

The "other" cities: urban planning and architecture for tourism. The case of the Spanish Mediterranean (1945-1975)

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Abstract

There we analyze the first touristic nucleus arouse in the Spanish Mediterranean coast between World War II and the Petroleum Crisis (1945-75). Special attention is payed to the characteristics of these new villages: the relation of their urban frame with nature –original or artificial– and the lack of industry. We make a distinction of three types: cluster nucleus (La Manga and El Saler), tridimensional urbanism (Playa de San Juan y Urbanova) and extreme typologies (Campoamor and Benidorm). With them the cities for vacations are discovered, mainly for second home purpose (vacation home/holiday home). The panorama after the current crisis is a lineal chain of small urban settlements on the coast. Finally, Finally, we can see how these “secondary cities” without industry and specialized in leisure, are developing to our days until become new cities of services, doubling the existing ones; now they are “the other cities”.

Keywords: turistic urbanism, summer city, vacations architecture.

1.- Introduction: the square, the park and the promenade

The reconstruction of Spain after the Civil War (1936-39) required almost three decades. In a simplified way, from an urban point of view, it had three chronologic steps. The first period started in the 40's. At this time, general's Franco government chose to promote an autarchic economy fostering the construction of villages of colonization supervised by the INC; whose urban structures were based in a reinterpretation of the rural world round the square, the public space for excellence of the historic city (Escolano 2008). The second period started in the 50's towing the reconstruction in Europe, altogether with the opening of Spain abroad. It was decided to promote the industrial development by the INI and the INV, stimulating new social living areas in the outskirts of the cities (Gerencia 1963; Terán 1978), wich urban structures were drawn on the remaining free public spaces of the “green areas”, that tried to look like the typical park of an industrial city.

The third and last period started in the sixties, into an economic boom including a growing touristic flow as a new source of currencies and wealth. The government promoted the tourism to the level of Undersecretary because of its triple task for the contry: income, publicity and the playing role “for its (the State) modernization and homologation with the Western World” (Esteve 2000). The lack of previous solid experiences and references on urban touristic models for the mass tourism phenomenon, was to develop the urban investigation camp, without precedent in Spain: the Spanish coasts were turned into a laboratory. The new touristic settlements had in common their development along the beaches; wich came to be the referential public urban space of these vacation cities. Unlike the two previous experiences, the most of the coming initiatives –urbanization and architecture– were to be let to the private sector.

In 1964, when the Regime celebrated its “XXV years of Peace”, the country had diversified its economy in three pillars: agriculture (primary sector), industry (secondary) and tourism (tertiary). Each sector had its correspondence in the camp of urban investigation: the villages for farmers around the square, the neighbourhood for workers on a theoretical green carpet and the touristic cities for vacationers all along the beach. Although not always carried out, it was established an initial relation of identification between the principal use of the urban settlement (economic sector) and the type of public open space around which it is developed. In that way, we end up with three pairs: village of colonization with central square, neighbourhood-dormitory with green park and city of vacations with promenade.

In this context, vacation cities were to be the ground for the experimentation of modern urbanism, whose quantitative limits swung between the rural minimum of the villages of colonization (maximum 2.000 inhabitants and density of 50 inhabitants/hectare) and the urban maximum of the dormitory zone (over 10.000 inhabitants and density of 500 inhabitants/hectare). Because, how did the cities need to be for vacations? Which urban model did the touristic summer settlements of postindustrial societies had to adopt? However the urban proposals were, they must have “urban” vocation and, therefore, constitute a city. Furthermore, these settlements, as they were new-made and sea-going, were already doomed to have a dialogue with the geographic medium –natural or anthropic– where they were built. The city, understood as an engine, as an artificial predesigned and planned entity, perhaps had the opportunity of starting off and redefining the role that would play “the green” and the free spaces into it. There are three landmarks on urban studies in this period: The “Athens Chart” (1934) –that highlights the mechanistic values, rebalancing them with the presence of green surfaces–, the first Spanish ‘Law of the Soil’ (1956) –and the Spanish ‘Law of the Centers and Zones of Tourist National Interest (1963)– that gives priority to the touristic settlements that carry out some minimum standards of quality (Vera 1987) –.

