



# **From the Horizontal to the Vertical: The Displacement of Bon Pastor in Barcelona**

**Stefano Portelli**

School of Geography, Geology and the Environment  
University of Leicester  
stefanoportelli1976@gmail.com

---

## **Abstract**

In the 2000s Barcelona's City Council initiated the demolition of the working-class neighborhood of Bon Pastor as part of a 'participatory' urban plan aimed at integrating a deprived population into the city. However, the residents' narratives show that tearing down the traditional one-story houses built in 1929, and relocating people into new and taller buildings nearby, disrupted the social forms crucial for the cultural, social, and political identities of residents. The physical verticalization of space dispossessed people not only of the old horizontal (one-story) houses they rented for many decades, but also of the practice of horizontal, face-to-face interactions in the streets, which mediated conflicts, prevented social and ethnic tensions, and kept out unwanted intrusions from the authorities. These techniques were rooted in the anarchist counterculture of Barcelona's working-class neighborhoods of the 30s, when street life was considered a tool of the workers against the state, and which had been crucial in the urban resistance to Francisco Franco's military regime. For these reasons, the demolition of Bon Pastor, although upheld through a progressive rhetoric of citizens participation which allowed most residents to remain in the neighborhood, severed the links between people and the



streets, and as a result fragmented a community whose historical recalcitrance towards the state had been a defining feature since before the Spanish war.

## Keywords

Barcelona; urban renewal; displacement; demolitions; urban planning; anarchism

## Introduction

Displacement is not necessarily a movement of people on a map; it can be the imposition of a new spatial paradigm that dispossesses people of forms of life developed over decades to cope with their environment (Davidson, 2009; Atkinson, 2015; Elliott-Cooper et al., 2019). In some cases, the dispossession not only causes social suffering and individual grieving linked to loss of place (see Fried, 1966; Marris, 1974; Marcuse, 1985; Porteous and Smith, 2001; Shaw and Hagemans, 2015; Zhang, 2018; Pain, 2019); it can also contribute to the breaking up of shared practices of cohabitation that guaranteed a degree of autonomy from the state, of resistance or recalcitrance to its norms, and even an alternative moral order. Displacement, thus, ought to be seen as an eminently *political* event.



**Figure 1:** Bon Pastor before the demolitions (Carola Pagani, 2005)

The case of the neighborhood of Bon Pastor in Barcelona is a good example. In the 2000s Barcelona City Council began the demolition of a social housing estate - Bon Pastor - a working-class neighborhood in the city's Northern periphery made up of 784 one-story houses built by the same public entity in 1929 (see Figure 1).

Over 2,000 residents were offered new and bigger flats, less expensive than the market average, in blocks erected on the same plots cleared by the demolitions. Euphemistically called ‘reshaping’ (*remodelació*) by the municipal authorities, the project aimed at regenerating and densifying the neighborhood *without* displacing its residents. Each family was offered the possibility of buying one of the 1,000 new flats at a price lower than market average, through public incentives that facilitated access to private mortgages, in exchange for their old open-ended (mostly cheap) rental contracts. Some neighbors confronted the urban renewal plan by suing the City Council and physically resisting evictions, many others either sought economic compensation to leave the neighborhood or accepted new (and more expensive) rental agreements for the new flats. In any case, most residents managed to remain in place, and the absence of physical displacement was celebrated as a major accomplishment by the left-wing administration of the City Council.

Nonetheless, the physical reshuffling of the inhabitants within the same area, together with the new internal differentiations in housing tenure and prices, hampered local forms of cohabitation based on long-term mutual aid and front-to-front interactions among neighbors. As in other cases of so-called ‘gentrification without displacement’, the residents experienced the penetration of lifestyles and architectural forms directly associated with the middle classes, causing what Davidson and Lees (2010) call ‘phenomenological displacement’. Living in blocks of flats and owning one’s own house was considered at odds with the local collective identity; the different housing tenure that each family could opt for created internal divisions and tensions; in addition, the new public spaces did not allow residents to perform social relationships in the way people were used to. Thus, as the one-story houses of Bon Pastor were verticalized and substituted with new blocks of flats (see Figure 2), its residents experienced a verticalization of social life, with the disintegration of the egalitarian social bonds that were embedded in the tight fabric of horizontal streets, squares, and houses now razed to the ground.

