



HOUSING POLICY IN SPAIN BETWEEN 1939 AND 1976 The residential phenomenon as a catalyst for urban growth

La política de vivienda en España entre 1939 y 1976. El fenómeno residencial como motor de crecimiento urbano

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KEYWORDS

*Residential Neighbourhoods
Modern City
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ABSTRACT

The research focuses on the study of public housing built in response to the urgent housing needs in Europe throughout the 20th century. These developments share many of the characteristics of their European counterparts. The Spanish case presents certain peculiarities in its development. The research aims to analyse the context -social, economic and political- that conditioned the massive construction of housing in Spain between 1939 and 1976. An analysis is made of the approved urban planning legislation, housing regulation and the identification of the responsible bodies.

PALABRAS CLAVE

*Barriadas Residenciales
Ciudad Moderna
Crecimiento Urbano
Políticas Públicas
Siglo XX
Urbanismo
Vivienda Social*

RESUMEN

La investigación se centra en el estudio de la vivienda pública construida ante las urgentes necesidades de vivienda existentes en Europa a lo largo del siglo XX. Estos desarrollos comparten muchas de las características con sus homónimos europeos. El caso español presenta ciertas peculiaridades en su desarrollo. La investigación persigue así analizar el contexto -social, económico y político- que condicionó la construcción de vivienda de forma masiva en España entre 1939 y 1976. Se realiza un análisis de la legislación urbanística aprobada, la regulación en materia de vivienda, así como la identificación de los organismos responsables.

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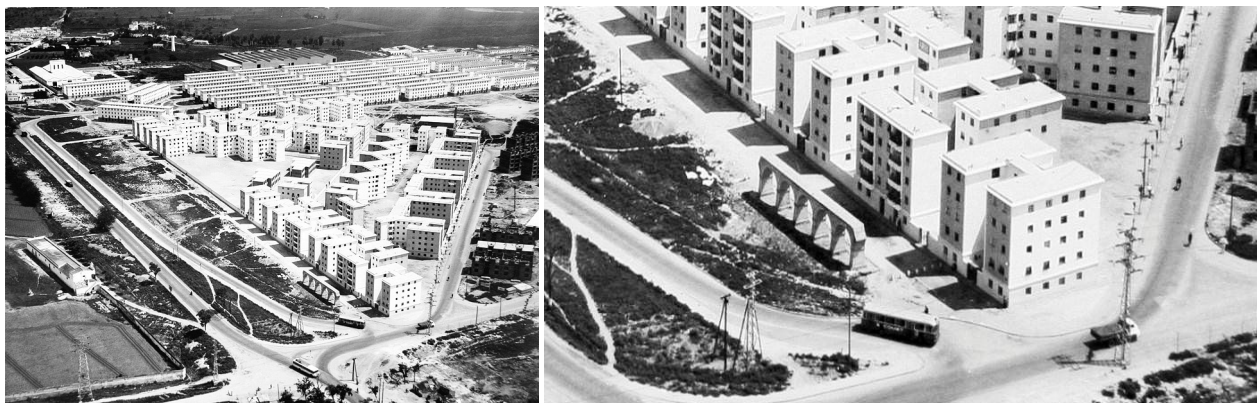
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1. Introduction

The public housing complexes of the so-called first periphery of medium-sized European cities are taken as study object. This work defines it as the urban expansion area built in response to the 'urgent quantitative housing needs existing in Europe at the end of the mid-century wars as a response to the rural-urban population transfer' (Molina Costa & Rubio del Val, 2010, p. 16). They are also recognised as areas that have grown without an overall idea, 'urbanised territories where the construction of the city is absent' (Arteaga Arredondo, 2009, p. 17) and which take the precepts of the modern city set out in the Athens Charter of 1933 (Le Corbusier, 1989). This urban manifesto was born in the 4th International Congress of Modern Architecture. Its aim was to confront the social and political urgencies that classical urban planning had been unable to resolve by breaking down the city into functions. Thus, it 'took for granted the Fordian specialisation of space and, with it, the city of the residence' (Pie Ninot, 2009, p. 2).

These developments share many of the same morphological and typological characteristics as their European counterparts. However, housing policies in Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands have certain peculiarities. The divergent political contexts mean that cities in each of the countries present differences in their development. In Spain, is influenced the housing development by a socio-political context under strong control from the State after the Civil War. In this sense, housing policy during the Franco regime was not unrelated to the economic guidelines that followed. The stages that can be identified in those years are Autarchy, Stabilisation and Development. Specific legislation on housing was passed, but with the same objective: to respond to the persistent housing problem. First from the point of view of the necessary reconstruction of a country, and later as a response to the overcrowding that plagued urban centres.

Figure 1. Aerial views of the neighbourhood 'Los Pajaritos'. Seville.



Source: Patronato Municipal de Casas Baratas.

According to Terán Troyano (1996, p. 177), the approval in 1956 of the Land Law radically changed the form of city growth based on public housing. Until that time, small-scale developments had been possible within the first urban extensions, especially in large cities and even in the historic city. However, the appearance of the Partial Plan favoured the construction of large urban pieces built as a unit, which have traditionally been known as neighbourhoods or residential areas. They should be understood as operations in which the phases of subdivision, urbanisation and building are managed in a unitary manner (Ferrer i Aixalá, 1982, p. 4). These are characterised morphologically by being pieces with sufficient entity, minimum units with clearly defined urban limits that allow the city to be built independently.

In this sense, the research assumes this definition in order to establish some limitations, both in terms of the scale of these projects, and the time in which they were carried out. For a better understanding of the process, a general survey of residential production between 1939 and 1976 should be undertaken. The subsequent detailed analysis should leave out of the study the first projects that were aimed at the reconstruction of the so-called Devastated Regions or those built by the National Institute of Colonisation (INC).