Nevertheless, to understand the phenomenon of tourism in the Spanish Mediterranean coasts, the stages of relationship between Men and its geographic environment that Mathieu Kessler suggests to us –attending to its exploitation or enjoyment- defining five types of men: the conqueror, the adventurer, the explorer, the voyager and the tourist (Kessler 2000) –, are not sufficient, because the tourists did not explain the kind of cities of vacations allowed for. A sixth type of men need to be added: the vacationist, whom we identify with the man that, once summer is here, moves to another residence, not for the interest of a journey experience, but to reach somewhere to rest and enjoy. He then fixes there a temporal residence and recreates a new type of life which is to be unaware and different to the usual. The relationship that this man establishes with the nature of its surroundings is fairly immediate as, “if permitted, people prefer, and therefore choose, to live in a least spectacular countryside” (Watson 2007: 742). And the second residence, base of the case of tourism in Spain, is a case of election, not a condition. Tourists and vacationers cover up. The vacationer is a bit of conqueror and tourist at the same time: although he travels, he transforms the land and makes it his own property.

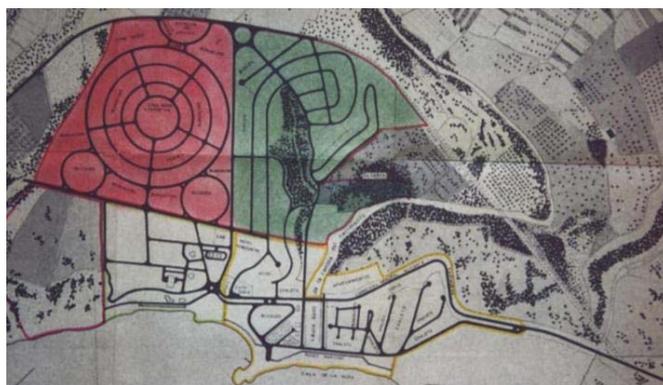


Fig. 1: Urbanistic plans of Dehesa de Campoamor in Orihuela (Alicante) by A. Orts Orts (1959-73)

In peninsular Spain it is impossible to separate the tourism (a tour) from the summer vacation (moving to the summer residence) phenomena, in such a way that tourism, like a mass phenomenon linked to the Sun and the beaches, is perceived as a indissoluble unity where voyagers, tourists and vacationers are summed; no matter how they distribute their time and in which places they establish themselves, or if the accommodation is in their property or rented. The cities for vacations started being urban settlements for summer, whose way of occupying the territory and the building typologies that conform them shows models that vary from an accused “horizontalty” (with reference in the garden-city, extent and with detached housing, related with the immediate link of Men to a terrain that makes his), to the most intense verticality (with reference to the functional city, concentrated and in high, related to the touristic industry of hotels and apartments to lease for time), more identified with tourism and rotation. This opposition between horizontalty and verticality is clearly reflected in the nucleus of the new built village Dehesa de Campoamor (1959-72, A. Orts Orts) and the touristic expansion area in Benidorm (1956-63, F. Muñoz Llorens), where we will not look in depth. Both cases would be examples of a model of “nucleus of extreme typologies”, as in their urban plans there are foreseen differentiated areas of the most opposed typologies: the detached housing and the towers in high. The case of the city’s skyscrapers requires a separate chapter.