In a famous passage, Claude Lévi-Strauss recalls how the Salesian missionaries reshaped indigenous villages in the Amazonas to induce evangelization. After the relocation from a circular village to one where the huts were laid in parallel rows, the people of Kejara were “in every sense, dis-oriented. All feeling for their traditions would desert them, as if their social and religious systems (...) were so complex that they could not exist without the schema made visible in their ground plans and reaffirmed to them in the daily rhythm of their lives” (1961, 204). Physical reshaping of space as a tool for political, ideological, and military control, is studied extensively in settler colonialism, postcolonial contexts, and population transfer (Colson, 1971; Shkilnyk, 1985; Hirschon, 1989; Weizman, 2007). However, similar disintegration of spatial forms that are meaningful to communities can also occur as the result of the global urban policy of gentrification (Lees et al., 2015), through the creation of ‘new urban enclosures’ (Hodkinson, 2012). If Lévi-Strauss’s understanding of native cosmologies framed displacement as an assault on cultural

or religious values, when a similar reshaping of space occurs in an urban European context, we are more able to understand its inherently *political* meaning.



**Figure 2:** The vertical buildings replacing the old houses (Stefano Portelli, 2009)

Many residents could not recognize clearly, thus confront directly, the political dispossession they experienced. In the narratives I collected, resentment towards the urban renewal project was conveyed through metaphors, ambiguities, unexpected comparisons, which both proved the existence of social suffering, and were witness to the difficulty of confronting it. To remain physically in place but severed from the ‘mazeway’ (Fullilove, 2004) that gave sense to all relationships, inflicted a pain that is hard to grasp, difficult to express, and impossible to measure (Atkinson, 2000; Newman and Wyly, 2006; Lees et al., 2015). What people lost is not just their place attachment, but a political capital that held the community together, and that allowed its members to resist collectively to institutions that treated them as second-class citizens, holding neoliberal ideologies or middle-class imaginaries impossible to attain for them (Portelli, 2010).

### **A Horizontal City**

I present here the results of the ethnographic fieldwork I conducted in the Barcelona neighborhood of Bon Pastor during the years of its demolition (Portelli, 2015). I observed and took part in its daily life for nine years (2003-2012), collected narratives before and after the relocations, and maintained long-term relations with a group of residents whose resistance to evictions I supported, working together to envisage alternatives to the demolitions (Col·lectiu Repensar Bonpastor, 2015;

Lawrence-Zuniga, 2015). My engaged position in the field (see Herzfeld, 2010) helped me to understand how the shock experienced by many residents contrasted with the pervasive rhetoric of citizen participation that Barcelona's elites presented as their style of urban governance. A deeper understanding of how urban renewal is perceived by those who suffer it sheds light on the political meaning of space in marginalized urban areas, and on how supposedly progressive urban policies can drift communities into social disintegration and resentment.

The celebrated 'Barcelona model' of urban transformation (McNeill, 1999; Marshall, 2004; Degen and García, 2012; Balibrea, 2017) spearheaded neoliberal urbanism in Southern Europe, by mobilizing the city's cultural capital, and conveying the consent accumulated during the Olympic games of 1992 into a 'growth machine' of demolitions and reconstructions (Harvey, 2003; Delgado, 2007). Projects such as the haussmanian evisceration of Rambla del Raval in the city center, the state-led conversion of Poblenou, an old industrial borough into a technological (and buildable) '22@' district, or the demolition of countless working-class single-family-house compounds throughout the periphery (Dalmau, 2010), were presented to the citizenship as 'bottom-up' initiatives that involved the support of local residents and associations. In Bon Pastor, a long-term campaign to present the existing neighborhood as obsolete and unhealthy was conducted in agreement with a local neighborhood association (*Associació de veïns i veïnes*), that silenced all dissenting voices and presented itself as the sole representative of the community. The association organized a referendum on the demolitions, *after* the municipal plan had been approved. A thin majority of 'yes' votes, to a question framed as a typical "false choice" between gentrification or ghetto (Slater, 2014), allowed the City Council to present the plan as 'participative'. This social-washing increased the symbolic violence experienced by residents, fostering internal divisions, even within the same families, and making it more difficult to recognize the dispossession (see Lees, 2014).