2. Objectives and methodology

The main aim of the research is to approach the context -social, economic and political- that conditioned the construction of housing on a massive scale in Spain after the Civil War. The research is mainly structured in two phases. The first one has an introductory nature, with the definition of the object and subject of study. In order to do this, it has been necessary to address a series of basic concepts from which to articulate the conceptual construction of this work. It is important to point out that the purpose of this introduction is to highlight the point of view from which the work has been developed. For this reason, once the research has been conceptually and theoretically framed, the work has approached the research that is being carried out on the national and

international scene. This allows us to set specific objectives for the development of this work and to assess the degree of relevance of the study.

The second phase of the work was aimed to build a general framework for the construction of public housing between 1939-1976. This has been done through the analysis of the approved urban planning and housing legislation. In addition, the bodies responsible for the construction of public housing during this period covered by this research have been identified. This allows for a greater scope in understanding the characteristics that define the groups of housing built in the country.

This last research phase requires an important bibliographic and documentary search to link the knowledge generated by other researchers. For this purpose, in addition to research publications, professional work or legislative documents, experts, researchers and specialist professionals were consulted. On the other hand, the amount of information to be managed in different phases of the research has required the development of systematisation processes by means of registers of each of the documents analysed in order to be able to draw relational conclusions more easily.

3. State-of-the-art

Several authors have approached the object of study - *barriadas*, *polígonos de viviendas*, *grand ensembles*, *housing estate*, *Grofsiedlungen*, *Wohnbezirk*, *Siedlungen*, etc. - from different disciplines and approaches. Typological and morphological studies are frequent, but in most cases, they are carried out at the local level. It is not common to find bibliography that carries out a comparative analysis on a more global level. Thus, we will now analyse the referential framework in each of the three contexts.

Carlos Sambricio is one of the main authors responsible for the study of public housing from a global conception for Spain. His publications provide an exhaustive approach from which to adequately build part of the theoretical body of research (Sambricio, 2003; Sambricio & Sánchez Lampreave, 2008).

It is also interesting to analyse the work being carried out by Javier Monclús and Carmen Díez (2015, 2018) in the 'Urban Landscape and Contemporary Project' group at the University of Zaragoza for their international defence of these projects. This approach also characterises the research carried out within the 'Social Housing, Basic Habitability and Urban Heritage' research group led by Luis Moya at the Polytechnic University of Madrid. This group has evaluated the level of adaptation of international references to the social, political, and economic context of Spain (Moya González, 2008). They are similar to many of the contributions made at the International Congress 'German and Italian models for Spain in the post-war years' (Poza & López Trueba, 2004) or the publication 'Social Housing in Europe' (Scanlon *et al.*, 2014).

From an overall view Alba Zarza Arribas and Josefina González Cubero have analysed the image of post-war Spanish housing through photography (2016), fiction film production (2017) or documentaries and official newsreels (2019). They are part of the research work of the 'Architecture and Cinema' group at the University of Valladolid. Its main line of work focuses on the relationships that can be established between architecture and other artistic manifestations. Social housing estates have also addressed since the assessment of their urban quality (Martínez-Espinosa *et al.*, 2021) or their public spaces (Monclús Fraga *et al.*, 2017; García Pérez *et al.*, 2020; Bambó-Naya *et al.*, 2022).

In cities such as Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Seville, a large number of new housing units were built in response to the serious problems of overcrowding at the time. This justifies the fact that a large part of the studies on public housing during this period focus on the large cities of our country. Sambricio (2004) and Moya González (1982) systematically compiled the characteristics of its urban growth, which was a reference for the development of many cities in the rest of Spain. In other geographical contexts, we can point to the research of Gaja Díaz (1989) for the case of Valencia, the approach to residential areas in Barcelona by Ferrer i Aixalà (1982), the research about the case of Albacete by Gutiérrez Mozo and Caro (2015) or the publication of Bernal Santa Olalla about Burgos (2001).

In the case of Andalusia, the works of Reinoso Bellido (2005) on the construction of Malaga and Fernández García (2005) on the residential architecture of Granada in the 1950s are particularly noteworthy. Equally significant is the doctoral thesis of Queiro Quijada (2016) developed at the Department of Urban Planning of the University of Seville. He studies the production of public housing between 1913 and 1986 in the case of the city of Seville. The Municipal Housing Company of Seville has organised recently an exhibition about the 100 years of public housing development in the city (Capilla Roncero *et al.*, 2019). The cataloguing of social housing built in Seville between 1939 and 1979 has also been addressed. (Domínguez Amarillo *et al.*, 2017).

Also noteworthy are works focussed on the energy issue, which also carry out an exhaustive preliminary study, identifying the characteristics of public housing in Cadiz, Seville, and Cordoba (Domínguez Amarillo, 2016; Martínez Hervás, 2018; Blázquez de Pineda, 2019). Finally, the Andalusian case has also been analysed from a comparative point of view with other European and international contexts (Navas Carrillo, 2020; Pérez Cano *et al.*, 2022).

Similarly, as a result of the transformation policies of the agricultural space for the settlement of self-sufficient peasants in rural areas, the so-called colonisation settlements arose. These were intended to slow down the strong migratory processes from the countryside to the city. More than 300 settlements were built by the National Colonisation Institute. It was created in 1939 and it was dependent on the Ministry of Agriculture. This also justifies the exhaustive research that the scientific community has carried out on all of them.

Public housing has also been extensively analysed from the technical and constructive aspects. The obligatory reference is the work of the Spanish Society for the History of Construction. It was founded in 1996 to 'contribute to the promotion and dissemination of work on this subject' through the organisation of a biannual congress and the production of collections of relevant texts and publications. Also noteworthy is the compendium of doctoral theses on the theory and history of construction. Among other works, the research highlights the theses of Díaz Gómez (2008) on the construction techniques used in the construction of low-cost housing in Catalonia between 1954 and 1976, and Azpilicueta Astarloa (2004) on the construction of post-war architecture in Spain (1939-1962). Both works provide an overview of the main construction systems used in the building of public housing at the time, without ignoring general considerations on public housing development.

