end result.

To simplify, we can say that our starting point will be a public sector with a set of competences and the personal, economic and material resources to exercise them. How we organise these and others that will be added when we become a state, will largely depend on overcoming this challenge. It will not be easy. An eminent public sector is the best guarantee for sustaining the welfare state.

Being able to optimise the capital city of Barcelona’s relations (as the city is today or as a possible “Barcelona DC”) with the state of Catalonia will be a key factor in the public sector’s success in Catalonia. And this relationship must be founded on a public homogenous and connectable management model.

**Republic**

When we become the Catalan Republic, we shall have to reorganise the administration and, if we do so, we must be clear about why we are conducting this exercise. Reorganising for the sake of reorganisation does not make any sense.

And changing just for the sake of change makes no sense either. Before reorganising, we have got to think about what we want to change, why and toward what.

We will reorganise it because now it is not efficient enough and we cannot lose any opportunity when faced with the scenario of building a country while reformulating its public services.

We will reorganise it so that it is an engine and not a burden, an assurance and not a threat, for everyone and not just the few - so that it becomes a source for pride.

We will see myths about the “Catalan personality”, bureaucracy and public services being shattered. Replacing a hostile state for a state that serves its citizens will boost the vocation for public service and attract talent. We will change from the concept of bureaucrat to one of public servant. It’s not merely about a change of name: it will be a change of paradigm... a paradigm shift in the method and substance of working, access and careers within the public function.

There are many administrative bodies in Catalonia today - regional and state, autonomous community and local (provincial, district and municipal), as well as those that are based around functions. Simplification and downsizing is both necessary and opportune.

An independent Catalonia would need only two administrations: the Generalitat (Catalonia’s autonomous government) and municipal; proximity must be a decisive factor.

Given the time, this unique opportunity must be fully taken advantage of to make an efficient public administration this time around. The first time the Generalitat was revived, it fell short due to being created in the image and similar to the central Spanish government.
Managing organisations is always complex, and public ones even more so. There are many factors that add layers of complexity to public sector institutes: the size, electoral arithmetic, communications, dispersed power and system rigidity, among others. All of these are issues that introduce difficulties that are not only political, but also technical, the senior management and interaction between all of them.

People and information management are the most critical elements and, in parallel, key for governance. People are always a determining factor in all economic sectors, although in services even more and in public ones, even more again.

We must not confuse political discourse with management. One thing is to decide, to say what needs to be done; it is another thing ensuring that what we say needs to be done is actually done - and done well and coherently. Being aware at all times of the terrain in which we are operating and whether we are in the area of dialogue or management. Discourse is projected in a public, social, political and external context. Conversely, management is counting beans. Discourse wears a white robe, management wears a blue overall. Being very clear at all times what is discourse and what is management can help us avoid confusing desire with reality or launching projects that are impossible to realise. The greater the distance between discourse and management, the more tense governance will be.

**Knowledge management model: a management model for a new country**

We need to equip ourselves with a governance model that both permits and fosters the interconnection of the public sector and governance of its knowledge between its institutions and with citizens in order to attain an excellent public sector that contributes to economic progress and improved quality of life for citizens.

A model compatible with all administrations, which can reconcile government actions, optimise resources and improve responses to society’s needs.

We can define governance of knowledge by a management model structured in three core areas:

- Shared responsibility
- Data / Information / Knowledge
- Supervision

In a broad sense, this knowledge management model can also be applied as a governance model for a concrete organisation or a management model of the collaboration relationship among several organisations, whether they are public-public, public-private or private-private. Depending on the type of organisation or relationship, the three core areas will be maintained, adapting the tools that articulate them.

This model would let all Catalan administrations be connected.
Premises

The proposed management model is based on premises to consider that will help us implement them in the three core areas:

**We must make fire with the wood we now have.** We will start from where we are now. This is neither good nor bad; it is just what it is. What needs to be done we will do with the people that we are and the resources available.

**Prioritise.** Everything cannot be done at once. Priorities must be established. One step at a time.

**Persist.** As stated by Professor Josep Maria Lozano, we shall have to coexist with problems that must be resolved, but that are difficult to solve in the short term, and accept that everything desirable is simply not feasible at the same time, and be honourable enough to not convert this fact into excuses or resignation.

**Superficial or deep.** The golden solution of time management. Time is what it is and it is finite. If we want to reach far, we cannot go into great depth. If we want to go into great detail with everything, we will be unable to cover many fronts. A good information system will let us expand both surface and depth. The best option is a combination of surface and depth, covering a lot of topics but depth only where necessary, aware that time is not elastic and that it is impossible to do it all.

**Relay race.** It is essential for the public sector to understand this. Being aware that what is present today is generally the fruit of other people’s work. The public must realise that we are in a relay race, that today we are here and some day we will not be, that everybody is important but no-one is imperative.

**Off shore or coastal.** Navigation can be long distance or along our own shores. Combining long distance and coastal, adopting the most suitable depending on the specific topic in question, we shall minimise the risk of failure.

**Escort.** We directors must accompany everyone. A large part of our time must be spent in building trust, ensuring that the organisation does not break, accompanying the team and making sure everyone arrives.

**Innovate.** Without innovation, there is no progress or improvement. We have to dare to innovate and we must provide incentives for innovation. To paraphrase, we could say that whoever wants to innovate, let’s take them by the hand and, whoever doesn’t want to innovate, that they move away and don’t distract those who are trying.

**Benchmarking.** It is one of the big advantages of the public sector compared to the private sector. We can share good practices, successful projects, test them and export them.

**Don’t confuse the public sector with the private sector.** Different cultures. As Professor Àngel Castiñeira said, change must be driven forward in midst of continuity in the public sector; minimum continuity must be ensured in the midst of change.
Shared responsibility

Beyond the formal competences that regulations confer in each case, the majority of concrete issues can be handled from different perspectives, a fact that means that there is concurrent competence of many public, functional and/or territorial services in many cases, within the same organisation or among several organisations. In these cases, the global overall vision always provides greater value than the vision from the mere sum of the participating parts.

Public, functional and territorial services must articulate knowledge management and the exercising of their respective functions with shared responsibility with the aim of ensuring cross-service coordination, with the aim of:

- Minimising the risk of tunnel vision
- Push intellective vision
- Facilitate networking
- Improve planning and quality of public services’ actions
- Efficiently monitor that respective functions are assessed
- Favour compliance with standards
- Maximise the proximity function

There is nothing more complex than coordinating people who do not want to be coordinated. It is a complex issue and means insisting that the task requires constant and persistent work over a long period of time. The shared responsibility model tries to overcome the premise of ‘who’s who’. If it is public, it is for everyone and this principle must be implemented.

Exercising shared responsibility can be articulated via instruments that push to overcome reticence about working together, facilitate permanent, sincere and open dialogue of territorial leaders and functional leaders on each topic.

**Instruments for articulating shared responsibility**: shared responsibility spaces (round tables, conferences, working groups), empowerment and networking.

**Spaces for shared responsibility** must have the capacity to give voice to many people and also people at many different levels. Each structural level must be endowed with a capacity for representation, avoiding that there is only one dialogue from the heights of each structure. There must be dialogue between operators to seek the best solutions. We must try, in every way we can, to share an information system that is common to all.

The golden rule in **empowerment** is: do with your team as you would like them to do for you. Give people free reign and let the members of our teams participate in meetings. We have to empower and trust people. We must trust the people on our teams. It is about managing less and influencing more.

The coin has two sides: trust and responsibility. We cannot demand responsibility without trust, and vice-versa. First trust and then require them to take responsibility. One thing cannot be done without the other.

**Networking.** The directors must understand that there are valuable people under them, possibly even more valuable than they are. They must be allowed to speak and make decisions for
the managers; the network must be allowed to work. Working in a network gives many people visibility and visibility of many people's knowledge, not just the heads of each structure. The organisation is alive and dynamic. The more people who know other people's competences and skills, the better. This is a value for large organisations. The people in the second row today will be in the first row later. For this reason, it is worth knowing about and making room for everybody. The more people who know everybody, the better; the more people there are who can assess a person's value, the more democratic and more natural that decision making about people will be, and then everyone can confirm what these people are like, coherently, and that certain people are promoted into specific posts.

Networking is the foundation of the organisation's progress and people's development and professional growth.

Spaces for shared responsibility are those where one can influence both due to their job and due to their expertise on a subject, since both conditions won't necessarily be held by the same person.

The proverb says that alone we go faster, but if we walk together, we'll go further. We are proving this every day. If we want to impose our solution, it is faster and we are more satisfied. But if we do it among us all, it's a bit tougher, and requires more compromise and negotiation. However, the solutions implemented in this way will definitely be more solid and long lasting.

This is what shared responsibility is: arriving as far as possible together. Everything must be quite organised and, in parallel, everything must be flexible enough.

People’s talents needs a catalyst, a stimulus that causes people to opine, propose and suggest due to what they see. This catalyst is a good information system that facilitates access to data, their conversion into information and contribution of knowledge, both detailed and overall, on the activity or on the organisation. All the time we once spent on decoding different data, we can now devote to sharing visions, analyses, negotiation and discussing the issues.

Data / Information / Knowledge

The second core area of the model are the data that are converted into information that generates knowledge.

Information is the catalyst and the key surrounding the shared responsibility system, which depends upon the skill of supervision. We need to build a system that requires little time for processing data, so that we free up time to be able to spend on analysing. Most organisations consume the majority of their available time in generating information, with little time left to analyse it.

When you manage to activate the data / information / knowledge formula + the people who know it, the result tends to be debate, whether or not you are seeking this. Human talent and intelligence duly nourished with information multiplies creativity.

Information is the springboard for change. If we exploit and work with the data in transactional applications well, with the added knowledge of people knowledgeable of the topic, we can obtain organisations’ transformation and improvement, the key to effectiveness.

Assessment is not feasible without information and progress and improvements are more difficult.
Some substantive circumstances are required for this core area to work: information must be accessible in real time, suitably, with guaranteed quality and suitable information distribution perimeters. It is easy to say, but very difficult to do. Thinking that we can get there automatically is an illusion. The goal that must be reached is business intelligence.

The tools materialised by this core area respond to the 3 Ps: public, periodic and pre-defined. They must be open; they must have a specific frequency and actuality and they must be pre-defined, with a known and easily intelligible format. They must permit the use of a zoom and go from global to details, of the entire organisation or a concrete unit. They must permit data mining.

We can construct this information system with charts, graphs, maps or images. A radical rule is to assume that everything that is geolocatable would always need to have the X and Y coordinates and full data.

The construction methodology for a good information system must be modestly and prudently executed: test a prototype and do trials for a period of time and, if it works, start up mass production. This is one of the most important changes we propose with regard to the current business intelligence models.

Information stops being a privilege to becoming a basic work tool. When the light has been turned on, it’s hard to be back into darkness.

In group dynamics, specific rules tend to be fulfilled that a good information system stimulates; reporting systems with clear indicators always invoke motivations for improvement:

- We would rather win than lose: when we start a task, we start wanting it to work out well.
- People try to do things well. People do not want to do things poorly. Therefore, if we assign a task to someone who is not capable of doing it, the blame will not be theirs.
- Nobody wants to be last. People want to win, but if we cannot always win, we prefer at least to not be last.
- We can always do better: We have to avoid complacency and, no matter how happy we are with our results, realise that we can still improve.
- Pace is important: we cannot trust in final efforts but we must improve every second and be constant.
- We are want to look good in the picture: if we take snapshots now and again, we will verify people’s hard work to try to look good.
- Colours speak for themselves: they are useful to show us the status of management and we have to use them to highlight the topics that interest us, so that they positively or negatively stand out.

The information system becomes a *sine qua non* condition and lets us feed the spiral:

Data > Information > Knowledge > Transparency > Cohesion > Commitment

Information lets us push forward issues such as efficiency, efficacy, productivity, competitiveness, but also lets us advance in objectivity, responsibility, accountability, sustainability, equal opportunities and democracy.

Information must be distributed; it must be available to managers and be accessible. Information lets us grant more trust and demand more responsibility.

A good information system requires:
• Quality data. If users see that the information reported is not the truth, we will lose trust and recovering it is extremely tough.
• Usage ease: if it is difficult, people will not use it. End users will not be experts in data structures.
• Speed: speed is also a key factor. If it is slow, people will be frustrated and end up not using it.

Information and its distribution becomes a catalyst that leads to:
• Breaking away from an isolated structure to provide consistency to the overall organisation
• Decentralising and deconcentrating when proximity and personal service provide value
• Involving the team, both from technical and political viewpoints, increasing commitment and motivation
• Increasing internal and external transparency
• Transforming the culture

Information makes us all better, its managers, the directors and politicians. And if we are all individually better, we will also have the capacity to be so as a group. Associated or not, the sure-fire decision that will be the most responsible.

Supervision

Supervision and critical review of what is done is fundamental for innovating, progressing, improving and evaluating processes, decisions and results. Drawing conclusions about whether things work how we wanted them to work, verifying if the result obtained is what was expected and whether it can be improved.

Advancing toward the figure of supervisor who seeks the detection of continuous improvement, with the capacity to question what is done, how it is done and the result, seeking best practices in order to: optimise management methods, polish interpersonal skills, simplify paperwork and increase motivation and professionalism.

The day to day is so absorbing that there is often no time left to look at processes and management guidelines with the perspective needed to detect dysfunctions and improvement opportunities. This is what supervisors will provide, this constructive criticism.

Good supervision leads to:
• Transparency: visibility of when to spend and on what money is spent, and the results obtained
• Prioritise: in a state of tension of revenues, having the maximum amount of information possible of the when and what of expenses must lead to better adopting prioritisation decisions
• Efficacy: verifying whether the results obtained are the desired ones
• Efficiency: verifying at what cost the results were obtained
• Productivity: joint vision of resources allocated and results obtained
• Participative process: change from a monopolised process of specific players in economic or controlling areas to a process with permanent interaction between all of the organisation’s players and managers

Supervision and transparency are not exactly the same: let’s not confuse transparency with uploading information to the Internet.
There is an extraordinarily high level of responsibility and specialisation in the public sector and experts as good as the ones in the private sector. Bureaucratisation responds more to the need to protect yourself than to an express wish to obstruct procedures. We must be able to find a solution to this. Protocols must help us to do things better, not to obstruct them. Supervision must help us improve protocols.

It is important that we protect ourselves against corporatism and flee from its threats. Supervision tries to objectify, placing greater emphasis on the what and less on the who. Stressing the reasons more than a person’s job. When we focus on the who, we lose quality analysis. Having many merits doesn’t always mean being more correct. We have to ensure we don’t make a mistake and ensure we use a good data analysis and assessment system.

The most important supervision of all is citizen supervision. Without citizen supervision, the public sector doesn’t make sense in the 21st century in a supposedly democratic society. Democracy is not binary. Democracy has degrees of intensity. Good supervision improves a society’s democratic level.

The director as a key factor

In management posts in the public sector, it is good to combine people with diverse personal and professional backgrounds and paths.

We can break professional profiles down into three:

- Administrative career: That of a person who, at a given time, is hired at the organisation and has a career inside the organisation until she obtains a management post.
- The political career: People who, by way of nomination connected to a party, have management skills and end up obtaining posts by appointment and relying on political force.
- The managerial career: People who, in the public or private arena, hold managerial posts due to their management skills in a way not connected to longevity at the organisation or politics.

The administrative career, the political career and the managerial career provide different points of view for running the organisation. All large organisations that have this capacity should have a combination of these three profiles with complementary backgrounds and perspectives, making the project vision improve.

A public organisation whose management structures lack any of these three profiles will be a blind organisation or lame in some way.

Conclusions

- Governance of the public sector in general and of the public administration in particular is complex.
- The complexity of governance makes it difficult to manage, but also makes it more interesting, makes the challenges more motivating and successes more gratifying.
- Innovation in the public administration is feasible and necessary. And essential for the new state.
• We need to equip ourselves with a governance model that allows for and promotes interconnection of the public sector and governance of its knowledge among different entities and with citizens.

• We can define governance of knowledge by three core areas:
  – Shared responsibility
  – Data / Information / Knowledge
  – Supervision

• Importance of the public function and its improvement with the implementation of this model.

• The information system shaped as a sequence of Data > Information > Knowledge > Transparency > Cohesion > Commitment becomes an extremely powerful engine for change.

• The key surrounding the system is to have an information system that contributes to having access to data, their conversion into information and the contribution of knowledge, both with respect to the programme and/or unit and to the organisation’s overall vision.

• Information lets us grant more trust and demand more responsibility.

• Democracy is not binary. Democracy has degrees of intensity. Transparency and good supervision improve a society’s democratic level and promote continuous improvement.

• We must be optimistic; we must be optimistic; we can be optimists.
  – We must: on the one hand, we need the public sector and, on the other, its weight in our economy is too decisive to let us have the luxury to renounce and requires that we improve productivity.
  – We have: our professionalism and responsibility as public directors push us to seek the way to assure that we are more and more willing to become involved, take on risks and be committed.
  – We can: in the public sector, there are many talented and innovative people, who want to improve, who want to try doing things differently, who seek and find solutions to problems. This potential not only depends on public directors, politicians and technicians to activate it with concrete targets and maximum information and transparency, it depends on citizens’ demanding it.

• It doesn’t only depend on us.
  Too simple to not do it.
The Legal System of Barcelona in the new Catalan state

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a) Introduction

In the design and elaboration of the White Book, this article aims to give an outline as to what the future judicial system of Barcelona could be.

We begin from two premises: the first is the long experience of municipal management; even more general circumstances (1960), Barcelona has always had a special mention within its system. In the future, it will be a question of recognising and improving this tradition which, as we will see, goes back a long way. The second is that Barcelona is a symbol of good government. As opposed to other capitals whose economic management is out of date and which find themselves in a difficult situation, Barcelona has opted for an efficient management model which must be conserved, built on and if possible, projected in the future.
This shared success, is thanks to two main groups. In the first place, our elected representatives and public sector workers, who, with their passion for doing things well, have made Barcelona a symbol of modernity. The maximum example of this was in 1992 with the Olympic Games, and furthermore we should say, with the capacity of restraint and saving which means that the City Hall is not in deficit. Everyone has played their part. On the other hand, the ones responsible for this success are the citizens, committed and involved in many bodies (committees, plenaries, audiences, and so on) and always available for public management.

In the new state Barcelona has to follow a line and occupy the place it deserves in the design. Without more authority than is necessary but with enough jurisdiction to enable it to maintain and develop the model.

This modest article will attempt to contemplate how to continue in these two directions.

b) Framework

1. Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, new state in Europe

Barcelona is and has been the capital of Catalonia and it will be of the new state. Barcelona was refounded by the Romans at the end of the first century BC who turned it into a military fortification called Iulia Augusta Paterna Faventia Barcino, located on what was then known as Mons Taber, a small hill which is today in the area of the Cathedral and Plaça de Sant Jaume.

We can find certain long standing institution. In 1265, the Consell de Cent (Council of one Hundred) was created so that counsellors and royal official could meet to decide cases referring to the defence of the city of Barcelona and its possessions, and in 1283, the Catalan constitutions of the Corts of Barcelona with the Privilegium Magnum.

In short, an obvious feature that the new state will have is that there can be no debate about its status as capital. Traditionally, historically, because of the population, acceptation, legal recognition, because it is incomparable, Barcelona is the capital of Catalonia and should be the capital of the future Catalan state.


In the setting up of the new state, the regulation framework has to recognise, in keeping with most contemporary legal texts, the title of capital, and there should be a specific regulation which in the shape of a pyramid (in the Kelsen sense), headed by the infra-constitutional legal framework which the Catalan law has to develop.

This title has to be included both in the Magna Carta as well as in the main texts.

3. Barcelona as the seat of the state institutions

The fact that Barcelona is a new state capital implies that it is the seat of the country’s main institutions. It therefore has a dual judicial nature both as capital and seat.

The status of capital is a special regime of the city under Catalan law which attributes it as autonomous, unique and object of protection and development which we will outline in this text.
The seat is present in all areas of regulations without this fact hindering the future decentralisation or establishment of new delegations in the territory in order to guarantee an cohesive state administratively-speaking. That fact that it is the seat implies on the one hand the future recognition in the legal sector regarding the location of national seats and on the other, the fact that Barcelona has a specific position in the system of sources regarding the future and for this reason it is necessary to set up an inter-administrative commission which enables a specific relationship framework (council-state), without affecting it being extended to other administrative bodies (such as magistracy or the Metropolitan Area).

4. Barcelona as head of the Metropolitan Area and capital of magistracy

Given the aforementioned considerations, the regulation of the future capital of the new state has to be capable of having an integrated management vision of the territory and project its influence beyond the municipality.

With regards to “Greater Barcelona”, this should be designed to satisfy the global requirements of the 36 municipalities with a population of 3,239,337 inhabitants (Source: INE 2012), over an area of 636 km² and a density of 5,093 inhab/km² (central nucleus of the metropolitan area with a population of 5,012,961 inhabitants, an area of 3,236 km² and a density of population of 1,542 inhab/km²). In short, it is necessary to improve on the merger of the former Association of municipalities, The Environmental Organisation and the City Transport Organisation.

On the other hand, the future capital also has to be the seat of the future magistracy (or similar body) defining a basic organisational territorial area for the entire future State.

5. The special regime of Barcelona in the system of sources: capital status and special law

The official coat of arms of the city of Barcelona is inspired on the one used by Pere III the Ceremonious and the official flag of the city of Barcelona is quartered and features four red stripes on a yellow background in the top right and bottom left quarters. The cross of St George features on a white background in the top left and bottom right quarters.

Local autonomy of Barcelona comes directly from the European Charter of Local Autonomy created in the city of Strasbourg on 15 October 1985.

The capital has to occupy a specific area in the position of the system of sources in the local regime and therefore the legal framework of Barcelona is special (in the sense that it supplants the general one) and unique.

Its contents cover three main areas: the special regime in the strictest sense, the projection of Barcelona in areas of state activities with its own specifications, and the participation of the city in the legislative procedures of the new state. From the very outset, the new state has to avoid dual jurisdiction.

In the case of Barcelona, it must be held that the city is responsible for certain events by delegation of the State such as for example, the organisation of national protocol events.
c) The special regime

6. The nature of the special regime of Barcelona

a) Concept

A law passed by the Catalan Parliament has to regulate the special regimes, the Capital Status Law, a basic, special law. It is a basic law which forms part of the constitutional control tax and attributes jurisdiction to the city first and foremost and ahead of future sectorial legislation. As a basic law, the Catalan Parliament conditions (exempts, limits) its future activity by recognising all specified order in the capital.

It is a special law because it is a corpus juris which separates it from the local Catalan regime, so that the Catalan regime has a general regime for everyone and a special regime for the city. In this context, the local regime legislation shall include parameters of efficiency in public management and (once a common framework of jurisdiction has been established for local authorities) assign jurisdiction to authorities according to their management capacity so that the conditioned delegation is flexible in public management.

b) Meaning

With regard the basic law, as well as the powers which are stated, Barcelona exercises paralegal powers which are partially assimilated to a city-state. These are specified, on the one hand, in direct legal attributions to the city of state powers (specification of the principal of not duplicating the city’s state powers) and on the other hand, statutory development which grants broad power to local councils approved by the Plenary Council of Barcelona. The Catalan legal system has to allow room for delegation which enables adaptation to continual social changes.

As for the special law, the financial framework, of organisation and working, as well as its judicial regime it has particularities which are projected in different administrative activity (its official organ is the Gaseta de Barcelona, the financing is specific, it participates directly in the taxes of the future state, it has specific administrative procedures: traffic, penalising, etc.) .

1. The present regime is in general terms the following:

In agreement with the law 7/1985, established on 2 April, regulating the bases of the local regime (LBRL), and article 89 of the Statute of the Autonomy of Catalonia (EAC), approved by the Law 6/2006, 19 July, the city of Barcelona enjoys the special regime set down in Law 22/1998, 30 December, of the Municipal Charter of Barcelona (CMB) and Law 1/2006, of 13 March, which regulate the special regime of the Municipal of Barcelona (LREB). The municipal has a special financial regime regulated in the LREB, applicable to that which is established in article 161 of the text of the Law on local treasuries, approved by Royal decree 2/2004, 5 March (TRLRHL).

The legal text has been subject to two modifications: the first — according to Law 11/2006, 19 July— referred to articles 3 and 11, about the symbols of the city of Barcelona, in order to be adapted to the regulations governing local authorities, and article 66.5, referring to the final approval of plans which involve any modification of green areas, leisure areas and sports equipment; in virtue of the second – under Law 7/2010, 21 April— a new title, the VIII, was added to the legal Text, in order to include the regulation of the Economic and Social Council of Barcelona.
7. Aspects of the special regime

This is made up of three main branches of the special regime.

Firstly, the protection of the capital regime which has a legislative procedure compounded by its modification.

Secondly, a specific mandate to the Catalan legislator to safeguard this regime. And in the framework of the setting up of the future of the Catalan constitutional justice system, a specific position must be reserved for the city of Barcelona to exercise actions in the defence of its autonomy in the face of the activity of the Parliament of Catalonia.

Thirdly, with the specific mandate to strengthen the special regime in the future development of the country.

8. Administrative projection of the special regime: Barcelona City Council

The Regulation for the Barcelona City Council deserves a special mention.

The special Law has to reserve a number of issues of this regulation that will have to be approved by absolute majority. Once this regulation has been established, the remainder of issues and powers should be characterised by a quasi-parliamentarisation of the Barcelona regime, and reserve a few subjects for the Plenary Council but with extensive control.

2. Over the past year there has been a constant battle between the local authorities and the state authorities and in particular the Barcelona city council, against the then white paper of rationalisation and sustainability of local administration. From the outset, the different proposals chose to revoke the state section of the state regime (until July 2013) with the suppression of Law 1/2006, of the Special regime of Barcelona.

In the face of this regulation, Barcelona City Council presented allegations which were resolved by the ruling of the State Council 567/2013, which literally states, “The additional fourth disposition in connection with the derogating provision, presents a content which, in the opinion of the State Council, has to be reformulated. It is natural that judicial regulations of a private nature differ from general regulations referred to therein. For this reason, the precision according to which the particular laws of the Municipalities of Madrid and Barcelona — and which remain expressly valid— shall be applied providing they do not object to the new Law is considered incoherent and confusing. For this reason it is understood that it is necessary that in this additional provision to delete the phrase” that they do not object to”. For this reason, in the derogating provision disposition the final content should be deleted, referring to Laws 22/2006 and 1/2006. This is what follows from the words “... as well as all those...”.

Therefore, the text is modified and definitively states that the additional fifth provision of the final regulation establishes that its provisions are applicable to Barcelona City Council, without prejudice of the particularities of its specific legislation and in strict subjection to the principle of budgetary stability and financial sustainability.

Barcelona City council’s struggle to safeguard its special regime has been constant.

With the exception of the state section of the special regime, Barcelona City Council, prior to formulating an appeal in defence of the local autonomy of Barcelona, has represented municipals which have appealed: there are 2,393 municipalities representing 16,996,884 inhabitants, and this is why allegations were presented to the State Council which pronounce din our favour (for the second time) to the theses of the municipalities against the LLRSAL (judgement 22 May 2014): “There are enough judicial foundations for Barcelona City Council and the other municipalities concerned to dispute the defence of the local autonomy regarding articles 26.2 and 116 TER and the Additional D. 16 of the LRBRL.”
Therefore the separation of the function of debate-control, function of the executive government has to be the backbone of the future regulations to guarantee maximum control by the citizens’ representatives, while being committed to the maximum capacity for management and speed in the executive.

Presided by the mayor, as the maximum representative of the executive accompanied by the Plenary Council and the Government Commission, as well as other eminent organisations of the city and some already set down in the Charter, which would make up the rest of the bodies of the special regime.

As well as the traditional powers of the local world of continental Europe, aggravated legal power in the sense of proposing parliamentary procedure should be added and in this way reserve the initiative in certain matters to Barcelona Council.

The exercising of jurisdiction should be subject, for Barcelona and for the other local authorities of Catalonia, to the principles of subsidiarity and capacity of management. In the particular case of Barcelona, more than these principles, the reserve of the Plenary Council should be taken into account for the legal initiative of the legal de la modification of its own system. The statute of elected members should be submitted to strict obligations of goods and register of interests as well as a clear system of incompatibilities.

The special regime should include certain parameters which will characterise some of Barcelona council’s responsibilities. The duty of a good government, transparency, guidance and improvement of the value of the Barcelona brand in the world, the obligation of accountability, cost analysis, the obligation to generate positive treasury, the necessary suppression of paper, digital identification using smartphones and other devices, electronic files for citizens, the development of multi-efficiencies in the smart city, etc.

Regarding the territory, the organisation will remain by districts and neighbourhoods.

The inter-administrative relations will have a significant role so the city will achieve a governing regime in the execution of jurisdictions in the line established above.

With regard the public service provision, Barcelona is configured as a universe of local personalisations in addition to the classical ones known of direct and indirect management. We should need other formulas as well as the ones that already exist, such as foundations, associations, civic management and others to be studied.

In this context, and given the city’s powerful tertiary sector, in the adjudications of public services under the community obligations of advertising there should be positive discrimination in favour of not-for-profit organisations, contracts in sectors for people with disabilities should be prolonged and above all there should be a separation between profitable and non-profitable organisations (duly audited).

The electronic judicial regime should be one of the main elements of the administrative business. Therefore, the suppression of paper and the use of new technologies have to be one of the spearheads of the modernisation of the country and public administration. With the protection of data and the reuse of information as central axes in a totally interoperable context, Barcelona has to become the administrative capital in such a way that no procedure should take more than four months to complete and that a general procedure should be followed with prior communications and responsible declarations on procedures. In this field it will be necessary to include the particular characteristics of the city due to the enormous amount of foreigners who visit us and to be ready to deploy procedures quickly.
Under this judicial regime, we should have a special mention for administrative resources, which should suppose a second review of the act and the possibility to start arbitration procedures in order to attempt to find peaceful solutions to any controversies.

Financing should be one of the axes which will guarantee the correct working of public services and should have two sources. On the one hand, with our own taxes, and on the other, with the participation of state taxes, which in all cases must guarantee a rational percentage of investment in the maintenance and improvement of public services.

9. Jurisdictional projection and other orders

The city of Barcelona should have local courts.

They form part of the judicial power, but they depend on the Government and Barcelona City Council. They have judges and prosecutors who, in collaborations with the state security forces, make up a whole which recognise minor crimes and carry out swift trials and immediate sentences. Therefore the administrative-sanction sanction-administration combination should be clearer in the new system and should guarantee a true reinsertion and more specifically community service in substitution of certain prison sentences. Always with the final re-educational aim.

In this field the alternative solutions to conflicts should be key, saving tax payers time, paperwork and money. We will need new figures such as arbitrators from the Arbitral Court of Barcelona as well as strengthening the Arbitrational Commission of the Bar and other similar ones in different areas such as what has already been done with the current Consumer Arbitration Board.

The future civil legislation should include certain specifications regarding Civil Law and more specifically the relations of good neighbours and living together, disturbances (noise), use of common areas, prohibition of certain activities and to grant greater democratic power to civil legislation.

Barcelona should have administrative courts for certain branches of activity in the city.

Basically there are three of them: ordinary administrative dispute courts, financial administrative dispute courts and local courts (which should be known for organisational and personnel affairs of the city).

d) State matters with specific regulations (white papers which include and widen the special regime)

10. Legal specifications

The regulations which affect the special regime of Barcelona should be transmitted in the city in two phases: in the project phase and before approval to which Barcelona should emit a binding report. With regard the compliance of the principle of legality, the special regime should be able to complete offences and administrative penalties without requiring a law governing the field of public services and coexistence.

In the field of brand names, Barcelona should receive a specific recognition and the future Law governing Catalan brands and their rights should recognise the value and uniqueness of the “Barcelona” brand.
Sectorial laws should recognise the special position of Barcelona in the management of infrastructures: the port, airport, railway, roads as well as the coasts, of which Barcelona should have jurisdiction to manage.

At the same time, numerous technical specifications should be included in the Urban Law, and more specifically the management of consolidated urban land: extremely densely populated cities should dispose of more instruments to unclog the city. The same goes for the field of reparpelling of land and other mechanisms for the distribution of profits and expenses.

In the field of telecommunications, Barcelona should have specific regulations in all areas.

Regarding Catalan cultural heritage, the law should permit greater intervention mechanisms in the city. The special regime should be able to limit the proliferation of invasive businesses in places of historic interest as well as guarantee the neighbourhoods for mixed uses.

Barcelona should have more specific laws in the following areas: the environment, social services, commerce and tourism, industry, public safety, education, public goods, culture, international projection and democratic electoral participation.

e) Conclusion

Despite the fact that these are just a few notes, the definition of a new judicial framework will be a vital structural part of our new country. There are more than enough reasons for not wanting to reproduce the current model and for preserving the genuine and what we have gained through experience, thereby opting for a city with greater jurisdiction and a closer relationship with its surroundings.
Cultured, Extrovert, Lightweight diplomacy

Fèlix Martí
Founder of UNESCO Catalonia and honorary president of Linguapax Internacional
Organising a new state supposes an enormous qualitative leap into areas which do not come under the direct jurisdiction of cities or regions. The creation of a Catalan state is a great opportunity to design new models of armed forces, security, taxation, development, sustainability and the coordination of civil society. A city like Barcelona, with a vocation for innovation and international prestige, can make it easy to build state structures free from the inertias of the old European states. As the political, economic and cultural centre of the new state it will be able to become one of the most active cities in exercising international responsibilities without the limitations it had as a city subordinated to the interests of the Spanish state.

Barcelona will experience, after many centuries, both the risk and pleasure of being able to channel its energy into effective interventions in the global issues of Europe and the world community. The question to ask is not so much how can Barcelona benefit from the fact of being a state capital but the quality the new Catalan state can achieve for the fact of having a capital like Barcelona. And it is also important to ask what emphases should be put on the future of the city in order to be a capital.

The new Catalan diplomacy should reflect Barcelona’s cultural potential. Instead of a bureaucratic body chosen according to criteria such as family connections or ideological sympathies, we can opt for the service of people with a high cultural profile, graduates from local and foreign universities, speakers of foreign languages, capable of networking and able to combine the defence of the interests of Catalonia with effective, current international understanding.

To achieve this goal, Barcelona will have to multiply its academies, research and international political debate centres. The means of communication will have to provide more information about what is happening outside Catalonia and overcome the introspective tendency of traditional states. Catalan patriotism will have to be nationally self-reliant and internationally profound. There is probably no city like Barcelona that has succeeded in preserving its own cultural and linguistic identity while opening up to the outside world. Now it will be in a position to be at the forefront of a model of cities that intelligently resolves the difficult balance between affirmation of a particular identity and the welcoming and management of all kinds of pluralisms.

The new Catalan diplomacy should not turn its back on the valuable contributions civil organisations have to make, which are so present in the city of Barcelona. For many years Catalan organisations working abroad have been recognised for their valuable contributions to the defence of human rights, peace, the protection of linguistic diversity, collaboration with organisations of the United Nations, cooperation with development, interreligious dialogue and criticism of speculation economy. With the creation of the new state, naturally the Catalan non-governmental organisations will, of course, no longer suffer being vetoed by Spanish organisations to be recognised in international places of power. And we can imagine that Barcelona will become the centre for old and new international civil organisations, of Catalan origin or not, who will find in this city a judicial, political, economic and logistic welcome that will enable them to build on their global activities. Barcelona can become a world centre of diplomacy like Geneva or New York. Catalan diplomacy should count on the strength of civil society to work by sharing responsibilities and avoid the creation of an oversized body of civil servants which is expensive and often inefficient. Barcelona will provide the setting for an agile, outward-looking and cultured diplomacy.
Barcelona, capital of a new state, sports leader

Montserrat Mas Vilella
President of Gestiona, Catalan Association of Public Sports Facilities Managers
To define Barcelona as a cosmopolitan, commercial, tourist, industrial city with the strong personality it is given by its language and culture is absolutely correct. But it would be a mistake not to say that we are one of the greatest sports cities in Europe and the world and therefore a SPORTS CAPITAL, in capital letters.

From the holding of the Olympic Games, passing through the main events such as Formula One, tennis, motorcycling, football, basketball, hockey, swimming, athletics, extreme sports, etc., we have organised practically everything there is to organise. This international recognition, apart from the pride of being a capital and a country, also means business. For example:

The importance of the Barcelona-Catalonia circuit with different trials held, starting with the Formula One, has a significant economic impact on the territory calculated at around 170 million euros a year.

Something that was highlighted in relation to the world swimming championships was “that the investment the city would have had to make in advertising to achieve the same returns as the 13,000 news items published on the event in the Spanish state alone, has been estimated at 43 million euros” (news from canal 3/24 of 5 August 2013).

Does anyone really believe that Barcelona would have come so far without the Olympic Games? The investment in sports infrastructures alone was no more than 9%, the rest was used to improve the city and the country.

Sport is also a great business which has a great media repercussion that enhances our international recognition and makes us appear in the most hidden places of the world, places that otherwise it would have been impossible to reach.

In this article, we will talk about the need to push forward the Sports Barcelona based on cooperation, leadership, values and the joint work of sportspeople, trainers, managers, manufacturers, distributors, doctors, therapists, coaches, teachers, volunteers, communicators and a long etc. of entities, clubs, foundations, companies, hospitals and institutions forming the world of sport. And we will do so bearing in mind all of the players involved in this sector.

It will therefore be necessary to create the necessary synergies between the clubs, the sports entities of the city and the sports industry, the companies that supply everything that is needed for the good operation of the sports activity, ranging from sports equipment and material to facilities, and including footwear and clothes and sports medicine, amongst other things, always in full respect of the typical values of integration, training, participation and cooperation of sport, its recurrent presence throughout our lives and its great communicative potential.

With each and every one of these values, the feedback of everyone involved and the strong dependency between them, we will make Barcelona a city leading the world in this sector.

We all know the great importance that Catalan and Barcelona society have always given sport. Effort and strength have often gone hand in hand and have made amateur sport a true driving force of betterment, capable of promoting the birth of clubs, federations and sports organisations. The importance of private initiative in sport has brought forth clubs which would not have come to light without the drive of civil society.

It is precisely the fact that sport has been well received and enhanced from both the competitive and popular viewpoint, that shows that it forms part of the city’s idiosyncrasy. Barcelona hosts more and more meetings, competitions and popular and official manifestations of high-level sport. It is therefore necessary to continue to collaborate proactively to give a drive to this sector.
Sport has given us great notoriety around the world. We all know that sometimes abroad we have had to place our country on the map with the well-known phrase “Barcelona Olympic Games”, or by talking about Barça and then maybe we can add other details, but the true calling card usually comes from a sports reference. We are on the international map largely thanks to sport.

A special mention should be made of the volunteer phenomenon: Catalonia and Barcelona have been a historical example of volunteering both in the creation of entities, associations and clubs and in support of all kinds of sports events, whose maximum exponent lies in the Olympic volunteers (Voluntaris 2000). Far from losing force, this movement is more alive than ever and Barcelona is still a reference in volunteering in every sports event that requires it. This marriage must be recognised and be shown as a differential trait of our city.

Our capacity for integration has been and is a distinguishing trait of our country, and is capital in Barcelona. Here we have a cosmopolitan, respectful and attentive city hosting different and new sports practice, and the different personal and particular realities of those who practise them. The capacity to adapt to these different and specific realities requires polyvalent and integrating urban practices that guarantee coexistence, encourage participation and promote the practice of open air sports.

So if we are already someone important in the world of sport, if our voice is known and recognised on the world stage, if we know the benefits it brings both for the sector and for the country’s economy, it is time for a voice so heard to use the loud hailer.

Barcelona has the headquarters of one of the most important television producers and distributors of sports events and a long tradition in the written media and renowned professionals of sports communication. It is therefore time to promote everything that these media can bring Barcelona as the capital of a new state. It can become a centre for producing and broadcasting sports news for the world.

As has already been demonstrated, Barcelona is prepared in all areas to host the largest event of the world of sport, and this must be enhanced to continue to show the new friendly and warm capital.

Barcelona’s geographical location and the fact that it is the European city with the best quality of life (European Cities Monitor 2011), a condition it has maintained in the last fourteen years, make it one of the favourite cities for executives. Although it currently has the headquarters of the Euro league, we can promote the a capital housing the headquarters of the principal bodies and institutions of European and world sport. Barcelona has a recognised quality of life, a privileged climate and an international airport.

Barcelona is among the top four tourist cities in Europe; given the conventional equipment available, the special equipment we might have, the good calendar of sports shows and the popular or high-level competitions on offer, we can be one of the principal cities in Europe as a popular and competitive sports destination.

As we have seen, the tools used in the past were certainly very basic and rudimentary with often non-existing technology. This has changed a lot in recent years due to developments in the sports industry. The incorporation of women in the world of sport and the democratisation of its performance have favoured investment in this sector.

What’s more, the fact that the income level of our country has increased has brought greater demand for products related to well-being and health, products associated with the new services
given from the world of sport. Now it is common to talk about the fitness industry, the wellness industry or adventure sports, amongst other things, casually associating them with the world of sport. This means that we have one of the highest indexes in the world in the practice of sport and a top-quality level of public and private installations, ahead of other countries. We have to continue to grow in the conventional areas, but also to adapt demand to the new needs such as the progressive ageing of society resulting in new illnesses in which sport may be preventive, palliative or therapeutic. In this high quality of life, the performance of physical activity for health is just one of the main pillars. Work must continue so that throughout a person’s life we can offer and practice the most suitable sports activity to guarantee an active and healthy life. This moderate physical activity, whether or not it might be competitive, with medical controls and evaluations, guided by trained and attentive professionals with suitable diets, will allow us to establish healthy habits far removed from obesity, cholesterol, blood pressure, anxiety, stress and the long etc. of health risks in our present society.

Achieving healthy habits requires attentive and constant intervention throughout a person’s life. We therefore need suitable and well-prepared professionals to guarantee and be committed to our objectives. Official education must guarantee the utmost transversality, homologation and connection between the different aspects of this comprehensive training of professionals of sport, physical activity and health. This professional’s training curriculum must allow for trained personnel both in the area of vocational training (medium and higher professional module) and in the universities.

In order to ensure the best possible results in the area of sport, it is basic to ensure that the public and private sectors should work together, with the direct collaboration of all agents. Today, the management in Barcelona comes in the form of cooperation. In this sense, when we talk about management, there is no single formula to combine both sectors. We must not talk about public management versus private management, but rather about good or bad management.

Collaboration between the public and private sectors has allowed faster development, more equipment to be built, more competition, has given rise to the birth of sports managers, has encouraged modernisation and has even created a “Barcelona” model that has enabled us to rise out of deficient economic management to enjoy positive, social, sports and economic margins. Without this we would not have obtained many of the sports results we have achieved. A clear example of this is the world of water polo, in which we have been World and Olympic champions, nor would we enjoy the fitness chains and the quality of our sport equipment would not be what it is. We know that our management model has been exported to Spain, Europe and South America. Therefore it is clearly a successful management model that has allowed expansion and growth.

The figures speak for themselves: professional and amateur sport in Barcelona has produced a level of wealth approximately equivalent to 2.5% of the GDP of Barcelona.

Up to now, we have talked about one of the basic pillars of the world of sport, the most media influential, the best-known. But because it could truly turn us into a powerful sector, we must have the collaboration of the other agents involved.

Enterprise, industry. These are assets which will make Barcelona and Catalonia leaders in innovation and specialisation in the world of sport. This brings together such different activities as industrial design, textile, footwear, nutrition, diabetics, construction, medicine, instrumental technology, nautical, engineering, motor and the media, amongst others.
The construction of new sports equipment and the sale of material and clothes for sport alone account for two thirds of the economic activity associated with the world of sport. This does not mean that the others are not important, but shows that there is still space to be taken up and a path to be followed, especially in activities related to smart and added value products. Therefore this diversity, though making it difficult to see, is also an opportunity to express and enhance the sector.

Between Barcelona and Catalonia, it is calculated that the 500 companies of the sports sector have a turnover of more than 4,000 million euros and this is where the largest number of sports company in Europe are concentrated. The existence and success of these companies in Catalonia is an example of the drive of private initiative. At the present time we have companies specialised in designing and building high-quality sports equipment and which cover all of the needs of the sector without leaving Catalonia. Here we can find very high level design and architecture or engineering, passing through construction and reaching the finer details and necessary accessories for the correct operation of the sports facilities. In this field, we have multinationals operating in other markets with a more than considerable penetration.

Another business example would be the textile and footwear industry, where innovation in materials, the creation of new designs and own brands are being felt internationally.

The sport’s pharmaceutical area is also important. Our laboratories are pioneers in products aimed at this world. The sign of this is the fact that internationally prestigious multinational companies related to the manufacture of food supplements or chemical components have decided to have their headquarters in Barcelona for their production and laboratory research operations. We must also talk about dietetic products, in growing demand from the population, being associated with better food habits.

The motor world deserves a special mention. Our country’s industrial tradition in the car sector and the great Catalan following of motorsport means that we have a good representation of companies in this sector, which successfully supplies the market of cars, motorcycles and mopeds beyond our frontiers, without forgetting the long and specific tradition with respect to designing, manufacturing bicycles and the widespread nature of this sport throughout the country and in its different forms.

The sports material trade, with an infinite number of shops distributed around the city, is another example of the great economic importance of the sector, and of practitioners and manufacturers. The great potential market demand offered by Barcelona makes it an attractive place for marketing sports products. This is why a considerable number of multinationals use our city as a centre for their distribution, commercialisation or sale in Europe.

The society of communication and the internationalisation of the social networks allows constant, close and immediate communication around the world. Something that happens from any small corner can be presented to the world globally and immediately, opening and presenting the possibilities of this consolidated and attractive capital of Barcelona. It is unquestionable that there is sector, that there is sports industry and new opportunities for occupation, so the new and growing consumer demand obliges and invites us to face new challenges that can be successfully achieved through joint work.

Barcelona enjoys prestige in the international sports panorama. We know it.

There are few places in the world where in such a small space they are capable of organising a Formula One World Championship, a Motorcycle World Championship and a Rally World
Championship with the technical, professional and quality conditions that there are in Barcelona. The RACC is an international benchmark.

Furthermore, Catalan citizens have achieved a very high success index in the practice of sports: if we compare it with other large cities, Barcelona is amongst the three top world capitals. We are also strong in popular sport, a clear example of this is the Cursa El Corte Inglés, one of the most important marathons in the world in the number of participants, or the great quality of the races and walks hosted by Barcelona throughout the year.

Similarly, when we talk about football, basketball, handball, water polo, swimming and synchronised swimming, hockey and roller hockey, motorcycling, climbing, tennis, gymnastics, motorsport and others, we are fully aware that our level is very high. FC Barcelona, RCD Espanyol, RC Tennis Barcelona, RC de Polo, CEC, UEC, the swimming clubs, the sailing clubs... and all of the clubs, entities and associations have raised the sports level in the city.

Just as in sport, the records and individual or group results are important, the results of our principal brands and companies in this area are also important for the country and the city. Barcelona must be proud that its citizens can say the name of the most important companies from the top of their mind, and still more that everyone in the world knows that they are from Barcelona and Catalonia: Astralpool, Basi, Buff, Circuït de Barcelona-Catalunya, Decoresport, Dir, Duetsport, Esteban, Eurofitness, Fundació Claror, Gas Gas, IGE BCN, Llop Gestió, Lleuresport, Mediapro, Mistral, Mundo Deportivo, Munich, Nou Esportiu, Nutrisport, Parkestil, Priwel, Rossignol, Salter, Santiveri, Seae, Seat, Solo Moto, Sport... and we could add many more. Surely many would be surprised to see the great level of national and international awareness they enjoy. Many of the brands we have mentioned have grown from humble roots with very few resources, even casually and in many cases, not even the most optimistic of their founders would ever have imagined the turnover they have today and the great market potential they still enjoy.

It is obvious that this has not been the result of chance. We know that the work capacity, the spirit of improvement, the skill and great future vision of all entrepreneurs related to the world of Catalan sport have made this possible, and it is these exceptional aptitudes which allow us to view our future with great optimism. We know that our companies can still grow more, can still be more competitive and still even surprise us with their innovative and business capacity. In terms of sport, Barcelona and Catalonia are the true world leaders. This is a reality that must be preserved and enhanced with future projects.

Barcelona must wager on a model based on the innovation and development of the sports sector to allow its business fabric to grow and to create added value for products and services while generating new opportunities for occupation.

All of this is not possible without one part of our sector; that of the practitioners, just as without the other part, the manufacturers, the competitive growth of the whole sector would never be achieved. Synergies must be sought to our mutual benefit. The growth of some must cause the exponential growth of the others. We want to build a future together, in a team, to ensure the sustainability and the sports and business competitiveness of the sector.

Barcelona must:
– Drive research and development, innovating in products, management, materials, health, activities, sports output and technology. It must create projects of joint interest between sport and enterprise to allow knowledge to be transferred, and technology to be applied to sport.

– Express and enhance the companies of the sector, in other words by making business collaboration and its interaction with the research centres a source of competitiveness in order to make the opening of new markets effective.

– Internationally project Catalan sport and its companies.

– Build a management model allowing reinvestment and benefiting the sports and business system.

Barcelona must be the Great Factory of Sport.

It must be a place where there will be a strong concentration of companies, laboratories, services, corporate headquarters, headquarters of official bodies, business management offices, high-level sports equipment and training centres to create more wealth and jobs.

Here we all come out on top:

– The citizens, because they will have the best professionals, the best facilities and the best material.

– The clubs and federations, because they will have sufficient resources and critical mass to be able to improve their offer.

– Sportspeople, because they will have the technologically most advanced training conditions and facilities and other exclusive services related to personal development.

– The sports industry, because it will have the infrastructures and conditions for guaranteed research and will be able to develop new products with real chances of success.

– The country and the city, because they will become stronger in one of the sectors of most economic future.

Everyone must work knowing that if we work in a team, each and every one of us will improve and that, between us all, we can make Barcelona improve together.
Catalonia, capital Manresa

Miquel Puig Raposo
Economist

Introduction

This article explores to what extent independence could reinforce Barcelona’s position in the global hierarchy of cities and with what measures. It then goes on to look at the relationship between these measures and the city’s status as administrative capital of the new state.¹

Barcelona is one of the most attractive cities in Europe both for tourists and for investors,² but less so for residents,³ according to the surveys drawn up on this question by various bodies. This distinction is important, because although the main thing is residents’ satisfaction, we only tend to talk about other people’s satisfaction.

However, the enthusiasm of foreign visitors should encourage us to try and become one of the cities with most cultural vitality, greatest economic prosperity and best quality of life in Europe. As we shall see, independence can not only help achieve this, but could be decisive in doing so.

I hasten to say that independence could help, but only if we play our cards right. The best states in the world in terms of productivity and equality are the size of Catalonia, but not all countries the size of Catalonia are among the best in the world.

Playing our cards right means, first of all, getting our objectives right. Excellent does not mean the same as big. It is important to stress this point because for too long now the people of Barcelona have been taking Madrid as their point of reference and the measure has been its size: in my grandparents’ day, the question was which of the two cities had more inhabitants (they were drawn until the post-war years); in my parents’ day it was which had the highest building (an issue settled in 1953 with the construction of Edificio España and clinched in 1960 with Torre de Madrid); when I was a child, which province had more cars registered and what subterfuges the Government used to favour the ‘M’s over the ‘B’s; nowadays, the Barcelona press regularly

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¹ I would like to thank Oriol Nel-lo for reading a draft of this article and for his scholarly comments. I would also like to absolve him of any responsibility for its limitations, as he expressed discrepancies with some of the premises and certain conclusions.

² As regards investors, see, for example, the annual editions Global Cities Investment Monitor (KPMG), European Cities and Regions of the Future (FDI Intelligence) or European Attractiveness Survey (Ernst & Young).

³ The EU holds a survey every three years about the perception citizens have of the quality of life in their city. The 2013 edition, which mentioned 79 cities, put Barcelona in 52nd place as regards overall perception: “I am satisfied to live in [city name]”. It may be significant that Madrid, London and Paris come even lower. http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/activity/urban/audit/index_en.cfm.
reports on the battle between the number of passengers using El Prat and Barajas/Adolfo Suárez airports, and they can hardly hide their satisfaction at each summer sorpasso. We shall have a hard time getting it into our heads that what matters today is not being more, but being better.

The position of each city in the global hierarchy is what determines the offer in jobs for the most qualified people and the prosperity of the surroundings, because cities concentrate advanced services (finance, consultancies, advertising, etc.), R&D and innovation.\(^4\) In the new global society it is impossible to maintain cultural vitality and economic prosperity without holding onto or improving one's position in this hierarchy. The challenge is to improve Barcelona's rank and at the same time enhance the quality of life of its inhabitants.

To sum up, a large capital stands on four pillars: a communications hub, an industrial hinterland, the ability to attract talent and the quality of life of its inhabitants. Let us see where we stand in each of them, what needs to be done to strengthen them and what independence can do for them.

### Connected with the world

Barcelona is not at the centre of the world, not even at the centre of Europe; it is not even part of the “blue banana” (the great megalopolis stretching from Manchester to Milan), and it is not well enough connected with it. It is only connected to it by air, because El Prat is one of the busiest airports in Europe (the ninth)\(^5\) and because most of its connections are to European cities. But El Prat does not play in the world league, as it has very few international connections and this is an obstacle to attracting top-level economic activity. If El Prat were independent of AENA it would be easier to pursue this type of connection, but success would not be guaranteed because the dynamics of hubs makes for concentration, not the appearance of new ones. Does El Prat need more infrastructures? Not necessarily. One day it may be necessary to lengthen the runway nearest the sea and move the lakes, build a satellite terminal or even a new runway over the sea, but that will not be for a long time. Remember that Zurich, Vienna, Berlin, Stockholm and Milan have far fewer passengers than Barcelona\(^6\) and that Girona and Reus airports could absorb some of the low-cost passengers that now land at El Prat. Once again, let’s not get obsessed with the numbers.

As regards passenger railway travel, getting rid of the budget deficit would make it possible to rationalise Barcelona's connections with the rest of Catalonia and, to a lesser extent, with the world. The Spanish state has been extraordinarily thrifty when it comes to investing in railways in Catalonia, except for the Madrid-Barcelona-France high-speed line. Independence would hardly tackle the great unresolved issue of the connection with Valencia, which has been systematically ignored by the state, but it would, on the other hand, allow funds to be devoted to efficiently connecting Barcelona with Catalonia’s medium-sized towns and all of them with El Prat airport. One option is to organise passenger railway travel with two terminus stations, one in the north (Sagrera) and another in the south (El Prat), properly interconnected via the stations of Catalunya, Sants and L’Hospitalet, with an efficient shuttle connecting El Prat station and the airport’s Terminal 2, just 3.5 kilometres away.\(^7\)

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5. Eurostat.
6. In the cases of Berlin and Milan I’m adding together the two most important airports associated with the city.
7. On this point, I follow Santiago Montero, “Tenim la política ferroviària adient a la població i al territori?” (Have we got the right railway policy for the population and the region? Talk at the IEC, 20 January 2013).
Where independence can revolutionise Barcelona’s role is in business logistics. Industrialisation in Asia has meant that the main route for goods transport by sea is now the Pacific-Suez-Gibraltar-Northern Europe route. Consequently, the European Union is backing the railway link-up between the main Mediterranean ports and the north so as to save time, reduce the amount of pollution produced by north-south road transport and restore regional balance. The ports best placed on this route are Gioia Tauro (Calabria) and Algeciras, but they both lack a powerful hinterland of consumption and production: they can be logistics centres where mega-container vessels, cabotage and railways interact, but with little added value. Barcelona (with Tarragona) is the most important consumer and production centre in the Mediterranean and is therefore able to attract part of the Asia-Europe traffic — a small part in relative terms but quantitatively huge — and become Europe’s main southern gateway. Finally, as luck would have it, we have a good chance of becoming a sort of “Mediterranean Holland”. To achieve this we need first of all to overturn the Spanish state’s misgivings about the so-called “Mediterranean axis” for goods transport: the Algeciras-Valencia-Tarragona-Barcelona-Europe line backed by the European Union, which every government under the PP and the PSOE has relegated to second place behind the Algeciras-Madrid-who-knows-where line (the expression is not gratuitous: the official maps of successive governments were shockingly ambiguous about the route over the Pyrenees). However, the success of the project also requires that the goods corridor should run behind Collserola, freeing the coastal strip for the city, which industry has already done, and the creation of a very powerful logistics space in the connection between this axis and the port. Two difficult decisions that mean occupying a large area.

The capital of a prosperous country

The more the rest of Catalonia prospers, the more dynamic Barcelona will be. It is true that in the globalised economy cities tend to become independent from their hinterland, but this tendency has a limit. This limit is more restrictive in the case of cities like Barcelona that hold a “regional” position and finally this is even more so in the case of Barcelona, because outside of Catalonia there is little economic activity that is not directed south. The quality and quantity of services provided in Barcelona will depend basically on the vitality and prosperity of Catalan businesses and the capacity for R&D and innovation in Barcelona will depend on the level of Catalan manufacturing. Therefore, insofar as Catalan independence will increase prosperity in every corner of the country, Barcelona will benefit one way or another.

This is not the place to list the measures a properly run Catalan state would take to promote the country’s prosperity. It is enough to remember the concerns repeatedly expressed by the multinationals located in the petrochemical park in Tarragona: the cost of electricity, the water supply, the railway connection and the training of personnel with medium-level qualifications.

9. Here, too, I follow Santiago Montero, op. cit.
10. I follow Manuel Castells, op cit.
11. MIT warned of the unsustainability of research in a deindustrialised setting: “Can we build tomorrow’s breakthroughs?”, Technology Review, February 2012.
If Catalonia suffers from these bottlenecks, it is because economic policies have not put the focus where they should: on innovative export companies, which are the ones in a position to compete without public support and paying decent wages.

Once again, nothing guarantees that the Catalan state will adopt the right strategy, but there is at least one thing we can be optimistic about. The financial fragility of the newborn Catalan state will inoculate us against the temptation of state control and self-sufficiency: there will be no ambitious renewable energy programmes or “Renove” plans. Nevertheless, the temptation to insist on a growth strategy that is quantitative rather than qualitative based on low wages and unskilled labour will be just as strong or stronger than ever, precisely because of these difficulties. It goes without saying that the choice for a low-qualification model would be a burden for the capital’s aspirations.

A magnet for talent

Barcelona is an attractive city for casual visitors and for executives, but this is not enough. For Barcelona to take its place among the world’s most dynamic cities requires state action around two main poles: universities and research, on one hand, and culture, on the other.

From the quantitative point of view, Catalan universities are sufficient: 46.2% of young people attend, compared with the EU objective of 40% by the year 2020. From the qualitative point of view, the standard is respectable, but not outstanding. In addition, this equilibrium is fragile for economic reasons, as budgets are low (the public sector devotes 1.2% of the GDP to them, while the EU recommends 2%) and the contribution by students is exceptionally high in the context of mainland Europe, and for reasons of management, as the model of governance is very deficient, whereas autonomy has always proved to be a sine qua non for improvement. It is not unlikely that independence would solve both problems.

As for research, the Catalan level is high, but also very fragile, being threatened as it is by tight budgets: whereas the EU recommends that the public sector should devote 1% of GDP and the private sector 2%, we only devote 0.7% and 0.9% respectively. The second unfinished business is transforming that research into productive activity, which calls for resources that Catalonia will never have as an autonomous region.

Insofar as Catalan universities and research are concentrated in Barcelona, improving them would decisively benefit the city’s ability to generate and attract talent.

Quality of life

Barcelona’s rise as a global city must not go against the quality of life of its citizens. In fact, this quality of life is still one of the most important factors when it comes to attracting investments and talent.

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12. Between 30 and 34 years of age.
13. Quality indicators for universities are highly debatable and hotly debated. The best-known is the ARWU, drawn up by Shanghai University, which only ranks one Spanish university, the University of Barcelona, among the top 200. For their part, the THE indicator ranks the UPF, UAB, URV and UPC among the 100 best of less than 50 years of age.
14. On the relative level of autonomy, see University Autonomy in Europe II. The Scorecard.
Barcelona has benefited from a fortunate conjunction of factors: climate, proximity to the sea and the mountains, careful town-planning and outstanding architecture, food and drink and a standard of living high enough to provide comfort and low enough to keep prices down.

The chief threats facing the continuation of this quality of life are mass tourism (with the resulting crowding and loss of character), anti-social behaviour and the new poverty. The responsibility for managing the first two is the City Council’s and there is little that independence could do about it. As regards the third of these threats, this will depend very much on the production and welfare models the new state chooses. We can only speculate about what this model would involve, but we can be sure that the path Spain is taking leads inevitably to a drop in the level of equality and, as a result, of communal life.\(^{15}\)

Barcelona, the non-administrative capital of the new state

So far we have looked at the factors by which Catalan independence would help catapult Barcelona as one of the world’s leading cities. None of them requires Barcelona to house the presidency and the headquarters of the government of the state, its parliament, ministries and satellites, the high court, the regulating agencies and foreign embassies. This realisation poses a very important question but one which I’m afraid has gone unasked: should Barcelona be the administrative capital of the new state? The answer, as I see it, is no.

The first thing I want to make clear is that Barcelona does not need the increased population that capital status might bring with it (and which we will quantify in a moment), because Barcelona is already one of the largest cities in Europe. In this respect, the figure of 1.7 million for the population of the Barcelona municipal area, all too often compared with Madrid’s 3.2 million, is enormously deceptive. As comparing cities’ population figures is always a problem, I shall base myself on the data provided by Eurostat for what they call “larger urban zones”, a concept defined to homogenise the statistical treatment of cities. According to this concept, Barcelona, with 4.9 million inhabitants, is the sixth largest city in Europe, just below Berlin (5.1 million) and ahead of Milan and Rome (4.1 million).\(^{16}\) Once again, I must repeat that what Barcelona needs is not growth, but improvement.

The second reason is that Barcelona, a bourgeois city and one of trained craftsmen, has not been designed to house those infrastructures and has not got room to grow enough. A few figures will serve to justify this statement.

It is been calculated that state structures call for the creation of 25,000 centralised new jobs.\(^{17}\) The estimate may be exaggerated, but the ratio of public employees would remain below 12%.

\(^{15}\) Spain has the EU’s highest level of inequality in income distribution measured in terms of ratios of quintiles and deciles and the second highest after Latvia on the Gini index (Eurostat). On the relationship between inequality and cohabitation, see Wilkinson, R., and Pickett, K., The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always Do Better, 2009.

\(^{16}\) The population of the Barcelona larger urban zone (LUZ) is roughly that of the Barcelona Metropolitan Area, one of the seven functional regional areas defined in the Pla Territorial General de Catalunya (General Regional Plan of Catalonia), which in turn corresponds to the proposed Barcelona vegueria. The great difference between one concept and the other is the surface area, which in the first case is of 1,800 km\(^2\) and in the second of 3,236.

\(^{17}\) Josep Padrol, “Estructures d’Estat i impacte en l’ocupació”, in Economia de Catalunya, pregunes i respostes sobre l’impacte econòmic de la independència, Col·legi d’Economistes de Catalunya, 2014. The
within the parameters of medium-sized countries in central Europe and less than the Spanish state (16.3%).

For reasons of efficiency affecting the central state machinery, this personnel has to be concentrated. We can consider two extreme alternatives. The first would follow the model of the Law Courts in L’Hospitalet, a group of buildings covering a surface area of 5.3 hectares where 3,000 people work. This model would involve the creation of a very crowded neighbourhood specialising in offices, hotels and related commercial activity, like the downtown area in English-speaking countries, the equivalent of about eight times the Law Courts and covering the equivalent of forty city blocks in Barcelona’s Eixample. It is not impossible to site a structure like this one in the vicinity of Barcelona. For example, it would fit into the Centre Direccional de Cerdanyola, between the town, the UAB campus and the slopes of Collserola, which was already conceived for functions of this sort. Current planning involves urbanising 340 hectares and foresees a large ecological reserve, the construction of a thousand or so housing units and concentrating science-related productive activities. Alternatively, it would fit in the Zona Franca, on the site of the old SEAT factory (50 ha), where the Consortium planned to concentrate food-production, technological and cultural activities, a project questioned by the port authorities, who demanded reserves for logistical activities. In short, a model like this one is imaginable, but it would involve sacrificing other productive activities and hasten the saturation of the metropolitan area.

We could consider — and discard — a second option. This would consist in a specialised, low-density business park, also without residential buildings and located outside the built-up area, following the model, for example, of the Banco de Santander Finance Complex in Boadilla del Monte, which has a surface area of 250 ha and gives work to 8,000 employees (in direct employment and service providers). Applying the corresponding multiplying factor according to the number of jobs, it would need a surface area of 750 ha. A solution of this sort is only viable in the vicinity of a large city where the workers live and therefore near Barcelona; but there is no way a park of this size could be located near Barcelona.

The result is that a solution would have to be found in the currently built-up area or taking advantage of small opportunities for growth around the different cities. A scattered solution and therefore an inefficient one and, what’s more, expensive, because it would have to compete with other uses in a metropolis that is already one of the densest in Europe.

In fact, Barcelona is denser by far than any capital city in western Europe. Returning to the concept of “larger urban zones”, Barcelona would have a density of 2,350 inhabitants/km², far more than the 1,700 of Lisbon or Amsterdam, which are the most crowded capital cities in Europe. To give just two more examples, Paris (11.5 million inhabitants) and Vienna (2.2 million) have a density of, respectively, 920 and 470 inhabitants/km².

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18. In the 1976 Pla General Metropolità (General Metropolitan Plan).
19. Based on Viquipèdia (Catalan Wikipedia), which provides figures that are not up to date but that include surface area and density, which the Eurostat web site does not. I shall take this opportunity to point out a mistake in the surface area (115 km²), which corresponds only to the county, which has a population of only 0.5 million, a third of the population of the corresponding LUZ.
Cannibalisation would not only affect office space. Capital status would require space for representation. One of the very few options would be Avinguda de Maria Cristina, but this would mean sacrificing cultural and tourist options which today are its natural destiny.

In short, the cost of capital status, which are always higher than the induced income, would skyrocket in Barcelona because it is so crowded and because it already has enough growth vectors as a city with services for business, industry, logistics, commerce, tourism, higher education and research. The administrative vector would not make any real contribution and would enter into contradiction with the others, as shown in the examples above.

If being the administrative capital is unnecessary and troublesome from the point of view of Barcelona, from the point of view of Catalonia it is inconvenient.

I have nothing new to add to what has already been written about Barcelona’s “macrocephaly”, from Almirall to Oriol Nel-lo. I shall just provide two figures. Barcelona concentrates almost 60% of the population of Catalonia, while the capital cities of medium-sized countries in western Europe (always in terms of larger urban zones, or LUZ) concentrate between 10% (Amsterdam) and a maximum of one third (Dublin, Copenhagen) of the total population of the country. Needless to say, the capital cities of large countries concentrate smaller proportions: London, one in five Britons, and Paris, one in six French. Therefore, from the demographic point of view and in the European context, Barcelona would be a very unusual capital city.

In addition, the so-called “Barcelona Metropolitan Area” not only includes the majority of Catalan economic activity in the field of business services, as you would expect from a capital city, but also in industry, tourism, higher education and research. Farming is the only activity in which the rest of Catalonia leads this 10% of the surface area of the country.

Being a capital would do little for Barcelona, but it could be decisive for consolidating another Catalan city by giving it not only an important induced population, but also a significant power centre. In this respect, the dialectic between Barcelona and the capital would be an enriching factor for Catalan cultural life and, therefore, for the character of our country. This character, now that the rural world has practically disappeared, has been reduced to an unequal dialogue between Barcelona and the comarques. A capital away from the coast would definitely be a great help in restoring the balance, without sacrificing Barcelona’s potential or its status as the country’s economic and cultural capital.

I mentioned the population induced by capital status and it is now time to calculate its size. If we apply a multiple of six to the 25,000 direct jobs corresponding to central structures, the population induced by capital status would be of some 150,000 people, the equivalent of the city of Tarragona.

To organise this development, the most logical solution might be to create a compact built-up area of administrative offices and the increased population, along the lines of the Lakua district in Vitoria, which is home to the Basque government. Lakua has a surface area of 400 ha and a population of 50,000 inhabitants, which can reach 75,000. Catalonia would require an area double this size, comparable to the Eixample, to accommodate an equivalent population in Tarragona, as I said.

21. See note 16.
A project of this sort might seem excessive, but it is not unprecedented. Suppose for one moment that the capital is located in Manresa, at the junction of the old Llobregat road and the new Eix Transversal main road. Manresa today has 77,000 inhabitants, a figure much like that of Vitoria in 1960. The population of the Basque capital doubled in ten years and trebled in another 20 years, so that today, with 240,000 inhabitants, Vitoria is the size we can expect Manresa would have if it was made the state capital.

Being used to a compact Barcelona dominating the Catalan concert, locating the administrative capital somewhere other than the metropolis might seem dysfunctional. However, to continue with the previous example, we must remember that Manresa is 60 km from Barcelona and between 110 and 120 km from the other three provincial capitals, all shorter distances than the 140 km separating Sacramento from San Francisco (not to mention the 620 km that separate it from Los Angeles). It is not just a question of distances. The interdependence in the system of Catalan cities is so high that nowadays we have to look on them as all forming part of a single, scattered metropolitan whole, with similar cultural and economic levels, a genuine city of cities.

However, this idea poses a considerable challenge when it comes to infrastructures. It is fairly easy to get to Manresa by car from anywhere in Catalonia, but capital status calls for a suburban railway, and Catalonia’s railways are radial. However, what better reason could there be than the connection with the state capital for building the 350 km of railway required to complete the network Catalonia needs to improve the country’s regional balance?

Finally, one historical consideration. The proposal to locate the state capital somewhere other than Barcelona might seem too radical. In this respect, it is worth noting that, strictly speaking, Barcelona has never been the capital of an independent Catalonia. To the extent that we can bend the meaning of the terms and speak of an independent state in the medieval world, it is interesting to note that Barcelona did not become the capital of the Principality until the end of the 12th century, when King Alfons I of Catalonia unified the legal corpus of the different Catalan counties in a single body and defined the geographical area where it would apply, which went “from Salses to Tortosa and Lleida”. But Alfons I was no longer just the ruler of Catalonia, but the first sovereign of the Crown of Aragon. From this point of view, we can imagine that Barcelona, with its power, would have avoided the dilution of Catalonia in the long historical odyssey that has led it to form part of various political units. Having achieved independence (again, insofar as this term means anything in 21st-century Europe), it can abandon the title of capital of Catalonia and concentrate on the one challenge that could stimulate it: to become one of the world’s leading cities.

Conclusion

Barcelona holds a regional position in the global network. Insofar as the new state opts for a more productive model than the present one and for making Barcelona a European logistics pole, this position will be reinforced. As regards being the administrative capital, this is neither necessary for Barcelona to climb the ranks of the global network of cities, nor convenient for Catalonia, which would be one of the regionally most unbalanced states in Europe and that could take advantage of capital status to correct this situation.

Barcelona, always a capital

Josep Ramoneda
Journalist and philosopher
There are cities that owe their capital status to an administrative decision and there are others that have earned this condition on their own merits, which are universally recognized as a capital, regardless of their role in the state organization. Washington and New York are the most common example: New York is a world capital of reference, even though Washington has the formal status. Paris, however, is both the political and symbolic capital. Madrid today is also a global capital, but was born as administrative capital and took time to reach a symbolic dimension beyond the state representation. Barcelona is a capital regardless of its administrative status, and it was so even in difficult times. It is likely that Catalonia’s national awareness has helped give it this dimension, but you can also say that Barcelona’s strength in modern times has been instrumental in structuring Catalonia. Barcelona may not be able to be conceived without Catalonia, but Catalonia would surely not be what it is without Barcelona. But anyway, let’s leave this discussion, which is still somewhat Byzantine and brings us back to the eighties, to the ideological struggle - another very interesting and quite decisive part in the recent history of the country, between Catalonia-nation of Jordi Pujol and the Catalonia-city of Pasqual Maragall.

What is capital? A city that radiates sufficient social, cultural, political and even moral force to be recognized as a benchmark beyond its territorial sphere of direct influence. Barcelona is a capital in this regard. There are many administrative capitals without this punch. Barcelona does have it. And if one day it becomes the capital of an independent state, it will be an important asset for this new country. Today, it radiates more influence than Catalonia and, therefore, is an extraordinary vehicle to catapult the country in the world. Barcelona should not be afraid to be the bearer of more symbolic capital than Catalonia (inseparable, moreover, in many ways). And it would be terrible for Barcelona and Catalonia to want it to be fitted in a rigid system of national parameters. Rather the opposite: the strength of Barcelona has to radiate on Catalonia, because if you stick to what Montesquieu said –it is the basis of politics, the natural and geographical reality of places; what is Catalonia if not the first large circle of influence and incidence of Barcelona? In fact, Barcelona is a city of four and a half million inhabitants, in a country of seven and a half.

Therefore, Barcelona should not be afraid of its uniqueness. And it should always defend its autonomy as a full capital and find the forms of shared responsibility with its immediate surroundings. Its relationship with the Catalan national institutions should be more dialectic than submissive, more complementary than subordinate, and it should be unafraid to print its own character and influence. National identity is always an excluding dimension: we or the others; urban identity is characterized by being open: ourselves and others. And this conjunctive, that we all live in places that have previously been inhabited by others (Dipesh Chakrabarty), is that Barcelona should extend over a country that wants to be modern. Catalonia will or will not have a state. But Barcelona will always be a capital, at least as long as it does not lose the fear of being itself.
Capital status and governance: some conditioning factors from an organisational viewpoint

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Introduction

In all states, their capitals are undoubtedly important. However, for nations that are not states or still do not have them, it may be even more important. The urban agglomeration, with all its faults and all those circumstances that make life a bit more impersonal and anonymous, give life and personality to a grouping of humans who shape the space. They fill it with activities and institutions that a smaller city could never have, therefore also giving the entire nation a visibility that it would not have otherwise.

However, relations between the capital and the rest of the territory have their costs. In this article, we will analyse the costs of governing or organising, based on the economics of transaction costs and on the works of three economists who have all received Nobel Prizes, which will let us give several recommendations about how relations should be between the capital of a state and its territory.

Big states, small states and welfare

With regard to the size of the capital and its relations with the territory, as a good principle and to a high degree, it is civil society that must take the initiative, that gives the city a name and makes it known as a brand. We all agree that Barcelona is a “good brand”, mainly in recent years and partly due to the 1992 Olympic Games and then Barça, Passeig de Gràcia and its Gaudí works, the Sagrada Familia, the cruise ships and a hundred other things. A much better brand than Catalonia, which is largely unknown still, although we have to expect this situation will change, and a better brand than Spain, although it is probably better known than Barcelona, as those in charge of promoting it have confirmed many times, although not necessarily for positive reasons: the wastefulness and corruption and so many other circumstances that do not exactly stack up in favour of the brand that those who are filling their mouths want to strengthen. Whether we like it or not, Spain is one of the PIGS countries and the mere fact that this acronym exists shows that it may be known for undesirable reasons. The group of humans that make up the capital, but however do not explain other populations, and the way in which the two groups relate must have several characteristics that we shall investigate herein. In any case, the existence of a large capital is — most of the time — what imbues a country with a certain essence, name and personality. London and Paris, to mention just two relatively close countries, are in many aspects good examples to support our previous statement, in completely different ways. Southern France certainly does not always feel well treated by the capital, but in the end it is their capital and they are proud of its successes and that it is a shining symbol of the Western world. Cities like Washington DC, which is only the seventh or eighth largest, despite being the capital, or Canberra, with the same situation, are exceptions.

We warn though that relations between the capital and the rest of the country must be a specific way if we do not want conflicts to arise and we want the country to have a minimum level of integration. This is why, in order to analyse the capital’s role, we felt it advisable to first review the sizes of states and the problems that size can entail.

One argument commonly wielded by Spanish unions all over the place (like those used in the United Kingdom and in other places with secessionist tensions) is “units are better”, “unified we
are stronger” or “small countries don’t count, in the modern age only large ones are important”. All variations and twists and turns may resemble different arguments, but they are actually only one: a larger size is in and of itself better and leads to the population’s better welfare and well-being or, stated differently, the bigger a country, the better.

This is an argument that on a different dimension (existential or business based) has been comprehensively studied by economists for many years now. In principle, as Williamson\textsuperscript{1} well states, it seems like common sense: it would seem that if two units (two companies, two countries or two organisations of any type) joined together to form a single unit, they have to be capable of doing the same things they could separately and perhaps even more. Therefore, a large company can do more than a small company. But this is not so. It depends on what he calls “transaction costs”, which we will describe later and that, in this case, represent the costs of governance. These costs do obviously include what we tend to call “bureaucracy” in a slightly pejorative and unfair way but that especially includes unquantifiable intangible costs, which are in no way less important than quantifiable costs.

Indeed, any statistic we may look at will quickly show us the error of this intuitive idea that bigger is better. If we look at economic variables (per capita GDP, for example, published by the World Bank\textsuperscript{2}), we can see that there is only one truly large country in the top 15 (the United States, obviously), which is 10\textsuperscript{th}, and right above the US, the medium-sized country of Saudi Arabia, clearly due to oil. Oil is the same reason why much smaller countries such as Qatar, the United Arab Emirates (which are actually a type of federation of hereditary absolute monarchies and not a single country) and Oman hold distinguished rankings. If we therefore eliminate those whose GDP is due to petroleum, we are left with relatively small countries and even some very small countries: Macau, Singapore, the Bermudas, Norway, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Hong Kong, Denmark, Sweden and Austria. Norway may be an unusual case, because it does have oil, but would nonetheless appear high on any list, even if we excluded its oil revenues. If we continued with the list (which we shall not do here), we would find similar results, although relatively large countries would start to turn up (Germany, France, Italy, the United Kingdom and Japan), but mixed between other medium and small ones (Holland, Finland, Iceland, New Zealand, etc.). Data therefore do not prove that there is a univocal relationship between size and economic success, but is closer to the opposite. It depends on the each country’s circumstances, its natural resources, its structure and its population’s productivity.

If, instead of looking at the GDP, we looked at the United Nations Human Development Index\textsuperscript{3} that, although it includes the GDP, includes other variables (life expectancy, years of schooling), we find similar results, although the petroleum producing countries disappear from the top places and some of the “large” European countries take their places. In any case, there are still relatively small countries and even extremely small ones on the list: Norway, Australia, Switzerland, Holland, the United States, Germany, New Zealand, Canada, Singapore, Denmark, Ireland, Sweden, Iceland, the United Kingdom and Hong Kong.

\textsuperscript{1} In several places, but most accessible in Williamson 1996a and most complete in Williamson 1996b.

\textsuperscript{2} Found at www.worldbank.org on 20/09/2014, and used to sort countries by 2012 data, although 2013 data for some leading countries do not appear.

\textsuperscript{3} Human Development Report 2014, UNDP
We could also add that very few micro-countries appear on these lists (for example, Andorra, although the Bermudas did appear on the first list), often due to problems of lacking data, but with much higher figures when estimates have been made that are at least marginally correct. Thus, the great advantages of size that they try to sell us do not appear anywhere, when studying welfare data. This is not strange: the development of science (economic science here) has often consisted of clarifying that notions that appeared to be common sense are actually false. And that is what has happened here.

The costs of organisation

The reason why this happens is that the large states, like large companies, have “costs of organisation” that are in no way negligible. In economics and business management, this terrain has been one of the most fertile in recent decades with regard to “transaction costs”. Almost 80 years ago (1937), one of the best economists of all time, Ronald Coase, who died last year at 102 years old, questioned the raison d’être of companies and their sizes, namely why companies exist instead of everything being market, as the market seems to allocate economic resources quite well. And the reason is that operating costs on the market can at times be higher than setting up an organisation (a “hierarchy” Williamson would say later, including in this category not only companies, but any method of organisation). However, if this is true, then the next question is: “Why aren’t there enough companies with just one in each sector?” or, in other words, as we set out above: is it true that two “united” organisations can make at least the same that they could make separately, and probably more, or not? And the answer is that it depends. Answering yes without qualification (which is what they tend to do these days from the middle of the Iberian Peninsula) is to ignore that an organisation has costs. And that these costs grow with size, probably consistently. In this respect, a capital, and how this capital is run, plays a crucial role there.

This is the fact that explains that there is not only one single company doing everything in each sector. If, for example, to produce light bulbs, it were true that the larger the company, the better and the cheaper the light bulbs would be, we would find that there would only be one: the possible advantage of the largest to eliminate the small ones. And that does not happen. This also explains why there is not a single state in the world, as fantasised in films now and again, something that would prevent wars and injustice in an idyllic world. If we look at the large empires in history, we would see that none of them had any chance of dominating the entire world. The truth is the opposite, all of them have gradually broken up for the same reasons: governance costs of all types grow disproportionately, as we will analyse now.

According to Coase (1937), in a line of thinking pursued later by Williamson (1996a and 1996b), we could say that an organisation’s costs, the costs related to running it, are very frequently intangible. Namely, they are not costs that are visible at first sight or possible to precisely calculate with “invoices and receipts”, as can be done with raw materials or professional services, but they are very real. Coase distinguishes three types, which we will describe below.

First, the actual costs of management. To start with, this means the costs of transmitting the information that represents the basis of the organisation: without information transmission, the organisation would not exist. Indeed, the organisation itself exists precisely in a circulation of information. There is information that goes “upward”, from the foundations of the organisation towards its management, which describes the real situation and problems about which decisions
must be made; and information that goes down, from management to the ground, which con-
sists of the decisions made above (primarily in a centralised layout). To simplify a bit, that which
goes up is information about the basis of the organisation, what needs it has and what it can offer,
while that which goes down consists of “orders”, or what management transmits to everybody
about what they must do. To the costs of production and information transmission, the costs of
making decisions must be added, and the more complex the problem is, the larger these costs
will be. The larger an organisation is, the costs of analysing and making a decision, coordinating
its different sub-units and the people who work on it grow and, in accordance with Coase’s anal-
yses, grow steadily and more than is proportional. Complex problems require people who have
suitable skills and these people do not always exist and are not easy to find and are not cheap. In
the language of economists, Coase said that there could be “shrinking revenues depending on
the enterprise”, which make it cheaper for a part of these functions to be done by another and
smaller enterprise. It is not hard to see the parallelism with the governance of countries. If we
think of a micro-state, both decision making and information transmission is something much
simpler and, if it is done well, it can thus have very small costs. And medium sized states would
be somewhere in the middle. As we will see below, things can be done so that these costs do not
grow so much, which will be an essential condition that a capital will have to try to ensure.

Secondly, there are the costs of making mistakes, of not being able to transmit or use detailed
information that may be relevant for decisions and is therefore suboptimal. Hayek, one of the
classic authors of liberalism, correctly stated in one of his most cited articles (1945), that if capi-
talism is useful for one thing, it is because decisions are made by the person who is directly in
contact with reality who has unique information that can be used beneficially if this person
actively cooperates. Facts that can be important for making decisions, such as taking advantage
of the specific skills of a specific person (or group of people) or knowing that there are under-
used resources somewhere or product stock in another place that can be used if there is a supply
failure are much more important than generic statistics that do not account for particulars, from
the viewpoint of governing an organisation. It merits mention to state the risk here of taking
decisions that are not based on real information, but on information that is a bit “distorted” by
transmission that is less than perfect, so that it reaches the top simplified, without detail and,
even more important, missing important qualitative factors.

Finally, there are other costs that are less easy to analyse, but very real. Many people prefer to
be a big fish in a small pond and, in this sense, the size of a large state in which one person will
have a relatively small role compared to a small state in which it is easier to end up having more
weighty responsibilities may decrease the costs of organisation. Being subject to larger units is,
clearly, an important cost for many people.

The consequences of analysis prior to practice

What this all means for the role that a capital must play in a medium-sized country like Cata-
onia is that all of these organisational costs must be as small as possible. And in that case it is
not about doing more work for less money or having as little bureaucracy as possible (which may
also be necessary), but about decreasing costs by doing things well. This would also be necessary
in a larger country, but it will probably be easier for us for the reasons listed above.
Firstly, for those running the country at all levels (where there will clearly be people throughout the territory, but where a good core of them would be from Barcelona and/or live in Barcelona), the country must open it and this fact must be disseminated so that there is knowledge of it, which often does not happen. Detailed knowledge of an entire country, dialogue with people in the different territories and frequent contact makes it much easier to use the information we were speaking of, qualitative, which cannot be used without the active collaboration of the interested party, could exist and be useful. Bureaucracy in and of itself is not enough; knowledge and direct contact is essential. Similarly, “top-down” information is easier to transmit and, above all, more believable, if this direct contact exists. We need a capital that is open to the rest of the country in order to establish bonds of trust.

Secondly, it would be highly recommendable to have a decentralised government, because this would (1) decrease information transmission needs to the degree that decisions would be taken at the source of the problem, and (2) increase the availability of local information, meaning that resources would be used well and, therefore, the chance of making mistakes would also decrease. At every organisation, decisions should be made at the lowest level possible and this is even truer with a state. The flip side is that people are needed with suitable education and skills at all levels of the administration and this is not always easy to find. Thus, we would need to pay special attention to the training required of those people who will become part of the different levels of administration.

Thirdly, we would have to have a mentality not fixated on regulations and rigid, but instead open and flexible. We have often had the first type in Spain, probably inherited from the Bourbons and Napoleon. Anglo-Saxon mentality is very different and we need to organise a state with an Anglo-Saxon spirit in which things are done easily. IT development could help us from a technical standpoint (it decreases the costs of organisation, such as those involved in obtaining, storing and transmitting information), although the fundamental matter is people’s mentality. In the 1st century AD, Tacitus explained that in an absolutely corrupt res publica laws are multiplied, and current research into justice at organisations has made it clear that legalist organisations lead to situations of “law without justice”. Having to adopt many rules only complicates things; it does not make things better. There is a classic example that Alain Peyrefitte gave us some 50 years ago: in France there was a rule that made it compulsory to build toilets facing south to take advantage of the sun. The rule neglected to take into account that there are French overseas territories in the southern hemisphere, in which the rule was simply absurd. Reality goes beyond any rule and direct contact with reality must be recommended as the prudent course of action.

Conclusions

If Barcelona does become the capital of a state, we must try to minimise the “transaction costs” of the governance system, by creating a culture of trust, integration and direct contact with the territory and reasonable governance that is neither regulatory-based nor interventionist, but decentralised. The capital is the centre from which large decisions are made, although neither all of them nor the majority need be taken in the capital and, those that are made must be made by bearing in mind the aspirations of the entire territory, not just those of the capital.
Becoming the capital of a state qualitatively changes the role that a city can play. When it is only the most important city, although the city’s influence may be greater in all aspects, perhaps mainly in those areas that depend on civil society, there is not enough decision making autonomy to modify the procedures by which decisions are taken and these decisions are what lead to practice. Being part of a larger state conditions the way in which things are done, even when there is a certain degree of autonomy.

The costs of organisation of a state itself or, in other words, the transaction costs of a smaller state, should not be proportional to those costs in place as part of a larger state and should in fact be less. This may be a substantial advantage for better governance of a country, because it involves substantially lower costs, both with regard to the immediate monetary costs of the organisational structure and with regard to the intangible costs of information transmission and careful decision making to prevent making mistakes. Barcelona would have to rationalise the way to carry out these activities, with a spirit of: (1) decentralisation (so decisions are taken at the lowest level possible); (2) in-depth knowledge of the rest of the territory and good communications, both physically and in the sense of good mutual understanding and trust; (3) not regulation-heavy, breaking away from Spanish tradition that comes from a Bourbonic and Napoleonic mindset borrowed from our neighbour to the north, and (4) maximising the advantages, knowledge and skills of different territorial entities to help make us competitive economically with the rest of the world.
Table 1. Population and GDP of leading countries

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<th>País</th>
<th>Població</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
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<td>123,280</td>
<td>121,750</td>
<td>123,860</td>
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<td>86,620</td>
<td>101,840</td>
<td>112,180</td>
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<td>73,520</td>
<td>74,110</td>
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<td>69,340</td>
<td>66,640</td>
<td>66,390</td>
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<td>66,220</td>
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<td>550.000</td>
<td>58,100</td>
<td>61,140</td>
<td>59,750</td>
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<td>58,090</td>
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REFERENCES

Barcelona: future capital of the State of Catalonia

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Introduction

Catalonia is living a crucial moment in its history. Since the adoption of the Statute of Autonomy in 2006, there have been numerous changes. We see it now, but over time the importance shall be seen further. Firstly, because the Catalan process has a few quirks and oddities that make it attractive in the world: the high involvement of civil society; the constant contempt and breaches of the Spanish State, refusing to address what is happening in Catalonia; the lack of dialogue; the strong commitment of the political organizations; the connection with the municipalist world, with the city of Barcelona at the forefront; the unity; the festive and peaceful tone of all the demonstrations and, above all, the basis of democratic radicalism that emerges from public claim. And secondly, because in the case of achieving independence, new political and social challenges appear that will have to be faced both by the Catalan national administration and all local authorities.

These are some of the reasons that make the time our country is living exceptional and explain why it awakens a citizens, political, journalistic, academic and sociological interest that no one could have predicted. So much so that long ago no expert would have dared to say what is happening today would become reality: that 70.8% of the population according to the data of the Centre for Opinion Studies in October 2014, is in favour of holding a referendum to decide on independence. We will have to identify the conditions to achieve a state that is the fruit of deep democratic regeneration. If the Catalan public vote for independence, then a roadmap will have to be followed that has been widely defined by the Advisory Council of National Transitional (CATN) in the so-called White Paper on National Transition.

Therefore, municipalities, and specifically Barcelona as capital of the new state, should hurry to determine their role in the process. In the meantime, however, I think it is clear that the transformation of Barcelona into the capital of the new state will require many changes; the city will have to receive new state structures, facilitate the redefinition of some existing structures, should encourage the modification of services that some of these agencies give the citizens and, at the same time, rethink and modify some of its features such as, for example, its international relations, which must be substantially different from today.

The fact that Barcelona City Hall promotes the drafting of a white paper on the impact that independence would have on the city is good news. And it is even more so because this not a common practice. That is, there are studies of the impact that Scottish independence would have had on the city of Edinburgh and also on the negative impact of German reunification on the city of Bonn, which lost its place as the capital because it was moved to Berlin, but in no case is there an extensive bibliography. In this paper, I propose to assess what it will mean for Barcelona to become the capital of Catalonia in three specific areas: the new brand concept of Barcelona; international relations carried out from the city and the transformation or establishment of new state structures in the new capital.

The Barcelona brand

Barcelona is a city that has long had a high power of attraction. It is a consolidated destination for tourists but also for investors, academics, cultural workers, opinion makers and the general
public. This is indicated by the study by Professor José María Oroval of the ESADE Brand Institute (2011) in which he states, “Barcelona is internationally established as the capital of cultural tourism and is emerging as a centre of innovation, but must strengthen its own image and be differentiated as a business city.” The study also claims that Barcelona is an attractive option as a city to stay and live in and it is clear that Barcelona has managed to well sell its welcoming, creative, open, innovative and modern spirit while it has postulated itself as a city to do business, be well educated and innovate. Thus, its attractiveness and good international name is undeniable. However, this recognition is not casual, but most likely is the result of an effort to project an image of city linked to specific values and a very specific way to make the city and the country which, in the future, must be strengthened. In this regard, efforts to not make the Barcelona brand clash with the Catalonia brand and instead, to establish a more collaborative work over the past years have borne fruit. Another observation: according to the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce, the city is already the sixth best city in the world in terms of the best global brand and is among the top 10 European and/or world cities in key areas such as business, foreign projects received or organizing international meetings.

But will being the capital affect the brand? Will it have to change? Should it incorporate new values? Well, one thing is clear: being the capital, some idiosyncrasies should be strengthened. That is, if Catalonia became a state, the city can only be the speaker. Therefore, and considering that the brand concept refers us to a specific identity, both in relation to its personality and to its image, it will be vital that Barcelona should strengthen and promote the values of the city and that it should more firmly incorporate the values of the country. In short, it will have to be the maximum expression of Catalan in the eyes of the world, so it must be a real and transparent speaker of these values. And, despite the globalization in which we are immersed, countries have their own identity, their own culture, their own values and their own way of doing. Ideally, Barcelona should promote values that are already perceived as Catalan: democracy, transparency, tolerance, integration, generosity, sense of belonging to Europe, Mediterraneity, the values of volunteerism and solidarity, cooperation, participation, innovation, betterment and effort, entrepreneurship, genius and rigor, among others. And it must do it without complexes and naturally, like other state capitals, to make Barcelona a real and transparent speaker of the country and its values. Barcelona has its place in the world for its own brand and was already incontestable, highly regarded and very powerful for what it promotes. As the capital, Barcelona will have to put its potential into serving the country and strengthening its new status. Thus, the image of Catalonia and Barcelona in the world can be strengthened and complemented.

**International relations**

One of the important changes that will occur with statehood will be the gain in skills in different areas, one of which is very substantial: international relations. Catalonia does not yet have full competence in this area because it is largely restricted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. Moreover we should consider that in the last proposed Statute of Autonomy passed in the Parliament of Catalonia on 30 September 2005 a certain extension of Catalonia’s presence abroad was proposed that was eventually brutally trimmed and beheaded during the negotiation with the Spanish government and the sentence of the Constitutional Court. However, in Catalonia (and for many years) many entities of the so-called civil society have been convinced
and obstinate to be present abroad. This has allowed alternative strategies to be built that have allowed political and social space to be gained to bring Catalonia to the world and the world to Catalonia.

The presence of different actors abroad has become a source of wealth and diversity that has been beneficial to Catalonia. Therefore, for many years, the external projection of Catalonia has been headed by the task being done from the Catalan government, but there are many synergies, complementarities and collaborations between all the actors who carry in their DNA the will to be present in the world. These are the local authorities, universities, companies, NGOs, non-profit associations and even individuals who have responsibilities in other countries.

This is, in practice, a model that adopts the principles of what is known as public diplomacy through which different actors act outside the country sharing common denominators. This concept starts with an explicit finding, among others, by the teachers Shaun Riordan and Joseph Nye, who say that traditional diplomacy has become inefficient both in addressing the supranational challenges and in solving the challenges of globalization. This is why these two authors, and many others, argue that the international relations of the 21st century no longer exclusively depend on state structures, but must involve this multilevel diplomacy and public diplomacy, also called soft power.

In Catalonia, it is especially relevant that 250 entities have international recognition, and therefore have the ability to participate directly as Catalans in their European or world networks, to promote the presence of Catalonia abroad and to act as de facto “ambassadors” of our country with a national strategy. Some 65 of these entities are part of the Catalan Federation of Internationally Recognized Catalan Organizations (FOCIR), an entity that has become the benchmark for promoting the discourse of public diplomacy in Catalonia. But there are other figures on the potential of Catalonia abroad: some 38,000 companies abroad; 300 multinationals established in several countries; 124 Catalan communities worldwide; 150 universities where Catalan is taught; 4,000 Catalan students abroad and 6,000 foreign students in Catalonia.

If we talk about the diplomacy model that the new state should have, I favour a model of mixed representation where everyone (meaning each national and municipal government institution, institutions of civil society and all actors involved abroad) acts in their respective field, but where all these actors are able to generate opportunities for coordination and agree on joint country strategy widely and wherever necessary.

In this context city diplomacy has special relevance. This is because globalization has increased cities’ capacity of advocacy and there are more and more agreements encouraged between various actors from around the world. For instance, today it is no longer strange that the US State Department should sign a direct agreement with a city like Sao Paolo, and neither that other international bodies should do so. The cities have already been situated amid diplomatic action, even though this local power has not been recognized by international law as a diplomatic player with full status.

However, in recent years the cities have increased their willingness to internationally and independently manage some subjects that were previously the exclusive jurisdiction of the state. Thus, and as professor Teresa la Porte (Head Professor of International Communication at the University of Navarre) mentioned during the workday on “International Projection, Local Governments and Civil Society”, organized by the FOCIR on 1 February, 2014, there are many reasons why cities are interested in developing foreign action. The author speaks of economic, social
and political causes, which have a much broader and more fundamental importance than the definition of city-diplomacy given by the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) based in Barcelona. “Diplomacy of cities is the tool of local governments and their associations to promote social cohesion and prevent and resolve conflicts with the objective of creating stability for citizens to live in peace, democratically and prosperously. “

We can therefore say that Barcelona has already adopted the trend drawn by La Porte. Barcelona defends its economic interests by promoting development, for example by holding international fairs, but also providing the means to become a smart city to promote the welfare of citizens, and reaching agreements with other cities or international institutions. So this is a trend that already exists and should be increased when Barcelona becomes the capital of a future state.

The creation of state structures

This is one area that can cause a dramatic, and highly visible, change to what Barcelona has hitherto been. Catalonia, and therefore Barcelona, has as yet been nothing but an autonomous community. The creation of a new state will mean that Barcelona will become the capital of an independent country where embassies and the agencies of European and international institutions will be established.

Let us place ourselves in this scenario. It will be then when the Catalan government, and also local governments, will have to have all of the infrastructures and regulatory bodies to allow them to manage these powers with full guarantees for citizens. Returning to the CATN reports, it is obvious that there is no Constitutional Court or Supreme Court in Catalonia, nor a General Council for the Judiciary, State Council, Economic and Social Council or Bank of Spain, National Stock Market Commissions or Competition, for example. However, the Superior Court of Justice, the Board of Statutory Rights, the Ombudsman, the Audit Office, the Catalan Audiovisual Council, the Tax Agency of Catalonia (newly created), the Catalan Protection Authority and the Catalan Competition Authority, among others, do already exist. Thus, the constitutional process will involve making decisions on which state structures are necessary and which of the existing bodies can develop the functions carried out the old organs of state. At the same time, we must regulate what should be newly created. If we talk about the impact this will have on the city of Barcelona, we must think that most of these agencies will be located in the capital and will therefore have consequences, for example, on the establishment of new corporate headquarters as well as the economic, labour, social and political impacts.

In the field of building structures in the city of Barcelona, think of the presence in the city of representative offices of other states. Barcelona is host to the most important consulates in Europe. That is shown by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Catalonia, which argues that Barcelona is the third city that is not a state capital, behind Hong Kong, New York and Hamburg, with more consular representation. These offices and consular agents in Catalonia have been key players for the city and Catalonia in the development of bilateral relations with the respective states and have offered a great opportunity to establish political, cultural and economic relations with the countries they represent. In the future, we might think that if Catalonia becomes a state, these countries will transform the consular offices into embassies and therefore the political weight of these representations will be higher than today.
Last but not least, if Catalonia becomes a state it will have to decide what kind of diplomatic presence it should have abroad (embassies, commercial offices or permanent presence in international institutions such as UNESCO, for example). Perhaps at a first glance it may seem that this will have no influence on the city, but I think it can be a great opportunity. I mean, Catalonia needs to create a diplomatic school of the kind that exists in all states, to train state staff as representatives. Barcelona could be the headquarters of this new diplomatic school and adopt a much more updated view than formal diplomacy has so far had. The new school could offer the more traditional training and generate synergies with institutions or universities that currently develop training linked to public or soft power diplomacy. Thus, the world view of Catalan diplomats could be much richer and transversal, prepared for globalization and new trends in international relations. Barcelona could become a city that drives new forms of diplomacy in the world.

Conclusions

• The Barcelona capital of the new state could become a leader in new century diplomacy.
• The Barcelona of the future must be spokesperson for Catalan in the world.
• The actors of civil society working in different fields can greatly contribute to enriching the discourse of the city. They must become good allies in anything that involves the voice of Barcelona and Catalonia abroad.
• The Barcelona brand must be renewed and strengthened as a capital city.
Introduction

The possibility that Catalonia will become an independent state raises the question of the capital: is Barcelona ready to be the capital of an independent Catalonia? Barcelona is of course better known as an international brand than Catalonia, but I will try to answer this question through a brief history of the city.

From the first settlers to the Roman city

Limited by the mountain range of Collserola, the Mediterranean Sea and the Besòs and Llobregat Rivers, the Barcelona plain offers a temperate climate and fertile lands near the sea, and human presence there dates back tens of thousands of years. The plain formed part of the territory of the Laietans, which stretched over the present-day counties of the Vallès and the Maresme. We know of the existence of several settlements on the hills and slopes of Montjuïc and Collserola, fostered by Greek and Carthaginian trade on the coast from the middle of the first millennium BC. One of these hills is Turó de la Rovira, where grain silos, pottery, amphorae, Italian cups with black varnish and utensils of bronze (hooks, rings, fibulas, etc.) and iron (swords, picks, etc.) have been found. There are also indications of cave-dwelling and settlements related to
seasonal exploitation of jasper and flint in Montjuïc and to trading at the mouth of the Llobregat River from the 4th century BC or earlier. These sites scattered over the plain show signs of land cultivation, livestock rearing and an emerging trade, and also indicate the forms of burial used by the population.

The city’s origin was linked to the improvement of the road network leading to Gaul, and its name is said to come from Hamilcar or Hannibal Barca, or from the shipwreck of the legendary ninth boat (barca nona) of Hercules. In the late 1st century BC, the Romans established a colony called Iulia Augusta Paterna Faventia Barcino, probably on the site of an ancient Iberian settlement called Barkeno. The colony was populated by Roman soldiers who had received land for their service in the Roman army, probably in the Cantabrian wars.

In the early 1st century Barcelona had established itself as one of the twelve colonies of Hispania Citerior. It was a small town surrounded by villas that soon specialized in producing wine and the amphorae in which it was sold. The limits of the existing city wall were marked by the gates at Carrer del Regomir, Plaça Nova, Plaça de l’Àngel and Carrer del Call/Carrer Ferran, where roads left the city towards the villas or other cities such as Baetulo and Tarraco. The city had a system of aqueducts to supply it with water and a channel drained the sewage into the sea. The inhabitants included families from Italy, who lived in decorated houses. Some of their tombs have been preserved.

The city was organized around two axes, the Decumanus (Carrer del Bisbe, Carrer de la Ciutat and Carrer del Regomir) and the Cardo (Carrer de la Llibreteria and Carrer del Call), which were divided by perpendicular streets. The highest point, Mont Tàber, contained the forum, the government buildings, and the Temple of Augustus, of which four columns have been conserved on the premises of the Catalan Hiking Club in Carrer Paradís. During the first three centuries, the population ranged between 3,500 and 8,000 inhabitants.

The Roman Barcino formed part of the trade channels. The city underwent continual reforms and extensions of the walls as it grew. At the time of Christianization between the fourth and fifth centuries AD, the Basilica of the Holy Cross was built (another had existed outside the walls) and the city was the capital of the Visigoths several times between the 5th and 6th centuries.

### A medieval capital

The Visigothic period ended in clashes. In the north-east of the peninsula Achila II had broken with Toledo and with King Rodrigo. Barcelona was conquered by the Arabs in 718, when it capitulated after a long siege. The city was a key point in the Arab expansion into Gaul, and its economy grew. The Franks reacted by conquering Barcelona in 801 and integrating it in theMarca Hispanica as the capital of the county of Barcelona. It thus became a frontier town that had to face Muslim attacks, and it was sacked in 985 by Almanzor. However, Barcelona began the new millennium as a county capital, an episcopal see and an economic centre with a large town extending outside the city walls.

In the 11th century the city’s loyalty to the Count against the aristocracy allowed the people of Barcelona to take part in his campaigns. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Caliphate in Cordoba (sacked in 1010), the Count ventured into Muslim-controlled lands and forced the rulers of Tortosa, Lleida and Zaragoza to pay tribute (paries), thus favouring the arrival of gold in Catalonia and the revival of trade. The walls were reinforced, work began on the building of
the Romanesque cathedral, the Count’s palace was rehabilitated, and new houses were built for the rich landowners on the plain who sold wine, oil and vegetables in the markets of Barcelona and the growing number of craftsmen such as blacksmiths, masons, cobbler, carders, master builders and weavers. Land outside the wall was also developed.

The marriage of the Count of Barcelona Ramon Berenguer IV to Petronilla of Aragon in 1137 led to the formation of the Crown of Aragon, but the Count’s seat of government remained in Barcelona, which was the royal residence and the administrative centre where the Archives of the Crown of Aragon were kept. The first failed attempt to conquer Majorca was made in 1114. The expedition organized by Pisa left Barcelona under the command of Ramon Berenguer III, whom a chronicle of the time called the “Catalan Duke” or the “Duke of Catalonia” and his subjects the “Catalans”. Despite the failure of the expedition, it led to the signing of a treaty of mutual defence and trade with Genoa. The subsequent conquests of Amposta and Tortosa (1148), in which the fleet of Barcelona participated, and of Lleida (1149) signalled the expansion that would take place in the 13th century.

The Mediterranean pretensions of Barcelona are one of the strongest legacies of the Middle Ages. The conquest of Majorca (1229), in which Barcelona invested money and ships, Valencia (1232-1248), Sicily (1282) and Sardinia (1323) were accompanied by an increase in trade. The old shipyard became too small and during the reign of Peter the Great (1276-1285) a new shipyard (now the Maritime Museum) began to be built at the foot of Montjuïc. The perimeter of the city walls was also extended to accommodate the outer settlements and during the reign of Peter III the Ceremonious a new extension was started. Its outline is marked by the current ring roads.

In the middle of the 13th century Barcelona had become an important trading centre and its merchants were present in all major markets, from Flanders to the fairs of Champagne, from Syria to Lisbon and the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Catalonia had consulates in Alexandria, Constantinople, Beirut, Marseill, Bruges, Palermo, Genoa, Naples, Seville, Granada, Almeria, Tunis, Cagliari and other towns. Moreover, the common law of Barcelona (Els Usatges) was adapted by the whole principality, while the Consulate of the Sea, a Barcelona institution that regulated commercial and shipping law, became the basis of maritime law of the Crown of Aragon and later of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. The seat of the Generalitat (Government of Catalonia, 1364) and the Taula de Canvi (1401), which acted as a public bank, were established in Barcelona.

In this long Golden Age (1200-1350), social and political changes also came about. Families enriched by trade were one of the main sources of credit for the Count. Losses were compensated by positions in public office: as in other European cities, economic and political power went hand in hand. Members of the rich families can be found among the county delegates and the magistrats of the city and in the Consell de Cent (Council of One Hundred, created in 1265), which in 1284 achieved the supremacy of municipal power (veguers and mayors) over royal power. It was the Barcelona of prohoms (prominent men), who had made their fortune from trade and shipping and by financing wars and conquests. Alongside them, a far larger number of Barcelonans, but with little influence in the Consell de Cent, bore witness to their work by giving names to streets where their guilds were concentrated. These names can still be seen in the Ciutat Vella and Ribera districts.

The second half of the 14th century marked the start of a period of decline. First, the Black Death epidemic that broke out in 1348, preceded by several crises of subsistence and followed
by further outbreaks of the disease, decimated the population, which fell from nearly 50,000 to 35,000 in the course of one century and, after a new epidemic, to 25,000 in the late 15th century. Persecution of the Jews was frequent and in 1391 a pogrom put an end to the Jewish quarter and the Jewish community. Second, war broke out. Higher taxes were needed to finance the royal campaigns in Majorca, Sardinia, Genoa, Castile, Naples and the eastern Mediterranean, and the civil war (1458-1479) led to the siege and occupation of the city by John II in 1472. The War of the Remences also affected Barcelona indirectly. After the marriage of the Catholic Monarchs, the conquest of America by Castile shifted the focus of trade towards the Atlantic and reduced the importance of Barcelona.

The decline in trade led to strong social unrest in the city, which was divided into two opposing factions: La Busca, formed by small merchants and artisans, who for several years (1451-1461) held municipal power and tried to revive the economy, and La Biga, composed of wealthy merchants and distinguished citizens. Finally, La Biga was victorious and in 1491 the King regained supremacy over the institutions of Barcelona. The cycle of municipal autonomy that had started two centuries earlier in the reign of James I was thus brought to a halt. Shortly afterwards, the number of distinguished citizens increased. In 1510 they achieved the privileges of the nobility and the military class were allowed into the Consell de Cent.

**A city between walls**

It was hard to overcome the crisis of the 14th and 15th centuries and the distancing of the Court (the last royal stay of any length was that of Charles I between 1519 and 1520). The population had risen from 32,000 inhabitants in 1515 to just over 40,000 in 1613. Plague epidemics continued in the first half of the 16th century (1501, 1507 and 1515 and very virulent outbreaks in 1520-21 and 1530) but were less frequent in the second half, except for 1558 and the most serious outbreak of the century in 1589-1590. There was a shortage of manpower in the country and the city, partly offset in the middle of the century (1530-1570) by French immigrants, who continued to arrive until 1620-1630. In 1637, as many as 16% of the people of Barcelona were French. Shipping remained stagnant until 1520-1530; it then began a slow and uneven recovery until 1570 and was consolidated from 1580, when Barcelona returned to major world trade.

Recovery, but with limitations. In the late 16th century the Atlantic took over from the Mediterranean as the main trade area. This change of focus was necessary: the fairs and markets of Castile took precedence over the old Mediterranean ports of Sicily and Sardinia. Similarly, Castilian wheat was replacing Italian wheat. On the other hand, the Spanish markets could be used to send products from Barcelona to the Indies, a change that favoured artisans but did not allow the resurgence of large fortunes. There was some recovery of Mediterranean trade, especially after the Battle of Lepanto (1571), but never to the levels of the late Middle Ages. Furthermore, the royal finances were covered by Genoa. Boats laden with silver and Catalan products sailed from Barcelona to Genoa. Genoa provided capital and bankers; Barcelona provided ships and the manpower to build them. The shipyards of Barcelona were now working hard for the Royal Navy. There were more jobs, but outside the city’s tradition of trade. Barcelona underwent few changes in this period: the construction of the wall of La Marina, some Renaissance-style buildings (Casa de l’Ardiaca) and some mansions and monasteries; and alterations were made to the Royal Palace (the so-called Torre del Rei Marti), the Palau de la Generalitat (the Pere Blai façade
and the Pati dels Tarongers), the City Hall (the Sala del Trentenari), the Hospital de la Santa Creu and the former Convent dels Agustins.

In the first half of the seventeenth century the Plague (1629-1631, 1650-1654) and the Catalan Revolt (1640-1652) brought the city to its lowest population level: 15,000 inhabitants. The population would not return to the levels previous to 1650 until the next century. Levies (money and troops) and the presence on the ground of the Imperial Army because of the Thirty Years War were suffered particularly by the rural populations. When the reapers arrived on the Barcelona plain for the harvest, as they did every June, they revolted, entered the city and killed the viceroy and other royal officials. In response to a threat of invasion, the Generalitat proclaimed a short-lasting republic, reaching an agreement with France and declaring war on Spain. However, Barcelona capitulated in October 1652 after suffering the ravages of the plague and siege. The privileges and freedoms were maintained and a general pardon was declared, but the county of Roussillon and part of Cerdanya were lost.

A slow economic recovery was discernible at the end of the century. Though industry had achieved a cost reduction by hiring rural workers who did not belong to guilds, the recovery was based more on the export of agricultural products than on manufacturing. First the domestic market recovered; then, the ships of Barcelona returned to colonial trade through the ports of southern Spain. This was all too little to expect big changes in the city, except for water piping in the Raval, completion of the construction of the new port and a few façades that combined Renaissance and Baroque style.

A new slump occurred at the beginning of the new century: the War of Spanish Succession and the 1714 siege of Barcelona again decimated the population and the economy. In 1716 the Nueva Planta Decree eliminated the institutions of Catalonia and its capital and militarized the government of the principality. Growth would not return to the city until well into the century.

In 1717, Barcelona had about 34,000 inhabitants; in 1787 it had more than 110,000! Exports of wine and spirits, calico (the first factory opened in 1737 and in 1750 there were eight, with more than three hundred looms and eight hundred workers), paper and hats gave new drive to production, and port activity increased more than seven-fold between 1760 and 1796. Immigration from rural areas made Barcelona grow, while a strong domestic market based on the system of shops, which later spread to the rest of the peninsula, led to increasing participation of products from Catalonia and the rest of the peninsula in colonial trade, which increased eight-fold between 1778 and 1792.

This time, the economic growth based on the cotton industry (calico and spinning) and agriculture for export was not cut short by the problems at the end of the century, despite the decline in population caused by four wars and three subsistence crises in twenty years (1793-1812). However, from the second decade of the 18th century the city underwent an economic recovery with clearly modern and innovative connotations: spinning, weaving and printing were brought together in large factories with hundreds of workers; English innovations in the field of weaving were introduced and the company management was concentrated.

The changes would be reflected in the city. After the siege of 1714, part of the districts of La Ribera and Sant Pere were demolished to build the military complex of the Ciutadella (citadel). About one thousand houses were destroyed (17% of the total). Military control was completed with the conversion of Montjuïc into a fortress (1751-1760) and the construction of Fort Pienc. In compensation, in 1753 a new district, the Barceloneta, was built outside the city walls with
one-storey houses and streets in a linear layout to avoid obstructing the view from the Ciutadella. In the last quarter of the century Carrer Nou was developed and building started in the Raval district and the Ramblas, where some mansions already stood and others were being built (e.g. Palau Moja, Palau de la Virreina and Palau Marc). The City Council installed street lighting (1757) and the Baroque monasteries of La Mercè and Sant Felip Neri were built. Corporate and private civil buildings were also built, including the Customs, guild houses, mansions and the Neoclassical building that the Board of Trade built on site of the Gothic Corn Exchange. The population of the city moved towards the Raval, where there were new factories with wage-earners; traditional manufacturing continued in the Sant Pere district. In more populated areas the main type of housing was the three-storey tenement house rented by several families.

Industrial capital

In 1832 the factory of Bonaplata, Rull, Vilaregut i Cia. was opened in Barcelona. It employed 700 workers and combined spinning and mechanical weaving with the production of spinning machines. It marked the beginning of the mechanization of the cotton industry. The use of steam favoured the concentration of factories in Barcelona, which had easy access to coal imported from England and Asturias. Catalonia was one of the first-comers of industrialization in continental Europe. Spinning was mechanized in 1850 and in 1861 there were already 10,000 looms. Other industries using steam developed, including metallurgy and grain grinding. In 1839 the Valenti Esparó Foundry was set up, and it was followed in 1855-1857 by La Maquinista Terrestre i Marítima.

Industrialization altered the structure of the population. According to the Monografía estadística de la clase obrera de Barcelona (Statistical Monograph of the Working Class in Barcelona) by Ildefons Cerdà (1856), the primary sector had disappeared from the city, whereas the secondary sector (textiles and metallurgy) accounted for 72% of the workforce and the tertiary sector (domestic service and transport) for 28%. Female workers accounted for 41% of wage labour and children for 14%. The population of the city doubled between 1787 and 1857.

Industrialization also caused other changes. In the mid-19th century Barcelona was an industrial town. The conflicts arising from the implementation of the liberal regime were compounded by social tensions between capital and labour. In 1840 the first trade union, the Association of Mutual Protection of Cotton Weavers, was created and local Luddite practices emerged (the burning of the Bonaplata factory in 1835 and the selfactines conflict in 1854). From then on, social tensions would be part of the urban landscape: in 1873 Friedrich Engels said that Barcelona was the city with the most barricade fighting in the world. However, the increase in the number of factories and in the population (eight hundred inhabitants per hectare) needed new land that was not available in the walled city. The new manufacturing facilities thus spread over the towns of the plain, contributing to their urban development. There were constant calls for the demolition of the walls, which had been seen as oppressive and growth-preventing by the Barcelonans since 1714. In July 1854 the walls began to be demolished and five years later they had disappeared. This period saw the creation of Passeig de Gràcia and new streets in the Raval district; the Gran Teatre del Liceu on the Ramblas was inaugurated (1847); Plaça de Sant Jaume was connected to the Ramblas by Carrer Ferran and to the Esplanade by Carrer Jaume I and Carrer Princesa; the neoclassical facade of the City Hall was built with statues of King James I
and Councillor Joan Fiveller; Plaça Reial was developed; Casa dels Porxos was built by the colonialist Josep Xifré; and L’Espanya Industrial was built outside the city walls in Sants.

The demolition of the walls allowed the expansion of the city and the building of the Eixample expansion area. Cerda’s design was based on a grid of wide streets that were parallel and perpendicular to the sea. Towards the end of the century, the bourgeoisie moved their residences to the Eixample, which resulted in the Quadrat d’Or (Golden Square) of Catalan Modernisme, including Casa Batlló and Casa Milà (La Pedrera) by Gaudí and Casa Amatller, Casa Terrades (Casa de les Punxes) and Casa Macaya by Puig i Cadafalch. Modernisme was also the style of the Hospital de Sant Pau and the Palau de la Música by Domènech i Montaner and the Sagrada Família and Parc Güell by Gaudí. This was the modern, industrial city of the bourgeoisie and the proletarians, in which the former means of transport were replaced by the train and the tram. The first railway line in Spain, from Barcelona to Mataró, was opened in 1848, and the Sarrià railway was opened in 1863. For the Universal Exhibition of 1888, the Arc de Triomf and the Parc de la Ciutadella were created, the Malla Stream was covered, Portal de l’Àngel was opened, Avinguda del Paral·lel was developed and work on the port was completed. In the early twentieth century the old city was aerated with the development of Via Laietana and the first cinemas were opened (there were 139 in 1911). The expanding city was beginning to integrate the towns on the plain: the city absorbed Gràcia, Sant Martí de Provençals, Sant Andreu de Palomar, Les Corts, Sants and Sant Gervasi in 1897, Horta in 1904, and Sarrià in 1921. This process took the population from just over 330,000 to 720,000 inhabitants.

The pulse of Barcelona at the turn of the century was marked by social and political unrest. The labour movement soon developed a tradition of associations that came together with the Catalan nationalist movement in favour of federalism. These were years of attacks, strikes, lockouts and use of gunmen by employers, leading to the Tragic Week of 1909 sparked off by the calling-up of reserve troops to fight in Morocco. Employers’ associations (Foment del Treball Nacional, 1889) and trade unions (the General Workers’ Federation [UGT] in 1888 and the National Confederation of Labour [CNT] in 1910) were founded and there was a proliferation of cultural associations, cultural centres and recreational centres, secular and rationalists schools, public libraries, etc. The most outstanding event was the great achievement of conservative Catalan nationalism, the Commonwealth of Catalonia (1914-1925), which emerged as a modern movement of renewal that was close to society and drafted the first Statute of Autonomy. The Barcelona City Council introduced educational initiatives, including the creation in 1915 of the Escola del Bosc in Montjuïc, where classes were taught in the outdoors, and of other schools inspired by the method of the educator Maria Montessori. The press was also consolidated with thirteen daily newspapers and eighteen weekly magazines of political and general information, five literary and artistic magazines and four sports magazines.

Spain failed to take advantage of its neutrality in World War I to improve its outdated textile industry. The post-war crisis led to an increase in unemployment and unrest: a rail strike took place in 1917 and a strike at “La Canadenca” (Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Company) in 1919. The political and social crisis and the military defeat in the Battle of Annual (1921) led to the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930). The most important event of this period was the Universal Exhibition of 1929. Montjuïc, the Avinguda del Paral·lel, Plaça de Catalunya and Plaça d’Espanya were developed; the first underground railway line was built; and the Sarrià railroad was buried. The works encouraged immigration. Two hundred thousand people came
from Valencia, Aragon, Murcia and western Andalusia, exacerbating the housing problem: the first shanty town appeared between the Exhibition site and the new cemetery.

The Second Republic was a breath of freedom and the Statute of Autonomy was approved in 1932. However, the subsequent civil war caused havoc in some districts (Barceloneta, Poble Sec and Ciutat Vella), which were hit hard by the fascist bombing. The people of Barcelona built underground shelters to protect themselves from the bombs. The city took advantage of the destruction of the streets around the cathedral to create Avinguda de la Catedral and Plaça Nova. In the 1940s the demolished houses could still be seen; Barcelona was a grey city, suffering from repression, rationing, smuggling and hunger. The hardship contrasted with the luxury of the establishments frequented by the victors. The post-war period was long and the living standards of 1936 were not recovered until the early 1950s, when the economy began to revive. The International Eucharistic Congress of 1952 forced the city to develop areas such as the southern end of the Avinguda del Diagonal and the district of the Vivendes del Congrés. The reviving economy was marked by the opening of the SEAT factory in the Free Zone in 1952, and social unrest returned with the tram strikes of 1951 and 1957. New immigrants arrived and went to live in the suburbs in cases barates (cheap houses) without services and in huts, which in 1957 housed more than 66,000 people — 5% of the population.

In 1957 José María de Porcioles was appointed mayor. His long term in office was clearly marked by a new drive in city planning: the railway in Carrer Aragó was covered, the University Area was created in Avinguda del Diagonal, the metro network was extended, the Ronda del Mig (middle ring road) was opened and Avinguda Meridiana and Avinguda del Diagonal became the major routes in and out of the city. But the “Greater Barcelona” of Porcioles led to speculation and easy money. The Barcelona that he left in 1973 bore little resemblance to that of 1957: the city had more than 1,750,000 inhabitants and opposition was widespread, extending to universities, factories and neighbourhoods. In 1971 the Assembly of Catalonia was created in Barcelona and the impunity of the local authorities was now challenged by the increasingly powerful neighbourhood associations. The dictatorship was coming to an end.

During the transition the people of Barcelona took to the street in massive demonstrations. The local festivals and the street names that had been changed by the Franco regime were recovered and community centres and parks were opened. Barcelona again turned its face to the sea with the creation of Moll de la Fusta and the Marbella Beach. The final drive came with Barcelona’s successful bid to hold the 1992 Olympic Games, which changed the face of the city and created new accesses to the centre through the construction of ring roads. City planning focused on three Olympic areas: Montjuïc, Poble Nou and Vall d’Hebron.

Conclusions

Barcelona is today a modern Mediterranean city that is Catalan, yet cosmopolitan and multicultural. It has a pleasant climate with a mean temperature of 18 °C and a quality of life that is considered among the best. With a population of 1,611,822 in 2013, it is committed to Europe and to exports and has an economy (8% industry, 3% construction and 88% services) that left its dependence on textiles behind some time ago. The economy has diversified into strategic sectors that are knowledge-intensive, innovative and dynamic, such as information and communica-
tions technology, biotechnology and life sciences, design, energy, media, tourism, medicine and health, sustainable mobility, aerospace and the environment. To encourage new initiatives, the City Council set up the 22@ Barcelona district. Barcelona is the fourth largest European city in scientific production and 43% of those employed in the service sector produce value added. Barcelona’s reorientation and reinvention are well indicated by its consolidation as the Mobile World Capital (the Mobile World Congress received 72,000 visitors in 2013, an increase of 8% over the previous year) and as the capital of conferences related to health sciences, which account for a third of the total held in the city.

The Barcelona of today has been shaped by its history, which is evident in many parts of the city (it is the only city in the world with nine World Heritage buildings), and by its inhabitants. It is the third most visited city in Europe. In 2013 it received more than eight million tourists, with more than 35 million passengers using the airport and 2.6 million cruise passengers. It is also one of the main ports of the Mediterranean, moving 41.5 million tons of cargo, 1.8 million containers and 3.4 million passengers in 2012. In short, though it is somewhat top-heavy (21% of the population of Catalonia live in Barcelona and 63% in the metropolitan area), Barcelona meets all the conditions to be the capital of Catalonia, as it has done since the time of the counts of Barcelona.

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Catalonia city and Barcelona nation
Notes on cultural intersections and divergences

Francesc Serés
Writer
Introduction

The relationship Barcelona and Catalonia have maintained from a cultural perspective has been a complex one. As complex as the reception of the political and aesthetic ideas and tales it has generated. The mechanisms that have turned these two great social, cultural, economic and political realities have revealed areas of uniform and unitary intersection, but also certain spheres in which the distances were evident.

All relationships involve consensus and conflict. Ties call for solutions and disagreements. This text presents the conclusions we can draw from the principal scenarios we have been able to describe to date in the areas of convergence in the cultural relationships between Barcelona and Catalonia. And of course the territorial and historical divisions, but particularly projected ones, divergences that have to be borne in mind when planning the future cultural relations between the capital of Catalonia and an independent Catalonia.

In this section we remember some of the ideas that have guided the theoretical discussions developed by 19th century noucentisme and which the 20th century has progressively modulated, amplified or annulled. The cultural relations between Barcelona and Catalonia have been constructed in this manner and without them large-scale project ideas such as the MNAC (The National Art Museum of Catalonia) or industries such as publishing, to quote two examples, would not have been possible. The capital status of Barcelona in an independent Catalonia would change the coordinates on which these relations were formed. We cannot anticipate every problem, but we can look for diagnoses and possible solutions.

Many changes will take place. And the initial ones will have to be brought about by national governments and local corporations. The first of all of them is a fundamental one: the budget allocated to culture by the governmental institutions has to reach the average of the countries we should look to as references. This also affects the expenditure local corporations incur, all of them. Expenditure does not guarantee success, but a lack of budget would demonstrate little credibility in intentions.

The following sections, background and diagnosis, summarise the aspects which have determined and will have to determine the cultural relations between Barcelona and Catalonia in the future. The key factor to success will be not to repeat the same mistakes and view the successes with a large dose of scepticism. Whatever happens, a new period is beginning which demands new mistakes in order to achieve new successes.

Background

Barcelona has exercised, de facto and for centuries, with virtues and defects, capital status in Catalonia and its area of influence. We have sufficient information to see what the characteristics of this relationship have been. Above all, we are interested in interpreting the way in which Barcelona has produced and generated discourses on the relationship it has had to maintain with Catalonia or with its synonyms, in other words, the country, the territory.

The 19th century noucentisme project is an unfinished project. It has been interrupted on so many occasions that it has not been possible to give it the necessary continuity to consolidate itself. One of the successes of 19th century noucentisme was to absorb the trends of European...
thinking and their actions and project them upon the Catalan reality. 19th century \textit{noucentisme} could be compared to similar movements, yet its decisions, cause and consequences, and its development, are unique. Unique as a European, Spanish and Catalan project.

The 20th century was very complicated, and on occasions, fatal. In the last few years, the Catalan Regional Government and local corporations have built a network of cultural facilities which continue the work of the Association of Municipalities and has occupied the entire geography of the country. Libraries and universities, theatres and museums, multi-disciplinary facilities and a series of stable programmes and a Barcelona that is the capital of diverse cultural industries: publishing, entertainment, audio-visual and other industries. \textbf{Catalonia’s relationship with Barcelona takes the form of an open and variable space.}

Within this space, Barcelona’s capital status has been exercised in a natural way for centuries. There are several ways to interpret the territorial scope of this capital status, from the first metropolitan ring (Baix Llobregat, Vallès Occidental and Maresme Sud) to the second, which reaches as far as Vilafranca del Penedès, Vilanova i la Geltrú, Igualada, Manresa, Vic and Mataró, or the entire Principality. The variable distance it maintains with the remaining regions has to be sufficiently flexible to allow it to reach beyond strict autonomous limits.

I have been asked to talk about the cultural relations. The cultural relations cannot be separated from the economic, social or political relations. Sometimes, the best cultural infrastructure is a road or a fibre optic cable; sometimes, the best outcome of cultural policy is a good degree of social cohesion… When we speak of culture we speak of complex symbolic systems, whose margins are not only poorly defined, but also enter into other spheres.

We have to consider that until a few years ago the discussion was still viewed through concepts such as urban and rural. These concepts, which until recently were relatively useful, no longer are, at least the way they were described by part of the university, public and published opinion and even, and in particular, by the institutions.

We need to discard the gently neutral descriptions of the territory. The observation does not have to conform to what we want to see. This is a dynamic reality, with a succession of temporary images. Snapshots that bear little relation with what has occurred in the previous context with the arrival of major vectors which have modified contemporary Catalan society.

The population distribution in Catalonia reveals areas with a very low density and GDP, and even a period in which cities have areas suffering a prolonged economic recession. If this recession becomes irreversible, we will lose a part of the country which, because of its size, needs its diversity, its internal magnitude. In a country the size of Catalonia, this must also form part of the concerns of its capital.

Economic changes have also changed the reality of the regions. The agricultural sector has been transformed into food and agriculture; the variations in the GDP between secondary and tertiary sectors have transformed medium-sized cities; the opening up to the world through tourism and exporting express a new sphere of action… All of this makes it necessary to consider dynamic variables that have a major impact on the cultural relations between Barcelona and Catalonia.

Barcelona and the majority of the regions of Catalonia have changed their population structure. The theoretical cosmopolitanism of Barcelona in the eighties and nineties has been replaced by another one, this time real, which challenges many of the discourses produced by the previous one. The quantity of immigrants and emigrants, of foreign professionals and tour-
ists, means that we can no longer speak in the same way of the need to open up to the world. Barcelona is known throughout the world. Catalan cities and regions as a whole are participating, in a different but no less intense manner, in changes similar to the ones Barcelona has suffered, with or without suffering. Some municipal regions of Lleida, Tarragona or Girona have a much higher rate of immigration than Barcelona.

**Identity will be a key factor in understanding how the new capital status fits in.** We should bear in mind that we are not talking about identity in singular, but of identities, diverse identities, of introspection and definition in order to take decisions. Associating the concept of identities to cultural groups, or even worse, to ethnic groups, serves no purpose. Identities are diverse, complementary and an essential vehicle of the relationship. If Barcelona, through discomfort or lack of understanding, tries to avoid the cultural, social, political or economic identities, it will repeat the same mistakes that generated the conflicts in the Sants and Barceloneta districts.

**The definition of capital status is not the same either.** It is one thing to be a capital and another, often quite different, is to behave like a capital. The lack of policies of contemporary major cities to make them responsible for the region they say they represent has created distance even where there is no physical distance. If we want the relations between Barcelona and Catalonia not to repeat the mistakes of many major world capitals, it is important to remember that only by recognising the other and its identity can we create ties of representation and responsibility, in other words, through rights and obligations. Being the capital of a region, however important the capital or the region, does not guarantee that threshold of comfort among citizens that allows the city to guarantee long-term success for its inhabitants, for the country it represents, for the people who come from elsewhere and for its perception from an international perspective.

**Diagnosis and directions**

The relationship between Barcelona and Catalonia cannot allow itself to repeat some of the mistakes it made previously. The following points represent a map of the principle elements for discussion. Obviously, it is not a finite map or a finished one.

**Culture is not an expense, it is investment.** We have to discard once and for all the discourse that links culture to superfluous expenditure. *Budgetary expense* is not synonymous with *success*, but its absence signifies *failure*. If the political institutions perceive culture as an adversary, as a nuisance or an ornament, any other consideration will be superfluous. The relationship between Barcelona and Catalonia will find in culture the ideal place to express itself and create ties.

**This relationship cannot repeat the radial model which has produced such poor results in Spain.** Today, Spain has large areas that are cultural deserts. There are graveyard museums in many provincial capitals which have become the perfect excuse for doing little else. The situation in some Catalan regions imitates and repeats this policy towards museums, centres for performing arts and theatres, which are often underused and represent a huge part of the culture budget.

**Barcelona will not be able to continue its relations with the surrounding area, nor with models inherited from the previous Spanish town planning system, in the same way it has done during the period of autonomy.** Limits will exist, inevitably, and we have to foresee the consequences and for this reason we have to bear in mind that this relationship has to include
the Catalan Countries. Barcelona will remain the capital, voluntarily or otherwise, of an area that is made up of all the Catalan-speaking regions. However, relations must connect all of these regions without forgetting that this relationship must also reach the European economic region of the Mediterranean arc.

**It will not be possible to imitate the policy of franchise infrastructure either.** The case of the Guggenheim museum of Bilbao has been a success for the city, yet the characteristics of that Bilbao bear no relation to Catalonia. Perhaps an operation like that one would not be so successful in the Bilbao of today; the fact that it worked once does not mean it always will. We are talking about culture, not just economic impact or image. When we speak of commitment to a location, we also speak of commitment with the sphere of that relationship.

**Barcelona has to compete with the major European and world capitals, but it also has to create the necessary context in order to compete, albeit in a different way, with its surrounding area, which is what nurtures its singularity.** If, in the end, Barcelona opts solely for the international dimension, it is likely that this singularity that made it appealing will become smaller and more hollow, that of a brand belonging to the world of performance art or sport. Gaudí was born in Riudoms, el Bulli in Empordà and much of the Roman art of the MNAC originates from the Lleida and Aran regions: if Barcelona refuses to create the ideal relationship environment, it will lose part of the identity that made it appealing to other cities.

**We cannot overlook education.** This is not a cliché, it is a fact: we have to start with education and facilitate mobility and exchange, from school through to university. Said mobility cannot be in one direction only, in other words, in either direction between Barcelona and the regions. Students from Puigcerdà should be able to go with those from Barcelona to Tarragona and to the Delta del Ebro. Similarly, we cannot allow a homogenous distribution of degrees and qualifications; we cannot allow an excessive and monopolising accumulation of qualifications in the Barcelona area.

**It must be a relationship of facts, not things or places.** Cultural acts should create the bond, events that are capable of moving citizens or the focus of interest from one place to another. Not buildings, but things that are done. Theatres or conference centres do not move, people move. A policy of agreed programmes and programming is required.

**We must consider the unity and variety of the action.** Barcelona and other cities have drawn up their strategic plans for culture. Having read and inspected them, the points and lines of action that coincide are notable. The headings of Barcelona’s Strategic Plan for Culture 2006, “Barcelona Laboratory”, “Culture, education and proximity”, “Barcelona, city of readers”, “Programme for intercultural dialogue”, and those which follow, could and should have continuity in the other town and city councils, or, at least, a comparative study should be conducted explaining why these frameworks are applicable or why they are not. The idea of network and of cultural continuum has to prevail in the results, but also in the decision making processes.

**The criteria accepted in the Catalonia’s Strategic Plan for Culture 2021 are broad enough to be accepted as guiding principles.** The evaluation of cultural heritage or artistic creativity, as well as the promotion of scientific research and access to culture are common areas. They can also be evaluated through the following points, when we speak of promoting access to culture or facilitating the participation of everyone in cultural life. The evaluation of the cultural impact and benefit is a difficult task, and sometimes sufficiently flexible to be deceptive. The effects of failures in the region are also sometimes too evident to be camouflaged with statistics.
In this relationship, there has been a criterion of contribution that will be fundamental. The relationship which Barcelona and Catalonia will have to maintain will be successful to the extent that it is unique. There are models of relationship between the centre and the periphery that work and others that do not, but a general model cannot be formulated just by accepting the good parts of the former and avoiding the bad parts of the latter. Barcelona and Catalonia have seen their relationship projected through the binary concept of Catalonia city. The characteristics of this Catalonia city were described a hundred years ago and the foundations are now being laid for it to come to fruition.

Town planning speaks of actions that should have a commitment to the location and the rationality of the cultural model of this location, in cases where the model is different. Cities such as Lleida, Girona, Tarragona, Olot, Figueres and Reus have had their own models of cultural development. This relationship between centre and periphery requires flexibility and adaptability and, above all, generosity. Otherwise, the relationship will not be based on reciprocal movements, but will be subjected to an inequality which not only calls into question its raison d’être, but its sustainability. Less populated areas may end up victims of a vicious circle which prevents them from creating independent processes.

The relationship between Barcelona and the region will not be an easy one since, from the outset, it is not a balanced one. The outcome must always be positive for the city. This is a dynamic of dependence which feed on itself and which may end up perpetuating itself in terms of policy and economy, but which has a clear cultural outcome: the cancellation of discourse once power has been eliminated. The area will not be able to recover and cultural diversity will be lost.

A clear and determined commitment has to be made towards the creation of cultural clusters. In the same way that there has been an economic specialisation, there should be the power to create the conditions that make cultural specialisation possible. We cannot trust in the development of cultural offerings throughout the country merely through annual events, fairs, markets or festivals. These are isolated events which have a limited and questionable impact. The Street Theatre Fair of Tàrrega, for example, needs to create a context which occupies a space and a time that goes beyond the event in question, and a link should be established between the programming of cinema and theatre festivals in Lleida. The next step of a coherent policy would be to ask ourselves, using the above example, whether it is possible to promote a cultural industry that links these offerings and extends to the publishing, audio-visual and university spheres. This way, the relationship with Barcelona could be one of dialogue, durable and symbiotic.

The relationship between Barcelona and Catalonia must, logically, be a relationship of power which expresses itself through discourse. The institutions that participate in it will play a key role and have a great responsibility in the outcome. In the middle of this duality between Barcelona and Catalonia, between the Government of the Catalan Regional Government and the municipal regions, we need an institutional context that regulates the differences of power. Naturally, these will be cultural institutions, but in order for them to be as balanced as possible, we have to include the citizens also. Without institutions, the citizens have no frame of reference. Without the citizens, the institutions become hollow and mere organisation structures. The cultural relationship has to be based on the different administrative levels.

Finally, and to link this to the heading of this third point: if there is not a sincere and credible will to create a true cultural state, one that is socially unified and worthy of the region, all the
reports, strategic plans and projects will not be worth the paper they are written on. The task of reports sometimes consists of speaking from beyond the confines of the reports.

Conclusions

- Barcelona is Catalonia and Catalonia is Barcelona. We would be making a serious error if we interpreted city and country as two differentiated entities. Barcelona is what it is thanks to Catalonia and vice-versa. Everybody has to end up winning and nobody should lose anything.
- It requires generosity from both sides, but above all from Barcelona. The degree of empathy and complicity the relationship is able to generate will give it vital capital. The city will compete internationally, but will be compared constantly with the country.
- The old dichotomies based on the rural-urban binomial must be constantly reformulated. The definitions are dynamic.
- Immigration and population changes will be a key factor. It may seem like a well-intentioned cliché, but in the case of Catalonia they are an historical fact: they are never a liability, on the contrary, they are always an asset, a contribution.
- Good cultural management stimulates a region. Poor cultural management, caused by a lack of room to manoeuvre due to budgetary constraints, sterilises everything it touches in cultural terms.
- The relationship between Barcelona and Catalonia, as far as promoting culture is concerned, has to be an equal and reciprocal one. The benefits of this relationship must be distributed in a democratic manner. The metaphor of balance is of no use, since we are not weighing anything, we are talking about a network. The inequalities in this relationship will also be social inequalities and will affect citizens who will not feel a commitment towards the society they form part of.
- The concept of culture as a cornerstone of justice and progress remains valid. The basis of this relationship has to be the open and inclusive nature of the actions and must maintain a commitment of respect towards the location.
- The conditions need to be created for effective cultural specialisation in certain areas of the region that goes beyond specific events in the calendar and in the geographical location.
- We cannot talk of identity. Establishing a good framework of relations has to allow talk of identities, in plural, that are permeable and in constant evolution. Identities that are personal, citizen-based, cultural, social, economic and political.
- The limits of this relationship should not be projected thinking only of the strict limits of the Principality. The capital status of Barcelona in an independent Catalonia must take the entire Catalan Countries into account.
- The relationship between Barcelona and Catalonia must be unique and, in order for it to be successful, must adopt a model and must rethink the relationships between city and region.
• There has to be a programmatic link between Agenda 21, Barcelona’s Strategic Plan for Culture and the future Culture Plan of Catalonia, which finally specifies actions that allow evaluation of the positive effect of the relationship between Catalonia and Barcelona.

• The future involves knowledge. Cities must be cities of knowledge, and the regions and their citizens also. In fact, what can we project for the coming decades that does not take the possibilities of the network into account?

• We need to propose this relationship within the framework of a project that can be evaluated, is subject to change and to the critical reconstruction of all the agents involved, the sector, the citizens and the institutions.

Final conclusion: Rhetoric is a part of politics, but it cannot be the basis of politics. Facts are evaluated, words clarify them. If, in the project of the relationship between Barcelona and Catalonia, there is no clear will to create a framework of relations that are stable, of sound quality, democratic, social and, above all, allow evaluation, we will end up talking about the missed opportunities in a few years’ time.

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The Cosmopolitan Imperative

Andreu Ulied

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I am writing on the airplane, as I have done so many times, flying to Brussels, the old capital of Flanders, an unalluring, almost inhospitable city in spite of its art nouveau and the Grand Palace, or, precisely, the young journalist Tintin and the Manneken Pis, chocolate made from cocoa beans from the Congo colonised by King Leopold, of such ill repute. Brussels today is the symbolic centre of Europe without a plan, lost on the road to nowhere. It is the monster, “Brussels, the gentle monster” in the words of Hans Magnus, that stands guard at the centre of a bureaucratic labyrinth. The President of the Council of Europe, a figure so unimportant that no one even knows their name, has declared that Catalonia would be excluded automatically from the European Union if it separated from Spain. The fact is that there are no precedents and no case law in that regard and the decision would not in any case be in the hands of the Council of Europe, but rather of the European Court of Justice.

There is some turbulence, the airplane is suddenly and violently shaken, and a stewardess asks everyone please to return to their seats and fasten their seat belts.

I think of the best book to be published recently on the subject of Europe: *Turbulent and Mighty Continent*, by Anthony Giddens, with whom I agree on the concept of cosmopolitan imperative, namely the exigency of learning to live in a globalised world, where the intersection of divergent beliefs and ways of life becomes an everyday occurrence. In the view of Ulrich Beck, cosmopolitanism is opposed to both uniformising universalism and to nationalism, understood as the “narcissism of small differences”, in the words of Sigmund Freud.

Europe has some magnificent cosmopolitan cities, we know, that function as different sorts of capitals, Amsterdam for example, just up the road. Amsterdam is a city open to the world, with a strong local economy, many innovative small and medium-sized enterprises that export their products, and two good universities that attract talented young people from all around, a diverse and tolerant city that is also highly original with a familiar identity. I would be hard pressed to name the capital of the Netherlands, one of the most open and polycentric European states; I suppose that the political capital is the Hague, but different cities enjoy the status of the social, cultural, university, financial, commercial or logistics capitals of the country, namely Rotterdam, Delft, Utrecht, or Amsterdam itself. The Netherlands is a large conurbation, large in European terms only, that we call the *Randstad*, equivalent to Greater London, Paris-Île de France, the Ruhr, the Madrid Autonomous Community or the Milan metropolitan area, home to Europe’s largest port, Rotterdam, and one of its largest international airports, Schipol, with a smallish hinterland. This makes the Dutch *Randstad* a good reference model for Barcelona and Catalonia, and not just in terms of urban development. Many Catalans see themselves as the *Dutch of the South*, on the Mediterranean. I have sometimes met on flights with Ramon Tremosa, member of the European Parliament and author of a good book on the subject.

Europe, however, is an exception. Researchers have asked whether the size of European cities and regions is too small in comparison with cities in the rest of the world. A few months ago I took part in a seminar in Mumbai organized by the World Bank with a delegation sent by the Barcelona Town Council, headed by Antoni Vives, the councillor for Urban Habitat. The world’s emerging megalopolises, such as Los Angeles, Mexico City, São Paulo, Lagos, Chennai, Guangzhou Shanghai, Seoul, continue adding population at breakneck speed while also accumulating scandalous deficits in urban services and infrastructure, and they still have Barcelona, the truth be told, as a model for successful urban renewal. Unlike the Netherlands or Northern
Europe, with their tradition of good governance, where there was never any excessive, uncontrolled growth, Barcelona underwent chaotic growth during the 1960s, the era of desarrollismo, of shanty towns, on a smaller scale but similar in essence to what is now being experienced in the world’s great megalopolises. Later, starting in the 1980s, with the return of democracy and autonomy, Barcelona undertook an extraordinary process of urban renewal and social and cultural reconstruction or reinvention that continues to this day. I would call it admirable, because it has not always had the support of the Spanish state; the city has renewed itself to a large extent through its own energy and abilities.

“Barcelona strengthens its international leadership” reads today’s paper that we were given upon boarding the airplane. Metropolis, the worldwide network of cities, has appointed Xavier Trias, the mayor of Barcelona, as co-chairman of the network at the Hyderabad congress. On the other hand, Joan Clos, former mayor of Barcelona, directs the United Nations agency working on world cities from its office in Nairobi. What we once baptised the “Barcelona model”, a radical process of urban renewal based on specific plans for large and small public spaces and facilities distributed evenly throughout the city’s neighbourhoods, is still alive today and has been updated in keeping with the possibilities offered by new technologies, of information, communication or energy, applied to a smarter management of the city and to facilitating more active citizen participation in public decisions.

In order to be a “global city”, in the terms used by Saskia Sassen or Manuel Castells, you do not need dozens of millions of inhabitants, as neither the Randstad or any other European city has or wants to have. Nor, strictly speaking, do you need to be the political capital of a state.

To what extent is the recovery of power by states, as now sought by all the European Union Member States, to the detriment of the shared European institutions and to the detriment of cities and regions, the swan song of a lengthy and inevitable decadence that has been on the books now for many years? The 19th century nation states are too big for small or local problems (supply of public services, economic promotion) and too small for big problems (tax and monetary policy, defence, foreign policy). Those states, however are resisting like well-fed cats any reduction of their power, whether from above, by international organisations such as the European Union, or from below, by local and regional organisations. Meanwhile, political and cultural identification between state and nation is dissolving into globalisation. The social engineering based on that identification, forced by the mass communication media, the compulsory education system and, in Europe, by the memory of two world wars, will be less effective with the next generation. The fact is that we are now beginning to experience what Giddens calls the “cosmopolitan imperative”, which does not imply the banal simplification of nations or cultural homogenisation, but rather the demystification of political boundaries and a closer link between citizens and universal values. At the same time, the emergence of multiple and deterritorialised identities involves a strengthening of localism, of identification with the place, the neighbourhood, the town, the city. However, the administrative and political organisation of territories and forms of government are rigid and resistant to adaptation: municipalities, counties, provinces, regions, states and multilateral international organisations all evolve at Jurassic speeds in comparison with technological, social and economic changes; people establish relationships and communicate differently around the world; businesses merge and separate, change names and corporate purposes, and multinationals are now becoming multilocals or glocals and they move their resources from one day to the next from one place to another on volatile financial markets.
The world is changing faster than we can imagine it. Barcelona was a Spanish provincial capital thirty years ago, and now it is a global city.

Albert Serratosa explained this to us over twenty years ago, in his own way, when we were working on drafting the Barcelona Metropolitan Territorial Plan, just a few years after the 1992 Olympic Games.

“Don’t get it wrong,” he told us, “the Barcelona Metropolitan Region is Catalonia!” Gràcia, Sant Andreu or Sarrià all have as much personality as Gavà or Molins de Rei, Canet, Ripoll or Lloret de Mar.

We can see it at a glance: Catalonia is no longer “a closed triangle with two sides remaining to be civilised”, as the noucentistes liked to say at the turn of the 20th century. Catalonia has to a great extent achieved the civilising ideal of Gabriel Alomar’s Catalunya ciutat, the Catalonia that wanted to be “open, cosmopolitan, renovated and original”, in the words of Joan Cortada at one those fantastic modernist celebrations in Sitges in 1898. We have overcome Barcelona’s macrocephaly, the illness that so alarmed the experts gathered at the first Catalan Cultural Congress held after the end of the Franco regime: all Catalonia is like Barcelona, an urban region with seven and a half million inhabitants, which is a reasonable size on a European and global scale. We are a global city, but our territorial organisation is based upon medieval and 19th century jurisdictions with other sectorial jurisdictions superimposed on them. It is not just Catalonia’s external political and administrative fit into the Spanish state and the European Union that needs to be resolved, but also its own internal fit. In 2005 and 2006 I had the opportunity to discuss the territorial reorganisation of Catalonia and Barcelona’s metropolitan fit in depth with many people who were directly involved; I collected those conversations in my book La ciutat infinita: a través de les Barcelones i Catalunyes viscudes o imaginades, published by the Barcelona Town Council. The conclusion remains valid for me nearly ten years later: Barcelona and Catalonia need to organise the governmental structure of the territory in a radically different way. The unsuitable fit of Catalonia in Spain and Europe is just one of the many changes to territorial government that we now need.

Sant Miquel de Balenyà, in the municipality of Seva, is just one of hundreds of examples, the one I am most familiar with, for the very good reason that the first person to be buried in the town cemetery was my great grandfather.

The first meeting with the tenants of the town’s industrial estate to discuss plans for a bypass was called by mayor, Eric Vila, several weeks ago, and it was held at Andreu’s Toys, a company that distributes toys in Europe that it imports from a Thai manufacturer and that it produces itself in China to its own designs, Designed in Barcelona, it says on the boxes. With the crisis, Andreu’s Toys has seen its sales halved, “But it’s staying afloat”, Salvador, the owner, tells me. “We’re still working.”

The second meeting was held a week later at the industrial premises next door to Andreu’s Toys, Driving Events, a business owned by Ramon, who was born in Tona and lives in Brull. You will often find executives and engineers of Japanese automobile manufacturers there, bringing him prototypes for new vehicles; he now has the new Jeep Cherokee, between Land Rovers and Nissans, and he is planning the logistics needed for a marketing operation in Nepal.

How is it that the entry to the town is still a narrow six-metre bridge over the railway used by almost eight thousand vehicles daily, five thousand of which carry on through the town in the
direction of Seva and three thousand of which carry on to Taradell? This is an unchannellised T-intersection, in flagrant contradiction of all the rules and recommendations on road intersections. However, one of the historical problems of Sant Miquel de Balenyà is that it is not the seat of the Seva municipality, but instead has always been the new neighbourhood of the Balenyà-Tona-Seva station. The current mayor of Seva, Eric Vila, who lives in Sant Miquel de Balenyà, has started to change things. A motion was passed this autumn to make the town a Decentralised Municipal Entity (DME). Thanks to the DME, the town will now have a certain institutional capacity to go beyond justified complaints and demands to a proposal and a plan, to commence planning a new intersection and a bypass. Osona might be better off if it were governed as fifty or sixty DMEs and just one municipality, coinciding with the Regional Council, with its seat at Vic. Why not? If we want to increase the capacity of governments and public institutions to improve people’s daily lives, that sort of change at the local level is just as important as other changes at the European level.

That is the question: we need to overcome limits and boundaries, to do away with inefficient jurisdictions if we can, or to overcome them, to create jurisdictions that are better able to give a voice to people, to citizens, to solve shared problems. Of course, this also has to do with identity. In order for citizens to feel linked to political institutions, they need to have an affective relationship with them, to feel close to the politicians who represent them. Perhaps now more than ever, the more open that we become to the rest of the world, we need to feel more faithful to our origins, to be original. That circumstance is the true meaning of cosmopolitanism: territorial jurisdictions and the authority of governments are not sacrosanct, they need to adapt on all scales, local, regional and state, to social aspirations and needs, to people’s plans for the future.

To help me think about the future of Barcelona and Catalonia as European urban region, or *Little Europe*, a global city, and how it might be affected by becoming a state, on the fold-down table in front of me I have, half opened, a recent map of Europe, “a cartographic image of the future of Europe”, to be exact, as it was called by Peter Melbye, Director of the European Commission’s ESPON programme of regional and urban studies, the institution that is organising the debates in Brussels today and tomorrow in which I am taking part.

We conceived this map, as a matter of fact, as a representation of what we might call *City Europe*, a synthesis of a future vision of Europe to which a dozen institutions from around Europe have dedicated three years of work and discussions in different committees of the European Parliament, the European Commission and the Committee of the Regions. The vision that we defend is of an open and polycentric Europe; we propose a Europe of cities, now city regions, a view that is genuinely European, of central and transalpine Europe, of Danubian Europe, particularly, because it is also true that the capitals of the great colonising empires, Lisbon, Madrid, London, Paris, Moscow, even Brussels, are macrocephalic in relation to the other cities in their states, although not in relation to the other megalopolises around the world. Given the rapid and unfettered growth of the world’s megalopolises, we propose a Europe that should develop around its network of already existing small, medium and large cities, such as the *Randstad* in the Netherlands, or Switzerland, an even more extreme case, with a network of medium-sized cities, on the scale of Zurich, Basle or Geneva, with Berne as the capital. However, the most important feature of the map is what is not shown there.
The legend of the map states that it does not show any administrative or political boundaries, because in practice none can be projected for the timeline shown, namely 2050. Today’s territorial divisions will have to change as necessary, let us say, to adapt to the future needs of European citizens. Administrative limits and borders, let us also say, should not obstruct cooperation between individuals, public institutions and enterprises anywhere in Europe or limit the progress or quality of life of European citizens: future generations should not be imprisoned by the borders established following World War II, or any previous or subsequent wars, or by municipal, local, provincial or regional boundaries. The Europe without explicit borders shown on the map is a post-nationalist, of course, and cosmopolitan Europe, organised more as a network of cities than as a mosaic of nation states, one that is open, it is said, to internal or external growth (by “internal” growth, I mean that Scotland or Catalonia or Bavaria or Veneto could become new Member States of the European Union with no other problems than those posed by certain internal adjustments). The question is whether the borders of today’s states must be considered eternal, inviolable forever and ever.

Brussels-North station is rather sordid, and it reminds me of the old Avenida de la Luz, that in fact rather dark tunnel lined with small shops in the Barcelona underground. The station is set in the midst of a new neighbourhood with tall office buildings peopled by office workers by day but only prostitutes and drifters by night. The meeting is in a very bright and modern Brussels regional ministry conference room on the first floor. There are twenty people, experts on urban and regional policies from around Europe, waiting for me.

I explain the basic ideas of Making Europe Open and Polycentric: regional inequalities in Europe have grown with the crisis and cohesion policies need to be revised, immediately, from 2020 onwards, to be better in touch with each place and with the changing macroeconomic situation: investment in high-speed rail lines in Spain during a real estate boom is not the same as investing in Poland during a financial crisis. The Common Market remains fragmented and Europe is too difficult to govern and too widely separated from its neighbouring regions — conflicts in Ukraine, Russia, the countries on the southern shore of the Mediterranean, on which Europe depends to a great extent for its supplies of gas and petroleum. Europe is smaller, in terms of the world, and it needs stronger shared institutions. However, the rest of the world is becoming just as important as the Common Market, or even more so, for European businesses. Even so, the fabric of small and medium-sized European cities, unique in the world, has shown itself to be suited not only to addressing the challenges of social inclusiveness and sustainability, but also to facilitating economic growth. This is what the models for forecasting regional economies that we have developed with the University of Milan tell us. The fact that European cities remain small in comparison with the world’s megalopolises will not limit economic growth if they form a well-connected network with a polycentric structure and if they are open to the world.

I receive a WhatsApp message from Teresa while I am speaking: “What time are you arriving tomorrow?” she asks. “Around half-past eight, with Vueling,” I remind her. “We’re going to Port de la Selva with Xavi and Anna.”

I believe that this vision of an open and polycentric Europe is the same as the vision of Barcelona as a “metropolis of neighbourhoods” that Vicente Guallart, Chief Architect of Barcelona, presented to the Urban Habitat Advisory Committee several weeks ago; Barcelona as a “hyper-connected city with productive neighbourhoods at a human speed”, “smart and slow at the same
time”, “self-sufficient and networked”. Here, we might replace “Barcelona” with “Catalonia”: Catalonia is a metropolis of neighbourhoods or towns and cities, hyperconnected to the world, and networked.

The stroll down grand avenues with wide, tree-lined pavements is enjoyable, in spite of everything. I chat with Marjam, who is Dutch, from Amsterdam, in fact, and who works for the ESPON co-ordination unit; we talk about her children, one of whom is studying criminology at an English university, while the other one is studying geography in Utrecht.

At Waterstones, I buy a copy of *Imagining Europe: Myth, Memory and Identity*, by Bottici and Challand, two authors with whom I was unfamiliar, the only book that does not present a negative image of Europe, which I read over dinner, alone, near the Metropole hotel. Europe is a project that has existed for just over half a century. It might be our last utopia, built on the broken promises of modernity, that of the 19th century nation states, among others. Brussels, however, is not the best city for having dinner alone, the heaters that restaurants place outside are already working, and you are hot and cold at the same time.

The following day, the results of the ESPON programme for urban and regional policies were presented and discussed by Committee of the Regions. I asked whether the narrative of structural and cohesion funds was still meaningful. Not all the regions of Europe are growing together, which is the policy objective promoted by the Committee of the Regions at present, and we need new policies, or genuine policies, above and beyond the transfer of funds between regions.

“They don’t want to learn, that’s all!”, says Adrian Healy, who has spent two years researching the resilience of the regions in crisis and the expansion of informal economies in eastern and southern Europe.

I say goodbye to everyone, to Sara Ferrara, who is married to a Cuban bandleader who she sees every six weeks, in Havana or Luxembourg, alternately, to Kai Bohm, a German who lives in Luxembourg … How long have we known each and worked together? We agree on one thing, that after all these years, Europe, as a project, has hit hard times. It is perhaps nostalgia for our younger days that we feel as we evoke those ingenuous years, around the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, when we believed in the Maastricht Treaty, the beginnings of the common policy on transportation and the common policy on regional development, eventually reduced to criteria for distribution and management of cohesion funds and structural funds. In fact, around that time the reunification of German and the Yugoslav Wars turned out to be much more important than the euro or the cohesion funds.

I have lunch at the Black Pearls restaurant in Brussels airport on my way back to Barcelona. I think that the paper napkins, which feel like fabric, are from a factory that I visited years ago in Monistrol de Montserrat. There is still a long hour to go before boarding and I am getting a bit tired of writing, but I still have a lot to say, or rather to repeat, because none of this is new. So let us go right back to the start.

“On our way to making Barcelona the city of the future,” wrote Gabriel Alomar in 1904, “we will undertake the Barcelonisation of Catalonia, of the old rustic and peasant Catalonia. Until the Catalan people returns to its orbit around Barcelona, our nation will not be revived.”

That was the futurists’ vision, prophetic we might say, of their Catalonia City: Catalonia becoming a great city of Europe, of the Mediterranean, of the world. Precisely at the time when Spain, and Catalan industry and trade, was losing the remains of its empire, Cuba, Puerto Rico
and the Philippines, the Catalan financial, intellectual and artistic elites were planning to open up their nearest neighbours in Europe and, ideally, to the whole Mediterranean.

In the natural evolution of peoples, 19th century regionalism was succeeded by the phase of modern nationalism and, in the view of futurists such as Alomar, we would eventually reach the era that is now upon us, the cosmopolitan age.

The flight leaves on time, the exception that proves the aeronautic rule of delays every Friday evening, and I spend the trip reading the book on the myths and narratives of Europe: “Europe as a project for the future in peace and progress for all” is foundering. It is no surprise that there is an upsurge of anti-European, nationalist and populist parties in northern and central Europe, while a new left is emerging in the south that regards European institutions, such as the European Central Bank, not to mention the International Monetary Fund, with unallayed suspicion. Some want to dismantle Europe, and the others perhaps want the same, although for different reasons and with contradictory aims. Who is defending Europe? The Scottish separatists, who lost, and not the British conservatives in the government, who won; many Ukrainians, in the midst of civil war, and millions of Turks, who would like more democracy and modernisation. Come to think of it, I would say that perhaps this has always been the case, that the best of Europe lies at some distance from Brussels, and not just in terms of kilometres. What we have succeeded in building has been to a great extent in spite of political inertia or even in spite of the will of Europeans themselves, thanks to the European Court of Justice, a sort of Constitutional Court that has gradually made case law through its successive rereadings of the international treaties between states, from Rome to Lisbon. The European Union is an unidentified flying legal object, an international institution caught in a process of constitutionalisation that is too complicated.

Arriving in Barcelona, after fifteen minutes on the Ronda Litoral I am in the Vila Olímpica, I pick up Teresa at home and we head straight for Port de la Selva, where Xavi and Anna are expecting us. It is a two hour drive, via Llançà, but I like the winding roads of Cadaqués and Cap de Creus, even at night.

There is a large estelada, the Catalan nationalist flag, flying from a flagpole at the harbour.

Xavi is a member of ERC, the Catalan republican party, and he has been heavily involved in the preparations for November 9.

Anna views it all from a certain distance. She lived in Miami ten years, where she was married to a millionaire author from the Bahamas, she teaches Spanish literature, and she works for a publisher. She has a son studying in the United States.

Teresa has lived in Barcelona for twenty years: she is a Barcelonan by choice and Puerto Rican by birth, and half of her family is scattered between Washington, Boston and San Juan, on the island. She has never voted in an election, and she would like to do so in the poll on November 9. “But I won’t vote “Yes” and “No”, she says, laughing, “it would be too much to leave one commonwealth just to end up in another one!” We have dinner on the porch, with the town across the bay; only the church, an unassuming and elegant white building, stands out above the roofs of the houses.

The next morning all four of us go out for a walk, following a coastal trail that is not particularly well marked, to a tiny cove called Cala Galera; improbable looking dry stone walls rise up from the slope, boxes and pines twisted by the wind, flat weathered rocks, looking almost as if
sliced by a knife, battered the waves, the wind and the rain. We have lost our way and discovered some beautiful scenery, narrow, damp gorges, little hills with magnificent views over the bay of Port de la Selva. It is a fantastic day at the beginning of November, cool and sunny, few people around, one or two boats in the little coves. The water is not cold yet, and we go swimming for quite a while.

“This landscape, this climate, that’s all that’s lacking in the Netherlands,” Anna tells me.

Dani asks me by WhatsApp “Dad, can I go watch some films and sleep over at a friend’s house?”

“Go on,” I answer, “I’ll drop by to pick you up about one o’clock when we get back from Port de la Selva. We’re playing football tomorrow.”

“No, there are a lot of films. I better sleep over. Can I?”

“How’s everything?” I ask Lucas, who will be starting to study at ESADE this year. “Should I get you up tomorrow for football?”

He doesn’t answer. A friend of his left for Israel today and she will be there for a year, studying at the Hebrew University, so he must be in a bad mood. For the first time in years, he has his mobile switched off, or the battery must be dead.

In the end, in just two hours, with the motorway practically empty on a Saturday evening heading to Barcelona, we are back home.

After the match, on the artificial turf pitch next to the primary school in the Vila Olímpica (we lost 7-6, for a change), I get back to my article, until noon.

What remains to be said?

The idea was to think of the future of Barcelona as the capital of an independent Catalonia, and right from the start it seemed to me that such concepts were rather more elusive than they might first appear. Barcelona, the city, and Catalonia, the nation, are already a single, superimposed reality: Catalonia is an urban region of Europe and Barcelona is nation city, or vice versa. Today, Barcelona and Catalonia are different fantasies, that of global city and that of stateless European nation, but they offer coinciding experiences in day-to-day life: they are visions of the same reality, as they are in the eyes of the rest of the world. Promoting tourism in Catalonia means promoting tourism in Barcelona, rallying to the Barcelona brand and its prestigious image. Who cares if Barcelona World is located in one municipality or another, one province or another? What does it matter if the port of Barcelona and the port of Tarragona are competing, seen from Shanghai or Singapore? What does it matter if the airport located in the province of Gerona, in the county of La Selva, near Cassà de la Selva, is named Barcelona-Costa Brava, and why should that bother anyone if the name helps it establish a more favourable position in the world and attract more passengers and do more business? In today’s world, rivalry between provinces or counties is pointless. I recall that the Catalonia Technical University used to be called the Barcelona Technical University, and the Barcelona Orchestra is now the Barcelona and Catalan National Orchestra. There was no need for us to get mired in word games to replace Barcelona with Catalonia. Albert Serratosa laid many years of successful work on the line when he decided, and rightly so, I believe, to do just the opposite: he renamed what was officially referred to previously as the Region 1 Partial Territorial Plan as the Barcelona Metropolitan Territorial Plan. The words metropolitan and Barcelona are no longer taboo.
From this standpoint, we immediately run up against the problem of unsuitable territorial organisation, into municipalities, counties, provinces, and the resulting difficulties of governance. It is not just the administrative or symbolic fit of Barcelona with Catalonia, or of Catalonia with Spain or Europe; the solution has to be more far reaching. We need to resolve the fit of all the territorial jurisdictions if we want properly to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

I believe that the best that has been written on the subject of Barcelona and Catalonia was written by Joan Maragall. One hundred years ago, the poet travelled to Tona from Sarrià every year, accompanied by a procession of wagons and carriages with all his large family, and they stayed in Tona for several weeks of rest and relaxation, taking the waters, hiking in the hills, and writing. Osona was a back country and agricultural area, but Vic was already a commercial city, and an intellectual centre thanks to the seminary. The traditionalism typical of Vic, the regionalism of Torres i Bages, or Mossèn Cullèll, or Verdaguer’s mystical poetry, was far removed from any closed, reactionary or ultramontane spirit. It seems to me that the Catalan nationalism of the modernist era, predating noucentisme, the nationalism of Prat de la Riba or Eugeni d’Ors, was a current of thought much more oriented towards projecting the future than evoking the past, and as such we can still take it as a reference point. That diverse Catalan nationalism, with its gaze fixed on the future, was brought to an abrupt end with the Tragic Week in Barcelona, as explained by Joan Roca, the director of the Museum of History of Barcelona. That is surely why the most lucid summary of that futurist thought was attained by Joan Maragall in his commentary on the impact of that social tragedy.

In his article “La ciutat del perdó”, written on the hill of Monrodon, between Tona, Sant Miquel de Balenyà and Taradell in the summer of 1909, Joan Maragall proclaimed the civilising ideals of that initial Catalan nationalism which, years later, at the beginning of the 1980s, was taken up again by Eugenio Trias in a magnificent book titled La Catalunya ciutat.

In thirty years of democracy and autonomy, we have built, at once, a new nation and a global city.

But we are not finished yet, immersed as we are in the full blown cosmopolitan age. Because more than regionalists or nationalists, what we have always been is futurists.

“We are the ones who make new homelands!” proclaimed Joan Maragall.
This article situates the political resurgence of Barcelona within the framework of the decline of the west and institutional stagnation in Europe. The author explores the regenerating role that the capital of Catalonia might play for the continent if it becomes a national capital.

Before sitting down to write, I watched a television series called Outlander. Television series are today’s feuilletons and they can help to show us the undercurrents that move humanity and the set of hopes and fears that politicians have the duty of managing in the most constructive way possible.

Outlander tells the story of an English nurse who is reunited with her husband after the end of World War I. While London celebrates victory, the couple leave for a holiday in Scotland with the intention of reviving their marriage. Both of them have experienced the slaughter that took place on the front lines and they represent the love withered by traumatic memories so typical of Europe during the cold war and the commencement of globalisation.

The first episode shows a stagnant relationship with a brilliant past. The couple reminds us of the aging Europe of our days, this continent that seems to lack the strength to get back on track, while the rest of humanity continues advancing in other parts of the world. The writers have taken a very original approach, one with a clear political message, to breathe new life into this love affair that was only being held together by physical pleasure, as the heroine herself confessed.

In Scotland, the couple find a magical world that eludes the parameters of the scientific and rationalist Europe of the early 20th century. The process of discovery of Scottish folklore helps the couple to get along. They are caught up in exploring an exotic tradition and an unwritten
One day the woman places her hands on an enchanted stone and she reappears in the same place, but in the 18th century. The destination was not chosen at random. Nor do I think it was a coincidence that the husband is a British intelligence agent, recycled as a professor of history at an exclusive English university. When she awakens in the 18th century, the heroine finds that her husband is an official in the royal army that is occupying Scotland, and the first thing that he does when he finds her in the forest is try to rape her. He later tries to torture her.

When she is saved by a Scot who is fighting on the rebel side, the woman is caught up in life in a castle that she had visited a few days earlier as a tourist, where she hears people speaking Gaelic. One of the episodes recalls that the English banned Gaelic in the years leading up to the battle Culloden (1745), i.e. while Phillip V was oppressing Barcelona. Even so, the theme of the series is not a heroic war fought against an invader, as in Braveheart. The subject is not nationalism, in spite of the discourse used by some politicians regarding the aspirations of old European stateless nations.