I arrived in Bon Pastor in 2003, as a teaching assistant in its local primary school. Before assigning me to the neighborhood, the social cooperative I worked for repeated to me the stereotypes associated with territorial stigma: violence, abuse, and generic danger (Kallin and Slater, 2014; Wacquant et al., 2014). The children were mostly sons and daughters of non-European migrants and Spanish Roma families (*gitanos*), stigmatized throughout the country. When I began walking around the neighborhood, though, my impression was that of a closely-knit community, which used streets and squares in ways more interesting and intense than in other parts of the city. Bon Pastor was an orthogonal structure of parallel alleys interrupted by three small squares, under the shade of mature trees and on the shore of the river Besòs, Barcelona's municipal frontier. Many streets seemed extensions of residents' living rooms; the houses were painted in bright colors, and many neighbors spent their time on doorsteps together, chatting and watching the kids play.

In the school, the children seemed to know how to deal with their peers more than in other schools I worked in, where educators had to constantly separate

quarrelling kids. When a quarrel began in Bon Pastor, the children would yell insults and threats, mentioning names of relatives who would come to their defense if the other dared to touch them. The other kids would join in screaming for or against one or the other, and almost always the scene ended theatrically, with no harm, without the need for adults to intervene (Portelli, 2008). This did not happen in the school in the adjacent neighborhood, where I worked the following year, and where a similar one-story public housing estate was demolished in the 1980s. I related this behavior to the physical structure of the neighborhood: the houses were small, and kids spent a lot of time together in the streets. To my surprise, the dense community bonds also avoided quarrels among adults degenerating into brawls. Local families were intertwined through links of kinship, friendship, proximity, work, encompassing divisions between Roma and non-Roma (*gitanos, payos*), Catalan- and Spanish-speaking, or divisions due to migration or economy. Adults too would often turn their tensions into representations, with disputants screaming expressions such as “I will not kill you because you are a friend of X that looked after my daughter when she was small”. Others acted as spectators, intervening or commenting on the quarrel in a small circle (a *corrillo*). This structure of mediation guaranteed that the disputants would not lose face, without having to recur to violence, nor call the police, echoing known episodes of conflict management described by anthropologists (Campbell, 1964; Herzfeld, 1985).

The word *calle*, street, recurred in all my interviews: “we are always in the streets”. Elsewhere “street” conveys idleness or inclination to crime (Fyfe, 1998; Delgado, 2007); in Bon Pastor it represented the community of neighbors in each alley, and “being in the street” (*estar en la calle*) meant primarily to be available for one's neighbors. Most social life developed in the portion of pavement in front of each doorstep (*en la puerta*), a semi-private space where neighbors were exposed to each other's gazes. From there, they watched the children play, checked if an elder needed help, ran to join a quarrel, gossiped, or controlled who crossed their street. These apparently trivial activities “reaffirmed” – as among Lévi-Strauss's Kejara – collective control over space, and the individual bonds that kept violence at bay. The peak of this intense use of public (or semi-public) space was the annual celebration of the traditional Catalan *Sant Joan* feast, the night of July 23<sup>rd</sup>. All the residents I talked to recalled Sant Joan as a moment when, by eating, drinking, and dancing together around the bonfires, they periodically wiped out all the conflicts among neighbors – the “evil spirits” that the ritual is supposed to exorcize (Delgado, ed., 2003; Contijoch and Fabré, 2007).