It is also a reference the monographic work on the Experimental Housing competition organised by the National Housing Institute in 1956 (Fernández Isla & Espiga Romero, 1997). It includes various articles which analyse the construction solutions used in the aforementioned competition, but also deal with their contextualisation in the national and international panorama. European and North American references in the mass housing production in Spain in the 1950s are analysed. These arrived through architectural magazines, as well as through the trips made by the administration and the academic world to find out about the techniques and processes that were being used.

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the patrimonialisation of social housing (Spoormans, 2018). In this respect, significant progress has been made in countries such as France (Amougou, 2006; Veschambre, 2008; Kaddour 2013; Bertier *et al.*, 2014), the UK (While & Pendlebury, 2008; Pendlebury, Townshend & Gilroy, 2009) or the Netherlands (Kuipers, 2008; Zijlstra, 2013; Spoormans *et al.*, 2019; Havinga *et al.*, 2020). Although less developed, it is also being addressed in other contexts. Although less developed, it is also being addressed in other contexts: Hungary (Benko, 2015), Serbia (Dragutinovic *et al.*, 2017), Czech Republic (Duraj *et al.*, 2017) or Latin America (Valencia, 2017). In Spain, the study of the patrimonialisation of social housing is more recent, with authors such as Díez de Pablo (2015), Moya González *et al.* (2017), Gómez Villa (2019) or Navas Carrillo (2019, 2020).

The analysis of the state-of-the-art in the different fields involved has made it possible to study the object of study in a way that constitutes a real advance in the subject. An extensive bibliography has been found on the official development complexes built in Spain between 1939 and 1976. The studies range from a general overview of housing and planning policies to a specific study of the typological aspects that define these buildings. There are also publications that allow us to analyse the peculiarities of Spanish context within Europe as a whole. Most of this research focuses on the largest and most functionally important cities. They are the main recipients of the rural-urban migratory processes and reveal that a range of cities on a smaller scale are still to be studied.

4. Results

Several authors (Cabrero Torres-Quevedo, 1992, p. 492; Barreiro Pereira, 1997, p. 98; Sambricio, 2000, p. 46) establish 1954 as a turning point in the production of public housing. The Limited Income Housing Law was passed, which meant a significant advance in typological, constructive, and even urbanistic aspects. In addition, this year coincided with the end of the autarkic period and the normalisation of relations with the outside world in the country. It should also be mentioned that in 1953 a first preliminary draft of the land law had been drawn up, which included the main contributions of the final document. This milestone makes it possible to structure the housing policy developed during Franco's regime (table 1 and figure 3) in three specific stages or phases of development.

Table 1. Housing regulation, urban planning legislation and bodies responsible for the construction of public housing

between 1939-1976

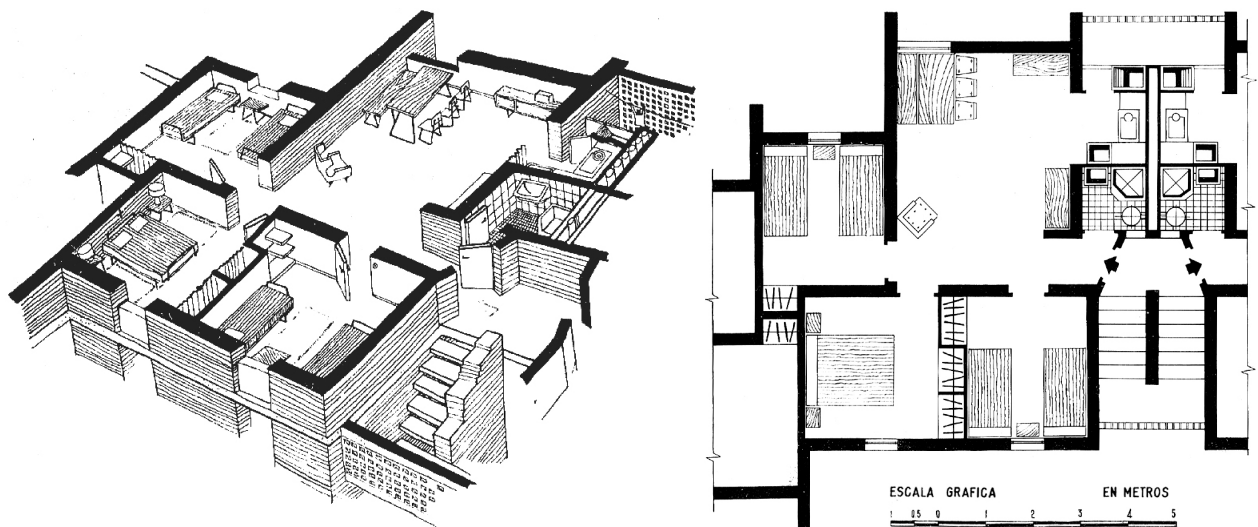
| | Instruments and elements analysed in the theoretical framework | Date of reference |
|---------------------------|--|-------------------|
| Housing regimes | VPR_Viviendas Protegidas (Protected Housing) | 1939 |
| | VBO_Viviendas Bonificables (Discounted Housing) | 1944 |
| | VTs_Viviendas de Tipo Social (Social Housing) | 1954 |
| | VRR_Viviendas de Renta Reducida (Low Income Housing) | 1954 |
| | VRM_Viviendas de Renta Mínima (Minimum Income Housing) | 1954 |
| | VRL_Viviendas de Renta Limitada (Limited Income Housing) | 1954 |
| | VSU_Viviendas Subvencionadas (Subsidised Housing) | 1957 |
| | VPO_Viviendas de Protección Oficial (Officially Protected Housing) | 1961 |
| Housing plans | RD_Regiones Devastadas (Devastated Regions) | 1939-1957 |
| | INC_Colonización Medio Rural (Colonisation Rural Environment) | 1939-1976 |
| | PDV_Plan Decenal de Vivienda (Ten-Year Housing Plan) | 1944-1954 |
| | PVS_Plan de Vivienda de tipo Social (Social Housing Plan) | 1954-1960 |
| | PSV_Plan Sindical de Vivienda (Trade Union Housing Plan) | 1954-1960 |
| | PQV_Plan Quinquenal de Renta Limitada (Five-Year Limited Income Plan) | 1956-1960 |
| | PNV_Plan Nacional de la Vivienda (National Housing Plan) | 1961-1976 |
| Urban legislation | EMU_Estatuto Municipal y el Reglamento de Obras, Servicios y Bienes Municipales (Municipal Statute and the Municipal Works, Services and Property Regulations) | 1924 |
| | BRL_Ley de Bases de Régimen Local (Law on Local Government Bases) | 1945 |
| | LOS_Ley de Ordenación de Solares (Ordinance Plots Law) | 1945 |
| | LSU_Ley sobre Régimen del Suelo y Ordenación Urbana (Land and Town Planning) | 1956 |
| Responsible organisations | INV_Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda (National Housing Institute) | 1939 |
| | OSHA_Obra Sindical del Hogar y Arquitectura (Union for Housing and Architecture) | 1942 |
| | GU_Gerencia de Urbanización (Urban Development Management) | 1956 |