2.- Models of touristic city or city of vacations in the coast

Before analyzing in detail some of the urban proposals of these decades, we need remember some parameters in the 50’s context at Spain that were very present in the project as well in the execution of the touristic nucleus. One: it attended to a massive phenomenon in progressive evolution and expansion, as admitted in architecture magazines: “a new development, not experienced by any other country, from which the volume and duration is unknown” (Aa. Vv. 1964). Two: the most of the consumers of “touristic spaces” came from the middle classes, which enjoyed their holidays for almost one month since the extension of welfare laws in the European countries. Three: the richness of the postindustrial societies allowed people to invest part of their surpluses in their vacation time. Four: the leisure business (accommodation included) revealed as an industry of services in constant growth. Five: the Spanish legal urban framework approved in 1956 assumed a zonal functionalist urbanism along with a zonal build-up intensity assignation. Six: the three conditions of the tourism sector (voyage, hose and pleasure) converged with the interests of a new tourist: the summer vacationist, who opted for the residence in property. Seven: the preferred mean of transport was the car in property (it was recognized by the Plan Nacional de Turismo de 1952). Eight: the peak months were July and August and the destiny was the Mediterranean coast. Nine: Tourists searched for a contradictory combination: “war and peace”, identified with metropolitan leisure and nature altogether (blue sea, green countryside and golden sands). And Ten: the kind of architecture required to satisfy these demands (residential or of services) attended to superfluous necessities and that, initially, would work only in that season, which made it fragile. Actually, the consumer society leaded to a leisure society (Constant 2009)

It was evident that professionals had in front of them a great challenge: to create some new settlements for vacations starting from the basics of the ICMA setting them up on areas close to beaches that at this time remained practically virgin. The resulting cities must mix the former nature of the place with the the architecture to be projected and, perhaps, to plan new urban entities where no errors of the great industrial cities were to be repeated. There is another detail in this already complex matrix of data. The basic uses of the Athens Chart: inhabit, work, leisure and traffic flow, could not be translated literally to the touristic plot because it had not place in them for “the (industrial) work”, because they were cities to rest: distant coastal, satellite towns different from other cities in the inner peninsula and from winter. “Inhabit” and “driving” were two basic functions to order to which it was strongly summed “the leisure” that, in summer, monopolize all the hours. They were to be slower cities, submitted to other timing, were the nature and the open spaces and the nature would play an important role. They had to establish new

relations between nature and architecture to make a differentiation between the city of the first residence, that to work and for the Winter, and the one to rest, leisure and for the Summer.

There are two basic ways of implantation of the touristic enclaves: amplifying an existing city (touristic extensions), or a new build-up (touristic nucleus). Settlements of diversified densities (of floor occupation and edification) that will oscillate between the limits of the rural and intensive urban (50-500 inh/hectare): the only model does not exist. In these content we do the analysis of some examples attending to the relation established by the architecture of each of them with the natural media and open spaces, that is the condition to define the new urban morphologies in the cities of second residence whose users choose for their recreational complementary offer that Candilis explained to the Spanish architects: “this juxtaposition of very lively and very calm places” (Aa. Vv. 1964). Many of the possible urban alternatives were sketched by the professional teams that took part in the ordination competitions of Costa Elviria in Málaga (1959) or in Maspalomas, Gran Canaria, in 1961 (Reyero 1960; Landrove 2004). While all the studied proposals stay in the functional urbanism’s orbit, each of the densities and the new urban landscapes that they define go to create their own urban types. We call the first one “cluster or organic nucleus” (La Manga and El Saler) and the second one “nucleus on a green carpet” (Playa de San Juan and Urbanova). Even more models exist, they are the tipologies extreme nucleus, as we have commented before, but we will not deal with them here.

2.1.- Touristic nucleus in cluster or organic: the urban discontinuity

Between 1960 and 1964, Antonio Bonet worked on the organization and urbanization of La Manga del Mar Menor in Murcia; a sand dune chain of 24km long. The architect had worked with Le Corbusier and had carried out urban touristic tasks in Argentina. His proposal starts from a high-speed road in the center of the bar, working as a winding vertebral column, in whose sides, and every one or two kilometers, a series of residential nucleus of a certain intensity of edification are situated. Each one of these nucleus is separated from the previous one by the existing dunes. In this way the architecture was brought together altering just in a small area the conditions of the previous landscape that was punctually urbanized by means of these nucleus in cluster. On the one hand, the prior functional principle of the circulation articulates the proposal at the time that was different because of its speed: fast into the chain, slow in the nucleus. On the other hand, the other principle of the separation of traffics was achieved: the pedestrian road that was already included in his ideas for Punta Ballena: “the automobile must not interpose between the houses and the beach, nor have direct access to the last” (Kliczkowski 1985: 36). In this way, since the different residential nucleus, the inhabitants reached the sea.