The theme of the series is the quality of passions, the relationship between memory and talent. The series explains that when peoples’ spirit flags, when the drive and will to carry on abandon us, the ability to gain new strength is found in the opportunities that reality offers us to change our view of the world.

If I have started this article on the political resurgence of Barcelona discussing a series like Outlander, it is not just because it relates the 18th century to the 20th century, which were two very important centuries in the city’s history. The theme of Outlander can also be found in series about zombies, extra-terrestrials, viruses or even psychopaths.

The Walking Dead, Z-Nation, Falling Skies, Last Ship and Dexter also deal with the relationship between talent and the quality of passions. They also transmit unease and an acute sense of decline. At least in fictional narratives, we can say that western civilisation is looking for rebirth through fighting characters who have no choice but to learn to see the world through different eyes if they want to survive.

In From the Ruins of the Empire, Pankaj Mishra writes that the west could find itself caught in a paradox, a situation that has arisen on other occasions in the past. One hundred years ago, thirteen western countries controlled three quarters of the Earth and 79% of the world’s population. Now, says Mishra, it might happen that those same powers end up subjected to countries with foreign civilisations, thanks to the strength of the same values that they themselves used to attain hegemony.

As Mishra says, what is at issue is not western values. Those values have no clear alternative. What is at issue is the west’s hegemony, and so the control that the old colonial powers still wield over the interpretation of their historical legacy. It is that situation of loss of control over its own future that creates the feeling of decline and the portrayal of the new western hero as a man who must reinvent himself in order to carry on.

I am saying all this to point out that Barcelona’s resurgence on the international scene should take advantage of that circumstance. Jordi Pujol already alerted us, while Franco was still fully in power, to a situation that has continued to worsen since the end of the Cold War: Pujol said «We are perhaps the only defeated people in Western Europe. European youth is wallowing in ease and words. There are few places in Europe other than Catalonia with such abundant opportunities for understanding the possibilities offered by our times more clearly and for pursuing
their imperatives more effectively. Few places in Europe have preserved such a noble and youthful ideal, so full of morning freshness.”

As I see it, that is the factor that Barcelona must keep most to the fore, if it ever becomes a national capital. Barcelona will only hold a position among the world’s great cities if it contributes to the political and spiritual regeneration of Europe. I know that mentioning spirituality is suspect. But before becoming suspicious, we need to ask this question: are the factors making up western unease not of an immaterial nature? Is it not significant that Barcelona is the only city on the continent that is raising a Christian temple? A Christian temple whose value has been boosted by the insistent admiration of Asian tourists. If we consider that the tourists who have infused value into the Sagrada Familia form part of the most dynamic and thriving human agglomeration in the world, this may give us food for thought.

We Catalans have certain things in common with the emerging Asian countries. We have a deep-seated will to exist and to show the world that we are a nation worthy of being taken into account. We have a need to redress our status as a defeated and humiliated people. Like many emerging former colonies, we have been slow to understand the mechanisms of the nation state and for a long time we have felt ourselves left behind by history. The letters sent by Chinese officials to Queen Victoria advising her that British subjects were involved in smuggling in the port of Canton remind us, in their naivety, of the letters and reports of grievances that many Catalan notables have written to the King of Spain and his ministers over the past four centuries.

The tactics pursued by the Chinese for quelling the greed and violence of the western colonists likewise remind us of some of the tactics deployed by Catalanism against Castilian Spain. Even the criticism that disparaged modernist Barcelona as a phallic city with extravagant tastes, marred by political frustration and an inferiority complex, might be used to characterise certain large Asian cities.

The intellectual awakening of Asia began, timidly, during the first decades of the 19th century, similar to what occurred in Catalonia with the Renaixença. In both cases, it was not until the early 20th century that a qualitative leap was made that irreversibly transformed political awareness.

In November 1905, the Cu-Cut affair happened in Barcelona. Just when the dynastic parties had lost control of the Principality, a caricature published in the press infuriated the Spanish army in Barcelona and the offices of the Lliga and some newspapers published in Catalan were sacked by the military. It is a well-known story. The government in Madrid rewarded the vandalism perpetrated by the soldiers and Catalonia made its first organised response to Spanish repression in a series of mobilisations and a unified political candidacy.

Also in 1905, a decisive event occurred in Asia when the Japanese defeated the Russian armada at the naval battle of Tsushima. This was the first time that an oriental army had inflicted a decisive defeat on a western country. As Mishra explains, the victory was celebrated throughout the colonised world. That event changed the way the peoples dominated by the west saw themselves. It changed a sense of inferiority and resignation into a source of pride and hope. Something similar happened with the Cu-Cut affair. Catalonia also changed how it saw itself and how it imagined its future.

1906 is the year that historians mark as the beginning of Noucentisme movement. If the Cu-Cut affair prompted the birth of Noucentisme, the Battle of Tsushima became the reference point that delineated the political model that Asian countries have followed ever since. Even
today we might say that the response by countries such as Japan, China, India or both Koreas to western hegemony has been to arm themselves to the teeth and bolster their bureaucracies. The leading oriental countries today are gigantic replicas of the old nation states of the 19th century.

There is an essential, western, difference in the Catalan response. While the Asian response was to copy the elements of discipline and organisation that gave the Europeans states their military strength, the Catalan response was to delve into the civic and democratic ideals implicit in the French and American revolutions, as well as their country’s own history prior to 1714. Catalonia’s response, led by the *barcelonism* of Eugeni d’Ors, was not warlike, but rather cultural.

On the cusp of the 19th and 20th centuries, Catalonia, which was an extremely violent country, with an instinctive and medieval sort of violence, began to forge a national model that was almost post-materialist, based on education and civic spirit. That transformation was repeatedly interrupted and it was fraught with difficulties. Just as Japan took expansionist militarism too far, dazzled by the example of Europe, Catalan culturalism was toppled by the spiral of violence that led to the Civil War and the dictatorship. Even so, those obstacles failed to halt a historical process of evolution of which we are now witnessing the outcome.

We now see that many Asian countries have created states that are as formidable as the great western powers, or even more so. For its part, Catalonia has a civilian mobilisation that is unprecedented in the history of European democracies. While the 21st century seems destined to witness the emergence of countries scarred by humiliation and defeat, Barcelona should not be afraid to manifest itself as one of the capital cities that will drive the Old Continent’s regeneration.

Barcelona’s position on the side-lines of the history of modern Europe is the source of its capacity to stir up the stagnant waters of the west’s capacity for inventiveness. Catalonia epitomises the most vital part of European history. The fact that we are celebrating the Tercentenary is one more indication that no other city has preserved such an intense and passionate recall of the liberties that were lost by cities during the process of formation of the old European nation states.

As Lewis Mumford explained, since the fall of Rome, two powers have vied for hegemony in the west, namely states and cities. While in the rest of the world cities and countries have ended up being the product of state machineries, in Catalonia, it has been the cities, led by Barcelona, that have laid the foundations for a national awareness and for progress. I think that this circumstance helps to understand Barcelona’s reputation overseas, along with the fact that the city’s attractiveness continues to grow as the conditions for the exercise of freedom improve in Spain and around Europe.

Flocel Sabaté wrote a book dealing with the perception of territory in medieval Catalonia that reminds us of the model Barcelona could help to bring about within the European Union. Perhaps we need to work towards a Europe that is conceived as a constellation of mutually influential and dependent cities, each with its own plan and territory, as an evolution from the best medieval urban traditions and from the organisational contributions made by the French and the old Spanish Empire.

In that sense, the independence of countries such as Catalonia, Scotland or Flanders would allow creation of a model state that is more appropriate to the Union. With a territorial system that would see Europe as one large Switzerland, the continent would save itself the trouble of dividing up the indivisible and it could take advantage of the strength of localism to attain a
leading role in the world. Already in the 14th century, Catalonia was described as ten cities. There is a theoretical current running from the jurists of the 15th century to Eugeni d’Ors that conceives the country as a system of cities in a network led by Barcelona.

Unlike the situation in France or Castile, in Catalonia the boundaries with the countryside were very quickly blurred. The country quickly became a network of sovereign entities where each city functioned as a small state. This gave rise to an intensive and well-organised commercial fabric that was able to capitalise on a very small territory.

The network of jurisdictions that formed the basis for establishment of political power led to regional quarrels, but it prevented Castilian assimilationism from penetrating the country irreversibly. The articulation of small, mutually influenced capitals linked the idea of country to the territory so strongly that it made that idea impregnable.

The model of a centralising and uniformising nation state might work in Asia or South America. On the continents that were most heavily colonised, there remains much life to be organised, and many grandiloquent cities to be built. In Europe, however, we need to change the world, if we wish to avoid being crushed by our military and economic adversaries. Barcelona is fortunate to be endowed with the history and strength needed to offer an alternative to western decline from within the west itself.

Even though they do not say so, I believe that the foreigners who visit Barcelona come here to admire, rather than just sunny weather and paella, the country’s efforts to survive office-minded policies, also referred to as rationalist policies. Today, those efforts give Barcelona a sheen of authenticity that people born in the old, standardised democracies might miss. I believe that no city embodies as much as Barcelona the modern ideals of liberty that were allowed to fall by the wayside in the construction of the old states.

In recent years, by means of a number of massive demonstrations, Barcelona has asked Europe a question, one that will determine the degree of cohesion and institutional quality that the western bloc can attain in future. The fact that a people of the European Union could promote and process for independence by organising referendums using cardboard boxes for urns against the dictates of the State’s legal services, the fact that it could fill its major streets with huge demonstrations with no incidents whatsoever, and the fact that it has asked Brussels whether it is, at long last, possible to change the continent’s internal boundaries without recourse to violence, can only be understood in terms of Catalonia’s urban resistance, led by Barcelona, against the uniformising dynamics of the nation states over the last few centuries.

Nowhere can we see more clearly than in Barcelona to what extent cities are the outcome of the tension between the interests of those in power and the interests of the people. The resurgence of Barcelona is meaningful now that economic and military boundaries are changing and now that European political culture has stagnated. While the old power structures use Europe as an excuse for maintaining the privileges of the past, the same ideals that gave rise to the unification of the continent are shaking them up. As at other times in history, Barcelona is at the eye of the storm of a crisis of values that pits the tyrannical forces of the world against those striving for more democracy.

That confrontation is also seen in the major national capitals, where the old nation states are concentrating their aging power. After decades of abandonment and degeneration, urban life is gathering strength once again. As in all times of change, cities have become the battleground where the hegemonic models for the future are being decided. The political resurgence of Bar-
celona could be a valuable factor for the west, in offering a counterbalance against the enormity and the more grotesque forms of capitalism promoted by the powers that are least sensitive to democracy.

If nothing stands in their way, the great metropolises of Europe and the United States will be tempted to imitate the Asian cities, even at the cost of sacrificing prerogatives that we have come to take for granted in democratic countries. According to the Financial Times, London’s economy is already twice the size of the combined economies of Scotland and Wales and its population also equals their combined populations. The city is forecast to grow from 8.4 million to 10 million by 2030. London, as a capital city, is generous with the rest of the country in comparison with New York, Berlin, Rome or Paris. However, with such figures, it is only normal that cities that have no state will have to choose between encouraging independence movements and accepting irreversible decline.

This explains why we are seeing the growth of demands along nationalist or regional lines for greater self-government in Italy, Belgium, the United Kingdom and even France. Those demands are motivated not just by material considerations, but also by the pursuit of human dignity. The materialist ideologies of modernity had led us to believe that only hunger and poverty could lead people to revolt. Lately, however, we see, in Catalonia and in Hong Kong, that this is not the case. Analysts spout figures and economic theories, but in Barcelona demonstrations by the indignant have never been larger than 300,000 people, while pacifist and separatist demonstrations have always gathered over one million people.

The hypothetical independence of Catalonia, Scotland or Flanders will need to offer compensation for the fragmentation of the European political panorama if they are to be consolidated. In my view, the compensation that the small nations have to offer the European Union is that they will allow it to overcome the historical and cultural traumas caused by the old nation states. A Barcelona that is open to the world would help Western Europe to re-establish creative contact with its own history and its territories — it would have to have the effect that 18th century Scotland has on the personality of the English nurse in Outlander.

In Postwar, Tony Judt said that Europe has entered the 21st century with sufficient experience to embody once again the full range of universal virtues, but the slaughters of the past still weigh too heavily upon us. In Civilization, Niall Ferguson states that western youth of the last thirty years has been given an education lacking any historical substance, that they have been encouraged to empathise with the Roman centurions and the victims of the Holocaust, but they have not received the education that they need to examine and understand the world, to comprehend the attitudes that placed our civilisation at the centre of history.

Governments have converted history into a theme park, an excuse for moralising and distancing themselves from the past. History is a source of complacent remorse rather than a tool for understanding the world and for encouraging Europeans to live with courage and decisiveness, without too much self-deception. Even after so many years, we have not been able to pardon Hitler and his thugs and Europe continues to drag around their memory like a wounded warrior who is bleeding to death from an unhealed wound.

The two World Wars still mark a crucial turning point in the history of the continent. They are still used as an excuse to cover up the fraudulent nationalisation process carried out by states that are often described as plurinational but that have in fact been conceived for the sole benefit of just one of their peoples. While the European Union tries to embody the values of democracy
before the rest of the world, on the home front its territorial structure remains the product of the old criteria of force and war more than of the criteria of economic or cultural efficiency.

Barcelona can help return to European history the universe that created the western ideals of freedom and human dignity. Barcelona is the only one of the great Mediterranean cities that made the Industrial Revolution on time. It is the only one that has resisted the onslaught of the northern cities without being swamped, yet, by tourism. Some of Barcelona's streets are exemplary, from the standpoint of urban development, of density, accessibility, diversity of uses and international image. The streets are not just the expression of the daily life of a city’s inhabitants. They are also a reflection of its political culture and how it understands the world.

In his Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Quentin Skinner copied this passage from an ancient manuscript: «The Italian cities, wrote a 12th century German traveller, so desire freedom that they have made themselves independent republics, each governed by a council chosen by an assembly, with a short mandate to counteract the excesses of power.» That passage reminds us of the modest observation by Josep Pla that Catalonia was the westernmost part of Italy, and also of Voltaire's remarks on the Catalans' love of freedom, in reference to 1714.

The critic Robert Hughes, in his book Barcelona, expressed his surprise at learning that he could not understand the monuments that had made the city famous without studying the history of Catalonia and the impetus that it gave to the creators of those monuments. Hughes discovered that it was the Catalan nostalgia for the past, a past unknown to him and ignored in the story of western culture, that had driven the city’s best architects and all its other artists, including musicians, painters, poets and prose writers.

On the streets of Barcelona, we can sense the reply that the west could make to the world if Europe summoned the courage to face up to its history and change its view of the world, to bring it more into harmony with its current situation and with the values that it needs to promote in order to avoid becoming unimportant. As I have noted, the political resurgence of Barcelona should allow the continent to become more cohesive and give impetus to a western response to the westernisation of Asia. We must always bear in mind that Barcelona's relationship with the ideals of freedom that forged our civilisation explain, just as much as or even more so than the weather and the food, the often romantic relationship that many foreigners establish with the city.

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Situation and challenges facing rail transport in Barcelona’s Metropolitan Area

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Introduction

Transport infrastructure is essential to ensure the future economic development and internationalisation of Barcelona, and to improve the quality of life of all those linked to the Catalan capital’s economic, social, cultural, etc life and mobility. Given that most powers on matters of transport infrastructure remain in the hands of central government, creating a new Catalan state would enable new powers to be assumed which, when implemented, would favour a new transportation policy with new priorities, but also with challenges and obstacles to overcome that would be hard to resolve with existing instruments. While Spain’s infrastructure policy is notable for its disconnect between supply and demand, between investment and needs, Catalan’s infrastructure policy, assuming it has full authority, should restore the aim of promoting a design that maximises the economic and social impact of collective fiscal efforts. This paper argues the need for new state instruments and for part of the fiscal resources from the tax dividend from becoming independent to be used for essential improvements (historically pushed down the list of investment priorities) in order to provide efficient, safe railway services for travellers - in particular with regard to metropolitan services - and for rail freight leaving the port of Barcelona.

After looking at the recent history and current problems and challenges, this paper proposes ways of improving rail services in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, with an emphasis on suburban services and the Mediterranean Corridor.

Background

Catalonia has in recent years received strong levels of investment from the Spanish government. After a decade of under-investment, between 2001 and 2012 Catalonia received more than 21.4bn euros for transport infrastructure, at an average of around 1.8bn euros a year. This figure, however, is low in comparison to Catalonia’s economic power within the Spanish economy as a whole, in terms of GDP (18.7%), and means that the third provision of the Statute of Autonomy is unfulfilled. Despite this investment effort, it is noted that over half of the investment has gone on only two major projects. One of these was the expansion of Barcelona Airport (3.5bn euros). The other was the high-speed rail link with Madrid and France (4.6bn million euros for the stretch between Lleida and Barcelona, and about 4.2bn euros for the stretch between Barcelona and Figueres).

The data indicate that the railway system has taken most national investment into Catalonia, although it has done so by implementing a high-speed project that represents mobility figures well below those of other transport services. Focusing the analysis on connectivity for the city of Barcelona, the high-speed train service today serves about 8700 daily point-to-point passengers between Barcelona and Madrid, about 1300 between Barcelona and Zaragoza, and around 2500 between Barcelona and Andalusia. On the northern branch, the new high-speed line is used by about 2400 passengers a day between Barcelona and the cities of Girona and Figueres. While the national government made this investment to serve just a few thousand passengers a day,

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1. The investment figure refers to non-budgeted liquidated investments, only available up until 2012 at the time when this paper was written.
400,000 Renfe commuters watched as their transport system collapsed in the autumn of 2007. The historical under-investment and the new high-speed rail at Sants station were responsible for this. The lack of investment was embodied in the ongoing existence of obsolete overhead lines (installed during the Second Republic), rolling stock over 25 years old, no new lines, no laying of double tracks, and no new interchange since 1992. The response of the Catalan and Spanish governments was to agree a new railway investment plan for the period 2008-15 and to transfer authority for suburban services arising from the Statute of Autonomy approved in 2006 and in force from 2010.

As for rail freight, the link between the Port of Barcelona and France that uses international gauge (1435 mm) was opened in December 2010 following years of demands. This provisional third line, at an investment of 337m euros, was well below the stretch using the definitive international gauge between the Port of Barcelona and Castellbisbal, and between the Port and Mollet. From Mollet, rail freight services use the high-speed railway to the Pertús tunnel. In addition to the mix of gauges, there is the upgrading of the junction at Castellbisbal with a 5km spur connecting the branches of El Vallés with the Port of Barcelona and the terminals at Morrot and Can Tunis, which link to the terminals at the port (TCB, Tercat). However, of the total 168km stretch, 92km use the third-line solution.

The addition of the third rail between the Port and Castellbisbal and the passage through the Pertús tunnel represented a potential saving of up to six hours. It speeds up border crossings without the need to change from one train to another, and enables leading continental logistics destinations located in southern and central Europe to be reached with significantly increased load. An agreement was recently reached between the Ministry of Development and the Port Authority of Barcelona to split the necessary investment of about 100 million euros in order to proceed with the construction of new road and rail access services.

Current situation and challenges for intercity passenger transport

Rodalies Renfe suburban service now transports 105 million passengers a year - nearly 3 million passengers per kilometre in the suburbs of Catalonia (ATM, 2013; Renfe, 2013). Despite the 2008-15 Railway Infrastructure Plan and the transfer of management to the Catalan government, the service continues to suffer from quality and reliability problems. While the 2008-15 Infrastructure Plan committed the state to invest 4bn euros, the implementation of this plan has involved investment of barely more than 8% of this figure. In fact, in 2012 investment in the suburban rail service fell by 95% - basically composed of the expenditure associated with the station for the high-speed rail at Sagrera and the start of studies and projects - and has not significantly recovered since then. At the same time, and in line with what had been happening in previous years, the national government’s contribution to the financing of public transport in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona was cut by 30%. It was only the November 2013 agreement between the Catalan government and the Ministry for Development to invest in priority projects, following repeated incidents in the service, this represented a fresh commitment by the central govern-

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2. The plan established the investment of 3.05bn euros for improving infrastructure and around 950 million for stations and interchanges.
ment to make unique investments worth 306m euros up until 2016. In January 2014 this agreement was increased to include a reserve of 100 million euros, which will extend projects up until 2017. However, there is considerable doubt about whether these investments will be met, due to the slow rate of implementation of public works budgeted in Catalonia in recent years.

Moreover, the transfer of the service to the Catalan government has been shown to be insufficient to resolve major everyday problems. The transfer of authority in 2010 was limited to a change of ownership and regulation, planning, management, coordination and system inspection. The Catalan government can influence timetables, frequencies, policy on information and rates, can launch enquiries and punish the operator. However, it has no jurisdiction over infrastructure, trains, stations and staff. In addition, the transfer and the Catalan government’s margin for action as regulator has ended up being impacted by the Spanish government’s breach of the agreed modification to the Railway Industry Act, which establishes the impossibility of facilitating service liberalisation or the replacement of Renfe as network operator.

The quality of the service is greatly influenced by the infrastructure situation. The suburban system has only two tunnels for crossing the city. Currently, suburban traffic using these city tunnels is at full capacity, creating a serious bottleneck for the system. This situation makes it impossible to improve the service in terms of frequency, or change from a timetable based to a frequency based service, and it keeps the whole system highly vulnerable to any incident that can easily extend to the entire system. Existing tunnels cannot safely absorb greater volume of traffic in either direction at peak times and in coordination with other rail services, although the arrival of the high-speed service and reorganisation of the system makes better use of the Passeig de Gracia tunnel. On the other hand, the Eixample tunnel that opened in 2013 does not change anything for the suburban service as it will only be available for the high-speed service. The new interchange at Sagrera-Meridiana may enable improvements without adding pressure to the system, although only on routes into Barcelona from El Vallès and from north Barcelona. In any case, the increased frequency and vulnerability of the suburban system will continue hitting the ceiling imposed by having only two tunnels in the city.

Moreover, the current system is too dependent on the two-branch configuration that determines routing and prevents greater service flexibility. The lack of splitting of lines, such as that between Montcada and Vic, aggravates public transport’s ability to compete with road within the Metropolitan Region.

Similarly, the suburban system is severely congested at rush hour along several central sections, such as the North Barcelona section of the R1, between Montcada and Barcelona on the R2, and the entrance through Sant Andreu Arenal in connection with the Sagrera-Meridiana stretch of the R4. This situation hinders competition between rail and road.

Weekday mobility survey data from the Metropolitan Transport Authority (EMEF, 2013) shows how use of public transport decreases further out from Barcelona and other points of origin or destinations outside the city. It drops from a ratio of 1.8 for city travel to 0.95 on journeys to/from other destinations in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona. The role of private vehicles increases the further a person’s home is from the city. While people in Barcelona use public transport for 28% of their journeys, the equivalent figure for people who live in the rest of the Metropolitan Area is only 9%. Approximately 1.7 million intercity trips are made to/from Barcelona within the Metropolitan Area. Most trips within the city are for personal purposes whereas inter-city travel to/from Barcelona is more often for work purposes. El Barcelonès County is the
origin or destination for 80% of inter-county journeys within the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona, with connections to Baix Llobregat and Vallès Occidental being the most intense.

The limited investment made into the suburban system in recent years has been aimed at improving communication and signalling systems, replacing rolling stock, refurbishing some stations to allow longer trains, installing new electrical substations and the partial replacement of overhead power cables and electrification. In terms of management by the Catalan government, work has been done on timetable planning and coordination, defining quality standards and making greater demands in services offered by the operator. However, user ratings for the service remains low, the worst given by users, at 6.6 (EMEF, 2013), while the number of incidents is still too high.

Current situation and challenges for rail freight

Railways’ market share of movement of freight in Spain (2.59%) is the lowest percentage in the EU, and far below the average (11%). According to European Commission priorities, policies regarding infrastructure and mobility should promote the use of rail compared to road, in line with the fact that it is considered to be more socially efficient and sustainable. The design of the European TEN-T network, which includes the Mediterranean Corridor, aims to promote the connecting of rail to ports with a view to facilitating a modal shift between road and rail for the movement of goods. Barcelona’s geographical position as a gateway for goods from Southeast Asia, which is constantly growing, represents potential for Barcelona and its hinterland, which, precisely for this reason, could be expanded. Besides the advantage of its location, transporting containers from the Suez Canal to central Europe is much more environmentally efficient compared to using the route that goes via the ports of northern Europe, thanks to a significant reduction in Co2 emissions in the context of increasing emissions with the large increase in shipping that is forecast for the coming years. Barcelona and the Mediterranean have an opportunity to offer solutions to many of Europe’s mobility challenges in the coming years.

At the Port of Barcelona rail freight traffic today applies to 154,522 containers (TEUS) and 175,362 automobile units. In terms of market share, only 10.7% of goods leaving or entering the Port do so by rail. This share, which increased significantly from 2006 when it was only 2.6%, has stagnated at around 10% since 2012. Rail’s small market share at the Port of Barcelona contrasts with the figures for other European ports such as Hamburg-Bremen (30%) or Sines (97%).

Currently, the Iberian corridor (Barcelona-Zaragoza-Madrid) remains the most used in terms of goods leaving and entering, with a share of 72%. The northern corridor (Pamplona and Burgos), represents 26%, leaving only 2% for the European corridor. These figures alert us to the current limitations regarding the Port of Barcelona operating as a logistics hub and promoting the desired modal shift. However, these figures can also be interpreted in terms of the Port’s enormous potential if it had an efficient and competitive alternative to roads. The figure shows the number of regular rail services between the Port of Barcelona, international logistics centres and the Iberian Peninsula.
The third railway line is a temporary project aimed at providing a solution for trains heading to Europe at international width. For Barcelona, it has meant an increase in services and frequency of existing international connections, and has enabled the Port to better project itself internationally. Unfortunately, the high-speed corridor and the provisional third-line solution do not give much hope for a major boost to railways’ market share and the expansion of the Port’s hinterland under current circumstances. The third line enables the use of the network up until the international gauge, though it does so at a lower speed. The high-speed network is designed primarily for passenger transport needs. Although it is considered to be a mixed line, enabling the passage of goods, this transport is limited in terms of rolling stock length and weight, besides being affected by the design of gradients and slopes not suitable for the efficient transportation of goods. On top of this is the issue of requiring enormously expensive tri-tension locomotives for the three voltage levels on the journey, and the problems arising from coordinating with passenger services, as well as logistical and labour issues and the cost of the Pertús tunnel. On this matter, it should be noted that exiting via the Pertús tunnel is expensive, with its high toll, which has not avoided the financial problems with the tunnel licence. There are also major logistical difficulties in coordinating with passenger services as well as union cross-border regulation issues.
One consequence of these issues, particularly locomotive-related, is a cost overrun that hinders competition with the roads. This, in turn, creates barriers to entry for private operators, which are hard to find when competing with (national rail freight service (Renfe Mercancías).

Conclusions: Priorities for railway policy

The state itself offers a new policy framework and new instruments for infrastructure policy management. These instruments today are for use by the Spanish central government. Although the city of Barcelona benefits from a good public transport system, there need to be improvements in public service for the metropolitan area - especially with regard to the cities that are furthest from the Catalan capital and where private vehicles are still relatively important. As for freight, a strong commitment is needed to strengthen the rail links between the port and its markets in Europe and the rest of the peninsula. Commitment is also needed to improve its ability to compete, to contribute to the industrial fabric of the country and the modal shift between rail and road.

Improved suburban service management tools and necessary investments

With independence, the Catalan government will gain the authority that was not transferred in 2010 and, thanks also to the fiscal dividend following secession, would have room to invest in rail infrastructure - the current main obstacles to improving suburban services around the city of Barcelona. Furthermore, the network operator will lose its monopoly when its management contract ends in 2016. This will open the door to service liberalisation and the introduction of competition, or for the contract, with the expectation of improving the quality-cost relationship and favouring a more balanced relationship between the regulator and the regulated.

The railway infrastructure investment plan for 2008-15 involves a leading investment plan, because it identifies the main areas that need improving, and the document agreed between the Catalan government and the Ministry for Development during November 2013 involved prioritising urgent actions, although in some cases the actions involved only functional improvements that do not deal with the underlying problems. Upgrading overhead power lines, splitting single tracks and implementing the ERTMS (European Rail Traffic Management System) would improve the flow and safety of services, and would maximise use of current infrastructure capacity. Beyond these projects, in the case of Barcelona, urban infrastructure imposes physical limits to the long-term development of the system. The reorganisation of lines, greater integration of suburban, regional and underground services, and improvements in communication and signalling are only partial, temporary solutions that could lose their effectiveness in the medium term if construction of a third tunnel is not included. This third tunnel would reduce pressure on the existing tunnels, resolve network configuration issues and increase capacity, allow service rerouting without transferring huge delays to the rest of the network. This tunnel, however, should enable problems of saturation to be resolved on the most-used lines and entering the city of Bar-
Barcelona. Therefore, the choice of route and connectivity with other services such as underground and long-distance services should be studied as a priority.

Promoting rail connectivity for the Port of Barcelona

The obstacles described in this paper, which hinder the drive to make rail a real alternative to roads, will require decisive action from the new Catalan state when we get the instruments that we currently lack. The consensus in Catalonia and Barcelona about the importance of the Mediterranean Corridor for freight suggests that the new state's infrastructure policy will make this project a priority. Given this priority, a strategic debate will open up about the dilemma between the current mixed-use, high-speed corridor and the old route through Portbou. First, the design of the current high-speed network and the situation regarding the concession for the Pertús tunnel (which needs many high-cost trips for it to be sustainable) puts a question mark over the current policy of promoting this corridor for mixed passenger-freight use. In fact, growth in freight and passenger numbers could also place limits on the tunnels' capacity to efficiently serve mixed traffic in the medium term. Without, at the very least, taking action (which, equally, is very expensive) on infrastructure and management of the current route to adapt the network to the needs of the freight. Second, is the alternative based on restoring the route through Portbou by carrying out the necessary work to adapt to the international gauge. This would sacrifice time in return for not being constrained by the need to coordinate with passenger services, problems in the Pertús tunnel, and costly upgrading of the current route, which would hinder rail’s ability to compete on cost with roads. On the other hand, this would require a viable solution or settling the Pertús tunnel concession, with the associated costs.

Despite the willingness to look north, it is important to keep in mind that looking to these markets does not mean substituting the expansion of Port of Barcelona’s hinterland towards the rest of the Iberian Peninsula. Conquering the European market does not contradict the Port Authority’s current commitment to inland terminals, dry docks, and connecting the rail network to these logistics centres. The strategy in the Iberian Peninsula must still be to compete with the Port of Valencia to serve markets on the Barcelona-Madrid-Zaragoza corridor and the Ebro corridor between Barcelona, Zaragoza and Navarra and its branches to Castilla y León and the Basque Country. Becoming a logistical hub within the distribution chain for the Iberian Peninsula and internationally, committing to added value and contributing to reducing logistics costs for companies seem like inescapable objectives for a port with the potential of Barcelona and which aims to contribute to the country’s economy.

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Barcelona is now a European capital in the functional and economic sense. The metropolitan area of Barcelona is one of the large metropolitan areas of southern Europe, along with Madrid, Milan and Rome. Only the two European giants, Greater London and Paris -Illa de France, have clearly larger dimensions, populations and wealth. In addition, like Milan, Barcelona is not a state political capital and is the only important city in Europe in which the main decisions regarding investment in infrastructures and transport infrastructures management depend on state authorities which, far from acting as an arbitrator or facilitator between the principal cities in its state, assumes a party role. In other words, it makes decisions regarding investment and management that systematically subordinate all interests to the convenience of communication with the political state capital. This has traditionally been an important obstacle in providing sufficient infrastructures and infrastructure management to allow Barcelona to implement a mobility system to allow its vast metropolitan area to do what it should: establish effective communications with the world, set up adequate connections with its own area of influence and promote efficient, sustainable mobility within the city itself.

Barcelona has sufficient and appropriate infrastructure elements to permit relevant global connectivity infrastructures, now and in the future: an airport for passenger transit (and an auxiliary airport for goods) and a port for the transit of goods. All this has been possible due to the fact that these infrastructures are not financed by public budgets but by taxes paid by users. And even more so in the case of Barcelona, because both infrastructures yield considerable financial profits, part of which are used by the state authorities for investments and operations (which are all too often lacking in purpose in terms of mobility) in other services. Being a state capital would make
it possible to do what has not been possible until now (but which would have been possible and necessary): exercise local control over relevant decisions related to investments, prices and taxes and to the commercial management of these services. It would also make it possible to deal with the most important problems more quickly and efficiently, namely land transport connections, particular rail, port and airport transport, so often needed and so often postponed.

Barcelona’s mid-distance land transport infrastructures, motorways and railways (for passengers) have sufficient services for radial communications with Madrid, but there are relevant deficits in transversal land infrastructures, those connecting mobility in the Mediterranean area, with the south and the centre of Europe. Regional connectivity by rail, despite overcoming the difficulties of the Mediterranean corridor for passengers and goods, would be a priority in an independent state and would thus improve the connectivity of with its area of influence. The effects would clearly be positive, not only for Barcelona as the capital of the country capital but for the whole country itself.

There is a large black hole in the internal mobility of the metropolitan area with regard to the local railway network —particularly that owned by the state—, which has service and modernisation levels well below that of other comparable cities in Europe, and also lower than collective mobility service levels in the metropolitan area itself. The need for investment in local rail networks is considerable, and this deficit hampers management efficiency, regardless of the formal change in the party responsible for management. It also has important consequences in terms of distribution, since these services are normally used by many people with less purchasing power. It is likely that the most important investment priority in the near future lies here, and an independent state would most certainly deal with it in a more resolute fashion than that existing until now.

In general (and this also applies to metropolitan mobility), the improvement in the management of infrastructure and services has a much larger potential to increase wellbeing than incremental physical investment, along with the integral management of mobility. In this respect, a twenty-first century European capital must adopt a firmer, more modern stance in solving the problems of physical and environmental sustainability in relation to mobility. It is necessary to give considerable thought to and evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of policies aimed at calming traffic and reducing pollution, such as the pollution taxes successfully imposed in cities such as London, Stockholm, Copenhagen or Milan. Nonetheless, the fact that such measures have been successful in these cities does not necessarily mean they will also be successful in Barcelona. It might also be convenient to start analysing this aspect soon, because at some point the relative reduction in the use of private vehicles which led to the economic crisis will end, and strong tensions will again develop in terms of traffic congestion and pollution.

Lastly, but also of enormous importance is the fact that a European capital open to the future and to the world needs to offer space in which innovation can flourish, in order to experience and consolidate change. This requires fewer regulatory restrictions and greater flexibility. The considerable grade of access by citizens to technological changes and mobile applications enables more direct, flexible relations between the citizens of Barcelona and transport services, both on an everyday and on an occasional basis. This involves unavoidable conflicts in traditional sectors, which are protected by regulations and threatened by innovation; such conflicts must be submitted to political management, in order to correctly assess the costs and the benefits. The priority must also be based on making Barcelona receptive to change and to the future, since this is a key factor in attracting talent and dynamism. One decisive challenge, apart from the vocation to be a state capital, will be its determination to be a first-class European capital.
Barcelona, capital of Catalonia

Thoughts on the city’s hinterland, biodiversity, forests and sustainability

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A new culture of sustainability. Conceptual aspects

A few years ago in Pretoria (South Africa), I was fortunate enough to meet the late Nelson Mandela, one of those social leaders that history gives humankind on rare occasions. He told us, “Humanity’s great cause for the future is the fight for the environment”. The transcendence of the statement struck me and, especially, it helped me understand the social dimension of environmental issues, what the Mexican ecologist Víctor Toledo calls a crisis of civilisation. This means that environmental problems don’t refer strictly to sectoral pollution problems or to specific impacts on the environment, but go much further, as the crisis affects all the current variables of civilisation across the board in different ways and to different degrees. Thus despite undeniable scientific, technological and social advances, we have what Stavrakakis defines as environmental dislocation, which shows there are limits to growth, economic expansion and the energy demand, limits imposed by the existential scenario the planet represents.

In spite of the tension arising from the environmental crisis, it could contain some positive elements. A few decades ago, a well-known Catalan intellectual, Duran Farell, defined the environmental crisis and the associated formulation of sustainable development as humankind’s third great revolution. This new, bloodless revolution, which had no clear philosophical paternity behind it, was to lead to the social consolidation of the culture of sustainability, which called for new forms of participation/intervention, in which even antagonism and discrepancy could become positive elements which don’t have to be avoided like in any confrontation variable, but, on the contrary, need to be incorporated in participation processes as assets: this is undoubtedly one important novelty.

This new culture is working towards a new ethic for a sustainable future — meaning simply one that will last —, on the basis of equality, but it meets with serious difficulties. One of the main difficulties stems from the impossibility of achieving environmental and social solidarity in the future from such a simple equation as that with the predominant model of development this is not possible. In a desirable utopian scenario, the third world — 80% of the world population, with barely 20% of the planet’s total resources — would reach the same level of consumption as the first world, where the share is completely inverted — in other words, 20% of the population grab 80% of the total resources. In this scenario of equal shares, another two planet Earths would be needed to maintain the proportions. This possibility demonstrates that honest equality on a planetary scale is not possible, but that we must make profound changes in the way humans appropriate resources and the environment and in our relationship with them.

When it comes to considering alternatives to the environmental crisis, another well-known one has been described as a phenomenon of conceptual babelism, which simply means the erratic and confused use of different terms to define similar situations, or, inversely, the appearance of equal or similar terms to define different conceptual elements. To overcome this lack of semantic consensus, Frijof Capra calls for environmental literacy — that is, work on reaching semantic and conceptual consensus and improving our basic understanding of socio-environmental processes.

An initial difficulty arises when it comes to finding an unambiguous definition of the actual concept of environment. Since the term is a relatively modern one and because of its complex and subjective nature, its definitions are general, incomplete and/or systemic.
One example can be found in Monod, who defines the environment as a concept which could be used to describe the whole of society: institutions, culture, nature, habitat, city, economy, technology. Another definition, arising from a UNESCO working party, is based on the theory of systems, which uses the term “environment” as a fundamental concept and defines it as multidimensional systems of complex and constantly changing interrelations. Of the general definitions, especially, we can accept that the environment is the vital framework or surroundings in which the whole system of essential relations between the individual and society takes place.

I am a supporter of Monod’s definition because of the global and necessarily interdisciplinary nature of his analysis, interpretation and management, replacing certain classical trends that in a way were somehow corporativist, in the sense that environmental research proceeded essentially on the basis of experimental science, without the involvement of social scientists.

An example of this semantic confusion can be found by consulting documentation. Let’s look at four common definitions of environment:

Environment:

a. The set of elements that can act on the individual.

b. The set of
   - physical,
   - chemical,
   - and biological factors a living being is subject to.

c. The set of all the extreme forms or conditions acting on an organism, a population or a community.

d. It serves to define the whole of society and nature, habitat, cities, economy, institutions and culture.

Nevertheless, some authors are critical of what they call the utopian notion of the sustainable society organised around a “phantasmatic” conception of nature, as a supreme point of unity, stability and harmony, as a guarantee making it possible to do away with divisions and discrepancies. They consider this idea a utopia which, like all utopian visions, resembles previous utopias and will probably meet the same fate.

On this basis, nature is not harmony, balance and order. If we take this harmony to its ultimate objective consequences, we must accept that human intervention can not destroy it. Despite what humans are capable of doing — which is a lot — new harmony or harmonies will be reached. This view of nature suggests that no ideological fantasy can prevent nature always returning to its place.

Ecology has drifted towards an ecology of chaos. Some of the nodal points sustaining it are the fact that changes in nature take no definable direction; nature simply goes on without ever reaching a stable position. In this way, the hegemonic paradigm is replaced by the disturbance paradigm and theories about ecological order and stability are replaced by theories of change.

Wherever one looks for constancy, one finds change. The unexpected keeps slapping us in the face in a clear demonstration of the unyieldingness of nature, a nature which is innately turbulent and unbalanced. It often seems that rather than acknowledge this nature we have chosen to obtain ideological formulations to simulate post-modern forms of confidence.

Some of these resources, like the veneration for technological gadgets, have caused what has been called the “new millennium excessive self-sufficiency syndrome”, which gives religious sta-
tus to science and technology, which, faced with the great socio-environmental problems, will
finally be able to overcome any crisis. Some of today’s stances could be the contemporary result
of the centuries-old conviction that the modern technological system provides a way out of
our human condition, being a reaction to the new contradictions, which can be defined as the
voluntary adoption of an illusion as though it were really a real reality. Reality, however, will
eventually rush back in.

To understand the environmental crisis and sketch guidelines for commitment, it is abso-
lutely necessary to incorporate the new conceptual contributions. Some have been described
recently by different authors, such as the inseparability of the socio-environmental processes
that play a part in the environment. This inseparability poses the methodological difficulty of
systems and of nature (as a whole) that express an important part of the social and institutional
way of being. The ecologist Santos Casado tells us that the environment/natural environment
expresses a specific form of social and environmental reality, in which historical time and eco-
logical time form a single unit, in a process of accelerated entropy, an entropy that imposes
material limits on social phenomena but does not govern them.

Despite the difference between geological, biological and historical time, at present they all
converge at an unprecedented speed introduced exogenously by human intervention towards
environmental change. To Margalef, the acceleration of these processes reduces humans’ ability
to act correctly by altering processes that can become powerfully disruptive.

Western civilisation, thanks largely to the Ptolemaic tradition, has placed the human spe-
cies at the centre of the Universe, not as a modest hominid belonging to the biocoenoses, but
as the work of Creation, ever victorious and master of the world, sole observer and actor. Some
authors sustain that we should drop conventional anthropocentric formulations about nature.
To interpret the environment/natural environment and its problems we need to know the basic
principles of ecosystem metabolism and of energy flows and the circulation of matter, as well as
the human components and social forms of relation with the environment.

We are of nature and in nature; no knowledge can evade the challenge of being a knowledge
of nature in which we humans see ourselves as an integral part of it, rather than an outsider, a
hostile instance of domination. Even so, the dynamics of societies can hardly be explained just
by the laws of nature, and ecology alone can not explain all the forms of relation between society
and nature, hence the need for an interdisciplinary approach. Culture and ecosystems are part
of the interaction between two complex systems that generate a greater degree of complexity.

The paradigm of sustainability, a tool for change

Despite the conceptual babelism the environmental crisis has generated, there is considerable
consensus in accepting that this can be overcome by applying criteria of sustainability. Sustain-
ability is a paradigm which at its root — inevitably, in view of human nature — has constructors
and destructors. As we know, this is a socio-linguistically successful term; it appeared in 1987
and in a short time has successfully entered social discourse. For the time being, the success is
socio-linguistic — the most apparent part —, and even has a certain soothing effect. The more
complex level of conceptuality and its application is where the difficulties begin.

Overcoming the environmental crisis is formulated, in spite of obvious complexity, on the
basis of the concept of sustainable development, which is development that satisfies the needs of
the present without jeopardising the ability of future generations to satisfy theirs. If an activity is sustainable, it can be kept up for a virtually indefinite length of time.

The foundation for sustainable life is an ethic based on respect and consideration for all others and for the Earth. Development can not be achieved at the expense of other groups or future generations; neither can it pose difficulties for the survival of other species.

The costs and benefits arising from the use of resources and of environmental conservation activities must be shared equally by the different communities, rich and poor, and by our generation and future ones.

The principle of sustainability has met with numerous detractors and is enormously difficult to establish honestly. It sets out to confront the most negligible and riskiest aspect of our modern system of economic thought: the dogma of the need for constant growth, which in so-called post-industrial terms claims that getting richer poses no problem as in that way there are more resources for cleaning up the environment and more social demand to do so.

At the same time, criticism of the flag of sustainable development is accused of being permeated by the idea that for a technological species, like modern man, there is no limit to the Earth’s capacity for sustainment. Today, our way of life would not be sustainable, as I said earlier, if we suddenly launched some impossible utopian solidarity with the Third World, which woke up tomorrow morning with our lifestyles and rates of consumption: the planet’s carrying capacity would not be able to take it.

On a more prosaic level, the principle of sustainability has been present under different names — or even without one — throughout human history. It was what our grandparents were all too well aware of: if they wanted eggs to eat, they had to keep the hen out of the pot.

Sustainability: reality or chimera?

Disruption of the planet’s environment, unequal income and a culture medium for conflict exist today because of overconsumption and overpopulation.

At the 1992 Earth Summit it was made quite clear that the lifestyle of the countries of the North was not sustainable, taking sustainability to mean that their respective lifestyles and consumption rates could be copied by 6,000 million people or more.

Returning to the definition of sustainable development, an expression central to the Brundtland Report, it is sometimes understood as a warning to the South for it to direct its development a little more towards low resource consumption and also towards slowing population growth. In my humble opinion, this is a misunderstanding. In the course of history, no warning to the “disadvantaged” not to go the way of the “advantaged” has ever succeeded. There are only two ways to avoid the South developing greater unsustainability: either by using force and physical barriers to prevent the South from emulating the North, or else by changing the North — for example, changing the model in such a way that it can be copied. If we consider the first proposal immoral as well as unrealistic, we come to the conclusion that sustainability is mainly a problem of the North.

Someone has formulated the concept of “Neo-Pietism” or “environmental escapism” as those first-world practices destined to endorse the conservation of ethnicism and the untouched landscapes of the Third World. Through these activities, we in the First World would redeem the discomfort of our environmental awareness due to the endless aggressions that stem from our
model of growth with an unstoppable ecological footprint and ethically we would try to subli-
mate the Third World, giving a lot of attention to the impacts it has suffered.

In a recent personal experience in an indigenous region of Mexico, we had the chance to talk
with young natives who wanted to have the same level of development and the same opportuni-
ties as our youth. For example, they wanted to wear baseball boots like ours rather than espa-
drilles made from plant fibres from the jungle. This consideration, far from being anecdotal, is
a metaphor that quite clearly expresses a serious problem of inequality and the effects of one-
 sided, exploitative globalisation.

There is, therefore, an environmental reality that reveals a crisis going beyond any sort of
mistratment of nature, a crisis which is not insuperable, but which it is also true can only be
overcome with the commitment of individuals in their personal attitude and in their pledge for
social change.

One line of work that is a must if we are not to fall into the evasive attitude of escapism is
the almost commonplace idea of thinking globally and acting locally. Not out of localist and
endogamic assumptions but from the premise that the best way to show universal environmen-
tal solidarity is to act locally, not in isolation, but as a point of departure for understanding the
global nature of socio-environmental problems.

The sustainable city has an essential role to play in answering this challenge. Sustainability
must be achieved in cities, in spite of the complexity involved. This is the great challenge facing
Barcelona, a city which, as the capital of a country committed to the future, must plan the pres-
ent and the future in a scenario of exemplary sustainability.

Along the lines laid out here, what will make a sustainable future possible on the basis of pos-
sibilism is local action based on the well-known paradigm “think globally and act locally”, not
from narrow-minded localism but from committed local action with a view to the future, on the
basis of new forms of development based on principles of sustainability.

The capital, Barcelona, in view of its exciting new position, must be able to lead the most con-
vinced formulas of capital status in the new forms of regional relations and intervention and of
environmentally committed social functioning.

Global environmental change

In face of the environmental crisis, the debate between social sciences and experimental sciences
presents different fronts, most of which it seems are not easily reconcilable.

One source of optimism with regard to a possible answer can be found timidly announced
in today’s global currents of analysis, inserted in the different variables of so-called global envi-
ronmental change. As we shall see, from the point of view of different disciplines, some of which
admittedly converge, research formulas can be considered for understanding the many complex
changes taking place on a planetary scale. Some of these changes tend towards modifying the
nature of the very systems that support our existence. Different scientific studies demonstrate
more and more reliably that the fundamental factor in these accelerating changes is linked to
human activities. It was during the 1980s that the scientific community working on various
analyses of the environmental crisis began to press for investigation of the human factor as the
cause of deterioration in the environment. As a consequence of this process, at the beginning of
the 1990s an international research programme was launched to analyse the effects of human
activity in the deterioration of the surroundings and the effects of this deterioration on society, as well as to study ways of mitigating these impacts.

This was how the Human Dimension Programme on Global Environmental Change (HDP) came about. Together with the World Meteorological Organization’s World Climate Research Programme (WCRP) and the International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme (IGBP) of the International Council of Science (ICSU), it represents the best-known research projects analysing global environmental change. The merger of two projects — HDP and IGBP — demonstrates the wish to integrate the human dimension in biophysics, from which comes the working party on Land Use and Cover Change (LUCC).

The biophysical dimension of global change

For Walker and Steffen, the term “global change” is often not properly understood. There is a tendency to simplify and to relate global change with climate change and with the subsequent warming of the Earth, but in truth the concept encompasses much more. There are other more immediate components, such as the direct conversion and modification of terrestrial ecosystems, the accelerated loss of biodiversity and the chemical alteration of the atmosphere.

Some authors, like Sauri and Breton, claim that global environmental change is always presented as something with negative connotations. While accepting the objectivity of these connotations, they acknowledge that material and moral characteristics are what shape definitions, values and attitudes before the alterations produced in environmental systems and landscapes. According to these authors, then, we should play down the notion of global change and remember that human actions on the environment and especially landscapes throughout history can be valued negatively, but also positively.

The biophysical dimension of global change

Throughout almost its entire existence, Homo sapiens has been a hunter-gatherer and its population numbers, as well as its movements and lifestyle, have been controlled by the same ecological limitations that have controlled other large mammals. The human population didn’t reach the one-million mark until agricultural activity began some 10,000 years ago. Since then, the population has taken off exponentially to reach today’s 7.300 million.

One example of the effects on our landscapes of the change in energy (the arrival of hydrocarbons) can be seen in particular in the very considerable increase in forest areas, something that has been given little attention from the point of view of the correlation between changes in use and changes in the landscape.

With economic globalisation, the “ecological footprints” of particular groups of people and nations are spreading to far-off places. In the case of Barcelona, the individual ecological footprint gives a figure of about 3.5 ha per person per year and the global footprint gives an approximate surface area 600 times the total size of the municipal district, according to Relea and Prat.

With the rapid growth of human populations and their activities, these footprints also increase in intensity, overwhelming the area and amplifying the impact. If we take them together, they are so considerable that they have a measurable effect on the main compartments of the Earth’s
systems such as the atmosphere, soils, terrestrial and coastal biomes and the flow of matter and energy between these compartments. This is the essence of global change.

**Changes in land use and land cover**

As we have just seen, both locally and on a global scale, the changes in land use and land cover induced by socio-economic causes are far and away the main component of global change as regards the impact on terrestrial ecosystems. According to Fisher, changes in land cover are directly related to alterations in the Earth’s functioning, because:

- They have important implications for the global radiation balance and energy flows.
- They contribute to changes in biogeochemical cycles.
- They modify water cycles.
- They influence ecological complexity.

Crutzen predicts an increase in the production of harmful gases for the atmosphere, and Pielke and Avissar speak of direct effects on regional climate. On our scale, in Catalonia an increase in the average temperature over the last 50 years of more than 1° and significant processes of bio-invasion have already been detected. What’s more, in general, changes taking place in land use, especially the decline in farming activity, have meant a reduction in the surface area of herbaceous landscapes in favour of an increase in wooded landscapes, with a considerable reduction, as we have seen, in the structural and chromatic mosaic.

Changes in land cover affect the make-up of the vegetation and the land structure in ways that are clearly visible (they are changes in the structure of the Earth’s surface). Even so, there are significant effects on the working and on the physical, chemical and biological structure of the land as a result of these changes. In our country, some changes in use related to farmland being abandoned could explain the fall in water availability in some catchments, as well as increased combustibility in some forest systems.

Among the changes occurring in the physical structure of land covers we find total loss of land as a result of its replacement by other uses (for example, building development).

**Changes in the composition of the atmosphere**

The second important component of global change is the alteration of the chemical composition of the atmosphere due to human activity. The best-known change is the one that comes from the formation of carbon dioxide, basically from burning organic petroleum. The increase in the concentration of CO₂ is of particular relevance for terrestrial ecosystems, as the carbon obtained from the atmosphere by photosynthesis is a basic filter in the formation and production of vegetation.

The movement of chemical substances between the Earth’s different compartments (for example, atmosphere, oceans, terrestrial biosphere) and the changes they undergo during these movements are normally called “biogeochemical cycles”. The cyclic nature of these substances is something that has been present throughout the whole of Earth’s history, but human activities have recently intensified to the point where they are affecting these biogeochemical cycles.
One of the great efforts in research into biogeochemical cycles is directed at the rapid, documented accumulation of carbon in the atmosphere as a result of human activity. The rise in CO$_2$ is from 250 to 410 parts per million. In the last 130 years, this increase, along with the increase in carbon monoxide (CO) and of methane (CH$_4$) is chiefly responsible for the rise in temperature of an accepted 0.5°C — in the case of Catalonia, this figure exceeds 1°C — over the last 100 years on a global scale. This warming could have immediate consequences for the biological cycles of plants and animals (Llorente and Vilà).

Vitousek mentions that human activity today is responsible for more nitrogen fixation than any other natural process and that the proportion is growing steeply. Once again, considering the projected growth of the human population and its economic activity during the coming decades, this alteration in global nitrogen is definitely going to get worse. One of the most important disruptions in nitrogen as a result of human activity lies in the growing emissions of volatile components (for example, N$_2$O, NO, NH$_3$) in the atmosphere. These gases, like CO$_2$, contribute to the acceleration of climate change. The biogeochemical cycles of phosphorus and sulphur are also important.

**Climate change**

Climate change is the best-documented component of global change. It is foreseen that changes in the compartments of global biogeochemical cycles will affect Earth’s climate because many of the gases made up basically of N or C are increasing their atmospheric concentrations (for example, CO$_2$, CH$_4$, N$_2$O). These absorb the longwave radiation given off from the Earth’s surface, thereby actively affecting and disrupting the heat balance on the terrestrial surface. This marked greenhouse effect is the most important basis for predictions of the increase in temperature of the planet.

Although today there is a certain consensus in the scientific community about the scientific basis for climate change, there is uncertainty as to attributing human factors to the increased temperature observed recently. In its most recent assessment on the subject, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change concludes that “the balance of evidence suggests a discernible human influence on global climate”.

One problem when it comes to studying and determining the impact of human activity on global temperature and other climatic anomalies is that the climate is subject to natural variability and it is very difficult to precisely separate the human factors from the natural factors there are in the background of these climate fluctuations. One of the most difficult features to predict is the appearance of significant rapid changes in the climate, as has apparently happened in the past. Recent research (Peñuelas, Piñol, Boada) on global change show a temperature increase of approximately 1.2 °C in the last four decades (Boada).

**Changes in biodiversity**

Changes in the composition of the earth’s biota are another very significant element of global change. Nevertheless, they are very often discarded as a “global” process or a component of
global change. There is consensus that the planet is now immersed in the sixth great extinction episode in the history of life.

Although the causes of previous extinctions are not known for certain, they were undoubtedly due to sudden changes in the physical surroundings probably caused by factors such as meteorite impacts, volcanic eruptions, etc. Species loss as a result of extinction is unique among large-scale biotic and global changes because it is irreversible. For this reason, understanding the causes and consequences of species loss is critical. Although there is no doubt that species loss reaches a quantitatively high figure, it is difficult to pinpoint with any precision.

While acknowledging the uncertainty of numerical estimates, the present extinction rate is between one hundred and one thousand times higher than it was in pre-human periods and it is thought it could increase tenfold. There is clear evidence that this figure, however uncertain, is on the rise: extinction of birds and mammals has increased dizzyingly over the last one hundred years and it is estimated that half of all terrestrial species could disappear during the next fifty years. As well as total extinctions, we must remember that a lot of species are disappearing locally. The loss of biodiversity is considered an indicator of non-sustainability.

As well as the intrinsic loss of species (which must not be underestimated, in view of the level of interest all over the world in preserving biodiversity and because of the enormous value associated with it as a bioindicator), the main consequences of change in biodiversity are its effects on the way ecosystems work. The few studies undertaken so far indicate that changes in functioning become changes in species diversity, although there is variability according to the type of ecosystem.

While much attention has focused on the preservation of biodiversity in species-rich ecosystems, the results in simpler systems suggest that the functional consequences of the loss of or increase in species express themselves more rapidly in ecosystems poor in species. In this way, from the point of view of ecosystem functioning, a struggle that in theory is productive because of the global effects due to loss of biodiversity does not correspond to present areas of interest in the preservation of biodiversity. Locally, in the country, it seems that changes in the landscape arising from changes of use would tend towards a significant reduction in total biodiversity.

The reply by the landscape to global change

Various authors have hastened to explain the relations of global change in the biotic world. In particular, a recent contribution by Bazzaz formulates the effects of global change in the succession and regeneration of ecosystems. It starts with the premise that the forces of nature lead to innumerable changes in the pattern of plant communities, at both a local and regional or global scale. The first humans must undoubtedly have noticed changes in the vegetation and how they could use them — we have one example in fire — to transform ecosystems according to their needs.

The exchange of materials between the atmosphere, the biosphere and the hydrosphere has been regulated in the past by natural occurrences, but today it is being notably modified as a consequence of the increase in human activity.

Independently of the causes and the intensity of the change, ecosystems are often able to naturally regenerate most of their attributes by natural succession and, above all, by their resilience. They can also be repaired through human intervention with activities for restoring landscapes.
At present, with the marked increase in population and in resource consumption per capita, the Earth is inhabited by ecosystems with different levels of succession. Modern-day interest in the future of the biosphere — the rise of a new culture of sustainability — and in the possible consequences of climate change has opened up promising new paths in socio-environmental research.

The bond between humans and the environment from the limited field of the changing use of land cover calls for attention to variations as the key to understanding general patterns or models of global change.

Changes in land use express what we could call change-inducing forces of human origin. A few examples of these inductive forces would be demographic growth, building development and tourism.

To illustrate this complex process very superficially, we could look at the forest fires we suffer in Catalonia. According to the conceptual framework proposed, in some Catalan comarques these forest fires could be seen as a change in land cover as a result of a change of use (replacement of former cropland or grazing by unmanaged communities of scrub and forest). The increase in the surface area of pyrophytic vegetation can lead to fires that are followed by soil erosion, for example, and the subsequent increase in the solid and liquid flows of rivers, and this could give rise to flooding that would affect other land uses downstream with effects for new built-up areas located close to river beds, as in the case of the floods along the Tenes river in 1994.

Some authors, such as Peñuelas, point out that the increase in surface area of forest as a result of abandonment in the sector also comes with increased combustibility due to the increase in biomass, especially foliage and herbaceous undergrowth, and combustibility due to increased production of volatile substances during the periods of most sunlight during the summer. Both phenomena are very often related, to an as yet undetermined degree, with carbon dioxide emissions mainly from cars and industrial activities.

At a local level, another factor that conditions today’s forest landscapes associated with environmental change is that as a result of a reduction in mining activities there has been an increase in tree density, which, as Sabaté explains, results in stiff competition for water resources and nutrients.

As one environmental historian has suggested, probably quite rightly, landscapes express natural and social history from a viewpoint of inseparability.

Environmental crisis, biodiversity and society. Reflections

A few years ago, while working on a monograph about the state of Iberian forests, I said, “When those of us who work on the study and subsequent dissemination of knowledge about the workings of landscapes and so-called natural systems speak with undeniable good will but considerable ignorance about an idyllic nature, untouched and above all untouchable, we are presenting a subjective vision that is a long way from what for centuries has been a fact concerning our landscapes, that in the case of Catalonia there is not a single square foot of natural land in the strict sense of the word and even less in forest systems, where society has not undertaken and/or is not undertaking some form of extractive and/or productive activity”.

The very distribution of forest masses, without forgetting ecological, altitudinal or latitudinal factors, their presence and density in mountain areas, has a direct bearing on the difficulty of extraction and on their impregnability. Therefore, unless the socio-cultural and energy dimen-
sion is taken into account in the analysis of the composition, structure and working of these systems, it undoubtedly mutilates quite a sizeable fraction of what we might, in this case, call socio-forestal realism.

The question of whether the activities of human appropriation over the course of history have been friendly and/or sustainable is another matter. What we can say is that they have been the great planning anomaly of modern times, having opportunistically colonised forest areas for speculation like no known historical civilisation has ever done before.

There’s no denying that, in the case of forests, there have, since the energy change, been some really important changes of use and their primary function (in the energetic and material sense) has been very dramatically reduced and their tertiary service function (environmental, conservation, etc.) has increased.

**Biodiversity and society**

In some versions of some of the discourses going around, biodiversity shows an ideological charge that goes beyond the strictly scientific sphere, although it has its basis and its sources in it; nevertheless, it always appears as a strict scientific asset. Academics, scholars and managers tend to pay little attention to its social dimension, except in the reactive sense.

The efforts to make biodiversity an asset to be preserved as a central objective have been noted by authors such as Stavrakakis, who sees it as a possible nursery in the future, with extreme positions. Some American conservation groups seem to point in this direction, leading them to formulate that the human species has been so harmful for Earth that until it disappears the damage done to the biota will not be remedied.

On another scale of things, not without elements that induce a critical reflection, Aide and Grau quite recently published an article in *Science* with the title “Globalisation, Migration and Latin American Ecosystems”. In it, with academic formality, they point out the benefits of north-bound human migratory movements on the part of populations from rural communities in Latin America and the Caribbean. According to the authors, this exodus (whose suffering we are all aware of) had a positive effect for the ecosystems it left behind. They claim that in the absence of humans they begin a process of improvement and recovery and reach a form closer to the climax or wilderness. I would add, an advantage for the biota, a calamity for the social sphere.

**Anthropocentrism — biocentrism**

It seems that, in opposition to the radical biocentrism revealed, western civilisation with its Ptolemaic tradition has placed the human species firmly at the centre of the Universe, always the victor and master. This predominant anthropocentrism in its different varieties persists in today’s crisis of civilisation.

Nevertheless, in the course of human history, a well-known duality has arisen that has long been expressed — that shows different concentrated manifestations with the full range of intermediate greys — between anthropocentrism and bio-ecocentrism. According to Glacken, the roots of these manifestations can be found in the medical treatises of Hippocrates of Cos, who in the texts devoted to future physicians explains that, in diagnosing a patient’s health, before
examining his body, the state of the surroundings must be assessed, in the understanding that patient and surroundings are all one. We are faced with what we might call an environmental audit, obviously in a hermeneutically pre-scientific context. 

In the remote roots of the sources of environmental thinking, Aristotle comes close to an open, early interdisciplinary vision. His peripatetic school speaks of just one world, a different whole in one. Opposing this, Plato formulates two worlds, that of ideas and that of things, a probable antechamber to the modern view of the nature-culture duality, like two separate components, which might contain the concept of the genesis of some post-modern currents in biodiversity.

Our day

The object of this reflection is not to try and make a descriptive corpus of the different historical processes to do with “society-environment” relations and thinking. Nowadays, research shows that there are many new approaches that do away with this duality and that are tied to a shift towards unconventional discursive formulas. The field of “actor-network theory” sets out to reconceptualise relations between nature and society, sizing the political commitment to contribute to designing and acting in favour of a fairer socio-environmental future.

The “Post-normal science” popularised by S. Funtowicz and J.R. Ravetz is one of these alternative approaches. For these authors, intuition in post-normality tells us that no ideological fantasy can prevent nature always returning to its place. Otherwise, it would be impossible to find a cultural tradition that could contribute sufficient knowledge for the type of predictable reply called for by global environmental problems.

Some of the difficulties of this complexity lie in the elitist nature of science, in the unmistakable supremacy granted to scientists, which leads to proposals that are not enough to provide a way out of the environmental crisis. The ideal of rationality of normal science would not only be conceited, but in some cases inappropriate. In part, this incapacity can be found precisely in the fact that dominant scientific methodology is partly responsible for the present environmental crisis. For these authors, acknowledging global environmental risks reveals that the ideal of scientific reason is no longer universally appropriate.

The new postulates of post-normal science or “science with the people” opens an exciting path towards the democratisation of knowledge and, at the same time, makes a call for the formulation for new participants in the new dialogues and makes room for different points of view and forms of knowledge, a revolutionary “dialogue between knowledges”, as ratified by ecologist Víctor Toledo. This new dialogue recognises other forms of knowledge and formulates the chance to incorporate traditional empirical knowledge about the environment, for which communities, natives and women are important custodians. In a similarly critical approach, but from a positive position, some authors emphasise that the tension arising from the environmental crisis becomes a favourable scenario as it generates new forms of participation and action and new points of view, such as multi-criterion analysis, with which even ideological antagonism is an intellect-driving asset. This same tension could lead to new forms of participation, opening the way to new innovatory processes to break down the borders between sectors, with which interdisciplinarity becomes an indispensable tool of work.
Without detracting from the importance they deserve, so-called laws of nature by themselves can hardly explain social dynamics, in the same way that ecology by itself can not explain every form of relation between human societies and the environment. This is why interdisciplinarity is so important.

Anthropic principles set material limits to social phenomena, but do not govern them. In a similar approach, Toledo promisingly formulates the so-called “dialogue of knowledge” that arose against the current of the predominant trend in contemporary science, which promotes excessive specialisation and extreme compartmentalisation of knowledge. A new approach aspires to integrate the natural sciences in the social and human sciences. According to Naredo, this involves a conceptual revolution feeding off a new geocentric vision and a new global conscience that tries to overcome an unprecedented “neo-obscurantism leading to scientific specialisation in unconnected fields.

Is there a way out?

We must acknowledge that the environmental crisis is not a crisis of civilisation but a civilising crisis: this is what makes its cross-cutting planetary nature so exceptional. As I mentioned earlier, it places the demographic situation and the appropriation of resources at a threshold which some authors have called “environmental dislocation”, which more specifically is the impossibility of universalising the western model of consumption on a planetary scale. In this scenario, it is impossible for equality and global solidarity not to subvert the dominant model of distribution. One of the first difficulties is recognised as being what is called “conceptual babelism”. One example can be found in the concept of sustainable development, which today has more than 130 definitions.

Efforts to overcome this situation, while considerable, are far from sufficient. As has been mentioned, Fritjof Capra’s ecological literacy and the Center for Ecoliteracy at Berkely could be remarkable in that they formulate a new systemic thinking which acknowledges that ecosystems and social communities are systems that work according to principles of interdependence, recycling, cooperation, flexibility and diversity. Knowing them empowers us to “read” and interpret the needs of other components of the web of life. This author does not diverge as regards the most essential aspects of Wilson’s neo-Darwinism, although his interdisciplinarity is more open than Wilson’s. Capra’s methodological approach rests on the “theory of living systems”, which has its roots in various fields, such as the biology of organisms, gestalt psychology, ecology, systems theory and cybernetics. According to Capra, overcoming the environmental crisis will depend on humans’ capacity for literacy to understand the essential processes of life.

Biodiversity, an indicator of quality

As I see it, a neo-Hippocratic formulation of the social dimension of biodiversity should be possible. Far from considering it strictly a universe of biological curiosities, a producer of biophilia to a greater or lesser degree, particularly as regards specialised groups or those motivated in matters of the environment, it must be considered for its value as a bio-indicator of the quality and health of the environment and, at the same time, of the quality of life of a human commu-
nity and its territory, without at the same time discarding its value for raising awareness. Knowledge of the environment must be able to represent a possibility for understanding the qualitative state of the land and be a good critical substrate that helps to feed society’s ability to transform the dominant and demonstrably unsustainable social models.

Global biodiversity is understood as support for the existence of human life on our planet, as a culturally essential and incommensurable, at times immaterial component of the worldview and of cultural values, in view of the tangible dimension of the environmental, trophic, productive and curative values that are so essential to humankind.

Catalonia, a biodiverse country

One of the formulas suggested for diagnosing a country’s environmental quality is to measure its biodiversity. This term, which has recently become more and more widespread both inside and outside the scientific community, was first formulated by Elliot E. Norse in the 1980s.

To date, 1.6 million species have been identified on our planet and it is estimated that the total number could be around 15 million. We only know about 11% of the total number of species and each year some 200,000 new ones are described.

According to Hawksworth and Aguirre-Hudson, biological diversity is understood to be the variability among the various living organisms of all origins, including the terrestrial system, the sea and other aquatic systems, and the ecological complexes these systems form part of. Also included are diversity within particular species, diversity between different species and the diversity of ecosystems. These three levels of biodiversity are also known, in the same order, as the level of genetic diversity, of diversity of organisms and of ecological diversity. Each of the three categories also includes various levels of variability.

One stereotype regarding biodiversity argues that it is impossible to protect what is unknown. Today, though, it is not a question of trying to conserve things so much as processes. In this respect, proposals for the protection of natural spaces are directed at measures for protecting habitats rather than for protecting the species living there.

Human impact reduces biodiversity directly or indirectly through different procedures. At the Rio Summit (1992), 156 countries and the European Union for the first time signed a legal framework for taking action to stop the loss of biodiversity.

A country rich in biodiversity

“Tell me about your country’s biodiversity and how it manages it and I’ll tell you where you live.” This is already one of the questions of this new millennium.

We could say that Catalonia is a relatively small country, but one rich in natural systems and in diversity of species of flora and fauna, with proportions above the average for Europe.

The main thing is that our country, which lies on the latitude of the Mediterranean region, because of its latitudinal situation, its relief, its climate, its geo-historical evolution, has, in biogeographical extension and diversity, a very large fraction of the landscapes and ecosystems of western Europe. Its biophysical scenario is characterised by high ecosystem, biological and germplasm biodiversity, on which Catalan society has established itself and developed in differ-
ent forms and historical varieties. The mixture of biophysical inducing forces and socio-cultural forces has shaped the landscape as we see it today, so that the country’s landscape is not the expression of a natural history on one side and a social history on the other, but a hybrid expression resulting from the two processes. An approximation to the landscape will help us understand at least in part a very large fraction of our history.

Put simply, a journey from the Montsià to the Pallars Sobirà would give us a panorama of diversity similar to that we find in the south of the Iberian Peninsula as far as the Euro-Siberian taiga, even if in different proportions.

Today, protection of biodiversity is regulated by law, as described below. These instruments are not always sufficient, in view of the processes actively transforming our country for which sustainability criteria are often difficult to apply.

### Total number of species in Catalonia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group of organisms</th>
<th>Number of species</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Bacteria and archaebacteria</em></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Algae</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh water</td>
<td>1,942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planktonic marine</td>
<td>574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benthic marine</td>
<td>509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-lichenised fungi</td>
<td>1,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lichens</td>
<td>1,305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryophytes</td>
<td>817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vascular plants</td>
<td>3,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-arthropod Invertebrates</td>
<td>4,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthropods</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vertebrates</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainland fish</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine fish</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amphibians</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reptiles</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birds</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mammals</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon</th>
<th>Number of species</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flora</td>
<td>4,682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryophytes</td>
<td>803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fungi</td>
<td>5,574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthropods</td>
<td>12,456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertebrates</td>
<td>1014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invertebrates</td>
<td>2,838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lichens</td>
<td>1,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algae</td>
<td>648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>29,598</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Source: L’estat del medi ambient a Catalunya, 1999.
It is said that Rachel Carson, considered the mother of modern environmentalism, realised that the hyperdevelopmental model led by her country, the USA, was leading to a profound crisis and to social collapse.

She began her reflections while on holiday in one of the maize-producing states, where she had relatives. The local farmers were going through the best period of prosperity they had ever known; she understood, though, that a new collective phenomenon had appeared among the rural population, which, while not rousing panic in society, was a source of anxiety. At the same time as the large swathes of maize increased in size and number of cobs, the landscape was being filled with silence in a similar but inverted proportion. There were no crickets to be heard, no cicadas, no grasshoppers, no birds. In other words, the landscape became silent and the people foundered, not because they had previously been all ears for the sounds of the landscape; it was more important than that: the loss of their sound scenario meant the loss of part of the soul of the society. The cause was that the high productivity was a consequence of the large-scale use of fertilisers and biocides like DDT, organochlorates and organophosphates. It was after this that she started work on what is generally considered the turning point in environmentalism, her book *Silent Spring*.

In the city, although environmental sound is dominated by the noise of motors, the absence of wild or spontaneous fauna — if it occurred — would in all probability generate unrest.

The city system, despite being artificial, has a considerable diversity of wild fauna which is often not very apparent. In this respect, it is considered that urban biodiversity, particularly the fauna, is a good indicator of sustainability, of the city’s landscape quality and of ecosocial quality.

There is widespread agreement that the present environmental crisis is a far-reaching crisis of civilisation which can only be overcome by applying criteria of sustainability. In addition, what is complicated is determining the degree to which this is achieved. Biodiversity is acknowledged as a good indicator of a region’s sustainability.

With this in mind, in 1999 the work group on biodiversity of Barcelona City Council’s Environment and Sustainability Council reached the following conclusion: if the city wanted to progress in its pledge of a sustainable future, it would have to make progress in its own naturalisation.

In the city of Barcelona, there is an important starting point for this naturalisation in the fact that gardens have traditionally been an important part of the city. The different strategies for urban greening throughout recent urban and social history can in general be considered to have succeeded, although with some gloomy episodes, especially under Franco. During this period, some local councils — especially in the 1950s and 1960s — favoured speculative urban growth, which turned it into a megalopolis where green was absent, especially in the new working-class districts, where living conditions were really difficult. This drove a large part of the population to make a forced exodus at weekends to peri-urban territories, and this in turn favoured speculative town-planning in valuable natural areas.

With the arrival of democracy, the social movements, which played a very important role, the Historic Gardens, and progressively the Parks and Gardens municipal services company worked to give the city its present living patrimony of some 150 gardens, the new Botanical Gardens and the Collserola Park it shares with the municipalities in the metropolitan area. This fabric constitutes an important scenario for housing a remarkable spontaneous biodiversity.
The city today is expressed in the form of an ecological footprint far beyond its administrative limits. Barcelona’s estimated ecological footprint (Relea, Prat, 1999) gives a value close to 3.5 hectares per person per year. Although this figure is only a rough guide, the global ecological footprint for the municipal area of Barcelona amounts to some 600 times its surface area.

The sustainability culture does not set out to achieve the impossible — the city’s self-sufficiency —, but to reduce its ecological footprint while maintaining the quality of life of its residents. The study and dissemination of the understanding of urban biodiversity has played a major role in this issue.

Some authors (Briz, 1999) advocate gradually increasing the naturisation of the city, promoting strategies and actions aimed at incorporating or encouraging the presence of nature in our lives, and favouring the entry of wild flora and fauna in the city, which should lead to sustainable naturing.

A recent work on biodiversity in the city of Barcelona (Boada, Capdevila, 2001) shows the value of biodiversity as an indicator of life quality in the urban system, biodiversity referring to the habitats and living organisms forming part of the city system. This biodiversity is made up of what we might call captive biodiversity, consisting of species located in pre-urban habitats which the city, in its growth over the course of history, has absorbed to form the new resulting landscapes. This is the case of some birds inhabiting undergrowth and hedges, like the blackbird and various types of warbler, and some amphibians.

Along with this there is an induced biodiversity arising from certain activities and facilities that have encouraged the presence and spread of species from other habitats (some from other continents). One example are the parakeets that have escaped from captivity or the grey herons from the zoo. There is also an attracted biodiversity, represented by anthropophilic species linked to human activity for reasons of food, like the brown rat or the house sparrow.

Some levels of this biodiversity are supported from a dynamic point of view with continentalised habitats on the Collserola range, continuously connected with varying permeability to systems of similar characteristics forming the Anella Verda (Green Ring). These habitats form a recharge nodule for the connectors that connect up the mixture of urban habitats such as trees, or the city’s islands of trees and gardens.

The city’s “natural” environment, contrary to what one might think, is not at all easy to study. Traditionally, it has not been very popular with naturalists, who are attracted by other more enticing natural systems. Obviously the form of the classic city, probably with some reason, has been considered a “bad” natural system. This premise was to be questioned by more up-to-date environmental discourses that look on the city as an essential system on which all the other systems turn. We see it in the innovatory analysis of the ecological footprint mentioned above. In fact, authors like Nel·lo say that the city spreads throughout the territory, in such a way that the city territory becomes a whole in a continuum without borders. Paolo Bifani considers that the future of any idea of long-term sustainable city depends on how cities are structured and how they work.

It has always been said — back in the very early days of environmental commitment — that to defend an environment it needs to be known. The work on Barcelona’s biodiversity contributes to this knowledge in the dimension of biological sustainability, understood as one of the emerging assets of the culture of sustainability as well as a way of measuring its level of sustainability and, eventually, of assessing the quality of life in the city.
In the work mentioned (Boada and Capdevila, 2000), three macro-systems are described: the grey world, green world and blue world.

The grey world consists of five biotopes: walls, streets and squares; large road infrastructures; buildings; underground systems.

The green world consists of five biotopes: rocks and stones; trees; wastelands and vacant plots; woodland environment; and parks and gardens, a biotope divided into parks and gardens, on one hand, and small greens and a zoo, on the other.

The blue world consists of two biotopes: ponds, fountains and artificial lakes and beaches, ports and breakwaters.

The numbers of animal species recorded (so far) in Barcelona are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sponges</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cnidarians</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jellyfish</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydrozoans</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthozoaes</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annelids</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychaetes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oligochaetes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hirudinoids</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arthropods</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crustaceans</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryozoaes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Molluscs</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gastropods</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cephalopods</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bivalves</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Echinoderms</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starfish</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urchins</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Prochordates**| |}
| Tunicates     | 1 |
| **Chordates** |   |
| Fish          | 52|
| Amphibians    | 8 |
| Reptiles      | 15|
| Birds         | 155|
| Mammals       | 29|

The total number of taxa is by no means insignificant. Maintaining and improving Barcelona’s biodiversity is a valuable indicator of the city’s sustainability.

**Barcelona, a capital committed to sustainability**

One of the characteristics that best defines Barcelona today is its compactness. The density of the actual city — more than 15,000 inhabitants per km² — comes second only to the municipality of Paris among the main city centres in Europe. During recent years this process has gone into reverse, so that population is being transferred from the municipality of Barcelona to surrounding areas.

One of the aims of Barcelona’s Agenda 21 — City Commitment to Sustainability — raises the need to naturalise the city to improve the quality of life of its citizens. The increase in green following institutional and citizens’ initiatives could help make the city a more habitable and sustainable place.

The increased green in squares, streets and city block interiors, as well as on façades, terraces and balconies, with green roofs and gardens, is enriching as it brings residents and natural systems closer together.

The gradual increase in green in the built-up area must take place under criteria of sustainability using forms of intervention based on the principles of sustainable gardening.
The people of Barcelona can contribute to the naturalisation of the city, within the measure of their possibilities, by creating little green corners adapted to the environment. This can certainly help to improve our living space and have positive effects on our life quality.

The urban ecosystem

In recent years there has been a change in the way we understand cities, especially when it comes to studying how they work, with a method using an ecological analysis of systems to compare the working of a city with that of a natural ecosystem. Some examples are the studies by J. Terrades and M. Parés published by Barcelona City Council in 1985: *Ecologia d’una ciutat: Barcelona*, and the subsequent update of this study in *Barcelona 1985-1999. Ecologia d’una ciutat*; the contributions by H. Barracó, A. Prat and F. Relea to the calculation of the city’s ecological footprint and the work by S. Rueda on the city’s functionalism, which have provided points of reference about how Barcelona’s urban ecosystem works.

An ecosystem is a functional unit made up of the physical environment and the community of organisms living in it, with all the relationships and exchanges of matter and energy taking place there.

Unlike a non-urban ecosystem, the city is based on a built structure. This aspect has to be looked on as an element that intervenes and modifies the abiotic elements that characterise the physical medium (temperature, wind regime, concentration of gases such as ozone, solid particles in suspension, etc.) and conditions the biological populations that can develop there. For example, cities have a micro-climate that is different from non-urban ecosystems as a result of what are called “heat islands”. These are characterised by higher temperatures in the city than in the surrounding area, which also causes the air to move in such a way that pollutants are difficult to eliminate. This effect is greater at night than by day and when there is no wind.

A city’s metabolism requires a large intake of energy and matter from the exterior, unlike natural systems. The city system is dependent on intakes from outside with a minimum of primary production, but is highly productive as regards information. These characteristics make the city a very complex system vulnerable to the slightest change (M. Boada and A. Zahonero, 1998).

As regards the exchange of information and the regulating mechanisms, the increased complexity of the urban system compared to non-urban systems makes it highly complex and vulnerable to the slightest change.

On an urban scale, if we understand sustainable development to be that development that will never exploit a system beyond its carrying capacity, we are agreed that the urban system is an ecosystem that is hardly sustainable. However, work has been going on for years and several initiatives and strategies have been launched to direct cities towards a process tending to make them more sustainable or more self-sufficient.
By way of illustration, to see the degree of complexity and the dependence on external intake and the subsequent vulnerability of the urban system, we can take the figures for the relationship between energy consumption and production: the average city dweller in our country consumes ten times more energy than he or she produces, while for an inhabitant of New York the figure is 60 times as much (M. Boada and A. Zahonero, 1998).

Barcelona’s ecological footprint

What is Barcelona’s footprint?

Barcelona's ecological footprint is equal to...

[Diagram showing ecological footprint categories with percentages and figures]

...525 times the surface area of Barcelona!

...twice the surface area of Catalonia

...the surface area of Croatia!

University of Barcelona, 2008.

Catalonia’s ecological footprint

3.92 ha/inhabitant (Mayor, Quintana and Belmonte, 2003).

Table 2. Values of the categories used to calculate the ecological footprint per inhabitant using the method proposed by Wackernagel and Rees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>EF (ha/inhab)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Space for urban settlements and communications</td>
<td>0.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space for producing food</td>
<td>2.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space for producing other organic goods</td>
<td>-0.00037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space for forestry production</td>
<td>0.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space associated with energy consumption</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space associated with importing goods</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.92</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled by the author
Source: Mayor, Quintana i Belmonte, 2003
Food self-sufficiency

Table 1. Food consumption in homes. Catalonia, 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food groups</th>
<th>Daily consumption per person (grams)</th>
<th>Annual consumption per person (kg)</th>
<th>Annual consumption in Catalonia (tons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cereals and derivatives</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>412,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread, pastries, rice, pasta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legumes</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal source foods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs, meat, fish, milk, dairy products</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>1,470,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh vegetables</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>562,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh fruit</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>847,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuts</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled by the author from figures of the DAAM (in round numbers).
I do not know if the statistics are only for the resident population of some 7,500,000 people or if it also includes consumption by tourists. I have only taken into account the resident population.

Table 3. Comparison of consumption by 7.5 million people with annual agricultural production. Catalonia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food group</th>
<th>Production 2011 (tons)</th>
<th>Consumption 2010 (tons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cereals</td>
<td>1,486,955</td>
<td>412,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legumes</td>
<td>3,744</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal source foods (without fish)</td>
<td>2,638,517</td>
<td>1,263,175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vegetables</td>
<td>287,246</td>
<td>562,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fresh fruit (including citrics)</td>
<td>1,012,089</td>
<td>847,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuts (seeds)</td>
<td>39,573</td>
<td>22,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled by the author from figures of the DAAM (in round numbers)

The importance of urban green in the sustainable city

The urban green is made up of our city’s vegetation, which comes in different forms, from painstakingly designed parks to wastelands covered in spontaneous vegetation and including pot plants on balconies.

One of the things that determine the composition of Barcelona’s flora is management of public urban green by the Municipal Parks and Gardens Institute. This includes the parks, gardens and other green spaces to be found in the urban fabric, amounting to more than 1,000 hectares.

Other than this, for years there have been family gardens, in many shapes and sizes, making up private urban green. They respond to personal motivations and are often a family continuity. The practice of family or domestic gardening can be seen as an ancestral need to have natural elements nearby as they are attractive, they mark the passing of the seasons and help locate the human condition in its status as a living being tied to nature.
These practices present several variables, such as climbing plants clinging to façades and walls, pot plants on little balconies and terraces and plants in the gardens of houses. These elements contribute to the greening of the city and help reunite residents with the natural environments of their most immediate surroundings. On this point, two concepts need to be introduced that are similar but that each have their own particularities: naturing and naturalisation.

**Naturing** is a more natural process to add to traditional gardening to encourage nature to enter everyday life in urban areas. This incorporation or encouragement of nature takes place from the outside, adding more vegetation to the city in the form of plant cover on buildings, roof terraces, façades, balconies, etc.

But as well as incorporating more vegetation into the city from outside, we also need to progressively increase **naturalisation starting from urban green**. In other words we need to gradually adapt green spaces to ecological criteria, as far as possible incorporating natural cycles without reducing their aesthetic quality, promoting strategies and actions to bring nature closer to city residents, thereby helping wild flora and fauna to enter the city.

Naturalisation is a process based mainly on built urban green which helps make the city system permeable to those species, mainly fauna, which find living conditions in the trees lining the streets and in other structures equal to or better than those of their original habitat.

By naturalising the city, as well as making spaces of great value for their ornamental and scenic role available to the citizens of Barcelona, a whole series of beneficial services associated with natural areas are incorporated as a result of the presence of trees, bushes and plants of all types that should be encouraged.

The following are some of the chief aspects of urban green spaces:

- They produce oxygen and absorb contaminating particles and chemical elements.
- They increase the city’s biodiversity. They contain a high diversity of plant life compared to natural areas. They produce a positive immersion of residents in biological diversity.
- They attract animals. Planting trees encourages the presence of birds, for structural reasons — nesting places — and for reasons of food.
- They act as connectors between the green of peri-urban areas and that of urban areas.
- They provide natural cover and muffling that reduce problems caused by noise.
- They make communal spaces for leisure and socialising and also for holding spare-time activities.
- What’s more, they are positive elements that help reduce stress, as the conditions of temperature, humidity, shade and wind they generate contribute to residents’ psychological well-being. In our climate, shade is a necessity, both for pedestrians and for constructions.

The city of Barcelona, with 150,000 specimens, is one of the European cities with most trees
Forests, a socio-ecological expression

“The tree that spreads wide shadows for passers-by,
was only a slip at first that had been planted:
then a hand could pluck it from the topsoil:
now by its growth it stands, in all its immense power.

Ovid

When we speak of forests, we are referring, as Margalef says, to one of our planet’s most complex ecosystems. In the case of Catalonia, forests are the most widespread type of landscape, covering 60% of the country’s surface area.

Catalonia’s forests are not still, as annual primary production makes them grow spectacularly in two ways: in surface area, taking over former cropland and large swaths of grazing land, and in the amount of standing timber, whose annual accumulation has been carefully studied by the CREAF and the CTFC: it seems it comes close to five tons per inhabitant per year, according to the type of forest.

This growth is tied mainly to the energy change that took place in the mid-20th century with the arrival of fossil hydrocarbons as a source of energy and as raw material for 70% of the productive processes of the country’s industrial fabric. This involved a profound change in the appropriation of forestry resources, especially as regards firewood and coal and, to a different extent, timber.

This change explains at least in part the collapse of primary economies in mountain areas, consisting in the gradual abandonment of farms and of the practices associated with forestry activity. This process not only caused a considerable change in the appearance of the landscape, especially mountain landscapes, but also the start of a considerable cultural loss: the way of life of forest dwellers. A productive sector with a varied fabric of silviculturists, forestry companies, timber merchants, forest dwellers, charcoal burners, labourers, cooperers, etc. A primary-primary sector, with direct forms of appropriation consisting in the direct removal of the product without prior processing, as in the case of the primary-agricultural and primary-stockbreeding sectors. This way of life and of relating to the environment was rough and direct, very different from herding or farming cultures. But however their outward expression might strike us, these ancestral forms of relation were bearers of forms of empirical traditional knowledge about the forest environment that should in no way be underestimated.

These cultural expressions and forms of appropriation were part of the system’s resilience, from within the forest system itself, and they intervened on it and shaped it, selecting species, clearing growth and removing firewood or timber following a rotation which, though the modern term was unknown, must have been sustainable, because if it weren’t for this rotation their vital resource would disappear, not the aesthetic and/or perceptive resource.

The form of production is based on such a primary formulation that we are very probably looking at a sector with so little processing and with such a negligible added value that it explains why its smallest production unit today requires some 500 ha according to the type of forest. Let’s
see what it represents in surface area and how a productive system can be mistaken for an abusive form of ownership. A dry-land farmer can work a surface area of 30 ha of crops and a market gardener some three hectares. In a tertiary or service system, a designer, for example, can produce his or her creativity in a surface area of 20 m². The forestry sector, leaving aside ideologies, often finds it is penalised socially because of its unit of production.

In the present context, the function of forests is under debate, a debate that is often not clear. There is talk of a technical reality and a social one; both can be subdivided: the first, from the ecological perspective and from that of forestry, and the second, from the urban social perspective and the rural social one. In both cases, there seem to be signs of border removal and of rapprochement.

Rural society itself and its accompanying crisis take on different forms; people speak of gradients of rurality.

In relation with the perceptions of forests, at the Fifth International Forum on Forest Policy experts diagnosed a set of five discourses relating to forestry: conservation, agro-ruralism, usefulness, isolated communities and hedonism (urban rural). The last of these coincides with a critical definition of urban culture, already mentioned by Chomsky, who speaks of the inflation of urban hedonism, which coincides in part with Cronnon's view. This discourse considers that urban culture, established on the most unsustainable of ecosystems, is unaware of the struggle to obtain basic resources and is a very efficient system in tertiary production and negligible in primary production. Ignorance of primary production processes makes it critical of primary forms of production, the paradigm of which is forest appropriation, a fact that makes the myth of the untouchable forest its ideal. With this myth we confess to seeing a reactionary perception, which is related to the 19th-century myth of the virgin damsel, which is socially much more highly valued. The same goes for the untouched forest as an ideal of maturity and of phytocenological climax, though not necessarily an ecological one.

Forest. Nature and culture

One of the characteristics of today’s society are the intense dynamics of change at every level. Some authors accept that there has been a general speeding up of processes, spurred by a context of crisis of civilisation and the cross-cutting nature of its expression, that affects the foundations of today’s civilisation. These changes are manifested regionally and eco-systemically in language and in the methods of analysis: this is the case of landscapes as a concept.

To me, the concept of landscape coincides closely with that formulated by Turner et al. It is therefore a hybrid, or rather the result of the equation: biophysical inductive forces from which land covers arise, minus the socio-economic inductive forces, ie land appropriation and uses. The result is what is expressed in the landscape as a final result of a process spiced with complexity.

It can therefore be understood as an expression of natural history and of social history, so that, over and above being able to interpret natural processes, we can read a considerable part of society’s history in them.

The study of changes, modification and transformations that landscapes undergo necessarily includes research in two directions: the socio-economic dimension and the natural dimension. It therefore makes no sense to isolate two worlds that have been in constant interaction. Two
worlds otherwise under revision, as what are considered progressive formulations tend to erase the borders between nature and culture.

The “natural order” in landscapes

The existence of a natural order has been used repeatedly to illustrate the magnitude of human-induced change in landscapes with the argument that the fundamental cause of global climate change is the breaking of these balances by human action and the rise of new —natural orders—. This conception can be criticised from two points of view: critical reflection on this —natural order— and the part played by human intervention in biophysical processes (Boada and Saurí, 2002). First of all, the concept of natural order and the connotations of harmony and stability tend to overlook the historical nature of the biophysical world and therefore omit conflict and permanent change in natural systems. We must take into consideration the historical nature of biophysical processes and move towards a new socio-ecology that incorporates the social dimension — hence the role of the new environmental sciences —, based on the historical nature of natural phenomena and critical of the theory of ecological succession and its faith in the predictability of ecological processes. Secondly, human modification of biophysical processes questions the causal power of the supposed natural order even more.

Landscape and the human dimension

In Mediterranean landscapes, natural processes have been intentionally modified by human societies to the point where we can hardly speak of an independent influence by these processes in shaping the landscape. What’s more, human intervention, which would supposedly upset the natural order, in many traditional societies has the effect of introducing greater biodiversity of surroundings and species as it enriches and diversifies ecosystems, breaking them up into successive stages (Boada and Saurí, 2002).

Land covers have been modified throughout history by human uses and in analysing these changes we almost always have to start from a stage in which human action is an inseparable part of the landscape. Ever since the Neolithic the human species has modified and regulated the biophysical inductive forces. In addition, a high demographic density does not always mean greater alteration of the environment, and some landscapes that have borne and still bear elevated human presence can contain a rich and diverse environment. In fact, some landscapes where this presence has disappeared are in a state of environmental alteration, like many of the mountain hinterlands in the Mediterranean region.

Catalonia’s landscapes are a good example of a socio-environmental construct. From the biophysical point of view, they present characteristics of their own among which two stand out for their key role in the configuration and the functioning of the organisms and systems there: reduced water availability and high sunlight availability. In Catalonia, if biophysical inductive forces were to act in isolation, the climax community would be mainly forest, except for a few areas of strict coastline, some vertical surfaces in mountain landscapes, small areas of steppe in the Central Depression and the cryophilic environments of the meadows and rocky ground of the High Pyrenees. All together, forest cover probably exceeds 90% of Catalonia. Everything that
is not now forest is the result of forms of appropriation and transformation that have taken place in the course of history.

Catalonia, the forestry dimension

The forestry tradition has always been important in Catalonia; the country’s history has been completely tied to this element of the environment and to the mountainous make-up that characterises it: forest cover with trees belonging to many species.

We must bear in mind that total forest cover in the country amounts to 1,142,775 ha, according to figures from the Catalan Ministry of the Environment — in other words, about 60% of the country as a whole, over which 105 species of native trees and bushes are scattered, along with some others originally from various different natural regions that have long been naturalised here.

This surface area of forest (see table) is one of the highest in western Europe.

The extent of the forest and of species have both varied over the course of time, due on one hand to the dynamics of forest systems and on the other to the society’s different cultural and economic interests as regards forestry.

Table 1. Wooded surface area %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Catalonia</th>
<th>Spain</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>European Union</th>
<th>United States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30%</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A brief historical approximation

To understand today’s forests I think it would be of interest to make a brief historical approximation based on two very important turning points.

The Neolithic, the start of active transformations in the landscape

Before the Neolithic, the relationship between Homo Sapiens groups and the environment is of a nomadic, hunter-gatherer type. The movements of these groups tended to obey thermal and trophic factors. In those seasons when temperatures were adverse, their travels would follow the good weather south, and with the winter cold the opposite happened. In both cases, we can speak of seasonal migration, coinciding with other groups of vertebrates, among them the large mammals — in other words, large masses of protein, fat and skins. The seasons also determined a calendar for the ripening of wild fruits. These seasonal movements were linked to the acciden-
tal dissemination of seeds which was to find in the human species a dispersal mechanism that gradually and accidentally spread biodiversity.

The long and diverse process of the Neolithic Revolution in its different manifestations was to be a key transformation in relations between the human species and the landscape, as for the first time a species began to actively transform the landscape. Sedentarisation marks the point of departure for modern societies. Until then landscapes had expressed mature climax forms and the level of appropriation was below the landscape’s carrying capacity. Now human groups began to “dismantle” mature landscapes — the forests — or open clearings to turn them into built areas, crops or grazing, gradually beginning to control fire and the primary energy directed at the production of crops.

On the Barcelona plain there is evidence of very frequent forest fires in the period between 7600 and 5500 BP. This is thought to be indicative of intense human activity clearing and burning woodland. At that time the forests were dominated by oak and holm-oak, but during this period pines appeared as a consequence of a climate change that brought a reduction in the amount of water available. The object of this human activity was to create damp grasslands for grazing, to the detriment of the forests.

During the long Neolithic transition, the “ecological footprint” of the human population was very minor. In the whole of the Mediterranean there were probably no more than three million people, with a life expectancy of little more than 20 years and consumption per person of some 3,000 kilocalories.

Romanisation

The regional matrix of the northern and western Mediterranean and part of the south saw an important breakthrough during Romanisation, a process resulting from a remote sum of civilisations, which some authors document in Sumerian Mesopotamia and which was the starting point for a crescendo that incorporated the contributions of Classical Greece and the important advances of Egyptian technology and civilisation. Apart from that, contributions came at different times and at different scales from the mosaic of cultures that has always been a characteristic of the Mediterranean.

However, there are certain elements of change that are important for an understanding of how Mediterranean landscapes were shaped, among them the appearance of the first treatises on agriculture. Works like those of Varro and Columella tell us how farming, forestry and stock-breeding practices were organised. Columella, in his work *De re rustica*, a compendium of prior knowledge, describes extremely interesting forms of agro-ecological techniques.

“Regional planning”. Horace and Cato

Romanisation brought regional consolidation and planning, with the earliest descriptions of land uses. Human intervention on the land and the environment intensified, something that favoured human domination of the land.

One important text on the transformation of the environment is Horace’s ode criticising land occupation.
In favour of the countryside and against the luxury of buildings

“The palace-like edifices will in a short time leave but a few acres for the plough; ponds of wider extent than the Lucrine lake will be every where to be seen; and the barren plane-tree will supplant the elms. Then banks of violets, and myrtle groves, and all the tribe of nosegays shall diffuse their odours in the olive plantations, which were fruitful to their preceding master. Then the laurel with dense boughs shall exclude the burning beams. It was not so prescribed by the institutes of Romulus, and the unshaven Cato, and ancient custom. Their private income was contracted, while that of the community was great. No private men were then possessed of galleries measured by ten-feet rules, ... nor did the laws permit them to reject the casual turf...”

Horace

Cato’s regional profile. Cato’s proposal: land-use planning

Cato’s formulation was preserved over the ages. The spatial distribution of gardens and farmland can be closely related to the energy balance. Vegetable gardens, irrigated land, dry land, grazing and forests producing firewood and coal were each at the right distance so that the energy consumed getting there and in productive processes did not exceed the energy obtained in the form of production. Following globalisation of markets, the structure was completely modified as the primary sector gave way to a growing tertiary sector throughout the European Mediterranean.

The process of feudalisation

During the long process of feudalisation, the country’s forest landscapes experienced different forms of appropriation. Demographic growth and forms of access to work on the land brought a reduction in “mature” landscapes due to clearance or transformation of forests for crops and grazing. Waterside carpentry for the construction of boats and ships, as well as the production of glue and pitch for waterproofing them, added to forest exploitation.

At the beginning of the 9th century, an early treatise appears on the need to preserve and improve forests. This Carolingian ordinance for the royal possessions shows concern for the
conservation of forestry resources. It is interesting to note that the species to be repopulated are significant for food, carpentry and healing. We must remember that fruits such as chestnuts or apples are important items of food in the diets of pre-industrial societies.

**Carolingian Catalonia. AD 800. “Capitulare de villis”**

- Our woodland and forests must be carefully looked after.
- Where forests are necessary, they must not be allowed to suffer harm from excessive clearing.
- Among other plants, the royal estates must be planted with:
  - juniper
  - apple
  - pear
  - plum
  - whitebeam
  - medlar
  - chestnut
  - hazel
  - almond
  - mulberry
  - laurel
  - pine
  - walnut
  - cherry


At the end of the 15th century a very important event took place that was to have far-reaching historical and social implications: the meeting between Europe and America, which marked the beginning of unstoppable active and passive exchange of plant species. Some 32% of Catalonia’s flora today originally came from America. Of the intentionally introduced species that have had crucial effects for society, the main ones are maize and potatoes. However, each square foot of new cropland goes in detriment of an equivalent surface area of forest.

One example of change in the landscape tied to the new economic practices arising from overseas trade is the replacement of broad-leafed oak groves on shaded slopes with plantations of chestnut. The wood from these trees was used to make barrels for transport by sea, in view of its resistance to salt water. This is how guano and nitrates arrived here, introducing a way of intensifying agricultural activity.

**Forests on the ebb**

In Catalonia in the mid-17th century, overexploitation of forests in response to growing social demand and the intense consumption of timber for the navy caused a set of rules to be issued that was intended to bring order to these abuses and that points to the organisation of an incipient “forest administration”, the *Ordinacions forestals de Catalunya* (Forestry ordinances of Catalonia) or *Llei de Boscos de Solsona* (Solsona Forests Act, 1627).

Progress in knowledge led to new forms of production. These were the early days of industrialisation, which was to bring demographic growth in its wake and the start of increasingly
structured built areas. A new society was to relentlessly increase the demand for energy and food resources. One consequence of this new process was that at the end of the 18th century the surface area of forests was at its lowest ever.

In the mid-18th century, with the attempt to recover forests, *La ordenanza para el fomento, cultivo y conservación de montes* ("Ordinance for the promotion, cultivation and conservation of forests") was issued. For the first time, replanting was imposed as a social obligation: ‘Each resident must plant three trees for each tree felled, as well as those pertaining to him each year as a resident’.

Francisco de Zamora (1789) describes in the account of his travels a situation in which firewood is scarce and the poor are forced to steal it. He points to the vineyards that are replacing the pine forests.

A century later it was the other way round. With the arrival of the phylloxera plague, vineyards suffered serious decline and their place was taken by a new activity on the landscape: plantations of trees, especially conifers.

**An intense change in forest landscapes**

In the course of the 20th century, the transformations in the landscape as a consequence of human activity reached an extraordinary scale.

The increase in the demand for energy to run the industrial society introduced the use of fossil fuels. This change in energy was to provoke considerable changes in the structure and dynamics of some highland forest and farming landscapes. Consumption of dendritic fuels — wood, coal and charcoal — from trees was replaced by the use of petroleum derivatives. Historical per capita consumption has been set at five tons of firewood per person per year, an appropriation that slowed following the introduction of fossil fuels. One of the first effects was the recovery of forest area by resilience, in detriment of farming and grazing land in mountain areas.

**Post-industrial society changes forms of land occupation**

In the 21st century, the main problem affecting forest landscapes has been their rapid transformation into areas reclassified as developable. Fertile land formed by the action of many centuries are rapidly turned into industrial parks, public facilities, services and golf courses. They are urbanised by means of a town-planning that has served as the main source for supplying municipal resources.

Nowadays forests are recognised as providing essential services; for example, indispensable environmental services for a society for which progress towards a truly sustainable model is as necessary as its daily bread.

**The forest in the worldview of nations**

In the course of history there have been dendrophobic cultures that have shown little respect for forests and trees and that have even seen them as insalubrious places and a haven for bandits, while others have been dendrophylic and have shown respect for forests and even considered them sacred. In Catalonia there have been different periods when, according to the cultural moment, they were feared or loved. Frazer speaks of passive adoration, which in post-industrial
times has survived with other names. In old Catalonia, for example, it was not unusual, when reaching agreement between families on the marriage of a son or daughter, the sale of farm animals or sharing water for irrigation, to close the deal under a centuries-old tree.

This fact of civilisation explains the very frequent presence in front of farmhouses of a tree of these characteristics, usually a holm oak or nettle tree, although in more mountainous landscapes this could be an oak or beech. Apart from this practice linked to the locals’ worldview, under the branches of the tree there was a patch of shade where in summer the livestock could escape from the heat and rest from the midday sun.

At the foot of the cliffs of the Cadí range, on the Cerdanya side, is a box tree beneath which young bachelors at local festivities danced a nuptial dance in the hope that they would be married by the following year. The list of cultural traditions involving trees is a long one; some examples are the fires of Isil, the Saint Sebastian pine tree of Matadepera, the Centelles pine, etc.

In our country the cypress is a symbol of hospitality. In pre-industrial cultures, the presence of this tree in front of a house bore a message for travellers and pilgrims: a single specimen meant they would be offered “bread and drink”; two specimens meant a meal at the table, and when there were three that they would be allowed to spend the night in the farmhouse.

This connection with trees couldn’t be more natural. In Europe’s historical origins the continent was covered with dense, impassable forests, and to the south these were almost jungles. Frazer tells us that at the beginning of the 1st century some Germans questioned by Caesar had travelled for two months through the forest without reaching the end. Some centuries later, the Emperor Julian visited the same area and was profoundly struck by the gloom, the solitude and the silence of these woods. The geographer Strabo gave the same description in his Geografia, in which he speaks of woods so thick they were practically impassable. Strabo’s account is a long way from the citation attributed to him, which makes good reading but lacks rigorousness: “A squirrel could go from the Pyrenees to the Straits of Gibraltar jumping from tree to tree without touching the ground”, since, quite the opposite, he speaks of dense forest.

In fairly remote times, some forests took on the nature of a temple. There are accounts that in central European cultures the most ancient temples were old forests. Tree worship reached levels that were unthinkable; anyone stripping bark off a tree could even be condemned to fierce punishment and in Ancient Greece, to be precise on the island of Cos, cutting down a cypress was forbidden and punished with a fine of one thousand drachmas. Plutarch mentions an amelanchier as the most sacred element in Rome.

The variations on tree worship over the ages and in different places are endless. In the past, when trees began to flower, it was said that they had to be treated the same as pregnant women, which meant no-one could make any noise near them. Even now, when forest people or naturalists visit the forest they naturally lower their voices, as though they had entered a temple or a cathedral.

In addition, there are also trees steeped in other symbolisms, like the Oak of Guernica, in the gardens of the Basque Parliament in Vitoria-Gasteiz or the Three-branched Pine in Alt Berguedà, both signs of identity and of a people’s struggle for their emancipation. This year, our Three-branched Pine has unfortunately had one branch intentionally mutilated.

In the context of the present environmental crisis, a crisis that has now been acknowledged as one of civilisation, the forest and its chief components, the trees, have new symbols to offer as an expression of resistance to a globalising system. The tree takes on a social symbolism that
exceeds its classic values. Trees are part and parcel of the forest and, contrary to the well-known expression, they must help us see the wood and understand it. This understanding is no more than a pleasant way of approaching a knowledge of the processes going on in the environment around us.

Forests and trees represent a new sacredness, they have become natural monuments that remind us what we are and what we are part of. When trees have been pardoned and have come down to us with gigantic, monumental forms, it’s been for a cultural cause, the new symbolism, for their value as landmarks, because of some event or their size or even for their magical dimension — the holm oaks of fear. They have come down to us as the expression of a forest culture which has probably not been given the status it deserves in this country. Today this heritage has a simple legal instrument available to it, declaration as a monumental tree. There are several scattered around the country, among them Catalonia’s oldest tree, the Lo Parot olive tree in Horta de Sant Joan, the one with the broadest trunk, the Can Cuc chestnut tree in the municipality of Cànoves i Samalús (Baix Montseny), and the tallest, the plane trees in La Devesa in Girona.

Thinking about this value, it is worth remembering the words of the master Ramon Margalef. ‘The forest is the terrestrial ecosystem with the most complex structure. The key item is the tree, and it would take a poet to properly describe the complexity of the tree.’

A visit to the forest pays more than generous returns, as it shrouds us in emotions and learning and helps us to see the measurelessness of nature and the infinite variability of forms and beauty in a state of constant change.

The origin of protected natural areas
The remote precedents of conservationism

The protection and conservation of natural areas as we know it today goes back to the second half of the 19th century with the creation of the Yellowstone National Park in the United States. From that moment on, there was no stopping the introduction of legal concepts with different times and scope and in different geo-historical situations. The creation of protected natural areas is a landmark with remote origins and varying motivations in the history of conservationism. The aims of the oldest were mainly to do with hunting. In Catalonia we find this origin in the hunting grounds of the count-kings and in treatises on falconry. One example is the first documented zoological collection, belonging to King John I the Hunter and kept in an enclosure of olive trees at the palace. In the context of a different, but not unconnected, civilisation, Hernán Cortés in his diary mentions that on his first visit to Moctezuma II’s Palace in Tenochtitlan, he was impressed by the living representation of different habitats with samples of the flora and fauna of the Aztec Empire.

The earliest reference to the creation of certain “reserves” has been documented in Mesopotamia, the cradle of three great civilisations — Sumerians, Babylonians and Assyrians —, with a considerable knowledge of farming, gardening, stock-breeding and fishing. Some Mesopotamian kings set up the first game reserves for the privileged practice of hunting. These were probably the first examples of “regional regulation” where leisure use was subjected to planning (Boada, 1997).
As regards knowledge of the natural environment and the role it had in people’s balance and health, Hippocrates (460-375 BC) was responsible for the “first environmental audits” and stated that in order to understand an individual’s health and that of society as a whole one must study the nature of the environment surrounding them: “On arriving in a city or town, one should observe the location of the place in relation to the winds, also its waters, whether there are marshes, whether they are soft or hard, whether it is situated on high or flat ground, what the surrounding vegetation is like”.

During Romanisation, as a result of increased mobility and of the capacity for transforming the natural surroundings, the first urban and regional planning arose. Cato established the first classification system for regulating and organising the land following the sequence Roman way — Roman villa — irrigated garden — vegetable garden — meadow — riverbanks — vineyards — olive grove — forest for logging — forest for gathering acorns.

The geographer and historian Strabo (63 – 19 BC), in his *Geographica*, probably struck by the dense, impenetrable nature of the Iberian landscape, stresses the extensive forest nature of the Iberian Peninsula. He gives some initial descriptions of its natural systems: “In Iberia there are many roe-deer and wild horses. The people of Emporion make flax and their land is partly good and partly bad, with huge useless reed beds.”

There are also interesting accounts of Iberia’s natural heritage gathered by the sage Pliny the Elder when he was procurator of Baetica. In his *Natural History* he mentions one of the earliest examples of “ecological crime”, saying the storks are honoured on account of the number of snakes they catch, to the extent that anyone killing them is sentenced to death.

### Planning and abuse of forests

Another notable contribution is the work *De re rustica*, by the Hispano-Roman author Columella, which gathers the knowledge of the classics in matters of farming and forestry and which can be considered the first treatise on good practices in farming and forestry.

As we have seen, in the year 800 an early treatise appeared on the need to conserve and improve forests, the *Capitulare de villis*, a Visigothic ordinance for the royal possessions that expresses concern for the management and conservation of forest resources: “Our forests must be carefully looked after. Wherever forests are necessary, they must not be allowed to suffer harm from excessive felling. Planting of juniper, apple, pear, plum, whitebeam, medlar, chestnut, hazel, almond, mulberry, laurel, pine, walnut and cherry must be encouraged”.

During the long period of feudalisation, historical episodes have taken place during which political measures were passed that had negative effects on the environment. I shall not go into this point at length, save to mention the example of the order proclaimed by the Viceroy García de Toledo in 1561 to systematically burn all the forests located close to the main thoroughfares and, if necessary, all the other forests in the Principality, as they provided an impregnable haven for bandits. He was congratulated on this measure by Philip II «for the peace of mind and calm it brought to the principality and the county» (J. Reglà, 1962).

We can date the first areas placed under a certain “system of protection” to the demographic increase and to human impact on the land. Overexploitation of forests due to growth in the demand by society and to heavy consumption of forest products in the domestic, artisan, naval and proto-industrial sectors can explain the appearance of a normative document intended to
bring the abuse under control and outlines the organisation of an incipient “forest administration”. This first legislation for the “ordering and conservation” of Catalonia’s forests are the Ordenacions Forestals de Catalunya (Forestry Ordinances of Catalonia) or Llei de Boscos de Solsona (Solsona Forests Act, 1627). This is how the document starts: “There have been many great excesses in this exploitation, exceeding the limits … His excellency … prohibits … anyone … from attempting to remove the marks and signs of the trees or cutting the trees so marked”. This extensive normative document regulates logging, charcoal making and the manufacture of glues, and penalises abuses: fires and other practices considered harmful.

Changes in the relationship between society and nature

Similarly, we need to consider that until well into the Enlightenment at the end of the 18th century established thinking about natural resources was that they were inexhaustible for divine and supernatural reasons. The dominant belief was that providence protected and regenerated those natural resources submitted to any form of exploitation on the part of society — the concept of limits didn’t exist. Constant exploitation of forests and the associated marked retreat in forest cover during the 18th century could explain the appearance of a document by the Marquis of Ensenada signed on 31 January 1748. This document, in the form of a royal order, regulated the use and conservation of forests. This ordinance for the promotion, cultivation and conservation of forests stands out for the explicit requirement that each inhabitant throughout the country had to plant three trees for each tree cut down, as well as the one per year which was his duty as an inhabitant. Only poor widows and children are exempted from this obligation. It has been documented that as a result of the introduction of these regulations, by municipal agreement, the number of trees each inhabitant had to plant increased to five before the end of the year.

The decree states that “In order for forestry activities to proceed correctly, planting, pruning and felling will be done with the most convenient means and it is recommended that each town should have somewhere to plant that is well exposed to the south and protected from the north winds, where beechnuts are planted along with the biggest and healthiest acorns from the sturdiest trees; that grass should not be pulled up so that it can maintain the moisture and the summer dew”.

As regards felling and pruning, it indicates the right time of year and how to cut without hurting the tree. It orders stiff punishment for anyone felling or chopping trees without due permission or care. Permission is always required for felling and there is emphasis on the need to increase the amount of planting and the number of forests. From this key document came the first forest inventories, under what could be considered the first forest wardens, which curiously were the so-called Comissionats de Marina (“Naval Commissions”), a body of officers which would be represented in the main forest towns in the Principat and which was responsible for inspections, forest inventories and, if applicable, for authorising felling.

But it was not until the end of the 18th century that the first more or less well-constructed proposals arose that were directed at ideas we could consider the forerunners of conservationism. On a European scale, the first stages of the Industrial Revolution had an extraordinary impact on forests. A conceptual fabric of nature in western thought encompassed in three broad general views (Glacken, 1967; Goudie, 1990): the teleological view, the deterministic view and the anthropocentric view.
The teleological view is the belief in a supreme body that rules the rhythms of nature and the rhythms of society. It coincides with supernatural providentialism (Urteaga, 1993).

The deterministic view is the idea that natural conditions are responsible for the evolution of human societies. This proposal had already been formulated by Montesquieu.

A reversal of the deterministic view, the anthropocentric view states that human societies influence and in a way increasingly govern the rhythms of the environment, rather than the other way round. This view arose not so much from philosophical reflection, as in the two preceding cases, as from practical experience and from observing the first far-reaching effects of deforestation.

We must not overlook the fact that in his Essay on the Geography of Plants, Humboldt draws attention to some of the modifications introduced into natural systems by humans. He dedicated this first work of environmental geography to his contemporary Goethe, some of whose gatherings he attended along with a mix of artists, poets, writers and scientists. Against the background of these meetings of Germanic Romantics which Goethe headed, Humboldt had a considerable influence on the awakening of studies in the management of natural resources. One figure who emerged from this context was Heinrich Cotta, who played a central part in establishing the earliest basis for the sciences of conservation and expressed the need to organise a rational approach to the exploitation of natural resources (Boada and Saurí, 1999).

Cotta founded the Königliche-Sächsische Forstakademie (Royal Saxon Academy of Forestry) in Tharandt, the first school of forestry, where Agustín Pascual, founder of the Forestry School in Villaviciosa de Odón, trained in the early 19th century (Gómez, 1992). The first graduates from these institutions included a large number of young people from the Catalan rural world (Boada, 1996). Having completed their training, some of them — Bosch and Julià, the brothers Josep and Ramon Jordana, Sebastià Soler, Primitiu Artigas, Joaquim Castellarnau — went on to make the first contributions to the management of forest resources, repopulation of headwaters, dune fixation, etc. Josep Jordana’s visits to the USA in 1876 and 1877 and the later visit by Rafael Puig i Valls in 1893 put them in touch with the first protectionist formulations: the founding of Arbor Day in the State of Nebraska in 1872 and the creation the same year of the world’s first national park: Yellowstone.

The need for protection

In the United States of America during the second half of the 19th century, indiscriminate exploitation of land and forests was the reason for the rise of a conservationist trend in the country’s federal institutions. The chief objective was to preserve certain areas from the pressure of colonisation, in the belief that nature should not be considered unlimited and that it should be conceived as a heritage to be preserved for future generations (Saurí, 1993). Protected areas were conceived as a sanctuary for nature, untouched by man in order to keep it “virgin”. This was the thinking behind the creation of the USA’s largest and most popular national park, Yellowstone.

Following in Cotta’s wake, the figure of the forestry engineer Rafael Puig i Valls of Tarragona was to play a pioneering role with his contributions to the management of conservationism and environmental awareness. In 1884, in view of the ongoing intense destruction of forests, he formed part of a commission made up of himself, another member of the Institut Agrícola Català de Sant Isidre (Saint Isidore Catalan Agricultural Institute) and two more from the Asso-
ciació Catalanista d’Excursions Científiques (Catalanist Association of Scientific Excursions) to organise a league for the defence of the natural environment in response to abusive forest clearance, so as to create the essential legal instruments for the protection, conservation and recovery of forest landscapes. This commission’s first task was to draw up a project to repopulate the Collserola range. This is in all probability one of the country’s first conservationist groups.

On 21 September 1898 he wrote about Arbor Day in the article “La Pàtria i l’arbre” (“Homeland and trees”) published in La Vanguardia. However, the idea of establishing repopulation from the perspective of something pertaining to society or the people has already been mentioned above in relation to the order signed by the Marquis of Ensenada in 1748.

The first Tree Festival was held in Barcelona on 30 April 1899. This people’s tribute to trees is inspired by different precedents such as that of the Marquis of Ensenada, mentioned above, and is in all probability a consequence of the visit Puig i Valls made to the USA in 1983 on the occasion of the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. During his long stay, during which he visited several states, it seems he discovered the celebration of Arbor Day — held for the first time on 10 April 1872 in Nebraska. The aim of this celebration was to deploy a broad-based public initiative directed, first, at recovering forest surface area and, secondly, to stimulate a love of trees among the public as a symbol of their roots in the new homeland (Boada, 1995).

Immediately after launching the Tree Festival, Puig i Valls set off on the path that was to lead to the protection of natural areas and became the forerunner of conservationism in Catalonia and in Spain as a whole with the proposal for creating a protected natural area. On 6 April 1902 he presented the basis for the Parc Nacional de la Muntanya de Montserrat (Montserrat Mountain National Park) project and hinted at the need to apply the same legal status to the Tibidabo and Montseny ranges. At the same time, he proposed declaring Cape Creus an area of interest (Boada, 1995).

The earliest references to protection

The origins of Spain’s conservation policies is linked predominantly to the sphere of forestry, which was heir to the forestry tradition connected to the series of monastic confiscations of the 19th century. Forestalisme found in its defence of unspoilt landscapes and natural values a field in which to develop its aspirations of naturalism, conservationism, heritage protection and education. The idea of protected natural areas became one of the most important meeting-points for the scientific as well as the cultural and educational understanding of forests (Gómez, 1992).

The first specific protected status began life on 7 December 1916, the date when the Spanish National Parks Law was passed. This law remained in force until 1957. The Junta de Parques Nacionales (Board of National Parks) was set up by Royal Decree as a management body on 23 February 1917. One of the main actors during this period was Pedro Pidal y Bernaldo de Quirós, Marquis of Villaviciosa, in Asturias, who sponsored the law and became the first Commissioner of the Servicio de Parques Nacionales de España (Spanish National Parks Service). Pidal, who shared 19th-century thinking on forestry, established a causal relationship between the coun-

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1. This first national parks service administered the first five parks: Covadonga (July 1918, 16,925 ha); Ordesa (August 1918, 2,046 ha); Teide (January 1854, 11,866 ha); Caldera de Taburiente (October 1954, 3,500 ha), and Aigües Tortes i Llac de Sant Maurici (November 1955, 9,851 ha) (Font i Majoral, 2000)
try’s impoverishment and the loss of forest cover (Fernández, 1998). It is not surprising that the first national parks were originally forest reserves and in a way were inspired by the hygienist and anti-urbanist movement of the early decades this century. The father of Spain’s national parks defended “the virgin state of the nature preserved”, as “this is what the national parks stand for; the less we touch them, the more virgin they will remain”.

The presentation and defence of the National Parks Law took place in a complex political and socio-economic context, both on a European scale, with the backdrop of the First World War and the Russian Revolution, and in Spain, which was seeing large strikes. Pidal believed that ecological matters should not have to wait for more important issues (Fernández, 1998). The main lines of his protectionist policies, based on mountain landscapes and forests, were tourism — as a source of income — and leisure activities for the public to enjoy.

Puig i Valls and Pedro Pidal shared regenerationist ideas. Both believed that educating people in respect for the environment and restoration of the natural surroundings was the only way out for a country sunk in the colonial disaster of 1898.

Catalonia: the first accusations and the response from Catalan society to attacks on the environment

Apart from Puig i Valls and the context of forestry, awareness of landscape destruction in Catalonia took off during the Renaixença (Rebirth), a movement that encouraged an interest in science, literature, art and a knowledge of the country and that coalesced in various associations and institutions and, very especially, around a new approach to nature: “excursionism”. The founding in 1876 of the forerunner of this movement, the Associació Catalanista d’Excursions Científiques (Catalanist Association of Scientific Excursions), which in 1891 became the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya (Excursionist Centre of Catalonia), marked the start of a new stage in the understanding of nature in our country and showcased a new social role for nature in the form of excursions.

The first documented report of wrong-doing came in 1879 from the founder of the Associació Catalanista d’Excursions Científiques, Antoni Massó, considered a pioneer of “excursionism”. Speaking of the Montseny, he warned that “the destruction of these magnificent forests of colossal beeches, giants of the plant world, as poetic as they are useful, must be avoided”.

These early defenders of nature were in all probability guided by the contributions by Catalonia’s “first naturalists”, one of whom was Joan Salvador i Boscà, the first member of a line of apothecaries who introduced the systematic study of the country’s flora at the beginning of the 17th century. This research continued throughout the 17th century and part of the 18th century in the person of his son Jaume and those of his grandsons Joan and Josep. His interest in a knowledge of the natural environment led to the creation in 1899 of the Institució Catalana d’Història Natural (Catalan Institute of Natural History), founded by Salvador Maluquer, Josep Mas de Xaxars and Antoni Novellas. This pioneering organisation in the study and defence of nature, fortunately still active today and fully renovated, has 100 years of constant work to its name during which it has served to unite researchers in the various fields of knowledge about the natural environment.
In 1894 the meteorologist Dionís Puig gave a talk at the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya that was more than just a proclamation. He sketched out a hypothesis of global change and revealed his theory about how the meteorological regime was changing, and that this global change had shown itself in a decrease in temperature and in rainfall as a result of deforestation. He claimed that deforestation on a local scale was responsible for causing floods on the Barcelona plain. In this context, Dionís Puig called for steps to be taken to stop the abusive logging the country’s forests were subjected to and defended the move by Puig i Valls to introduce the tree festival (Boada, 1996).

At the turn of the 20th century, something happened that was to establish a historic precedent in conservation policy in Catalonia. This was the proposal made by the civic society La Ciutat Jardí (The Garden City), from Barcelona, at the III Congrés Excursionista Català (Third Catalan Excursionist Congress), held in Tarragona in April 1914, asking the Diputació (County Corporation) for a Pla de Reserves Forestals i de Parcs Nacionals a Catalunya (Plan of Forestry Reserves and National Parks in Catalonia) (Fernández, 1998).

In 1921 the newsletter of the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya issued a cry of alarm over the sale of the forest of El Grasolet, in Alt Berguedà. It demanded the creation of a national park there to protect the beauty and wealth of the forest from the threat of logging, alleging devastation of the cropland downstream as rocky material would not be retained in the event of heavy rain. The hectic campaign by the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya to save it was successful in preserving the forest.

The Montseny, a paradigm of protection

The Montseny massif is a paradigmatic example of public awareness in the defence of unique scenic assets and of state intervention in the field of conservation. The history of its conservation is of value as an extrapolatable indicator and not as a local analysis. This is why I am paying special attention to it, as its analysis significantly shows a considerable fraction of the history of conservation from the point of view of the different agents taking part.

Demands from society for its protection spurred the involvement of the authorities to obtain a legal framework to protect this area. The Patronat de Muntanya (Mountain Trust) was set up, a timid move, as Catalonia’s first legal body providing protection for part of the country and its scenic assets. At the end of the 1970s the Montseny was made a natural park and almost at the same time (1978), thanks to Unesco’s Man & Biosphere programme, it became one of the World Network of Biosphere Reserves, the first in Catalonia.

Long before that, though, at the end of the 18th century, the Montseny’s forest reserves, consisting mainly of fir, beech, oak, Scots pine, holm oak and chestnut, came under state jurisdiction along with the forests of Tortosa, La Selva and L’Empordà (Aragó, 1964), continuing the

2. An organisation founded in Barcelona in 1912 which was concerned with town-planning and the quality of life of its residents. One of its aims was to ‘preserve and increase the hygienic reserves of town centres, particularly through the conservation and creation of peripheral forest, rural or wooded areas, urban parks and gardens and interior open spaces of all sorts’ (Castelló, 1990)
enlightened trend begun by the Bourbon dynasty, with a policy of protecting and promoting the Marina Real (Royal Navy) enshrined in the Ordenanza de Montes (Forestry Ordinance) of 1748.

The first serious move to give the Montseny legally protected status arose from a study carried out in 1922 by the botanist Pius Font i Quer, who proposed that the massif be declared a national park, a proposal recorded in the Cròniques Oficials (Official Records) of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya. This institution had shown its interest in creating parks, on the occasion of the publication of the Law of 7 December 1916 and the Decree of 23 February 1817, which defined and created national parks and places of national interest in the whole of Spain.

For these areas to merit special attention, they had to be made known to the General Directorate of Agriculture, Mines and Forests through the engineer-in-chief of the Provincial Forestry District. It was in this administrative context that several bodies and organisations made proposals and the District proposed the creation of two parks: Montserrat and Montseny. The Mancomunitat carried out certain studies, which make up the first corpus of interdisciplinary work for the creation of a protected natural area. In view of its interest, let us look at some examples.

**Montseny, Parc Nacional**, by the botanist Dr Pius Font i Quer:

“The object of the Parc Nacional del Montseny is to conserve the mountain’s vegetation and fauna as at present, preventing their destruction or modification by man […] Unfortunately, the Montseny has been extensively subjected to intervention by man, so the National Park will not only have to conserve what remains but also restore everything that has been destroyed.”

**Orientacions per al futur Parc Nacional**, by the zoologist Ignasi de Segarra:

“This Montseny, a land of charcoal burners and herds and flocks, of the densest forests and a haven of relics greatly valued by us, deserves all we can do to conserve it.[…]

In 1927 this well-known naturalist published an excellent article in the magazine Ciència with the title “El Montseny (Glossa dels valors naturals de la contrada)” (The Montseny. Account of the region’s natural assets), which was to become a work of reference for the future protection of the massif.”

**Memòria**, by the secretary of the Escola de Belles Arts, Llorenç i Artigues:

“Montseny is the richest representation of the land of Catalonia […] Its geographical location gives it a uniquely special position which makes it a centre for convergence. […] Montseny is highly representative in every field and is the most Catalan transfiguration of the Pyrenees. […] The mountain comes ever closer to the city. Two factors are rapidly determining this proximity: the increased urban spread of the nucleus of the city and the greater ease of the communications joining the city of Barcelona and the mountain of Montseny. Barcelona has not built its parks or urbanised its nearby mountains intelligently. The invasion of city dwellers is a threat to the mountain. […] Only one remedy can stop this ungracious invasion and, at the same time, the necessary invasion. The remedy is intervention. No laboratory is more magnificently suited to the vast undertaking of trying to bring intervention from the city to the mountain of Montseny in a move to turn it into a national park. The combination of all our technology in the shared work of intelligently civilising a whole mountain could be an important step, could point to a great period in the course of Catalan thinking and in the social life of Catalonia.”
Montseny, Parc Nacional, by the architect Serafí Bassas:

“This monument to nature in Catalonia must be conserved intact and protected. […] Once saved, it must be turned into a home to befriend our culture and our science. For this reason, the safest solution is the prompt declaration of the organisation of Montseny as a national park. This is how our Montseny has become our national mountain; Barcelona has made it an extension of the city, its mountain garden. The most complete aspect of the mountain is undoubtedly the botanical one. We can also say that no aspect is so endangered as the botanical one. The finest examples of the oldest beeches have recently fallen. The magnificent fir is falling to the tragic sound of the song of the axe.

Good proof is the fact that several of the species seen by the botanist Costa in the Salvador family’s famous herbarium could not be found.”

Camins del Montseny, by the Member of Parliament Lluís Duran i Ventosa:

“It is imperative that access to our country’s scenic areas should be made possible and even easy. […] To this end, it is enough to build cart tracks, tracks for the use of the carts needed to serve the farmhouses and the passengers wanting to enjoy contemplation of beauty. […] Nevertheless, however little is contributed by the action of the administration, an outing to Montseny must be a Sunday outing, an easy one for the good citizen of Barcelona.”

Els animals superiors que podria haver-hi al Parc Nacional del Montseny, by the lecturer in Zootechnics of the Escola Superior d’Agricultura M. Rosell i Vila:

“For sure! There must be animals on Montseny. […] The higher animals there must be on Montseny should not be as docile as domestic animals, nor so wild that they attack people. […] Many of the animals it is proposed should inhabit the National Park would be all right there from the first day. Others, such as domestic animals, would not until the second generation, when they were untouched by the hand of man.”

Once the experts had completed their work, the final step was the motion “El Montseny, Parc Nacional de Catalunya” (The Montseny, National Park of Catalonia”, submitted to the President’s Office and to the Standing Committee of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya on 8 February 1922 by the Member of Parliament for the Lliga Regionalista Jaume Bofill i Mates, a poet known by his pen-name Guerau de Liost:

“In Spain, with the personal effort of the Marquis of Villaviciosa, a Law of National Parks has been drafted and two parks have been created: Covadonga and Ordesa. […] Today it is the Montseny that seems to take preference in its demand for an urgent intervention, however modest. […] The priority of Montseny is vouched for by the fascinating reports by Font i Quer, Ignasi de Segarra, Rosell i Vila, Llorenç i Artigas, Serafí Bassas, Duran i Ventosa and Francesc Gali.”

But who could have known that the proposal by Bofill i Mates would crystallise under yet another reactionary political situation, the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, who appropriated conservationist documents and proposals whose relatively innovative nature put them ahead of their time. As President of the Council of Ministers, the dictator signed the report which was the basis for the Royal Decree which Alfonso XIII inexplicably signed in Stockholm in 1928 to create the Patronat de la Muntanya del Montseny. In general, the document is based on the Hippocratic nature of the Mancomunitat’s scientific document, but there are certain shades of meaning that have clearly reactionary connotations. Hippocratic thinking is apparent at the beginning of the
decree, in which he says, “The Provincial Corporation of Barcelona, anxious to fulfil its protective duty, keen to improve the wealth of the province and especially to complete the work that can most directly contribute to public health and enable physical relaxation through admiration of the splendours of nature, requests that it be granted the necessary powers so that the great mountain of Montseny, a true breathing spot for Barcelona, can be made into a natural park, one part exclusively for health purposes, with special attention, using the ways and means most in harmony with scientific and practical procedures, to the relief and improvement of weak constitutions and to provide for and strengthen the physical virility of the race.” As we can see, the value of nature production takes on disturbing ideological connotations in this document.

Once set up, the main duties assigned to the Patronat de la Muntanya were health, construction of anti-tuberculosis clinics, tourism and sport, and restoration and conservation. As you can see, the order or hierarchy of its functions left conservation in last place. Obviously, nature issues carried little weight, but aspects relating to the local population even less.

Since this initial effective protection, Montseny has always been present in any list of areas for protection in the various regional planning schemes.

The beginnings of regional planning and of protected natural areas

In 1932 the Generalitat de Catalunya published the Pla de Distribució en Zones del Territori Català (Plan for the Distribution in Zones of the Catalan Territory, or Regional Planning), the work of the Rubió i Tudurí brothers. This was a very progressive planning document which sought the creation of a system of protected natural areas and forest reserves.

It proposed the creation of the national parks of Artiga de Lin, Alt Pirineu and Sant Joan de l’Erm and of parks as straightforward landscape reserves: Serra del Cadí and Alt Ter-Núria, Coma de Vaca, Fresser, Ull de Ter and Carboners; the mountains around Requesens Castle; the Ridaura valley and the Santigosa Col in Olot; Montseny, Montnegre, Serra de Gallifa, Sant Llorenç del Munt, Montserrat, Serra de Prades; La Mussara, Montsant, the mountains of Cardó and those of Caro and Ports de Besseit. Also on the table was the creation of important landscape reserves on the Costa Brava and, for Barcelona, the Tibidabo massif reserve (Paluzie, 1990).

Although this regional planning never got any further than the preliminary stage, it conditioned other, later regional plans (Gurri, 1997). However, the historical regression of the Franco dictatorship had obvious effects for the field of natural heritage conservation. It was not until 1953 that a timid regional planning scheme appeared, the Pla Comarcal, which included the city of Barcelona and 27 municipalities surrounding it. The scheme foresaw a large natural park for Barcelona and its comarca on Collserola (Paluzie, 1990).

Alongside this scheme, a provincial plan was drawn up under the name of Pla General d’Ordenació de la Província de Barcelona (General Planning Scheme for the Province of Barcelona), whose regulations were approved in 1963. This scheme established a catalogue of possible natural parks: El Corredor, El Montnegre, Montserrat, Sant Llorenç del Munt, El Montseny, Les Guilleries, Bellmunt, Els Rasos de Peguera, La Quair, Catllaràs, Falgars, Serra del Cadi and Tibidabo (Collserola).
In this scenario, during the 1970s the Barcelona Provincial Corporation developed the provisions of the provincial plan by means of specific special plans for some of the parks listed. In 1974 the Servei de Parcs Naturals de la Diputació de Barcelona (Natural Parks Service of the Barcelona Provincial Corporation) was set up.

The Pla General Metropolità d’Ordenació Urbana (General Metropolitan Plan for Urban Planning) was passed for Barcelona and its comarca in 1976, covering the same surface area as the 1953 plan, in which the system of free spaces was structured around urban parks and forest parks (Paluzie, 1990).

The 1960s and 1970s were quite prolific in regional planning work affecting nature protection. These formed the foundation on which much of Catalan conservationist legislation has been built up. The fathers of this “muster” of committed public servants, scientists, researchers and social leaders were a group of scientists who played a decisive role in the study and understanding of the country and its environment: the botanists Oriol de Bolós and Creu Casas, the ecologist Ramon Margalef, the geologist Solé i Sabarís, the geographers Llobet, Casasses, Puchades, Gurri, etc.

The Corporation’s Town-planning Commission used the limited resources of the 1956 Law on Land Use and Urban Planning and the 1975 reform to launch the first protection measures for natural areas under pressure, primarily from development. One example of these processes is the approval of the Special Plan for the Protection of the Montseny park (1977, Barcelona Provincial Corporation - 1978, Girona Provincial Corporation) and of the 1982 Special Plan for Sant Llorenç de Munt and Serra de l’Obac. Similar special plans were subsequently approved for Montesquiu, Garraf, Montnegre-Corredor and Olèrdola, promoted by the Barcelona Provincial Corporation. In addition, Collserola Park was approved in 1987 (Gurri, 1997).

**The environmentalist revolt in the 1970s, the key to protection today**

We must not forget the important part played by civil society, which at the end of the 1960s contributed to this protectionist response in different ways. In 1975, as part of the Congrès de Cultura Catalana (Congress of Catalan Culture), the Campanya de Salvaguarda del Patrimoni Natural (Campaign to Safeguard the Natural Heritage) came as an agglutinating element which at the same time spurred the host of groups that had appeared all over the country in response to the far-reaching transformations and the marked impacts on the natural environment. This broad movement was largely responsible for the rescue and subsequent definitive protection of some of today’s protected natural areas. The most representative examples are the volcanic area of La Garrotxa, the Aiguamolls de l’Empordà wetland area and the Ebro Delta.

In 1976 a key document appeared which became an indispensable point of reference in the conservation of the country’s natural heritage. This document was *Natura, ús o abús? Llibre blanc de la gestió de la natura als Països Catalans* (Nature, use or abuse? White paper on nature management in the Països Catalans), published by the Institució Catalana d’Història Natural. That same year, with the conservation movement in full bloom, saw the founding of the Lliga per a la Defensa del Patrimoni Natural — DEPANA (Natural Heritage Defence League), the leading NGO in this movement. The first environmental education facilities were the Santiga nature
route set up by the Department of Ecology of the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Starting with these processes, the conservation and protection movement and environmental education facilities spread all over the country (Boada, 1999).

With the arrival of democratic institutions in 1978, a process of political and social normalisation began, which was also followed by normalisation in matters of protected natural areas.

Catalonia’s protected natural areas

Catalonia’s Sistema d’Espais Natural Protegits (SENP, System of Protected Natural Areas) was formed from a network of 165 areas of special ecological value which are included in the Pla d’Espais d’Interès Natural (PEIN, Plan for Areas of Natural Interest) and which cover a surface area equal to approximately 30% of the area of Catalonia. Within these areas, the so-called Espais Naturals de Protecció Especial (ENPE, Natural Areas with Special Protection) have a higher level of protection.

Source: Generalitat de Catalunya

Plan for Areas of Natural Interest

In 1992 Catalonia took a leap forward when it passed the Pla d’Espais d’Interès Natural, an innovation in Spain and a reference for many parts of Europe. Of course, all the natural spaces with special protection that have been declared are part of the PEIN.

The PEIN was passed by Decree 328/1992 of 14 December, although since then its scope has been considerably increased and the regulations have been modified in certain places with successive decrees. The PEIN’s juridical origins go back to the legal provisions of Law 12/1985, of 13 June, on natural areas.

The PEIN is a sectoral regional plan and is in line with other instruments of this kind arising from Law 23/1983, of 21 November, on regional policy. In the context of regional planning, the PEIN is one of the instruments for deploying the Pla Territorial General de Catalunya (General Regional Plan for Catalonia) approved by the Parliament of Catalonia in 1995. In this way, its provisions are binding on all other regional planning instruments.

The regulations in the PEIN establish a basic protection regime which is applicable throughout its area of influence. This general protection regime can be completed in each area or group of areas in two ways:

1. By formulating special plans for protecting the environment and the landscape, which establishes uses for these areas and specific rules for protection.
2. By declaring special protection areas (national parks, natural areas of national interest, nature reserves or parks), which means that the area takes on legal regulations of its own and individualised management to preserve and strengthen its assets.
Surface area of PEIN areas
1,037,920 ha

Land surface area. 960,102 ha

Sea surface area. 77,818 ha

Natural Areas with Special Protection (ENPE)
(Law 12/1985)

Plan for Areas of Natural Interest (PEIN)
(Decree 328/1992)

Birds Directive
Habitats Directive
Natura 2000

The system of natural areas in Catalonia (SENP)

The system of natural areas in Catalonia

Natura 2000

Plan for Areas of Natural Interest (PEIN)

Natural Areas with Special Protection (ENPE)
Xarxa Natura 2000

On a European scale, the creation of Natura 2000 is a key initiative for protecting nature. Natura 2000 is a European ecological network made up of Special Areas of Conservation and Special Protection Areas for birds, set up with the object of guaranteeing that a favourable state of protection is maintained for habitats of community interest, habitats of species of community interest in their natural area of distribution and species in Annexe I of Directive 79/409/EEC of 2 April 1979 on the conservation of wild birds. Catalan areas belonging to Natura 2000 are included in the PEIN network.

The Generalitat de Catalunya, through the relevant government agreements, has approved several lists of sites to be added to the Natura 2000 network. The first, approved in 1997, included only those PEIN sites that fulfilled the criteria of the European regulations to be declared Sites of Community Importance (SCI) or areas of special protection for birds (SPA). These lists were modified several times until on 5 September 2006, by means of Government Agreement 112/2006, the Government of Catalonia approved the definitive list of SCIs and SPAs making up our country’s Natura 2000 network. Of this list, the SPAs were declared directly by the Generalitat, while the SCIs were referred to the European Commission for definitive approval, which didn’t come until December 2008. Subsequently, in the summer of 2009, the limits of several sites were modified and the SPAs on the plain of Lleida were enlarged to comply with two sentences by the Court of Justice of the European Communities calling for greater protection for steppe birds.

Finally, in December 2013, 29 SCIs were declared Special Areas of Conservation (SACs), thus completing the process of deployment of the Xarxa Natura 2000. These areas were the seven sites on the plain of Lleida, along with the 22 sites located in the Pyrenees and Pre-Pyrenees, corresponding to the Alpine Biogeographical Region. It is foreseen that the remaining SCIs and SACs will be declared in the course of 2014, when this deployment will be definitively completed.

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3. Directive 92/43 on habitats states that all those spaces previously designated Sites of Community Interest (SCIs) must be declared Special Areas of Conservation (SACs).
The process of drawing up the Catalan proposal for Natura 2000:

### 1st STAGE. Compiling information sources

- HABITATS Directive
  - Annexe 1 Types of habitat
  - Annexe 2 Species (animals and plants, except birds)
  - Annex 1. Birds
  - BIRDS Directive

### 2nd STAGE. Drawing up lists of sites

- Directive 92/43/CEE (Habitats Directive)
- Proposed National List of Sites pSCI
- List of Sites of Community Interest SCI

### 3rd STAGE. Public participation

### 4th Stage. Approval by government agreement
Natural areas of special protection

The Espais Naturals de Protecció Especial (ENPE, Natural Areas of Special Protection) are areas that are given a high level of protection and are equipped with legal and self-management instruments allowing active regional administration. Their regulations are established by Law 12/1985 on natural areas, subsequently modified by Law 12/2006, of 27 July, on measures in matters of the environment, which establishes the following categories:

National parks

Natural areas of a relatively large size, essentially unmodified by human action, which are of scientific, scenic and educational interest. The aim of the declaration is to preserve them from any intervention that could affect their appearance or the integrity and evolution of their natural systems. The declaration as a national park must be done by a state law (Law 5/2007, of 3 April, of the Network of National Parks).

The only national park in Catalonia, Aigüestortes i Estany de Sant Maurici (with a surface area of 14,119 ha), is included in the Red Española de Parques Nacionales (REPN, Spanish Network of National Parks). The REPN is made up of 15 Spanish national parks and is coordinated by the Organismo Autónomo de Parques Nacionales (OAPN, National Parks Autonomous Body) of the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture, Food and the Environment.

Natural sites of national interest

Natural sites or elements of medium or small size that have characteristics of unique scientific, scenic and educational interest, with the object of guaranteeing their protection and that of the surroundings. Declaration of a site of national interest is done by law.

Nature reserves

Natural areas of reduced size and of considerable scientific interest that are the object of this declaration in order to integrally preserve the set of natural ecosystems they contain or some parts of them. Declaration of nature reserves is done by law when it is an integral reserve and by a decree of the Executive Council when it is a partial reserve.

Natural parks

Natural areas that have qualified natural values which are protected with the object of conserving them in a way compatible with the orderly use of their resources and the activities of their inhabitants. Declaration of a natural park is done by government decree.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year declared</th>
<th>ENPE</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Administrations and management bodies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Aigüestortes i Estany de Sant Maurici</td>
<td>National Park</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. DARPAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>La Garrotxa volcanic zone</td>
<td>Natural Park</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. DARPAM</td>
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<td>1982</td>
<td>Pedraforca Massif</td>
<td>Natural Site of National Interest</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. DARPAM</td>
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<td>1983</td>
<td>Cadi-Moixeró</td>
<td>Natural Park</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. DARPAM</td>
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<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Ebro Delta</td>
<td>Natural Park</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. DARPAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Empordà Wetlands</td>
<td>Natural Park</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. DARPAM</td>
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<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Poblet</td>
<td>Natural Site of National Interest</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. DARPAM</td>
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<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Albera</td>
<td>Natural Site of National Interest</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. DARPAM</td>
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<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Mountain of Montserrat</td>
<td>Natural Park</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. Patronat de la Muntanya de Montserrat. Departament de la Presidència</td>
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<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Montseny</td>
<td>Natural Park</td>
<td>Diputació de Barcelona i Diputació de Girona</td>
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<td>1987</td>
<td>Sant Llorenç del Munt i l’Obac</td>
<td>Natural Park</td>
<td>Diputació de Barcelona</td>
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<td>1987</td>
<td>Llobregat Delta</td>
<td>Nature Reserves</td>
<td>Consorci per a la Protecció i la Gestió dels Espais Naturals del Delta del Llobregat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Cape Creus</td>
<td>Natural Park</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. DARPAM</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Els Ports</td>
<td>Natural Park</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. DARPAM</td>
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<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Serra de Montsant</td>
<td>Natural Park</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. DARPAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Pinya de Rosa</td>
<td>Natural Site of National Interest</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. DARPAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>High Pyrenees</td>
<td>Natural Park</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. DARPAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Montgrí, Illes Medes and Baix Ter</td>
<td>Natural Park</td>
<td>Generalitat de Catalunya. DARPAM</td>
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<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Collserola</td>
<td>Natural Park</td>
<td>Collserola Park Consortium</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Surface area of natural areas of special protection: 290,794 ha (ENPE)

Land surface area: 284,774 ha (includes 30,543 ha in peripheral protected areas)

Sea surface area: 6,020 ha
Other forms of protection at international level

**Biosphere Reserves**

The World Network of Biosphere Reserves is part of UNESCO’s “Man and Biosphere” programme (MAB), which currently comprises 631 reserves scattered over 119 countries.

Catalonia has two recognised Biosphere Reserves:

- Montseny, declared in 1978.

**Wetlands included in the Ramsar Convention**

The Ramsar Convention is an intergovernmental treaty that provides the framework for national action and international cooperation in the conservation and rational use of wetlands and their resources. It was signed by 18 countries on 2 February 1971 in the city of Ramsar (Iran) and ratified by Spain in 1982. The convention defines wetlands as swamps, marshes, peatlands and fens, either permanent or seasonal, of still or running fresh, brackish or salt water, and areas of seawater with a depth of not more than six metres.

In 2010 the Ramsar Network in Catalonia only included four wetland areas, as follows:

- The Aigüestortes i Estany de Sant Maurici National Park, recognised in 2001 (a network of more than 200 mountain lakes with associated marshes and peatlands).
- The Lake of Banyoles, recognised in 2003.
- The Ebro Delta, recognised in 1993.
In conclusion

We live in a country with a high level of biodiversity and a Catalan society committed to the country and its culture. And we have a city, a capital, with a clear vocation for sustainability, one that looks to the future with the aspirations of a country going back a long way, but one that is young and tender on the path to the country’s emancipation. Taken together, this makes for a profoundly optimistic way forward.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY


New possibilities for Barcelona

Oriol Bohigas
Architect
think that if we imagined the city of Barcelona an independent Catalonia —or well on the way to becoming one - based on a common-sense approach, with the capacity to exercise as a state capital, it would be quite different from the Barcelona that exists today. For instance, a change of attitude would take place, marking a change in the relations between the capital -with real political power— and the rest of the country. Such relations have on occasions been difficult precisely because of the inability to recognise the hierarchy, responsibilities and power that are due to the capital.

For many years we have heard Catalans from areas with considerably less urban development express derisory attitudes with respect to prioritising the needs of Barcelona.

This new attitude and the organisation that would correspond to it would make political and economic relations between Barcelona and other municipalities much smoother. This new hierarchy-based relationship might make it possible to propose solutions that appear to deal with the life and daily affairs of the country. One of these is the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona. Today, a large part of this area functions as a city that has been integrated into Barcelona, but this integration is not accepted as a political reality. And this will gradually deteriorate urban cohesion and reduce the power of a territorial entity and its capital.

Another possible characteristic of the situations that independence would lead to is the fear of a Barcelona that might be perhaps too willing to exercise an excessively centralised control. There is the risk of some of the errors we are now criticising in relation to the political attitude of Madrid might be committed by the capital of this new state. By this I mean that despite the efforts to maintain an open democracy based on equality, the presidential hierarchy of Barcelona will have to be used in a way that is appropriate way for building a new country, while maintaining its power as a capital.
Barcelona: twenty-first century spaces and politics

The challenge posed by the reterritorialization of a capital

Josep Vicent Boira
University of Valencia
Introduction

What type of relationship is established between a city and a territory? What subtle mechanism of scale production, of joint tension, is produced there? What future is expected of a large capital in relation to a state space in the 21st century? The purpose of this document is to show some of the deep bonds that connect a city to the rest of the territory, but within processes inserted in a global phase that has substantially altered the basis of traditional, hierarchical, pyramidal and solid geopolitics. Barcelona has traditionally been visualised as a key reference for different spatial scales: the metropolitan area, the urban region, Catalonia, Spain, the Mediterranean basin, Europe... Now there is talk of it being a capital of state. The reflection we are concerned with is not then anything new, but the final proposals could be, because the changing concepts of space, flows and networks have never had so much importance in our economic, social and political lives until now.

Unlike what some say, the processes of economic and cultural convergence, the development of means of transport, the growing weight of the digital world and the speed of messages and the Internet of Things do not represent the annihilation of space by time. But the opposite: accelerating a political *tempus* would have to also involve being aware of the “cartographic” implications that are generated and that will be generated through this action. And vice-versa. New maps make us think of a new political *time*. For this reason, geographic and political, geopolitical if you like, thought is more current than ever. Thus, in addition to historic and political processes — whether nationally or state constructed —, we must take a look at the associated spatial dynamics. Revamped geopolitics is needed. Geopolitics that speaks to us of the role that a large capital like Barcelona can play in a world dominated by global networks, the response of the local dimension and the reality of geolocation, telematic power, deterritorialized dangers and risks, fast and flexible responses to strategic challenges, the relevance of networks, the failure of traditional states, of their model, of their power and their rigid delimited sovereignty.

All territories, including Catalonia, contain agents within them that some term deterritorialization and reterritorialization processes, dynamic movements related to a space and the relationships between its elements. As Brazilian geographer Rogério Haesbaert states, this is because territory must be understood in a modern way and, therefore, not so much as a thing or an object, but instead as an act and an action, a relationship, a movement, a rhythm... Continuing with this same author, “to simplify, it is possible to state that deterritorialization is the movement through which the territory is abandoned (...) and reterritorialization consists of the movement of constructing the territory”. Today, in some way we are seeing a deterritorialization process that Barcelona and Catalonia are leading from the viewpoint of the traditional geopolitical formation of the Spanish state. Following the theory, in this phase no territorial “emptying” will take place, if this is what ends up being done, and neither can we think of a territorial fragmentation or subdividing of that which formed part of a larger whole that cuts through dynamics like a hot knife through butter. More the opposite, a dynamic reterritorialization process will take place almost immediately that, in this case, and with Barcelona as the focal point, is of interest to discuss what it could be like and the foundations on which it would be constructed.

As Henri Lefebvre stated, deterritorialization as a “conquest” or “abolition” of the space (*of a space, we would say*) also and especially means a new production of the space (*of another space*). This is the topic we would like to discuss in this essay.
Barcelona and the history of spaces

The Catalan capital has never been closed, as it has always been associated with territories larger than its municipal limits. Professor Francesc Roca (2002) has worked continuously on that which he termed “the spaces of 20th century Catalan politics”, spaces like the areas of action, scopes and perspectives. Roca has managed to identify six throughout the last century: Spain (from the Courts of Cadiz), the Iberian Peninsula (Iberism, from the 1901 generation), Africa, the Americas (Noucentisme), Europe (since World War I), Mediterranean expansionism and the Mediterranean Arc (where we could place, dotting the i’s and crossing the t’s, the tiniest political, linguistic and cultural formulation, the Països Catalans, or Catalan-speaking regions). In all these spaces, Barcelona played a role either as a capital, a reference, a node or a piece of a larger system. As an example, Roca cites Cebrià de Montoliu who, at the beginning of the 20th century, proposed a type of world league of cities, with Barcelona the headquarters of a social museum that would become part of an international network of the same type of centres. Or the proposals Francesc Cambó made in 1910 for a new municipal regime and a definitive exposition that would “give Barcelona status as capital of the Mediterranean” (quoted by Costa, 2002, p 106) and would lead to the city being viewed as the “spiritual capital of Spain” to rival Paris in capturing American capital. Costa (2002) reminds us also of the important geopolitical consciousness of Noucentisme and the role that Barcelona played in it, the city’s renown for ideas such as colonisation of the Maghreb and the Mediterraneanism of that generation and the key role the Catalan capital played. And once again Roca (2000) brings up the direct relationship between the visions of the Mediterranean-City with those of the Catalonia-City of Noucentisme.

In other words, the intersection between city and territory (one territory or another, the Spanish state or another state or group of states) has been consubstantial to the view that Catalanism, as a political outlook typical of Catalonia and its future, has had of Barcelona and the entire country. This “territory” has not always been geographic, but also mental at times: Casasas (1990) has shown us how the Barcelonan municipal institution has been essential to the regenerationist strategy of the Catalan intellectual and professional sector since the Restoration; Roque (2001) confidently points out the concept of “poly identity” in the construction of the urban imaginary of cities like Barcelona and their world projection; and Ucelay-Da Cal (2003) has written about how Barcelona became the “capital of the Hispanic regionalists” in the transition between the 19th and 20th centuries. In short, Barcelona has always been that which Félix Guattari defines as an enormous “semiotic condenser adjacent to state power”. This role must not be lost in any situation, with or without our own state.

This extremely brief and incomplete list of some examples that connect urban space and territory exemplifies the perspective we would like to employ on the following pages: the intimate relationship that is produced between power and space, between politics and territory.

History of spaces, history of powers

To say it short and sweet, we start from a Foucauldian reading in this chapter, if you permit me this arrogance, of Carl Schmitt’s thesis, according to which “political ideas do not exist without a space that makes them referable. Similarly, spaces and spatial principles do not exist that do
not have their corresponding political ideas”. Although Schmitt was a polemic author of political science and German law, praised by some for his clairvoyance and harshly criticised by others, this starting point reveals two principles which we believe are important. The first is that, as Michel Foucault said (1980): “An entire history could be written of spaces — which in parallel would be a history of powers —, which would range from the large geopolitical strategies to small habitat tactics, from institutional architecture, the classroom and hospital organisation to economical-political implementations”. This excerpt is clairvoyant because it shows that space (Barcelona, but also Catalonia, Spain and Europe) must be considered in actuality as a “historical-political problem”, casting aside the old vision that linked space either “to nature — to that which is given in the initial determination to physical geography — namely, a type of prehistoric layer” or to a conception as a “place of residence or expansion of a people, a culture, a language or a state”. These words by Foucault are completed with a metaphor that summarises them: “In short, [space] is analysed as land or as air (...), what really mattered was the substratum and the frontiers”. It is no longer exactly like that. Between the land and the air, there is much more to discover.

With respect to the second principle that we take from Schmitt’s words, and that was developed by Cavalletti (2010), space is a moving sphere, the borders of which become more or less permeable depending on different gradations, so that these borders would always be prepared to change their shape. Thus, we would have a space made up of areas with differential intensity, depending on flows, flows that are not independent of these biopolitical intensities that guide them and organise them (Cavalletti, 2012).

These two points of view lead us directly to two conclusions: first, a reconfiguration of power, a new frame of mind, a new narrative, a new “history of power” (in Foucault’s words, and what is happening to Catalonia is definitely this) will necessarily lead to a spatial reconfiguration of the society in which it takes place (and the reverse, which must be born in mind). From here, see the many times I have personally defended the idea of a Mediterranean hub as a “cartographic” construction and a lever to seek more efficient territorialised power not only against political recentralisation, but also with regard to infrastructures. Secondly, these dynamics let us confirm the possibility of constructing the space for relations between Barcelona and the world, of the Catalan capital with all other geopolitical levels, far from aprioristic delimitations.

Perhaps with these we will better understand the third part of this paper, which focuses on the dialectic relationship between deterritorialization and reterritorialization.

All breaking down contains a building up

Rogério Haesbaert’s book The Myth of Deterritorialization: from the End of Territories to Multiterritoriality (2011) is essential reading for understanding what is happening in Catalonia, from a geopolitical viewpoint. It is undeniable that there has been a crisis of “dominant territoriality” in Spain for some time now, that of the classic nation state at a unit basis. This crisis is not only manifested in the decision by part of the Catalan society (and we could also include Basque, in light of the respective electoral results) to obtain a greater degree of sovereignty or even to discuss traditional sovereignty, but should also be considered from a broader sense by analysing the other symptoms. These include the lack of coordination of the territorial powers arising from the regionalisation coined in the 1978 Constitution, the problems stemming from resource
management (water, energy), the particular politics of constructing infrastructures that do not heed real economic needs, the lack of a rational criterion that feeds the construction of the budget at a territorial level, the overlapping and doubling of administrative levels, the lack of a powerful narrative discourse that integrates the consubstantial multiple nationality of Spain, the resistance against attaining integrated governance, the lack of plural symbolic elements, the difficulty in fairly distributing expenses and investments, apart from the political component, the failure of the municipality as a political entity born from the liberal revolution, etc. This type of crisis of traditional Spanish territoriality (of which, I insist, that Catalonia’s task is one more manifestation — perhaps, yes — the clearest and most dramatic) has created, why not say it?, a tangential line of emotional, political and economic deterritorialization in a large part of Catalan society. Deterritorialization, now referring to R. Haesbaert, means dematerialisation of the domain of traditional symbolic relationships. This event is clearly taking place in Catalonia. It has been revealed recently, but there are other cases: the speeding up of the fluid movement in the stability of relationships, the weakening of spatial controls through the untouchable concept of borders, the increased cultural hybridisation and the multiplication of territorial identities, the juxtaposition of territories and political dynamics, the disarticulation of the notion of inside/outside (how each thing is therefore understood) and local/far (how each thing relates to another thing)... If we review each of these affirmations, we will see that the Catalonia-Spain connection has problematic issues in almost all of them and, thus, the bilateral agenda responds to a process of “dominant territorialization crisis”. In the same way that nothing is written, neither do we necessarily have to accept that a dominant territoriality crisis must finish with its disappearance, although it would seem essential to introduce in-depth reforms to prevent it.

In any case, the Catalan “deterritorialization” process with respect to the Spanish nation-state model will not lead to any type of territorial “emptiness” or to the re-establishment of impermeable limits for functions and dynamics (like a piece of cake that is separated from the whole), but instead another process of dynamic reterritorialization will be started up immediately, consubstantially and inherently (this is Rogério Haesbaert’s general thesis) that must be completed, in this case yes.

The reterritorialization of Barcelona

Having reached this point, we can summarise some of the points we have made. Firstly, Barcelona played an essential role in the imaginaries and spaces of 20th century Catalan politics. This role ranged from the interlacing, the convergence of dimensions from the capital with more or less delimited territorial actualities (Catalonia, Europe, Spain, the Mediterranean arc...). Thus, it is about reinterpreting this tradition in light of the processes that bind space and power (a history of powers is a history of spaces and vice-versa, as we have seen) and the sequence of dominant territorial crisis-deterritorialization-reterritorialization. And, even another phase, as advocated by Haesbaert (2011:29), when he said that in reality that which some associate with deterritorialization is nothing more than the intensification of territorialization in the sense of a multiple territoriality that blends different territorial modes, such as area-territories and network-territories, at multiple levels and with new territorial organisation methods.

Thus, the big question is not whether Barcelona will be able to reterritorialise its vocation and role in a new spatial and power scenario (in the end, the same thing), but how this reter-
ritorialization will take place. And to answer this question, we must take a look at the spatial and territorial visions that today reveal a world of flows, of networks, of global cities, but also of the “macro-regionalisation” of territories. Building urban territoriality starting from traditional outlines of classic geopolitics would be, not only not recommended, but practically impossible, given the development and maturity of integration processes, the co-involvement and regionalisation of Europe and, in general, the world. That is just the way it is. Because, in this relationship between space and power that we are advocating, not only does Barcelona have to toil to plan a new space, but it must plan a new governance method, a deployment of power. The challenge is both spatial and political at the same time: going beyond the “exclusivist” notion of power means going beyond the classic idea of territory. And vice-versa.

From this viewpoint, recent studies (Pemberton and Morphet, 2014) show the emphasis of European thought with a geographic basis in the way of assuring integration of and between functional and territorial divisions, giving examples of multilevel governance, structuring of functional areas, the well-known city-regions and other cases of the vertical and horizontal integration of territories above and beyond administrative limits, and even with strategies that do not require state protection (non-state spatial strategies, Harrison, 2014). This new economic geography based on city-regionalism is difficult to distinguish from ideological and geopolitical construction (Paasi, 2012). Furthermore, at times even the emergence of an authentic policy of this type is recognised (city-regionalism, for example) as a first level geopolitical project (Harrison, 2014). Large European macro-regional strategies for the Adriatic, the Baltic or the Danube (a new phase in European regional politics) commit to carrying out geopolitical practices in constructing new emergent spaces unknown until today, from which we can learn.

Conclusions: spaces of 21st century Catalan politics

To our understanding, Barcelona would need to commit not only to maintaining and increasing its status as a capital via the normal resources and instruments, but would have to also bear in mind the need to explore new territorialities. Firstly, it would need to start interweaving itself with other cities and territories by closely following the mindset of geographic proximity (inclusion in macro-regional transport networks), due to functional resemblance and without ever underestimating the capacity to also participate in “deterritorialised” spheres (these yes definitely, namely, without physical contiguity or economic integration). This integration would have to be combined with a deep spirit of polycentrism, a characteristic already somewhat considered in the Catalan historic Noucentista movement with a Mediterranean and European base (Roque, 2001).

Network theory (Caldarelli and Catanzaro, 2014) shows us realities that have been little analysed until now, which Barcelona should explore: the concept of “hidden network” or underlying, the importance of “emergent phenomenon” (collective behaviours that cannot be predicted by individually observing each element that makes up the system), the idea of “complex system”, the fact that often the existence of a network can only be deduced through interactions (we apply this principle to territories, for example, with regard to what we called the Mediterranean hub), the relevance of topology (of connections) in metrics (distance), the strength of “weak links” (those
than connect a person to other distant people not connected to the social environment of the first, but precisely for this reason opens up an entire series of new groups that accumulate information that would be otherwise inaccessible)... Thus, we are thinking of a Barcelona that explores its hidden network, that is alert to emerging phenomena, to the dynamics that are only seen when considering the system as a whole, that it realises it is situated in a complex environment, that runs on interactions, that combines connection and proximity, that never underestimates weak links because it knows that contact with other cities not connected to its social, political and territorial environment will open doors and information for it.

We are thinking of a Barcelona that is capable of imagining its evolution from a hierarchical, Cartesian, geometric, solid, hegemonic and spatially rigid state system to enter into a spatial system that is more flexible, moving, “smooth” and even “nomadic” (in the sense of postmodern philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari), a space more closely resembling a matrix. Barcelona needs to try out an extrinsic, extroverted and centrifugal spatiality and capital status. A thrilling challenge that lets territory and network be combined, two concepts that if handled well do not need to be at odds with one another.

As Weizman reminded us, modern day war no longer consists of the destruction of space, but rather of its reorganisation. Another fascinating prospective work for the 21st century is opening up in front of us. The large question for this century, as Haesbaert points out (2011: 308), shall not therefore be the process of deterritorialization (of political and spatial fracturing, indestructible), this yes, much more visible and attractive to the media, but the complexity of reterritorializations (of political and spatial re/construction, indestructible). And here, Barcelona has extensive ground to cover.

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Barcelona: past and future of the three spaces of power and representation

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Introduction

Barcelona, as capital of a soon to be revived state — not a new one — has to rethink its mechanisms for the location and representation of its spaces of power.

They will — hopefully — change from standards of searching for historic prestige by evoking a past with a traumatic ending to the exalting task of hosting the key future institutions, along with the revitalisation of this past with a new light.

We will no longer have a delegated power that is resigned to showcasing the peculiarities of our personality and history, along a vaguely custom-based line stemming from an interiorised awareness of the lack of real power over the mechanisms of representation from past and future projects.

Thus, the capital of Catalonia must go from expressing the past to clarifying the strength of the present and our collective future project, a future that is for all of us and each of us to create and for us as architects to help formalise and represent.
To physically and symbolically construct future spaces, there are two fundamental and unquestionable tools: the place and the form. I would like to speak of both, especially in the discussion of place, concretely the status and evolution of the city’s centres of power and representation, as I understand that this is important to the historic stage at the time of this publication.

There is nothing more useful for understanding the possibilities and decisions to make about the future of Barcelona, in a framework of political freedom, than reviewing our own experience. Namely, which centres of power we have raised over the course of time, what they were like, what they were used for and what they signified.

We can refer to them according to extremely concrete tendencies linked to a chronologically sorted sequence, which will be reviewed as this line of thought is developed.

I divide them into the centre space, the sea space and the territory space: here you have that the emancipation prospects for our nation reopen completely, in my understanding, each of the discussions related to the three central areas that I pointed out.

I will describe them in their current condition and propose evolutionary criteria in a political framework of freedom.

**The centre space**

The vicissitude of the centre as a notorious part of our history is particularly important: understanding it is a tool for adapting its role to the future.

Barcelona indeed started from the Roman forum. It materialises that which is so typical of the spirit of the Roman Empire: a centre of reference for the desired continuous expansion.

From this original point, the axes are not born by thinking about limits. Totally the opposite, in reaching the walls the doors open and the territory is glimpsed that they aspire to control, reaching out in all directions.

The centre is established as such for all purposes. It is the political centre; it is the spiritual centre and it is the trade centre.
It is significant how, when the Empire disappeared, its structure crushed, this centre, weakened, blurred, ransacked — so much so that it ended up being displaced several dozens of metres along the two axes — changed from being understood as the heart of an expansive device, the beginning and end of the road, to then representing a mirrored coffin, a space for refuge.

F2. Mediaeval Barcelona
Superimposed Roman and Mediaeval sections
Heeding this centre space, we can consider the space of the Council of One Hundred — now the City Council — and the Palau de la Generalitat (the Catalan Government Building) as established.

Conversely, the Palau Reial Major, on the Carrer de la Ciutat, deserves a better fortune, punished because it represented the power of our discontinuous race.

The punishment applied has been a crushing, not so physical but instead primarily semantic. The Palau, whose last occupant was King Martin the Humane, has been progressively converted — with the early help of the Inquisition, which set up shop in one section — in a random series of institutions with their fragmented buildings that break the expressive unit of the original set of buildings: The Saló del Tinell, the Chapel of Saint Agatha, the Archives of the Crown of Aragon, the Palau del Lloctinent, the Frederic Marès Museum... Who can now speak — recognise now then — tout en passant, therefore, of the Palau Reial Major without it being a premeditated and wise attempt?

A revolution would not necessarily be needed to determine its future uses. However, a formally clear sequence should be redone that accompanies and contributes to its physical and intellectual recognition. That as a whole expresses its past and future. That shows the articulation between periods and the vicissitudes of the centre.

The Plaça del Rei (the King’s Square) could easily emphasise its nature as a central court. A better use of the portal of the City Council’s Council of One Hundred would invigorate the passing flows and the meaning between the two institutions.
I do not dare propose the reconstruction of the bridge that once connected the Palace of King Martin to the Cathedral over the Carrer de la Ciutat, although I do state that there was actually one there. You can still see the remains of the support brackets on the wall.

The sea space

The reversals of the sea space are seductive. They ebbed and flowed and developed at the same time as the country’s maritime expansion, until reaching the opposite end of the Mediterranean.

Of the first function, the commercial exchange between what comes from the sea and terra firma sprang La Llotja, or the Fish Marketplace. It was established over the centuries in a phenomenal and splendid architectural building that was then meticulously hidden as a consequence of other later historic events.

We will come back to them later.

Exceptionally, the people could opt for also having a presence in the play of symbols of this space.

Santa Maria del Mar, raised on the sand — and, as is well known, financed by the people — thus materialises its infrequent presence on the stages of representation.

The extraordinary history of this area reveals a second exceptional episode to us. Power, when stemming from new stock when, in the 18th century, it wanted to reinvent itself in terms of semantics and image, abandoning the central space to opt for this former border space.

It is thus revealed that the sea was also considered territory and that which is a physical border was not in terms of political and historic ambition. The portal to the sea, thus created, is a centre, the meeting point between solid and aqueous territories.