Source: Own elaboration, 2020.

In the first of these, the construction effort was very limited, both in terms of authorised promoters and quantity. It was a time when priority was given to the reconstruction of the areas devastated during the war and the colonisation of rural areas. In terms of typology and construction, it is well defined the single-family dwellings, with one or two floors, using local practices. These were contrasted with modern solutions that were far removed from the techniques that had remained intact in the collective knowledge and were intrinsic to each place (Chueca Goitia, 1947). Likewise, there are clear references to ideologically related European regimes, such as Germany and Italy (Hurtado Torán, 1997, p. 51-52). In this sense, in the design of the developments built after the Civil War, a typology of a ruralising character was preferred, which arose as a response to the economic, social, and material means of a context of crisis (López Díaz, 2003).

The second phase can be considered a transitional stage characterised by the cultural and ideological influence of other countries, especially the Anglo-Saxon world, and which will be key in the modernisation of the housing sector in our country (Pérez Escolano, 2013, p. 37). The new legislative framework not only seeks to improve the functional and construction standards of residential typologies, but also sets itself the priority objective of increasing the rate of housing construction. It proposes incorporating private initiative and rationalising construction processes by increasing the degree of industrialisation, reducing costs and execution time. Gradually, the single-family typology was replaced by high-rise construction, which was conditioned by the obligation to install lifts in buildings with more than four floors (Temes Cordovez, 2009, p. 1428). The legislative changes also entailed a restructuring at the organisational level. In 1957, the Ministry of Housing was created as the sole state body responsible for supervising the production of public housing.

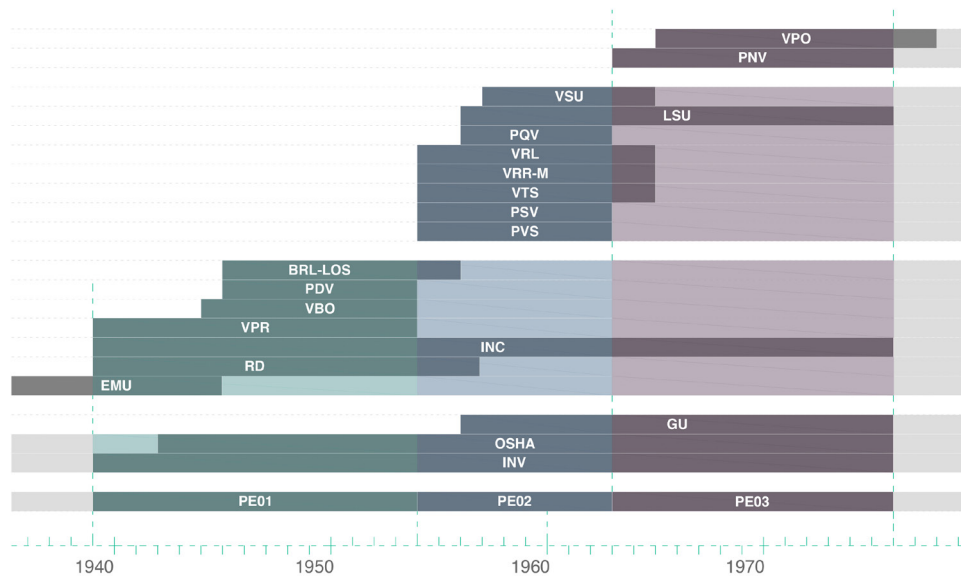
Figure 2. Housing group 'San Francisco Solano' in Montilla (Córdoba). Reference of the typological and constructive evolution in 1950s.



Source: Hogar y Arquitectura, 9 (pp. 4-6).

However, it is in the third stage that there was a significant increase in the pace of housing construction. Favoured by a climate of economic growth, the number of dwellings built even exceeded initial forecasts. Consideration should be given to the development of new measures to encourage private participation, to the detriment of public actions, subject to exceptional cases not provided by private initiative. The work of the Urban Development Management (GU) in the provision and preparation of land throughout the national territory should also be highlighted. This new legislative framework favours national institutions to assume the lack of housing as a generalised problem. They also pay attention to intermediate scale cities.