Fig. 2: Urban ordenation of La Manga del Mar Menor (Murcia) by A. Bonet Castellana (1961-64)

Although Bonet made several proposals, the spreading of small nucleus model, where the population and the touristic edifications were concentrated, was maintained in all of them. These urban nucleuses, with varied designs, were defined by a unique space where businesses were brought together, a tower destined to be a hotel and other different residential architectures. In the distance, the cadence of the twelve towers (from 16 to 20 floors) marked with boundaries the territories of the internal lake; between each nucleus a flat cross section of the terrain was let without alteration. It is significative that in each of these villages,

the residential use is resolved with a varied cast of architectonic typologies: a tower (16 floors), a block (3-4 floors) and a group of terraced houses (1-2 floors); furthermore, all the housing and apartments (of programs tending to minimum standards for Summer vacations), were faced to sea, that was easy to do because the sea was by the two sides. In its development any nucleus had an homogeneous base of design, was orthogonal (Babilonia and Malaret) or not orthogonal (collection of Hexagonal).

Bonet puts that the city for tourism must not be like the industrial agglomerated and dense city. Therefore he projects a group of urbanizations, not a city, requiring the displacement in automobile between them, but not into each one because the rest of the area is based on the immediate beach and the surrounding landscape. This proposal makes an echo of the contemporary reasoning of Sert when, in his communication to the congress “New Architecture and City Planing” of New York in 1944, decides to recover the human scale. He writes: “This method consists in transforming the inorganic real shape of our cities in a living organic body. This can only be achieved dividing the cities in well-defined and planned unities” (Rovira 1004: 154). Sert refers to “neighbourhood unities” and thinks in a city formed by an ensemble of few little sub-cities, whose idea was inspired to him by Eliel Saarinen who had said that the plan key was in the “organic decentralization”. In La Manga, Bonet does not think in a functional city – morphologic and zonified–, but in the project of a network of little multifunctional villages while the preexisting landscape is maintained to differentiate each of the other and guarantee the human scale inside the habitat of the second residence. This cluster presents figures in the threshold of the urban: a density of 110 inhabitants/hectare (Aa. Vv. 2002) distributed in nucleus of 2.500 inhabitants.

Simultaneously, Julio Cano Lasso’s team projects the distributions of the Albufera and the beaches of El Saler (1962-64), a similar geography to La Manga: a dunes bar and pine trees between two seas with a front of 10km south of Valencia. Although the area to urbanize is bigger, the density remains under 100 inhabitants/hectare (Aa. Vv. 1964a: 21). Both urban development arrangements share the same urban criteria. Distributions here are also linear and they also support the future costal motorway, if it is here only tangent in the project. The proposal of El Saler differentiates three sectors: one north, closer to the capital, where are foreseen only buildings for weekend demands, and the other two sectors at the south swinging between two shopping centers where residential zones extend. The central sector is the biggest; its structure based on two key elements: the pedestrian promenade of the beach and a perpendicular axis of access to an artificial internal lake. This serves as a marina, and beside it there is a big social and commercial center and hotels (Aa. Vv. 1964).