Therefore, the sea space is constituted by the buildings that are the consequence of and engine of the project of the city and of the entire country:

- La Llotja (Fish Market), which is the tangible display of the crown’s exceptional Mediterranean adventure and, very especially of the city of Barcelona (F3).

- Santa Maria del Mar (church), raised on the sand on the beach — let’s not forget — by the people’s will and efforts, with a resulting particularly emotional purity for anyone and, if I may, especially for an architect.

- Palau de Mar, which from its name and its position, made the Crown of Aragon’s political, trade and symbolic plans clear, which was defeated in 1714.

It may be because of this extraordinary large-scale ambition, perhaps the maximum explicitly associative with the city’s resistance to the state of things that were being imposed, it is the semantically most disarticulated space after the district of El Born, post 1714.
Thus, La Llotja was sheathed in a generic neoclassical covering: its “neutral” image. Over time, the Palau Reial (Royal Palace) was replaced by an anonymous building of flats. Only Santa Maria remains.

It may be because of this brutal disfiguration, this radical and imposed oblivion, that I publicly speculate by brandishing a radical idea: Eliminate the neoclassical and imprisoning wrapping that encircles the gothic shipyards that, buried alive — like our history as a people, as a country and as a city has definitely seemed to be buried — await us to be liberated and to revive the magic with Santa Maria del Mar.

The built metres that will be lost would be recovered by occupying the series of immediate spaces that are currently neglected here, in the city of design. The difficult — to the degree that they are geometry — but fascinating — with regard to geometric difficulty — free plots of land that are scattered from La Llotja to Via Laietana. Pay attention to the fact that in the centre of Barcelona, often so exemplary in urban terms, it is an unheard of event that is only explainable by the lengthy shadow cast by the site’s traumatic history.

In effect, in addition to the obvious historic and national issues, it would be extraordinarily powerful, both symbolically and economically, to have an exceptional Gothic La Llotja fish market with a façade facing the seafront and a La Llotja district — the general level of which would
undoubtedly improve by induction —, where housing would be mixed with a constellation of spaces associated with La Llotja that could characterise the district, with the exceptional coexistence of ambition and drive, history, trade, tourism and housing, redesigned in a giant leap between the 18th and 21st centuries.

It goes without saying that the current building it occupies, with a premeditated semantic deconstruction of its original use, what was the space of the Palau Reial, of the Palau de Mar, would need to be replaced by a building with a symbolic collective nature.

The building that houses the current Nautical School, although at least its position could be linked to fragments of our urban history, would do us a big favour if it vanished, as this would liberate the sea views from the central space of the seafront, precisely of the recovered sea.

The Palau de Mar and La Llotja — with Santa Maria del Mar in the background and practically touching — would then be the background or the commencement, however you want to look at it, of an absolutely modern veduta full of life and urban power: the Passeig de la Barceloneta and the slices of inland water, which would link the reunified sea core to the water and the perspectives of the west coastline of Barceloneta and the current revival (with the Hermitage Museum or not) of the port sector that faces it.

The territory space

There is concurrent, and extraordinary, symbolism in the vicissitude at Bellesguard of first King Martin the Humane and, five centuries later and in the same place, architect Antoni Gaudí’s creation on this site.

F7. Ruins of the Palace of Martí l’Humà in Bellesguard, before the intervention of Antoni Gaudí
F8. Detail of Bellesguard and the work by A. Gaudí executed on the Mediaeval ruins
Going from the Palau Reial Major to outside the walls of the Humane – an extraordinary physical correlate of the political adventure of the king himself and of the entire country – undoubtedly has the typically propounded hygienic and healthful reasons, although it is difficult to reject the perception of a materialisation of a historic movement, of an interior exile.

Perhaps one needs to distance oneself from the centre to gain perspective, to inaugurate thought at a different scale: to focus on the whole, now at a good distance from the Palau Major.

Bellesguard has distance and height with respect to Barcelona. It has these things now, and it is imaginable to think that this nature would become gigantic in a radically smaller Barcelona than the one we see today from these heights.

To go back to our topic, Gaudi insisted on height, with the extremely slender watchtower, in the otherness that the height and layout of this site provides with respect to the large plan of the city.

We will never know what the consequences would have been of the drifting of the Humane if his dynasty had not been truncated. We will not know if the distance with regard to the territory was withdrawal, refuge or a reformulation of the project to obtain a better scale.

We shall have to wait five centuries to take up the discussion again until Barcelona is equipped with spaces that think, that guide, that look and justify the large scale of the city’s open plan, of the scale of the territory.

The physical space of the territory surrounding Barcelona came into urban play, slowly but powerfully, with industrialisation. The “steam” from the textile factories had to be outside of the extremely dense Barcelona within the walls for hygiene reasons, both with regard to the spinning and the dying.

The Roman outline — “so straight” as master Manuel de Solà-Morales said — from Travesera de Gràcia is one of the large bases (along with Sants, Hostafrancs, Clot...) of the settlements of industries and, very close, the workers’ working class homes.

The Eixample district colonised the hinterland created between the former-now-industrialised rural hubs and the Barcelona inside the walls.

In addition to strict demographic and economic necessity, Barcelona’s Eixample district came into being as a result of planning and resolving three major topics:

- the solution of the city’s relationship to a new and exotic element: the train
- the reception of the masses that would move industrialisation and the pertinent moneyed classes
- the articulation of the working class settlements at the urban perimeter, that of the hinterland between these settlements and the established city, and that of the territory in a more general sense, abstract and larger, that the presence of the train brought closer in all respects

We shall review the articulation of the urban weft — spaces of representation — railway in the most notorious proposals of the call for designs for the Eixample:

In the plan presented by J. M. Planas, nothing went beyond the closed and walled relationship between the Barcelona that remains inside its walls and Gràcia.

The new Barcelona would be organised by a curious enlargement in the same exact form that Gràcia grew precisely in those years. There was the same set of plots with a central square and the same layout of the corners: the plot did not turn and a radical difference was therefore established between the streets that had façades and those that had party walls that faced onto
the street. This was exactly what was happening in Gràcia at that time and exactly what has happened there through the present day.

The magnificent project by Rovira i Trias organised sections that fanned out from Plaça Catalunya, organised according to the directions of Camí (a future boulevard) in Gràcia, the direction of the railway line and the tracks symmetrical to them, taking Passeig de Gràcia as an axis that converged on Plaça de Catalunya.

Cerdà’s gesture, so abstract with regard to the territory, was minimal but extraordinary: He oriented Plaça de les Glòries not over the predictable Meridiana or Gran Via streets or even Diagonal avenue that he himself invented, but laid out according to the direction of the train. The new central square was oriented over the territory-directive, not over the inland urban design: it was a metropolitan operation and, furthermore, a national one.

In the majority of designs, the new square, namely Plaça Catalunya, had the starring role in the physical definition and, especially, the symbolic definition of this connection not in scale.

Thus, we find wishes ranging from locking away the otherness that the railway could represent within the collective imaginary of what they hoped the city would be to the enthusiastic and visionary acceptance of those who believed that the centre of the future Barcelona, that of the Eixample district, had to be articulated in relation to the new accessibility to the territory that introduced it within the city’s functionality and imaginary.

It is time, it is urgent, for Barcelona to take on a de facto structured relationship to its territory, understood both in physical terms — which would necessarily involve local relationships — and, if I may, metaphysical terms.

Barcelona, the capital, must be expressed and feel part of a territory. It is important to do it. It is necessary and even more so with the historic adventure taking place at this time and bringing us together, all on the same page of this book.

We don’t have the space to convincingly explain this.

Plaça Catalunya, although the name is good, could more appropriately be called and recognised as Plaça Barcelona.

The authentic Catalonia space obviously has more to do with the central transport hubs. It must be linked to the idea of welcoming and departure that invites a return to the city. Namely, it must be related to the Glòries-Sagrera Station area.

The celestial coincidence of this name and its location should be taken advantage of, in proximity to the station that will connect Barcelona to all its territorial stopovers and distances.

Therefore, the Glòries-La Sagrera connection must be kept open, free and urban, as the large functional — naturally — articulation, but also a symbolic one with the territory, understood not only as a national space, but also part of the symbolic space of a European centrality.
F10. Eixample Project in Barcelona. Proposal submitted by Rovira i Trias

F11. Proposal of Ildefons Cerdà
F12. Relation of Glòries –Sagrera as the Centre of the whole of Catalonia and its capital, Barcelona
The Plaça de les Glòries Catalanes shall be, by design or *de facto*, the reference square for Catalonia, or it won’t be.

Therefore:
1. The connection with La Sagrera station is essential.
2. We need to reflect on the type of space that it will offer us. No obstacle should block the dominance of green, although it is equally essential to create that which is so difficult, which is the symbolic, shared, welcoming and also representative space.

The connection with the Sagrada Família, which lets us layout jointly with the annexed urban system proposed by Gaudí — slightly correcting the connection with the Hospital de Sant Pau / Avinguda Gaudí — would have to culminate in a top rate urban and country centrality, in all senses.

The inspired and inspirational initiative of publishing this book at this particular chronological and historic time, has let me take up the discussion again of these three types of central focuses, three destinations, three vocations. It also lets me finish by doing so in terms of country, with the authority, the inspiration and the drive granted by the aspiration of soon having it in our hands.

**Conclusions**

A change in the Catalan political status, focused on allowing us to again take control of our destiny would certainly affect the status of the public spaces of representation in our society.

For reasons directly related to repression — explicit or ingrained — , the images of the country have been focused on particular on Barcelona as a city that provides *services*.

If the political prospects are fulfilled, Barcelona could incorporate the symbolic and functional elements that are due to it as the capital of the Catalan state, but naturally without forgoing its expression and presence as the most important international city in the Mediterranean region, and even enhancing them.

This functional and symbolic assumption will most likely lead to a semantic reorganisation of its urban system as a mechanism of representation in a society that would again take control of communicating its history.

The relatively recent important transformation of Barcelona was done by incorporating new areas that were formerly peripheral — including interior peripheral areas —, transforming neighbourhoods and improving all the physical element of its urban space.

For obvious political reasons, Barcelona has avoided taking action on politically-symbolic aspects

of a senior level — with the possible exceptions, due to their location outside the city, of the Cemetery of les Moreres and the Cemetery of Montjuic —, i.e., spaces related to the representation of power or the main history of the country.

This could be done In a setting of freedom.

That way we could once again turn our gaze to the important scenarios of our history after removing the veil — here I have referred to three significant ones —, while regaining our memory, the best instrument for inventing a decent and intense future for everyone.
Impact of being the capital of a new state on the evolution of the property market in the city of Barcelona and its metropolitan area

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Introduction

The creation of a new national capital comprising Barcelona and its metropolitan area would involve a number of substantial long-term transformations. The call effect of the status of national capital and the leadership that Barcelona could exercise if it were free of the impositions and restrictions of the current situation, along with the buoyancy of the Euro-Mediterranean arc could lead to the appearance of many new investment plans of a public, private and combined nature. In addition to the trends already at work in the sector, it would have all together a notable impact on developments in real estate prices in the tertiary and residential areas of the city and in certain zones in its metropolitan area.

Developments in the model for hotels and tourist apartments in the city and the metropolitan area

The report published by the Hoteliers Association in 2013 on the situation of the hotel industry in Barcelona in collaboration with the Barcelona Tourist Board shows that the hotel industry in Barcelona is in healthy condition. During the period 2009-2013, alongside the commencement of the national transition process, the average occupancy rate rose from 66.9% to 75%, while the yearly average price per room sold rose by 10% to €109.75. The type of hotel with the highest occupancy rate was 4-star and premier 4-star, at 77.65%. Those facts are remarkable, given that the supply of hotel rooms has continued to grow steadily and during that period it grew by over 12%, with a strong increase in the presence of international operators, who are showing ever more interest in the Barcelona brand and who already hold a market share of 7.30% in the city. That trend will continue in the near future, due to the conversion of office buildings for new use as hotels, such as the key cases of the Deutsche Bank building and the Agbar Tower.

80% of overnight stays in Barcelona are made by foreign visitors, while only 15% are made by visitors from other parts of Spain. 40% of visits to the city are made for professional purposes.

The hotel industry is optimistic about the future. Almost 50% of the establishments interviewed foresee better prospects for the business in the short term and that proportion increases to 67% for the medium term. The Barcelona of the future, as the capital of a new country, would surely have a positive impact on the model for development of the hotel business and its prospects for growth. It would also create certain positive synergies for the development of other industries, such as retail sales.

Catalonia as a state in its own right would not have any of the present constraints on the efficient management of its passenger transportation infrastructures and its connectivity would certainly improve in terms of long-haul flights and interoperability between ports, airports and railways, as well as more efficient connectivity on the scale of Europe through the network of high-speed trains. This would result in a direct increase in the number of passengers with Barcelona as their destination. The necessary investments in infrastructure would make the city more attractive as a business destination, for example in connection with organisation of fairs, congresses and professional events.

To all that, we need to add the call effect of the status of Barcelona as the capital, which would increase the number of overnight stays in the city and its metropolitan area. Bilateral
relationships between Catalonia and other states in connection with different sectorial matters, the role of Catalonia in relation to the European Union and the European framework, co-operation between Catalonia and the European authorities relating to organisation of events, summit meetings and negotiations and the activities associated with the status as capital city would generate a substantial number of professional visits, falling within the scope of the characteristic activities of the public sector or arising in that connection.

The increase in overnight stays would likewise be driven by the capacity to attract all manner of international agencies and organisations of a multilateral nature, non-governmental organisations, foundations and think tanks. Likewise, in respect of corporate activities, a Barcelona and area that could compete on an equal footing with all other European capitals would surely be able to attract many headquarters and regional branches, aimed, for example, at the markets of southern Europe and the Iberian Peninsula.

All those factors together would have a beneficial influence on the number of overnight stays for business visits. We just need to think how many overnight stays are generated by meetings for co-ordination of the different teams of a company or organisation, or their training programmes, to mention only two examples.

The pressure that expansion of the hotel model will continue to cause in connection with the change in use of buildings in the more central districts and the resultant reduction of surface area used as homes could have a certain influence on the reactivation of prices for residential use in those areas. The success of the Barcelona model is based, among other factors, upon the coexistence of uses in peripheral areas and in non-specialisation between types of activities, a circumstance that will help to ensure the conservation of the character of its neighbourhoods. The city’s success with tourism has led some of its inhabitants recently to express their concerns about the proliferation of tourist apartments or hotels.

In that connection, we can point up the initiative taken by the Barcelona Town Council in imposing a freeze on concession of new permits for tourist apartments in the city. This is in addition to the reaction on the part of the Catalan Government to certain models of sharing economy, such as the rental of rooms by private individuals through certain Internet portals. All those factors together have led to the need for cost-benefit studies of the city’s tourism model focussing on the concept of overnight stays and the target audience being addressed by each segment and type of service. New proposals for regulation and specific plans for uses and services could supplement actions aimed at ensuring the survival of neighbourhood structures and their coexistence with new types of inhabitants in the city, likewise in generational terms, who are more inclined to new models of economic management and optimisation of the returns on real estate assets, which are normally the result of immediate needs for liquidity due to the situation of economic crisis.

### Developments in the tertiary market for office space in the city and the metropolitan area

One of the sectors with the greatest potential for growth within the scenario for the status as capital for the new Barcelona is unquestionably the tertiary sector and specifically the sector of office space. In spite of the stagnation witnessed in recent years, the sector is showing signs
of reactivation in 2014, with a clear acceleration during the second half of the year, and all the forecasts indicate that investment by year end will be triple the investment recorded for 2013, as seen in the most recent reports by CB Richard Ellis (CBRE) and Jones Lang LaSalle (JLL), which state that in the year to date 176,000 m² have been leased, almost double the amount for the same period of 2013, the second best performance since the beginning of the crisis, as highlighted by the Ara daily paper, quoting sources in BNP Paribas.

One of the differentiating characteristics in the case of Barcelona is the fact that it is so attractive to the leading international funds. In that regard, in 2013 Ernst & Young were already ranking Barcelona in third place among European cities and regions capable of attracting foreign investment in their study Coping with the crisis, the European way. Aguirre Newman places investment in the city by foreign groups at 58% of the total for the period of January-September 2014. Both CBRE and JLL believe that Barcelona will position itself among the top five European markets for office space within the next five years. That impressive forecast was made alongside publication of several recent studies on the financial impact of the hypothetical independence of Catalonia by Credit Suisse, Moody’s and Barclays, for example. One of Barcelona’s indisputable points of attraction is the strength and consolidation of its brand, as shown in studies by the ESADE Brand Institute, and that factor, along with the healthy potential for growth of the Catalan economy, carries substantial weight with investors. All those circumstances taken together outline a scenario that is clearly different from the one drawn by the leading consultants in the industry, such as CBRE itself or Savills, in connection with the future of Scotland in the event of secession, using precisely the argument of a hypothetical flight of foreign investment.

The study by Cercle Català de Negocis (CCN) entitled El sector immobiliari i els efectes a Barcelona com capital de l’Estat català (The real estate industry and the effects for Barcelona as capital of a Catalan state), published in 2014, focuses on the current situation of the tertiary market in Barcelona, harmed by the “headquarters effect” of Madrid, and compares it with the impact of a temporary peak in demand for available space in the offices sector in the event of independence by Catalonia, particularly in connection with the opening of new embassies, agencies and related offices. Barcelona now has some ninety consular agencies and it is the third ranking city in that regard, after New York and Hong Kong. CCN calculates that at least 140 embassies would be opened in Barcelona, with facilities and staffs notably in excess of the current consulates, and that that circumstance would create a demand in the medium term for some 400,000 m² of leased or purchased space, of which approximately half would correspond to luxury homes and outstanding detached houses. Most of this demand would foreseeably be concentrated in the city centre, the premium zones and the upper zone, as well as in the peripheral high standing residential areas of the metropolitan area. To this would be added the needs for space by other official delegations, such as foundations, public corporations, cultural institutions, regional delegations, tourism offices, trade offices, and so on. CCN calculates that as a result prices could return to the levels of 2009, reactivating the luxury and corporate residential sector.

In addition, there would be the space needed in buildings destined for new government and ministerial functions or related to governance of the new country, in areas such as the treasury, financial and monetary authorities, different regulatory authorities and agencies, senior justice authorities and the constitutional court, external affairs, defence, security and antiterrorist forces, customs and immigration, public registries, and a long list of others.
Catalonia must also be capable of attracting all manner of branch offices of international agencies and organisations, multilateral bodies, non-governmental organisations, foundations, think tanks and joint public and private academic undertakings of worldwide prestige. A good example in that connection is the ambitious initiative concerning the Modernist compound of the Sant Pau Hospital. Barcelona is a leader in the rehabilitation of its architectural heritage for new uses and that is an added attraction in the case of organisations that wish to situate their representatives in emblematic buildings. The manager of Aguirre Newman in Barcelona, Anna Gener, pointed out in an interview published recently in the Ara daily paper that the city “is an example of the reconversion of buildings to make them more productive”.

Barcelona must furthermore become one of the most attractive capital cities of its vicinity, and in a European context and competing on an equal footing it should have no difficulty in gaining the presence of important headquarters and branch offices of multinational companies that are now located, for reasons that are basically of an administrative nature, in other European capitals. That trend would surely be strengthened through the adoption by a new state of suitable incentives and tax policies. That is also valid in the case of regional areas that are configured within the context of the European domestic market for reasons having to do with trade, distribution and logistics, as in the case of Scandinavia or the market formed by the United Kingdom and Ireland. There is every reason to believe that Portugal, Spain and Catalonia could form such a regional area. Within that context, Barcelona’s points of attraction would be likely to convince some multinationals to establish their regional headquarters for that area in Catalonia, at the expense of Madrid or Lisbon.

A study carried out by the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce and presented in May 2014 showed that Catalonia receives half the foreign investment made in Spain. Ramon Rovira, Head of Studies for that Chamber of Commerce pointed to the increase in foreign investment in Catalonia, which grew by 13% in 2013, the steepest such growth in the whole decade. In absolute figures, it was the second best ever, with over €3,500 million invested, according to information published by Ministry of the Economy in March 2014, which also noted that the increase in investment in Catalonia was triple the figure for Spain as a whole. Those excellent results are likewise due to the very good work being done in several different areas, such as Invest in Catalonia, but they pale in comparison with what could be attained if Catalonia had its own state structures. Then, a government freed from the current levels of tax deficit and with the ability to undertake the full range of suitable measures would have many more tools and an even more effective manner of fostering the entrepreneurial spirit, attraction of talent and creation of new business schemes and the high value added jobs that go along with them. Barcelona would then become a powerful magnet joined to its territory, and that would also have an impact on the city’s tertiary and housing markets and on different parts of the metropolitan areas and the rest of the country.

Lastly, Barcelona will take shape as a major European capital in respect of university education. Above and beyond the positive impact in economic terms of the yearly arrival of exchange students and interns looking for the Mediterranean sun, the city’s high-powered business schools and its public-private university model have clear potential for growth, particularly in connection with the creation of networks of university infrastructure of international campuses and co-operative programmes with universities in other countries and in connection with attraction of foreign students who value the education and training available in the city, the networking
capacity offered by Catalan universities and their alumni associations, and the attractiveness of the city and the country. Establishment of fidelity on the part of visitors through a positive experience of reception and living here when they reach the age for university studies and decide on Barcelona will mark the commencement of a lengthy professional and affective relationship with the city and strengthen its brand in future.

Development of the housing market in the city and the metropolitan area

The weekly l’Econòmic recently featured on its front page the stagnation of prices in the housing market in Catalonia. In spite of the optimistic pronouncements of the most recent Barcelona Meeting Point real estate fair, Carlos Ferrer-Bonsoms, manager of the housing division of CBRE in Spain, remarked in an interview with that weekly that “prices are not going to rise”. The increase in sales in the sector is the work of foreign investors who are choosing the housing market in spite of its low returns, of around 3%, as noted by Ferrer-Bonsoms.

There is, however, a circumstance that is already evident in Barcelona and that would become more acute in the event that the city became a new national capital, namely the lack of space in the city centre. The Director General of the Builders and Promoters Association, Marc Torrent, made the point in that same article that in certain areas there is practically no stock and that nothing has been built for many years. Jorge Almagro, sales manager for housing, land and urban planning with CBRE, stressed that the recovery will be focussed in areas where there is very little supply and demand is growing, especially premium areas of major cities. That, then, is precisely the situation that is already taking shape in Barcelona and that will become much more accentuated if the city becomes the capital of a new state. Demand for tertiary uses and luxury housing in the central neighbourhoods and the upper zone of the city would be substantially increased and, given the limitations on available supply, this would have a clear impact on developments in prices.

In such a scenario, Barcelona’s priority must be its inhabitants. In order to prevent certain neighbourhoods of the city being placed out of the reach of their present inhabitants, the initiative would have to be taken in connection with certain policies on housing and the promotion of rentals. In the medium term, Catalonia could follow in the footsteps of the prosperous Central European economies in promoting a mix of rented and owned housing that is more balanced than the current one, a situation that could be fostered through adoption of a more advanced legal framework that provides greater legal security to owners and tenants, with greater tax breaks for the latter. Other options, such as housing co-operatives, would have to be taken into account if they occurred within the framework of a suitable regulatory system. The fostering of a culture of investment in entrepreneurial and productive activities for the economy, above and beyond the conventional investment in real estate on the part of small- and medium-scale savers could be a supplementary measure with positive collateral effects for greater price stability and contribute to preventing further real estate bubbles in future. This would promote the entrepreneurial spirit and economic dynamism and help to attain more flexible social models and, in short, encourage the individual and collective effort that leads to the creation of prosperity and wellbeing.
Urban planning of Barcelona as a national capital — towards harmonious distribution of the city’s new centres

An attractive approach that seeks to establish complicity with the city’s inhabitants would help to create an inspiring plan for construction of a new reality. That collective wish might also be attained through accomplishment of the urban planning of a new capital, as the definition of spaces influences their future uses and the definition of specific scenarios determines their chances of success, as proposed by Hölscher in his theory of creation of the future.

In that theoretical exercise, we project the planning of new spaces taking as our starting point the idea of the birth of a new country and of its new capital. The main motto serving as the foundation for a grand initiative for the transformation of the city would be the gestation of a new collective plan aimed at the three main types of users of the city. First of all, its inhabitants and those of its metropolitan area, but also all the citizens of Catalonia, who would be offered the chance of making what would be a new capital their own, and lastly, the visitors attracted by the international projection of a city that has once again reinvented itself in order to prosper and become a city of reference on a global scale.

Taking Barcelona’s specific characteristics into account along with its scarce available space, a number of factors would have to be weighed in advance of the planning and decision of the distribution of its new central hubs and of the new main centres of administrative work in the new capital. This will involve new mobility schemes, based upon the dynamics of encouraging non-polluting methods of collective transportation that will have to consider the balanced distribution of those new facilities within the context of the urban fabric.

From an objective standpoint, in the medium and long term, Barcelona can only grow in height and towards the sea. Specific proposals for urban growth that are sustainable in keeping with the social models that they envision and with their integration into the existing urban fabric, schemes for mobility, energy efficiency and environmental management could offer viable alternatives that would involve Barcelona in an exercise of leadership of innovation in urban planning and building, particularly in respect of other coastal cities. This would allow it to enhance its attractiveness on a global scale and foster the creation of new industries and jobs with high added value in strategic growth sectors relating to new technologies with strong potential for exportation.

By means of these strategies, Barcelona as the capital of a new state could undertake emblematic, cutting-edge projects, financed in a sustainable manner and with the participation of private capital, that would become new symbols on a global scale and new poles of attraction for the city for future generations.
Conclusions

- The possible status of Barcelona as national capital would have a positive impact on the hotel market, the tertiary market for offices, and the luxury residential market in the city and in certain zones of its metropolitan area.

- Barcelona is forecast as one of the five leading cities in Europe for the tertiary market over the next five years.

- The growing presence of foreign investors and the strength of the Barcelona brand are both notable.

- The lack of available space in the centre of the city and its premium areas point to price increases in those areas in the medium and long term.

- A new legal framework could provide greater legal certainty that would allow successful implementation of new policies for promoting rentals, among others.

- The call effect of the status of Barcelona as national capital would allow the city to take a decisive lead in different aspects within the framework of Europe and worldwide.

- The grand project for design and planning of the new Barcelona as capital of a new state could be a great opportunity for generating a collective and inspiring plan for its citizens and a magnificent occasion for fostering innovation and the gestation of new projects with a positive impact on the development of the city and its surroundings.

- Supplementary studies will have to be carried out to allow tracking and comprehensive analysis of the development of a scenario that remains unknown at present, to move forward and foresee its implications for the trends in prices in the sector.
The symbolic representation of the capitality in the postmodern political era

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Introduction

That the State is in crisis is an indisputable fact of this moment in history. The state has not disappeared, but the new technological, economic, social and cultural context is profoundly changing its nature, functions and capabilities. Today, the state no longer commands in the way it did in modern times: the end of the 20th century and start of the 21st century ended up with the state exercising “postmodern” political power. And in the case of states engaged in building a supranational political entity like the European Union (EU), this paradigm shift seems even more evident.

If Catalonia becomes independent, it will become a state precisely at this time of crisis - that is, of transforming from a modern state to a postmodern one. How should we view this situation: as an opportunity or as a drawback? Is it not an advantage for Catalonia to become a post-
modern state without ever having been, by itself, a modern state and without therefore having incorporated the attendant vices and tics? Will it not be easier for an eventual Catalan state to make the transition to the new paradigm?

In any event, whatever the answer to these questions, if Catalonia becomes a state, Barcelona will be the capital of a state of the following kind: a political form that is in crisis, in transition. Among other things, a capital city is the showcase for the state that it represents - its identity, its history and its future plans. Barcelona needs to find a way of representing the new Catalan State and its values. A symbolic representation that, in the case of a capital city, should include the way it expresses itself physically: through architecture and urban planning that enables us to identify the city as the capital. And which expresses not only a new state, but also a new way of being a state - one that should correspond to any 21st-century state in Europe.

The state is no longer what it was

What does it mean to be a state capital in the second decade of the 21st century? The answer to this question is not obvious - not so much because the difficult concept is being the “capital” (which it also is) but because of being a “state”. What does it mean to be a “state” in Catalonia’s current historical, geopolitical, economic and cultural context? What kind of state do we want Catalonia to be - that is, what kind of state do we want Barcelona to be the capital of?

If Catalonia becomes a state, it will do so at a time when this political “form” is undergoing a profound process of mutation. In the political sphere, we are also moving from modernity to postmodernity. The crisis for the nation state - this “artificial animal” first theorised in-depth by Hobbes - has in recent decades been one of the most recurrent themes in philosophical and social scientific debates, from political science to sociology, and including economics and law, especially (although not exclusively) in the Western world.

In modern times, the state has aspired to exercise its monopoly over not only legitimate violence - that is to say, internal and external security - but also over public administration, currency and economic policy (fiscal, monetary, industrial and employment) matters and generally guaranteeing rights, including social rights. Needless to say, all this has now changed radically. And even more so for European states. In Europe we are witnessing a process of double transfer of power, upwards and downwards, on the part of what had been the core of sovereignty for traditional modern states.

On the one hand, the old European nation states are increasingly handing more powers to the central EU institutions (the EU Parliament, Council and Commission), albeit often reluctantly. The economic crisis of 2008 represented a new episode in this process during which, although shuffling its feet, the EU steadily moved from an increasingly confederal model towards an increasingly federal one. Equally, there are not just a few states that are transferring powers from their “central government” towards their sub-central government bodies. In the largest, most populous states, this political and administrative decentralisation tends to go down to regional level; for smaller states, it goes down to municipal level.

In fact, this double transfer of power in the legal-administrative sphere - that is, this redefining of the state as a “supra-state federation” on the one hand, and as a “sub-state” government on the other - is the inevitable response to the dual pressure from outside the political sphere that representative democratic institutions have been experiencing for several decades. The eco-
omic sphere exerts pressure on governments from above, while the social sphere does so from below. Indeed, the old nation states - which in post-war Europe had managed to consolidate their legitimacy by converting into reasonably equitable and efficient welfare states - are now suffering two types of attack: from the market; which is in a process of accelerated globalisation (especially financial markets); and from a multi-form civil society that is challenging established political players (the traditional parties) on their monopoly over mediating between citizens and institutions and therefore public decision-making.

Thus the EU’s moves towards full political union - its conversion into a federal union or supra-state federation - appears to be an inevitable necessity if we want democracy to have some chance of successfully facing up to economic globalisation in general and the global financial markets in particular. (The most obvious proof of this need is that, before the economic crisis of 2008, the US was significantly better able to react than countries of the EU.) Similarly, the strict application of the principal of subsidiarity in the way states are vertically organised, the aim of which is to place political and administrative power as close as possible to citizens, seems to be essential if we want to open up democratic institutions to participation, which in the first instance means the participation of organised citizens. In one sentence: there can be no move from representative democracy to participatory democracy, no change of paradigm (as there was with the move from censitary suffrage to universal suffrage) without profound decentralisation of government institutions.

There are more than enough statements by intellectuals and social scientists that could help us corroborate this brief summary of the basic features of the crisis of the state. Or, to put it another way, its evolution from its modern form into a new postmodern form. Here, we give two - both by Catalan authors who are recognised internationally. Back in 1997 Manuel Castells wrote:

“Although forms of nation state persist, their content and practices have now been profoundly transformed. At least in the context of the European Union (and I would argue also in the rest of the world), we now live under a new political form: the Network State. This is a State made up of nation states, stateless nations, autonomous governments, city councils, European institutions of all kinds (European Commission and its commissioners in the European Parliament and European Court, the European Audit, Government Councils and specialist EU committees) as well as multilateral institutions like NATO and the United Nations. Furthermore, all these institutions are increasingly articulated around networks of non-governmental organisations and intermediate bodies, such as the Association of European Regions and the Committee of Regions & Cities of Europe. The actual policy - that is, public administration intervention in the economic, social and cultural processes that form the fabric of our lives - is implemented within that Network of States and parts of States, whose relational capacity is increasingly based on information technology. We are not therefore facing the end of the State, or even the end of the Nation State. Rather, we are facing the emergence of a superior and more flexible form of state that encompasses the above, streamlines its component parts, and enables them to operate in the new world on condition that they renounce command and control. Those governments, or parties, that do not understand this new way of doing politics and cling to outdated statist reflexes will simply be overtaken by the force
of events and will be erased from the political map by citizens as soon as their political
ineffectiveness and social parasitism comes to light through their daily experience. That
is, they will regulate national anthems so that they are mandatory, adding "except where
necessary". We are not at the end of the State superseded by the economy, but instead at
the start of a State anchored in society. And just as the information society comes in a
variety of shades, so the network state is also multi-form. Instead of commanding, it will
have to navigate.”

Xavier Rubert de Ventós explains:

“As with language and religion, the State is one of the ‘symbolic systems’ within which
we are born and which we previously experienced as a natural landscape or environ-
ment. This “state park” of objects and institutions is certainly a product of our ancestors’
praxis, but today it constitutes the horizon and hexis of our experience. It is a park that
never becomes a pure object of observation because it constitutes the horizon of our
potential consciousness, scheme or mental framework, from which we look and judge.
[...] The State forms part of this horizon or state of affairs in which we live. It constitutes
our institutional landscape, just as rivers and mountains constitute the natural land-
scape and blocks of houses constitute the urban landscape. As natural as driving a car,
talking on the phone or living on the third floor of a building, today it is natural to live
in (a) State - just as in other places or in earlier times, people live or lived in clans, tribes,
counties, camps or fiefs.

This confluence of flags and offices, neoclassical buildings and parties, elections and
corruption, policies and letterheads, all shape the world in which we were physically and
mentally born and have lived... up until now. But what has happened now, now that the
Nation State had become the normal form of power, is that the dominant forces were
compelled to globalise or localise, dispersing the contents of both state sovereignty and
citizen identity. And we begin to see the State - the king of the story - as naked. Naked
and sluggish like an old temple supported only by the superstition of its congregation
and the weight of the framework itself. The State stands as a monument of political
archaeology in a time when identities have become complex, powers dispersed, and sov-
ereignty diffuse [...].

[...] Democratic states that want to survive the decline of the Nation State should drop
a lot of ballast in order to become less rigid and stiff: develop a new adaptability to par-
ticular situations they encounter in their hearts or on their doorsteps. [...] Now: just as
examples of political flexibility are generally found prior to the modern State, it is pos-
sible that new examples will appear after it, as the ideology of the Nation State is steadily
cornered.

And in terms similar to those proposed by sociologists almost by way of forecasts, for philoso-
phers Europe also appears as the most telling example of how postmodern political institutions
will be. Or, put another way, the European Union is the key that enables us to understand what
the natural solution should be to this nation state crisis:
“We agree then that Europe is ‘a process with no pre-established end design’, one that is being defined as it is being made [...] What was needed, preferably, was a more plastic and open structure, capable of gradually introducing new forms and levels participation, weighted voting, variable speed and geometry, and so on. Now, if this European framework needs to be soft, flexible and mutant, the acceding political entities must be no less so. [...] If Europe is a UPO (Unidentified Political Object), it is inevitable that its members (including states) will be a little more so each day. Steadily ‘deconstructing’, as we said, in order to blend in and not solely juxtapose themselves.”

Independent Catalonia: a (exceptional) laboratory for redefining the nature of the state

The state understood as another node of a much broader and multilevel “state network” (Castells), states in the process of deconstruction in order to become soft, flexible and mutant political entities (Rubert de Ventos)... Whatever metaphor is used, the conclusion is clear: what was hitherto called a Nation State must get used to being part of larger political organisations that enable democracy to be globalised (regionalised). Doors will need to be opened to civil society as a player and protagonist of decisions, and not only as a recipient or beneficiary of policies. We will need to learn to navigate through the commercial, financial, technological and migratory flows that define economic globalisation. And we must rebuild from base upwards so that power is as close as possible to citizens enabling them to perceive themselves as true custodians of sovereignty.

It has been repeated many times: state sovereignty is no longer unique and monolithic and has become a “shared sovereignty”. Yes, but shared in four directions simultaneously, to put it in a nutshell: European institutions, local power, global markets and civil society. All these forces today dispute what power the European nation state had managed to exercise under a near-monopoly regime over several centuries.

It would be legitimate to ask: does it make sense for Catalonia to become a state precisely now that states are stopping being what they were and are in the middle of being redefined, and their very nature is changing...? This is the same question asked by Rubert de Ventós when he writes: “What then does it serve, I wonder, to climb up on to this rather anachronistic and rusty train?” A question answered a few lines earlier: “It is not nonsensical for a nation or a politically poor people (PPP) to demand their own state with a brand new sovereignty. It is not nonsensical, given the way things are, even though neither the Nation State nor sovereignty are what they were.

It makes perfect sense for Catalonia to become a State and do so right now. What is more: maybe now makes more sense than any other time. Because it is not a question of becoming a state even though the modern state is in crisis; it’s a question of becoming a state precisely because the modern state is in crisis. The state is this artefact that is supposed no longer to be of any use, but which everyone still wants. And in Catalonia this state that no longer mandates as it did before (the postmodern state) should be of far more interest than the “good old” state (the modern state). Because, in fact, it could be much more appealing to assume competences at the point when they need to be redefined, than assume them when they are clearer and more
defined. So what Catalonia is ready to do should not be considered as getting on a train that is no longer the right train, and no longer has any reason to run (and us being the last to get on board!). Instead we should consider how we can benefit from being the last to board, remembering that we are less tainted by earlier journeys, and set about reinventing the train, proposing new destinations and new routes, and interacting with the passengers.

Due to its historical and social circumstances - and even, dare I say, its psychological characteristics - Catalonia holds a lot of “trump cards” in being creative about taking advantage of this stage of redefining the functions and nature of the State. Catalonia, in our view, is an ideal laboratory for “rethinking the state” in a postmodern setting: because its relationship with the modern state has been very particular. In fact, it is a (particularly) unique case in Europe with a partially failed relationship during modern times with the political form “state”. Catalonia did not create its “own” state, a Catalan State. But at the same time - at least since 1714 - it has never felt that “its” state, Spain, was its own. In some way, Catalonia has had but also not had a state throughout modern times. It has never ended up really viewing the state that it has as its “own”. It has lived in a state, Spain, with which - except for certain hopeful periods such as the First and Second Republics, the first two decades of democracy - it has had a relationship that it has not identified with. Or, put in other words, a weak emotional connection.

It is not very common for a society in modern Europe to have a relationship like this with the political form “state”: a rather distant relationship with the bureaucratic and administrative apparatus that characterises modern public institutions. In Catalonia, it was civil society that at key moments in history led the collective resurgence. And it is even less common for this to happen in a society that has a capital city with the power that Barcelona has, which alone gave Catalonia many of the conditions necessary to build its own state. That is, Catalonia, throughout modern times, has not had its own “state” and has lived with a degree of alienation from Spain. Instead, the capital of Catalonia has many of the conditions (economic, demographic, cultural, etc) that most of Europe’s state capitals share. In this regard Barcelona is one of the few European cities that, without being one, is comparable in many ways to most European state capitals.

In summary, Catalonia has a “biography” that enables it to approach this modern state with sufficient freedom because it is not excessively conditioned when redefining it. It can shape this raw material that is “the state” in a very particular way: on the one hand, it is well aware of this raw material - given that it has experience of the Spanish State - and it is not alien to it. Second, given that there has never been an unambiguous, close or normalised identification between Catalan society and the Spanish State, Catalonia can approach the raw material unrestricted or barely restricted by the old paradigms and clichés that so far have shaped it.

As Manuel Castells says, quoted by Rubert de Ventós: “Catalans have come full cycle from their origins of a being people with a cultural identity, borderless trade and flexible government institutions - all features that seem to characterise the information age.” It is from this perspective that Catalonia should be able to build a state based on the foundations of its legitimacy (which is a prerequisite of political power) in line with the following principles:

- the ability to promote welfare and guarantee social rights,
- the ability to activate the levers of productive prosperity,
- efficiency in delivering public services,
- transparency and integrity in administering public resources,
Barcelona: Capital of a postmodern state

We are now better able to answer the initial question. What kind of state will Barcelona be the capital of if Catalonia becomes an independent state? A state that cannot be like previous states. A state that will no longer be a modern state - because modern states have gone on to a better life; but will instead be a postmodern state. As will all the other surrounding states and, in general, for most of the planet. And we believe that it is especially well equipped to play this role: the role of capital of a postmodern state. Following the argument above, Barcelona is an exception on the map of modern European cities. It has not been the capital of a modern state, but it has all the conditions to be so. It has not been a capital because Catalonia, throughout modern times, has not had its own state. Nor has it enjoyed the status of “joint capital” of the modern state to which it belonged. That is, Spain has never accepted it as a joint capital on equal terms with Madrid. Barcelona knows that it is a modern state, but it has not been much marked by this political form. And for this reason, it is particularly well positioned to play the role that many capitals will be asked to play later (or, rather, that they are already being asked to play) in the new European and global political context.

In the same way that postmodern states are not being created from scratch, but are instead being built on the crisis facing modern states, capital cities, whose role is to represent these states, could not easily be built upon complete ignorance of modernity and its political structures. We are not in the midst of a process in which societies can make a clean sweep of the political institutions that regulated the last centuries, but are instead in the process of reinventing, redefining, recreating. We are building them from the past - a past that is ceasing to be. But, as the great master of history shows us, that which is old, no matter how dead it may be, does not finish dying until that which is new is ready to replace it.

Therefore, we argue that there are two experiences that hinder any large city, any capital city, from functioning as capital of a postmodern state with a high degree of success, in the most excellent way possible. The first issue is the experience of not having any link with modern-era politics. Cities that have not participated in the history of the modern state will struggle to reinterpret, due to lack of knowledge and tradition. The other obstacle is the experience of fully being

1. It is sufficient for Catalan to be a joint official language to ensure its health. The future Catalan State need not establish an official monolingual regime to ensure the survival of Catalan, because it is a language that is strong and alive enough to live alongside Spanish (as joint official language of the new state), without the risk of being minoritised. On the contrary, the coexistence of the two official languages, both in society and officially, should be seen as an opportunity for mutual strengthening and enrichment. In fact, Catalan only needs the state to recognise it as the joint official (fully co-official) language to ensure the minimum required to stabilise its use. On this, we refer to the fact that if Spain had recognised Catalan as a truly official language, Catalan would not need its own state to secure its future. However, in a Catalan state it would be sufficient to be co-official (not the sole official language) to ensure its future. In this regard, from the linguistic and cultural point of view we can say that a future independent Catalan state promises to be much more plural (from the point of view of official recognition) than the current Spanish state of autonomous regions.
capital of a modern state. The great European capital cities - not only capitals of modern states, but those that have tried to be metropolises, ie the centre of a colonial empire - have a DNA that has been strongly impacted by the political forms of the modern era. So strongly that it will be difficult to distance themselves from them. Examples include Paris, London, Rome, Brussels, Madrid and Vienna. Each with its own history, but each also a depository of the bureaucratic and administrative apparatus that inevitably characterises the modern state. Apparatus that, in the words of Weber, is the best possible representation of the “disenchantment of the world” that defines modernity.

Too much distance is not good if you want to recreate an experience - in this case, recreate the experience of being the capital of a modern state, in order to become a postmodern state capital. But too little is not good either. How can a role be redefined when the link with that role is so congenital that there is no possibility of separating from it? What will Paris do to become the capital of a state that it no longer commands (or does not command as it used to) when Paris, modern Paris, was designed to be the capital city of a state that commanded everything? How will Paris or Madrid be able to overcome the traits that were inevitably embedded two or three centuries ago when they performed a certain role… a role that slowly (or not so slowly) is losing its meaning?

This is the difficulty which Barcelona, thanks to its peculiar political biography, is better prepared than other cities facing the same challenge. Barcelona, I would venture, starts from a position of advantage over most of its European “colleagues”, the other state capitals undergoing mutation. Barcelona is not a complete blank sheet of paper with regard to what a state means. Yet, at the same time, it has none of the “modern” drawbacks which the old European capitals will struggle to overcome.

Here’s an example that enables us to reinforce this idea. Being capital of a postmodern state means understanding that the state of which the city is the capital forms part of a greater political order - one that is confederal in nature but with pretensions to become federal, called the European Union. It means understanding that the state that the capital city represents is not the old Westphalian “billiard ball” model, but instead is part of a complex spider’s web in which interactions are multiple and horizontal, rather than issued from a broadcasting centre that the rest of the social body subsequently responds to. The state - and at the heart of the state, its capital - was this broadcasting centre. The capital was ahead and would act first. Now, however, the capital is no longer ahead. Rather it is alongside. It doesn’t act first. It acts simultaneously - at the same time as many other players interacting in a game in which everyone is broadcaster and receiver.

And now, the example. If the EU is not a group of states - a billiard table, with its perfectly compact balls - but instead is a multilevel network, then it is important to understand that the European capitals are the nodes of this network. Being the capital of a postmodern state or, if you will, being a postmodern capital in Europe today, means above all recognising Europe as a network of cities. The reader will agree with me that, for a city, for a capital, it is very different if one perceives oneself as the top of a pyramid than as a node - just another node - in an extensive network. Is Barcelona not particularly well prepared to exercise this role actively and with conviction - the role of a node within a network, which goes completely beyond typical modern parameters of identity? It can be no coincidence that Barcelona is the European city with the highest percentage of university students who benefit from the Erasmus scholarship. The fact
that the EU is more a network of cities than a collection of states in the process of integrating is something that all European capitals will eventually have to understand. But Barcelona perhaps understands this better and sooner than anyone.

**Representing the capital: the “government district”**

If, then, Barcelona becomes a capital, it will be a postmodern one. And it can be a very good one. Because Catalonia is a particularly appropriate laboratory of how a postmodern state might be within the European Union, at the beginning of the 21st century. And Barcelona is exempt from the drawbacks that might hinder it from representing, as state capital, all those concepts that a postmodern state should embody.

Politicians, philosophers and architects know (probably better than any other professions) - that values and concepts need symbols in order to be represented. And they also know something else: that the best representation for symbols is physical. It is through objects that we represent symbols, which, in turn, represent values. In the political sphere, there is a longing to convert symbolic representation into physical representation. A state is its institutions. And its institutions are the buildings where these institutions reside, live and work. If a state is its capital, it is because there, in the capital, are its public institutions. And an institution is in one “place” and not another because there is a building that represents it. It is the fact that the buildings that house the institutions (and by housing them, represent them, - that is publicly displaying, visualising them in the eyes of citizens) are in a city that automatically converts that city into the capital of that state.

Is this physical, architectural representation of institutions that symbolise power a feature that is linked exclusively to modern politics? Not solely. The Capitol and the White House represent the political power of the United States. However, in the Middle Ages, in the Roman Republic of the ancient empires, political power also needed “a building” (a castle, a senate, imperial palaces) to physically express the nature of political power at that particular moment in history. Therefore, the need for public institutions to physically use buildings to symbolise political power is not a strictly modern requirement. Which is not to say that in the postmodern era of the State this requirement does not necessarily stop making sense or loses the significance or centrality that it has had in politics up until today. History will tell.

Right now, however, one option would be to continue representing physically - that is, through the buildings that house the main public institutions - this new type of state and the symbols and values that define it. If the state is undergoing transformation - from its old modern dynamic to its new postmodern dynamic, that is still being defined - an option that should be considered is that the buildings representing this state should express this moment of change, this evolution, this crisis. If one of the changes we wish to express, for example, is a move from politically concentrated power (therefore, well located physically) and which acts vertically to a form of power that is dispersed, which is more efficient and more legitimate, the better it can adapt to the logic of the network, that is, the logic of horizontal interaction, then we have two options. One is to move from a physical, architectural representation of institutions that focuses on the institution in question residing in a building, to a physical representation of the dispersion, according to which the institution would not be represented by a specific building. This option, however, has the drawback that the same representation of the new symbol is jeopardised due to lack of
expressive potential. The other option, which may be more effective from the symbolic point of view, is that the building representing the modern power up until now (concentrated) changes to represent, itself, the new power: the idea that we are looking at the node in a network.

We are in effect saying that Barcelona has a unique option to reinterpret a series of buildings that were previously associated with the state in its modern phase, and reconstruct them such that they express this new type of state. The advantage of physically symbolising this new policy using buildings from the old paradigm, the fact of carrying our works directly on existing architecture, is that it enables the dialectic to be expressed between continuity and change that we face at this moment in history. The rules of the game of postmodern politics are constructed from and against the rules of the game of modern politics: we start therefore with the buildings that have hitherto represented modern institutions and we work on them, with all necessary boldness and creativity so that once they are recreated, they symbolise the way institutions function, or as we would want them to function, in the postmodern context.

This is not about making new buildings that represent the new way of understanding the state, but rather modifying old buildings, those that embody the modern state, so that they represent how much the new way (postmodern) of viewing the state has changed from the previous form (modern). That the same building alone can explain the change, the crisis: continuity and the difference between these two paradigms. This cannot be achieved by having institutions of the new state residing in new buildings, different from the buildings where institutions of the old state resided. This can only be achieved by having one building, that was originally modern and therefore symbolised the values of the politics as they were conceived in modernity, be the object of architectural works in which the new building elements symbolise the new paradigm. This is only possible if each building is, in itself, a proven representation of the evolution between the two stages and concepts that correspond to each.

Well, in Barcelona there are a number of public buildings that were conceptually born out of the modern idea of the State - understood as a bureaucratic and administrative apparatus that found its ultimate source of authority in its monopoly over legitimate violence. These are 18th, 19th and early 20th century buildings, built at a time when the neoclassical style was mainly (but not always) used to represent the modern notion of the State. In the case of Barcelona, these buildings also have the characteristic of being concentrated in one area, the same district, of the city. An area that, in itself, already has a strong symbolism: the central part of the seafront. We refer to buildings that today have a wide range of uses but which, all the same, house all or most official and public institutions of the Spanish State - including the following non-exhaustive list:

a. Military Government  
b. Naval Command  
c. Customs  
d. Port  
e. Palau de la Mercè / General Headquarters  
f. Post Office  
g. Medieval stock exchange (Llotja)  
h. Government Delegation

This collection of buildings, all of which are listed - a basic condition is to have architectural presence for the dignity of government institutions - and all built between the 18th century
and early decades of the 20th century, except the Palau de la Mercè, which dates back to the 17th century - are, from our point of view, potential candidates for reinterpretation. On the one hand, they are sufficiently referenced to the architectural styles of the modern era (mainly Baroque and neoclassical) to make it easy to identify the (modern) vestiges that make them suitable for reinterpretation. At the same time, the symbolic identity of each of these buildings is rather blurred, rather indefinite, meaning that they could be reinterpreted without using excessive violence from the architectural point of view, whether formal, aesthetic or constructive. This blurred identity of each of these buildings in particular is, in our view, a consequence of the failed link between the State that primarily represents Spain and the society and the city where they are based.

This collection of buildings makes up a de facto government district in the city of Barcelona. A government district that the city has never recognised as such. Because it could not. Many European capitals have a zone, a district or area of the city, where Baroque and neoclassical buildings house the main public institutions: government, parliament, ministries, etc. Barcelona however has a district that, from the point of view of its urban and architectural configuration, brings together many of the characteristics of a typical government district, but which could not be integrated as such, because the institutions housed in those buildings were those of a state that the city was never able to feel was its own.

These are public buildings housing the institutions of a state that is not entirely alien to us, and yet nor is it entirely our own. From our point of view, the list of buildings (a list which we re-emphasise is in no way intended to be exhaustive) quite accurately expresses the idea of a state that has tried to be but which, in the case of Catalonia, has been unable to be so, because it has not assimilated the identity of Catalan society and it has failed in its Spanish nationalist monolithism. But nor has it been able to be recognised by that same Catalan society as its State - that is, as a State that protects and projects its distinctive national identity.

From this, it follows that this “government district” is, to some extent, at a symbolic level, a ghost district: indeed, we don’t know whether this district is ours, the city’s... or whether it belongs to a State that for us has not been our State but instead for 300 years has gone against us too many times. In fact, many of these institutions have been symbols more of repression than of democracy (that also was the case in the rest of Spain), or of Catalan identity. And in this regard, the main need so far for works on these buildings has consisted in eliminating the fascist shields which, in some cases, even presided over the facades.

This government ghost district occupies the physical space of our own real government - of an independent state - that the city could never have. Or, to turn it round, it is the space of a government that is unquestionably physically located there, in the very heart of the city itself, but which in truth is not ours.

When considering the symbolic representation of its new capital, Barcelona, therefore, has an ideal situation, given that there is an exceptional set of conditions in the city that almost seem like a happy chain of coincidences. Let’s look at these, by way of summary of some of the things we have covered so far:

a. There is a need to express the new postmodern State, and the best way to do this is through physical representation.
b. For general reasons (and not just for reasons particular to Barcelona), a good way of doing this is to work on buildings that have symbolically represented the modern state and recreate them architecturally in order to represent the state in its postmodern form.

c. In Barcelona there is a district where official buildings abound (mostly neoclassical, but also Baroque) representing a modern state, Spain’s modern state, with which Catalonia has had limited identification during the modern era.

d. These buildings have not taken root in the city, in that the institutions that they house have had a relationship that has prevented a positive emotional bond between the city and these official buildings. They are buildings, therefore, that seem to be waiting to be effectively incorporated in the city’s imagination.

It thus appears that there is a perfect match between the physical symbolic representation needs of a city like Barcelona, which can be found in the drive to become the capital of a postmodern state (ie demand) and the urban and architectural reality presented by the city itself (ie supply), if we look at this “government ghost district” which refers to a state, the Spanish state, which from Catalonia’s perspective can be seen as a failed state. In this historical context, politics and architecture may therefore be the bride and groom in a happy marriage. Specifically, it would consist of the following:

- Locate the different ministries (now councils) of the new Catalan state government in these buildings (see Appendix) and
- Carry out work on the buildings themselves (why not run a competition to allow the best architects in the international arena to put forward their creative ideas?) so that the transformation physically represents the core values of the new Catalan administration.

Thus, Barcelona would no longer have a “government ghost district” and instead have a true government district. “Like most European state capitals” I was about to say, but that would not be entirely true - because it would be precisely that this “government district” would be of a new type, and not like the government districts we are used to seeing in the capitals of our neighbouring states. It needs to represent a government that is finally ours. By doing this, the city could at last appropriate as its own a collection of buildings that until now we were forced by history to ignore. But more than that, it should represent a different government - one that represents the new type of state heralded by postmodernity. And the best way of doing this is to work on buildings that originally represented the modern state. And by doing this, in contrast, express the symbols of the new political landscape.

In summary, this means that architecture - first-class international architecture - can enable us to explain the changing nature of today’s state, European societies and the world as a whole. To the extent that neoclassical buildings are the perfect architectural incarnation of the modern state in general, they are the ideal base from which to say goodbye symbolically and physically to modernity in the political sphere. Norman Foster’s work on the Berlin Reichstag (seat of the German parliament), using a large transparent dome that aims symbolically to represent the principles and values on which the new reunified Germany is built, is a fine example and good precedent of the type of work we are proposing here.
Catalonia’s access to the state’s political form has two meanings, which in reality are closely linked to each other. Gaining independence from Spain also waves goodbye to the modern state. As we’ve seen throughout this paper, to some extent there is a double equivalence: first, between the Spanish state and the modern form of the state; and, second, between the future Catalan state (if Catalonia does indeed gain independence) and the postmodern form of the state. Which is not to say that the Spanish state (either with or without Catalonia) should remain anchored in the state’s modern form: Spain should also evolve to adapt to the new postmodern context. And surely the most obvious evidence that Spain is no longer a modern state and is becoming a postmodern state is the “loss” of Catalonia.

In any case, independence should be a way of saying goodbye to the past in two ways: in a particular sense, it is a way of permanently closing a 300-year period of contention with Spain; in a general sense, there should be a way of moving beyond modernity. And establishing the “government district” in the terms we have proposed, should enable us to express this double meaning.

First, putting the Catalan government - its ministries or councils, as we wish to call them - in buildings that hitherto represented Spain’s most unfriendly face is a sure way of representing the first of these meanings. Changing the use of a building so that it stops being the Government Office (of Spain) and instead becomes the new Home Office, for example, or carrying out work to stop it being the location of the Military Government and instead allocate it to the Home Office, as another example... is an eloquent gesture that we think is self-explanatory.

In Barcelona, we have a glorious precedent in this respect: the building where the Parliament of Catalonia is located today. It is well known that it was originally the arsenal for the military fortress from which the city of Barcelona was suppressed after the defeat of 1714. The symbolic power of putting the seat of the institution that best represents Catalonia’s national liberties precisely in the building from which - materially speaking - those freedoms were annihilated is indisputable. The national revival of Catalonia, the country rising from its ashes, the institutions little over 200 years later returned and rebuilt on the ruins derived from its repression... This was the symbol searched for by men of the Second Republic who had the opportunity to establish the Parliament of Catalonia. And this is the symbolism confirmed by men and women of the transition who restored that institution after forty years of Franco’s dictatorship.

Locating the different ministries of the government in the aforementioned buildings would have a similar symbolism. And this is without the dramatic impact of locating the Parliament in the old arsenal in 1932, with the arrival of the Republic and after several years of Primo de Rivera’s military dictatorship, or following its restoration in 1980 after forty years of Franco dictatorship.

Second, carrying out works architecturally on any of these baroque and neoclassical buildings should serve to explain the coordinates of the new postmodern political paradigm, where European integration and globalisation (from above) and civil society (from below) determine the playing field of state political power. This allows us to state another difference with the previous Parliament, which is that installing the Catalan legislature body in the old Ciutadella fortress was a means of representing that Catalonia was finally arriving, over a century late, to the political power that modern history had thus far denied it. Recall that the Parliament Palace was,
apart from being the old arsenal, the unused Palau Reial (royal palace) that the Queen Regent had built in Barcelona. A building then that is charged with the symbology of modern politics. Now, however, basing the councils in the Baroque and neoclassical buildings located in the central part of the city’s seafront should serve to represent that we have arrived - and that we are making this one of the first things we do - in a new era of political history. If back then, in the past, we arrived late, now it’s a question of arriving on time in the future.

Thus, the “government district” where Barcelona would overturn much of the physical symbolic representation as capital of a new state should serve to make peace with the past and guide us towards the future with all the security and conviction that enables this “age of uncertainty” that is postmodernism. Peace with the past as Spain’s past, and peace with the past as the modern era’s past. If the architectural work carried out on the buildings discussed, along with certain other buildings, is able to express what we have been trying to explain here, the “government district” would reconcile an important part of the city itself as well as reconcile Catalonia with its history. It would endow Barcelona with what it has so far lacked, but what it seems that it should always have had. It would fill a symbolic hole that the city of Barcelona, ironic and passionate at the same time, has managed to endure with patience (and we dare say with good humour) over the last few centuries of its history.

Conclusions

1. The processes of economic globalisation (from above) and the emergence of a new type of civil society (from below) have put the traditional state into crisis. In Europe, states are subject to a double transfer of sovereignty: towards the central bodies of the EU and towards the sub-state levels of government. Today, the state must reshape itself as a state network (Castells), as a “soft, flexible and mutant” political entity (Rubert de Ventós). The state is not disappearing, but is profoundly transforming itself: we are witnessing the farewell to the modern state and the birth of the postmodern state.

2. It makes all the sense in the world for Catalonia to become a state at this very point in time when the state is in the process of changing. Because Catalonia, through its history, is quite an exceptional laboratory when experimenting with what this new type of postmodern state should be like and how it should operate. Indeed, Catalonia in recent centuries has been part of a state but has not had its own state. Catalan society’s relationship with the state that has been part of throughout the modern age - Spain - has been conflictive: Catalonia has never managed to identify fully with the state, either because Spain has refused to defend its peripheral nations, or because it has failed in its attempts at national homogenisation. Hence, Catalonia’s relationship with the modern state has been somewhat unusual: while it has known this political form, it has not been as marked culturally by it as most European societies. This makes it a society that is especially well-positioned when “reinventing” the state.

3. If Catalonia becomes an independent state, Barcelona will play the role of capital of a new state and, like other old European states, must see itself as a new kind of state. Barcelona will
be the capital of a postmodern state and must be capable of representing itself. And, for the reasons given in the previous point, it is especially well equipped to do so. Barcelona is one of the few major European cities that meets all the conditions for having been a state capital without actually having been one. It has the ability - and, to some extent, the vocation - to become a state capital. However, it has none of the drawbacks acquired over centuries by modern Europe's great state capitals. In a postmodern Europe, considered more as a network of large cities than as a grouping of states, this feature should be benefited from as an indisputable advantage.

4. Barcelona must find a way of “representing” its role as capital city. Symbolic representation, in this case, must be translated into physical representation: architectural and urban. The city has an area that has all the characteristics to become the new capital’s government district. We refer to the central part of the seafront, where there is a significant number of official buildings of neoclassical and Baroque style, built between the 17th century and early 20th century, and all built to house Spain’s state institutions. In view of the weak link between the Spanish state and Catalan society and Barcelona, this area of the city symbolises in physical form “the capital that Barcelona has never been”. The buildings occupy the area that would be the true government district should Barcelona become capital of an independent state - or is recognised as joint capital with the Spanish State, with its multi-nationality reconciled. They are in the city, and currently perform the role of a ghost government district - one that the city has never made its own, to the extent that it has not made the state that these buildings represent its own. Working with top international architects, it would entail reinventing these official buildings to house the main offices of the ministries (or councils or departments) of the new independent state, thus creating a true government district that, naturally, should be one of the emblems of the new capital.

5. Carrying out work on the buildings identified, due to their architectural style - from the modern period and with its political institutions - is a good way, if not the best, to represent the transition between modern state and postmodern state. Indeed, to explain this paradigm shift it seems particularly appropriate to highlight the contrast between the Baroque and neoclassical architectural forms that express modern political values and the shapes and forms that should symbolise the new postmodern politics. This is only possible by working, with as much drive as necessary, on a building in order to reinvent it. Norman Foster’s work on the Reichstag building in Berlin, with its transparent dome, is a good example of how to design a building from the past that is heading towards the future; of how to make a public and emblematic building represent, through the magic of architecture, a dialogue between two periods and their respective values. The official buildings on the seafront seem particularly conducive to such works, in that all have stylistic connotations that are more than sufficient to represent a certain period and a certain notion of the state. None however, has a particular, strong identity that would make it impossible, or sacrilegious, to carry out any work on it.
In the case of Barcelona, making changes to the Spanish state’s official buildings, built during the centuries when Spain had a troubled relationship with Catalan society in general and Barcelona in particular (i.e. the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries) in order to house the government of the new state is also a way of making peace with the past. A shining precedent of this is during the Second Republic and afterwards with today’s democracy, the Parliament of Catalonia - the highest symbol of national law - was installed in the old military fort’s arsenal store, from where national freedoms were repressed for 150 years. Creating this government district by redesigning the architecture of a range of buildings - buildings that today have usurped an area that the city should be able to use to explain what its state is and what it is like to passers-by or visitors - has a double benefit. On the one hand, it helps express the fact that we are saying goodbye to a state that has never managed to be our own. On the other, it symbolises that today’s political modernity has already become the past from which we are attempting to build the future. If Spain has been our (failed) modern state, an independent Catalonia would need to project itself as a postmodern state. And Barcelona’s new government district should be able to symbolise all this.

Appendix

Purely by way of indication - or even simply tentatively - we present a proposal for pairing buildings of the “government district” and the institutions that could occupy them. We are setting this out purely with the intention of better illustrating, via this hypothetical distribution, the general concept we have tried to explain throughout this paper.

Medieval stock exchange (Llotja) - Ministry of the Economy
Government Delegation - Governing Council
Post Office - Department of Work, Trade and Industry (today Business and Employment)
General Headquarters - Ministry of Justice
Military Government - Home Office
Naval Command - Department of Defence
Palauet del Port + Customs — Ministry of Foreign Affairs

We are aware that the government of Catalonia should have a number of further councils (or ministries). In fact, if we follow the current structure of the Generalitat (Catalonia’s government), and add the two ministries that currently do not exist - namely, Foreign Affairs and Defence - we would need to determine the locations for seven further ministries: Education, Health, Agriculture, Culture, Social Welfare, Planning and Public Works and the Presidency.

Urban good fortune would have it that in the same area of the city there are other buildings which - though not matching the architectural type or style of the modern state and never having been official buildings of the Spanish state - would be perfectly suited to housing some of these Ministries that are “yet to find a location”. So, to continue with our list of pairs:

Building attached to Estació de França - Department of Planning and Public Works
Palau de Mar - Education
It seems obvious that the Ministry of the Presidency should have its natural home in Palau de la Generalitat. Departments such as Culture and Health currently enjoy locations that are perfectly suited to the institutional dignity befitting them as ministries of an independent Catalan state: the Palau Marc for the Department of Culture and the modernist Maternitat building for the Department of Health.

We are aware that several of these pairings have a deliberate symbolism, in the sense that the old institution would have some relationship or thematic affinity with the new institution, according to this proposal, if implemented. For example, the medieval stock exchange (Llotja) with regard to the Ministry of the Economy, the Military Government with regard to the Home Office, the Naval Command with regard to the Department for Defence and Estació de França with regard to the Department of Planning and Public Works. Or, even (somewhat forcing the interpretation of affinities) the Port and Customs buildings with regard to the Department of Foreign Affairs.

There are also other “coincidences” that should not be forgotten. Here are three:
1. The physical proximity of the location proposed for the Department of Work and Industry with trade union and employers headquarters (the latter in the middle or lower part of Via Laietana; the former at the very end).
2. The building housing the current Nautical Faculty just in front of the medieval stock exchange (Llotja) would offer the opportunity of providing a location for an institution that is not properly a government department, but is closely linked to economics: the Audit Office. We should not forget that in a truly efficient 21st-century state oriented towards citizen well-being, such an institution should play a major role, assuming we want transparency to be a central pillar.
3. A building such as Torre Colom, just behind the Customs and Naval Command, could provide the office space that is not available in these two buildings for the Departments of Defence and Foreign Affairs, both of which have high personnel needs. Though not representative, the building for the offices of these departments would also be unique yet contemporary, with the functional benefits that this brings.

Finally, it is not difficult to see that this proposal aims to organise the new Catalan state government district into two parts: the area at the end of the Ramblas, where the “political” ministries would be concentrated - ie those linked to security and foreign affairs (Home Office, Defence and Foreign Affairs); and the area around Pla de Palau and the end of Via Laietana, where many of the “economic” ministries (Economy, Work and Industry, Planning and Public Works and the Audit Office) would be concentrated.
Barcelona airport in the context of Catalonia as an independent state

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Introduction

Barcelona airport is a key infrastructure for Catalonia’s economic development. This explains why it is habitually present in the conflict over powers between the Spanish state and the Generalitat of Catalonia. In this respect, Europe’s airports are generally managed individually, so that they have plenty of autonomy for taking financial and management decisions. The airport model in Spain is an anomaly in the international context, as all of Spain’s airports with commercial traffic (except for Lleida) are jointly managed by a public company (AENA) depending on the Ministry of Public Works.

Unlike other comparable airports in Europe, Barcelona airport is subordinated to a company that systematically follows a logic that is often not to its benefit. In the event that Catalonia were to become a new state, Barcelona airport would have many more management instruments to influence the airlines, who do, after all, have the final say when it comes to deciding what traffic and what destinations an airport can offer.

In this respect, a change in the management model in favour of greater autonomy for El Prat Airport than other Spanish airports is unlikely to happen so long as Catalonia continues to form part of Spain. Reforming the management model from one of joint management to one of individual management doesn’t seem to be on the agenda of any of the political parties with a real chance of governing in Spain. In fact, the Ministry of Public Works recently announced the partial privatisation of AENA. The main reason for this partial privatisation is the need to obtain financial resources to help mop up the large debt this body has built up as a result of heavy spending in various Spanish airports over the last few years. In no case is consideration given to the possibility of changing to an individual management model.

In this article I shall analyse the airport model represented by AENA and what instruments Barcelona Airport could use to help realise the enormous economic and demographic potential of the geographical area it serves. I shall now look at the present situation of the airport as regards traffic and particularly international traffic, which is what has received most attention from Catalan civil society. I shall then explore the airport’s future prospects with reference to the dominant trends in the sector. A brief conclusion will close the article.

Airport model

The airport model AENA represents has many limitations. It is inefficient for generating income and reducing costs in a context with a single system of financial accounting, the taxes airports charge the airlines are not cost-based and the allocation of spaces for airlines is based on bureaucratic rather than market criteria. At this point, I would like to draw attention to the part played by airport management in influencing the decisions taken by airlines about the airports where they offer their services and the number and frequency of the flights they offer from these airports.

One of the great historic demands of Catalan civil and business society (and of most of the political forces with representation in the Parliament of Catalonia) is that Barcelona should have a better offer in intercontinental flights direct to the principal cities of America and Asia. In this respect, it is important to differentiate between network airlines and low-cost airlines. Network
Airlines belong to one of the international airline alliances (Oneworld, Sky Team, Star Alliance) and they base their business on long-distance travel using connecting flights at their hub airports. On the other hand, low-cost airlines mainly work with direct traffic and focus their business on short and medium distances. Therefore, if the aim of whoever manages Barcelona airport in the possible context of Catalonia’s becoming a new state is to increase the offer in direct intercontinental flights, then management tools would have to be used mainly to try and attract network airlines.

It is obvious that the size of the local market and the geographical location play a crucial role in decisions by airlines, but this does not mean that airport management does not have an important part to play. The main management tools are as follows: 1) Investment in improvements and on enlarging capacity; 2) Taxes for the use of runways and terminals. 3) Allocating rights of use of the system of runways and terminal facilities (departure gate, check-in counters). 4) Commercial promotion of the airport and the city.

With regard to investments, the Spanish airport model implies the existence of a considerable degree of cross subsidisation, so that there is no direct relation between resources available for funding further investments. Despite the considerable expense involved in the recent enlargement, the airport’s operating profits could pay off the current debt in a reasonable period of time and, in the mid-term, finance further investment. With the present model, it is not at all unusual for part of the airport’s financial surplus to be used to finance investments at other airports. In addition, in a context of full autonomy, the managers of Barcelona airport would be able to sign contracts with large network airlines to create lasting bonds that would guarantee connecting flights or that could even involve joint investment in new facilities.

As regards taxes for the use of runways and terminals, these can amount to about 10% of an airline’s total costs and have an enormous influence on the choice it makes from the route network. In Spain, airport taxes are established by law and calculated by categories of airports according to the level of traffic. Therefore, airports in the same category set the same prices (even though the traffic conditions and costs may vary) and the differences in prices between airports of the same category are not big enough. The yearly price updates appear in the laws accompanying the state general budget. Increases can be of 1%, 5% or 10%, for example, without justification.

In practice, this means that Barcelona airport charges the same as Madrid airport and these prices are not high enough in comparison with other airports like Girona or Reus. Therefore, under present conditions, Barcelona airport cannot compete in prices with Madrid to attract network airlines, which are the ones that can offer long-distance destinations by operating connecting traffic. In addition, very low cost airlines like Ryanair might prefer to operate out of El Prat and not from smaller Catalan airports because Barcelona airport’s prices are not high enough. Bear in mind that the presence of Ryanair at El Prat could be an obstacle to attracting international traffic insofar as it prejudices the connecting traffic operated by network airlines.

In a context of full autonomy, the Barcelona Airport authorities could use prices to compete with other comparable airports (always so long as these prices cover costs) and also to incentivise the arrival of more low-cost or network airline flights (depending on the aim).

There is less leeway for changing the way the right of use of the system of runways is allocated, as it has to follow the administrative procedure laid down by European Union legislation. Adjudicating space in the terminals for airlines is more discretionary, and this is important in
large airports like Barcelona. In fact, the total flying time, including the time spent between the arrival of the passenger at the airport and embarkation and the time spent on the taxiways, can vary widely depending on which terminal and which part of the terminal the airline is housed in. In this respect, the airline companies making up the Oneworld alliance (mainly Vueling and Iberia’s Madrid shuttle) have better facilities in the new terminal, which allows a saving of between 10 and 20 minutes in connecting flights and in point-to-point flights for people arriving at the airport by private transport.

Paradoxically, the new terminal at El Prat (T1) was designed to cut connection times to the minimum, so that it would make sense to allocate the terminal’s best facilities to those airlines that really intend to offer connecting flights. Iberia uses Barcelona airport exclusively to feed the traffic at its hub airport, Madrid-Barajas, and Vueling, which is a subsidiary airline company of Iberia and IAG — the mother company that controls Iberia and British Airways — is a low-cost airline specialising in point-to-point flights (at least, it was at the time the T1 facilities were allocated).

In a context of full autonomy, the Barcelona Airport authorities could assign the best facilities in the new terminal to whatever airlines they considered most convenient. As I said above, if the aim is to increase intercontinental travel out of El Prat, then these airlines would have to be network airlines belonging to one of the main international airline alliances.

Finally, the expected effect of a change to more autonomous management would be less important as regards the commercial promotion of the city of Barcelona and its airport, as in this sphere the Catalan institutions have been able to play an active role. The Barcelona Air Route Development Committee, a body involving AENA, the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce, the Generalitat of Catalonia and Barcelona City Council, is a successful example of this. This committee was set up in 2005 with the object of promoting the development of new intercontinental routes out of Barcelona airport. Thanks to the work it has done, along with the fact of having less crowded facilities, in the last few years Barcelona Airport has considerably improved its offer in direct intercontinental flights.

The current traffic situation

El Prat Airport is one of the ten European Union airports with most passenger traffic and the second busiest airport in Spain. Figure 1 shows the growth of traffic at Barcelona, Madrid and other Spanish airports over the last ten years. In the case of Barcelona-El Prat this has been very positive both in absolute terms and in comparison with other Spanish airports. More than 35 million passengers used its facilities in 2013, which means it has seen a growth in traffic of almost 55% in the last ten years. In all these years, the traffic at Barcelona airport has grown uninterruptedly except for 2008 and 2009, the worst years of the crisis, at least from the point of view of air traffic.

In contrast, in 2013 Madrid airport was left with 39 million passengers after having exceeded 50 million in 2007 and 2008. In the period as a whole, traffic at Madrid airport grew at a much lower rate than at Barcelona, as it reached 11%. Similarly, the growth rate for traffic at the rest of Spain’s airports in the last ten years has been of 18%.
There are several reasons that can explain the good behaviour of traffic at Barcelona airport in the context of Spain (and, in fact, of Europe. If we compared Barcelona airport with other comparable airports in the rest of Europe it would also do well). The upward trend in traffic at Barcelona airport has taken place in a context of no financial or management autonomy. However, this infrastructure has benefited from important investments in recent years, although they will eventually be financed by the taxes paid by passengers. Therefore, the chief factor explaining the growth in traffic at El Prat Airport is its increased capacity as a result of the start of operations of the third runway (second parallel runway) in 2004 and of the new terminal in 2009. What’s more, the prices Barcelona Airport charges airlines are not very high, although since 2011 there has been a very significant increase. It is also important to bear in mind that Vueling, the airline with most passenger traffic at Barcelona, has seen very positive growth in recent years as regards the increased number of routes and airports covered by its operations as well as in its financial situation (especially if we compare it with its main shareholder, Iberia). Finally, Barcelona’s boom as one of the cities with most power of attraction for tourists on a global scale also explains the success as regards traffic.

Apart from the growth in overall traffic, it is also important to mention growth in intercontinental traffic insofar as it could help the city attract companies operating in knowledge-intensive activities and that often act on a global scale. Diagram 2 shows how traffic is distributed by countries. In 2003 almost half the traffic was directed at Spanish cities, while in 2013 this figure dropped to 28%. In contrast, there has been an important increase in traffic to countries in the European Economic Area (European Union, Norway, Iceland and Switzerland), which currently accounts for about 60% of total traffic at El Prat. It is also important at this point to underline that traffic to America and Asia carried more weight in the airport’s total traffic, having gone from 1.7% in 2003 to 5.2% ten years later.
Diagram 3 shows the most frequent intercontinental destinations of flights out of El Prat in 2013. One case that stands out is New York, where the presence of large US companies like American Airlines, Delta or United means there are about three flights a day. On the other routes appearing in Figure 3, traffic is channelled by these American airlines or others (Aerolineas Argentinas, Air Canada, Avianca, US Airways) or by Asian airlines (Emirates, Qatar Airways, Singapore Airlines, Royal Jordanian). Therefore, Barcelona has considerably increased its offer in intercontinental flights from almost nothing ten years ago to be able to offer direct connections to several cities in America and Asia today.
To explain the positive growth in intercontinental traffic at Barcelona airport (even though the percentage of the total traffic this represents is still low), we must underline the work undertaken by the Barcelona Air Route Development Committee. Although its duties are limited to the work of promoting the airport commercially, it has definitely played a very positive role in capturing intercontinental flights.

The outlook for the future

To understand El Prat’s outlook for the future, it is important to explain some of the present trends in air transport. First of all, all the sector’s international organisations foresee positive growth rates in traffic on a global scale for the coming years. Nevertheless, this general growth in traffic will not be evenly distributed among the main airports, as traffic will tend to become more and more concentrated in just a few. In this context, most European airports will have to face very high levels of congestion as many are already at the limit of their possibilities for expanding capacity. In fact, to be able to grow, most of these large airports will have to face a series of town-planning and environmental restrictions that will be very difficult to manage.

Secondly, European airlines (especially network airlines) are facing growing competition from American and Asian airlines, who use European airports more and more to feed their hubs.

Thirdly, there is a certain tendency among airlines’ business models to converge. Until now, a clear distinction could be drawn between network and low-cost airlines. However, hybrid airline companies are appearing that have characteristics common to both low-cost and network airlines. The hybrid models are low-cost airline companies who have tended to converge with the network airline business model in the sense that they are prepared to offer connections in cooperation with other airlines and have begun to present different fare classes to offer services more specifically directed at business passengers.

These three general trends in air transport are of great benefit to Barcelona. This is one of the few large European airports with plenty of capacity to cater for important growth in traffic. What’s more, Girona and Reus airports are close enough to be able to act as secondary airports for the Barcelona metropolitan area, channelling the traffic for very low-cost airlines.

In addition, Barcelona is in an excellent geographical location to be able to take on the growing presence of Asian and American airlines at European airports. It is too far away from Asia for Asian airlines to be able to overshadow those already established at El Prat (unlike the situation with those established in central and eastern European airports), but at the same time it is at an ideal midway point for flights from Asia to America or vice versa to stop over.

Finally, Vueling is currently the leading airline at Barcelona airport and concentrates around 35% of the total traffic. The future of Barcelona Airport is inevitably tied to this airline. Vueling can boast an enviable financial situation, with ambitious plans for increasing traffic. If this airline company confirms the tendency to steer its business model away from a pure low-cost concept towards a hybrid model working with connecting flights and complementary services aimed at business travellers, this will reinforce El Prat’s chances of continuing its positive growth trends in all traffic and especially in intercontinental traffic.
Conclusions

In the current framework, Barcelona Airport is operated by a company responsible for more than 40 airports with commercial traffic. Changes are likely in the ownership of this management business, but what won’t change is the centralised management of airports in Spain. In the event that Catalonia became independent, this would inevitably change, and Barcelona airport’s operator would have much more autonomy when it came to using the instruments of airport management to capture whatever airline companies it considered most suitable. These management instruments are the use of the financial resources the airport generates to enlarge or improve its facilities, the establishment of the prices charged to airlines for operating at the airport, allocation of the right of use of runways and terminal facilities and finally the commercial promotion of the airport and its city. With all these instruments available to it, Barcelona Airport would have more options for incentivising the arrival (or consolidation) of network airlines interested in enlarging their offer of intercontinental flights out of El Prat.

Having said that, we can consider the growth in total traffic and intercontinental traffic at Barcelona Airport has been very positive in recent years, both in absolute and relative terms. What’s more, the airline sector’s own dynamics suggest a favourable outlook for the future. If, on top of this, the airport manager was actively involved in attracting traffic from whatever airline companies were felt to be most suitable, the forecasts could be even more optimistic. At any event, Barcelona Airport will continue to play a leading and positive role in the economy of the urban area of Barcelona, whatever the future scenario in which this infrastructure has to develop its activity.
The port of Barcelona: Prospects and challenges in an independent Catalonia

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Introduction

The port of Barcelona witnessed the birth of the city as we know it today. The recovery of the seafront for citizen use and the consolidation of a single commercial and logistics strategy signalled a step forward in the commercial and economic development of the city of Barcelona and the Catalan economy. Today it is regarded as one of the most advanced ports in southern Europe, and it plays a key role in trade throughout the Mediterranean Sea.

Bounded by El Prat airport, Zona Franca and the city, the port area measures more than 1,000 hectares and is divided into four areas of action: the logistics port, the energy port, the commercial port and the city port. Its main goal is to contribute to the competitiveness, quality and productivity of its users through the integration of maritime and land transport via logistics.

In order to prioritise the needs of the economy around it, it is important to plan a diversified port. In this sense, the commercial strategy of the port of Barcelona has revolved around becoming a benchmark logistics hub in the Mediterranean. With traffic of more than 41 million tonnes in 2013, we can see heavy container activity – especially for exports, as well as notable traffic in cars, bulk solids (mainly soy and grains) and bulk liquids (refined oil). Likewise, the port of Barcelona has gained ground as the leading European port and the fourth most important base port in the world in cruise ship transit, with a total of 2.6 million cruise passengers in 2013.

The positive figures today reflect a series of measures carried out in recent years. First, heavy investments have been made to expand the port and the Logistics Activities Zone (LAZ), as well as to boost the capacity for goods for domestic and industrial consumption. On the other hand, new roadway and railway connections had to be established in order to expand the hinterland (or area of influence). Finally, the mechanisms to improve relations with the port’s leading clients and users were enhanced.

The purpose of this article is to analyse what the role of the port of Barcelona would play if the city became the capital of a new state. To this end, we analyse the most noteworthy developments that have directly affected the economic development of the port of Barcelona in recent years, considering both internal and external factors, in order to define its future prospects and its role within a new state.

The dynamic of the market

The first factor that influences the evolution in the growth of the port of Barcelona is the ebb and flow of the foreign market.

Over the past 30 years, there has been a change in maritime traffic flows worldwide, which has generated the appearance of a new scene in international trade. The transatlantic route between the Americas and Europe, extremely important during the Industrial Revolution, has maintained six million full TEU of stable traffic every year. However, the economic growth of Asia has led to a shift in the centre of world trade, giving rise to an increase in the importance of the transpacific route (between Asia and the Americas), with traffic of 20 million full TEU per year, and a surge in the main route undergoing expansion, between Asia and Europe, through
the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean, with traffic of 20 million full TEU\(^2\) per year (source: Review of Maritime Transport, 2013, UNCTAD).

This new situation entails growth in maritime transport traffic in the route between Europe and Asia via the Mediterranean Sea, and it is therefore a unique chance for the ports of southern European. Yet despite the advantages of the ports on the Mediterranean – fuel savings, lower CO\(_2\) emissions and shorter travel times – in practice, 75% of the total volume of goods that enter through the Suez Canal head towards northern European ports. This inefficiency reflects the weak connectivity of intermodal transport in Mediterranean ports to date.

In this sense, with the goal of gaining market share and having a more powerful hinterland, it is essential to establish connectivity services that provide an efficient land network and good connections with short-distance maritime transport (SDMT). Considering the costs of land congestion caused by land transport, in addition to the limitations inherent to SDMT when covering the movement of goods by land, we can conclude that the most competitive intermodal transport for long distances and with the right infrastructures is the railway.

Apart from the current status of international trade, in recent years there has been a rising internationalisation of port logistics operators. This new scene has led to a higher concentration of multinationals serving as the operators of terminals and alliances in shipping companies, which have affected the competition between ports.

**Port management**

The different systems of port regulation directly affect the management system.

Generally speaking, the academic literature states that a port is made up of three agents: the port authority, the terminal manager and the shipping companies. In the theoretical analysis of maritime transport, there are two main models for managing terminals: the landlord port and the tool port. In landlord ports, the port authority is charged with providing the basic infrastructure and establishing the concession contract with the private operators; therefore, there is interaction among all three main agents. In tool ports, the port authority is responsible for providing the infrastructure as well as for directly managing loading and unloading at the terminals. Therefore, in this case only two agents interact: the port authority and the shipping companies.

The port of Barcelona operates with a landlord port model of terminal management and is part of an autonomous economic and financial system with centralised management regulated by law.

The Spanish port system, which is owned by the state, is made up of 28 port authorities that oversee 44 ports of general interest scattered around the entire country. According to official figures, 60% of exports and 85% of imports in Spain are channelled through its port infrastructure. According to the law, all ports in the Spanish port system use the landlord port model to manage their terminals.

Management of the Spanish port system is governed by a shared legislative framework and coordinated and supervised by the public body State Ports, which depends on the Ministry of

\(^2\) TEU: twenty-foot equivalent unit. This is a unit of measurement which is used to count containers. The standard size of a container is one TEU, which is equivalent to 20 feet (approximately 6.1 metres).
Public Works and Transport. The main goal of this public body is to coordinate port management, approve port investment plans and supervise port taxes. To this end, in order to maintain its structure, this body is financed by contributions of 4% of total income from each port authority (2% for the port authorities located in the Balearic Islands, the Canary Islands, Ceuta and Melilla).

If we analyse the European map of ports, we can see that the different management models coexist alongside one another. In the northern European ports, individual management is more common and is carried out by the local governments (Rotterdam, Antwerp, Hamburg), while other ports like Ålborg (Denmark) are managed by the regional government, and finally the ports in the United Kingdom are privately managed.

Regarding the port authorities in the Spanish port system, they are public institutions with a legal personality whose mission is to contribute to the competitiveness of import and export companies by building port infrastructures and conducting other measures to improve their competitiveness. As mentioned above, the Port Authority does not directly manage the different terminals; rather it leases them to private companies through a public tender. Each port authority is financed through the incomes from the leasing companies and from the port taxes (paid by the end users of the port).

On the one hand, the port taxes are regulated by law and revised by State Ports. With the goal of promoting competition among ports and increasing private ownership and investment, the port authorities may apply a policy of discounts for the companies that operate the terminals and the shipping companies. These discounts on the port taxes depend on the level of investment that the operator has made in the terminal and the kind of traffic for discounts for shipping companies, among other factors. On the other hand, based on the principle of solidarity as a means of redistributing resources, the regulations state that each port authority must contribute 12% of its total income to the Interport Compensation Fund. This cross-subsidisation seeks two goals: first, to transfer resources to the port authorities in the hinterland, which are faced with limitations because of the specific features of their territory (Ceuta and Melilla) or are located on islands (Balearic and Canary Islands), and secondly to finance projects for the port authorities with the highest deficits.

The consolidation of the Spanish port management model is the outcome of a process of reforms which got underway in 1992, known as decentralisation (Castillo-Manzano et al., 2008). Prior to the first reform in 1992, the Spanish port system was asymmetrical and there were two management models: four ports were autonomous and the remainder were managed by the central government. The 1992 regulation signalled the establishment of a new port system with a shared regulatory framework and the creation of the institutions, that is, the port authorities and the public body State Ports. The subsequent reforms allowed the regional governments to choose the president of their port authority (1997 reform), and they established more flexible price regulations that would encourage greater competition through the discount policy (2003 and 2010 reforms). Yet despite the measures taken, there has been no clear shift in competences; instead, a centralised management model has been chosen.
The port of Barcelona: Benchmark model

Generally speaking, the evolution in traffic in the port of Barcelona has been positive in recent years. In economic terms, despite the need for debt in order to finance the investments, when we analyse the economic figures for 2013 we can see that the operating bottom line showed positive results of approximately 57 million euros, even though the debt was around 448 million euros, 5% lower than the previous year.

In Graph 1 we can see the evolution in the main traffic of goods in the period falling between 2000 and 2013. During this entire period, the goods placed inside containers was the most prominent, followed by bulk liquids, conventional goods and finally bulk solids. Even though the total number of tonnes dropped in 2009 in response to the economic crisis, the total traffic has remained steady in recent years.

The classification of container ports (import-export, empty and full) is the measurement used the most often around the world to describe position in the port rankings. Regarding the Spanish port system, if we follow this method of calculation, first we find Algeciras, then Valencia and finally Barcelona. Regarding Algeciras, because of its geographic location, 95% of the containers are transfers and move from a large ship to a smaller one to be distributed in other destinations. Valencia has 60% container transit; what is more, since it is regarded as the port of Madrid, it is fundamentally an import port and therefore has high traffic in empty containers. Finally, in Barcelona only 25% of the containers are in transit, since it is more an exporter of containers than an importer because of the drop in internal consumption. In order to understand this heterogeneity in the results, we have to bear in mind the approach of the port authorities' different commercial strategies. In the first two cases, the focus is promoting ports where goods are transferred, or hub ports; however, the strategy of Barcelona has been to gain ground as a logistics hub in the Mediterranean in the traffic of goods with added value.

In contrast, if we analyse the positions according to turnover and profits, we can see that in 2013 Barcelona was the port with the highest profit in Spain, followed by Algeciras, which was in second place.
The port of Barcelona’s focus on the competitiveness of its users has become a benchmark model. Given a rising in container traffic, it was necessary to define an expansion plan of the port and the logistics areas in order to boost the port’s capacity. Two of the most important expansions from the commercial standpoint were the new BEST container terminal operated by TERCAT-Hutchison (the private multinational Hutchison Port Holdings and Terminal de Catalunya - TERCAT), and the expansion of the container terminal operated by the company Terminal de Contenidors de Barcelona (Barcelona Container Terminal or TCB). Starting with an annual capacity of 50 million tonnes and 2.5 million TEU in 2013, by 2020 the port’s capacity will be 100 million tonnes and 5.6 million TEU (Source: Port Authority of Barcelona).

Despite this, these new investments had to have good land and sea connections in order to supply the hinterland and improve the competition. New railway and roadway accesses to the new BEST terminal had to be provided. To this end, the economic cost of this investment was 100 million euros, financed 50% by the port of Barcelona and the other 50% by the Ministry of Public Works and Transport. These investments are slated to end in 2015.

In addition to the departure of goods, the port of Barcelona must also ensure good connectivity with the other regions.

First of all, regarding land transport, the port of Barcelona is part of the third corridor in the European TEN-T transport network, whose goal is to eliminate bottlenecks, establish better connections between the frontiers of the different European regions and promote intermodality. What is more, this new scenario entails a drop in CO2 emissions and is therefore more environmentally efficient. On the other hand, in Spain, the port of Barcelona has focused its efforts on the Barcelona-Zaragoza-Madrid and northwest corridors.

Secondly, it is important to promote maritime transport as a mechanism for distributing goods. On the one hand, in order to be internationally attractive it is essential to have good mari-
time connectivity. To this end, the port of Barcelona has more than 100 regular lines operated by 163 shipping companies that connect the port of Barcelona with 850 ports around the world (source: Port Authority of Barcelona). On the other hand, the short distance maritime transport (SDMT) services improve the connectivity with the areas of influence closest to the port and lead to a drop in vehicular congestion on the motorways. According to figures from the Port Authority of Barcelona, 3.4 million tonnes were transported via the SDMT in 2013.

Finally, in order to have efficient logistics connections and meet the demand of the economy around it, it is essential to have specialised port services targeted at improving clients’ competitiveness and efficiency, as well as improving relations with the agents that manage the internal port operations.

Conclusions

The port of Barcelona is a key factor in the economic and commercial development of the economy around it. In absolute terms, today the port accounts for 1.4% of the gross domestic product (GDP) of Catalonia, and by the end of its expansion in the middle term it is expected to generate 5% of the GDP of the Catalan economy.

If we analyse the commercial and logistics port, we can see that port traffic is correlated to Catalonia’s industrial activity. According to an economic impact and dependency study conducted by the Port Authority of Barcelona with the goal of measuring the port of Barcelona’s contribution to the competitiveness of its clients (service infrastructure and Catalan industry), the conclusion is that the gain that the port brings to Catalan industry (dependency) is higher than the economic value produced by the port as a service infrastructure (impact).

In this context, given the new scenario in which the city of Barcelona would become the capital of a new state, it would be necessary to redefine the port management model to which the port is subjected today bearing in mind the different scenarios, but always prioritising the clear goal of the port of Barcelona’s competitiveness with the other ports in Europe.

Regarding the current regulations of the Spanish port system, they have certain limitations which ultimately negatively affect the port of Barcelona.

First, as mentioned above, the current regulatory system stipulates cross-subsidisation, in which all the port authorities have to contribute part of their income to the Interport Compensation Fund in order to finance other port authorities, in addition to contributing to the financing of the public body State Ports. This regulation does not benefit the port of Barcelona, since it is the port with the highest income in the Spanish port system.

Secondly, the fact that the system for setting the port taxes is established by law and has to be approved and coordinated by State Ports means that they are not subjected to market forces. That is, despite the discount policy, the goal is to increase a given kind of traffic; in practice, however, this situation ends up leading to a rise in the port agents’ market power (mainly shipping companies), in addition to benefiting the hub ports at the expense of gateway ports for goods, such as the port of Barcelona (Fageda & Gonzalez-Aregall, 2014).
In short, the context of a new state would mean leaving the Spanish port system, which might be beneficial in that port of Barcelona would be able to keep the resources which it currently contributes to financing the Interport Compensation Fund of State Ports. In this new situation, a possible new regulation should allow prices to be set freely based on a market model, in addition to prioritising investments in land accesses in order to ensure stable long-term development of the port.

Finally, in addition to more flexible regulations, the kind of management that would be the most appropriate for the specific case of the port of Barcelona should be debated in this new scenario. In the scholarly literature, there is no clear conclusion regarding which management model (public or private) leads to greater port efficiency (Gong et al., 2012); therefore, it would be wise to assess the different possible scenarios. First, we could consider public management by the government through an organisation called Ports of the Generalitat, which currently manages the sports and fishing ports in Catalonia. Secondly, we could also consider municipal management, similar to some ports in northern Europe, such as Rotterdam and Antwerp. Finally, a third option would be for the Port Authority of Barcelona to be privatised. Likewise, we could also assess joint management between the port of Barcelona and the port of Tarragona, which specialises in the traffic of bulk liquids.

In conclusion, thanks to a solid commercial and financial system, the role of the port of Barcelona within a new state would afford it the opportunity to improve the limitations of the current regulations and define a new form of management that would enable it to sustain stable development.

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Barcelona, Capital of a Metropolitan State

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Introduction

Each time that Barcelona has faced a large-scale challenge, it has excelled, if it was a plan for the city that was the outcome of a social vision pursued through the co-ordinated efforts of civil society and the city government. Now, as has occurred few times in its history, becoming the capital of a new European state could release a great deal of contained energy in the city, which has been limited systematically by its inability to decide on its own major infrastructure, its reindustrialisation, its energy management, land use or housing policy. This article addresses the need for Barcelona and Catalonia to work at building a metropolitan state where every Catalan citizen can identify Barcelona as their city. A building process that, in keeping with our urban origins, will have as its basic mission the invention of the city of the future while building it in the present, for the wellbeing of its citizens and as an inspiration to the world.

Text

Barcelona is a social construct, a structure of physical and human relationships built up over many generations on the shore of the Mediterranean. It is the capital of a country that was a medieval empire, with a long and complicated history, and that now wants to be a new European state. Barcelona is the city that invented urban planning in the 19th century at a time when it was a European city beginning to industrialise, and that is why it has the perpetual mission of inventing the city of the future, of making the best city in the world to live and work in. The possibility of becoming a national capital involves challenges and opportunities that the city needs to address with the same ambition with which it has faced all the major milestones of its history: the demolition of its walls in the 19th century, the two World’s Fairs, the arrival of democracy and development, and the Olympic Games. Each time that it has faced a large-scale challenge it has excelled, if it was a plan for the city that was the outcome of a social vision pursued through the co-ordinated efforts of civil society and the city government.

Now, as has occurred few times in its history, becoming the capital of a new European state could release a great deal of contained energy in the city, which has been limited systematically by its inability to decide on its own major infrastructure and to legislate on key aspects of the city that it wishes to be.

Capital

Barcelona and Catalonia must work together to attain a territorial unity where every Catalan citizen can identify Barcelona as their city. Barcelona is the capital, the seat of many of the institutions, organisations and facilities that broadcast it to the world, and it is Barcelona that will make Catalonia a country that can have its own voice in a globalised world. Given its central position in both geographic and economic terms, Barcelona must drive and inspire Catalonia and it should seek to ensure that its standards of wellbeing, urban quality and structural principles are shared by Catalonia as whole.

Barcelona should not assume that building a new country that is physically small means using the same mechanisms as a physically large county and applying them on a smaller scale.
to its own territory. Catalonia should not be a small country, if it is viewed from Catalonia, or a global city viewed from Barcelona. We need to abandon the idea that Catalonia has a problem of macrocephaly with Barcelona, the metropolitan area that creates 23% of the country’s GDP. Catalonia is what it is because Barcelona, its capital, has been the driving force behind the building of the country throughout its history, and the territory has been built through the efforts of many generations of Catalans. In fact, it is difficult enough to define just where Barcelona’s boundaries lie. Municipal Barcelona has been left far behind, for decades, by the real Barcelona, the metropolitan Barcelona of thirty-seven municipalities and a surface area similar to that of New York or Greater London. At the same time, however, the functional Barcelona is closer to the Barcelona metropolitan region, which comprises 567 municipalities, from Malgrat to Vilanova i la Geltrú.

If Cerdà planned one hundred and fifty years ago to multiply the surface area of Barcelona by ten, surely within another one hundred and fifty years Barcelona will be Catalonia, built with an infrastructure of high-speed physical transportation networks, but above all built with the information networks that will allow the world’s physical production to go back to being local.

Barcelona therefore has the mission of inventing the city of the future and building it in the present for the wellbeing of its citizens (which are all the citizens of Catalonia) and to inspire the world. In fact, it is already doing just that.

**Infrastructure**

If Barcelona is really to be the capital of Catalonia and a global city, it will need infrastructure that allows the country to function as a discontinuous metropolis, a metropolis built around towns and cities in Catalonia that are well connected to each other and to the rest of the world. From that standpoint, Barcelona is a city limited by the lack of investment in major infrastructure elements. La Sagrera will be Barcelona’s central train station and the hub for commuter trains, buses and high speed rail lines. If it is important to be connected via high speed trains to our neighbouring countries and the country’s most important cities, it is even more important for the country’s railways to work as an extended rapid transit system. Consequently, connecting Barcelona to cities such as Vic, Manresa or Tortosa and connecting those cities with each other at the speed of a regional rapid transit system is crucial for conferring Catalonia with that nature of metropolitan state. At the same time the Sagrera-Sant Andreu axis, from Glories to the Trinitat hub, and the entire surrounding area to be built up offer an opportunity for placement of infrastructure elements or administrative centres concerning all of Catalonia. The locations with good access to transportation should be dedicated to the facilities that require access from the whole country, its national facilities. That consideration, then, would lead to another fundamental debate on the subject of whether it would be better to distribute the country’s facilities throughout its whole territory, or even whether the capital should be moved to a different city. Here, the answer would be that it is just as important to ensure effective and representative access by all Catalonia’s inhabitants to the capital’s infrastructure as it is to ensure at the same time that Barcelona and its territory can compete with the rest of the world as a global city. The Netherlands, which is behaving more and more like a metropolitan state, has its capital in a minor city, The Hague, but it has two global capitals, Rotterdam and Amsterdam, structured effectively as a network and with its functional centre at Schiphol Airport, which is its major
cornerstone. In fact, the Netherlands presented its candidacy for the 2008 Olympic Games as if it were a single city.

From the standpoint of logistics, Barcelona has one of the best logistics centres in the world due to its geographic location, the potential integration of international logistics infrastructure such as the port, the airport, Zona Franca and, by extension, Mercabarna and La Fira. On the other hand, Barcelona does not have a European gauge rail freight station, although that is one of the priorities for Barcelona as a city and Catalonia as a state.

In many capital cities around the world, train stations and other major state infrastructure elements are financed with public funds, while, on the other hand those some infrastructure elements in second- or third-ranking cities need to fall back on complex financing mechanisms that sometimes involve private investment or the invention of land suitable for building in order to finance the necessary investments and that in times of crisis make such ventures impossible. For years now Barcelona has been planning a rapid transit connection to the airport, the connection between the two airport terminals and between those terminals and the port, the high-speed railway station at the airport (which is to allow connection to Catalonia’s other leading cities, first of all, and then to the capitals of the Euroregion), as well as the Mediterranean corridor that will connect, among others, the ports of Barcelona and Tarragona, which need to work with a greater degree of functional integration. Likewise, with an eye to management, the creation of a single authority for the port and the airport, as is the case in other great cities around the world, needs to be considered. Investments in new rail terminals must allow for new uses for obsolete infrastructure elements, such as the France Station or Morrot Station, the latter converted into an urban space with strategic uses for the port and the city, as fundamental nodes located on Barcelona’s coast and very close to its geographic centre, with the corresponding remodelling of the Moll de la Fusta docks.

**Metropolis of neighbourhoods**

The Barcelona of the future will not be a territory with a rich centre and poor fringes, but instead it will be a metropolis of neighbourhoods. If cities over the course of their histories resemble the economies that support them and the societies that build them, the Barcelona of the future should be a networked metropolis, rather than just a big city with an appetite for annexing its surrounding municipalities (as has happened at other times in history or in other cities), and without succumbing to the temptation of believing that the territory must be in the service of its economic forces.

The shape of the territory must be appropriate to the relationships between people and organisation, between places of production and consumption through which we organise our lives. We live in a networked society.

The city is made up of people who live on the street and in specific neighbourhoods. The neighbourhoods of Barcelona and of the medium-sized towns in the territory are functional units that supply the basic services that people genuinely need to live. In that sense, Barcelona is a city of neighbourhoods, built around its markets, libraries, schools, sports complexes and civic centres that ensure ease of access to the services that we have wished to provide for ourselves over the past few decades. In that connection, Barcelona must continue to build up its structure of neighbourhoods to provide the same services and the same quality of public space regardless
of income levels in the city’s different districts, and it must take on as its mission to extend those standards of quality to all the towns and cities of Catalonia, working to attain a country that is built around its neighbourhoods, which is where its people actually live.

In recent decades, public space in Barcelona has become one of the key factors for the policy on urban cohesion. Looking beyond the concept of the city being finished (which it is not), ongoing investment is needed to accomplish installation of the network of facilities and social hubs that will connect all its neighbourhoods via public transportation, bicycle lanes and spaces for pedestrians.

From that standpoint, the Barcelona that is building the city of the future in the present and inspiring the world is developing a new orthogonal bus network that defines a new urban structure around super-blocks and allows differentiation of areas operating at human speed, aimed at pedestrians, and civic arteries that include public transportation. This radical transformation of the system of urban mobility, accompanied by measures to foster the use of electric vehicles and shared bicycles, will operate an overall transformation of the city’s public space, built now on the scale of its inhabitants. The public space in Barcelona reflects the city’s economic and social progress, and that is why in the coming years we will be addressing the challenge of transforming over sixty per cent of the city’s road space into a sort of space built at a human pace, where people can relax and stroll among the buildings, a calmed space, to include not only the historical nuclei, but also the Eixample and all the city’s districts massively. If in the 21st century it is information, rather than materials or people, that must travel at high speeds, public space in the city must be built around the concept of neighbourhoods that live at a human pace.

Self-sufficiency

Barcelona has a new mantra for construction of its urban habitat. Barcelona wants to become a self-sufficient city made up of productive neighbourhoods with a human pace within the framework of a hyperconnected city with zero emissions. In other words, it wants to combine the best aspects of slow cities and smart cities.

Barcelona, a city that is inventing the future and inspiring the world, has defined a vision for the next forty years around the idea of empowerment of its citizens and of the city itself, based upon the local production of resources while sharing information globally. This is a new way of conceiving how cities work that fosters the creation of local jobs through their reindustrialisation. If cities today import products and produce waste, the aim is for cities and territories to be more ecological and less dependent upon outside resources, producing energy, goods and food locally.

In order to make that possible, if our laws do not facilitate it, they must at least not obstruct it. Today’s economy represents the terminal phase of the industrial era, in transition to new forms of shared and cooperative economy that must be built upon a new contract between citizens and the state that they build, using new regulatory principles with which they wish to organise themselves. People and ideas come before static economic and social principles and before the known procedures that have been the direct cause of the current economic crisis. Barcelona as the capital of a new state must therefore be able to build upon the will and the governance of its citizens more than upon inherited privilege or the expansion of economic structures and processes that favour big business, which all too often act as great monopolies.
The case of energy in Catalonia, Spain and many places around the world is one of the most emblematic areas in which citizens have not control over their own future, in this case their energy future. A major portion of our freedom is based upon the freedom to choose and produce resources, rather than to consume them following obsolete processes that are the direct cause of global warming. Consequently, one of the great opportunities offered by the building of a new state should be the drafting of a zero energy balance law that allows buildings to produce energy not subject to any additional levy or tax, so that a distributed model for generating and consuming energy by homes, offices and facilities can be developed. That infrastructure would also be at the service of new electric transportation systems, including buses, automobiles, motorcycles and bicycles. In a distributed economy such as the one we are building, we can develop the “energy Internet” and, by extension, the Internet of things. If the law does not obstruct innovation, energy self-sufficiency based upon renewable resources in Barcelona and Catalonia (likewise connected, surely, to trans-European energy networks) will be a question of just a few decades. In this way, above and beyond the ecological value of such an initiative, it will ensure our freedom because it will keep us from depending upon, and, in fact, enriching, petroleum-rich countries that are poor in democratic safeguards. The Barcelona of the future is a self-sufficient Barcelona connected to the world that bases its functioning upon the empowerment of its citizens and possesses a new economy of urban innovation.

Reindustrialisation

In the information age, we need to develop new principles for production in the economy of innovation. Barcelona as a capital city must address the challenge of attracting entrepreneurs and enterprises from around the world with greater strategic strength, international representation and political capacity. In fact, one of the major debates should be whether Barcelona and Catalonia need to grow in terms of population, in much the same way as London and New York work with a consistent mid- and long-term policy of attracting new population. Barcelona must apply a policy of attracting talent in competition with those large cities and with cities such as Boston, Berlin or Copenhagen, which are smaller in size but which have very good quality of life. That positioning must be based upon attracting high-value enterprises and upon entrepreneurs, scientists and creators in order for its creative fabric to grow. Barcelona must likewise invest consistently in retraining many people who came to work here under very different circumstances and in reconvert ing industries that are unlikely to grow in the near future and whose jobs will therefore have disappeared for good. It will be a question, then, of investing systematically in the education of its children and youth and also of its adults, in order to build a country where young people do not all want to be civil servants and where adults do not want to be passive workers. It will be necessary to foster an entrepreneurial culture that facilitates the creation of new businesses and the building of a cohesive society where everyone has the same opportunities and that at the same time recognises effort and talent. In that connection, the city needs to create areas for reindustrialisation distributed throughout all its districts that include clusters for entrepreneurs, mixed-use neighbourhoods that allow small and medium-sized clean industries, and even the development of free zones, and incentives to allow competition with other centres of attraction for global talent with a combination of development of new local industries, attraction of entrepreneurs and establishment of high added value multinationals. All that must
be combined with education that includes STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) and a network of athenaeums of manufacturing that ensure universal access to the tools and processes for digital manufacturing and social innovation, in the same way that the right to access to a library or school is now recognised.

Work in the new economy in emerging industries such as biomedicine, nanotechnology, electric mobility, digital manufacturing, software development and the green economy will be performed initially in the context of small and medium-sized enterprises that can be located in neighbourhoods where people are already living. The whole economy of innovation is a clearly urban phenomenon, the outcome of shared stimuli and entrepreneurial contagion, as is happening in the world’s most dynamic metropolises. From that standpoint, we need to ensure that the city is fertile and permeable to the creation of economic and social value. The capital of a new state could enact regulations to promote an economy of cooperation and shared financing (crowdfunding) that fosters individuals’ freedom to establish relationships while at the same time making sure that everyone has access to services. On the metropolitan scale, we need to reform industrial estates, many of which are obsolete and appropriate to an era when the territory was organised on the basis of functional segregation. This will be a slow but steady process, which will foster the increased density of those urban zones, making them into cities, with housing where it is needed, vertical industrial construction will be allowed, as in countries with little available land, and logistics corridors will be created that are genuinely effective for distribution of goods.

In addition, Barcelona’s Zona Franca should play a greater role in the industrial policy decided by the city and it should be governed as another city district, with structural coordination between this area and the port and the airport. If Barcelona were to have land available for industrial and logistic facilities, it could likewise attract major multinationals linked to large-scale industrial production, following a city-building strategy and a co-ordinated executive policy.

### Clustering

Barcelona is a city built by civil society, because it is three hundred years since it was the capital of a state. That is why, like cities such as New York, its character is determined by an open and homogeneous urban structure. Architecture is the ultimate representation of that society, which builds its representative collective monuments in cultural centres or in its public space. If Paris, Washington and Madrid are built around grand urban arteries and grand national monuments, Barcelona is a civilian city, lacking elements representing a central power, where the only spaces of monumental staging were articulated around the two World’s Fairs. The city should therefore maintain that “republican”, rather than “imperial” character, where the values of fairness, innovation and social aspiration that we want for the capital of this new state will be built in stone.

Nevertheless, Barcelona needs to increase the dimensions of certain of its facilities organised as urban clusters. The case of the City of Justice is exemplary, as it has concentrated over one hundred of the city’s buildings in single complex that is efficient for the government and for citizens. In addition, clusters need to be fostered around the public hospitals to enhance their facilities and services. Likewise, the Montjuïc Hill of Museums must allow development of a great national museum complex similar to those found in Vienna, Paris or Berlin. In addition, the
universities need to become linked even more closely to the work of research, encouragement of entrepreneurs and creation of start-ups by fostering knowledge clusters of an urban nature. The nautical cluster is also be a great opportunity for developing a productive industry and services revolving around nautical activities. Sports projects, particularly those of a global nature, must transcend the strict sphere of sports to integrate the whole value chain associated with sports activities, medicine, education, culture and leisure, that is compatible with its urban location and that can realise its full social, cultural and economic potential. In addition, the government of the new state itself will have to consider a greater physical concentration around the nodes of connections that will allow access by all citizens and enhance its own internal efficacy. The Fira, as well, along with the activities relating to congresses, is an important factor of the city’s activities that allows international projection of our economy. It is therefore important to recognise with clarity those facilities that have a neighbourhood character, those that are metropolitan or national, and those that are global, and to promote the development of their full potential, while attaining the distribution of wealth throughout the whole city.

The creation of a new state will allow the transfer to the city of important land and buildings belonging to the current state. Thus, a number of buildings at the bottom of the Rambla, the Bank of Spain on Plaça de Catalunya and the Bruc barracks would become municipal property to be dedicated to the institutions of a modern country or to promote clusters linked to activities that are already accomplished in the city.

### Accessible housing

Access to quality housing is a basic right of all citizens. As the capital of a new state, Barcelona has to pass new laws and regulations to assure that entitlement. Those laws will have to affect such areas as a new system to govern land use, particularly public land, financing of housing, regulations for use and integration into the city’s neighbourhoods. This is so because one of the opportunities that we will have will be to cease seeing ourselves as a “Mediterranean country” in reference to the taste for land speculation, which is, by definition, a financial activity of urban transformation that adds no value whatsoever but merely increases the prices of things by means of an agreement between parties who have authority to create laws. That situation often includes the public auction of land obtained through assignment instead of dedicating it to social housing or the artificial increase of suitability for construction in certain sectors with the aim of favouring the building of infrastructure. The creation of a new country must permit a new land-use policy under which the government’s objective must be never to sell land and to dedicate the land it owns to building facilities or social housing in such different management formats as may be defined. In that way, the state and the city should progressively aim to possess as much land as possible and produce public housing, particularly for rental, or to assign it for management to entities that will increase its value due to the activities carried out there, so that possession reverts upon expiry of the concession to the government and therefore to all citizens. Possession of a large amount of accessible housing in all the city’s neighbourhoods, either through acquisition or construction, will allow management of the price of housing and assurance that no one will be driven from their neighbourhood by development pressures or because rents are no longer affordable.
In addition, promulgation of the country’s own laws for rehabilitation must allow the fostering of integrated regeneration of neighbourhoods that will address issues of habitability, accessibility and sustainability, since the retrofitting of entire buildings in over half the city will be an important economic activity in the coming decades. This will have to allow buildings to conserve and also produce energy, meaning that the concept of energy poverty can be tackled by means of the building’s own production. In addition, integrated programmes for neighbourhood renewal must allow the introduction of new facilities, local energy production centres and a new public space.

Social implication

Barcelona is a social construct, and it is therefore important to define which plans for urban transformation the city must promote at any given time and which processes are to be used to make the decisions for carrying out those plans.

A city is not built from the top down by the government, but instead with the participation of the city’s social partners who can add value to the plans. In that connection, citizen involvement in the development of plans and the participation of professional associations and universities, particularly faculties of architecture, will confer social and scientific consistency upon urban projects. Thus, the definition of systematic mechanisms for citizen participation and consultation should be seen as an opportunity to enrich the processes of city building. Education, analysis of the available options based upon clear facts and processes of dialogue between the different parties involved in a project must allow attainment of the best solution for the city and accomplishment of the process with transparency and generosity by all the parties. Consequently, alongside the development and improvement of the existing processes for citizen involvement, the development and application of a law on citizen consultation and social implication must allow commencement of a new model for accomplishment of urban projects in which all social partners feel represented and which give priority above all to the city’s interests. From that standpoint, we need clearly to define which projects are neighbourhood or district projects and which are city projects, to allow participation by the social partners who can add value to the process, systematically, taking into account the social, economic and urban aspects of those projects.

In addition, a building code and a new territorial code will be basic instruments for carrying out the process of urban transformation based upon mutual trust between the different partners involved in the pursuit of excellence of construction of Barcelona, capital of Catalonia, a new state of Europe.
Conclusion

Barcelona wants to renew its commitment to its tradition of urban innovation, with a new city project that empowers its citizens and helps to build a city based upon the new economy of urban innovation. It will be a people-centred city, built with new attributes through the combined efforts of civil society and the city government, which will foster a process of reindustrialisation, which will be energy self-sufficient, which will work for the quality of its neighbourhoods and for public transportation, and which will promote accessible rental housing with the commitment of never selling off public land. It will also be the hub of the infrastructures connecting Catalonia, defined as a metropolitan state, domestically and to the rest of the world, promoting excellence in the design and accomplishment of all its projects. Barcelona is Catalonia, and all Catalans should feel that it is their city. In that way, it will work for the present and future generations with the aim of building one of the best cities on the planet to live and work in, defined collectively as a social aspiration.
When Barcelona is a concern

Joan-Lluís Lluís
"Oh, yesterday you were in Barcelona... That’s nice... But, do you go there often?” And again, I detect an almost imperceptible, slight tremble, the rhythm of the way the question is posed is a little too fast. This slight tremble may be discouraging to me if it weren’t for the fact that it has been discernible in the intonation of some of the people I speak to for years. It is not exactly a tremble of fear, rather of a vague and generally unconscious unease. Barcelona is unsettling. I mean, the other side of the northern border of Catalonia, to Perpignan and even as far as Montpellier and Toulouse. Perhaps as far as Marseille and Bordeaux. This northern frontier, which includes a piece of Catalonia and a portion of Occitan, today so Frenchified, are not used to living side by side with a city as powerful as Barcelona.

This tremble comes from the worry of thinking you are too small to go in there and win anything. “They’re not expecting us in Barcelona,” the most honest usually explain, justifying themselves, flaunting a realism that, deep down, is nothing more than naivety and an inferiority complex. I have been listening to this speech for many years, from the lips of people from all walks of life and responsibilities: actors, businessmen and women and especially political representatives. Political representatives who know how to get around in Paris because all presents come from Paris, but they do not quite understand how Catalonia works, or what to do with a capital of its size. And to go there, to go there as a politician, frightens them. And so, generally speaking they refrain from going there.

If it were a question of going there as a mere tourist, there would be no problem. Tourist destinations are calming, they pacify nerves, prejudices and contradictions. Barcelona, however, is a lot more than a theme park open all year round; Barcelona is a capital. Or, rather, it has all the potential of being the capital of an independent country. It has the potential without being one, and this is why it is unsettling. Few cities of the world which are not capitals of their country are as or more attractive than the official capital: New York, of course, but also alongside Barcelona, cities such as Amsterdam, Sydney, Geneva and perhaps Milan. These cities are unsettling because in the Jacobin mentality which impregnates minds all over France only a capital of state has the right to be really attractive and powerful. Therefore, the fact that a city, without holding the rank of capital, has achieved this degree of attraction and power seems abnormal. It is not exactly as if Barcelona, or Amsterdam or Sydney, are cheating, but it is as if they are being disloyal to the only comprehensible model for a French mind – the model of the capital as a place which is infinitely superior to the rest of the country.

And the only way to make this worry go away is for Barcelona to become the capital of an independent country. Then, with the outlines of Catalonia drawn on the world map, with the “senyera” flying at the United Nations and Catalan as an official language of the European Union will Barcelona legally become what it already is in fact. And then, finally, in these strange Jacobin minds, the power of Barcelona, which will have grown considerably, will seem normal.

And they will come.
The Economic Platform of the Delta del Llobregat
Reality and future. Strategic potential and capitality of Barcelona

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Introduction

This article is intended to show the story from the multidisciplinary viewpoint of the present reality of the territory defined by Barcelona, el Prat de Llobregat, l’Hospitalet de Llobregat and Viladecans (but mainly in the municipal area of Barcelona), both from the viewpoint of urban planning, and from the environmental, socioeconomic and the infrastructural, detecting its strengths and weaknesses in order to discover its great ability to receive and promote the most important economic, industrial and service pole of the South of Europe.

It is therefore a question of making a diagnosis and prognosis of an ancient territory with the principal conclusive idea that any plan to make Barcelona the capital of Catalonia must simultaneously mean executing and making reality the potential of this area so that Barcelona and its immediate surroundings might achieve the typical parameters of the large European capitals, not only in the geopolitical sense, but also globally.

From Barcelona City Hall in collaboration with the Institut Cerdà and Barcelona Regional, a reflection and overall analysis have recently been made of this land in order to put forward a coherent thesis on the future proposals. On this analytical base, which I will sum up, I will formulate the strategic proposals which, in my opinion, would contribute to optimising and making reality one of the largest economic poles of attraction in Europe.

Overall plan of the Delta with infrastructures
Equipment, infrastructures and key installations defining the area of the Economic Platform of the Delta del Llobregat in Barcelona (PEDL)

2. Barcelona port - ZAL 1 & 2.
4. Mercabarna
6. Fira de Barcelona - Gran Via in l’Hospitalet de Llobregat.

We are unable to describe the parametric contents of each of these in greater detail, but we can give a brief and basic idea of their importance and magnitude.

**Barcelona Airport - el Prat**

The airport received more than thirty-five million passengers in 2013 and is now in ninth place in terms of passenger traffic in Europe. It has become the key airport for tourism and for fairground and professional events. Around ninety companies operate in the airport, which provides some 20,000 jobs with a direct economic activity of around 450 million euros a year and an overall economic impact of around 1,600 million euros a year. With respect to cargo, on the other hand, it is an airport which currently has low indexes in this area. The forthcoming railway and metro connection with Barcelona will contribute to its final consolidation.

**Barcelona Port**

It is the leading port in Spain in terms of transported cargo (more than 77,000 million euros). Its service offer produces around 32,000 direct and indirect jobs. It is a key element for the internationalisation of the economy, channelling 21% of Spanish foreign sea trade and 73% of that of Catalonia. It moves more than 3.5 million passengers a year between cruises and regular lines and ferries. It concentrates more than one hundred and fifty logistics companies in the areas of logistic activities (ZAL 1 and ZAL 2).

**Zona Franca Consortium Estate**

This currently has more than three hundred companies installed. The Zona Franca estate’s proximity to transport infrastructures and centres of communications makes it one
of the best connected industrial areas in the world (under 6 km from the centre of Barcelona, metro line 9, ports, airports, connection to the ring roads, etc.). This is an industrial estate with clearly urban features. It provides 8,000 jobs with a direct economic impact of over 1,000 million euros a year.

Mercabarna

This is Barcelona’s central market, but also supplies food for Barcelona Metropolitan Area and a large part of Catalonia. It is the great fresh food cluster of South-western Europe. Along with the municipal markets, it forms one of the most singular, characteristic and efficient food distribution systems, strongly appreciated by the population.

Biopol’H (l’Hospitalet de Llobregat)

As an extension of the second section of the Gran Via it is consolidated as the forthcoming concentration of a science, health and technology park and of economic activities, and is the largest land reserve for the installation of biotechnological companies.

Fira de Barcelona - Gran Via de l’Hospitalet

Its importance amounts to an economic contribution to the city and its surroundings of nearly 2,500 million euros a year. It is a great asset associated with Barcelona and Catalonia’s international projection as a tourist and business destination. Its Congress activity establishes an offer which includes more than eighty exhibitions and congresses, bringing together 40,000 companies and 3.5 million visitors. This is one of the principal institutions behind the city’s economy.
Barcelona Can Tunis, Morrot and el Prat railway terminals

These are key factors in the port’s goods transportation. The reconfiguration of the Port Railways includes a new intermodal railway terminal called Terminal Prat, now on the drawing board and soon-to-be built.

Between Can Tunis and Morrot, in 2013 more than a million tons of goods were handled.

All of these facilities, infrastructures and installations (from 1 to 7) share certain features that identify them as well as their size, location, functional singularity, but what binds them and gives them exceptional synergy is their proximity, sharing the same physical space.

General considerations

This territorial area alone is an economic pole of the vital importance for a city like Barcelona and contributes decisively to enabling it to achieve the condition of a state capital.

A comparative study with the reality in some European cities such as Amsterdam, Munich, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Le Havre and Marseille, which are also large economic polls connected to ports or airports and which, in this sense, could be very similar to the Economic Platform of the Delta del Llobregat (PEDL), helps us to draw out a series of guidelines which might be implemented in the immediate future.

In this sense, one of the principal considerations to bear in mind is that this PEDL is being developed despite not having a good and adequate institutional and organizational architecture which coherently and integrally ensures this development.

In fact, today we might list the public administrations and management entities involved to a certain degree, and we are sure to get a bad surprise (State Administration, Government of Catalonia, Barcelona Metropolitan Area, Barcelona Provincial Council, Barcelona Port Authority, Aena Aeroports, Adif, Mercabarna SA, Fira de Barcelona Consortium, Barcelona Zona Franca Consortium, Biopol Consortium, Agricultural Park Consortium...).

It is obvious that the risk of error in planning, managing and taking decisions is very high if there is no executive coordination of all of the competencies, which are now dispersed and often overlap in numerous different entities. We believe that there are still around 800 ha of the total 3,200 to be developed.

Therefore, we see that in different European cities such as those analysed, institutional and organisational architectures are constituted to concentrate, simplify and optimise the management of their respective areas.

We can draw some guidelines and references from the European cities under analysis:
Amsterdam-Zuidas

Zuidas became a project for a business centre and a location of economic activities in Amsterdam, very close to Schiphol airport, jointly managed between the Dutch government and Amsterdam and Rotterdam city Halls, through a consortium. In this way, the strategies to develop Zuidas are drawn out from the urban in addition to the aeronautical and airport perspectives. The surrounding area near the airport has become the largest transit platform and business park in the Netherlands, with a whole series of infrastructure projects under way and planned in order to increase and consolidate this pole's potential.

Munich

Between the airport and the city of Munich is one of the principal economic poles of Germany, configured from a powerful multimodal railway connection running between the airport and the city. There is no specific joint strategy for its development, at least from the existence of a public or private institution formally commissioned to do this. More than 550 technology and service, as well as logistics companies are set up there.

Rotterdam

The case of Rotterdam is very interesting because of its singular nature. Around the sea and river port there is a pole of chemical industry and large distribution terminals. The so-called Rotterdam City Ports Development Corporation (RCDC) is an example of solid institutional collaboration between the port and the city, not only by the respective public institutions, but also by the participation of economic sectors and agents operating in the area.

The City Ports project started in 2002 transferred the port activities of greater environmental impact and requiring greater accessibility by sea to the westernmost sea part, and five development perspectives have also been proposed for five different specific areas in the City Ports zone. The main characteristic of this proposal, the wild cards, is that it is a highly flexible instrument of urban planning which provides for a diversity of “scenarios” that can be built on the go.
Hamburg

In the case of the city of Hamburg, we can also find a development formula based on the relationship between city and port from a model in which the autonomous planning of the port has a direct influence on the urban planning of the city, but which despite this, achieve a good interaction.

The pre-eminence of the port over the city is almost a “natural” characteristic given the enormous specific weight of the port thanks to its volume of operations and importance of the European scale. In this case, we might talk about an industrial pole per se and built by the port itself and which is not the result of a specific port-city strategy.

Le Havre

The mention of Le Havre is only necessary because it is the city which in 1988 created and hosted Le Réseau Mondial des Villes Portuaires (world network of port cities) in order to solve the problems related to port-city development. Since then, they have shown great concern for all subjects related to ports and their “coexistence” with the cities, while promoting a network of collaboration.

The specific case of Le Havre is regional, in competition with Rouen, and is characterised by the promotion of a pole of high activity dedicated to logistics in all of its aspects, including research and innovation.

Marseille

We should frame the example of Marseille in a case of large-scale urban transformation. The principal operations of Marseilles port have been conceived in relation to the renovation of obsolete districts alongside the port.

The reorganisation of active and dynamic ports such as Marseille (Fos) has served as a lever to confront the deep and necessary transformations in the most rundown and peripheral districts of Marseille, giving them the level of urban quality which is typical of the general standard of Marseille, improving accessibility and promoting multimodal and sustainable transport to connect the area to the city.

We sincerely believe that in this respect, Barcelona and Catalonia have an unavoidable fundamental challenge before them, which is to provide this territory with suitable institutional organisation to take advantage of and make effective their development potential.
Only in this way will it be possible to correct and face the limiting circumstances which today hinder a coherent, planned and sustainable development of this territory (infrastructural shortcomings in the port and airport railway connection: Mediterranean Corridor, insufficient public transport, lack of coordination between the processes of urban planning and infrastructure sector planning, inefficiency in international promotion and the attraction of investment, etc...).

All of these shortcomings can only be faced with the territorial governance model configured *ad hoc*.

**Conclusions**

1. The great economic and strategic importance of the Economic Platform of the Delta del Llobregat for Barcelona and Catalonia is seen, as well as its enormous development potential.
2. However, the multiplicity of institutional agents and operators of this territorial area enormously hinders its correct management and comprehensive planning, which is a serious threat to its development and sustainable feasibility.
3. A suitable policy must be defined and carried out in planning, infrastructures and territorial adaptation in order to achieve maximum development in this area, which will contribute decisively to strengthening the capitality parameters of the conurbation of Barcelona.
4. In this sense, the city of Barcelona must be given special “powers” to lead the definitive drive for this Territory.

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Barcelona, metropolitan capital: city-region or city-land?

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Abstract

This paper firstly addresses the question of Barcelona as the capital city in an independent Catalan state from a legal point of view. Secondly, based on the comparative study of London, Vienna and Berlin, it sets out the different systems of government that Barcelona and its metropolitan area could choose from: a regional government with its own legislature, or a system of reinforced administrative autonomy.

Introduction

A constant in Barcelona’s history has been its determination to project itself as one of great cities of the world, whilst not having the support of a state behind it. It has not however lacked resources or ideas, and the fact is that it currently ranks among the great cities, surpassing even some cities that are official state capitals. But the fact remains that it has had to tackle two conflicting forces: on the one hand, the distrust of Madrid’s elites towards Barcelona’s displays of initiative, and on the other hand, misgivings within Catalonia itself about perceptions of Barcelona centralism. The effect of these two forces has prevented the economic and political aspirations of Barcelona from being fully satisfied. This problem, which has a long history behind it, could not be solved during the process of decentralisation carried out since the Constitution of 1978. On the one hand, despite recognising Catalonia and Barcelona’s autonomy, the Spanish state has held on to its powers in areas such as the judiciary and public finances, and has retained ownership of infrastructure such as the port, airport and railways. Furthermore, Catalonia’s autonomous government has in practice become a regional power that struggles to fit with the reality of metropolitan Barcelona, organised as it is in a highly centralised manner, and thus keeping regional reluctance alive.

If Catalonia becomes an independent state, this context will change radically. The capital of the new state will undoubtedly bring a change in the city’s political and legal status. However, it will also be an opportunity to provide citizens with a closer, more effective government, giving the city an effective say over all aspects that most directly affect it, such as infrastructure, services and ultimately determining the most suitable socioeconomic model.

Using comparison with other European state capital, we then reflect upon the consequences for Barcelona of an independent Catalonia, both from the perspective of its role as the capital and from the point of view of the impact on managing the city itself.

Role as capital

A look at the history of our own country and those around us show that being a country’s capital city is not a permanent phenomenon. If you look at the different forms of political organisation we also see that it is not universal. Capital cities are in fact a relatively recent phenomenon, closely associated with the desire to assert centralism and unity of power of today’s prevailing form of political organisation - namely, the state. In short, the existence of capital cities is a consequence of states normalising.
As for the topic at hand - a reflection on Barcelona’s role as the capital of an independent Catalan state - from a legal perspective, we raise a number of questions. First: what legal form should back the recognition of the city as state capital? And more specifically is an express constitutional provision needed? If we take Spain as an example (Article 5 of the Spanish Constitution says that “The state capital is the city of Madrid”), it would seem so. However, it is an unnecessary decision from a constitutional standpoint. In fact, most constitutions generally do not have a similar provision and the decision on the capital is covered by law.

Second: what does being the capital city mean from the legal perspective? On this matter, there is some consensus on identifying the legal content of a state’s capital with the location of the state’s supreme institutions within a city. These institutions include constitutional bodies of the legislative, executive and judicial powers, plus others that each constitution may envisage (constitutional court, the ombudsman, court of accounts and so on).

However, we find that a superficial comparative study shows that most states locate the seats of their main institutions in the capital, it is not unusual to find cases where they do not. A good example is Germany, where having the capital in Berlin does not stop the German Federal Constitutional Court from having its seat in the city of Karlsruhe. And even in the case of Spain, a careful study of Article 5 of the Constitution (“The state capital is the city of Madrid”) allows some considerations that run counter to its literal meaning: first, that the draft constitution opened up the option (left out of the final draft) of establishing, under law, the State’s central services in other towns in Spain. And second, that, despite the version finally adopted, a flexible constitutional interpretation would permit the seat of state institutions to be located in Spanish cities other than Madrid.

Looking beyond state organisations we find many examples that do not follow this pattern. Internationally, the European Union is a good example of devolution regarding where its organisations are located. And at regional level, we also find some interesting variations: the Canary Islands’ Statute provides for the capital to be shared between the cities of Santa Cruz in Tenerife and Las Palmas in Gran Canaria - with the seat of government president alternating between the two cities; Statute for Murcia fixes the capital in the city of Murcia, but the Parliament is based in Cartagena.

Focusing on the states, however, it is clear that in comparative terms there is a clear option for identifying the state capital as the city where the seats of the state’s highest institutions are located - and at least the seat of the head of state or, to be more precise, the executive power.

Third: How does Barcelona fit with the legal definition of capital? Barcelona is clearly the capital of Catalonia - thanks to its history, its population, economic, cultural and other prominence, as well as for its immediate legal background. Article 10 of Catalonia’s Statute of Autonomy provides that the capital of Catalonia is Barcelona, which is the permanent seat of parliament, the president of the Generalitat and the government, notwithstanding that parliament and the government can meet elsewhere in Catalonia. Article 1 of Law 22/1998 of December 30 of Barcelona’s City Charter states: “The city of Barcelona is the capital of Catalonia”.

As noted, the Statute not only follows the pattern set by the Spanish Constitution of explicitly stating the location of the capital (in this case, the capital of the autonomous community) but also, following the definition given above, directly relates the choice of capital city to the city where there the main regional institutions locate their seats. Although reasonable from many standpoints, this option should not necessarily be chosen under a future constitution for the
Catalan state. Instead, it could for example simply appoint the capital city (as the City Charter does) and opt for significant flexibility with regard to the seats of the state institutions.

Barcelona’s municipal charter

In terms of the location of Barcelona’s special regime, we need to bear in mind that the effectiveness in 2006 of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia involved a reorganising of the existing local government system in Catalonia that directly affected it. Article 2 incorporates the municipalities and other local organisations into the “institutional system of the Generalitat, as entities in which it organises territorialy, without prejudice to their autonomy”. Barcelona’s special regime is expressly covered by Article 89 of the Statute. The consequence is that it has been moved from basic state legislation (local government) to Catalonia’s autonomous code. Today, therefore, the Generalitat is vested (without this having been a new limitation on the state legislature) as the main guarantor of Barcelona’s special regime and this in turn has led to it overlapping more with Catalonia’s autonomous system.

The intensity of this relationship is expressed, significantly, in the process of legislative collaboration at three levels (Statute of Autonomy, state legislator and regional legislator) in all matters affecting Barcelona’s City Charter, and is reflected in the strengthening of the subjective position (unique in the local Catalan context) of the municipality of Barcelona: Barcelona has an initiative for the proposed amendment to the special regime, and is also involved in and must be consulted on the parliamentary process for legislative initiatives that affect it. Barcelona therefore has a real right to participate in Catalan government policy initiatives that affect its Special Regime, which since 2013 has been coordinated by the Joint Commission of the Autonomous Government of Catalonia-Barcelona City Council, which tends towards participatory dynamics and consensus that characterise the formulation of the current special regime.

We believe that in a future independent Catalan state, with its capital in the city of Barcelona, it would be helpful to lay claim to the participatory dynamics and consensus expressed in the legislative collaboration and assume the markedly municipalist and innovative legacy that the city of Barcelona has brought to Catalan local government. On this, the principle of differentiation, whereby laws affecting municipalities must take into account their specific characteristics, that already regulate Barcelona’s existing special regime - and which has been elevated to one of the principles of Catalan local government through its inclusion in Article 88 of the Statute - should enjoy an increased intensity under the municipal system applied to state capital Barcelona. If not, Barcelona will struggle as it tackles the three major challenges of every great city: the phenomenon of the role of the capital (which includes, among others, question about where to locate the seats of the state institutions and the transcendental relationship with the rest of the country), the population phenomenon, in particular the metropolitan phenomenon, with its brilliant cosmopolitan reverse.

The innovations in the Charter have not however been limited to this new inter-institutional dynamic. With regard to the organisation of the municipality of Barcelona, there have also been a number of important contributions. As for the political and administrative organisation of the municipality, the executive functions of government and administration are strengthened (and along with them the position of mayor and the Board of Administration) compared with the functions of planning, programming and control -(deliberating functions) - and introduces...
an innovative logic for “executive-legislative” relationships under the local regime. As regards regional organisation, the Charter provides for extensive decentralisation in the districts, headed by a district council chaired by a councillor proposed by the council, and a district councillor with executive functions delegated by the mayor. The Municipal Charter also provides for innovative citizen participation mechanisms at local level (public hearings, citizen initiatives, public consultations, “civic management” of municipal powers - which also allows for citizen involvement in the management of municipal services and facilities), and views the town as a place for the civic integration of foreign citizens and so on.

The main peculiarities provided by the special arrangements for Barcelona in terms of municipal competences are found beyond the list of competences. Of note is the special care taken in selecting the basis for municipal competences under local autonomy, the city’s regime for being the capital, and the fulfilment of its specific goals. The Charter regulates municipal participation in the management of state and autonomous government services and facilities (an issue of particular relevance to major service infrastructure networks - transport and communications) and the consortium management of competences with the autonomous government under the legal consortia.

Barcelona’s special regime, despite the limitations under which it was developed (the rigidity of the framework by the Spanish local government system, the superimposing of up to four administrations, limitation of elections in the solely municipal area and so on) has provided a number of not negligible solutions that should be considered in the future.

**Forms of metropolitan differentiation in comparative law**

In comparative law, the principle of differentiation of metropolitan capitals takes two different forms: the city-region, in centralised states; and the city-state or city-land, in states with a federal structure. Next, we discuss the characteristics of these models, using a few examples which, based on their characteristics, could be adapted to Barcelona: London as a metropolitan city-region, and Vienna and Berlin as federated city-states (land).

**The city-region: London**

One option for organising the government and administration of Barcelona as the capital of the new Catalan state is to base it on the current system, by establishing a two-tier government system - the first, covering the regional or metropolitan area, and the second covering the urban area. For this purpose, London’s current political-administrative system serves as a model, where a regional or metropolitan organisation (the Greater London Authority) is responsible for strategic functions and provides certain services for the entire region, while the competences that could be considered municipal or local are delivered by the Boroughs, of which there are 32, and to which could be added the City of London Corporation - the unique system of government for the City of London, elected by residents and businesses, which traces its origins to the Middle Ages.

It consists of the Mayor of London and the London Assembly, which is made up of 25 members, 14 of whom represent the Assembly Constituencies, while the remaining 11 are called London Members. The Assembly Constituencies are groups of Boroughs for electoral purposes and each has one representative on the London Assembly. The London Members, however, represent the whole of London, are directly elected from nominations submitted by the various parties and are represented in proportion to the results of the elections. It is important to note that at elections voting is done differently for the Mayor of London, the representatives of the Assembly Constituents and the list of London Members.

There are two types of Greater London Authority competences - general and specific: The general competences are specified in Article 30 of the Greater London Authority Act 1999 and are defined as “any matter that promotes one or more of its main objectives”. Among these main objectives are the promotion of economic development and wealth creation, social development, and environmental improvement. The exercise of this power is, however, subject to prior assessment of “reasonable practicability” of the matter in question, and in particular its impact on the health of people and the environment, both in London and throughout the UK. Any directives set by the secretary of state must also be followed, respect the powers of the Boroughs and other public bodies, and include consultation with the Borough Councils, public associations, representatives of ethnic and religious groups, and people who carry out economic activities in London.

The specific powers refer to those services that, by their nature, are metropolitan - such as transport (understood in the broadest sense: trains, buses (Transport for London), river transport, traffic control, highways, parking, taxis and so on), the Metropolitan Police, the London Fire Service, urban planning, protection of the environment (biodiversity, waste, air quality and environmental noise protection), and culture (including tourism), sport and media. These powers were expanded under the Localism Act 2011, which gave the Greater London Authority specific powers relating to housing and urban regeneration as well as functions to promote economic development previously handled by the London Development Agency.

The Boroughs were created by the Local Government Act 1963 and each has a population of between 150,000 and 300,000 (corresponding to the size of an average English town). They are governed by councils whose members are elected by universal suffrage every four years, according to two different formulas: either the direct election of the mayor, who then names the ten members of the council; or the election of the mayor and the council. The Boroughs deliver local services, such as education (local education authority), refuse collection and recycling, granting permits and licenses, and running libraries.

The state-city: Vienna and Berlin

Vienna

The situation of Vienna with regard to Austria is very similar to that Barcelona and Catalonia. Indeed, the total population of Vienna is approximately 1.6m, almost the same as the city of Barcelona (excluding the metropolitan area), while the population of Austria (8,214,160) Is only slightly higher than that of Catalonia (7,571,000), although its land area is three times that of Catalonia (83,871 km2 compared with 32,114 km2). Barcelona and Vienna are also the largest urban areas with growth in their respective countries, although we should add that, if Barcelona
is considered as the metropolitan area (over 4m inhabitants), its demographic impact on Catalo-
nia far exceeds the impact that Vienna has on Austria.

For these reasons, we believe that the model for Vienna - both in regard to its internal organi-
sation and in relation to the Republic of Austria and its federal states (Länder) - provides an
interesting benchmark for the potential statute for Barcelona within a Catalan state, both in
terms of organisation and in relationships with the Government of Catalonia and any other local
authorities (jurisdictions etc) that might be created.

Vienna is governed by its own Constitution (Verfassung der BundeshauptstadtWien) which
came into force on 18 November 1920 and has subsequently been amended on several occasions.
The Constitution of Vienna consists of 141 articles and is divided into three parts of unequal
length. The first, more developed part (Art. 1 to 112), refers to “Vienna as a municipality and as
a city with its own statute” (Wien als Gemeindeund als StadtmiteigenemStatut). The second (Art.
113 to 139) regulates what is referred to as “Vienna as a federated state” (Wien als Land). The
third and final part includes only two articles (140 and 141) that relate to the law coming into
force and the municipality’s autonomy in implementing the regulations contained in the first
part of the Constitution.

Vienna’s political-administrative regime is defined in Article 1 of the Constitution. On the
one hand, it is the federal capital, territorial corporation with the right to autonomy, with its
own city charter and which assumes the duties of administering the municipality (Gemeinde)
and the districts (Bezirke). On the other hand, it is a land of the Federal Republic of Austria. This
complex definition does, however, enable us to discern the fundamental features of the system.
Briefly, it consists of a three-tier system, the first of which corresponds to the Federal Republic
of Austria; the second, to the city of Vienna (which is both the municipality and the federal
state); and the third, to the Bezirke or districts. There are 23 districts, set by the Constitution and
according to data from 2013 they have populations of between 16,268 (InnereStadt) and 165,265
inhabitants (Donaustadt).

The administration of Vienna is organised in a complex organic network that consists of
eleven management bodies, including the municipal council (Gemeinderat), the city senate
(Stadtsenat), the mayor (Bürgermeister), councillors (amtsführendeStadträte), district represen-
tatives (Bezirksvertretungen), district directors (Bezirksvorsteher) and the city council (Magis-
trat), assisted by various committees. In addition to these management bodies, there is a court
of accounts (Stadtrechnungshof) which controls economic, financial and security matters. The
mayor, the municipal council, the senate and the city council are also bodies of the Land of
Vienna: the mayor is its president, the municipal council, the legislative assembly, the Senate,
the government of the Land, the city council, and the administration. Finally, there are the
Unternehmungen, organisations without legal personality that report to the municipality, the
public companies (Betriebe) and the association of hospitals (Krankenanstaltenverbund).

The municipal council consists of 100 members, who are elected by direct universal suffrage
by the people of Vienna for five-year terms. It has two functions: to represent the city and look
after its interests, and to act as the regional parliament (Landtag) of the State of Vienna. In
the first of these functions, it adopts resolutions on matters relating to municipal organisation;
it oversees the management of matters that are the responsibility of the municipality; and it
approves budgets. As regional parliament, it performs legislative functions as well as functions
relating to the regional parliaments, such as the election of representatives from Vienna to the

The city senate (Stadtsenat) is made up of between nine and fifteen members, chosen by the
municipal council for the duration of its term (5 years) in proportion to the representation of the
different political forces. In regard to the Land of Vienna, it acts as executive power or regional
government (Landesregierung).

The mayor (Bürgermeister) leads the municipal administration, presides over the senate, and
represents the city of Vienna. The mayor is also president of the Land of Vienna.

The city council (Magistrat) is formed of the mayor, councillors, the city council director, and
the corresponding management team. Its function is to look over the affairs of the municipality
as well as having responsibility for those functions that have not been expressly assigned to other
bodies. Its functions extend to hiring staff, managing assets, executing the powers attributed to
the city, and certain administrative contracts, among others.

The Bezirke, or districts, are governed by committees (Bezirksvertretungen) consisting of
between 40 and 60 members depending on the population of each. The committee members
are elected by universal, direct, free and secret ballot among citizens. These members include a
district director (Bezirksvorsteher), proposed by the political party with the most votes.

The districts assume management responsibilities for those competences that are graphically
referred to as “budget management”, and are defined exhaustively in 30 paragraphs of Article
103 of the Constitution. Examples include: management of public children’s homes, inspection
and authorisation of industrial installations (central heating of buildings, industrial washing
machines, etc), inspection of compulsory schooling, planning and maintenance of main roads,
installation of traffic signals, support for cultural activities in the district, municipal music
schools, youth hostels, playgrounds, dance halls, retirement homes, cleaning of vehicles and
refuse collection.

The control over the city’s organisations is conducted by the Court of Accounts (Stadt-
rechnungshof), which is led by a director appointed by the Municipal Council at the proposal of
the mayor, and which has the material and human resources appropriate to the task. It handles
financial management control functions for the city as a whole and, in particular, for the organi-
sations, funds and entities reporting to it. Control is done based on economics and opportunity.
It must also ensure compliance with the obligations of the city’s bodies relating to health and
safety.

**Berlin**

The example of Vienna can be compared with that of Berlin, which although follows the same
model, can provide some interesting elements of contrast. The current Berlin Constitution was
approved on 23 November 1995 and has since undergone several changes, the most recent of
which was by the law of 7 February 2014. It consists of a preamble and 101 articles, arranged
into nine sections relating, respectively, to the fundamental principles (Section I), fundamental
rights of citizens and the aims of the city (Section II), popular representation (Volksverte-
tung) (Section III), the government (Section IV), the legislative function (Gesetzgebung) (Section V),
public administration (Section VI), administration of justice (Section VII), finance (Section
VIII) and transitional and final provisions (Section IX).
The fundamental principles (Grundlagen) of the Berlin Constitution reflect a democratic conception of power at regional and local levels. Similarly to Vienna, Article 1 states that Berlin is both a city and a Land of the Federal Republic of Germany, and proclaims that Berlin is subject to the Constitution and German law. Article 4 determines Berlin’s boundaries and the districts into which the city is divided, while Article 5 refers to the city’s symbols.

It is, however, in Articles 2 and 3 where the fully democratic nature of the Berlin government is revealed. According to the first of these precepts, public power rests with German citizens who are resident in Berlin, who express their will through parliamentary elections (Volksvertretung), mediated through Parliament. However, the right of Berlin’s residents who do not have German nationality to participate in the affairs of the city is recognised.

Article 3 establishes the classic division of powers in relation to Berlin: legislative power is exercised through parliament and through referenda or plebiscites; executive power is exercised by the government and administration, and the judicial power is exercised through independent courts. Parliament, government and administration, along with the administration of districts assume the management of Berlin as a municipality and as a land.

Section II sets out people’s fundamental rights, in the same vein followed by the European constitutional tradition and international instruments on human rights: the right to human dignity, the right to free development of personality, the right to life and corporal integrity, habeas corpus, equality before the law, prohibition of all discrimination or persecution due of race, political beliefs, religious beliefs or sexual orientation, male-female equality, protection of disabled persons, protection of marriage and family, freedom of expression, effective judicial protection, right to work, freedom of movement, the right to training and scientific and technical creation, protection of private property, the right to decent housing, and so on. To protect all these rights, the Constitutional Court of Berlin has been established.

The remaining sections set out in detail the regulation of Berlin’s different powers. The legislative power is represented by the House of Representatives (Abgeordnetenhaus), a single-chamber parliament that has to have at least 130 members and is governed by a classic parliamentary system. The House of Representatives can pass laws by a simple majority for those matters in which the Land of Berlin has competences. The right of popular legislative initiative of citizens of Berlin is also allowed.

Executive power or government is exercised by the Senate, and is composed of the mayor (Bürgermeister) and ten senators. The mayor is elected by Parliament and is subject to mechanisms regarding censure motion and the issue of trust; he/she chairs Senate meetings and is Berlin’s external representative. As for the administration, there is a distinction between tasks that correspond to the Senate and those that correspond to the districts. The Senate assume those functions that affect the city as a whole, such as urban planning, police, tax management and administration of justice, and all others that by their nature should be the direct responsibility of the government. The remaining administrative functions are attributed to the districts, of which there are 12, with a population of between 377,638 (Pankow) and 244,861 (Reinickendorf). Districts are governed by an assembly (Bezirksverordnetenversammlung) consisting of 55 members elected by universal, free and secret ballot among the city’s inhabitants. The district assembly appoints the district government (Bezirksamt) and the district mayor (Bezirksbürgermeister).

Berlin also has its own judicial power. Judges are appointed by the Senate, and the president of the Superior Court (OberstesLandesgericht) is appointed by the Parliament at the proposal of
the Senate. Territorial competence extends to the entire Land of Berlin and also provides for the setting up of joint courts between Berlin and other Lands through an agreement (Staatsvertrag). In addition to the regular courts, Berlin also has a Constitutional Court, made up of nine members appointed by the Berlin Parliament. The competences of this court include interpreting the Berlin Constitution and the rights and duties that it recognises, adapting the laws of the Land to the Constitution of Berlin, and resolving conflicts regarding competences between the city’s districts and central organs.

Conclusions

The existing systems of government in London, Vienna and Berlin provide a number of elements that can be very useful when redesigning the government of Barcelona as the capital of a Catalan state. To start with, all three share a common feature - namely, having two levels of government: regional or metropolitan, and local. The regional level assumes the services that, by their nature, should cover the entire territory; it performs more strategic functions, while day-to-day management is done at district level. Similarly, these levels of government align with the democratic foundation: both the regional legislative assemblies (Abgeordnetehaus in Berlin, Gemeinderat in Vienna, and the London Assembly in London) and the assemblies of the Bezirke in Berlin and Vienna and the Boroughs of London are elected by direct universal suffrage.

Apart from that, the differences are remarkable: London has a truly “regional” administration as part of an English system of local government, while Berlin reproduces on a metropolitan scale the regime of dividing up a state’s powers — executive, legislative and judicial — with the addition of a separate constitutional court. The most populous Vienna Bezirk has just over 160,000 inhabitants, while the minimum number of residents within a London Borough is 150,000. The fact is that every city has developed its system according to its conditions and its historical evolution. There are no models in the abstract, but they are all able to offer elements of interest.

In the hypothetical case of an independent Catalonia, Barcelona and its metropolitan area could revive the tradition of self-government represented by the Consell de Cent (the Council of One Hundred), brutally truncated three hundred years ago, based on its municipalist legacy and participative dynamic and the consensus among political-administrative authorities that characterises the current Charter. This reassessment should be based on a model of government where local and regional levels coincide, and provide a solution to the metropolitan phenomenon and, at the same time, ensure the strong democratic participation of citizens at all levels. From here, one could discuss the formula under which Barcelona would be recognised: a federal district or a “state within a state”, with a regional government, legislative power and even its own judicial system. Or a system of reinforced administrative autonomy that develops what has now been set out in the Charter.
Barcelona, the capital of global Catalonia

Vicent Partal

The appearance of the new Catalan state arrives at a time when Barcelona has become one of the framework cities of globalisation. The dialogue between a Barcelona now as one of the leading global metropolises and the rest of the country, aware of the advantage that this represents, will let us outline the new reality of Barcelona as capital of state in very ambitious terms, which will give strength both to the new republic and the city that will be its capital.

The appearance and configuration of national capitals around the world has been a phenomenon recorded in the annals of history. Or each particular case. Each country has created its city capital from a series of circumstances and principles that are difficult to compare. The result as a whole is that today we have two types of examples. Amsterdam is the capital of the Netherlands, although not even one of the country’s official institutions are located there. They are all in The Hague. In Switzerland, although Bern acts as the real capital of the country, some of its main institutions are in Lausanne. And there is the case of Germany. After reunification, Berlin became the capital for all purposes, although Bonn was compensated with the title of “federal city” and kept several ministries. And judicial power is in Karlsruhe.

There are cases a bit more picturesque. France does not have an official capital, although it is well known that Paris is its headquarters for all institutions and nobody is unclear about this fact. However, when the entire Parliament has to meet, it meets in Versailles and the constitution states that the seat of legislative power is the political capital of France. Then there is the case of Finland. Finland has two capitals, a winter one and a summer one and the entire government framework moves between them depending on the season. In Estonia, for political reasons, some of the country’s main institutions are located in Narva, the city that has the significantly highest percentage of Russian speakers.

In Catalonia, no-one discusses that the country’s capital is and will be Barcelona. And, indeed, in Barcelona we find all the characteristics in one place that make capitals of the majority of the cities that are capitals in the world. It is the most populated city and, if we take into account the metropolitan area, we can say that it makes up a very substantial part of the country’s total demographic. It is the city that houses all of the political institutions. It is the city with...
the most decisive economic weight in the entire country. And it is the country’s main transport hub and connection point with abroad.

Nobody has questioned whether Barcelona should share the attributes of capital of the republic with other cities in the country. A city planning mindset and pressures point to the fact that sooner or later some of the large ministries — currently departments of the Catalan government — will end up being established in the metropolitan area. It is a matter basically related to land prices, which with a bit of skill would be quite interesting to take advantage of politically. Metropolitan decentralisation is also another way to reclaim that which years ago was called the “real Barcelona”, the conurbation. The transfer of important institutions to other cities in Catalonia outside the metropolitan area to wherever it might be has never been suggested, at least not clearly. Neither has it been a topic of discussion in the successive statutes of autonomy shaped until today defining self-government. Although this could be a proposal that should not necessarily be ruled out and would define a specific style of country. It is clear that Aran, due to its special circumstances, should not only be the seat of private institutions of Aranese self-government, but could also house general Catalan institutions. In addition to Aran, considering Tarragona, Girona, Lleida, Manresa, Vic or Tortosa as seats for any of the republic’s institutions could make sense. And, indeed, Lleida was — albeit ephemerally and informally — the headquarters for the Department of Agriculture, Livestock and Fishing not so many years ago.

In any case, the truth at this moment is that nobody questions that all the country’s main institutions will be located in Barcelona. The Parliament of Catalonia, the Presidency of the Republic, the seat of government and the seat of judicial power. And it is very clear that the presence of these institutions, plus the foreseeable presence of embassies from other countries will be an important, indeed momentous, stimulus for the city. The Generalitat of Catalonia has many institutions and departments and could be considered an embryonic state in many ways. However, the independent nature of a state always generates needs that an autonomous community does not have. Think, for example, of the numerous regulatory institutions that would need to be created that do not exist now because their competences are attributed to the Spanish state.

We can therefore say that when Catalonia is proclaimed a republic, Barcelona will open up to a new historic stage during which it will have to play a new and almost unprecedented role. It will be a key time for the country and also a key time for the city itself. As many historians claim, if it is true that the fact that Barcelona has never been a capital of state is what produced the city and defined its lifestyle model and its activities, nobody can really question that the stakes will be even higher now. In this regard, Barcelona must accept the challenge of being the capital of state that the country needs, without in parallel losing everything that has made it such as a special city in the world.

Barcelona as a global city

One distinguishing trait of Barcelona is that it is a global city. Its inhabitants, its interests, its culture, its economic and social fabric are in this regard clearly unique in Catalonia, and has also been clearly unique within the entire Spanish state until now. There have been proponents of facing off Barcelona against Catalonia. There have been those who have wanted to see the sociological reality of Barcelona and the rest of Catalonia not as complementary realities, but as opposing ones. Like so many other things, this image has been destroyed by the current political process.
There is no “Catalan Catalonia” in opposition to a “mestizo Barcelona”. The city and the country appear to our eyes like two deeply complementary spaces that strengthen and enrich each other. This is no great surprise. The character of city state of our country is well documented in history and is possibly one of the threads that is now helping us stitch up our new reality. A territorial unit of reasonable sizes like ours, when it has a capital with the grandeur, weight and prestige of Barcelona, one and the other tend to immediately mix together. The 1992 Olympic Games circulated that popular slogan everywhere of “Catalonia: the country of Barcelona”. Effectively.

So then: Catalonia must understand Barcelona and its role and respect it. It especially must understand its nature as a global city and accept the conditions imposed by this fact. Barcelona is and will continue to be a city that is open to the world, extraordinarily open to the world. Barcelona needs the world, just as much as any other Catalan city needs Barcelona. And that requires constant practice with complimenting the other, inclusion, the wish to host and welcome. To be able to properly exercise its role, the logistic, touristic, innovative and attractive Barcelona must continue to be so. Not only continue being these things, but it has to grow and the conditions are ripe. The disappearance of the absolutely clear obstacles that the Spanish state casts in front of Barcelona at every turn can exponentially multiply the potentiality and centrality of the capital of Catalonia.

Just imagine the enormous difference that direct and unhindered management of the large transport facilities will represent. Imagine the possibilities of creating and managing a real Mediterranean corridor, especially with regard to transporting goods and the possibility of linking it to a Barcelona port and airport run with the criteria of supporting the city and the country and not designed only as subsidiary resources for Madrid. The linking of the Barcelona port and airport and their maximisation in a single area of public management, in the style seen in Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the Netherlands or in New York and New Jersey in the United States will very likely mean a huge change of size in Barcelona’s logistic and economic capacities. A huge stride forward. Nobody can doubt that managing the Barcelona airport with or without AENA (Spanish public body of Airports and Air Navigation) is an incomparable scenario. Past years have clearly shown us this.

The fact that Lleida, Tarragona and Girona are also linked to the high speed rail network and to Barcelona, offering distances in times similar to metropolitan transport, or the complementary nature of facilities like the port of Tarragona and the Alguaire airport and their metropolitan area equivalents clearly outlines the picture of a Catalan city situated in a privileged geographic and geopolitical setting with great growth in sight. If we know how to take advantage of everything, the opportunity will be fantastic both for the country and for its capital.

And for this reason the rest of the Principality must be aware of the enormous role, that of a traction locomotive, that Barcelona can and must play. Said short and sweet: the international visibility of the capital of Catalonia is one of the main assets we all have.

The whims of history have also wanted Barcelona and its Catalonia to become its own state at a time that is simply perfect and unique. The fact that international trade has displaced routes from the North Atlantic to Asian routes now makes us into the European port that we could never be before. A port that is also complementary with regard to north-south flow, due to relations between Europe and the Maghreb, between Europe and Africa, a relationship that is recognised by Barcelona’s status as permanent headquarters of the Union for the Mediterranean. With these two axes duly strengthened, Barcelona through its Catalonia can be the great 21st century geographic crossroads in Europe. However, to obtain this condition, we have to stop wasting
time defending that which is obvious, which is that we need our own state, capable of organising and reaping the fruits of this magnificent opportunity. We cannot remain silent again before the interests of the other. We cannot continue mortgaging our economic, political and social capacities because of the political wish of the other.

To carry out this task, Barcelona most definitely needs to remain an open, plural and welcoming city that is capable of offering opportunities to everyone wherever they come from, as well as a city that can listen. It merits mention that this includes upholding the city’s best traditions. Barcelona can and must be what it was in the Middle Ages. That which other cities, like Alexandria, Smyrna and Beirut were not so long ago in the eastern Mediterranean: ports open to the world, respectful of differences, alert to innovation and novelty, fascinated by progress.

Like what also happened in these cities, a certain clashing of identities will be inevitable. It is inevitable. The relationship between an open and mixed city and the rest of the country, the hinterland, that needs this solid capital as its own is not always a simple relationship. But it is essential for us that this is so.

Among other reasons, because the more international and more open a city is, the easier it is for it to become a delta for culture, a space where all energies of its cultural arena meet and mingle and flow into the sea of globality. In the 21st century, no culture can survive if it is not global and does not want to be global. And being the culture of a global city is precisely one of the best possibilities we have to make this a reality. Catalan culture, a demographically small culture, but extremely rich and modern, needs shop windows to be able to show the world, which make it competitive. And no better operator could be imaginable than the fact that the capital itself is one of the international cities of reference. In this respect we are lucky that attractive and decent countries like Denmark, like Slovenia and like Finland envy us. Discovering Barcelona is a longing in the minds of millions of people around the world today. And by discovering Barcelona, these people now have the chance to discover Catalonia and this opportunity will be even greater when Barcelona is the capital of its own state.

Barcelona as a delta of Catalan identity

The vehicle and the most direct method that Catalan culture, the Catalan economy and any other aspect of our society could have to be present in globalisation is undoubtedly Barcelona itself. The global attraction that Barcelona has attracts other cultures and countries toward catalanitat, or Catalan identity. Catalan writers who are translated into other languages are often presented as writers from Barcelona. Seen from a distance, who is Josep Pla translated into English, but an author from Barcelona? And what does The Gray Notebook speak of, but of the things that the people of Barcelona do, in Barcelona and in the Empordà? And what is the best way to launch an app today, but to launch it at the main world forum of the mobility industry that is held each year in Barcelona? Catalan technology companies, this impressive grouping of small companies that fill the flats in the Eixample district and the ground-floor locales of Poble Nou, have incredible opportunities with the Mobile World Congress that would be unthinkable if the event were not held in Barcelona. And need more be said about the city’s clear allure for tourists? The Barcelona as a tourist target, despite all the headaches it causes, does create attraction toward all of its lifestyles and everything that happens here. We have seen it on cinema screens and on football pitches.
Imagine the opposite. Imagine Catalonia without a global city and we would quickly glimpse the difficulties that any manifestation of the country’s life would then have to confront.

The easy jest and the anthropological joke luckily seem to have been erased. In recent years, we have witnessed a clear recovery in the mutual trust between Barcelona and Catalonia, between Catalonia and Barcelona. Attempts to make these two realities clash have been spectacular failures. The fact that Barcelona, from the popular survey, has become the capital of independence, the capital of the independence movement, has been a balsam for the hinterland. And nobody could sensibly claim that this has represented any type of closing for Barcelona.

Actually, it is the opposite: all indicators show a notable improvement. Barcelona has been able to assume its role as the country’s political capital without a single datum leading us to think that this has had a single negative consequence for its positioning as a global city. Both the vertiginous increase in the destinations offered at the Prat airport and the colossal increase in foreign investment in recent years are great news for the twofold process: Barcelona has known how to be the independence capital of Catalonia and, in parallel, has strengthened its role as a global city, thus making these two pursuits compatible.

However, until now, Barcelona had been a somewhat opaque city. For many foreign visitors, the identification of the place names of Barcelona and Spain were much simpler than the name of Catalonia. This has been changing quickly as well. The enormous quantity of news pieces in the world’s newspapers and televisions have clarified concepts with a speed meriting mention. The City Council’s political actions have also represented a significant change in this legislature. Catalan identity has been claimed as a key feature and with normality. Something that suddenly has us watching how large multinational companies adopt symbols of Catalan popular culture, such as the castellers (human towers) and the correfocs (fire runs).

Barcelona must strengthen this capacity of showing Catalonia to the world. Nobody can do it better. Nobody can present it more attractively. Furthermore, to publicise Catalonia, no tense situation is required, no debate need be avoided. Only normality is required. All of the world’s global cities are global from a profoundly local core. Neutral and dry cities are irrelevant cities. The cities that triumph in globalisation do so from a sense of pride in their own model and a significant dose of genuineness. Thus, Barcelona needs to know how to maximise and promote its own cultural and national space. And this goes beyond the Principality, to embrace all of the Països Catalans (Catalan speaking regions). Cultural and economic activities, industries, transport, leisure and, in general, everything that our country can share should view Barcelona as a huge platform for a global launch.

A geopolitical sketch for Barcelona

Finally, the European dimension. After independence and for many years after, Barcelona will still have a “Spanish” side that we will not be able to neglect. Contrary to normal opinion, we must clarify that independence is not a sudden break but a very gradual transition. So gentle that it may be nearly there after 10 years, but after three months not even a good chunk will have occurred. However difficult this may be to understand, remember that during a period of time it will be possible to live in the Barcelona-capital-of-independent-Catalonia and live there “as if” you were still living in Spain.
However, with the passing of the years, this sensation will become increasingly less visible, which will let Catalonia and especially Barcelona start looking at its surroundings to outline a new geopolitical plan, the space and size of which will be clearly its own. In my opinion, there will be four large spaces that will overlap each other and that should start to be taken into account already.

There will obviously be the Spanish space. The many affairs and relations of all types between Catalonia and Spain will not be routed from one day to the next. Or ever. The situation may be like what happened between the Czech Republic and Slovakia; there will be a momentaneous interruption to then recuperate after. In this space of relation with Spain, Barcelona will have to have a special interest as a cultural capital of the Països Catalans, given that the majority of them will continue to be part of the Spanish state. The Spanish space could be extended to Portugal, taking advantage of historic cordiality between the nations with the two coastlines on the Iberian Peninsula.

Apart from this space there will also be that which was called the “meridional space” in the 1930s, basically the lands of Occitania and northern Italy. Today, there is an enormously vast space between Madrid, Paris and Rome without capitals, which will suddenly be subverted by the presence of Barcelona. For centuries, these lands and populations have been accustomed to having absent or distant capitals and Barcelona could reap benefits from this fact, if it knows how to play its cards right.

A third geopolitical space that should be taken into account for Barcelona is the islands, the Catalan sea space, with the Balearic and Pityusic islands, along with Corsica, Sardinia and even Sicily. The sea has lost a good part of its central role in our lives, but there are clear signs that this is changing. And if this is true, Barcelona has to think about its sea and this has naturally always included these territories. Building trade, cultural, social and institutional relations from a stance of respect and cooperation will undoubtedly be to everyone’s interest.

Finally, to finish outlining the geopolitical axes of Barcelona as capital of global Catalonia, the North African space must be mentioned. And done from a new perception. Not only from the geography of traffic, undisputed. But also as a social and cultural bridge that Catalan citizens of Maghreb and African origins can construct. The Berbers, the Arabs, the Senegalese, the Gambians... can contribute and do contribute much to Catalonia, along with knowledge and true and immediate understanding of a region essential to our future. And as citizens of the Catalan republic, they could be key agents to opening up our country to theirs and vice-versa. Africa is a growing continent awaiting initiatives to spur it on and make it progress. A Catalan outlook in this regard could be profitable for everyone.

**Conclusion**

Barcelona is a global city and will now also be the capital of the Catalan republic. Its future rests greatly with us knowing how to bring these two conditions into harmony. To the degree that the country takes on its singularity and to the degree that Barcelona knows how to act as the delta of Catalan identity. Without ever losing sight of the large geopolitical axes that surround us and over which we must have our own outlook and thought.
A Capital is Made on Foot

Isabel Sucunza
Proprietor of Calders Bookshop

As you will see, these are a few thoughts from the notes of a walker. Taken from one or many walks because you walk in the first person or listening, reading or observing other people’s walks. The area we’re walking around is Barcelona is, the point of view is at eye height (although sometimes I look upwards or climb to look down). It is explained on a scale 1:1 because the walker measures the distances in steps or visual routes if they travel by car or by bus. This is explained in the present and in the past because I believe that the Barcelona of the future will emerge from the Barcelonas of the present and the past. This cannot be called an exercise of the imagination because the city which follows this one, whether it is a capital or not, will simply be a projection.
About the introduction (which is always in the past)

A Barcelona, el que era capital era venir-hi.

I was twenty-years old and I came from the provinces. From one in particular: Navarra. I had just finished university. I was at that stage of life where the predetermined plan had come to an end; the one called “primary school-secondary school-university” and which ends in “work” where the work is undefined. It is worth mentioning that they were the years when we began to give names to degrees gave names to professions which in turn gave a name to life. You could reduce the choice, closing off branches along the way. If you chose arts, you halved the options you had had at primary school; if you opted for the classics, you halved your options again and when you started university, you did journalism and that was that. No more choices, except for what you now are, a journalist. So it finished, as I say, and started again when once you graduated and you were a journalist, lawyer, translator it all branched off again: waiter, primary school monitor, insurance salesman, and so on. Therefore, coming to Barcelona or Madrid was the most because they seemed to be where there was most chance of being just one thing, of being just you.

We were twenty and we from the province had to choose where we were going to go because staying was not an option. Madrid won by a long way: if there were fifty of us, forty would choose to go there: it was the capital, we were journalists and that was the time when there was a proliferation of private news channels, when the private news channels still seemed to mean freedom” and they were all based there. People went to Madrid to work and they came to Barcelona to emigrate. In Madrid it was, “Shall we get a flat together?”, and in Barcelona it was, “Will you come and see us in the capital?” firstly because everyone would be in Madrid and it is the minority who does the visiting, and secondly because Barcelona was just a province.

Catalonia, four provinces: Lleida, Girona, Tarragona and Barcelona.

Madrid, on the other hand: Madrid.

And we came from Pamplona.

Navarra: Pamplona.

And Pamplona, at that time, was no more than a town.