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Figure 3. Temporal identification of the instruments and elements analysed in the theoretical framework.

Source: Own elaboration, 2020.

4.1. First period (1939-1954): limited building effort after the Civil War

The years following the Civil War were characterised by a significant drop in the quality of life of citizens as a result of the severe economic recession. It was not until 1954 that the pre-war per capita income was reached (Carreras *et al.*, 2005, p. 1337), so this date was chosen as the end of the autarkic period. It also coincides with the passing of the laws on social housing, minimum and low-income housing, and finally limited-income housing. The latter represented a qualitative leap in the policy developed up to that point.

To the consequences of the Civil War, serious material and human losses, depletion of natural resources, reduction of production (agricultural, livestock and industrial), and destruction of important infrastructures, especially railways (Carreras & Tafunell, 2003, p. 285), the blockade suffered by Spain at the international level must be added. Although Spain declared its neutrality in the Second World War, Franco was ideologically aligned with the Axis Powers, so the victory of the Allies meant its isolation in foreign policy. For Franco's leaders, autarchy was the only economic policy that guaranteed a country's political and ideological independence (Gómez Mendoza, 2000, p. 37). Together with the strong protectionist and interventionist policies of the state, they marked the evolution of this first period, positioning themselves ideologically with the totalitarian European regimes prior to the Second World War (Germany and Italy).

This interventionism was reflected in multiple sectors of the country's economy, including the construction industry. It is well known that this policy was articulated through the limitation of private initiatives, price controls and the rationing of access to basic necessities. It must be also considered the regulation of industrial investment, which began in 1939. Prior authorisation from the Ministry of Industry was required for the installation of new industries and the transfer or extension of existing ones (Decreto de 8 Septiembre 1939), while the installation of so-called industries of national interest was subsidised (Ley de 24 Octubre 1939). In 1941 the National Institute of Industry was created. This body would assume control of industrial promotion in Spain until 1980 and would regulate the supply of raw materials to the industrial sector by establishing numbers.

The state purchased the entire production at a price below the market price. This measure, which in principle sought to facilitate the distribution of products in a post-war scenario, triggered a drastic fall in production in favour of other goods with higher profitability. This process, which is described by Caruana de las Cagigas (2006, p. 692) for the agricultural sector, can also be analysed for industrial production.

In the construction of social housing, these dynamics would have important consequences in the supply of materials and in an almost non-existent industrialisation of the construction processes. As will be analysed below, the main measures adopted by the State were aimed at guaranteeing the supply of a certain number of tonnes of cement or steel for the construction of social housing. This would be impossible to achieve given the rate of

domestic production. It should be recalled that imports were practically non-existent, which would have helped to remedy this situation.

López Díaz (2002, p. 301) recognises that the interventionist policy of the 1940s in Spain 'was a brake on economic development and became the period of greatest economic recession [...] multiplying the effects produced by the disasters of the war. Lesser effects than in most European countries which, however, produced a much slower recovery in our country'.

Within this general framework, the state also had to solve the housing problem. At the same time, the reconstruction of the regions destroyed during the Civil War, the improvement of conditions in rural areas and the problems of overcrowding in the big cities had to be resolved. Independent bodies as the General Directorate for Devastated Regions and Reparations, the National Housing Institute or the National (INV) and the National Institute of Colonisation (INC) were created for this purpose, but they shared a common objective: the promotion of housing for the most vulnerable classes.

Figure 4. Neighbourhood 'Federico Mayo' in Ayamonte (Huelva) and Carranque in Malaga.



Source: Municipal archive of Ayamonte & Isla de Arianán, 23-24 (p. 365).

As the first regulatory reference in the field of housing, we must mention the Law establishing a Regime for the Protection of Low-Income Housing and creating the National Housing Institute, in charge of its application (Ley de 19 de abril de 1939). In addition to establishing a new housing regime under its protection, its approval brought with it the creation of the National Housing Institute, for the promotion and regulation of its construction. This body was also to be responsible for programming housing construction. However, it was not until 1943 that the First Housing Plan was approved, which envisaged the construction of 350,000 subsidised housing units between 1944 and 1954.

A year later, in 1944, the Law on the Reduction of Contributions and Taxes on the Construction of Rental Houses for the so-called 'Middle Class' was passed (Ley de 25 de noviembre de 1944). The government began to rely on it, albeit still incipiently, on private investment to increase housing construction. This complementary scheme for low-income housing would be consolidated with the Decreto-Ley de 19 de noviembre de 1948, which modified the Law of 25 November 1944, whereby they began to be known as subsidised housing.

In anticipation of the results that will be analysed below, it can be mentioned that public housing production in this period was characterised by falling short of the targets set. This would lead to a significant increase in the housing deficit. Beyond the quantitative issue, 'the scarcity of products and their lack of quality would not only produce a poverty of construction and finishes but would also serve to guide architects in the adoption of construction types, shaping an architecture stuck to traditional systems' (Azpilicueta Astarloa, 2004, p. 81).

4.2. Second period (1954-1960): significant progress towards modernisation of public housing

It is difficult to establish a clear boundary for the change in economic policy that took place in Spain in the 1950s. There is a certain consensus in the literature that the change of course must be analysed within the international context of the Cold War.