### **The Political Roots of Street Life**

These techniques configured a landscape of “social order of the slum” (Suttles, 1968) that challenged the stigma of a run-down neighborhood employed to legitimize the demolition. However, they also had a more direct *political* relevance. First, they guaranteed a collective and decentralized control over the streets. Since all houses were on the same level, each portion of the neighborhood was under

control, yet no one had access to all the information. Nobody could collect news on any other without exposing him/herself to view and gossip; every observer was also observed, every subject also an object. In this *anti-Bentham* space of collective control, the police were generally not welcome: in a small number of cases this was aimed at concealing ‘illegal’ activities such as drug smuggling, while for most neighbors the police represented a nuisance for small transgressions considered morally acceptable, such as cable hooking, unauthorized refurbishing of a house, an extra resident, or a messy situation with payments. The self-management of conflicts and space, thus, represented also an implicit recalcitrance towards the law, the sign of a collective will to keep the state at bay: an alternative *polity*, whose roots were in physical space (see Herzfeld, 2016).

In fact, the discourse on space and the discourse on society merged continuously. People talked about the houses to talk about themselves: they proudly showed their houses remarking how strong and nice they were, confronting this evidence with the institutional rhetoric of a blighted and abandoned neighborhood. Positive appreciations of the houses and of the community were always uttered polemically, with anger or resignation, against the authorities who planned the demolitions. Similarly, the fall of the houses was seen as a collective defeat: on one occasion, a man explained to me that he was worried that when the City Council would tear down a house in the middle of a block, the whole block would collapse, since the houses held one another up. The man read the physical space as a representation of his relationships with his neighbors, and the demolitions as an assault on the integrity of his community. Many residents attached to the image of the flats the idea of a new lifestyle vertically imposed upon them: “Even if they call it a marginal neighborhood, this is the best place you could find”, said a man in his 40s. “Here we have friendliness and a nice environment, people happily painting their houses, can't you see? One white, one orange... And it will end, there will be just high buildings, wherever you will look. What do you see out there? Skyscrapers!<sup>1</sup>”.

Metaphors of verticalization were frequent (see McNeill, 2005; Graham, 2018), as well as narratives describing the demolitions as something arrived at from above, to crush the community. A woman explained her resignation: “I won't fight against them. They will give me a flat, I hope in good condition, and I will leave”. When I asked who “they” were, she said: “The power (...), the government, those that command<sup>2</sup>”. Asked about the demolitions, an old man answered: “Even if we do not agree, the rain will come. We will have to accept it<sup>3</sup>”. Storm clouds were actually approaching on the horizon during the interview.

Rain was not the only image of verticality and fall: some neighbors associated the demolitions with the war of 1936-39. Many elders remembered the bombing of

<sup>1</sup> David, interviewed July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2004. For all interviews, see Portelli, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Interviewed July 7<sup>th</sup>, 2004.

<sup>3</sup> Anonymous interview, summer 2004.

Bon Pastor in 1937, and the image of the bombs recurred when they talked about the urban renewal plan. The conflict that opposed the residents to the City Council was also referred to as a ‘war’, even by some elders that actually experienced the Spanish conflict. An old woman, very active against the demolitions, recalled Franco's bailiffs that vexed the neighborhood: “If one had a thing about you, he would not leave you alone... just like the City Council does with me now! There is always a scapegoat<sup>4</sup>”. For her, this new ‘war’ was even worse: “By then, you knew where the bombs came from; now the blows strike us from all sides<sup>5</sup>”. The division between those favorable and those unfavorable to the project also resonated with the idea of a *civil* war, forcing brothers and friends to fight one against the other (see Smith, 1995; Graham, 2010; and Vázquez Montalbán, 1992, who uses the metaphor of ethnic cleansing, as Herzfeld, 2006).

These political implications became clearer to me when I understood the historical roots of Bon Pastor's sociability. The origins of Bon Pastor's horizontality were rooted in the anarchist ideology and practices that were common among residents shortly after the foundation of the neighborhood. Bon Pastor's houses were built for Barcelona's Universal Exposition of 1929, as one of the first public housing projects in the city, with the ill-concealed intention of removing from central Barcelona rebellious working-class and migrant families from Southern Spain (Oyón, 2008). Thousands of temporary workers were deported in a space built as a concentration camp, but they reversed the planners' intentions, and became one of the most radical and combative communities of the Spanish Revolution of 1931 (Oyón and Gallardo, 2004). With the help of the anarchist workers' union CNT, they took almost complete control of the neighborhood, and used it first to resist against local authorities, then to combat Fascism. Both CNT militants and residents regarded *the street* as a symbol of collective power: “Popular anti-police culture was a culture of action; it championed the rights of ‘we’, the community, to determine the way in which the streets were to be used; it was a struggle for neighborhood self-reliance, self-governance and freedom from external authority; a defense of a set of popular urban practices revolving around personal face-to-face ties against the bureaucratic agencies of social control and authority (the police and the courts) and impersonal market forces” (Ealham, 2005, 30. See Oyón, 2008).