A town, Pamplona.

Pamplona is chauvinistic. The whole of Navarra is the France of Europe; the Persia of Asia. It has the Charters and the football ground whose name was changed. It was named after the river that flowed past it but, as it was too small, they decided to change it for a grander name: Kingdom of Navarra. Navarra has, and this is no secret, a shitty, thieving, corrupt government; although it seems as though it never could be so because the tax advantages there are something which is shared — if the real Navarrans hear me, they’ll be after me with the Charter law in their hand just as here they’d be after you with the Statute. Navarra has a very peculiar way of marking its border: is Navarra part of the Basque Country? No, sorry: The Basque Country is part of Navarra; the language comes from here from the Navarran mountains and nowhere else, but you can keep it, neighbour, because we are not interested in anything which is yours; and all
the Basque schools you see, we set them up to remind you that it was ours, from here, from the capital.

The capital that we have agreed is a town.

For those who left Pamplona, it was an exercise in admitting you were wrong. It was not like leaving the town, it was not as if we had grown up in a provincial town and were going to the capital. We were already in the capital, Pamplona. If we look at them geographically, in isolation, there are six capitals: Pamplona, Oviedo, Santander, Murcia, Logroño and Madrid, que en són dues: Pamplona i Madrid, one for the Charters and one for the state. Barcelona isn’t one of them. In other words, going back to what we said earlier, “Are you going to Barcelona? Will you come and see us in the capital?”.

So we came to Barcelona

Driving into the Diagonal by car, you feel small. Perhaps not so small as driving into Bucharest. When Ceaucescu decided that to be a European capital, a city had to have, among other things, a great avenue, he widened his, the Boulevard of Unification, and made it one metre wider than the Champs Elysées, that is another great avenue in another great capital. As he also needed a large river flowing through the city, Ceausescu thought that, well, for proximity, it would be the Danube. So he built canals to divert it into the centre of the city. In Ceaucescu’s time, being a capital was to be Paris.

Barcelona is not Paris

In Barcelona there is no avenue that dominates all the rest; even the Diagonal has its geographical counterpart in the Paral·lel, its palatial equivalent in Passeig de Gràcia. The ring roads —the Coastal, the Central and the Upper ones, have managed to make sure that wide roads are not for people. Neither is there a river flowing through it. There are, however, two which parenthesise the city on either side, but one that flows through the centre, no. So the real landmark that marks the first moment of the great avenue, the Diagonal, is not a wide, deep river: it is the towers of “la Caixa”.

So, this capital cannot be communist. Ok, the idea of communism is an anachronism, but it is supposed that here I have to project an image of this city as a capital, and whereas before I arrived from Pamplona, I now arrive from Europe and playing a bit with continental clichés.

The towers of “la Caixa”, I was saying. And the Congress Palace. And the building of the Planeta Publishing company. All these landmarks mark the entrance of the Diagonal, which will be the entrance to the capital. Judging by these places, it is hard to imagine Barcelona as the capital of Catalonia. We have a bank, a business, a palace and even, (although you do not notice it at first sight), a football stadium at the top of the Diagonal, but really Catalan, this quartet of concepts, of buildings, really none of them are. Although they do belong to the idea of a capital: add to them the odd ministry headquarters from the Catalan government, and there you have it. The Environment ministry, for example, is at Diagonal, 523. I know because years ago, I went there with an ecologist boyfriend I was going out with at the time to shout for the resignation of Felip Puig, who was minister at the time. (NB: quite of few of us could recite Puig’s political biography...
from memory following the list of demonstrations against him that we have been to. So we have a ministry and a minister. Catalans. We are on the right track.

Are we on the right track? I don’t know whether you become a capital by going against something, but the idea of a country, yes, even though they try to show everything in only a favourable light, which it is too. Because let’s be honest: without an enemy you do not become even half the person you could be. Extensive studies have been carried out on the subject; there are even lives of great men who can corroborate the assertion I have just made. And now I think about it, we have demonstrated quite a bit along the Diagonal. Add to this: the day at the Ministry for the Environment, the day we “encircled” the towers of “la Caixa” a few months ago, a Catalonia-Basque Country match in Camp Nou I went to a few years back dressed in green, white and red, and a handful of moans and complaints I have uttered against publishing companies, perhaps not standing physically in front of the Planeta Publishers itself, although I have been vociferous in the social networks and on innumerable terraces, having a beer with friends in the sector when the train of tweets was so long that someone ended up calling a non-virtual meeting. So, we have defined ourselves as a people entering, leaving or simply moving or standing still along the Diagonal. And I had promised myself not to become populist, but I won’t be able to help myself. Because I keep thinking about it, with all this geography, urbanism, history and politics, but as far as I can see, whether it is a capital or not, the real Barcelona, the one I have in my mind, is the citizen in the street. Because what makes a city? The citizen. So let’s take a look at that.

A street view of Barcelona

Walking you see one, five, or fifty thousand things happen, depending on who tells it.

However you explain something, whether from a helicopter or in photos, it seems that the ones in the street have had a better view. It was Fernando Atienza who taught me to see Barcelona from the street. The main character in Francisco Casavella’s trilogy, who started the day in Tibidabo surrounded by the cream of local politics and business and ended up in Barceloneta, after having passed though Montjuic when the slope which is now Poble-sec was a shanty town, through the Gothic quarter when it belonged to the people who lived there, through the Eixample (the left side) when it was full of more or less luxurious brothels. Other Casavella heroes also taught me: the ones who crossed the Raval across the roof tops, when the mayor of the day had not yet decided to have a go at being like Ceaucescu and invent the other rambla which is a geographically parallel replica of the original one. So limited is the urban imagination of Barcelona that it seems that everything has to be parallel or perpendicular to what already exists. I’m referring to the Rambla del Raval, which now, also wants to be a tourist copy of the other one. From the street the characters of Vázquez Montalbán and Eduardo Mendoza see Barcelona; from the street, from the bus window traveling down to the old part too, as Marc the main character in Míster Evasió, by Blai Bonet describes to us; staggering drunkenly up Carrer Muntaner as explained in Dies Feliços a la Presó, by Martí Sales; and walking perpendicularly to all of them from the Poble-sec which is no longer a shanty town, down to Barceloneta, ending up in Fort Pienc, as Adrià Pujol relates in his Picadura de Barcelona, which also makes parallelisms but who dares to go further by depicting them with reference to the Empordà rather than referring to somewhere just three streets away. Rodoreda also paints a street view of Barcelona through the eyes of Colometa, when she describes her walking down Gran de Gràcia full of
pigeons, awnings and trams; and Marsé, when he doesn’t come down from the Carmel; and Pérez Andújar, when he spends the bus journey reading comics, travelling from the centre, from the university, to Sant Adrià de Besòs; by bus too, just like Marc, created by Blai Bonet, from Mr. Evasió. Josep Pla also presents us the Rambla from the pedestrian’s viewpoint, just like Enric Vila; and Sagarra has us marching from the family mansion in the Born up to school, just by Urquinaona. All these are the Barcelonas that there are under the big dot that there will be on the map to show where it is and identify it as a capital. Because Barcelona is the city that has Atienza running though the Born, that has Pujol buying two beers from the local Pakistani and burying one in the Barceloneta sand so that it will still be cool by the time he comes to drink it. It is also the Barcelona of the rumbas that are sung on the terraces on a summer’s night, of the meetings of the big fish disguised as children’s parties at the gates of Tibidabo, of the hair salons from who knows where or who and which never close at night in the Raval, and the surprise raids on the bars in Carrer d’En Robador.

It is also the Barcelona of the new Filmoteca. And of the war to prevent Bread and Butter and I don’t know which catwalk from going, if they haven’t already gone. Of the relentless struggle to get all the airline companies to decide that here and not there is the best destination or that this is the best place for a stopover before or after flying their planes thousands of kilometres somewhere else. Have you ever noticed the airline flight maps that leave, arrive or just pass through European cities? All the capitals look like the tip of one those fireworks that has just been let off and then suddenly explodes and opens up: some become colourful palm trees and others simply a kind of horse’s tail, that go up and then off to one side, just over where they shouldn’t go. These airline traffic maps are more reliable for finding out which are the capitals than, for example, the night photos taken from space, with their concentrations of light which tell you it is night time, but not so much in London and Paris but also in Las Vegas and in Nova York, and as for capitals, the latter two are not. Or are they? Because what is a capital? An administrative capital is where you get your new passport and ID card renewed, where the big fish meet and where large scale deals are signed. They were where the boats and trains arrived transporting the best fish (like in Franco’s Madrid), the best meat and the best fruit ever. The capital is the kilometre zero which sells nothing at the market that comes from the kilometre zero, just numbers which under no circumstances can be zero, because the capital would disappear if it were a zero. So, look, Barcelona already has this thing called capital. It is called the Barcelona Fair, the Diagonal Mar Hilton hotel, Barcelona Port and Mercadona. It is called the Prat Airport, you see? The lights on the map shine brightly everywhere. We’re on the right track.

Are we on the right track?

Barcelona Port and the lights on the airline map. Cruise ships with ten decks. The Aerobus to the airport, overpriced; no metro to the airport. Once a friend was driving me home and as we were waiting at the traffic lights near Columbus’s statue, she said, “See that ship over there? Well it has lifts and you don’t”. I answered that for sure it also had a swimming pool and none of us had one of those at home either, but anyway. The tourism capital. Have you ever tried to set up a business here which is not a chain of hotels or a souvenir shop?

Welcome to the nightmare of licences, timetable restrictions and guessing games with state administrators at your local council. Can I set up a terrace? Can I open a bar? No and no. What
can I set up then? I can’t give you that information because I don’t have it, but if you want to open next Sunday, go ahead, because a cruise ship is arriving with fifty thousand Germans. Barcelona, the capital where some come to renew their ID card and others to show their passports. A tourist destination. There is no need to change currency if you come from abroad but you do need to adapt to the new prices if you don’t come from anywhere. And to a new aesthetic and a new sleep timetable if you above an Irish pub, and a new group of people on a pavement which is always too narrow. Too narrow for fifty Japanese tourists, the entire coach load, and a guide with a file, a closed umbrella held high and a microphone stuck to their cheek. The pavements are being widened in the Paral·lel because the bus loads no longer fit in the Rambla. And what are they all going to see in the Paral·lel? Well, the Bella Dorita, of course, which is also Barcelona and who was also a street artist, wasn’t she? The Bella Dorita will need to have a facelift, as will the whole of Paral·lel: come and fill the squares. Now can I set up a terrace here? Can I set up a bar? Yes and yes. And you will also be able to open every Sunday too. And think that there are also very few souvenir shops and few hotels here. Are you a big international hotel chain? Then come this way, we have this empty building here. while we wait for them to finish the one that was invented by Boyer, that minister from the other capital, the capital when we imagined being a capital.

It is no joke, all this. In Ronda de Sant Pau there are now traffic signs for pedestrians. They indicate where Sant Antoni’s Market is, as if the whole neighbourhood was not aware, and they are just in front of the new Burger King, on the corner where the gypsies of la Cera meet every night, the Peret ones. You are also a capital if you have a Burger King, and in this neighbourhood there wasn’t one before. In Bucharest (once again) there is one: it was not invented by Ceaucescu, but it was set up when he finally died at the bottom of that avenue I was telling you about, the one that is one metre wider than the Champs Elysees. Well, there are different ways to build a capital: you can widen avenues and open fast food restaurants. And the gypsies? The gypsies also give the feeling of capital and what is more, now they eat out in at Burger King. What more could you ask for? Ça marche.

Perhaps capitals begin to grow in the way I will now describe: the gypsies came to the capital from different towns and settled down in different neighbourhoods, in families, in groups of friends. And they fought with each other: the ones from Gràcia on one side and the ones from the Cera on the other. That evoked the feeling of capital: people from different places or from the same who arrive and fall out: it is like having two groups of people within a bigger one. And in Barcelona there are a few more: the Andalusians emigrés, the ones who have lived here all their lives, the rich, and the ones that have lived here all their lives, the poor. The rich are still here, the gypsies from over there are still here, the ones who are from here or there are still here. And the tourists. And all of them, sooner or later, as we said before, end up going Burger King. And to the market (whether it is Sant Antoni, Santa Caterina, or the Boqueria) which also ends up becoming burgerkingised with ready-made juices, pre-packed fruit salads, all ready to go, all fast food.

The capital, a large melting pot.

And now I think that perhaps I’m getting bogged down up with micro matters, and that perhaps was not the intention of this look at the future of Barcelona which I was asked to write, but the fact is that, almost every day, I end up having breakfast with the news that the person in charge of some cultural centre in the city has once again awarded a prize to the same person who always gets the prize, about the same people who always win the prizes, who always get in the picture. Look: I was asked to write about a big dot drawn on a map on a scale of 1:100,000...
and I always write on a scale of 1:1; I can’t help it. I live two streets away from the Market of Sant Antoni, I also work two away from the Paral·lèl in the afternoons and one away from the Pedrera in the mornings, I drive into the city from the Diagonal when I come from Pamplona and when I go to the airport, I avoid taking the Aerobús. And, on top of everything, this is the day to day. And what happens that these appointments among neighbours, in cliques, seems so much on a scale of 1:1, that it is hard for me to believe that this is what happens in a capital. There seems to be a general trend towards smallness, not looking beyond, not making the most of the people we have. If we’re not careful, this white book we have here will just be a mere fictional exercise. Barcelona has to be a capital and therefore, its cultural centres should be those of a capital, not of a typical provincial town, those who always end up fighting when they arrive here, the ones who eat out at Burger King.

Now it’s time to conclude

Barcelona, capital or not, is discovered on foot.

The term “capital” is a geopolitical denomination more than anything else. It implies connotations, presuppositions, a consideration of a certain international standard.

That Barcelona now aspires to be one is strange, just as it is strange, as coherent as it may seem, that Catalonia aspires to be a country. Without stopping to think much about it, how many cities can we name which have recently been “promoted”, let’s say, to the rhythm of a capital? You can be the host of the Olympic Games, host of the World Cup, host of the Forum of Cultures, host of the next radical fashion shows hot from Berlin (any other capital would not run the risk) or the host of the Rubik’s cube speed final. All these are more or less accepted by the citizens. You can deserve this or that in order to achieve anything that supposes a change of rhythm, a change of issues for people in the street to talk about. When out walking, we will come across people who were not here before. It turns out that today we can’t cross that street because it has been closed because there’s a race, because they have set up a marquee, because the neighbourhood is choc-a-block because a match has just finished or whatever. All this is what a city usually aspires to, but only for a couple of days because cities normally only consciously aspire to compelling things.

This will not happen when Barcelona becomes a capital. We will talk about these issues when we come across the same neighbours, we will still take our usual route, it’ll be just as hard to get to work on Monday, we will still complain when taxes go up and celebrate (some more than others) when we are chosen to host some world event. That’s why I told you, I don’t remember in which order, how to get to Barcelona from Pamplona, how we went out and demonstrated along the Diagonal, how the tourists arrive, how, if necessary, we will widen the Paral·lèl for them, how hard it is to set up a business, how characters from the novels of writers who are no longer with us or who are just starting out walk the streets. Because we still demonstrate, tourists will still come, avenues will still be widened, we will still set up businesses and above all, we will still walk, exactly as we have always done, around Barcelona, the capital.
The effects of Barcelona’s capital status on infrastructure and its financing

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Honorary Director of the European Investment Bank
A city cannot function without all kinds of infrastructure related to transport, the environment, energy and telecommunications, or without major public facilities (in the areas of education, healthcare, sport, etc.). The question we should ask ourselves concerning Barcelona’s infrastructure is how much is required, what quality it should be and, in our case, whether becoming the capital of a new state would imply additional demands. If this were the case, we would need to determine what lines of action have to be implemented and, in particular, how they could be financed.

The effects of capital status are multiple, as can be seen in this “White Paper”, and some may require action on infrastructure. In the case of Barcelona, which is already a huge magnet for citizens of Catalonia and millions of foreign visitors, it seems unlikely that such actions would go far beyond those already required to maintain its current position as a major European city. One would not expect that, by the mere fact of becoming a state capital, the difference in infrastructure demand would be that great. The necessary changes would have more to do with the quality than the quantity of the offer. The port, the airport and the basic road network should be able to cope with the marginal increase in demand derived from capital status without too much difficulty. We could encounter more business travellers at the airport, with greater demand for quality in the public roads network, drainage (above all, to improve the problem of odours), and ICT, yet the other elements, from water and energy supply to healthcare facilities are, in general terms, already of the required standard for a capital, although logically they would have to continue to adapt to meet growing requirements and technological evolution. As an example of the latter, the electrification of the vehicle fleet could lead to modifications in the electricity network which are at present difficult to forecast.

With regard to the public sector, the greatest investment challenge for the future, heightened by capital status, would arise from the need to improve the quality of public transport. However, the investment would have to be extended to the entire metropolitan area. The local train network, currently managed by ADIF, and its rolling stock are not worthy of a major European city and would be unacceptable for a capital. In this regard, the comparison with Madrid is quite illustrating. As for the implementation of new technologies, virtually all of them are related to ICT. The smart city concept is already fully integrated within the future proposals for Barcelona of all the municipal groups and, with capital status, it would simply need to continue advancing in the various spheres. A major challenge is the reduction of atmospheric pollution and CO2 emissions; a challenge which will have to be dealt with, capital status or otherwise, through the promotion of electric vehicles, car sharing, intelligent parking, etc., on the one hand, and through an energy policy based on the decentralised production of renewable fuels, on the other. In this regard, given the Spanish government’s disastrous policy for the energy sector, the Catalan state would have to change the model completely and adopt much more efficient mechanisms of energy management.

All of these changes would require investments that are difficult to calculate at present. However, given their importance, they would have to be perfectly affordable to Barcelona and, in part, to all of Catalonia. However, it is worth bearing in mind that many investments in energy, and in smart cities in particular, are necessarily dispersed and would have to come from private companies and from citizens themselves. Public action will certainly be required in order to plan, regulate and, in some cases, manage the infrastructure to ensure the best use of society’s resources. The change in the model of governance would have to influence all of these func-
tions, which are currently highly dependent on rigid legislation that is poorly adapted to current society, although it would scarcely influence Barcelona’s investment needs, which would remain similar to the ones it would have without capital status.

In short, an independent state, rather than demanding new infrastructure for Barcelona that would involve major public investment, would allow it to be better planned, programmed and managed.

Having said that, the new situation would require us to rethink some current issues, such as:

a. Which infrastructures correspond to the municipal region of Barcelona and which to the Catalan state? The distinction between local and national is difficult for capitals. It would be necessary to rethink the relationships between the municipal region and the Catalan Regional Government, bearing in mind that the delicate issue of the potential centralisation of Barcelona, currently diluted with the confrontation with Madrid, would gain significance within the new context. However, the issue goes beyond infrastructure because in matters such as public transport, which receives high subsidies from the Regional Catalan Government (and currently from Spain, although this has diminished considerably), the manner in which it is financed would have to be agreed by the country as a whole.

b. Is a special statute required for Barcelona or should it be for the metropolitan area? And which metropolitan area? Depending on the extension of the “new capital”, infrastructure requirements could increase greatly because peripheral areas currently have a much lower level of infrastructures that the municipal area of Barcelona. Leaving aside the political issue, which is one of great complexity, it is clear that the implications of administrative decisions will affect the rethink that is carried out on the provision of infrastructure.

c. Is the current model of welfare state sustainable in the new setting? Should the facilities of capital status, for example central or highly-specialised hospitals, be concentrated in the capital? Should the public transport service, which, inevitably, must be of a higher quality in Barcelona, continue to be subsidised as until now, should it alter its service in order to reduce costs, or should its users pay more? The new state will have to rethink its public service commitments in detail in all the relevant sectors and consider how it applies the principles of the EU, which establish that “the user pays” and that “the polluter pays”. Pricing policies have an immediate impact on demand and therefore on infrastructure requirements, but also on the system’s financial sustainability. For example, integrated prices mean that investment to improve the public transport network, such as metro line 9, produces very little additional income, while the investment and operating costs increase considerably.

d. In the medium term, it will be necessary to adopt a pricing and fiscal policy adapted to the new circumstances. In particular, it will be necessary to consider how to regulate the new public services that will continue to be developed as Barcelona becomes a smart city. Making Barcelona a cutting-edge technology capital will require major investment. It will be necessary to attract private capital in order to limit public expenditure but above all to guarantee efficiency, given that the public sector does not have the flexibility required to adapt itself to a highly dynamic technological and social environment.

The state of municipal finances is rather healthy, with a manageable debt, although it would be a good idea to continue reducing it. To achieve this, revenue must continue on an upward trend, particularly if new investment is required. In this regard, we should bear in mind that the tran-
Transition could be a difficult period. In any case, if there is reasonable progress, Barcelona’s appeal means that we can expect a rapid recovery and even an improvement in the state of municipal finances. Capital status and the availability of more resources for Catalonia should accelerate productive investment and economic activity, which will help to increase the revenue of the municipal region.

Independence will open up new possibilities for managing the public sector. In particular it should favour the development of new formulas of public-private cooperation which are currently subject to Spanish legislation, which interprets them as concessions and not as true associations in which the risks and benefits are shared in an efficient manner. For example, in the case of urban renewal, we could consider the use of mechanisms such as the urban development fund, promoted by the EU and the European Investment Bank (EIB), where private stakeholders obtain financial and management support from the public sector, while acting within a specific framework that prevents speculation. The Spanish experiences of such mechanisms highlight the difficulties of adapting the administrative system under which they have to be generated.

One of the issues that would need to be clarified quickly during the transition is the issue of European funding. Barcelona has benefited from some community subsidies, but above all from EIB loans, which would need to be maintained in the future in order to finance the major investment in infrastructure, rolling stock, facilities, major urban renewal work, etc. that would be required. The City Council currently has the implicit guarantee of the Spanish government for the EIB loans, which would need to be redirected and would depend on the status of Catalonia with regard to the EU. It is difficult to imagine that it would be excluded from the European Union, or in any case, for a lengthy period; at the most, one could foresee a short period during which it would be unable to count on the financial support of the EU. What is certain is that once Catalonia is able to negotiate directly with Brussels, it will benefit more than at present from European Community financial instruments that will allow it to reduce the costs not only of major investments of common interest, such as the Mediterranean Railway Corridor, but also of urban investments, in particular those which favour environmental conservation, energy efficiency and innovation.
Barcelona is recognised through its city planning, architecture and heritage

Antoni Vilanova i Omedas

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More than most cities, Barcelona makes its living by being an attractive cultural capital despite not having any ‘official’ recognition of this. Yet it has been able to position itself internationally as a major metropolis. One of the factors that has contributed to this universalism has been the city’s interesting morphology and its privileged location, mild climate, liveliness and especially its cosmopolitan values, which are in line with its roots and also helped it become a leader in urban transformation processes. The city takes part in what is a discourse about modernity. It promoted change on a significant scale in the late nineteenth century, as well as developments in avant-garde culture during different periods of creativity during the 20th century.

In terms of culture, Barcelona can be recognised by its influence at various creative periods throughout history. Unlike big European imperial capitals like Vienna or Saint Petersburg, which were developed via concentric models that had a unique historical and cultural centre with buildings representing its power structures, Barcelona symbolizes a type of multi-centralism with Ciutat Vella clearly identified by its rich heritage –recognised by buildings and traces dating from ancient and medieval times; this is essentially in coexistence with other nodal points -the neighbourhoods- that have consciously set out to maintain their identity, especially when it comes to the development of local culture and historical facts.

Barcelona’s identity is part of an urban dynamic that has been forged through the changes and transformations associated with major events hosted by the city. From the Universal Exposition of 1888, which shows the origins of the modern city, to the 1992 Olympic Games, which allowed the city to create a strategy to open up to the city, and the Universal Exhibition of 1929, which saw the creative landscaping of garden designs on Montjuïc. All this has left a unique urban setting, which can incorporate lots of architectural reference points, many of these innovative elements that give personality the city today. Representative architecture seen in public and private buildings show the artistic trends of each period, as well as the local vigour and personality seen from using traditional building techniques, for example, like the Catalan arch.

Urban planning and architecture are two inseparable terms when speaking about the cultural values and ideological heritage of the city. They represent one of Barcelona’s key forms of promotion. Names like Ildefons Cerdà, Antoni Rovira i Trias, Léon Jaussely and Le Corbusier —via the Macià Plan—, together with figures like Antoni Gaudí, Lluís Domenech i Montaner, Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Josep Lluís Sert, Josep Antoni Coderch, Oriol Bohigas and Enric Miralles. Among others these are magnificent references because their theoretical and practical contributions have brought importance and prestige everywhere.

Barcelona, a cultural capital

Europe needs to develop in the future by harnessing the dynamism of major cities. Cities have a central role, especially in promoting their features and identifying the essence of their culture. Therefore we need to promote this new challenge, in close cooperation with the authorities and the cultural associations to show the value of our diverse heritage.

Barcelona needs to be a pioneer and inspiration that actively promotes the values of urbanism, architecture and cultural heritage. Recognising its own identity, it needs to interact with other European cities, leading in a decisive way the development of cultural policies. Contrary to other cities like Berlin, where the urban structure and main architectural benchmarks have been
severely damaged or even disappeared due to war and division, due to two opposing models, Barcelona offers a linear reading of its history, from Roman ruins to the consolidation of the Eixample and recent urban planning. This is an essential value that allows us to see and understand the many urban structures and architectural styles that were originally built here.

**Why not think big without losing our roots?**

Creating the city of the future, with a new political and administrative importance, should be carried out by recognising the past, identifying the constituent values that have made it unique. Fortunately, the morphological structure resulting from various urban plans is present and recognized internationally, even by people who are not experts in urban geography. It’s not necessary to come up with great inventions. The meaning of ‘national capital’ has always been assumed by us and it is now that we need to make this reality evident everywhere. Nobody would understand dismantling what has been regarded as the Barcelona model: adapt the necessary transformation and modernization of each period respecting essential structures so that we can get a ‘linear reading’ as mentioned previously.

Certainly, we could not understand the creation of the modern city, built in the second half of the xix century- without the boost that came with industrialization, which meant we could carry out a type of urban development that was full of change and transformation, without eliminating or denying the important position of the historic city. Thanks to this growth model, from the medieval city to the demolition of the walls of the Citadel, countless buildings, archaeological sites and other important cultural remains bear witnesses to the various historical periods that show the social and economic evolution and transformation of the city. In terms of architecture, we find a direct correspondence between different artistic expressions, closely linked to models of society, from values associated with the craft trades and guilds to the products created by mass production. In both cases, architecture reflects the characteristics and use of different materials and the styles of the time. Actually, there are few cities in Europe that can offer this continuity in their evolution through unique buildings.

The effects of major disasters, such as wars, fires, earthquakes, etc., have often led to the disappearance of old urban structures in cities that are today state capitals. For example, in Berlin, it is difficult to recognize the original site of the city. There are virtually no archaeological ruins identifiable. In Barcelona, however, its rich archaeological heritage has recently been extended with the recovery of a part of the city dating back to the eighteenth century, part of the excellent Mercat del Born.

Looking at the future, we have to accept, once again, new models of transformation. We will work on their design recognizing, however, that these contributions have to have an integrating or differentiating dialogue that shouldn’t be forgotten as an essential value or part of the diversity forged over the years.

Similarly, we accept that Cerdà’s Eixample (1859) has consolidated its role over three centuries and that no doubt its image summarizes, in an abstract way, the global identity and architectural references better known as Barcelona. It is also true that the historical centres of the old municipalities that were annexed under a 1897 plan should be promoted as a cultural value. All of them have preserved their identity through their respective planning, representative architecture or their personality and cultural and social diversity.
Under this premise especially in the cultural field, Barcelona should hold on to its position as a leader and a reference point for anyone who wants to know about models of urban transformation and the establishment of various forms of architecture over the years. No wonder, then, that the creative industry linked to brand Barcelona has already become one of the main pillars supporting the foundations of the city’s future development in the economic and cultural sectors.

Hardly anyone believes that the new Berlin, London or Paris would exist without a recognizable past history. Despite the homogenization that is prevailing across almost all the world’s cities, especially in terms of economics, commerce and even culture, Barcelona must show why it is a capital, without giving up the aspects that have given it its personality and made it unique on the world’s stage. Maybe our metropolis will never become a major banking centre; conversely, however, it boasts an essential value, especially given a polycentric urban setting: the quality of its architecture and uniqueness of its diverse heritage are reference points for civic cohesion, culture and education.
BARCELONA, MOTOR DE CATALUNYA!
Foreign investment in Barcelona

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Introduction

Barcelona is one of the most attractive urban areas in the world for foreign investment. It has long been the arrival country for people and companies from other countries interested in trading and setting up to do business. Today, the presence of foreign multinationals in Barcelona is very significant and one of the main drivers of the economy. In this paper, first the factors driving foreign investment are described. Then Barcelona’s current situation is analysed. Lastly, forecasts are put forward regarding changes in the coming years in the event that Catalonia becomes independent.

Factors that drive foreign investment

There are many factors that contribute to increasing foreign investment. When a multinational aims to invest in a particular location, it does so essentially to recoup its investment and this normally depends on two main factors:

- **Being closer to customers and increasing revenues.** This means taking into account potential demand for its products in the region and that may explain the interest of serving customers better. In this regard, it is worth remembering that many multinational companies aim to be local, worldwide. This explains the phenomenon of *glocalisation* (a term based on the words “global” and “local”).

- **Improved efficiency and reduced costs.** The potential for reducing costs is another key motivation when deciding where to locate a subsidiary. Being closer to customers can reduce certain costs, such as transportation and tariffs. However, in other cases, key factors may relate to being closer to raw materials, the availability of cheaper labour, the availability of land at the right price, the existence of R&D centres, and reduced transportation costs. In many sectors, the existence of auxiliary companies is also important to ensure the supply of products and services under the right terms, quality and cost. Transport infrastructure is also key. This means: the port, rail links, direct international flights, motorways and so on, as well as logistics, telecommunications and energy infrastructure.

Apart from the points made above, there are others that can make a given location more or less attractive. Thus a factor in attracting foreign companies is if there are already other companies from the same country. The existence of a large community of people from a country encourages the existence of services (such as schools from the country of origin, associations of company directors, and so on) that can help attract more companies from the same country.

Other decisive environmental factors include political stability, the whole economic outlook, and legislation (fiscal, commercial, labour-related, environmental and so on) that can promote legal certainty and a business-friendly environment. And lastly, increasingly influential are quality of life factors - such as the weather, housing conditions, culture and cuisine, to name a few.
The internationalisation of Barcelona: a success story

Catalonia, and specifically the area of Barcelona, has a highly internationalised economy. By way of example, 2013 data showed the Barcelona area as having 40,483 exporting companies - this is more than 30% of the total for Spain. These companies achieved 20% market share of Spanish exports. For the whole of Catalonia, it is 26% of total Spanish exports. Among the Catalan companies with most significance abroad are Natural Gas, Puig, Grifols and Mango. Moreover, around 50% of Catalan exports are through foreign-funded companies (Seat, Nissan, etc) that have manufacturing facilities in Barcelona.

The internationalisation of the Catalan economy has increased significantly in recent years. According to CTESC data (2014), between 1995 and 2000, sales from Catalonia abroad amounted to 26% of total sales of Catalan companies. By the period 2008-13, this had increased to 36.1%. In contrast, sales in the rest of Spain reduced over the same periods from 38.3% to 31.4%.

We should also remember the impact of the tourism industry. Barcelona receives 7.6 million tourists a year. After the Port of the Caribbean, the Port of Barcelona is the most important in the world for cruise traffic - with 2.6 million passengers per year. Barcelona’s port leads Europe in terms of transporting vehicles and high-value-added freight containers. Location is a determining factor: if goods from Asia unload in Barcelona, they save three days at sea compared with unloading at ports in northern Europe.

In regard to air traffic, Barcelona Airport has facilities in place to absorb up to 55 million passengers a year. It handles over 35 million passengers and connects with 190 domestic and international destinations. In 2013 and 2014, more routes were launched at Barcelona Airport than anywhere else in the world.

However, aside from the intensity of exports and tourism, Barcelona is highly attractive to foreign investors, as evidenced by reports such as Ernst & Young’s European Attractiveness Survey (2013), which stated that Barcelona/Catalonia is the third European region in terms of receipt of foreign investment projects, behind only London and Paris. According to KPMG’s Global Cities Investment Monitor, (2013), Barcelona is the tenth most attractive urban area in the world for inward investment. According to the Financial Times (2014), Barcelona is the southern European city with the greatest potential for future foreign investment.

This attractiveness explains why Catalonia is the number 3 European country, after London and Ireland, in volume of foreign investment. In Catalonia there are currently around 6000 foreign-incorporated companies. To date, many industrial multinationals have chosen Catalonia when selecting a location in Spain. On the other hand, financial multinationals prefer Madrid. Nevertheless, Barcelona attracts not only industry but also sectors such as services and new technologies. As an example, we should remember that Barcelona has been chosen to remain the location for Mobile World Congress and Mobile World Capital up until 2018. This is an important factor in driving many business projects related to new mobile technologies.

Barcelona/Catalonia’s positive image explains why 79 international company projects were attracted in 2013, bringing 1.8bn euros in investment and creating 5664 direct jobs.

All of this shows the power of the Barcelona brand, which makes the city a major attraction for companies from other countries.
Barcelona’s strengths and weaknesses with regard to foreign investment

Apart from the Barcelona brand and other factors discussed above, Barcelona’s success can be explained by a whole range of strengths. An appealing aspect of Barcelona is that the city has 1.6 million inhabitants; 4.8 million if the entire metropolitan region is included. Over 17% of residents are foreign nationals.

While Barcelona has no raw materials itself, it offers skilled labour at competitive cost compared to many other European countries. Thus, another important attraction of Barcelona is human capital, which is well trained in many different fields. The Barcelona area has eight public and private universities, as well as highly prestigious business schools with a good offering in terms of quality and quantity in most disciplines. IESE and ESADE are considered among the best in the world, according to leading international rankings. Several of Barcelona’s universities are the best in Spain for both research and teaching. Barcelona also attracts talent, and is one of the areas of Europe that receives the most overseas Erasmus university students. The significant concentration of qualified labour and auxiliary businesses explains why Barcelona is especially attractive to industries such as agri-food, textiles, metallurgy, publishing and chemicals. In early 2014, according to the Central Directory of Enterprises (DIRCE) of the Spanish Statistical Office (INE), Barcelona had 434,914 companies. Other attractions are Barcelona’s location next to France (with high-speed railway and motorway links) and a maritime port where many of the goods arriving from China arrive, as already mentioned. Furthermore, over 70% of goods shipped from Spain to Europe pass through Barcelona.

Another factor that helps attract foreign companies is if there are already other companies from the same country. For example, Catalonia has subsidiaries of 192 Japanese companies - 80% of Japanese companies in Spain. These are companies with a strong presence in industries such as electronics, hardware, chemicals and IT. The same is true for many other countries: Italy, USA, France, Austria and Switzerland.

Also playing a decisive role are quality of life factors. In this respect (weather, culture, cuisine, availability of housing, public transport, etc), Barcelona has very clear advantages over other competing locations. The Mediterranean climate, with more than 2400 hours of sunshine a year, and 4 kilometres of beaches are important differentiating factors.

There are however also major weaknesses, particularly those below. For starters, the level of unemployment; whilst much lower than the Spanish average, it is still very significant. Another weakness, which is also a threat for the future, is the policy of Spain of positively discriminating in favour of Madrid on many of the aspects that affect the potential to attract foreign investment. An example of this would be government policies that favour Madrid’s Barajas Airport and discriminates against other destinations like Barcelona. A few months ago, the European Union criticised the fact that there are agreements in place between Spain and other countries which hinder flights from certain countries to Barcelona, since they force the airlines of these countries to land in Madrid.

Another negative aspect is related to where the capital city is. In recent years in Spain, as elsewhere, head offices have been moved to the capital city. Some examples of this include the relocation of head offices of companies including Merck, Abbott, Deutsche Bank and Cobega (to
name a few). Thus, not being the capital city implies drawbacks when firms are selecting their location and seeking to be close to the centres of political and economic power.

Another major weakness is not having a business-friendly environment. Spain rates very negatively on issues related to having an environment that is good for doing business. Thus, in terms of ease of doing business, it ranks 142 out of a total of 189 countries worldwide. This problem is to do with excessive red tape when creating or running a business, obtaining building permits, payment terms by government organisations, etc. On this last point, city councils such as Barcelona’s have made significant improvements in their supplier payment terms (paying within less than thirty days) and in processing permits. However, national and regional legislation, the slowness of the legal system, and continuous changes to the country’s legal framework all hinder efforts to create a more business-friendly environment.

Impact of the process of gaining sovereignty on international investment

The process towards independence may affect the business system in different ways. Apart from commercial boycotts, it could result in businesses moving in various directions, given that there could be relocations. Equally, however, the impact of being a state capital could attract other companies. The following chart shows a list of the major firms in Barcelona, broken down according to the location of their head offices. The process of gaining sovereignty and the eventual independence of Catalonia could be a driver for significant changes in companies’ choice of location.
Some of the major firms in Barcelona and its province, classified according to the location of their head office.

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<th>Empreses amb seu central a Barcelona</th>
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<td>“la Caixa”</td>
<td>Endesa</td>
<td>Seat</td>
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<td>Caprabo (Eroski)</td>
<td>Volkswagen Audi España, SA</td>
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<td>Compañía Española de Laminación, SL</td>
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<td>Antonio Puig, SA</td>
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<td>Casa Tarradellas, SA</td>
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<td>Nexus Energía, SA</td>
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<td>Hennes and Mauritz, SL</td>
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<td>La Farga ROD, SL</td>
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<td>Euromadi Ibérica, SA</td>
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<td>Federación Farmacéutica, SCCL</td>
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<td>Sanofi Aventis, SA</td>
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<td>SA Damm</td>
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<td>Ingram Micro, SL</td>
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<td>La Farga Lacambra, SA</td>
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<td>Condis Supermercats, SA</td>
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<td>Lípidos Santiga, SA</td>
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<td>Quimidroga, SA</td>
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<td>Grupo General Cable Sistemas, SL</td>
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<td>Grifols, SA</td>
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Relocation of businesses

Although there have been some isolated cases of companies that have announced they would leave if Catalonia became independent (Planeta Group, for example), most companies who stated a decision have indicated they have no intention of leaving, whatever happens. This is the case with many multinationals (BASF, Dow, Panasonic ...). Moreover, many multinational companies that have invested in Catalonia have done so along with productive facilities, which are harder to move than corporate head offices. In any case, it would be expected that those Catalan companies that conduct a significant portion of their business in the rest of Spain would split into two: the head office would be in Catalonia for the business unit that covers activity in
Catalonia (and maybe also international activity); while the business unit that covers activity in the rest of Spain would have its head office in Madrid or other Spanish city. The same could be done by subsidiaries of multinational companies. Therefore, it is expected that activity covering the rest of Spain would be managed from a new head office.

Attracting new businesses

Conversely, many Spanish or international companies might currently have their head office in Madrid or elsewhere in Spain, but with a significant client base in Catalonia. For commercial reasons, companies could split and set up a head office in Catalonia to handle Catalan clients. This could be the case for electricity companies, credit companies, insurance, department stores, etc who have a large number of customers in Catalonia. Many Spanish companies have about 20% of their customer base in Catalonia.

Impact of being state capital

We also need to bear in mind that an independent state could attract the relocation of multinational head offices that currently have their Spanish head office outside Catalonia, but which may be interested in opening a head office in the new state. This occurred in newly created states like Slovenia, Slovakia and Lithuania, for example. Being capital city of a state can attract multinational head offices for several reasons, including:

- **Centre of power**: Companies may want to be near the centre of political and economic power.
- **State structures**: The creation of state structures creates jobs and demand for new products and services. For example, tax offices, embassies and so on. In the case of Catalonia it is estimated that the increase in employment generated by new state structures would be between 51,000 and 71,000 people (according to the College of Economists of Catalonia, 2014). The cost of these state structures is much lower than Catalonia’s current fiscal deficit and would generate a significant impact on the economy (new jobs, consumption capacity, etc). This may further attract multinational companies to handle the demand for the additional products and services.
- **Infrastructure**: Improving transport infrastructure could also be very beneficial. Issues such as the Mediterranean Corridor, links to the Port of Barcelona, and international flights from El Prat Airport in Barcelona would have been solved years ago had Barcelona been a state whose priorities did not lie elsewhere.

A new legal framework and a new form of government

One of the main weaknesses we have identified is the lack of a business-friendly environment. One of the challenges for a new state would be to implement a legislative, financial and legal framework that does not put so many obstacles and costs in the way when launching and running businesses. Catalonia could significantly improve its ability to compete for foreign investment by having a framework that draws on international best practice. Examples of countries like Finland can serve as inspiration on this matter: when Finland gained independence from Russia
in 1918, it was one of the poorest countries in Europe. Today, it is one of the richest in the world. It has achieved this through consensus on fundamental issues such as education and research, as well as through policies that have consistently been committed to public collaboration.

**Conclusions**

With regard to foreign investment and internationalisation, Barcelona has important strengths (the Barcelona brand, location, quality of life, the presence of thousands of multinationals, tourist appeal and so on). However, it also has weaknesses that have negative impacts (unemployment, absence of a state government that rules in its favour, unfriendly business legal framework, etc).

If Catalonia became independent and Barcelona were capital city of the new state, there could be significant changes in the business environment. Some companies could separate out the portion of their business that they do in the rest of Spain and locate the head office of that business unit in Madrid or other Spanish city. Equally, there could be companies that are incorporated in Spain or other countries that decide to set up a head office in Catalonia to better serve their Catalan customers. Another important aspect for attracting business is the effect of being the capital city; this could entice companies to locate their head office near the new political and economic power. This has already happened in other new nation states that were created in recent years.

The final result depends to a large extent on what companies do from now - as they have the option of adopting strategies (such as opening subsidiaries in other cities, promoting new brands, etc) to protect against negative impacts and benefit from positive impacts. In any case, it is essential to achieve a level of dialogue that enables proper organisation to resolve existing problems - whether Catalonia remains part of Spain or whether it ends up being independent.

One factor that may have a negative impact in the short term is the high degree of uncertainty about the road towards sovereignty. The longer this process is (as expected), the more multinationals are likely to put their decisions to invest in Catalonia and the rest of Spain on hold, and wait until there is greater clarity. The more peaceful and better negotiated this process is, the more this risk can be minimised.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


Barcelona, the capital of advertising investment

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Barcelona is internationally recognised, among other things, for its entrepreneurial, innovative and technological capabilities, as well as for being tolerant and integrative. It is clearly a modern, advanced city that offers infrastructure that compares favourably to other major cities around the world, thus giving it a privileged position in the international context.

All this forms the basis to enable the city, as with other areas of the economy, to create and welcome advertising companies and institutions from around the world.

The city offers a very significant square footage of advertising space, making it highly attractive to advertisers. This includes 1158 bus shelters, 818 platforms, 1158 advertising panels, 386 user information screens, in highly visible locations. This high-tech equipment enables advertisers to achieve their objectives.

In Barcelona, outdoor advertising space is managed by a leading international company that also handles billboard maintenance work in addition to paying Barcelona City Council an annual fee.

One of the variables that most directly impacts the outdoor advertising market is the state of the economy; this direct correlates with companies’ and institutions’ investment in advertising.

Since the start of the credit crunch in 2008 the market has fallen markedly in line with the severe downturn in consumption and economic activity. Barcelona has not been immune to this.

However, the city has always been an advertising macro-area that advertisers cannot ignore. As shown in the graph below, there are differences between the performance of advertising expenditure in Catalonia and in Spain.

This decrease in advertising expenditure is notable for both Spain and in Catalonia. It is explained mainly by the disappearance of a number of brand advertisers (-8.6% in the last year) and the reduction in investment made by these brands (-10.1% in 2013). In addition to the loss of investment, an additional factor is the drop in the average price for advertising space (-5% in 2013).
Like all European cities, Barcelona has been affected by this negative trend. However, as has happened in the recent history of advertising, it recovers very quickly, thus benefiting all media in the city: print, television, internet, magazines, outdoor advertising, cinema and non-conventional media.

A notable feature is the extent to which the city is tuned into advertising. Barcelona has always been a magnificent advertising screen, with the highest level of creativity in all areas. It drives trends in fashion, architecture, design, etc... as well as in advertising creativity. There is, therefore, an excellent alignment between creative and media.

The data demonstrate Barcelona's dynamic advertising scene. In terms of spread, we need to bear in mind that income from billboard advertising represents 15% of the total, while other types of media - such as press and television - account for 65% of total revenues. This expenditure represents 95% of the total for Catalonia and 22% of the total for Spain.

In this context, advertising companies and agencies looking for the most efficient way of reaching their target audience use, among other things, research tools such as EGM, comScore and Kantar Media. These are essential for planning campaigns in which the amount of advertising investment is decided, both overall and for each of the different media. Around the city of Barcelona are research institutes that specialise in measuring and analysing advertising effectiveness.

The result of all this is that leading companies that manage the global advertising market have competed for years to position themselves in our city.

With regard to the debate on advertising performance in Barcelona, the capital city of a country, we have reason to be optimistic and we are convinced that business investment will not ignore such a significant market in terms of number of inhabitants and companies, buyers, consumers and international openness.

As mentioned, investment in Barcelona is not immune to the crisis affecting the industry. However, there are a number of factors which put it in an advantageous position - in particular, the following:

1. Companies that invest in advertising aim to reach major markets and will not ignore a market such as Barcelona. A densely populated city (1,620,943 inhabitants) with an area of influence of more than 4 million people; and a city that ranks among the top 10 European urban conurbations in terms of population and employment.

2. A city that is known across the world, and which receives more than 75 million tourists a year and 16 million overnight hotel stays, making it number 3 in Europe; it also receives more than 600,000 conference and convention delegates, making it one of the top cities in the world.

3. The correlation between investment in advertising, GDP and household consumption. The importance of Catalonia's GDP (205.3bn euros) and that of the city of Barcelona (61.9bn euros), with 19,300 euros household disposable income per capita - almost 30% above the average in Spain (2010 data).

4. The Barcelona brand as a driver of advertising investment. This is a particularly important aspect in attracting advertisers.

5. It is also important to consider Barcelona's ability to compete with other European cities like London, Paris, Madrid, Milan, Amsterdam, Berlin, Stockholm and so on. These are all cit-
ies where outdoor advertising is significant, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Being the capital city would increase its competitiveness against these very powerful rivals.

6. Spain’s multinational companies are likely to continue to invest in a market of more than 7 million people with significant income per capita. Initially, this might be done experimentally but, over time, the levels of investment would strengthen.

7. Large companies’ investment strategies may be based on where their corporate headquarters are located. It is likely that some, given the importance of the Catalan market, will decide to locate their headquarters in Barcelona. It is also possible, in exceptional cases, that they will relocate. Taken as a whole, the balance will be positive, given that the unique nature of the Catalan market will demand different and global strategies.

8. One of the industry’s concerns is knowing what will happen with institutional advertising. It is quite clear that such advertising from Spain would be lost. However, it would be replaced by increased activity by our own country’s institutions.

The final conclusion from the reflections set out regarding the advertising industry, gives us cause to be optimistic about its future. The initial impact of transforming the country and adapting the economy and the business environment could for a while lead to some decline in expenditure. However, this would start to grow again in the medium and long term, in line with the true potential of our country.
I was delighted to accept the offer to write about Barcelona as the capital of an independent country, and after coming to terms with the idea I began to analyse the statement in question. I wanted to look into this imagined, hypothetical, hopeful, and as yet unrealised proposal. Although I was asked to write from the point of view of the future, I could not do this without first looking back to the past and conveying the knowledge I have gained from the city, what it means to me, how it used to be and how it is today.

And what should I write about? Well, about the capacity of this city to combine determination and individual aims with the objectives of the organisations that make up public authorities. In other words, how our public authorities are imbued with the interests of our citizens, going beyond electoral participation, and this has created a network of organisations in the city that participate in, encourage, approve, and push forward a great number of the initiatives that help our city grow, evolve and run smoothly.
To start with: things were done well!

I would like to start, therefore, with my clear conviction that this is a city that works, and has been running well for many years. It’s true that my claim is mostly based on the twenty-five years that I have been working in the city, but I can also back up my stance with comparisons made on trips to other cities, and more recently with the opportunity I have had to see how the city runs from within Barcelona City Council. And why is this? Why does this city run more smoothly than other cities?

And why has it been working so well for so many years? These questions are much more interesting to look at than the initial statement, which might even be seen as subjective, or “biased”.

The first reason why Barcelona is the way it is

The first piece of evidence behind my opening statement is relating to the power of the network of organisations, unions and other institutions in the city that bring together the people, companies and entities within it. The capacity for synergy between these organisations has strengthened the individual power of each one, as well as encouraging some of the most important aspects for social order and the economy, such as sharing knowledge and good practices, solidarity, volunteering, and even a certain level of healthy competition. This tradition dates back centuries, perhaps even to the Middle Ages, and explains how important social movements were in early nineteenth century Catalonia, while other regions were still busy arguing about the grazing areas for their sheep. And that explains phenomena in Catalonia and Barcelona such as the power held by trade unions behind closed doors, the important role of neighbourhood associations and parent-teacher associations, the influential volunteer sector, and the strength of the chambers of commerce, guilds and professional associations. Only a few European nations can compare in terms the scope and type of organisations, and very few cities and regions around the world can compare in terms of the number and strength of the individuals involved, and their participation in the social, economic and political spheres in Barcelona, and by extension throughout Catalonia. We can therefore be very proud of our past, and appreciate that the powerful network of organisations that represents us and promotes our interests when dealing with other organisations, the public authorities and in particular, Barcelona City Council, are key to understanding the success of the city and its role as the capital of Catalonia.

Barcelona’s second distinguishing characteristic

There is a second reason, in my opinion, for the city’s success, is that entrepreneurship has always been highly lauded and even envied by the city’s population. Again, this comes from our past. Perhaps the explanation lies in our individualism and pride in family lineage, combined with our desire to work for ourselves, but the fact remains that throughout the region of Catalonia, and especially in Barcelona, it is easy to find businesses that have family roots and are perhaps two or three generations old, stoically enduring the presence of and pressure from big multinational corporations. Tell me where else in the world you can find such a high number of small businesses, most with an average of just a few dozen employees, although there are excep-
tions that have managed to grow to an extraordinary size, and which manage to be competitive, constantly innovating in terms of products and management models, and with steady growth despite the financial crisis. These small businesses exist in every sector, even in industries such as design, technology and chemicals, which are normally the preserve of large multinationals in other regions; they can also be found in education (business schools), health/pharmaceuticals, culture and research, sectors that are usually confined to capital cities.

The third factor that makes the city stand out: the local government, and Barcelona’s unique City Council

I think we should look at the third and final reason behind Barcelona’s success. It is only fair to mention the impressive technical capabilities of the local and municipal government in Barcelona and again, by extension, Catalonia. Few public authorities have understood as well as Barcelona City Council and the local government that we depend on the professionalism of the public employees who work towards and manage the city’s public responsibilities. And this is an asset that needs to be based on solid foundations to become a sign of the city’s identity, as it is today in Barcelona. That is, these skills have not come about simply because a director or a politician has ordered it, but rather through a base of well-trained professionals at every level of the government and each public enterprise. And motivation, which is even more difficult for a politician to inspire and which cannot simply be commanded, is yet another aspect that comes about by taking pride in working for the local government, and for the city. This work has been carried out well for many years, by the people who make up the backbone of the local government and public enterprise, and it is reason behind the quality of our city planning, for example, and how we hold up so well in international comparisons in terms of TMB’s management of the public transport system, our urban design, and our strategic plan for tourism. Favourable comparisons can also be made for our town planners, architects and transport engineers, to expand on the examples given above, and also, just as importantly, for bus drivers, municipal inspectors, cultural workers and railway employees.

Following this brief, or rather very brief, summary of the three reasons that, in my opinion, Barcelona runs so smoothly, we can now use them to draw together the following conclusions and understand the reasoning behind them.

Conclusion: we are powerful

A city that has a local government full of hard-working public employees, found in every department, company and office, working to manage our services and put public policies into practice, attending to businesses and individuals looking for innovative solutions, growth and new opportunities, and negotiating with the organisations and associations that represent and defend the legitimate and mutual interests of our citizens, is a city that has an invincible source of power and strength. They work together and encourage high standards, so that they always have the right answers in order to keep projects running, and give the correct responses to all the questions they receive. It is a process of continuous improvement, obligating each of the three groups to
always be at their best. One example involving all three groups, where many would praise Barcelona due to the city’s exceptional capacity to execute a complex project with the collaboration of all three parties, is the redevelopment of large industrial urban areas. Projects such as 22@ or Can Batllo, for example, require a strong public initiative from municipal decision-makers, as well as courage, ability and technical capacity to put the initial redevelopment and construction plans forward, all at the same time. If leaders in the local government had encouraged communication between all the parties involved, including neighbourhood associations, property owners, professional associations, and more, then reach a consensus on the aims, methods and conditions of the project would have been impossible. But this alone was not enough. Entrepreneurs were needed to back the project, and perhaps even push it forward from the beginning, believing in the idea with backing from their businesses. They were prepared to pioneer new management models for urban industrial spaces, linked to innovation and technology, but within a framework of coexistence with purely residential areas, parks and public facilities, as it the area were a completely new city.

Therefore there are three forces that join together to form the spine of the city, full of life and activity. This life needs to be balanced to be sustainable, and that is why is it so important to focus on the social policies that allow the less-fortunate to have more opportunities while business moves forward. But equally, public policies are needed to make it easier to establish new businesses and create workplaces that provide jobs for the students who graduate from our top tier universities, as well as to establish the services for those who want to visit and enjoy our city. And all this must be undertaken in agreement, by discussing and improving projects with associations that represent the interests of citizens and professionals who live or work in Barcelona.

Something to keep in mind: self-esteem must go hand in hand with criticism

Why does it sound so detached when I write in such a positive and optimistic tone? Why is it so hard to accept praise that comes from within? Maybe I’m exaggerating? It is not true that we can all name examples that contradict the description above? Have I let myself be drawn into the initial premise of a hypothetical capital, a dream capital, an illusion? Is it all just a fairytale?

Perhaps. But to be honest, I think if the above surprised you, it is because you are not used to reading articles like this. We are used to reading criticism from our intellectuals, leaders and the press about and people in our country who hold a particular responsibility in the social, sporting, political or financial world, which sometimes even takes on an apocalyptic tone.

This critical attitude to life that I mentioned in the previous paragraph, and to the city, has a positive outcome, as it ultimately pushes us forward and encourages us to improve. Highlighting our errors and shortcomings, pointing the finger and identifying what we have done wrong, and, perhaps not often enough, identifying the reasons why and the way to move forward, is something very Catalan. I would not want to give that up. But we must also give credit where it’s due, and acknowledge, every so often, the work that has gone into building our city. We should applaud the fact that, even though the odds weren’t entirely in our favour, we have done quite
well for ourselves, building a metropolitan city in southern Europe where, despite the difficulties, there is a good quality of life, there are opportunities, and citizens and civil servants work to try to improve the city every day.

This dose of self-esteem, which is so overdue in the press, must be accompanied by occasional criticism, which I like to see as a source of strength and renewed efforts, although it can sometimes sink us into a mire of complaints, recrimination and pessimism. Without falling into triumphalism and the accompanying lack of action, it is good to acknowledge our skills, abilities and achievements, while identifying the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead. Congratulations and praise need not be incompatible with chastising errors and pointing out our mistakes.

And finally: if we have come so far with this uncertainty, imagine what we could achieve if things were clearer

In this article I have tried to draw on our history to defend everything we have achieved so far. I have outlined the positive aspects without identifying any particular groups in order to be impartial, and to emphasise that the end result is successful, and that we should be proud of it. But it is only fair to point out that we have never had complete external support, institutionally speaking. The European Union is made up of the European countries that signed admission agreements, and this has seen the creation of a Europe made up of regions and a Europe made up of cities. We have made a mark with essentially local events such as the Olympics, and with international prizes awarded to our citizens, universities and research centres, sports clubs, companies and local government (like the recent success with the Grand Prize at the Bloomberg Awards, to give the latest example), all while sharing the support and help received with other cities in the state.

I have argued that Barcelona is already a success story among other great cities around the world, and an example of balanced and sustainable development. This has been made possible even while competing against cities that are nearly always capitals, and without the full, explicit and unconditional support received by other state capitals. I am not only talking about funding, but also about other equally important factors such as the location of government ministries, the headquarters of large businesses (remember the problems with the relocation of electrical companies), state offices for financial and social sectors (although though it is hard to dispute the decision of former president Montilla to move the telecommunications industry to Barcelona), and efforts to provide the best road, rail and airport infrastructures, among other things. I am trying not to be vindictive or include political statements, but rather to express something I think is clear: the internal competition that exists with the capital city when receiving necessary and unconditional support from the state. And why has this happened to us? That’s easy: we are not, nor have we ever been, the state capital.

This disadvantage, which is a direct result of having to share investment and state support with other cities in the country, could perhaps become the leverage needed to enhance the skills and abilities mentioned above, if Barcelona were to become the capital of its own state. A good student develops his or her skills much better in the context of a good university, one that offers support, cares for and endorses each student, rather than one with worse conditions, distance learning and without a specific tutor among the different professors.
Final conclusion

I was extremely pleased when I was invited to contribute to this White Paper, and to have the opportunity to consider how Barcelona would work as the capital of an independent state. I wanted to evaluate everything we already have and highlight our achievements so far, thanks to Barcelona’s citizens, organisations and public institutions.

In the last section before the conclusions, I tried to stress that this is a reality, one that is just as true as any description of the city that includes issues, problems, challenges and shortcomings, something that is much more common to read about in the press. The second point I wanted to make clear was that in the hypothetical situation as the capital of an independent country, our success would be even more resounding, convincing and sustained than under current conditions.

And I am convinced of the inherent, intrinsic ability of each individual citizen of this city, who have all worked to construct this dynamic, open, participative urban space, capable of self-criticism while also a source of inspiration and a fount of knowledge and creativity, and I believe that the future is in our hands. This future is unfolding with even more independence and freedom to decide what we want, to adopt the right solutions with decisions made by us and on behalf of all of us, that come from our organisations, our solidarity, our public institutions, and our businesses; the future is bright.

I am confident that the three main pillars of this city, as I have described above, are solid foundations after being built over decades, and in some cases, centuries. And I am excited to be a part of this society and this city, the result of so many people doing their part, and all of whom are capable of deciding their future. We must keep fighting to strike the right balance, we must work hard to solve the serious problem of inequality, we must keep competing with other great cities around the world, holding our own even when they have the advantage of more support, and we must achieve all this while integrating the surrounding municipalities and continue building up the city over the next hundred years. I am convinced that if we do not undo everything we have built together, we have a very, promising future ahead of us indeed, especially if we become a capital!
Barcelona is a major European city, capital of the Mediterranean and southern Europe, with great creative and innovative energy, and recognised today throughout Europe and in many countries worldwide.

To mention just one recent example, last March the European Commission awarded the European Capital of Innovation (“iCapital”) prize to Barcelona “for introducing the use of new technologies to bring the city closer to citizens’. Barcelona was chosen by a panel of independent experts in a competition with other European cities from countries such as Finland, France and The Netherlands, among others.

This great European city, the capital of Catalonia, is now putting forward what it aims to be when it is the capital of a new European state. It aims to reflect on the opportunities on offer in the near future and the ways in which we can benefit from them, as well as how we can tackle the challenges that will surely be presented in the future. This paper focuses on the opportunities and challenges for Barcelona from the perspective of the knowledge economy.

Before going into the matter, however, I should like to raise two preliminary matters.

The first is that part of what needs to be done does not need to wait until the city is a state capital. As we shall see, a capital city of a European state clearly has few opportunities that Barcelona does not have today. However, it is also true that many things can be done without waiting for this historical moment - something that we know not when it will occur or how. I think
we need to continue to be highly demanding of ourselves and assume our due responsibilities. Tom Peters said years ago that one has the power that one wants to have; this is true for people but it is also true for countries. We must do things better and we need to be self-critical about the things we do, which are clearly improvable. We’ll return to this later.

The second preliminary matter concerns the Barcelona that we are talking about: what actually is the city? The Barcelona municipality of 1.6 million people? Or the 36 municipalities in the Barcelona metropolitan area with 4.5 million people? Or the metropolitan region of more than 5 million? What is the real Barcelona capital of Catalonia? Today, in Europe, economic and personal relations do not understand administrative boundaries. With an infrastructure that best serves Catalonia, the Barcelona brand extends throughout the whole territory, which can benefit from the strength of its capital. For instance, with the Bracons tunnel, today citizens of Olot and Garrotxa travel to and from Barcelona as they previously would have travelled to Vic. We’ll talk then of the Barcelona city network that connects (and will increasingly connect) with all the towns and cities of Catalonia. We won’t get into the obvious problems of governance posed by the current diversity of government and public agencies involved in this Barcelona capital. That would be one of the problems that need to be solved.

This paper is divided into four sections. First, we take a historical perspective that allows us to understand some of our capabilities and opportunities offered by the new Europe 2020 framework. In the second section, we present the new urban innovation ecosystem model and ponder Barcelona’s situation. In the third section, we analyse some of the new opportunities that Barcelona might have as the capital of a new Catalan state. Finally, we refer to certain things that need improving right now. Over the coming years, whatever happens, we should be able to open up a certain Catalan constituent period that provides us with a new collective dream to do things better than we have until now.

A brief historical perspective

Today’s Barcelona is the result of the first and second industrial revolutions. Without the 19th century steam revolution there would have been no Renaissance or development of the Eixample area of the city. Nor would there have been the economic and population growth that went with it. This radical change of the 19th century was possible thanks to the birth of modern industry, based on new technologies of the time, implemented and developed by employers and workers. In short, thanks to the entrepreneurial spirit of people.

We could say the same of the second industrial revolution of the 20th century. People’s entrepreneurial spirit enabled economic transformation, with a central core based on electricity, the automobile, chemical and other industries that still form the basis of our productive fabric. Here I should like to highlight two new aspects regarding the first revolution, apart from the change of the core technology that made it possible. The first is the determinant role of investment and the arrival of people from other countries. The case of Dr Pearson and his decisive role in the electrification of the country is well known. However, many other engineers and entrepreneurs primarily of European origin (Pearson was American) played a fundamental role in the development of most industrial sectors during the early 20th century.

The second distinguishing feature of the second industrial revolution is the role that started to be played by public administration. The Commonwealth of Catalonia (Mancomunitat de Cata-
lunya), whose centenary we are celebrating this year, and the Republican Generalitat launched an incipient public policy in favour of industrial development, in particular in the area of training technicians and specialists in the service of industrial growth.

So, what is happening in the third industrial revolution, here in the 21st century, which many call the “knowledge revolution” due to the decisive role that people’s knowledge is having on their development? I believe the industrial culture left by the first two industrial revolutions plays a key role here. However, it is also true that certain features have changed radically and force us to think about new models that allow us to better understand what is happening and how we can exploit its huge potential for transformation.

The new city of knowledge

The new conditions for economic development posed by the knowledge revolution in the context of a global economy are of many types and have been presented by several authors in recent years. We could summarise them as follows: a new model of a creative and knowledge-based city connected with the world through city networks; the essential role of public-private collaboration formulated as triple or quadruple “helix” models; the fundamental role of research and transfer to companies; and the importance of clusters as tools for innovative economic activities.

These four essential elements of every current economic promotion policy make up the new policies for cities competing globally. The new city of knowledge is able to attract and keep creative talent from around the world, by defining and efficiently applying policies based on the complicity and participation of stakeholders from the quadruple “helix” model (administration - business - centres of knowledge - civil society), and what can be done to ensure a knowledge system that is tightly interwoven with an innovative productive fabric where clusters formed by companies competing in global markets develop.

We call this set of institutions, businesses, activities and people “the urban innovation ecosystem”. And the complexity and intensity of its interrelationships will determine the potential for economic development and, ultimately, the well-being of citizens.

From the 1990s, a new form of innovation-led areas based on the urban phenomenon began to emerge. This is a new compact city model, for sustainable cities, with a new urbanism based on a mix of use, unlike the traditional industrial city model that created residential areas, productive areas and large shopping centres.

It is within new knowledge cities that collaborative public-private processes can develop - such as the triple or quadruple “helix” model, the creative city model (Florida), or the urban cluster (Porter), among other new models for knowledge cities.

A few years ago this new model served as the basis for designing and developing the 22@ Barcelona district. For a better understanding of its genesis and development, please refer to two publications: Barceló, M and Oliva, A. La ciutat digital (The Digital City), 2002 / Barceló, Miquel and Guillot, Sergi. Gestión de proyectos complejos (Managing Complex Projects), 2013.

This urban innovation ecosystem can be defined as a structural and functional environment consisting of various organisations and interrelated functions, the aim of which is to bring innovation and economic growth to an area. It involves innovation ecosystems that exist today in the world that incorporate the aforementioned models in more or less formalised and spontaneous ways.
The innovation ecosystem represents a dynamic synthesis of previous models, with characteristics related to history and local cultures as well as certain common elements. We need to look at real case studies in order to try to summarise the success factors or characteristics that enable us to understand the dynamics and to define policies and strategies that encourage the development of a specific region or area.

From an economic, social and cultural perspective, the most dynamic cities currently are those that are capable of developing urban environments that are set up as innovation ecosystems in which transfer of knowledge to the economic system is naturally encouraged. The result is the development of knowledge-intensive companies that have a global vision and strong growth potential, favourably affecting the economy of the regions involved. This would be the case, among many others, for the innovation ecosystem formed around Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), which is of great interest to us, both because of its complexity and economic performance.

According to a study published by the prestigious Kauffman Foundation in February 2009, thanks to this innovation ecosystem, 25800 currently active companies have been founded and created by alumni of MIT. These companies offer employment to some 3.3 million workers and generate annual sales of $2 trillion (2 European billions) - more than the entire Spanish GDP. The amount they produce is equivalent to the 11th largest economy in the world.

It seems that a comparative analysis of this and other rich ecosystems could be of interest to Barcelona as a way of identifying possible actions that would enable advances to be made in setting up a true innovation ecosystem.

Today, Catalonia and Barcelona have a good productive base - the result of two industrial revolutions - made up of competing firms, exporting worldwide. Moreover, the Catalan government has developed a strong scientific base in the form of research centres of international excellence with a governance model that has provided stability and incentivised continuous improvement.

The question we now have to ask ourselves is: does Barcelona today have an authentic urban innovation ecosystem? Or are there some shortcomings which should be remedied in the future? Surely this is the key question that Barcelona - as state capital state or in the process of becoming one - should ask itself, and should be able to answer in the form of policies and concrete action plans for implementation over the coming years.

And the most significant shortcoming is that we have a deficient transfer system that means companies do not have the innovative environment they need to help them become more competitive in international markets. And this is the main deficit that we need to know how to overcome - starting now. Becoming a state capital, when it happens, could help us build on this.

In this regard, it should be noted that the new European framework defined by the Europe 2020 objectives could represent a great opportunity for the city of Barcelona - taken as the European metropolis of more than five million people, where the most creative people in the world want to go to live and work. And not just to attend an annual trade show or study for a master’s degree, but to develop their professional creativity and become part of Barcelona’s urban innovation ecosystem.

Europa 2020, the programme to promote R&D Horizon 2020, the New Cohesion Policy and the development of the RIS3 Strategy (Research and Innovation Strategy for Smart Specialisation) as well as the adaptation of RIS3CAT to Catalonia approved by the government, represent the obligatory reference framework for public policies and business strategies necessary to
strengthen the innovative system of the Barcelona metropolis. And to be able to benefit from this opportunity, a reform is needed of Barcelona’s existing policies and instruments, and there also needs to be a profound cultural change among the different participating stakeholders, both public and private. This will be covered in the final section.

Potential benefits of capital status

Looking at Barcelona from the perspective of metropolitan city, being state capital of course represents a set of potentialities that all European state capitals already have and which we should be able to take advantage of. I will cover some of these.

The impact: the evidence shows that state capitals attract large national companies and headquarters of multinationals that generate activity and new opportunities for economic development. What will the multinational companies that are currently headquartered in Madrid with a regional office in Barcelona do? Will they continue as now, or create a new national headquarters here? They will decide, but it also depends on our public policies.

New regulators: an independent Catalonia will have to create new regulatory bodies for regulated sectors. Essentially energy, telecommunications and competition. The first two of which are strategic sectors for the country’s economic development. What will telecommunications and energy companies do? I believe Barcelona has already made policies for these industries - especially in telecommunications. But the opportunities are so large that we need to define a new policy of positive collaboration aimed at these two sectors.

Investment capacity: it is expected that an independent Catalonia will have additional public resources in the medium and long term. It is also expected that Barcelona will be able to agree basic investments with the Catalan government that have not been possible during these years of chronic under-investment by the Spanish State. And I’m thinking not only, or even primarily, of physical infrastructure. Above all, we need to think about knowledge infrastructure for universities, vocational training, research and technology transfer and, in general and fundamentally, promoting an innovative urban ecosystem as discussed above.

Capacity of new legal frameworks as drivers of knowledge: in an independent Catalonia, the Catalan Parliament may legislate on matters of science, innovation, industrial policy, entrepreneurship, sponsorship and patronage, universities, and so on. Barcelona should be an important player in defining this new legal framework and especially in its execution. The city’s future largely depends on this new legal framework.

Basic infrastructure: autonomy in the management of port and airport infrastructure, new energy and telecommunications capacity, new model for mobility and so on. There is no need to stress the strategic importance of these infrastructures.

Others: cultural policy, education policy, boosting cultural sectors and so on.

All in all, I think the main difficulty that may arise is us ourselves. A change of this nature will require leaders and citizens with great capacity to tackle the new responsibilities. There will be what we call a “change of chip” - but a change nonetheless. We will need to be much more
rigorous and give responsibility to those most suited for the various responsibilities, regardless of whether or not they hold a certain card. There will therefore need to be a profound political change - of parties and citizens, and how they relate to each other.

With an independent Catalonia, we will have the opportunity to bring prestige to public service, so that it attracts the most qualified people. And that’s not easy because, for many years, it has not been heading down this road. This will be one of the main challenges for the city and the country. And at the same time, a great opportunity.

Other opportunities for improvement

We need to define and apply a model of economic development based on a new model of local government. The challenges posed by globalisation and the knowledge economy make in-depth reform of local government and relevant public agencies necessary and urgent - in terms of structure, organisation and content. With its own state, the new legal framework could help. However, the challenge is so great that we cannot wait.

In the current economic crisis, two things are happening simultaneously:

- Increase in the needs of the population in the social, economic and employment contexts.
- Reduction of public resources for programmes that finance activities to promote economic development and social services.

This puts a strain on the existing local economic development model based on agencies created in the 1980s, because:

1. The current model is not sustainable due to:
   - Cost structures.
   - A model that is too closed in on itself; is more reactive than proactive.
   - Few generative initiatives and innovative projects.

2. It does not take sufficient advantage of society’s resources or those of local ecosystems. In general, it is a self-serving model that does not take the lead in transformation processes with other potential public and private stakeholders. Few quadruple “helix model” processes such as those recommended by the EU.

3. It has a low capacity to lead local and regional transformation processes that are currently necessary. Overall, there are few innovative managed services.

4. It tends to base its actions on activity goals (“how many courses have we run?”) rather than the results of economic growth in its catchment area.

Firstly, given the economic crisis and the economic promotion model, reform needs to be placed at the heart of the city’s political agenda. A new economic policy is possible and necessary as a basis for a new social policy. The best social policy is one that enables jobs to be created. Local economic development policy is not that which is put together by councillors and their teams, but rather it is the policy of the region or local area. Therefore, it should come under the highest level, the mayor or president of the corresponding consortium or regional/local agency.

Secondly, the lack of public resources must be met with agreed public-private models and formulas to leverage all territories (Catalonia-Europe) and structural areas (quadruple “helix model”). This is only possible with a change of policy in which the local agency is not my agency,
but is an instrument of society to promote the economy of an area, regardless of who leads it or
who executes each of the actions resulting from the social consensus of the metropolitan city.

Third, how can we make this change? At this point, I should like to highlight three key aspects
of the new model:

a. **A new strategy**: focused on achieving results in the form of new jobs and consolidating existing jobs, with the participation and the real commitment of all stakeholders from the public and private sectors. Participation and real commitments; not just meetings.

Defining an intelligent specialisation strategy for the metropolitan city, based on the principles of the EU’s RIS3 strategy. Promoting an entrepreneurial culture (in all areas), project culture, systemic approach to projects (reality is a complex system), and understanding how we can progress the shaping of an urban innovation ecosystem in Barcelona. I recommend reading the classic “Reinventing Government” by David Osborne and Ted Gaebler (1994).

In short, we need specific projects with clear, quantifiable and realistic goals. And, above all, precise control and tracking of results.

b. **New tools**: there is an urgent need for in-depth reform of Barcelona’s current public economic development agencies, if we are to be capable of implementing the new strategy defined in the previous section. These reformed agencies should be capable of taking the lead on identifying and designing economic development strategies and projects; pursuing new opportunities (rather than always repeating the same services); defining and achieving measurable objectives (not activities); and sharing these objectives with the city’s public and private sector stakeholders.

We need to create a networked organisational model that involves a broad base of the city’s external collaborators, institutions and businesses. In other words, placing users and citizens at the heart of agencies’ work. We should also establish a model of metropolitan governance that ensures the coordination of the agencies and the system as a whole.

What we are talking about here is a profound restructuring that is urgently needed and should be based on analysis of each particular situation. It is certainly easier to maintain the status quo, but change is needed and it is urgent.

c. **New objectives**: This involves expanding the scope of action for local economic development work, transforming it into a stimulus for city projects, without needing to manage them directly. The goals of Barcelona’s new economic promotion model could be applied to areas such as training and talent (and this does not mean organising courses), employment plans (connected with the system of training and businesses), promoting entrepreneurship (understood as an entrepreneurial system, not as incubator management), fostering the productive fabric (according to the city’s RIS3 strategy), and identifying and leading the city’s strategic projects (using models for systematic innovation management such as those now being implemented by the most innovative companies).

In short, it is about transforming the philosophy behind the current local economic development model, the tools, programmes, resources and funding with the aim of enabling Barcelona to become the capital of the knowledge economy.

**Some interim conclusions**: Barcelona becoming the capital of a new Catalan state will depend on the will of the Catalan people, democratically expressed in a referendum that will be held sooner...
or later. But until then, we have to continue working to make Barcelona a recognised inter-
national capital. I should like to end this paper by presenting some conclusions concerning what
we must do in the coming years if we want metropolitan Barcelona to become the capital of the
knowledge economy

First, Barcelona today is a result of the first and second industrial revolutions that left behind
an industrial culture that underlies the present and future of the metropolitan city. Promoting
new industries will be one of the key objectives.

Second, the world’s most dynamic cities are today made up of urban innovation ecosystems,
in which public-private collaboration processes can take place. These include the triple or qua-
druple “helix” models, creative city models (Florida), and urban clusters (Porter), among others
that shape the new knowledge city.

Third, our urban innovation ecosystem has shortcomings that need to be corrected in the
future. The most significant of these is the lack of a transfer system, meaning that companies do
not have the innovation-focused environment they need to help them become more competitive
in international markets. And this is the main deficit that we need to learn how to overcome -
starting now. Being state capital, when it happens, could help us build on this.

Fourth, the new European framework defined by the Europe 2020 goals represents a great
opportunity for the city of Barcelona - a great European metropolis of more than five million
inhabitants, where the world’s most creative people want to come to develop their professional
creativity and become part of Barcelona’s urban innovation ecosystem.

Fifth, as state capital, Barcelona could strongly strengthen its urban innovation ecosystem,
among other mechanisms, through the benefits of being the capital or the presence of new regu-
lators in strategic sectors. A greater capacity to invest in knowledge infrastructure. The ability to
develop a legal framework that is much closer to our needs. Autonomy in managing basic infra-
structure and the design and implementation of cultural policies, among others. The change of
perspective would be radical and the potential for transformation, extraordinary. We shall need
to know how to take advantage of it.

Sixth: in the meantime, more work is needed to improve the innovation ecosystem in metropo-
lar Barcelona. And, in this respect, we need to define and apply a model of economic devel-
ment based on a new model of local government. The challenges posed by globalisation and
the knowledge economy make in-depth reform of local government and relevant public agencies
necessary and urgent - in terms of structure, organisation and content. With its own state, the
new legal framework could help. However, the challenge is so great that we cannot wait.
Barcelona City Council’s finances as the capital of a new state

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Introduction

If Catalonia became an independent state, how would this affect municipal finances, and what effect would it have on the finances of Barcelona City Council as the state capital? This is the question we are trying to answer in this article.

Before analysing what financing system Barcelona City Council could have in the future, we must first outline the new responsibilities the organisation might take on. This means first establishing the responsibilities that the city would be given, and secondly estimating how much it would cost to take on these responsibilities, before designing a framework for adequate funding.

There is broad agreement in academia that any local financing system must meet a set of basic principles for it to work properly. On the one hand, it has to ensure the necessary resources to cover the public spending policies to be implemented, a principle known as sufficiency. On the other hand, the municipal government should have the financial autonomy to decide, within a broader regulatory framework, on the structure and composition its income, including tax revenues in particular; these are the principles of fiscal and financial autonomy. This is one way to increase fiscal responsibility in municipalities, which improves political accountability and allows citizens to evaluate their government in two ways: through expenditure and revenue.

One aspect in particular that should be taken into account is the cost associated with being a capital. This issue currently exists because Barcelona is the capital of Catalonia, but becoming the capital of a state could see this cost increase further (this would be the case, for example, for services such as public safety, civil protection, cleaning, parks and gardens, urban planning, maintaining public spaces, and so on). These might increase the ‘overflow’ effects for municipal services, which happens when non-residents use them (e.g. for traffic management, cleaning, maintaining parks and gardens, cultural and sports facilities, etc.). Another factor to consider is the loss of municipal income by substituting private activities for public ones. Some areas in the city will no longer be used for residential and business activities, instead being used for administrative activities, which, in most cases, are eligible for significant tax exemptions and reductions in municipal taxes, reducing the overall municipal tax revenue. In this sense, it is reasonable to assume that the citizens of Barcelona would enjoy the same public services, paying similar tax rates (the principle of equity), although this is something that the municipal finance system would have to calculate.¹

Finally, there should be a high level of coordination between all the authorities involved in the financing model, in this case between the Regional Government and Barcelona City Council.

This article is divided into five sections: the first is this brief introduction; the second analyses Barcelona City Council’s current spending; the third includes a description and assessment of the current financing system, the fourth analyses the city’s finances as the capital of a new state, and finally the last section presents our main conclusions.

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¹ See Bosch, Espasa and Montolio (2014).
Barcelona City Council’s expenditure

According to the budget for the year 2013, Barcelona City Council manages a budget of 2,285.3 million euros, amounting to 1,418 euros per inhabitant. According to the 2013 budget, this amount was allocated primarily to the provision of basic public services (45.5%), which include housing and urban development (construction, housing improvement and maintenance; public road maintenance, maintenance of public buildings, public lighting, etc.) and community well-being and the environment (collection and treatment of waste, cleaning, supply and distribution of water, sewerage, street lighting, cemeteries, etc.). The second major expense for the City Council was on general activities, amounting to 17.7% of the total, followed by the production of public goods, with 13.8% of the total, notably including education and culture. In fourth and fifth place are expenses on social protection (10.0%) and expenditure associated with economic performance (6.4%). Finally, it should be noted that spending for Barcelona City Council’s debt represents 6.6% of the total budget.

These figures show that Barcelona City Council and all the Catalan municipalities provide services that could be classified as “local” (planning, lighting, maintenance of public roads, rubbish collection, basic social welfare, among others). As discussed in the article on “territorial organization”, when we compare this with the services provided by municipalities in other European countries, their local governments provide services related to health, education and social welfare in addition to “local” services. With this in mind, if the new Catalan state uses countries like Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland as a model, then in addition to increasing spending in the areas covered by the welfare state, the services provided by the local authorities would need to be decentralised, with powers delegated to the ‘veguerias’ and municipalities of a certain size. Transferring such powers would not be feasible for every municipality, due to the small size of so many of them.

Obviously, increased powers mean more spending, and this would have to be compensated for with more revenue. The question is what kind of revenue (taxes, subsidies or other revenue) and, if taxes would rise, then what would be the best course of action; to raise existing taxes, implement new ones, increase revenue shares, or share taxes. To answer these questions, we must first analyse the current financing model.

The current finances of Barcelona City Council

Currently, the finances of Barcelona City Council are controlled by state regulations; in particular, by Law 39/1988, of 28 December, regulating local tax collection, and Royal Legislative Decree 2/2004, of March 5, approving the revised text of the law on local tax collection. However, although the national legislative framework relates to the state, it should be kept in mind that the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia regulates important aspects for local governments, both in terms of financing and jurisdictional framework. In fact, the Statute establishes that the Parliament of Catalonia should approve its own law on local financing.

2. See Bosch and Espasa (2014).
### Table 1. Revenue for Barcelona City Council. Received in 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Revenue</th>
<th>Thousands of euros</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Taxes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property tax (IBI)</td>
<td>977,054</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income tax (IAE)</td>
<td>600,466</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle tax (IVTM)</td>
<td>92,677</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax on the increase of the value of urban land (IIVTN)</td>
<td>63,725</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax on construction, installations and works</td>
<td>114,404</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other taxes and former taxes</td>
<td>21,924</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total tax revenue</strong></td>
<td>893,194</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of income tax</td>
<td>49,790</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of VAT</td>
<td>27,347</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of excise taxes</td>
<td>6,723</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total tax share</strong></td>
<td>83,860</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transfer payments</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current transfer payments</td>
<td>1,085,427</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the state (Supplementary Fund)</td>
<td>954,605</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>130,822</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Capital transfers</strong></td>
<td>20,940</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Taxes, public prices and others</strong></td>
<td>323,571</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other revenue</strong></td>
<td>51,923</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asset turnover</td>
<td>44,454</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investments</td>
<td>7,469</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total non-financial revenue</strong></td>
<td>2,458,915</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial revenue</td>
<td>41,248</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,500,163</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Created by the authors based on the 2013 Budget.

With regard to Barcelona City Council’s financing model, the first thing to note is that it is the same as for the other Catalan municipalities. It is based on two factors: taxes, which in 2013 accounted for 39% of non-financial revenue (977.1 million euros) and transfer payments, representing 44% of the total (1,106.4 million euros). Within the taxes shown, the level of revenue from property tax is notable, as it generates 24% of the total; in second place, a long way behind, comes the tax on the increase in the value of urban land, which generates 5% of revenue; the tax on business activity generates 4% of revenue; vehicle tax generates 3% of revenue; and the tax on construction, installations and works generates just 1% of revenue. Barcelona, like other municipalities with more than 75,000 inhabitants, and capitals of provincial and autonomous regions, also receives a share of income tax, VAT and excise tax (on oil, tobacco and alcohol). This shared tax generates just 3% of total revenue (see Table 1).
Regarding transfer payments, current transfer payments stand out, as they represent 43% of total revenue (1,085.4 million euros), while capital transfers only amount to 1%. Within the former, the state transfer system places an important role through the Supplementary Fund, which generated a total of 954.6 million years over the 2013 financial year, 39% of total revenue.

Thus, in 2013, taxes and transfer payments contributed to 83% of municipal revenues. The remaining revenue comes from taxes, public prices and other income (13%), revenue from asset turnover and investments (2%), and financial revenue (2%).

This simple description of the revenue structure shows that this financing model presents significant problems, including the following:

1. A lack of financial autonomy caused by reliance on transfer payments, especially the State Supplementary Funds, has lead to a lack of fiscal responsibility.
2. It is difficult to apply the principles of financial sufficiency, given that the current framework of municipalities makes it difficult to calculate the resources needed to meet the cost of the allocated services.
3. There is a lack of fiscal autonomy, given the limited capacity for decision-making relating to municipal taxes, especially in terms of tax rates.
4. There is no system to balance the resources allocated to municipalities based on principles of equity. There are considerable differences between the resources per capita for each of the municipalities.
5. There are no mechanisms in place for monitoring and updating the current model to ensure the stability of municipal resources. The changing social and economic situation requires mechanisms (both technical and institutional) to adapt the model to any changes. In this regard, further analysis of potential options for updating the model are needed.
6. There are no mechanisms in place to encourage institutional loyalty. The distribution of income and expenditure between different levels of government entails the need for a systematic coordination of actions, so that any new expenditure is accompanied by the sufficient resources to carry them out.

In addition to this problem we should also ask: if Barcelona became the capital of a new state, would this be the best financing system for Barcelona City Council? What scenarios could we consider? The following offers some answers to these questions.

**Financial models for Barcelona as the state capital**

As mentioned above, when designing a new financial model for Barcelona City Council, it is first necessary to know what powers the city will have and how much it will cost to provide the services, ensuring that they are provided according to the principles of sufficiency, autonomy, responsibility and equity.

On a European level, non-financial revenue structures vary substantially between countries, depending on their main source of income. There are three major sources of non-financial resources: taxes, grants and other resources, including public prices and equity income, etc. In

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3. For a more detailed analysis, see Espasa and Vilalta (2013).
terms of the average in the EU-15, the non-financial revenue accounts for 37% of the total, while
subsidies make up 43% and non-financial revenue accounts for the final 20%.4

Taxes are the main source of local financing in Nordic countries: Sweden (71% from non-
financial revenue), Denmark (52%) and Finland (50%), but also in countries such as Austria
(56%), France (54%), Belgium (49%) and Germany (41%). In other countries, subsidies are more
important, except in Greece, where other non-financial revenues are higher. With respect to the
relative importance of subventions, the Netherlands and the UK stand out, with 67% and 66% of
their total local revenue coming from non-financial revenue.

According to the type of tax employed, it is possible to establish four different models: Anglo-
Saxon countries, Nordic countries, federal countries and Latin countries.

The Anglo-Saxon model, which includes Ireland and the UK, only has one local taxation pol-
icy: property tax. In these countries, it is therefore the only local tax revenue. Another model to
look at is the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland and Sweden). The main feature of the Nordic
model is that local taxation focuses on individual income tax, which is more important, along
with other taxes such as taxes on immovable property and taxes on company income, which
have a residual importance. In Sweden this is the only form of tax revenue, while in the other
two countries it represents around 90% of tax revenue. This way of structuring local income tax
is based on a system of shared tax bases between the central government and the local govern-
ment. In other words, local governments (municipalities and counties) adopt the central income
tax, and on that basis apply the tax rate, which they are free to establish as they wish (there are
no limits). The tax rates are always proportional.

The third model is the one used by local governments in federal European countries (Ger-
many, Austria and Belgium) and it is characterised by a mixture of the two previous methods,
the Scandinavian model and the Anglo-Saxon model. Accordingly, there is a tax on immov-
able property and income tax, with the latter more important than the former, except for in
Belgium. The country where individual income tax is the most important is Austria, where it
represents 49% of local tax revenue. Belgium and Germany follow with 41% and 32% respect-
vively. In Belgium, local income tax is used to establish a proportional tax base for the central
income tax. Germany and Austria have the same source of income in terms of the proportion of
federal income tax they receive; for example, German municipalities receive 15% of the revenue
obtained from this tax in their area. Alongside these two figures there are other, relatively less
important sources of revenue. However, it should be noted that the tax on economic activity is a
specific tax in Germany and Austria, calculated using the profit made on economic activities. It
should also be highlighted that the Austrian government receives a large share of federal taxes.

The final model to study at is the Latin model (Spain, France, Greece, Italy and Portugal),
characterised by a very diversified tax structure, with a relatively low revenue from individual
income tax, and different levels of transfer payments.

In view of these differences, and considering the current situation, the new financing model
for the city of Barcelona should be structured so that taxes have a much greater importance than
they currently have, reducing transfer payments.

With regard to taxes, federal European countries have a good framework to follow, with the
system dominated by two sources of income: a tax on immovable property and individual

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4 See Bosch and Espasa (2006).
income tax, in addition to further taxes that fall into the second category. This structure fits in well with the fact that, within the new state, Barcelona would provide local services, many of which would be closely linked to property ownership, as well as other services such as education, health and social services. As these are services that focus on people, it seems reasonable for a significant portion of the city’s revenue to come from personal taxation. In this regard, it is interesting to look at the Nordic countries, which share income tax with the central government. This means that local governments adopt the income tax rate used by the central government, and apply a proportional tax rate on top of that. This design guarantees more financial autonomy and shared fiscal responsibility, as well as a share of the tax revenue generated.

As for property tax, it should be noted that due to its relative stability it is one of the most frequently used municipal taxes. Therefore, it should be the cornerstone of municipal finances, preferably with a more important role due to its potential for increasing revenue. However, in order to improve this tax, a thorough review of the system would be necessary, with an increase in fiscal autonomy in relation to the tax rates, deductions and other allowances applied.

The remaining taxes would play a less important role, and they could be redefined when the new state was created (this would be apply to the tax on business activity, as it could be redesigned to apply only to company profit), and they could be reassigned to different local authorities (such as the vehicle tax, which could become the responsibility of the Regional Government), removed altogether (for example capital gains tax, which is a double taxation and therefore does not serve much use), or new, more modern taxes could even be created, such as a tourism tax.

As for transfer payments, they would come from the Regional Government and would have to ensure sufficiency. More specifically, the tax system should be designed so that it covers the costs of the services transferred to Barcelona City Council that are not covered by average municipal tax revenues, as well as the possible costs that Barcelona would have to take on as the capital of a new state. In this regard, it would be necessary to establish a method for calculating spending needs, to therefore work out the amount of transfer payments required and how the money would be distributed among the different municipalities.

The remaining revenue should complement these two pillars of municipal financing, but it should be kept in mind that the municipalities, as local governments supplying public services, will have more potential to use the revenue in line with the compensation principle. Thus, taxes, subsidised prices, special contributions and other revenues also play a certain role and they are likely to be used even further in the future.

Regarding access to credit, some limits should be established, which should be based on the financial situation of each municipality, to avoid penalising municipalities with healthy finances.

Finally, new regulations on local financing systems in a new Catalan state should guarantee cooperation between the two levels of government (central and local), as well as ensuring institutional loyalty and stability, and they should consider whether Barcelona, as the capital of a new state, should have a special municipal financing system.
Conclusions

When asked what impact Catalan independence would have on financing for Barcelona City Council, the answer is that it would create the opportunity to design a new model of local financing.

This new model should respond to the new responsibilities that the capital and large municipalities would have, as well as the costs corresponding to this new status. Reference models allow us to see a future scenario in which Barcelona would take on new responsibilities in the fields of education, health and social services, as well as a financing system that would respond to this new reality. In this sense, the new financing model should be based mainly on taxes, within which we believe income tax and property tax should play key roles. Barcelona should have greater fiscal autonomy in order to modify the most important aspects of these taxes, such as the rates and any tax deductions. As supplementary revenue could come through transfer payments from the Regional Government, to cover the costs of basic services, as well as the additional costs of being a capital. Finally, a new framework to govern relations between the Regional Government and local councils would need to be established, to guarantee collaboration and institutional loyalty.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Barcelona, a financial centre

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Introduction

The aim of this article is to analyse the current situation of Barcelona as a financial centre. Barcelona has been, is and will be a very important city in the financial sector. It already stood out in the Middle Ages when the Barcelona Stock Exchange was founded.

A city is called a “financial centre” if important financial institutions and financial markets are established there and a great deal of financial business is carried out by the banks and insurance companies that are based or operate there. We will consider Barcelona’s history as a financial centre, its current situation and its future potential. Therefore, we will analyse the stock market and the banks established in Barcelona that offer opportunities for borrowing and investing to companies and individuals. We will also study the Catalan Institute of Finance (ICF), a public credit institution, and financial services companies. We will stress the role of the Barcelona European Finance Centre association because the above entities, together with collective investment and pension fund management companies, leasing, renting, forfeiting and confirming companies, rating agencies and share and debt issuing companies, in addition to private individuals investing in financial assets or deposits, all make Barcelona the second most important financial centre in Spain and the first in Catalonia.

History of the Barcelona Stock Exchange

The origins of the Barcelona Stock Exchange go back to the Middle Ages, when goods markets were created as a result of the trade revolution that took place in Catalonia. The Ordinacions of Jaume I promulgated in 1721 are the most complete ancient text regulating the role of “commercial mediators”.

The contracting of securities began in the mid-19th century, with the birth of the first Catalan corporations. In Barcelona a very active market developed and its mediators were the forerunners of modern-day stockbrokers. In 1915 the official Commercial Stock Exchange of Barcelona was created. It was governed and administered until 29 July 1989 by the College of Exchange and Stock Brokers of Barcelona.

As a result of the Stock Market Reform Law of 1988, the Barcelona Stock Exchange and the other three Spanish stock exchanges (Madrid, Bilbao and Valencia) were each governed by a body with no financial operations; thus was born the governing body of the Barcelona Stock Exchange. As a result of the Stock Market Reform Law, stock exchanges became joint-stock companies, in which the capital is subscribed by members of the market (dealers and brokers, joint-stock companies, and later banks). Another new feature of this law was the disappearance of individual mediating agents, known as “exchange and stock brokers”.

The advent of new technologies in stock exchanges led to the gradual replacement of verbal contracts based on the “open outcry” system, with a new electronic trading system. One of the other pillars of the stock market reform was the introduction of a computerized stock interconnection system, managed by orders and governed by a stock exchange society consisting of the four bodies governing each stock exchange. The “continuous market” was created and is managed by orders that are sent to a central computer and received through computer terminals with real-time information.
On 4 May 1994 the new electronic trading floor was opened at the Barcelona Stock Exchange. The members of the Barcelona Stock Exchange have trading desks equipped with the latest technologies for access to all global markets. One of the most important features of this trading system is that it is, to use a metaphor, a market with four virtual doors (the stock exchanges of Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao and Valencia) and for each value and each moment a single price is formed, regardless of the stock exchange through which it has been traded.

In late 2002, the Barcelona Stock Exchange, together with the Clearing and Settlement Society for Stock Exchange Transactions (IBERCLEAR) and the other Spanish stock markets, formed the Bolsa y Mercados Españoles (BME) holding company, which brought together the Spanish securities, equities and derivatives markets and the clearing and settlement systems. The BME’s goal was to make the Spanish markets as competitive as possible by applying a unified strategy to meet the challenges of the future.

We should also mention that Barcelona was a pioneer in the Spanish derivatives market, because the Resolution of the General Directorate of the Treasury of 21 March 1989 allowed two parties that are not “account holders” to trade book-entered government bonds and established the conditions for the development of a market of this type. On 16 May 1990 the financial futures market (MEFF) started to deal financial futures in Barcelona. Financial futures are contracts that oblige the buyer and seller to buy or sell financial assets at a future date at a predetermined future date and a price set when the contract is signed.

The current situation of the Barcelona Stock Exchange

The Barcelona Stock Exchange still forms part of the BME holding company and has a 25% holding in the Stock Exchange Society, as do each of the other three Spanish stock exchanges. The Stock Exchange Society manages the Spanish Stock Exchange Interconnection System (SIBE).

The trading volume of the Barcelona Stock Exchange was €192 billion in 2013. Of this figure, €44 billion was in securities and €148 billion in equities. The trading volume of equities accounts for 21.08% of the total traded on the SIBE. The companies registered in Barcelona whose shares are traded on the continuous market account for approximately 10% of all listed companies. These companies are the following: Abertis, Applus, Banc Sabadell, CaixaBank, Catalana Occidente, Damm, Dogi, eDreams Odigeo, Ercros, FCC, Fersa, Fluidra, Gas Natural, Grifols, Inmobiliaria Colonial, Laboratoris Almirall, Miquel i Costas, Molins and Renta Corporación. The number of Catalan companies listed is not higher because most of the major Spanish companies are registered in Madrid.

The Barcelona Stock Exchange also participates in the Alternative Investment Market (MAB). This market promoted by BME was created in 2005 as an organized system for trading low-capitalization stocks and financial instruments: shares, securities issued by collective investment institutions such as variable capital investment companies (societats d’inversió de capital variable, SICAVs) and other values that require specific treatment such as listed real estate investment companies (societats cotitzades d’inversió en el mercat immobiliari, SOCIMIs). The participation of Catalan companies in this market is roughly 25% of the total.

The Barcelona Stock Exchange plays a prominent role in drawing up stock indexes. The oldest is BCNGLOBAL-100, which is a general index of the Barcelona Stock Exchange that started on 1 January 1986 and has continued to the present. Its base value is 100 and it ended 2013 with a
value of 809.14 points. It consists of the 100 stocks with the highest trading volume and quoting frequency. In 1994 the BCN MID-50 index was created to indicate the evolution of the prices of the 50 medium-sized Spanish companies that have the highest trading volume and quoting frequency. In this case the base value was 4,000 points and the base date was 1 January 1994. The closing value in 2013 was 16,544.40.

In 2001 four new indexes were launched: BCN ROE-30, BCN PROFIT-30, BCN PER-30 and BCN INDEXCAT, all with a base value of 10,000 points and a base date of 1 January 2001. BCN ROE-30 indicates the share price performance of the companies listed in IBEX 35 (the stock index of the Spanish market) with the highest financial return. BCN PROFIT-30 indicates the evolution of the prices of the companies listed in IBEX 35 with the highest profits. BCN-30 shows the performance of the companies listed in IBEX 35 with the lowest price/earnings ratio.

BCN INDEXCAT shows the performance of the companies based in Catalonia. Its selection criteria are different to those of the other indexes because it uses the market capitalization adjusted by the free float methodology (taking into account the number of shares readily available on the market).

History of private banks

In this section we consider the history of the banks that currently have their headquarters in Barcelona. We will consider the origins of CaixaBank and Banc Sabadell, and we will also mention the 90-year history of Caixa de Catalunya, although it has now been taken over by BBVA.

The savings banks emerged from the Mounts of Piety, the first of which was set up in Barcelona in 1740, though savings banks as such were not set up until the early 19th century. Their aim was to protect and improve the situation of the most needy classes. They have always been linked to charity and philanthropy and have had strong local roots. The first savings bank in Barcelona was created in 1844 under the name Caixa d’Estalvis i Mont de Pietat de Barcelona, also known as Caixa de Barcelona.

In April 1904 the Caixa de Pensions per a la Vellesa i d’Estalvi de Catalunya i Balears was also registered in Barcelona. In 1990 it merged with the Caixa d’Estalvis i Mont de Pietat de Barcelona to form the Caixa d’Estalvis i Pensions de Barcelona, also known as “la Caixa”. In 1992 la Caixa set up the CaiFor group in conjunction with FORTIS to manage insurance and purchased the Banco de las Islas Canarias. Continuing its policy of bank expansion, in 1994 it bought the Barcelona-based Banco de Europa and changed its name to Microbank to allow it to specialize in micro-loans. In 2000 it created CaixaHolding to bring together the industrial investments and the insurance group. Another landmark of the organization was in 2007, when it changed its name to Criteria Caixa Corp and went public.

Caixa d’Estalvis de Catalunya, created in 1926 by the Provincial Government of Barcelona, is another organization that has been a leader in Catalonia and Barcelona. As part of the concentration of the sector, in December 2009 Caixa d’Estalvis de Catalunya merged with Caixa d’Estalvis de Manresa and Caixa d’Estalvis de Tarragona to become the fourth largest Spanish savings bank in assets and the second largest in Catalonia.

The banking tradition in Catalonia was shown by the creation of Banc de Sabadell in 1881 on the initiative of 127 businessmen and traders of Sabadell, with the aim of financing local industry and supplying it with raw materials (wool and coal) on more favourable terms. In 1907
Banc de Sabadell began a new stage by eliminating its non-banking businesses and focusing on commercial banking. After a long period of organic growth, in the 21st century Banc de Sabadell began a major process of external growth, and in 2003 it made a public offer to buy 100% of the capital of Banco Atlántico S.A. In 2004 it created the trademark Sabadell Atlántico.

The expansion of Banc de Sabadell continued in 2006 with the purchase of Banco Urquijo, which positioned it as the second largest bank in Spain in private banking. In the international sphere, in 2007 it purchased the TransAtlantic Bank of Miami. In 2008 it made a strategic alliance with the Zurich Insurance Group and one year later it continued its international expansion with the purchase of Mellon United National Bank.

The current status of private banks

The growth of Banc de Sabadell continued in 2010 with the acquisition of Banco Guipuzcoano. With the purchase of Caja de Ahorros del Mediterráneo (CAM) and the regional network and business of the Banco Mare Nostrum (BMN) in Catalonia and Aragon in 2012, it became one of the top four private banking groups in Spain. In 2013 it purchased Banco Gallego and the Spanish business of the Lloyds Banking Group. On 30 June 2014, the total assets of Banc de Sabadell came to about €162 billion and it had 2,336 branches with 17,698 employees.

In Catalonia, as in Spain, the restructuring of the financial system has led to a transformation of savings banks. The conversion of savings banks into commercial banks was led by “la Caixa”, which in 2011 transferred its banking business to Criteria Caixa Corp and became a banking group called CaixaBank. In the previous year it had absorbed Caixa Girona. The policy of external growth of CaixaBank continued in 2011 with the acquisition of the banking business of Bankpyme and in 2012 with the purchase of Banca Civica, which was composed of Caja Navarra, Cajasol, Caja Canarias and Caja Burgos. With this operation “la Caixa” became the largest financial institution in Catalonia and Spain.

CaixaBank continued its expansion with the acquisition of Banco de Valencia in 2013, and of Barclays Bank, S.A.U. in late August 2014. This operation positioned it as the leading financial group in the Catalan and Spanish markets in both banking and insurance. On 30 June 2014, the total assets of CaixaBank came to about €337 billion and it had 5,695 branches and 31,574 employees. It has thus become the leading bank in Catalonia and the third largest Spanish bank in total assets.

Catalunya Caixa was purchased in July 2014 by BBVA, which in 2012 had already acquired UNIM, composed of Caixa de Sabadell, Caixa de Terrassa and Caixa de Manlleu. The acquisition of Catalonia Bank led to a sharp increase in BBVA’s market share in Catalonia, from 12.3% to 24.9%. It now ranks as the second bank in Catalonia, after CaixaBank and Banc de Sabadell.

There is no space here for a complete list of all the other Spanish banks and the EU and non-EU banks with branches in Barcelona. In summary, on 31 December 2013 there were 674, 21 and 2, respectively, i.e., a total of 697 branches, despite the concentration of banking that has taken place in the last few years. The total volume of deposits in Barcelona province on 31 March 2014 was about €155 billion, i.e. 79.3% of the deposits of Catalonia and 13.6% of the deposits of Spain. The total volume of loans granted on the same date was about €245 billion, i.e. 83.7% of the loans in Catalonia and 16.6% of the loans in Spain.
The importance of banks is also shown by the number of employees working in the banking sector in the province of Barcelona, 15,757 on 31 December 2013, accounting for 14.45% of all employees of the sector in Spain.

A less important part of the financial system in Barcelona consists of credit unions: Caixa de Crèdit d’Enginyers and Caixa d’Arquitectes are both based in Barcelona. The main feature of credit unions is that the members are both customers and owners of the company. The Caixa d’Enginyers Societat Cooperativa de Crèdit was founded in 1967 with the aim of providing general financial services to its members and it is now a financial and insurance group that follows a model of personal, commercial and institutional banking in Spain. At the end of 2013 it had 121,911 members and its total assets were about €2.37 billion. Caixa d’Arquitectes Societat Cooperativa de Crèdit was founded in 1983 on the initiative of the governing bodies of the schools of architecture, who wanted to have their own financial institution. At the end of 2013 it had 26,210 members and its total assets were about €1.44 billion.

The public credit institution

The public bank in Catalonia is the Catalan Institute of Finance (ICF), which was established in 1985 with a sole shareholder, the Government of Catalonia. It was created to promote the growth of the Catalan economy by facilitating access to finance for companies based in Catalonia, mainly small and medium-sized enterprises. It was intended to complement the private financial sector by offering loans, guarantees, venture capital and equity loans (some under joint ventures with business angels). The ICF is currently financed by the Government of Catalonia through funds that it obtains in the domestic and international markets. It is governed by the Board of Governors.

In 2013 the Government of Catalonia passed a royal decree to transform the ICF into a corporation subject to the regulations of banks under the control of national and European regulators and independent of the Government. In 2013, the ICF granted loans and guarantees to some 1,200 companies for a total of €620 million, which enabled the creation and/or retention of 61,000 jobs. Of the transactions, 50% were used to finance new investments and current assets, and the remaining 50% were used for refinancing in order to facilitate the viability of companies in a difficult financial situation. The ICF has a staff of 93 employees. In the first half of 2014 the ICF increased its activity, granting loans and guarantees to 801 companies for a total of €377 million.

The group has two subsidiaries: Instrument Financers per Empreses Innovadores (IFEM) and ICF Capital. IFEM is dedicated to managing European funds for new businesses or start-ups (seed capital). ICF Capital is a company managing venture capital. It provides advice and manages and promotes funds and public or private venture capital companies that provide capital for Catalan companies. ICF, along with other financial institutions, also has a shareholding in Avalis de Catalunya, SGR. Avalis is a mixed capital (public and private) mutual guarantee society that was promoted by the Government of Catalonia in 2003 with the aim of facilitating access to credit for SMEs and freelancers by granting financial, technical and economic guarantees.
**Investment service companies**

Investment service companies (*empreses de serveis financers*, ESIs) are financial institutions that provide professional investment services to third parties. They are subject to the supervision, inspection and control of the Spanish National Securities Market Commission (CNMV). There are different types of ESI: dealers (*societats de valors i borsa*, SVBs), brokers (*agències de valors i borsa*, AVBs), banks, portfolio companies and, since 2008, also financial advice companies (*empreses d’assessorament financer*, EAFIs).

Dealers receive, process and execute stock orders on behalf of third parties and on their own account. They can also manage portfolios, mediate in the placement of public share offerings, etc. There are 14 dealers operating at the Barcelona Stock Exchange. Some of them are also members of the Madrid Stock Exchange. Brokers also act as market intermediaries, processing orders to buy and sell securities, but unlike dealers they can only act on behalf of others. There are two brokers operating at the Barcelona Stock Exchange.

Banks may also act as intermediaries. They are also responsible for the custody and administration of securities of their clients, advising them and granting them loans to facilitate their investments. Nine banks are members of the Barcelona Stock Exchange.

Portfolio management companies (*societats gestores de carteres*, SGCs) almost exclusively manage the investment portfolios of their clients. There are only two SGCs based in Barcelona and the number based in Madrid is also small because dealers and brokers can also manage portfolios.

EAFIs are the latest type of ESI. These are companies that offer independent financial advice and therefore make personalized recommendations on investment to their clients. There are 24 EAFIs based in Barcelona, accounting for 17.4% of the total in Spain.

**Insurance companies**

Insurance companies cover risks (illness, death, fire, cars, homes, etc.). There are three types: insurance companies, banks that perform insurance operations, and mutual societies (*mutualitats de previsió social*, MPS). Mutual societies are non-profit organizations established under the principles of solidarity and mutual help in order to cover risks associated with persons in connection with the labour market, such as unemployment, sickness and disability.

As in the rest of Spain, the insurance business in Catalonia has grown in recent years, but has also been affected by the process of restructuring of the financial sector in general, which has involved the concentration of insurance companies and MPS. Banks offering insurance products have also shown great development. Either through entities that are part of their banking group or through joint ventures with leading international insurance companies, they have grown significantly. An example of the first type is CaixaBank with VidaCaixa, SegurCaixa and Adeslas, which together cover the different risks. An example of the second type is Banc de Sabadell, which in 2008 made an alliance with Zurich through which Banc Sabadell-Vida, Banc Sabadell Assegurances Generals and Banc Sabadell Pensions will be exclusive providers of life insurance, general insurance and pension plans for all the branches of Banc de Sabadell.
Of the insurance companies operating in Barcelona, Catalana Occidente stands out because of its history and the fact that its headquarters are in Barcelona (first on Passeig de Gràcia and later in Sant Cugat). The beginning of the Catalana Occidente Group dates back to 1864, with the incorporation of the company “Catalana de Seguros Contra Incendios a Prima Fija”, known as La Catalana, on the initiative of Fernando de Delás i de Gelpí. In 1947 the portfolio of La Catalana was merged with that of Occidente, and the Catalana Occidente insurance group was created.

During the 20th century the company expanded its geographical base and its spread of cover. In 1991 it formed a joint venture with the Austrian insurance group Uniqa, through which it collaborated to create the subsidiary Cosalud. From the early 20th century the company had been listed on the Barcelona Stock Exchange, but in 1997 it made an initial public offering of shares and became listed on the continuous market.

In late 1999 it purchased the company Multinacional Aseguradora (MNA) from Caixa de Catalunya, thus increasing its turnover. In 2001 it made a successful takeover bid for Lepanto S.A. and its subsidiary Norte Hispana, which was specialized in burial insurance. Also in 2004 it purchased Seguros Bilbao from the Fortis group. In 2006 it became the largest shareholder of Crédito y Caución, with 43.18% of its capital. The expansion continued in 2012 with the purchase of the Spanish subsidiary of the French company Groupama (which changed its name to Plus Ultra Seguros). This series of purchases has made the Catalana Occidente Group one of the largest insurance groups in Spain and Catalonia.

Mutual societies were also affected by this process of concentration of insurance companies. On 31 December 2013 there were 39 in Catalonia, of which 18 had their headquarters in Barcelona capital.

Finally, needless to say, the leading multinational insurance groups have offices in Barcelona.

**Other organizations and participants in the financial sector**

The list of other entities participating in the financial sector is long. Twelve collective investment management companies and pension fund management companies currently have their headquarters in Barcelona. A total of 247 leasing and renting companies currently have branches in Barcelona. The number of factoring and confirming companies is smaller, and they are generally linked to the major banking groups. A total of 35 venture capital firms have their headquarters in Barcelona, as does Fitch Rating España S.A.U.

Finally, the Barcelona European Finance Centre association (BCFE), created in 1991 by companies in the financial sector and public administrations, plays an important role in the financial sector. BCFE’s goal is to promote Barcelona as a platform for international finance.

**Conclusions**

Throughout this article it has been clearly shown that Barcelona is an important financial centre because of the Barcelona Stock Exchange and the important financial institutions that have their
headquarters there, in addition to all those with headquarters in Spain and in EU and Non-EU countries that have branches there.

One of the possible scenarios for the future, if Catalonia becomes independent, would be for Barcelona to become the capital of the state, and in the financial sector it would be the most important financial centre in the country. The ICF could become the Central Bank of Catalonia and carry out the functions that the Bank of Spain carries out in the Spanish State. It would therefore depend directly on the European Central Bank as the sole regulator and supervisor in the context of banking union.

Since we form part of a context of international stock markets characterized by the tendency towards globalization, the Barcelona Stock Exchange should maintain its current situation in BME, fostering alliances with the major international markets as far as possible.

As for the Catalan banks, one of the short-term effects could be slightly negative, with the flight of some clients to non-Catalan banks and an increase in their financing costs on the international financial markets. The uncertainty of the process could also lead their share price, like that of other listed Catalan companies, to be adversely affected. However, the long-term effects would be positive, given the great potential of Catalan financial institutions and companies and their ability to adapt to changes, on the assumption that Catalonia will continue in the European Union and the European Monetary Union.

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Introduction

The current political situation has conjured up an imminent and credible scenario for the city of Barcelona that would have been inconceivable even just a few years ago, namely that it could become a national capital. How would such a change of status affect its competitiveness? From what angle do we need to address this challenge? Analysis of the main indexes and rankings of urban competitiveness on an international scale can provide a summarised overview that we may use as the basis for initial approaches to answering these questions. In addition, certain precedents of how attainment of the status of national capital has affected the economic development of some other cities can provide us with interesting perspectives. Nevertheless, we need to define the concept of competitiveness and understand its particular importance to cities.
Competitiveness of cities

Is it merely coincidence that 40% of global production is concentrated in the world’s one hundred largest cities? Is it merely coincidence that 85% of all innovative activity is concentrated within the spheres of influence of the forty largest cities? The creation of huge urban agglomerations and the development of their spheres of influence, what writers such as Richard Florida (2007) have called “megaregions” have gone hand in hand with the intensification of the globalised economy over the last two centuries. The dynamics of productive specialisation, economies of agglomeration or creation of innovative environments that can attract the most highly qualified professionals are some of the factors that explain the increasingly important role of large cities in determining a region’s competitiveness. It is a role that, in political units in processes of transition such as the European Union, could lead to reassessment of the conventional significance of nation states.

This growing weight of cities in worldwide economic activity, however, does not explain just what we mean by competitiveness. The World Economic Forum (2014) defined a city’s competitiveness as “the set of factors that determine a city’s level of sustainable productivity”, i.e. not just the production of goods and services with higher value at a lower cost (productivity), but also the capacity to do it continuously over time (sustainability). This is, then, a broad concept of competitiveness that includes environmental and social criteria that can ultimately determine the viability of certain economic activities in a region. Both institutional factors, such as a capacity for strategic vision or a town council’s autonomy of management, and good judgement in the design of economic policies and the ability to connect the city to the rest of the world through a good network of communications and a highly dynamic and creative culture become equally important for making a city into an attractive hub for talent, projects and capital.

Competitiveness indexes: Barcelona’s position

To a large extent, all those factors appear in the three leading competitiveness indexes of the world’s major cities. How is Barcelona positioned in terms of competitiveness?

Global City Competitiveness Index of the Economist Intelligence Unit (2013)

This index measures and classifies the world’s 120 largest cities, which represent around 29% of global GDP at present. It frames the concept of competitiveness of cities as their proven ability to attract capital, businesses, talent and visitors and looks at two timelines: the current position (2012) and the forecast long-term position (2025). Based upon that concept, this summarised index is defined by means of 32 indicators (21 qualitative and 10 quantitative) grouped into eight categories (with the corresponding percentage weighting): economic potential (30%), human capital (15%), institutional efficiency (15%), physical capital (10%), financial system development (10%), overall attractiveness (10%), natural and environmental risks (5%) and social and cultural characteristics (5%).

Barcelona now ranks 41st as a competitive city, although its relative rating drops for 2025 (55th). That repositioning is due to the forecast competitive rise of new emerging metropolises, since Barcelona’s competitiveness index remains practically constant. The categories where it
excels in relative terms are social and cultural characteristics (9th place, with particular emphasis on its high rating for dynamic culture, diversity and freedom of expression) and international attractiveness (9th place, where the number of congresses and the availability of higher education play a crucial role).

**AT Kearney’s Global Cities Index (2014)**

This index analyses 84 international cities and calculates a competitiveness index based upon 26 indicators classed into five different dimensions (with the corresponding percentage weighting): economic dynamism (30%), human capital (30%), free circulation of information (15%), cultural attractiveness (15%) and international political influence (10%). In comparison with the index mentioned above, competitiveness is linked more closely to the intensity of circulation of ideas, individuals, assets and capital rather than to the macroeconomic figures for the city in question; the use of those variables might be expected to improve Barcelona’s rating. As it happens, Barcelona places 24th in this ranking, where the most noteworthy contributions are from economic dynamism, free circulation of information and, somewhat farther behind, cultural attractiveness. On the other hand, human capital and international political influence were the categories with the least impressive contribution.

**Mori Memorial Foundation’s Global Power City Index (2013)**

This index aims to summarise the competitiveness of a selection of forty cities around the world based upon seventy indicators in six different aspects: economy, research and development, cultural interaction, quality of life, environment and accessibility. Its main differentiating factor is not found in the mix of indicators used, but rather in the two viewpoints that it offers. First of all, it presents a ranking according to five different actor profiles: manager, researcher artist, visitor and resident. The mix of indicators is different for each profile and it offers an enriching multiple viewpoint on the different cities’ degree of attractiveness. In addition, it also makes use of an assessment methodology to supplement conventional competitiveness indexes, namely intangible urban value. This indicator aims to capture variables linked more closely to personal perception of the cities than to quantitative indicators supposedly linked to competitiveness.

Of the three, this is the index that places Barcelona in the most favourable international rank, positioning it as the 19th most competitive city on the list of those analysed. The aspects in which it is the strongest are quality of life (4th place) and cultural interaction (12th place). These are precisely the strengths that make a city especially attractive to the profile of visitors (6th best rated city) and artists (7th best rated city). With regard to intangible urban values, differently from the objective indicators, there was a particularly good perception on the part of visitors of the range of entertainment on offer and punctuality of flights connecting the city (in contrast with the relatively low degree of international connectivity).

The different indicators coincide in placing quality of life and cultural dynamism or interaction as Barcelona’s main assets at present. The sole indicator that makes a projection of the future level of competitiveness does not foresee much variation in absolute values (rather than in relative position within the ranking), and that is partly due to the fact that these estimates do not take into account any structural changes such as those that might result from the possible independence of Catalonia and the city’s consequent status as the capital.
Possible effects of independence

The scenario of Barcelona as the capital city of an independent state would place us in a substantially different setting. What impact would it have on the city’s competitive positioning? The complexity of simulating its repositioning in the ranking does not prevent us from making a qualitative assessment of the possible impact of independence, through identification of the main vectors of structural change associated with a process of secession. Of those vectors, three would be of particular interest: the effects of becoming a national capital, expansion of the public sector’s capacity for investment and the expected improvements to the institutional framework.

Effects of becoming a national capital

Institutions such as the OECD (2006) and the NBER (2011) have listed the main competitive advantages enjoyed by national capitals: good international connections, concentration of cultural and leisure infrastructure and the governmental and administrative structure of the state give rise to an overabundance of qualified human capital. The concentration of the central administrative structure of the state in Madrid and the highly centralised Spanish policy on management of transportation and communications place Barcelona at a great distance from the advantages that it could have as a national capital. This is a condition that might be expected to allow it to strengthen its ability to attract qualified people. At least, recent literature on urban economics points to the existence of strong dynamics of agglomeration in large cities in connection with attraction of qualified people (Glaeser and Resseger, 2009) (Moretti, 2014). We can likewise find international evidence that would prevent us from ruling out the possibility of a positive impact by the effect of being a national capital on the behaviour of occupation in cities (Dascher, 2000).

We must stress that the role of cities’ good international connections also becomes a key factor for attracting investment and economic activity. Strauss-Khan and Vives (2009), for example, emphasise that access to an airport with good international connections is one of the key considerations for North American companies when determining the location of their head offices.

What, then, would be the effect on the competitiveness indexes examined here? The indicators that would undergo a direct positive effect of that new status as national capital would be greater international political influence due to a new presence of diplomats (only mentioned explicitly in the AT Kearney’s Global Cities Index), a more than probable improvement of international connectivity, and a foreseeable intensification of cultural dynamism and the offer of leisure activities (both present in all three indexes).

Expanded capacity for investment by the public sector

One of the constants that the city of Barcelona has had to deal with is a low store of public capital, as a result of an investment policy that has historically been far below its financial potential. If we look at the most up-to-date figures for regional distribution of the store of public capital in Spain (Mas and Cucarella, 2009), we note that the province of Barcelona accounts for 8.3% of the total for the country while it is responsible for generating 13.5% of GDP.

Leading experts on urban economics such as Cheshire, Nathan and Overman (2014) remind us of the positive impact of public investment and infrastructure on the economic develop-
ment of cities, which helps us to point up the high cost of opportunity that has been assumed to date. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that those same experts mention the need to qualify the view that holds investment in infrastructure as one of the possible drivers of economic recovery. Investment in transportation infrastructure is normally considered a factor for stimulating productivity, but that causal relationship is far from being universal, as there are many examples to show that the cost of supply can exceed the expected gains.

Thus, it is not just by coincidence that the three competitiveness indexes examined here include funding of cities’ physical capital, mainly transportation infrastructure, as one of the most important indicators for competitiveness. We cannot predict the precise level of public investment in Barcelona in an independent Catalonia, but it is more than reasonable to assume that a portion of the full capacity for taxation would be dedicated to correcting the deficit of investment in transportation infrastructure.

Potential improvements to the institutional framework

Recent economics literature identifies institutional quality, understood in the sense of the conditions that provide a stable economic framework, as a material factor for determining a region’s development. Is it reasonable to expect that Barcelona’s institutional quality would change as a result of belonging to a new state? A recent study by the Credit Suisse Research Institute (2014) attempted to relate the size of states to what it refers to as “intangible infrastructure”, a summarised indicator that is very similar to the concept of social capital. The analysis of that indicator for the set of countries shows that smaller countries performed better. The greater institutional efficiency of public policy, due to heightened accountability and a higher degree of social homogeneity, would help to explain that circumstance. Such explanations likewise result from the theories of Alberto Alesina and Enrico Spolaore on the ideal size of nations.

The three competitiveness indexes examined here include different indicators that refer to that provision of social capital: quality of education and health services, level of education, quality of financial services or accomplishment of daily tasks. A new Catalan institutional framework capable of generating gains for the country and its capital could surely become a further factor for competitive differentiation.

A complementary viewpoint might be to analyse certain recent historical precedents similar to what Barcelona could experience in the near future. How has the new status as national capital affected other cities? Can we draw any significant lessons from them?

New national capitals: three important precedents

The urban development of any national capital is the outcome of a wide variety of specific historical, cultural, economic and social circumstances. That heterogeneity means that we need to take a very cautious approach to establishing parallels, although it can shed some light on what effects an uncertain change in political structure might have on the vectors of competitiveness of a city such as Barcelona.
**Berlin: Economic impact of being the national capital**

An examination of the case of Berlin, Germany’s largest city, with a population of 3,499,879, can help us to consider the economic impact on a large city of becoming the national capital, a status that it recovered in 1990 with the reunification of Germany. Although this year it attained its lowest unemployment rate in recent years (11%), it still has more than double the rate for Germany. That poor performance in occupation is in stark contrast with the city’s current buoyancy, with economic growth exceeding the country as a whole and being one of the leading centres of innovation in Europe, and it can only be explained as a legacy of the drastic de-industrialisation of East Berlin following reunification.

Linking Berlin’s good performance at present solely with its new status as national capital would be arguable at best. The effects of agglomeration and business relocation were, in fact, less noticeable than expected at the outset. The transfer of the capital from Bonn only resulted in the creation of 10,000 new direct jobs and 42,000 new indirect jobs, which are calculated to have been generated by the multiplier effect, mainly in the services industry (Kulke, 2003). On the other hand, it is true that many companies opened offices in Berlin, but at the beginning of 2000 only twelve of the five hundred largest German companies had their headquarters in the capital. The reason for this brings us back to Strauss-Kahn and Vives (2006): there was no international airport there at the turn of the century.

The experience of the initial years of Berlin’s restored status as national capital is a reminder to us of something that may be a truism: assumption of the status of administrative national capital does not necessarily lead to consolidation of a status of international capital or ensure the corresponding competitive advantages. The fact that Berlin is a leading European region for innovation or one of its main tourist destinations is the result of strategic moves on the part of that city. Status as the national capital is a useful adjunct to the fulfilment of certain conditions (connectivity, attractiveness, accumulation of talent, etc.) but it is not by any means a sufficient condition.

**Bratislava: The potential of a “genius loci”**

Bratislava, a Central European city with a population of 659,578 in its metropolitan area at present, underwent sweeping political changes at the end of the 20th century. On the one hand, it had to take over new basic functions common to all post-communist cities after 1989: 1) resurgence of the importance of land-rents and the growing number of players competing for space, 2) the return of self-government, with radical decentralisation of authority over space to local institutions, and 3) increased social and spatial differentiation with rules for distribution that have gone from being political to economic. One of the characteristics of Bratislava is that, just a few years later, in 1993, it assumed a fourth function, when it became the capital of Slovakia.

While its circumstance as a post-communist city places it on very different footing from Barcelona, it has other characteristics that might allow us to draw more parallels, i.e. the potential of geostrategic location. If Barcelona is situated at one of the gateways to Europe, Bratislava occupies a privileged position (genius loci) in the heart of Europe and on the banks of the Danube. The removal of the barriers between the capitalist and communist blocs after 1989 revitalised the economy of this region and, after many years, Bratislava, as a national capital, has the capacity
to take full advantage of its situation, competing on an equal footing with cities such as Vienna and Budapest.

These new opportunities and structural changes are reflected in the changes in the make-up of occupation (Korec, 2002): strong tertiarisation via economies of agglomeration focussing on the communication and transportation industries, financial intermediation, research and development and government.

**The new Baltic capitals: Status as national capital and territorial balance**

Changes very similar to those affecting Bratislava also occurred to the capitals of the new Baltic states: Vilnius (Lithuania), Riga (Latvia) and Tallinn (Estonia) became national capitals of European states after 1990 that at the same time adopted market economies. Although all three Baltic countries underwent a temporary recession during the first half of the 1990s, they have recorded high growth rates since the beginning of the century thanks to strong investment and very positive gains in productivity.

In spite of that good economic performance, all three countries are facing a similar danger: since the beginning of 2000, regional disparities have grown unchecked and the strong performance of the capital cities in terms of growth and creation of occupation is not comparable with the development of other parts of the countries. That polarisation is perhaps less marked in Lithuania, where the location of the three main urban centres (Vilnius in the west, Kaunas in the centre and the port of Klaipeda in the east) contributes to a greater degree of territorial balance.

The weakness of regional and local governments in the Baltic states, as they are relatively young and largely lacking in autonomy (OECD, 2007), keeps them from being comparable with local world of Catalonia or with the metropolitan authority enjoyed by Barcelona, but it reminds us of the need to make decentralisation and autonomy of management of world capitals compatible with the likewise necessary development of the rest of the country, in order to attain sustainable patterns of development.

**Conclusions**

The international competitiveness of large cities is a factor of growing importance for regional and national development. According to the competitiveness indexes examined here, Barcelona occupies a notable rank on the international scene that can be strengthened if it adopts a new status as national capital. Nevertheless, it is useful for us to review international precedents to remind us of how that new administrative status can open new windows of opportunity, which are not inconsiderable, taking into account that our starting point would be a state with clear intentions of recentralisation, but which are not necessarily an assurance of success. The ability to know how to take advantage of that possible new status to strengthen the city’s current competitive edge, given by its geostrategic location, quality of life and cultural diversity, will be the crucial factor for positioning Barcelona as an international capital.
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Being a Capital is Capital

Albert Castellon
Economist and specialist in marketing
From the standpoint of marketing, being a national capital would raise awareness of the Barcelona brand immediately. The advantages of enhancing brand awareness are what is sought by the world’s leading brands when they invest thousands of millions of euros in marketing, communication and advertising. Increasing awareness (spontaneous recognition of the Barcelona brand internationally) is fundamental and a prior condition for consolidation of another factor that is even more crucial to the success of any branding strategy, namely building brand values that position Barcelona (and the country of which it is the capital) in the minds of potential consumers (individuals in the form of tourism, enterprises that can generate investments, business initiatives that attract fairs and events, and also institutions with sufficient influence to attain the headquarters of non-governmental organisations that generate wealth for the city). In marketing, being top of mind is capital. It provides assurance of being the chosen brand and the possibility of being the most highly esteemed brand.

Building brand values that position Barcelona as an international, cosmopolitan, innovative and dynamic brand that can combine leisure and business like no other city in the world is much more difficult if we have not first achieved the highest awareness for the brand (spontaneous recognition). If the Olympic Games triggered Barcelona’s rise to fame, attainment of the status of capital of a new state would be far more powerful. We are all familiar with how the Olympics benefitted Barcelona (twenty-two years later, we are still collecting the dividends). Just imagine, then, how we might benefit, in terms of communication and marketing, from such an eventuality.

Status as the capital of a new state would be equivalent to a huge investment in communication with zero cost that would be impossible if it had to be paid for with GRP. That is why we say, categorically, that being a capital is capital.

The benefits for Barcelona of attaining the status of national capital are undeniable from many standpoints. However, only one of those benefits is objectifiable: the economic prospects. I do not aim to analyse in this article all the economic benefits that might be reaped as a result of attaining that status. I prefer to look strictly at the economic impact that might be justified in terms of marketing, which, as we will see, is substantial.

In the introduction above I mentioned the concept of awareness as one of the key factors for the success of brands on the market. You cannot be market leader in any category of product and/or service without a very high awareness. Just think of the telecommunications industry, or the soft drink, beer or computer industries. In all those industries, the top and second businesses have at least somewhere near 100% brand awareness. Does anyone not recognise the Movistar, Coca-Cola, Heineken or Apple brands? No. Everyone knows those brands, and they know them for two reasons: because they invest millions of euros each year in advertising and communication and because, on many other occasions, their products speak for them, for their own brands. That is clearly the case with Apple. Have you seen any television commercials recently for that brand? It does not need to advertise on television, because it already has an infinitely high awareness, since it is mentioned daily in the press, because every year it launches products that revolutionise the technology market, because you cannot walk by its store on Passeig de Gràcia without noticing it, and for many other reasons.

Awareness is capital, but how is it attained in the world of brands? I mentioned this earlier: with millions of euros in advertising and with high profile actions that speak for the brands. There is also one other factor, and a rather important one: time. The fact is that we all know Coca-Cola,
Heineken and Apple because they have been a part of our landscape for a long time. Apperol is not such a widely known brand on the alcoholic beverages market, because even though it has been investing heavily in advertising in Catalonia for some months now, not enough time has passed to allow the brand to become widely remembered. Many know it, but others do not.

We see, then, that money, actions and time are the key factors for building awareness of a brand. We have mentioned that time is important, but we have not specified why the money invested in advertising is so critical. Any brand that appears on the market must make a substantial initial effort to create a mental space. The Benetton brand, now familiar to everyone, was totally unknown in Catalonia at the beginning of the 1980s. The sharpest people knew that it was an Italian fashion brand and the best informed knew that the brand name was based on the surname of the founders, the Venetos. However, Benetton had not yet been able to create a massive mental space for its brand. Such a mental space is indispensable if a brand wants to position itself on the fully saturated market for *prêt-à-porter* fashion. Benetton had to communicate that it was a unisex apparel brand. The moment for communication of its famous slogan United Colours of Benetton had not yet arrived. That would come later and it corresponded to a phase in the branding process that we will discuss below. It was then that the awareness machinery started up. First of all, with the simplest tool, i.e. money invested in advertising GRPs.

Later, when Benetton was well enough known, they undertook a different sort of communication, some flash of which will remain with everyone. The same thing happened with Absolut vodka and its famous campaigns for recognition. However, we are getting ahead of ourselves. What we need to do now is find the connection between those initial reflections and awareness of the Barcelona brand.

The Barcelona brand has undeniably high international awareness. It is a brand with a history and a unique storytelling. It has never been the capital of a modern state, and in spite of forming part at present of an unassuming European Union Member State, it is extremely recognisable at the international level. Explaining that as simply due to its hosting of the 1992 Olympic Games would be deceptive. It is not untrue, but it is not an undeniable truth, either. Barcelona was already known (remember that, in this regard, awareness and brand recognition are synonymous) before the Olympics. We can safely say that if Barcelona was chosen in 1986 to host the Olympic Games, it means that Barcelona’s significance as a city and a known brand was already reasonably widespread. The fact that Samaranch was from here was not enough. What is undeniable is that this made it possible to facilitate and trigger awareness that was already quite high.

When spontaneous awareness (spontaneous awareness differs from aided awareness in that when it is spontaneous, it is mentioned by consumers with no prompting) reaches levels in excess of 90% (i.e. over 90% of your target recognises it as brand/product), then we are dealing with something that is even more important, namely being “top of mind”. Being at the top of the list is a key factor. When we decide which toothpaste to buy, we choose between Colgate and Signal. We do not choose between Colgate, Signal, Binaca, Oral B, Licor del Polo and Close-up. We do not do so because people make use of the top of mind resource when making a choice. We remember the advertisement, we remember the logo, we remember the colours and we choose. Just think how many decisions of that sort any normal person makes in a day. If we did not make use of such resources, we would spend the whole day in the supermarket, hesitating and weighing the pros and cons of each brand, reading labels and checking the ingredients. Brands help us
with that, by simplifying the decision-making process, and that is why the top of mind brands are always the ones that sell the most.

In spite of all that I have just said, being among the select top of mind is the same as being the number one song of the top 40. If you are not careful, you will drop off the list. What is the technique for not dropping off the list? Invest millions and millions of euros in communication and advertising. Now we are at the head of street. That is why ultraconsolidated brands like Coca-Cola and Movistar continue advertising, to keep from dropping off the list. Some are still surprised by that circumstance. Does Coca-Cola need to advertise? It obviously does, in order to maintain its very high level of awareness, which, as I have mentioned, is crucial to leading any market.

Let us reflect a little on that subject and on the subject of Barcelona’s status as a capital city. How often is Madrid mentioned internationally, and how often is Barcelona mentioned? If we listen to Google, Barcelona is mentioned on approximately 360 million web pages, while Madrid, the capital of our current state, is mentioned 418 million times. Valencia, in third position, is only mentioned 195 million times. That is a considerable difference, and even more so if we take into account Google gives results for Valencia that are not strictly related to that city’s name, because chemical valence (valència in Catalan, spelled the same as the city) is also counted among those 195 million mentions. Valencia, then, is much less top of mind than Barcelona or Madrid (perhaps that lack of awareness has something to do with its failure to take the F1 world championship).

However, above and beyond such anecdotes, what we need to ask here is why does Madrid beat us in awareness? Because of its incredible communication campaigns? Because Madrid’s Convention Bureau is better than Barcelona’s? Because it spends a great deal more money on promoting tourism? None of those answers is valid when we are looking at awareness. Madrid comes across better on Google because, as the capital of a country like Spain, it is naturally mentioned in countless documents of institutions, embassies, ministries and organisations such as the European Union, because the leading Spanish and foreign multinationals have their headquarters in Madrid, because the reporters for the leading Spanish and foreign media are stationed in Madrid. In short, awareness of Madrid is greater than awareness of Barcelona because it is a national capital. It is irrelevant that Barcelona has hosted more World Cups, more auto races and more Olympic Games. We must say, however using Google hits to measure awareness of any brand is a very rudimentary and probably considerably biased approach. However, if I mention it in this article, it is due to the ease of showing that the brands with the highest awareness on the planet, and, in general, the leading brands in their respective categories worldwide, are usually to be found at the top the ranking by hits using this rather unsophisticated method.

In spite of everything, awareness of Barcelona is very high, even if it suffers from the negative circumstance of being a capital without a state. That is why in order to advance through the ranking, in order to be the brand most often remembered, we need a state. I will be vindicated; in the near future, when that status as national capital is attained, Barcelona will leave Madrid in the dust.

But let us return to our subject: what good is it to us to be a brand with extremely high awareness that allows us to be top of mind? To be the brand chosen first of all. The brand chosen to hold a fair, the brand chosen to receive an investment from abroad, the brand chosen to visit on holiday and the brand chosen to organise an event. That is already the case for us in certain very
specific sectors. In all of Europe, only Vienna has more people attending congresses each year. No one can doubt the benefits of receiving thousands and thousands of congress attendees with full wallets and topped-up credit cards. When a company decides to hold a large congress, it thinks of Barcelona right away, and it does so because it is a well-known brand, one with a high profile in the sector: it has infrastructure for congresses and it has a good climate and assurance of excellent leisure and gastronomy. There can be no doubt whatsoever that if Barcelona had an airport hub like Madrid’s, Vienna would never be the leader in the sector again. Barcelona, then, has tangibles, in addition to awareness, that make it top of mind for choice as the venue for international congresses.

With that last sentence I have snuck in the introduction to the second great challenge of branding, namely the building of tangible and emotional values behind the brand that make it especially attractive. For example, Coca-Cola is not just a widely remembered brand, it is a brand that people love (in general, I mean). People, consumers, do not just remember the logo, the lettering and the colours of the Coca-Cola brand, they also remember its claim, they remember that it “adds life”, in the same way they remember “Just do it” in connection with Nike. These are slogans that speak volumes. In the case of Nike, it speaks of sporting rivalry taken to the extreme, the importance of a challenge, of surpassing oneself, of competition and of excellence in sports. Its “Just do it” sums up the whole range of meanings of the Nike brand. Likewise, in the case of Coca-Cola, the slogan transmits enthusiasm, family, reverie, a whole series of meanings that, in range that is very different from Nike’s, identify the personality of the Coca-Cola brand far beyond mere awareness.

If marketing was concerned only with awareness and not with the building of brand values by means of branding tools, television commercials would be very boring. A poster for Coca-Cola shown for twenty seconds and another one for Nike shown for the same time would be sufficient to maintain awareness. Brands do not do that; rather, they tell us stories, they sell us values, they communicate tangible properties and intangible realities (unrealities?). That technique is now over sixty years old, the technique of selling us anything at all other than the product itself that is being marketed (do you remember that image, now somewhat dated, of the flagwoman beside a car?) Just like people, it is a technique and a resource of conventional advertising that is beginning to get on in years. Another five years and it can retire. That is why, with conventional advertising losing efficacy, brands and the companies that sustain them are developing new tools, new channels and new territories that are at the same time conforming new models for communication: digital communication, street communication, public relations, guerrilla communication, branded content and storytelling (among others). These are new models that, far from resting on brand awareness, have as their aim to infuse brands with values and instil them with attributes and meanings that are relevant and inspiring to the consumers that they want to convince.

Without trying to be exhaustive, I will define what is most characteristic of these new models. First of all, there is digital communication: practically everyone knows what Twitter, Facebook and Instagram are, to mention just three of the most extensive social networks. Companies use those networks, with their millions of followers that enter them every day, to send out messages and plans (on a more or less subliminal level) that position their brands in the digital consumers’ minds. When those consumers put down their smartphones, they cease being digital consumers and become conventional consumers, and so they go to the supermarket, too, to do the shopping. Street communication is self-explanatory. It is the kind of communication that uses the
streets of large cities as stages to carry out high-profile actions that excite their most evangelistic consumers. Public relations need no definition here, but branded content, on the other hand almost surely does: this is the content of a magazine, a daily paper or a television programme where, going farther than product placement, which involves the appearance of a product in a film or television programme with no further explanation, the brand takes the leading role. If you recall many of the communication actions by the Red Bull brand, you will understand the concept better. Lastly, storytelling might seem to be the same concept that conventional advertising has been using for the past sixty years, although in a much more systematic and planned way: consumers want brands to tell them the stories behind their products, what processes they use, what causes they defend (the brands, not the products). This is called storytelling and it is becoming very important in the most advanced forms of marketing.

Once again, what has all that to do with Barcelona’s status as a capital city? Remember, just to keep on track, that the potential marketing that would result from Barcelona being a capital city is the sum of awareness plus the building of brand values. We have seen how status as a capital city helps to foster and increase awareness. What we have to show, then, is how that status as a capital city will also help us to build very powerful brand values that would make Barcelona into a lovemark, the highest aspiration pursued by any marketing professional.

Being a national capital confers a visibility that allows you to boost your audience share: you can explain more things and you can have more time to explain them. When I was looking at storytelling earlier, I omitted, deliberately, to mention that what is really more and more important to the experienced consumer (which is the one we are most interested in) is storydoing, when you go from telling a story to doing things that explain your story and the “histories” that back them up. From talking to acting. Deeds, not words. We have witnessed that change of paradigm, carried off brilliantly, in the last two Vies Catalanes. In this case Catalonia (and, by implication, Barcelona as well), in carrying out the biggest, best organised and most civilised concentration in the history of Europe, explained to the world what we Catalans are like. It has explained in deeds that Catalans are peaceful people who love democracy, that we are a resilient people who organise ourselves down to the millimetre and overcome all obstacles, that we are a happy people who want to be free and who want to be full members of the European Union. No television advertising campaign, however overblown, could have had as much impact as that act of street communication, to use the jargon mentioned earlier.

Status as the capital of a state like Catalonia allows us to carry out cobranding in two directions: Barcelona can take advantage of Catalonia’s values (which are now more widely recognised internationally) and Catalonia can take advantage of Barcelona’s values, which have been established for longer. Status as the capital will allow to us at the same time to direct the strategy of a country, equivalent to carrying out the communication strategy of a huge multinational corporation. It will therefore allow us to design marketing actions that are now imposed by another capital.

Status as a capital is capital for being a lovemark. Lovemarks, as I mentioned a little earlier, are the icing on the cake for any company. They are the brands that practically everyone loves. Brands that people love because of the technical services that they supply, but most of all because of the values that they defend. Apple is a lovemark thanks to technology, design and its founder’s revolutionary mentality. It is a lovemark because it represents innovation applied in the simplest and most democratic way possible. People love Apple because even its packaging is spectacular.
Achieving all that is much more difficult from a position as second capital city. Capital cities attract talent because they attract the headquarters of subsidiaries of multinationals. Capital cities attract investment because companies want to feel close to centres of decision-making. Capital cities attract tourists because most of them have airport hubs for their flag carriers.

Major marketing campaigns that will help us to break into the famous virtuous circle are only possible with talent, resources and investment. More talent leads to more investment and more investment leads to more resources, the resources that are indispensable for pursuing the strategies that are very much in the line of the marketing that I have been explaining so far.

If you are not the capital, you need to work twice as hard. You have to combat an adversary instead of favouring co-operative relationships, you have to fight to obtain resources that only the government institutions that are situated tightly in the orbit of the capital, your rival, can give you. If you are not a capital, excellence is harder to attain, although, of course, it is not unattainable.

Now we need to resume the ideas of strength that underlie the marketing advantages implied by the status as national capital. Being a capital will allow us to raise awareness, to obtain the instruments and resources needed for defining a branding strategy that, over and above image and awareness (which tend to produce the main dividend in the form of tourism), will help to create value behind the brand. Those values, in the shape of attributes and ensembles of meanings, are indispensable for competition on the international capital markets. It will also help us to define our positioning and obtain the resources that we need to do so. It will allow us to design a strategy and carry it out. In short, it will allow us to carry out an unadulterated branding policy.

In the words of one of its leading lights, Madrid preferred to offer relaxing cups of café con leche at its Plaza Mayor to sell its offer of value. It was an offer of such little value that it prevented that city, for the nth time, from hosting the Olympic Games. Attaining the status of capital city does not imply, in the words of the Catalan philosopher Francesc Pujols, reaching the day when the Catalans and Barcelonans have paid off all their debts. That will not be the case. Status as the capital city is a necessary but not a sufficient condition. It will require all Barcelonans to bring to bear the very best of our talent. We will have to design a marketing strategy that can compete at the international level. We will have to position ourselves, and that will imply renouncing much. Like Apple, Barcelona cannot be the best at everything. Barcelona will have to choose, and, in choosing, position itself. We will have to see whether that positioning will be attractive or not.

Should Barcelona promote Barcelona World? Should Barcelona host the Winter Olympics? Should Barcelona throw in its lot with biomedicine? Should Barcelona be a model for the concept of smart city? Should Barcelona be the mobile world capital? Should Barcelona be a worldwide model for digital manufacturing? There are too many propositions for positioning behind that short wish list. I say short because, from a somewhat ingenuous standpoint, Barcelona wants to bite off more than it can chew. We may need to renounce in order to position ourselves. And perhaps, since what we need the least are visibility and awareness, we should also choose that which is the best for us when making ourselves known to the world as a city-brand with strong and deeply rooted values for positioning. Values that are unique, personal and non-transferable, like the membership card for the Barcelona football club (and speaking of awareness, I have just now recalled the famous utterance by Josep Lluís Núñez when, almost prophetically, he said that
Barcelona is the city named after the Barcelona football club; strictly in terms of awareness, he may well have hit the nail on the head).

The fact is that once the status of capital city is attained, many of those strategies will be easier. I have already explained why, now all that remains is to conclude with how. That how will require courage, determination and commitment: pursuing and leading the attainment of statehood for Catalonia. Because, without a state of Catalonia, there is no Barcelona national capital. Even in that connection, Barcelona will have to take the initiative.
Barcelona

Antoni Castells
Professor of public finance of the Barcelona University (UB)
Barcelona, 3 October 2014 Barcelona is not a state capital but it is a capital. As Professor Jordi Nadal reminds us, it is the only city in southern Europe that has been in the front line of both the commercial revolution (in the 12th and 13th centuries) and the Industrial Revolution (in the 19th century). This bourgeois and working-class, cosmopolitan Barcelona, a centre for cultural dispersion, is at the origin of political Catalanism. Catalonia would not be what it is without Barcelona. And Barcelona would not be what it is without Catalonia. Barcelona has never been a Hanseatic city.

The consequences of not being a state capital depend crucially on the model of state. New York, Chicago, Toronto or Sydney are not the same as Marseille, Bordeaux, Manchester or Leeds. In the first case, there is no subordination or hierarchy. There is relatively free rivalry. In the United States, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles or Boston can compete to become cultural, economic or social capitals, without the federal government taking sides with any of them against the others. In France and the United Kingdom, on the other hand, Paris and London are at once economic and political capitals. The rest of cities make up what is clearly a hierarchical grid around them and the policies of the central government are at the service of this economic model, which no-one disputes and which, in general, is felt to be right for the country.

The peculiarity of our case is the de facto dual capital status shared by Barcelona and Madrid, which has never been accepted by Spanish nationalism. In Spain, however (and unlike what happens in federal countries), the state is not a neutral arbiter in this competition and, at the same time (unlike what happened in France or in the United Kingdom), history has not wanted Madrid to become this capital following the natural course of events. That is why the intentions of the Spanish state have traditionally been to make Madrid (the political and military capital) the economic capital too. And that is why the policies of the central government are normally not at the service of the Spanish economy but of what suits Madrid, which is not quite the same.

So Barcelona can be proud of what it is, thanks to the successive layers history has gradually laid down there, from the Carthaginians, the Romans, Gothic and commercial Barcelona, the genius of Cerdà, working-class and bourgeois Barcelona, Modernisme, up to the transformations that took place during the 20th century and the plans for change headed by Pasqual Maragall. It has come a long way, despite not being a state capital. It has got where it is because in at each moments there has been a group in charge who knew what they wanted, who were clever enough to make it known and who had a country behind them. Political instruments, of course, are essential for competing on equal terms. But rebuilding this ruling group, the plans for the nation and an ample social majority to back it are just as necessary or more so.
The chance to build a new State is, above all, the chance to build a different State; a State that responds better to the needs of an advanced, modern society like our own. The capital of the new State must also meet these requirements and must be the clearest manifestation of what is going to differentiate us from old State and municipal policies.

One of the core differential elements of the process we are now beginning has to be the role the State, and, therefore, its capital, must play in the economy of the new country. We are leaving behind the ideological approaches which, for decades, have considered the economy as a higher sphere, above politics, portraying the State and local administrations as heavy, interventionist, bureaucratic machinery which, due to this characterisation, are considered as an impediment to the development of the open, dynamic, competitive economy we all want. All this has been used to justify policies reducing public administrations, now incentivised by the debt crisis we are trapped in.
In her recent book *The Entrepreneurial State*, although she recognised the limits of public intervention in the economy, Mariana Mazzucato gave a convincing account of the way the State has historically shown, in some countries, the dynamic nature and innovative potential it can have if we make it act in accordance with a new paradigm. This will also be the best proactive defence that can be made of the reason for the existence of State and local public administrations.

Based on these general considerations, I would like to suggest that Barcelona, as the heart of the country, should make a decisive contribution to the configuration of a new enterprising, sustainable State.

The governance of a great city like Barcelona is, and will be, subject to two pressures which until now, have been considered difficult to harness together in the context of an advanced capitalist economy. On one hand, what is known as the “new urban planning policy”, based on which various interests and local coalitions have grouped together with the aim of recovering urban space in order to attract capital to enter the overall wealth creation and accumulation circuit. This has led to trends and styles of municipal government emphasising economic and urban growth as the main principle governing the municipal function. It is from this point of view, for example, that attempts have been made to limit the impact of State controls and regulations, while, at the same time, calling for greater fiscal autonomy and reduced municipal involvement in the social redistribution function. It is a strategy which, in our case, has been justified up to now, as the Spanish State has not always acted in our interests or to promote our welfare, but it would not be right in the case of a Catalan State.

On the other hand, demands for improving and protecting the natural environment are increasing, not necessarily unconnected with other social demands based on the quality of life in cities. All this raises basic questions, such as how to incorporate environmental management into municipal governance in the different urban contexts and, above all, how to locate the territorial structures associated with ecological modernisation with respect to those promoting urban development and territorial redistribution.

At first sight, the two pressures the city is subject to seem to be in continuing conflict, impossible to resolve. However, Barcelona could demonstrate that it is possible to resolve this conflict in the context of a new Catalan State if it becomes an entrepreneurial State and sets out to take the lead in combining two key technological lines for achieving intelligent sustainability: information and communication technologies, on one hand, and new, clean energy technologies on the other. By doing this, Barcelona could become a model post-industrial city, capable of offering an urban environment with a high economic and environmental quality of life while, at the same time, contributing to Catalonia achieving the international objectives of reducing energy consumption and generally improving the environment. All it needs is for Barcelona to want to be the capital of an enterprising, sustainable State. It is in our hands.
Barcelona’s factors of competitiveness: an international comparative view

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Introduction

More than half of the world’s population currently lives in urban areas, where more than 80% of global GDP is generated. Given this context, it is not surprising that many companies design their global internationalization strategies thinking about metropolitan areas rather than countries. The rapid growth of many cities, particularly in emerging countries like India and China, implies that competition to attract business, investment, knowledge, ideas and, ultimately, talent, is and will be increasingly fierce. Therefore, cities need to be competitive to be able to attract high value-added production activities and ensure the future prosperity of inhabitants.

Given the current levels of economic globalization that we are facing, the challenge for any city is to be competitive. Although there are many possible definitions of competitiveness, I like to say that a competitive city is one that has a high level of productivity, and also a high level of social cohesion and economic and social opportunities for all inhabitants (education, access to housing, ability to create companies, etc.). In short, a city that has the ability to prosper.

Due to this strategic need to maintain and improve a city’s capacity so it can attract economic activities, there have been a variety of studies measuring the competitiveness of cities through international listings and rankings. The objective of this chapter is to examine some of the most relevant studies to make an assessment of Barcelona’s position on the international scene, highlighting its main strengths and weaknesses in relation to the rest of cities in the world. Additionally, I will briefly describe what changes could happen if Catalonia becomes an independent country.

Some international indices showing city competitiveness

Work included in this article was selected according to the diversity of factors considered and the rigor of the methodology used to prepare the index. The order in which they appear is arbitrary and does not imply any assessment of these in any way.

Global Power City Index (GPCI) (www.mori-m-foundation.or.jp)

Produced since 2008 by The Mori Memorial Foundation’s Institute for Urban Strategies, with its headquarters in Tokyo, the purpose of this index is to explore the ability of cities to “attract creative people and excellent businesses from around the world”. The index is constructed from seventy indicators grouped into six functions (economics, R&D, cultural interaction, quality of life, the environment and accessibility) and the 2013 edition features forty cities, including Barcelona and fifteen other European cities.

The five highest ranked cities are London, New York, Paris, Tokyo, and Singapore, respectively, the same as the previous year’s results. Barcelona ranked 19th in 2013 (10th amongst European cities), down from 13th position in 2012 (7th in the European ranking), when it featured in the index for the first time. In Table 1 we see where Barcelona stands in the different index categories by functions and we see its relative position within the subset of European cities.
An interesting feature of this study is that it shows the indices from the point of view of four global agents (managers, artists, researchers and visitors) and one local one (residents). Table 2 shows the relative position of Barcelona, at the European and overall level, according to these five agent groups.

Table 2. Barcelona’s relative position in the GPCI 2013 (actor specific)

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The portrait that emerges when examining this data shows some well-known and significant weaknesses for Barcelona with respect to its potential in the field of R&D (which includes indicators relating to the quality of academic and research centres and their results) and also in the business field (which includes indicators related to the business environment, human capital, market size, quality of economic regulations, the level of investment risk and other aspects) and how the city is evaluated by managers. It is obvious Barcelona is far off its target position at the global level in the business area; specifically, in terms of the knowledge economy, it has consolidated its position quite well. Barcelona’s international business attractiveness still depends on its tourism attractiveness and the positive way quality life is valued in general.

Hot Spots (Benchmarking Global City Competitiveness)

Hot Spots, published in January, 2012, is the result of a research program conducted by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) and commissioned by Citigroup and whose final output is the Global City Competitiveness Index (GCCI), which compares a hundred and twenty cities around the world in terms of their competitiveness (which represent 29% of the world’s total economic activity). The index is constructed from thirty-one indicators grouped into eight categories of competitiveness (economic strength, physical capital, financial maturity, institutional effectiveness, social and cultural character, human capital, environment and natural hazards and global attractiveness). The study features thirty-two European cities including, of course, Barcelona.

The five top cities were New York, London, Singapore, Hong Kong and Paris, respectively. Barcelona is ranked 41st (and 17th among European cities). In Table 3 we see where Barcelona is located in the different classification categories of the index, also specifying its relative position in the subset of European cities.
Table 3. Barcelona’s relative position in the GCCI 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall score</th>
<th>Economic strength</th>
<th>Physical capital</th>
<th>Financial Maturity</th>
<th>Institutional effectiveness</th>
<th>Social and cultural character</th>
<th>Human capital</th>
<th>Environment and natural hazards</th>
<th>Global appeal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41 / 120</td>
<td>78 / 120</td>
<td>9 / 120</td>
<td>68 / 120</td>
<td>50 / 120</td>
<td>5 / 120</td>
<td>29 / 120</td>
<td>43 / 120</td>
<td>9 / 120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this case, Barcelona again has an important problem with regard to its position in the category ‘Economic strength’ (indicators that analyze market size, purchasing power of the population and growth prospects, among other things,) and ‘Financial maturity’ (which evaluates the ability of cities to act as benchmark financial centres). The city also appears in a very prominent position in the ‘Environment and natural hazards’ category, although this is a low-weighted category in the development of the overall index and as such does not affect the total results much. Barcelona does feature in a high place in the ‘Social and cultural character’ category (including indicators on diversity and openness, freedom of expression, cultural vitality and crime) and in terms of ‘Overall appeal’ (an eclectic category including indicators on leadership in higher education, the number of conferences and international conventions, international flight frequency, etc.). It is also fairly well valued in terms of ‘Physical capital’ (referring to the quality of infrastructure and transport networks and telecommunications), and in a more hopeful vein, from my point of view, in terms of ‘Human capital’, which includes demographic indicators, the quality of public services such as health and education, attitudes towards entrepreneurship, etc.

Again, Barcelona shows its attractiveness is based on its solid international image and an undeniably attractive image in terms of its social and cultural aspects. However, it has serious shortcomings if it wants to be considered a first class business centre (its limited capacity in the financial sector is considerable). The relatively high consideration given to physical capital and, above all, human capital, means we can evaluate the future potential of Barcelona as an international benchmark centre in the field of knowledge economy in a slightly more optimistic way.

It is worth noting an interesting exercise carried out by the same authors that published Hot Spots 2025 - Benchmarking the future of cities (published in 2013 and available at www.citigroup.com/citi/.../hotspots2025.pdf), which aims to predict the competitiveness ranking for the year 2025 using an identical methodology. Barcelona, like other European cities, does not do too well, falling thirteen places, probably due to some of the weaknesses mentioned above and because of the unstoppable economic growth of some cities in developing countries.

**Global Cities Index (GCI)** (http://www.atkearney.com/research-studies/global-cities-index)

The Global Cities Index has been published biannually since 2008 by the international consulting firm A.T. Kearney. The latest edition of the study is for 2014. GCI examines an extensive list of eighty-four cities on five continents and compares and ranks them in terms of five dimensions (business activity, human capital, information exchange, cultural experience and political engagement), using a total of twenty-six indicators. The study included twenty-two European cities including, of course, Barcelona.
The five top cities in the ranking were New York, London, Paris, Tokyo and Hong Kong, respectively. Barcelona ranks 24th (9th among European cities). Table 4 shows where Barcelona is located in the different category listings that make up the index, and its relative position in the European cities subset.

**Table 4. Barcelona’s relative position in the GCI 2014**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall</th>
<th>Business activity</th>
<th>Human capital</th>
<th>Information exchange</th>
<th>Cultural experience</th>
<th>Political engagement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24/84</td>
<td>18/84</td>
<td>39/84</td>
<td>20/84</td>
<td>10/84</td>
<td>34/84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/22</td>
<td>7/22</td>
<td>11/22</td>
<td>10/22</td>
<td>6/22</td>
<td>13/22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Barcelona’s results are slightly different to those seen in the two previous rankings. To begin with, the city does remarkably well in the 'Business activity' category (which could be likened to ‘Economics’ in the GPCI ranking or ‘Business strength’ in the GCCI index). This category includes indicators on the location of the headquarters of international companies and business services, capital markets, number of international conferences and goods handled at the port and airport, and it gives us an overview of Barcelona’s economic potential that is much more promising than the previous two studies. The city obtained a relatively low ranking in a category that can be considered key to future development, namely 'Human capital' (which contrasts somewhat with the results of the aforementioned GCCI).

However, the fine results obtained in the ‘Cultural experience’ area are not surprising, which confirms the city’s tourism attraction and, in general, its good image for visitors. Its relatively low position in terms of ‘Political engagement’ (which includes indicators like the number of embassies and consulates, international organizations, political conferences, etc.) can be considered a fairly direct consequence of the fact that while Barcelona is the capital of a nation, Catalonia does not have its own state.

**City Prosperity Index (CPI) (http://unhabitat.org/)**

The City Prosperity Index (CPI) can be found in a document titled State of the World Cities 2012-13 (Prosperity of Cities), which was produced by UN-Habitat (the United Nations’ Human Settlements program), and published in 2013. CPI measures the current state of cities on five dimensions related to prosperity, as explained in the document cited above. The index also measures actions and policies that pursue prosperity and the results of these policies. The index provides an indication about the strength or weakness of a city in terms of prosperity factors. This prosperity index is conceptually different from the other indexes considered so far in that they were about competitiveness, and this explains the different results obtained when we look at this analysis. CPI examines an extensive list of seventy-two cities on five continents and compares and classifies them in terms of five dimensions (productivity, quality of life, infrastructure, environment and equity). The study included twenty-two European cities including, of course, Barcelona.
Table 5. Barcelona’s relative position in the CPI 2012-13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall (5 dimensions)</th>
<th>Overall (4 dimensions)</th>
<th>Productivity</th>
<th>Quality of life</th>
<th>Infrastructure</th>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Equity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17 / 72</td>
<td>17 / 72</td>
<td>20 / 72</td>
<td>5 / 72</td>
<td>14 / 72</td>
<td>22 / 72</td>
<td>28 / 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 / 22</td>
<td>14 / 22</td>
<td>15 / 22</td>
<td>4 / 22</td>
<td>12 / 22</td>
<td>15 / 22</td>
<td>18 / 22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The five top cities were Vienna, Helsinki, Oslo, Dublin and Copenhagen, respectively (interestingly, all European). However, these results are significantly different from those seen in other studies because they are largely determined by the ‘Equity’ dimension in the index. The same publication also provides data corresponding to the prosperity index once this dimension is excluded from the analysis. The cities that come top in this case are Vienna, New York, Toronto, London and Stockholm, respectively. Barcelona ranks 17th (and 12th among European cities) in the first case. When excluding equity, the Catalan capital is in 17th place in the overall ranking and 14th amongst European cities. Table 5 shows where Barcelona is positioned in the different classifications according to index categories, specifying its relative position in the subset of European cities.

One remarkable aspect of the results seen in Table 5 is concerned with ‘Equity’, which other indexes didn’t examine or take into account directly. Although Barcelona is a relatively prosperous city according to CPI results, it has a long way to go when it comes to distributing the benefits of this prosperity, a category in which the capital of Catalonia trails the European cities included in the study. This is also the case for the results of such an important category as ‘Productivity’, which are not noteworthy either, especially when seen from the European perspective, and we find the same situation in the ‘Environment’ category. However, CPI results again suggest Barcelona has a reasonable level of infrastructure (although these can still be improved, of course). As well, Barcelona has almost unbeatable results in the ‘Quality of life’ category (including such important issues as education, health, security, social capital and public spaces), which is consistent with what has already been observed previously.

Conclusions

In my opinion, the picture of Barcelona that emerges from this collection of studies (not exhaustive) shows a major European city which enjoys a high level of quality of life and a good international image. But there are also some very reasonable doubts about the extent to which, under current conditions, this standard of living will be sustainable in the coming years. Barcelona is not a major international business centre and it does somewhat lack the economic and financial muscle in order to convert it into such a city. At present, the city should specialize in aspects related to the knowledge economy and this is where everyone should focus their efforts. Also, a lot more could be done to improve environmental sustainability and social performance levels, with better management of the environment and, above all, a reduction in the high levels of unemployment which are largely responsible for a lack of equity and inequality of income distribution in the city.
How will the independence of Catalonia affect all these considerations? In my opinion, the political change taking place in Catalonia, which is totally democratic and peaceful by nature, will contribute to improving the image of the city around the world. Catalonia will finally have control over all its resources and it will be able to create all the structure of state considered necessary, probably including some improvements to transport infrastructure and, therefore, better connectivity between Barcelona and the world. This factor will also contribute to more public resources for R&D, which today is very centralized in the capital of Spain, Madrid. However, neither of these two aspects is as important as the fact that Catalans will end their dependence on Spanish governments and they will be able to choose their own economic policy. Whether they know how to take advantage of this and how to create a more competitive economy, a more prosperous country and city and more cohesive and egalitarian society, then that is something that remains to be seen.

REFERENCES
The audiovisual industry from the perspective of being a new country

Francesc Escribano
Journalist, director of the production company Minoria Absoluta and vice-president of PROA
This article analyses the current situation of the audiovisual industry, reflecting on its strategic value and giving an overview of the historical reasons that make it so unique. It also sets out some of the questions that are key from the perspective of the country’s hypothetical independence or having gained greater sovereignty. On this, questions are asked about what the engagement with Spain’s audiovisual industry would be, what degree of intervention and public regulation should exist, what level of protectionism should be applied, and what, in the future, should the desirable balance be between public and private spheres.

A few months ago, a group of professionals and businesspeople representing Clúster Audiovisual and PROA (the federation that brings together Catalan production company associations) met with the president of the Generalitat, Artur Mas, with the aim of setting out the industry’s general situation. The idea was to discuss the current problems and future challenges for the industry with the head of our country’s government. It should be borne in mind, in understanding the rationale of a meeting of this nature, that the level of government intervention in the audiovisual industry, especially in Europe, is often key and decisive, both with regard to regulation processes such as designing and maintaining the balance between public and private spheres. But beyond this, the specific reason why we requested the meeting is because the audiovisual industry is one of those most affected by the crisis. And, while all the business schools and self-help books recommend tackling the threats and seeing the crisis as a land of opportunity, the harsh reality of everyday life means that most companies working in this field are on the ropes. To get an idea of the gravity of the situation, in recent years the Catalan government has reduced its contributions to the industry by more than 70% and reduced its contributions to TV3 by more than 50%.

The fact that we are all well aware of the Generalitat’s powers and limitations in this area can be no excuse for inaction. Therefore, given that the current situation is unsustainable, we need (and this was expressed to the president) not only to find new ideas that help set the industry right and help it recover, but to find basically a new framework that is better than the current one.

If the Catalan audiovisual industry is to have a future, as I suppose occurs in many other areas, it urgently needs to change the rules of the game. Either by redefining its place within the framework of the Spain’s audiovisual industry (difficult), or by lighting a candle to Santa Clara, the patron saint of television, asking for a new political status for Catalonia that will give us the profile we need and ensure an alternative and different future.

In an article of this size and characteristics, it is impossible to define, in a minimally scientific and reasoned manner, what this alternative future for Catalonia’s audiovisual industry should be in the hypothetical case that it becomes a country with a much higher level of sovereignty or even potentially an independent country. However, what I can do is ask some of the questions that we need to be asking in order to start thinking properly about a scenario of this magnitude.

Is the audiovisual industry a strategic one?

Returning to the meeting with the president, the main argument we put on the table, to set out our territory, was to tell him that our industry is strategic for the country. We said this because we believe it and also because it would therefore justify being a high priority and merit the government’s full attention. The president’s response - which was also quite obvious, but not
expected by us, being rather naïve - was to warn us that this is what everyone from different economic and cultural sectors say when they meet him in order to drum up government support or agreement. They all claim to be strategic and all boast of being indispensable. Surely, from their particular point of view, everyone is right. But as resources and efforts are scarce and finite, a country cannot invest in everything at once. Choices have to be made. Priorities need to be set. And it is important to be very clear about which economic and cultural sectors guarantee the country’s survival, social welfare, give it a place in the world and raise its profile. In this regard, for industrial and cultural reasons as well as for international projection and identity, I have no doubt that the audiovisual industry is strategic and vital to Catalonia’s future. This is because, as they say in Ethiopia, “A tribe that doesn’t dream is a tribe that is dead”. And in the 21st century, we ourselves have to make our dreams. We live in the 21st century and in the age of image and communication. A country that is not capable of building its own story, and does not control the process of creating its image, is nothing. A community that cannot communicate and take advantage of new opportunities provided by technology in the service of communication, has no future.

For example, if we wanted to use imagery to represent a late 19th century family, we would probably show them in the kitchen, with all the members of the family around the fireplace. Moving forward in time to the start of the 20th century, we would keep the image of the family gathered in the kitchen, but we would change the object around which they were gathered - instead of the fire, it would be a radio. Moving into the second half of the 20th century, we would transfer the family into the living room or dining room. We would keep all the members of the family unit together, but this time they would be sitting in front of the television. However, these images do not serve us if we want to represent a family from the early 21st century. We would instead need to show them apart, spread around the different rooms of the house. One would be in the kitchen, another in the bedroom, another in the dining room and there would be someone on the terrace. They would not be all together, but they would all be connected. One of them would be lying on the sofa watching television; another would be watching television while making dinner; someone else would be in their bedroom on their computer or phone; and the person on the terrace might be on the phone or tablet, on Skype or taking a picture to post on Twitter. Oh, and it is likely that they will be using WhatsApp to signal that dinner is ready.

Today’s world is one of hyper-communication and hyper-television. Thanks to phones, tablets and computers, we are permanently up to date and we are in communication with and connected to the world. Mastering these new forms of communication means being able to generate content that can travel through traditional media, new networks and can reach everyone, everywhere. If in yesterday’s world, information was power, in today’s world the one with the power is the one who knows how to communicate successfully.

This is why I argue that the audiovisual industry is strategic. Because a country is not a country if it does not have the ability to communicate with the world, and does not have the ability to build the story behind its own identity through the universal language of imagery. The way that Barcelona has created its brand is a good example of how to successfully make a place in today’s world.

I might be giving the impression of being too generic or philosophical with this series of reasons to try to defend the strategic value of the industry... I’ll try to be more prosaic. We only have to look at countries such as Denmark, Holland and Israel to understand the audiovisual
industry’s capacity for industrial creation, wealth generation, channelling talent, creating jobs and export potential. Furthermore, these countries are good examples of how to overcome geographic and demographic constraints and how to project a country into the world, thanks to prioritising investment in the industry.

Why are we the way we are?

Perhaps before proceeding and before imagining and speculating on future scenarios, it might be worth taking a look at the past. This must surely be the best way of understanding why we are as we are.

Although the Catalan audiovisual industry has always had, and currently has, a clearly marked specificity and strong personality, it is very subordinate to Spain’s audiovisual industry. Therefore, when considering where we have come from, we need to be very aware that we are the product of the peculiar, and hardly exemplary, history of television and cinema in Spain. I say “hardly exemplary” because the history of cinema, and especially television (which is the subject I know best), in Spain is heavily affected by the strong centralising tendency that is a feature of Spain, and it is affected by a tradition of lack of freedom that has influenced us in a very negative way. When I refer to a lack of freedom, I mean the fact that television first appeared in Spain at a time when the dominant regime was a dictatorship. This circumstance was a determining factor that distanced us from Europe, as those early years were key in most of the countries around us in forming the basic structures and laying the theoretical foundations of what social role television should play in particular, and the industry in general.