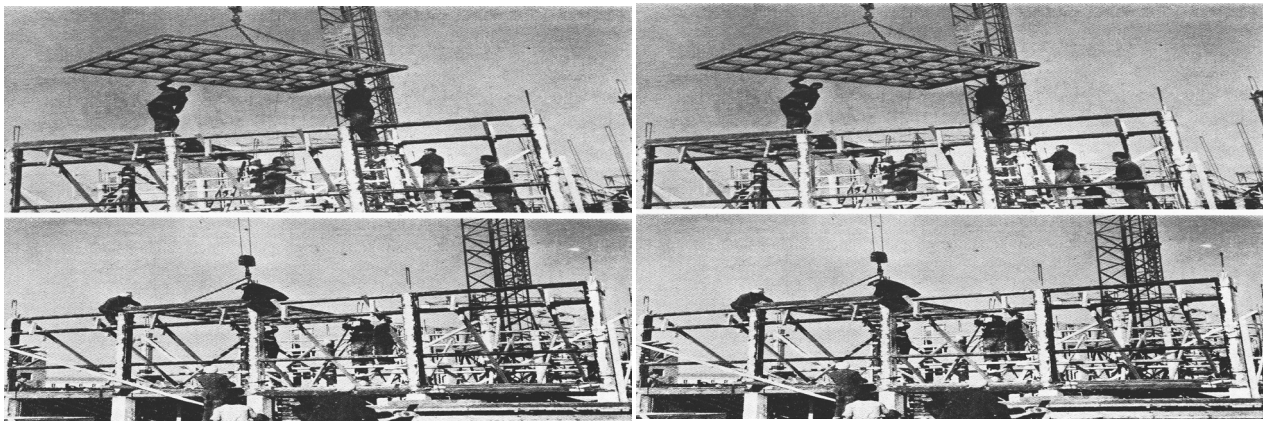
This had resulted in the division of the victors of the Second World War into two factions, the Western or capitalist block and the Eastern or communist bloc. The tension, which began at the dawn of the end of the war, reached a point of maximum tension in 1950 with the Korean War. Franco's government took advantage of this conflict to take a clear stand against communism and, consequently, in favour of the United States. Although the support did not go beyond paper, this position precipitated the country's international opening. In July of the

same year, the US Senate approved a granting of a \$62.5 million loan to Spain. In November the United States defended the lifting of sanctions against the Franco regime before the UN General Assembly. The lifting of the veto on Spain meant the return of foreign ambassadors and diplomats, and the country's entry into UNESCO and other international organisations.

At that point, contacts between the two countries began, which would lead to Franco and Eisenhower signing the Madrid Pacts in 1953. These established three main lines of collaboration between both nations. While the United States guaranteed economic support through access to credits and the supply of war materials, Spain authorised the installation of military bases (Rota, Morón, Zaragoza and Torrejón de Ardoz), in a geostrategic position for American interests in Europe. In the same year, a new Concordat was signed with the Holy See, culminating the process of opening up with Spain's entry into the United Nations in 1955.

All these circumstances marked the end of the country's period of isolation and the beginning of a long-distance race to catch up with the technological and industrial level of the world's leading powers. A new economic period began, characterised by a strong commitment to industrialisation (Carreras, 2005, p. 360), also in the field of construction. As an example of this process, López-Groh (2009, p. 27) describes the growing trajectory of the automobile industry in Spain (Seat and Fiat in 1950, Renault in 1951 or Citroën in 1958), which is still a reference index for testing the economic evolution of a country.

Figure 5. Prefabricated elements of Alvarez Castela's proposal in the 1954 Experimental Housing competition.



Source: *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, 193 (p. 10).

The signs of the opening up of the country also had a considerable impact on social housing. In this respect, Sambricio (2000, p. 46) argues that 1954 was a turning point in the way of understanding and valuing social housing, through typological, constructive, and even urbanistic aspects. It is a process that began at the end of the 1940s. The new social, union, and limited income housing regimes, their regulatory development and the technical ordinances that standardise their construction, should be considered as the mandatory milestones that consolidate this significant advance in the modernisation of both the theoretical paradigms and the construction processes. One of the objectives of this new legislative framework was to increase the degree of industrialisation in the construction of social housing, with the aim of rationalising processes, reducing costs and execution time. This fact will be key in the analysis of the degree of innovation achieved in the construction of social housing, established as the subject of study in this work.

In terms of housing planning, the Social Housing Plan (1954-1960), the Trade Union Housing Plan (1954-1960) and the Five-Year Plan (1956-1960) were launched during this period. The Trade Union for Housing and Architecture (OSHA) took on a leading role in these plans as the main construction agent at the service of the National Housing Institute. The forecasts for housing construction increased considerably, and consequently the number of homes finally built. As will be analysed, the results in quantitative terms will be close to the estimates. The government begins to lose weight in the direct construction of housing, in favour of an incipient private initiative. In fact, in 1957 a new category of housing was created, within the limited income housing, the so-called subsidised housing. They sought to consolidate private development by granting non-refundable subsidies. This was the first major legislative measure adopted by the Ministry of Housing created in the same year. As will be analysed below, it meant the unification of the different institutions related to housing construction under the same governing body.

Figure 6. Poblado de Fuencarral, Madrid.



Source: Revista Nacional de Arquitectura, 62 (pp. 41-42).

This new perspective must be seen in the context of the ideological change that took place in the economic policy of the regime with the arrival in government of Navarro Rubio, Ullastres and López Rodó. All three belonged to Opus Dei and had received good training in economic matters at Harvard. From their respective areas (Ministries of Finance and Trade, and the General Technical Secretariat of the Presidency, respectively), they were responsible for adopting a package of economic measures that would lay the foundations for the 1959 National Economic Stabilisation Plan. Among the measures developed were the control of public spending and an increase in revenue, as well as the possibility of financing the public deficit by means of monetary expansion, the unification of exchange rates and the regulation of the money supply.

The path of economic stabilisation and liberalisation was established with the approval of the Decree-Law on Economic Regulation of 1959 (Decreto-Ley de 21 de julio de 1959). In its explanatory memorandum it states that its objectives were to achieve internal and external stability, balance the balance of payments and strengthen the currency. It also sought to place the Spanish economy 'in a situation of greater freedom, in accordance with the obligations assumed by Spain as a full member of the European Cell Death Organization'.