Bon Pastor is not the only case of an insubordinate neighborhood of the 30s that kept its autonomy during Franco's dictatorship while collapsing to left-wing urban policies in the 2000s (see Dalmau, 2010). For many residents, the demolition was another episode of the long-term dispossession of the working class by local authorities. An elder woman summarized: “They abandoned us; they made us pay whatever they wanted; and now they cheat on us. It's a robbery; they steal our dignity and all we have; they are a gang of thieves”. And added: “They should have fixed our houses long ago; I spent thousands of euros to [refurbish mine to] host my nephews, and now that I have a decent house, they want to take it away from me?”

<sup>4</sup> Francisca “Paca” Hernández Roca, interviewed October 26th, 2009.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., personal communication, June 23rd, 2007.



What do they want from us, that we take a machine-gun and shoot them?<sup>6</sup>”. This narratives challenge from the bottom the ‘participative’ discourse and the modernist ideology that legitimated urban renewal (see Mack, 2017).

### **Verticalization and Dispossession**

In the new blocks, the techniques that had originally held the community together did not work. Intensively inhabited doorsteps were replaced by empty spaces: halls, staircases, elevators. The private sphere of the flat and the public sphere of the street lost the permeability where conflict-managing techniques had developed. An elder resident I interviewed in the new flats linked this change explicitly to conflict-managing: “You see a quarrel and do not run to the street. How can life be the same?<sup>7</sup>”. “The same people I have known for years – said a woman in her thirties – changed once they moved here. They were not like this, before<sup>8</sup>”. From the blocks, the neighbors watched the streets from above, behind the blinds, without the reciprocity they were used to. The increased privacy seemed a relief to some residents, but there were also fewer occasions to meet, and soon tensions solidified into feuds. Conflicts related to different lifestyles were more difficult to negotiate in the new spaces; the cohabitation between Roma and non-Roma, for example, grew more tense, as in other cases of relocation in the Spanish state (Río Ruiz, 2014). The members of the two factions that opposed over the urban renewal project – for and against the demolitions – stopped greeting their opponents in the streets and delegated to their leaders to take their enemies to court. Calling the police became much more frequent, while lawyers turned into a common presence in the residents' discourses. Sant Joan rituals also faded; in 2007, only those opposing the relocations lit a bonfire, and nobody from the new blocks attended. The ritual could not manage the conflict over urban renewal, probably because it threatened the physical basis required for its functioning<sup>9</sup>.

At the risk of over-simplifying a multifaceted situation, I maintain that the reshaping of Bon Pastor opened the social space of the neighborhood to the penetration of centralized and institutional control. It forced people to abandon techniques that allowed them to self-manage space and conflicts, and verticalized the social landscape, by enforcing the power of local representatives of the City Council over a quasi-egalitarian community organization. The new order imposed after the relocations requires the constant presence of law enforcers in a space that was previously impermeable to the authorities – something that not even the military dictatorship of Franco attained. If residents considered their living place essentially a symbol of their social relations, patiently built over decades, then relocation was the disruption of these relations; dispossession not only affected their houses, which were replaced with more valuable material commodities, but the bonds that made

<sup>6</sup> María Martínez Cánovas, interviewed July 12<sup>th</sup>, 2004.

<sup>7</sup> Anonymous interview, July 6<sup>th</sup>, 2004.