To all of this, which explains part of our ills and problems, we must add the “anything goes” culture of recent years, which has also had a strong impact on the audiovisual industry. Reviewing a Sergio Leone classic the other day, it seemed to me that in order to understand the logic behind the audiovisual business and the behaviour of its main players, we must do so as if it were a western. Like in the old films of that genre, the nobility and epic nature of our recent history lies in the fact that the duel has been one of life or death, where the rule of law has been very diffuse, and the main characters seemed imbued with the spirit of the pioneering conqueror who has fought tirelessly to get where he is and will therefore defend with blood and fire everything he has, no matter how much or how little it is.

In the Far West of Spanish television, in which the law of the fittest still reigns, public television began as television for the regime and continued that way for many years, even after the regime had gone. Unlike our European neighbours, the advent of television was not accompanied by a public debate about what its social function should be and about what the basis was for its public service - a debate that should be crucial when then determining the boundaries between the public and private offerings. Therefore, in Spain the territories have always been confusing and overlapping. And more importantly, for this reason when the time came to break the public monopoly and open it up to the private sector, this was done without establishing any of the balances or obligations that were indeed established in most of the countries around us. This, coupled with the absence of a regulatory agency, has meant that private television has historically enjoyed some of the most unprecedented margins and prerogatives of the whole of Europe. They have never complied with certain laws - protection for children, investment in Spanish cinema, and so on - and where necessary they have made amendments to legislation in
order to allow licenses to be expanded, ownership of channels to be merged and TVE advertising to be stopped. This is why I say that it is as though the law of the strongest has been and remains the prevailing law - just as in the Far West.

To give another concrete example: when private television channels appeared, they attempted - maybe through a law or an agreement, no matter what - to ensure that they all had regional offices in Barcelona. They did this timidly during the early months, or they said they would... But we all perfectly well know the historical and present reality. Despite Barcelona's industrial importance and tradition, the Spanish audiovisual industry is highly centralised, the Madrid as the capital seems to be immovable.

The emergence of Televisió de Catalunya in 1983 was therefore so important and decisive for the Catalan audiovisual industry. It was a basic conquest that has been fundamental for the industry, culture and identity of this country. Anyway, once again, the birth of TV3 also shows the peculiarity, if not the abnormality, of how things have been done in Spain in the audiovisual field. From the outset, TV3 - which had and has every reason to exist - was born fighting against the elements and against the central government. It had to build its network of repeaters, had to sweat blood to get a place on the international scene and had to force the law to be able to exist. TV3 is a success story but also, from the perspective of our European neighbours, it is no less the story of a certain abnormality that says a lot about how things have been done in this country and why we are as we are. To see how things are done in other countries that may be in more or less similar situations to ours - in terms of language, geography and financing of public television - we can look at Finland. This is a country of seven million people with two official languages: Finnish, which everyone knows; and Swedish, which is spoken by about a million citizens. Finnish television, right from the start, as the most normal thing in the world, has had a channel entirely in Swedish. It is a television channel where, unlike here, all Finns pay, not only those who speak Swedish. This is a case that clearly demonstrates that we may also get used to things as they are and we often forget how they should be.

Often when we speak of our success in the process of standardising the Catalan language, thanks to the media, we need to be aware that, beyond the positive developments that have taken place in recent years in the press - with the double edition of El Periódico and La Vanguardia, the appearance of Ara and the good health of Catalan radio - the landscape for cinema and television has not made comparable progress. Of the film premieres in Catalonia, Catalan cinema barely makes up 3% of the total. With regard to television, what is on offer in our language - which is reduced to the channels of Televisió de Catalunya, private channels led by 8TV and local stations - represents between 20 and 25% of the total television consumption of Catalans.

This snapshot of the Catalan reality, which is a reflection of the behaviour of citizens as consumers of media, raises a fundamental question when looking towards a different future for the country and for the industry, as a result of a new political situation between Catalonia and Spain.

What will the role of language be?

What will be the official language or languages in a hypothetical independent Catalonia? I do not know and that is not my area. However, in the audiovisual world, whatever is said officially, there will be as many languages as communities of citizens speaking them. What determines television consumption is essentially the language spoken at home. For example, if a family...
speak Chinese at home, as much as they might understand and occasionally be able to follow local stations, they will search the internet, satellite TV or wherever for programmes in their own language. Television is such a domestic medium, so integrated into our daily lives, that it could be considered as a member of the family.

Therefore, if the family speaks Catalan at home, then they will want to watch television in Catalan; and if they speak Spanish, then they will want television in Spanish. In Catalonia, the majority of the population is bilingual, or trilingual in the case of recent immigrants. This means that they could theoretically choose from the wide television offer based on content. The practical reality of everyday life, corroborated by audience research, shows that television is a habitual consumption and when people come home, they prefer channels they identify with, and language is often a determinant of choice.

Thus, whatever the official line is, the television map in a hypothetical independent Catalonia, or a Catalonia with a much higher level of sovereignty in this aspect, will be fundamentally bilingual. Whilst there will be other languages, two will stand out in terms of consumption: Catalan and Spanish. Or, to be more precise: Spanish and Catalan. Because an imbalance such as we have currently in terms of television consumption - 20% compared with 80% - cannot be corrected quickly. Watching television is a habit that cannot be changed through the law. The Catalans who watch Sálvame every day, for instance, will not switch to La Riera and El Divendres on TV3 or Aruscitys on channel 8TV the day after a Catalonia hypothetically becomes a new country. No, they will continue to watch Sálvame because it is what they like and what they are used to watching every afternoon. Therefore, this is a reality that must be borne in mind when thinking about the future hypothesis of what the audiovisual system should be in an independent Catalonia.

A reference that could be useful for Catalonia is the experience of what was seen in Ukraine. The linguistic situation in this country, which became independent in 1991, has some interesting similarities with ours. Before independence, Russian (the mother tongue of 30% of the population) was the official language and was therefore also the language used in schools. Independence brought a Ukrainian official system, the creation of different state structures, and the creation of public television along with some private stations that broadcast in Ukrainian. The fact that Russian is retained as a co-official language in some regions and due to existing habits among the population of the new country meant that the majority of Russian television stations that broadcast in the country before independence continued to do so afterwards. These broadcasters have had, and still have, a strong presence in Ukraine up until the current conflict (I am discounting the impact that the war there in recent months has had on television). And despite more than 20 years since Ukraine became independent, Russian-language broadcasters continue to have a wide following among the population for reasons relating to programming, consumption habits and in particular due to the greater power of the audiovisual industry in terms of Russian-language content.

This example can be useful for keeping an open perspective, in matters of language, for a future in which the fact that Catalan channels and productions are predominant in Catalonia does not necessarily mean that they renounce Spanish. Just as it would not be advisable to give up other languages present in our territory, or renounce English as a language with the greatest international reach.
What should our engagement be with the Spanish audiovisual industry?

Returning to our country, given the prospect of a new political status for Catalonia, the possibility opens up of creating an audiovisual system that is also new. In any case, if we consider the foregoing, we are not starting from scratch. The current situation counts substantially and therefore any future scenario linked to greater sovereignty of Catalonia must, for linguistic reasons and because of consumption habits, start from the base offered by the current system. This inevitably means a pact with companies and institutions that currently make up the Spanish audiovisual system. Negotiations with the private broadcasters to define the contributions and benefits associated with them accessing the Catalan market, and negotiations also with Spanish public television to redefine its role and presence in Catalonia.

Obviously, another article would be needed to define what the new arrangement should be between the existing Spanish audiovisual industry and the future Catalan audiovisual industry in its own right. Just to highlight some of the key elements of what could be a new scenario - even just to fly a few kites - in terms of public television, it would be necessary to decide the fate of the Sant Cugat Production Centre, which is very important for the current RTVE and very significant in terms of their historical contribution to television in Catalan. Also, continuing with public broadcasters, it would be necessary to define reciprocity in broadcasting. Perhaps this way we would ensure that, just as Spanish public television broadcasting is seen in Catalonia, Catalan public television could be seen throughout Spain.

In relation to the private television channels, I imagine that negotiations would be even more complicated. As content buyers, Catalan producers have great influence on the industrial situation of the Catalan audiovisual industry and as broadcasters their participation in Catalan television consumption and consequently in the advertising market, should be redefined. Depending on the legal status that the new regulatory framework established for these Spain-wide television stations, whether in the form of Catalan subsidiaries or in the same form as they are now, we should establish what contributions they should pay to access a network that gives them access to a market of seven and a half million people, who are potential viewers of their programmes and therefore also potential consumers of the adverts that they broadcast. In all likelihood, in the most logical case of maintaining their current offering, they would have to set out economic compensation and obligations relating to language and, of course, should also make a commitment to investment in content produced from Catalonia. As I said, this is a complicated issue to resolve and will depend on the regulatory framework that establishes the rules and limits of the future Catalan audiovisual system.

How should the industry be regulated?

The audiovisual industry, as in Europe and elsewhere, is a fully regulated sector. Regulatory standards define everything from the legal framework to most operational standards. Through public intervention, either through government or through Parliament, everything is decided from the management and distribution of networks to control of content. Thus, in a future where there is full sovereignty in this matter or it goes well beyond the current situation, we should
establish a new basis for the allocation of airwaves, for the allocation of licenses, for the management of content and, above all, we should define what are the bases of public service and what are the limits of private enterprise. It is fundamental that these two areas, public and private, are precisely delimited both in terms of their responsibilities and the obligations they should fulfil.

In this sense, the existence of Televisió de Catalunya is an extremely positive aspect, because we can consider it almost an already established state structure. In addition, TV3 is a successful television channel with quality programming and a marked public service ethos. To complete the assessment of what its contribution represents, from the industry’s perspective, TV3 has always been the engine of the audiovisual industry, as it should be and as is common practice among the majority of European public broadcasters.

This exemplary role has faltered in recent years because of the economic crisis. The decline in advertising spending and reduced government contributions have jeopardised this foundational role which TV3 had steadily developed. The crisis has also accentuated the existing imbalance between the situation in which the public company exists and that of most companies and producers in the private sector. This scenario would unquestionably be corrected or alleviated, especially on the audiovisual issue in Catalonia, by achieving an adequate financing system and by rationalising the public and private offering. TV3 has very lonely for many years and, given the weakness of the private offering in Catalan, has had to meet and accumulate functions, and has long been doing so publicly and privately at the same time. Obviously, this situation should be normalised in the future and private provision in Catalan should become more powerful in order to address the imbalance in relation to the public sector.

Finally, another key aspect that should be regulated is the level of protection that should be given to the industry. I talk about the level of protection because I assume that all countries, starting with the rulers in the audiovisual field which are the United States and ending with the smallest country, have policies designed to protect the media creation industry. They have them because they consider this industry to be strategic from economic, cultural and identity viewpoints, and because of the role that it plays in the international projection of the country. Therefore there is a need to define, in this future that we are imagining, how this level of protection should be specified and sized. There is a need to begin to think about and seek legislative examples that could be useful for us and which could serve to promote local production and to facilitate financing through tax incentive laws or patronage. There is also a need to evaluate what type of measures and regulations for the protection of broadcasting and distribution we should establish to discriminate positively in favour of content produced in our country. The way the French defend their industry and cultural offer can be a very useful and perfectly imitable reference. Finally, speaking of protection of the industry, there should be a legislative framework which is designed to decrease the widespread and little prosecuted practice of piracy in our country.

What benefits would Barcelona have as capital?

From the industrial point of view - hence the justification to talk about protectionist policies - the audiovisual industry is characterised by its ability to generate wealth and jobs. Therefore, the fact that there is no private television channel that has a powerful centre of production in Catalonia could be used as an example of everything we could have and we do not have. Note
that in this area, when we speak of Catalonia, we are talking particularly about Barcelona and its area of influence. Just go to Madrid and see the benefits and huge returns the audiovisual capital of Spain brings it. But in order to imagine the potential that Barcelona would have as the capital of a powerful audiovisual industry, we should look for references in California rather than Madrid. It may seem an exaggeration, but it is not. Leaving aside the distances, if we consider the natural conditions of our environment coupled with the enormous professional talent that exists here, we can conclude that Barcelona, if the law allowed it and it had a country behind it, could become the great centre of production and new technologies in southern Europe. It may seem a very ambitious dream, but if we establish the right conditions is not in the least an unattainable goal.

Finally, beyond the industrial factors, from the perspective of content and control of content generation, Barcelona is a worldwide brand, and to have more capacity when deciding the policies and laws that determine the field of play where you must develop the industry can only reinforce the brand, generate more wealth and enhance the image of the city and the country. Therefore, it is unquestionable that from the perspective of Barcelona any future scenario which improves and expands the level of sovereignty of Catalonia in the audiovisual field could lead to significant economic and cultural benefits for the city.

Conclusions

- The audiovisual industry is strategic for a country in the situation and of the scale of Catalonia. A country that is unable to communicate itself, project itself internationally or build its own story through imagery, is not a country.
- We must break with the centralist tradition and the fuzzy rule of law that characterises the industry in Spain.
- We must preserve the heritage of public service which Catalonia Television means and promote private initiative so that the balance between public and private sectors is more harmonious.
- We must strengthen the presence of Catalan as the language of use without renouncing the Spanish language.
- We must find a new engagement with the Spanish audiovisual industry that gives value to Catalan market access.
- We must regulate the industry in a new way to establish a more proportionate balance between public and private provision, which promotes Catalan companies, which helps them to project themselves internationally and which defends the rights of citizens and consumers through the control of content.
- We need to establish measures to protect the industry, control piracy and defend the production of content.
- We can aspire to make Barcelona a media hub to help position it as the audiovisual capital of southern Europe.
Barcelona, Capital of enterprise

Joan Font
Businessman
The Industrial Revolution took place in Catalonia at the same time as in other European countries. Since then, its rates of business creation, competitiveness, openness and internationalisation have been along the same lines as those countries. Its talent and business initiative, capacity for risk and innovation, have rivalled the most dynamic cities of Europe.

All European States have done what has been necessary to have and retain their large businesses headquarters, aware of the importance that centres of decision (intelligence) remain in their countries; for example, France with Danone and the aeronautics industry, Italy with the automotive industry, or Germany with finance.

In Catalonia, the entrepreneurial sector has always been fundamental to the structuring and cohesion of society, and has always had a high degree of permeability and opportunities for advancement in the business.

A country that wishes to enhance its strengths in the business world needs a capital that is self-confident and that makes every effort to attract new business headquarters. It must create a favourable environment for entrepreneurial initiatives, both in the realm of administration (speeding the processing and concession of permits, rethinking its fiscal model, improving infrastructures) and in the realm of society, with a clear commitment to education and research, encouraging the assumption of risk and facilitating understanding between the public and private sectors. Surely the country and its capital will both be enriched by this state of affairs, and not only by the profits derived from the establishment of other countries’ delegations, or its business or scientific centres, but also because it will be a favourable environment for the creation of new businesses that are bigger and more competitive.

Naturally, being the capital of a state means doing away with its fiscal deficit entirely, with the consequences that that would have both for the capital and for the country.

Likewise, corporate taxation can be constructed to ease externalisation of business results or to facilitate the reinvestment of the profits generated by the same businesses. Doing one or the other has fundamental consequences for the financial strength of business and for their ability to grow.

In order to have a dynamic entrepreneurial sector, labour laws, management of public administration and research should be directed to the strengthening of scientific and entrepreneurial networks, and be driven by the country’s own strengths.

It is necessary as well to adapt our model for commercial activity to the needs of society, making it as competitive as possible. We must do so by means of our proximity to and awareness of our reality and with every effort to adjust it to European Union norms and the political will of our Parliament. The capital’s infrastructures must be able to provide services adequately to the country it leads and a top priority must be needed investments, which are the fruit of planning for the common interest and not competition.

It’s clear that the capital of a country, by the mere fact of being capital, has important revenue streams that correspond to the general administration of the state and its organisation, such as those that are given them by the representative delegations of other states. Barcelona, as the capital of a country, will surely increase its potency and will have more opportunities to play in the “Champions League” of cities with high international recognition.
Estimation of supply-related changes in Barcelona as a state capital

Modest Guinjoan
Economist. Partner and director of Barcelona Economia, SL
Introduction

Designating a city as the capital of a country brings a large number of consequences, including new economic activities. If Catalonia were to become a new state, with Barcelona as its capital, the city would be able to increase its service offering in several areas of activity, such as Public Administration or services to businesses. Other activities could be promoted indirectly by its status as a capital, such as logistics or the attraction of talent, depending on the Catalan state and municipal policies. The Barcelona image and brand would very likely have the need—and the opportunity—to rethink itself.

Scope and content of the article

Our article is based on the idea that in an independent Catalonia, Barcelona would give a certain amount of continuity to its current status as the capital of an autonomous region in the Spanish state, with the associated additional factors of its new status as a state capital.

The new Catalan state would require the exercising of functions that are currently exercised by the state government through a series of institutions forming state structures. In this article, I have assumed that Barcelona is not only the official capital, but in practice, is also the:

- legislative capital (the Parliament, as it is now), with the different services and related institutions;
- the judicial capital, the headquarters of the principal bodies of the system and their related services and institutions, and
- the capital which will house the central services of the Catalan government and executive, which entails the inclusion of the central management bodies of the diverse state services, from the most basic (security, justice, defence, tax collection...) to those that correspond to the welfare state (health, social services, pension systems...) and including institutions responsible for the regulation and control of markets (financial, insurance and energy sectors, competition...).

In terms of the city of Barcelona as the subject of this article, it deals with a much more specific dimension: its economic offering, i.e., what its territory has in productive terms.

The city is considered as a centre which offers the production of goods and services, some of which will be used by residents, with some being targeted at the Catalan market and others at broader markets.

The content of this article is based on three clearly different topics. Firstly, it provides an overview of the current productive system in Barcelona and its characterisation; secondly, it offers a brief reflection about the current situation of Barcelona as a capital and its area of influence, and how this may affect the assigning of new functionalities arising from being a state capital; and thirdly, it identifies the possible transformations in the city’s offering which could arise as the result of being the capital.

Like all metropolitan areas throughout the world, it is difficult to clearly define the roles of the different municipalities and cities involved in such as closely interrelated offering. El Prat airport is the airport of the city of Barcelona, and it is also the airport of its dense metropolitan area, and some of the industrial facilities located in El Prat cannot be considered separately from...
the city of Barcelona. In such an interdependent area as the metropolitan one, referring to one city in particular has its limitations but this will be done based on the conviction of the crucial role played by Barcelona, not only as a driver but also as a city that agglutinates the productive energy of the country.

An overview of the city of Barcelona

There are 1.6 million people living in the 102 km² of surface area occupied by the city of Barcelona, and Barcelona’s Metropolitan Area (AMB), with a surface area of 636 km², accommodates a population of 3.2 million. This means that almost two-thirds of the total population of Catalonia lives in the city and its region, forming an urban agglomeration that is one of the most important in Europe.

Considering this context, it is necessary to now focus on the city in question, in which it is to be expected that some productive specialisations of a territorial nature will exist, even more so taking into account the limited physical space inserted into such an integrated economic area.

972,211 people work in Barcelona (this figure corresponds to the last available year). Although it is 11.6% lower than the year with the highest employment figure during this century (el 2007), it is more stable than that of the metropolitan area and the whole of Catalonia, which fell by around 15% during the same period.

33.6% of the total working population of Catalonia currently works in the city of Barcelona, i.e. one in every three, a proportion which was 32.1% ten years ago, and which has undergone a slight increase, mainly due to the improvement in the behaviour of the city during the last few years of crisis. Consequently, the city occupies 0.3% of Catalan territory, houses 21% of the Catalan population and provides jobs to one-third of all employed people in Catalonia, which clearly shows that the city is a highly concentrated geographic and economic unit.

Within this context, Barcelona has a service-based economy. The industrial sector accounts for 8% (half of the figure for Catalonia), construction accounts for 3% (also half the Catalan figure) and on the contrary, services account for 89% of the working population (practically twelve percentage points above the figure for the whole of Catalonia).

Based on slightly more detailed information, it is observed that the city has a considerable diverse offering (with the first sub-sector providing jobs for 16% of the working population, the second, 11% and all the rest being below 10%) and that certain sub-sectors in Barcelona carry a considerably higher weight than the figure for the total of Catalonia, such as information and communications, financial and insurance activities, professional and technical activities, public administration and education.

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1. Average number of workers included in the Social Security system during the third and fourth quarters of 2013 and first and second quarter of 2014.
These aspects will now be considered in greater detail, by breaking down the occupation into ninety-nine different activities. The activities with the highest number of jobholders, i.e., internal specialisation in the city of Barcelona, are shown in graph 1, which shows those with at least 15,000 workers included in the Social Security system. As can be seen, the two dominant activities are retail commerce (with 87,000 jobholders) and public administration (with 85,000). Another four activities also have considerable capital importance: education, health, restaurants/bars and wholesale commerce, each of which has more than 50,000 jobholders.

To understand the city’s function in a wider economic context (Catalan and much larger), the activities specifically concentrated in Barcelona are analysed. Graph 2 shows the activities in Barcelona with 50% or more jobholders from the entire Catalan territory.

There are eighteen, with differing degrees of absolute weight in terms of jobholders (see axis on right) and all of them are connected to services: insurance, finance, advertising, telecommunications, information services artistic creation, research and development, corporate head offices and consultation firm head offices, among others.

As already mentioned, the fact that more than half of the persons employed in a specific activity do so in 0.3% of the territory indicates that at least this part of the territory is a centralised area; in other words this agglomeration operates like a capital, at all events, in economic terms.

2. It might be more accurate, in terms of jobholders, to apply the gross added value generated by the different activities, but this information is not elaborated with the necessary level of detail applied in preparing this article.
From a provincial capital to a state capital

During its history, the city has been christened with different adjectives or motes which allow the perception existing at historical moment to be understood. The oldest of these is “cap i casal” (head and house) during mediaeval times, when it was the capital of the county of Barcelona. The mote “Ciutat Comtal” (County city) which is still used today comes from that time. The intense industrial activity developed in Barcelona during the nineteenth century gave rise to it being called the “factor of Spain”, while the economic and cultural repression led to some calling it the pretentious “Paris of the south”. During the period when Franco was in power, Barcelona became a “city of trade fairs and congresses” for a long period of time. In the democratic era, apart from the messages associated with the 1992 Olympic Games, the city was christened with many names, with the best-remembered being “Bar Cel Ona”, “Barcelona, posa’t guapa” (Barcelona, look pretty, “la millor botiga del món” (the best shop in the world) and “Barcelona inspira” (Barcelona inspires). These names change from time to time and are associated with specific dimensions of the city or even with a wide range of concepts (like the current “Barcelona inspira”) but when viewed in perspective, they succeed each other over time with no stable

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3. The review of names was made using the article written by Jaume Subirana “Imaginar una ciutat” (Imagining a city) in BarcelonaMetròpolis, issue 90, autumn 2013.
narrative thread and without transmitting the city’s vocation or what it wants to be when it has grown up.

It is clear that the status of Barcelona as the capital of Catalonia would allow the city to assume a highly relevant attribute.

It remains to be seen how this would fit in with the habitual way in which the city transmits its offering, or whether this would allow it to play a very important role in the future. What is true is that, in political image terms, Barcelona would be in the same league as Paris, Stockholm, Rome, Madrid or London.

As already mentioned, the economic importance of the new state capital could benefit the metropolitan area. In the same way as such a relevant public service as the City of Justice is straddled between the municipal boundaries of Barcelona and l’Hospitalet de Llobregat, it is also reasonable to think that the Telecommunications Commission of Catalonia or the Council for the Regulation of Energy or the Department of Enterprise and Employment could be located in Cornellà, for example.

And, in keeping with the line described above, considering that all the services (the entire offering) would be concentrated in Barcelona due to its status as the official capital of Catalonia would still be hypothetical. The political representatives might also decide to share this status of the capital throughout the whole of Catalonia, with the Ministry of Agriculture being established in Lleida, the Ministry of the Environment being set up in Vic, the Ministry of Social Welfare in Girona, or the Territorial Ministry in Reus, for instance.

In the absence of clues regarding this possibility and based on what the Generalitat has been doing during more than thirty years of autonomous government, it is to be assumed that the central services of the Catalan state will, for the most part, continue to be located in the capital of the country.

Most relevant changes in the city’s service offering

The changes in the service offering that would be generated by the city’s status as the capital can be grouped into two main blocks: those which would be directly affected, regarding which I would be bold enough to establish a quantitative approximation, and those which would be indirectly affected about which I would like to write a few lines, without quantifying them.

Activities that would be directly affected

Public administration

Catalonia’s independence would lead to the creation of state administrative structures that it currently does not have. The new service offering would have three sources: the ex novo assuming of activities currently carried out by the Spanish state, the creation of central services for activities which have already been transferred to the Generalitat and the improvement or creation of own services which could arise from the fact of having greater powers and predictably, more economic resources.

The following are given as examples:

- State service areas which are completely new for the Generalitat, such as Defence and Foreign Affairs.
- Central ministerial services with powers transferred to Catalonia, such as Education,
- Health, Employment, Industry, Immigration, Social Services and others.
- State judicial institutions.
- The public institutions and regulatory and control bodies that correspond to a state: a central bank and market-regulation institutions (securities, energy, telecommunications, competition, ...).
- Existing services which would have to be expanded, such as the Tax Agency.
- Social Security services.
- State security services:
  - newly-created ones (such as intelligence services);
  - assuming of powers not transferred to the Mossos d’Esquadra (Catalan police force).
- Specific newly-created public institutions.

The assuming of these tasks would generate jobs and increase the service offering of Barcelona, which I imagine would concentrate a large part of the central services (ministerial and institutional). For the purpose of obtaining an idea of the new staff required, I have established a comparison between persons included in the Social Security system in the Autonomous Community of Madrid and Catalonia, in order to ascertain the differences assigned to the effect of being a state capital. Once identified, I have transferred them to the Catalan economic dimension, which is much smaller than that of the Spanish state.

According to the calculation made, the number of additional staff needed by the Catalan state would be approximately 43,000. This figure does not include employees of the State Public Administration currently employed in Catalonia, whom I have assumed would be transferred to the Catalan State Public Administration.

Foreseeing how many of these would be based in the city of Barcelona involves a certain degree of risk, but it would not be far off to assume that this would apply to half the administrative services and that the central defence services would also be based in the city. In all, I estimate some 11,000 new jobs, which would therefore reinforce the importance of this sector in the city’s service offering (see section entitled “Overview of the service offering of the city of Barcelona”).

**Business services**

This block includes services related to business activities such as consulting, advertising, corporate head offices, architecture and engineering and legal and similar activities.

Based on the same criterion that half the deficit in jobs in Catalonia compared to Madrid is located in the city of Barcelona, the number of additional jobs in activities of this type would be just over 13,000.

At this point I should make a special mention of corporate head offices, since independence could generate inbound and outgoing movements. Since this topic is one that lies outside the scope of this article, it is extremely probably that large corporations, at least, would need to

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have central management and governance offices in the Catalan market, regardless of the small size of these head offices. This is especially true in the case of companies subject to Catalan regulation, whether financial, medical, environmental, etc.\

**Telecommunications**

Most of the head offices of the companies operating in this sector are now in Madrid. Catalonia’s independence would lead companies operating in Catalonia to submit to Catalan regulation and the creation of the country’s own communications infrastructures.

Based on my estimate, the effect of the status of a capital on the creation of jobs in the city of Barcelona in this sector would be about 3,500 jobs.

**Financial services**

Most of the banks operating in the Spanish state are based in Madrid, and certain banks based in Catalonia have specific units based in Madrid for taking advantage of the financial centre effect and status as the Spanish capital. In an independent Catalonia, the banks operating in the new state would to some degree depend on the regulation and control of the Catalan central bank and would have to have their own country regulations. The same applies to insurance companies. Both sectors will also generate a series of specialised services. According to my estimate, this sector could generate approximately 5,000 jobs as a result of the status of being a capital, which would strengthen its importance as a financial services centre.

**Air transport**

Catalonia’s independence would give its main airport, El Prat, a management autonomy which it currently does not have. In fact, the main contribution would be to separate the management of the Catalan airport from the interests of Barajas and thus have the opportunity to connect Catalonia directly with the world. The Catalan deficit in this sector, based on the criteria applied, is more than 4,000 jobs, of which I have also assumed that half (2,000) would be added to service offering of the city of Barcelona.

**Others**

These include heterogeneous activities (security, investigation, building, publishing, films, etc.).

Applying the same criteria as those described above, there is a deficit in the service offering of more than 5,500 new jobs assigned to Barcelona’s status as a state capital, which, according to my estimate, could be added to the service offering of the city of Barcelona.

**Activities that would be indirectly affected**

The fact of Barcelona being a state capital would also have consequences on the dynamics of other important activities included in the city’s service offering which are already consolidated, for instance ones which could be developed or be consolidated. We will now analyse minor individual notes of a qualitative nature, the specification of which will depend in great measure on the control exercised by those responsible for the state’s policies:

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Tourism

Being a capital city would accentuate the need to decide which tourism model to opt for at a time when the current model has been seriously questioned. The city could and should better determine tourist activity in relation to the minimum requirements for tourists and residents coexisting. We should also emphasise the many different resources that we now have. This would also entail offering quality services and attracting tourists willing to pay for them. Quality over quantity. Being the political capital could have a considerable impact when making this change: it is difficult to be both a binge-tourist destination and the capital city of a country that hosts political events that are in the international spotlight, a city that attracts talent, is entrepreneurial, aims to be a leader in research, and is an ideal location for business. Being the capital city of a state in tune with these attributes would require a rethinking of Barcelona’s tourism model.

Major Events

Barcelona’s appeal with regard to exhibitions, conferences, major sporting events and the like should not suffer a substantial change if it becomes a capital city. Our ability to provide services in this sector is very high and it is much in use, as shown by the fact that the city holds leadership positions internationally. Becoming a state capital would add limited appeal in this area to a city that, for other reasons, already has plenty. On the other hand, the freedom to organise or attract events of strategic interest from the perspective of Catalonia or Barcelona would not be an insignificant aspect of independence, and could benefit Barcelona.

Logistics

The logistical potential of Barcelona and Catalonia has not been exploited so far, largely because there has been no political will to do so. The country’s major ports, led by Barcelona, have logistical capacity, of which only a small fraction has been used, due to a lack of good rail links and because the sector generally lacks ready infrastructure (Mediterranean hub, intermodal centres, and so on). Independence would greatly help to boost logistics to serve the export industry and exploit the potential of developing a European-level services sector. Having a state government would, in this case, benefit Barcelona as a city with a port that is fully ready to be a gateway to southern Europe.

Science and attracting talent

Barcelona is home to major research centres and top-class universities. With independence, the Catalan government would have the opportunity to promote this sector (attracting talent, investing, promoting technology transfer, and so on). If, as might be expected, Catalonia’s government - the Generalitat - continues to back science, Barcelona could emerge clearly benefitted from having more centres and being better able to attract talent. We would need only to maintain the same level of commitment shown so far in this aspect that is so critical to the future of the city and the country.

Image / brand

The starting point for the Barcelona brand is confusing: it has assets that are of high value for tourism (architecture, art, climate, beach, cuisine...). Yet it does not profit from these when attracting binge tourists. It wants to show its potential for technological production, but it is the showy aspects that predominate (for example, hosting the Mobile World Congress, which
continues to be a three-day conference). It boasts great business schools and business administration faculties, and yet entrepreneurship is very limited. The city projects itself as the best shop in the world whilst in the neighbourhoods, the dominant commerce is found in the low-price, low-quality bazaars. The city has great assets in certain areas of research (biomedical, for example), but it has not proven capable of generating and attracting a strong productive sector behind it. Too many dichotomies that give the impression that the city just doesn’t know what it wants to be...

Being the capital city would give Barcelona an excellent opportunity to re-design itself, define how it wants to project itself and how it wants to be positioned. This is an opportunity that brings mutual benefits for the other great actor on our stage: Catalonia. The Barcelona-Catalonia association. Co-branding would heal not only a kind of historical divorce, but would also do justice to the true situation: namely, that Barcelona cannot be explained without the country that (with independence or not) it has had and will continue to have behind it.

Conclusions

Barcelona becoming the state capital of an independent Catalonia would involve changes in the services it offers. Furthermore, being the political, legislative and judicial capital and the location of many of the central services, would mean the introduction of not only new state services but an increase in the economic effect of becoming the capital city.

Currently this effect determines the fact that certain activity areas are concentrated in Barcelona. Specifically, 18 areas employ more than 50% of all Catalan employees that work in the city (finance, insurance, telecommunications, advertising, entertainment, etc). Being the centre of the Catalan state would add to Barcelona’s current economic landscape. As a result it would gain influence that currently sits in Madrid.

According to my estimates, around 40,000 people would be added to the almost one million registered members of the social security currently working in Barcelona. Of these only 11,000 would be government-related, while the remaining 29,000 would be a result of the stronger impact from being the economic capital arising from being the political capital. These are: business services (+13,000), telecommunications (+3500), financial services (+5000), air transport (+2000) and others (+5500).

Being the political capital would also have an impact on Barcelona’s offering in other areas such as tourism, major events, logistics, science, attracting talent, and image/brand. The last of these would - using the Barcelona-Catalonia association - have a unique opportunity to rethink a new dimension for the city that could bring mutual benefits both to an established brand (Barcelona) and an emerging brand (Catalonia).
The Barcelona Stock Exchange

Joan Hortalà
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President of Barcelona Exchange
Stock market activity, in the modern sense of the word, began in Spain at the start of the 19th century. After the Napoleonic Wars, transactions concerning public securities and foreign exchange operations were carried out by trade brokers who, since the time of King Jaume I, were based in the Casa Llotja de Mar. In fact, records of share values were first published in the Diari de Barcelona from the mid-1820s.

In Madrid an official stock exchange was set up in 1831, in competition with the free market of Barcelona until 1915, when it too was decreed an official market. In the meantime and as a result of the publication of the Second Code of Commerce, the Bilbao Stock Exchange was founded in 1890. Much later and in answer to an electoral promise made by the UCD party, in 1980 the Valencia Stock Exchange was opened. Today, these four establishments form part of the Bolsas y Mercados Españoles (BME) holding, which make up a unified and interconnected market, within which each exchange maintains its own legal status.

Throughout its history the Barcelona stock market has been characterised by many ups and downs. During the 19th century, Barcelona played an important role in variable income trading. On a curious note, it is the only stock market to have inspired a famous novel (something which is so habitual nowadays in the worlds of literature and cinema) La Febre d’Or (Gold Fever), by Narcís Oller, which demonstrated how important markets were in Spain as well as in other European countries.

Today, the situation is no longer the same, particularly since 1988 with the enforcement of the reform Law which affected the shares market and which is an exceptionally centralist and centralising law. The figure of the stock broker disappeared in favour of legal entities, commonly typified as limited companies, which led to the bankarisation of the market. Consequently the stock exchanges no longer have power of compensation or liquidation of operations and activity is concentrated in one sole company based in Madrid. Neither do the exchanges have any regulatory capacity, given that all regulation and supervision tasks are carried out by the National Securities Market Commission, also based in Madrid. Despite all this, the Barcelona Stock Exchange, representative of Catalan financial activity, is holding out. In specific figures, it represents around 25% of the Spanish business market (a percentage which is higher than the percentage of the Catalan GDP of the Spanish GDP) and is prominent in retail trading and, of course, the Generalitat (Catalan government) debt trading.

In any case, the Stock Exchange is indispensable for savings and investment within the context of an independent financial system. Guaranteeing it is the equivalent of guaranteeing an efficient economy, and in this sense it is clear that the Stock Exchange is a state structure.
Barcelona, a driving force for competition
Public management and finance at the service of a future model

Jordi Joly i Lena
Manager Economic, Business and Employment area. Barcelona City Council
A capital like Barcelona is an outstanding asset for competitiveness and development on the European continent. A Barcelona that is capital of a Catalan state in fact becomes a city-state, a metropolis with far-reaching competitive capacity serving the development of southern Europe and of the continent as a whole.

The Barcelona model, technology and life quality, sustainability of public finances closely tied to management and strategy... all goes to make up a framework of rigour and professionalism that consolidates a robust basis for acting as a real driving force for change serving institutional, political and economic improvement.

In short, if Barcelona were the capital of a Catalan state, it would take on the role and the responsibility of building new frameworks in keeping with the trends and the needs of today’s world. A great challenge and a great opportunity.

I don’t want to begin without first establishing the intention and the scope of this text about the city of Barcelona as a possible future state capital. This text sets out to look at the future on the basis of the circumstances affecting our city and the rest of the country.

I have tried to combine philosophic, historical, strategic, conceptual and, in short, theoretical knowledge with the hard work of making it come together in the practice and execution demanded in everyday life. The past and our history form part of our genetic code. I am a firm defender of the part played by history in our being and of our responsibility as its heirs; without history and the past there is no “social culture” and without this culture no progress can be made. In short, without the past, we can not build the future. We are faced with social construction and decisions in particular circumstances at a particular moment; we can not approach a solution for our context with arguments or reasons belonging to other ages. We must therefore foresee the future and decide on the basis of our present context.

The effects, the impact and the consequences of building a new state, as in the case of Catalonia, with a capital like Barcelona is a process with multiple variables that depend on the behaviour and the actions of a great number of public and private actors. No truth is written beforehand, as the only truth is that which will be written by the people and by the society as a whole with the determined will to build better future scenarios with our eye on the circumstances and the challenges of the century we live in. This is how progress is built, this is how societies are built and this is how people progress towards better scenarios of justice, equity and prosperity.

As the President of the Generalitat of Catalonia said recently, circumstances and reality must be faced head-on, reality must be looked in the eye, the virtue of politics can only be that it can understand and direct the will of the people and of society, with our feet on the ground, but without being afraid to take on responsibility. Only if we know the will of the people can it be managed at the highest level; we can not navigate at maximum efficiency if we do not know our route and our destination port.

For those of us who get up every day wanting to progress and improve, who are aware of the personal and collective difficulties posed by the demands of our present surroundings, for those of us who love our city and our country... all we want is whatever is best for them in a competitive world like the one facing us in the current global scenario.

Having accepted and tried to understand the world as a whole, I shall now talk about some of the components that make the combination of Barcelona and Catalonia a potentially highly competitive state which could also help construct new models and democratic policies for the future on an international level.
An optimal dimension for economic growth

The changes and the rapid adaptation to a completely new social reality with a global reach is an indisputable fact. The latest digital and technological revolution has had an impact on social and political behaviour of all sorts, an impact that affects the land, its organisation and its people, an impact that calls for re-adapting state and institutional structures that belong to other times.

The growing power of large cities is not a fashion and does not come about by chance; metropolises become increasingly important actors and this is the result of a natural convergence, the adaptation to a different speed. The role of time in social and economic relations has changed, physical mobility and digital technologies have brought the need for territories and ecosystems capable of competing in a global environment where nothing will wait.

The best ecosystems are being built around the big city because it is a type of social, political and institutional actor in close contact with the facts. The local administrations of large cities become top-level political and management institutions serving the construction of the best environments.

The only policies that can really be carried out are those that are credible in a world in which speed of response and access to information are fundamental. We can not get public trust for our institutions unless we let them make the necessary changes to adapt their structures to this need.

My point of departure, therefore, is that the new step for high-quality democracy in the 21st century is one that closes the gap between two poles that have never met before converging in political philosophy: political action and orientation alongside executive capacity, the poles of politics and administration, the classical and often misunderstood dichotomy between politics and technocracy. The administration has always been understood as an element of bureaucracy and administration foreign to the essence of politics and ideology; in the 21st century these two poles must not remain separated, politics without executive capacity is not credible.

Politics, territories and societies that do not manage to effectively and efficiently correlate ideology with the ability to turn ideas into tangible realities will not obtain the trust required by the society of the 21st century, the digital society, the society of information democratisation; in short, the society of transparency and of immediate response.

If the areas with a better chance of competing and providing a framework of high-quality social opportunities are the ones that show this optimal correlation between ideology and executive capacity, it is obvious that the regional dimension and reach play a key role. We need to rethink the institutional chain of supply all the way to the citizen, by which I mean the supply of political and legal frameworks and of the frameworks for service provision. If we analyse the chain of actors forming these supplies, we shall see that it comprises many actors — too many — and that this makes it inefficient and has a marked effect on the capacity for response to the constant challenges of today’s world.

The size of a state like Catalonia with a capital like Barcelona shows excellent potential in a continental framework like the European framework; the best service for competitiveness in southern Europe and the Iberian Peninsula could come about by promoting the growth of its chief assets, facilitating their development and projection in all senses. The most advanced European states, those with the best social provisions, are none other than those of a smallest size.
The right size is a necessary condition, but not the only one nor enough to guarantee the best model — that much is obvious.

Establishing the best competitive strategy

Barcelona is a first-rate asset for itself as the capital and must also be an asset of the first order for the other towns and cities in Catalonia. It is a capital at the service of a competitive strategy it shares with all of its hinterland, something that does not happen in states where the competitive strategies of their most important cities are clearly divergent or opposed.

Obviously Spain, as a state, wants the best for its competitive development and with this in mind it has its most immediate comfort environment in its capital; this is absolutely legitimate, but this orientation generates a competitive strategy that often runs counter to the potential growth of Barcelona and Catalonia. This position should not limit the potential of Barcelona, which, despite the difficult circumstances, shows an internationally acknowledged global positioning with a high added value.

The competitive interests of one part of the territory are opposed to the competitive interests and opportunities of the rest and this is a strategic failing, either intentional or accidental, which one way or another must find a way out in a framework of freedom and advanced democratic expression, which is Fortunately the case today.

Management and execution of many public policies and services the city of Barcelona has to offer would clearly benefit from greater simplicity in the chain of institutions forming part of the legal and formal supply.

Achieving modern, streamlined institutions

The cultural resources of the public administration of the city of Barcelona have deep and well-established historical roots. The city’s great executive capacity for public organisation is something to treasure. In recent years, it has shown its ability to adapt to very demanding environments and needs; complex and extremely difficult surroundings have not reduced the deployment potential of an organisation that so far has nothing to envy the most excellent organisations of the large private sector corporations.

The wish to serve and the sense of belonging among the people making up Barcelona’s public organisation are exemplary and, at the same time, the highly professional model that has been implemented — not without some effort, but without the extreme resistance cultural changes often have to face — is now an established point of reference. The model introduced by Mayor Xavier Trias accelerates and gets the most out of administrative and technical foundations of a high standard and applies management structures that are modern and competitive. This makes Barcelona a leading European city in management. An organisation that shows its commitment to stability and at the same time to economic and financial sustainability, despite the extreme difficulties the circumstances of recent years have involved.

All of this is a first-rate asset for the city of Barcelona, available to politicians of all colours, a treasure that shows it is possible to feed a new approach to politics in which ideology and stra-
tегic orientation have to go hand in hand with a high executive capacity in order to get things done and generate an environment of confidence.

Barcelona, then, has great potential for the construction of a new state and this state could have a chance to build modern structures that answer to the prosperity of the 21st century and of the European continent as a whole and not to the motivations forming part of other historical contexts in which the role of the state and its configuration responded to very different circumstances.

There are many questions on the subject under debate and most of them have no exact answer, but what must be absolutely indisputable is the strength and the future potential of a territory like that of a Catalan state with a capital like Barcelona, where the main local actors gain a little more weight on the global level every day and where the gap between legislation and its execution is reduced, where total convergence would become possible between the regional strategy and the real needs of its citizens. Whatever the case, its viability would have to be beyond doubt and perhaps on this basis a different dialogue could be confronted. At the very least, the debate and the existing discrepancies could be put on a level worthy of a more advanced political culture.

Barcelona can, therefore, contribute one of its best assets in the question of public management, with an eye to the construction of a state with optimal dimensions, ideally suited to the flexibility of action needed for today’s environments and challenges.

The best tools for promoting prosperous surroundings

The role of cities is decisive, as they form the scenarios that guarantee favourable environments for growth in the economy, business and knowledge, which are essential for creating the necessary bases and resources for the welfare state. Having a favourable environment for entrepreneurial and business development and at the same time being prepared to attend to the needs of those who want to invest in the country becomes fundamental. Infrastructures, availability of space with low associated costs; availability of human capital; the power to establish taxes, incentives and taxation frameworks; internationalisation... all of these are elements that determine the ability of a city that wants to be seen as a favourable environment for economic growth and, consequently, one offering opportunities for employment and for personal development.

If Barcelona were to become a state capital, it would have a proximity to legal and taxation frameworks that would allow it to adapt in line with its needs; in this way, all its potential would be optimised and successfully realised by constructing the most suitable and necessary frameworks.

One great challenge looms, though, in allowing this move towards a flexible and streamlined new state with a strong capital such as Barcelona; a constitutional and administrative framework must be built that makes it possible. In no event must Barcelona and Catalonia imitate the institutions of states forged in other contexts and at other moments in history, states that have a different dimension. The challenge is to build a modern state with a new approach to politics and equipped with public institutions and organisations intended to answer to the world of today and of the future in a territory the size of Catalonia.

Barcelona as a capital city and Catalonia as a state would have to refound and merge all those administrations that made public management in Catalonia the most effective and efficient in keeping with its territory, allowing a streamlined, flexible administration with the power to
answer to and adapt to change. The size of the new state with a capital like Barcelona makes a
definite approximation to a city-state perfectly possible. In fact, it would be very difficult to find
a state of a similar size with a capital whose power and global positioning were comparable to
those of the Barcelona metropolis. This is an intangible asset at this moment, but a first-rate one
with a view to future potential in the framework of a possible new state. A state such as Catalonia
could be considered small, at least in the way that Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Austria are,
to give a few examples, but of a size well adapted to the need to manage change, with a powerful
capacity for answering to the novelties taking place in a society that already stands out for its
volatility as regards the trends and needs it has to face.

Obviously, public structures that manage to reduce the gap between real facts and legislation,
between legislation and executive organisation, become organisations in which the ability to
respond and adapt to unforeseen situations is much greater than in bureaucratic structures in
which simply locating decision-making nuclei becomes an absolute nightmare.

Barcelona, as the capital of a state, would therefore have an enormous possibility for autonomy
to develop all its potential, a new model of state and of capital status, a model in which competi-
tiveness and the creation of environments of confidence and potential would play a decisive role.

It is obvious that the process of creating state structures involves specific costs in the initial
phase. This phase would end with the additional income obtained by Catalonia’s public finance
as a result of overcoming the difference between expenses and earnings an independent Catal-
lonia would have (a difference estimated at 11,198 million if we take as our average the value for
the period between 2006 and 2011, according to the study by Núria Bosch and Marta Espasa of
the University of Barcelona and according to Report No. 18 on the fiscal and financial feasibility
of an independent Catalonia drawn up by the Advisory Council for the National Transition). To
this forecast, which is purely descriptive with regard to the public accounting of recent years,
must be added the new and large potential for income, growth and social welfare that can be
produced with the legislative instruments of a state and with a capital like the city of Barcelona.

The capital and the new state would have full powers to shape, with complete autonomy and
effectiveness, the best model for Barcelona’s economic and social growth in fields like knowl-
edge, commerce, research, business development, tourism, social welfare and health networks,
infrastructures and technology. Barcelona is already a point of reference in all these areas and,
what’s more, having the autonomous capacity of its own that comes from being a state capital is
an indisputable added value with a view to new and better results.

The capital and its metropolitan context could determine the best strategies, on a European
and international level, and Barcelona, with the Government of Catalonia, could be one of the
most important decision-making centres in international policies and in multiple topics. Barce-
lona could have a more direct influence where the future is shaped and decided and in so many
decisions affecting the lives of our citizens and economic and business development.

Because of its strategic location, Barcelona, as the capital of a state, gains in strength and posi-
tion as the great capital of the Mediterranean and of southern Europe with all that this implies
in the medium and long term.

As regards economic development, studies always put the Barcelona brand and its position-
ing with respect to the “business-friendly” concept in a position clearly at the head in this field.
It could, of course, be much better, but bearing in mind the environment, the Barcelona brand
has stood up to an intense contextual onslaught and stands before the world with remarkable
strength. Nevertheless, studies always point to one definite weakness: Barcelona has no institutional framework for shaping a taxation policy that is attractive to investment and business growth. It has high potential value, the environment, its strategic positioning, its quality of life, its relational networks, communications and a long list of assets. Unfortunately, these do not have the backing of the fiscal policy they need in order to complement public policies with suitable incentives and taxation to drive whatever strategy for economic and social development is considered most suitable.

More possibilities for social responsibility and public-private partnerships

The challenges connected with social welfare are no longer the sole responsibility of the public sector. Social responsibility is everybody’s business; it forms part of people’s quality of life and people must carry on their work and professional duties in the right place and in line with the best possible standards of social welfare, simply because work and life quality must be directly correlated.

Barcelona works and demonstrates day after day its categorical desire to converge when it comes to building networks of economic growth, innovation and creativity, closely tied to the best individual attention. Barcelona has a strong positioning as a smart city by virtue of its application and orientation of technological developments and applications to improving the quality of life of its residents. The world is digital and it will be more so in the near future. Everything is linked to computer processes, everything is identifiable and measurable, and this has important implications in all sectors of production and in public and private services.

In short, societies increasingly need the involvement of businesses, a commitment between the public and private sectors. The latter is taking on more and more new responsibilities that we perhaps used to think of as the responsibility of the public sector alone; without this dimension of business, markets and consumers will not place the same value on their products and services.

The new public-private partnerships of the future must lead in this direction. Barcelona is a city that has been identified by its capacity for openness, its capacity in the development of shared networks, of frameworks for understanding and for the convergence of different interests by identifying common aims.

Useful, high-standard public-private collaboration is possible wherever the private sector is really committed territorially and where there is also a public sector ready and able to carry out these partnerships. A public-private partnership will not work with a classical bureaucratic administration that is a poor interlocutor, unable to negotiate and build future scenarios with the private sector efficiently and competitively; it is a question of combining efforts and fulfilling the duties entrusted to each party. Barcelona has the potential and the abilities at the service of future partnerships. Becoming the capital of a state would reduce the distance between legislative, regulatory and executive capacities, which would make an easier scenario for the construction of new models clearly of benefit for the country as a whole.
An ecosystem for innovation, growth and job opportunities

Barcelona would become the capital of a competitive state thanks to its streamlining and its capacity for adaptation. A state like Catalonia must be competitive for the sake of its opening to the world and of its internationalisation. In the particular case of its capital, it is a place of innovation and creativity, culture, entrepreneurship, knowledge, etc. Barcelona’s positioning today is not based on the existence of large multinational corporations — probably the opposite. In this aspect it has everything to gain and nothing to lose as a state capital. Barcelona could, though, put even more effort into building an ecosystem favouring knowledge, new projects, entrepreneurship and the new small business.

If to this already existing reality we add the autonomy to regulate on its own which the framework of a state capital would allow, this would empower this environment of the city of Barcelona, the only one of its kind in the world. There are not many places where so many assets of value, human capital, life quality, science, technology, knowledge, culture, food and drink, sport, climate, sea, sun and snow, openness and ease of building interrelational networks all converge. All of this exists in Barcelona and could be a great driving force for attracting investment and economic resources. The new economy needs all of these assets and areas to grow and develop. This, then, is an obvious competitive advantage for the city of Barcelona compared to other cities in the world.

Therefore, the fact of being the state capital could mean a considerable strengthening of an ideal environment for small businesses and for entrepreneurship. In fact, culture in Catalonia has always been linked to small and medium businesses, but as these get stronger nowadays and become the true driving force for new projects and innovation they bring with them the large multinationals and corporations. These need the entrepreneurial networks; wherever there is knowledge and innovation there is a future terrain for the large corporations and also a target for investors and capital from all over the world.

The ideal scenario for large, non-speculative productive corporations is one in which the existence of projects, knowledge and entrepreneurship converge at the same time as there is an institutional framework allowing dialogue with and proximity to centres of legal, regulatory and administrative decision-making. Once again, reducing the chain of legal and institutional supply allows more direct and efficient dialogue between the interested parties.

Large business with global DNA is not moved by sentiment, nations or states, but by the pragmatism of the person who wants to hold talks with someone who can really influence the decisions affecting him and who wants to be able to comply with the aims they have established. The city of Barcelona as a state capital could have many interesting cards up its sleeve for many corporations who for the time being are still too far away from us.

Barcelona, Europe and the commitment to sustainable public finance

At the base of the environments of confidence I have mentioned we find the necessary guarantee of the sustainability of public finance. Rigour is absolutely fundamental in managing public money.
A strong Europe must be built up from large cities and their role becomes absolutely essential. The city of Barcelona is working hard to this end and its international activity is very important, in many areas and policies, and also in those that until now were associated more with other countries, such as those relating to economic and financial management and those connected with the sustainability of public finance.

The administration of the city of Barcelona is a model of understanding between politics and management, a model where political and strategic orientation is combined along clearly executive and professional lines. Financial sustainability is at the heart of public management itself; if we can not guarantee present and future equilibrium, we can not guarantee the welfare state and we can not guarantee that the different public policies will be sustained.

Barcelona has approved different government measures with which it has clearly positioned itself ahead of many countries and cities in matters of financial policy; a financial policy oriented towards management, one that guarantees stability, and where the strictest reality is the one we see reflected in its public accounting.

The accrual principle is inevitable in spending, while the prevailing principle in income is the cash principle, avoiding expenses that do not have the corresponding sources of funding guaranteed. In short, it is a question of applying strict, cautious and orthodox criteria with which access to liquidity is consolidated at all times.

Barcelona, without being a state capital, promotes the same management criteria as the main European actors in matters of financial orthodoxy and this is why it has led and launched the European City Economic and Financial Governance group (CEFG), along with the European Institute of Public Administration and with the support of the European Commission, Eurostat, the Lisbon Council and the European Centre for Government Transformation. As well as Barcelona, the group comprises the cities of Hamburg, Milan, London, Vienna and Dublin.

Barcelona is aware that processes to harmonise public finance in Europe should be built bottom-up: states can not consolidate any information of quality if whoever supplies it does not follow uniform criteria in keeping with the European System of Accounts. With a view to 2020, the European Commission wants to introduce a uniform accounting system for the whole of the public sector based on criteria of accrual, so as to be able to harmonise and compare the public accounts of all the administrations, bodies and public companies making up the European public sector.

The declarations of the Eurostat Directorate-General, the commission’s main statistical body, make the support and the importance of the Barcelona project clear: “Eurostat very much welcomes the initiative of Barcelona to create the CEFG Group. Eurostat understands that the strategic orientation of this group seeks to improve the comparability of financial data and financial reporting among European cities and to contribute to improve effectiveness, efficiency and accountability of public sector management”.

Among the objectives of the commission in this matter we can read: “The job and responsibility done by local governments on this issue is a precondition for the high quality of aggregated debt and deficit data at state level.”

Barcelona projects an image to the exterior of outstanding quality and public responsibility in this matter.

These policies and actions the city of Barcelona promotes are absolutely necessary to guarantee the future sustainability of our institutions and to ensure the functioning of the economic
system as a whole. Wherever public finance breaks down, private sector activity is dragged along in a cascade effect and a very dangerous circle is set up that is very traumatic and costly to solve and that affects mainly the most disadvantaged.

Barcelona’s financial culture is clear and rigorous and this is why it has made no bones about its priorities as a state capital and about how it wants to shape the future of its public and financial administration in convergence with European intentions and aims.

Public politics and management are the two basic pillars for building a European environment guaranteeing productivity, competitiveness, the trust needed for investment, industry and growth.

Conclusions

Faced with a possible scenario in which it became a state capital, Barcelona could have a wonderful chance to write an important page in democratic and social progress.

Barcelona is perfectly prepared to face the challenge and build new scenarios, new social models, new models for politics and public administration according to what is necessary before a technicalised and competitive global environment to benefit its citizens and society as a whole.

Opinions about the construction of a new state can be many and different, but the indisputable fact is that Barcelona could act as the best of the world’s capital cities on behalf of the very good state Catalonia could become.
The future needs referents - especially in times of uncertainty. Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, is our referent: with its proven reliability, it is a machine that works and can be seen around the world. It has already been chosen - without being a capital city - to contain capital locations. It is a referent for knowledge, new technology, the food industry and healthcare biotechs.

Externally, Barcelona is our country’s first itinerant embassy. It has the honour of having an ordered urban grid that arouses admiration for its streets’ combination of history and modernity, culture and leisure, a city to look at and touch; one that is not made of papier-mâché but is
a living city, where you can get everywhere on foot or by using quality public transport. Like a huge paella that combines *surf n turf* and where you can still taste the natural ingredients. The word Barcelona, although being composed of four syllables that are not easy to say in all languages is today, since the Olympics, in the minds of the world.

Certainly not everything is perfect in our capital. But there is an agenda for improvement.

It will not be difficult for other states to visualise a Barcelona that has become a new capital: a country that can be located on the map, known on the net, with a number of companies that are in leading positions out of the shadow of state regulators, located in an emerging nucleus of air transport, anchored in one of the Mediterranean’s most potent gateways, and with Barça, which is “more than a club”. It should not be difficult, therefore, to establish new headquarters in the country: the surrounding mountains are magical, an exceptional region. And the city has a nice, well-connected aspect around the Ronda de Dalt.

The permeability of the coast should make Barcelona kind towards other Catalan cities, whether they are coastal or inland: we’re all going to stop in the capital and the centre. The city/out of the city, urban/rural dilemma should be manageable without poor political compromises. The country is small, viewed from the height of a bell tower, but it is born of a cluster of shared feelings, dreams of a new phase, which should make it tolerant of errors that may be committed when doing things that require a degree of agility outside of administrative parsimony.

It should be possible to cushion the cost of any facilities to represent the new capital city by using capital of the other kind - *financial capital* - from outside the country and from within, and the internal drag involved in constructing facilities required by the new headquarters. There will be new construction, maintenance, security, new services, training, employment - activities that should certainly improve the economy above the overall productivity average, given the qualification that the comparative system involves the setting of a capital.

Putting oneself at the forefront is without doubt a privilege, but it is also a challenge: one is obliged to do things well, very well, given that they are they for all to see in the great showcase. It involves giving guarantees regarding good operations, and knowing how to maintain good social capital despite the internationalisation - even greater - of the country. It requires a general improvement of foreign language skills with greater interstate tolerance of neighbouring cultures, *quid pro quo*. Being attentive to the effects of capitalisation which, in the capital too, is the focus of dissatisfaction and protests across the country: safety in the streets, traffic flows, impeccable logistics regarding intermediary inputs that are a lever and not a drag on the comfort of those who place their flags among us. And impeccable health and social care acts as a facilitative element providing well-being for all. We will have to step up a gear in the fight against petty theft, potential legionella’s disease, the ragged tails, dirt in the streets, and provide smooth-functioning “safety”.

Will we know how to do all this? For sure, it may seem uncertain. But what is certain is that depending on oneself, the converging factors involved in that insecurity take us beyond excuses and make us more responsible for our collective future.
Economic and competitive intelligence is capital

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Introduction

The analysis of the importance of economic and competitive intelligence (ECI) in the role of city capitals is as relevant as it is often forgotten, or camouflaged. The concept of urban capital in the 21st century must be situated foremost in a sphere that vastly surpasses that of a mere administrative or political capital status for three reasons. The first because, although the administrative capital is relevant, the capital is much more relevant that stems from the city’s geo-economic positioning in its immediate, regional and world context. The second because cities today are networked cities and, consequently, capitals are “distributed” and, in parallel, connected and specialised. The third because the capitals of yesteryear — primarily public or political-administrative — are today capitals swollen with public and private factors in a confluence that is practically inseparable and enriching.
The role of economic and competitive intelligence (ECI) in the concept of capital set out above becomes of utmost importance in a context of the accelerated internationalisation of the Catalan economy: a distributed economic capital must be defended in an environment of fierce competition — both internally and externally — starting from public-private cooperative elements. In other words: in a world setting where cities have an increasingly leading role, Barcelona will have to lead its internal economic rebalancing with regard to other Catalan cities (its internal network) and with the exterior it will have to “coopete” (cooperate and compete at the same time) with other cities (its external network) to occupy a place in the world that favours its capital status. And all of this by understanding a capital not as a mere unit or administrative characteristic but, above all, as a socioeconomic dynamic.

Economic and competitive intelligence to support the capital

Operating as a capital, both from a defensive stance of positioning the city and an offensive stance in order to occupy the spaces of its competitors, requires strategic knowledge, management capacity and leadership skills. Otherwise, the city will become only a formal capital, without any ability to have an *ad intra* or *ad extra* impact on the country. It would be a bureaucratic capital with no possibility of enduring beyond that of a mere administrative anchoring, which in today’s world is simply not enough.

ECI activities provide support to the capital at three levels: at a strategic level due to their capacity to support the strategic decision making of its leaders, minimising risks and dangers and maximising opportunities with high added value; at a management level due to its holistic vision, which views a capital as a public-private whole, contributing to managing talent and organisational skills and the people involved in these tasks; and, finally, at a leadership level because it contributes to identifying the real needs of a capital, both *ad intra* and *ad extra*.

Although we refer to ECI on the theoretical plane as a whole, given the dual public and private configuration of the capital, on a more practical realm we must distinguish economic intelligence and competitive intelligence, although the two concepts do often form part of an inseparable whole. Economic intelligence (EI) is an activity employed by public administrations and is based on obtaining and processing financial, economic and business information from the public sector in order to ensure the protection of public interests both domestically and abroad, given that the concept of security also encompasses economic affairs. EI is also at the service of raising company awareness on the need to adopt preventive measures to protect their interests, the performance of macroeconomic analyses for the states in which they wish to invest, or effectively do invest, internal protection and the external promotion and protection of companies, the control of transporting defensive materials or those with a dual civilian and military use, and the promotion and dissemination of a culture of intelligence, particularly economic, given that the efficacy of EI also largely depends on the businesses’ level of involvement in this field. In a very different way, competitive intelligence (CI) encompasses a set of skills and techniques at the service of companies and their directors to understand market dynamics and competition and lead to innovation. It is therefore the type of intelligence that companies develop for their most immediate or close environment in order to defend their competitiveness.
In both areas, when planning ECI, one must always remember that economic security is not only a central element in public and private security, but also a key piece in a sustainable economic model that can guarantee social stability. In this way, the protection of the financial system, of markets and trade security, which are the responsibility of both the public and private sectors, requires resources in very specific areas that only the public sector will have, due to its role as protector of general interests, without this hindering the efficient coordination between economic intelligence and competitive intelligence. Indeed, as we will see, some of the most successful ECI models around the world are fully dominated by complete cooperation between the public and private spheres. In summary, if we think of a capital with future capacities, high levels of cooperation must necessarily be planned between EI and CI.

As set out above, there are different integrated ECI models among which, and due to their specific features and success stories, the French and Japanese ones merit mention, as they represent clear visions of ECI as an integrated public-private instrument to protect the economy. In both cases ECI becomes one further piece of their economic policy, to the degree that it acts as support to their economic, competitive and security growth.

The French case is a great example of an integrated territorial vision of ECI. In a very particular way, France has made ECI into a public-private competitiveness policy. To do so, it developed a territorial organisation model that combines political strategy and the implementation of management models of economic intelligence processes for the public administrations and of competitive intelligence processes for companies.

The French state’s objectives with regard to ECI can be broken down into three core areas: strategic supervision, improved competitiveness and technology transfer for the profit of French companies and, finally, the security of companies and research centres.

By pursuing these targets, the aim is to favour France’s influence and its propagation at international economic forums, ensuring the French presence at international economic institutions, primarily standardisation committees and organisations, and actions to influence decisive foreign futures, in particular in the economic sectors that are priorities for the French state. With regard to company security, the French state must identify and prevent risks of meddling in French companies and research centres to ensure the protection of its economy.

In order to implement these policies, France has an organisational structure in its territorial administrations that is coordinated with the private sector and its diplomatic machine, which supervises attainment of these objectives. Noteworthy outcomes of these territorial ECI policies include the creation of competitiveness clusters and the role of the French government and professional organisations in developing ECI at the service of the agri-food industries and the diplomacy to influence the French image in intra-state competition.

Contrary to what it might first seem, ECI management is not centralised in the bureaucratic administrative capital (Paris). The capital is spread throughout state territory, including overseas, employing a series of public-private nodes located efficiently throughout the territory. Thus, Toulouse is the aerospace capital and Toulon is the marine technology research capital. The French ECI lesson from which Barcelona can learn in its status as capital is, paradoxically, that of a public-private ECI extended in a network throughout the territory and not centralised.

The Japanese case provides a proactive vision of ECI in the sense that it is employed essentially for constructing the future and not just for describing it. This proactivity commenced when intelligence officers in the Japanese army — dissolved after World War II — were then ascribed
to the Ministry of the Economy. In this way, the Japanese started up “economic war” mechanisms for its reconstruction that translated into the existence of administrative bodies either more or less specifically dedicated to economic intelligence. The MITI and, starting in 2001, the METI (Ministry of Economy, Trade & Industry), JETRO (Japan External Trade Organisation, governmental body also with competition functions), JST (Japanese Science and Technology Agency, also with functions of surveillance of foreign patents) and, finally, Chui Joho Kyodu (body that provides information to companies on international policy, reports to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). These bodies are closely coordinated with the Ministries of the Interior, Defence, Finance, Research, Development and Foreign Affairs via a permanent economic intelligence group, which means on a fortnightly basis.

A detailed observation of Japanese ECI structures leads to the conclusion that activities are governed by a series of methods, which include surveillance of patents, monitoring of exhibitions, colloquiums, seminars and industrial missions, the examination of the competition’s products, employing numerous expatriate scientists and professors and placing personnel at work experience in numerous countries. In summary, a commitment to proactivity that involves both the public and private sectors. The Japanese lesson from which Barcelona can learn as it strives toward becoming a capital is to exercise ECI proactively, namely, not just passively await the future or become obsessed with partial and univocal visions of reality (ignoring changes), reactive (motivated by changes that already happened) or preactive (in preparation for change). Japanese ECI is truly proactive and is dedicated to constructing changes from a network of cities and companies that are really and jointly operating as capitals in different ways.

Economic and competitive intelligence as a product

We define intelligence (both economic and competitive, given that the differences rest with the players and not the results) as the product that arises from a tool called the “intelligence cycle” or, in other words, from the assessment, integration, analysis and interpretation of information. Intelligence is not information even though it is the basis of the former. Thus, the intelligence cycle is a sequence of activities via which information is converted into intelligence available to a user, in this case the capital. A pertinent question is therefore: What produces ECI at the service of the capital? The answer is clear: the public administrations in the case of economic intelligence, and companies and civil society in the case of competitive intelligence, although all coordinated. This approach requires the existence of intelligence analysis units (IAU) both in administrations (especially the Barcelona City Council if speaking of a capital) and in companies. These IAU’s must supply ECI to decision makers and, consequently, must be located on the organisational chart closest to these decision makers, given that they are not mere firms conducting studies or planning, but instead are authentic antennas capable of detecting the signals emitted by the capital’s environment, no matter how weak they may be.

There are generally four phases established for the cycle: management or planning, attainment, elaboration and dissemination. A later phase to evaluate the quality of the product obtained and the process followed to elaborate it can be added to these phases, assessing its capacity to adequately and efficiently satisfy the intelligence needs that contributed to its production.

The intelligence production process tends to be visualised for teaching purposes as a cycle, because preliminary activities are the basis for later ones and because the consumption of intelli-
gence generates new needs that provide feedback to the cycle. However, the reality of intelligence production is that it is commonly manifested by breaking away from the conventionally established order: thus, information tends to be gathered continuously; analysis, which depends on the readjusting done in light of new data, and urgency, the main conditioning factor. During the management and planning phase, needs are identified and a plan is made to obtain the information, which will be done in phase two by technical or human means. In phase three, elaboration, value, performance and relevance are studied by evaluating data, the integration of data from different sources and their interpretation. Finally, the last step of the cycle is the dissemination of the intelligence obtained to those who requested it.

The ECI supplied to decision makers must permit the improvement, as detailed below, of the capital’s strategic positioning, management and leadership. From a strategic viewpoint, ECI is not just an offensive weapon for the “economic war” with regard to attracting investment and recruiting talent, but also defensive with regard to protecting the competitiveness of infrastructures (ports, airports, critical energy, telecommunications and transport) and strategic sectors (tourism and biotechnology). From a management viewpoint, the ECI must permit having intelligence, for example, to develop public-private management models in the identified strategic sectors (for example, tourism and urban sustainability). Finally, in the area of leadership, the ECI must lead to proactively identifying weak signals in the area of capital status to then supply, beyond their reading, elements that ensure that the capital’s internal and external leadership is upheld.

At a more concrete level, we can take a look at some examples of uses stemming from ECI activities. First: a capital with the will to be one must establish clear “coopetition” (simultaneous collaboration and competition) policies with other cities around the world, as advisable by their profiles, strategies and positioning. Obviously, this task can be “hand-crafted” using non-systematised individual or group knowledge, although systematic work will clearly be more efficient, employing ECI tools like other world capitals.

Second: the definition of anticipatory strategies in issuing tourist markets requires tools that exceed those most commonly used for the tourist market or the bonhomie of economic agents in play at sector trade fairs. Knowing full details of the geopolitical dynamics of the receiving markets that compete with the capital can contribute to supplying winning strategies to help the capital move out ahead of competitors.

Third: the positioning of the capital at fairs, congresses and large events makes it necessary to maintain permanent structures to monitor the competitors and detect future demands beyond the normal strategic plans.

Fourth: the definition of strategic sector policies, for example on capturing and retaining talent, on the sustainable economy or on the development of new opportunities in concrete areas requires leadership and decision-making capacities that are difficult to have if one does not have recourse to strategic knowledge, such as that which can be provided by ECI tools.

Fifth: in a clear capital role, some issues like protecting critical infrastructures (transport, energy, water) also require ECI resources connected to strategic intelligence and security.

Sixth: if the capital wants to be efficient, it must employ efficient tools and also in the procurement and equipping of resources. Buying efficiently means that the local administration will necessarily have to employ innovative public procurement (IPP) resources that, in turn, necess-
sarily require having ECI capacities to the degree that IPP is essentially based on the need to buy something that still does not exist, but which responds to a future need that we have detected.

We thus see that several extremely diverse areas to manage the capital can — and indeed are in other world capitals — require ECI services, services that necessarily must be located next to decision makers and cannot be scattered throughout the organisation so that their efficacy is not dissolved.

**Conclusions**

ECI at the service of the capital is a task that involves both the public sector and the private sector and civil society as a whole. However, in the economic sphere, it primarily rests with the public sector and companies via EI techniques for the former and CI for the latter.

The development of ECI requires close collaboration between public administrations and companies by starting up ECI analysis units that can be integrated into a territorial reading of the capital. This lets different system sectors be integrated into a coordinated scheme based on proactivity and mainly focused on external action and internal protection. In this way, ECI at the service of the capital will be responsible for protecting and improving the city’s competitiveness and positioning via a global, proactive and panoramic vision of its surroundings, which lets its ecosystem of interests and that of its competitors be analysed to construct the future.

Thus, areas like the provision of public services, public contracting, recruiting talent, positioning against competitors, the fight in the global economic war and the definition of new areas of activity require or could require ECI resources that can facilitate decision makers’ task. ECI therefore offers relevant support to the capital in the strategic plan — supporting decision making in this field —, in the executive plan — facilitating the management of talent and the organisation’s skills and in the leadership plan — contributing to identifying the needs of all organisations involved.
Barcelona, emporium of the Mediterranean, Atlantic and Asia (?), in succession

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History is full of ups and downs. With respect to the first, two have occurred during the last two thousand years: the first was the commercial revolution, which developed in the region of the Mediterranean, the ancient Mare Nostrum of the Romans between the twelfth and the fifteen centuries, and the second was the Industrial Revolution, which began in the United Kingdom in the middle of the eighteenth century and spread to the rest of the neighbouring countries of that time. Between those two events, the discovery and colonisation of America had provided the latter with the geographical framework it needed. And the city of Barcelona has played an important role in both of these episodes. The many tourists who visit the city today are devoted followers of the itineraries and artistic testimonies to which they refer. The originality of our city lies in its Gothic and Modernism treasures and these spiritual expressions are by no means accidental or fortuitous. The first is the expression of the city’s commercial achievements during the Late Middle Ages. The second is an example of the industrial boom that took place at the end of the nineteenth century. Between the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Catalan capital disputed the control of the sea ports of the Mare Nostrum with the Italians. From the last thirty years of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, it has used the English manufacturing centres as a model.
Now, when globalisation intends to integrate all world economies into one, Barcelona is again rising to the challenge and making a great effort to make its contribution. The aim is to establish special quays with more modern services in its port in order to allow the city to become the end of the maritime journey and the start of the journey over land, in a bid to distribute throughout Europe a considerable flow of goods which the “Asian tigers” — starting with China who has finally awoken—, are getting ready to ship to the Old Continent. This is a great challenge and it remains to be seen whether the locals will be up for it.

Barcelona, a Mediterranean trading port in the Late Middle Ages

From the fifth century a.D., the invasion of the lands controlled by the Roman Empire, firstly by barbarians and later by the Islamic tribes had broken the union of the maritime area — the Mare Nostrum — achieved by Rome. As a result, from then on the ancient basin was converted into a sea governed by no-one, i.e., with no hegemonic authority, subject to attack by boldest, with no rules other than force and violence, to the point of becoming extremely dangerous and impossible to sail on. The people on its shores, forced to look inwards, returned to a more retrograde form of economic organisation such as productive autarchy and the bartering of goods. The monetary system needed an adjustment. In times of splendour, the Romans had adopted a bimetallic standard (gold coin for more valuable transactions and silver coin for less valuable ones). During this period of decline, only silver coins were minted which were sufficient for the meagre needs of the times.

These negative times did not last for ever. Over the years, the situation tended to improve. The progressive superiority of the Muslims, who had never ceased trading with each other, finally replaced the old Roman rule; truces became more frequent between the followers of the two confronting religions; the ships of the two enemies reappeared, along with a new wholesale goods exchange…

Some cities in northern Italy (Florence, Genoa and Venice) led the commercial recovery which began in the twelfth century. Today, there are many solid arguments that can be used to add the city of Barcelona to this group. All these cities disputed the monopoly of the oriental spices, which were essential for masking foul odours and the bad taste of spoiled food. The Italian merchants were the great distributors from Constantinople and those of Barcelona imitated them in Alexandria and Aleppo. The success of both led to the restoring of the bimetallic monetary standard, which was a sign of prosperous times. In fact, Barcelona was one step ahead of its rivals in this respect.

Barcelona, an Atlantic trading port: the Industrial Revolution

In the Hispanic context, Catalan industrialisation is known for its early beginnings. Catalonia soon became known as a region apart in a Spain which was “eminently agrarian”. From the second half of the eighteenth century, its inhabitants had dedicated their efforts to looking across the Pyrenees in search of models.

Even today, we Catalans have an especially open spirit to new things from the exterior.

And yet no matter how much it was influenced by the exterior, Catalan industrialisation has a series of singular elements which I think it appropriate to summarise as follows: the trading
of spirit and the exit from the Atlantic at the end of the seventeenth century; the political defeat and subsequent change in mentality during the next century; the decisive participation of the owners of the fabric stores in Barcelona and in some towns in Camp de Tarragona in the implementation of the cotton manufacturing industry, which became the driving force of the whole process. We will examine this in detail.

The second closing of the Mediterranean basin by the Muslims during the sixteenth century, coinciding with the discovery and colonisation of America, had left the Catalan capital in a precarious position. The chance to turn this situation around arose by chance and without warning one century later.

The triggering factor was the production and trading of spirit, a product which local wine-growers had disregarded until then. At that time, eau de vie (‘water that restores life’, the French expression could not have expressed it better) was the preferred drink of the inhabitants of colder countries. The French region of Gascony had traditionally supplied this spirit until war which broke out between the French and the British during the reign of Louis XIV had interrupted this trade. A group of Dutch and British distillers settled in the Penedès region with the idea of finding a substitute for it.

They met with great success. The natives soon followed their example. In a short time, the region was filled with stills and wine spirit became the Catalan export standard.

However, this success was not so much due to the vine-growers and distillers themselves, but rather to two fabric store groups—one based in Barcelona and the other in Reus and Valls—who insisted on obtaining the funds need to finance their imports of wool, cotton and linen imports with the proceeds obtained by exporting spirit. The complementary nature of merchant flows has become a distinctive hallmark of the Catalan trading system.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the end of the War of Succession ended in disaster for the Catalan identity: the demolition of the Ribera neighbourhood in Barcelona, the most flourishing one in the city; the transfer of the university to Cervera (the «fifth force») and the imposing of the Nueva Planta decrees by the Bourbons which among others, did away with traditional public law. The settlers were very much affected by this, but their reaction was unexpected. Instead of lamenting their misfortune and harbouring resentment, the new Catalans, who were now no longer deceived by the res publica, dedicated their efforts to cultivating their own particular and more gratifying interests. The results of the change were quite positive. From 1778, the granting of freedom of trade with America, a continent hitherto prohibited for them, gave them an unusual scenario of activity. A text written in 1791 by Don Angel Puyade, presumably a member of the Commercial Court of Valencia in Mexico, used the following words to refer to the rapid imposition of the newcomers with respect to their fellow men in the New Spain.

There were two reasons for their pre-eminence: «One is their excessive frugality. The Catalans are extremely austere in their eating and dressing habits; they wash, they make their own meals and they carry out all their own chores with no need for servants. Apart from this economy, their industry [work] is beyond compare, to the vilest and most ridiculous extent. In this way, the other Spaniards fare badly in the negotiations that benefit them. When competing with them, no person from Valencia, Biscay, Castile or Andalusia can win and no person from another province can increase their fortune.» Praise God for the miserliness and hard work which were to blame for putting the Catalans above other Spaniards!
In return for their spirit exports, the Catalan became accustomed to fabrics made by more advanced countries. Once this trade had been established, they devoted themselves to producing them at home. The preferred type was cotton, a great novelty in Europe. With the help of the tariff protection, the metropolitan producers gradually assumed the replacement of the imported fabrics.

Our ancestors ended up by making cotton fabric the core of a wider industrialisation process, hampered only by the weakness of the heavy goods sector.

However, despite the general evolution of Spain, which was negative if not catastrophic during the first half of the nineteenth century, Barcelona and Catalonia have continued to progress together. The appreciation shown by the British consul for our city in 1852, is very clear in this respect: «If the city had an honest government and a constitution like the British one, Catalonia could compete (although not quite be equal with) the trade of Liverpool and the factories of Manchester.»

Moving in this direction, Barcelona later hosted the 8th International Congress of the Federation of Employer Associations of Cotton Weavers and Spinners, with more than ninety per cent of the spinners and weavers from all over the world. The cities designated to host it were Zurich (1904), Manchester-Liverpool (1905), Bremen (1906), Vienna (1907), Paris (1908), Milan (1909), Brussels (1910) and Barcelona (1911). Barcelona, Cottonopolis! The inhabitants of Barcelona could hardly believe it.

**Barcelona, aspiring to be an Asian trading centre**

The bid to make Barcelona the spearhead of Chinese exports in particular and Asian exports in general, was due to Mr. Hutchinson, a Chinese man from Hong Kong concerned about the capitalist doctrine that exists in Europe. Targeted at the heart of the wealthy countries, the journey had two parts: a maritime one, in the Mediterranean, coming from Suez and the other, by rail, from the chosen city’s port. Following the elimination of Genoa due to a lack of vital space, the competition lay between Barcelona and Marseille. In objective terms, the French port had better conditions. However, the Catalan port was finally proclaimed the winner, not for objective reasons but for subjective ones.

Mr. Hutchinson considered that dealings with the Catalan port staff would be less conflictive than with the French ones. His reasoning did not take into account the possibility of the relations between employers and workers or employees suddenly changing: the dockers and other workers from Marseille might decide to comply while those from Barcelona might not.

It is well known that the Spanish rail gauge width is larger than the international one. After reaching the French border, the Spanish trains cannot cross it and are obliged to perform a double operation of loading and unloading (changing wagons) that is slow, dangerous and tedious. Naturally, Mr. Hutchinson requested the suppression of that obstacle. The current solution is based on shipping the goods on the high speed rail track, which has the European gauge. This presents serious problems: as a passenger train, the high speed rail wagons are too light for the transportation of heavy goods, and on the other hand, the use of the same track for two different types of trains, one fast and the other slow, gives rise to the forming of bottlenecks that contradict the proclaimed high speed of these trains. It also appears rather odd and very expensive to create a tunnel that crosses the Pyrenees from La Jonquera to Le Boulou, built not by two sovereign states but by a private consortium (Spanish-French) which, in order to recover its investment, has imposed the collection of tolls. It is necessary to execute important projects correctly, and right now there are quite a few that must be reviewed.
Globalisation and independence of Catalonia and the city of Barcelona

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This article looks at the question of whether the current economic context is favourable or detrimental to Catalonia’s independence. This context is that of globalisation, one of the most widely-use terms in the political, economic and social debate in recent decades, as well as one of the most controversial. One of the main problems it presents is its definition. It is in fact a very broad concept, with economic, social and political dimensions, and which refers to the increase in interconnectivity and inter-dependence among different countries and societies. Here, however, we will concentrate on its economic facet, which can be defined as an increase in the international exchange of goods, capital and services and the disappearance or reduction of the restrictions imposed on these exchanges (duties, capital controls, etc.). Once the relationship between globalisation and independence processes has been analysed, we will study the degree of internationalisation of the Catalan economy and the role of the country’s capital, Barcelona, within this framework.

The dominant political trend of the late 20th century was the creation of new states. In 1945 the world had 74 recognised states, while in 2014 there are almost 200, of which 193 are United Nations member states. In the last 69 years, a total of 119 new states have been created across the world. The average rate of creation of new independent states is therefore one every seven months. Many of these states are in Europe, and are current or soon-to-be members of the European Union. As regards size, it is worth noting that 91 of these states have fewer than seven million inhabitants, 55 have fewer than three million and 29 have fewer than five hundred thousand inhabitants. With a population of seven-and-a-half million, Catalonia would therefore not be a small state in the order of the world’s independent nations; rather its population would rank somewhere in the middle.

Within the European Union’s twenty-seven member states, Catalonia would be the twelfth economy in terms of absolute economic income measured as gross domestic product (GDP). In 2012, Catalonia’s GDP was 207,762 billion euros, similar to that of Denmark (244,535 billion euros) and Finland (194,469 billion euros). If we look at the GDP per capita, which is the most common indicator for measuring a country’s economic prosperity, Catalonia is in an even better position. As can be seen in Table 1, in terms of GDP per capita, Catalonia is situated above the EU average, in a position similar to that of the Eurozone. In 2012, Catalonia’s per capita GDP was 27,698 euros, while the figure for the Spanish state as a whole (including Catalonia) was 22,700 euros. The Catalan GDP per capita was therefore 22% higher than the state average. Catalonia’s relative position within the state has improved slightly over recent years as a result of the economic crisis, with a Catalan GDP of 21.4% higher than the Spanish average in 2010.

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<th>Table 1. Per capita GDP and per capita GDP with purchasing power parity, 2012</th>
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<td><strong>Per capita GDP</strong></td>
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Source: Idescat and Eurostat
When we also take into account the difference in prices between countries and calculate the GDP with purchasing power parity, Catalonia is situated above the Eurozone average, as its per capita GDP with purchasing power parity is 16% above the EU-27 average and 8% above the Eurozone average. According to this indicator, Catalonia would be the ninth richest country in the European Union, with a per capita income very similar to that of Finland and above France and Italy.

The creation of new states in recent decades and the decrease in their average size has given rise to a whole new line of research into what is known as New Political Economy. The studies carried out, analysed in 2003 in the book *The Size of Nations* by Alberto Alesina and Enrico Spolaore, show that globalisation and deregulation of international trade favour the trend towards advocating independence, given that forming part of a large state is less necessary while smaller political units become more viable.

These authors analyse the formation of states as a result of the balance between two opposing forces. On the one hand, we have centripetal forces that favour the constitution of large states in order to take advantage of their economies of scale in the provision of certain public goods and services (such as defence) and access to large domestic markets that allow companies to produce at a lower unit cost. Then, on the other hand, larger states also incur costs resulting from heterogeneity. This is due to the fact that public goods must be shared among a larger and more diverse group of citizens, and it is harder to attain public policies that satisfy them. The costs of heterogeneity act as centrifugal forces that favour the constitution of smaller, more homogeneous states.

In a scenario of trade protectionism, it is the centripetal rather than the centrifugal forces that are more important, because advantage must be taken of the size of the domestic market while access to foreign markets is restricted due to trade barriers. This explains the consolidation of the European nation states in the 17th and 18th centuries through the aggregation of highly heterogeneous regional and national groups. On the other hand, in a context of international market openness, small regions can allow themselves the luxury of becoming independent states. Their companies do not need to belong to a larger state in order to take advantage of the market, because they are able to access markets beyond their border and limits.

In these circumstances, the case of Catalonia is a paradigm. In fact, Catalonia lost its state institutions, Les Corts, and its fiscal power in 1714 after the defeat in the War of the Spanish Succession. Later on, in the second half of the 19th century, it became the “factory of Spain” in a context of integration of the Spanish market. The economies of scales and the reduction in transport costs thanks to the introduction of railways consolidated Catalonia’s initial advantage. However, the current situation, characterised by market deregulation both on the global level (with the dismantling of customs duties within the framework of the World Trade Organization) and on the European level (through the process of European integration), has reduced

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1. For an analysis of taxation and fiscal policy in Catalonia prior to 1714, see Paluzie (2014).
2. Tirado, Paluzie and Pons (2002) analyse the determining factors for the location of Spanish industry during the second half of the 19th century and the effects of the process of domestic economic integration (construction of railways and monetary unification with the creation of the peseta). They show that a large section of industry was concentrated in Catalonia because its comparative starting advantages were set through exploiting economies of scale at a time when domestic transport costs were falling.
the economic benefits of existing as a union and increased the costs of belonging to the Spanish state.

With regards to the main centripetal force (the need for a large domestic market in order to better exploit economies of scale), a simple example allows us to see that this force has been weakened through the processes of economic integration. Let us look at the case of the automotive company SEAT, founded in 1950. It opened its first factory in Barcelona’s Zona Franca in 1953 and, during its first years of existence, sold exclusively to the Spanish market. Currently, however, from its manufacturing plants in Barcelona, El Prat and Martorell, it sells its production around the world, mainly in Western Europe. When the Spanish state did not belong to the European Community and said international bloc was in a very incipient phase of economic integration, the fact that its factories were located in a relatively large protected market was highly relevant. An independent Catalonia with trade barriers with Spain and the rest of Europe would have meant reduced sales. However, at present, it is irrelevant to the company whether or not the region in which its factories are located (Catalonia) belongs to the Spanish state. The trade barriers with the rest of the world have been reduced to very low levels and completely removed within Europe, and even with states that do not belong to the European Union, such as Norway and Serbia. SEAT’s market is no longer domestic, rather it sells the makes of car it manufactures in Barcelona around the world. Therefore, the factor that allows SEAT to sell enough vehicles to exploit economies of scale is not its location within the Spanish state but its insertion into the global economy.

The main centrifugal force is the cost of heterogeneous preferences. This cost arises when, in a large, diverse country, more citizens must share the same policies and the same public goods. The larger and more diverse the population, the further the average citizen finds themselves from their ideal public policy. In the case of Catalonia, its cultural differences are not based on ethnicity, but on history, culture and language. A large part of the public policies that affect the average Catalan voter are therefore related to culture, education and language. The fact that the main laws in these areas are drawn up by the Spanish legislature, and are subject to interpretation by the Spanish Constitutional Court, creates the risk of distancing them from the preferences of Catalan citizens. In recent years, this risk has materialised with laws that have substantially modified the policies decided by the Catalan Parliament. According to the model posed by Alesina and Spolaore (2003), this distance between the average voter and the policies of central government acts as a centrifugal force which is favourable to secession.3

Heterogeneous preferences as regards public policies may be the result of not only cultural differences, but also differences in the economic structure of different regions. So we see that Catalonia, an export-oriented economy, requires public investment that complements the needs of its export-led industry and favours the competitiveness of its companies in the global market. However, the Spanish government has systematically discriminated against projects such as the Mediterranean Railway Corridor for the transport of goods to Europe, in favour of projects that suit the interests of the ruling elite in the central government and other less dynamic regions. In this regard, the most relevant example is the construction of a radial network of high-speed

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3. Paluzie (2010) analysed the Catalan case in the light of the model proposed by Alesina and Spolaore and foresaw that the ruling of Spain’s Constitutional Court, which had still not been delivered, would be decisive for the growing support of independence.
trains that connect Madrid with all the provincial capitals. The management model for Spain’s airports is another example of public policies that favour Madrid airport in detriment to the creation of a hub airport in Barcelona.

The current economic context is therefore characterised by the disappearance of incentives for Catalonia’s integration within Spain and the increased costs of this integration. Catalonia, which in the 19th century became the “factory of Spain”, has progressively opened up its economy to trade with the rest of the world, and especially with other European countries. Today, in European-wide terms, Catalonia has a medium-sized and considerably open economy that is relatively rich in terms of per capita income.

If we do not consider the flow of goods to and from the rest of the state as imports and exports, Catalonia’s degree of economic openness was 63% in 2012. Supposing that an independent Catalonia maintained its trade with the rest of the state (which would then be considered import and export), its degree of openness in 2012 would have been 102%. This level of openness is higher than that of the Spanish state as a whole for the same year (48%) and it is also higher than that of countries with a similarly-sized economy to Catalonia, such as Finland, where in 2012 the openness index was 60.5%, and Denmark at 63%. Catalonia would still be some way off, however, from the European Union’s most open economies, such as Belgium, which has a trade openness index of 183%. The export of goods from Catalonia represented 26.17% of the state’s total exports in 2012.

In 1995, exports from Catalonia to the rest of the world represented just 23% of the total sales of Catalan companies, while trade with the rest of the Spanish state represented 40% of the total and the domestic Catalan market 36%. In 2010, for the first time since the industrialisation of Catalonia, exports to the rest of the world (which exceeded 48 billion euros) overtook sales to the rest of Spain (45 billion euros). In 2012, exports continued to grow and they now exceed 58 billion euros, representing an absolute increase in the value of exports of 19.2% in two years. Therefore in 2012, sales to the rest of the world (exports) represented over 40% of the total sales of Catalan companies. The total value of goods exported was over 58 billion euros, while sales to the Catalan market were around 43 billion euros and sales to the rest of Spain over were 44 billion euros.

In 2012, 61% of Catalan exports outside of Spain were destined to the European Union of twenty-seven, which also represented the source of 54% of our total imports. Who is our main client in Europe? France, followed by Germany, Italy and Portugal. And who is our main supplier, the country we buy most goods from? Germany, followed by France, Italy and the Netherlands. It is worth mentioning that if we look at the global ranking, without focusing only on the EU, China is now Catalonia’s third largest supplier and there is also a considerable amount of bilateral trade with the United States (it is Catalonia’s eighth biggest client).

In this context of globalisation, Catalonia also has a starting advantage — the fact that its capital, Barcelona, is a creative and diverse city with considerable weight in the global economy. Globalisation is characterised by the existence of agglomerations in which economic activity is

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4. The openness indices of European states have been calculated using Eurostat data on exports, imports and GDP, while the Catalan figures have been calculated using data from C-intereg, Customs and the Spanish Tax Agency (AEAT).
concentrated and by the fragmentation of the production process, all of which generates inequality among regions.

Some regions and countries end up winning, while others lose. Having a dynamic economic agglomeration, such as Barcelona and its metropolitan area, is an important factor in being one of the winners of globalisation. In this case, Catalonia’s independence, the prosperity of Barcelona and that of Catalonia all feed off each other. With independence, Catalonia could develop its own economic policies and have the resources to finance them. Some of these policies, such as the control of infrastructures (ports, airports and railways), are key to guaranteeing Barcelona’s economic productivity and will have a positive impact on the whole of the Catalan economy.

To summarise, the current economic context is more favourable than ever to Catalonia’s independence. The economic arguments traditionally rolled out to defend Catalonia remaining within the Spanish state are no longer valid, while those that justify emancipation have won the upper hand. Furthermore, in this context, the global capital that is Barcelona plays two roles. Firstly, its strength will help to ensure the success of an independent Catalonia within a global economy, and secondly, with independence, the city will benefit from the reestablishment of Catalan institutions and the control of economic policies and resources that are essential for its industrial and commercial fabric.

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Barcelona and the Energy Challenge

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Introduction

The popular mobilisation in favour of independence for Catalonia is offering the country the chance to rethink the political, economic and social model of our society. If we accept that the process will culminate in success, Catalonia will have to assume its own international representation. Within the framework of a new state, the main cities of Catalonia will have to rethink new administrative, public and international responsibilities. Of the plethora of factors which will go to make up the future of the cities of Catalonia, there are two which are worth highlighting: the popular nature of the independent movement and the convergence of the current economic, financial, institutional, energy, climate and natural resources crises.

It should be clearly stated that in the western world today we take for granted the wide availability of resources and energy for the simple fact there has always been a wide availability of these things, when the truth is that we have begun a process of decline which no current or foreseen technology stop. This problem, which is global, will have to be faced by the new Catalan state and its cities. Adding to this an additional level of complexity, the consequences of the environmental degradation will have to be faced. The degradació ambiental, including climate change, will make it necessary to allocate more and more resources to critical areas such as the supply of drinking water and the protection against extreme climatic events. The big cities will have to look again at their relationship with the environment, consumption and waste levels and adaptation to a more hostile environment. This, however, will not be enough. It is the citizens who are carrying the wave of enthusiasm for the new state they want to build; it is the citizens who are demanding radical changes, because they aspire to a new system of government, with more participation and respect for the citizen, more social-minded and more transparent, more sincere in the face of problems. The adoption of new jurisdictions will be a modern opportunity in modern-day Europe to rethink the role of the city in a world of disappearing resources and growing challenges. Creating a plan to face these challenges democratically and transparently could make Barcelona the degrowth capital.

This short essay aims to contribute to put in context the challenges we have to face in terms of resources, and to open the citizen’s debate about these questions, which, as we see them, should be taken into account when designing the Barcelona of the future. We do not aim to give precise routes. No podrem donar rutes precises de les adaptacions concretes i particulars que haurà de fer per a Barcelona to take, given that this requires a longer, more indepth study about the particularities of the city, but at least we would like to define a reasonable framework from where we are on a global scale and where we can go on a local scale. atès que això requereix d’un estudi més llarg i aprofundit sobre les peculiaritats de la ciutat, però com a...

Energy in the world

The first thing to understand is that, despite claims to the contrary which we hear in some media, we already have a severe problem of shortage of natural resources for maintaining our economic system, which is basic and needs growth. The problem is particularly serious in the case of energy, and more specifically, oil.
According to the International Energy Agency (IEA) in their annual report (World Energy Outlook) in 2010, the production of crude oil — the oil which is extracted from under ground by the typical wells we have seen so often in films, — reached its peak between 2005 and 2006. The IEA, however, swiftly sent a calming message, saying that this would be a minor problem thanks to the rise in the production of “unconventional oils” (in fact, these “unconventional oils” are liquid hydrocarbons which are expensive and hard to produce, and with limited maximum production for many reasons, and which in many cases cannot fully substitute oil, like producing diesel, for example). In the 2012 report, the IEA admitted that the current production of crude was falling, but this part of the report went unnoticed amidst the great media fanfare which exaggerated emphasis on the other part of this report, with the announcement that the USA would be energetically self-sufficient by 2025 thanks to fracking (even though the IEA itself had stated that the production of fuel through fracking would not last much longer than a decade). However, the situation is rapidly deteriorating: in the 2013 report, the IEA warned that the total production of liquid hydrocarbons (conventional and unconventional crude oil) would quickly fall if the industry did not make huge investments in an area where the remaining wells are less and less profitable and more risky. And a recent report (in July 2014) by the USA Energy Department showed that the great oil industry lost $1.1 billion between 2013 and 2014 and has begun an aggressive disinvestment policy. It all seems that the financial fracking bubble is about to burst and with it the production of unconventional as well as conventional oil will fall. The next few years could be marked by greater and more widespread problems of liquid fuel supplies on a global scale.

Should we therefore trust in other non-renewable fuels? Absolutely not. The production of conventional natural gas is peaking all over the world, and as for American shale gas which is extracted by fracking, it has turned out to be an even more ruinous business than fracking oil (Dave Hughes, stated in Nature, in February 2013, that in 2012 alone, the shale gas industry lost at least $13 billion). Coal, of which there are large reserves, will also peak sometime in the next few years, probably during the next decade. And as for uranium, it is also showing signs of having reached its maximum production, exacerbated by the finalising of the Megatons to Megawatts programme in December 2013. Supply issues are developing between the USA and Russia, camouflaged by technical problems of security which have forced some European plants to stop production.

You would think that the problems outlined above would work in favour of the development of renewable energy. However, besides the regulatory excesses in Spain, very damaging for the sector throughout the country, there is a certain response in many countries. Even in Germany there are more and more voices protesting against the high cost of national electricity, who claim it is the result of bonuses for the renewable generation, while Germany turns more and more to coal (a highly contaminating source of energy but which has the highest growth in Germany in absolute terms). There is a mixture of problems affecting renewable generation systems, and to discuss it in detail would take up all this article, so here we will just point out the most important points, and leave it to the reader to look for further information and above all, to read this information with a critical eye. This is a subject which lends itself to controversy even though some of the basic facts are indisputable.

The first question refers to clean extractable energy using renewable energy for extraction. Most studies on the performance of renewable systems refer to the financial costs, which vary
with time and which do not necessarily include all the costs involved, such as labour and maintenance costs. In order to have a more fundamental idea of the performance of renewable extraction systems we should look at the so-called Energy Return on Investment or EROI. The EROI is the result of a simple division: it calculates the total energy which a specific source can produce during its lifetime and divides it by the amount of energy it has to consume to achieve this production (taking every single cost into account: manufacturing, installation, maintenance and finally, dismantling). Basically, the EROI is a multiplier, which tells us how many kilowatts-hour we will obtain in a determined source. Some renewable extraction systems, such as photovoltaic systems, use very low energy performances, with an EROI of approximately 2.5. This figure may appear more than adequate (we are saying, in short, that the photovoltaic system produces two and a half times as much energy as we need to invest in it!), but the truth is that it is not sufficient to maintain a structured society. And in a structured society such as ours, energy production is not people’s main concern; people need there to be enough extra energy to be about to take care of their family and the elderly, to be able to build and maintain roads, hospitals, schools, councils, temples, etc. In layman’s terms, taking the EROI value we can estimate (with many conditionals; it is only a first estimate) the percentage of the GDP which corresponds to energy production; the formula is %GDP=100/EROI. Anthropological studies estimate that the average EROI of sources used by civilisations prior to ours is around 10 (that is, 10 % of the GDP was destined to energy production), and that this is the figure required for a society to be viable. Sources with a EROI of 2.5 such as the photovoltaic system would imply dedicating 40% of the GDP to its production and maintenance, which is too high, and for this reason the photovoltaic system can never be the main source of energy in a society such as ours, but rather an addition to other sources with better EROI.

The second question which affects renewables is the production limits. The proponents of the renewable option tend to think that you can extract as much energy from the environment as you like, given that every year the Sun sends to the Earth 10,000 times more energy than mankind consumes in the same period of time, and that a few million wind turbines and hundreds of millions of photovoltaic plaques will be more than enough to cover our current needs. Cost issues aside, (if there were enough materials to build all this, the cost would be enormous on a global scale due to the scarcity of raw materials: we would be naïve to think that other countries would not compete with us to guarantee their own supply) as well as environmental issues (installations on such a scale would produce significant changes in the region and even global climate), there is a limit to the amount of energy that can be extracted. In the case of wind energy, the wind turbines have to be far enough apart to perform to the best of their capacity, and not all areas are cost effective. A study by the University of Valladolid calculated the maximum potential of wind power at about 5% of the current global energy consumption. In the case of solar energy, taking into account the many technical considerations concerning location, maintenance requirements and performance, the indications are that their maximum potential is between 8 and 23% of current global energy consumption. Considering that hydroelectricity, the other great method of renewable energy also has a limit of 10% of current consumption, and that all the other systems are only feasible in very reduced areas, negligible on a global scale, in the most optimistic estimates we can reach, by combining all current systems of renewables, less than 40% of current energy consumption, and it is by no means easy to improve on this figure with technological improvements. Let us not forget, moreover, that once this peak is reached,
consumption cannot increase, which is extremely damaging for an economic system like ours which needs to grow to survive.

The third question which affects renewables is that the current systems are oriented to the production of electricity. Electricity is energy, but energy is not electricity. In 2011 in Spain electricity represented 21% of all final energy consumed (10% on a world scale), and the remaining 79% of uses of energy, contrary to common belief, are by no means easy to electrify. The electric car is far from being a commercial reality on a large scale, neither in the near nor medium term, for technical reasons which are well known, and it is not possible to make autonomous electric heavy machinery (which runs on batteries). Gas which is used for industrial furnaces is not easy to substitute either. The fact is that in Spain, we have too much electricity: in 2013 there was 108 Gw of power installed, an excessive amount by any standards, despite the necessary redundancy to guarantee an average consumption which is already below 32 Gw and above, in July 2008, 45 Gw. We do not need to install more electric capacity if we do not know what to do with the electricity we already have (the fact that in a country capable of generating more than is needed, the price continually rises would be the subject of a long dissertation, although the explanation in reality is simple: oligopoly).

Why are we so concerned with energy? Because energy is the fuel driving force of the economy: we know, and institutions like the IEA are continually reminding us that economic growth needs available energy to increase. It also needs to have growing amounts of materials available, something which is also very complicated given that these materials are also finite and recycling is limited. Think, for example, that we can expect to reach the peak of copper extraction before 2025; and how will we be able to have a society which is 100% renewable without having more copper cables to reinforce the electricity grid?

Energy in Barcelona

The city of Barcelona has a population of over 1.6 million inhabitants, and the metropolitan area over 3 million if we include the metropolitan area. Like every large city, it faces a series of specific challenges in questions of mobility, drinking water and food supply, urban planning, etc. Energy is behind the smallest everyday activity. If you turn on the tap at home, you are using a lot of energy: the energy needed to transport the water to the deposits which supply the city, energy needed to make it drinkable and the energy needed to clean it in the treatment plant. If you eat a tomato, a great deal of energy has been used to grow it (through pesticides, artificial fertilisers, tractors, harvesters, lorries, the cold chain and the distribution to wholesalers and shops; and all this without counting the energy your car uses to do the shopping). David Pimentel, professor at Cornell University de Cornell, estimates that for every calorie of food that reaches your plate in the west, at least 10 calories in fossil fuel have been used. Energy is all around us, and in enormous amounts, especially if you live in a big city like Barcelona.

When we speak of energy in Barcelona, the figures usually refer to electric consumption. And these are by no means small. According to the City Hall, in 2008 the electricity consumption in the city was 7,536 Gw-h (about 4.66 Mw-h per inhabitant). Aware of the need to save, the first to show example is the Council, and especially where it is thought to be easier to save: the electric consumption of the City Hall. Barcelona Council has, moreover, launched several awareness campaigns, aimed at reducing energy and water consumption by individuals, some forming part
of the implementation of the Agenda 21 initiative and others more specific (such as the campaign to save water during the drought of 2005). What happens, though, is that the real structure of energy consumption in a city like Barcelona unknown. We have already said that most of our energy consumption (about 80%) is not electric, but measuring the implied consumption for a large city like Barcelona is not easy. We can get a rough idea by the volume of fuel sold in the province. According to the National Energy Commission in 2012, 2,883 metric tons per petrol station was sold in Barcelona. According to the same source, the province had 12 stations for every 100,000 inhabitants. That means that approximately 1.9 million tons of fuel were sold in 2012; if we assume an energy average of 47 Mj/Kg (given the predominance of diesel over petrol) this means 24,841 Gw·h of fuel energy was consumed by road vehicles alone (and a small part on heating) in the whole province. Although the city represents only 30% of the whole population of the province, it is the mere existence of the capital that produces most of this expense due to the movement of people and goods. Therefore, energy consumption by road vehicles associated with the movement of people and goods in the city is approximately three times higher than electric consumption in the city. And this is just the tip of the iceberg. We have no idea how many long distance convoys do not supply the metropolitan area. Neither does the figure regarding the petrol stations tell us about the consumption of planes and boats. Similarly, neither is the energy cost associated with the farm machinery used to produce the food consumed in Barcelona taken into account. Finally, raw and manufactured materials which are used for the building and maintenance of infrastructures and in manufacturing use enormous amounts of energy difficult to calculate. The job of tracing all the energy routes in Barcelona is, in a way, futile. Barcelona is not an energy island, neither with regards its direct energy consumption nor if we consider indirect consumption, that is, what is contained in the goods we import. Logically, too, there is an outgoing flow of energy, mainly on products produced in Barcelona and sold beyond its area, which include services which are intangible. The tourist industry is one of the city’s economic strong points (over 7.4 million tourists visited us in 2012) for its direct and indirect impact (34% of tourist outlay is in shops), and all these people passing through the city consume a lot of energy to get here, to move around it, to shop here, to see the sights in the few days they are here.

In reality, energy flows are economic flows, and once again, Barcelona is not an economic island, neither is Catalonia, nor Europe. And here is the main problem when thinking about the energy future, which comes to be the economic future, which ends up being redundant in the social future of Barcelona: what economic structure will Barcelona have in the coming years?

For how much longer will tourism continue to be a main industry in the city? Will the millions of tourists continue to come if they have similar problems of supply of essential goods as in Catalonia? Will Barcelona factories continue to export their products when the cost of a container is prohibitive, when indispensable raw materials no longer arrive? As Catalonia is not a military power and has a limited commercial weight, one short term challenge for the new country is the need to adapt to the situation of scarcity of resources. This challenge will be particularly demanding for Barcelona, as a large city, the centre of a large conurbation and capital of a small but dynamic state, anxious to find its place in a rapidly changing world. The repercussions of global energy that we talked about at the start cannot be ignored. Any future project has to be based on a scenario where degrowth will be inevitable for physical reasons (lack of resources)
and will be opposed from abroad. This is why we say that if Barcelona is to be the capital of a new country, it has to begin by being the capital of degrowth.

**A degrowth plan for Barcelona**

According to the classic economic analysis, without growth, jobs cannot be created, debt rises and the economy enters into a destructive downward spiral which can end up destroying all economic activity. This is because the basis of our system is capital interests (logical given that our system is capitalist); and without the continual exponential creation and growth of wealth these interests cannot be paid. Therefore, our economic system needs growth so that it does not collapse (this problem is not unique to capitalism; any productivist system, such as the Soviet communist system has the same problem). So, given that growth will decrease for physical reasons, if we do not leave classic economic premises, it would appear that we are headed towards inevitable collapse.

Barcelona has the great opportunity and the great responsibility, to lead this degrowth. It is a question of reorganisation, and this transformation cannot take place among the citizens alone because there are areas which require close collaboration between public administrations and economic agents: supply of food and drinking water, mobility, employment, and so on. Everything has to be rethought in a world with scarce resources where processes can no longer be done as before, where people have to be considered although the size of the economy is being reduced. Continuing with the current model, where the economy only works if there is growth, in a world forced into degrowth only guarantees the growth of social exclusion and we end up in a social outburst which may destroy many essential things for carrying out a balanced and sustainable transition. We would therefore be very naive if we thought that by leaving Spain, Catalonia will solve all its economic problems. This is a myopic vision which does not put the changes which are happening on a global scale into perspective.

Barcelona cannot go from being a large urban cosmopolitan city with a huge business dynamic to being a city with degrowth overnight, but it will inevitably have to do so in the next few years if it does not want to disappear. For this reason it is essential to define a degrowth programme according a set of scenarios. A reactive programme with reactive elements (having contingency plans in place should certain events happen in order to react to them) and proactive (taking measures now that do not impede current activities and that lay the foundations for ulterior transformations). Among the latter there are certain initiatives which may be useful: trying to bring food production nearer the city (including urban allotments), giving alternative jobs to the long-term unemployed (for example, allowing them to tender these allotments in exchange for what they grow), improving the insulation of buildings in order to save energy, launching campaigns to raise awareness among the citizens, not increasing methods of transport which are doomed to disappear in no time, and so on. Reactive measures on the contrary, are more like emergency measures: being prepared in case there is a sudden fall in fuel supply, knowing how to react to a sudden increase in food or electricity prices, knowing how to channel people’s discontentment and avoiding the oppression of feedback. And always having in mind a long term model of the city which can be sustained for a long time to come.

Nobody is saying that designing a transition plan, adapting to this imposed degrowth is easy, but we need to begin to think about it in order to give an appropriate response to the process
which is underway and which will change the face of our country as much or more than the current independent movement.

Conclusion

Barcelona faces many challenges in the turbulent period that lies ahead. The indisputable clarity of data about available resources throws a damper over those who assume that the new independent country will be guaranteed a vigorous economic growth, a natural way out of the current serious economic crisis. The popular nature of the independent movement may favour the way that guarantees the wellbeing of its citizens, within the framework of the energy and resources crises, and decides to undertake deep reform, thereby redirecting towards a degrowth situation that will come about whether Catalonia is independent or not. Achieving a new institutional framework and a redefinition of society’s goals would be an extremely efficient way to begin these reforms. Barcelona, which would add the problem of Catalonia’s institutional change to that of facing the specific requirements of a big city in a city in degrowth, will need an open space to learn, with everyone’s help, to build a more humane city and society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The data mentioned in this article is taken from public reports from various sources, such as the International Energy Agency, BP Statistical Annual Review, the USA Energy Department, Barcelona City Council, Spanish Institute of Statistics, etc., as well as reports by research groups such as the German Energy Watch Group. It has been impossible to explain their findings in detail in this brief article; for further information, you can find more detailed discussions in articles on my blog, The Oil Crash, http://crashoil.blogspot.com.
Professional associations. Representation

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In order to qualify and be able to practice their profession, professionals have to acquire knowledge through studying and demonstrate it before a panel made up of experts from the same profession.

The first candidates for industrial engineers began their studies in 1851 at the Escola Industrial de Barcelona, a college housed in the former convent of Sant Sebastià, next to the Llotja de Mar, or Maritime Exchange. The Associació d’Enginyers Industrials de Barcelona (Association of Industrial Engineers of Barcelona) was founded twelve years later. The aims of the association were, first of all, to advance understanding and exchange experiences in the practice of the profession, secondly, to contribute to and promote the country’s industrial growth, and thirdly, to advise the government on technical matters.

The example of industrial engineers has its equivalence in many other professions. Professionals join their associations to improve professional practice, to guarantee high-quality service, to prevent and denounce unauthorised practice and also, if applicable, to impose sanctions against people making fraudulent use of the profession. Legally, they may be private associations or public legal corporations, as in the case of the professional associations. In this case the institution, the Professional Association, also carries out duties delegated directly by the administration.

In Catalonia there are professional associations going back a long way. The Notaries’ association dates from 1395, the Lawyers’ Association from 1832, the Association of Business Graduates from 1871, the Medical Association from 1894, the Architects’ Association from 1931, the Industrial Engineers’ Association from 1950 and the Librarians’ Association from 1985.

Until today, the legislation on professional associations has granted ample powers to the autonomous communities but, on the other hand, the state has retained considerable prerogatives when it comes to applying them.

The professional associations in each autonomous community or group of provinces make up what is called the General Council of Professional Associations in the speciality, which has its headquarters in Madrid. In fact, it is the representative of professionals in this field before the power of the state.

The general councils of these professional associations are also public law corporations and one of their duties is to take part in any plans to modify the legislation affecting professional associations and their members. The general councils also take on the representation of Spain’s professionals before parallel bodies in other countries.

How will the general councils of professional associations be established in an independent Catalonia? If a particular profession has a single professional association in Catalonia that covers the whole of the country, then this body could take on the duties of the General Council, though it would have to set up the necessary instruments for carrying them out. This is the case of industrial engineers, architects and others. In the event that a particular profession has different regional professional associations in Catalonia — the case of lawyers, technical industrial engineers and doctors —, the present Consell Català de Col·legis (Catalan Council of Professional Associations) would have to be adapted to carry out the work of the profession’s General Council as described above.

Barcelona, as state capital, will have to be the headquarters of the general councils of the professional associations, which will be the bodies responsible for relations with the administration, the Government of Catalonia. From Barcelona, too, through the general councils mentioned above, relations will be established with professional associations in other countries.
Capital of the green economy for southern Europe and the Mediterranean

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The opportunity for a green economy

We have a great opportunity to prepare our country for resilience against climate change, to define a new energy model and a new services and production model. We could lead—we do have the capacity—the technological revolution and the redeployment of investments toward sustainability in order to generate employment, optimism and trust. We must act hastily to define and drive forward a productive model that has prospects of being able to reabsorb the 770,000 unemployed and to generate real, tangible and reformative wealth. To intelligently decide on what we shall invest limited resources—public and private, monetary and natural—to generate a solvent economy on a finite planet.

We have immense opportunities in sectors such as renewable energies and energy efficiency; eco-design and durable products; recycling, reusing and replacing materials; organic and kilometre-zero agriculture; public transport and sustainable mobility; land conservation and biodiversity; ecotourism... as well as the technology at the service of these sectors. Investing in these areas means changing priorities and compensating for the disinvestment that has already taken place to collapse the unsustainable model.

In its 2011 report, the International Energy Agency (IEA) confirmed that if there are no significant changes in the way in which energy is produced and consumed, we will reach an irreversible turning point in global warming by 2017. Moreover, estimates are that each euro that is not invested in cleaner and more efficient energy will cost us €4.30 in the future. We must promote a new production model and lead the application of technologies and services in the area of renewable energies, energy efficiency and efficient resource management.

While we have not been the least concerned about the limits or the price of energy or the supplying of materials or the consequences of squandering them, we have been racking up an environmental, social and monetary debt. Now we will have to be precise with consumption, extending the uses of all products, recycling them at the end of their useful lives and reintroducing all materials to the market again. No superfluous energy spending. The supply will be adapted to this perspective and smart mechanisms will be added for the efficiency of products and services, but meanwhile we will have to be well informed and extremely demanding consumers. We will have to be permanently equipped with information on our consumptions and on the exact situation of our services in order to make the best decisions at all times. Smart transport and information networks will be essential. We will have to live in smart cities where we have permanent information on how the city behaves and on the consequences of our daily decisions in order to take them with criteria and good judgement. We will have to transport energy and information on smart grids to generate it everywhere and consume it where necessary.

If we change accountancy and add second uses, evaluate new services, add external factors... we will generate a new economic vista. For this reason, we need a new model that connects the production and technological sectors to well informed, demanding and organised consumers. We could obtain immediate results: new jobs and savings without any loss of wellbeing. To do it, state instruments are needed to promote it. The three new paradigms are efficiency, sufficiency and informed precision.

For example, we have an annual electric demand in Catalonia of some 50,000 GWh, which costs us, in round numbers, some 6000 million euros. We also import oil equivalent to over...
100 million barrels per year, which at 2011 prices exceeds 7000 million euros. Can we reduce demand?

Barcelona is a key piece in driving forward this change. For many reasons. Because it has started many processes in a good direction, taking a qualitative leap in the last 30 years in its environmental management. Because it has started initiatives to lead a change in direction in managing information and integrating new technologies that will improve quality of life. However, it still has many social and environmental challenges to resolve and promoting a green economy would give it an impetus to resolve them.

Barcelonan homes consume 108 litres of water and generate 1.2 kg of waste per inhabitant and per day; they recycle 38% of these wastes; 41.6% of travel originating or terminating in the city is done or foot or by non-motorised transport and 35.9% on public transport; domestic electricity consumption per inhabitant is 1487 kWh per year. If we compare these numbers with other cities, they are quite good figures for taking up leadership of a green production model. These figures should not remove our focus on local challenges, which we have, but they do put the city in a good position to assume leadership as a green capital in southern Europe and the Mediterranean. For this reason, environmental innovations in Barcelona are carefully watched.

We are in an open process of constructing a low-carbon economy. State instruments are essential, as is obvious from central and northern European countries that are on this route. Despite a lack of instruments and the pending difficulties and challenges, the international community knows Catalonia and recognises Barcelona as players involved in this process and often even as a model.

To stimulate the green economy, we shall also have to undertake a radical reform of the objects of taxation. Taxing work and consumption as the only sources of revenue is truly a 20th century perspective. A new tax logic must be devised that is connected to the principles of “he who pollutes, pays” (and if he pollutes too much, he cannot operate) and “whoever participates little in the productive economy pays more” (and if he participates too little, he can’t play). And whoever saves pays less (incentives for efficiency). Could taxation be modified to increase revenues fairly and strengthen a future economic model that offers jobs? Yes, through green taxation. Now would be the perfect time for an in-depth redesign of the tax model that would change the objects of taxation. This would let us resolve old problems that affect our competitiveness: poor air quality, consumption of productive land, excess wastes, high energy intensity, reduction of biodiversity... In parallel, we would prepare to confront present and future challenges by opening up the suitable niches to work on: providing incentives for energy efficiency, for mitigating climate change, for efficient transport, for cultural tourism, for a change in territorial model and for energy generation...

To promote this economic model, state and leadership models are required to drive forward creation and innovation. We must once and for all abandon opportunism as the focal point for progress due to lack of instruments. We can make a group project of a country model come true that we want and that we know how to construct: a resilient, efficient, inclusive and transforming territory that is a reference for importing investments and exporting knowledge and production. Barcelona can play and must play a main role as a capital because — despite the pending challenges — it is a city that is also internationally recognised for its social and environmental improvement and innovation processes.
We cannot continue having a 94% energy dependency, an energy intensity (kWh needed to produce one euro) that is worse than the European average and not steeply reducing our greenhouse gas emissions. We have made significant advances, but we have to put our foot to the pedal. Catalan nuclear plants are at the end of their useful lives. The freezing of bonuses for renewables and the delay on regulating self-consumption in the Spanish legal framework make the Catalonia Energy and Climate Plan and the Barcelona Energy and Air Quality Plan unviable, if our own policy is not designed. Building energy revamping, in addition to being an EU mandate, is an urgent area for both savings and jobs. The lack of financing in this field is critical. Resolving energy service companies’ stimuli, an investment bank, an own renewable remuneration plan and a territorial pact for their environmentally responsible implementation are all indispensable matters.

After the financial crisis, the energy prices (and raw materials) crisis will arrive. The Spanish energy framework puts 2,472 million euros of investment and 4,780 jobs at risk, according to a study commissioned by EolicCat on renewable energies. Emerging initiatives based on the social economy and entrepreneurial activity linked to renewables should be added here, such as the Som Energia cooperative, founded in 2000 and which has over 16,000 members and an investment of over 2.5 million euros. If we are a state, we will have to obtain targets for renewable generation and CO₂ emission reduction as part of our European commitment. As it stands, a 40% reduction for 2030.

Reduced energy dependency requires diversification of the mix by using sources that are available at home. Renewables are. This would increase local jobs and create new industries. Moreover, energy efficiency is expected to generate 500,000 jobs in the EU. Creating jobs by reducing costs via reducing energy intensity is the summary equation that is offered by this sustainable perspective. Stimulating renewables and energy efficiency is no longer — only — a commitment to the world, it is one of the mainstays for economic renewal.

Furthermore, it is no longer an emerging market, but a well-established industry. In 2011, the EU had installed capacities of 96 GW for wind and 50 GWp for photovoltaic (40% of the world total).

32 GW were installed new in 2011, 71% of all new energy sources installed. However, China is awakening and has already installed 65 GW (a 40% growth in one year) and the US topped 47 GW, with 16% growth in one year. In Europe, renewables cover 12.5% of final energy consumption. The target of 20% is still quite far off. In Catalonia, we have even further to go still, as renewable production is less than 6%. Therefore, the intense development pace in recent years can only increase and will do so primarily through wind and photovoltaic energies, with a new regulatory framework. Self-consumption and distributed generation will also have to be engines for this new model. In one year (2013), 23 MWp photovoltaic were installed in Europe, above all in Germany and Italy; the regulatory framework is therefore a key factor.

Transport is the sector that has the longest way to go. In Europe, 33% of final energy consumption, primarily fossil fuels, is on transport. Technological changes are announced that can reduce consumption per kilometre by half. But sensible territorial and mobility models must be developed and transport electrified. This would necessarily involve a radical escalating pace in adding renewables to the electric mix to confront this new demand.
The Barcelona Mobility Plan and the plan drafted by the Metropolitan Area will be essential tools, both for reducing demand as private transport mobility is reduced and driving forward electrification.

Barcelona would have the opportunity to lead the energy revolution if it advances firmly along the proper lines to contain demand through efficient energy revamping; an in-depth transformation of the mobility model, light infrastructure development, efficient local public transport, connected industrial areas and productive districts. Urban renewable generation could also continue to be stimulated with greater energy. Districlima’s 15 km of hot and cold water supply, with 52 MW contracted for heat and 74 MW of cold for 81 buildings, are a shining example of true value at an international level. In any case, the country will have to make a great effort for renewable generation which, in parallel, will be an economic engine for the new state along the line planned by the EU.

The decoupling between the creation of wealth and CO₂ emissions and energy consumption is a core European social, environmental and economic target. And this is where other world economies will end up, because the climate challenge cannot be underestimated for much longer. Therefore, it is also a strategy for internationalisation and innovation. There is room for traditional companies to refocus and for new companies to be founded. Barcelona has the ability to lead the country in this direction.

The increase in renewable energy production must go hand in hand with energy efficiency. Buildings are responsible for 40% of energy consumption and 36% of CO₂ emissions in the EU. According to the EU Energy Efficiency Plan (2011), this means that the union will have to achieve a savings of 60 to 80 Mtep by 2020 and a net reduction in consumption of 5.6% in the EU as a whole. On the roadmap for a competitive low carbon economy by 2050, the Commission clearly establishes that energy efficiency is the most effective way in cost-benefit terms to reduce emissions. And the way that creates the most jobs.

An ERF report for the Barcelona Metropolitan Strategic Plan shows how by solely tackling the restoration of 6% of total residences and 7% of total tertiary buildings (those with maximum yields in terms of marginal costs and, therefore, with the best cost-benefit ratio), the emission of 30,450 tCO₂eq/year could be eliminated. In new buildings, this is even clearer. There are many constructed in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area that reduce energy demand by 50%. Just by better managing telemetry and operational changes, consumption reductions of up to 20% can be obtained. In Catalonia, there are 3554 cultural and 35,000 sports facilities, as well as 300 Generalitat buildings with high energy consumption. Barcelona and its metropolitan area are the arena in which to set the trend, both for managing and restoring and for constructing new facilities.

If we then extend the efficiency of public buildings to private buildings, the opportunities increase exponentially. And even more so if we take it up as one of the mainstays of mobility policies. With extremely simple measures, such as ramping up the implementation of express buses, we would make significant savings in transport.

To the surprise of many, the business and innovation sector in this field is also very robust in Catalonia. One need only take a look at the companies and research centres in the Energy Efficiency Cluster of Catalonia.
Smart reindustrialisation

Catalonia knows how to produce goods. In the past, the decline of the textile industry was no obstacle to maintaining industrial drive. Iron and steel, chemical and foodstuffs are currently the most important sectors in Catalonia, although each has market share under 10%. In the eighties, industry accounted for 40% of jobs; at the beginning of the nineties, 30%, and before the crisis, 22%. In the last 30 years we have moved into tertiarisation and become a country of services and construction firms. Despite the relative decline, through 2008 jobs were being created and nearly 800,000 people found work. From 2007 on, 270,000 industrial jobs have been destroyed. Exports have increased very little: from 20% at the beginning of the nineties to 28% now. In the 1980s, exports reached 41%. Today industry still generates 40,000 million euros of the GDP. Not only can we not forsake industry, we must instead find the road toward reindustrialisation. It is not enough to incorporate environmental objectives with the aim of alleviating as much as possible the slow disappearance of the most conventional industry, an inevitable disappearance, given environmental dysfunctions, the inefficiency of financial machinery and the imbalance of the production-consumption model.

We must recover our capacity to produce goods based on a model of decentralisation, network production, the integration of the production of goods and services, the circular economy, the valuing of quality of life, technology within reach of an educated society, which generates a permanent circle of innovation that will lead to an increase in the common good. We must find the formula to tackle the post-industrial revolution, which will not be without industry, but instead with very different production processes and products, for mass use and environmentally competitive, carefully bearing in mind new demands everywhere. Barcelona is overflowing with research centres, entrepreneurial capacity and capital expectant to revive its productive verve with these new premises.

However, we must intensify prioritising railway logistics for goods. Provide support for foreign activity of companies and technological centres. Intensify public-private partnerships. Drive forward networking of SMEs to compete on the international market. Pay attention to the European demand for efficient and long-lasting products with low carbon footprints. Mediterranean leadership in clean production and public policy committed to cooperation to stimulate new formulas to obtain worthy levels of life in developing countries. In the city, there are initiatives in all these areas, ready for leadership.

The recovery of environmental and territorial quality

The territory and natural resources are top capital. No lines of economic recovery can be outlined that squander or harm them, that reduce our collective heritage or people’s quality of life or health. For this reason, the recovery of environmental quality (clean air, pollution free lands, functional river areas, zero waste, clean water...) will also be an essential factor for the new state. The landscape must be added as a dynamic element that must be made compatible with development processes. Natural and cultural heritage will have to be appraised, as well as biodiversity and the environmental services of ecosystems, local production and consumption.
Catalonia is a land with great biodiversity. For example, there are 3100 species of mosses, ferns and higher level plants, more than in Great Britain (2000) and Germany (3075). Capital that would be lost if there were no conservation, investment and management. Highly visible capital, which structures and gives our territory character, but which we too often simply ignore. Biodiversity is vital for cultural, economic and territorial reasons.

Barcelona is a dense city, which has only 6.82 m² of green/inhabitant in the urban area. However, it does have 82 parks and public gardens (1102 ha) and 740 ha of private gardens, 30 ha of beaches and 30 ha of croplands, 103 species of vertebrates, 160,000 roadside trees and 75,000 in parks and gardens with 200 different species... Barcelona is working to improve its ecological infrastructure and ecosystem services and, furthermore, is a source of demand of these services, both vital and leisure based. A good formula to promote the country’s great heritage.

State commitments

The state of Catalonia would have to sign international environmental commitments. Barcelona is ready to be an engine and assume a leadership position. Moreover, the capacities developed in the country to handle social and environmental challenges from the 20th century are an excellent seed for generating new economic and social prospects that, in turn, would improve the quality of life of citizens in the capital and throughout the country.

The Barcelona Convention to Protect the Mediterranean Sea against Pollution was signed in 1976 and renewed in 1995 and extended with a strategic vision with the creation of the Union for the Mediterranean. The initial objective to improve the quality of the sea and its coastal lying areas continues to be valid. The Union for the Mediterranean is a process that didn’t just emerge. In a new scenario, this instrument is of utmost importance for taking up country leadership again, a nexus between the EU and the southern basin. The rational use of water, decontamination and clean production are the three core areas where Barcelona and Catalonia have the skills and tools to lead.

Barcelona is also the headquarters of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG). This large world association of cities has a diverse agenda, but with a clear focus on sustainable development (climate change, sustainable urban agenda, water and sewage, reduction of disaster risk...). Barcelona’s leadership in the international order of cities is very important for positioning Catalonia. It is in all senses, but in the area of green economy and sustainability, Barcelona has a high level of recognition. Its active participation in other organisations, such as the ICLEI (Local Governments for Sustainability), the G40 and many others, is a letter of presentation for Catalonia and opens the door to situating the country on the international arena, while decisions are made for its progressive incorporation to the Protocols of Montreal, Cartagena, Bern, Ramsar, Stockholm, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and many other international conventions and protocols related to the environment. In short, what is known as the green economy, which we should perhaps call the economic model for the 21st century, offers us the chance to recover and improve quality of life and to restore heritage and ecosystem services, if we have the right tools. Barcelona is ready to lead the country in this direction and it is recognised internationally. It is a great option and one we shouldn’t let it slip away.
New (and better) institutional communications for Barcelona the state capital

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Communication is not an accessory. Indeed, it is not in the lives of citizens who were born and have grown up in our modern day setting of hyper-media societies. It is absolutely not complementary for institutions that still today (and despite their ragged nature) claim themselves as our representatives. In this respect, a city council is the closest institution level (and in turn most exposed) to citizens and their scrutiny. The level of demand is therefore absolute and communications describe the institution, but also those who form part of it, between the two walls of the seat of government. And that creates obligations.

If we further bear in mind that this social context highly conditioned by media language influences our decoding and reading of everything that surrounds us, it is clear that the simplification of the messages increases. Fewer words, more images, more emotional impact. Along the line of that which Milan Kundera described, at a time when we have more access than ever to training and information, we may be more susceptible to the language of emotions, of the language that enters our eyes via images. In this regard, he speaks of *homo sentimentalis*, very susceptible in general to media language, which seeks the sting, includes only the most important, in its quest for direct messages. And it is in this regard, along this line of simplification that a capital (and its reference institution the city council) can become an icon for a country, for a state. It happens to the best established and, thus, it could easily happen to an independent Catalonia where, consequently, much more would be demanded of Barcelona’s institutions and communications. I will detail specific improvement proposals that would entail an opportunity to take a leap forward with regard to international image and also citizen services.

According to citizens

Communications, the media and image are elements that have a great weight in the lives of millions of citizens. Public institutions must be adapted to encompass these factors and be able to efficiently interact with the people they serve. For example, it is clear that Barcelona is an important city today at an international level. It is a leading city that many studies claim is at the highest levels of knowledge and renown, for example in tourism and business city rankings. However, this does not entail particular challenges, especially for a possible Barcelona state capital, because its City Council could launch it as an international city, beyond what it does now as the capital of an autonomous community. And this means, for example, that public institutions (because when we speak of challenges for institutional communications, we clearly put them on the city council and not on the city) must make even greater efforts to agree with its citizens and (why not?) with the private sector, to jointly ensure that Barcelona as a whole is even better than how it is represented now. However, everything starts here at home with its projection and the involvement of its residents. How? Via three stages, if we follow the approach of one of the great present-day leaders in the study of and work with the concept of framework cities, Mihalis Kavaratzis, senior lecturer at the University of Leicester.

According to Kavaratzis, primary communication consists of taking advantage of all your own resources (not invented or the value of people, but those we actually have, like geography, in the case of Barcelona with Montjuïc and with the sea). To maximally take advantage of all these factors, they must be made visible and highlighted. Thus, these resources must be communicated and exploited better, communicating them, for example, via classic marketing techniques, but especially so that people know everything about them more fully and exactly what
is on offer. They must reach all audiences, both domestic and international, but especially those abroad at this point.

Secondary communications would highlight the public-private value of the messages we control. Namely, if we have a race like the Montmeló Barcelona-Catalonia, work is done both by public and private sectors to get it up and running and to try to get the name of the country and the capital where it is hosted out to the world. These spaces, with a Barcelona state capital, no longer under the long shadow of the capital of the Spanish state, must be converted into a primary brand and not secondary, as happens now. Now we have Madrid ahead, because it has a state behind it that is committed to its capital status, along fronts such as infrastructures, with airports and connections. However, in a new context, value must be given by marketing the city as Barcelona the state capital and the fact that it is the number one city. We have to believe it and communicate it, as a key part in the process of connecting with citizens and encouraging them to see it in this way, with all of the consequences, the majority of which are positive. We have to work –besides being, after becoming– on the positioning of this new reality to make it possible to become positioned and that the impact of this is a service and better returns for both internal and external target markets, such as the people with whom we will do business and, in general, all audiences. Here, it is about thinking and obtaining control of the messages in communications that the institution emits about the city to be coherent with the idea of Barcelona as the capital of state. And tertiary communications. This is no longer what others say about you as a city, which is what counts and especially conditions the cold assessment rankings. Because it exists and what tourists and businesspeople say preoccupies and occupies greatly. However, especially in the institutional area, closely connected to that which is fully related to public institutions’ communications, where we are interested in what those who live here, the inhabitants, say about us (about our city). In an age with widespread disconnection and citizens’ quite rampant distrust of their leading institutions, the idea that a large city council and municipal institutions centred on tourism could project the idea that they are abandoning those who live there could gel in citizens’ minds. If we identify the citizens who are key to communicate to as an internal audience, it must be born in mind that a well treated internal audience is always who will speak best of you. The opposite also happens, but negatively.

With institutional communications, taking advantage of a new occasion for Barcelona, communication tasks must be maximised on their own and jointly and greater efforts applied (as is required of the capitals of all states) to make institutions believe that Barcelona is a brand that we are working on from a marketing angle and from a communications angle and using all the local resources needed. In this regard, the dynamic must be that of a multidisciplinary business team working on a brand. This would not produce a negative widespread prejudice that branding a city or claiming that a city is a brand detracts attention from the people who live there and its day-to-day. Because a well worked brand is many things and can have a positive impact on all audiences, not only on those who they want to attract as visitors and for business purposes. Can you imagine the power of the consequences (first for citizens) of working on this branding for Barcelona state capital?

There will be people who say that Barcelona is not a brand, but simply a city where people live. Very well, then it is precisely to this internal audience that we must convey the importance of the powerful branding factor (and as a state capital, there are more options of becoming a brand). The greater the understanding and management from the municipal institutions, making the
internal audience feel satisfied, identified and part of the project, the better the return will be for everyone.

The private world gives us a point of reference that is valid here. Indeed, the companies that run the best are those in the most significant cases that have a high number of extremely motivated employees who construct the brand. The same thing happens with a city and its citizens. And institutions must start to build the brand, whether for a city or not, from the inside out. Then starting there, it must be projected outward. Obviously, if Barcelona were to become a state capital, it wouldn’t start from zero, as it already has a significant past. However, the change would be an interesting opportunity that should not be wasted as a chance to reformulate what is happening within.

**Fronts to cover**

Along the communications front, citizen care is essential. In this regard, Barcelona state capital could be a perfect excuse to reorganise and improve it, providing citizens both an access and return to this method. At present, there are many channels, but the return of citizens often and at least makes us wonder whether or not it will totally work. In Barcelona and the surrounding area, but with the chance to start again with what a Barcelona state capital would offer, a commitment to the professionalization of the roles involved in running it (beyond the typical positions of responsibility) would be a great addition in the direction of combating the anti-politics that is everywhere and weakens the bond of trust between citizens and institutions of all types and sizes. Barcelona, state capital and spearhead against citizens’ disconnection from politics. It could be a great milestone. Using institutions’ structural resizing and their distance (closer) to citizens. Changes in status quo tend to be perfect occasions to start again on many fronts. This could be one such occasion.

**Real and accessible communications plans**

A politician from a party that has come into power has the full right to be part of the team that leads the institution, but from a communications viewpoint, from communications at the public institution, it is clear that currently (everywhere) this is not always done by specialised professionals or the best professionals in this field. If a new stage as a city is started, it would be optimal to take advantage of this to try to improve things on all fronts, and also here. Thus, a commitment to professionalising these spaces would be required and for the institutions of the new state capital to draft communications plans that would be accessible to everybody. They need to tell us where we are heading and those responsible for public affairs must bear it in mind and show it clearly. Important, because these plans set guidelines to follow, to progressively produce them and, if they are not obtained, a change in direction could then be advised. The communications plan also marks small milestones for us that must be reconsidered or not based on the results. Thus, a global communications plan is required, which takes all citizens into account and with milestones that refer to each area or department in the field of culture, in cleaning, in safety... With a global umbrella, but with overall objectives well established. This will help to have a stra-
tectic communicative outlook, for constructing an image and an identity as a city, with a future outlook, thus working more strategically.

Starting here, the communications plan will have to be executed by professionals and have centralised controls. They, in turn, must know how to delegate and be closely connected at all times to those governing the city at the highest levels. They must be good at public relations and, in turn, uphold excellent relations with the private sector, which must move ahead hand-in-hand with institutions to work together for the city whenever necessary, providing much more value than separately. Together, the public and private sectors can provide much more and, in the area of institutional communications, for example with regard to culture, they could promote successful projects such as Sónar has been, a private initiative with public support. This music festival has internationalised the city’s name. And public-private partnerships have helped it, with a strategic vision. With a Barcelona state capital, there would be many more options opened up.

If we want to drive forward the communications of a powerful institution jointly, in addition to one with the status of a state capital, we must work with expert teams in the field and whose highest levels are in direct contact with the institutional leader, to make firmer action possible from the top and down to a diverse foundation. A commitment is required to establish working schemes and teams that break away from typical nepotistic bonds and contingencies linked to shift managers to shape more efficient teams, in the districts and for communications managers. Communications directors are required at the forefront of each district, a fact that would not necessarily exclude public careers, as there could be public jobs advertised that require communications studies. And same for the technicians who work in the field in this area. Communications degrees (and more specifically in institutional communications) could not be viewed as a plus, but as a compulsory prerequisite.

The large goal is that everybody is united when communicating the city from the institution. Combat dispersion. With the objective of coherence, always at the service of citizens, aimed at transcending the policy of tactical, sensationalist and “photo” communications, which lack any real service to citizens, a negative feature that has existed most of our days (for many long decades). Because it is citizens who provide institutions with meaning. Therefore, the citizens must be served and this must be communicated, but not just to assess it in order to receive more electoral votes, but to bring institutions and their capacities closer to citizens. The idea is to communicate things that work, having institutions that are synonymous with solutions. Along the line of the oft-mentioned concept of “open government” (which is often a mere slogan void of content), the institution must make a deep commitment to transparency, participation and active listening. Until now, what went on inside an institution like the Barcelona City Council was very shadowy indeed for the majority of citizens. We did not know what happened there. And, of course, everything cannot always be explained, but much more. Enough? There is always room for improvement in this area. This would also be added to participation. On the aesthetic front, there must be spaces at which to receive citizens’ proposals, report, for example, on all spending, and there must be a real channel to listen to citizens’ voices. This is being done and the change in status quo could be a determining factor in taking the final leap.

In starting again as a state capital then, there will be the perfect opportunity right from the outset to open channels where proposals can be heard and spaces created for collecting these proposals, but not only for compilation, but to be put into action. If you promote people speak-
ing and saying what they think and then the words are not translated into anything, the trust is broken. This matter could never be resolved on the image front.

The enormous amount of data that the government has could also be used in many ways. They could be a great value for people, for promoting and producing individuals’ projects, for example, related to the world of trade. Or on pedestrian traffic in different districts of the city. This could be added to particulars on the viability of projects open to the public. Or given the task to note down concrete examples at a micro-scale, they could locate how many cafeterias there are in a specific area. These are data that must be at the service of citizens, open. For example, to assemble applications or new services, if the City Council has a data series, it can transfer them to create new materials and new value for the city. In the United States in 2009, Barack Obama promoted the project “Memorandum for Transparency”, with a vision of being open, transparent and participative, as an institution of the US government, at a global scale, not only communicative, to favour everybody. This certainly seeks a communicative drive, but involves all the rest. Communications as the base of an improved city project, we can draw on this example, observing the possibilities it could open up for a new Barcelona state capital. Look toward becoming a true social institution with the involvement of all citizens and stakeholders, all working together.

**Saving clicks**

In this area, more things that are not everything but do show possible changes that could be added, especially if they are firmly and coherently promoted with a global communications plan: social networks. Citizens must be able to economise on clicking. Interaction must be made easy for citizens. Via applications, via social networks themselves and everything necessary to promote the exchange and good evaluation with internal audiences, putting real methods for solutions at their fingertips.

Each social network is different and offers its challenges and opportunities. Twitter, for example, is not just a shop window to show how pretty the city is. This point is significant, because what happens in the institution is important both within and outside and even more so if the idea is to transform the city into a state capital with an international scope, because what happens and is promoted in Barcelona must also be important to the world at large and for setting an agenda. Centralisation or multiple dispersion? There are different possible models, but for an optimal foreign city a single general account that speaks of the city’s virtues and of the activities that take place there, including from a political and institutional viewpoint. Apart from this, a specific one could be opened on “open government”, adding data to it, but essentially the claim for this online communications area is that what happens in the city (and its institutions) is important and merits maximum dissemination. And this requires more user-friendly and functional digital platforms.

**Google City Council**

A Google style website should be created, which would require a large investment in programming and content indexing. Thus, citizens when they went to the City Council website, instead
of being greeted by an avalanche of often impracticable information (*infoxication*, as some theorists have termed it), there would be a simple question such as “What are you looking for?” or “What do you want?”. Then using keywords like we all do now on Google, we could obtain access to contents of interest. In the end, not in the service of more is better but better information and exchanges. Usefulness. Like when the institution wants to enhance its institutional campaigns using adverts (which we citizens all pay for). Why not have a specific space devoted to advertising? No, now we have to pay attention to slogans and adverts that are on television, to look for and memorise the email address, if you are particularly interested in it. For everything, a powerful and well-positioned search engine is needed with regard to SEO (Search Engine Optimization). Barcelona state capital can take a stride in this direction, as it has had a website since 1995 that has continued to grow but has never been re-designed as a whole, with bits and pieces being added but never addressing the root problems.

Along this online front, in this virtual world that is real for so many people, they could thus start from zero with a new website, establishing a contents tree with a central question and spending a lot of time, not so that this information would be made visible on the website, but so that this information could be of genuine interest to citizens. Therefore, in addition to having a tree with four basic contents, it would be important to address this issue after intense work has been done on its contents, not just posting a press release on the web, without indexing it or providing it with nothing else, but also having professional programmers add metatags and tags, programmers who are working on multidisciplinary teams with the institution’s communications experts.

**Barcelona Media Corporation**

In this direction, well aware that there are online media that cover breaking news in the city under the umbrella of the City Council, in parallel to how BTV does it, planning for the institution’s global communications for a Barcelona state capital, it is clear that the degree of ambition and scope of the public media it depends on (not just online media) could take a large leap forward with regard to audiences and scope. Why not create, in the style of the Catalan Audiovisual Media Corporation, entities truly endowed with coherence and power, unlike the present ones that are irrelevant and often disperse and unknown? Media that, for example, could be viewed around the country, thus broadening influence and weight, and casting typical stereotypes aside that weigh on the city and its districts. The latter could indeed be added to citizens’ evaluations of the different neighbourhoods so that their residents feel more visible, above and beyond the four most iconic areas of the city that the entire world and our country see. It would be a way of narrowing the gap between the capital and the rest of the new state.

**Conclusions**

Barcelona state capital would be an opportunity to drive forward the city’s connection, not only to the rest of the world, but its connection with its inhabitants and the rest of the country. Communications would have to play a key role here. And the challenge to achieve this rests with the institution and not with general citizens. Because we’re speaking of institutional communica-
tions here. And it is in the field of public institutions’ communications that I wanted to point out several simple improvement proposals that could represent a turning point, which could in many cases be applied now (here and everywhere), with the drive that the status as state capital would add to the city, raising the bar to be at the levels of other leading state capitals to connect and be well viewed by citizens. This would be achieved by equipping different fronts with more content, ambition and visibility, areas as different as the professional teams involved in communications, the City Council’s virtual presence on the internet and the creation of powerful and coherent public media linked to the city. Barcelona would need to become a “primary brand” on the communications front, with everything that this would involve in the field of internal and external projection, first and foremost for better citizen care and services, an initial phase to resolve the institution’s public relations with its most important audiences.

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Barcelona: the two challenges of a cultural capital

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Some of the great cultural challenges that, in my understanding, open up to the city of Barcelona before the possibility of becoming state capital can be classified in two broad groups: one toward the exterior, aimed at the new meaning that its international dimension must have and, the other, aimed inside the country and the entirety of the territory of Catalonia, concentrated on a new leadership and representation function, as well as its new responsibility.

With regard to the international angle, the Barcelona of the immediate future has its undeniable assets as a cultural city and global leader, well established, very especially in the last two decades, although the city has been a European and Mediterranean hub of cosmopolitanism, creativity and innovative avant-garde culture since the end of the 19th century, in all areas of culture in its very broadest sense. Barcelona participated in the international pedagogical revival current with a prominent position, was one of the capitals of modern art at the end of the 19th century and beginning of 20th, has deployed an extremely balanced cultural system in the tension between heritage potential and new forms of creation (ranging from Modernisme and Noucentisme to Sonar, to assure we understand each other) and has become a space for the never-ending exporting and importing of talent. Its status as cultural capital in the global world has obtained levels of excellence and undeniable leadership in architecture and theatre, music and cinema, art and museums, dance, theatre and comics, universities and scientific research, among many others. A Barcelona state capital must maintain and increase its international renown not only as a way to propagate the city’s extremely rich cultural life, but also as a space for exchange with international cultural flows. But, above all, it would have to become the lighthouse projecting, no longer just the city’s cultural production, but the entire country’s cultural, heritage and creative wealth. In my understanding, this is the essential adjustment that, in Barcelona’s international scope, would have to take place, very generously, in a Barcelona that as state capital would assume representation of the entire country.

With respect to this previous point, a Barcelona state capital would also have the new responsibility, never before assumed, of becoming a leader and spokesperson for the cultural wealth in the entire territory of Catalonia. Relations between the city and territory have never been fully standardised. This is because Barcelona, despite exercising as the country’s nominal capital, has never been a real capital, due to the absence of institutional standardisation in Catalonia due to its consideration as a region or autonomous community of the Spanish state. This situation has prevented it from exercising explicit leadership that it could accomplish with the responsibility that capital status would roundly demand. A Barcelona state capital would have a responsibility with respect to the Catalan territory that is not claimed today. Right now, in the situation of the country’s institutional subalternance, it is a capital that one could say was representative, symbolic or honorific. In a future when it is the institutional capital, the responsibility will be explicit and will have to be real. All types of cultural institutions can no longer be considered in terms of city, but in terms of country, something that will obligate them to redefine their objectives, their dimension scale and their social responsibility with regard to the entire country, which the city of Barcelona should feel, here too, is its own and, in the towns and cities of Catalonia, as a present in its daily reality.

Barcelona must aspire to representing and explaining Catalonia but, if it wants to do an extra service to its country and its culture, it must also aspire to going further to strengthen it: it must work to become a world hub of communications and cultural contents. It must radiate discourse. A future capital will only be so if it is alive on the web, if it produces image and text for a universal audience. Barcelona is already a leading icon; we already have a place in the world; we already have an image. Now we have to care for it and constantly renew this image. However, we cannot remain still and complacent, not about who we are or the possibility of being a state capital. That is not enough.

Now that we are reinventing ourselves as a country, we have an immense opportunity. To start, we are accustomed to multilingualism. We are bilingual and have for decades, if not centuries, been taking in populations with very diverse languages. The topic of a host country is
true and the topic of a land of transit even more so, especially since we have become a tourist
destination that tallies up visitors by the millions. Many languages are spoken here completely
naturally, in coexistence. We take advantage of this condition as a Babelic and cosmopolitan
city to make ourselves heard in the world. Not from utilitarianism, but from conviction. Not
just to hear ourselves talk, but to say things. From Catalonia to the world. From Barcelona to
the world.

Someone should start thinking seriously about creating a multilingual communications
medium with a European vision and a global vocation, created and designed from Barcelona. We
are the perfect city to do it. We are a friendly, pro-European, open and creative city. A city that
looks northward but is Mediterranean and the portal to the south. A crossroads. If we become
the capital of a small state, we will have the tools and institutional position to prove it, and Bar-
celona likewise will not enter into competition with any of large Western state capitals. Berlin,
London and Paris do not see it and will not see it as a political competitor. Barcelona’s role must
be that of a city of contents, of ideas, of art, of thought, of experimentation. A quite central site
but, in parallel, far enough from the large powers where one can freely rethink Europe, democ-


racy and the world. We must have a vision of a small big European capital. We cannot be satis-
fied with receiving many tourists and being seen as nice; we have to provide grey matter, content,
future projects. And to do all this, we must invest in education at all levels, in culture... and in
communications. In this last arena, the creation of a multiplatform medium would be strategic
(print, web, networks, TV...), small but influential, high quality, which would set the tone for the
large matters: economics, politics and culture. With extremely high quality opinion leaders. The
original language would have to be English, with the possibility of having versions (abstracts)
in different European languages. I don’t envision a medium paid by the EU, but instead an
independent medium not pro-government at all, deep and with transnational capital. With a
young, highly educated and well travelled staff of both Catalans and foreigners. A generation of
Erasmus journalists. Why do we have to settle for the global journalism of the BBC, CNN or Al-
Jazeera? Why can we not create a publication that is called, for example, Erasmus?

From Barcelona people have already had extremely diverse experiences with producing pub-
lishing contents in English from the private sphere. To give two quite exotic examples, we have
the Handbook of the Birds of the World — a task with 30 years of international success (19,000
subscribers from 160 countries) —, published and executed here by Lynx Edicions under the
leadership of Josep del Hoyo Calduch, to the teaching products in English related to the Bible
that are created and distributed by the seal Barcelona Multimèdia, which also produces its con-
tents in audiovisual formats and has, as a leading illustrator, Picanyol, yes the man who does Ot
el Bruixot. These are just two small examples.

Our world is the world. Communication has no borders. The future new Catalan state and
its capital are not about erecting barriers, but about liberating ourselves from mental limits, to
open up more doors. It has often been claimed that publication in Spanish has been and is still
essential to make publication in Catalan possible. Well, all right, to strengthen our journalism,
to ensure that its quality and viability improves, we also have to look outward and think about a
broader audience. It is possible and necessary to imagine where the communications needs are
of a Europe that, apart from the give-and-take of its political construction, is a stronger citizen
reality each day. If we do not do it from here, someone will do it somewhere else. So, shall we
get to it?
A country’s music life makes an important contribution to its social life. To achieve full capital status within an ideal of a European country, the city of Barcelona must have various elements consolidated as regards the public’s musical activities. The following text analyses three aspects which, as we understand it, need to be improved to reach optimum and more appropriate levels: the deployment or consolidation of social settings for active participation in music, provision and consolidation of structures for music production, and proper guidance for music education, for the population as a whole as well as for future professionals.
Making music is, more than anything else, taking part in a social activity which is of great value for the construction of social interactions and also in the expression and development of the private life of the citizens taking part. Musical activities are therefore important in the construction of personal values on the basis of dialogue between people. However, this takes place outside verbalised or abstract arguments and yet with a very definite effect in the private life of the people involved. We could even say that musical activities construct and articulate many elements of social life “without being noticed” obviously or publicly (and very often in the belief that it is just a question of personal tastes).

If we go out of our way to explain this reality, which has been studied at length by researchers, it is because it is often overlooked or forgotten in public policies regarding music, like when we forget we are surrounded by the air we need to breathe because we can’t see it. This has led to mistaken analyses and guidelines or to painful disagreements, such as the idea that musical activity is just an industry producing something superfluous, that it has nothing to do with the chief issues in the life of a society. Among what are called artistic activities, music (the same as the world of stage and audiovisuals, which it is part of) is decisive both in intensity and in results when it comes to articulating individuals’ interactions and values.

From the perspective of a city of Barcelona that is the capital of Catalonia, public and private social actors need to reflect and contribute to the deployment and safeguarding of the opportunities for public participation in musical activity. When it comes to planning a policy for music, we believe we must start from this strength for social articulation and the creation of values so that the status as music capital is based on a real development of musical action by those citizens choosing to do so. Music structures, music education and the music industry — in other words, all of production — must be planned according to these more general principles that are of more use in citizens’ social life (and never the other way round), and even more so in view of the activity of established musical associations which for centuries has played a decisive part in building and developing our country’s public and civic life.

Musical activities propose spaces in which values are developed that are highly prized in today’s world, like the club movement and volunteer work, the space for shared action by people from different backgrounds, of different sexes, different economic or professional levels, different ages, different physical and psychological abilities and different political and religious beliefs. The jointly constructed energy made possible by a rock group, voices united in a choir, the space for exchange created by a singer or the space for action for the grallers of a human-tower team, or even the ability to share and even improve one’s private life through music are all examples of what we consider life quality and welfare state.

In speaking of music, people often think of creators and production companies with an industrial vocation, imagining them as something divorced from this more social and shared reality. Years of experience and the experience of very varied geographies of the western world clearly reveals that action in music is more a result of the wishes of impassioned individuals than a simple commercial matter. Industry and creativity are possible when the whole of society has consolidated musical and creative spaces with participation scattered among the entire social corpus and over the whole country. Otherwise, they have little consistency in collective life and a return of less quality.
In view of all this, we want to focus attention on the need to plan Barcelona’s status as music capital on this basis, which has been the musical basis for other capitals envied for their music. The much desired attendance of the public in music programmes, creative innovation and the value and social interest attached to music and to music professionals has a lot to do with the consolidation and enlargement of these spaces for participation.

In comparison with other periods of history in our city (which boasted hundreds of choirs one century ago, for example) and in comparison with other similar cities, there is plenty of room in the present scenario for improvement in this aspect. Social circumstances and also inappropriate legislation have probably weakened the spaces for musical activity and the number of citizens attending. We must make the most of the chance we have before us of creating and re-articulating legislative aspects and mechanisms for restructuring participation and this must be coordinated in complicity with the aspect of infrastructures and of music proposals whether public or private.

Music structures and planning

Barcelona is a city that has repeatedly shown the creative, innovative and productive capacity of musicians and institutions and companies producing musical activities. As regards what we generically refer to as “talent”, the city’s strength seems assured and in recent years there has been evidence of skills of a very high standard. Relatively new institutions, like the Escola Superior de Música de Catalunya (Higher School of Music of Catalonia) have in recent years boosted the level of performance and creation among professionals. In this aspect, then, we feel we are going through a good period and there is nothing to suggest that this will change, even though there are musicians who travel to work in other cities, partly as a result of limited funding during these years of crisis.

Barcelona today also has most of the institutions and musical events (programmes, production, international image, etc.) that would correspond to it as a state capital. But it needs to be made clear that they are all severely underfunded. In the area of classical music, to start with one sector, there’s an important opera house, an outstanding symphony orchestra representing both the city and country, two auditoriums of a high standard and several professional groups devoted to the specialities of early music, contemporary music and choral music, as well as important programmes and festivals all over the country. However, each one of these institutions and each one of these programmes has to work with funding that is clearly below the funding available to similar institutions in other European capitals (after correcting for differences in countries’ income levels). The result of the special historical, institutional, legislative and budgetary circumstances has caused this chronic situation of obvious underfunding. The same can be said, with minor variations, of all the music production and programming sectors — from the most commercial to jazz, traditional music, electronic music, song-writing — and of record production, whose activity has been hindered, something which in the long term results in a notable decrease in the presence of Catalan creativity (and also of the Catalan language) on the European scene.

The result, which in our opinion is hardly disputable, is that none of them have sufficient financial resources to develop their mission in the desirable circumstances of normality and rigour.
The chance to reformulate Barcelona’s status as music capital must allow the revision of functional models — not just of the underfunding — of all these public and, with the right degree of intervention, private institutions, so as to make them more efficient and improve their results, in line with present-day demands and with the demands of a new country that needs to reach out culturally to the world. In short, the fossilization of chronic underfunding has visibly slowed down the indispensable processes of renovation in efficiency and in excellence, and the design of new proposals for the country and the city should jointly and coordinately affect both aspects.

As regards fixed programmes, there is very probably a need for one that will make it clear that Barcelona, as state capital, is also the music capital. In the sphere of classical music, a powerful and prestigious international city festival needs to be organised. This would undoubtedly help to create a positive image for the new state and to attract tourism of quality.

On another subject, the city of Barcelona’s programmes suffer from a certain shortage of public (in comparison with other European cities) for cultural proposals in general and for music in particular. This shortage is partly made up for by public from elsewhere. It is good that visitors should take part in cultural activities during their stay in the city, but at the same time dynamics must be generated that bring prestige to the various musical proposals and showcase them: developing the preceding section (with more spaces and more expansion of actions towards continuous participation by the public in musical life) would be decisive when it came to consolidating and extending the involvement of more social sectors in programming and attending events. We need a solid and creative fabric of musical creation in associations and of participative volunteerism which, duly coordinated and in complicity with city programmes, would undoubtedly increase so-called “cultural consumption” in the various fields of music. We must therefore foresee the articulation and mediation between these two musical realities, something that is already being developed by several public institutions: there’s still a lot of ground to cover. All this, of course, without forgetting the negative effect the economic crisis has had and is still having in attendance at musical events.

**Educating in music**

We are convinced that artistic education — including the teaching of music — is an area of training that is essential for the individual’s all-round education. Since the beginning of the 20th century — despite a few interruptions that have tried to stop these proposals —, the choice of educational system in Catalonia has been one of global education intended to provide the tools to make personal growth possible. We think that education should really be a platform for educating awareness, intelligence, emotions, relations with others and certain skills with which to confront learning with a capital “L” throughout our lives.

The educational spheres related with creativity and expression provide a chance to carry out group activities and individually experience the participation and social interaction we proposed at the beginning of this article. In the sphere of music we base a large part of educational activity on singing and on performing in a group, the production of a collective “work of art”. This is one of the possibilities offered to children and teenagers when they come face to face with musical activity, whether they are studying music as part of their general education or in specific music classes. Boys and girls become aware of the need to involve themselves in the group in order to create collectively and express themselves, whether this is transmitted within the group.
itself or is directed at external spectators or at the public. This will make it possible to exclude individualistic attitudes to work and will improve performance, at the same time as it teaches a better attitude to action in society.

By its very nature, musical education provides aspects that are of great benefit to children. Educating awareness through music will help boys and girls to perceive emotions, be able to exteriorise them and channel them suitably and in a controlled manner, to build them up and reflect on them in experimentation in suitable social settings. The development of a social expression based on a different code that is a complement to oral language and allows better integration of social diversity, of culture or of background as well as of sex, individual abilities or economic level. The acquisition of motor skills and aptitudes when we relate listening to music or performing music with bodily movement. Improvement in intellectual skills on the basis of experience, affecting abilities and knowledge ranging from skills in mathematical representation to linguistic abilities, from a mastery of bodily control in the social setting (gymnastics and dancing) to experimentation and reflection on social and historical processes. As well as aspects more precisely related with observation and attentive listening to “humanly organised sounds” — that is, the foundation of what makes social life possible.

If all of this is true for the general education of all citizens, it also goes for those who, according to their own personal skills, might choose to develop a specific talent in playing music as amateurs and, perhaps, as professionals in the instrumental and vocal sphere, regardless of the type of music they play. The specific sphere of music teaching, through specialised institutions — schools in which music features centrally in the curriculum of boys and girls, music schools, conservatoires and colleges — must be of a standard corresponding to the creative level of the country. They must be schools which, in a clear analogy with the most developed countries all over the world, allow a first-rate technical, artistic and intellectual training.

In the present situation of music education in Catalonia, we have not yet made the step towards a product concept (or a concept of “productivity in results”, the heir to the teaching of the romantic conservatoires) in the nuclear development of creative, intellectual and emotional growth through the exploration of music. The city of Barcelona, a pioneer in so many fields of education, can encourage this guideline for learning music in its general education schools (as it is doing in its specialised schools, where it needs to be extended). The educational system must seamlessly integrate the intellectual and speculative world (which we often imagine in relation to university education) in the sphere of experimental action, ie the sphere of performing and creating. Pupils must find the right teachers to be able to grow and evolve towards performing, creating or research with all the tools they will need in the future. With a view allowing their development in group performances (choir, orchestra, chamber, group, band, etc.) without concessions to the requirements of an increasingly competitive world. And with the clear idea that talent can emerge when the ground is well prepared. In this case, a look at the more demanding international sphere is very necessary to be able to provide those few who show suitable aptitudes a path towards the field of research or for performing as soloists, conductors or musical creators of all kinds of music. Because of all this, we feel the figure of the specialist music teacher is indispensable in all schools.
Summary

To achieve full capital status in the ideal of a European country, the city of Barcelona must have various elements consolidated in the sphere of citizens’ musical activities, which we shall sum up under three headings:

1. Deployment and consolidation of social spaces for participation in music:
   - Public and private social agents must develop and guarantee broader frameworks for public participation in musical activity. Its status as music capital will be founded on the action of citizens who choose this form of expression.
   - Music structures, music education and the music industries, ie all the production, must be planned on the basis of general principles and values that are of use to citizens in their social life (and never the other way round). Industry and creativity are possible when society as a whole has consolidated musical and creative spaces with participation by large sectors of society.

2. Endowment and consolidation of music production structures:
   - Barcelona has most of the music institutions and events corresponding to it as the capital of a state, but they are all seriously under-endowed economically. The chance to reformulate capital status lets us revise the working of all public and private institutions: underfunding at the same time as efficiency and excellence in results, in keeping with the demands of our time.
   - We need to have a solid creative fabric of participative activity in music associations which, duly coordinated and in complicity with programmes, increases “cultural consumption”. We therefore need to foresee articulation and mediation between these two realities, something that is already beginning to happen in various institutions.
   - Within the sphere of classical music, we need to organise an international city festival that is strong and prestigious.

3. The right guidelines for musical education:
   - Music learning based on creative, intellectual and emotional development must be reinforced in the city’s general education schools through seamless integration in the intellectual and speculative world in the sphere of experimental action.
   - We must make sure that students in schools specialising in music education find the right teachers with whom they can grow and evolve towards performing, creation or research.
   - We feel it is essential that the figure of the specialist music teacher should be present in all schools.
Can you know if a city is the political capital of a state just by strolling around its centre and its neighbourhoods?

The monuments it houses are the clearest clue, and Barcelona does not deceive. It is not endowed with the altars of the fatherland, the tombs of anonymous soldiers and the usual ministers, at least not on the scale we generally see in Europe. The palaces from which maximum political power was administered speak Gothic and were protected by a wall. The city’s Arc de Triomf was raised for an Expo, like Bohigas’ fountains on Montjuïc, located halfway up one of the few perspectives designed to épater visitors to this dense city. Barcelona’s contemporary memorabilia has not made copies of battles, but instead of civil events. Trade fairs and congresses. And modernity: the first newspaper on the European continent was in Barcelona, as well as the first radio and first television tests in Spain. Three Olympic stars shine in southern Europe: Athens, Rome and Barcelona.
City planning always speaks clearly: the Eixample district with its hustle and bustle lets the city get to work. Diagonal avenue is nothing more than the longest line in a rectangle and Passeig de Gràcia was already a road lined by regal villas before turning into the current mall of the franchises. In Barcelona there are no ornaments. Everything must be useful.

The other clue is the ambience: state capitals emanate a severity that translates into a more classic dress and a civil servant class that finishes at five o’clock, circumstances that in the United States are summed up with the phrase: “Washington DC is for the married and New York for singles”.

Barcelona, like London or Paris, is not a city created by an administrative decision, but from a perfect site first for survival and then for exchange. The sea and the port, which have been the motorway and toll booth of the first 20 centuries after Christ, have made a real city apt for trading goods and ideas. Everyone loves Barcelona (“What are you doing living in Washington DC if you can live in Barcelona?”) because, besides being blessed by nature — an expression by Oriol Bohigas — and having behaved relatively well with its architectural and city planning past, it is a real and true city, which can be decoded by conventionally accepted parameters: an accessible geographic location, a habitable space, a central position on the transport map, a natural box for a humanly crafted jewel. Then, it also has supra-regional infrastructures with symbology worthy of a capital, but sub-state has never kept Barcelonans up at night.

In the case that it becomes capital of the new state of Catalonia, Barcelona would be the complete and definitive city. Nothing would be missing. But it is only missing being capital now. The physical and mental attributes of the State would fall on top of it, which it has always looked on from afar, that which it has had to replace due to non-appearance and, therefore, would cause it a spiritual mutation that is difficult to imagine.

There are obviously advantages associated with being a state. Ending the ignominy of an airport that is controlled from afar. Not having to argue about the language or the culture, because politics is more powerful than culture and, if you have a state, if you exist, you are normalised. Barcelona would propagate more projects like Creapolis and 22@. It would be even more open to entrepreneurial projects. It could become a Mediterranean Silicon Valley. It would not have its universities, that is true, but it would not be a hardship for them to sway table football and the mega-creative rooms of Skype with socks and sandals at work to draw inspiration from fresh cod fritters and excellent local red wine in the Barceloneta or sea breezes off the coast. We would find the way to maximum the city’s strengths so that businesses would consider them an added value for the development of their projects.

The young, open and creative population would grow, along the lines of “Stay hungry, stay foolish”. The next hipster mutation could start in Barcelona instead of Williamsburg.

Political capital status would entail some obvious features so simple that they are not in harmony with the subtle power of self–made metropolises, “already extending from river to river”, and now extending to the screens of globality. However, if at some point in history human events have accelerated and if at some time Barcelona were ready to add the weight of the crown of power to the crown of authority, it is undoubtedly right now.
Barcelona, another even to itself

Miquel Àngel Bassols Puig
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Current president of the Association Mondiale de Psychanalyse

In this new century, many state capital cities are no longer what they once were: the sole centre of political, administrative, economic and cultural power, “cap i casal”, “metropolis and mother of the kingdom”, as Barcelona itself was qualified a very long time ago. It is a transformation that so-called globalisation is imposing in increasingly more diffuse sites of power, in a structure that verges on the form of a network much more than a hierarchical pyramid. The network, with its diverse forms ranging from Internet to new cultures, based on the mobility of the virtual world, displaces single centres toward multipolar focal points. And this affects the lives of cities ever more clearly.

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1. As stated in the Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana (online) under the entry “Cap i casal” (literally, head and home, referring to the most important city in a region)
2. Here, in particular, Manuel Castells has insisted for some time on this condition of our current lifestyles. See, for example, his book entitled La societat xarxa (Editorial UOC, Barcelona, 2003).
Faced with the extension of this phenomenon, we can verify two reactions, two possible “clinical responses” — if you will permit me the expression —, two symptoms that at times can take place simultaneously in cities considered as fully legal subjects.

Some capitals react somewhat melancholically, to employ a term that psychoanalysis has interpreted as identification with a lost object. There are cities that resist separation from the object they have lost and are then trapped in the shadow of what they had once been. The shadow of the object fell upon the “ego”, wrote Freud in a famous formula to define the melancholic position. Sometimes old capitals use this as their charm — Oh, cherished Venice! —, but always at the price of their unstoppable decline.

Other capitals respond to this phenomenon with a type of manic feeling, a narcissistic inflation of their own image that no longer matches their real and effective lives. The “ego” has then taken the place of otherness, which is another way of denying any possible loss. They cling to an exclusive and excluding centralism that goes against the current of the general movement guided by the network mindset. The first symptom of this pending mania is the habitual and growing complaint of a megacephaly of the capital city, namely, of the deadly weight that being the most important city imposes on an ever weakening social body. We have examples of this quite close.

Both melancholy and mania are two mortifying effects caused by the weight and the use of power without possible otherness; power we can symbolise by writing a first significant, S₁, the significant amo. They are two ways of denying the Other, the exteriority necessary to make the use and power of the amo significant bearable. In effect, a minimum structure of two signifi-
cants is needed to escape from the maniaco-melancholia pathology, the danger of all capitals without an Other.

To establish the ideas, we will write these two poles or focal points with two indexed letters: S₁ and S₂. This is the way that psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan formalised the minimum structure of all discourse. The structural bond between the two signifi-
cants (S₁ to S₂) in the form of a net-
work offers us a much more interesting model than the model centred on S₁ operating all alone, without an S₂ that makes the otherness, the exteriority in its own self.

Following this logic, there are other symptoms that can show us the current challenges of becoming a state capital city, even if it does not necessarily follow the model. Indeed, in the case of Catalonia we are seeing that there is no model possible, that almost everything is ripe for invention.