In addition to fiscal, monetary and credit measures, there was also the opening up to a progressive liberalisation of the import of goods, which was key to the development of industrial production in the following years. These measures had positive macroeconomic effects almost immediately. Although the unemployment problem was initially exacerbated as a result of an initial period of slowdown in national production (Fusi Aizpurúa, 1985; Núñez Carrasco & Ortega Aguaza, 2002). This transitory situation quickly gave way to a period characterised by an annual increase in GDP, which reached a cumulative rate of 12.8 % in 1961 (Tamames Gómez, 2005).

4.3. Third period (1961-1976): great political renewal for the mass production of housing in Spain.

The Stabilisation Plan had marked the definitive break with the economic policy of the autarchy and the beginning of the so-called Spanish economic miracle. The government took advantage of this situation to establish the legal framework within which the process of economic development was to take place. The Decree of 23 November establishing the guidelines and preliminary measures for the Development Plan was approved (Decreto 3060/1962), setting the main objective of balancing the country's economic activity. To this purpose, certain State controls and interventions were to be abolished, the functions of the National Companies were to be delimited, administrative procedures were to be streamlined, financing and advice for small and medium-sized enterprises were to be promoted, the training of scientists and technicians was to be encouraged, and foreign trade and foreign investment were to be facilitated (Preamble).

One year later, the First Economic and Social Development Plan for the period 1964-1967 (Ley 194/1963) was finally approved, followed by two more plans for the periods 1969-1971 (Ley 1/1969) and 1972-1975 (Ley 22/1972). These followed an indicative planning model. While they were compulsory for the public administration, they were initially indicative for the private sector, which could only benefit from a series of aids and benefits if they freely joined the concerted action scheme.

The results of this new economic policy are indisputable. The average cumulative rate of GDP between 1960 and 1975 stood at 8 % and industrial production reached a record 11.2 % annual increase in the 1970s, representing 30 % of GDP (Carreras and Tafunell, 2005). This placed Spain at the level of economic powers such as Japan (Guajardo-Fajardo Cruz, 2012, p. 22). This industrial development was fostered by the employment possibilities offered by these new industries for the rural population, who had seen how the need for labour had been reduced by the process of modernisation and industrialisation of the agricultural sector. This extraordinary

rural-urban migration process has been estimated at around 13% of the Spanish population (1962-1973), requiring the massive construction of housing in the urban peripheries and conditioning, therefore, the housing policies developed.

This period is marked by the National Housing Plan 1961-1976 (Ley 84/1961), and the revised text of the legislation on state subsidised housing (Decreto 2131/1963). They are known as social housing. It is the largest housing plan ever developed, dealing with the housing problem in a comprehensive manner and seeking coordination between agents. Its initial forecasts - in general quantitative terms - would be surpassed, being progressively adapted by the development plans. The development of the National Plan consolidates a model in which public initiative loses weight in residential production in favour of the private sector. This will be reflected in the percentage of housing for the most vulnerable population in relation to the total built.

This can be explained by the state's own interests in redirecting economic efforts to other sectors. Development planning sought to cover the widest range of sectors of the country's economy. Its development showed that the focus was directed towards industrial promotion, through the construction of industrial estates and especially with the creation of the so-called development poles. The industrial development poles sought the concentrated location of industrial activities with the aim of boosting the economic activity of the area or region. The government created the poles of Valladolid, Vigo, La Coruña, Zaragoza, Seville, Burgos, Huelva (I PDES), Granada, Cordoba and Oviedo (II PDES). Significant data on industrial progress include the automobile sector, whose production increased from 39,732 passenger cars in 1960 to 696,682 in 1975 (Tafunell, 2005, p. 421), as well as the generation of electrical energy, with values ranging from 18 to 82 million kWh for the same period of time (Tafunell, 2005, p. 411).

On the other hand, the development of international tourism - thanks to the country's opening up to the outside world - is seen as an extraordinary opportunity to encourage the inflow of foreign capital. Specific sectoral policies are promoted to foster international tourism as one of the pillars of growth for the Spanish economy. The Tourism General Direction became the Under-Secretary of State, the Institute of Tourism Studies was created and the Law on competence in tourism matters was passed. However, the Law on Centres and Areas of National Tourist Interest (Ley 197/1963), which protected and promoted urban-tourist settlements, undoubtedly stands out. These centres became a product of great interest for private investment due to the economic and legal advantages granted by legislation to their promoters. These regulated the characteristics and conditions that the actions had to fulfil in order to be able to apply for aid and benefits. As a relevant fact, the number of international tourists visiting Spain per year rose from 4.3 million in 1960 to 27.3 million in 1975, an increase of 635 % (Tena, 2005, p. 642).

As a consequence of prioritising these sectors over others, the distribution of development was uneven. Traditionally industrial regions such as Catalonia and the Basque Country benefited from these dynamics to which Madrid was added as the country's main economic centre. On the other hand, other regions such as Extremadura and Castilla-La Mancha did not reach these levels of industrialisation, and the population was forced to move to the more prosperous regions. Andalusia underwent a dual process. On the one hand, it is one of the Communities with the highest migratory balance as a result of the modernisation of the rural environment. It is a territory whose economic structure continued to be dominated by the primary sector. On the other hand, the Mediterranean coast, and especially the Costa del Sol, became one of the main tourist destinations in the country, which favoured its growth and development.

The end of this period coincided with the end of the Franco regime. In addition to the consequences of the political instability experienced by the country - with many sectors looking towards the transition to democracy - the Spanish economy was not immune to the world recession caused by the closure of the oil supply. These events led to a considerable reduction in the rate of economic growth, with the percentage rate of inter-annual variation in GDP falling from 8.93 in 1973 to 3.52 in 1975. The Third Economic and Social Development Plan had to be declared unfinished, the Fourth Economic and Social Development Plan, although at an advanced stage of drafting, would not be approved, and the National Urban Planning Institute would see its land preparation activity frozen, and residential production would be reduced by half.