<sup>8</sup> Gracia “Tata” Noguero, interviewed July 7<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

<sup>9</sup> The episode is narrated in Portelli, 2015, 9-11, 429-430.

their lives meaningful. Although there was no substitution of a poorer with a wealthier population in the neighborhood, nor massive relocation of residents outside of the neighborhood, the demolition of Bon Pastor perfectly fits the paradigm of social suffering linked with urban dispossession. The destruction of the houses and of the common spaces that shaped the residents' social life, echoes a loss that is deeper and invisible; a loss of forms of cohabitation and relationship that made vulnerable existences livable, and able to confront the power of the state. In a city whose last municipal government was elected to remedy the damage caused by decades of neoliberal policies and corrupt administrations, it is surprising that no public recognition, no attempt to revert or 'rethink' the process, has been attempted for that area of the city (see Figure 3). The demolitions and relocations continue; for the loss they suffered, the residents of Bon Pastor have not yet received any compensation, nor apologies.



**Figure 3:** A recent image of the ongoing demolitions in Bon Pastor (Image: Repensar Bonpastor)

## References

- Atkinson, Rowland. 2000. Measuring gentrification and displacement in greater London. *Urban Studies* 37(1), 149-165.
- Atkinson, Rowland. 2015. Losing one's place: Narratives of neighbourhood change, market injustice and symbolic displacement. *Housing, Theory and Society* 32, 373-388.
- Balibrea, Mari Paz. 2017. *The global cultural capital: Addressing the citizen and producing the city in Barcelona*. London: Palgrave.
- Campbell, John. 1964. *Honour, family, and patronage: A study of institutions and moral values in a Greek mountain community*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Col·lectiu Repensar Bonpastor (ed). 2015. *Repensar Bonpastor: Tejiendo historias urbanas de Barcelona desde el umbral de las casas baratas*. Barcelona: Repensar

- Bonpastor. <https://archive.org/details/RepensarBonpastor> (retrieved July 10th, 2019).
- Colson, Elizabeth. 1971. *Development and change: The social consequences of resettlement*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Contijoch, Marta and Helena Fabré Nadal (eds). 2017. *La ciutat de les fogueres: Els focs de Sant Joan i la cultura popular infantil a Barcelona*. Barcelona: Pol·len.
- Dalmau, Marc. 2010. La Colònia Castells: Un barri al corredor de la mort. *Quaderns de l'Institut Català d'Antropologia* 15(1), 141-160.
- Davidson, Mark and Loretta Lees. 2010. New-build gentrification: Its histories, trajectories, and critical geographies. *Population, Space and Place* 16, 395–411.
- Degen, Monica and Marisol García. 2012. The transformation of the Barcelona model. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36(5), 1022-1038.
- Delgado, Manuel (ed). 2003. *Carrer, festa i revolta: Els usos simbòlic de l'espai públic a Barcelona (1951-2000)*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya.
- Delgado, Manuel. 2007. *La ciudad mentirosa: Fraude y miseria del modelo Barcelona*. Madrid: Los libros de la catarata.
- Ealham, Chris. 2005. *Class, Culture and Conflict in Barcelona 1898-1937*. London: Routledge.
- Elliott-Cooper, Adam, Phil Hubbard and Loretta Lees. 2019. Moving beyond Marcuse: Gentrification, displacement, and the violence of un-homing. *Progress in Human Geography* online first, 1-18.
- Fried, Marc. 1966. Grieving for a lost home: Psychological costs of relocation. In, James Q. Wilson (ed), *Urban renewal: The record and the controversy*. London: MIT Press.
- Fyfe, Nicholas (ed). 1998. *Images of the street: planning, identity and control in public space*. London-New York: Routledge.
- Fullilove, Mindy. 2004. *Root shock: How tearing up city neighborhoods hurts America and what we can do about it*. New York: Random House.
- Graham, Stephen. 2018. *Vertical: The city from satellites to bunkers*. London: Verso.
- Graham, Stephen. 2010. *Cities under siege: The new military urbanism*. London: Verso.
- Harvey, David. 2003. The art of rent: Globalization, monopoly and the commodification of culture. *Socialist Register* 35, 93-110.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1985. *The poetics of manhood: Contest and identity in a Cretan mountain village*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Herzfeld, Michael. 2006. Spatial cleansing: Monumental vacuity and the idea of the West. *Journal of Material Culture* 11(1/2), 127-149.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 2010. Engagement, gentrification, and the neoliberal hijacking of history. *Current Anthropology* 51(S2), S259-S267.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 2016. *Siege of the spirits: Community and polity in Bangkok*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Hirschon, Renée. 1989. *Heirs of the Greek catastrophe: The social life of Asia Minor refugees in Pyraeus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hodkinson, Stuart. 2012. The new urban enclosures. *City* 16, 500–518.
- Kallin, Hamish and Tom Slater. 2014. Activating territorial stigma: Gentrifying marginality on Edinburgh's periphery. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Spaces* 46(6), 1351-1368.
- Lawrence-Zuniga, Denise. 2015. Barcelona's Repensar Bonpastor: A collaboration of anthropologists and architects. *American Anthropologist* 114(3), 526-527.
- Lees, Loretta. 2014. The urban injustices of New Labour's 'New urban renewal': The case of the Aylesbury estate in London. *Antipode* 46(4), 921-947.
- Lees, Loretta, Hyun Bang Shin and Ernesto López Morales. 2015. *Global gentrifications: Uneven development and displacement*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1955/1961. *Tristes tropiques*. New York: Criterion.
- Mack, Jennifer. 2017. *The construction of equality: Syriac immigration and the Swedish city*. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.
- Marcuse, Peter. 1985. Gentrification, abandonment and displacement: Connections, causes and policy responses in New York City. *Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law* 28, 195-240.
- Marris, Peter. 1974. *Loss and change*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Marshall Tim, ed. 2004. *Transforming Barcelona: The renewal of a European metropolis*. London: Routledge.
- McNeill, Donald. 1999. *Urban change and the New European Left: Tales from the new Barcelona*. London: Routledge.
- McNeill, Donald. 2005. Skyscraper geography. *Progress in Human Geography* 29(1), 41-55.
- Newman, Kathe and Elvin Wyly. 2006. The right to stay put, revisited: Gentrification and resistance to displacement in New York City. *Urban Studies* 43(1), 23-57.
- Oyón, José Luís. 2008. *La quiebra de la ciudad popular*. Barcelona: Ediciones del Serbal.