There is, for example, increasingly more states in which the capital — in the classical sense of a central and hierarchical seat of administrative and political power — is not the largest or the most populated city, and does not even have the greatest weight in social and cultural move-
ments in the entire state. The geometric figure of the circumference with a single centre (S₁) gives way here to the figure of an ellipse with two focal points (S₁ to S₂), which act as mutual counterweights. This figure includes the otherness in the heart of the gravitational movement itself. The examples of the United States (Washington DC - New York), Canada (Ottawa - Toronto) and Brazil (Brasília - São Paulo) show us that this condition goes beyond the so-called bi-capital in some states. Curiously, in Europe it is small states where this condition exists. For example,
Switzerland, where the capital Bern has half the population of Zurich, but there are also Liechtenstein, San Marino and Malta, European microstates that present this logic of otherness in an elliptical structure. We do not want to imply that we must use this as a model for a bi-capital structure, but yes as a sign of a way of being with the at times mortifying weight of capital status. Moreover, it merits mention in the case of Barcelona and the capital of Catalonia that there have been city planners who have opened the debate about bi-capital status or the system of city of cities\(^3\).

From this perspective, we must underline the fact that Barcelona has accrued experience that could be very useful for it when considering the possibility of becoming a capital of a new state. Indeed, we could well say that Barcelona has already been a real co-capital of the Spanish state in many eras and for long periods of time. It has been the focal point of connection and dissemination of cultural, scientific and thought currents from Europe and around the world; it has been the privileged crossroads of populations and trends, both inside and outside the Spanish state. Its vocation of exteriority has made it a permanent site of traffic and migrations, a transmitter of a network structure, much closer to the logic \(S_1\) to \(S_2\) than to the amo significant operating all alone. Said with the terms we have used above: in a particularly vivid manner, the city of Barcelona has revealed the presence of the existence of exteriority and an otherness inside of the always uncertain unit of the Spanish state; it has revealed the \(S_2\) in relation to the \(S_1\) of the capital, even when this real co-capital status has not been recognised as such.

Thus, we say that Barcelona already has accumulated experience in its vocation of exteriority, which ranges from the integration of diverse waves of immigration to its sensitivity to dislocated mobility. When trying to change from this real co-capital status to a legal capital in a new state, Barcelona can therefore learn from what she herself has been in her history, following the psychoanalytic law according to which it is better to remember to not repeat. And Barcelona has always been the Other par excellence, the Other capital in many cases. Now she needs to be the Other for herself, as she has been for the others\(^4\). Also, a capital that does not look so much at itself as at times it thinks that others look at it (tourists or not). A capital, thus, neither melancholic nor narcissistic. Stated differently: Barcelona, capital of a new state will have to reinvent itself, revealing this vocation of exteriority that has been its fundamental trait; it will have to know how to reveal this otherness for herself and for the entire new state. This is the only way for it to have the best possibilities of surviving the always mortifying effects in the medium and long term of being a capital.

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3. For example: Jaume Masip Tresserra and Josep Roca Cladera, “Rethinking the Catalan Territory: Towards a Catalan and Metropolitan Bi-capital?”, ACE: Architecture, City and Environment [online]. 2011, year 6, issue 18, February, pp 325-360.

4. We have borrowed this formula from Jacques Lacan when he defined the feminine position: “The woman becomes this Other for herself, as she is for him”. Écrits, Éditions du Seuil, Paris 1966, p 732.
Paul Valery thought that the future never ends up being how they told us it would be. However, for this to be true, we must first have imagined the future, dared to have pondered it, and the best way to predict the future is to invent it. Constructing a country is always a tough task and when, on top of this, the starting situation is anomalous and subordinate and fraught with great cultural and linguistic pressure — as is ours — then it becomes a nearly titanic task. Writers construct possible worlds using an extremely fragile and virtual material: words. We weave our reality, both ordinary and extraordinary, using words. With words we create and organise the world and equip ourselves with symbolic representations that go beyond us as individuals and our condition as mortals. In their broadest artistic sense, words and texts conjure death and give life meaning, letting us construct it, inhabit it, share it and pass it on. In the end, words let us stand our ground against the vicissitudes of life. That is why literature, painting,
music, cinema... the different faces of this enormous text we call “culture”, are all means of communication and powerful symbol-producing machines. Barcelona has been the capital of the publishing world and, while it still holds this honour today, the Catalan capital must aspire to higher levels. It must strive to be the capital of producing contents that feed the different faces of this puzzle with new languages and with new devices. From fiction to transmedia narratives and videogames, from music to cinema, with literature as its steadfast anchor, which has saturated the city’s streets since time immemorial.

Translation and culture

Stendhal is attributed with saying: “culture is what remains when all else has been forgotten”, in the sense the culture is that which is truly ours and makes us who we are, setting us apart from animals. Culture humanises us because it lets us live fully and not just survive. Culture is a type of freedom. And in the same way that without freedom, there is no culture, without culture, there cannot be freedom. Speaking of a culture, with a specific cultural background, entails seeing and understanding and communicating the reality that surrounds us and doing so through language. Languages are a vision of the world, a specific way of seeing it, of expressing it and thus of thinking it. We all inherit a specific concept of the world through language. For this reason, translation represents a transaction that is not solely a linguistic, but also an utterly cultural act. In the modern day, it is urgent to translate culture into all its formats that is addressed to all possible audiences. Translating to other languages and translating from other languages but, above all, translating to other formats and mediums, to other ways of understanding culture today in the heart of the digital era. Translations export our culture into foreign cultures: the success of Pa negre (Black Bread) is good proof of this, if we speak of transferring literature to cinema, but we should also consider the success of translations from Catalan to other languages, from Rodoreda and Pla to Quim Monzó and Jaume Cabré. Translations to Catalan incorporate other cultures into our own, making us feel like they are ours because they are in our language.

I would like to insist on the act of great freedom represented by reading the classics in your own language. That said, in his verses, Joan Margarit wrote: “From Chekhov to Tolstoy, we have learned that salvation lies in explaining ourselves / Aeschylus and Sophocles showed us how we spend our lives feeling guilty” (Margarit 2012: 82), and we Catalans know much of this. Although Jaume Vallcorba, recently deceased, always said that he had never seen any culture as self-destructive as Catalonia, “we must shake off our inferiority complex, because Catalan culture is important; it was the first to produce philosophy, international legal treaties and surgical texts in a Romance language. It certainly underwent a period of decadence since the 15th century, but there was an astounding revival in the 20th, because while Verdaguer and Maragall were to be expected, Carner and Ors are a miracle.

Classics are not a part of the past, not a type of archaeological plundering. The classics are alive and speak to us of life. Aeschylus’s bound Prometheus lives on in Mary Shelley’s Frankenstein, whose subtitle is The Modern Prometheus, but also in Llorenç Villalonga’s Faust and Agustí Bartra’s Poema de l’home. The classics are the seed for creative continuation, the crucible in which the perpetual flame of knowledge is maintained, as well as the meaning of life. Solid cultures know this for a fact. In Catalonia, we have had cultural policies that have elevated translation as one of the mainstays for international projection and one of the country’s basic elements.
for culturalisation. While Modernists want to Europeanise Catalonia and Noucentistes want to Catalanise Europe, both of these projects rely on translation as the touchstone for exchange. It represents the intercultural bridge. In this regard, the Bernat Metge collection, promoted by Francesc Cambó in 1922, signifies an especially luminous milestone. It is one of the most universal treasures of Catalan culture and exemplifies the paradigm of the need to convey our humanistic legacy and its contribution to the transformation of thought and of institutions. In short, it was also driven forward by one of our cultural mainstays: civil society’s initiative. Bernat Metge collects the most relevant authors from Greco-Roman literature and thought, representing an example of translation to Catalan of the wisdom of Western civilisation. This initiative was courageously promoted by civil society’s vigour and its weight in the cultural production and distribution networks in Catalonia. People who fortunately did not question the usefulness or not of this endeavour. Neither was it questioned by its subscribers. Indeed, they were the ones who upheld it: more than 8000 at the turn of the 20th century, a figure that lets us take the pulse of the country’s cultural life and that today could have its correlation in crowdfunding operations that have contributed to deploying cultural initiatives based on consumers’ interest.

**Symbolic tales to illuminate culture**

Translating therefore for importation and acquisition, but also translating for exportation and visibility abroad. In short, translating to unify and bring together. We must realise the social importance of preserving memory and empathy, principles and values. Culture assists in this task and is used to this end, which is no small feat. Culture develops critical thinking, analysis and understanding of events through reflection and well-thought-out reasoning. Having culture, making culture and bequeathing culture all embody the shaping of values. It is a commitment to forging well informed citizens who can think for themselves and are empathetic, civic minded, honourable and democratic. *Cultus atque humanitas* or, in other words, learned and civilised. It ensures we know where we come from to better embark upon the road toward where we need to go. The different branches of culture (music, painting, television, sculpture, literature, radio, cinema, dance, comedy...), as the social discourses that they truly are, can be used to theorise on social reality and help us to seek metaphors, to construct stories that speak of us and tell us who we are, as a group, according to what we make and do. In the best of cases, these images will be added to the constellation of symbols and values that represent a culture and will become a social tale. In order to produce strong and collective social stories in all possible formats and in Catalan, we must be aware of our educational, economic and linguistic setting. For this reason, speaking of translation today seems like a crucial metaphor, because translating always entails expanding meanings. I repeat, translating in the broadest sense of the word to other genres and to other mediums. Translating the analogue world to the digital world where, because there are no boundaries, Catalan can be one of the main languages on this network. Today, we positively know that creating networks is a solid way of making a country and publicising this country. As an innovative, entrepreneurial and avant-garde country, Catalonia must be a networked country on the internet. Culture here has truly formidable ground to cover, and all areas must be involved: from publishers to libraries and all the cultural industries, like cinema, television, radio, theatre and so forth.
We are living in an era that has been baptised by renowned essayists as the “era of the void” (Lipovetsky), the “risk society” (Zizek) and as “liquid modernity” (Bauman). Our age is a context of trivialisation of what was once considered important, of the generalised loosening of responsibilities, an abandonment of the idea of thoroughness and of utmost imposture. It is clear that we have a society that is the result of this Molotov cocktail made up of frivolity, the loss of values, the logic of appearance and indifference towards others while shamelessly worshipping at the altar of the ego. In a sentiment that I fully share, Gadamer would affirm that culture is in the “domain of all that which becomes more by virtue of the fact that we share it” (2000:12).

Following this line, culture must never be a luxury, as it is considered by those who tax it excessively. Culture must not be (solely) a way to fill our free time, a formulation that in fact irritated Gadamer, who stated with hope: “culture is that which might hinder humans from attacking one another and becoming worse than animals”. Although this has not been prevented. We have been worse than animals. Much worse because we understand perversion and cruelty. The experience of evil is not immune to culture and, in parallel, it also needs culture. And education is what battles barbarianism. A binomial to consider: culture and education. It is important for us to realise the importance of education in its role as a cultural transmitter and, in turn, to be aware of the fragility and inconsistency of our country’s educational policies. Even more so in times like we are going through now, as technology is an essential part of education today. With the rejection that this still entails and that must be overcome with specific digitalisation plans and comprehensive education that –like culture– also thinks digitally. However, to speak of an authentic school digitalisation plan, much more is required than computers. A good Wi-Fi network structure is lacking, as well as supply points in the classrooms, projectors and, logically, a change in the concept of how we should be teaching. We need to define how the materials will be employed and the purpose for which we are using technology and how we can use it well to connect with our students. Today more than ever we need to re-examine what comprehensive and inclusive teaching must look like, which will include technological devices (containers) and digital teaching materials that are characterised by providing added value and exploiting the full potentiality that the internet offers for education (contents). A technology assisted environment does not guarantee good teaching because what teaches in the end is the teacher, and forgetting this point and not attending to the teaching staff and their educational needs, socially recognising their hard work, training them in using ICTs, valuing innovation and creativity processes, etc. means making an effort that would probably be in vain.

We say that civilisation starts with our awareness of memory. Our pedagogical focuses are debtors to this theory, although the problem of substituting historicism, a look at culture as a collective text whose key is the past, to doing it (only) based on the present takes an important toll on us: the cult of information and its immediacy, which also entails a determined replacement of memory and the generation of meaning that is born from dialoguing with the past. I am sure: reading plays a decisive role here. Reading signifies decoding, thinking, associating, combing, conversing and understanding. And reading literature is the best way to understand how to do it at its most complex and most elevated level. Thus, the culture of hard work must be revived and a global educational strategy established that will lead to the recovery of high quality literacy teaching, also digital, of humanistic culture and the fundamental role of reading (regardless of the medium on which it is done, and even using new devices as allies!) as a fundamental and critical strategy. Schopenhauer said that reading is thinking with someone.
else’s head. I have deep and implicit trust in the shaping and transformative role of literature. I believe in education and the professionals working in this field, in its importance in terms of society and the country, but also in epochal, or technological, terms. For this reason, I think that we still have time to tackle an ambitious reform, recovering our direction and leaving confusion behind to become guiding lights. We must overcome the confusion caused by the new digital languages and confront the new paradigm with courage and intelligence, without hiding behind that which has always been and how it has always been done. If Barcelona wants to continue to be a leader of cultural industries and the publishing capital, then it must undertake radical reforms, particularly in the literary field and in the processes related to the rushing in of the digital and the modifications that this entails in the content production chain. Let’s not forget that a book is a receptacle and what we must know how to maximise is its contents.

Barcelona, capital of books; Sant Jordi, a fiesta of reading

Barcelona is the capital of the world of books (writers, publishers, booksellers and readers) and a day like Sant Jordi is a much awaited event in the profession. For the Catalans, Sant Jordi is the holiday of love and literature. The day of the rose and the book: our Valentine’s Day. Despite the fact that it is not a public holiday, this celebration is always lived like it were one, both at work and on the streets. It is also the day on which reading seems like a prestigious activity, when writers are applauded and sought after, and a day on which there is much direct contact between authors and readers. A happy and envied cultural normality day. I love that we jointly celebrate being in love and literature on the same day and, indeed we have even exported this event to Japan, Tunisia and bookshops like Barnes & Noble in New York. Because reading is also a way of loving. Because reading is enrolling and projecting oneself irremediably into the texts; reading is exposing oneself to knowledge (with a safety net, although we won’t say that reading is a high-risk operation, although it may be in certain circumstances!). In any case, reading is an operation that leaves marks, that leaves traces, that leaves consequences, that shapes us. Like love does. I really love the image of the tattoo and skin because in general there is a lot of skin in my reading, but also because it is an image that lets me connect reading and writing: the image, the text, the body. There are readings that even tattoo the soul! And we end up being a map of meanings, in the same way that amorous experiences continue to shape who we are by how we have been loved.

Literature drags us toward life because it also lets us live others’ lives –and loves. The weakness of the limits between reality and fiction become especially clear when reading. To express it with the verses of Gabriel Ferrater: “That insistent torrent of words, always growing, continues collapsing the edges of the life I thought was real”. Certainly, in times of eventualities, of liquefactions, as the world spirals downward in decline with regard to values, references, institutions, etc.; at a time when almost everything is submitted to a mind-set of expiration, reading is revealed as one of the areas of human life that structures our existence due to its capacity to transform our lives and our identities. Furthermore, reading offers us –like a kaleidoscope– diverse images of who we are by how we read and also by how we love, as it is a complex, multiple and global activity today. Our reading prepares us a bit, as evoked by T. S. Eliot’s Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock “to prepare a face to meet the faces that you meet”.

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WHITE PAPER
Spaces for understanding and managing differences

In a book with a fascinating title (*The Passion of the Present: Brief Lexicon of World-Modernity*, Gedisa 2011), although quite slow to digest, Giacomo Marramao, professor of political philosophy, meticulously sketches a global public sphere designed for understanding and managing differences. This issue has utmost actuality, because sociology and philosophy, as well as history, as the social discourses they are, must theorise on social reality and seek metaphors, building accounts that speak of us and explain who we are, as a group, according to what we do, at times individually. In the best of cases, these images will be added to the constellation of symbols and values that represent a culture and will become a social tale. As the reader of narratives that I am, I found a sentence in this collective navigation charter that reads: “one of the most stubborn divisions in the area of modern theory on society is represented –according to John Elster’s sharp observations– by the paradigmatic contrast between *homo oeconomicus* and *homo sociologicus*”. Simplifying greatly, the first would be an autonomous individual, strategically guided by instrumental rationality and an outlook of the “future” or, in other words, attracted by the idea of rewards. The second, conversely, would be a part of everything, a member of a community governed by specific and pre-established social rules. Demystifying these concepts a bit more, we could speak of this binomial with a metaphor of who controls the system and has caused the economic crisis that has produced currents of collective indignation today and about whom, socially, rejects and tries to change the status quo.

With mimetic behaviour with respect to BC (before Christ), we spoke a short time ago of BG to refer to the era before Google - as deduced from reading *Googled: The End of the World as We Know It* by Ken Auletta - now we shall have to use BF to speak of before Facebook and BT for before Twitter. The scope of citizen mobilisation experienced during the process cannot be analysed without taking the driving force of social networks into account, like after the 2004 train bombings in Spain, text messages were the technological factor that determined the citizen indignation that would exile Aznar from Moncloa Palace. In 10 years (2004-2014), we have moved from text messages to social networks without switching from mobile devices, in terms of hardware. Effectively, it seems like we are living in a post-PC world, where I have used the prefix in a strictly time sense here. We have changed from having wired peripherals (mice, modems, web cams, microphones, speakers, keyboards, DVDs, etc.) to having them either integrated or wireless. We have taken the road toward compacting, which has also been a road toward miniaturising the medium (laptops, netbooks, tablets, mobiles), toward mobility. “I am connected, ergo I exist” could be the new reformulation of the Cartesian maxim adapted to our times. Mobility and connection, with mobiles leading the new mobile multifunctional devices (particularly iPhone, Blackberry and Android) are essential pieces in the new social order. In the morning, still in bed, we connect to take a look at the emails we’ve received during the night, at the latest tweets by the people we follow or the latest posts and comments on our Facebook walls. It is multi-connected reality, beyond opening hours: reality 2.0, which is no stranger to Barcelona, which was postulated as a smart city years ago that could bring the city closer to people.
Conclusion: five difficulties and seven rewards

For all these vertexes of the variable geometry of culture that we’ve listed, we do indeed have to conclude that culture is a type of civilisation. As mentioned, if literature lights up something inside people (Sala 2012: 287), culture also illuminates something in humanity. Imitating Bertolt Brecht, we could say that “in these times of decisions, culture [he speaks of art as currency in Writing the Truth: Five Difficulties, translated to the Catalan by Feliu Formosa] must also be decided upon. It can become an instrument of few, who then act as gods: They decide the fate of the ‘masses’ and demand faith, which must be blind, in everything”. Or, as Brecht points out “one can stand to the side of the ‘masses’ and put fate into one’s own hands. One can deliver man to states of intoxication, hopes, marvels and one can deliver man to the world. One can increase ignorance and one can increase science. One can appeal to the powers that manifest such strength in destruction and the powers that manifest such strength in helping.” We have to overcome “at least five difficulties”: We must have “the courage to write the truth when truth is everywhere opposed; the keenness to recognise it, although it is everywhere concealed; the skill to manipulate it [as a weapon]; the judgment to select those in whose hands it will be effective; and the cunning to spread the truth among such persons.”

In the times we are living, we can ask ourselves — as Gramsci did — if it is better to “think” without having critical awareness, dispersedly and occasionally, namely, “participating” in a conception of the world as “imposed” mechanically by outside forces (...) or instead elaborate our own conception of the world, consciously and critically and in connection to this mental activity, selecting our own sphere of activity, actively participating in producing the history of the world, guiding ourselves and not passively and obsequiously accepting that our personalities are shaped from outside. My answer is clear: I am committed to thinking collectively and inclusively with our futures. We are capable of imagining it to make our house a better world: fairer, more equalitarian, wiser, richer, more participative, more educated and more human.

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Barcelona capital of knowledge and culture
The City Archives, a key piece

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Introduction

At present, the most democratic and advanced governments have committed to transparency, access to information and good governance, as a result of the knowledge of an increasingly more participative society, in a digital and globalising environment. The need to be more transparent in making decisions and carrying out actions and thus complying with the law, but even more so to respond to citizens’ expectations, is a great challenge, and an opportunity, for the different public archives in our country. To contribute to making this principle a reality, a document management programme must be implemented that ensures the retrieval and authenticity of information, and the commitment to improve processes and save documentary resources.
Cities with higher cultural and educational levels have structured knowledge programmes of the past and historic memory linked to the study of document sources, which are housed in different public and private archives. In this regard, the archives of the Catalan capital have become an important engine for historic memory initiatives, with alliances with other cultural centres and agents and, especially, with the involvement of educational programmes. Our country’s archival institution must make a firm commitment to the social and cultural function, as history and roots have always been a foundation for Catalan culture and identity. Thus, the government of the capital has the obligation to provide access and disseminate this documentary heritage to citizens, in order to contribute to the right to know and the duty to remember. This statement is also made from the conviction that past knowledge lets us build a freer and fairer society.

A new information and heritage management centre

Barcelona has always stood out for its rich and diverse documentary heritage, which has merited scientific and international recognition. Alongside the Archives of the Crown of Aragon, the Diocese Archives of Barcelona, the Barcelona Cathedral Chapter Archives, the Barcelona Historic Protocols Archive and archives run by private organisations, the Municipal Archives of Barcelona stand out for their age and invaluable documents.

The Municipal Archives of Barcelona were founded with the constitution of the city’s incipient government in the 13th century to conserve and custody the privileges that the counts-kings granted the city with a special political system. However, the first attempts to organise the archives would not take place until the 20th century, specifically in 1917, when it was decided to recognise them, separating historic and administrative document collections. This decision led to the creation of two centres: the Historic Archives of the City of Barcelona and the Municipal Administrative Archives.

With the establishment of the first municipal governments of democracy, different voices arose that urged the consistory to reorganise the municipal archives. There was particular concern about the state of the facilities of the Municipal Administrative Archives and the offices being saturated with enormous amounts of administrative and historic documents.

The turning point was the approval of the Archive Organisation Project (1986), with a comprehensive analysis of the situation and an initial action plan aimed at a homogeneous archive model. In addition to the two large centres mentioned above, the network of district municipal archives was started up in 1988 as an expression of administrative decentralisation and the recovery of the historic memory of the former territories from the Plan Barcelona, annexed at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. In recent years, other new centres have been created, such as the Photographic Archives of Barcelona and the central archives of municipal areas. At present, the Municipal Archives System is run and coordinated by the Office of the Municipal Archives System.

In the context of European cities, there is now a trend to simplify and make administrative structures competitive. Consequently, a new, unified and coherent model for the City of Barcelona Archives is proposed, with regard to resources, infrastructures and the regulatory framework. Thus, on the one hand, Barcelona’s image would be strengthened as a city of archives and cultural heritage and, on the other, a veritable system of open access to municipal knowledge and information would be stimulated.
For this reason, Barcelona needs a new archive centre where all collections can be concentrated, as a top-rate cultural facility and a modern service open to businesses and interested citizens. The Archives of the City of Barcelona must be aligned with other European cities - such as Amsterdam, Vienna and Marseille — and international cities — like New York, Toronto and Montreal - that have situated their municipal archives as the central hub of administrative and cultural life.

In this new framework, the Archives of the City of Barcelona must obtain goals via a compact management with political leadership that drives forward the strategic plans and projects for document management and dissemination of their rich heritage. Thus, the proposals below are implicit in deploying this model:

- Bring all document collections, both new and old, together at one centre which would have to be integrated with suitable conservation and security conditions
- Reorganise the services provided to citizens, companies and researchers, so that they are more efficient and competitive
- Equip the municipal administration with a more efficient service, favouring the governance of information, access to documentation and the reproduction of documents using digital processes
- Mitigate risks of loss of information or escape of essential historic heritage on our city’s past
- Build an iconic building for conserving and disseminating documentary heritage, which is associated with the Barcelona brand and culture and also with the capital’s archives
- Improve funding for programmes and save expenses on duplicate or unnecessary services
- Become a leading international centre with regard to innovation and quality programmes and services for the general public

The new archives for the Catalan capital must be exemplary and efficient in all areas, which is why it must be situated at a central level of the organisation and endowed with singular political, organisational and regulatory recognition. A structured plan must also be forecast for the actions and investments needed to equip it with all suitable services. Some of these actions have been framed in the programmes detailed below.

Document & innovation management programme

In recent years, the management of documents and evidence in organisations has undergone extensive transformation due to the progressive implementation of electronic processes. Barcelona City Council has regulated policies and procedures to ensure authenticity, integrity and the conservation of documents and archives, both on physical and electronic mediums. The council’s corporate system, Comprehensive Administration of Documents and Archives ("AIDA" per the Catalan acronym), establishes responsibilities and regulates document management from the time of its creation by administration bodies to final conservation or destruction in compliance with legal provisions in force.

In coming years, the implementation of document management at the entire municipal administration must be put into effect. This will comply with the principles of the document management policy, which are: completely and exactly conserve documents that contain testimony to municipal decisions; manage documents in accordance with Catalan legislation and the
principles of efficacy and efficiency; proceed with modernisation and technological competence via electronic procedures and replacement of paper; link all documents and proof to system instruments and extend this methodology to all information systems; ensure data security and protection; ensure information transparency, accessibility and usability for all citizens with the electronic and physical means at its disposal; and rationalise and ensure sustainability in order to apply assessment criteria and select documentation.

Document management is based on international standards and rules that are most widely accepted. Electronic documents and records, as well as the applications that manage them, must comply with interoperability standards, so that they can be exchanged with other organisations and be part of local, national and international cooperation programmes.

Intake, treatment and conservation programme

The new archive centre must be equipped with a complete intake, treatment and conservation programme for documents, texts, audiovisual, graphic and electronic materials with spaces that are conditioned and large enough for upcoming years, both for document storage and technical and public spaces for consultations.

Any municipal archives in a large capital must be able to take in large volumes of municipal and private documents. A planned intake policy would include all documentation that is pending from the municipal administration and any possible donations, purchases and transfers of collections and documents of interest to the city. This would firstly comply with the principle of ensuring this municipal documentation was secure and properly conserved and, secondly, it would prevent our city’s loss of relevant heritage.

This programme would need to encourage donations from the private collections of individuals, families, companies and organisations, as the fairest way to preserve the memories of all Barcelonans. Although the donation of private collections must be the preferred intake procedure, to avoid contributing to market speculation to buy and sell heritage, some investment capacity should be forecast to acquire collections of interest that could be added, using clearly defined and transparent technical criteria. This can only be obtained if all areas — the first, within Spain — approve collection intake policies at different public centres with coordination mechanisms with all involved administrations.

Complementarily, the Archives of the City of Barcelona would have to have a programme with well-structured objectives regarding the handling and description of document collections. Today, it is essential to build this processing programme based on users’ demands and requests and in accordance with professional interests in all fields.

Over the years, the documents have continued to accumulate without the chance to organise and describe their origins, which necessitates putting full effort into creating suitable instruments so that they can be recovered and consulted easily.

At present, the implementation of IT and new tools must let us directly view the previously digitalised documents. Similarly, users must be able to find all information resources at their disposal by information channels. With the same spirit of service, the City Archives must work to provide this information and reproduction support for documentation to municipal offices, and even employing new strategies so that they become increasingly quicker and more skilled at responding to citizens.
It is essential to periodically approve the documentation digitalisation plan, which must have financing available and top priority at the new centre, both for viewing them in digital formats which helps to conserve the originals, and to make it easier to view digital heritage via web platforms.

Another need is to set out a stable plan for the preventive restoration and conservation of documents, both to ensure their physical integrity and to advance in digital conservation criteria for the heritage. For this reason, the restoration and conservation department must be strengthened, which coordinates and watches over interventions and the condition of the documents, with the mixed participation of companies and specialist professionals.

At present, Barcelona City Council is working to implement the electronic archives that will ensure the integrity, authenticity and conservation of the documents produced and stored on digital media. This project will include more in upcoming years and the updating of the platforms and all system modules must be ensured, given that our society’s present and future are digital.

Serving the city and people

Providing services to citizens is undoubtedly one of the main functions of any public archive, which must allow consultation and copying of documents at all levels; it must however also be compatible with respect and privacy for personal data. For this reason, a good reference and guidance system should be offered to citizens, with new tools and technological resources (consulting stations, guidance tools, etc) and specialist personnel. In this regard, the concentration of document collections in one facility is an essential factor. The proposal must include support strategies for those professionals and businesses for which the documentation held at the Municipal Archive is a main source of work.

The aim of this new service is to comply with standards and establish an exemplary service catalogue that meets the needs of all citizens, as high quality information must be provided for procedures and daily processes. As mentioned, online access to documentary collections must be maximised, taking an important leap in the number of digitalised documents that citizens can view from their own homes.

Reusing information and document reproduction have become fundamental conditions of the archives that are most open to citizens and the business world. Thus, reproduction and digitalisation services would be needed that facilitate the tasks of researchers, professionals and the general public. A new facility must have spaces and resources to facilitate reproduction and digitalisation on demand, or with personal devices (tablets, cameras, mobiles, personal computers, etc). Here, a qualitative advance is essential in order to respond to the modern age and the real needs of people who demand more facilities for accessing and using public information.

Memory & education programme

In addition to this administrative information service, citizen participation must be increased to construct the collective memory via educational and cultural services in the city. Offering a solid and cohesive programme of exhibitions, conferences, tours and publications is an essen-
tial challenge for contributing to historic memory. A powerful city programme is required that channels and provides consistency to many scientific and cultural initiatives that are quite disperse at present. In order for the offering to have greater consistency and visibility, a cultural programme is suggested that includes proposals for new audiences - for example, young people and the elderly.

Our city archives have always been a reference for historic research and propagation, with popularisation activities. However, more depth must be attained by using new strategies that citizens relate to more, especially with a greater presence of educational services and activities for new audiences. This programme would preferably include new activities associated with syllabuses and research programmes at Catalan universities. Joint thinking with the university world on research on the history of Barcelona is still pending.

This cultural facility must also be a prestigious leading centre for historic memory that encompasses the city’s districts and neighbourhoods, as the Municipal Archives of Barcelona have done many times. We must attract the interest of citizens around documentary heritage by hosting exhibitions, conferences, publications and visits, among other activities, both at the facilities (where there should be an exhibition hall, classrooms and meeting rooms, and so on), as well as the possibility of conducting activities in different territories on specific aspects of local history.

Final considerations

In the current setting and even more so when looking toward the future, the Archives of the City of Barcelona are evolving toward a more cohesive model for its services and are highly committed to new technologies and the digital era that has revolutionised society’s access and participation in knowledge. In addition to this exciting world, we must reaffirm our commitment to the recovery, protection and dissemination of documentary heritage.

Now and in the immediate future, it is advisable to concentrate and simplify centres to generate savings, efficiency and quality for citizen services. In general, we can confirm that now is the time to rethink these services that are offered by the majority of the public archives in our country.

This proposal is consistent and compatible with projecting the Archive as an iconic and prestigious city facility on historic memory, the conservation of heritage and the dissemination of knowledge.

In this projecting of the Archive of the City of Barcelona toward the future, we want archives that are for everybody, open to citizen access and that contribute to the administrations’ transparency; archives as a basic source of knowledge of our heritage and history, that recognises the millenary identity of the people of Barcelona, and archives that facilitate exercising the responsibilities of citizens as an example of the democratic and free trajectory of the capital of our country.
1. Introduction

A declaration of sovereignty involves not just a political or legal shock but also an emotional, cultural and psychological shock. It requires a capacity for adaptation in government, tools for transition, political strength, resilience and mental flexibility. It inevitably involves a change of habits and the creation of new models and structures, not only in government but also within the very feeling and thinking of citizens: a “quantum leap”.

What does it mean for Barcelona to be the capital of the Catalan State after 300 years without being it? What implications does this step have in the cultural model and the collective imagination, in the identity of such a complex city, where for 300 years Catalan self-affirmation has been shown in the form of demands or opposition to the political and cultural uniformity of the Spanish State? To give an illustrative example, how can one create one’s own model of culture, of identity as a capital and a state without the “Barça-Madrid” syndrome? How will Catalan sovereignty affect the capital of cosmopolitanism and openness, a melting pot of creativity?
2. Background. Past experience as a state capital

In order to outline the main aspects to be considered for the future, we must start with a little background:

2.1. Barcelona's last experience as the capital of its own state for any significant period of time was on 10 September 1714. The Habsburg administrative system involved a single crown but a confederacy of two systems: that of Castile and that of Aragon.

Therefore, we start from the premise that Barcelona has a long experience as the capital of its own state: it was the capital for about six centuries. This experience of Barcelona as the capital of its own state was confined mainly to the Middle Ages. It continued during the Renaissance under the Spanish crown (after the Compromise of Caspe), when the constitutions and liberties were maintained, but it collapsed completely during the absolute monarchies of the Baroque period.

No wonder then that, as in the European Romantic movements, the medieval roots were evoked during the early years of Catalan nationalism: throughout the Renaixença and Modernisme periods (including the work of Gaudí), and in the street names and monuments of the city, one can find explicit or subtle references to the heyday of the Crown of Aragon, when Barcelona was the capital of a separate state for several centuries.

2.2. The precedents for Barcelona's role as the capital of a Catalan state were very short:

a) The proclamation of the Catalan Republic by Pau Claris in 1641, in reaction to the centralizing tendencies of Philip IV and the Count-Duke of Olivares. The Republic lasted only a week.

b) The proclamation of the Catalan State within the Spanish Federation in 1873, with the support of the then mayor Miquel González i Sugranyes. It was a federal state and lasted only a few days.

c) The proclamation of the Catalan Republic within the Iberian Federation by Francesc Macià in 1931. A few months later Macià had to settle for a statute of autonomy, following negotiations with the government of the Second Spanish Republic in Madrid.

d) The proclamation of the Catalan State within the Spanish Federal Republic by President Lluís Companys in 1934, which led to his imprisonment.

After 1714, the few times when Barcelona has acted as the capital of a state have been brief and have normally coincided with a republican government in Spain.

Republicanism therefore forms part of the Catalan cultural base with regard to forming its own state in the modern era. This point is important because it will affect the model that Catalonia uses to construct its own state, including its capital: a civic, participatory, democratic and mostly progressive or “advanced” model.

2.3. Interestingly, however, a status of autonomy of Catalonia (understood as a system of self-government that is previous to or less than a state) has been feasible above all under parliamentary monarchies. The Commonwealth of Catalonia of 1914 and the first projects for autonomy (with the exception of that of 1931, when Macià settled for a statute of autonomy under the Spanish Republic) were created under parliamentary monarchies. And the last example was in 1978, when the statutes of autonomy were approved alongside the Spanish Constitution.

In other words, after 1714 the Catalan state has tended to be achieved under republican regimes, while autonomy has almost always been achieved under parliamentary monarchies.
2.4. Spanish history since 1714 includes long periods of absolute monarchy and centralist dictatorships: in the period from Philip V to Franco the country was governed for at least 146 years by absolute monarchs or dictators.

In contrast, the periods of a Catalan State in a Spanish republican regime amounted to only three years (including that of Companys) and the periods of autonomy amounted to 47 years (including the Commonwealth, Macià’s statute of autonomy and the current period of autonomy).

Barcelona’s experience as the capital of a modern state (i.e. in the period after the French Revolution) is thus limited to three years. The remaining time has included periods of autonomy, dictatorship and highly centralized regimes.

3. An overview of the present culture and identity

In 2014 the outstanding feature of the idea of a Catalan State in 2014 is this lack of experience. Neither Catalonia nor Spain is accustomed to considering such a possibility. Nor is Barcelona. While the long current period of autonomy (36 years) has served as a test bed of Catalonia’s capacity for self-government, a state is something else entirely in terms of government and in terms of culture, identity and imagination.

3.1. This historical summary about Barcelona’s experience as a state capital leads us to present its cultural heritage as follows:

a. The strong legacy of the medieval period. The greatest expressions of this are found in the Gothic district, in the Romanesque and Gothic halls of the Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya (MNAC), in names (Diputació [Provincial Government], Consell de Cent [Council of One Hundred], Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, etc.), in folklore and traditional culture (giants, devils, saints, etc.), in language use, in the statuary of the Romantic era (Rafael Casanova, the Saló de Sant Joan, Columbus, etc.), in the City Hall and in the seat of Government.

b. The undeniable mark of Catalan nationalism and of the two contemporary philosophical and artistic movements: Modernisme (Gaudí, Domènech i Montaner, Puig i Cadafalch, the Universal Exhibition of 1888, etc.) and Noucentisme (the Universal Exhibition of 1929, the Commonwealth of Catalonia, libraries, schools, theatres, museums, etc.). We must add the economic growth of the early twentieth century and the Eixample (the expansion area of Barcelona). Barcelona entered the modern era late, through industrialization, but since then it has been a pioneer and a spearhead.

c. The strength of the labour, socialist and anarchist movements, undoubtedly due to major economic and political crises but also to the republican/democratic spirit in opposition to 146 years of absolutism or dictatorship. Examples of this are the factories, the Avinguuda del Paral-lel, the trade unions, the social services (from the most primitive to the modern welfare state), the turmoil in the streets and Barcelona’s traditional mistrust of any form of state in which the citizens do not feel that they fully participate.

d. The current coexistence of two generations: those who survived the last years of the Franco regime and those who were born in democracy, which means that though the memory of the Franco regime and civil war may fade, it is still recent enough to condition the political debate and the cultural imagination.
e. The Catalan (and Barcelonan) tradition of self-government and self-assertion with alternative models to those of the traditional state: autonomy, Commonwealth, associations, businesses, partnerships, agreements, consortia, cultural and artistic expression; and popular events as an alternative to the lack of self-government as a state (Modernisme, avant-garde, international exhibitions, Olympic Games, etc.).

3.2. Based on this cultural heritage that is inherent to the history of Barcelona, let us look a little closer: how has the capital of Catalonia developed culturally during 36 years of autonomy and democracy? We can summarize it as follows:

a. It was a city with a strong tradition of opposition to the Franco regime in terms of identity and cultural demands, a spearhead of democratic values.

b. As early as 1978 Barcelona was identified with the European social-democratic movements, with democracy, with the artistic avant-garde, with progressive ideologies (feminism, secularism, sexual freedom, etc.) and with civil associations (foundations; cultural, sporting, social and educational institutions, etc.).

c. For decades Pasqual Maragall was an outstanding figure. Besides being the mayor who brought the Olympic Games to Barcelona, he created a certain “urban counter-power” against the nationalism of the Government of Catalonia and he also publicly defended the never-realized concept of Barcelona as the joint capital of the Spanish State.

d. The lack of statehood (and the failure of the proposal of joint capital status) has led Barcelona to adopt models of growth through major events such as the 1992 Olympic Games and the 2004 Forum of Cultures.

e. From a cultural perspective, Barcelona was prominent in the 1980s and 1990s. It had an efficient network of libraries and civic and cultural centres and it developed its role as the cultural capital of Catalonia by hosting national infrastructure facilities such as the National Theatre of Catalonia (TNC), the Library of Catalonia, the Auditori and the MNAC. Especially in the 1990s, Barcelona consolidated its cultural prominence in the field of design and it also made a major commitment to creation factories. This period was one of strong intervention by the public administration in the cultural dynamism of the city.

f. The controversial organization of the 2004 Forum of Cultures marked a paradigm shift: the ideological codes of democratic transition, the utopian idea of a Spanish senate in Barcelona, the overwhelming success of the Olympic Games and a policy of unrestrained intervention were no longer sufficient. A new model was needed.

3.3. The current Barcelona, that of a “state capital to be”, basically points towards a cultural model with the following characteristics:

a. The new generations born in democracy are calling for greater participation in civic affairs and in culture: a debate on self-management centres such as the polemic Can Vies has emerged. All of this is probably in keeping with the republican tradition mentioned above: despite all, the citizens of Barcelona who are committed to achieving statehood want to avoid artificial limits on the channels of political, social and cultural participation.

b. Tourism is of crucial importance: because of the appeal of Modernisme and the dynamic life of Barcelona, mass tourism is one of the biggest challenges for public management (including cultural management) in Barcelona.
c. There are signs of depletion of the “infrastructure” system: the use of cultural facilities is not rationalized and optimized, and there are shortcomings in the cultural habits (consumption and creation) of citizens.

d. This must be combined with the new culture of the digital age: in cultural consumption and human communication, we no longer behave as we did only five years ago.

e. There is a worrying separation between the cultural consumption of citizens and the risks and experimentation of contemporary art, though it should be possible to remedy this separation.

f. New values and causes have become increasingly prominent: protection of the environment, equal opportunities, eliminating discrimination because of gender, race and sexual orientation, concern about corruption on a local and global scale, and the desire to increase democracy, transparency, protection of animals, civility (the right to rest, street cleaning, etc.) and self-determination.

g. The creation of Born Centre Cultural marked more than the commemoration of the third centenary: There is a clear trend of national self-assertion which also needs to be conveyed somehow through cultural policies, linking past and present.

h. Two interesting debates have emerged in the cultural field: that of “entertainment culture against high culture” and that of “supporting national and local artists instead of openness and cosmopolitanism”. Of course, in both debates there is a middle point, but the two sides are some way from the centre. At a time of national transition towards a Catalan state, the second debate takes on special relevance.

4. Cultural change in state capital status

A new state capital does not have to blindly follow the formulas used by other cities, but there are some basic and essential features to consider.

From the viewpoint of culture/identity, state capital status has the following differences from Barcelona’s experience in the past three hundred years:

a. A state capital has ministries, embassies, official headquarters, tax administrations, a parliament and/or senate, the central bank, security and defence services, etc. All of this indicates an obvious cultural change: apart from being visible on the streets (with administrative headquarters, protocols and symbols), it also represents a change of attitude that means that the culture of resistance and demands must be left behind. Barcelona is no longer a “quasi-capital” limited by the circumstances. Barcelona is no longer the city of grievances.

b. A state capital automatically takes implicit responsibility for the “representativeness” of its culture far more than Barcelona does at present. Barcelona will become—far more than it is now—a symbol or summary of Catalan identity. It will no longer be presented to the world as a complement to a general Spanish culture, but as an independent entity with its own sense of unity (though not uniformity).

c. Madrid will gradually cease to be a reference, a neighbour that has achieved advantage throughout history from having a shared state, and it will become the subject of comparison between several other capitals. Barcelona will thus have a new scale of comparison: formerly
it was compared mainly with industrial and commercial cities (e.g. Milan, Marseilles and Valencia), and now it will also be compared with capitals (e.g. Paris, Rome and Lisbon).

d. A state capital usually has more tools for opening doors, internationalization, cultural exchange, and the ability to send and receive products and ideas from anywhere in the world. A state capital is an even greater magnet than Barcelona is today for the forces that drive culture, government and economics in the world.

5. Proposals for action on the assumption that Barcelona will be a state capital

Considering all of the above, the cultural context of the present time in Barcelona, and the characteristics of the change towards a state capital, the following proposals are made:

5.1. Relations with the Spanish State and Spanish culture

It seems quite obvious that relations with Spain may be difficult or uncomfortable for the first few years. Barcelona should take advantage of its brand, its appeal and its traditional character of openness and cosmopolitanism to act as a direct, permanent and fraternal bridge with the culture (cultures) and citizens of Spain.

We will have to show patience and generosity towards the “mourning” that will of course be experienced by some parts of the population, if not all: the people who have Catalan cultural roots will also feel grief, after three hundred years of exchanges of all kinds (demographic, cultural, commercial, etc.). These exchanges will continue but will certainly change.

According to the recent White Paper on the National Transition published by the Government of Catalonia, point 3.1., “it will be crucial to find the best ways to respect the national, cultural and linguistic minorities that will determine the hypothetical reality of an independent Catalonia”. In this regard, Barcelona can play a fundamental role.

Barcelona can promote a cooperative organization between cities throughout the Peninsula for cultural exchange. Barcelona could even be a driving force of a culture that has precedents: the “Iberianism” which met with the approval of Joan Maragall, Miguel de Unamuno, Prat de la Riba and Cambó. José Saramago and Lobo Antunes also showed some sympathy with this concept.

Barcelona has been very proactive in promoting this spirit, consciously or unconsciously: bullrings, the Poble Espanyol (Spanish Village) in the 1929 Exhibition, the Feria de Abril (April Fair), religious traditions of the Iberian peninsula, the Spanish regional centres, the flamenco and rumba tradition, zarzuela, cultural programming with shared roots (from the Goyescas by Granados to the cabaret shows of Avinguda del Parallel).

The aim would be to institutionalize this cooperative cultural heritage in collaboration with other cities of the Peninsula, creating an awareness of Iberian identity or even creating festivals and fairs with this theme to underline the rich cultural and national diversity of the Peninsula.

If Barcelona could not be a joint political capital of Spain, as the capital of an independent state it can become a capital of Iberian culture.
From a linguistic point of view, a state capital in which two cultures or languages coexist should not have to change its policy if it becomes a state capital. Capital status should not involve changes in language management, which, with the exception of a few controversies, has been resolved fairly well in Barcelona and in Catalonia in terms of coexistence.

5.2. The “state nation” model rather than the “nation state” model

a. The model of the nation state as an all-powerful entity with strong sovereignty has been left behind by the dynamics of globalization and the transfer of sovereignty to supranational bodies. The independent states of today are so interdependent and share sovereignty so much that we could identify a modern state with only three elements that cannot be delegated: public order or defence; foreign policy; and collective culture, imagery and symbolism.

b. Moreover, in Catalonia a nation state has never existed, so both Catalonia and Barcelona have always maintained the tradition of the “state nation”: private participation, associations and partnerships have led to the athenaeums, the Liceu, the Palau de la Música, festivals like Sonar and Primavera Sound, the Teatre Romea, and so on. All of this has been combined with the necessary model of basic public intervention (library services, networks and systems, public theatres, auditoriums, etc.).

c. To these two models a third should be added: that of “capital status”. In Barcelona the popular conception of the capital city brings to mind the expenditure on the Prado Museum in Madrid: we need our own benchmarks, a common imagery and major facilities which can mirror the whole “new” community. Although major cultural facilities have been developed during the period of autonomy (the MNAC, the Library of Catalonia, the TNC, the Auditori, etc.), when Barcelona becomes a state capital these existing elements must be reinforced and promoted. In addition, the city’s investment in culture must be brought in line with that of other cities of the same importance: the capital of a European state must be a cultural capital with a considerable investment in culture. All this can be done within the “autochthonous” model mentioned above: the “state nation” model as opposed to the interventionist and centralist Jacobin tradition. Barcelona should not lose its tradition in this sense (a human, participatory and realistic model), despite the considerable degree of public grandeur that all capitals must assume.

d. Such a model could also better convey the proposals of the “alternative”, “self-managed” and even “anti-establishment” culture that has emerged in several neighbourhoods of the city. Barcelona can be a pioneer in a mixed model of cultural participation, in which spontaneity and public promotion can come together at the same point. The role of community centres and athenaeums, public or private, would be key to achieving this goal.

e. This “state nation” does not follow a centralized model, but has nationwide networks that are well distributed, connected and cooperative. Therefore, Barcelona must also think of the overall reality of the country; as a state capital it should not repress but rather stimulate the other creative drives of Catalonia.

f. Finally, being the capital of a “state nation” involves acting as the joint capital of the territories that share the Catalan language and culture, establishing strong ties of cooperation with Valencia, Palma, Perpignan and Alghero. If Paris is the capital of the French-speaking
world and Madrid of the Spanish-speaking world, Barcelona must (in a shared and proactive way) be the capital of the cultural nation with Catalan roots.

5.4. Continuation and drive of the current potential

The recent report Estat de la ciutat (The State of the City) by the Barcelona City Council mentioned that the Survey on the Barcelona City Brand carried out by Barcelona Design Centre ranks the city as the fourth most creative city in the world, after San Francisco, London and New York.

If without being a state capital Barcelona already aspires to be the capital of creativity (the “Barcelona inspires” brand), when the new status is achieved that role may increase its potential and renown.

However, this will require an investment not only in services and infrastructure but also in achieving a creative attitude. In the 1930s, Dalí proposed the creation of a Consortium of Public Imagination in Barcelona, based in La Pedrera, with the goal of teaching and guiding people to develop their creative skills and their cultural concerns. Barcelona does not have to follow this idea literally, but in a city that hosts such architectural and artistic genius the people must be dynamic agents of consumption and creation.

Dalí would also be an example in the debate between identity and cosmopolitanism: there is no need to choose one of the two concepts because they are complementary. In addition to promoting its cultural heritage (tangible or intangible), as it already does, the city must be a reference, an exhibitor and a promoter of the new cultural expressions in the world. In addition to fostering its identity, Barcelona must be experimental, open and cosmopolitan: we must return to a situation in which authors such as Mario Vargas Llosa will see the enhancement of Catalan identity (inevitable if it becomes a state capital) not as a hindrance but merely as a stimulus for its openness towards the world’s trends and cultures. This is precisely because Barcelona will no longer be discussing political powers and financial and administrative policies in terms of grievances.

Other aspects related to managing Barcelona’s success as a tourist destination, new technologies, the promotion of universal contemporary values and the debate between entertainment and culture may greatly enrich the general analysis. However, for reasons of space they are not dealt with here because they are not directly related to the subject of this report.

6. Conclusions

1. Barcelona had a tradition as a state capital in medieval times but after 1714 it was only the capital of a modern state for a total of three years (always with Republican support). The rest of the time it was the capital of an autonomous region or under a centralized regime.

2. In historical terms of culture and identity, Barcelona is the sum of the mediaeval legacy, industrialization, Catalan nationalism, social movements, distrust of state forms, cooperation, partnership and association. More recently, it has been a reference for the creative vanguard, progressive ideologies, a sense of modernity and cosmopolitanism, combining the
claim to be a joint-capital of Spain and operating as the capital of an autonomous/national region.

3. As a state capital Barcelona will cease to be a city of grievances towards Madrid. It will accentuate both its identity (Catalan) and its openness and it will host state institutions and customs to which it is not accustomed. It will then face a difficult (but healthy) “solitude”.

4. Barcelona can and should aspire to be the capital of “Iberianism” by creating formulas for permanent cooperation with cities representing the cultures of the Iberian Peninsula, especially the Spanish culture.

5. Barcelona will have to add the role of being a state capital to its tradition of private participation, associative activity and partnership: this must be noted in the investment and adaptation to a new model that combines elements of “state” (or grandeur) with elements of public participation (political and cultural); this model must therefore be an autochthonous one of a state capital.

6. Barcelona as the state capital will have to avoid centralist tendencies towards the rest of Catalonia but act as a cultural capital for all areas with Catalan cultural roots. Its role as a the main hub of the Mediterranean Arc gives it great strength in this regard.

7. Barcelona will have the opportunity to stand out as a capital of creativity (in an even more decisive and proactive way than now) and to demonstrate that the development of its new identity as a state capital reinforces its openness to world trends and cultures rather than limiting it. This is precisely because it will no longer be discussing political powers and financial and administrative policies in terms of grievances.
Barcelona, a benchmark in culture and art

Lluís Cabrera Sánchez
Chairman of the Fundació Taller de Músics (Musicians Workshop Foundation) If Barcelona were to become the capital of a new state, we would have the best opportunity to project itself, free from any kind of complexes and catches and which, furthermore, whether or not successful, would be the direct consequence of our own responsibility and the effort we put into the task.
Barcelona has featured on the map of the world for a number of years as one of the leading cities in fields that range from science to gastronomy and tourism. Culture and the arts have a diversified industry and a vast number of self-employed professionals who, with the new energy of a Barcelona as the capital of a state, would increase its capacity for expansion to world scale.

The liberation that would be represented by not depending on the Spanish state would allow us to think, based on our instinct, of a new narrative that will act as the driving force to bring different sensibilities together around an exciting project. After the boost received from being awarded the Olympic Games, Barcelona has been unable or unwilling to set itself another goal that would spur it on. The attempt made by the Forum of Cultures failed to convince, perhaps because it sought to encompass everything, ultimately leaving behind a trace of failure. My opinion is that at that time what was missing was an argument, a common narrative and the capacity to unite the internal will of the various parties.

At present, what is going on in Barcelona in relation to culture and art shows that if we agreed to give it a boost and reach a consensus that, when it becomes the capital of a state, separate from Spain, one of the pillars upholding it should be culture and art, the result would be a leading city in the world. Strengthening the traits of Barcelona as an intercultural city, which it already is, would require a basic prelude: the social cohesion of its urban fabric. Right now, the gap between districts is a warning that this is not the right path if we want to take the plunge and feature in the world as the territory where culture and art are the foundations of the toing and froing and the practical contact among all citizens, with no exclusions of any type. The proposed pillar and its linchpin would contain what is lived face to face and virtual experience.

If anyone expects that from the very first day when Barcelona can boast of being the capital of a Catalan state, the day-to-day doings would have to be completely new, they would be mistaken. We have to discern successes and errors in order to build the foundations in relation to the pillar which, in my opinion, would set us apart on a world scale: art and culture. This is not an idea born of a whim, on the contrary it is the result of analysing what hallmark and attractive feature could be created within globalization by showing the peculiarities and unique features that Barcelona can offer thanks to its history, its forming of characters and the compact and diverse cultural amalgamation of a Hispanic and Mediterranean territory. In this regard, it has to be borne in mind that a distributed network exists in Catalonia that acts as a balance and offers a good range of cultural and artistic activities, a feature that ensures that they are not exclusively concentrated in Barcelona. It is a capital that drives, not a capital that blocks.

Having said this, the capital of Catalonia, in a political scenario free of dependences, is obliged to highlight intensely a focus that projects, attracts and seduces. Barcelona, the capital of a nation, must act boldly and turn around certain things so that it becomes the lighthouse that casts its own light to sow and plough the field as it has been doing up to now, but which also incorporates contemporary popular culture. Action that would entail a reconsideration of the teaching model for the different branches of art.

When a city is committed to having its own distinctive hallmark in the cultural and artistic sphere, first of all it has to believe it, firstly it has had to accept that this commitment is not in response to circumstances, but rather is structural. There is a preliminary stage: overcoming the Spain-Catalonia dichotomy. And in this process, which I would be so bold as to call a re-encounter, putting into practice conscientiously what is purely natural, in other words, accept-
ing as its own the Spanish and Mediterranean strands that are intrinsic to Catalan culture and to the creation that arises through and from Barcelona.

Political disengagement towards the Spanish state has sometimes gone hand in hand with a certain disdain for a culture that is shared, and is therefore also Catalonia’s own culture. And if it is the culture of the nation, it is also the culture of its capital. This dysfunction, in part, has isolated us and has not allowed for exchange, coming and going, this fruitful swing, this mobility that permeable cultures must have. It would be a very serious error, in a scenario of construction of a Catalan state, to impose cultural and artistic autarchy.

Barcelona, the capital of the state, is required to lead bravely a radical change, the change of understanding and collaboration with other similar realities in other Spanish cities that look at and admire what is happening and is being produced in Barcelona. Self-affirmation requires sharing and encouraging earnestly the cultural and artistic links that spring up on the mainland and on the islands, a base made up of amateur enthusiasts and of course of the substance of professional artists, both here and there. This attitude must be clear and convinced, without deceit or duplicity. Barcelona should also act in this way even if the Spanish state has a hostile attitude towards the new Catalan state.

Barcelona —and by extension Catalonia— would also have to build bridges with the cultures and art of the Latin American countries, so far away geographically but so close emotionally. The same measure should be taken with the territories on the shores of the Mediterranean, which is so very much our shore and at times so forgotten. Would this exposure mean that in our collective imagination Europe is going to disappear? Of course not. What this reflection seeks to do is highlight the popular cultures that, together with European culture, have contributed to creating Catalan culture, as there is a sense that official intellectuality has relegated them to the background. For me, the materialization of this fact has been a mistake which the excitement and hope that Barcelona can feature in the international arena as the capital of a state would have to remedy.

Barcelona, as the centre of the Catalan State, must act as an engine; it must lay its cards on the table, and must ooze cultural and artistic uniqueness in this world of globalization. It needs to find a way of being a capital city that ensures that its traits are not watered done in the attempts of the powerful to homogenize culture and art on a world scale. If we in Barcelona fail to show energetic action against the model proposed by homogenization, we would be collaborators of a market that would be almost barbaric as it would be damaging, pernicious and in collision with the harmonic development of human beings.

So far, perhaps I have dedicated too much of this article to setting out my vision of the projection abroad of a Barcelona that is the capital of a new state. On reaching this station, the train should stop and analyse internal aspects of Barcelona and, at the same time, the nation, Catalonia, as a whole.

Barcelona, in cultural and artistic terms, already shows leadership if we bear in mind that, within its geographical area, the main institutions (those sustained to a significant extent by public money, our money), the most symbolic ones, are based in and projected from the capital. It so happens that this concentration hides other realities, engendered by a fine rain of day-to-day activity, which causes no harm, on the contrary, it helps the growth of creative, daring and innovative cultural and artistic activities which, in most cases, go almost unnoticed, due to a lack of economic investment and the invisibility of a city that is too pleased with itself. We
have to recognize ourselves and change direction. Not everything stands and falls by being on a large scale, nor is everything that is invisible a guarantee of excellence. The distance between the two extremes invalidates the restlessness and curiosity of a population, that of Barcelona, with a tendency towards safe bets, by successful artists, who, like the city, are also delighted with themselves.

Barcelona, the capital of a State, will implement the mechanism that will break the bonds of conventions that would favour conservative behaviour. A painful statement that would lead us to think that, culturally and artistically, the citizens of Barcelona are fettered by moving within very tight co-ordinates. Perhaps the way citizens exercise cultural action is a reflection of what they perceive from their political, intellectual and academic leaders, or on the contrary, the citizens fail to step forward and, because of this attitude, the opinion leaders and those who decide where to invest the limited money available in the cultural and artistic sphere do not move.

The social component and the origins of all of us who live in Barcelona and share the same space, from the sea to the hills and from the river Besòs to the Llobregat, an inter-connected territory which, due to its closeness to the capital, we include in this examination, should be a relevant motive in the change of narrative. The dual narrative still used in dominant jargon, when it dares to make a decision between natives and outsiders, would have to be toned down considerably. Even today the word “immigrant” is written or spoken on the airwaves to refer to those of us who, between 1950 and 1970, came to Barcelona from other parts of Spain. Either we rid our language of this stigmatization or the duality will weaken us. Even now in the 21st century, it is still habitual in conferences, debates and proclamations to use the term “Spanish” (or, amounting the same thing, the non-Catalanized) to refer to the people who live in the districts of Barcelona with the lowest income and the highest unemployment rates. By marking some as Spanish, the others affirm themselves from an alleged difference, that of the Catalan with pedigree.

The narrative of immigration, due to the upheavals and the repression carried out under the Franco regime, a time that saw the highest number of moves to Catalonia with a high percentage of settlers in Barcelona, has been manipulated by everyone according to their interests. This must be why it has missed out, I suppose out of fear, the fact that certain districts are made up mostly of workers. Social differences have been replaced by (imaginary) cultural differences. This, in parallel with the loss of prestige of professional politics (for reasons so obvious they do not have to be listed) and the need to adjust to living in lean times (again the reasons are obvious and do not have to be listed), makes birthplace and culture a device that verges on the obscene, which, too often, uses language to cover up and to turn things to its advantage, to feather its own nest or take the water to its own mill. A mill which, as I have argued, is based on the same foundations, a mill that turns thanks to sloping riverbanks with reeds that are the fruit of its Mediterranean character and baskets woven with Hispanic wicker. Neither Flamenco, nor zarzuela, nor song, nor classical music with Hispanic roots, nor the rumba (Catalan, Latin or Southern) are forms of expression that are alien to Catalan culture. But not because they were transported by those who came from outside with the intention of distorting what was already there and with time would become amalgamated to others that are native to here, but because they have been present in Barcelona since the middle of the 19th century, the same as in other Spanish cities.

In the process of attaining statehood, with Barcelona as its capital, politics, liberty and dignity have to be placed at the forefront, rather than any other element that could cause friction.
Insisting to the point of exasperation that the process is associated to culture (the culture that some propose), identity (the identity of those who hide behind the pulpit to pontificate) and language (the language of those who regard themselves as the owners of the legacy), seen as watertight compartments, pure matters unconnected to osmosis or simultaneousness, is a sure road to disaster.

What about the Barcelona of mixtures? Here lies the crux of the matter of believing in and placing the pillar at the centre, at the backbone of the seduction and universal projection of a state capital city that intends to grow as a city and wants to feed the personality and spirit of its people’s soul. For some well-meaning consciences it suits them to have a segmented Barcelona as far as culture is concerned (multiculturalism), a view that is lacking in energy and ambition. Maintaining ghettos that are separate from the centre of Barcelona where the force of attraction is to be found would bring us to the verge of marginalization and lead us to being a belittled capital. Communicating channels, which spread the power of a pole that rewards creation in the different spheres of culture and arts, will bring us cohesion and will bring us closer to a model of a more egalitarian city, with fewer imbalances of a social nature. This is the premise that will facilitate a territory made up of people of diverse origins. If we are capable of spreading joint actions, provided by contact (interculturalism), we will be in a position to shift towards a model that is better matched to our idiosyncrasy. *Multi* means segmentation; *inter* means mutual knowledge.

In my opinion, the idea of capital city of a state that opts to be intercultural is not trivial. Barcelona’s responsibility in this regard is great: the capital is going to spread its influence to the rest of the country. In the Nou Barris district, there are two examples that encourage us to follow this route: one of them is led by Pablo González, of Veus per a la Integració (Voices for Integration), whose motivation is the interest in creating choirs involving hundreds of children without looking at whether their faces are different or asking where their parents come from. It is complemented by another group of children who learn music by playing in an ensemble, basically string instruments. The other one is organized by a group of entities that work in Nou Barris and are grouped around the Ateneu Popular, Sopes del Món. A day to share gastronomy based on a soup that acquires its own flavour in each territory of origin and which is savoured in the public space. An exponent of the role that festivals, tradition and popular culture have to play in the union, the dovetailing of the Catalan people, with its alliances in the capital, in a Barcelona where the natural thirst for progress of all its inhabitants converges.

If I have been so bold as to raise two experiences of a positive nature, it would not be fair for at least one other of an opposite nature not to be mentioned. Just as Carnival celebrations in other Catalan cities have taken root and were even maintained during the Franco regime, in Barcelona it surfaces as an orthopaedic artefact that has failed to make its mark among the residents. A parade with very little participation in dressing up, moving along streets and avenues, with spectators on the pavements, their feet together and not moving their hips says very little how irreverent any carnival worth its salt should be. If we add to this that the floats are trucks with no imaginative decoration, i.e. with very little art, transporting canned music of disparate and contradictory styles, common sense tells us to rethink it or cancel it. If we want the Barcelona Carnival celebration to be a fountain where people from faraway places come to drink, like the Vilanova and Sitges Carnivals (to give just two examples, although there are others), then we have to stop, sit down and think about the model and decide what music, what sound, what genre is going to bet people involved, encourage them to participate, play and have fun. There
must be a music that identifies the Barcelona Carnival. This rhythm, which would travel in floats designed tastefully and with the appropriate category for the capital of a nation, has to be the Catalan rumba. It is no good simulating Brazil. Its popular music is catchy, but senselessly copying something from outside is not acceptable. If Barcelona has danceable, happy music suitable for the exhilarating mayhem of carnival, then that music is the Catalan rumba. It is as clear and simple as that.

It might appear that I have strayed off course a little. Just in case, let us get back on to the path. In Barcelona we have to fight so that the children of families with different origins can mix at school. If we lower our guard in this respect, we will be encouraging ghettos. This is a principle that has to be safeguarded through state education and also partially stated-funded private education. Neither the religion practised nor the language used in the family setting should be an obstacle that prevents us, through education, from building the scaffolding that is to be the support holding up teaching in a city that promotes decency. At higher education levels, university or vocational training, the principle set out above should be compulsory (this is difficult, because the destructuring and lack of resources of families produce an anti-natural selection at compulsory education levels), a good option for short-circuiting social fragmentation.

But, even if we make this task our priority and root out the anomalies that the diagnoses forecast, it is not enough just to lay firm foundations for education. At the same time, occupations related to art and, consequently, to culture — music, literature, cinema, heritage, theatre, design, visual arts, sculpture, dance, circus, etc. — must produce the collective cement, whether their interest is amateur or professional. Artistic education encompasses technique, personality, flavour and creativity. On this forge, the subconscious, abstraction and feelings combine in a chemistry that makes us forget where we come from and launches us on the search for truth and beauty. It is on this path that young people of today must find themselves, young people from the central areas and from the peripheral districts. If we rise up the ranks of artistic training, peripheral districts and central areas will intersect. We have to play this card well; our present and our future are at stake. The creative role empowers us to be equal because we are different. That sentence would have the same value if we phrased it the other way round.

The politicians, opinion leaders and heads of institutions who have to manage public funds in a Barcelona that is the capital of a new state have a pressing need to believe in the cultural and artistic card, without delay and unambiguously. They have to connect urgently with the centres that teach occupations associated to the arts, regardless of whether they are public or private, from elementary levels to intermediate and professional levels. Let us not forget the activities carried out, with no prospect of professionalization, by choirs, choral societies, Athenaeums, civic centres, the youth centres, Sardana groups, dance troupes, folklore, history and heritage support centres and many more. A great agreement between all the agents involved in this field is urgently required. Mistrust has to be set aside, and we have to climb on the bandwagon of consensus so that Barcelona can benefit from an undeniable but disperse potential. Barcelona, the capital of artistic excellence, a reference in the world, a pioneer that will drag other business sectors interested in putting their corporate social responsibility to the test.

An agreement that will reflect the importance of art schools in its internal life, the incidence on the immediate surroundings and on the shake-up that spreads to the entire city. Let us make sure that ghettos do not become frozen, that purified communities are not consolidated. A segmented Barcelona, where its people do not mix in their daily life and do not give birth to new
offspring could be a city with a wounded territory. Sometimes wounds heal; others, by throwing flammable liquid on them, create marshy areas with too much mud.

I do not claim that we should all head in the same direction without criticism and without dissidence. Two concepts that are the best antidote against those who seek to control submissive citizens, in flocks led by shepherds of the redemption. Those who are quick to bark at any soul that dares to deviate from the path marked out would join the model of no dissidence and lack of self-criticism.

I would not like to end this article without making any comment about language. And doing so openly and without fear. This author does not care about being the target of the fierce. As I am not locked in the compartment of a single way of thinking, I am not gripped by cowardice. My life has had continuity because I have faced up, as far as I have been able, to those who direct the rest from the pulpit, those who pontificate, those who are certain that they possess the truth, to those who praise supremacy, to those who use their smug moral superiority to hide their complexes and lack of guts.

Let’s leave the languages alone. Because languages are a very sensitive issue and they do not deserve to be ruined by us. Languages have to be left in peace so that they can fulfil their function. Languages are like rivers: they start at their source in the mountains, they have affluents and they flow into the sea. A word to the wise is enough. Barcelona, capital of the Catalan state; Barcelona, capital of the Catalan language; Barcelona, capital of the Spanish language.

In conclusion, Barcelona, the capital of a state, cannot afford to not take advantage of the cultural and artistic baggage accumulated by businesses, institutions and creators who, through their efforts, contribute to social cohesion and a mobility of culture that broadens our outlook. The cultural and artistic projects generated in Barcelona, in a new scenario, do not just have to be kept in contact with what is happening in other cities in Spain and Latin America, but would also have to be strengthened based on co-fraternization. In order to do what has been set out here, it is obvious that a strong public and private economic investment is need.

The social construction of Barcelona, and by extension of all Catalonia, must have all opinions and shades. In this regard, dissidence and critical positionings are fundamental. Herd mentality would lead to a closed, inflexible state, poorly adapted to the challenges of the 21st century. The narrative on the cultural origins of the people of Barcelona has to shift towards mutual recognition, never from a stance of the moral superiority of some over others.

Artistic education, a key element for cultural development, must also belong to the pillar that holds up our projection as the capital city of a state. The social pyramid and the human tower (castell) have to be generous at the base, the pinya. To anchor foundations firmly and reach the top, we have to build the middle sections. Excellence in artistic education is compulsory in higher education centres, but it should also be a principle of other informal models. It is said that knowledge does not take up any space. We would argue about that. Learning, knowing and progressing require effort, commitment and patience. Accordingly, space and time are necessary to spread out what is being brewed in Barcelona.

Catalan and Spanish are the heritage of a capital city that wants to bid in the international sphere, especially as the main city of a new state.
We are living in a historic and complex time for Catalonia’s future, when as citizens we have to take responsibility for defining and constructing what we want Barcelona to be, as the new capital of the new Catalan state, European and independent.

We are immersed in a debate and reflection process on the future of our city and our country and, even though we have no security about where we will be tomorrow, we do have the hope that everything will be better. And now is when, in this setting of uncertainty, we must take advantage of it to dream and imagine how we would like Barcelona to be recognised.

We have to publicise and propagate the advantages of living, studying, doing business and innovating in our city and making our city grow. We have to keep working to manage and strengthen the Barcelona brand and make it even more attractive, not only for citizens, but also for all other states and visitors.

We are a European — and even international — leader of one of the cities with the highest quality of life, a fact that attracts foreigners, students, companies and investors from around the world.
The economic crisis has caused part of the population, mainly young people and immigrants, to have to leave to seek new professional opportunities more suitable to their needs and training. But, at the same time, Barcelona continues to be a hub that attracts talent because of its business schools and biomedical and technology clusters, situating us at the head of these sectors at an international level.

To shape a new state, we need human capital that is motivated and competent. This is not only a question of attitude, but of aptitude and desire to become the best in knowledge and specialisation areas.

As human resources professionals, we are devoted to searching for, selecting, training and retaining talent at organisations. Motivated, prepared, professional and committed people, which are what really make organisations move.

Barcelona's challenge is to successfully train, attract and retain talent so that the city can confront and handle future problems with greater drive and skill. We must be a solid cosmopolitan capital that offers top levels of personal, professional and cultural training to citizens and visitors.

Barcelona has a large number of universities, business schools and master's programmes that are recognised internationally: five public and three private universities, 205,000 university students and the recognition of having the top European business schools, ESADE (3rd) and IESE (6th), according to the Financial Times. We are a European reference and leader in business education.

We are also one of the main urban tourism destinations in Europe and a focal point for attracting visitors for business purposes, with 7.6 million visitors and 16.5 million nights in hotels in 2013.

The city promotes the development of sectors as strategic as ICT, logistics, trade and tourism. Barcelona is ranked fourth in the world with regard to organising international meetings. A clear example is the hosting of the Mobile World Congress, which has converted us into the World Mobile Capital, with 72,000 visitors in 2013, an 8% year-on-year increase, in addition to generating huge business and investment opportunities in the city. In the ICT sector, Barcelona leads the digital and videogame area, another of the city’s assets.

Barcelona is one of the best cities in the world in the area of scientific production. In the past three decades, Barcelona has collaborated with absolutely top quality centres and scientists, making the city one of the most advanced biomedical clusters in the world for research and investigation. A new source to attract talent both from within and from abroad.

In the area of design — creativity and new trends — Barcelona is the fifth world capital of fashion, after New York, Paris, London and Los Angeles, according to the Global Language Monitor. International companies like Mango and Desigual, designers including Custo Dalmau and Passarel·la 080, have contributed to positioning us as one of the leading and most competitive cities in this sector, at a global level.

A state is a type of political, social and economic organisation, comparable to a company, at which the human capital, its management, structure, functioning and operativeness are all key to its success and running well. Barcelona’s challenge as a new capital of the new Catalan state is to create, attract and keep talent, because talent is intelligence, capacity and growth. It is the key and the engine for the success of our city.
Barcelona and the future of the university

Jaume Casals
Rector of the Pompeu Fabra University
In a text that is as suggestive as it is hermetic and that forms the preface to an excellent book on Philosophy, Marcel Detienne’s *Les maîtres de vérité dans la Grèce archaïque*, (Paris, Maspéro, 1967), Pierre Vidal-Naquet explains how the notion of city, and the city itself, began when the disorderly Homeric combat full of individual exhibitions was replaced by military uniform. The procedures that prefigure city life were gradually sketched out in the equally Homeric army. For example, in the vast assembly (*agôn* in Greek) convened by Achilles to mourn his old friend Patroclus, a meeting at which games and sporting events were mixed with rituals of death and of order in crowds, Vidal-Naquet sketches, with hardly any other elements, the embryo of the formidable object we find designated by the semantic family of “politics” and “city”.

The object becomes more formidable the more ignorant we are of what today we consider trivial: that humanity is organised in nations and that we can not conceive of a nation without adding to a particular geography and a certain human crowd a structure that can only be founded on the model of a city and of a city culture. The texture of that single origin of the city probably guaranteed it had a certain success in the course of the world’s history. Because however much it is rejected, or for that very reason, military organisation and celebrations of death are commonplaces that are still intelligible everywhere, ideas that seem to us to be timeless.

To try and establish the nature of the profound links between a universal city like Barcelona today and the cultural institution *par excellence*, the university, and how necessary they are, we must try and look at it from a perspective of zero epistemology, of a blank system of prejudice, which one assumes in a reflection like that of Vidal-Naquet on Homeric literature and the foundational nature of European civilisation contained in the idea of Ancient Greece.

I have just written “universal city” in referring to Barcelona. The university is concerned first of all with the condition and the concept of universality: that which is valid for all and that can be disseminated without subordination to local determinations (that which is valid both here and on the moon, according to the classic formula), ie science, and the university is the institution that pursues it. I have been very careful to say “without subordination” and not “without attention” to local singularities. But if we accept Vidal-Naquet’s mental exercise, how can a certain intimate and logical proximity to its city not be vital to a university? The city should be its first object, universality itself embodied and represented in a specific place.

This link between universal city and universal knowledge is too direct, though. It includes a kind of short circuit. In our case, it connects Barcelona’s fame in the world (especially after the Olympic Games, whose evocation of Ancient Greece is no accident), simply and perhaps only linguistically, with the need of science and the university to belong to the whole world.

This easy contact goes deeper in the example of the experience deriving from a common history which is not ancient but fully contemporary. It is not the history of a city housing such and such an institution within its real or ideal walls. On the contrary, it is the history of mutual belonging in which the scale of the measures eventually loses importance. I could resort to other examples, but no-one can blame me for focusing for one moment on the Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona, my university.

Certainly, the history of the UPF and Barcelona lacks the numerical dimensions that the Johns Hopkins University, one of our chief North-American allies, wields as regards its weight in Baltimore. The leaflet *Johns Hopkins Lives in Baltimore* explains, with the same eloquence we sense in its title, how the university spends 4,000 million dollars there every year and gives work to 50,000 people. I’m sure New York would not be the same city without the structural
presence, pure urbanistic presence, of NYU. Even Melbourne, though not among Australia’s top universities, owes much of its international acknowledgement to the work of the RMIT (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology). We in Barcelona know all about it, as we saw it move in amiably in our midst a year ago.

The history of the UPF in Barcelona is more modest, and I’m not at all sure that during these 24 years of cohabitation the university has managed to make it understood to what degree its urban integration, following the municipal projects from the Eixample and Ciutat Vella to La Ciutadella and Poble Nou, was also the material image of an ascent to the first places in the ranks of the world’s best young universities. The magnificent book by a former student, Daniel Venteo, *Universitat Pompeu Fabra, història d’un campus urbà* (2010), shows that this material integration of the UPF in its city offers a mosaic and a kind of private mirror over the whole city and over its contemporary history.

What Venteo describes and illustrates are facts. There is one missing, one that is already beginning to take shape. Barcelona is one of the world’s cities that most clearly radiates the nature of the city phenomenon, the Ancient Greek phenomenon I mentioned at the beginning, which brings together politics, art, daily life and science. These four elements are the chemistry that makes the non-transferable local singularity react with the universality of exportable models. Our city, which so admirably satisfies the first three concepts, needs to finish articulating its relations with science. It needs to mesh with the university and the Pompeu Fabra University would like to honour its name in a unique effort to embrace this basis.

For Barcelona to become fully reconciled with knowledge requires another level of funding in a sphere that is not that of basic needs, but that contains the touchstone of a good future response to these basic needs. A change of perspective of this order in financial policy seems impossible without a political setting of unquestionable self-government. We were the first to say, after these last years, that whatever happened we would never again live in a minorised country. Among the many reasons for the widespread clamour for a new Catalan state, we must count Barcelona and the future of the university. But the mutual belonging of city and university, a subject barely touched on in these few pages, clearly points out the direction of practices that are unthinkable in subordination to another state, like Spain, that remains foreign to this belonging and sees it as something strange.
Challenges and opportunities for the music sector in a state capital in a globalised world

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n this article I will discuss the challenges and opportunities faced by the music industry today with regard to the remarkable transformation process that we are experiencing. I will talk about music in a broad and general sense of the term, including the processes of listening, production, teaching and research. Challenges centre on the analysis of the impact of new ways to access, consume and produce the music generated with new technologies. Then I will describe a framework of opportunities and will advocate the advantages that a new state could produce to take advantage of these opportunities.

**Challenges**

Canadian philosopher Marshall McLuhan has become a key figure in analysing contemporary culture, owing to his very particular definition of the term “media”. To McLuhan, a medium is everything that extends human senses and capacities. For example, a hammer is a medium that extends the human arm to make it stronger and more resistant. The philosopher stresses the importance of analysing and understanding media according to the changes they produce in society. Continuing with the previous example, a rudimentary type of hammer was used by the Palaeolithic as a medium to sculpt rocks. However, McLuhan warns us that the importance of the medium is not so much in the content it produces (sculpted rocks), but in its capacity to produce changes (in the case of the hammer, to give mankind a clear physical advantage over other animals so they could develop a civilisation). With his famous phrase “the medium is the message”, McLuhan highlights the need to focus analysis on the transformations generated by the medium (returning to the hammer, having made human civilisation possible), instead of the contents generated through the medium (in the case of the hammer, a sharp stone for hunting).

In the case of musical sound recordings, an analysis of the terms established by McLuhan elucidates their transformative effect on contemporary society. Recording music involves extending the physical boundaries of access to music. For example, when the Beatles came to Barcelona in 1965, their music was already known thanks to recordings. Recordings globalised music, at least in the West, and will transcend cities’ capacities to monopolise the musical consumption of their inhabitants, from an era in which cities did not approach the globalising process as a structural challenge. A glance at the list of the most listened to songs on Spotify lets us see the widespread globalisation of music. Following this precept, the role of cities in terms of music policy becomes complex and restricted, as the immense majority of music listening takes place within the private sphere, using tools with a global scope.

Similarly but more recently, university education has experienced a globalisation process. The university where I work, New York University (NYU), recently opened a campus in Abu Dhabi and a campus in Shanghai, in parallel with extending its centres (for one-semester student stays abroad) to cities like Paris, Prague, Berlin and Madrid. Beyond these changes, the online offering of courses both through Massive Open Online Courses (MOOC) and through classic online courses continues to grow. The main world universities increasingly offer a notable selection of these MOOC and, in parallel, conduct research on the new education possibilities with this medium. Dr Alex Ruthmann, professor of Music Education and Music Technology at NYU, has created, in collaboration with P2P University and MIT, an online musical production course (PlayWithYourMusic.org). In his own research process, Dr Ruthmann has turned around the traditional online course model (with start and end dates, emulating traditional classes) toward
a community learning model, redefining the “C” in MOOC to “community” instead of “course”. In a framework such as this one, the general educational process will be radically transformed, with a special impact on post-compulsory education. In the modern day, it is already true that a teenager can learn to play music by simultaneously using the technologies at his fingertips and free online videos and courses.

This last fact leads us to musical practice. As we have seen, the music listening process has become virtualised and the need of physical performances is removed for being able to enjoy the music we listen to that is digitally recorded. In the case of musical creation, virtualisation is also a significant element for analysing contemporary creative processes. You only need a laptop and, optionally, a few devices more, to have a home music creation studio, in which it is possible to create music without needing to have a locale where you can perform it. This music can be uploaded directly onto the internet and be heard by thousands of people around the world, without the location of the musician coming into play at all.

The challenges outlined are all global and applicable to any city or society today. Furthermore, I must add that the transforming process of a society accelerates at the same pace as technological progress. At this time, we are at a decisive point where this acceleration is manifested increasingly more transparently. I have not written any specific reference to Spain or Catalonia since, in my opinion, the large challenges of our society transcend not only geographic boundaries, but also geography as a physical model for human organisation. The world that we are building is not a world with fewer geographic barriers, but a world in which geography stops making total sense. The fact that a young Canadian musician named Justin Bieber was discovered by a producer in the United States and that teenagers in Barcelona listen to him does not represent a dismantling of geographic barriers, but an implosion of the concept of geography as a tool for describing social processes. Similarly, the fact that a young pianist and composer like Emily Bear, born in Rockford (Illinois, USA), 100 km from Chicago, played at the Castle of Peralada Festival in Catalonia when she was 10 years old, premiering a work entitled Peralada, with clear influences from the music of Granados and Albéniz, is a product of the virtualisation of the musical panorama. Emily, who I know personally and give classes to, wrote the piece Peralada simply by listening to music on YouTube. However, these global challenges require a concrete response in the scope of society and, in parallel, make access to new opportunities possible for the societies that are prepared to take advantage of them. It is from this perspective that I will now analyse these responses and opportunities with regard to Barcelona, distinguishing the advantages and disadvantages of becoming a state capital instead of a secondary city in another state.

Responses and opportunities

The first thing that needs to be asked with regard to the transformation process described above is what a city like Barcelona can do in terms of music policies and initiatives. One of the most relevant elements is the production, promotion and regulation of live music, via policies that are adapted to the changes in society and are effective with respect to the social impact. A key element of live music is being present: viewers must travel to the site at which the event is being held. This fact is especially important if we consider the effect of recordings, which also let music be enjoyed, but without the need to travel. Consequently, travel must become practicable. For example, a concert in Madrid by the National Orchestra of Spain is not, in practice, an event that
can be enjoyed by Barcelonan audiences. From this point of view, whatever the state organisation may be to which Barcelona belongs, cultural policies related to the generation of live concerts must be created within a human scale radius. The sizes of Catalonia as a state are closer to the human dimension (in terms of communications and cohesion) than the Spanish state. However, it merits mention that while it is true that Catalonia’s size is more approachable, that does not mean that the entire territory has practical access to the city’s cultural events. Moreover, in terms of mass public, Barcelona and its metropolitan area have sufficiently reasonable dimensions to be able to make large cultural facilities typical of a western capital profitable. Putting a principle into practice in which practical users are the ones who contribute to financing the facilities they use does not require an own state, but rather a rational and practical policy. Similarly, the fact that Barcelona may become the capital of the Catalan state does not guarantee an appropriate policy, although in terms of size the task would be easier.

In light of the challenges outlined above, framed in a global process of virtualisation, a series of responses are required that are aimed at making Barcelona fit into this new social model, at the same time as new and interesting opportunities arise that can be explored. Firstly, the need must be stressed of constructing a system that is sufficiently flexible and adapted to the accelerated changes in the world in which we live. In 15 years, we have seen the introduction of the MP3 format, iPods, the music sector crisis due to piracy because of swapping songs online, the practical disappearance of CDs, the introduction of the iTunes model of buying individual songs online at low cost and, finally, the appearance of subscription services like Spotify, which have made all the previous models obsolete. Each of these changes has generated great opportunities for technological innovation and has redefined sector models. These innovation opportunities go beyond the development of a platform. For example, Spotify is a Swedish company. Nonetheless, Spotify recently acquired a company from Boston, The Echo Nest, which provides personalised search algorithms for songs based on the concept of similitude, among other possibilities. In order to be able to react to these changes at the necessary speed, a state model that is too large and too diverse and not flexible becomes ineffectual. Indeed, the Spanish state was not able to regulate or efficiently intervene to resolve the problem caused by MP3 downloads, during the relatively short time that the situation lasted. At the same time, citizens are already part of this huge “global village” — to use McLuhan’s term — and they adapt and assimilate these global changes quickly. There is no longer any possibility of creating a Catalan or Spanish Spotify, as happened in the industrial era. Spotify is a global product, which exists on the virtual plane where geography no longer matters. A large state no longer protects us and cannot impose customs duties on a series of processes that take place in a virtual sphere. From this point of view, a large state not only becomes useless but can also become an obstacle to a quicker adaptation to new circumstances. The need for flexibility is an essential fact. This is why I want to devote the following lines to exemplifying a couple situations in which fast adaptation to the circumstances could generate extremely important benefits in the music sector in Barcelona.

The first example is related to the fact of being the headquarters of the Mobile World Congress. Thanks to hosting this event, Barcelona has the chance to create a mobile technologies hub. I would like to centre on a very specific field: videogame music. Firstly, it merits mention that the Higher Music School of Catalonia (ESMUC per its Catalan initials) does not currently teach how to write music for videogames. This fact in and of itself reflects the problem derived from an educational model based on a law with a state-wide scope. However, the problem does
not end there. Imagine that due to this privileged situation in the world of mobiles, Barcelona decides to adopt policies to strengthen this industry. In the case of educating music professionals, this entails generating the mechanisms so that new ESMUC graduates in composition or sonology acquire the level of competence needed to develop music for videogames. This process can be complex if we take into account that the immense majority of great specialists live in San Francisco. A flexible model in the modern day would have to be capable, in a matter of weeks or months, to implement changes to the academic curriculum that could meet and cover the new needs generated, which would include the possible hiring of professionals from abroad as mentors. In addition, remember that the music in videogames involves a high level of technical knowledge of very specific platforms, which would necessarily involve a considerable change in the curriculum. This curricular change must be able to be made without it having to affect the curriculum of similar programmes in Spain, as each population has its own specific needs.

The second example affects film music. For different reasons, primarily economic, increasingly less music is recorded in Los Angeles for different Hollywood productions. This is partly because of using new music technologies that make recording unnecessary. However, it is also because it is much more economical to record music elsewhere, whether in London or in Eastern European cities like Prague or Bratislava. It is not unthinkable that Barcelona could seize this opportunity to offer similar services. This could involve the creation of a series of incentives (like those in Los Angeles or New York for cinema production) with the aim of becoming more competitive. In addition, the process of recording film music incorporates a series of instrumental competencies that are somewhat specific. Musicians must be able to sight read music (as there are no rehearsals) and must feel comfortable recording with a clapperboard. Indeed, this was one of the great advantages of musicians from Los Angeles: they were the great professionals of recording film music. Nowadays, other cities (including Seattle) have started to produce performers with similar talents. Like the previous example, committing to this sector in today’s world means introducing an entire series of modifications that would have to be specific at a local scale and not part of a general plan at a Spanish state scope. Of course, if all Spanish cities tried to attract film music recording the result would probably be disastrous.

The third example is in the field of early music. Thanks to the leadership of Jordi Savall and a sublime design by the teaching staff of studies in this field at ESMUC, Barcelona has become a reference and leader for this type of music. Contrarily, in the United States early music is still a field pending development. Catalan violinist Joan Plana, who I know personally, is a very interesting example of this. Even though he trained primarily as a classical performer in Catalonia, his contact with the early music department and teaching staff helped him obtain a highly respected position in the US music scene in this sector. He was one of the two violinists accepted for the first Master in Early Music at the Juilliard School of Music. Now he travels constantly around the United States and Asian countries both as a musician and as a teacher of master classes. While it is true that Joan was able to see a great opportunity and apply all the effort and dedication needed, the fact is highly relevant that he also achieved it thanks to what he had learned in Catalonia without having devoted himself fully to the field at that time. In the same way that to develop a videogame industry, it could be advisable for us to contact an American expert who could teach the techniques, the United States could see a similar inverse opportunity. In a global universities model, Barcelona could have the chance to reach agreements with some of the large North American universities to offer its high capacity to train early music perform-
ers via semesters abroad. Once again, the changes that would be required for such an initiative become much more practical from a Catalan framework, as it would become a policy specific to the educational model of our nation.

The fourth and last example is connected to the area of artistic research and innovation, in the framework of Internet 2. The i2CAT institute has been responsible for huge innovations in the field of researching new artistic models using the Internet. i2CAT has become one of the pioneers in promoting the use of Internet in the world of arts. This leadership could be used by Barcelona to become a centre of artistic innovation. This could entail including research as one of the items to highlight for the Barcelona brand.

Of the four examples set out above, one can deduce that, in a world like the one in which we live, large states are no guarantee of stability and can hinder innovation, social progress and cultural development. The four examples reflect different opportunities in the world of music that would be simpler to implement in a smaller, more dynamic and more united state, especially if we compare it to the size of Spain as a whole. Furthermore, direct contact with other cultures, thanks to virtualisation, makes access possible to a much higher level of diversity than the state could ever offer.

Finally, we must recall that in a virtualised world, belonging to a physical and palpable town and community becomes important for a large part of society. Songs are written and sung in a language. In the case of Catalan, this language is specific to the territory. The simple fact of having a state that does not abuse Catalan would already be a great advantage. Personally, I believe that our modern day world needs proximity and interaction more than ever, as represented for example by a live concert or musical performance. However, I believe that this need for contact and communication will not disappear if society doesn’t want it, and that this is regardless of the state or the political status where we live.

Conclusion

The process that Catalonia is now involved in, heading toward becoming its own state, cannot be separated from the transformations taking place in the world. We have integrated into a global society united within a virtual sphere, a space that exceeds the actual limits of the physical world. With our mobile phones, we have access to all the music that the world has ever recorded without having to even worry ourselves about where to store it. In this sense, we no longer associate music with a physical medium. Due to this, state models designed from an industrial production viewpoint today also involve the possibility of designing a state that is adapted to contemporary needs, challenges and opportunities.

In this article, I have outlined the enormous changes that the world of music has experienced in recent years, connecting them to a global process of virtualisation that goes beyond the world’s physical dimension. As our society partly inhabits and develops in this virtual world, purely physical organisational structures must be reconsidered depending on their utility. Any person in the West has access to all the music they want and, in parallel, creating new music has become incredibly simple. A capital is no longer the exclusive terrain from where one can have access to and discover the most relevant and new music, as this can be done anywhere now. On
the other hand, a capital becomes attractive if it has the capacity to innovate and take advantage of the continuous opportunities offered by a virtualised world. I have mentioned a few examples in this article that Barcelona could use today and the advantages having a closer state organisation could offer for reacting faster and more flexibly.

Wanting a new state and thinking of Barcelona as a great state capital is not just a consequence of breaking off relations with Spain, but is also a natural process for adapting to the enormous complexities of a society that is changing exponentially and that is increasingly less connected to a specific geography. Barcelona could become San Francisco’s neighbour if it wants, if it proposes this and takes the necessary measures. This is the great challenge and great opportunity of the modern world. If we add the importance of everything audiovisual, these possibilities become enormous opportunities for musical creation.

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Barcelona, cultural capital

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Introduction

The fact that Barcelona is today a cultural capital is an internationally recognised fact. Culture is a core part of Barcelona’s city’s project - core to its strategic development. Culture and urban transformation have gone hand in hand. The importance of Catalan culture in Barcelona is a project with a long history in the city, and has complemented the fact that the city is also the cultural capital state-wide. Barcelona has been involved in the whole national cultural ecosystem; a change in the country can surely be an opportunity for rethinking cultural policies both at national and city level, and for being leaders in innovation and creativity with policies of proximity. It is a key city for attracting talent and creativity. On the new horizon, Catalonia has the opportunity to become a leader in southern Europe and be a proactive agent in projecting the whole country internationally.

The fact that Barcelona is today a cultural capital is an internationally recognised fact. Its cultural heritage, the creativity of its artists and its ability to attract talent for many of its flagship projects have today made it worthy of being considered as a cultural capital internationally.

Although being the cultural capital is a broad concept, and one that is difficult to define, in the case of Barcelona it is based on solid foundations that have shaped the cultural capital plan for which Barcelona is now recognised. These are, first, exercising the role of being capital of Catalan culture, a cultural space for demographics and productive capacity that compares very well with other European cultural areas. Secondly, the city is developing a cultural system, facilities and cultural projects that far exceed those at local level; and which, by definition, are national in character, and which, in fact, have a much broader ambition and scale. Third, and probably most significantly, because Barcelona has made culture a primary city project that is core to its strategic development. Cultural policies in Barcelona have for many years been determined by a broad consensus, by a desire to influence urban, economic and social development for the whole city, and an undeniable vocation to be the cultural capital.

The change in Catalonia’s political status can undoubtedly have an impact on the local cultural system of its capital, which should be adapted to the new political and legal context. This change, however, should have no impact on the city’s creativity and cultural profile, now fully consolidated. On the contrary, there should be an opportunity to rethink the cultural policies that the city should promote in a context of global change and competition.

Playing the role of Capital of Catalan Culture

The level of cultural production and its ability to project out internationally have made Barcelona the de facto capital of Catalan culture. A capital for a cultural area of about nine million people, a long heritage and creative tradition, which has marked the cornerstones of the city’s cultural policy for over 150 years.

Making Barcelona the capital of Catalan culture is part of a project that is steeped in history, originating in the second half of the 19th century after the Renaissance, growing and developing during the period of Noucentisme, which defined an ambitious cultural programme for the city (many of the municipal facilities and heritage collections that we know today were
created during that period) and was fully consolidated in the last 40 years, a time when the city established its own cultural industry and a system of national cultural facilities.

In fact, without Barcelona’s acting as the cultural capital, it would be difficult to imagine what Catalan culture would have been like over the last century. A creativity that emerged throughout the country, but with a fundamentally urban profile, very closely related to the city’s architectural and artistic heritage, and deeply rooted in the creative fabric of Barcelona’s choral societies, arts associations, museums, theatres and auditoria. It is no coincidence that the great names of Catalan culture from the last century are mostly linked to Barcelona, and that Barcelona has been the protagonist for Catalan culture throughout this period.

However, being the capital of Catalan culture has not prevented Barcelona from also sharing with Madrid the role of cultural capital for the whole country. With the notable exception of major art galleries in Madrid, the result of an inheritance received by Madrid from the state, Barcelona has led and continues to lead the way in being able to promote talent, in building a cultural industry of wide renown (particularly in the publishing sector) and, ultimately, in developing the entire nation’s cultural canons of the last century. The creative dialogue between the two cities continues, and is also part of the tradition that has enabled Barcelona to be the cultural capital it is today.

Similarly, it would be a mistake to decouple Barcelona’s role as cultural capital and its creative effervescence from the huge network of associations and cultural institutions of popular culture and traditional roots. On the contrary, other major cultural metropolises wanted a cultural participation network similar to that represented today in Barcelona by the popular and traditional culture associations. It is estimated that about 90,000 people actively take part in these on a daily basis, and represent the most obvious link with the cultural dynamism that now extends throughout the country. Today, Barcelona is the cultural capital precisely because it knows how to combine the promotion of contemporary creativity with the renewal of its own cultural heritage that is deeply rooted in many areas of the city.

**A national cultural ecosystem**

Being the cultural capital is evident in Barcelona’s long development of a system of major cultural centres with the support of the city and its Council. Without this link between the city and the rest of the country and the cultural capital plan, it would be difficult to conceive of the current map of centres throughout Barcelona.

This commitment has resulted in the creation of cultural consortia, the governing bodies of the great cultural centres of the city where the various public administrations share responsibility. Currently, the City Council participates in the financing of up to 11 major national cultural centres: the Auditorium, National Art Museum, Macba, CCCB, Reials Drassanes–Maritime Museum, National Natural Sciences Museum, Flower Market, Grand Liceu Theatre, Teatre Lliure, Miró Foundation and Tàpies Foundation. As part of the financing of these centres, Barcelona’s City Council has allocated more than 45% of its annual culture budget (operating and investment) — a figure that demonstrates the city and its council’s commitment to being the cultural capital.

In fact, the contribution the city makes to enable the operation of certain cultural centres that go beyond local level was recognised under Law 1/2006 of the Municipal Charter of Barcelona.
This state-level law establishes an annual agreement between the state and the City of Barcelona to provide, through the national General Budget, support to this extraordinary contribution on the part of the city as cultural capital. However, in 2012 the state reduced its contribution to this agreement from 9.5 million euros to 1 million euros, and in 2013 stopped it altogether. This has forced the City Council to devote an extraordinary item of around 5 million euros a year to cover the extra expenses from being the cultural capital represented in municipal budgets by these centres over the last three years.

Barcelona is not however the cultural capital solely due to the number of major cultural centres, but also due to its ability to attract the country’s cultural industry. According to the Department of Culture, Barcelona accounts for 44% of workers in Catalonia in knowledge-intensive activities, 54% of ICT employees and 52% of those engaged in creative activities. Half the employment for a sector which represents about 5% of GDP across the country, an amount that varies according to the determination of cultural and creative industry. The cultural industry in Barcelona is synonymous with the publishing capital in Catalan and Spanish languages, and an audio-visual and ICT industry around the areas of Poblenou and Eixample. Both are strategic commitments on the part of the city that have helped position us as a leading cultural capital.

Culture, a city project

While the figures and recent history attest to Barcelona’s role as cultural capital, it is in all probability the determination of the city in recent decades to place culture at the heart of its development plans that has determined the nature of the cultural capital that Barcelona has today.

Barcelona’s cultural policies have been, and still are, at the heart of the plan to transform the city. Through culture, Barcelona has forged economic growth and new types of employment, the city has strengthened social cohesion in its neighbourhoods, and has made it the backbone of urban projects such as heart of the Raval, the areas around Plaça de les Glòries and Montjuïc, and Poblenou.

The priority that Barcelona gives to cultural policies is the result of a broad consensus on the need to push through major cultural projects for the city. Culture and urban development have gone hand in hand in Barcelona in the last three decades, and it is thanks to this that, today, everyone recognises the city as cultural capital.

Culture is also an engine of growth for Catalonia; and establishing a political and social consensus in the face of the need to give priority to the country’s cultural policies is a strategic decision to which Barcelona can make a decisive contribution. Catalonia has the opportunity to become a leader in southern Europe as a country of culture, knowledge, creativity and innovation by being its capital.

This is particularly relevant in the international projection of the whole country. Barcelona is instrumental in promoting Catalan culture. Through Barcelona, Catalan culture has had the opportunity to feature at major fairs and cultural festivals. Barcelona is currently Catalonia’s greatest asset, enabling it to have a presence at Beijing Design Week, the Venice Biennale, the Book Fair in Paris and the Metropolitan Museum in New York, to name a few relevant recent examples.

The city is key to attracting talent and creativity to the whole country. Beyond the city’s seven million visitors a year, Barcelona is today a focus of attention at global cultural forums. More
than 150 festivals that take place each year in the city — 17 of which attract more than 20,000 visitors — draw Barcelona and Catalonia to the attention of professionals, artists and the general public interested in the whole country’s cultural production capacity. This is particularly interesting in the context of global growth, where cities and countries increasingly compete to attract talent and creativity.

In this regard, although being the state capital is not a pre-requisite to being the cultural capital, the possibility of becoming so represents a positive impact that should be borne in mind. Using instruments of cultural diplomacy (schedule of major exhibitions, co-productions, cultural presence in international markets), states promote their capital cities as a showcase for projecting their national culture onto the international stage. International relations between states have an increasingly cultural dimension, and having the opportunity to take part in these exchanges is a very important aspect of added value for cities like ours. Becoming a capital city would also enable Barcelona to participate in these forums, and would thus reinforce its status as cultural capital on a global scale.

**New times, new ideas, new policies**

Culture and the paradigms that define it are currently undergoing a time of rapid change. The ability to produce, transmit and attract culturally relevant content and messages is now greater; culture is not just a commodity and entertainment product, but the promotion of artistic expression and the ability to participate in cultural life is recognised as fundamental criteria, while the principles of respect and promotion of cultural diversity are becoming key on a global scale. It is therefore essential to rethink our cultural policies in order to make them compatible with the new paradigms that define them.

In this sense, the changing political status of Barcelona and Catalonia must be understood precisely as an **opportunity not only to reshape our cultural policies, but to make them a benchmark for innovation and quality at a global level**. Barcelona will be the cultural capital not only on the basis of its political status, but principally for its ability to lead innovation in the field of cultural policies in the 21st century.

Today Barcelona is one of the greatest assets that Catalan culture has. Rethinking cultural policies at national level necessarily involves valuing the work that Barcelona has done over the years. It therefore involves converting cultural policy into a “state policy”, a **core priority that impacts on economic and social policies across the country**. It implies, therefore, providing enough to allow the growth of a powerful cultural ecosystem, just as the city of Barcelona has by investing almost 5% of its budget in culture — a similar percentage to those countries that make culture a strategic priority. It also involves promoting the internationalisation of the entire cultural sector. And it implies guaranteeing autonomy of action, beyond political cycles, to enable the country’s cultural agents to pilot a change in our cultural policies. This is, in fact, the reality that is taking place in neighbouring countries, which should be our points of reference in this matter. The countries that are culturally more powerful today are precisely those that make innovation and creativity the key drivers.

No doubt also a change in the political statute should enable us to reformulate a distribution of powers in cultural matters today in Catalonia. Without underestimating its support for large national centres that give the city relevance and projection, this is a power that should fall...
mainly under the remit of the Autonomous Government of Catalonia, while Barcelona City Council should equally assume as part of its commitment to be a great European city that, though not a state capital, aims to be a cultural capital.

This would also be a new opportunity for the city to reformulate its cultural strategies and policies, and leave behind the substitute functions that Barcelona has been set to fulfil over the last 150 years. Promoting cultural participation in all areas (policies regarding access to culture, support for the underlying culture, local cultural centres), supporting artistic training, investing in the city’s cultural R&D, facilitating the emergence of new public or private cultural projects, and encouraging the expression of cultural diversity in the city are all also commitments that the city government, as a nearby government, should be able to continuing projecting Barcelona as a cultural capital in the future. Supporting national cultural centres is as important as developing this type of strategy.

It is in this changing context that Barcelona should be allowed to maintain its shared role as cultural capital with Madrid. A new political status does not preclude further promotion of the cultural cooperation framework between the cultural industry of both cities. New times require cooperation and an interconnected approach, and experience has shown us that cultural projects and companies benefit from the complementarity between the two cities. This type of tandem, cultural bridges, are increasingly common in nearby cultural environments. Beyond borders and political statutes, cities and cultural sectors need to know how to find ways of cooperating and growing culture both locally and globally.

Lastly, in a new context, Barcelona as a capital of culture must also develop relationships and agreements between the city and its cultural centres and other cities (for example, through projects that boost projection, such as Ciutat Convidada de La Mercé, exhibitions co-organised by art centres, and co-produced shows). This will allow the implementation of new cooperation and exchange programmes with the great cultural cities from various continents and pairing Barcelona, as equals, with other cities in the world that believe in and are committed to culture as a core plank of their urban policies.

Conclusions

That Barcelona today is a cultural capital is an internationally recognised fact. It should be remembered that the city made culture a central part of the its plan, a core development strategy in a broad sense (urban, social, economic and tourist transformation) as well as a way of attracting talent. Barcelona has been involved in the entire national cultural ecosystem; a change in the country must surely be an opportunity to rethink cultural policies both at national and city level. Looking ahead, Catalonia has the opportunity to become a leader in southern Europe and be a proactive agent in projecting the whole country on the international stage. Similarly, there is the opportunity to connect, as equals, with other cities around the world that believe in and are committed to culture as a core plank of their urban policies.
Proposal for excellence in research in Catalonia

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Introduction

Scientific research in general, and, within it, biomedical research, has always been possible via multicentre collaborations both within Spain and internationally. In the transition towards a new State, these aspects must not change, because Catalan researchers have won great prestige and base their research on these collaborations. Catalonia has a high level of scientific production. If we look at indexed publications in the biomedical field, we see that they represented 2.35% of the world total for health, almost 8% in Europe and 30% in Spain. More than 55% of articles are published in high-impact journals (first quartile). Despite this, the capacity of this research to generate economic activity needs to be improved. A great deal is published, but there are still few commercially licensed patents and little transfer of research to businesses. There is a need to train people specialising in technology transfer and to offer facilities in terms of renting spaces and creating “seed capital” for the creation of new businesses based on knowledge deriving from the academic world.

We lack the capacity to generate economic activity.

In the last few years, in the context of the serious economic crisis we are suffering, the quality of research in Catalonia has been greatly affected. The reduction in official Spanish State aid for biomedicine, and also in money coming from the pharmaceutical industry, has caused a loss of the excellent rhythm of high-level scientific production that had been achieved in recent years.

Despite this, various indicators also make it possible to identify this country’s notable effort in supporting research and development, although we are not yet at the level of the leading countries. In percentage of GDP, Catalonia devotes 1.68% to R+D, while in Spain as a whole the figure is 1.35%. The average for Europe is 1.84% and in France the figure is 2.11%. There is a target of 3% set generally for Europe for 2020.

It must be pointed out that, in general, it is considered that the research and development effort should be made one third by the public sector and two thirds by the private sector (in Europe the figure was 63.98% in 2008). In Spain, in view of the considerable efforts made by the public sector in the last few years, these proportions are quite different, as private sector investment in R+D is 43.34% of the total. It should, therefore, be possible to achieve increased effort from the business sector. It must be pointed out that 40% of companies spending money on R+D in Spain belong to the pharmacy and biotechnology sector.

In absolute figures, direct investment in research centres from the public sector in Catalonia in 2011, for example, stood at 170 million euros from the Directorate General of Research (DGR), 32 million from the Department of Health and 15 million euros from other departments. Bearing in mind that, 31 million euros of the total investment from the DGR was made in the field of biomedicine, the public sector’s total direct investment in research centres in the health field is around 63 million euros a year. The contribution of foundations and sponsorship in the biomedical field can be estimated at 30-40 million euros, although this is more difficult to evaluate.1

There is no doubt that, in order to solve the problems we have in research now, we need to be able to decide from Catalonia, as a country, how much money to devote to it. We need a fund

1. Figures obtained from the BIOCAT report (2011) from the Directorate General of Research and the CSIC Office in Catalonia.
for making research grants. Ultimately, in terms of resources, we need ten times as much as is available now.

Research needs researchers, qualified centres, a centralised register of all research, sufficient resources (inventoried and consumable), economic and scientific audits of all projects (for prestigious international researchers without conflicts of interest), appropriate dissemination, recognition (awards), technology transfer, business start-ups and an up-to-date sponsorship law providing serious encouragement to those who want to contribute to giving money to research. Finally, in biomedical research, we need to have a Catalan Medicines and Health Products Agency to speed up trials with new drugs or vaccines, and for such trials to be submitted for approval to the European Medicines Agency (EMA) without the need to go through Spain.

**Researchers**

We need the human resources for research and, to achieve this, we need to have many pre-doctoral grants and more money for the current excellent ICREA system in a double sense: to be used as a tool for the Government of Catalonia to hire post-doctoral researchers, and as a platform to attract international talent in the form of well-known senior researchers (group heads/tutors) to come and research in this country. We need to be able to attract talent from all over the world to Catalonia. Grants must provide reasonable remuneration for researchers. We must do away with the idea that researchers do not earn much.

Current salaries both of predocs and postdocs must be made decent and competitive with the countries around us and similar in size and quality of life, so we can attract qualified researchers from other countries and recognise our own researchers.

We should also include the concept of working to achieve a kind of professional career for biomedical researchers similar to the American tenure track, based on meritocracy but avoiding turning them into civil servants. Periodically (every 5-10 years) the merits achieved should be evaluated and their contracts renewed accordingly. Medical and university professionals should be included, along with those from business.

**Research centres**

Except for centres run by researchers who are outstanding pioneers in their fields and who pledge to do their work entirely in Catalonia, in the short and medium term it is not necessary to build more centres than those currently planned or under construction. What is needed however is to determine the reference centres for different diseases or specific research areas in accordance with the expertise of the existing centres and establish cooperation and coordination networks between them. At the moment, empty floors and buildings are going to waste and rents are being paid between institutions and centres that depending on the same Government area. The spaces already built must be optimised as far as possible.

The institution CERCA (Research Centres of Catalonia) should continue with the excellent work it is doing in the research field. All the centres in the CERCA system are organised according to a model of governance and operation making it possible to ensure efficiency, flexible man-

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agement, attraction and promotion of talent, strategic planning and executive capacity, in terms of coordination, stimulation and evaluation.

The features defining the CERCA research centre model are as follows:

- They are independent bodies with their own legal identity, partially owned by the Government of Catalonia, whose main objective is to do excellent scientific research.
- They apply a private management model with maximum flexibility and the highest standards based on a multi-annual activity programme taking the form of a strategic plan, and ex post supervision respecting the autonomy of each centre.
- They have effective, hierarchical governance based on management with broad powers deriving from the centre’s governing body, to which it is answerable.
- They have been designed to have a research staff dimensioned to have international impact, structured in research groups run by scientists of proven international renown, and with a high turnover of post-doctoral researchers.
- They carry out frontier research aimed at having a scientific and economic impact and improving social and individual welfare.
- They have significant, stable structural finance via programme contracts with the Government of Catalonia and they apply a talent attraction policy based on defining the scientific career of their research staff in accordance with the particular features of each field and the hiring strategies chosen by each centre.
- They must receive advice and periodic evaluation from a top-level international scientific committee. This committee guarantees the application of practices and criteria in accordance with international standards of excellence in research.

Centralised register

It is necessary to have a Catalan register of the different research projects we want to undertake in order to facilitate synergies and avoid duplication. This must not, in any way, be seen as a mechanism for controlling the research of the different groups, but rather as a way of improving it. It will never block projects, but it will encourage the formation of alliances to help enliven our research.

Research resources (inventoried and consumable)

Concerning the inventoried aspect, it is very important to have a census of all the equipment available and make the best possible use of equipment existing in the different networks, depending on the subject areas. This must be done principally with highly sophisticated, expensive equipment. There must also be research aid making it possible to easily obtain consumable material and reactants, kits, etc.

2. Information taken from CERCA’s website.
Audits

All projects that obtain public money must undergo an independent audit to monitor the spending carried out in accordance with the approved project.

Accurate publicity for advances

The research carried out must be properly publicised in the appropriate media, both in Catalonia and in Europe and the rest of the world. It is necessary to explain it very well and put across an accurate message of what it means to the public.

Not all centres have communication units capable of doing this.

It is also very important to compile all research carried out in Catalonia every year and compare it between different groups within the country, as well as with the most important groups throughout the world.

All this publicity will help to improve competitiveness and attract more attention from international investment groups and the pharmaceutical industry. Catalonia needs to have a fully active scientific lobby office in Brussels to explain its needs and the good research carried out here.

Recognition (awards)

Awards will be given every year to the groups that publish most and also to those that achieve most technology transfer and business creation. They will be awards made by the government of the country involving public recognition and a cash sum that will be used for the research carried out at the award-winning centre.

Technology transfer

We need to properly value the knowledge generated within the health and health research system in Catalonia. Project management and technology transfer units have recently been set up at many biomedical research centres, but the knowledge generated must be properly used. During 2014 and 2015, one of the priorities in Europe through Horizon 2020 – the reorientation of European regional development funds and the establishment of new knowledge and innovation communities by the European Innovation and Technology Institute – will be the consolidation of research results and knowledge promotion and transfer.

A body should be set up as a tool allowing the innovation generated within the health and health research system to move from being basically dominated by incremental innovation, with a local impact, to being dominated by disruptive innovation, with a global impact, with all that will mean for the Catalan economy.

The characteristics of this should be:

- Capacity to generate fiscal substructures allowing the diversification of transfer and investment strategies (generation of spin-offs, investment funds, etc.).
• Professional profiles characterised by the high level of expertise and contact with the industrial and financial sectors, both in Spain and internationally.
• Under no circumstances will the body coordinate the existing innovation units at the centres or represent any threat to their operation. Instead it will complement them.
• Project assessment carried out by a team of assessors made up of experts in investment and professionals from the industry, taking into account criteria of openness and economic cost-effectiveness.
• This body will be formed by leaders very keen to generally make the leap to commercialisation. A great deal of energy, flexibility, desire and capacity to take risks will be demanded of it.
• Finance could come through setting up an aid programme to accelerate projects in the very early stages and the establishment of an investment fund to provide support for the formation of spin-offs in very advanced projects.
• Strategic alliances with big companies in each sector, such as food or pharmaceutical firms, must be encouraged, and the establishment of mixed public-private centres should be suggested if necessary.
• We must be alert to business opportunities, particularly with emerging countries in terms of their economies and scientific progress, such as China and India. Internationally, we must strengthen links with countries with excellent biotechnological development, like Israel.

Sponsorship law

As a new State, Catalonia will be able to decide on its own sponsorship law, and it needs to make sponsorship very attractive. Research is crucial for a country, and being able to provide sufficient finance for it would be a decisive factor for our future. People with money must be stimulated, when it comes to their income tax return, to use it for research. A sponsorship law must establish compensation as an incentive for possible sponsors in both the tax and social fields, with public recognition making it possible to encourage others. It would need to be very much a pioneering law. There needs to be a scale as well as donation plus tax breaks. It should begin with a large deduction – 65% for sums under 25,000 euros and 70% for sums between 25,000 euros and 100,000 euros. This should increase 5% for every contribution within an additional 100,000 euros until reaching 100%. Another structure would be for all money given to research to be directly deductible until the amount payable to the Treasury is reached. For example, if 100,000 euros is given and the amount payable is 120,000, only 20,000 euros need be paid in tax. As well as the tax and financial measures mentioned, scientific sponsorship should be socially recognised in all areas, stimulating publicity to generate new micro- and macro-sponsors.

Finally, when we speak of sponsorship it is always appropriate to remember that this habit needs to be introduced into schools and universities. It would be desirable if young people were educated about the need to become sponsors whenever possible. Philanthropy means the capacity to help constructively and disinterestedly. It is good for young people to learn that, if they succeed, they need to return to society what society has allowed them to generate. One way of doing this is by helping research.
Catalan Medicines and Health Products Agency (AMEPROSA.CAT)

In biomedical research, until now, when a new drug or vaccine is being trialled, the approval of the Spanish Medicines and Health Products Agency (AEMPS) has been required. This agency considerably slows down the time for starting any study and this means the health sector involved in this kind of research loses a great deal of competitiveness. The acceptance of the EMA is often also necessary but, in this case, we have to go through the AEMPS as well. Another advantage of being able to decide from Catalonia would be having our own body that could contribute to speeding up the whole process. For this reason, the Catalan Medicines and Health Products Agency (AMEPROSA.CAT) needs to be established.

Conclusions

Catalonia is a country with great capacity for research. Its researchers have achieved great international recognition, but a very considerable increase is needed in the resources available for the research in question. If we do not achieve this, we cannot improve the excellence of the research achieved to date and we will lose competitiveness. We need our own sponsorship law, allowing us to obtain much more money for research. We need to be able to decide what resources we want to devote to research. A great deal is published, but there are still few commercially licensed patents and little transfer of research to businesses. There is a need to train people specialising in technology transfer and to offer facilities in terms of renting spaces and creating “seed capital” for the creation of new businesses based on knowledge deriving from the academic world. We lack the capacity to generate economic activity. Research is crucial for a country, and being able to provide sufficient finance for it would be a decisive factor for our future.
Institutional advertising in Barcelona as a tool and asset for the country: success stories and challenges

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The most difficult question for public policy is concerned with the broad significance of advertising as an enormously versatile and attractive genre of social communication, and with its overall relation to culture and society.

In the process of transitioning to a new state, the Barcelona City Hall’s institutional publicity – and, by extension, institutional communication in a broad sense – will be prepared to carry out its mission efficiently. As regards communicative activity, the Public Administration is situated at a comparable level to other European countries that lead the way in this realm. We are, therefore, at a rather promising point of departure.

This advantageous position is due in large part to the strategic vision that the city has always had for communication, regardless of the political force that has been in power. The continuity

in the consideration of institutional publicity as a valuable tool and major asset for the city constitutes the first step that we must consider, value and maintain on the path towards becoming the capital of a new state.

From the standpoint of institutional publicity, the communicative trajectory of the Barcelona City Hall as an institution will have to make a qualitative and quantitative leap in its role as part of a new state. Luckily, the foundations have been built solidly, which allows us to work in synergy, without conceptual dispersions and with an enviable know-how.

This positive starting point is marked by a combination of three factors:

- an appropriate regulatory framework – that has avoided partisan confrontations and excesses –,
- professionalised management with proven results, and
- an asset for the country of immeasurable scope: the Barcelona brand.

This third factor, which stands out powerfully, would not have been possible without continuous, methodical, consistent and successful work and a breadth of intentions on the part of the second factor: its creators, strategists and managers in the public sphere.

The Barcelona Brand: A Great Asset for the Country

The Barcelona Brand is an engine of meaning that constructs, explains, pulls together and projects the shared attributes and values of the city. It does so in two ways: it pulls together a vision of the city that belongs to the citizens of Barcelona and it creates the city’s story – powerful, distinct, attractive – around the world. Barcelona today is an admired brand, truly a worldwide point of reference for its meteoric rise in all kinds of rankings, for its unambiguous and coherent strategic vision, for its ability passionately to display its exciting characteristics and to achieve this success with the handicap of not being the capital of a state.

In line with this duality, the Barcelona City Hall articulates a twofold discourse, situated at two, almost opposite, extremes: the sphere closest to the citizen, and that of the city’s international image. In the context of the creation of a new state that has Barcelona at its centre, it will be necessary to add a new dimension to the city’s story: that of being a capital. Once again, it must lead this story in two opposing dimensions: that of internal use and that of international discourse. In the eyes of the world, Barcelona’s story will in large part be Catalonia’s story. Therefore, we will find ourselves with three overlapping stories:

- That of the institution
- That of the citizen
- That of the capital of a new state

A large part of the success of the City Hall’s institutional publicity will lie in the harmonious and coherent manner with which they pull these three stories together in the context of being the country’s capital, at the same time as it becomes the city’s great, new communicative challenge.

The building of meaning and characteristics of the new state will be powerfully conditioned by the discourse of Barcelona as capital, especially in the international sphere. In this we already have an important competitive advantage. Our city has evolved in its story because it has already consolidated its own discourse as a tourist destination and begun a new stage of asserting itself.
in other fields of interest: attracting talent and investments to a city that positions itself as creative, innovative, open and vibrant, where civility is a requirement and a distinctive trait; an intelligent city that knows how to live and work, and wishes to do so in a modern economy as an added value. This new line of communication is the train that will take us to a new stage for Barcelona in its international outlook, while positioning ourselves ideally as the capital of a modern, attractive and exciting country.

Barcelona’s brand has been forged among civil society and the various economic and professional sectors that are tied to it. These sectors define, support and broaden the message of the city, which must be led from the public sphere as a guarantee of the “public good”. This management model, open to private initiative but directed by the Public Administration, seems a wise and encompassing model that other top-level cities are implementing with interesting results. Public-private partnerships (PPP) are a future trend that lightens the load of public investment, brings in actors with added value and can enrich the strategic vision of the city’s brand. It must be managed, however, according to clear criteria and with the goal of service to citizens and their city.

Renewing the Energy of Barcelona’s Institutional Publicity

Starting with its current, solid form, can we move forward giving a push to Barcelona’s institutional publicity, making it a useful tool in the construction of a new country? The answer is yes and yes. It will be necessary to continue to believe in it with conviction, become further immersed in its strategic management, accord it new functions and roles, and provide it with sufficient economic resources to take on the role of the institutional publicity of a country’s capital (and, therefore, the whole country’s flagship).

We will proceed one step at a time. Institutional publicity basically has two main functions:

• information of public interest and
• promotion of civic values and attitudes.

In the context of creating a new country, these two missions will be more necessary than ever. When it becomes necessary to make people aware of a specific issue quickly, effectively and across the whole of society (and a new state will need to do so continuously) institutional campaigns become essential. Institutional publicity will guide citizens in new procedures and issues of a practical nature that will be modified when the structures of the state change. Therefore, the function of efficient messaging by means of institutional publicity will acquire a new dimension – and more so at the municipal level – as the first line of communication with citizens. Alongside that, institutional publicity will become a first-class media loudspeaker on issues relating to the spirit of this new state, the building of its new story, of its founding principles and civic goals.

Institutional publicity, in its current understanding, is part of a basic principle of democracy: the obligation and need for public officials to be accountable and explain themselves to their citizens. For a state to lay down anew the foundations of a democracy that is real and closer to its citizens, it is important to keep in mind this new conception of the role of communication in public administrations.

So, what criteria must institutional publicity have for it to adapt to new times and new political and social scenarios? Let us propose six:
• Need (that it is manifestly necessary for the issue at hand)
• Consensus (that the maximum number of social and political actors consider it necessary in each case)
• Proportionality (clear relationship between the communication efforts, budget and the importance of the issue to be publicised)
• Temporal adaptability (to carry it out within legal time frames and when needed)
• Contextualisation (keeping in mind the social sensibility, political and economic issues in its management and the appropriateness of the issue to be publicised)
• Co-responsibility (involving the citizen as an essential co-participant and collaborator in issues of a social and civic nature. We have the recent example of the City Hall’s campaign “Cleaning up is just as clean as not making a mess”, encouraging cleanliness in public spaces.)

As can be seen, the current daily practice of institutional publicity is not far removed from these principles. Although it is worth the effort to begin aright (and to remember these criteria helps to that end), as previously stated, we already find ourselves in a dynamic that is reasonable, professional and forward-thinking.

What Else is Needed? The Answer is Twofold

• To take on decisively the varied roles of being the capital, in the realm of communication as well: discourse and national issues.
• Double down efforts and empower Barcelona’s brand even further. It is of interest to the city and, in the new context, to the country. On the one hand, its magnetism attracts talent, investment, innovation, people that – directly or not – will contribute to the new state. On the other hand, it is the best possible ambassador on the world stage. The articulation of Catalonia’s story around the world depends, in large part, on Barcelona’s story. This is a great responsibility in all senses.

Barcelona as capital will create, in terms of institutional publicity, myriad technical issues that, on the whole, are of a positive nature: not only in a more accurate measurement of advertising activity (and thereby a deeper knowledge, with a new, more concrete focus), but also the adjustment of the informative and persuasive discourse to a more specific audience, cultural consumers that cut a distinct profile for the city of Barcelona. The segmentation and precision in defining targets will improve and it is logical to plan a step forward in interactive ability and co-responsibility with citizens. We can also expect a proliferation and intensification in activity of means of communication, advertising agencies and local purchasing centres. In essence: a new dimension in the realm of communication, a new focus for more accurate analysis, renewed vitality for the sector.

From the realm of institutional publicity, the new state is becoming an exciting communications challenge for the city of Barcelona. It’s a challenge that the city can face with the peace of mind of work well-done and a strategic and long-term vision. Keeping in mind, however, that it is necessary as well to face with excitement and effort the qualitative leap required that will accompany the new political scenario and the city’s new role.
We all want and imagine a future for Catalonia with new standards of quality of life, a future that offers a wide range of opportunities for a greater number of citizens, a future that allows us full cultural and social development immediately, while in full harmony and cooperation with the diversity of political and social communities around us. A future that fits with the current and foreseeable context of European and international developments, immersed in a complex, multidimensional and changing world, a world in a unique evolution due to the impact of the so-called “knowledge society”.

Gabriel Ferraté i Pascual
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The knowledge society, as we know it, generates, processes, transforms and makes the knowledge or skills that can be used to improve the human condition accessible to all citizens. We must also be aware that the simple ability to produce and utilize data on a global scale does not necessarily lead to the creation of knowledge without conscience, meaning and understanding.

The social theory of the knowledge society explains how fundamental this concept is to politics, economy and the culture of modern society. As the UNESCO says, a knowledge society promotes human rights and provides an egalitarian, inclusive and universal access to all knowledge creation.

Knowledge is not just a series of data, concepts and practices around a subject or a topic, a synonym of knowledge; but also the body of knowledge that produces a continuous thought of memories of the knowledge acquired over time and in a particular cultural and social environment.

Our country faces a crucial challenge: to decisively dare to start the present process of global change, starting with the push of technology and innovation, and also to consider new problems such as better management and integration of science and technology to adapt to increasing social demands.

With a world of good intentions, it is not enough ... The ideas have to be carried out, and to execute and implement them, some tools, infrastructures and a certain socio-political, material environment are needed to make them possible. A symbol is needed, an image, a promoter carrying the banner and a push to the process, if necessary, in the form of Barcelona.

Barcelona has historically had a strong identity, recognized since ancient times, and a very long tradition of creativity, effort and the ability to fight and adapt to changing political, social and economic environments.

After more than two hundred years as a reference as an eminently commercial and manufacturing city, Barcelona, the Mobile World Capital, has taken a major step towards the smart city concept, progressively concerned about the quality of life of its citizens and promoting innovation and training. There are many and varied examples and it is not the aim of this paper to list them. Projects 22@ and Sant Andreu-Sagrera, the expansion of the university, the creation of centres and institutes for advanced research, the city’s pioneering role in the field of virtual education, scientific congresses and high-level meetings, etc., are some fields of activity that serve to exemplify the above.

Barcelona, for its size, its history and its global recognition, is optimally positioned to champion the promotion of research, training and generally everything that relates to the field of knowledge in the name of Catalonia, at its service and with its participation.

We must also emphasize that in order to take responsibility for this task, it is absolutely necessary to be immersed in a political and governmental system that allows us to take the right decisions at the right time and in accordance with the interests of our citizens.

If in our ever-changing world, knowledge is a major factor for development and progress, becoming the Capital of Knowledge is, and will be, doubly capital. Paraphrasing a well-known saying, “Barcelona will or will not be a capital” or we will not be ...
The University beyond borders

The university explains the modern evolution of Barcelona and can point out the roads along which to achieve the ambition of a capital city

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Abstract

Thinking of Barcelona as a capital is nothing new in our modern history. The best-known precedent is situated around the Barcelona of half a century ago, with the expectations generated due to the explosion of political Catalanism in the city of Barcelona.

However, in reality the foundations of a higher ambition, that of Barcelona being a capital city, have been deeply rooted and quasi permanent long in the past. One could say that the vocation for territorial control has been a constant longing in this city’s history since the time at which it became the seat of the count and, indeed, cap i casal (head and home, or the most important city) of what we know today as Catalonia.

However, in this short note, that which could perhaps be of most interest is to understand how the ambition of becoming a capital city is linked to many defining features and one of these is precisely its university status. Capital status has a political dimension, perhaps the most evident, but it often also expresses a demographic or economic condition of cultural strength and a concentration of specificities. It is an issue of standing.

The intensification of university activity in the heart of the city would have to be the next stop for university development in the capital of Barcelona. An intensification of the presence of the university phenomenon in specific city spots, which experts such as architect and city planner Josep Parcerisa advocate as the next stage in Barcelona’s relationship with its universities, a new stage for a new capital status that must bear other determinants in mind for the university at the onset of this new century: the Catalan university of the European Higher Education Area no longer places the action horizon in a setting of 7 million or even 46 million citizens, but closer to 300 million people.
We can find examples around us of many ways to be and to become capitals, even more so when capital status has been politically bestowed upon a multitude of cities throughout the 20th century that had not been capitals before. One of the traits that identify a city as a capital is the fact that it is home to many universities. In the case of Barcelona, this city-university binomial has a long and difficult history, as the university has often experienced the same inopportune blows as the city. This text shall not delve into episodes of distant history, but instead will review the mutual relationship in modern times in order to provide perspective to Barcelona’s capital status from a viewpoint of the university as institution, considering events that have taken place since the industrial revolution.

Barcelona resumed its nature as a university city, founding it via a new building right when the Eixample district started to be built. The campus of what we know today as the Universitat of Barcelona remains exactly where it was founded in 1874 according to the plans of architect Elies Rogent. This was only 15 years after the approval of road engineer Ildefons Cerdà’s Eixample Plan (1859) and 32 years after the re-establishment of university studies in Barcelona.

The university was located at the border between the walled city and the plan’s new expansion, next to the portal on Tallers, but quite some distance from the streets and squares. It was built on empty lands, where the first new streets were stretching out into the peripheries of the royal city, at its very frontier. The university building was implemented by respecting the guidelines of the ‘islands’, or regular blocks of flats, in l’Eixample, although it occupied two, given the size that the institution would have. There was just space enough so the building was surrounded by gardens, on grounds not much larger than two and a half hectares.

Now one century ago, Catalonia deployed all the attributes of an industrial society, among which there were technical schools, applied arts and artistic trades. The years of the Mancomunitat (political entity established in 1914 by the union of the four Catalan provincial councils) represented a decisive stimulus for all these disciplines and occasions for learning were found as formidable as the grouping of the industrial schools at the former Can Batlló factory, acquired in 1907 by the Diputació de Barcelona (Provincial Council), with Enric Prat de la Riba at its head. However, initiatives in the field of teaching not only took root in Barcelona, but also in other cities such as Terrassa and Vilanova i la Geltrú, where the industrial base was powerful and led to its own technical studies.

The veritable eruption of the university as we know it today took place only a bit over 50 years ago, with the decision to create new and specific establishments for faculties and schools. Thus, university studies were structured in a general building with a symmetric interior occupied by a science courtyard and a humanities courtyard. This was the time when the University Area was shaped, starting in the mid 1950s.

A telescopic decision was used in deciding its location, taking advantage of the uncertain characterisation of the highest part of Avinguda Diagonal between the Royal Palace of Pedralbes and the courts of the most exclusive sports clubs, halfway to Esplugues. Once again, the university occupied an eccentric site, a veritable new frontier in the large city. A slew of buildings for the faculties went up in a few short years, each with its own physiognomy, some extremely striking, and each housing definite studies with their own degree programmes.
Directly on Avinguda Diagonal and closest to the city, the faculties of Pharmacy and Law were built, and then for the sciences, Physics and Chemistry, and the large schools, Industrial Engineering and Architecture (works by Robert Terrades), which were next to the Technical Architects and new disciplines such as Economic Sciences, or others with reformulated fields such as Merchant Studies (by Javier Carvajal) and Fine Arts, which by the way did not fit right on the avenue.

Later, the biologists would have their seat and, meanwhile, a mass transfer was decided for many studies to where they remain today, on Plaça Universitat. It was then, at the beginning of the seventies, that they tried to create an idea of campus south of Diagonal and halfway to the facilities of FC Barcelona and the cemetery of Les Corts, an idea that was never fully achieved, even though the University Area was about to cause the nearly total emptying of the historic building in Plaça Universitat.

The consolidation of the University Area took place in parallel with the first large restructuring of the university system, which consisted of creating two more universities.

The idea of university campus, understood as a relatively eccentric urban fabric, was the origin of the creation of the second large university, also general, in 1968, the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, which bears the city’s name, even though it is located within the municipality of Cerdanyola del Vallès.

Thus, the university expresses that the real city was on its way to becoming a metropolitan area. At that time, city plans imagined that the future of the conurbation of Barcelona would have to unfold toward the other side of Collserola Mountain. It was therefore a new frontier of metropolitan Barcelona, on the Vallès side.

The UAB represented a doubling of centres that taught the same university discipline within a single territory. Metropolitan Barcelona was ranked among those cities that had a large enough economic, demographic and social foundation to deploy university activities on different campuses, assuming the benefits of a plural offering with alternatives.

Its territorial and spatial organisation was based on an idea of a large and unmistakable structure. The works were once again done by the architect team of Subies, Giráldez and López Iñigo. The project was to occupy a valley with gentle slopes, so that the buildings simulated anchored bridges, leaving the riverbed free and diaphanous. The effect of this monumental idea, created with a structure of exposed reinforced concrete is extremely powerful, *brutalist*, and is linked completely to this architectural movement that many institutions of that day adopted for their headquarters around the west. Even today, when large numbers of installations have been unfolded, more than doubling the area built in the beginning, the UAB is recognised by the layout of its building-structures in the landscape and offers a striking example of a powerful and characteristic time and thought.

The third university, founded in 1971, had the mission of bringing together the large schools and technical schools and becoming a platform for deploying new knowledge in the era’s avant-garde fields, like telecommunications and computer science. It was also used to found schools that until then had only existed in Madrid, such as Road, Canal and Port Engineering. The new university was first named the Universitat Politècnica de Barcelona (UPB) and made a decided commitment to creating a campus on Diagonal, taking advantage of the momentum of the expropriations in 1976 on the north side of the avenue.

The definitive campus of the new university was established years later in Torre Girona, an old property in Pedralbes located directly behind the Palau Reial. Thus, the UPC became the
university with its seat in the University Area. It was founded in accordance with a compact campus plan and based on an urban project from 1984 by the Cantallops, Torres and Martínez Lapeña team, comprised of a group of modular buildings, basically pavilions, which expressed an organisational idea centred on the departments as units to promote science and the new technological frontiers.

Since its very inception, this new thematic university brought together all the technological teachings in the country in a single organic unit, which is why its name was changed in 1984 from the Politècnica de Barcelona to the Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya (UPC). The UPC is the only Catalan university whose initials contain the name of Catalonia and thus shows that it incorporates centres in Terrassa, Vilanova i la Geltrú, Sant Cugat del Vallès, Castelldefels, Manresa and Igualada. It once again expresses another frontier for the university: being able to integrate teachings and tie together centres located at greater distances, an authentic metropolitan university.

This phenomenon of growing university campuses and facilities in Barcelona has done nothing but multiply since the eighties until today. With fully democratic policies and autonomously governed with extensive competences, it seems that the direction is twofold. On the one hand, the fourth Catalan university was created that is based in the Barcelona area: the Universitat Pompeu Fabra in 1990. On the other, new campuses have proliferated like new telescopic antennas that have dispersed new locations, although keeping the same frontier spirit. Thus, the UB opened the new Mundet campus and colonised the Horta Valley on grounds that had become obsolete (from an orphanage opened in 1957 to a university campus in 1995); the UPC opened a campus at the extreme south of the metropolitan area, in Castelldefels, and it will also establish a new campus at the other end of Diagonal, in accordance with the city planning strategy unfolded by the city of Barcelona, jointly with Sant Adrià de Besòs.

All of these movements have not been based on decentralisation and expansion: the UPF was founded with a different idea to that which guided the other three universities. According to the urban policy guidelines in force at the Barcelona City Council in the 80s, the keyword was to use the vitality of the university and of the positive externalities associated with its location to help with the restoration of the activities in the urban fabric in the city centre. The first iconic sign of this decision was its inrush on the Rambla de Santa Mònica in Barcelona. Then the UPF provided its support to the Olympic strategy, which consisted of transforming the fabric of Poblenou by reusing buildings behind La Ciutadella. Finally, this was accompanied by the unfolding of the change in land uses to Poblenou pursuant to the strategy that oriented the City Council during the first decade of the 21st century: Pla 22@.

This inverse movement in favour of restructuring the central area of the city was also followed by the UB, which abandoned sites in the University Area in order to strengthen operations in the new cultural area surrounding the Casa de Caritat and the MACBA in Raval via its classical faculties. This is also a new frontier that we have experienced in the Catalan system, but also present in recent decades in many other university cities.

From a general perspective, these changes in the university system, now using the word system with full ownership, have taken on a much greater complexity from the viewpoint of the entire country. Two other phenomena are proving to be defining of the current university landscape: the unfolding of universities with campuses in Girona, Lleida, Vic and Tarragona-Reus and the blossoming of private universities. This twofold occurrence leads to the assurance that
many disciplines can now be studied at more than two universities. None of the cities with seats and campuses (Igualada, Terrassa, Mataró, Manresa, Vilanova i la Geltrú, Sant Cugat del Vallès, etc.) can imagine losing their status as a university city. The university has proven to be a service with clear advantages and everybody interprets it as a source of opportunities. However, it is also true that this unfolding cannot advance indefinitely, just like the movement of decentralisation and expansion cannot be an indefinite movement and we have tried to explain this fact. Therefore, the matter of what the new challenges will be and how they must be handled is valid and can become, in some way, a new conceptual frontier.

**Intensification and cooperation**

After looking at the Catalan university panorama and even more specifically, at those around which Barcelona’s reality pivots, what is the possible and desirable future? What are the strongest ideas about the city and the urban policies of universities at the crossroads of the Barcelona capital policy for Catalonia? The question today may be to ask ourselves how the system as a whole could become increasingly better without trusting it all to expansive growth. Perhaps we are going through times of restructuring that obligate us to use the immense energy and human resources and materials deployed, managing to increase the utility of the capacity employed. We must reflect, make an *endoscopic* reading that proposes the optimisation of what we have and growth by intensification.

Intensifying may mean establishing that, quite often, our campuses could be denser and also more multifunctional. Less monothematic and insular. They have to gain in solidity and internal diversity. And, in general, this is possible. University campuses are often completely introverted. The idea of constructing a *cordon sanitaire* is not exactly a healthy option for university life. Activity could be increased and turn the focus to seek synergies with the cities and social groups that the university welcomes.

Mayors and other local leaders feel the university as their own, but they are also the final parties in charge of many regulations that corset it. Perhaps they could make special city plans that would make it easier to resolve the new university challenges. For example, how much could they advance if one could fight against functional monoculture? Why do they not recognise that housing is perfectly compatible with many campus activities? Why don’t they take risks in housing operations on and/or near university buildings, with local shops on the ground level? Why don’t they recognise that cinema complexes, a large car park, an auditorium, a hotel, a concert hall, a theatre and cultural centres offer activities that could create synergies? Then perhaps they could enter into win-win conversations for many parties.

Perhaps our facilities could learn from the large hospitals that, besides traditional functions, accrue different forms of clinical function (outpatient services, day hospitals), classrooms for the medicine and nursing faculties, offices of technology companies, research centres, services areas, residences, etc. At how many of our facilities could usage be intensified? Around this point, a new question arises: can public universities, often without legal domain of the lands they occupy, acquire the status of proactive, autonomous and responsible administrators of their future? Does the tutelary treatment on a short reign make sense with which the administration has handled university governance so many times?

The new university frontier will also be the product of looking outward. If we have constructed a public and private system that is widespread, diverse, spread over different cities and,
in parallel, pivots out from the capital, and if all of this is a seal that we read positively for the future, the next question is not whether to open more places or close them, but to make their cooperation possible. Making it possible for distance to not be a tough impediment, a decisively limiting factor to the progress of cooperation.

The essential factor to give meaning to cooperation between centres and campuses is to improve public transport. Ensuring that the population truly has access to university services without trauma or drastic decisions. On this point, our experience does not have great precedents. The colonisation of new territories has systematically taken place from the greatest precariousness. Some examples: the University Area is still located at the end of a metro line, as if its layout were eccentric, just like 45 years ago! The UAB had to wait years to manage to get a railway station in decent conditions. The Sabadell line had to be rerouted and it arrived after more than a 10 year delay with regard to the actual opening of the UAB. Travelling between the University Area and the UAB on mass public transport is still difficult today. Line 9 of the metro was frozen due to the crisis and there is no date for commencing works again. Likewise, in the European setting, the measurement and location of centres in the Barcelona metropolitan area are relatively compact, as the distance measured between the universities in the Catalan system with respect to the metropolis is, in all cases, less than one hour.

The foundations for more cooperative functioning are described in the organisation of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) via degree and master’s programmes, which are more diagonal and variable. Research, the need to open up to permanent training, to degrees taught at more than one university, the need to provide generalised accessibility to the population, whatever their capacity and situation may be, demand renewed attention to public transport locations and networks.

The capital city could also do with reorganising with a generosity capable of re-situating greater Barcelona in a new framework of territorial relations, that of a city that can never go back to being seen as an intruder in its own country. From a university such as the Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, deeply rooted in the territory and with presence in Anoia, Bages, the Baix Llobregat, Barcelonès, Garraf and Vallès Occidental, we see the city’s great commitment, its great value, in territorial balance.

The Barcelona brand is a very powerful magnet, a global brand that provides a large number of opportunities to become positioned in the international arena. This will let Barcelonan universities benefit from better positioning in order to capture talent and, especially, international students, professors and researchers, these last two groups now often decide to come to Barcelona despite having other much more lucrative financial offers. However, in order to have a more homogenous city in terms of wealth and opportunities, I must insist on the value of sharing Barcelona’s academic facilities and projects in the broadest sense of the word. By way of example, there are already relationships between the city’s nautical cluster and the port of Vilanova i la Geltrú.

A new political paradigm would involve the need to respond to the question of whether it is necessary to create new degrees and new research centres to respond to the needs of a new state. In any case, and to conclude, the response would have to be framed in a balanced study programme that is flexible and attentive to the needs of the surroundings in the medium and long term, essential locally, but from a global perspective. The university connected to the capital of Barcelona of its own state can never go back to thinking in a context of 7 million or even 46 million citizens, but instead more like 300 million people... at least.
Culture: the eclosion of deep-rooted cosmopolitanism

Patrícia Gabancho
Journalist and writer
The debate on cosmopolitanism has always been present in Catalan culture, because essentially it is a tacit debate on the Catalan project to build a new country. Over the last few decades, Barcelona has become an example of cosmopolitanism without roots, but this would not be the case were it to be the capital of an independent country. Thus, it is not necessary to build a cosmopolitan culture, but rather a culture that helps define the 21st century paradigm based on the Catalan way of living in the world.

Cosmopolitanism is an attitude that is linked to one’s relationship with the world, and not to where a person is actually located. It is not a question that depends on one’s culture of origin, but rather of how we view other cultures. Indeed, cosmopolitanism — which has always existed in commercial coastal towns — is theorised and defined from the moment that the ruling classes, who control the formulation of modern culture, travel and become curious about the wonders they find across the globe. When they find «their» people — strangers with money — in any given city, they describe the place as being cosmopolitan. This means that for something to be defined as cosmopolitan, a certain degree of sophistication, a certain cultural level is required. These days, a professional middle class that travels regularly and uses select products from other cultures would be described as cosmopolitan — and here the culture of the global masses is irrelevant. This is a class that speaks different languages and is interested in the world from a relatively intellectual perspective. A city that is mixed, and therefore multicultural, can only be considered as being cosmopolitan when the foreigners are mainly students, creative people or managers rather than simply immigrants. Thus, Barcelona is cosmopolitan, whereas Guissona, where the percentage of immigration is also extremely high, is not.

This indicates that the concept of cosmopolitanism has its pitfalls, because it remains a self-satisfied attitude defined through a solid image of oneself. It is like a trophy. In this respect, it is a term coveted in any situation where there is a hegemonic dispute between two cultures, two traditions, two languages, because it is a trophy to be won in order to place the prestige of one culture over another. Cosmopolitanism and prestige have gone hand in hand from the moment when the former became an attribute of the ruling or, if you like, «intelligent» class, which dominates, projects and plays the leading role in culture. Alongside this, we must bear in mind that the city is the most powerful cultural entity that exists in the modern world. The city is primarily a cultural construction, which serves secondly as a showcase of culture. Today, it is impossible to project one’s identity onto the world without establishing it in a city that acts as its loudspeaker and gives it its image. Cosmopolites represent a city and, logically therefore, a culture: they impregnate it, promote it and incarnate it.

So, that is the theoretical approach. This system has to an extent worked in the case of Barcelona, clearly the capital of Catalan culture, and a city that serves to project this culture to the world. There have been some failings, however, because for political reasons there has been no clear link between official contemporary cosmopolitanism and Catalan culture. And when I say political, I am referring to the project. An extraordinary event that was carried off impressively put Barcelona firmly on the map: the 1992 Olympic Games. However, at that time, the capital’s relationship with its own culture was weak. Through one of the many quirks of fate that mark the history of Catalonia, the city’s project conflicted with that for the country, each being run by rival parties. If the rivalry had centred around a single solid culture, it would not have made an impact: it would have been a battle for modernity. However, in Catalonia things are always complicated, and there was a tacit game of confrontation between the city and the country. In
other words, on one side of the Plaça Sant Jaume a country was being built without a capital, and on the other hand, a capital without a country.

The label of success attached to the construction of the city was modernity. It was a powerful emblem, amongst other things because the culture thriving in Barcelona was very rich in those arts that were in fashion, from design to architecture; arts that did not need to fly the identity flag, despite the commitment that their protagonists might or might not have shown with the building of the country. For the national project, on the other hand, a more traditional culture was adopted, with a more institutional format, precisely because it was necessary to recover the formal bases of a culture that had been wiped off the register. This project had to be run by a Conservative party, and had to appear more conventional and less attractive: with less capacity to attract complicity in a cultural world that tended towards iconoclasm.

Now is not the time to analyse in detail the background to or the results of this divorce, but it is important to remember that it established — and in some ways still promotes — the «barcelonitat» (Barcelona-centred nature) of many cultural manifestations: artists are described as being «from Barcelona”, thus neatly sidestepping the umbrella of «catalanitat» (Catalanity). The problem is that the modern manifestations were attributed to the city, with complete disregard to the fact that they were manifestations of Catalan culture as a whole, which merely happened to take place in the capital. The discourse about Catalanity simply did not exist. At the same time, for various reasons, the prestige inherent in modernity was associated with something that could not be identified strictly as «Catalan culture”, namely anything expressed in Spanish, from literature to music with strong Spanish links, such as flamenco, for example. The prestige of Spanish culture made in Catalonia was established during the long period of silence imposed on Catalan culture, and was consolidated during the years in which Catalonia and Barcelona competed on different projects.

Naturally, intellectuality was mainly assigned to the most attractive and modern project, as well as the one easiest to defend publicly: the Barcelona project. Thus, the cosmopolitan attitude remained in the hands of the inhabitants of Barcelona, without any space to accommodate a Catalan culture now labelled as «rural”, square and old-fashioned: everything that Barcelona was not supposed to be. The small window of hegemony that Catalan culture had — quite unanimously — had in the years of the Transition closed, because these creators and opinion makers abandoned a Conservative-controlled project to create a country. The accusation that from the start of the 1980s a thick fog of mediocrity had fallen on Catalonia was paradigmatic. We were only saved, through Barcelona, by the start of the Olympic Games. However, we sacrificed cosmopolitanism for the culture of the country. It was not possible to be cosmopolitan and Catalan, because Catalan identity had been taken over by nationalism... yuck! At the same time, this broke with the Republican tradition of a capital rooted in the country’s culture yet open to the world, but that’s another story: already under Franco’s dictatorship the strength of «Barcelonaism» had been discovered as an alternative to Catalanism.

The Catalan tradition and a historical dispute

Catalan culture has a strong cosmopolitan tradition, which started when those involved decided to embrace European cultures both great and small. This is a conviction that gestated and matured during a process that lasted from the Renaixença [the Renaissance of Catalan culture]
(1833) to the Universal Exhibition of 1888. This was not a casual process. It was the consolidation of an economic and social project carried out by the ruling class, the industrial bourgeoisie, which also incorporated a plan to institutionalize and strengthen culture for a project to create a new country. As always when a strong, leading project appears, people who do not belong to the ruling class join in and contribute criticism, talent and a social dimension. What Catalonia did was to establish a bourgeois revolution, which started in the 18th century before being thwarted by the tragic outcome of the War of the Spanish Succession, which continued until 1714 as a war of independence. Therefore, the cultural construction that initially reached its prime with Modernism, a plenitude in disarray, was consolidated through the Noucentisme movement, coinciding with the first sparks of power through the Provincial Council — presided over by Prat de la Riba — and immediately after that through the Mancomunitat de Catalunya (Commonwealth of Catalonia).

A magma-like culture became a culture with institutional presence — the Museum, the Academy and the Library, as Josep Pijoan put it —, but with enormous projection on society. It was neither an artifice created by that hegemonic bourgeoisie, nor a typical example of folklorism of stateless cultures: In this respect, Catalan culture has always been an exception. In short: it was a five-year university degree culture. Society, in all its registers, produced and consumed Catalan culture, and the institutions, weak as they were, guaranteed its order, hierarchy and projection. The culture of Spanish expression was indeed still very present, but its prestige was starting to decline, and it was no small battle, because it required a strategy of occupying cultural institutions, starting at the end of the 19th century with the Ateneu Barcelonès (Barcelona Culture Association) and continuing with academies and university chairs. The first conceptual battle was in favour of language, and returned Catalan to a normal, dignified situation, which culminated with Pompeu Fabra’s spelling reforms. The second battle was indeed that of cosmopolitanism.

As was to be expected for that period and in the State context, the introduction of Catalan into high-level literature was contested by Spanish intellectuals, annoyed at seeing local talent being used for a cause that concerned them. Because, in parallel with this consolidation, political Catalanism proposed an alternative to the Spain ruled as Joan Maragall put it, «by the despot class”. It was a global, complete offensive: culture, politics, economy; ultimately, a proposed redistribution of power, a project in which the Catalan bourgeoisie and Catalanism ultimately failed, because it ended up trying to destroy the bases of the country in 1939. In this first dispute between Spain and Catalonia, the argument wielded from the plateau was that it was not worth investing literary effort in a local language, with no capacity to be heard by the world, despite the fact that it was both nice and understandable that second-rate writers might want to express themselves in their own local language, etc.

The controversy entrenched the transformed Catalonia in an intense debate on the universalism of culture, viewed as either forming or not forming part of «European culture» and, the crux of the matter, the relationship that universalism may or may not have with the nation’s roots. Joan Maragall wrote: «This loanword, very useful to a certain degree in terms of harmonising our aesthetic feeling with the general prevailing one, and of making our expression European. However, it should not lead us to a literary and artistic cosmopolitanism that leads us to lose our character, because then, from wanting to be great, we would turn into something insignificant, in other words, nothing”. Back then, just like today, the background of the controversy
was political, in other words the national project. The young left-wing intellectuals, particularly Jaume Brossa and Gabriel Alomar, wanted to build an alternative project to that of the Lliga Regionalista (Regionalist League, a right-wing Catalan political party) and felt that they had no alternative other than to attack the cultural conception of the hegemonic party. This is just like what happened in the 1980s with Pujol’s project. «It is true that art has no homeland», specified Maragall in the same article that we quoted from above, «but the artist does». Maragall was outside the political framework: he defended the national roots.

The genuine controversy of a culture overseen at close range by the Bishop Torras i Bages before a threatened split ended up disguised as yes or no cosmopolitanism, because for some reason Catalan intellectuals never spoke about the heart of the matter, which was, as we mentioned earlier, the national project. Jaume Brossa, from the platform of the Ateneu, declared that he was against «artistic nationalism», as if this influence were a style, a fashion, a pattern. He defended European art; though don’t European artists have national roots? As always, nationalism could be seen in people’s own eyes, because in fact it was looked at through prejudice: that deep-rooted Catalan culture was ancestral, folkloric and pre-modern, as if the intellectualism that it was battling against were not an expression of the country’s cultural concerns. Joan Maragall returned to this: «Strengthening nationality takes us to globality, but a vague, abstract globality that people have never reached and that will never reach any nation». And later, on the same page, he said: «We want our art to penetrate all the influences it can assimilate constantly, but also always to remain strong in its homeland, a homeland into which it will never sink its roots sufficiently in search of its own soul, because this search for its soul is the only path in the real world”. This is a truth that is hard to contradict, applicable to all cultures encompassed by the protective umbrella of their own State: «Afterwards there is another European path, much easier: all you have to do is to buy a ticket and take a train to any station beyond Portbou. And now choose, young people”. It was 1906, a year that was particularly spectacular for Catalan culture and an especially and active time, full of promise for Catalanism.

The creation of a new paradigm

Cultures with a State never think about their cosmopolitanism, they take it for granted. They simply exist. They develop their registers, they interact with the world and drink from universalised cultures like everyone else, without question, taking on influences and trying to project their own. It is said that today the lingua franca of the cultural world is translation. We might also say that the universal mass culture today is the audio-visual industry, including videogames and small-screen apps, which despite having different scenarios spread out across the world, share the same language. In a globalised universe, it is very hard to maintain cultural creation and thought beyond the shared circuits. Even extremely deeply-rooted manifestations such as those typical of popular culture travel, and are exchanged through fairs and festivals, such as the one held each year in Manresa.

So, Catalan culture is not lacking in universality, but rather in awareness. And that is what is resolved automatically with independence. The insecurity of the creator who knows they are part of a small culture that is invisible to the world — among other things because the powerful Barcelona «brand» has done nothing to promote it — disappears when a constituent parliament opens sessions in the Parc de la Ciutadella. Barcelona becomes the natural capital of a culture
just like many others, a culture that moreover is full of universal names, whom we can imagine campaigning wearing «I am Catalan too» badges. It is easy to imagine headlines everywhere saying: we have discovered a new culture and it turns out to be a thousand years old! Thus, the State avoids both the fear of appearing ancestral and the mistake of false cosmopolitanism, because there is no longer an alternative horizon for the nation-building project. A few nuances though: there will be a wide variety of political options, which will increasingly rarely involve conventional policies, because it is obvious that society is no longer what it once was. There will also be spontaneous pride in one’s own culture, because it is the one that best reflects and interpellates society, which means that it will have to keep critical thinking awake.

Herein lies the key to Barcelona’s role in an independent country: a future will have to be built at a time when it will be necessary to review the paradigm that has regulated personal, economic and social relations since the 1960s and 1970s, and has now collapsed. From relationships with a partner to relationships with the planet, from working relations to social hierarchies, everything is cast in doubt and everything requires a significant philosophical content, and interpretation of the world, in other words culture. This puts future generations in the spotlight, because it is obvious that the intellectuals who are close to retirement, if they have not already passed their sell-by date, cannot imagine a new world with full transformational powers. We need new blood and a different mental framework, which is what independence would bring: foundational certainty. And it is this cultural contribution — viewing culture as the interpretation of the world and of reality — that Catalonia will make from Barcelona after independence. It is obvious that it will be a cosmopolitan contribution, which will convey the Catalan way of life to the world. It will, therefore, be deep-rooted cosmopolitanism. The anomaly of having a cosmopolitan attitude while at the same time having one’s back turned on the reality of the country, will be removed.

A powerful cultural system

Earlier, we stated that the city is the most powerful cultural entity. It acts as a generator, as a stage and a tool for projection. Therefore, the city has to contribute strength to four elements: the shop window, industry, creation and the market, assuming that everything will be subject to government policies, with a budget that we will want increased to bring it into line with European scales at the very least. In terms of heritage, Barcelona has proper cultural structures, in spite of the scarcity of resources. In proportion to its size, the city’s large facilities are excellent. The cultural and heritage dimension is notable. Thus, it will only be necessary to increase the number of large museums and research and academic centres, trusting that their management is more than simply adequate. The correction of the path of a key museum such as the MNAC, addressing the central discourse with a new proposal of modernity, is already a step in the right direction. If Catalan museums had purchasing power, they would be able to consider cultural relations that are unthinkable today. From here on, everything that can be added will we welcome, but there is no need to rush to fill in the gaps.

A second level of culture is that of industry. Here a great deal will have be done, and Barcelona will no doubt have to think about a «cultural district» as an extension of the 22@ innovation district, in which there is room for an synergy between new technologies and virtual and visual technologies, which will be the main creative expression in the future. On the other hand, the city must act as a capital and not attempt to take on everything: Terrassa is destined to
become the creative hub of the film-making industry, just as Sitges is its showcase. The fact that a few years ago Barcelona considered creating a film production area in the Zona Franca reveals how it was denying itself the role as the country’s capital. The strengthening of the national television network, without the obstacles that are placed in its way by our Spanish supervisors, will increase the potential of the audio-visual system and also boost the generation of universal contents. This will also be the case for the publishing industry, currently in the midst of being converted in terms of the dimension of the companies and the business model. In other words: the freedom and scope for investment will benefit all sectors.

We have therefore reached the third level, that of creation. The level of talent in Catalan culture is undeniable and the imbalance between different forms of expression will continue to be adjusted. There is a new generation of very highly trained creators, and Barcelona will continue to be extremely attractive as a stage. The world will want to know the reality of the new State and tourists will ask questions that are not being asked today. The Barcelona landscape, on the other hand, may also be normalised, gradually eliminating points of reference that have little to do with the country’s cultural roots, strengthening popular culture itself through banality, which is what all capitals do. It is important that in the future visitors, especially cultural visitors, do not say that they love Barcelona because it is «very Spanish”, as Woody Allen declared after filming his «greeting card» there. Barcelona has a structure that is unusual in the Spanish urban landscape because its centre of power is located at the intersection between the Roman cardo and the decumanus and not in the main square, often presided over by the Cathedral, which defines the typical Spanish city. Catalan cities have a rambla (seasonal riverbed) and a mercadal (market place): it is another world. But this needs to be explained. The act of making memory explicit plays a major role, although Barcelona is not really lacking in this area; in recent years much work has been carried out to ensure that the past is not forgotten, despite the accent being placed on the historical memory, which is always the memory of the victim — of suffering — with less attention being paid to the symbolic memory, the memory of continuity and identity.

Having made this little digression, we should point out that Barcelona must be a city that welcomes and protects creativity without supervising it excessively. In the recent past, we experienced long periods of cultural intervention that tended to lay down this theoretically stateless cosmopolitanism, but which in reality consolidated a specific project. This control will become dispensable and unnecessary; furthermore, it would be counterproductive, cloying and unpleasant. Despite the fact that basic creation is the most unprotected element of the city’s cultural structure, Barcelona is very attractive to all sorts of creative people including students and young visitors who spend weeks or months staying in cheap hotels or shared flats. The city needs more exhibition routes. «Creation factories» cannot be managed by the Administration, which insists on dictating their theme, despite the fact that today’s culture is by definition interdisciplinary. We have a city with bars and terraces, but we do not have a city with creative areas and stages: that is what will change, because Barcelona will be forced to present a universal urban culture with Catalan roots. The world will demand it.

Lastly, a final level of cultural expansion is required: the market. I am leaving out — and it is a lot to leave out, I admit — the future protection of the Catalan Countries market, which will be a crucial issue. The Catalan market will be strengthened with progressive standardisation, starting with linguistic standardisation, which means —without infringing anyone’s linguistic rights — that Catalan must attain the status of the community’s language. Although the deep-rooted
cosmopolites will speak in Catalan, the city will still remain a multilingual scenario and in some districts Spanish or Urdu will predominate, districts being shaped by the people who live there. The cultural market has a linguistic basis, but also a cultural basis. Cultural consumption is reinforced in schools. Barcelona will have to promote a new trend in education, the humanities once again being the focal point. We have spent too many years demanding English and technology at school, when what is needed, today more than ever, is more reflection, a greater cultural base, and more humanistic knowledge. A new world cannot be created with technology and, if Barcelona wants to lead the construction of the paradigm of the Western world in the 21st century, it will have to return to the Classics.

Today, a new generation of creators is emerging. They will play leading roles in the Barcelona that becomes capital of an independent Catalonia. However, those who will have to fill the country with content, beyond the first, tentative attempts, are the children who are just starting nursery school right now. Some of them will be creative, some will be consumers, but in any case what is needed is a critical attitude, a cultural footprint, with eyes and ears open to the world and roots firmly entrenched in the soil. And this is what the school has to be ready to provide tomorrow, in a framework of equity and opportunity for all. A model of cosmopolitan culture that is understood properly: what Catalan culture has always been denied, because questioning it was a way of thwarting the project for freedom, plenitude and sovereignty. What Catalan culture has always wanted to have, without achieving it completely, because without freedom the roots fail to prosper and end up withering away.

**Conclusion**

As a city with strong international projection, Barcelona is in an ideal position to showcase a renewed Catalan culture, involving new generations, and make a positive contribution to tomorrow’s world. The energy that has up to now been spent competing for prestige against a culture with Spanish roots can be used to begin a new dialogue with cultures across the world. This will consolidate the four main elements of culture in Barcelona: the shop window, industry, creation and the market. In short, the pride of being what we are, represented by our capital city.
The City of Ideas

Miquel Giménez Gómez
Journalist, writer and commentator. City of Barcelona Award for Radio and Television
Introduction

Barcelona is considered to be the fourth most creative city in the world, according to Survey, a poll carried out on the Barcelona City Brand. The only cities ahead of us are the genuine behemoths of creativity that are San Francisco, London and New York. This is no accident. The tradition of Barcelona as a place where artists, writers, thinkers and all kinds of creative activists imaginable gather is centuries old.

This is one of the big characteristic differentials of our “head and home”, a land given to thinking, to creating, to the profitable exchange of opinions that generate a movement of thinking and constant creation, unstoppable. Ideas make up part of Barcelona’s DNA, as a city and as a laboratory of innovation, culture and art as well as economic and social aspects.

Altogether, it gives added value to the many other possibilities that the Catalan capital can offer to the rest of the world. An opportunity that Barcelona offers with a generosity which is very typical.

Where we come from

Before the invention of the surveys, responsible for confounding opinion leaders today, people had to get their bearing, perforce, by word of mouth. If you wanted to find somewhere to settle down, you had no choice but to chat to friends and acquaintances about it. Here, then, is the merit of Barcelona, considered from the very beginning as the ideal destination for everyone who wanted to do something, who had a dream, who wanted to improve their situation, either financially or professionally. Personalities from all eras have honoured our city by choosing it as a destination, as a refuge, as a buttress.

It is understandable. Thanks to its geographical location, Barcelona is the perfect crossroads for travellers and at the same time, cultures. Open cultural and philosophical invasions as well as hostile ones, Barcelona holds dear the influences of all that has been important in the Mediterranean throughout the centuries: the very best of the Phoenicians, the Greeks, Romans, Goths and the Franks, from the Saracens and the Jews, Christian civilisation, the fiercest Bonapartism; Carlinists and Liberals, Federalists and Secessionists, Fascists and Communists, each and every one of them has left their imprint on the streets of this old and at the same time new city, and they all feature inside its immense cashbook. A cashbook which could easily have belonged to the venerable Mr. Esteve, our Santiago Rusiñol, or that fabulous practical joker, Peius Gener. A book of names which accounted which jokes were played out among the groups frequenting the Ateneu Barcelonès, or those that were told at the Hotel Colón, alternating with precise and ironic words of Sagarra or Pla, Cases or Utrillo. Tables around which sat the very best intellectuals and artists, from Einstein to Valle-Inclán, from Sada Yacco to Picasso, from Rubén Darío to Keyserling.

A Barcelona, a Catalonia, a country in short, thirsty for knowledge, anxious to explain itself and be known, to welcome everyone with open arms, with the table spread, with the delicately selective spirit of old ladies who strolled along Passeig de Gràcia at the turn of the 19th to 20th century and who Carner lauded by dedicating lines to them saying: “Now say that it is not poetry, now say it…”
That Barcelona which the first Italian innkeepers would discover, who would open revered restaurants such as the Suís, which would offer the widely renowned “dinners for a duro”, which went by this name as that was the price, and which ended up becoming a colloquial expression in our language. Hoteliers, industrial entrepreneurs, spies, bookworms like Mason, author of The Four Feathers, who set scene in one of his novels in Barcelona, at the Hotel Continental. The Barcelona of Els Quatre Gats, where the most avant-garde of the art world would gather around its owner, Pere Romeu, to cultivate Modernisme and create history without knowing it. Or La Punyalada group, with a laughing Rusiñol with his white hair welcoming guests as if he were in his own home. In fact, when his mother-in-law died he made his wife set up the vigil in the bar because it seemed the most natural thing to do. The Barcelona of the Ateneu, the home of scholars, of the weekly Papitü —directed by the philosopher Francesc Pujols— or that of La Veu de Catalunya (The Voice of Catalonia), or that of the Esquella de la Torratxa, of Guimerà and of Pitarra, the Romea Theatre and the cabarets of the Paral·lel, which did not need doors because they never closed; of Josep Santpere —the king of the burlesque vaudeville— and of Enric Borràs — the actor who best played the shepherd Manelic, according to the reviews of the time.

It is the Barcelona of the Liceu Opera House with its distinguished public, fur coats and top hats, who went to see the first show of Parsifal after Bayreuth, a unique event in the history of Wagnerism and which is most widely shown in Barcelona after Germany, unequalled and crystallised in the Catalan translations of Wagner’s works, fruit of the work and passion of Joaquim Pena; but also, unfortunately, The Barcelona of the Orsini bomb which an anarchist set off in the stalls of the Opera House, just when the orchestra was playing Rossini’s opera William Tell, the Swiss hero who fought against Austrian tyranny. The Barcelona which is the anarchist Rosa de Foc for some and the city with two patron saints, Saint Eulalia and the Virgin of the Mercè for others. The Barri Xino and the Bonanova district, the Sagrada Familia and the Masonic temples, Gaudí and the Bella Chelito.

A Barcelona and a country, Catalonia, which Josep Pla defines concisely and succinctly, “Here. He who has a more or less reasoned idea doesn’t take long before he finds a small wad of notes in his pocket”.

As we said, a city bursting with ideas.

Catalonia and Barcelona, first class economic and even creative powers

Good manufacturers — the Catalan is capable of manufacturing anything, almost out of an interior imperative difficult to explain – the trait that characterises us as a society is commerce. Thus the logical consequence: if you manufacture a product, the best thing you can do with it is sell it yourself. Nevertheless, from the outside — in Spain, mainly, speaking plainly— the Catalan is seen exclusively under the prism of the merchant, or even the crafty, cunning, deceitful merchant. In short, they see the Catalan as someone who is stingy and who exploits others. This old cliché does not reflect the real meaning of Catalan commerce and what lies behind it, that is, the idea, the concept. Because in Catalonia are the roots of the social and economic ideas necessary, for example, for the Industrial Revolution to happen at the right time, in the 19th century. It did not reach the rest of Spain until the 1960s, and even later; in Catalonia, with Barcelona
at the spearhead, is where the ideas of social revolution arose, socialism and anarchism. There is an anarchism which is purely Catalan, about which a book should be written one day, with the cooperative, naturist, Esperantist and masonic movements behind it. And also the idea of the “patronal” as the coordinating body of tradesmen’s interests. Not in vain is the “Foment del Treball” the oldest trade association in all Europe. With the antecedent of the Royal Company of Cotton Yarn of the Principality of Catalonia, from 1771, in the midst of the post-war period of the War of Succession, with everything that it entailed for the country and its economy, the business sector had the idea—that’s right, the idea—to come together, to join their interests, to work together.

Ideas always to progress and improve, ideas that are often pioneers around Europe and that have also been at many times in the western world. We no longer speak of having the oldest parliament in the world or of the magnificent invention of the consulates of the sea, because Catalans conquered, as every power in history has done, but we also did business and established links for speaking, negotiating, of sitting down together; this “let’s discuss it”, so typical of us, which is the first and necessary step for the profitable exchange of opinions, thoughts and ideas.

What Barcelona and Catalonia have been in the terrain of generating ideas which have transformed their reality and the European reality, has not yet been well enough explained. We speak of governmental institutions, such as the Generalitat, which enabled Pau Claris to proclaim the Catalan Republic in the 17th century. We are, therefore, pioneers in many aspects, also in infrastructures throughout Spain. In the textile industry, in being the first to build the railroad, in car factories, airplanes, the chemical industry, and so on. Always the first, always advancing, ever innovating, always on the lookout to see what the latest invention is, the latest system, the trend. Ever alert. This definition, “ever alert”, which falls on us more than any other city around us, defines the spirit of Barcelona as the future capital of a Catalan Republic. States are nothing if behind them there is not a cohesive society and a network of powerful, strong cities, capable of generating synergies and exporting their talent. The stone walls surrounding Barcelona were pulled down long ago, along with the ideological ones, which are much more dangerous. Rius i Taulet began the process of urban transformation which has continued throughout the centuries and throughout the city, but we can almost say that this modernisation, this permanent updating that Barcelona experiences, cohabits in the field of ideas.

On the other hand, it is hard to explain that in the same city we can find cohabiting in harmony Modernism next to the Miró Foundation or avant-garde works with Tàpies and the serene and classic sculptures of Llimona and Clarà. Sober buildings charged with historic reasons such as the Tinell building, have no hesitation in standing side by side with the striking new buildings such as the Architects’ College and the Mapfre Towers. A city that can have great boutiques of international designers’ boutiques doing business alongside the neighbourhood shop, which we should do more to promote, it should be said, because the Barcelonan loves local commerce and knows the name of the shopkeeper who has served them all their lives, is a model for everyone.