Figure 7. Bellvitge in Hospitalet de Llobregat, Barcelona.



Source: Bellvitge50. 50th Anniversary of Bellvitge (1965-2015).

5. Discussion and conclusions

The housing policies developed in Spain after the Civil War are marked by a socio-political context under a strong state control. As a result, Spanish cities presented certain peculiarities in their development compared to their European counterparts. Throughout the time frame (1939-1976), specific legislation on housing was repeatedly passed. But with the same objective, to respond to the persistent problem of housing, first from the point of view of the necessary reconstruction of a country and later as a response to the overcrowding that beset urban centres.

An analysis has been made of the successive housing plans and the types of state-subsidised housing created for their development. From this it can be seen that, despite the repeated efforts made by the State to alleviate the enormous housing shortage, it was not until the National Plan of 1961-1976 that housing construction figures in line with estimated needs were achieved. In fact, it is considered a success from a quantitative point of view, since the housing built during this period significantly exceeded the forecasts.

Here, it should be highlighted that housing policy in these years has not been alien to the economic guidelines that have followed one after the other. In this research, it has been the main actor in the success or failure of these plans. In the years following the Civil War, there was a significant setback in the quality of life of the citizens as a consequence of the serious economic recession that the country experienced. This was especially caused by the autarchic policy adopted and the blockade suffered at the international level. Undoubtedly, it cannot be expected that housing construction would have been unaffected by this reality. The situation will not only limit the number of developments carried out, but will also have special relevance on qualitative aspects of their construction.

The first stage was marked by a severe economic crisis, a consequence of the war, but also of the government's autarkic policy. It was characterised by the fact that the state focused its efforts on housing with the highest degree of state protection. Construction was carried out directly by the INV and other official bodies, such as the OSHA. There was a general rejection of the participation of private initiative in key sectors of the economy such as housing. This is a period in which the number of houses built is well below the estimated forecasts, and which will be marked by a shortage of building materials.

The second period was marked by the process of opening up abroad, the recovery of international relations and a certain economic improvement. The number of dwellings built increased considerably, but still fell short of forecasts. The serious problems of housing shortages become particularly problematic in large cities. As a result, a review of the social housing model hitherto addressed is beginning to take place. Legislation introduced different degrees of protection and made it possible for private housing developments to be built. In addition to the economic aspects, a strong political restructuring is carried out. For example, the Ministry of Housing was created, thus unifying the work of the various institutions responsible for architecture and urban planning in the country up to that time under a single body.

The relaxation of the strong state control and the process of openness that the country began to experience from the second half of the 1950s onwards are important keys to this process. The incapacity that the administration had shown during these years has been noted. The inability of the administration, mainly through the INV and the OSHA, allowed private initiative to take on an increasingly important role. The role of these bodies was relegated to acting in exceptional situations. They acted in places where it had been detected that, although there was a significant housing shortage, the private sector had not promoted its construction.

On the other hand, several cultural and ideological exchange experiences with other countries have been identified. These were key to the advancement of architectural practice in Spain, especially from the Anglo-Saxon world. The publication in Spanish journals of American architectural and construction references, the

international trips and stays made by various architects to the main universities and research centres in the USA, and the international competitions organised in Spain are some of the main transfers.

A turning point has been found in the way of understanding and valuing social housing, through typological and constructive aspects. The new social, union, and low-income housing regimes, their regulatory development and the technical ordinances that standardise their construction must be considered as mandatory milestones. These consolidate this significant advance in the modernisation of theoretical paradigms, and especially of construction processes. The construction considerations included in the legislation were insufficient. From this moment on, the demands and requirements of the construction solutions to be used increase, which is reflected in a qualitative leap in the quality of the dwellings. The change also appeared with the approval of the land law, which radically altered the way cities grew. This came about through the appearance of the Partial Plan and the creation of the GU, as a state body for the provision of land.

In the third stage, Spain experienced significant economic growth. First thanks to the Stabilisation Plan of 1959, and subsequently to the Social Economic Development Plans. Temporally, this period coincided with the National Plan of 1961-1975, being the first time that free housing was included in the forecasts. With a of 15 years duration, it has been considered a success from a quantitative point of view. Unlike the previous experience, the housing built during this period significantly exceeded the forecasts in general terms. In fact, the different Development Plans that followed one after the other during this time would increase the initial data.

It has been analysed how, even though the legislative development was not a revolution, the types of protection of the previous legislation were adapted and measures were included to encourage private participation. Indirectly, these measures caused private activity to focus on housing for the middle class, where developers could obtain greater profitability. The construction of housing for the most vulnerable social classes was therefore to be undertaken by official builders. However, their work continued to fall short of its objectives, especially in the case of the INV, which was to supervise the projects. It is significant for the interests of this research that the INV took on the promotion, but not the construction, in those places with a housing deficit, in the absence of private initiative.

In the field of urban planning, several laws were passed, complementary to the land law. Their aim was to prevent land speculation and to allow the construction of housing on rural land. This resulted in the destruction of a large part of the natural and agricultural heritage that made up the urban boundaries at the beginning of the century and marks the starting point of this work.

This analysis also provides insights into the change in the preferred areas of social housing construction over the course of this research. Thus, in the first stage, housing policy was directed especially towards the reconstruction of war-torn regions and the modernisation of rural areas. In the second stage, the focus was on measures to combat overcrowding in the big cities. On the other hand, in the third, it is understood that the housing problem must be extended to the whole territory. As an example, the GU will prepare land in municipalities of an intermediate scale.

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