- Oyón, José Luís and Juan José Gallardo (eds). 2004. *El cinturón rojinegro: Radicalismo obrerista en la periferia de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Ediciones Carena.
- Pain, Rachel. 2019. Chronic urban trauma: The slow violence of housing dispossession. *Urban Studies* 56(2), 385–400.
- Portelli, Stefano. 2008, Barcellona, il diavolo e il buon pastore: come si demolisce un quartiere popolare sotto il vessillo della partecipazione. In, Napoli Monitor, *Medioevo napoletano: Dopo il rinascimento prima della barbarie*. Napoli: Napoli Monitor.
- Portelli, Stefano. 2010. La penetración de los dispositivos de control en un espacio impermeable de la periferia de Barcelona. *Actas del XIII Coloquio Internacional de Geocrítica*. Barcelona, May 5-10.
- Portelli, Stefano. 2015, *La ciudad horizontal: Urbanismo y resistencia en un barrio de casas baratas de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Editorial Bellaterra.
- Porteous, Douglas and Sandra Smith. 2001. *Domicide: The global destruction of home*. Montreal: McGill-Queen University Press.
- Río Ruiz, Manuel. 2014. Políticas de realojo, comunidad gitana y conflictos urbanos en España. *Quid* 16, 34-61.
- Shkilnyk, Anastasia M. 1985. *A poison stronger than love: The destruction of an Ojibwa community*. New Haven-London: Yale University Press.
- Slater, Tom. 2014. Unraveling false choice urbanism. *City* 18(4-5), 517-524.
- Suttles, Gerard. 1968. *The social order of the slum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Vázquez Montalbán, Manuel. 1992, La limpieza étnica de los señoritos. *El País*, 14/9/1993.
- Wacquant, Loïc, Tom Slater and Virgílio Borges Pereira. 2014. Territorial stigmatization in action. *Environment and Planning* 46, 1270-1280.
- Weizman, Eyal. 2007. *Hollow land: Israel's architecture of occupation*. London-New York: Verso.
- Zhang, Yunpeng. 2018. Domicide, social suffering and symbolic violence in contemporary Shanghai, China. *Urban Geography* 39, 190–213.