This offer does not go unnoticed by those who visit us, who can capture at the first glance the bread that is served in our city, beyond colourful tourist brochures and offers of plastic paellas and sangrias whose sole aim is to destroy the digestive system. They know that our city organised the best Olympic Games in history and that we boast an enormous cultural heritage. From Japan to Australia, from Sweden to Argentina, people experience the attraction of the powerful magnet that is Barcelona. Architects from all over the world visit us to study the Palau Sant Jordi
and its bold structure, in the same way that learned people come always on the lookout for new knowledge and delve into the depths of the city’s museums, diving into dusty archives and yellowing parchments to discover a new tune from the 17th century or an unpublished manuscript dating back to the reign of good king Jaume I.

Everyone looks for inspiration in our streets, everyone wants to enjoy the spirit of Barcelona despite the vulgarisation that large cities suffer from, we still remain alive and fresh, joyously eternal and young. It is not by chance that the old town of Gràcia, today one of the liveliest neighbourhoods in Barcelona, culturally speaking, is the destination of a huge number of young students, artists and intellectuals. Our own Montparnasse today enjoys a truly intensive lifestyle, with bars and establishments full of people in conversation, projecting, doing. The symphony of a city like ours has a special depths in this Greenwich Village which Gràcia has become, where you can hear the beat of creativity on every corner, from the Plaça del Diamant, where the Colometa forever smiles at painters who carry their work under their arm and writers who wonder and stumble at every step thinking about how to finish their novel, to the square of the Vila de Gràcia, called Rius i Taulet, although nobody in the neighbourhood calls it that; a neighbourhood which can simply delight in the Teatre Lliure, in Carrer del Montseny, which should perhaps be renamed Carrer de Fabià Puigserver, a first rate creative talent together with Anna Lizaran, both of whom are sorely missed, and the no less genial Lluís Pasqual, who is still alive and kicking and at the theatrical helm, guiding it better than no one else can.

Gràcia, the light which attracts a host of people from Germany, Italy, it seems that these are the ones who visit us most and who stay, from France, from many South American countries, but also from northern and central Africa. Students with Erasmus grants, well-known designers, film actors, and musicians, waves of talent from abroad who end up, by force, becoming our talent. And new bookshops open, which are the oxygen of the city, of any city, and restaurants where the young and not so young develop their talent. It is not by chance that in Catalonia we hold the record for the number of Michelin stars and chefs like the Roca brothers and Ferran Adrià are Catalan and exert their tremendous influence in local kitchens. nostr. All things add up and they all lead to better things because the capital of Catalonia has become the best example of our national dish: escudella and carn d’olla (meat and vegetable soup and the meat from it), where we can appreciate side by side the cabbage as much as the sausage, the lard as much as the meatball, the chicken as much as the beef. The dish of the “four mendicant orders”, as our great-grandparents used to say, brother of the monkfish soup. “At three o’clock, monkfish soup”, was the old Barcelonan saying which defined the moment and which was so popular among past generations but which unfortunately today we find today somewhat out of fashion. But no matter, because this Barcelona potpourri knows no bounds and the rewarding mixture of ideas is fearless, cheerful and useful. We will not become infatuated with wanting to separate the satiating zarzuela from the popular Barceloneta from the subtleties of the restaurants above the Diagonal. They all go to make up this laboratory of flavours, of smells, ideas, words, in short, of our Barcelona, an authentic Babel with organised disorder, with a chaotic score brilliantly and beautifully conducted. We are a city that maintains its original creative profile, genuine, broad and abundant, a profile which does not need to explain or justify itself because we have been all these things and we want to be more.

A city which is a pioneer in the world of publishing. Here is where García Márquez and Vargas Llosa made a name for themselves, even though the latter now turns up his nose at our city.
Here is where we hand out infinite literary prizes, some of which are disputable, but what can we do about that! We have enough new publishers, and if the great Cinto Verdaguer wrote his Ode to Barcelona, and the no less great Joan Maragall also had his say with his famous verses, “I come from the sea and I love you, and I have come up here to see it better and I go and I am motionless: I just reach out my arms because I want Catalonia to unite everything within my heart. Another sea you see beyond, curled and still, from the sands that gently laugh at the sun, to capture so much land and so much sea, Barcelona, you will need a broad chest and strong arms”, we think we are safe because when poets sing to a city, it is a sign that it will be eternal, unlike the lost kingdom of Thebes, which disappeared the day that one of its poet laureates dedicated just one miserly line to it.

A city of big men (homenots)

The expression big men is originally attributed to the master Josep Pla; but the truth is that it was coined by the great journalist from Figueres, Manuel Brunet, during an after-dinner conversation in the restaurant Ca la Neus, in l’Escala. Joan B. Solervicens was reciting a few verses from The Divine Comedy by the immortal poet Dante, and this is how the scene was described by the sadly missed master of masters, Nèstor Luján.

“Afterwards we asked him to recite the fifth terrace of Purgatory, which was the one which most moved Solervicens... Josep Pla shed a tear, as he was wont to do before any lyrical outpouring. Brunet, stood and embraced Solervicens, who was happy and round-bellied, saying: “Soler, Soler, what a big man you are.” The expression was coined and Pla would immortalise it. It is worth saying that the origin of the expression, in the sense that the hermit of Palafrugell used it, meant a ‘heavyweight, important, interesting’. It is not by chance that Josep Pla’s characters are a reflection of the most notable people he knew, whether for good or for bad.

All this to-do about one single expression is important to justify the name we give Barcelona, from the creative point of view, as a city of big men. It is, in effect, a land where everyone can develop their ideas, because they are usually appreciated here, despite the official paperwork and red tape. Among Barcelonans there is a spirit of wanting to do, of putting up new blinds, of wearing a new hat every spring. Examples? There are tons, such as the pastry chef Massana, the king of cakes and pastries in the 19th century, whose legacy to the city is the Massana School, a true forger of artists that fortunately continues today. Or the patrician Rossend Arús, freemason, Catalan nationalist and friend of Agustí Almirall, who bequeathed his library to the people of Barcelona, what is today the Arús Library in Passeig de Sant Joan, the first source of masonic texts in Spain —after the sinister archives of Salamanca— and which is home to the acts of the First International and the correspondence between Karl Marx and Bakunin.

From cakes to the arts, from money to books. Or from the shoe shiner to the conjuror, as was the case of Fructuós Canonge, the Catalan Merlin who went from polishing shoes in Plaça Reial to being the most famous magician in the country and who even showed a few tricks to Isabel II, Amadeu de Savoia and Alfons XII, although he always held fast to his republican ideas. Rich and poor, pastry chefs and shoe-shiners; in Barcelona these people can be, in fact they are, artefacts of the city. They recreate it with the will and sentiment known as Barcelonism, which goes beyond ideologies and trends, eras and social classes. People who honour us as fellow citizens, as are the cases of the sadly missed pastry chef, Antoni Escribà, and Miquel Pagès, the florist, both
based born and bred in the Rambles, who have left us a fruitful lineage, because this is another characteristic of the Barcelonan big men of Barcelona, that they want to be more than just a fly-by-night.

Big men who create all kinds of associations and institutions because the Barcelona association movement has always been very alive and has never relaxed. From the Institute of Catalan Studies to the Orfeó Català, the popular ateneus or clubs, to the lively associations like Noah’s Ark or the Nariguts (Big Noses), sports clubs such as Barça and the Barceloneta Swimming Club, neighbourhood associations who are so vital when it comes to voicing their opinion about the most important aspects of the city neighbourhoods; choirs and the Sant Medir organisations of Gràcia, neighbourhood football teams, like Europa and Sant Andreu, often the prelude for professional footballing careers.

The Barcelonan is not put off by physical or mental barriers; he or she is continually creating social, political and economic instruments, whatever are required, whatever is considered best for him or her and the city. Because the Barcelonan is gregarious, but at the same time individualistic. At first glance, this combination may seem slightly complicated, but in practice it is perfectly harmonious. We live in society, of that we are aware, we like going to visit castles and watch sardanes, our national dance, but at lunch time it is each to his own and the devil take the hindmost. This condition is perhaps what makes us so attractive to people from abroad, this blend of formal and informal customs. Likewise, it is what a somewhat unflattering slogan from the 1960s called us: a city of fair and congresses. We are, of course, because people want to come and spend a few days in Barcelona under the vague pretext of attending a symposium on cardiology or a waistcoat manufacturers’ congress, it is all the same. But let us give this some thought: at congresses there are talks, approximate and vague, but they are given. And these talks also have their appropriate conclusions. Conclusions that offer ideas, and here we are back at the beginning once more.

Ideas seem to have their own niche in the Catalan capital, which even though they leave like swallows do to make their summer in other, perhaps warmer climes, leave, they inescapably return. This is the best quality we can offer those who want to settle down in a creative city beyond the clichés. “He who drinks the water from the Canaletes fountain at the top of the Rambla will return to Barcelona.” Perhaps it is an exaggeration but what we can say without fear of being mistaken is that those who visit us with the intention of finding a hive of ideas, stay here. Some of them forever. That’s Barcelona.
Finale without an end

A Barcelona which is more and more comfortable in its role of capital of a nation, stripped of supposedly cosmopolitan, cloying robes, truly Catalan and open to the world, a Barcelona as capital of a country, can only dig deeper into its most authentic roots. The Barcelona of Pau Casals, who emerged from the cafés with his cello to conquer the world, and of George Orwell, who left his pledge of love for our country with his work, Homage to Catalonia, digested during his stay in our city when he was injured during the Civil War, is both universal and deliciously local at the same time. If the Buïgas fountains in Montjuïc are unique in the world, because the genius refused to reproduce them anywhere else despite the substantial sums he was offered, so is the intellectual microclimate we cultivate here. Not the only ones, for sure, but they are ours and only ours and, as our grandmothers say, “there has to be something in the water when the priests bless it”.

Barcelona is and has been historically a city made for the people, not like other capitals which have been built by megalomaniacs and the callousness of rulers. Here, everyone is close, we can do what we want; we are a world capital with a provincial air, if we may say so.

What a delight it is to write, even today, under the palm tree of the Ateneu Barcelonès, in the very same garden where Josep Maria de Sagarra wrote! How wonderful to stroll through the Montjuïc of the Exposition and marvel at its gardens and monuments! What an art lesson to follow the footsteps of the genius Gaudí who left a profound, marvellous and admirable influence!

We are a practical people, but also a people with ideas, a people who know how to gaze up at the stars with our feet on the ground. Barcelona is, still today, a city that allows you to seduce her, so sure that she will end up seducing you. She does not care. When we speak of ideas, we speak of spirit, vitality, the stuff that dreams are made of. And if we dream, we will live forever.

Like Barcelona.
Barcelona can and should be a global multimedia city

Juan Antonio Giner
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I once heard a talk given by Ithiel de Sola Pool, Political Science professor at MIT and author of *Technologies of Freedom*. The history of the civilized world, he said, can be divided into three main types of society.

- Agrarian society, in which the raw material for every business was water, and aqueducts were the network that provided irrigation and encouraged growth.
- Industrial society, in which oil was the fuel for development, with pipelines as the distribution system.
- And post-industrial society, where information is key for new businesses and information superhighways are the nervous system of a digital society.

And this is where Barcelona must situate itself in the near future. A capital that creates jobs and wealth by cultivating media talent and multimedia creativity, to become a global multimedia city.

**Cities who have made a name for themselves**

Throughout history the most successful cities have always known how to attract, cultivate and encourage industries, arts and activities: Paris did it with fashion and couture, Ghent with diamonds, Milan with design, and Manchester with textiles; Wall Street in New York, the City of London and Hong Kong are the financial capitals of their respective continents; Frankfurt, Zurich and Geneva are the nerve centres of European banks; Wimbledon in London and Roland Garros in Paris; music and opera in Vienna, Berlin, Paris, Milan, London and New York; Boston is known for the best universities in the world today, just as Paris, Oxford, Cambridge and Salamanca used to be; Liverpool and Hamburg were maritime capitals for migration and European trade, as was the Port of Barcelona following trade liberalisation with the Americas, becoming a “bridge” between Spain, the Caribbean and South America.

Today, the new “media cities” for the cultural and communication industries attract talent and creativity and encourage technological innovation. They are sources of wealth: they create jobs, develop new urban areas, attract investment, are cosmopolitan centres for research and talent, and connect to similar hubs around the world.

The big difference is that in the past these cities were defined by very specific industries, businesses and professions that generated the “clusters” that Michael Porter so aptly described.

**Media cities**

The same pattern applied to the information and communication industries, which used to be mono-media operations: advertising settled in New York and Madison Avenue was and remains its global headquarters; Fleet Street in London and Park Row in New York were the homes of the best newspapers at the beginning of the last century; film studios settled in Hollywood, and Los Angeles became the celluloid Mecca; Stanford in California and MIT in Massachusetts were, and still remain, the best schools for entrepreneurs; Silicon Valley in the US and Bangalore in India are the leaders in know-how for new technologies; CBS, NBC and ABC made New York the world capital for television; and Atlanta was the birthplace of CNN, the first non-stop news network; in Manhattan, many of the biggest skyscrapers are named after media companies,
including buildings such as Time/Life, McGraw-Hill, Bloomberg, Condé Nast, Hearst and The New York Times; Paris is the headquarters of the World Association of Newspapers (WAN-IFRA) and London has the International Federation of the Periodical Press (FIPP); theatre still reigns in Broadway in New York and in London's West End; Frankfurt is the capital of the book publishing industry; Pamplona is the heart of infographics thanks to the Malofiej Awards; printing machinery manufacturers meet in Dusseldorf... and in recent years Barcelona has become the mobile phone world capital.

The challenge Barcelona now faces is to become a global media hub, not just mono-media, but multimedia.

Culture, business, technology and digital industries are already multimedia.

Therefore, the new media cities must be too.

The diversification of media was the first step in a process accelerated by the convergence of digital technologies, which has culminated in an alliance of new narratives combining three traditional forms of communication that were previously separate and clearly differentiated: text, image and sound.

Cities as news-hubs

In ‘The Invention of News’, Andrew Pettegree, historian at the University of St. Andrews, explains how the news industry was born, and he talks about the first messaging network, dominated by Italian families who served the Pope, emperors and merchant traders.

In 1357, to give an example, seventeen Florentine private-messaging companies joined forces to compete against their rivals from Genoa, who dominated European routes with messengers connecting Florence and Genoa with Barcelona and Bruges.

With the advent of the printing press, Nuremberg became, according to Martin Luther, “the ears and eyes of Germany”, as it was located at the crossroads for twelve major communication routes in Europe, one of which connected to Barcelona.

Professor Pettegree also mentions that in 1493, Christopher Columbus, recently returned from America, sent individual messages detailing his discoveries to the Catholic Monarchs, first from Lisbon and then from Palos. The “Epistola de insulis nuper inventis”, with the “news of the century”, was printed immediately in Barcelona and soon spread in many languages, something that the Scottish historian considers as the first major news hub in Europe.

The press would flourish later in the large port cities in Europe, and soon, in 1641, Barcelona would become part of this tradition when the printer Jaume Romeu published the “Gazeta” in Catalan, followed by “Relaciones”, featuring news from Barcelona.

Remember that for centuries Barcelona had the honour of publishing the oldest newspaper in continental European, the “Diari de Barcelona” (1792-1994) and, years later, “Avui” and “El Periódico de Catalunya”, the first Spanish newspapers available online, while “VilaWeb” was the first internet-based newspaper in the country and one of the pioneers in Europe.

Nobody can ignore that newspaper companies are “social institutions” in Barcelona, which is the case for “La Vanguardia”, perhaps the newspaper with the most foreign correspondents in the world, only surpassed by “The New York Times”; a daily newspaper designed by Milton Glaser and Walter Bernard that remains a world-leader.
Barcelona also has TV3, the most important regional television channel in Spain; the book publishing industry also continues to flourish in a city that for years was the birthplace of the boom in Latin American literature; it was the location for the first conference held by the Society for News Design (SND) outside the United States; and it was here where one of the leading companies in the sale of sports broadcasting rights was founded, alongside journalism schools and renowned graphic design schools, headline-writing reporters in Catalan for newspapers such as “Avui” and “Ara”, in Catalonia where there is a strong regional and local press tradition, in the midst of a digital transition, and a boom in new online media that is becoming more important every day, with a growing audience both on and off social media.

And all this without forgetting Barcelona Football Club, which is one of the major media organisations in a city that, following the 1992 Olympic Games, became a global brand and an urban centre that attracts millions of tourists today; beyond the beaches, gastronomy, monuments and museums, the city is also well-known such famous names as Antoni Gaudi, Salvador Dali, Joan Miró, Pablo Casals, Antoni Tàpies and Ferran Adrià.

Having said that, what exactly should Barcelona do to become a key leader as a new global multimedia hub?

Twelve proposals

In my opinion, without placing them in order or priority, there are twelve possible proposals, among others:

1. Integrating, expanding and consolidating all the initiatives that are already underway, from the Mobile World Capital Barcelona (MWCB) to technology parks, the Audiovisual Council of Catalonia to entrepreneurial projects such as BarcelonaNetActiva, and the @22 project to the Poblenou Urban District, with the aim of creating an equivalent to LondonTech. Here the Regional Government of Catalonia and Barcelona City Council must be heavily involved to encourage development and consolidate this network of innovative businesses that will create thousands of new jobs. Telefónica can and must do much more, following the example of other major telecommunications operators in Spain and abroad. Barcelona must encourage big internet brands to set up research centres and labs here, as well as business incubators for startups to attract international talent and service providers, much like what happens in the automotive industry. In short: create a permanent infrastructure to capitalise on the initial impact of the MWCB and expand it into other digital business initiatives.

2. Develop telecommunications and engineering studies much further because, as with Stanford in California and MIT in Boston, the University of Barcelona needs to be a magnet for the best students and teachers in the world. And the same needs to occur in universities with journalism studies, to start collaborating with the London School of Economics, for example, to create an international Master’s in leadership and management for multimedia companies.
3. Make Barcelona the first city in the world with full, free and unrestricted broadband Internet access. Symbolically: another digital telecommunications tower, like the one built by Norman Foster for the 1992 Olympics, is needed. Because Barcelona will have to be digital.

4. Install the first hyper-local public network of digital printing centres in the world to make printing on demand easier, and to facilitate national, international, regional and community publications viable with personalised editions, available at no more than one hundred metres from housing, markets, clubs, associations, newsagents, government offices, public spaces; endless printing stations. This is something that British engineer Michael Fairhead, consultant at INNOVATION and former head of workshop for Rupert Murdoch in London, has said repeatedly for many years. Put another way: there should be as many digital printing centres in Barcelona as there are ATMs.

5. Provide the right conditions for Barcelona to become the global headquarters for organisations such as the World Association of Newspapers (WAN-IFRA), the International Federation of the Periodical Press (FIPP), the International Newsmedia Marketing Association (INMA ), the Global Editors Network (GEN), the Society for News Design (SND), and their equivalents in advertising, public relations, television, radio and online media, or for awards such as the Gabriel García Márquez Journalism Award.

6. Encourage large conferences and world fairs related to the media industry (press, radio and television), telecommunications, information technology, digital business, property rights and multimedia products. With the competitive advantage of becoming an ever-more trilingual city, in which Catalan, Spanish and English are a formidable force when communicating inside Catalonia, as well as outside the region to South American countries and the large community of culture and business in English.

7. Promote a Catalan version of the National Press Club Building in Washington DC as a hub for national and foreign press correspondents in Barcelona, providing co-working spaces for professionals and students.

8. Create a European version of the Newseum in Washington DC, which could become the main museum on the history of journalism and on- and offline media outside the United States.

9. Facilitate an agreement allowing Barcelona to implement a European extension of the MIT Media Lab, which should also showcase innovations and attract venture capital investors and other financial institutions who want to provide means and resources for projects started by entrepreneurs.

10. Promote a World Laboratory for New Digital Narratives, associated to one of the existing journalism faculties, so that these initiatives do not lose sight of the fact that media without high-quality content will not improve quality of life around the world.

11. Found the equivalent of the Nobel Prize for Journalism.

12. And, why not?, ask the designer Milton Glaser, who is a fan of Barcelona, to design the logo for this media city.
In short: Barcelona has to be a cosmopolitan city where digital media is the driver behind employment and first-class economic and cultural development, and where information superhighways make a decisive contribution to the well-being of the public.

In this regard, the Regional Government of Catalonia and Barcelona City Council must launch many more initiatives to collaborate with media companies, universities and the world’s leading technology companies.

They must lead by example, which means the Regional Government and Barcelona City Council must be examples of good services, communication, transparency and close communication with citizens, including a significant presence on social media and the use of new multimedia platforms that facilitate dialogue and allow for 24/7 interaction inside and outside the city, a city that can and should be a global multimedia capital.

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Attracting and retaining scientific talent in Catalonia
Observations and proposals for the future

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Collective for Research and Talent in Catalonia
Introduction

At present, scientific research is one of the cornerstones of modern society, not only for because it furthers our knowledge in different areas of science, but also because it is a key driving force for the economy through industrial development. Scientific research is supported by three basic pillars: financial resources (through public and also private funding), research centres and human resources, and the researchers themselves. The majority of these financial resources come from public funding assigned by state budgets, and this support constitutes the first pillar of scientific research. The quality of research in a country, as well as its impact on an international scale, is directly related to the percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) each country invests in research. In fact, an OECD study showed that a 1% increase in public expenditure for research and development (R&D), creates a 0.17% growth in productivity over the long term (private spending on R&D increases productivity by 0.13%).

During the years before the credit crunch there was a major effort to progressively increase investment in research, while in recent years, which have been marked by the financial crisis, there has been a marked decline in investment, especially from the Spanish government. Financial resources are clearly the most important factor for research in a country, and without sufficient public investment it is not possible to carry out high-quality research. As discussed below, public investment in research not only depends on the financial means a country has, but also on political decisions made in function of the views held by the political party or parties in power. It is worth mentioning at this point that Spain does not have a well-established tradition in scientific research. The second pillar of scientific research is research centres, which are an essential factor for scientific development in any country, because they not only provide the required logistical support to researchers in terms of space, equipment and administrative support, but also make it possible to reach the necessary critical mass to encourage and improve collaboration and the exchange of ideas. Research centres are funded depending on the overheads for the projects undertaken by researchers, and resources come from public funding and private donations. The third fundamental pillar of research is the researchers and all the other staff involved in research. This includes senior researchers and researchers who are still in different stages of training. Carefully selecting candidates to start work as a researcher, good training, and the opportunity for career progress within the system are all crucial aspects for producing excellent research. It is important to attract the most talented individuals, making sure they receive the right training, and encouraging them to keep working in research. Moreover, we must remember that talented individuals should be sought on an international as well as a national level, as is the case in so many other fields today.

Over recent years, Catalonia has made significant advancements in the field of science. Scientific production has moved forward from a previously mediocre level and output has increased considerably, placing the region on a similar level to more advanced countries. However, the situation may well revert if actions are not taken to increase funding for R&D and to finance scientific talent, which is extremely important for research results. Catalonia used to export sci-

Scientific talent during the ‘80s and ‘90s, but over recent years the region has started to import talent. This situation is at risk of reversal, and the trend might shift back if appropriate measures are not taken. The population of senior researchers in our country is ageing, and a new generation needs to be put in place quickly and effectively to improve research output. This article contains a series of observations and proposals for recruiting and attracting scientific talent in our country, made by researchers who are concerned about the issue. Although these researchers work in the field of biomedicine, their reflections and proposals could be applied to other areas of science. We think it is of vital importance to open a broad debate about how research should be undertaken in our country, including the government, researchers, political parties and society in general. These reflections aim to be a modest initial contribution to the debate.

**Fundamental problems regarding the retention of science talent in our country**

Below are some of what we believe are the most important issues in relation to the difficulty of retaining scientific talent in Catalonia.

**Insufficient investment in research**

As mentioned in the introduction, a certain level investment is a prerequisite for achieving excellence in scientific research. If resources come from public funding, the impact on GDP is higher than if it comes from private funds. In this respect, the percentage of GDP should be raised to figures similar to those found in countries renowned for scientific excellence. Moreover, considering that our country is not as wealthy as the majority of countries with excellent research, extra financial resources are needed. A significant part of these resources should be invested in retaining and attracting scientific talent. Given that Catalonia allocates 1.51% of its GDP (2,991 million euros in 2012)\(^2\) to R&D, an increase of only one tenth of this amount would represent millions of euros more, which could be used to implement influential programmes to attract scientific talent, using public funds. This type of investment, which we realise is difficult in the current climate, must be made regardless of the country’s political climate. However, political leaders, and in turn society, must be made aware of the importance of scientific research and its impact on productivity, with the aim, therefore, of encouraging a decisive increase in public investment in the field.

**Limited resources for predoctoral and postdoctoral grants**

While there is a low level of investment in R&D, the amount of public resources allocated to training programmes (predoctoral grants) and consolidating researchers (postdoctoral grants) is insufficient. Although the number is as-yet unquantified, a significant proportion of talented students who complete undergraduate studies in our universities are unable to embark upon a scientific career, despite having the skills and interest to do so. This failure to assimilate enough future researchers in the system is not because there are not enough groups in our research

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centres and universities to train them adequately, but rather because the number of predoctoral
grants available is wholly insufficient. Many internationally recognised research groups have diff-
culty funding recruitment and predoctoral training. The situation is similar for postdoctoral
researchers, who are key figures in research groups, and the senior researchers of the future.
This means that once they have completed their doctoral thesis, many researchers leave to do
postdoctoral research in countries with better scientific output, and that invest more heavily in
the field. Carrying out postdoctorate research abroad is positive, and beneficial for training our
researchers. However, our research system should be able to offer researchers the possibility of
returning once they have finished their training abroad. Although Catalonia has taken some
steps forward in this regard, the conditions on our programmes are far from ideal, which means
that postdoctorate researchers who want to return to the country are unable to do so. The cost
is enormous, not only in terms of losing well-educated citizens, but also in terms of losing the
financial investment the country made in the researchers.

Low wages for careers in research

The salaries for researchers in the public system in our country are very low when compared
with the countries we hope to compete with in terms of scientific excellence. Moreover, the cost
of living in Barcelona and in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area, where most of the best research
centres in the country are located, is the same or higher than in other major European cities.
This combination is contradictory and explains a large number of the present difficulties our
scientific community has had in retaining and attracting scientific talent. It should be noted
that, although the reduction in salaries that occurred during the financial crisis improved the
competitiveness of businesses on an international level by reducing product prices, it had a nega-
tive impact on the competitiveness of our scientific research centres, making it more difficult to
hire skilled researchers and putting the future of the next generation of scientists at risk. Keep
in mind that lower production costs do not result in scientific papers being published in bet-
ter academic journals. The lack of public funds dedicated to research meant that a significant
number of postdoctoral researchers were unable to continue their scientific career after their
contracts were not renewed and they were forced to look for other jobs or move abroad. There is
still no scientific career path with attractive career opportunities, either due to a lack of financial
resources or a lack of political will from the “decision makers”.

Difficulty in attracting scientific talent from abroad

One of the most important contributions to scientific research made by the Government of Cata-
onia was founding the ICREA programme (the Catalan Institution for Research and Advanced
Studies). Over the thirteen years it has been running, the institution has attracted some 250
researchers from different fields of science and the humanities. These researchers, who come
from a wide range of countries, are excelling in many different fields of science in our coun-
try, and are altogether high-quality scientific researchers. However, ICREA’s budget should be
increased, both for senior researchers and postdoctoral researchers.
Specific proposals to improve scientific talent in our country

Below are some specific proposals to improve the scientific talent working in the research centres in our country. These proposals are general suggestions and could not be exhaustive due to the word limits of this article, but they should serve as a starting point for further considerations in this area.

Encouraging interest in science and scientific research in pre-university education

Most scientists do not spontaneously appear, but rather start as young people with a burgeoning interest in science. Education for children and young people should conclude programmes that stimulate their imagination and creativity, so that they are taught not only to how to learn information, but also how to create it. As Einstein said, “The true sign of intelligence is not knowledge but imagination.”

Master’s programmes aimed at training students for research linked to predoctoral grants

Universities must play an important role in identifying and training future researchers. This could be achieved through specific programmes and research-specific master’s degrees. In this respect, collaboration between universities and research centres would be very important to create master’s programmes to educate researchers. The two organisations should work together not only to create these programmes, but also in terms of funding. These master’s programmes should be associated with predoctoral grants with a competitive salary, similar to the ones offered by other countries in the EU, to try to attract the best students. Master’s degrees that reach certain predetermined standards of excellence should be financed through public funding or patronage.

Further resources for predoctoral and postdoctoral programmes

The majority of research groups, even internationally prestige ones, have difficulty incorporating predoctoral and postdoctoral researchers, even when they have candidates, due to the budgetary constraints of existing programs. An increase in resources is therefore needed. As mentioned above, predoctoral programmes should be linked to master’s degrees in order to improve the training of those who receive predoctoral grants. Candidates should be selected using strict criteria relating to the merit of each individual and the research group, without any restrictions based on geographical criteria, or to which research centre he or she belongs. Predoctoral and postdoctoral programmes should be driven by the government or by the research centres themselves, if they have resources available for allocation.
Programmes to reincorporate postdoctorate researchers returning from abroad

One of the most important reasons for the brain drain in our country is that researchers who go abroad to complete their postdoctoral education are not reintegrated into the country. Of course a certain percentage will always prefer to stay abroad for a variety of reasons, which means there will always be a certain degree of “unavoidable brain drain” associated with the advantages of researchers moving around. However, what the country cannot afford is for there to be so many postdoctorate researchers who cannot return, either because they have no options, or because the options available are unattractive. In this respect, as mentioned above, the budget for reintegration programmes and other programmes to attract postdoctorate researchers should be increased, to offer them a competitive salary in comparison to other European countries with a well-established tradition in research. The positions for postdoctorate researchers should be complemented with startups that receive enough funding to allow for scientific development. Research centres should make it possible for a certain number of postdoctorate researchers to join at set intervals. Moreover, companies with large R&D departments should also make an effort to invest in attracting talent through the private sector.

Competitive salaries for researchers according to objective productivity criteria

The issue of salaries for researchers should be faced head on. It is not feasible to want our country to produce first-class research without internationally competitive wages, because in research the competition is global. We have commented above that reducing costs in the field of research does not necessarily improve scientific productivity. Rather, it has the opposite effect, especially when staff costs are reduced. To improve salaries there are two options: the first is to establish a professional framework with different wage levels, variable depending on productivity rather than seniority; the second option is linking research salaries to productivity criteria, as is already the case in the private sector. Only timid attempts have been made along these times, such as paying for the research carried out by university professors. However, there should be a more conscious effort to apply this to all researchers. One possibility would be to use some of the funds that researchers receive from governmental research to carry out scientific projects. These funds should be assigned according to objective criteria, evaluated by committee according to scientific productivity. Moreover, the city of Barcelona should also be involved in order to adopt measures to support researchers returning to the country at different stages of their professional careers, including providing benefits to help with their family, schools, and cheaper rent for visitors, etc.

Encouraging research excellence in public hospitals

Biomedical research is linked not only to the research centres, but also to public hospitals. It is not possible to conceive of research excellence without public hospitals that are committed to biomedical research. In this sense, research should be a priority for major hospitals, alongside offering services and teaching excellence. The managers and directors of the hospitals should
not only facilitate and encourage research, but also offer financial support to research centres in order to improve quality and avoid the country’s brain drain.

**Encouraging training patronage and attracting talent**

Over recent years we laid the foundations for our society to understand how important science is, as well as how important it is for our country to be a major player on a global level. The role played by the media, including newspapers, the radio and television, are important in this respect, with special programmes dedicated to science, the role of schools, and iconic museums. Our society is starting to understand scientific “patronage”. We therefore need a modern law covering patronage in order to launch educational programmes and to attract scientific talent.

**Conclusions**

Over recent years our country has come a long way and made progress in all areas of research, particularly in the biomedical field. However, it is dangerous to become complacent and allow ourselves to think we have already done the important work. Researchers need to keep up their work, but more public and private investment is also needed for us to reach the standards of the most advanced countries. Politicians from across the political spectrum need to understand the importance of investment in R&D, and that society needs it. Similarly, recruiting and retaining scientific talent is a cornerstone of good research. Without a strong political and economic commitment to attracting scientific talent, all the progress we have made over recent years is at risk.
Four contributions from the world of culture for the ‘White Paper’ of Barcelona

Isona Passola
Film director, producer and scriptwriter

**Diversity as a Brand Image.** When Barcelona becomes the capital of a free state, it should be very clear about how to express its cultural capitalness, because a capital is not first rich and then becomes cultured, but first cultured and then becomes rich. Traditionally, Catalan culture has been inspired by two great traditions: the Mediterranean and the Central European. Today, however, we are living in a global society, and as such the framework has grown. If we had to define the role of Barcelona in relation to the rest of the country, we would have to admit that where these influences have best been encapsulated, accommodated and flourished has been here in the capital, precisely because Barcelona, located in the middle of the Levantine corridor of the Peninsula which connects Africa with Europe and with a low population has needed to be open to immigration and has understood diversity, without losing its origins, not as a problem but as an extremely important demonstration of its identity. This could be said about some of the other great capitals of the world. Barcelona has achieved it through the aspirational adhesion of a people who have opted for it and who have done so despite not having the tools that any capital city has to foster social cohesion through culture. For the fact of not being a state capital, Catalonia has forged a very rich, exemplary and enormously creative culture which, through the connectivity of Internet, has obtained an integrating potential worthy of merit. When Catalonia becomes a state, we should not lose these idiosyncratic characteristics because they form part of
this open, free strength which has emerged and for which we are known all over the world. And this brand, indisputably, carries the name of Barcelona.

The Capital within the Country’s new Cultural Structure. Because it is culturally just and balanced, Catalonia will necessarily have to be decentralised. Barcelona’s commerce and prestigious background should not present any obstacle, as has often happened up to now; on the contrary, the entire country should benefit from its strong brand image. If one hundred years ago the ideal was the Catalonia city, because the city was the highest acclaim, Barcelona should realise that thanks to internet and new methods of transport and communication, Catalonia’s network will grow and this grow will not lessen its potential as a capital but boost it and lead to greatly enriching synergies. A clear example of this is the success of the High Season drama festival in Girona, which has by no means harmed the enormous prestige that Barcelona theatre enjoys at home and abroad and which should serve as an example for the rest of the country. If Catalonia is more cultural, the capital becomes a model.

The Audio-visual. The audio-visual world is commonly centred in the great European capitals because that is where the companies that supply the technical material and postproduction are based. Creatively-speaking, Barcelona has been the number one production centre for advertising, but lately it has been overtaken by Madrid in this aspect and urgently needs to recuperate its place. In the audio-visual world we have excellent creative and world-renowned talent which has been enriched with the emergence of schools and film universities. This home-grown talent has emigrated en masse due to the fall in public spending in the cinema world, exorbitant taxes at the box offices and piracy all over the world. Barcelona has to use all the means it has available, even more so now, to become a film set, because of the hours of sunlight and variety of surrounding scenery and landscapes, to lend itself to national and international film shoots as most of the European capital cities do. Being a logistic city for filming creates jobs and generates high income which benefit the city’s economy. This should be backed up by aid which should be provided by the state to the audio-visual world, commonplace in all European countries, in order to maintain cultural diversity in the face of the monopoly of the American audio-visual. The cinema, especially, and the audio-visual, in general, are a state structure, because not only are they the most cohesive tool that a country can possess, they are also the artistic expression which has the widest audience and the most efficient when it comes to demonstrating the image of a country to the world. This will be essential in order to present ourselves to the world from Barcelona and from our rich diversity of languages and styles, a world which, if we consider ourselves more cultured, is bound to want to open its arms to us.

The Language. In an independent country there should be an official, a co-official, or a common language such as occurs in the United Kingdom or the USA, where it is the most natural thing in the world that is undisputed. This should be decided at the ballot boxes, but we should consider Spanish as a linguistic heritage not to be renounced. Having two languages makes us richer, more cultured and more open to the world. Catalan is only spoken in the lands surrounding us: the Valencia region, the Balearic Islands and Northern Catalonia, and therefore Barcelona should make every effort to ensure it survives and also make it the showcase and pride of our particular diversity, enabling it to be a tool of institutional communication, commonly use culturally and a language of habitual communication widely and happily shared.
When a city becomes the capital of a new state, we see a multiplying effect through which its local action is projected onto the global scene without intermediaries. This effect results in the new capital acquiring certain responsibilities which, if met, can see it deemed as being worthy of the role of chief city amongst its neighbours and, in a state as small as Catalonia, the driving engine. It is difficult to contemplate this change without also considering the definition and organisation of dynamic metropolises marked by the global tendency of women as front-line protagonists. An in-depth analysis of budgets and investments is not enough, even if we also take into account what is now known as “impact investing”. Because the opportunity to increase the city’s decision-making ability is hugely important as regards the control and management of resources.
A qualitative political leap cannot be taken without a model of governance that considers the importance of gender and a culture of equality. The development of Barcelona as a capital city will be stunted if it does not commit to being a beacon of progress (progress for people) and to a linguistic change with regards women and men. Is this possible without altering its current position? It does not appear so. The new space will inevitably need to be built on the organisation of and links between people. This is something that needs to be worked on if Barcelona wants to place itself in a key global position. The urban scene par excellence will be that of the future, and this reality is loaded with challenges for the social and economic model. When talking about women, action has normally been limited to so-called “women’s policies”. In the local sphere, social measures have been implemented in the form of financial assistance, accommodation, free school meals, etc. for the most underprivileged. A further step would be to recognise that, as well as being women, these are also heads of family. Equality in development and economic recognition is essential, as is learning to be a great capital by looking at successful models that have overcome the hurdles set by stereotypes hindering collective action. By way of example, a North American study shows that the salary gap between men and women in the large cities studied is lower in those with a higher birth rate.

The success of coming fourth in the “10 Smartest Cities in Europe” ranking should encourage us to further boost mobility, energy and communication, making our city a model for the use of every type of talent and for attracting investment in accordance with the aforementioned model of governance and culture. If necessary, a best practices agreement should be put in place to ensure that women are reflected in the city. Economic and financial vigour are also related to the creation of a space that is friendly to local and foreign female entrepreneurs and businesswomen. This could be a way to boost levels of entrepreneurship, and this is a strategic enrichment that, at the same time, transmits values that may mark the difference with other cities. Putting the city at the service of the people means putting it at the service of women. Thus, the challenge of building a city that reflects its feminine side must be attained through public spaces. One of the advantages of being the first city lies precisely in the ability to create a public space with new protagonists. Not only should there be more women in politics, but also in positions of decision-making, and their presence should be increased at the base and at the top of civic organisations. Recognising the importance of women in decision making is key if, as was said at the start, we want to achieve full availability of resources and projects. It is in this way that the role of women as a driving force is given visibility and recognition, achieving balance in the priority task of constructing a capital. This is not about women, but about taking advantage of opportunities to create a model that can rise to current challenges. Barcelona has always identified itself as a model of modernity and in Catalan, modernity is a feminine word.
Some decades ago, the British historian Eric J. Hobsbawm had already theorised that we would see the rise of a series of second (but not secondary) European cities by the 21st century. As they were not imperial metropolises or capitals of great states, these cities would not benefit from the advantages inherent in capital status, but neither would they be limited by its servitudes. Many of these cities were privileged enough to witness the growth of an industrial and commercial middle class and the consolidation of the first groups of liberal professionals and middle classes in general. It was here, for example, where art nouveau would flourish, where civil society would offer support for organisations and patronage of the arts, especially architecture, applied arts (what would later be known as “design”) and music, and where, finally, communities would begin to express their desire for their own cultural and, in some cases, linguistic identity.

Hobsbawm explicitly mentioned Brussels, Glasgow, Helsinki, Prague and his much-loved Barcelona in this list of cities capable of shining with their own light. Cities that would be known and praised for their own merits and not for a designation or graces conferred by outsiders. These metropolises would unofficially perform the role of capital cities in different fields, benefiting from, and at the same time conditioned by, their internal vitality. Of these, Barcelona is a notable case in that it has maintained its position over time, extending its influence beyond the confines of its own region and managing to reinvent itself, becoming synonymous with trade fairs and congresses, design, mobile telephony, biomedical research and quality of life, as well as many other areas.

From my point of view, a future state capital should be able to take on all the potential offered by its official status without neglecting the strengths of this non-official pre-eminence. Far from diverting efforts into vain pomposities, it would be a case of increasing the efficiency of that which has already been tried and tested. As the writer and UOC lecturer Jaume Subirana noted in 2013 in an article in Barcelona Metrópolis magazine, it may not be so necessary to find a new brand, the umpteenth nickname or a clear-cut image. Because who needs new adjectives when we have a noun as valuable as Barcelona?

Whether or not it becomes the capital of a new state, Barcelona is currently one of Europe’s leading cities. And as such, it must act as one. It evidently cannot hold onto its status by remaining static, rather it must constantly enrich itself in order to maintain and strengthen its position. In other words, we must apply intelligent self-demands while avoiding both uselessly berating ourselves and becoming paralysingly self-satisfied.

A possible way forward, suggested by Richard Florida in his influential book *Who’s Your City?* and already partly applied by the Catalan capital, involves the famous Three Ts – talent, technology and tolerance. No metropolis that aspires to a position of future relevance can afford to underestimate them. However, this trio must be well-grounded with solid roots. Because being global does not just come down to being open to the world, rather it means offering and building upon one’s own resources so as to gain significance. As expressed so clearly by Joan Miró, that illustrious son of Barcelona and universal Catalan, “You must always plant your feet firmly on the ground if you want to jump into the air”.

In my opinion, it is precisely in the research centres and universities — as well as other organisations — located in the Catalan capital and its sphere of influence, where Barcelona must find partners for this new stage. Institutions firmly rooted to our history and region, but with their sights set on the global world. Institutions whose tools are talent, technology and tolerance. Institutions such as the UOC, on which the city will always be able to count to help it face this future.
From the beginning of the Renaixença to the current day, the city of Barcelona has exercised a clear role as the cultural capital of all the Catalan-speaking territories, and has made up for the limitations of Valencia and Palma when it comes to fully assuming this role in their own regions. The first time Barcelona exercised this function was with the poetry competition known as the Jocs Florals (Floral Games), then with magazines and publishing houses which, ever since the period of Catalan modernism, have been a platform for the voices of Valencian and Balearic authors. As regards Mallorca, at different points throughout the 20th century, a large number of writers (Miquel S. Oliver, Gabriel Alomar, Joan Estelrich, Llorenç Riber, Baltasar Porcel, etc.) and artists from different disciplines (Maria del Mar Bonet, Toni Catany, Agustí Villaronga, etc.) found that Barcelona offered them varying degrees of opportunity to jumpstart their professional careers and attain cultural and social recognition for their work. However, when we weigh all this up, an objective view shows us that Barcelona and the political institutions to which it is home — the Barcelona City Council and the Catalan Regional Government — have never had a very clear idea of what their role should be in coordinating and promoting the culture contributions from the Catalan-speaking regions. Rather it has been private and individual initiatives that have fulfilled this role.
In the immediate future, Barcelona, in its capacity as the capital of the Catalan state, will have to consider this objective: how to ensure that the cultural nation formed by the different Catalan-speaking regions really and truly functions, with continuity and strength, as a cultural nation. In the same way that the political and administrative boundaries that have existed over the last thirty years have not impeded a permanent flow of cultural exchange between Barcelona, Valencia and the Balearic Islands, when these “boundaries” become state lines, the flow of culture must continue. As well as being desirable, this must also be carried out naturally, following the train of thought of one of the founding principles of the European Union: the encouragement of cooperation between its different political and administrative regions (cities, regions, states) and its geographical neighbours. It is unthinkable that a Europe that defends dialogue and cooperation between languages and cultures through its bodies and judgements could frown upon the different parts of a single language and culture — spread between two neighbouring states — maintaining ties of collaboration based on mutual benefit and reciprocity. This approach must be considered very reasonable if we bear in mind that it even receives specific mention in the current Statute of Autonomy of the Balearic Islands (2007), approved by an absolute parliamentary majority of the Popular Party. Article 5 of the Statute stipulates that “The government must promote communication, cultural exchange and cooperation with the communities and regions, whether or not they belong to the Spanish state, that have linguistic and cultural ties with the Balearic Islands. To this end, the government of the Balearic Islands and the state government, in accordance with their respective competencies, may sign collaboration agreements, treaties and other instruments”. We therefore see that both the philosophy of cooperation of the EU and the organic law of the current Balearic Statute support the political existence of lines of cultural communication between Barcelona/Catalonia and the other Catalan-speaking regions.

It is therefore most likely that Barcelona the state capital will use as many means as possible, both political and budgetary, to promote culture in all its aspects. Culture will serve to generate social cohesion, community identity, opportunities for professional growth and a positive image for Catalonia to present to the world through the creativity of its artists and scientists. In this new context — without external political conditions and with a clearly greater pool of resources — Catalonia and Barcelona must support and propel all cultural contributions made in Catalan, even if they originate from a region outside of its administrative scope. The Catalan Regional Government and Barcelona City Council must set out policies to promote the exposure in Catalonia and especially Barcelona of the best cultural creations that originate from or are made in the Balearic Islands and Valencia, whether they be quality theatrical or musical productions, journalistic articles of general interest, records or audiovisual materials, books and other literary works, plastic arts, etc. In order to achieve professionalism and to fulfil all its potential, the Catalan culture emanating from the Balearic Islands and Valencia needs all of the Catalan-speaking regions, and especially Catalonia, as its available market. At the same time, Barcelona must help to ensure that Catalonia’s cultural achievements find a natural and continuously open route to Valencia and the Balearic Islands. This is essential if Balearic and Valencian audiences wish to enjoy a wide range of high-quality cultural offerings in Catalan.

There is one last point to bear in mind: cultural relations between Catalonia/Barcelona and the Balearic Islands and Valencia, whether or not they are institutional, should always be built on the foundations of reciprocity, pragmatism, intelligent formality and shared interest.
Barcelona, country capital and showcase of Catalan literature

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Background

If just a few years ago, someone had told me that my country would make such serious, mediated and precise sovereigntist suggestions, I would probably not have believed it, just as many others of us already had convictions in this sense. Therefore, to start with, it is a real honour to be able to give my own personal view, as a non-resident but admiring citizen and habitual visitor, of what my country’s capital, Barcelona, should be. We are faced with a unique opportunity to take advantage of the developments that this process will bring and, in my case, I will focus my reflection on the factors making Catalan literature also an action of well-being for people, of social reference on a two-way path, Barcelona-Catalonia and Catalonia-Barcelona.

First of all I want to make clear my excellent opinion of the work well done around Catalan literature both from the culture Department of the Government of Catalonia, and particularly the Institution of Catalan Arts, and from the book area of the Catalan Institute of Cultural Enterprise and from the Library Service, amongst others, and to highlight the initiatives of the Culture Area of Barcelona City Hall and of many other services and areas, which have long been done as a country. Secondly, I would also highlight the great leading role in the national cultural sector and specifically in the literary sector played by the National Council for Culture and Arts, the working philosophy of which is one of the great bases of this text. Thirdly, the important and necessary work of entities such as Espais Escrits, the Association of Writers in the Catalan
Language, Òmnium Cultural, and many others, whose backbone is the socialisation of literature in the Catalan language amongst the general public. And finally, I want to remember the great work being done from private initiative, often putting in great resources and effort, and carried out by publishers, bookshops, literary festivals, associations, etc., giving support to the production of literature in our language in Catalonia and in all territories where Catalan is spoken.

Having made these first clarifications, I will divide this text into different reflections, all with the clear focus and the idea of helping to mark aspects which I believe the capital of the country must bear in mind when planning the promotion of what should be its principal literature, embraced by ten million speakers and for which Barcelona is the great reference; literature written in the Catalan language.

While I write these lines, I read with satisfaction that Barcelona City Hall wants to ask Unesco to make it the capital of literature, and I read opinions on this which make me reflect in different senses.

I think that we all, and not only the city of Barcelona, have an excellent opportunity to definitively place Catalan literature at the top of society. Being a city of literature, according to Unesco, not only means bearing in mind the data of the publishing sector, of the book sector, the number of libraries, the total number of festivals and activities put on in Barcelona and literature, but rather something more profound.

Luckily, some of us see it as an element which unites, which drives, the catalyst of specific actions to be done with people and which will make people’s lives better, will help them in their daily decisions and make them better. For this reason, it will be necessary to think of the city of literature that does not have two million beneficiaries, but rather ten million users of the name of Barcelona as the capital of Catalonia. I will not consider whether literatures of other languages with more or fewer speakers than Catalan and to which Barcelona has contributed a great deal in the field of the high-level book world should also have this predominant role which I believe corresponds Catalan literature; I always say that additions are always welcome, but this text is intended to focus on some of the actions which might draw from this name and I am sure that Barcelona and its government will take into account, as I am not the first to call for this role for the capital of a country with its own literature and language.

My ideas, which are specified in different actions in an attempt to be as clear and practical as possible, necessarily start from the book as the principal physical element which unites writers and readers and which must bring us to analyse how this relationship has developed in recent years and the changes which are occurring in the medium-term with respect to its format. It must also be said that reading in any format must always be the principal objective. Talking of reading, I don’t like to establish minimums or maximums, I think the important thing is that reading in a greater or smaller amount must be present in the daily lives of people. I therefore think that the relationship between readers and writers will not only depend on the physical means, but on how the creators and consumers of literary works will continue to maintain their relationship. We must also think that in a society such as ours, which is full of powerful messages wherever we look, encouraging us to consume and giving us more lessons on how to do so, it is worth reflecting on whether these established processes have to be followed in reading literature, or whether something more than what is currently being done is needed. If there is still fear of changing format, digital or electronic books, as you wish, if there is still fear into taking on new forms of pushing literature through (social networks, blogs, etc.) due to the ignorance
of some generations or because there are no previous references to help us to see it, it is that we are clearly at a point of inflection to extend or modify reading habits. Technology is present in almost all areas of our lives and if we want the habit of reading to continue or to improve considerably, we must also bear this in mind. I want to make it clear that I am a great defender of electronic means and above all those that help us to guarantee what gives us more joy and brings us good things in life, but I don’t want to load technology and technologists with the full weight of the state of consumption of reading or Catalan literature in the future.

**Actions to be taken**

**Barcelona, capital of reading in digital or technological format**

To start with, in this first action I want to insist on the fact that if Barcelona is the world mobile capital, why can it not also be so by having Catalan literature as its backbone? We use the country, we use the readers in our language as excellent testers of the dynamisation of reading linked to technology. We clearly focus on the efforts which have to be analysed if our literature can increase its reading and social repercussion through technology. Great experts in both technology and Catalan literature agree with us and the world mobile capital gives us an exceptional display window to the world, which I am sure should be taken advantage of. This point should be amongst the most important when making a capital of literature as it should be.

**Barcelona, literary scenery**

We also have to think of different fields in which Barcelona has the chance to work, improve and change aspects which locate literature and reading as an important axis in the daily work of its citizens, and above all as a reference of the rest of the country and speakers of the Catalan language. I am talking about fields such as tourism, in which Barcelona has a great capacity to bring in large numbers of visitors. As I am not an expert, I will not go into which kind of tourism should visit Barcelona, and therefore Catalonia, but I will clearly link the future of tourism to literature in the language of our country, because if we talk about quality tourism, cultural tourism, tourism that gives visitors things, how is it that we do not use literature to achieve these milestones like any other country in Europe?

Barcelona has many splendid places that bear the name of illustrious writers of our literature. I will not make a list because it would greatly limit the space for this text, but I will say that there are places of all kinds: streets, squares, parks and gardens, etc. however, there are currently very few, if not no spaces with names of literates which, when you visit them, have for instance a small fragment of the work of the person giving their name to the square. This would help to understand the principle reason for the name of the public space much better, and this is but the literary value, and it would give a message, a feeling or reflection, no matter how small it might be, to people who read it. It might be a fragment which could also help to explain and understand the place in the city where it is located, which might be the birth area of the writers themselves, for example, or the fragment might indicate significant or outstanding elements of the place to give it still more value. This action might appear in three languages (Catalan, Spanish and English, for example) to help foreign visitors also to understand the literary value of the name of
the place, and would drive them even to seek more literature on the author. This might produce translations into other languages which as yet had not been imagined thanks to the large number of tourists from a specific country coming each year. This action would also have a very strong impact on our society. First of all on the residents in the area who, visiting the place with young children for instance, might read them the fragments and play at making the new generations understand the importance of letters and reading. It would also allow the creation of memory routes of the spaces that greater Barcelona has dedicated to the different writers, whether or not they were born in the city, and which are a reference in literature written in Catalan.

The rest of the country could also enjoy these texts on these frequent visits done during the year alone or in a group of the cultural offer of the capital of Catalonia. This would also strengthen the bond between municipalities and the capital, above all in towns which are the birthplaces of an illustrious writer who also has a place in Barcelona and who has also often written about the city. A capital of literature cannot be lacking in actions which bring people out of their homes, which have a direct impact on their daily lives, which make reading the main reason for their cultural consumption. I also make a clear proposal here to start a process of participation to establish a place (street, square or garden) in Barcelona with the general name of Lletres Catalanes (Catalan letters) where each year there might be a small public act dedicated to our writers.

**Barcelona, capital of the literary stage**

In order to encourage reading and to consolidate it in society, it is necessary to make use of all of the elements which the cultural world provides, and in this section I think that we have to situate the literary shows. In a cultural area of ten million people, with such an important wealth of creation on the stage, literature must also be encouraged there, maybe not in quantity, as the data clearly show us that we have a very large number of artistic companies and groups of different disciplines which allow us to be optimistic, and we have an extensive list of literary festivals and cycles, but in quality from the attention given by society. I'm talking about bringing the shows around Catalan literature to the municipalities of the whole of the linguistic area. Here, Barcelona plays an important role because everything done in the city has a great impact in the international media, making a reference of how to do things in the cultural area around the country. I give the example of an initiative to promote literature which mixes the literary shows directly with the consumption of literature through book sales. The aim is that those attending the literary show in the Catalan language receive a large discount with their ticket on the purchase of a book by the author of the show which they have seen, for example, to consume in one or two days. The impact that an excellent show based on literature can have on the mood of a person is so large that they very rarely are left indifferent. This must be used to try to achieve ongoing consumption of literature and to make reading something continuous and close the circle which the creators have borne in mind in preparing the double cultural offer (literature + stage arts). Many of us know that if we therefore focus the book format as a path to bring literature to the people, we are closing other possibilities which, as yet little explored, are being given by new readers, new forms of literary consumption and with very good results in people's personal growth.
It is therefore necessary to make the capital of literature realise that it can be the axis where all of its theatres might have literary shows each year, and I am talking not only about the largest and those with the budgets for large productions, but also obviously those smaller theatres in different formats in other areas away from the centre and bringing in a highly diverse audience. But at the same time, it is necessary to think of the theatres and small stage areas there are in the rest of the country, where very high-quality productions can also be made which clearly feed the numerous group of places in Barcelona; another opportunity to tread the path in both directions, from Barcelona to the rest of the linguistic domain and vice versa. Why not an annual proposal given in several places where literary shows are put on in the Catalan language with the intention of giving greater visibility both to the stage offer and to the writers, always between peers in the promotion both of artistic creation and literary creation? We are also thinking of waging on new different and innovative scenic formats, etc. which might add to those we have already associated with the literary fact that allow us to reach new audiences, new generations, new future readers of the literature they will represent. We might also be able to do tours of other countries in festivals or thematic stage fares, through special commemorations, always with the message transmitted by the authors as a central axis.

We have examples of book socialisation with a good result such as the day of ‘Sant Jordi’ and not only in Barcelona, because there are more and more municipalities that clearly go for a wide range of activities, but we need other times during the year. A very good job done in this respect is the Week of the Book in Catalan and its definitive reference date which is the Eleventh of September. This meeting brings countrymen to Barcelona to see what the book sector in our language is like and with a clear view of what is happening around the country in the form of publishing houses and bookshops. Well we have two very good examples, one in the spring and the other in the summer, but what about the winter and autumn? I think we need another two activities to close an annual cycle. A great week of literary shows in Catalan could be held in February in Barcelona. This is a month which is good for doing things in closed places, and I think that in this respect Barcelona is more than well-prepared. It could be linked to the programming already being done in the theatres, but during that specific week they could all agree to program shows of any discipline around Catalan literature. As we say, there is more than enough production and activities which we are already working on in this sense. If we set up a small bookstore at the entrance to each theatre allowing discounts on physical or digital books along with the tickets, what repercussions would this have on the book world?

The capital of literature must have a calendar of activities throughout the year which is attractive internally and externally, new and different, which makes it a world reference thanks to its social impact, such as the day of Sant Jordi. The internal and external image of the city and the country in its language might be a key element. The mild climate could also be taken advantage of with some activity in the more central and tourist areas. For example, an action to bring tourists to the book shops with a discount on shows or giving certain shows in a bilingual version? A capital of literature should think of the large number of foreign visitors it has and also program actions to promote reading amongst them. The excellent translations of our literature into so many languages are a good sign of quality and also a very good way to link Catalan literature with other cultures, and I think this should be taken advantage of. In this sense it would be very useful to allow the companies managing this tourism and the visits to the city to have a reference date in the autumn when their customers would receive a special deal linked with the literary
fact. It would also be addressed at the citizens of the city and the rest of the country who might want to come to see how writers in their language also have editions in other languages which they might not know and which might even help them to practise and improve them.

Conclusions

In conclusion, we are faced with an opportunity that Barcelona will give us if it manages, and I am sure it will, to become Unesco’s capital of literature. We all have an opportunity to take great actions to promote our literature and to help us see that we are playing in the first division in many qualitative and not only quantitative and aspects. As a whole, this will make people consuming literature better or will increase appreciation and pleasure of reading, as it will bring them closer to the people in their daily activity. A society is better if it is well prepared in knowledge and awareness, and literature is the key to achieving this.

The keys I have wanted to give are intended to show the variety of possibilities there are to exploit the socialisation of literature among the people in the broadest sense. Barcelona is the ideal city in this sense thanks to its experience, the number of offers in many areas and as a meeting point for culture. Literature and reading can be worked on in depth in the field of tourism, cultural action, services to society, etc. We know that the time is right, but we must have a clear idea that we have to prioritise literature in the Catalan language above all. The present social situation in the national area must reveal this and above all make us believe it.

Doing it well would give a definitive drive to show the world the city’s commitment to Catalan literature and its socialisation particularly in the last thirty-five years. This work means that the rest of the country can benefit from what the city offers culturally. If Barcelona wants to be the capital of a country that is a display window for Catalan literature to the world, it must think far beyond Montjuïc, the Llobregat and Besòs rivers and have a national and territorial view of the whole of the linguistic area because this would enrich it and make it larger in all senses.

The Barcelona capital of literature will give us great satisfaction, but work must be done in a team with views of people from the city but also from the rest of the country. Barcelona is a city which has always brought people together in integration; I therefore hope that now it doesn’t forget this feature which makes it an exceptional city. The rest of the country also wants to be a participant in this great capital. I think that the main reason that drives us forward is that whatever Barcelona offers us also helps us to make our municipalities and the society surrounding us better, and to build a Catalonia that is more ours, more of everyone and for everyone.
White Paper on what it could mean for Barcelona to become the capital of a new state. In this White Paper we want to include reflection by key civic and professional figures in our society.

This year, 2014, we are commemorating the 300th anniversary of the fall of Barcelona at the hands of the Bourbon troops. Five days after 11 September 1714, the new king, Philip V, decreed the closure of the University of Barcelona and an immediate end to classes there. A new university, the only one in the whole of Catalonia, was set up in Cervera. This punishment meant that the city was without a university until 1837.

This historical fact will serve to head my contribution to this White Paper on Barcelona as the potential capital of a new state. It’s difficult today to imagine the capital of an advanced country without a solid university that makes its presence felt in the country. In Barcelona and, of course, Catalonia, we have a university system that is a point of reference at the level of the Spanish state. The University of Barcelona plays a key role in this reality, as its high-ranking international position shows.

The university in its medieval beginnings was of a much smaller size than today and the number of students hardly reached one thousand. It wasn’t until 1450 that Alfons V the Magnanimous granted Barcelona permission to have a university providing higher education. Since then, except during the 120-year interruption of the University of Cervera, the University of Barcelona has always been identified with the city and the country. Nowadays, the University of Barcelona is a distinguishing feature in Barcelona and Catalonia as a byword for a model academic and research project and an example of regional integration.

What university is possible with the city as capital? One of the consequences would be a more powerful and international university, as it would have better access to institutional representa-
tion. But its development would also depend on who we want to mirror as the new country’s capital city. We need to think what kind of society Barcelona must have in the future if it’s to be a state capital and what seed we want to leave in the medium and long term. And here higher education plays a leading role. No-one would understand it if plans for an ambitious country did not consider a successful public university model as an essential element. To put it another way, it would be seen as contradictory to advocate a Catalan welfare society or a strong state (be it independent, associated or federal) without designing a policy of our own for the university, with an unambiguous choice in favour of a model of public university with sufficient funding.

Catalonia needs strong institutions that will live up to their declared objectives, that work. And we must insist on strengthening – rather than weakening – the institutions that have already been functioning for years, that have a history and prestige and have responded to the demands of each moment. And the capital, with its population, the institutions concentrated there and its internationalisation, is what must provide an example for the rest of the country. A capital can not be built behind the back of its institutions. The best argument I can think of in defence of the influence of the university on Barcelona’s role as capital of a new state is that it is an important institution that stands for the best in research, the best in training and the values of cohesion and freedom we also represent. Today, Barcelona already has a strong university representation, with almost 200,000 students and more than 1,000 researchers, and manages resources to the value of more than 1,000 million euros, always in overall figures.

A state capital, if it is to be competitive and keep abreast of international standards, basically requires a portfolio of quality resources of all sorts, in the economic, social, cultural, sporting and scientific fields. The ‘University’ brand doesn’t hide from the world behind the city brand, but complements and elevates it, by being acknowledged in the best international listings and through its scientific, bibliographic and cultural heritage. Throughout its history, the University of Barcelona has taken part in large-scale regional transformation projects. It is therefore neither unaffected by the city’s growth nor alien to it.

The chief resources and opportunities that always come with being the capital of a state are a potential for improvement that would allow the realisation of national objectives that circumstances have delayed: universal access, competitive renewal of equipment, synergies of infrastructures, etc. In Scotland, where the population was recently consulted on independence, they have their own system of funding that means they can offer free access to the local population of proven ability. In Paris, a new university (Paris-Saclay) has been formed out of several existing institutions thanks to their resources and their power to make decisions. Barcelona as a capital must bring new opportunities, where the university is the right institution and the best prepared to take advantage of them and develop them.

The university must be given even more weight and, in the globalised world we live in, requires a firm and decided push towards internationalisation, which the city itself already represents. A city which, if it becomes the capital of a new state, will join the associations, leagues and other international encounters with statutes allowing it to grow and play a more central role on the institutional level. Without a university, like in the 18th century, it will take a long time to consolidate this role.

For Barcelona, for the city and its university, recognition as a capital city by international bodies would mean a chance to improve its well-being, its future and its international influence.
A great opportunity

Martí Sales
Writer
A capital is a watchtower: a country’s voice, an international institution, an exceptional observatory and a legitimate interlocutor in the affairs of world politics. It allows us to see far and wide — if we so choose — and to be seen from all around. I say watchtower and not ivory tower because a capital must perform the role of stirring up ports and centres of irradiation, elevation and enthusiasm. We must take advantage of these new circumstances and abilities, while avoiding the temptation of isolation and foolishness that are congenital traits of state capitals — hypertrophic government infrastructure, bureaucratic collapse, inertia of public servants. We are presented with a magnificent occasion for Catalan culture to rise up, to forget the mania for taxidermy and this obsession with navel gazing.

Why, for example, when it comes to culture, is Lyon more daring than Paris? Does it come down to the resources within or beyond a capital’s reach or is it about the inertia a capital generates? What resources do capitals have? They have more infrastructure, money and connectivity — as well as more civil servants and short circuits to get “jobs for the boys”. Lyon balances the lack of these with ingenuity and audacity, as it has neither the pressure nor the bureaucratic hindrances of a state capital. Barcelona will have to make a significant effort to combat this lack of risk which is inherent to infrastructures that are overloaded with pomp and representativeness. On the other hand, these resources could help us to begin patching up Catalonia’s cultural ecosystem, devastated by years of depending heavily on the construction industry and of not knowing one’s arse from one’s elbow. However, it is even more important that the achievement of this new status should serve to help us reconsider what we are. And if constituting ourselves as a state in our own right does not offer a way to do so, then we really will be in dire straits. First of all, we need to stop applying business criteria to the world of culture, because neither can it be governed by nor brought down to a matter of profit. We must stop rallying behind names and brands (culture is not a market, it is something that is cultivated) and it would be a good idea to stop forcing the directors and programmes of art centres, museums, theatres and festivals to beat to the rhythm of legislation instead of following their own paths, independent of the results of the last elections.

We should also bear in mind that, in terms of legislation, both our language and our culture will go from being unprotected, attacked and undervalued to attaining a state of institutional normality that will allow us to take the next step – projection, contamination and risk, and to no longer treat our culture as a dying consumptive. We can take it out of the incubator and let it run free, take it to the square for some amusement, let it fall over, cry, shout, fall in love and procreate. Let it be itself. We will throw ourselves to the task of incentivising contact with other cultures to learn from them, to fuse with them and to parry with them. While the Institut Ramon Llull is responsible for exporting Catalan culture, Barcelona’s public cultural administrators should help to cultivate it: to put in motion mechanisms that will lead to the ideal conditions for fostering the creation of culture and to bring together the leading international figures and organisations in the fields of thought and creativity. Barcelona must be a sounding board, an agora, a place for conspiring. Capital city status represents a great opportunity for taking advantage of new resources and doing away with old vices. Let us not waste it.
From BCN.CAT to BARCELONA.CT
Information Technology in a new European state

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Introduction

The world is immersed in a technological revolution comparable only to the other two previous major revolutions: the agricultural and the industrial. Thousands of years ago, the agricultural revolution spawned cities, places where mankind, thitherto nomadic, began to settle, as agricultural and livestock techniques permitted the accumulation of wealth and the creation of complex urban societies. The second revolution, which began some two and a half centuries ago, is still ongoing, and formed cities as we know them today. First the steam engine, followed by the combustion engine, and eventually electric power, dispensed with the need for animal haulage, which was replaced by all kinds of machines. Then there is the digital revolution, which began just over half a century ago. The invention of the transistor led to more powerful microprocessors, which lie at the heart of the increasing numbers of computers, smartphones and myriad personal devices that form an ever greater part of our lives. The internet is the new paradigm that has changed our lives and the worldwide economy, however, we do not yet know to what extent it will change our cities and forms of political organisation. With this revolution in full swing, the prospect of building a new state in Europe, with a cutting-edge capital, to wit Barcelona, opens up a new outlook and hope for an old nation like Catalonia. Barcelona 1.0, a small agricultural Roman city out in the provinces, evolved into Barcelona 2.0, the capital of a Mediterranean commercial empire. Leveraging the thrust of the Industrial Revolution, Barcelona 3.0 (as designed by Cerdà) emerged, and was in turn transformed, in the latest generation, into Barcelona, 4.0, the successful city of tourism and the Olympics. With the creation of a Barcelona 5.0 that will tap into all the opportunities brought by the digital revolution in full swing, history offers Barcelona and Catalonia yet another great opportunity — the capital of a new state, BARCELONA.CT.

BCN.CAT: a leading city on the internet

The advent of the .cat domain (Gordillo 2007) illustrates the changes brought about by the internet to worldwide society. Everyone uses the internet (some three billion people according to the latest statistics), although virtually nobody realises that governance of the world-wide web does not lie in the hands of the states or the multinationals that do business on it, but rather in those of volunteer professionals, heirs to the pioneers who created the internet over just thirty years ago. The popular internet domains that allow us to hook up with any computer in the world were designed by these pioneers, who established that formally constituted states would be recognised by a two-letter ending: .es, .fr, .it, etc. Thus, Catalonia was not assigned an identifier, which would be .ct, as it did not enjoy political recognition as a state. But Catalan initiative in a non-state-controlled environment permitted the existence of a three-letter domain, .cat, designating the community that uses Catalan language on the internet. The .cat domain was adopted en masse, albeit not exclusively, by individuals, organisations, businesses and administrations. Barcelona City Council, for example, has been using the Bcn.cat identifier since then.

Currently, the presence of Catalan on the internet is unique in many ways. By use, it is (by far) the leading language that is not backed by a state in which it is an official language (if we exclude Andorra, whose small population does not convey the vitality of Catalan on the web).
Global, high-impact initiatives, such as the popular Wikipedia, place Catalan as one of the leading languages (13th out of 280, according to wiccac.cat data) and its use on the internet is totally normal (barring some business sectors).

The Catalan capital has played, and continues to play, a pivotal role in the use of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) which, as we shall see, may be a key factor at a time when Catalonia is contemplating a qualitative leap in its political status. Indeed, while for purely demographic reasons Catalonia and its language play a second-tier role in the international arena, its capital, Barcelona, is a city that works and competes on equal footing with the world’s major cities. Let us look at some examples.

The vitality of the Catalan capital makes it a focal point not only for tourists, but also for professionals from all over the world. In recent years, Barcelona has consistently been placed among the world’s top five cities for conferences and congresses. More particularly, and with regard to the matter in hand, it has hosted the Mobile World Congress since 2006, the biggest event in the world for the revolutionary mobile technology industry. What is more, in 2011 it was named Mobile World Capital by the GSMA (the congress organiser), a title it will hold until at least 2018, making Barcelona the capital city of a technology that boasts the fastest social penetration in the history of mankind. The immense opportunities that this represents led to the constitution of the Mobile World Capital Foundation, formed by the GSMA, Fira de Barcelona, Barcelona City Council and the Catalan and Spanish Governments. This foundation aims to mobilise and capitalise upon public and private initiatives related to revolutionary mobile technologies to the benefit of Barcelona and Catalonia.

However, Barcelona is also a capital in other regards. In the current digital revolution scenario, and together with the internet paradigm, there is another keyword that channels the energy generated by companies and organisations — innovation. Having always been a leading and innovative city, Barcelona has also taken the lead in this area of ICT. This resulted in the European Commission recognising Barcelona as the European Capital of Innovation in 2014, for “introducing the use of new technologies to foster economic growth and the welfare of its citizens”. The international positioning afforded to Barcelona through this distinction and corresponding economic reinforces the city’s brand in the world of ICT.

As if the acknowledgement of the ICT industry and European institutions were not enough, Barcelona recently scooped a worldwide private enterprise award that endorses its key role in the social application of ICT. In 2014, the Bloomberg Philanthropies Foundation organised the second edition of the Mayors Challenge, a competition of visionary, innovative and doable ideas in the field of the public application of technology, open to European cities of over one hundred thousand inhabitants. One hundred and fifty-five cities entered the challenge, and Barcelona won the first prize of 5 million euros for the "Vincles" (Links) project, geared towards creating networks of human and technological protection around people who live in isolation in cities.

It is not just titles and awards that assert Barcelona’s global leadership in ICT for citizens. Barcelona is one of the few cities in the world with a competitive public fibre-optic and Wi-Fi network. Indeed, over the years, Barcelona City Council has been connecting hundreds of its municipal buildings (citizen advice centres, civic centres, libraries, etc.) with fibre optic. Similarly, a large part of its mobility network (particularly traffic lights) is connected by fibre optic. This technology was also used on a large scale in the 22@ district initiative. Finally, and bolstered by this public fibre optic, the City Council has gradually rolled out a citywide network of
more than one thousand Wi-Fi hotspots. Overall, these networks, coordinated by Barcelona’s Municipal IT Institute, constitute a public-owned communications infrastructure that is virtually unique among the world’s major cities. The value of this competitive advantage is even more significant since, in recent years, the smart cities fever (see below) has led cities to address the connection of all kinds of objects, sensors and data generators for intelligent management.

Finally, and of great significance to the future of Barcelona and Catalonia, large cities are an important pole of attraction for the ICT industry. This industry is a key sector in any country’s economy, and its technologies underpin all sectors and all human activities. It is difficult to excel in any economic activity without the support and development of ICT. It is a sector that has coped reasonably well with the prevailing economic crisis, and there is no doubt that it is key to extricating ourselves from it. The development of ICT components, equipment and systems over the last fifty years has been marked by a series of characteristics (downsizing of hardware, costs and prices, increased capacity, processing speed and storage) that still apply and will continue to grow expansively for at least a further two generations.

The smart city: towards Barcelona 5.0

Perhaps the most significant change in the digital revolution in recent years (a revolution within the revolution) are the new paradigms of smart cities and the Internet of Things. The leitmotif of smart cities is how the digital revolution will affect cities and the lives of their citizens. In the Internet of Things (or rather of Everything — People, Objects, Processes and Data), the vision is based on the overwhelming success of the internet and on the possibility of extending the connection between people to the connection between all kinds of physical or virtual objects. Many analysts regard the IoT as the new industrial revolution.

In recent years, Barcelona has also positioned itself as a leader in this field. Indeed, the firm commitment by the team led by Mayor Trias to make technology applied to the city and to people’s welfare one of the strategic pillars of the Barcelona of the future (5.0) has already begun to bear fruit. Some concrete examples in this regard are:

- Barcelona is very well-placed in all the European and world smart city rankings.
- Since 2012, Barcelona has been organising the Smart City Expo and World Congress, an event which, in just two years, has become the largest in the world in its field. It has been franchised to Kyoto, Bogotá and Montreal, and a number of cities hope to be able to organise events with this brand. The 2014 edition is expected to host representatives from more than 600 cities around the world, making it the largest global showcase for technology applied to cities.
- In the year 2012, the European Commission, through three of its Commissioners (Energy, Mobility and ICT), created the European Innovation Partnership on SmartCities and Communities, an initiative aim at coordinating the policy of the three commissioners in matters related to smart cities. The High-Level Group that oversees this initiative includes the mayor of Barcelona, and Barcelona is one of the three European cities selected.
- In 2013, the company Cisco, in collaboration with dozens of other business partners and institutions, including Barcelona City Council, launched the IoT World Forum, an initiative to focus the efforts of industry and institutions on standardisation in the development of the IoT. Its first World Congress was held in October 2013.
Over the three years of this current mandate, Barcelona has launched a series of worldwide initiatives in the field of smart cities. These include the City Protocol, which aims to ensure that cities, businesses, academia and social organisations from around the world can reach common, mutually-agreed solutions to common problems in the application of Technology to Cities. The CityProtocol Society, an international society founded in October 2013 to channel this initiative, is chaired by Barcelona. Similarly, the City Council is spearheading the construction of a city operating system, the so-called City OS, with the aim of creating a platform used by many cities all over the world. Generally speaking, the projects and initiatives in the field of smart cities developed by Barcelona City Council are regarded as pioneering efforts by many cities around the world that strive to apply technology to the task of improving people’s lives.

The ICT sector in Catalonia: the capital factor

According to data from the Catalan ICT barometer published by CTECNO (ctecno.cat), the main figures for the sector in Catalonia are as follows (for 2013):

- Turnover: €14 billion
- Number of companies: 4,700, two thirds of which engage in business overseas
- Employees: 82,000

Catalonia is the eighth European region with the largest number of employees in knowledge services and cutting-edge technology, fifth in terms of workers employed in science and technology, and eleventh in terms of employment in high- and medium-high technology-intensive manufacturing in 2012. The Catalan technology sector continues to see the Barcelona brand as a key element in its foreign image.

Within Spain, Catalonia represents approximately one quarter of the ICT sector in general, which is in line with our country’s share in the Spanish economy. However, it is in Europe and the world where Catalonia should be reflected in this competitive sector, and here the figures are not so favourable.

Indeed, according to a report by the European Commission (see bibliography) there are only three ICT poles of excellence in Europe, namely Munich, London and Paris. With Catalonia inside Spain, the possibility of coming close to the levels of these regions is very limited. On the other hand, the European Commission and the report’s findings show that success in the ICT sector is not related to being big or belonging to a big country. In the report, Neelie Kroes, Vice-President of the European Commission, states that “This is proof that digital success comes through a willingness to invest, an open mindset for innovation and planning. Europe needs to build these values today to be a global leader in technology”.

A region’s excellence in ICT is linked to R&D activities, the capacity to bring knowledge to the market (innovation) and the creation of a strong business environment around this innovation. The EU study indicates that the conditions possessed by the regions where ICT is flourishing are:

1. They are mainly industrial areas with a long-standing tradition.
2. They have high-level schools and universities and other key innovation elements.
3. They tend to be clustered together with neighbouring regions (half of the thirty-four poles of excellence are neighbouring regions). This effect is also observed in places such as Silicon Valley (USA), Bangalore (India) and Changzhou (China).
4. They have implemented long-term research and innovation policies.
5. They have enjoyed historical opportunities, such as being the country’s political capital.

We can see that being a state capital is identified by the EU as a key factor in becoming a pole of excellence in the ICT sector, which is the only thing that Catalonia clearly lacks.

According to initial, conservative estimates, the effect on the ICT sector alone generated by Barcelona becoming the capital of a new European state could be quantified as:
- A 2.2 billion euro increase in annual turnover.
- 600 new companies.
- 10,000 jobs.

An initial comparison with European countries similar in size to Catalonia indicates that the new state would occupy a leading position among them, with a very good chance of the ICT sector becoming one of the driving forces of the Catalan economy.

State capitals have the power to attract companies. Some clear factors that justify this are that these capitals are points of:
- Decision-making in major projects, investments and regulation.
- Concentration of economic and financial resources.
- Concentration of political and legal power.
- Liaising and networking with third countries and other institutions.
- Concentration of information (the backbone of employment in the ICT sector).

Moreover, in the ICT sector there does not seem to be any hazard of ICT companies relocating due to the fact of becoming a capital city. To the contrary, these points suggest that there would be an increase in activity among existing companies as well as the creation of start-ups and new arrivals, as substantiated by the quantitative figures given in this report. We also believe that a new capital could be an environment for promoting or creating new competitive, sustainable companies by dint of providing a new future framework for research, innovation, creation and growth of businesses, without any ties with sectors, activities or enterprises that are more speculative than productive. This new framework for an economic and productive model must permit:
- greater efficiency of action;
- the strengthening of local positions to increase global competitiveness;
- the promotion of sustainable actions;
- transparency;
- the ability to promote large projects;
- allocation of “bit”-linked resources for a fairer and more sustainable society;
- constant pursuit of excellence.

Conclusions: towards BARCELONA.CT

The day that Catalonia becomes a state recognised by the international community, we will obtain, almost automatically, the top-level .ct domain that will identify us as such on the internet.
Under no circumstances does this mean we will abandon the .cat domain. Quite the contrary, as the Catalan-speaking community goes beyond the Principality, and it will be necessary to continue to use a tool that identifies us all as members of it. Nevertheless, the symbolism involved in the activation of the .ct domain is quite significant with regard to all the effects we have discussed in this small contribution.

The point of departure is very high: Barcelona is now leading the cities that make a firm commitment to ICT applied to their development. It is a city acknowledged by its peers (the most active and innovative cities in the world), by large companies and public and private institutions the world over. Apart from being a state capital, it has all the conditions identified by the studies as success factors for being an ICT pole of excellence.

We can generate more wealth, more jobs and be world leaders in the business of ICT applied to the city, a business that the city itself, with the backing of its municipal, metropolitan and national institutions, can help to create a powerful network of small and medium-sized enterprises that will breathe further life into a powerful ecosystem with the large multinationals from the ICT sectors and city management services.

But the multiplying force of the ICT sector does not end in said sector. There are areas of human and economic activity in which ICT will have increasingly greater impact, and in which Catalonia is currently a world leader: the multiplicative factor we can find here may transform them into basic sectors of the future state’s economy. There are three unique cases we would like to highlight.

In the Health sector, Catalonia is a leader both in terms of health-care quality and its management model. The application of ICT generates what is known as e-health, and everyone expects a worldwide explosion in this sector in the coming years. The popularisation of individual devices, such as smartphones and all kinds of so-called “wearables” (watches, glasses, rings, clothes, etc.) facilitate the remote monitoring and provision of health services, reducing the always expensive in-situ component. In a sector that accounts for the bulk of public and/or private expenditure in the most-developed economies, e-health is expected to become one of the economy’s basic driving forces. Moreover, and referring to welfare and social services in the broadest sense, we are dealing with a sector where ICT offers a very broad potential, in which Catalonia holds a competitive advantage and has a clear opportunity for global leadership.

At this moment in time, tourism is one of the mainstays of our economy, and Catalonia enjoys worldwide recognition as a tourist destination. ICT heralds a revolutionary change in a sector where mobility and individualised supply and demand play an essential role. It is a golden opportunity to turn our country into a world power, this time in the field of e-tourism.

Sport and recreation are key factors with a high economic impact in advanced societies. The leap taken thanks to the 1992 Olympic Games, plus our country’s long-standing sports tradition, embodied particularly in a club with a brand that is equally as powerful as its home city, namely FC Barcelona, are a competitive advantage which now, with the current wave of mobile ICT technologies, offers a huge opportunity for our country’s economy.
These are just three examples of synergies and opportunities for a small new European state to find its place in the international arena. Other sectors, such as education and safety and security, are also essential to a country that seeks to be competitive and will require special protection from the new state. ICT will again have a multiplying effect here.

There is no doubt that the worldwide political and democratic revolution that will be born of the creation of a new state in Mediterranean and Latin Europe will be enhanced by the digital revolution that is currently shaking the world’s economic and social structures. A powerful and globally-acknowledged capital like Barcelona will be the best complement to this new state, as well as a source of opportunities that will nurture it. Welcome, BARCELONA.CT!

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My contribution will outline some ideas on the topic of this “White Paper”. My insights are based on the conviction that independentism should allow us to go even further and, in the area in question, transform the current city model into a new one that will allow us to revert the ongoing process of de-democratisation and, in turn, place citizens’ engagement pursuing social rights and collective interests before window-dressing and tourism brand policies. From this standpoint, my contribution will address the area to which I have dedicated my life, namely Catalan language and culture. More particularly, I will focus on the process of recovery and normalisation of this language and culture in the context of the Catalan Countries.

A diachronic analysis of this process, which began at the end of the nineteenth century, bears out the importance of joint synergies between each region, as well as the importance of the initiatives implemented in their cities to accomplish the aforementioned purposes. In the case of Barcelona, it should take these premises on board in order to play the leading role that will fall to it once the existing regional boundaries have become state boundaries. To begin with, because the survival of our language and culture is not guaranteed by state structures. As is well known, our problem does not only stem from historical factors spawned by the dark episode of the War of the Spanish Succession. The social conditioning factors linked to concepts such as “language replacement” or “minority cultures” are crucial to understanding that not even a state is capable of dominating the regression of a language. Even less so in the new framework emerging from
the paradigm shifts that occurred in the nineties, when the large transnational industries, under the auspices of global capitalism, imposed their cultural hegemony and impacted the identities, preferences and language attitudes of the younger generations. Or to put it another way, to make some headway in the question, we have to continue to promote the commitment of Catalan speakers by creating truly all-embracing areas of coexistence, or fostering the power to generate prestige and attraction of cultural expressions in Catalan. State structures could make a contribution here, albeit always from the standpoint of overcoming institutionalised strongholds and stimulating the necessary involvement of everyone concerned.

Another basic condition is to accept, once and for all, that state boundaries are not the same as national and cultural boundaries, as has occurred in our case with Northern Catalonia since 1659. It should be pointed out that the independence of the Principality could lead to a new Hispanicising offensive in the Valencian Community, the Balearic Islands and the Western Strip between Catalonia and Aragon. Needless to say, any recession of a minority language and culture like our own always affects the whole. In this scenario, Barcelona cannot shirk its responsibility to mitigate these effects by strengthening cultural networks, popular initiatives and the creative and artistic expressions that keep it alive throughout our country.

From this perspective, Barcelona should guarantee the unrestricted use of Catalan among its population at all levels and in all sectors of society, so that our language will not be marked. And therefore, it should also guarantee that speaking it does not entail added connotations. In turn, it should also guarantee knowledge and dissemination of the literature, music, plastic arts and performing arts and the popular culture of the Catalan Countries. Without being paternalistic, because Barcelona is not the centre, but rather one of the crossroads; nor superficial, as our reality cannot be fostered by street and square names alone, but also requires the cultural development of districts, with the engagement of associations and with community spirit, another indispensable factor. These actions should always revolve around culture as a tool placed at the service of people.

At the same time, we must also break away from any kind of isolation within a bubble of false modernity. Thus, just as Barcelona should protect its unique diversity by fostering coexistence and cohesion between languages, cultures and identities, so too should it be aware of the wealth and complexity of Catalan culture interrelating with the other municipalities in the Catalan Countries. This networking should pursue a twofold goal: to help overcome problems and to learn from experiences. It should not be forgotten that Barcelona, like Valencia, was elected capital because on the wishes of the rest of its region. To be a backbone, a driving force and leading actor. However, in order to be a backbone, our cities must know and constantly learn about each context. It is also worth noting that Barcelona is the sum of the historic migration of the popular classes from different territories, a legacy that underpins the city’s cultural identity.

To wind up this brief contribution, I understand that Barcelona should leverage its redoubled international projection to become a focal point for the dissemination of the language and culture of the Catalan Countries. This includes bolstering it and making up for the lack of outward projection of the cultural expressions that would fall outside the boundaries of the new state. I also believe that it should leverage the city’s new condition to become a worldwide “spokesperson” in defence of other endangered languages and cultures and to warn of this dramatic uniformisation that has heightened in recent years. To preserve the unique heritage bequeathed by all the different ways of seeing and understanding the world.
Barcelona, a Capital of Culture and Memory

Quim Torra
Editor and Director of Born Centre Cultural

No matter what may happen, Barcelona needs to continue to be a city with events and activities that involve the citizenry and that are based on the idea of training citizens to be educated, critical and democratic. It needs to continue to be one of the best cities in the world to live and work in, and it needs to continue to base its fundamental cultural themes on well-being and quality of life, but also on initiative and creativity.

However, everything will change with independence, especially for the capital of our new State. Barcelona will benefit from having, for the first time, its own voice in the world, as part of a country that will take its place among the nations of the world. Millions of eyes will turn to the little country in Southern Europe with the most important city on the Mediterranean.

The new authorities in our new institutions will have to promote dynamic cooperation with citizens’ associations and areas of creative growth. Cultural and leisure activities will need to be carried out through the city, creating spaces for sports, arts, and our city’s cultural heritage. These efforts will need to be based on diversity, solidarity and a range of interests.

But Barcelona will also achieve an extraordinary capacity for influence because it will finally have a direct line to the world. Our city will be able to participate directly in the global competition for money, jobs and tourism, without the restraints it has now. The freedom with which Barcelona will be able to sell itself to the world, to explain itself and compete on the global stage, will change everything. As a result, we will also have to face the challenge of planning our city so that it can manage this immense cultural, industrial and service explosion.
More Than Citizens: Members of the City

The citizens of Barcelona need to see themselves as co-owners of the city because of their participation and their commitment to the city’s cultural life.

In an independent Catalonia, culture needs to be an essential element of citizens’ education. It needs to allow them to further their personal knowledge, and it needs to create a better, more critical and freer society through the exchange of ideas.

The dream of the proponents of the noucentista movement has the chance to rise again. The educated city, open to the world they imagined can be a reality; but in order for this to happen, it needs the firm commitment of its citizens.

Cultural Industries

Creative and innovative businesses will greatly benefit from independence. Not only in terms of resources, but also in terms of the appeal they will have to the world of the future. In all likelihood, the future of Barcelona will depend principally on individuals with creative minds and on the establishment of innovative business projects. Without the tools of a State, it’s extremely difficult to create the conditions these industries need. Independence will offer Catalans and Barcelonians tools they haven’t had until now; it will create new opportunities and open paths that were formerly closed to them.

The subordinate status and strangulation Catalonia currently suffers from as part of the Spain make it impossible to pursue projects that can only be considered, defended and carried out with the tools of a State.

Heritage

The preservation and exhibition of Barcelona’s rich cultural heritage and its urban architecture will take a clear step forward. Catalonia will be present in the world as a millennium-old culture, with an extraordinarily rich past that will generate interest and gain value internationally once it escapes from the current situation of subordination.

Also, internally, free from the weight of being part of Spain, our own culture will gain a greater importance in educational programs. We’ll know ourselves better and we’ll value ourselves more.

The Capital of a New Country

Barcelona’s unique situation will also improve within our own country.

Barcelona is the capital of Catalonia. We need to realize, however, that this isn’t so because of what it says in any document. History has always done the same: a country recognizes the leadership of a city when this city defends it and leads it, when it understands the flow of history, when it adopts the hopes and ideals of it’s people and fights for them with all of its might, and when its spirit becomes one with that of the nation. The title of “capital” needs to be earned,
and can also be lost. It’s not a definition or an article in a law; it’s a moral responsibility and an obligation. In other words, it’s subject to a code of ethics and certain responsibilities.

The capital of the Catalan Republic will need the rest of the country just as the rest of the country will need it. Their bonds will become tighter, providing an essential stimulation. The creative explosions that this new State will experience will flow from the capital to the country and from the country to the capital without limits.

Barcelona’s New International Position

An internationally renowned cultural offering will need to be one of the signs of Barcelona’s new identity, making it even more attractive and giving it more quality.

But independence will make Barcelona even more internationally renowned and increase its appeal to tourists, those attending congresses, to international businesses and expats. This international appeal will significantly contribute to the improvement of its economic situation. In addition, having its own voice in the world will increase Barcelona’s possibilities for reaching agreements and exchanges with other cities, and will allow it to create close relationships with international institutions and networks of cities. Catalonia will become a full member of dozens of international organisms, many of them cultural, that will establish delegations in our city. International connections will grow stronger. For the first time in its recent history, Barcelona will play according to the same rules as the rest of the world’s capitals.

Barcelona’s cultural reputation, as the capital of a State, should make us feel even more responsible for the quality of the activities and events we offer. Quality is the true battle to be won over the next few years. If Barcelona has spearheaded Catalonia’s international projection in spite of all the difficulties of having to do so within the wrong State, its fame will be able to grow even more in this new scenario. Independence can give us a more important role in the international market, and it can help us overcome obstacles that are insurmountable to us now. Of course, all of this will depend on the quality, creativity and innovation of Barcelona’s inhabitants.

Finally, the cultural capital of the Mediterranean will have to associate its progress with the strengthening of social, economical and spatial plans for the city. More culture means greater well-being.

The Recuperation of Historical Memory

The recent history of the memory of nations is a story filled with pain. Memory has never been happily conceded; it needs to be conquered through great adversity.

All of those that history —through war, hate or contempt— has placed on the fringes of a State, a community, a city or a society, nations without rights, without a voice, or without identities, have had to follow difficult paths in order to claim their rights. We’re referring to the conquest of historical memory, which is not only a right, but also the epic of accomplishing the most
mundane normality. It’s existing once again, returning to a place, a place of one’s own. Because of this, recognition and identity are inseparably linked. And the first step is for those in question to recognize their own identity.

When the Franco dictatorship’s attempt at genocide came to a close, Catalonia was a country that had been denied a part of its history: an essential part, it’s reason for being. An extremely significant part of its recent history had been denied, manipulated, and prostituted. Just like in the Catalan renaissance of the 19th and 20th centuries, in the final decades of the 20th century and the beginnings of this 21st century, we’ve had to recover our lost history. There’s much more at stake here than just our right to know; there’s also our right to recognize ourselves as a people, to exist once again. Without history, identity can’t exist, and without an identity, who are we?

An oppressed nation is a nation without a voice. A nation without a history is a nation without access to the truth. Where there’s no history, the truth can’t exist; there can only be partiality and plunder, abuse and falsehood. Àngel Guimerà said that the most important booty conquering nations take for those they oppress is their language and history.

Because of this, to win the right to memory is to win the right to have access to the truth. Because of this, besides exercising this right we need to know how to keep it, and move forward with it. Because rights don’t come out of nowhere; they’re hard to win, and even harder to keep.

There can never be enough memory; it needs to be built day by day. Just like the nation, it’s a daily plebiscite. Memory doesn’t belong to the past, it belongs to the future. It doesn’t explain days gone by to us; it allows us to look forwards, to a critical, democratic and free future. It’s destiny, then, is to continue to grow. They day it stops doing so, obliteration will seize the opportunity to take it’s place.

Just as the right to memory is the collective struggle to be a part of history, grasp the truth, to exist and reconstruct what no one told us, official institutions also have their obligation to memory. This is one of their most important obligations, in fact, because only if they fulfill this commitment will we be able to avoid the deformation and temptation of those who try and deny the right of a nation to know the history of its oppression. The right to memory is part of everyone’s heritage, and needs to be preserved.

Our obligation to memory should be relevant in a country where the blame is often put on the victims through a perverse form of blackmail. In Spain, for instance, official policy often associates remembering victims with wanting to perpetuate a “war” (even if it’s a solely ideological war), while ignorance of history is associated with security and peace. As a result, the victims who suffered through a dictatorship are now denied justice by a democracy.

Historical memory can’t exist if we don’t combine rights and obligations. If one fails, the other can’t succeed. Because of this, the firm, critical and ambitious support of both are the last guarantee of a democratic society.

The independence of Catalonia will result in a huge step forward in the recuperation of our identity, our truth and our culture. Catalonia will exist, and so will Barcelona. It will no longer be the center of a province, but rather the capital of a country that has a language, a history and a culture that are its reason for being. For the first time, we’ll have all the tools we need to know ourselves, analyze ourselves and, if necessary, to judge ourselves critically. Catalonia and Barcelona will be able to face their past and recuperate their memory, because they will have nothing but the future before them.
Capital of thought and interreligious dialogue

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Introduction

The aim of this contribution is to consider the potential benefits for the field of thought and interreligious and intercultural dialogue if Barcelona were recognised as the capital of a future European state. For this reason, it is addressed from the hypothetical standpoint, with a view to gauging the possible consequences with regard to promoting the development and projection of thought and interreligious and intercultural dialogue.

Exposition

It is not easy to imagine the benefits for the field of thought and interreligious dialogue of Barcelona being the capital of a new state legitimately and legally recognised by the international community.

There can be no doubt, from many standpoints, that Barcelona has been the capital of Catalonia for centuries, but its international recognition as a capital could herald a qualitative change in the production, dissemination and internationalisation of the different kinds of thought conceived and materialised from Barcelona.

Thanks to its location and its entrepreneurial citizens, Barcelona is and has been, since time immemorial, an area that receives thought trends from central and northern Europe. By virtue of its proximity to France and, in passing, to continental Europe, it has always embraced the innovative currents that subsequently seeped into the whole country. The city has been a sound box for numerous and myriad philosophical, scientific, economic, aesthetic and literary outputs and of all kinds of innovative -isms conceived beyond the Pyrenees. It has very often been the canal through which these currents reached the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula, and also South America.

Being the capital of this new state could be an opportunity to strengthen existing institutions of thought and cultural centres in Barcelona, so as to promote such reception and, at the same time, relay it countrywide and export it to other Mediterranean and Latin American countries. In this sense, it could further bolster a trend that is already part of the way that the citizens of Barcelona are and think, although a suitable institutional framework could be effective for the purpose of disseminating it and strengthening research.

It might also be an opportunity to establish links and share talent in the area of thought production, in a plane of symmetry, with intellectual creators and cultural producers from all over the world, for them to find, in the city of Barcelona, a place or room to present their innovations and ground-breaking proposals. Certain institutions are already performing this function, but Barcelona as capital might be expected to afford these initiatives, ongoing in the city for decades now, greater force and solidity.

Barcelona is and has been a space that welcomes pure and experimental sciences, thought, ethics, aesthetics and spiritual traditions, a place of reception, embracing the “light that comes from the north”, as the poet and essayist Joan Maragall (1860-1911) so beautifully wrote. It has also been a haven for the thought and aesthetic currents from the southern Mediterranean, permitting the creation of cultural hybrids and highly innovative symbioses.
Barcelona could become a point of reference for the thought engendered in the Mediterranean and thus strengthen the bridges of dialogue between the two shores of the *Mare Nostrum*, leading to the development of a network of thought inspired by Mediterranean values that could be projected beyond our borders. There are existing experiences in this line that could be strengthened were Barcelona to become the capital and acted as an intermediary with other cities in the Mediterranean basin.

Being a capital may prove to be decisive for another reason, namely to project its thought, that which is forged and distilled in the city outwards to the whole country and beyond national borders, so that this exportation could be planned and developed fairly with regard to other European capitals and for the new developments and innovations in our field to echo in other world capitals.

All too often in the field of thought, we act as receivers, but fail to project our own creativity abroad, an *ad extra* propagation of our own output, surrendering to endogamic consumption. Only some exceptional thinkers from our city have managed to convey their proposals and innovations beyond the confines of this country, be translated and achieve recognition and awards. In the field of thought, two paradigmatic, albeit highly different examples of this projection of philosophy in the twentieth century, are Raimon Panikkar (1918-2010), author of a work that established a permanent dialogue between East and West, and Eugenio Trías (1942-2013), the limit philosopher, honoured with the Friedrich Nietzsche Prize, equivalent to the Nobel Prize for philosophy.

Being capital may thus help to spread thought beyond our own borders, where it can be translated and promoted in all regards, and also attract scholars to study our highly valuable philosophical heritage.

There is yet another factor that could be decisive if Barcelona became capital: the recognition of and appreciation for thinkers yielded by the city at countless times in history in the different disciplines, from the Roman *Barcino* to today’s great metropolis. Very often, citizens are unaware of this intangible heritage, the wealth of ideas and thought currents conceived in their city, either out of laziness, difficulty in accessing such work or simply because it has barely been disseminated.

Having the typical structures of a European capital could be a fine opportunity to spread the thought of the great thinkers, as the world’s other big cities have done: Prague with Franz Kafka, Copenhagen with Søren Kierkegaard and Stuttgart with Hegel, to name but three well-known examples. It is evident that we do not have a tradition of philosophical thought like Germany, France or England, but being the capital could represent a chance to disseminate and provide exposure for outstanding thinkers, cultural creators, humanists and the erudite who have created unique and innovative work. One excellent example of what I am saying is the humanist and historian Miquel Batllori (1909-2003), a *little big man*, in the words of Josep Pla — who was born in Barcelona but is an unknown quantity for many citizens of Barcelona.

Being the capital could also help Barcelona to further strengthen its publishing potential. Barcelona is renowned among European cities for its highly substantial and dynamic publishing output. Proof of this is the ongoing presence of publishers from the city of Barcelona at Frankfurt and other international trade fairs such as Guadalajara (Mexico).

Barcelona’s publishing fabric is complex and rich, ranging from major publishing groups to family concerns or small businesses born of citizens’ entrepreneurial drive that innovate in a
given area and present their own creators and thinkers. One paradigmatic example of this spirit, unanimously recognised on account of his prestige and rigour, is the publisher Jaume Vallcorba i Plana (1949-2014), who recently passed away.

Being the capital should be an opportunity to strengthen and improve this publishing network, because publishing is, to a great extent, the way to disseminate and publicise our thought throughout the country and all over the world. Similarly, being the capital should involve the capacity to spot talent in the country, talent that could leverage the opportunity to attain international projection and exposure.

When thinking about the effect of Barcelona as capital as a cornerstone of a new state in the realms of thought and spirituality, there are two areas that also need to be addressed: the promotion of interreligious and intercultural dialogue and the peace culture.

Due both to its history and the fact that it is a passing-through area, Barcelona has been and is a melting pot of cultures, of religious traditions that have coexisted in the same space and have left many cultural marks in different fields, from gastronomy to high philosophical speculation. For historical reasons, Barcelona has been a meeting point of the three great Biblical religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. This coexistence has been mirrored in numerous cultural events, works of thought and in the city’s place names and popular culture. Currently, and for various reasons, religious and cultural pluralism has increased exponentially, opening up new possibilities for interaction and creation in the field of thought which, duly harnessed, may yield great fruits.

At present, cultures and religions from different latitudes coexist peacefully, particularly in certain areas of the city. Interreligious and intercultural dialogue is a reality of public life and is promoted and stimulated by different civil and religious organisations and associations based in the city.

Being the capital could be an ideal occasion to explore and export its own model of religious diversity management, a reason to offer this value to the world, especially in certain Mediterranean cities where the coexistence of different cultural and religious identities is marked by conflict.

Being the capital could be an opportunity to afford greater value to such dialogues and foster cultural and religious encounters and exchange between different groups to promote social cohesion and harmony among citizens. The city’s recent history features many examples of this dialogue culture: from the celebration of the World Parliament of the World’s Religions in the Forum of Cultures 2004 to the Atri dels Gentils, understood as a dialogue between thinkers, believers and non-believers, promoted by the Catholic Church and held in the Sagrada Familia.

We do not always fully realise this value of dialogue and peaceful coexistence between different ways of thinking and thinking, but it is an asset that is recognised by independent organisations and is one of the values that Barcelona as a city should be able to protect, promote and project to the rest of the world.

In this same line of thought, there is another aspect that could also benefit from Barcelona being capital: the promotion and development of the peace culture. From its medieval past to the present, Barcelona has had a tradition of agreements and consensus. Proof of this are the numerous organisations, associations, movements and groups of people born of the same dynamics of civil society that have devoted their time and effort to the development of peace and coexistence.
proposals and who seek to forecast conflicts, alleviate difficult situations and engage in mediation work that is not always acknowledged by the institutions.

The culture of peace has a great echo in civil society, and Barcelona being capital could be an opportunity to explore its significance further, a chance to bring together the best peace thinkers of our time and export these proposals to the areas of the world where peace is most greatly needed. Some of the great figures of dialogue and peace, while not born in Barcelona, have become global references. Such is the case of characters far off in history like Ramon Llull, who authored, among other works, *El llibre del gentil i els tres savis*, and Pau Casals.

In recent years, different institutions have chosen Barcelona as the site for very different kinds of international conferences, symposia, meetings, with peace at the epicentre.

There is one last aspect that could benefit from Barcelona as capital. The hegemony of neoliberal thought very often has a negative effect on non-instrumental thought about the humanities, arts and philosophy. As occurs in other European cities, being a capital city may be an opportunity to promote the culture of the humanities, the development of citizens’ spirit and creativity through a network of professionals and institutions that encourage critical thought and aesthetic skills in citizens.

The world’s most lucid thinkers, from Martha Nussbaum to Tzvetan Todorov, warn of the need to cultivate the humanities, enhance spaces of silence and thought in the big cities, spread the culture of the spirit and thought to strengthen the same democratic values and critical capacity of citizens. Market logic very often excludes this area of human life, regarding it as barren, or barely or totally unprofitable, although cultivation of the different branches of the humanities is essential to construct civic-mindedness and the human quality.

The *Unes humanitats amb futur (Humanities with a future)* (17 January 2014) manifesto, conceived in the city of Barcelona and developed by culture professionals, promoted by two reference institutions based in Barcelona, namely the Institut d’Estudis Catalans and the School of Theology of Catalonia, is an obvious example of the sensitivity of highly diverse creators to the need to enhance this dimension of knowledge in society overall. Being the capital should be an opportunity to harness this desire and encourage a culture of critical thought, reflection and deliberation; in short, complete the project of enlightenment and promote the basic values of the representative democracies that guarantee peaceful coexistence of citizens: tolerance, respect, fairness, dignity and responsibility.

Barcelona becoming the capital of a new state could be an opportunity to learn from other states that underscore the value of their citizens’ thought and creativity, because they understand that when people grow, so too do cities and peoples.

In short, being capital could be a chance to improve the conditions for making thought possible. Thought creation is closely linked to individual genius, but also to social or shared talent. There are great thinkers who have worked in highly marginal cities in Europe and the world, but whose thought found an outlet and an echo in the world over the centuries. Such is the case, for example, of Immanuel Kant, who forged his thought from the small town of Königsberg, without ever actually having been in Berlin, the capital of German thought in the second half of the eighteenth century and in the first three decades of the nineteenth.

There are also great cities that have not generated creative and innovative thinking in the realm of ideas, but imported the thought of creators from other cities. In any case, thought needs certain conditions, a framework to be born, grow and develop. If Barcelona became a European
capital, it would be an opportunity to create conditions conducive to the creation of thought, but also to export successful experiences in intercultural and interreligious dialogue.

We cannot say that we have a long-standing and continuous thought tradition. The history of thought in Barcelona, and by extension in the country at large, is characterised by its discontinuity, by the emergence of figures who produce a very creative work but more often than not do not generate a school or disciples. Many of these eminent figures in different fields (ethics, aesthetics, metaphysics, epistemology) have encountered all kinds of obstacles and barriers to bringing their insight and work to fruition but who, thanks to cultural patronage or simple individual stubbornness, eventually succeeded.

Being capital city could be a chance to host creative talent, alternative currents of thought and give them the relevance and currency they have historically enjoyed.

Barcelona is a city of contrasts in the field of thought. It has given birth to highly different thinkers, of well-proven religious, social and political sensitivity, from Catholic scholastic thought through to anarchism, via libertarian philosophy and the construction of all kinds of social utopias. It was also the place whence modernism and *noucentisme*, in their different forms, were conceived. Barcelona has been the focus of visions and proposals which, based on the Mediterranean spirit, are diametrically opposed but have found a place and a welcome within the city.

This diversity is reflected in the field of thought, but also in the daily life of its people, it is part of their wealth. Barcelona has been a source of creation of conservative thought and of the most deeply-rooted traditions, but at the same time the cradle of a revolutionary thought of which its citizens were often blissfully unaware.

In short, being the capital of a new European state could generate value for this output forged over the centuries and could encourage young thinkers and cultural creators by providing them with an ideal framework to probe into their insights, and stop talent from abandoning the city in search of other areas that will embrace them and give them the chance to develop. The commitment to entrepreneurship, in the economic and social and cultural fields, could also be strengthened. This commitment is crucial for a city to grow in terms of innovation, research and development, and ultimately to also improve the quality of life of the people who live and work there.

**Conclusions**

On the strength of all the foregoing, it is reasonable to conclude that Barcelona being the capital would have a positive effect on the field of thought and inter-religious dialogue, and more particularly would lead to the materialisation of structures and institutions that could convey the vitality of thought and of interreligious and intercultural dialogue already taking place in Barcelona today.
A country using knowledge as an engine of change

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Countries don’t do research because they are rich, rather, they are rich because they do research.

To make the virtuous circle of knowledge-innovation-value-wealth the mainstay of an independent Catalonia involves many stakeholders and requires a suitable environment: competitive universities that produce renowned professionals, innovative companies, access to capital, research excellence and a favourable regulatory environment.

Public investment is essential for basic research. However, for taking products to the market, private investment is essential. Often, the key is to create suitable regulatory and fiscal frameworks to encourage this.
The commitment to creating the country’s own research centres, managed according to criteria of excellence, accountability and autonomy of management has contributed to the high level of research in Catalonia, making it one of the leading regions in Europe. A good indicator of the quality of home-grown research is the volume of international funds raised. If we take the number of grants from the European Research Council (ERC) - the most competitive and best equipped projects in Europe - in relative terms (funds received compared with population), Catalonia comes fourth of all recipient countries, behind Switzerland, Israel and the Netherlands; third position therefore in terms of EU countries. This has a lot to do with the good functioning of many Catalan research centres and the ICREA programme, which allows researchers to be recruited solely on scientific merit. By way of example, the Mapping Scientific Excellence (www.excellencemapping.net), produced by the Max Planck Society Germany in 2013, put ICFO in first place worldwide in its ranking of physical sciences research centres.

One of the industries where this model is particularly apparent is the health sector.

The development of a new drug, for example, requires between 10 and 15 years of research. And may even require several hundred million euros in investment. To address such a long, complex and costly process, in a context of rapid scientific and technological progress, entails the involvement of a wide range of centres and companies of many different sizes, with the need to access capital to handle the stages of growth. At the end of the chain, once again is the Administration which is responsible for regulations and is also a key client, through the public health systems.

In Catalonia there are 56 centres linked to the life sciences, employing 7200 people, 4500 of whom are researchers. There are 512 companies in the field of life sciences, with a turnover of 11.527bn euros (2011), more than 33,000 employees, and sales that make up 5.8% of Catalonia’s GDP. Of these, 194 are biotech companies, 40 are pharmaceutical, 54 are medical technology and the remaining are investors, suppliers or service companies. Although since 2000 the number of companies has almost doubled, more than 80% of these companies are SMEs and most are close to being micro businesses. Barcelona accounts for 90% of all activity in the field of life sciences in Catalonia.

Growing the sector as a whole - but also centre-to-centre, business-to-business - is the challenge before us. We must be able to design the architecture we want, and raise the necessary finance to drive this process. This, at a time of crisis, means more than ever that we need to be able to produce policy that is emphatically scientific and industrial.

Also essential is the need for autonomy in the legislative field for designing a regulatory environment that facilitates value creation, and incentivises individual decision-taking by entrepreneurs and businesspeople, managers, investors and politicians. We also need autonomy at executive level to manage budgets, drive forward bold strategies that prioritise key parts of our economy, and have our own voice beyond our borders. And finally, we want a leading, innovative capital like Barcelona that drives this process forward, takes it closer to its citizens, opens up borders, and can add its brand to a new European state.
Barcelona: Capital of a Country, Capital of Culture, Capital in the World

Vicenç Villatoro
Writer and journalist
For the city of Barcelona to fully exercise its role as capital in the cultural realm means fundamentally three things, which are both different and complementary. They are, as I see them: being the cultural capital of a country, a territory, a pluralistic society; being as well the capital of a language spoken beyond its administrative territory and the culture it expresses; and, being a capital among the cultural capitals of the world.

I will try to explain these three roles as capital a bit more precisely. The first is to be the cultural reference point of an entire territory, Catalonia, which recognises Barcelona as its capital, both in terms of its offerings and its creativity, as well as in terms of training, exchange and production. It is to be, therefore, the central node of a network of Catalan cities that act as a single and interrelated space in terms of culture, sketching a veritable Catalonia-City. The second is to be the capital of a culture, which expresses itself in the Catalan language, not strictly corresponding to a territory, and even less to an administration: Barcelona is the capital of the culture produced in Catalan, wherever it is produced, wherever the citizens who make it are based, from the administrative point of view, beyond its physical space and borders. The third, and not least, is to participate powerfully and unconditionally, without being relegated to a supporting role, in a network of cities around the world, as a true capital of culture that gives structure to cultural circuitry, to creation and to cultural consumption. It is to be an important, recognised and active node in this network of capitals; to be a capital among capitals. In order to play these roles as capital, Barcelona needs significant human capital, committed and forthright public policy, competitive and attractive facilities, a network of creators, cultural and knowledge-based businesses, powerful and vital training centres. It cannot be done by institutions alone, but it cannot be done at all without institutions.

It can be said that Barcelona already plays these overlapping roles as capital, or at least that it plays them partially; or that it can play them more or less equally well without the need to become the capital of a state. Precisely in the cultural realm – unlike other administrative, political or financial spheres – the added value of being the capital of a state appears less clear. In any case, there are spheres where the demand for a separate state seems more urgent and with more short-term effects than in culture. This is partly true, but only partly. In some of the aspects of its role as capital, above all in those which have to do with large infrastructures, and through those with belonging to great worldwide networks of reference, it will be fundamental for Barcelona to count on the involvement of its own state that decisively supports these infrastructures, and to leave behind the cultural map of a state that has given this support to one city, Madrid, that in many cases is a direct competitor of Barcelona’s.

In the map of cultural infrastructures of the Spanish State, Barcelona’s facilities have always played a supporting role within a pyramidal and centralised structure. The resources and policies of the Spanish State have been distributed with the idea that Madrid must be the cultural capital in all spheres and that Barcelona must belong to a second-class internal network, aligned with other cities like Seville, Valencia or Bilbao. Facilities such as the Liceu opera house, the National Art Museum of Catalonia or the Barcelona Museum of Contemporary Art have suffered the effects of this hierarchical political map, in which they belong to a state – not only because of the presence of the Spanish Ministry of Culture in their management, but above all because of their financial scheme – that in fact has not supported them as organisations belonging to a capital, but instead has supported organisations of the same nature in Madrid, with which they competed in a certain sense. Having one’s own state to support you is important.
Ceasing to have a state that supports your competitor, with your resources as well, can lead to an important qualitative change; especially if the support from a new state for its capital is decisive, generous and strategic.

Another previous consideration: the exercise of Barcelona’s role as capital in cultural terms with respect to a territory and a cultural identity need not reproduce the model that has been adopted, with decreasing success, by states with a centralised model. That is to say it would not have to be a model based on a pyramidal or radial view, in which Barcelona occupied the same place and function as Madrid or Paris. Being the capital in a more confederal, participatory and egalitarian model would mean being a node of reference in a network of various nodes. That is especially obvious in the case of Catalonia. The undoubted cultural vitality of Catalonia, even though historically constructed outside of institutions and especially state institutions, and with the overarching force of civil society, is based on the existence of an effective network of mid-sized cities that give structure to the whole territory. Garcia Espuche considers that the existence of this network as far back as the 16th century is what explains Catalonia’s economic vitality and the persistence of its own personality.

Even today, the Catalan territory does not act culturally as a radial system in which all roads lead to Barcelona. It acts as a space – especially as regards the two rings of cities surrounding Barcelona, but not only these – where roles as capital in different spheres are played. It is not an urban magma, but rather a composite system, where different cities and counties have flowed together with their own histories and traditions, which have conceived of themselves for many years as a whole system – although perhaps supporting the capital – but that now act as an asymmetric network where all produce and all consume, where everyone is at once issuer to all and receiver of what all others do. To put it another way: neither the Terrassa Jazz Festival, nor the Temporada Alta festival in Salt and Girona, nor the fairs of Tàrrega, Vic, Manresa, Figueres, Vilanova or Reus are events of a local character planned for the local public of their respective cities. They are events that are done in a place for the whole territory and they need the whole territory as a sphere of reception and influence. Certainly, Barcelona accumulates a higher quantity of these events and these markets of reference, but its relationship to its territory isn’t and can’t be pyramidal. It cannot be so as capital of a state either.

The need to be an ambitious capital, with international projection but not pyramidal or centralist, not radial but in the form of a network, is even more obvious when we speak of being the capital of a culture expressed in a language beyond a specific territory. Barcelona is, and will be even more so as the capital of a state, the capital of Catalan culture in two senses: the culture that is produced in Catalonia in any language and the culture that is produced in Catalan in any place. Culture that is produced in Catalan will be one of the cultures made in Catalonia, perhaps the most important of all quantitatively, but by no means the only one. The responsibilities of the new state with respect to Catalan must, without a doubt, make its institutional status, its presence in the public sphere, bigger and more solid than they are now. To have a state in its favour, in its vitality, in its institutional power, in its international projection will be without a doubt useful for it and will become a positive factor towards greater density and security. But in Catalonia there will also be cultural expressions in other languages, which will also be the responsibility of Catalan cultural institutions (and in Barcelona, of the city’s cultural institutions). And, at the same time, there will be Catalan language culture that comes from outside the administrative sphere of Catalonia, in the other territories where Catalan is spoken spread out in various states,
in a Catalan diaspora that exists and cannot be detached from Catalonia's own culture even if they form part of the wider culture in the places where they find themselves. The administration of a Catalan State will have as well some kind of responsibility toward this culture; and the city of Barcelona will be in some way the capital for this culture, its reference point.

However, in both cases, that of the state and that of the capital both of a state and of a culture, this responsibility must be undertaken in a way that is not pyramidal, eschewing the centralised model. It is not that other territories have our culture, of which we are the owners, but rather that we also have their culture: we all have each other's culture, we are all owners proportionally. Each must carry out his responsibilities according to his power and possibilities, which are not the same for everyone. He who has more power and possibilities has more responsibility, and Barcelona is and will be the reference city for Catalan-language culture. This role for the capital must be played, in my view, in a way we might call confederal; in which other cities and territories participate on equal terms, proportionally. There is a part of being the capital that is carried out naturally, the product of its own centrality and force. But there are positive actions of being the capital that must be carried out in a spirit of cooperation and association, let us say of confederation. Barcelona, and even more so as capital of a state, cannot renounce its responsibility as capital of Catalan-language culture without greatly harming this culture; but it must know how to exercise it in a different way, openly, inclusively, and with understanding.

This is especially important, in my opinion, as regards one of the essential spheres of cultural policy and one that requires more decisive public action: international projection. Barcelona as capital is committed to the international projection of Catalan culture, in both the territorial and the linguistic sense. It must dedicate tools and resources to this, but it must participate, leading them, in shared instruments, where all those responsible can coordinate and yield results – at least all those responsible who desire to participate. The Barcelona City Hall is present in both the Ramon Llull Institute – currently supported only by Catalan institutions – and in the Ramon Llull Foundation, where, under Andorran leadership, Balearic, Valencian, North Catalan and Algherese institutions participate. This is a meaningful track and marks the path to follow. In the same way, both the State and the City of Barcelona must be able to collaborate actively and loyally with other linguistically-based cultural institutions of international projection, to ensure the projection of artists from Catalonia and from Barcelona that carry out their work in other languages. Personally, in cultural spheres where language is central, I would say that it is more logical that international projection take place through language-based institutions (all the authors in one language, wherever they are based, to use literature as an example) rather than territorially-based institutions (all the authors of a territory, whatever the language they write in) but that requires that institutions, necessarily territorial, work together proportionally with the various institutions of the languages present in their territory.

The insistence on issues of international projection is not casual, nor is it the product of a personal or biographical obsession. Traditionally, we would have been able to define being a cultural capital as the capacity of a city to radiate cultural content and references to the whole of the territory over which it acts. In a certain sense, if we isolated that territory, if we contemplated it as a unified whole, we would easily find what its capital is. However, today a city being a cultural capital is probably not measured as much in terms of radiation as in terms of projection. To be a cultural capital is not so much to give structure to its own territory – which it is – as it is to project it outwards, to participate in a worldwide network that is composed precisely of cities more
than countries or cultures. The function of Barcelona as capital of Catalonia and of the Catalan language is not only to act inwardly as an engine, but also to act as a showcase and connection to the world. Catalan culture, both territorially and linguistically, will be present in the world fundamentally through Barcelona.

Barcelona must offer Catalonia as a territory and offer Catalan language culture that which is associated with being a capital: infrastructures, tools, markets, production centres, consumer spaces, places of training, and so on. It must also plan these things as participants in a worldwide network of cities, where probably not all of them have everything, or will not have everything at the highest level, but each must have something exceptional, conceived for a worldwide scenario or for a factory – both metaphorical expressions and therefore imprecise – that goes beyond the territory itself, which in some sense no longer has a territory because it belongs to everyone. We do not speak only in terms of market and production, although they are also part of it. We speak in terms of circulation of content and understanding, of culture understood as a debate of many voices where each participates with his own voice.

In this model of being a capital at once inward and outward, there are three particular bases which are essential, upon which you must build your place in the world: talent, traditional and tangible heritage. Talent can be had anywhere in the world, but it is possible to multiply it giving it the best objective conditions for training, creation and diffusion. Tradition belongs to each place and culture and offers a different and specific vision of the world, in dialogue with all others and constantly reinventing itself. Tangible heritage is the component of culture that is most difficult to separate from place, at a point in time where almost all cultural processes can be displaced. Barcelona as capital must therefore protect and promote talent, support the knowledge and the constant renewal of its own traditions, and care for and publicise its tangible heritage, a physical reality, its landscapes and the city’s architecture. In all three cases, the point of departure we are at now is quite rich and full of possibilities.

We have in front of us, then, an idea of being a capital – territorially and linguistically – in two senses, of systole and diastole: radiation from Barcelona to the whole territory and the whole language, and gathering from Barcelona of that which comes from the territory and language to project it outwards in order to participate in universal debates. To add a not irrelevant nuance: international projection of a culture, its presence in universal debates, is not only – nor probably, overall – a matter of what was previously called “attracting foreigners”, neither from a touristic or creative perspective. Attracting foreigners to the city as visitors and tourists, but also as cultural creators and spectators, is important and more than legitimate; however, it is not the only nor the main way to place the city in cultural networks or debates. I was saying that Barcelona has very important assets to carry out this function in the fields of talent, tradition and heritage; a job carried out over long time to make the city visible, with unquestionable success, having its greatest expression in not only having gotten to celebrate the Olympic Games, but also to have done so well and to have managed well its implications for the city in the medium term. However, in order to exercise fully its new roles as capital, some issues would oblige the city to reinforce what we already have. These can be summarised generally in three great conceptual areas: first, the map of large national infrastructures, which presents several gaps and weaknesses, partly attributable to the supporting role these infrastructures have played in the Spanish cultural map; second, the function of the city as an agora, a space for debate, but also a place for meeting and
exchange; third, the role of Barcelona as a place for training, linking culture and learning, but also as an incubator for creative experiences and cultural production in its initial phase.

With regards to infrastructures, the creation of a new state and the taking on by Barcelona of new roles as capital would be an occasion to organise, rethink and in some cases reorient our map of cultural facilities, and above all large facilities, in large part concentrated in Barcelona, although this would also be a factor to reconsider in this reflection. With regard to the territorial map as well. The map of existing cultural facilities and especially their institutional structuring has been made piecemeal and under the effects of prevailing political and institutional logic. In some instances there is the Spanish Ministry of Culture, in others, not. Some are planned as part of a local system, some as part of a Catalan system, and others as part (often secondary) of a Spanish system. There are those that belong to municipal governments and no one knows if it is their responsibility. Some should be municipal but they are not. There is a kind of diffuse network of partnerships, where the presence of various institutions with frequently contradictory interests or points of view in practice cancel each other out, leaving managers out in the cold. This frequently translates into financial difficulties and, in some cases, difficulties of orientation and fitting into a general map.

A paradigmatic case of singular institutional structure – but which in this case has not impeded quality service – is that of libraries. Catalonia has a good offering of libraries, but the whole structure of the library system is strange, problematic and heterogeneous. The library system should be organised with a common criterion. The museum system, the network of scenes and artistic spaces, art expositions, should be organised and placed in a hierarchy. The orienting and tidying idea that the Mancomunitat, the Commonwealth of Catalonia, had 100 years ago should be applied again, with ambition and looking to the future; statehood and Barcelona’s new role as capital would be just the occasion. In this new institutional structure, which would require new forms of financing, the two essential branches would be the local sphere and Catalan national institutions. Statehood would not have to mean an emptying of roles – and resources – from local power, but rather the contrary: more roles and more resources for municipalities, more coordination and direction from the Catalan Government and forms of management, institutional structures and all-embracing maps for sectors that favour good governance and efficient financing of public cultural spaces.

As regards the function of the city as an agora, as a great, universal public square, where people debate, but also buy and sell, the reflection is less precise, although it pulls together two significant experiences in the cultural history of the city. The Universal Forum of Cultures in the year 2004 was an attempt by Barcelona to generate a space for debate and a new universal event with regards to culture. It did not turn out well. Perhaps this was because, with the memory of the experience of the Olympic Games, the cultural goals became in fact the occasion for a physical change for the city; an excuse, if you will, for necessary urban change. In any case, it had problems of definition. The other experience of the city has been over many years the question over whether or not Barcelona could generate an art market on the same scale as ARCO, the international contemporary art fair in Madrid. The debate has been passionate and along this line many valuable initiatives have appeared, some of them possibly more valuable than the one which they wanted to emulate. In any case, in the debate over the possibility of a type of ARCO in Barcelona, the question of statehood has sometimes arisen: Madrid has ARCO because it has a state behind it; Barcelona does not, because it does not have a state. If this fact changes, does
the issue change? If the Forum of Cultures didn’t turn out well, should we renounce this desire
to be an agora for the world, to generate new cultural events, or should we simply think of other,
better oriented, kinds of events?

In any case, when establishing what Barcelona’s new role as capital means, it is important to
remember that so far this role as capital is not played just by being the location of grand cultural
facilities, rooted in the 19th century, inspired – and so necessary – by European cultural models.
Being a capital is also being a market reference point, a place where creators and spectators come
into contact, where people are trained and gain cultural experiences. Paris before the Second
World War was a worldwide cultural capital in the art world because painters from the whole
world, like Picasso, Miró or Dalí, went there to make something of themselves and establish
themselves. New York has also been a capital in this sense. Berlin or São Paulo have followed this
path. It is not only thanks to museums. It is thanks to schools, but not only schools, either. It is
because they have become the great square, the meeting point, a place of exchange and relation-
ship. Can Barcelona be that, proportionally? Can it cease to be, in one way or another, if it aspires
to these cultural roles of being capital? There are no formulae, surely, but before formulae there
must be will, the awareness of need.

I end where I began: being a cultural capital, today, is not accomplished so much by looking
inwards at the space – physical, linguistic or thematic – of which you are capital, but also by
looking outwards; that is to say, by situating through the capital an entire territory and culture
in world debate, in the great networks of argument, of cultural production and circulation. At a
certain level, neither a language nor a culture can be considered now an entire cultural system.
They form part of a general system. It is a complementary system, a table on which you must sit
alongside others with what you bring and listening to that which is brought by others; a table
where you stop and listen, because you have things to say and things to learn. Certainly, a cul-
ture and a country must guarantee its creators and citizens a wide range of opportunities, but
neither will live cloistered within what is made by and what is received from this country or this
culture. To be clear, a country and a language need their own cinematography, but there can-
not be a Hollywood (or even a Bollywood) in every country and in every language. This double
dimension – which in Barcelona’s case is triple, because it is the country, the language and the
world – reveals today the profound meaning of being a capital and acting as a capital. Barcelona
already is and already does so, because a state isn’t everything. With a state, however, it would
have to do so more deeply, with more ambition and with more resources. Better.
Barcelona: the capital of people.

Barcelona today is not the capital of a country and less of an empire. It does not have grand avenues, or grand buildings symbolic of power. Like they have in Paris, Madrid, London... There are no big houses to make us feel small.
Everything has a human scale. I think this could be the biggest and the nicest difference of the capital of a new country. Not having such an ugly inheritance. Nothing to make us feel unimportant, or subject to anything, not being governed by any nation if you are not a part of it. A capital made up of people walking along its streets.
Barcelona is a city with a tradition of doing volunteer work that is linked to the many associations that started to be formed starting in the 19th century.

At this time it is a privilege to be a volunteer in Barcelona. Our city is porous and permeable to social initiatives, with the personal and collective drive of many committed people.

Surprisingly, there is still a great lack of knowledge among the majority of citizens of everything that volunteering contributes and the causes that make it necessary.

Coinciding with Barcelona’s recognition as the European Volunteering Capital, the City Council’s work to ensure that knowledge about volunteer work reaches citizens merits mention. The road started will need to be strengthened with new ways to raise awareness so that a larger number of citizens can get involved.
Work must continue, both in this sector and by the local and state administrations, in order to further shore up and improve the Catalan association forming and volunteering model. A model that starts from respect of citizens’ wishes and has its freely organised initiatives, all ensuring that new ways of volunteering among the public sector, third and company sectors are fruitful and pioneering.

Political awareness must be maintained and increased for this social fabric that, in times like the present, are sustaining us despite economic difficulties. And that, especially, both in good times and bad, unify, accompany, promote initiatives and transform realities.

There must be supervision to ensure that there are volunteers present at management and decision making locales. The well reasoned discourse of volunteers must become essential in this city’s public policies. Volunteers must have their own voices, spaces for debate and spaces to elaborate discourses and stability in their continuous training.

Because their energy will be the energy that takes Catalonia to a higher level of social justice.

After the 92 Olympic Games, which transformed our city and at which citizens heard the rally of the City Council and contributed to making them the best Olympic Games in history, all working at the service of an international sports event, an extensive period of reflection and debate started between the City Council and the association sector about what was experienced exceptionally at that time. The outcome of that debate was a stronger Catalan model for what we are speaking of herein: the volunteer movement cannot be dependent on any administration, but they must know how to promote it and channel it toward its natural parent company, the entity. This is where volunteering finds the tools and drive to work in favour of a cause.

This good practice is one of the most important contributions that the capital of the new state can show both to the other municipalities in our country and to the other European capitals.

Barcelona must become the mirror in which all Catalan municipalities, no matter how small, see the ideal way to participate in the social arena. Protecting and helping to strengthen the model of forming associations and volunteering that distinguishes us as a nation could be the insignia with which Barcelona leads this new stage.

The challenges that Barcelona has in Europe are numerous, largely due to the diversity of criteria on volunteering that coexist simultaneously. Moreover, we cannot forget that in the European Union, perhaps as a measure to alleviate the large numbers of unemployed, there is great interest in validating the curricular competences of citizens acquired by volunteering that are valid when entering the job market.

In this context, Barcelona must know how to open up to new proposals without damaging the collaborative model typical of our home. A model that ensures that there is never excess state interventionism in matters that belong in the hands of civil society.
Is corduroy back?

Salvador Alsius
Journalist and sociologist
Whenever anyone makes a comparison between systems or situations, there is always someone else who says: “Those two things are so different that they cannot be compared”. We have seen or read this very often about political events or phenomena. And, likewise, the mere fact that the comparison is conceivable means that there are at least some elements that give it credence. It is true that clarifying certain similarities may be an interesting way in which to explain the state of things. However, conversely, setting out differences may prove to be a damaging way to avoid the evidence. In any case, the analogy is a concept or method without which no progress could be made either in the physical-natural sciences or the social sciences.

Those of us of a certain age who lived and worked in Barcelona in the seventies remember what it was like and what the urban movements of this era meant, especially all the energy that was concentrated around neighbourhood associations. For several years before the death of the dictator, neighbourhood disputes were key to fostering and channelling the majority’s desire for a political and social transformation that — remember this — was at that time more focused on an abrupt rupture with the system and not toward an agreed reform that ended up being imposed. It is true that there were other flanks that were pushing in the same direction, such as student revolts, union claims and the sustained activity of professional associations that were drenched in democratic prestige. But where the radical change was truly happening was in the neighbourhoods. A botched city planning job, an invasion of rats or a neglected street were all the pretext for a protect and for debate in newspapers, which started to be populated by journalists more than willing to be accomplices in political activism.

And this is where the comparison comes into play. We are now at a time in which new social tensions have flourished, channelled now by the forming of associations that is more fluid than in the seventies, more liquid, if you want to use the Baumanian term, but that is more scattered and is spreading like an oil stain, perhaps not with so much support from the conventional media, but yes with the inestimable assistance of social networks. They are movements that, from the perspective of generations in decline, do not have the same consistency as those in the seventies, but that present-day living conditions make equally persistent.

Foreseeable objection from those who consider that all comparisons are loathsome or, if not that, risky: 40 years ago was the end of a dictatorship that had lasted another 40 years and, conversely, everything happening now is taking place in a democracy. Obviously. But that does not mean that this is not a situation that from many perspectives, and especially for those who due to their age did not experience the often invoked transitions, has immense problems that need to be brought into the limelight: corruption, banking voracity, the erosion of the welfare state, the incarceration of formal democracy...

In those times, the new professionals of politics, with their famous corduroy attire, channelled the energies deployed quite successfully. The outcome of this, in the case of Barcelona and many other cities, was an impressive city planning transformation, an unimaginable improvement in services and, in short, an increase in citizens’ quality of life. The neighbourhood movements soon deflated and the combative gestures changed corduroy for linen and natural silk. Now we must remember the peoples who did not assume their history enough and are condemned to repeat it. And a question that we can ask ourselves is whether — for good or for bad — corduroy is back.
Barcelona, capital of a state committed to education

Carles Armengol Siscare
Teacher

Introduction

The process of building a state is not simply a political action, but should also be a regenerative process in which education plays a leading role. This conviction is the main title of all the thoughts and proposals included in this chapter.

Education is a fundamental cornerstone of modern status and has become a key factor in the progress and social cohesion of societies. All in all, education in general —and schools in particular— should be a priority in this new state.

Due to its traditions and assets it already has, strengthened by the status that it could attain as the capital of this new state, Barcelona must not only lead this commitment and educational priority in Catalonia, but may also become a reference in terms of education and innovation, beyond the borders of our own country.

Building a state as a process of regeneration

Above and beyond the historic vicissitudes that Catalonia has suffered as a nation, its wish to exist as a nation has remained firm over the centuries. The Spanish institutional architecture – resulting from the transition following the death of General Franco— and certain policies of the dominant sectors of Spanish society have left Catalonia with no options, in legal, political and economic terms.

This historical situation has given rise to the growing perception that the creation of a true state, with full attributions and functions, is the only way to guarantee the existence of the Catalan nation.
An independent Catalonia, which for many years has been regarded as an unattainable ideal, chimera or dream, is now the only coherent and minimally articulated proposal that will allow the country to escape the general situation of deadlock affecting the country, despite being a difficult, complex and uncertain process. Consequently, the task we are faced with is constructing a state that can be correctly inserted into our European context.

The project of an independent state is therefore of primordial importance for the future of our country and an extremely important milestone that is well worth the mobilisation it is stirring and the determination to culminate and achieve that independence. However, it is also important for it to become a regenerating movement with a wider scope that will help build this Catalan state, far removed from obsolete, inefficient, megalomaniacal, centralised and strongly oligarchic state-controlled parameters such as those of Spain.

As in many other times during the history of Catalanism, it is necessary for this movement to bring about the construction of the Catalan state to become an effort of regeneration, like a new Renaissance.

An inspiration and a force that moves Catalan society to recover its civil and collective virtues. An opportunity to write the present and modernise the best and most positive traits of the tradition of social, cultural and political Catalanism: social vitality, progress, opening up to the world, democratic quality and innovation. This is therefore the perfect occasion to promote those traits which we have tried to assume individually and as a people: civility, initiative, work, entrepreneurship and commitment. Whether they be real or idealised, these traits are still a vision of what we could be, the best version of ourselves.

All the above is not simply a political action, but requires dedicating great moral force to building something new and better, beyond our exclusive personal interest. The peaceful, democratic, civil force of a people must be placed at the service of the collective work that building a new Catalan state represents. A work that requires us to give the best of ourselves and all the generosity we can muster. This is an extremely demanding task for everyone that requires hard work, sacrifice, commitment, generosity and magnanimity, but one which may result in a magnificent legacy.

Education, regeneration and progress

In all regenerative and renaissance movements, the role of culture and education, and schools in particular, is of prime importance, and this is also true with respect to the history of our country.

A movement with a scope which, as already mentioned above, requires and partly arises from schools and education. Catalonia, with no particular natural resources apart from its geographic location which makes it a zone of passage, has always found strength in its human capital—which it possesses thanks to the social importance of education and a sufficiently effective educational system—and in its social capital, created based on trust in face-to-face relations, civil commitment and the vitality of formal or informal groups, associations and organisations that connect its society and territory.

This has always been the case, and even more so within the context of a global world, with few borders for free trade and even fewer borders for work.

For this reason, it should come as no surprise that in 2010 the European Union, in keeping with previous initiatives, and with a view to proposing future horizons, presented the Europe 2020 Strategy as a channel for intelligent, sustainable and inclusive growth, in order to escape
from the current crisis, with the main priority being *intelligent growth*, understood as an economy based on knowledge and innovation; an economy pivoting on three main lines: (1) innovation, (2) lifelong education and training and (3) the digital society.

A strategy that is based on objectives related largely to education or training, such as:

- Achieving 75% employment rate of the populated aged between 20-64 years (in Catalonia the employment rate in 2012 was 63.5%).
- Reducing the early school-leaving rate to less than 10% (in Catalonia that rate currently stands at approximately 28%).
- Increasing the number of persons aged between 30-34 years completing higher education studies to 40% (in Catalonia, that percentage would now have been reached).

**Education is the great hope of our time**

This reference to education as the driver of progress is nothing new. For many centuries, visionaries, non-conformists, society reformers of society and revolutionaries have considered education as the great hope for change, transformation and emancipation.

Modern sociology and reproduction theories have questioned the capacity of educational systems in social mobility processes and emphasised the reproductive nature of all manner of differences, especially social differences.

This challenge is important, since it shows the limits or difficulties involved in all change and social mobility processes, but this should not lead us to apply the principle of absolute determinism according to which nothing can be done. History is alive and so are personal biographies. What might seem irrelevant on a statistical scale actually conceals a valuable reality.

Thus, we must continue to put our faith in education – but without non-critical illusionism - as the path for moving forward in certain personal and social ideals, but without non-critical illusionism: emancipation, freedom and equality, in a personal and a social dimension.

Education is the hope of people to be something more, but without the need to affirm that «education is the only difference that exists between man and beast» —as maintained by the students of the Milani school of Barbiana in the collective work *Letter to a master*—, we should not forget that even in the most diverse traditions, education has always been associated with the ideal of perfection and the development of human potentialities: from the Greek *paideia* or ideals of virtue (as a perfect accompaniment to a function or purpose) to the figure of the talents in the biblical tradition, sanctity in monotheisms, humanism in the renaissance, light in the enlightenment period, the new man of socialism or the contemporaneous consideration of a certain moral obligation to be intelligent.

Education is therefore the drive and the possibilities of a person to not be satisfied with what he or she is at a certain time, but the aspiration to develop all his/her potential, to become a better version of him or her self. Placing value on education is not putting one’s faith in the excellence of everyone.

Despite all the difficulties, insufficiencies and dissatisfactions, schools continue to be the hope or foundation of a fairer society —also in the social dimension—, achieved through equal opportunities, greater justice from the start and selection based on merit.

The unmasking of the mechanisms that reproduce inequality should not be an alibi for abandoning that objective, but on the contrary, a reason to undertake conscious, systematic action
to offset differences in origin and elements that lead to inequality (social, family, cultural...) suffered by students.

Therefore, to accomplish the hope raised by education, we must build an even better and fairer school, one that will ensure equal opportunities, consider the development of precocious skills, help parents to develop and maintain their educational relations, increasing the teaching and learning time, if necessary and offering additional support to those who need it.

The aim is to have quality schools, starting with and preferably considering the elementary levels of the system and the earliest ages. Schools that will guarantee compliance with a dual mission: ensuring a common culture and a high level of training (democratising function of education) and the exercise of a propaedeutic function in higher education (selecting students who will continue their education based on merit).

**Schools, the foundation of the new state**

Regeneration, progress, excellence and equity are the milestones of the state that we must build. A national cannot advance towards a community system without these milestones, which will give it a human substrate.

A community is not founded on the authority or the power of a state; the State must ensure the continuity and future of that community. This future can only be guaranteed with high levels of social cohesion.

Maintaining and improving this cohesion in the present context and in the near future means promoting and working —State and society— to ensure a series of specific socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions such as:

- Equal opportunities in education.
- High levels of qualified employment that will make growth and equity possible based on work and not on subsidies.
- A common cultural basis which, in our case, includes Catalan as an own language, which deserves special protection, given its minority nature on an international scale.
- Maintaining a welfare system with public guarantees, financed by a redistributive tax system that ensures education, health and social prevention (dependence, retirement...).
- Social mobility and limiting of inequalities.

In this sense, schools must be converted into the cornerstone of the new state, since they form the basis of all the key elements for social cohesion. The new state needs:

- Schools as an essential service to community, based on pluralism, public guarantee and the intervention of society.
- An educational system that strikes a balance between decentralised public control, freedom of teaching and the autonomy of centres.

The education of citizens in a meritocratic country which is a space for freedom and personal opportunities requires an educational system that gives support to this dynamic. An educational system:

- which will lead to academic excellence while maintaining the system’s equity;
- which will offer high qualification levels to as many citizens as possible, and
which will promote and attach value to personal initiative and entrepreneurship, work and sustained effect and work well done, through schools.

Barcelona, city and capital

Barcelona is not only the political capital of Catalonia, but also the main capital of the country and the centre of a powerful metropolitan region that accounts for almost 50% of the country’s population.

The territorial structure of Catalonia gives Barcelona a singularity that goes beyond merely being the political or administrative capital. For historical and traditional reasons, this status is not only undisputed but is added to its role as a capital in economic, cultural, sport, logistics and even tourist terms, which Barcelona has achieved on its own merits, although its political functions have been reduced by the weight of the provincial structure and strong centralism of the Spanish state, particularly during the past three hundred years.

Therefore the possibilities and opportunities for Barcelona as a state capital are increased or multiplied with respect to those of its natural status as a capital, which opens up new options or increases those it has already exercised.

Despite not having an extremely large population —as is the case of some large international cities—, Barcelona is a densely-populated city and has become the centre of an urban agglomeration which extends through other municipalities, without interruption. This urban density has acted like a pole of attraction and given the territory enormous human, social and cultural wealth and diversity, while also converting it into a social laboratory for all manner of phenomena.

All in all, Barcelona has had a decisive importance in the history of Catalonia and the force of its dynamism and this specific relevance, in a country with limited dimensions, has often led it to exercise functions normally reserved for a state, especially in the fields of culture and education.

All the above places Barcelona in a magnificent position to assume its role as the capital of a new state at the service of the whole country, apart from giving the city the opportunity to increase its promotion of the dynamism it has shown in many sectors.

Barcelona and non-university education

Since the twentieth century, Barcelona has had its own educational tradition, which is partly the result of those actions which local governments must exercise at certain times of their history.

However, today, with regard to schools, Barcelona has an excellent offering of schools for children aged between 0-18 years, within the framework of the Catalan Educational Service, which is made up of publicly-owned centres (by the Generalitat or the City Council) and privately-owned centres (which offer approximately 50% of the places of this Educational Service in the city), thus providing a considerable, plural supply of schools which allows families, albeit with the usual limitations, to exercise the right to choose their preferred school. Along with this offering, there are private schools, particularly at non-compulsory education levels, with unique offerings, such as foreign centres located in the city which use the course syllabuses of other countries.

The presence of social initiative in education in Barcelona is nothing new: it has centuries of history and mostly existed before the local government itself. This presence experienced a great increase and expansion during the twentieth century, as the demand for schools for everyone became stronger and was even assigned a legal status under the Moyano Law. Despite the efforts
of that Law, the initiative of the state or public entities was quite insufficient, not only in more rural, isolated areas but also in Barcelona itself. The social initiative and the plural nature of its motivations, orientations and agents, so often present in so many sectors of Catalan life, has also been present in schools from the very first.

In the non-regulated teaching area there is also a wide offering in terms of education in the city, in all fields and sectors. In recent years, a wide and extremely improved offering of initial and regulated professional and occupational has developed. This improvement must continue and become consolidated.

The increase in the educational offering throughout the country has made it possible for Catalonia to present a vast, locally-based, high-quality supply. Nonetheless, Barcelona continues to attract compulsory education students from nearby areas and even more so in the professional and specialised teaching fields.

This capacity of attraction—to the point of being international—in professional and specialised teaching has not been explored and developed with the depth that has been applied to university teaching, especially in graduate educational programmes.

In the non-formal educational area, Barcelona also has important assets with a characteristic that gives it special value with respect to its social capital: most of the non-formal educational situation is promoted by social initiative and association-based movements,

with an important participation by volunteers. In this area, the tradition and strength of scout and guide movements and other associations for children and adolescents should be mentioned. It is a value that must be conserved in the city and in the country.

Continuing with this line of non-formal education, there are also many other initiatives apart from the above movements, such as summer holiday activities for children and adolescents promoted in different spheres, as well as activities not forming part of school curricula (sport and artistic activities) organised by student parent associations in schools or other associations or service companies, actions carried out in children’s sections of cultural or sports organisations or services used for leisure activities (children’s libraries, play groups, games areas...). It must be ensured that all children have access to these services and activities.

An educating city, a city committed to education

However, the city educates far beyond the «establishments» dedicated to such activities. This intuition, which has long been recognised and explained in the teaching sector, is included in the educating cities movement, in which Barcelona participates and in which it exercises a leading role.

Public space and its uses, cultural and artistic heritage, municipal bylaws, free time in the city, time uses, transport and road services are all elements with a strong educational component because they influence the growth of citizens and also shape their habits and values. It is therefore important for the educational component to be present in shaping and managing many areas of local life.

Barcelona, although not just Barcelona—also the rest of Catalonia—, has many possibilities of studying this aspect in depth and increasing its commitment to it. Although there are other cities which, due to their dimensions and complexity, could also work on this, the capital could assume a capacity for leadership respect to other cities and municipalities in the country.
Towards a virtuous circle: more education leads to more qualified employment

When referring to the Europe 2020 Strategy and the cohesion and maintenance of a determined social model in a new state, we are linking the improvement in education with the most highly qualified employment.

These are not successive phases in which it is necessary to select one to move forward to the next. Without a strong, qualified employment offering that will test the educational system, it will be difficult to stop school leaving or increase qualification levels. What happened in the professional training sector – or in the entire system during the property bubble or the behaviour of young people in tourist areas— speaks for itself.

But without highly qualified people in our production sectors, they will not decide to change to producing with higher added value. This is a vicious circle which must be transformed into a virtuous one, by acting on the two poles while trying to promote them simultaneously.

As will be seen in other chapters of this document, Barcelona is a considerable university capital which has not yet completely lost its industrial tradition. On the other hand, despite not having an own powerful industry in the sector, the city has been able to position itself in the technological field and has important assets in this respect.

The fact that Catalonia could have its own policy in certain spheres —which is now very limited— and Barcelona could become its capital should permit these assets to be enhanced. There is a need for greater mutual engagement between university, industry and teaching, in order to enter this virtuous circle of qualitative growth.

Educative innovation as an opportunity

Barcelona could provide a magnificent test field for this virtuous circle in the educational sector, understood not only as a large sector in terms of educational activity, but also an important sector of educational services and contents.

In addition to Barcelona’s status as a university capital, the density of its educational network and its positioning as city open to technology, we should also add the presence of an important publishing industry, highly geared to text books and educational content in general, above and beyond hard copy formats, and the presence of an audio-visual sector that is taking on great importance in educational applications, which should receive an important boost with the possibility of developing state policies in this field.

There is still much to be done. There are interaction experiences between sectors and institutions for mutual benefit and in particular, in relation to education. For instance, the work by Kid’s Cluster, a group set up in 2010 by important companies who collaborate and innovate in the children’s sector.

This cluster promotes the activity of companies operating in the children’s sector in Catalonia, with special attention being paid to the educational dimension of their products and services.

More recently, but specifically for the purpose of combining education and technology, the Edutech Cluster was set up with the mission of working to transfer the benefits of new technologies to schools. As the cluster itself says, Catalonia has a group of companies operating in the
ITC sector with high potential for growth. The cluster has identified more than two hundred companies in Catalonia which offer ITC products and services in the educational sector.

It should be considered that education is the fourth economic sector in the country, in GDP terms (with a percentage of more than 4% of all the employed population). Considering that the presence of technologies in schools is still recent, it is to be expected that despite the crisis and containment of expenditure, investment in technology will increase in forthcoming years.

The incipient experience of these clusters is an example of the possibilities for schools as an economic sector, beyond classroom walls. Driven by the force of being the capital of a new state, Barcelona must promote and stimulate these dynamics, which will help create a powerful virtuous circle that could act as a driving force for many such sectors and, in doing so, for the educational sector itself.

Conclusions and proposals

1. The movement for building a Catalan state should —and can— become a regenerative force.
2. In all regenerative and renaissance movements, the role of culture and education, particularly schools has been – and must continue to be - important.
3. It is necessary to continue considering education as a path for moving towards great personal and social ideals.
4. Strategies for intelligent, sustainable and inclusive growth entail the achieving of certain objectives in education.
5. We need a quality school from the earliest age that will ensure a common culture and a first class general education, while exercising a propaedeutic function with respect to higher education.
6. It is necessary to build an even better, fairer school, to ensure greater equity in relation to opportunities.
7. To achieve the socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions we want, and the required social cohesion, schools must become the foundation and the main priority of the new state.
8. Barcelona is in a magnificent position to assume the role of capital of a new state and to convert this role into the driving force of its dynamism in many sectors.
9. Barcelona is rich and diverse in school and non-school educational initiatives. They must be stimulated and supported.
10. Barcelona could extend its role as an educating city by increasing its leadership in this movement inside and outside Catalonia.
11. It is necessary to improve relations between education, economic and production sectors and universities and research, and Barcelona is in a position to promote this.
12. The importance presence in Barcelona of sectors such as publishing, audio-visual, educational technology and children’s services should give rise to synergies throughout the educational sector, to the benefit of innovation and development in all sectors. State policies and the policies of Barcelona as a capital must promote these synergies.
What shall we do about equality?

Enric Canet
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The crisis has had a powerful impact in the city of Barcelona. A lot of people have lost their jobs and a lot of families their homes. These are familiar experiences for much of our society. And despite the big splash in the media, it’s quite possible that the rest of the population has hardly noticed. Economic inequality between neighbourhoods has become even more striking and so has the way the situation is perceived. The figures tell us that the difference between available family income in the richest and poorest neighbourhoods went from 3.9 times as much in 2008 to 6.4 times in 2012. So there are parts of the city that have changed little, that spend at the same rate as before the crisis and that are hardly aware of what these years have meant. Other neighbourhoods, where problems are concentrated, especially as regards evictions and unemployment, have produced very severe human and family tragedies.
We need to ask ourselves if being the capital of a state would balance neighbourhoods. In reality, if the presence of state structures, embassies, representations, etc. is left to market laws, this will provide economic resources for one type of population and for certain areas. Will social policies reduce the difference, if until now we have been the victims of pressure from the market? In the last few years, the economic boost that has been generated thanks to trade fairs, congresses and tourism has been one of the causes of the economic imbalance between families and neighbourhoods in the city and this has meant that some get more whilst the others pick up the crumbs. Who will be the first casualties of the success of the capital if it has even more international outreach?

At the same time, criminalisation of hardship has increased. In times of plenty, social policies that help the most vulnerable groups were tolerated. The crisis has brought them into question and has considered them the cause and the culprits of their situation. Children and young people in the worst-off neighbourhoods have seen educational and social policies eliminated and their chances of getting onto the social elevator have been reduced. The only families we worry about are those that have lost their status, not those who were already in a precarious position. Will being a capital drive these population groups over the border into the banlieues, the towns surrounding the capital? Or, on the other hand, will the crumbs it might produce constitute a pull factor?

Since the beginning of the crisis, there has been a great response by the City Council. Barcelona had economic leeway and has contributed resources where other administrations couldn’t reach. But the city has few instruments in the face of the main problems: lack of employment and housing laws.

In the same way, public response in favour of society’s most vulnerable groups has been stirred up, something that has always happened throughout the city’s long history. Following the lead of the associative network and the close links between residents and traders, action has been taken in response to the most basic needs of the people affected. Evictions have been prevented, people have set up food banks and soup kitchens and a number of new support and exchange networks. These emergency solutions have cushioned severe hardship thanks to a great variety of organisations and individuals. The neighbourhoods have recovered their mobilisation and have faced up to the situation.

But responses must generate solutions that are systemic, that affect all social, family, economic and personal factors and for the long term. With good faith, many individuals and organisations have sought specific answers in the hope of a speedy solution to the problem. Similarly, the market also uses these tragedies to promote media campaigns with easy solutions by playing with these dramatic stories. Poverty always sells if there are images and a simple answer that seems to fix the problem. In a state capital with great economic success, won’t we see an increase in this spectacle? Won’t people living vulnerable situations be even more commercialised, so long as it’s of interest, before they’re condemned?

Barcelona will die of success if it doesn’t take its people into account and we don’t all progress at the same rate as regards human growth and well-being. Barcelona will die of success if it doesn’t recover its faith in the social fabric and look for joint, all-round, long-lasting solutions for individuals and families, giving priority to the most vulnerable neighbourhoods. Barcelona will die of success if it doesn’t take into account the whole of the country’s population, without siphoning off the wealth of towns and villages in favour of the capital. Are we prepared to do that?
Barcelona, a European capital of reference for cooperation and development education

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Introduction

This article sets out to look at the role of the development cooperation (hereafter Cooperation) and development education (DE) that are planned, organised and put into effect by the City of Barcelona with an eye on its status as the capital of a hypothetical independent Catalonia.

Barcelona, with two decades of activity in these fields, is a point of reference as regards the planning and execution of Cooperation and DE policies, for which reason I feel the proclamation of Catalan independence would do little to change the course of the work currently being carried out. At most it would make it more well-known and increase its effects and its capacity for social transformation within and beyond our borders. It is therefore from this perspective that this reflection should be read and interpreted.

The document before you therefore responds to a wish to look at external relations of the city of Barcelona with Cooperation and DE as the spearhead guaranteeing coherence, a holistic concept, harmonisation and the feeling of being a capital.

Each and every one of the actions undertaken by Barcelona in the international sphere will have to be steeped in these elements, which are indispensable in any large city’s foreign policy. This is therefore a cross-cutting proposal intended to be of use in every department and in every body connected with Barcelona City Council and that might also be of use for all those private institutions wanting to take part and/or collaborate.

This document is also intended as the first step to identify opportunities to contribute, through Cooperation and DE policies, to the construction of coherent and coordinated foreign affairs by Barcelona at the end of the process of national transition and consider proposals that will allow us to overcome the challenges and take advantages of the opportunities with the object of reinforcing the city’s policy of foreign affairs. Especially in the mission Barcelona must take on as a European city of reference for the international community and a responsible city committed to the global challenge of reducing inequality and hardship and for promoting sustainable and responsible human development everywhere.

Starting with a brief analysis of the state of the situation of cooperation policies today, I shall sketch out an initial proposal for a guideline for Barcelona’s policies in Cooperation and DE in the framework of the national transition, on the basis of the knowledge and acknowledgement of the collective dimension of human rights. Finally, the last part of this text will be directed at conclusions and recommendations.

Barcelona, a European capital at the epicentre of Catalonia’s national transition

Barcelona society and the Catalan nation as a whole are heirs to the Europe that Monnet and Schuman once envisaged, a Europe they defined as “a voluntary union of all European individuals”. At a time when globalisation tends to increase uniformity, European societies have the option of putting down roots in the specific realities of each language and each culture. They are recognised, therefore, in the ideals expressed by George Steiner in The Idea of Europe (2004, Nexus Institute): “Europe, without a doubt, will die if it doesn’t fight for its languages, its local
traditions, and its social autonomies”. The European lemma of unity in diversity can be promoted and Barcelona is its top-class model for this.

We must therefore discard the concept of Barcelona as the capital of a Catalan nation on Europe’s political periphery and locate the Catalan nation, as it deserves, from a contemporary and modern political perspective, as an element coinciding with and sharing in European breakthroughs and reversals achieved and caused by membership of the European Union (EU).

Taking the EU as one of the principal world actors in matters of Cooperation and at the same time taking this policy as an express commitment to the defence of human rights and democratic processes, I understand that it connects with the values Barcelona defends in development cooperation and I note how municipal policies fall in line with the most progressive and transformational European policies. Therefore, the European setting is a suitable one for the abilities expressed and demonstrated in Barcelona.

In the report Internacionalització de la consulta i del procés d’autodeterminació de Catalunya (Internationalisation of the consultation and the process of self-determination in Catalonia), the Advisory Council on the National Transition describes how to present the process to the world with our eyes set on three aims: to legitimate the movement in favour of sovereignty, obtain recognition as a new state and achieve integration of an independent Catalonia in the relevant international organisations. In the last section, the document identifies those countries where the process has most chances of making headway — ie of generating least misgivings — and those that will make objections from the first moment.

There are three types of argument to justify a process like the Catalan one to the exterior: the democratic principle, the principle of national self-determination and the remedial right or “last resort”. The experts recommend a combination of the three justifications, though with a greater relative weight in the case of the remedial right.

The report is partly devoted to analysing the international legal framework of self-determination and tries to set negotiated secessions apart from unilateral secessions, which, at least so far, have only been validated in cases of decolonisation. “Recognising the right of secession in these scenarios does not imply its prohibition in other cases”, the report claims. “Considering the flexibility of international law, that is the absence of prohibitions of the right to self-determination, the political debate will be determined by the ability to justify the exercise of this right by the citizens of Catalonia and facilitate its subsequent recognition”, the Government’s Advisory Council says once more.

In Barcelona we see an organised civil society profoundly committed not only to the independence option, but also and above all to the democratic challenge involved in the right to decide. A challenge taken on board by the organised civil society which rests mainly on two civic organisations with widespread social support, namely Òmnium Cultural (which last April reached the figure of 40,000 members) and the Catalan National Assembly (which organised the “V” in Barcelona on 11 September 2014, filling the streets of the city with almost two million people).

**Barcelona’s foreign policy**

There is not only an internal dimension to the political construction of Catalonia, but also an external one. Here the need arises to build up its own foreign policy with a clear European voca-
tion and with a desire for multilateral international participation. In this challenge, of course, Barcelona is the most obvious spearhead.

Barcelona’s foreign policy, to be effective, requires a high degree of consensus and cooperation between—public and private—that can have an external role to play.

Barcelona’s private and public actors must take part in international affairs as just another actor taking responsibility of all sorts, like the information society, cooperation, the environment, the economy or linguistic diversity. This foreign action must be able to unashamedly present each policy internationally, it must take its share of responsibility for the world’s problems and play a more active part in international programmes in the search for global proposals for social, political and economic change.

I should also point out that, in line with our tradition, our involvement in foreign policy must always follow prerogatives balanced between the established legality and the commitment to essential ethical principles such as peace, values and democratic legitimacy, social justice, solidarity between peoples, equality and respect for diversity and human rights in their individual and collective dimensions.

Cooperation, DE and humanitarian action by the city of Barcelona

As laid out in Barcelona City Council’s Pla Director de Cooperació al Desenvolupament, Solidaritat i Pau (Master Plan for Development Cooperation, Solidarity and Peace), the present economic and financial crisis imposes serious challenges on the citizens of Barcelona and Catalonia if they are to fulfil the commitment established under Law 26/2001, of 31 December, on development cooperation, unanimously passed by the Parliament of Catalonia, of contributing to achieving an international order with greater justice and solidarity. Similarly, the landmarks set for 2015 by the international community at the beginning of 2015 under the heading of Millennium Development Goals (MDG), have been badly compromised both by the direct effects of the crisis on the most vulnerable economies and sectors and by the indirect effects of reducing the flow of Official Development Assistance (ODA). In this context, reflection on the impact of cooperation on development, peace and human rights and the results of these policies in Barcelona as the capital of an independent Catalonia has taken on special importance.

At the moment, despite this complex scenario, Barcelona City Council confirms its commitment to the provisions of the Catalan Law on development cooperation, accepting the challenge of making the City Council’s actions in this area an international example of effective Cooperation and DE, and to the construction of a more democratic and equitable model of global governance.

The difficulties for achieving the MDGs have generated international debate over the effectiveness of aid and over what the new challenges of the Development Agenda should be. This debate showed itself in 2011 with the Busan Declaration (North Korea) — in the framework of the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation —, which crystallises the concept of global partnership, based on horizontal relations between all the stakeholders involved in development processes. Here cities take on special importance.
City governments, in view of their proximity to citizens, are better placed to identify the needs of the population and therefore also to design and reach agreement on policies that respond effectively and efficiently to the needs of their inhabitants.

This is the context in which cities are recognised in the present debate on drawing up and determining the new challenges for post-2015 development under the leadership of the United Nations.¹

In the case of Barcelona, this debate benefits from the experience built up over almost two decades in which the City Council’s action in matters of cooperation, peace and individual and collective human rights has taken on the nature of public policy. In fact, the City Council began its work in this sphere at the beginning of the 1990s, when the city as a whole, with Olympic fever at its peak, expressed its solidarity with the city of Sarajevo, which was suffering the ravages of the siege at the height of the Bosnian War. This expression of civilian mobilisation in the early 1990s was resumed soon afterwards, in 1994, when the organisations committed to Cooperation and DE launched the campaign demanding that 0.7% of the GNP should be set aside for ODA. In keeping with the feeling of the public, a Mayoral Decree that same year set aside 0.7% of current spending for Cooperation. This was the beginning of the Barcelona Solidària programme (Barcelona Solidarity).

The World Bank forecasts that in 2050 80% of the world’s population will be urban. For this reason, cities must foresee and plan sturdy policies for Cooperation that are well connected nationally and internationally, for the support and defence of human rights and sustainable development (main line of discussion of the Post-2015 Agenda).

The model depicted by the 2013-2016 Master Plan is exactly the model a future Barcelona must consider and consolidate — maintaining the dynamism with which it has developed so far — as the capital of an independent Catalonia. I therefore suggest coherent, all-round action by Barcelona cooperation in the framework of foreign relations that are also coherent and harmonious and through which we can contribute the determined vision of our cooperation. A vision that is also characterised by the promotion, understanding and recognition of collective human rights. This added value characterises all the actions and lines of work of all the cooperation policies across the board.

Barcelona’s Cooperation, in keeping with the international debate on development, must foresee an environmental dimension and must therefore respect the initiatives and the agreements decided in this respect, among which the Kyoto Protocol stands out.²

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1. The Post-2015 Development Agenda is considered one of the most important political processes launched by the United Nations for information, understanding, research and consultation of the largest possible number of people, experts, governments, businesses and citizens to put special focus on the planet’s poorest and most vulnerable sectors. The consultation process began in 2012. The UNDG (UN Development Group) is one of the main bodies leading this consultation process. “A decent life for all: from vision to collective action” is one of the main guidelines for the articulation and drafting of the consultations which were the basis for identifying potential issues on the future aid effectiveness agenda.

2. The Kyoto Protocol is an international agreement for the prevention of climate change. It comes under the auspices of the UN within its Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and was signed by the European Union. Its aim is for industrialised countries to reduce emissions by 8% below the volume for 1990, as the developing countries do not face restrictions, the case of China, India or Bra-
Barcelona Cooperation, cooperation with an identity

Cooperation from the capital of Catalonia, Barcelona, has to observe the challenge and incorporate the added value of deciding on its action on the basis of its own characteristic awareness when it comes to understanding, knowing and recognising national, linguistic and cultural diversity all over the world. In this respect, work is needed to project Barcelona cooperation so that it becomes a reference for cooperation in the study, knowledge, internalisation and promotion of third-generation human rights, which are collective rights.

Therefore, Barcelona's cooperation must not only be known and recognised for the quality of its action, it must be identified by its ability to interpret the world of the 21st century outside state borders and through a glass giving a contemporary interpretation of human rights.

It should therefore earn recognition by dint of good practices and coherence and must propose the challenge of bi-directionality. In other words, international stakeholders taking part as influencers, facilitators or receptors of Barcelona cooperation must be provided with the tools to accept, understand and recognise the Catalan national issue and therefore take part in the task of international knowledge and recognition of the Catalan nation. In this way, because of its ability to influence and take part in democratisation processes and the defence of national identities everywhere, cooperation from Barcelona could be valued and distinguished in the international sphere.

Adopting the collective principles of human rights generates capacities that allow us to take into account fundamental rights such as access to education, health or water and, at the same time, to a democratic environment at peace in which a rich, dense and committed social fabric can prosper. Barcelona cooperation understands that reaching these objectives is possible extending and considering human rights in their collective dimension, and this vision must also characterise its work.

Development education

Among the measures linked to development cooperation we find what I call DE, an indispensable tool for the social transformation of the south, but also of the north. This is the connecting thread that runs through or should run through the policies launched from the north, inside or outside its borders.

In this respect, when I speak of the city of Barcelona's Cooperation, special importance must be given to coherence in its policies and the ability to establish strategic alliances with other cities in the north, essential elements of DE.

I understand that our society, like any other European society, must accept the need for a non-traumatic process of social transformation. During this process, DE tools and means must become basic engines for incorporating new actors and sectors that are traditionally foreign to or uninvolved in Cooperation and DE.

zil, to mention some of the biggest polluters. Its official name is the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.
Actions in the south must therefore go hand in hand with actions in the north to take on and understand the social, political and economic challenges facing and us and actively and realistically tackle social change by applying coherent policies and specific measures.

In addition, insofar as Catalonia has not had, to date, official international recognition, it is more necessary and more urgent for Barcelona to take on this role so as to offer and reveal our thinking and our experience, which at the same time must be able to convey information and intentional thinking to our own society about what is happening all over the planet and offer the keys and strategies to improve it.

**Humanitarian action**

As a member of the international community committed to justice and human rights, Barcelona ought to be able to offer immediate response in the area of humanitarian action.

However, bearing in mind the limitations Barcelona might come up against in deploying humanitarian measures, these must be defined in keeping with its powers. The Catalan Committee for Emergency Humanitarian Aid is already a space with a national dimension that works to be able to respond to the different crises taking place all over the planet and I see it as the embryo on which future humanitarian action by the city as the capital of Catalonia should be founded.

**By way of conclusion**

I envisage action abroad by Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, based on ethical assumptions where good governance, knowledge, sustainable development and the extension of education and recognition of individual and collective human rights are unquestionable assets with added value. Barcelona must become a model international actor in these spheres, significantly in third-generation human rights: collective rights.

Barcelona cooperation must therefore frame and harmonise its work on the basis of three fundamental principles that promote and maintain the western world’s most important cooperation work: promoting sustainable human development, eradicating poverty and the fight against inequality.

There is therefore a need for policies and measures that favour the defence and the recognition of our cultural identity and of all those values and elements that distinguish us as the capital of a European nation with a universal vocation. Action parallel to the defence, promotion and recognition of national, cultural and linguistic diversity on our and everyone’s continent.

The national transition must serve to incorporate the accompanying democratic and governance processes in the DNA of Barcelona cooperation and must become the embryo guaranteeing the recognition and valuation of the collective dimension of human rights by the international community.
The name of Catalonia and of its capital, Barcelona, should be tied to — and steeped in — a transformational concept of knowledge and recognition of essential democratic values through the promotion and identification of human rights in their collective dimension.

We therefore propose to offer our voice to the world. A voice promoting the ability to interpret nuances over and above apriorism and fundamentalism. The very same heterogeneity that characterises Barcelona society therefore becomes a privileged looking-glass for looking at and interpreting the world, but also and above all for promoting sustainable human development and the defence of human rights everywhere.

It is Barcelona’s responsibility to promote and accompany political, economic and social actors, resources and assets to give them more arguments, more force and more weight in foreign policy. The Barcelona bodies responsible for international affairs must be able to coordinate and to carry out prescribed tasks in all those areas affecting the city government’s foreign affairs.

In addition, the city of Barcelona should be offered as a stable and permanent home for United Nations bodies and programmes, in order to answer to concerns expressed by citizens and by the city’s organised civil society and confirm its status as a European and international capital and its commitment to global governance.

Barcelona must foresee, plan and execute cooperation and DE that is coherent with its national origin and at the same time agreed and coherent with the thinking, the traditions and the worldview of each community it is in contact with.
A city of immigrants
The role of migratory flows in the past, present and future of Barcelona

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Abstract

From migratory flows toward Barcelona, the city has obtained not only the raw material for its demographic growth and social drive, but also the creative boldness and daring that has made it a cultural reference around the world. We could even say that there are no immigrants in Barcelona, because all of its inhabitants are or have been, to the degree that everyone — they or their most immediate ancestors— arrived at some point to live here. The value of real conflict is actually priceless, as the human diversification that collects and forces such different types of people to cooperate has been the engine for vitality that characterises and will surely continue to characterise the Catalan capital. However, many newcomers have been prejudiced by foreign legislations that have made them into people with fewer rights, although this hasn’t prevented the city from always considering them with the respect and attention that they deserve for what they are: residents.

Diversity, the raw material of urban life

All large cities — not due to their sizes, but their creative energy — are generally heterogeneous, amalgams of social forms whose concurrence is not only possible, but structurally strategic, to the degree that this lets human communities that have developed differentiated qualities and skills cooperate and maintain interdependent relationships. This requirement is met by the urban capacity to constantly produce endogenous diversity, but also by migratory movements that have been the raw material of this cosmopolitan nature in which metropolises find their identifying traits and the fuel that makes them advance.

The natural history of cities is like that of any other living system, namely, that of an organism that evolves from a constant process of differentiation and specialisation toward increasingly greater complexity, where each stage is marked by being flooded with new waves of immigrants. Thus, all cities depend on their capacity to appropriate those who will be known for a time — but not always — as immigrants, because they are an essential ingredient for city viability, renewal and even simple continuity. For this reason, no one should ever be viewed as an intruder to any large city. Everybody is an immigrant or a descendent of immigrants. The possible conflicts need not even be mentioned that are the result of this colossal cross-breeding phenomenon that represents a price that is well worth paying, in light of the benefits it spawns.

Barcelona is an example of this reality that we just described. The data on population over the decades proves it unequivocally. The capital of Catalonia appears demographically lacking, not fecund, below the level of replacement. Barcelona’s growth has been the consequence of migratory dynamics, the difference that is between immigrants and emigrants, between people arriving and people leaving. If Barcelona maintained a sustained population increase in the last century and through the 90s, it was due to immigration from the rest of the country and from the Spanish state, and if it overcame the loss of population experienced over the course of the 1980s and 1990s, this was due to the people who arrived from other countries, often from very far away.

At this time, Barcelona is a city of immigrants or descendents of immigrants; old immigrants, born in the Catalan countryside or in other lands of Spain, who coexist with new immigrants who have landed in the city in recent years from around the world, speaking dozens of different...
languages and with a multitude of ways of thinking, feeling and being. At the beginning of 2014, 16.7% of Barcelonans were foreigners: workers, professionals, businesspeople, students... This is only counting the people registered with the census, namely, without considering their descendents who were born in Barcelona or those who may not have papers or just arrived with whom we live in the neighbourhood or walk by on the street. If they were taken into account, the perception we may have of a much higher percentage of people of other nationalities surrounding us would be roundly confirmed. It is clear that Barcelona is a completely globalised city, a city that actively participates and contributes to a world where information, ideas, products, capitals and also human beings flow and converge constantly and keep producing a wealth that can only be the result of generalised communications and exchanges between different types of people.

In short, we can confirm that Barcelona is home today to humanity that is extremely culturally diverse, a fact that has been the focus of many important public debates, contrasting with the fact that the presence among us of the bearers of this diversity has never caused significant coexistence conflicts. We can say that the successive and systematic incorporation of migratory avalanches — extraordinarily large in specific historic periods — has taken place quite calmly, which makes it clear that Barcelona has historically been not just a host city, but a welcoming host city.

A good part of the Barcelonans who arrived in recent decades came from developed countries — Western Europe, North America, Japan... —, but many more have come from the poorest countries of the Americas, Asia, Africa and Europe itself, often under conditions of extreme hardship. As a consequence of foreign legal regulations, a highly significant number have moved to the city and survived under enormous difficulties: with fewer rights than the rest or no rights at all, at the mercy of job and housing markets that exploit their fragility, and in a hostile climate, more the consequence of government harassment than rejection from their neighbours.

Large numbers of these new Barcelonans who have claimed and obtained from Barcelona that which Henri Lefebvre called “the right to the city” have arrived fleeing awful situations in their countries of origin, but also at the hands of economic sectors greedy for a cheap and defenceless workforce. The latter is important, as it reminds us that it is not only catastrophic social conditions in their countries of origin that force people to change countries — as we tend to think — but also the needs of the receiving countries. It would be wonderful if some day Barcelona were in the condition to shelter only people who come here because they wanted to and not because they needed to or we needed them, people who decided to join our city by their own free will, responsible and binding.

**Difference is not inequality**

We are speaking of immigrants, but the people we let ourselves designate as such will not be immigrants forever. We are well aware — because it has happened and will happen again — that a new arrival who stays will become a native sooner or later. “Immigrant” is not an immutable category, but rather a type of designation of origin that is applied to people who have come from abroad — and not all, only the poorest — by other people who also came from abroad, just at an earlier time. Nobody is an immigrant forever; they or their descendents will cease to be one at some point in time. With this purpose, family reunification should not only be contributed to, but actively facilitated.
When underlining the importance of the migratory event, we cannot refute the evidence that part of the new arrivals — and not all — have been the object of a special focus and many times a stigma, a consequence not, as people tend to say, of their cultural uniqueness, but the fact that they belong to disadvantaged social classes whose legal status makes them even more vulnerable and whose phenotypic appearance or clothing make them more visible in public spaces. In this order of things, we must understand and make it understood that cultural diversity is a natural event, namely, it is consubstantial to the living vitality and energy of all cities. There is nothing contradictory between a high degree of cultural pluralism and the highest level possible of social homogeneity, of which the basic support cannot be anything but individuals’ legal and political equality. Thus, it will be a priority to clearly distinguish between cultural differences that must be respected and social inequalities that condemn large strata of the population to suffer unacceptable shortfalls.

The maintenance of their own cultural features and even the generation of other new ones by the foreign groups who arrive are part of a city’s vital heritage and make once-exotic customs commonplace after they become part of our daily experience. Many times the cultural traits typical of new arrivals are a key factor — paradoxical, if you like — in facilitating their integration, to the degree that they guarantee that their acclimatisation process to the often tough reception conditions is not traumatic and with individuals who have not lost their sense of community belonging. Well, it is obvious that there are cultural practices that cannot be tolerated in a society that wants to guarantee basic human rights. It would be difficult for the moral conditions to be in place to urge a human group to respect the law when the group’s possibility of enjoying its advantages were systematically denied. There must be unanimity when denouncing intolerable behaviours in a democratic society when violating people’s physical or moral integrity, but a requirement that everybody obeys the law must be accompanied by the imperative that everybody can also benefit from the law. The full recognition of citizens’ rights — not as a rhetorical designation, but as a real legal status — of all those who live among and with us is, therefore, an inexcusable prerequisite when extinguishing traditions that are incompatible with human rights.

Neither “indigenous” nor “locals”

Barcelona must continue offering those who arrived, and who will surely keep arriving, prospects for social integration and personal and collective improvement. For this reason, it is essential for the city to be able to develop a proposal that is its own and for the country as quickly and effectively as possible, which is also open, stimulating and attractive for contributing successes that become the successes of everyone living here. Along this line, a strict reading would be required to remove any linguistic insinuation that immigration is a “problem” for the city to advance and instead shows it as what it really is: a requirement. In Barcelona, the so-called immigrants do not integrate with society: they integrate it.

This is why we must insist that the difference between indigenous and immigrant is tenuous and temporary and that the stumbling blocks that we Barcelonans run into are applicable to everyone. The large majority of problems that prejudice those we classify as “immigrants” also affects the rest of the population. We can verify this in all spheres: education, health, public services, housing... In this regard, Barcelona must preserve and hopefully increase the advantages
of a social welfare state and attend to people not depending on who they are, but by what happens to them. Objective: ensure that the basic needs of every individual are met, without applying a classification based on the false binomial of immigrants and non-immigrants.

If laws that Barcelona has not produced or managed have been used until now to take away social welfare and justice from thousands of people labelled “immigrants” — namely, from foreign workers and their families —, the Catalan capital, like so many other of the country’s towns and cities, has taken on the objective of letting them enjoy everything applicable to them simply as human beings. New neighbours have seen their human status recognised, against laws that defined them as “illegal”, because local Catalan entities have been careful to assure them not citizen rights, which were not in their hands to grant, but yes rights as users of universal services: basic health, education and services. In effect, the pattern and task of citizen service offices have been instruments to regularise and dignify the situation of these people.

We must be well aware of the importance of education, of which no-one should be deprived. Awareness depends on the principles that make it possible for all of us to coexist who agree to overcome our differences without renouncing them. Education is also the vehicle that lets each individual be proud of their community’s past and roots and assume a present in which the paths of people tend to cross and intertwine, but also a future shared with others, a future that we must fight for to ensure its fairness. This is also one of the indispensable processes to deactivate prejudices and falsifications on which ideologies of and for social exclusion — racism, xenophobia, stigmatisation — are supported, as well as behaviours — marginalisation, segregation, discrimination.

One matter to resolve will definitely be the existing one on the concentration of foreign students in certain schools, a problem stemming from economic and city planning factors and, especially, from financial shortages and many families’ impossibility to choose. School policies promoted by the municipal administration must be addressed at attenuating as much as possible the negative effects of these factors and doing so by claiming enough resources from the higher administrations. In this area, we must point out that education must provide special attention to the women who are subject to different gender ideologies than those accepted in our country, which moreover also have many improvable aspects. The role of schools to change mentalities — of those arriving and those already here — in an equalitarian direction has been and will continue to be fundamental.

The same is true with regard to the right to health that local powers must contribute to ensuring, which involves not only helping make healthcare accessible, but also information so that this accessibility is known and used.

Identical objective with regard to social services that are directly and indirectly dependent on the municipality, which must plan for a large-enough budget to attend to the entire population that needs them, leaving aside whether the person is an “immigrant” or “indigenous”, so that nobody can criticise municipal management of preferential treatment for the latter.

The Barcelona that awaits us must also continue working toward job placement based on full social integration, understood as the possibilities that people must have to improve their situations. Precariousness and insecurity in this field affect the general population, but is particularly negative for foreigners, because they are obligated to accept conditions of vulnerability and exploitation that full citizens would reject. It is clear that the City Council has no power to legislate in this arena, although within its possibilities it must feel committed to the fight so that
people from outside are hired legally, with their rights as employees guaranteed, and that the processing of their residency permits is resolved with the maximum diligence possible, whose attainment would involve the automatic possibility of being hired.

**Right to dignified settlement**

Housing policies do come more fully into the sphere of municipal action, for which the new political command would have to permit practical improvements on the regional establishment of residential units. It is important that the Barcelona that awaits us is determined to assure that everyone can enjoy their right to housing and do so in the context of city planning policies permanently on guard against real-estate arbitrariness — namely, the generation of ghettos — and ensure that housing meets the conditions to make them decent places to live.

These immigrants suffer the consequences of social dynamics — linked in this case, and until now, with public and private land management — of which youth, the elderly and disadvantaged sectors of the population considered indigenous are also victims. However and furthermore, new arrivals must suffer the negative conditions of a territorial reality of which they have been alleged to be responsible many times. This assumption is often taken as true, which makes foreigners guilty of having caused, through their presence, the deterioration of certain neighbourhoods that, in reality, were already being forsaken, namely, which are not devaluing because they arrived, but they settled there because they had devalued, which lets unscrupulous owners obtain abusive rental profits from housing being demolished or restored. Moreover, we know that a high percentage of the victims of banking violations and legal evictions are people from abroad who would have to see how the city of Barcelona, via its institutions, takes their side in the fight to defend their housing.

The denial of the right to a roof over your head is an unacceptable phenomenon against which forceful municipal action will be urgent, especially by way of taxation of a merciless real-estate market and radical public interventions on territorial issues. This policy will necessitate that the authorities make important and courageous decisions, to the degree that they will have to confront extremely powerful economic interests. In this mission, it will be essential for the new state to grant the Barcelona government many more resources and competences than it has now.

The negative role played by the laws drafted until now by the Spanish state — like those on foreigners, machines that generate social exclusion and illegality — must not make us lose sight of the fact that it is the most neglected and poorest neighbourhoods where there is true multiculturalism, not with the empty small talk it often is, but instead the result of co-presence at times difficult but always fertile. The endeavour to dignify the lives of the people who immigrate is therefore identical to aspiring to improve the situation of our neighbourhoods, which have to live the current political process underway as an opportunity to obtain important and quality improvements in all fields: city planning, but also in education, health, safety and so forth.

Likewise, public spaces that are the setting for the deployment of the most active and fruitful methods of coexistence depend on the prompting of the most immediate political power, as well as acting as the scenario par excellence of democratic integration. All people, without exception, simply due to being human, would have to be guaranteed enjoyment of and accessibility to public spaces with no impedance, understood by definition as spaces accessible to everyone. The role of the security forces — and among them those for municipal obedience — would have to
guarantee this last right, well far from the image that current legislations and regulations have obligated them to project, which is worrisome for so many dark-skinned persons.

**Everyone who lives and works in Barcelona is Catalan**

Civil and administrative residency, accredited by the census, is what has defined an individual’s Catalan status until now. Today, dozens of thousands of these Catalans are not, paradoxically, even Spanish. It is our permanent address that makes us Catalans, but without this involving the right to citizenship that today can only be Spanish. We have to hope that this right of presence is upheld and that none of our neighbours lose their status as Catalans as the consequence of the existence of a new state in Europe. In order for present-day Catalans who are Catalans due to being inhabitants can become what they are not, namely citizens, city management must provide all foreign residents who apply for future Catalan nationality immediate citizenship. New arrivals should also be attended to quickly and efficiently to give them temporary visas that let them look for work, with the only requirement that they have hosts with legal status who guarantee that those who arrive have a place to live.

Barcelona must be a key instrument in assuring that a brand-new nation with full sovereignty, Catalonia, has the conditions to offer those who come to live here interesting and fair future prospects that makes their journeys worth it, both for those who arrive and those of us who receive them. For this reason, it is essential to generate a project that is in parallel national and city-wide, based on the conviction that there can be no greater prosperity than shared prosperity, a project that defines milestones whose attainment is attractive to everyone and that each person, according to their cultural beliefs, can take on in their own terms.

Let’s remember this. In the new state, like the one we will leave behind, there will be regulations, although the playing ground will continue to be the reign of local administrations which, it is to be hoped, will be recipients of greater powers and more resources. Starting from this premise, new things will have to be done to guarantee migratory flows that will contribute to social integration that will likewise and surely be produced, but also the full legal integration of foreigners and their families. Requirement: prove that they want to contribute to the country’s prosperity. In this regard, we could paraphrase the old saying from popular Catalan nationalism to proclaim that we have to obtain the milestone that everyone who lives and works in Barcelona is Catalan, not only due to their status as residents, like until now, but also as human beings who are granted the rights and duties of full citizens.

Barcelona and Catalonia will see how a huge window of opportunities will open up in front of them. An old city and an old country can be born again and claim their deep-seated roots to do it, where some of these roots are sunk in far-off lands. With the energy given us by the human plurality of which we are part, we can permit ourselves something more than creating a new state. We can and we must obtain an even more ambitious and daring future: that of a new society, of which Barcelona will continue to be the capital.
Conclusions

Having proven the strategic role of migratory flow for the energy and drive that animates Barcelona and projects it to the world, the fundamental mission of its local institutions is completely justified of guaranteeing everybody the satisfaction of their basic needs, making no distinction between “indigenous” and “immigrant” in the relative and temporary term. However, Barcelona could not give all its inhabitants status as citizens until now, because legislation drafted long ago condemned thousands of its residents to be denied the right to equality and a large number to illegality. It is now, with the outlook opened up by the emancipation process Catalonia is living through, that Barcelona can work positively toward obtaining political equality for all of its inhabitants — all, without exception — that they have been defined until now. That will be when, in a city in which until now we were all immigrants we can now all also be citizens.
Top Level Sports and Great Events as the Spearhead for Barcelona as Sports Capital

Joan Fontserè i Pujol
Introduction

There are many diverse factors that go to shape the role of sport at a local level in the city and as a model for a country, and the universal nature of sport adds to these factors.

– Training, through sport in schools, clubs and the values which are taught to the youngest.

– Health, with the prevention of illness and disease as has been demonstrated in study after study through physical exercise at different times in life, without forgetting the importance of physical activity for the elderly.

– Attention to people, with social cohesion, whether it is playing with a ball or in a sports centre, situations in which where we come from or where we are going is irrelevant.

- The economy, with its many facets as a contributor to the GDP and creation of jobs.

There are, however, two factors which are particularly worthy of note within this ambit, not only because of their universal definition but also locally and more specifically when we speak about Barcelona.

These factors to which we refer are found at the very top of the sports pyramid. They are intrinsically linked, although they may exist independently; in most cases we analyse they are cause and effect, effect and cause.

These two factors are: top level sport and great events.

Both have been decisive elements in the world of sport over the last decades, although it is when they come together that sport is seen as a model, even for those who do not actively do sport themselves and here is where it is so important.

Background

Early on in 1926 Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the instigator of the modern Olympic Games, said, “Before my visit to Barcelona, I thought I already knew what kind of sporting city it was”.

We can see that for a long time Barcelona has been recognised as a model to follow in these two sporting vectors: top level competition and great events.

Let us put a date for the source of this phenomenon: Barcelona’92. The 25th Olympic Games were proclaimed by the president of the International Olympic Committee, Joan Antoni Samarranch, as the best games of the modern era.

Why do we take the organisation of the Olympic Games as an example?

For various reasons, but one of these, and perhaps the main one, is because it is an example to follow, not just of an era but of a model.

Top Level Sport. High Performance for the City.

The associative fabric of Catalonia is the living reflection of society and as such the city of Barcelona. Sixty-nine federations are responsible for organising around 5,000 sports competitions
every week in which over 14,000 Catalan sports club take part. To accommodate all this activity there are over 35,000 sports areas.

Over the last years, the evolution of physical activity in the city has been such that more than 46 % of the population aged between 12 and 70 consider themselves to be physically active, for the simple fact that they do some kind of sports activity at least twice a week on a regular basis.

According to the indicator of sports activity carried out by the Diputació de Barcelona there is every indication that in the next few years the figure will be over 56 %, as successive generations take up sport as a habitual activity.

In the population pyramids we find that 85% of people who do sport fall within the age groups of 14-34 year-olds and the over 35s. These are the children of the Barcelona’92 phenomenon.

It is the consequence of the popularisation of sport, top level sport and the focus of high performance sport as the visible factotum of sporting successes, that the population has embraced it as an everyday activity, a fact that responds to the establishment of local role models who have received worldwide recognition: Gemma Mengual in synchronised swimming, Àlex Crivillé in motorcycling, Valentí Massana and Reyes Estévez in athletics, Pep Guardiola in football, and so on.

These and many others have known international success and are today examples which generate interest at a grass roots level in our country.

Top level competitions in Catalonia, and particularly in Barcelona, are the best stimulus for clubs and sportsmen and women.

Today we are experiencing the most refined consequences of the inclusion of sport as a habitual activity which is not only healthy, because we can find popular, amateur sporting activities such as city races, mountain races and triathlons to the point that leisure sport can also be considered an entertainment.

According to a survey carried out by the Diputació de Barcelona on sports habits, the main reasons that motivate people to do sport are firstly, “I enjoy it / it’s fun” followed by “ to be fit” and “to be healthy”.

With regard the geographical regions where people do sport, in the survey we can see that it is evenly spread throughout the country, a fact which proves how far this influence has spread.

In conclusion, we can see the influence that important events and international competitions have on exercise habits, as it is in the medium and long term that the fruits are reaped and not only in time but also in space, with Barcelona serving as a model for the whole country, as the sports capital.


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Great Events

Great events require two essential components which are linked to the final result: the standards of the organisation and sporting successes.

It is impossible to understand the success of an important event without local representatives or an established local tradition. Sporting successes go beyond sport when they are of the highest level and greatest organisational standard.
The organisation of the greatest sporting events, on all levels, can be conceived as an enzyme, unifying everything that represents an opportunity in sport.

This opportunity and the same universal nature of sport itself as well as active and passive involvement in the event is what gives it a universal focus. It is, therefore, an obligation, for the sole fact that many will be “judges” and many eyes will be on the organisation.

Great events, in the modern era, in the current era, on the contrary to what we may think, have had an enormous influence on sport and the way it is showcased.

Let us go back to the example of Barcelona’92 and compare it to another great sporting event organised by the city ten years previously, the FIFA World Cup.

The organisational standard, extremely high at the time, just when the state was immersed in a political transition, took Barcelona as its model, although its success was overshadowed by the fracas of Spain’s footballing performance.

Taking this fact into consideration, the candidature of Barcelona’92 was considered from the outset to be able to host the occasion with notable local participation, a fact which was a reality, and with the best results ever.

The event is constructed in different phases, where the earliest illusion of a handful grows to become a candidature of a collective which in turn becomes the ambition of a nurtured network and ends up being the success of a society. This is why in recent years Barcelona has found the best way to go from merely existing to becoming something more.

We can see how this enzyme we mentioned before not only awakens interest in sport in the strictest sense, but also brings about changes in other areas such as entertainment.

Barcelona also acts as a capital of creation and artistic production connected to important events and offers a stage for the most innovative, creative and surprising companies to the point where they are setting new standards in this area.

The city has gone from being a simple “continent of activity” to being “a showcase to the world”. It is then when excellence is pursued not only on the podiums of international meetings, but also in the mise-en-scene that frames the city in values and an image with which it is projected.

As we mentioned previously, and with reference to grass roots sports, in Barcelona the more than 170,000 member of municipal sports centres do sport in over 1,700 public sports areas.

This network of facilities, when added to the private areas and other spaces which are used for sport in certain circumstances (the Fòrum, the old city, Montjuïc, Fira Barcelona, Barcelona’s beaches and so on), go to make Barcelona an international leader in this respect, thanks also to its weather and, ahead of other world capital cities, the interest of its organisers and TV production companies.

With an aim to building a network of sports facilities, Barcelona’92 was the springboard for the development, not only of the Catalans’ sports habits but also for understanding the need to have a broad network of sports facilities in which to hold international sporting events in compliances with recognised standards.

At that time, the doors were opened to top class sports facilities which twenty-two years later are still able to comply with any set of clauses of requirements in the application for candidature of any kind of international competition.
In recent years, the World Swimming Championships in 2003 and in 2013, as well as the World Junior and European of Athletics have made use of the facilities which featured in its candidature.

Today, the proposal of the candidature of the Winter Games has put forward as its basis some of these facilities, as well as the network of the Pyrenees.

Barcelona’s geographical proximity to the Pyrenees reinforces the proposal and adds other facilities in the metropolitan area to this, such as for example the CAR (High Performance Centre) in Sant Cugat del Vallès.

Furthermore, the firm commitment to the strategy of beach and water sports means that the city has broadened its spectrum to other special sporting events such as the Barcelona World RACE, 70.3 Iron Man Barcelona, X Games, etc.

The model repeats itself once more. The important event as a generator of emotions and as an incentive for investments that have a direct influence on sporting activity.

In order to accommodate these emotions the candidatures of important events include the infrastructures that make up the physical skeleton of the proposals but which at the same time establish the bases of sport in the future. In this sense, Barcelona also acts as capital, as within its catalogue of structures of state it includes first class international sports infrastructures, which at the same time are available to people to do sport, as entertainment or as a model of the management of public spaces, scalable to any provincial or county capital.

Conclusions

We can say, therefore, that thanks to this legacy today Barcelona exercises its status of capital city in the world of sport.

It is a capital city both inside and out. It is a capital in as far as it acts as the motor, the illusion from within, to be able represent its citizens and land in the world of sport, in whatever form.

Top level sport and top competition are the basis on which to build, in sporting terms, first of all a dream and then a country. The model Barcelona’92, has today been adapted and expanded for the Barcelona-Pyrenees bid for the Winter Olympic games. It is a model which, starting from physical activity at grass roots level, with its organisations and clubs, produces and offers opportunities of growth, opportunities in the promotion of the city and opportunities of leadership. It is a model that reinvests in society, throughout the land in the short term.

A model that goes from the grassroots of sport to the highest level, building candidatures, organising large events and leaving a legacy of international infrastructures of the highest quality.

Thirty-four years later, great events have been converted into great deeds.

Barcelona is and performs as a capital in sport and of sport, following the model which it has been shaping developing over the last decades.
Barcelona and its metropolitan area are Catalonia’s human, social and economic basis. The city is a point of reference in the global system of cities and one of the most important nodal cities on which Europe is built. For long periods during the modern and contemporary age, Catalonia had no state structure, no form of government, but it has always had a capital that has been its driving force and its calling card before the eyes of the world. In any future scenario for our country, Barcelona must always be the great capital of Catalonia and a global city. And in particular it must be the advance guard of a more socially cohesive Catalonia and a model for the new welfare Europe needs today.

Barcelona, following the Olympic Games, has been acknowledged for its urban transformation, for its architecture, for its public spaces, for its diversity. Today Barcelona must take another step forward and be recognised as the city of the new social welfare the whole of Europe needs, especially Mediterranean Europe. The social welfare of the future will have far more urban roots because only in cities, in proximity, can the broad agreement be forged between public responsibility on the part of government and the articulation of cooperation between civil society – especially organisations in the voluntary sector — and the commitment of citizens to respond to the important and complex social challenges posed by the global information era.

As many of our European neighbour cities are being broken and disorganised socially, Barcelona is taking strength from adversity. The reasons for this can be found in the reply from the organised civil society, from the voluntary sector of society in particular, but also from other social actors such as the professional associations, and in citizens’ social commitment to improve the capacity for organisation and response of the city as a whole.

The voluntary sector has emerged as a powerful, renovated sector consisting of more than 2,400 organisations in the city, who attend to 760,000 people, hire 40,000 people and have a
growing number of volunteers. In the period of crisis between 2007 and 2012, although the voluntary sector of society lost 9.3% of its organisations because of funding problems, in Barcelona the number of people attended increased by 20%, the number of volunteers by 21% and the number of people employed in the voluntary sector by 2%. The public’s social commitment has shown itself, first of all, in the increase in the number of social volunteers, currently estimated at 100,000 people.

In Barcelona, opportunities are being created for cooperation and collaboration between the administration and social initiative which are the seeds of a new social welfare. Defending social rights today means incorporating new rights, in particular the social right of citizenship or the right to the community; in other words, the right and duty of citizens to develop their social dimension as people and to take responsibility and commit themselves as active citizens in the social welfare of their fellow-citizens.

More commitment by citizens benefits the construction of a more cohesive capital with more welfare which is more demanding as regards processes of transparency and accountability, ie more demanding with the quality of a democracy.

Barcelona must be a point of reference in the construction of Catalonia’s social future. Our country has to know what model to adopt and what system of cities to base itself on. We need to participate and manage a global discourse integrating the different visions of the social Catalonia, and we need the complexity and the multiple lines of social and political deliberation in our country to come to the surface instead of being reduced to just the national question, however important it is (which it is).

Obviously, having more powers, more authority and more resources would allow us in the future to make more and better investments in the struggle against poverty and inequality, improve social opportunities for all individuals and groups and facilitate the construction of better social welfare in Catalonia. But we have no guarantee that this will be so, since the key power of being able to establish a tax system of our own could be used to reduce our tax burden, move even further away from European tax burden and reduce taxation on the highest incomes. If the new state instruments are used to reduce public deficit through cuts in government social spending and if market regulation (especially the financial market) is abandoned, in that case the fact of having broader state structures to reduce or contain social investment would not allow us to create a new state and a welfare society, but would serve to create more social unrest. The rich would be richer, the poor poorer, and we would have more inequality and less cohesion in Catalonia.

The example of Barcelona shows that the economic crisis must be beaten by fighting the social crisis, and in particular the increasing inequality and hardship that are at the root of it. This is done by giving priority to social investment and multiplying its impact through cooperation and the articulation of resources with a voluntary sector that is strong, efficient and plural, and join together to promote the active commitment of citizens with the city through non-profit civil society bodies. It’s essential for a socially strong Catalonia and it’s necessary for the new social welfare in Europe.

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Firm commitment to the service of personal autonomy and inclusion

Josep Maria Llop
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Introduction

This chapter presents disability as an inherent characteristic of 10% of our country’s population and city’s population. Overcoming physical, mental or sensorial limitations, in part or in full, with technical or personal accessories affect the recognition of the disability in question.

The commitment that Barcelona must make to disabled people, if it becomes the capital of the Catalan state, must start from its extensive practical experience with public policies aimed at personal autonomy, as well as essential cooperation with the spheres of technological and financial knowledge, so that Barcelona becomes the world centre for producing policies and conceptual frameworks in favour of equal opportunity. At present, Barcelona in particular and Catalonia in general have technological research areas and spaces for dialogue capable of emphasising the economic, social and political models for serving disabled people that refocus resource redistribution toward those groups with the greatest needs.

In Europe, there are an estimated 80 million disabled people who, due to barriers within their surroundings, cannot lead normal lives and are thus in situations of inequality and social discrimination.

With regard to age, we should bear in mind the increased average life expectancy, slightly over 80 years. This ageing of the population has entailed Catalonia having some 17% of its people aged over 65 and 10% aged over 75. Ageing reflects similar patterns throughout Europe: 87 million people older than 65, which represent 17.5% of the population (Spanish National Statistics Institute, hereinafter the INE, and EU data). In addition, UN studies calculate that 75% of disabilities are manifested during adulthood and that, due to ageing, the prevalence of disabilities will increase significantly.

With regard to Catalonia, there are half a million people with recognised disabilities. This figure does not even include citizens whose disabilities are the consequence of the ageing process and who have not requested public recognition.

Legislative developments that have dealt with the treatment of disabilities in recent decades reflect the social nature of our society. From the decisive contributions that the Trias Fargas Act represented for adoption at the level of central Spain of the LISMI (Social Integration of Disabled Persons Law), to the current draft bill in the Parliament of Catalonia at this time, the public administration’s commitment to disabilities has been unequivocal and has led us toward equal opportunities.

At present, the framework for disability enjoys international consensus (2006 United Nations accord), as well as a European Charter and a European Union strategy for disability that will lead to the standardisation of policies by 2020 and, especially, the possession of rights by European Union citizens affected by any situation of disability.

The road that we must travel is a still long one. The possibility of establishing a new state offers the chance to avoid the negative external impacts of some measures that have not worked adequately. In turn, a qualitative leap forward can be taken to situate the person at the top of the pyramid, with the aim of suitably attending to our country’s citizens’ needs for technical and social assistance.

The smart city concept entails a commitment to cutting across administrative, political, technical and economic sectors to provide a reasonable level of services. In this regard, the use of technology in the service of – in this case – disabilities, primarily physical and sensorial,
often provides solutions that very significantly increase personal autonomy and exponentially decrease the cost of providing complementary personal services.

The “scientific ring” (high-performance network) of Catalan universities, spaces for biomedical and physics research, the holding of the mobile congress and different conferences for each of the disciplines in Barcelona come together to create a potent knowledge platform, capable of large-scale synergies in the service of disabilities. The commitment of Barcelona and Catalonia for smart services for disabilities entails specifically creating the conditions so that technological research on disabilities takes place in our country. We have the conditions in place to be able to do it, but the commitment to these synergies also requires that economic and social interests in disabilities are incorporated from the beginning. In this regard, mechanisms for financing business and technical networking initiatives, as well as cooperation from scientific and technical research entities in adding the disabled perspective to the research, design and marketing of products, are key pieces shaping an opportunity that neither Barcelona or Catalonia should underestimate.

Disability is a changeable concept that will affect a significant part of the world’s population at some time or another.

Current and shared outlooks on disability

Western society’s approach to disability has been marked by representative names for the concepts that have defined their scope and practical focus over the course of the past decade.

Deficient people; the disabled or people with incapacities (linked to labour contexts); handicapped people (this term started as a result of the 1983 Social Integration of Handicapped People Law, or LISMI); disabled persons (a term stemming from the more universalist and participative focus coined by the World Health Organisation, WHO) and, at present, the term functional diversity (stemming from reflections at the Spanish Independent Life Forum and which, despite its imprecision, has met with widespread academic acceptance). The latter concept stems from a person’s capacity for contributing to a society that should not discriminate on the basis of gender, race, personal characteristics or any other traits that make up possible differences between people. This trend, which started in Anglo-Saxon countries and includes a multiplicity of contexts, surely requires more solid contributions in order to become paradigmatic and universally accepted.

For the purposes of simplicity, the term “disabled persons” includes the universe of the characteristics and limitations that affect a significant percentage of the population who must have access to the same rights and the same obligations. This viewpoint requires the adoption of suitable measures that shape the environment to accessibility criteria.

Over time, the consideration of disability has changed from a more segregationist focus - which views such people according to their limitations - to a rehabilitative medical focus, which centres more on the functional development of their possibilities (as a means to a better quality of life). In the 1980s, it then moved to viewing disabled people as individuals called to manage their lives by taking control of their disabilities. This entailed them abandoning their role as patients to become fully active players in shaping their own lives, within the society they live in.

Authors like Rosato and Angelino (2009) suggest that implicit in the concept of “deficient” is the concept of “normal”, and social production of what is normal is concomitant with the social
production of what is deficient. Social conditions modify and explain processes of inequality in the health sphere as well as in the distribution of income, working conditions and citizen participation, which implies the need to “introduce eco-social variables to explain the aetiology of disabilities”.

The WHO’s definition of disability (2001) broadens the concept to any alteration in an individual’s health condition that can generate pain and suffering and interfere with daily activities. Wellbeing includes multiple domains, one of which is health, in which the complementary concepts of functioning and disability are inscribed. *Functioning* is a generic term that includes body functions and structures, activities and participation. It indicates the positive aspects of the interaction between an individual (with a “health condition”) and his contextual factors (environmental and personal factors). *Disability* is (also) a generic term that includes deficits, limitations to activity and restrictions in participation. It indicates the negative aspects of the interaction between an individual (with a “health condition”) and his contextual factors (environmental and personal factors). Like the two sides of a coin, this classification includes both the positive and negative issues with regard to health conditions, making explicit reference at all times to the contextual factors that influence persons’ realisation, regardless of what their health conditions may be.

Long-lasting health changes, in terms of functioning, continue to be called *disabilities* and encompass three levels that bring to mind the classification above: bodily (deficiencies in body structure), individual (limits in the person’s activity) and social (restrictions in social participation in terms of equality with the people surrounding them). However, the new feature here is that contextual factors (environmental and personal) are present and decisive in explaining people’s degree of functioning or disability at all stages. A dialectic is introduced between these two perspectives, so that if *there is functioning* (realisation and participation in daily life activities), *there is no disability* (limits to activity and restrictions to participation). The former approach is therefore overcome, which labelled people for their entire lives by determining whether or not there was disability, without looking at whether or not they had the resources, techniques and support needed to carry out the activity in question.

Modern-day approaches must let knowledge of the disability be linked to criteria that can be objectified for people’s capacity-building that let them enjoy their rights and require that they fulfil their duties under equal conditions.

Disability and its legal recognition do not therefore need to be permanent, but changeable, either upward or downward, by considering measurable factors according to measurements that determine the degree of overcoming individual limitations, within the scope of influence of disabilities.

For reasons of social justice it is recommend that Barcelona – as the capital of Catalonia – take this focus into consideration so that those who most need resources and complementary support measures can become beneficiaries. This would therefore contribute to going beyond the approaches that are linked to the single factor sphere of personal limitation and receive multiple factor approaches, which incorporate technical, medical, aptitude-based and contextual issues, which can substantially and objectively change the criteria for recognising disability and, therefore, the care and services that disabled persons may need from society. The concept of return on social investment that Barcelona’s Municipal Institute of Persons with Disabilities
carries out in areas as diverse as jobs for disabled persons at parks and gardens or with regard to personal assistants are an initial step in the right direction.

Barcelona: a large city with a social spirit in the service of people

Since 1932, when councillor Roc Boronat i Font obtained his post as charity commissioner at the Barcelona City Council, a change in paradigm started that endowed Barcelona's social spirit with true content, as well as that of Catalan society as a whole. Councillor Roc Boronat implemented the measures that would change the social concept of charity for that of assistance. The creation of the Syndicate of the Blind in Catalonia and the creation of the pro-blind lottery ticket organisation gave worthwhile jobs to over 500 people who had once lived off charity. After the 1936-39 Spanish Civil War, this progressive idea of personal autonomy was borrowed by the Spanish authorities and would lead to the founding of ONCE (Organización Nacional de Ciegos Españoles, National Organisation of Blind Spaniards). At present, this organisation is a world benchmark for its technical and human knowledge, which make it possible to highlight and employ persons' capacities in favour of maximum personal autonomy.

The advent of democracy encouraged the rebirth and modernisation of the social spirit in our country and, therefore, in Barcelona.

The Handicapped Law of 1982 (created by the Catalans and later approved by the Spanish Congress of Deputies), as well as successive decrees by the Generalitat (Catalonia’s autonomous government), the Law to Suppress Architectural Barriers of 1991, the Accessibility Code of 1994, which was in line with and had the full effects of the legal regulation, as well as other more sector-based laws and regulations have all led to our society having particularly important and sensitive development on this matter.

The creation of the Municipal Institute of Disabled Persons has been the instrument through which Barcelona has put the principles and contents of the laws and regulations into practice and has broadly exceeded national and international standards on handling disability as a social diversity that can be integrated into society.

Our country’s capital’s approach to disability has been shaped through the participation of all social, political, economic and technical sectors, to highlight persons’ capacities and, as far as possible, ensure that disability becomes functional diversity. Practices that were initially pure welfare assistance have given way to training for personal autonomy and enhancing dignity. The task that the Municipal Institute of Disabled Persons has undertaken in the area of occupation accredits is as one of the municipal institutions with the greatest capacity and experience, capable of being exported and shared in a large number of European countries.

Both occupational training and social assistance for disabled persons are currently being analysed from the viewpoint of return on social investment. This principle involves a quantitative analysis of the costs and advantages that a specific level of social assistance produces for disabled persons. The main conclusions of this technique, highly corroborated both by academic circles and social work in several American and British cities, conclude that, as assistance policies are designed and applied in Barcelona, there are two interest groups that are especially benefitted by the occupation policy in favour of people with disabilities. Firstly, disabled persons
and, secondly, the state administration, given that the contribution to Social Security, both from the employer’s and worker’s contributions, helps sustain the single state coffer and, therefore, also Social Security and the pension system. It merits mention that, in this case, neither the municipal administration nor any of the Catalan administrations receive any positive impact.

Barcelona, as capital of the new state of Catalonía, will be able to redistribute the returns on social investment, namely, income from Social Security in favour of the most needy and vulnerable groups.

The new state and the public Administration in the service of people

The new state will reorganise the administrations in order to adapt to the new national reality. At present, the administrative map for channelling social policies and services is structured around these administrations: municipalities, district councils (comarques), provincial councils (diputacions), the Generalitat and the Spanish state. Although the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonía gives it exclusive competence on social matters, a good part of funding comes from the Spanish state and, thus, while material execution of social policies does not strictly correspond to the state, financing does.

In addition to the aforesaid administrative areas, the metropolitan area merits mention, as an administrative entity that makes agreements on different city planning, economic, environmental and transport issues, as well as others, with regard to the large municipalities in the conurbation of the city of Barcelona. The more than probable duplication of services in some cases and disparate criteria in others shall require a rational adjustment of administrative areas and work to make criteria uniform.

While this has not been done, the possibilities that each administration provides to the system should be set out.

Provincial councils have the mission of assisting the town councils in their regions so that they can provide basic services. Programmes to fund municipal actions are currently subject to the supervisory filter of the accessibility criteria set by our country’s legislation. Likewise, with the Provincial Council of Barcelona (Diputació), there are ad hoc programmes addressed to disabled persons, such as those at Respir care homes, the Mirada Tàctil, Apropa Cultura and accessibility to natural parks and beaches, which have all increased accessibility levels in our territory and, thus, have also increased value from a tourist outlook.

Funding for provincial councils is at a state level and, thus, when Catalonía becomes a full state in the world and Barcelona is its capital, it will have to be the Generalitat government that provides funding with the provincial councils as the beneficiaries, particularly the Provincial Council of Barcelona.

District councils are intermediate administrations between the municipalities and the Generalitat de Catalunya. Their main task, with respect to disability, rests with joint services boards to hire social workers and, very especially, the provision of adapted transport services. The financing of district councils is the full responsibility of the Generalitat and, therefore, these councils are the embryo of the new administration of the state of Catalonía and must be adapted to the country’s new needs.
Municipalities have municipal funding sources, normally limited, and most of the time their size prevents the adoption of specific social policies with services for disabled persons. District and provincial councils largely substitute, either directly or indirectly, the financial cost and execution of social tasks. Only large municipalities assume part of the costs and specific policies on social issues. As holder of exclusive competence, the Generalitat approves specific secondary legislation, pursuant to the Statute of Autonomy; it controls fulfilment of actions, pursuant to the framework in force; it applies penalties for violations of the established rules; and issues certificates that recognise disability percentages.

In this new scenario, the Generalitat will continue to be the main administration, from a viewpoint of general competence, and will not have the inconveniences that stem from the current method of allotting contributions from the central Spanish government to funding social policies.

In the change process that will have to take place, both in the area of redistribution of the administrations’ powers and our country’s territorial structure, Barcelona’s status as capital will be worth considering as an asset for projecting Catalonia abroad, as well as its model of providing assistance to disabled persons. As a large city and state capital, Barcelona will also have the opportunity to attract knowledge about experiences and models — both at a municipal and large city scale and at a country level — capable of improving the putting into practice of true equal opportunities and redistributive social justice.

The cooperation relationship on social issues and disabilities must be urgently defined between the city of Barcelona and the entities under the umbrella of metropolitan municipalities. This relationship, normally with asymmetrical features, requires a conception of loyal cooperation between administrations and approaches that are exclusively aimed at responding to our country’s reality and, in this case, in the service of equal opportunities for disabled persons.

In conclusion, both because Barcelona is home to more than one-fifth of our country’s population (1.6m inhabitants) and because our city can become the state capital, it will be worth considering readapting the Municipal Charter of Barcelona to the characteristics and competences of the country’s essential territorial structure. In this regard, Barcelona must have its own social policies in the framework of the country’s legislation, which will place us in the appropriate situation among the large cities of the world.

Organisations providing service for the disabled: a channel of participation and partnership with the catalan Administration

It merits mentions that, in the current system of social welfare and services for disabled persons, the policies, especially those applied by the Municipal Institute of Disabled Persons of Barcelona and by the Barcelona Provincial Council, have highly cooperative relationships with third sector entities, which provide social assistance with higher quality and a larger number, as well as with more assumable costs.

The organisations providing services to disabled persons are a tool of participation. It is through these organisations that disabled persons, their family members and support and
administrative personnel agree on policies, criteria and objectives, based on the budgets available at any given time.

Although our entities historically have been founded primarily due to families’ concerns about helping disabled persons and establishing them consequently as an interest group, today they are surely the main asset that the administrations have to reflect, design and apply policies for disabilities.

This model of joint responsibility is adapted to the benefit of public-private associations, which lead to the optimisation of resources at all levels.

Entities’ consideration as citizen and public interest groups must also go hand in hand with a law on sponsorship. This legal instrument must permit corporate funding channels – with a transparent and public method – as a way to incorporate the principles of corporate social responsibility to general interests. This does not however necessitate economic agents renouncing the image and commercial benefits that could stem from their cooperation in general interest projects.

Subsidies should be avoided that, via a certain complacency with the public administration, could possibly relinquish the advocacy of public interests under which these entities were founded. The commitment to strengthen civil society and our organisations is the goal that must make joint participation and shared responsibility possible in disability policies.

We would like to bring up ONCE, given that the size and characteristics of this organisation merit special consideration. Its impressive contribution in terms of providing jobs to disabled persons means it should be born closely in mind by the new state of Catalonia in defining the provision of services. At present, ONCE is a public law entity, with the administrative concession to exclusively operate the pro-blind lottery tickets. Thus, the Catalan administration, using the typical and unique characteristics of this organisation, should define the service criteria that it will carry out on behalf of the new state’s administration. Rationality and prudence criteria advise the application of the legal principle of successive performance, so that the new state is subrogate to the obligations of the former parent state, namely, the Spanish state. The weight that Catalonia has in the entire organisation unequivocally helps cooperative relationships beneficial to ONCE by the Catalan state and by the Spanish state.

Conclusions

This chapter has dealt with disability as something that affects 10% of society and is, therefore, an inherent part.

Current approaches follow a line of the changing and temporary nature of the factors involved in a disability. In accordance with the WHO’s current definition, as well as the reality of the technical and personal grants available, neither disability nor its seriousness are concepts that are permanent or stable. For reasons of redistributive social justice and better service to people, the mechanisms for recognising and reviewing disability must be approached in order to obtain, whenever possible, a status of “normal functioning”.

In accordance with these approaches, the opportunity provided by establishing a new state lets us rethink the pension policy. The pension system, as happens with determining disabilities
and their degree, must be changeable depending on the degree of “standardisation” of the person affected by the disability. In this regard, pensions must be a dignified aid for those people who cannot join the work force and in no case should they end up becoming a disincentive so that a group of people capable of working does not enter the labour market.

In this regard, the task that the Municipal Institute of Disabled Persons has undertaken in the area of occupation merits special emphasis, proving it to be one of the municipal institutions with the greatest capacity and experience, liable to be exported and shared in a large number of European countries.

In accordance with the results of the most modern analysis techniques of social action (social return on investment), there are two interest groups especially benefitted by the occupation policy in favour of disabled people: firstly, this group and, secondly, the state administration, given that the contribution to Social Security, both with regard to employer’s and worker’s contributions, help sustain the single state coffer and, therefore, also Social Security and the pension system.

Both because Barcelona is home to more than one-fifth of our country’s population (1.6m inhabitants) and because our city can become the state capital, it will be worth considering readapting the Municipal Charter of Barcelona to the characteristics and competences of the country’s essential territorial structure. In this regard, Barcelona must have its own social policies in the framework of the country’s legislation, which will place us in the appropriate situation among the large cities of the world.

The organisations of disabled persons and those who work there must strengthen their role in reflecting on service models, the design and application of policies on disability. This higher level of shared responsibility must be accompanied by a sponsorship law that lets private economic agents be added to participation at entities with recognised public interest. The Catalan administration will be the one to approve the criteria and conditions for this public interest that will accredit the entities.

Thus, Barcelona, as the future capital of Catalonia, a new state in the world, will need to highlight the capacities of all the people who live there, love the city and hope to build their futures there. The city’s driving force is the sum of multiple factors that lead Barcelona and Catalonia to having the responsibility of becoming a European, and world, leader, in the comprehensive treatment that society provides to disabled persons.

When Catalonia officially becomes a state, it will have to redistribute social returns, derived from disability policies, to those people who most need support.

Despite its great potential in technological and research fields, Barcelona needs a more serious and committed push in order to fully take advantage of the synergies of university research in the areas of robotics and information systems. It must also act by employing mobile and geolocation technologies, in order to truly aspire to becoming a world reference in comprehensively handling disabilities. Help in financing serious business initiatives and their ability to be able to efficiently compete in a globalised environment is still a pending subject that our country needs to handle urgently.
The purpose of valuing the potentials of our city and its economic and academic environment have, in addition to a humanistic angle, an economic value that Barcelona and Catalonia must not renounce. Thus, at present, the commitment made to suppress architectural barriers or in the scope of accessibility to many museums and natural spaces, represent tourist potential that complements our city’s and our country’s great appeal and attraction.

The combination of social, technological and academic commitment will give rise to a model for treating disability, exportable both due to its humanist values and as positive socioeconomic returns that form part of our city’s experience.

The road to travel is still a quite long one, but Barcelona has extensive and proven experience that ranks our city as a world leader with regard to social inclusion and its commitment to the personal autonomy of disabled persons.

The consolidation of this model becomes a way to promote values that are very much ours and genuine. If they are adapted to the reality of other countries, they can be desirable both for disabled persons and for society as a whole.

As a final conclusion, it needs to be mentioned that Barcelona’s status as the capital of the new state of Catalonia will not start only with revenues from taxes paid by citizens, but from an aliquot part that the Generalitat applies to the budgetary and financial surplus stemming from the current tax deficit in Catalonia with the Spanish state, which stands at 8% of the gross domestic product, which translates into some 15.5bn euros. Today Barcelona is a model for cities in the service it provides to disabled persons.

Our city has particularly ideal conditions for the challenge of transforming disability into functional diversity. Clinical advances from medical research; practical knowledge of very prestigious institutions such as the Guttmann Hospital and ONCE; hosting the mobile congress and derived technical and research elements, as well as the putting into practice of a highly advanced welfare assistance and legislative system, produce a propitious climate in our city for it to become a world reference centre with the ability to export solutions, projects and concepts that will benefit disabled persons.
Barcelona, a capital for all

Jordi López Camps
Advisor to the Commissioner for Immigration and Community Action
Barcelona City Council
Becoming the Catalan State capital

For some time, we have known that if Catalonia is the Catalan nation, then Barcelona is the capital of Catalonia. Three hundred years ago, the people of Barcelona — heroes who resisted the relentless hounding of the city — believed they were defending the freedoms of all Catalans because they thought the city was the country’s “capital and mother”. The role of Barcelona as Catalonia’s capital should emerge from the consensus moulded on a leadership accepted by the rest of the territory, through responsibility assumed by its citizens; it should mobilise feelings and be rooted in the beliefs of those Catalans. Being a capital city means becoming a meeting place, a place for building the national identity, and for opening up Catalonia to the world. Through its capital city, a country demonstrates what it is and what it wants to be, incorporating its past.

Being the capital means that Barcelona defines the symbolic and emotional sphere and the values that unite the city. Tradition, present and future must converge under the will of the people when defining the soul of the city — that which identifies and provides uniqueness in relation to other capitals. Fundamentally, it is a commitment to a future that is different and better to what we are and what we have now. Being the capital and acting as such requires the commitment of all the people of Barcelona, bearing in mind that not all of them share the same traditions as part of their particular identities.

Barcelona consists of the men and women who make up the city. Alongside them are institutions, organisations and human relations that define the living reality. They each have individual identities which come together when defining the city’s true profile. Nothing is unused or accidental when thinking about how this Catalan capital Barcelona should be; this Barcelona — the Ideal City — the expression of the sovereign Catalonia. This future that is to be built is defined by a desire to be with and for the people, first and foremost, and then to help develop projects and the path to the city’s associated realities. This proposed approach does not involve roads to nowhere. It involves routes that are full of intercessions and oriented at all times towards a shared destiny: to make the capital city Barcelona a place of civility.

Barcelona - a cosmopolitan city

Barcelona has always been a cosmopolitan city, a crossroads of people and cultures. What makes the city unique is its cultural diversity and that it is a cosmopolitan crossroads of life experiences and cultures. The city is plural and culturally diverse. In Barcelona, there are people from all over the world. Almost half were born outside Barcelona and 35% outside Catalonia. The city has welcomed significant waves of immigration — some very old and some very recent. In just over twelve years, the foreign population in Barcelona has increased 285%. Today, 17.7% of Barcelona residents are foreigners and the city is represented by 175 nationalities. This diversity has enriched the city and energised the process of nation building in Catalonia.

The city’s profile has changed considerably in recent years, as has its people. Barcelona has been transformed by recent immigration. The city has grown not just demographically but also culturally from the arrival of people who bring new, very different visions to those already in the city. Changing Barcelona’s social reality has required efforts to adapt to diversity. Other
factors have also contributed to making this plurality of the city more evident. Tourism, along with important cultural, sporting, business, religious and other events, have encouraged the interaction of Barcelonans with people from elsewhere in a way that has facilitated the growth of intercultural dialogue.

Many of the people who came to Barcelona as immigrants did so for economic reasons with the aim of improving their life chances and finding opportunities that were not available in their countries of origin. Others, however, came to Barcelona attracted by other reasons related to the city’s cosmopolitan nature. All these new arrivals have made Barcelona their own and have helped it to grow through their hopes and dreams.

New citizens, a new city

The city’s relationship with immigrants has steadily changed over time. At first, these people were considered merely as newcomers and city officials developed reception and integration programmes to ensure social cohesion. As time has passed, this point of view has changed substantially. Many of the immigrants from the past have begun to embrace the landscape of the city, with all its nuances and variations, and have themselves become Barcelonans. They are now citizens who want to be considered as such, with their rights recognised, especially political rights, and with the responsibility to build a space of shared cohabitation in Barcelona.

The focus of public policy in relation to the immigration policy considered to date should not be on managing the newcomers, but on managing the city’s cultural diversity. This represents a substantial change in perspective. That said, at no time does this new approach mean disregarding the reception of immigrants, but rather shifting part of the efforts previously aimed at immigration policies to the political management of cultural diversity. One of the political and social debates about the future of Barcelona as the capital of Catalonia is about how to live and how to live together under diversity and from the diversity of its citizens. This must be done without exclusions; all people living in Barcelona must feel that they are political subjects with full rights to construct the city. A key objective of social integration programmes, after the initial reception phase, is to achieve the transition from immigration status to citizen status.

Barcelona’s increasing cultural diversity is a significant opportunity, but it also introduces important issues that demonstrate the complexity of managing this situation. The diversity of backgrounds, identities expressed through customs, values and life beliefs, as well as languages, all raise new issues to be resolved in order to ensure coexistence and social cohesion in the city. The pleasant way in which these differences are experienced helps promote coexistence. The city’s civility is expressed in the ability of its citizens to live alongside each other with respect for cultural, religious diversity and diversity of beliefs as well as the plurality of lifestyles and ways of living. Thanks to respect, society becomes more human and social cohesion is strengthened. Without a cohesive city there can be no civility.

Good management of cultural diversity benefits the whole of Catalan society, both from the point of view of constructing the project of civility and from improving the economic and social relevance of the Catalan State. This new reality is superimposed on a phenomenon peculiar to modern cities: the loss of relevance of usual places for organising social spaces and the emergence of multiple social relationship networks that give the city a new shape. It is within this
new reality that we must now situate the various phenomena associated with the transition from immigration to the new citizenship.

City and civility

Civility is built in cities. Barcelona, the capital city, on the way to being an Ideal City, needs to be a civic city. The city is civilised because, through their relationships, Barcelonans convey the values and virtues that they practice. The Barcelona metropolitan area has to be a meeting place where dialogue, tolerance and respect exist. As a result, people live and coexist. One needs only to carefully observe any urban event to appreciate the different ways of being, thinking, living and coexisting. The avenues, streets, gardens, squares are showcases for cultural diversity. There on show are the values, traditions, hopes and dreams that make up the soul of a city. A careful look shows how harmony and dialogue shape this diversity, constructing urban life.

Urban democracy is based on open interactions aimed at affirming the values of coexistence. In cities, civic virtues are proposed and practiced. Barcelona is a network of people who live and manifest different ways of understanding life, based on different sources of meaning. Intercultural dialogue helps to highlight the varied spiritual referents of the people of Barcelona, since they also demonstrate specific aspects of their different unique identities. In Barcelona, with its plural and mixed character, universal civic values are distilled from the interaction of a plurality of particular principles lived in highly diverse spheres, where religions, beliefs and schools of thought play a prominent role. Through dialogue regarding values, conducted from a context of plurality and diversity, the city is humanised.

Barcelona offers contemporary culture the ideal substrate for jointly building the principles and universal values that allow a civilised coexistence — a primary source of happiness and wellbeing. To build a civic Barcelona, the city needs to be made into a space where diversity is integrated under a common project that respects the particularities and complexities of the different people of Barcelona. Shared civic identity can never be an imposition, but rather the multiplicative sum of the different singularities of the people of Barcelona. Moving in this direction creates harmony and reconciliation.

This ideal, understanding the city as a source of civility — so sought-after by previous generations in Barcelona and the whole of Catalonia — is now a dynamic and living fact. This is not about claiming only those traditions that define us as a civic city. We must understand civility as a living entity that is built based on what the people of Barcelona today are and want to be. Barcelonans who are a plural and diverse people; with values that can be shared or not shared; with hopes that make sense in the heart of each person; and dreams that become common goals so that they are expressed with the aim of being shared. This lively diversity in Barcelona helps build its civility because it is the basis of dialogue and meeting of different and many points of view. Necessary virtues in order to build on solid foundations a sense of shared belonging on the recognition of citizenship for all the people of Barcelona. It is essential that the children of those who were once immigrants also feel and love this city... that they see Barcelona as their home, everyone’s home... where they can live and realise their dreams and aspirations because they feel that they are part of society.
Building a capital city

What Barcelona could be as the capital of the Catalan State is a behaviour that should speak to the men and women of this city. It is an invitation to work actively to make the city of Barcelona Catalonia’s door out to the world and the world’s door in to Catalonia. Nothing is won before creating the capital city. There is much work to do, especially as establishing the capital city has so far been more of a nominal exercise than real. It has often progressed in fits and starts, with initiatives being promoted that assume the transience of the capital and without the resources. Now, the approach is totally different. We need to know how to leverage the city’s strengths in order to become the convincing metropolis that should represent Catalonia in the world. This also needs to include Barcelona's leadership as the capital of the Catalan State. The city of Barcelona must continue serving as the metropolis for Catalanism.

Barcelona should become a new paradigm of what the nation of Catalonia should be — modern and inclusive of the plurality of its realities. But that alone cannot make the metropolis. The city is metropolitan and through its networks, it connects with other territorial realities of Catalonia. In this interaction, Barcelona becomes the capital because there is an agreement to grant it this role. Conscious that in any event conferring this role is conditioned by the ability to exercise leadership. This may not be an appropriation or an imposition, but an acknowledgment of a will and an attitude. In this effort to create consensus and commitment, Barcelona must show a genuine face to the rest of Catalonia, and to the world, forged from the synthesis between politics and culture, a unique aesthetic proposal and a stating of certain definitive virtues of its identity. Politics, ethics and aesthetics are integrated through the willingness of the people of Barcelona to make a city and a civilisation.

Becoming the capital of the Catalan State should be the driving aim of all Barcelonans. This must also be seen as an opportunity to build a different society in which everyone can identify and feel involved. Progress needs to be made on this goal of bringing together as many citizens as possible in defining Barcelona’s capital status as a place of peaceful co-existence and civility. It is a significant challenge, and especially useful for combating any impulse towards closure, individualism and scepticism that sometimes befalls citizens, especially when it comes to defining common basic references for society. Defining the city as the capital gives all Barcelonans without exception the opportunity to collaborate, from a context of diversity, in defining civic virtues that ensure coexistence and enable Catalonia to become a solid nation, respectful of commonly accepted principles such as civility. Principles based on values and virtues that should equally fertilise politics, economy, culture and the behaviour of citizens.

Intercultural interaction and dialogue

Along with the new Barcelonans, a new diverse and plural citizenship has appeared as has a new city in which tradition blends with new sensibilities and new looks. All of them should be involved in building civility for the Catalan State capital. In Barcelona, a number of cities live alongside each other and are in dialogue with each other, and sometimes ignore each other. These different cities have been enhanced by the incorporation of newcomers, who have provided new symbolic references to define the identity of Barcelona society.
To create a Barcelona that is open and respectful to the diversity of its citizens, we need to make progress on intercultural interaction and dialogue. The ineffectiveness of integrating immigrants based on multiculturalism or assimilation models stimulated thinking about new ways of managing the increasing diversity of society. The city of Barcelona was a pioneer in the late 1990s in encouraging intercultural dialogue as a means of promoting a new model of integration based on interaction between people when building a city. This was, at the time, one of Barcelona's great contributions to the European debate on welcoming and integrating immigrants: coexistence is only possible through inter-culturalism.

The intercultural model for managing diversity is based on incorporating heterogeneity as an aspect of civic life, as part of granting and protecting citizens' rights for newcomers and recognising the positive aspects of this diversity. Managing the city's diversity involves cultural interaction and dialogue. Without interaction, it is hard to generate the feeling of belonging that a socially cohesive city needs.

Intercultural dialogue enables people to integrate their individual identities within a shared project of building a city. The municipal authorities of this ideal capital city of Barcelona must convey to the people of the city the importance of diversity in defining the city project. This adds the city's permeability to the importance of diversity and the commitment to involve the people of Barcelona, without exception, in constructing the city's project. Part of the tradition of Barcelona includes the consideration that the men and women of this city want to live together on an equal footing without removing differences in favour of a false homogeneity. Managing cultural diversity requires public participation in order to be able to express the sense of the value of difference. Citizen participation and managing cultural diversity is enhanced and necessary.

The intercultural perspective views diversity as an opportunity to foster the creativity and innovation present in the city, and to focus on human, social, cultural and economic development. Barcelona's governing institutions must incorporate this perspective. The networks of civic participation, the institutions of political representation and the city's government structures need to be as clear as possible that the city is plural and diverse. There should be no restrictions when allowing for people of immigrant origin to assume political and social responsibilities.

City of opportunities

Barcelona has always been a city that generates opportunities. Today, the challenge is to translate the potential that is found in diversity as factors of social, economic and cultural creativity in order to promote the human development of the people of Barcelona. A look at Barcelona’s recent past shows that the city has benefited and been enriched in many ways by its diversity. This is evident in the economic sphere: the commercial thrust of some of the new Barcelonans has changed the face of many streets in the city’s neighbourhoods. This new reality is playing a major role in the economic development of the city. We need to advance in this direction. Exercising its capital city status, Barcelona needs to be able to take advantage of the creative contributions made by the different business groups that express the city’s intercultural diversity.

The city needs to learn from their creative lessons and make the most of the opportunity presented by having entrepreneurs, professionals and workers that have different cultural patterns. Diversity in ways of understanding reality, and different ways of relating to it, bring a positive change of perspective that helps to develop urban vitality and strengthen the city’s cultural
charm. This situation appeals to people who are interested in enjoying diversity and open and dynamic personal and professional environments, better suited to large changes in the global world.

The prospect of viewing diversity as an opportunity to transform Barcelona into a capital city has to be projected onto the various areas of municipal policy. One of these is planning. Barcelona is a high-density city. This favours highly diverse people living together in a very limited space and sharing the same public space, equipment, transport system, and so on. Planners indicate that the urban space is becoming solely a place of transit in detriment to its ability to foster relationships and create connections between citizens. Barcelona planning must find ways of facilitating dialogue on the city’s cultural diversity, the relationships between citizens and integrating its plurality into the public sphere.

To promote coexistence between the people of Barcelona, the city must have areas where people can meet and relate. We need to create urban environments with spaces for communicating, meeting, playing, leisure and so on, in line with the complexity of Barcelona society. The people of Barcelona need to be able to share the space and time in order to talk, confront their social practices, and live side by side.

**Barcelona - an open and inclusive capital**

In the concluding section, we need to highlight the importance of interculturality as a suitable strategy for making Barcelona an open and inclusive city. The opportunities presented in Barcelona as the capital of the Catalan state should be used to strengthen social cohesion. If the behaviour of good city governance is to banish any kind of exclusion and marginalisation in the progress of individuals, we must be careful that the desired equality of opportunity is not filtered by cultural diversity. This should be no impediment for everyone being able to access the city’s resources with equal opportunities.

Intercultural dialogue helps to discover shared values that define the city’s civility. Barcelona is a friendly and polite city. A civilised city is based on the coexistence of citizens practicing everyday civic virtue; friendly cooperation among its members; reciprocity in exchange; the strength of social justice; generosity, and mutual trust and respect. All are basic virtues for living together in the city and they serve to strengthen its civility and temper its spirit.

Intercultural interaction and dialogue increase social inclusion by promoting links between people. Throughout its history Barcelona has demonstrated a significant capacity to welcome and adapt to changing social realities. And all without disturbing the peaceful coexistence. The city offers many spaces where cultural interaction can be found. The city’s festive celebrations offer good opportunities to experience this diversity. The same can be said of the performing and visual arts, sport, creative, literary and musical expression, and other cultural areas where the city’s cultural diversity can be expressed naturally.

Barcelona has diversity and cultural pluralism in common with many other cities, towns and villages within and outside of Catalonia. In a globalised world, this favours the establishment of a network of cities where experiences are shared and common policies are established. Barcelona as the capital of the Catalan State should aspire to be a positive leader in managing cultural diversity. Especially during political periods when errors or oversights benefit exclusionary populism and xenophobic demagoguery.
The Catalan State capital Barcelona should be an open city, welcoming and inclusive of diversity. The city must be built from the uniqueness and diversity of its citizens. This diversity offers a tremendous potential for enabling the construction of a city for all, and at the same time contributing to defining a sense of personal belonging. In constructing a cosmopolitan Barcelona and Catalonia’s capital city, everyone has a place. There can be no exclusions.
My reasonable utopia for schools

Gregorio Luri
Pedagogue

Introduction

Catalan society is pluralistic. Even from the point of view of morphology Catalonia is heterogeneous. From an educational point of view, it is clear that a rural school has little in common with a school in El Raval. But despite the many differences, there is one undeniable fact: Catalans look upon Barcelona with a sense of great focus. Barcelona is the great national and international showcase for Catalonia. It is both our polis and our cosmopolis. This is so obvious that there is no need for debate on the matter. What is not so obvious is that the city’s visibility brings added responsibility. Barcelona has the dual challenge of bringing cohesion to
Catalonia whilst also opening Catalonia up to the world. Clearly, schools must take their share in this challenge.

**Schools in a pluralistic society**

Schools were established in a society that no longer exists. This does not mean that the reasons that led to schools being founded have become obsolete but rather, to fulfil these reasons, they need to be redesigned. The main functions of schools are today the same as they were in the nineteenth century:

1. To form a bridge between the family and society.
2. To provide ways of conveying the best of the community’s cultural legacy, and making it available to new generations.
3. To contribute to the creation of a shared culture that allows differences to be communicated.
4. To encourage the creation of an internally dynamic, socially cohesive, ideologically plural and politically united society.
5. To highlight to each student their highest potential.
6. To contribute to creating a climate of collective trust.

However, while the functions are the same, the convictions that support them have steadily changed as society has become more complex:

1. We can no longer believe, in the naive way that our ancestors did, that culture is the best social therapy. Unfortunately it is not true, as argued by Victor Hugo, that “He who opens a school door, closes a prison”. Economic and cultural progress do not guarantee moral progress. To be moral requires starting from scratch.
2. The distances between the spontaneous interests of children and the training required for adult life are increasingly great. Therefore, the impact of compulsory education on a person’s salary has been reduced to the point that it is almost irrelevant today. Studying is still a good investment, so long as enough is studied.
3. Increased investment in education does not guarantee greater economic growth if it is not accompanied by an increase in the quality of teaching.
4. International studies (PISA and others) have clearly shown us that the quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers.
5. Modern societies are plural societies. Families have different values that are manifested in different ideas about what it means to have a good education. In this regard, proposals for home education are consistent with the core of our beliefs: if we no longer accept that public authorities should impose religious or moral beliefs on us, then why should we leave the education of our children in the hands of the state?
6. It appears increasingly clear that there is a difference between families who choose schools according to proximity to home and those that look for pedagogically well-defined schools.
7. Schools are less shrewd than families when responding to the demands of social complexity. Therefore, families who can afford it, provide their children with additional activities outside school hours. The demand for extracurricular activities shows a reduction in the importance of schools in educating the new generations. One of the factors that explains the educational
success of countries that rank at the top of international league tables is the quality of extra-curricular services.

8. It remains the case that no country has a future without a good education system and that without a good education system, there is no social integration. If in the nineteenth century school was an essential tool for breaking the rigidity of social classes, opening up the whole of society and attracting talent, this challenge now comes in a new form: if we are not able to guarantee quality education for all, we risk passively contributing to creating a cognitive elite as a result of intellectualising meritocracy.

That said, I should like to put forward a number of educational proposals for society that is both integrated and plural.

Proposals

What should the challenges for our schools be in the second decade of the 21st century? In my opinion, the following:

1. The main one, which determines all the others, relates to how schools are rated socially and institutionally. If a school - every school - is not considered to be a valuable institution, then whatever it does will be of reduced value.

2. The value of a school is reflected in the clarity of its goals, the ambition to achieve them, the transparency of its management, internal and external coordination, teachers who are trusted and who understand at all times why they do what they do.

3. Internal and external assessment based on results. The great educational flaw with our schools is that they tend to be assessed more in line with their purposes than with their results. Families have the right to know the pedagogical uniqueness of the school where they send their children as well as what concrete results are obtained from implementing this uniqueness.

4. The extension of reflective practices. Teacher training has traditionally failed to give teachers tools to encourage critical reflection of teaching activities. We have invested large sums of money in training teachers who have had no clear impact on improving student outcomes. Teachers need to think of classroom as a laboratory that must lead to reflective practices. This is the only way we can solve the challenge of learning from our experiences.

5. An education system can only be considered successful when it produces greater levels of excellence than deficiency - that is, when the difference between excellent pupils and poor pupils is positive. Only then does it contribute to building the country’s social capital. This should also be the basic criterion for assessing each centre.

6. School is not just where specific learning is imparted, but is a living space that has rigorous know-how and where intellectual virtues are fostered. Knowledge is not only a tool that enables us to be competent in moving forward in our adult lives; it is fundamentally a process of personal development. It is impossible to have a successful school system if the acquisition of knowledge is detached from a sense of personal growth.

7. A modern school can no longer see itself solely as a local school. Not all students come from the same neighbourhood, and nor is their destiny necessarily associated with that local area. It is imperative to internationalise our schools. We have to encourage them to create inter-
national networks of relationships that enable exchange between students, experiences and teachers. A school that is no more than a local school is one that is stuck in the last century.

8. All families need to be convinced that school administrators are rigorously monitoring the quality of their children’s education (both in the classroom and extra-curricular), and that minimum quality standards are guaranteed.

9. We should clearly differentiate between schools with subtractive social environments and those with additive social environments. In the former, there is a discontinuity between school activities and family activities; the cultural environment experienced by a child at school has nothing to do with their home culture. In the latter, the child lives in a cultural continuity at both school and home, so that family activities (starting with the use of language) reinforce and complement school activities. There are children who, paradoxically, are culturally alienated in schools because access to culture imposes some uprooting from the family environment. This fact should never be underestimated. For this reason, in subtractive social environments we should dare to experiment with new models that are better more coordinated with local social services, so that schools are viewed by all as reputable institutions. The city of Barcelona has many organisations working for the education and social inclusion of children and adolescents. In my opinion, we must decisively support these because they are guiding us towards dynamic local schools capable of providing both education and support for children, information for families, professional qualifications, leisure activities, local services that provide added value to the school (IT services, legal advice) and so on.

10. The incidence of poverty is so striking that, even among students with similar academic performance, the chance of re-taking a year is three times higher for poorer pupils. Richer pupils go over their knowledge in the home. Poor pupils re-take the year.

11. We need schools that are as sensitive to the value of innovation as the value of anthropological tradition. It is often said that we do not know what the future of society will be and that, therefore, we do not know what kind of training we need to give our students. This is not true. We know full well that, regardless of our future society, citizens will need a good command of languages and mathematics, the ability to concentrate and control their attention, to be able to resist fatigue and frustration, love a job well done, have a desire for self-improvement and so on. If the economy has something to do with limited resources, precisely because the information available is ever-increasing, the relevant information is increasingly more valuable. Productivity depends on the ability to filter valuable information.

12. We need to think about extracurricular activities such effective educational activities and, therefore, also require transparency and quality.

13. It is essential for a school to dare to tackle its problems head on, without trying to conceal realities that do not suit their ideological prejudices. I am thinking here of the differences between failure at school of boys and girls, the progressive disappearance of the male figure among teachers, and the abandonment of 20% of our pupils, whose failure has already been very clearly highlighted during the early primary school years.
Capital of equal opportunities

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Area of Quality of Life, Equality and Sport
What is the key to social policies for me? A firm and determined wager on equal opportunities.

Our world is neither fair nor equal. People are born into very unequal circumstances and environments of economic and cultural capacity which are not at all equivalent. Equality cannot be achieved only through aid or subsidies, actions of positive discrimination and greater investment are required as well as more resources for those lacking. The priority aim of the public policies must be to help to correct the differences, and above all to redress the pole position that makes it possible to start the race from relatively comparable starting blocks. In short, the ideal thing would be that any person might develop their life project independently and in plenitude.

The nearer to the cradle that people achieve and are given greater recognition, the more effective the efforts will be and the greater the chance will be to avoid social expenditure having to be materialised in the form of subsidiary or sporadic aid.

I believe that Martine Aubry defined it very well when she wrote, “The public services are the heritage of those who have no other heritage.” This is why in the future it is so decisive that there should be access to quality education and health and a decent home.

Social work, with its faults and virtues and with the greatest respect for the professionals involved, is like a plaster that society applies to itself to face a serious illness that would need another kind of much deeper intervention.

In the years of economic bonanza and above all when there was a threat from the Communist bloc, there was a weak balance of powers and counterbalance in Western Europe which achieved remarkable levels of well-being in a few countries, but not in ours, which has the bad habit of being late for all parties. The European democratic systems of well-being of the second half of the 20th century were the paradigm closest to the ideal of democratic socialism that humanity has known. Since then, we have fast moved away from it, and especially in the ideological field, where the more extreme liberalism has long become almost hegemonic.

Today equal opportunities are once more given bad press, if it can be said that they have ever stopped being given one. The defenders seem to be ashamed and the new generations are not up to it. Save the distances, the same thing has happened with taxation; those who saw it as a basic tool for redistributing wealth were overwhelmed by the singing of the neoliberal mermaid, and those who have never wanted to know anything about it have managed to have themselves seen by society as a monstrosity that devours private initiative and promotes the inoperativity of the public administrative machinery.

The fight against tax fraud has also been pitiful. Catalonia doesn’t seem to be any better than the rest of the state, always behind the rest of Europe.

It therefore seems necessary to call for the sequence of taxes/quality public services/social justice to enable the greatest possible equal opportunities. The rest are just patches, maybe they are necessary at times of deep crisis and high levels of impoverishment like now, but we must be aware that the emergency replies we are offering might be humanly essential but do not offer a solution to the problem.
Being champions too in social justice

Barcelona is perceived everywhere as a successful city. This opportunity must be taken to the benefit of one and all. It is an image which has been built on a series of factors concerning not only the location or the climate, but also a sum of architectural and urban actions.

The city’s attraction comes from having managed to add natural elements, which are not actually anyone’s merit, to others that were already there but which had not been sufficiently exploited, and also, very substantially, from the recognition of a city that is friendly, cohered, integrating, cosmopolitan, reachable…, a city that has wanted to be and has designed itself expressly to be balanced. This has been widely explained by those who were responsible at other times: the key goal was to avoid a single centrality, to avoid all efforts put into renovation and restoration being made in central areas where the business, tourism, and large trade were located. In short, to avoid there being a “show city” alongside and away from a reality which had to be hidden.

Not only were different centralities sought and promoted, but special efforts were made in rehabilitating and upgrading peripheral districts which felt that they had been unjustly treated by the councils before democracy. It is therefore understandable that a large part of citizens for years perceived that the district and the whole of the city were better than before, that the local administration supported them, understood the problems and resolved a large part of the people’s material needs. All of this in a general climate of more wealth and generally of more economic bonanza. There have been periodic crises and some very severe, but up to now always in a context of growth which meant that they were relatively well withstood and in which the good weather was expected to return once the storm had passed.

If any serious criticism can be brought against the municipal governments, it is that they based their policies on the reinvestment of wealth, more or less equally depending on each person rather than in search of greater inequality as result of the redistribution of wealth. They were good managers, they had a clear (and in some senses, even progressist) model of the city, they worked hard and they left the city much tidier than they had found it. However I believe they failed in what is principal: thirty-five years after the first democratic council, today there are no more equal opportunities, the economic differences between the rich and poor have not been reduced.

It is true that the global crisis of the last five years has had a lot to do with this and nobody is oblivious to the fact that in terms of real impact on the lives of people, the councils are demanded a great deal because they are closer to the people, but are given very few tools, limited competencies and insufficient funding.

What the politically responsible should realise in any future scenario, is that the local administration must be given the necessary resources to develop the essential public policies closer to the citizens to achieve a well-structured society willing to compete in the global world, but at the same time one that is integrating and capable of promoting maximum social cohesion. This would be a true model capital and an example for the most modern countries.
Barcelona, Social Capital

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“Men in the future will not be divided according to whether or not they believe in God, but by their attitude towards the poor.”

Emmanuel Mounier
Introduction

The challenge of drafting a plan for a social Barcelona that will become the capital of the Catalan State leads us to a stimulating introspective debate (something we must do in all walks of life if we wish to feel like living beings). We are placed between the imagination and enthusiasm evoked by the dream of the “ideal city” that we have all thought of at some time (greener, fairer, more humane, etc.) and the reality of this thousand-year-old city, which has proven itself capable of change but is bounded by tangible features. Barcelona has a history, a geography and borders, architecture and neighbourhoods, and a population that has well-established characteristics: a mixture of cultures, languages and religions, an entrepreneurial and commercial tradition, an associative spirit, etc.

In the following discussion we will often shift from one paradigm to another because we wish to outline the future of our city by combining the two scenarios to seek harmony between passion and reason, between sensibility and rage.

Throughout history, Barcelona has been driven by a dual aim: the constant desire for innovation and the search for greater social justice. It has been a place of new ideas, industrial revolutions, avant-garde art, political recovery, etc., in constant interrelation to achieve a fairer and more equitable society. Examples of this special type of associative vitality are the work of Josep Anselm Clavé (a self-taught musician with a strong political commitment), who helped workers to take an interest and participate in cultural activities such as choirs, which spread throughout Catalonia; schooling of the poor; the GATPAC architectural movement, which conceived a healthier city for the needy; Roc Boronat, who created the first organization to aid the blind; and, more recently, the mobilization of the whole network of associations to help the people who are most suffering from the crisis.

To consider the situation of Barcelona, we must go back to the origins when, after the time of nomadic communities, cities emerged in Mesopotamia in the fourth millennium BC as places for meeting, security and mutual aid. And the Greek poleis (eighth century BC) were conceived primarily as spaces in which humans developed. There is therefore still an ongoing debate between the city as a tool for multi-sector development and the city as a tool that facilitates the full development of human beings.

We want to be free because we want to be human

From the social perspective, the situation of Barcelona today is comparable to — and in some aspects possibly better than — that of a significant number of European capitals. This situation is the result of a deeply rooted history of collaboration between the public sector (especially the municipal government), the networks of charitable associations, and the whole of civil society. But the social environment, like democracy, is indefinitely perfectible, and the crisis has revealed structural weaknesses that must be faced in the new political scenario. These weaknesses can only be overcome by insisting on collaboration and through the conviction that social spend-

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1. The “ideal city” is an idea created in antiquity to define what a city must have for the development of persons from the perspective of their physical and social needs.
2. Group of Catalan Architects and Technicians for the Progress of Contemporary Architecture.
ing is essential in order to tie the city together, make it more balanced, and thereby develop all its potential. Without good social bonding to strengthen the foundations, any seismic activity, however small, would threaten the complex edifice of the city with collapse.

The concept of a “social environment” embraces a wide variety of subjects. Moreover, the different levels of responsibility of the public authorities that operate in Barcelona make it very difficult to establish a diagnosis and proportional treatment for all its content. However, as they all affect the public, we will refer to all aspects of what we consider “social” in a broad sense, though we are aware that the possibilities of municipal intervention are often limited. This situation highlights the need for stronger legislation regarding the subsidiarity principle, which should be a priority in the administrative reorganization for the new Catalan State.³

**Dimensions of the city**

The city can be configured through many dimensions, but the two fundamental ones — the material and spiritual dimensions — are strongly interrelated and often inseparable.

If an urban area offers decent conditions, it is easier for it to become a welcoming place in which foreigners, for example, are not perceived as strange and in which the elderly and people with different abilities from those of the majority feel that they belong and are respected. This is undoubtedly true, but the fact that a city is clean, well-developed or even “pleasant” is no guarantee that it will be human or fair. And vice versa. Let’s see an example: the members of the Nakulamene tribe, who live on an island in the South Pacific and are known to the public through a television show, live together in peace and harmony, with an exemplary love and generosity towards children and the elderly, but their material conditions are, from a Western viewpoint, pitiful.

In contrast, in some Western cities personal and community relationships are marked by distrust and individualism and the inhabitants experience and appreciate individual autonomy and subjectivity. They show an ontological, moral and political individualism that is incongruous with a desire to belong to a community.

Closer to home, we must also determine whether our city is already affected — and if so, to what extent and for what reasons — by the workings of the “dehumanized city”, in which persons have lost their sense of life, their sense of existence, because they lack what they need: affection, a sense of belonging, culture and traditions, as well as a soul and companionship to be able to live fully.

Barcelona is still tied together by a vital force of collaboration and solidarity, so the threat still seems remote, but some symptoms require us to be alert and to remember that dehumanization naturally tends to be expansive.

In opposition to the above, the “human city” that we seek must be the ultimate objective of Barcelona as a European capital, and also of this new State that will accommodate our old nation. If this new city were not the final destination of the journey to freedom, nothing would make sense.

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³ See Chapter 2.2 of the *White Paper on National Transition of Catalonia*. 
The material dimension

The above paradox (material/spiritual) tends to be forgotten, among other reasons because “materiality” can often be solved by the economy. Building more public parks or enjoying a better cleaning service in our streets, for example, has a lot to do with the availability of funding. Nevertheless, this is a necessary but insufficient condition. After obtaining the funding one must determine the priorities (an exercise of great political responsibility that involves specifying what we particularly value in our space of coexistence) and then act coherently. Let’s return to the examples: most countries and cities in the Persian Gulf show no respect for fundamental human rights despite their enormous wealth; a few live in scandalous and absurd luxury while others (normally immigrant workers) struggle to survive in conditions of exploitation at work and in society.

The belief that the material dimension is the main transforming factor of the city is shared by the majority of politicians and much of the population. An indication of the growing materiality is given by the practically exclusive use of GDP as a benchmark for economic growth and welfare. A different way of thinking would allow us to determine a new indicator in addition to GDP: the welfare of persons or development.

Focusing on this dimension, let us say that it is likely that a full Catalan tax system (it is currently shared with other autonomous communities and the Spanish State according to fairly inequitable criteria) would also increase the funding of Barcelona, allowing the city to invest and spend more. In what way? This is the key issue, because, as stated above, having more money does not necessarily mean that it is invested in order to get closer to the proposed ideal of the “humanist city”. This is the challenge we face.

The spiritual dimension

Plato and Aristotle were early thinkers in the history of Western civilization who dealt extensively with ethical and civic education in the context of ancient Greek cities of the 5th to 4th centuries BC, where they systematized the idea of the citizen and anticipated the concept of the person.

Experience shows that the resources from the material dimension are insufficient to humanize cities and overcome social tensions. Employment, social inclusion and effective democracy are necessary to create a sense of belonging and joint responsibility, two ingredients of authentic citizenship. The development and implementation of systemic public policies should try not only to improve the quality of life of people but also to bring social and political stability to our cities.

I firmly believe that this new European capital will be filled with content (and perhaps even meaning) when its primary goal is to become a city that has at its heart a community that is united, free and fair. Humanization is thus tied to emancipation and liberation, and therefore to freedom and the aspirations of greater brotherhood, dignity and happiness.
Designing the future

Some might define the above comments as pessimistic. However, desperate pessimism can be avoided by taking refuge in the belief that, despite all, it is still within our power to do something, albeit modest, to improve the world. And it’s worth it.

I therefore propose to explain concisely, almost as an enunciation, what the priorities of the municipal government should be (within their powers and within their sphere of influence) in the areas of coexistence and social affairs:

1. A city in which the economy is at the service of the people and that therefore considers the relationship between economics and ethics to be essential. The current production system tends to convert people into instruments at the service of goals that are foreign to them, because the other side of the technical rationality of modern economic systems is often social irrationality.

   To reverse or improve this situation, the following must be done:

   • The real economy must be prioritized over the financial economy, in the awareness that they are highly interdependent. The current crisis originated in the financial economy and has finally spread to the real economy. Economies that base their GDP on the real economy are far more stable and less likely to be affected by economic crises.

   • A sustainable economy must be taken as a basis. We must change to a strategy based on quality, information and knowledge. To develop environmentally sustainable urban strategies that take into account the diversity of ecosystems, their potential resources and the needs perceived by the local community, we must change from corrective environmental planning policies to active prevention policies. Therefore, a more rational use of resources must be fostered in order to increase the efficiency of the urban economy by i) discovering and eliminating wastage of financial, physical and human resources, and thus freeing resources for development; ii) extending the useful life of the existing infrastructure, buildings and facilities through better maintenance; and iii) mobilizing resources that are latent, underused, misused or wasted: vacant land, public and private unoccupied buildings, the potential for non-financial investment in construction through the self-help system, recycling waste, saving energy and water, etc. (Alberti et al., 1994; Sachs, I. and Silk, 1991).

   • We must make a commitment to eradicate extreme poverty by increasing the percentage of GDP devoted to social protection and promoting the productive economy and full employment.

   • The local economy must be promoted: “Local economic development is the process that reactivates and catalyses the local economy and, through the efficient use of endogenous resources existing in a certain area, is able to stimulate economic growth, create jobs and improve the quality of life.” (Manual de Desenvolupament Local, ILPES, 1998).

   • Alternative models must be encouraged: community gardens, time banks, exchange markets, free shops, social currencies, collaborative economy 2.0, etc. — in short, everything forming an economic system that is not based on profit and that lays the ground for cooperative relational systems.

   • Social enterprises and ethical banking must be promoted. Social enterprises are organizations created to solve a social or environmental problem. They use business management
methods and techniques to make themselves financially sustainable, participating in the market by selling products and services. However, their purpose is not to maximize profit, as in traditional companies (which they do not aim to replace but to complement), but rather to maximize social benefit.

- The third sector must be encouraged, including organizations that emphasize the concept of “public benefit”, i.e., ones that benefit other people or the community or group to which their services are addressed.
- Workers’ cooperatives, mutual societies and labour associations must be fostered. These organizations are based on the principle of “one man, one vote” or, at least, on the fact that the right to vote is not only linked to the shareholding in the company.
- Companies of social inclusion for employment, whose aim is to integrate people with low employability in the ordinary labour market, must be promoted.

2. A *balanced city*, where there is an equitable distribution of public resources so that all districts and neighbourhoods tend to enjoy similar economic conditions and public services.

3. A *city that guarantees equal opportunities* based on merits and efforts, in which social classes and money do not determine the value of people or their ability to further themselves.

4. A *city with decent housing for all*, in which this essential good is not treated as a mere object of commercial trade. A stock of social housing must be created in order to facilitate access to housing for people in need. For this to be possible, it is imperative for all political parties to agree that, whoever governs the city, 5% of the annual budget will be dedicated to this purpose until social housing accounts for at least 10% of all housing in the city. Forms of access to housing other than ownership and rental must also be explored.

5. A *city with citizens who are socially and politically active*. To facilitate this goal, citizen participation should be encouraged and a culture of joint responsibility should be fostered. The participation policy should have three objectives:
- Informing and consulting citizens
- Citizen control of government action
- Strengthening of civil society

Citizen participation is essential for a full, democratic governance; it can be seen as a right and a duty. Direct democracy enhances representative democracy because it complements but does not replace it.

6. A *city accessible to all*, where buildings, streets and squares can be accessed and used by all the inhabitants. When accessibility is good it goes unnoticed to the users. This “unnoticed accessibility” means more than just offering an alternative to step access: it means seeking an equivalent design for everyone that is convenient, aesthetic and safe.

7. A *safe city*. The complexity of the factors that affect public safety in a city means that any intervention must cut across a variety of policies: education, health, urban planning, social welfare, etc. An effective democratic policy of public safety requires democratic governance.
8. A healthy city, with an equitable and excellent public health system, encouraging and promoting healthy lifestyles, preventing disease, promoting the health of citizens, guaranteeing the protection of public health, and making health present across the board in all the city’s policies.

9. A city with more and better employment. Those who are unemployed or underemployed suffer the profoundly negative consequences of this situation and risk being left by the wayside and becoming victims of social exclusion. In addition to young people, this situation generally affects women, less skilled workers, people with disability, immigrants and ex-prisoners. Full employment should be a goal for any economic system oriented towards justice and the common good.

10. A city with a school system that is stable and of high quality for everyone, whatever the economic and social situation of the family.

11. A city that promotes families as transmitters of values. Family protection policies must fully address the issue of work-life balance.

12. A tolerant city that respects everyone, regardless of their individual circumstances.

13. A city in which social services are the last resort. We must move towards the disappearance of social services as we now know them, leaving only those that are necessary for people who need support.

The economic aspects should almost all be covered through the implementation of a basic guaranteed income or a similar measure that provides a living minimum for everyone. Nevertheless, the focus should always be on persons who, with any support they need, must take the initiative in recovering their own autonomy.

14. A city coordinated with the other governments in order to improve the efficiency of social policies, in addition to better coordination among the social organizations and between them and governments.

We know that the ambitious objectives set out above (and others that we cannot list for lack of space) go far beyond a single city’s ability, whether or not it is a state capital, to face and resolve the effects of a globalized economy and the difficulties of structural change. However, we also believe that energy, enthusiasm and effort can transform reality, particularly when most people consider that reality to be unfair.

Barcelona is far more likely to have a significant influence on the government of the new Catalan state than it has on the current Spanish government, which is located physically, politically and emotionally in the “official Madrid”. Having said that, however, we must distinguish this illusory city from the real city of Madrid, for which we feel the highest esteem and respect.
Taxation

Nothing would be sufficient without a tax system based on the common good and the following criteria:
- Progressive taxation.
- Sufficient taxation.
- A constant fight against tax fraud: it is not acceptable for families to bear 90% of the tax burden while in Catalonia, according to various sources, tax fraud stands at €16 billion.

A responsible community

Transforming the world (the country, city or district) to make it better is the responsibility of everyone — not just public authorities but all citizens. We must start with ourselves and not wait for others to do it.

One might wonder whether human beings can only achieve this transformation through rebellion. According to Camus, a rebellious man is a man who says no, but whose refusal does not imply a renunciation. From this perspective, I believe that whoever tries to achieve a breakthrough that is not just formal but affects the real content of democracy must inevitably be a rebel, defined as a person who does not allow themself to be dominated or defeated. The rebellion today means finding a personal way of participating in the context of a social contract aimed at improving all people, and therefore society.

If we want to make a profound improvement to our democracy (the new Catalan State would constitute a formidable instrument for change), we must all foster the search for a different society and a fairer political and economic system. We must seek a democracy in which human beings can play an active part in their emancipation and therefore gradually grant the initial powers in full awareness, reformulating them whenever they see fit.

Nevertheless, one must avoid the lazy and fastidious attitude that Ángel Gabilondo calls the “Hegelian beautiful soul”: “that of one who has such an extraordinary idea of good that no action is good enough to satisfy it; that has such an extraordinary idea of justice that nothing is good enough to satisfy it.

And do you know what they do?”

“Nothing. Nothing... They say: what for? All in all it makes no difference, ultimately... the world... globalization..... Yes, excuses for doing nothing. Boredom, it’s all the same.”

The participation proposed above is the opposite of indifference, apathy and lassitude. Again in the words of Gabilondo, we must defend “the need for each person to have their say, their unique say”.
Conclusions

- Barcelona has a long history of collaboration between the government, the charities and the whole of civil society, and as a capital it will have to maintain and enhance this collaboration.
- Social investment is essential to tie the city together and to develop its potential. The future improvement of the city’s resources should be focused primarily in this direction.
- Experience shows that financial resources are insufficient to humanize cities and overcome social tensions. As a state capital, Barcelona has the chance to become a city that has at its heart a united, free and fair community.
- Because municipal powers are limited, the principle of subsidiarity must be promoted in the legislation of the Catalan State.
- Taxation must be based on the common good.
- Transforming the city to make it better is the responsibility of all citizens, not just the public authorities.
- The new Catalan state can be a formidable instrument for change, for starting on the road to a human city.
Barcelona, capital of the opening hour reform

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Introduction

Catalonia faces four key challenges relating to the organisation of daily time that are the outcome of historical processes that have given rise to substantial imbalances. First of all, working hours in this country are unique and they remain out of step with the rest of Europe due mainly to the length of the lunch break and the fact that the working days extends late into the evening. Secondly, our calendar is illogical, with an unusual distribution of holidays and vacations over the course of the year. Thirdly, there is still a strong link to the workplace based upon attendance rather than on performance. Fourthly, we adhere to an inappropriate time zone.

Those factors have changed the pace of our lives and this means that we sleep less and are subject to greater stress, particularly for women, children and adolescents do more poorly at school, there is a democratic deficit due to a lack of free time for personal pursuits, and the productivity and efficiency of organisations is diminished, among other issues.

We therefore need time reform that will provide us with the opportunity to promote well-being, to improve quality of life, to combat the inequality that gives rise to such types of organisation, to advance towards a sustainable economy, to increase competitiveness and productivity by workers and entrepreneurs, and to enhance democratic and cultural participation and the civic commitment.

Barcelona has led the way in innovation of public policies, as in the case of uses of time. The city’s characteristics and the possibility that it might become the capital of a new state have created a new scenario to promote and finally attain time reform.

Barcelona, pioneering city in innovation of public policy

In Joves i Temps (2012), we noted that, year after year, studies have shown that the people of Barcelona love their city and they do so mainly because Barcelona has everything, because there are all sorts of people and because a lot happens here. Because it is a city where you can lose yourself and find yourself. Because you can be an anonymous inhabitant, a sort of loitering spectator, or a neighbourhood leader, driving and championing change. None of that just happens by chance; in part, it is because Barcelona is a leader and model innovator for many issues of citizenship and well-being.

Barcelona has always been concerned with the quality of life of its people, and faced with serious difficulties for arranging daily life and successfully combining the different tasks required of its citizens at work, at leisure, at home and with others, in 2002 it created the first office of Councillor for Time Use in Spain. The objectives are crystal clear: to place people’s time at the forefront of political debate, while seeking new forms of social organisation, to strive for a sustainable balance of the city’s economic and social development, and to contribute to harmonising the different urban times.

In 2014, the Town Council took a further step with approval of the Time Pact, the result of consensus-driven work over a number of years. The five strategic objectives are: 1) To adapt timetables and uses of facilities and services to people’s needs. 2) To design urban spaces and plan mobility giving priority to enhancement of everyday well-being. 3) To provide information
by accessible means and promote electronic government. 4) To work with the city’s businesses and entities to make working hours compatible with the rest of daily life. 5) To raise awareness of the need to reconcile times in order to improve quality of life and sustainability.

In addition, the Town Council in plenary session passed a resolution in support of the Initiative for Time Reform, demonstrating its commitment to time reform.

Barcelona, slow capital

For a Barcelona inhabitant, joining the words “city” and “slowness” can only be attractive, particularly because Barcelona people value their city’s history and traditions, but they also like the advantages that the arrival of the modern world has to offer.

The best way to govern a city is to do it in keeping with the philosophy of the Slow Movement: reducing traffic and noise, increasing green areas and pedestrian precincts, supporting local shops, markets and restaurants, promoting environmentally friendly technologies, keeping Barcelona’s aesthetics and culinary traditions and fostering a spirit of hospitality and neighbourliness. In short, Petrini’s old idea: pleasure before profit.

Bicing is a service that we could include as a good Slow practice. There are one hundred thousand users who make 14 million trips (2013). In addition, the emergence of forty or so agro-ecological consumer cooperatives in the city must also fall within the framework of this healthier lifestyle.

However, the city’s reality is a complex one and it complicates consolidation of this sort of life. On the one hand, businesses adopt the population’s working hours and close two hours later than in the rest of Europe on average. On the other hand, leisure and entertainment activities extend on average until 11:00 or midnight, with the corresponding detriment to the necessary hours of sleep and to subsequent performance both at work and at school.

That reality allows the city to be competitive in terms of what it offers to tourists, although it obstructs coexistence in certain neighbourhoods. Barcelona needs to be a city that welcomes those who visit it, just as in order to become a Slow capital, it will have to find a way to combine the coexistence between 1.6 million Barcelonans and 7.6 million visitors each year.

Barcelona, capital of the work of the future

Most Catalan businesses recognise the importance of introducing measures for making working hours more flexible, but only one third apply them. The employment measures taken most often consist of granting short- and long-term leave and allowing leeway for the times of arriving at work and leaving. In a distant second place there is compression and reduction of working hours during the summer months. On the other hand, levels of teleworking are the lowest in Europe (5% in this country, in comparison with an average of 17% in the rest of Europe).

However, the delocalisation of jobs is a trend that is progressively taking root in society. Freelancers, creative artists and entrepreneurs all form part of a set of independent professionals who are giving rise to a new style of working, known as co-working.

On the other hand, e-working is a new formula that has surpassed conventional teleworking and facilitates sustainability in three dimensions: economy, environment and society.
Barcelona is the sixth best European City for doing business (6.5% entrepreneurial rate) and, what is more, 10% of jobs in the city are in creative industries. These are highly favourable circumstances for setting up more flexible working hours, particularly if we take into account that 34% of the workers in the country are located in the city and 88% of employed people work in the services industry. With those conditions, Barcelona has the opportunity of becoming the capital of the work of the future. It is worth noting that it already ranks 29th for quality of human capital according to the Economist Intelligence Unit. Barcelona needs to be able to take advantage of the good practices that already exist and the figures that demonstrate the benefits of better time organisation.

Barcelona, smart capital

Barcelona will be applying a strategy in the years to come aimed at enhancing the quality of life of its inhabitants by attaining social and urban improvements and added value for its neighbourhoods. It likewise plans to foster its potential for sustainable development and a green economy in pursuit of an energy self-sufficient city where nature plays an outstanding role.

There are strategic city plans such as the new telecommunications network, the energy self-sufficiency plan and the intelligent bus network. This affects all aspects of Barcelona, from the environment to health and education. In addition, much emphasis is being placed on technological development, with the aim of placing technology at the service of the city and its inhabitants.

Some of the changes to be made to the city that are already being implemented include intelligent traffic lights that add sound signals for the blind, optimised traffic control thanks to flow sensors, installation of fibre optics throughout the city, installation of sensors to make finding a parking space easier, installation of sensors also on refuse bins to detect when they are full so that refuse collection routes can be optimised, and intelligent meters that can be read remotely.

All those efforts are key factors for improving quality of life. For example, people see travel time to work as downtime, empty time subtracted from their own personal time. Proximity then becomes a key element: it is considered a privilege to work near home, and opinions become more negative the farther away the workplace is.

Barcelona’s goal, then, to be the first southern Smart city on the Mediterranean is likewise an opportunity for attainment of time reform, since the objective is to become a productive city with economic growth and at the same time a city with good quality of life.

Barcelona, open government capital

Time reform also takes the shape of all the mechanisms that improve citizen participation and place the government of a city’s inhabitants at the centre of public action. The time dedicated to public affairs must be quality time and it therefore requires a type of relationship between citizens and government, based upon mutual trust and renewed enthusiasm for the collective effort of working for the city’s future.

Open government is a concept linked to the three great principles of transparency, participation and cooperation that often take the shape of plans concerning access to the information held by the government (open information) and electronic democracy (e-democracy).
The Barcelona Town Council has taken important steps towards attaining that sort of organisation and relationship with citizens.

Governments must become active agents that foster and exemplify time reform. Including measures for open government can also implicitly involve a transformation of the public function that has been sought for some time. It could be a good opportunity to promote teleworking and e-working, shortening working days, implementing time use plans for government offices and advancing towards flexible working hours.

In addition, the political agenda of all elected representatives and management teams must be adapted to the time framework that is adopted so that they can be the ones to set an example.

**Barcelona, shared time capital**

Time use continues to be different for men and women, since men dedicate more time to paid employment while women dedicate more time to domestic tasks and caregiving, with the resulting differences in terms of availability of free time and dedication to sports and participation in community and volunteer activities (greater for men). Awareness of the need to combine time in order to improve quality of life for the women of Barcelona is a key issue.

A European study from 2012 shows that the women of this country are the most stressed women in Europe, a result of their having the least sustainable timetables of all their counterparts. That difficulty in combining work and personal life is the reason why many women fail to pursue their professional careers satisfactorily, and that means significant economic loss for our country.

As stated in the Time Pact, Barcelona must give support and emphasis to the initiatives undertaken by the city that further the value of peoples’ time and its shared management. Time banks, social, neighbourhood and community support networks, exchange networks, consumer co-operative initiatives and P2P networks. The Pact recognises the need to take advantage of the synergies of cooperation between the Town Council, entities, the private sector and citizens, to make use of human potential as a community resource.

**Barcelona, education success capital**

Criticism of failure at school is often focussed on the education system and teachers, but that criticism seldom mentions the long and inflexible Catalan working hours, which reward presence at work and obstruct family life with children, whose own schedules are often drawn out to include extracurricular activities, resulting in an overall load that is greater than is good for their health and wellbeing.

In addition, there is also the equally important factor that the total of hours in the school year is similar to the rest of Europe, although it differs basically in the distribution of school holidays, which are excessively concentrated in certain periods, making it difficult to combine schooling with the working life of families.

In Barcelona there are 230,000 students in non-university education and the city could lead the way in promoting a school day similar to the French one, including lunch at a healthy time (12:00), dividing the school day into morning and afternoon blocks with recreational activities...
during school hours, keeping students at school until at least 3:30 p.m. and, for families that require it, also ensuring access to other activities in the afternoon until 6:00 p.m.

In addition, universities could be a key factor. There are five public universities and three private universities in Barcelona, with over 200,000 students. The timetables of Catalan universities need to be adapted to those of the rest of European universities.

**Barcelona, activism capital**

Since ancient times, beginning with Aristotle, thinkers and philosophers have reflected on the pursuit of happiness as one of the elements that makes peoples’ lives meaningful. Studies of the question have been proliferating, carried out by economists and scientists, in fields ranging from psychology to neuroscience. One of the main conclusions reached over the centuries is that neither power nor money, among other material aspects, provides happiness, and that there are other factors, such as emotion, attention to detail, the pleasure of inquiry, expectation and personal relationships that contribute decisively to setting out on the path that can lead anyone to happiness. It is obvious, then, that the “conquest of happiness”, both personal and public, starts with the individual, with the discovery of the elements that contribute to unhappiness and to happiness. We know that the elements that contribute to happiness include community participation and implication in the public space.

Barcelona has a huge potential for association and participation. However, the lack of available personal time has serious consequences with regard to both the reduction of cultural practices and the area of social participation. In that connection, the poor organisation of time that prevails specifically in this country prevents many people, particularly in certain age groups and demographic segments, such as women or adults with family responsibilities, from taking part in community projects or pursuing civic and/or political activities. The lack of time then, plays out ultimately in a deficit of participation that must be remedied. We therefore need to make all the necessary efforts to improve civic commitment and cultural and democratic participation.

**Barcelona, capital of a new state. Conclusions**

1. **Catalonia is in the midst of rapid social, economic and political transformations caused by the wave of secessionist sentiment.** The creativity and innovation engendered by that process make time reform fit well into this new phase. The resistance and the fear of change that might result from a possible time change can be reduced if it is channelled within the framework of fostering the Catalonia of the future. It is obvious that we need to do away with the straitjacket of the present timetables that date back to the desarrollismo of the Franco regime, and associate time reform with the promotion of a new state.

2. **Time reform goes further than just the rationalisation of timetables.** In that regard, the fact that Barcelona has been a pioneering city for innovation in public policies aimed at fostering a change of paradigm towards a city that is more human and more civic-minded. The paradigms of open government, Smart Cities or Slow City will help Barcelona become a driving
force for time reform and can contribute decisively to addressing the challenges posed by this humanist revolution.

3. Within the framework of a state with authority to decide its own timetables, Barcelona will be able to make its own decisions in respect of key issues to promote time reform, such as the choice of time zone, a possible reorganisation of the yearly calendar, a framework of its own labour relations, or a Catalan model for commercial opening hours, among others.

4. There is a need for overall intervention (partial or isolated actions are not enough, since if one element is out of step, the rest will be affected) and for accords for changes to timetables. We need a “zero hour” for the promotion of time reforms. The possibility of becoming the capital of a new state and acquiring new authority could be a key factor for attaining the timetables desired for the new country.

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I am a daughter of Barcelona. I lived here for the first twenty years of my life at a time when talk of independence was inconceivable - at least out loud. My Teresian life then took me elsewhere in Spain and, for sporadic seasons, to Latin America and Africa. But my return to Barcelona in 1982 made me feel even more proud of my roots, as I lived in and shared the streets that had seen me grow up.

Today, I live in - and love - a multicultural Barcelona that opens its doors to all. My personal and community choices have drawn me much closer to those men and women, children and young people who are in need of a welcoming and serene society to help them live in dignity. They are our “excluded” brothers who, for various reasons, are on the margins...
The political and social situation in recent years has not been of much help for living as I would like for all those I love. My ideal would be to create a model country and city where the living conditions would bring us all together. Would this be much easier in a Barcelona that was capital of a new state? I'm no expert on the subject, but I have grounded hopes for believing that it would be very likely. Events of recent times support my view: the peaceful, serious, committed and serene public response during the public acts that have taken place.

Equally, we have seen initiatives - in particular by women - that have moved masses of people with the intention of making a better Catalonia and a better Barcelona.

I think Barcelona should be open to everyone and, if it is made the capital of Catalonia, it should try not to fall into that same centralisation that the capital of Spain wants to dominate us with. Being capital means to be the “head” according to its etymology (the Latin for “head” is caput). However the head lets the rest of the body do its work. From the political point of view, I leave it to those who are skilled in this matter. But in the social and civic field, I think that Barcelona should be a model of civic solidarity and responsibility.

In theory, this is easy. But in terms of daily life, it requires a joint effort from all. That’s all there is to it: personal responsibility that becomes communal responsibility. It is worth giving an example, in view of my vocation as a Teresian... When Teresa of Ávila (and this year marks the fifth centenary of her birth) saw the situation the Church and society of her time were in, she was very concerned. And she explained that as she did not know what to do, she thought that the only thing was to do “what little is within your reach and ensures that your comrades do the same...” And so began, simply, the Reformation - or rather, the Counter-Reformation.

There are many people in Barcelona and Catalonia who seek change and are willing to take a step. A small country is more governable and its future is more feasible. Let’s do it!

I think Barcelona - if it becomes capital of a new state - should work for justice and should fight for a return to a welfare state that does not rely so much on charity. Whenever a country needs too much, it means that justice is lacking.

We should try to return to being that industrious, hard-working and responsible city which provided work for so many. A city that avoids the exorbitant inequalities that stem from the abuse of power, or any evidence of corruption.

We should encourage the values - human values and even religious values - that could make our country not only a place that is habitable for some, but rather for all those who form part of our culture.

We should work for the preservation of our traditions and our language, which is a treasure that they cannot snatch from outside.

I dream of a Barcelona like this. The Barcelona that my father taught us to love and admire when, from a very young age, he would take us to the Gothic Quarter to show us the richness of our history and our art.

And I know that together, peacefully and using the good sense that has always been one of our characteristics, we can get there.
Barcelona, a guiding city

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Under the framework of the European Strategy 2020 in the areas of education and training, the role of career guidance and orientation is key to achieving the main challenges posed by states: reducing premature school leaving; encouraging public participation in the processes of training, qualification and professional development (lifelong learning), and improving citizens’ current and future employability.

Barcelona has extraordinary dynamism in many respects. The city is a magnet for many people, organisations and for other towns and cities (for which it serves as a reference). It is the cradle of good practice and an engine of innovation.
In the area of career guidance and counselling, Barcelona aims, right now, to be active, enterprising and effective. In this respect, the city has a long history of excelling with innovative and daring programmes; it now hosts many leading public and private initiatives, working to provide people with lifelong career guidance and counselling. Orientation services and resources aimed at the public, across different areas of life (youth, employment, education, social services...) as well as institutions. The ambition is to support everyone, from children to adults, using a variety of formats including one-to-one and group work, and via channels ranging from face-to-face and telephone through to virtual. In Barcelona, we have therefore an environment that is sensitive to the importance of career guidance; an environment that is active and determined to carry the banner for career orientation.

For all these reasons, Barcelona has the potential to become a driving force in the political and social aspects of a new European state, in which career guidance is seen as a core strategy for the country.

A capital city that is capable of:
- Consolidating its career orientation model - understood as an integrated system of information, guidance and counselling that is embedded into public and private orientation services, identifying and evaluating benchmark practices that exist in the region.
- Training and empowering citizens on having a greater degree of autonomy when making academic and professional decisions, to guide their learning and maximise their opportunities for gaining, keeping, prospering and advancing in their chosen careers.
- Making lifelong career guidance a reality (taking account of ages, transitions in training and employment, each person’s life stages and steps...).

Based on four major challenges:
- Establishing cooperation and coordination mechanisms among the various stakeholders in order to build a broad range of services that can adapt to changing needs.
- Improving the public’s access to career orientation services, with an emphasis on communication and interaction with the public and technological opportunities that can help bring together content, services and users (individuals and groups), and ensure the quality of orientation services delivery.
- Exploiting the city’s potential in the area of career guidance and mobility - both in terms of generating interest and attracting talent as well as in terms of export and training: student exchange programmes, agreements with universities and training centres abroad, agreements with companies in strategic industries, etc.
- Promoting research in the field of career guidance to generate the evidence required to undertake effective academic and professional orientation policies, for the general public, and for the development of the model.

Barcelona - a city focused on career orientation - doubtless has an opportunity to build a leading career guidance and counselling system for the citizens of the new state, as well as internationally: through ambition, commitment and innovation and by meeting the main challenges we have as a country in the areas of education, training and work.
Education, promoting the future and people

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Introduction

I take these pages as a free exercise in which to put forward proposals for improving education. I shall do so in the broadest sense, but focusing on the main public responsibility in education, which is the school. And I shall try to do so from the vantage point of someone who is not in education but who sees the results of it, someone with no specific understanding of the legal framework and with the audacity it takes to give an opinion on such a complex world, although I do so from an overall perspective. The limited space, contrasting with the diversity of the topic in hand and the extensive bibliography on education, means there are necessarily aspects I can not deal with or that would need to be more carefully formulated. I think one characteristic of a lot of the ideas I can express, many of which I have heard in the world of teaching or argued by qualified experts, is that most of them can be applied in the current framework and in progressive processes to develop it. Although there is still a long way to go, a lot can still be done without waiting for Barcelona to become the capital of a new state.

I shall start by reflecting on the mission of education today, go on with some considerations on education and try to deal with the central role of teachers. With these premises I shall analyse the influence of Spain's normative framework and how to make changes from a new perspective, and I shall venture into fundamental issues such as post-compulsory education and leisure education. I shall end with a few offerings on the role of Barcelona and of the municipalities in education.

As a general criterion, I feel the most reasonable thing would be a single model of training for the whole of Catalonia, probably not very different from the present one, in line with the European guidelines the city has endorsed. It is not so much a question of making big changes in the current system as of continuous improvement in our teaching. Gregorio Luri (2008) explains the success of the Bavarian model “because their educational system has been very conscientiously protected by the political authorities from the fever for innovation that other German Länder have suffered”. Barcelona, with its great feeling for innovation in teaching, could be a driving force, could bring complements to the general framework and could bring excellence to those areas it has authority over.

Active education for a permanent mission and principles

In a tremendously dynamic social setting with constant demands on schools, the mission that these and their teachers have is, above all, to educate, obviously to socialise and to transmit the knowledge on which learning is founded. And on the part of the student this mission requires a framework of basic discipline, work habits, order and respect. A rigorous analysis of what the future holds in store for us must not overlook the fact that in some cases — seeking justification in theoretical arguments — some schools and some teachers have not managed to establish essential behaviour in the classroom or to transmit basic knowledge on which to build up learning throughout life.

The Catalan Ministry of Education's internal exams, as well as international ones (PISA), all of which are fairly attainable as regards content, uphold the idea that there is some way to go before the average student picks up the expected basic learning. The serious problem of youth unem-
ployment is a consequence of the economic cycle, but with a more entrepreneurial approach and with more substantial knowledge it would not have had such an effect. Why do an average of 4.1% of students in OECD countries get excellent results while the figure for Catalonia is only 1.3%? Without intending to undertake an exhaustive analysis, I think it is true to say that schools are not responding to the mission entrusted to them as they should in an advanced society.

A realistic educational policy must accept and deal with the real problems of teaching without trying to deny them. In this respect, the Catalan Ministry of Education (2013) has a plan to reduce school failure. It is probably a good tool needing no further reconsideration beyond the continuous improvement it proposes. The role of the administration is to make education work and to make students believe in it, because as the chief instrument of social integration it makes a great contribution to society. Schools must have the means with which to make up for these shortcomings at the level of each student. Teachers must stir interest in the habit of reading, demonstrate the practical utility of learning, positively reinforce success and motivate, while at the same time educating in high standards and teaching students to tolerate frustration. And in the present context, none of this is simple. As Innerarity says (2010), “acting in a world in which information is scarce is a far cry from doing so in a world in which what is scarce is, contrastingly, attention”; “wealth of information — ICT — and lack of attention are two sides to the same coin”.

The democratic transition and opening up to Europe transformed our schools, returning to the methodology of the escola nova (“new school”) of the Spanish Republic, incorporating workshops and other techniques that until then were exclusive to spare-time education. Elements from the educational proposals of Maria Montessori, Carl Rogers, Freinet, Decroly, Neil..., which teachers had once trained in, now entered the classroom. So did constructivism, so beautifully described by Gregorio Luri (2012) as the cornerstone of the latest educational reform. The period since that moment has favoured a style of its own, an adaptation of methodologies to the present reality and a vitality without which today’s Catalan schools are inconceivable. Nevertheless, as Cardús says (2000), “it has been shown that certain educational theories are not universally applicable”, and he goes on to conclude that “there is a definite surfeit of theories”.

To complicate matters more, the inclusion of the ICT, which have revolutionised the world, has forced schools to invest, train and make changes in methodology... in the realisation that there is still a lot to be done in this direction. As regards the ICT, I am convinced there are experts and a lot of successful experiments, but I would point out that the central role of the school is to educate people. The new technologies can at this moment become an objective for reinforcing the educational process, but in no case are they an end in themselves.

Resource centres, university faculties, educational foundations, concerned teachers, all point to areas for improvement and aspects in which it is good for the school to intervene, reflect on certain issues and make innovative proposals. It would be a good thing if university lecturers and experts spent time every now and then in schools to see at first hand some of the difficulties facing teachers every day and even to tackle them personally. Caution and responsibility are needed in whatever contributions are made.

Even though the immense reflection on education has enriched our schools, when you look at the results and at some political decisions you realise the limits and the need for certain permanent values. One of the classical acceptations of intelligence defines it as the ability to reason and this reasoning is based on knowledge assimilated by the individual which interrelates with
itself and with new learning. To reflect and give an opinion we need knowledge as our basis. The object of schools is to train intelligent students and strengthen this ability in all of them. It has to make the moral duty of being intelligent credible (Luri, 2002). Other principles the school has to educate in are the necessary respect for others and, especially, for the teacher, the effort, the constancy, the satisfaction of a job well done... And it has to do it whatever happens.

The facts could might expose certain educational approaches such as, for example, the coveted inclusive school when there are not sufficient means. What’s more, we run the risk of standardising for an average that is too low. I am not questioning the inclusive school — analysing its limits would be a long, hard job — but once again asking that excellence also be encouraged in class. To do so, enough teachers are needed to attend to the diversity, whether it comes from a shortage or a surfeit of abilities. The Finnish model, which is often held up as an example, as well as capturing and training those students better prepared for teaching, hires the teachers it needs and, if necessary, puts two in the classroom to attend to the difference.

Above all, we need to invest in English teaching with the same energy with which this was suggested for Catalan. And training in the religious dimension must be solved, through consensus and depoliticisation, both for its cultural significance and to arouse the child’s transcendent dimension.

Education needs to be understood in the broadest sense possible. Teaching is a fundamental part of it, but family influence is even more important. It is worth reflecting on the values that move society, that parents feel and that reach the child and the adolescent from their surroundings. The meritocratic ideal (Luri, 2012) must be made credible: whoever makes an effort and is a better student will get further in life. We need to think about models for young people and about how to present them as positive.

**Teachers**

As society has gradually stopped sharing unique values and patterns of behaviour regarding childhood, as mothers and fathers get home worn out from an intensive day’s work, as, for large families, children have become the “king of the castle”, more and more is expected of teachers. Families have tended increasingly to externalise to the school, to whom they demandingly attribute responsibilities that are often impossible to take on. This excessive burden of responsibility is compounded by the lack of cooperation with teachers on the part of most families and the fact that teachers are undervalued by society — not to mention commonplaces like the length of their holidays — and the result is a lack of motivation on the part of the teacher. José Antonio Marina, in several articles and talks, says that “to educate, the whole tribe is needed”. Nowadays, “the tribe” — society as a whole — does not share the same educational criteria and at the same time has handed over responsibility to the school, which obviously can not do everything. Society must reflect on shared educational values, in the same way that it does when it agrees on basic social ethics. Sharing values should allow consensus from which to act and educate, especially for state schools, where it seems that the only value, in capital letters, is pluralism. It is not a question of defining an anthropology or monolithic axiologies, but just basic shared minimums as a grounding for educational decisions.

We need to reinforce teacher training and I say so at the same time as I value and acknowledge their duties, which are not at all straightforward. Prior academic levels that are more than a
simple pass are fundamental, something that has been demonstrated in northern Europe, where school is valued as a success. We must recruit the best! To do so, it may be a good idea to increase university entry requirements, but also to make more demands on the faculties, from whom we should expect excellent results. The first year in which access to degree courses in Teaching required a pass in Catalan and Spanish in the university entry exams, there were reports in the media of a reduction in students of between 21% and 42%. This says a lot about some of the students who entered Teacher Training. These high standards in the selection and maintenance of faculty members are also necessary in subsidised and private schools, some of which have not taken enough care to ensure this happens. When a public service is really valued, the demands on the professionals providing it are stepped up. Consider the complexity of the public examinations for the post of property registrar, state attorney, tax inspectors or doctors who train in university hospitals.

Teachers need ongoing instrumental training and resources to transmit the knowledge contained in a changing context. Students could also be offered ongoing knowledge in their areas of interest so that they become “people with culture”, which would motivate them, provide more tools for interpreting the world and, at the same time, a certain reflection on the praxis of teaching. Making education a cultural point of reference, in the way other countries have done, would favour its presence in the media and it would be seen as something positive by society. The authority and prestige of teachers would benefit and so would they as people. For the well-trained teacher, work in the classroom is enriching. One good model is Japan’s reflexive practices model. Teachers are regularly assessed by their colleagues, who go into the classroom, take notes and then make constructive suggestions. Training also needs to be reinforced with criteria about the role of teachers, about questions of a social order in which they have to intervene more and more, attending to children at risk, questions of authority, administration and management. Clear criteria need to be provided, rather than sowing doubts through relativist approaches and theories lacking a framework with a properly defined meaning. A system where the majority of teachers have to spend the first ten minutes of class bringing students to order and keeping them quiet or 20% of the teaching time trying to maintain an atmosphere of work is not sustainable. Luri (2012) says that the difference between a good teacher and a bad one can mean that on average the bad teacher’s students learn only one third compared to the good teacher’s students.

Teachers, like any professional, must be judged according to results and must, as in other organisations, receive recognition, training and support for refresher courses. Many of the methods of teacher assessment that are put forward are as manipulatable as they are ineffective. As in other questions in teaching, prior consensus is needed in society and with teachers to find the gauges and indicators that can make assessment a useful tool. It is essential to measure the added value the school brings to each child. If the great predictor of the level of success at school is the family’s socio-economic situation or its cultural level — the books in the house —, what is the school’s differential contribution? We need to evaluate and publicise this average differential contribution the school makes to its pupils. And it must be given adequate means: ratios, specialised support, training, orientation... so that it can fulfil its duties in a complex environment. More than other professions, teaching requires vocation and motivation, which obviously come from inside one, but which are only possible when the surroundings allow them to take on the responsibility involved. As Civis et al. say (2009), “the teacher must be listened to, especially for the continuing improvement in teaching that our country is proposing”.

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Solid training is also needed when the responsibilities of running and managing the school have to be taken on. The system must find the way to universalise criteria about the rich but complex relations with parent-teacher associations (PTA), about the school administration, suitable school holiday camps, parents’ complaints, school transport... And this is only possible with ongoing training for the collective involved, as one very human tendency is for established guidelines to be lost and diluted as time goes by. Recently, the need to rethink the figure of the head teacher has been acknowledged. Ideas have been put forward that are worth consolidating to be able to train the stable, qualified teaching teams we need with a shared project. Real educational autonomy in the school, supervised by rigorous and qualified inspection, would improve the system. Postgraduate courses have been started aiming at specific training, like subsidised schools did. It has been suggested that we need a body of head teachers and educational and administrative leaders in the school. This is a question for debate, but what is certain is that about 50% of head teachers in state schools are appointed. We need to study what room for manoeuvre management really has before a body of public servants where, if there is no wish to get involved, little can be done. The system must allow for correction, including reprimand and sanctions if anyone acts without the required professional rigour, at the same time as management must be in a position to guarantee the quality of a school’s teaching even if the class has a weak teacher. Inspections must not underestimate the gravity of a head of studies who is unable to draw up a teaching timetable in which there is no overlapping, in which no group spends time without a teacher, in which the time spent on each subject is the same for different classes at the same level and in which the only indicator of quality is not having respected the demands by certain teachers to have a particular afternoon off every week. For large schools we might consider the figure of a professional administrator, under the authority of the head teacher, who would take on the role of the present secretaries.

State regulations

The main conditioning factor for Catalan schools in the Spanish normative framework is its interference in the “linguistic immersion” model of teaching. This model, as well as guaranteeing that students learn the language of the country, Catalan, also ensures they learn Spanish correctly and, more importantly, it also ensures social cohesion. Preserving it, as it has been maintained since Catalan institutions were re-established, means preserving a very important common asset. Comparative studies of academic results between autonomous communities show that Catalonia has a similar level in Spanish exams as other communities that only speak Spanish. Therefore, no argument can justify an increase in Spanish in the classroom or, even worse, differentiation in two linguistic communities. The social elevator hat has worked for years in an enterprising society finds one of its elements of empowerment and integration in a mastery of the language.

The same goes for the design of syllabuses for baccalaureate in the recent state law on education — the LOMCE —, where Catalan could be made optional. A student could complete baccalaureate without taking a single course in Catalan language. Decisions associated with this regulation use the pretext of the crisis and consolidate cuts that we could only accept if they were relevant.
There are other “legal risks” as a result of Spanish law. One recent one involves the Law of Rationalisation and Sustainability in Local Administration, which does not allow funding for certain services, the intention being to limit public spending. This law, though not affecting a large city like Barcelona, would be a step backwards in the social services that complement teaching and are paid for by most Catalan town halls. I am sure experts on the educational system could find more.

One essential element for preserving in Catalan teaching is the “nationwide” legislation we have achieved through agreement between the main political forces. Avoiding changes in the legislation every time the parliamentary majority changes hands is a first-rate element of stability that makes for a good atmosphere, high performance and the build-up of good practices in schools. Maintaining it and giving it sufficient funds is a sign of maturity and democratic quality on the part of the politicians in charge. People even think that laws, especially when they change quickly, have less repercussion in schools than legislators believe. Depoliticising educational debates would be a favour to schools. When a change of regulations is under consideration, political power should start from a rigorous diagnosis of the current situation of our education, analysing what worries our students, what problems and what demands they have and why there are differences between one region and another. From here on, the reasons for introducing the change would have to be explained, at the same time as there is a public assessment of why something needs to be withdrawn, maintained or modified in the rules currently in force.

As in the case of the language, it is best to avoid all demagoguery. We therefore need to do away with ideas like the one that subsidised schools take resources from state schools, when in fact they provide schooling at less cost for the administration. One sign of social maturity is respect for identity with a uniform level of requirements by the educational authorities. Subsidised schools, the same as state schools, must cater for the diversity of students with enough resources, and in fact this is what the great majorities of publicly owned schools do today, which considerably stifles their economy. It is even worth maintaining subsidy agreements with private schools, if only to maintain authority over them and to maintain the linguistic immersion model. It is important to respect families’ freedom to choose a school and to avoid the formation of “ghettos” in schools. This equality of opportunity, favouring healthy competition between all schools and compensating children with special needs, will also favour an increase in the average level of teaching. Freedom of choice of school must be a direct consequence of school autonomy, of the educational project and of transparency in each school’s results, as well as the expression of a civil right of families.

Post-compulsory education

If a country wants to excel in a context of global competitiveness, it must make sure it trains its talent properly and retains it. In the previous points I hinted at ways to increase the academic and educational level in compulsory education, up to the age of 16. I shall now take a quick look at baccalaureate, vocational training and university. Usually, this training is thought to centre on the subject matter, but we must certainly not overlook the educational function of teachers. Their anthropological conception, conveyed through a way of being and acting, through apparently irrelevant comments, according to the standards they set and their order and discipline in the classroom, will influence young learners. The preventive function of faculty staff with regard
to the consumption of toxic substances thanks to their relationship with students and their contribution in the classroom is probably one of the main services a society can ask for. Attention, therefore, to their training as teachers, which goes much further than excellence in the didactics of whatever subjects they teach and which to a large extent is a counterpart of the training of schoolmasters.

Educational and vocational guidance for boys and girls in the fourth year of compulsory secondary education before entering post-compulsory education is fundamental. This must not be reduced to an echo of the family’s social aspirations, which could prejudice equality of opportunities, it must be a process suited to the abilities and motivations of each student. There should be talks involving the student, the tutor and the family, and, if possible, with the support of a counsellor.

Baccalaureate must allow a significant standard of learning with which to acquire a general culture for normal development in an advanced society. At the same time, it must provide a general foundation for the learning necessary for taking higher education courses. It must motivate the urge to learn and a critical spirit, train in constancy in intellectual work, provide a grounding for opinions and arouse a personal ethic with meaningful social consequences. The student can not pass baccalaureate with spelling mistakes in Catalan and Spanish or without a mastery of English, mathematics on a conceptual and instrumental level and without a basic knowledge of history, literature, philosophy and natural sciences. Either the groundwork is done during these two years of the student’s training or, unfortunately, in many cases students will not get another chance as long as they live.

Vocational training, middle or higher training cycles, must train real professionals and can in no way be accepted as a “dumping ground” for people who have managed to scrape through compulsory education and can not find a job. This is one of the biggest problems facing teachers in post-compulsory education today: working with those students who have not achieved the minimum contents of compulsory secondary education or developed skills such as initiative, achievement orientation, failure management, self-motivation or interpersonal comprehension. Basic and secondary training will have to include attention to these skills and ensure a minimum level of achievement in them. Society will value vocational training to the extent that pupils leave qualified for business with good technical learning but with professional skills that are as important as knowledge: order, constancy, responsibility, sense of duty, discipline, respect... We need to link teaching to our productive system and to the needs of potential employers. Hundreds of boys and girls end up on the dole for lack of planning of professional requirements. We need teaching to be clearly organised in step with demand and in collaboration with the different economic sectors. This must necessarily be based on rigorous market studies. Initiatives such as dual education close to the practice of the trade and selection and preparation of the best teachers must be a priority for the country. Making training and professional practice compatible for faculty members is an option to be favoured.

It is important to maintain the adult education schemes included in evening and distance classes in baccalaureate, at the same time making an assessment to improve them, adapting them, if necessary, to the changing needs of society and to the profile of this type of student. Compulsory secondary education needs to be complemented with classrooms for external schooling, where, as well as “re-motivating” them for learning, students can receive the necessary skills I mentioned for training as professionals.
Universities are one of the levers for a country’s development. They must cultivate excellence in all orders, from the training they prepare people for to teachers and research, without forgetting motivation for culture and for intellectual growth. The specialisation necessary for scientific progress must be preserved, but so must reading the press, the cultivation of the humanities, social responsibility, ethical reflection on the professions... They must have the means required for a high standard of training and for quality scientific research. And this must be done without discrimination on grounds of non-profit public or social ownership. As other chapters will reveal, investment in research is essential, giving priority to those subjects in which our country excels, without forgetting the humanities and other areas in which there is an opportunity in the international context.

Spare-time education

Catalonia is one of the regions of Europe in which the scout movement and leisure centres run on a volunteer basis play the most important role. This minor social “treasure” must be conserved and encouraged. It involves no economic or social cost, something its disappearance, on the other hand, would bring about. It plays a prime role in promoting the individual and has a socially preventive function. Regular participation in the activities it provides means forming part of a real school for citizens, which brings experience in group and social commitment. The commitment of the young group leaders in these organisations is a form of promotion for the club movement and therefore of social participation that holds the whole collective together. Its activities — weekly spare time club, summer activities, adventure camps, camping and mountain crossings — are a wonderful experience for youngsters, at the same time as they help make them independent. The narrow age difference between the group leaders and the children helps in the transmission of positive values from attainable role models and day-to-day experiences that contribute to it. Socialisation in the framework of the leisure centre is associated with learning skills such as public speaking, active listening, negotiation and leadership, which will be of use to the individual throughout his or her life. My educational proposal makes so bold as to recommend that as many children as possible should join a leisure centre or scout group.

Summer is currently associated with an ample offer of activities. Most of them no doubt are good for children, but if the activity is a continuation of what has been covered during the school year it is even more enriching. Parents must be made to see that spare-time education can go further than the purchase of a quasi-tourist product. While learning English is always necessary and adventure sports can be fun, some of us think that simply taking part in a spare-time organisation will do more to help our children’s all-round development.

How can the administration contribute to this situation? Avoiding legislation that “makes life complicated” for volunteers, ensuring they have somewhere to meet and hold their activities, providing minimal, fair subventions for the scale of their activities and trusting in them. Their role, for example, in integration and support for children at social risk is vital, at almost zero cost to the public purse. The world of leisure usually requires little more than to provide access to the municipal grants for summer activities. A good legislator need only take notice of its requirements and acknowledge them when the opportunity arises. He must keep a cool enough head to realise that each new rule to ensure safety, exert control, promote training, etc., can make its
survival more difficult. Rules must be clear, easy to apply and always agreed with the leisure-centre and scouting federations and movements. They must never be the reaction to an event.

Everything I have said so far might seem obvious, but the role of the organisations is not at all easy, either that of the leisure centres and scout groups, or for the foundations that support them. As I see it, they are organisations which, because of the social returns associated with their work, ought to enjoy a certain positive discrimination on the part of the public administration. And this involves simplifying things for them, in the awareness of their organisational fragility. One example of this in the city of Barcelona is the fact of reducing administrative complexity for the sake of easier access to municipal grants for families unable to pay for summer activities. This complexity makes access difficult for many centres, which end up looking for funds elsewhere, while grants reach children taking part in one-off summer activities even promoted by for-profit organisations, with much more professionalised management.

Other spare-time educational resources that are less familiar but also important are, for example, the so-called “open playgrounds”, which have allowed the use of playgrounds after school hours in a densely crowded city. Well organised alternative use of school facilities could be a solution to the shortage of social facilities.

Support from Barcelona and the local councils

Under democracy, the city of Barcelona has always made a priority of giving support to teaching. The network of municipally-owned nursery schools, with a very stable teaching staff, is a good example to keep. Proper maintenance of school buildings that contribute to education is an unavoidable municipal responsibility. Public libraries, which are a highly valued and popular facility, are a second example for extending to the whole of the country. The setting they provide for contact with culture, the working atmosphere they help to create and the example books set for socialisation are good for students and for the whole of society. The offer in resources for teachers means training and at the same time acknowledgement of their function. The “school routes” allowing safe, independent travel is a very interesting contribution by the municipality, also because of the social involvement it favours. Initiatives of this sort spread the idea of the educating city, as they encourage residents to take responsibility for children and these receive a positive message of civic spirit. Education is a social responsibility which is also shared with messages coming from the media.

The city is an educational space and knowledge of it needs to be encouraged. Teachers make use of its resources, such as museums, parks, cultural events, markets and even private resources. Training the staff who will attend to school visits and preparing teaching material for the different age groups enriches educational work for young people. The city can propose “twinning” between schools, favouring occasional exchanges of teachers, students and experiences. And it can do so with children from other schools in the country or abroad.

The City Council has a direct influence on spaces for informal education, such as the school dining room, after-school activities or resources like social services and open or day centres. Its involvement, promoted at different levels of the administration or with its support, will give rise to educational opportunities for children. A balanced diet for many children will depend on the subsidies awarded, complementarily to the Ministry of Education. As regards the family, it is good that the City Council should make funds available for the school, probably through
parent-teacher associations (PTA), for conferences and training programmes and schools for parents. This is an essential resource at a time of widespread relativism, when the transmission of positive values, habits and attitudes via the family is not guaranteed. We need to listen to psychologists and educators who can provide common-sense orientation for families in day-to-day issues: handing on habits, discipline, planning, dialogue with sons and daughters and within the family.

A country that sets out to improve its educational system must not overlook aspects such as planning, in consonance with a desirable reconciliation of working life and families. Bearing in mind our climate, there is not much we can do about the duration and distribution of holidays, but these are issues in which the city can intervene. Barcelona for some time has shown an interest in this and organises certain activities, such as holiday camps, summer activities and sports campuses. Being familiar with the facts, it would also be a good thing if there was an even wider range of offers on the part of sports facilities, gymnasiums, academies, etc., always in the interest of the child.

Barcelona is a point of reference for the country and also obviously in education. It is good that it makes use of the opportunities it has for innovation and presents it to the rest of the country and the rest of the world. As a criterion, I suggest that municipal politics should not be allowed to interfere in the everyday life of the school. The presence of municipal representatives on school boards was no favour to the educational community. As I understand it, despite the legitimacy of the elected councillors or the experts they delegate to, the independence of schools and the responsibility of their management teams must be respected.

One municipal responsibility, in concomitance with the school, are the open and day centres for attention to children at social risk, especially in the afternoons. These centres, run mainly by community organisations and in a few cases by the municipality, must be promoted and sufficiently endowed to attend to those children whose families can not do so, from midday in the case of compulsory secondary education and from 4.30 pm in primary education. The chance to do homework in an orderly setting, to have extra schooling and to have their afternoon tea and the fact of having someone on hand are decisive in their education and a first-rate element of prevention. The joint work of schools and social services by the professionals they employed is the indispensable complement that guarantees equal opportunities and, with them, social cohesion and the promotion of each child’s abilities. They must have the economic resources to be able to work properly and there must be support, as now, for refurbishing of the premises they intervene in.

Conclusion

Barcelona, as a national capital, must take on the duties assigned to it by national legislation and must exercise them with an eye to excellence. It would be good to preserve their educational role through the nursery schools, support for school dining-rooms, subsidies for school meals and summer leisure activities and libraries. The concept of the educating city arises from services such as these, and at the same time involves citizens in the “school routes”, showing children the city’s resources, training families in the framework of the PTAs, favouring reconciliation between work and family life, etc.
Education is not just school, but also leisure centres and scout movements, which must be given support, and social resources out of school hours such as open and day centres attending to children at risk. Catalonia’s position in the ranking of school achievement is excessively average in relation to the international context. We need to combat school failure and train for entrepreneurship, while allowing diversity the attention it needs. This attention must be based on stable long-term educational legislation as a result of social and political consensus, incorporating innovation without forgetting either the vision or those aspects of any educational process that are permanent. Any improvement in education begins with acknowledgement for teachers, ensuring continuous improvement in their training and giving them the support they need so that they can work in the best possible conditions. Social consensus is needed over the values in which they must be educated and which must be the basis for intervention by the school.

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The future of Barcelona is a metaphor and somehow condenses the fate of the country at a time when its society strives to take the reins. Again, the model city is in dispute under the impact of a multisided and multiform crisis. The Barcelona that left behind its industrial past to become a city of services and at the same time “the best shop in the world” is wounded, much more than the ruling elites of the city currently have the ability and willingness to recognize.

The collapse of the mirage generated by the years of the housing bubble and the waste of public resources has opened deep, social and territorial cracks. The footprint of protest of the neighbourhood movements, easily recognized in the policies of the first democratic councils, blurred as Barcelona took the place assigned to it by globalization. The crisis has exacerbated the social differences which had never disappeared, quite the contrary, and contained their perception and their impacts for the development of a new network of services for urban development able to dignify the districts and bring them back into contact with city and sea ... Now, eight years separate the life expectancy of people in the “high” and affluent area of Barcelona from the population of the most impoverished streets of Nou Barris and Ciutat Vella. The difference between the family incomes has accentuated and caused chronic inequalities. As in the twilight years of the Francoist regime and the transition, the city and the country are moving towards a fork in their history.
The dilemma strikes us today with tremendous harshness. A huge financial capital seeking returns not in a productive economy in recession looms over the cities in search of profitable speculative investments. The direction taken in recent years in Barcelona follows a coveted runway ... that local intermediaries are ready to facilitate. The current model of tourism of unlimited growth acts as a profound vector of transformation. Urban reforms of great arteries, from Paral·lel to Diagonal, new constructions such as the luxury marina in the Port Vell, but also the expansion of the hotel industry, the phenomenon of tourist apartments, go in the same direction, which favours the emergence of a dual city. The social fracture results in a change of urban morphology: the frames of traditional commerce, favouring cohesion, give way to franchising; the upward pressure on prices drives the inhabitants of smaller purchasing power out of their lifelong neighbourhoods and ‘gentrifies’ them. The neoliberal, invertebrate and unjust city with its distinct neighbourhoods and areas, capable of converting access to the sea into a privilege, begins to be seen on the horizon.

At the same time, the same factors that raise this threatening hypothesis have sparked a genuine movement of tectonic plates that underlie our society. Phenomena of social protest, criticism of the system and the inherited political regime of the transition, an explosion of sovereigntist aspirations ... Sounding out and participating in what happens everywhere, the city is tinged with conflicts and exudes a strong aspiration to citizen’s participation in its effective governance. Day by day, the factors of a -possible- democratic revolution accumulate, a transforming inrush of citizens in the political arena that will change the paradigm of Barcelona, think again.

The challenge will be to move from the role that some powerful decision-takers have imposed –that of a beautiful tourist destination- to the desired and necessary square: that of a newly industrialized city within parameters of environmental sustainability, flattering the cooperative and proximity circuits. The challenge will be to rediscover the path of an articulated city through a powerful network of welfare, with management of public space as the place to build citizenship and an urban development presided by the interests of the social majority. The challenge, in short, will be that of a deep institutional renewal in the city’s government, in terms of participation and transparency, certainly, but also in the design of these decision areas. It is not possible to manage the transformation of the coastline, or to curb speculation without putting a feud such as that represented by the Port of Barcelona under the democratic authority of the city. You can only carry out resolute development policies, environmental or effective mobility initiatives from a metropolitan dimension; an area now controlled by a series of bodies acting in the area, but on which citizenship has virtually no impact.

Barcelona has flown the flag of the right to decide. The time is approaching to exercise it in all fields and choose what they really want to be: a “brand”, quoted on a market of rapid and desolate business ... or faithful to the collective teaching that in history has really located it on the map of the world, becoming a free and open capital of the Mediterranean.
Barcelona is self-explanatory, but I think it is best understood when compared to that other city that is so different and with which it has a strained relationship: Madrid. Madrid exists because it is the seat of the royal court and later a state capital as from 1931. It is a city born out of the power of the monarchy and the state, and it is this power that explains why it exists. Consequently, it was built by the power of the monarchy and the state. Their institutions and buildings, royal museums, infrastructure, civic culture, demographic and economic growth ... are consequences of this character.

Barcelona is not. In Barcelona, the institutions, buildings, port, factories and companies created were born out of the same city. The city only started conserving Catalan institutions until recently, in the twentieth century the Palau de la Generalitat hibernated for decades until the end of exile, but its character does not come from being a royal court or state capital; the city grew, replacing the institutions and instruments that it did not have. The history of the city, as everyone knows, is that of a large longstanding trading and industrial company rooted in the country. This probably explains its virtues and limitations, but this is not enough to explain its ambition, dreams and fears.

Barcelona has so far remained a young city that dreamed about reigning, but which was tormented in its adolescence, yet a city that now presents itself before the country and the world. It was the city that kept the memory of a country going, and which fed the dreams of Catalonia and which is now testing itself out to take on that responsibility. The public will give it legitimacy, but it will have to put its skills to the test because it has never been a state capital before.
Interestingly, in Spain there is no clear view about Barcelona’s position in Europe and in the world; if one goes beyond the solid boundaries of politics and Spanish communication, you can check that it is a successful struggle for existence. Barcelona is one of Europe’s and the world’s capitals; across most of the world it is better known -and therefore valued- than many state capitals. If it managed to achieve this, it was precisely because it had to overcome difficulties and shortcomings, which were made up for by a very strong community spirit, generations of citizens who quietly contributed their part to lift the country up.

The experience of anyone that comes to Barcelona is that you find a host of people that are very capable professionals, that are ambitious, creative, and constantly in contact with each other. One finds social environments and professional worlds as grounded as they are competitive, and always with a Catalan character. Really Barcelona, Catalonia, has been what it is now showing for a long time. I think the secret can be revealed: all this time it has been preparing for this moment.

Catalonia is about an ongoing effort in the collective imagination. And Barcelona is the head that is dreaming.

Whatever capital Barcelona becomes, it must be loyal to its memory, not imitating the bureaucratic and parasitic, but rather a creator. Calculations should not kill the fantasy. A fantasy that pervades across the city, not only that crazy architecture that no other city would dare to have as a symbol, but the same fantasy as its residents, a fantasy that doesn’t die down but rather that passes from one century to the next. The label of bourgeois city, sybarite or snobbish hides the city’s lust for enjoyment, the constant irruptions of the irrational part of the city, national, social and crazy artistic explosions. Not having the responsibility of being the capital gave the city freedom to be a fantasy-like and dreamy city; in the transition to becoming capital it shouldn’t lose that trait. In its freedom, we find its creativity.

And if it wants to be loyal to its past, the city should try to be tolerant, accept dissident voices and live on the horizontal. Given the heights of authoritarian power, Barcelona should always be the capital of its own streets, those with such a long memory of democratic struggle and of liberating dreams. If Barcelona is not a capital that continues to make its streets vibrate because of its democratic traditions, then it will fail.

The country and the city have plans, dreams that have been felt for a long time. To be the state capital it will have to continue to be an industrial and financial capital. And there is a dream of being the capital of the Mediterranea, the memory of that small maritime empire of the Crown of Aragon that feeds the imagination (countries without a state continue to adjust their stories with their own history). But what Barcelona cannot stop being is a cultural capital: it is in the character of the city, and it is the part of its identity that is seen most and best from abroad.

Now or later, one way or another, it will be the citizens that will decide the future of Catalans, but many people, for whom Catalonia and Barcelona have formed part of our lives, hope that this is not far off. Barcelona should be our city as well. Whenever one wins something, there is always a price, but the price would be incalculable if it disappeared from our lives and it became distant. In the process of taking up responsibility for being the capital of a state there should be a strategy of dialogue and a direct approach to the majority of the Spanish population. Many people, under the noise of the disputes between Madrid and Barcelona, still expect things from Catalonia.
Catalonia’s healthcare system is one of the best in the European Union. Its prestige is based on the prestige of the professionals and healthcare centres in Barcelona that serve a large part of the population of Catalonia as well as, in many specific cases, from the rest of Spain. It is the result of many years of good work in the areas that define modern quality medical system: care, research, teaching and clinical management.

Most large hospitals in Catalonia are concentrated in Barcelona and its metropolitan area: for example, University Hospitals at Vall d’Hebron and Bellvitge (owned by ICS - the Catalan Institute of Health); Hospital Clínic, Hospital Sant Pau, Hospital del Mar and Hospital Sant Joan de Déu (subsidised); Quirón Teknon, Institut Barraquer and Sagrat Cor (private). Barcelona has an excellent choice of primary care centres - run by ICS and EBA (“Associative Base Entity”) - that cover basic healthcare for the population.
In terms of teaching, the city’s two large universities - University of Barcelona (UB) and Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) - are particularly renowned in the field of biomedicine. UB ranks among the top 100 universities in the world for medicine and health sciences. The best students compete year after year to go to our universities to study medicine and other health-related courses such as nursing, or new degrees like biomedical engineering, among others. The vocational training on offer in Barcelona in regard to healthcare is varied and of high quality.

Biomedical research is absolutely essential and must be closely linked to clinical work: there can be no quality research without quality care, and vice versa. Also, all biomedical research should aim at all times to have practical applications in order to improve the health of citizens. The proximity and links between large biomedical research centres and hospitals is a reality in Barcelona - one that should be strengthened and consolidated.

There are therefore sufficient conditions for Barcelona (now and even more so if it becomes the capital of Catalonia as an independent country within the EU) to be able to present health and healthcare to the world as one of the core identifying values as well as being a source of employment and technological development.

It is also clear that there are still things we need to do and things we need to improve. For example, given that tourism is a source of income for the city, Barcelona should be able to provide quality healthcare services to visitors; emergency services at our hospitals (currently overcrowded and with inadequate facilities) should be improved. And we should attract patients from the EU and around the world to come and be treated in Barcelona. As for the EU, it is important that Barcelona play in the “Champions League” of European public health. The new directive that allows free movement of EU citizens to receive certain types of non-emergency healthcare is an opportunity we cannot pass up. It is also important (and very much a pending subject) for the biomedical industry to make a firm commitment to exploit the advantages that Barcelona has to offer in every way. If we improve and modernise our healthcare system, we will all benefit, both public and private patients. We have to plan this carefully and create strong businesses with the necessary transparency and control. Likewise, we should build on healthcare training - both at undergraduate level (attracting international students) and post-graduate level (continuing training and specialist international training). It is important that as a country we are actively involved in international healthcare organisations (WHO and the European Centre for Disease Control, for example). And - assuming Barcelona becomes capital of Catalonia - we would want to put ourselves forward as a candidate location for their offices, thus making it clear that we are committed to improving health worldwide.

All aspects described above complement each other; our aim is to consolidate Barcelona as one of Europe’s great health and healthcare capitals. A city that is able to create an integrated, high-quality and internationally prestigious service in healthcare, teaching and biomedical research, both public and private.

A healthy city and a “medical” city. To the benefit of all.
Barcelona: capital of justice in the new Catalan State

Santiago Vidal i Marsal
Magistrate
Introduction

The national transition process, set in motion in Catalonia after the Spanish Constitutional Court upheld the wishes of Parliament in 2010 to cancel a substantial part of the new Statute of Autonomy approved in 2006 by a large parliamentary majority, has become a social phenomenon at a level and with a power never seen before in our country. And it should not be forgotten that it now has roots that go far deeper than the current strategies of the political parties that represent citizens. In other words, it is here to stay, and we must start to plan for the consequences in the medium and long term.

Over the last four years, we have experienced a phenomenon almost unheard of in current Western democratic societies. A movement created by civil society itself has generated a collective perception, which is now convinced that we can build a new country much better than the one we currently have.

The result of the injustice generated by the 31/2010 sentence passed by the Constitutional Court, an unfortunate example of a clearly political legal decision far removed from what an impartial legal resolution should be, was to make the Catalans’ final attempt to find a satisfactory means of fitting in to the Spanish State nothing short of unviable.

The holding of the referendum called by President Artur Mas set to take place on 9 November 2014, which has both the unitary agreement of the five Catalan political parties, who represent over 2/3 of the Parliament of Catalonia and the support of 91.7% of the Catalan town councils, is — at the time of writing — the final step that has allowed us to reach this point.

Precisely for this reason, and regardless of the fact that it was finally possible to hold the referendum, with or without the approval of the central Spanish Government, the time has come to begin to consider what the new structures of the Catalan State should be in order that the noble objective of our freedom as a people can be achieved. Without a doubt, one of them will be the new Republican legal system, and we should therefore analyse what Barcelona’s role will be given its future status as state capital.

This work has the humble aim of helping to design this legal project and explaining to citizens how it will influence the future model, which will definitely be fairer, provide more guarantees and be closer to the community.

- Key guiding principles: proximity, flexibility, provision of guarantees, a public service and in Catalan.

To anyone who has ever entered a court, whether in Barcelona or in any of the Catalan regions, it will come as no surprise to hear that Spanish justice is plagued by a large number of shortcomings, which do not correspond to the parameters normally set by any public administrations whose job it is to serve their citizens.

The image it projects is worth a thousand words — an obsolete, bureaucratic, disorganised judicial administration, and one that uses the Spanish language. Far removed from the model expected from a modern democratic state, in other words, an efficient public service, whose workers deal with users in a friendly manner and work in the country’s own, natural language.

If we really want the future Catalan legal system to meet the needs of today’s Catalan society, it is essential to diagnose the main deficiencies urgently and adopt appropriate solutions as quickly as possible. It goes without saying that many parts of the apparatus can still be used and,
in some areas, apart from organising the new model more sensibly, it will only be necessary to improve the existing human and material resources. But other things will have to be changed completely.

One of these things is the geographical distribution of the legal offices (courts) across the country, in order to provide citizens with the local justice I am proposing. In the case of large cities, justice should be implemented in the corresponding districts, and Barcelona must be the main example of this.

This idea is not new, I know. During the term of office of the first tripartite coalition government (2000-2003), under the presidency of Pasqual Maragall, work began to design a model founded upon the notion of bringing the courts closer to citizens. Unfortunately, all attempts to make progress on this front were met with direct opposition from the Spanish Government, which viewed it as an attack on the sacred unity of the judicial power established by the 1978 Constitution, despite the fact that the Spanish Constitutional Court itself has always pointed out that any proposal to reform the regulatory system affecting the Constitution is legal as long as it complies with the democratic requirements of legitimacy, competence, legality and respect for fundamental rights (Constitutional Court Rulings STC 247/2007, of 12 December, and STC 31/2009, of 29 January), in accordance with Articles 87.2 and 166 of the Spanish Constitution.

The political and social context is no longer the same as it was a decade ago, and we should therefore not be scared of putting a model on the table once again, which, far from having lost its topicality, is more relevant than ever.

A Catalan judicial model to serve citizens

The new state will have to address one inescapable priority: how to adapt the judicial system to Catalonia’s real needs in 2017, while at the same time foreseeing measures that will have to be adopted during the transitional period in order to guarantee the principle of legal security. And, more specifically, how to organise the new system in the capital of the republic in order to make it operational and efficient as soon as necessary. This planning should be extended to cover all towns with over 10,000 inhabitants, where the local courts will be located.

Let us start with the so-called human resources. At present, Catalonia has 750 judges, 340 public prosecutors and 480 court clerks. Based on the litigation rate over the last decade, around 250 of each of these groups will be needed if we want to have a figure similar to the European Union average, in other words around 14 or 15 legal professionals per 100,000 inhabitants. The current rate is 10 and this has been frozen for almost a decade. Unfortunately, we are the second last in the entire European Union, ahead only of Romania. We might not need to match the levels attained in Germany (23) or Norway (19), but we should aspire to those achieved in the United Kingdom (15), the Netherlands (16) and Denmark (17).

In the city of Barcelona, this judicial system will have to be concentrated in the City of Justice, located on Gran Via, bordering on the municipal area of L’Hospitalet de Llobregat. As most people know, the civil, criminal, examining magistrate’s and some of the social courts started to be moved there in 2007. In 2010, the mercantile and administrative courts also began to be moved there. It is expected that the social courts that still remain at the Ronda Sant Pere will be moved to the City of Justice in 2015.
If we bear in mind that the headquarters of the Supreme Court of the Republic will be in the Modernist Palau de Justícia on Passeig de Sant Joan, in front of the Arc de Triomf, the current location of the civil and criminal courts of the Provincial Court of Barcelona, along with the High Court of Justice of Catalonia, it is clear that all sections of the provincial courts (including the future social and administrative courts) will also have to be moved to the abovementioned City of Justice before 2017.

This reorganisation is unlikely to involve any spatial problems, given that many of the current courts of first instance will be converted into local courts and, as a result, will be located in municipal buildings within the various districts.

Today, Barcelona has a population of a little over 1.5 million inhabitants. However, it is important to bear in mind that its demographic distribution is not uniform. The Ciutat Vella, Sants-Montjuïc and Sant Martí districts are far more densely populated than districts such as the Eixample, Pedralbes or Sant Gervasi. We should also remember that the level of social conflict across the municipality is uneven, since in the more densely populated areas with a higher number of residents from outside the European Union, the number of administrative and criminal incidents recorded is far higher than in quieter districts.

All these demographic and social data should be borne in mind when deciding on the locations of the new courts of first instance, but not necessarily the number of civil or criminal courts — to give just one example —, which must be identical in each district. The key is provided by the litigation rate for each district, a factor that involves a variety of cross-cutting data, such as the predominance of the productive or services sector, the employment rate, the annual number of tourists that visit the district, etc. We have three years to carry out meticulous fieldwork in order to obtain all these data before setting up the new urban judicial system.

In the area of criminal law, for example, the tourism factor (almost 8 million visitors per year with over 15 million overnight stays in the hotel sector) will no doubt be a crucial factor, given that there is a direct relationship between the associated crime rate — number of seasonal offenders — and tourist flow. In the Ciutat Vella district, given the abovementioned rate of passing tourists (potential passive victims of theft or robbery), the monthly number of police statements and reports leading to the opening of criminal proceedings is greater than those in the Corts or Gràcia districts, and similar to those in Nou Barris and Sants. We should add that the Ciutat Vella district also has a lack of inter-ethnic and/or social cohesion, and far lower levels of per capital income.

Fortunately, the actual victim and citizen security rate stabilised a few years ago, and in some urban areas is now moderately decreasing. This rate continues to range between 17% and 26%, however, and it is not expected to vary a great deal in the short term. As for civil and social lawsuits, if the progressive improvement in the economy continues, we can surmise that in the five-year period between 2017 and 2021, the litigation rate will return to pre-2008 levels, far from the saturation suffered over the last five years. With regard to administration lawsuits, due to the crisis the volume of proceedings being processed has not altered a great deal and, as long as procedural reforms to shorten deadlines in general and eliminate “dead” periods are carried out as part of the new system, few changes will be needed in order to guarantee citizens flexible processing without unnecessary delays.

However, increasing the number of judges, prosecutors and clerks is not in itself enough to achieve the goal of enjoying a flexible, local judicial system. The working capacity will also have
to be optimised as far as possible. In this respect, minimum length of service periods will have
to be established for judicial positions, introduced in order to guarantee a key element in the
system: stability.

In Catalonia, there is a chronic lack of vacancies, around 25%, given that the means of access
is via state competitive exams and, many of the judges, prosecutors and clerks who get a job
come from outside of Catalonia. Moreover, they only stay for one or two years, the minimum
period legally required, until they can find a job in another part of Spain, closer to their place
of origin and where they want to live on a permanent basis. We must remember that at present
78% of those exercising judicial function in Catalonia come from outside of our country, partly
because there has never been a great tradition for university law graduates to take state competi-
tive exams and also because students were guaranteed to make a good living working in the legal
profession.

Although this situation has obviously changed over the past decade, the number of legal
agents working in the legal system today continues to be a minority.

We therefore need people to fulfil their duty by remaining in their post for a minimum of
five years and in this way, even though the abovementioned professionals might have been born
outside of Catalonia, they will be the first to be interested in ensuring that their court has the
minimum number of late proceedings possible. In the new Catalonia, this deep-rooted attach-
ment will be essential and will have to be demanded of all those who work as civil servants in the
Spanish State and who, when the time comes, choose freely to stay —keeping all their acquired
rights—, so that they then go on to form part of the Catalan judicial system.

As things stand, this stability could be brought about by a simple reform of the Organic Law
on the Judiciary, but the Spanish Central Government is opposed to this. All the initiatives
aimed at achieving this goal have systematically been rejected by the Ministry of Justice. As soon
as it has exclusive competences in this area, the Parliament of Catalonia will have to pass a new
law to deal with this issue.

If Catalonia finally achieves its goal of becoming a new state within Europe, something that
is completely feasible by 2017, we shall find that some of today’s legal professionals will leave.
In Barcelona, it is calculated that 26% of all judges, prosecutors and court clerks would make
this decision. That would be the time to rebuild the Judicial System and to ensure that the new
legal experts taken on honoured the commitment to stability that is essential in order to create
a proper judiciary.

Questions will be asked about how we will find suitable candidates with sufficient ability to
carry out the functions with the required levels of efficiency and quality, since it is obvious that
it will not be possible to train so many people in such a short time. The answer is simple and is
set out in the last report by the Advisory Council for the National Transition from July 2014:

a. On the one hand, recovering the hundreds of temporary judges, prosecutors and clerks —
around 250 of them — whose work contracts were terminated by the Ministry of Justice in
March 2013 allegedly for budgetary reasons, given that many of them live in Catalonia and
have amply demonstrated their worth.

b. On the other hand, offering the remaining vacancies via a merit-based competition restricted
to prestigious legal professionals who are currently working as lawyers, university professors
and court prosecutors. I am in no doubt that many valuable legal professionals will be inter-
ested in pursuing a judicial career, as long as the selection process is fair and transparent.
The great advantage is that they will all be specialised in the specific subject (civil, criminal, social, administrative, mercantile law etc.) assigned to the courts in which they will work.

c. In the city of Barcelona, there are over 15,000 active legal professionals registered with the Barcelona Bar Association (Il·lustre Col·legi d’Advocats de Barcelona, ICAB); even if only 1% of them decided to enter the judiciary by this means, it would be sufficient to cover all the vacant places.

The new functional and geographical structure

A second element that needs to be thoroughly reviewed is the organisation within the judicial offices in each district. For years now, everyone has agreed that the current structure results in much duplication of effort when it comes to non-essential tasks and that this needs to be eliminated in order to speed up proceedings. Not even the full computerisation of the courts and digitisation of proceedings would allow much progress to be made on this point. Instead, the present administrative officers would have to receive much better specialised training than they currently do, and it would be necessary to organise all the administrative support tasks into working areas, a far cry from the current system of compartmentalised offices with a staff of ten/twelve civil servants. The mainstays of this new structure must be internal flexibility, specialisation and mobility in accordance with requirements.

We should be clear about the fact that the Administration of justice as a public service should not be confused with the judiciary. One thing is the independent judicial function that judges and prosecutors have to exercise, and another is an administrative technical support made up of career civil servants with proper technical training, under the leadership of a competent head of staff, as in the case of judicial secretaries.

I sincerely believe that increasing the number of staff members assigned to this procedural support task would not be necessary. The current number of staff members should be sufficient to take on the workload (around one million lawsuits per year). I therefore repeat that, in my modest opinion, it will only be necessary to improve the organisation of the services and turn the current individualised staff teams working at each court into working groups shared by all the courts and tribunals under the same jurisdiction and in the same geographical area.

Without a doubt, the new procedural laws that will have to be passed by the new constituent Parliament and the territorial distribution of a new local justice system will be of key importance. The aim is to make the old dream of a local justice system that is pleasant for citizens to use come true; a system as passionately yearned for by legal offices as it is vehemently rejected by the Spanish Central Government.

At present, Barcelona has ten districts and it will be necessary to provide each of them with the appropriate number of local courts in accordance with the forecast litigation rate.

We can start with a minimum number of one court for each of the judicial areas and per 25,000 inhabitants, in other words, five civil courts, five criminal courts, five social courts and five administrative courts, to which we would need to add one specialised court for issues related to minors, family law, commercial law, prison supervision and legal incapacity. This design would mean that we would have to house between 25 and 40 judicial offices in the same building, along with their corresponding common processing and citizens advice bureau. Organisation by
district is essential, as this maximises attention paid to people awaiting trial, facilitates the work of lawyers and prosecutors, and allows both human and material resources to be optimised.

As for its implementation, the principle of legal security essential in any democratic state of law will force us to take into account the fact that, at the time of national transition, there will be around two million court proceedings underway in Catalonia (either at the pre-trial phase, the trial or the post-trial execution of the sentence phase). Therefore, it will be necessary to continue the procedural steps with the due guarantees for all those involved in these lawsuits. One consequence of this regulatory transience will be a law on the temporary duration of the procedural law with regard to ongoing lawsuits, and its replacement with the new procedural laws, especially where demands and reports to be presented at the courts are concerned.

It seems quite reasonable to establish a three-year deadline for the completion of all lawsuits ongoing at the time of creation of the new state, so that they have a firm sentence decided at the end of it, thus enabling the corresponding reports to be filed. This would provide citizens and their lawyers with a guarantee that their cases would be processed within the existing legal expectations of the system in place at the time the lawsuit began, while at the same time giving those in charge of carrying out justice a firm deadline so as to facilitate as far as possible the completion of the trial.

With regard to new proceedings, one of the procedural requirements that will be of greatest help in achieving this goal will be the new regulation that will establish deadlines for the completion of each phase in the proceedings. Apart from the logical exceptions in accordance with the kind and the complexity of the specific lawsuit, the general rule should be to force the judge to complete the court of first instance stage (from the moment the lawsuit starts to the trial) in a maximum of six months, and the court of second instance stage (appeal against the sentence) in a maximum of three months. Another three-month period can be given to the common service for the execution of penal sanctions in order to comply effectively with the definitive sentence.

In other words, the general rule should be that 90% of lawsuits, civil, criminal, administrative and social, should be decided on and filed within one year, with a proviso that if the corresponding deadlines are not met, the judge and the court clerk will have to justify in a reasoned manner in a report to the Court Inspection Service the reasons why this case exceptionally has taken longer than predicted, with a proposal for the appropriate measures for dealing with this delay.

Naturally, if the explanations are considered unjustified, disciplinary proceedings will have to be instigated against those responsible for the delay, proceedings that may involve a small sanction (reprimand) the first time, a serious sanction (a fine with temporary suspension of pay and employment) the second time, and more serious sanction (obligatory transfer and even termination of employment) in the event of a repeat offence.

Whether out of conviction — the majority — or due to the deterrent effect — the most reticent —, the new system is bound to work, especially bearing in mind the fact that should the delay cause any of the litigants to suffer financial losses, the judge or clerk could also be sentenced to pay compensation for professional negligence.

Thus, it is a matter of implementing a new judicial structure; completely different from the one that exists under the Spanish system, and one that will no doubt help attain the goal of speed and efficiency whilst maintaining both fairness and the rights of the user.
In order to achieve this, I propose three successive judicial levels in line with the principle of bringing the community closer to the community, which should guide the entire procedural legislation.

1. Initially, the local or district courts (depending on whether the town has over or under 10,000 inhabitants) take care of processing the lawsuit — whatever the issue to be decided — up to the sentence, as long as the law classifies the legal complexity of the case as minor. In other words, for civil proceedings, all cases (over 50%) in which the financial sum demanded does not exceed 6,000 euros will be assigned to these municipal courts. If it is a criminal case, the competent authorities will be determined by whether or not the punishment for the crime committed is likely to involve a custodial sentence. In administrative or social lawsuits, the line is drawn in accordance with a list of different types of lawsuit; those classified as summary procedures will be dealt with by a local court, and the others by the court of first instance. Meanwhile, cities with over 50,000 inhabitants will be assigned a district court. The capital, Barcelona, will have a total of 25 such courts.

2. The second level would be made up of courts of first instance specialised in criminal, civil, social and administrative law. Unlike the municipal courts, the case is processed and the ruling made by a court of three magistrates, in other words, a collegial body that decides after deliberation and by simple majority. Their competence includes all cases that go beyond the remit of the abovementioned local courts, and they are also responsible for dealing with any appeals (second instance) that litigants make against rulings made by the courts of first instance. This second sentence is enforceable and binding; no appeals can be made against it, except in the case of any exceptions provided for in the law itself.

3. The final level is the Supreme Court of Catalonia, with the exclusive task of dealing with right of appeal. It would have four court rooms for different specialities, each containing five magistrates, and their competence would be limited to: A) unifying the jurisprudence; B) dealing with appeals made against sentences pronounced by courts of first instance that have ruled on the case as a first-level collegial legal body, and C) upholding or rejecting the rights of appeal regarding a hypothetical infringement of the fundamental rights recognised in the Catalan Constitution.

The Republic of Catalonia would thus be set up as a truly democratic regime with a clear separation of powers: the legislative, executive and judicial branches, which would have to work in cooperation with one another, without interference, acting as legal counterweights for one another, at all times in favour of the citizens.

The headquarters of the Supreme Court would have to be in the building that currently houses the Spanish Supreme Court of Justice of Catalonia. The courthouse was built between 1887 and 1908 — over a hundred years ago — by the architect Domènech i Estapà, and was restored recently (2007-2014) with renovations that have improved both its external appearance and the functionality of the interior. Its impressive façade and the equally spectacular stairway located in front of the entrance on Passeig de Lluís Companys are the symbol of the judicial power of a nation that up to now has not been recognised as such, except for the short Republican period during the 1930s, when the building served as the headquarters of the Court of Appeal.

Barcelona, future capital of the new Catalan State, will thus be able to show off to the entire world a fine headquarters, a real jewel of turn-of-the-century Modernism.
The separation of powers and the new Supreme Court of the Republic with headquarters in Barcelona

One of the main problems with the current system, and one that has generated the most mistrust in all three institutions, is the continual confusion and interference between them. The most obvious example of this is the Spanish Constitutional Court, which is unlike a true court, being made up of a mixed chamber of lawyers and politicians, its magistrates thus being assigned by third parties in the shape of the Spanish Congress of Deputies and the Senate, by the Government and the General Council of the Judiciary. This means that when it comes to appointments, influence peddling is the order of the day. We do not want to make the same mistake, since citizen trust in the state’s greatest constitutional body is essential.

In turn, it is important to bear in mind that this body for the selection and control of the judiciary is made up of legal professionals appointed by Congress and the Senate, along with one minority short list designated by the judicial service. It is clear that everyone recognises and regrets the lack of independence and impartiality of both of these institutions, always seem to be watchful of the more or less indirect pressure exerted upon them by the legislative and executive authorities, which are often dominated by the very political party that gained an absolute majority in the last elections. The result is terrifying: whoever wins the elections dominates all three powers of the State, with no limit.

The composition of the chamber of the Supreme Court of the Republic, acting as a constitutional guarantee, will be of key importance and that is why it will be necessary for each of its five members to be chosen by cross-cutting qualified majorities, all completely separate from each other.

Thus, one of the magistrates will have to be chosen by at least two thirds of the Parliament, which makes an agreement between at least two and even all three of the political powers with the largest number of elected deputies essential. The second must be chosen by a qualified majority of the Council of Bar Associations of Catalonia, from over 24,000 legal professionals included in the census. The third would have to be selected by the judicial service itself (a thousand judges) from among its members, which would force all the judicial associations to agree on the name of the person chosen because of their professional merits and impeccable curriculum. The fourth would have to be chosen from the proposal put forward by local trustees and ombudsmen, a municipal body with direct representation, and the fifth would have to be a prestigious legal professional chosen by the people in elections with universal suffrage.

I consider that this system guarantees the ideological plurality of the five people charged with the onerous task of being the last legal bastion in the interpretation of fundamental rights. And it will be necessary to hammer this point home, while at the same time establishing that their mandate should only last for five years. Once this period is over the democratic wheel will turn once again with new magistrates being elected.

Finally, we should mention that the city of Barcelona cannot remain indifferent to the question of the official language in which judicial proceedings are carried out. Despite Barcelona’s multicultural character, which means that over thirty different languages are spoken in the city on a regular basis, Spanish continues to be main language used in legal proceedings.
In order to redress this issue, there is no need to invent anything, we simply need to comply with the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, in terms of the guarantee it provides allowing all citizens to use the language of their choice in court proceedings, both orally and in writing. Since the future Catalan Constitution will recognise Catalan as the only official State language in addition to granting Spanish — for obvious sociological reasons — co-official status, we must guarantee that all inhabitants of Barcelona, irrespective of their place of origin or mother tongue, can exercise this individual linguistic right.

Fortunately, almost all inhabitants of Catalonia already have quite a good grasp of both Catalan and Spanish. I would like to stress again that both languages would have equal, co-official status before the courts, in accordance with the individual option chosen by the citizen. However, we would need to establish clearly that in the event of no personal choice being made, by default the language used in court would be that of the State, in other words, Catalan.

The most recent statistics show that the oral and written use of our language in legal proceedings rose from a symbolic 2.5% in 1995 to 19% in 2004. Since then, the situation has become increasingly disappointing, given that, despite the fact that a great majority of legal professionals are quite fluent in Catalan, it is being used less and less, to the point that the latest figure (2013) from the Government of Catalonia’s Ministry of Justice is 14%. Not only are we not progressing, we are clearly regressing.

The solution is also quite simple: we need to demand Level C qualifications in Catalan as a requirement and ensure that all those involved in the justice chain (from judges to administrative officers) use Catalan in their work.

**Conclusion**

Barcelona, the main city and historical cultural centre of Catalonia, has a unique opportunity to become not only the capital of the new state, but also a mirror in which the legal world will be able to see a reflection of its excitement at making its dreams come true regarding the creation of a local justice system that is pleasant to use for its inhabitants, respects their rights and provides them with rapid responses. We can achieve this.
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