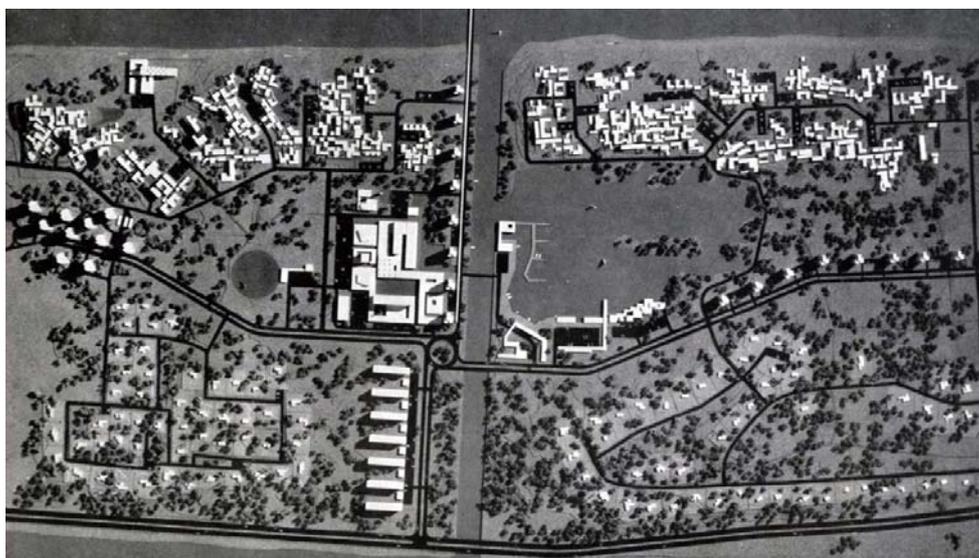


Fig. 3: Central stretch of the model proposed for El Saler by J. Cano Lasso (1962-64)

This sector is hierarchically organized by an interior road adapted to a smooth surface and tries to respect the pine tree woods; the second order branches and organic layout of this road, go to their end in car parkings in front of the residential urbanizations. Furthermore, there is another “network of circulation for pedestrians, more leagued to the topography of the dunes and carefully studied” inside of these residential tissue “at human scale” and “made of streets of variable width –(...)– made of twists, alleyways, spots and small squares, closed or opened to the landscape and the sea”, according to its author (Aa. Vv. 1964). The respect to nature is previously done from the base of its transformation after the copying of a second residence city and summer leisure.

This setting is fairly true to the functionalist principles because of its zoning: coastal fringe of services, shopping centre, green extent zone which separates and absorbs interferences between public and private uses in its inside and from the residential nucleus in the periphery. Two basic architectonic typologies are considered: the towers in high (of over 20 floors on the axis and spared by groups) and the grouping of houses (skirting the central part of the pine wood). Again residential nucleus in bluster are disposed, although separated one another by nature where, according to its author “the plots, destined to single or collective family housing, are inserted in between with the freedom and order that that grows the leafs in a tree”. In this way “it results in an organic sketch that, joined to the rest of the railway, presents an analogy with a tree figure, whose principal trunk divides in circulatory ramifications” (Aa. Vv. 1964). For Cano Lasso, those residential nucleuses are the element with more and interest of the proposal because the human scale is materialized in it.

Both proposals set out a summer vacation cities in *cluster*. These are characterized by its lineal and branched planning, the incorporation of the existent nature, projected at two scales (cars and people), discarding the industrial activity (thought for resting), structured by neighborhood unities separated by natural elements, its low density of inhabitants and housing (close to 100 inhabitants/hectare) and the combination of typologies in heigh and of horizontal development for residential use and the organic adaptation of architecture to its environment. In both cases there are more superficies of free spaces than occupied by edifications, which are of public access and have suffered little changes, so that they continue being green spaces. They are discontinuous cities, of low density, all equal with nature.

2.2.- Nucleus on a green carpet with tridimensional urbanism

In 1959, the architect Juan Guardiola Gaya, moves to Alicante to develop the Poligono 1 of the beach of San Juan. This was a sector that took part in the first touristic plan of the city, which started with an international competition in 1933 that had been paralyzed. Everything was different now, it needed to be quick. This sector had propriety limits, due to that we can appreciate the strange trapezium shape that the landscape shows close to the beach. The initial idea was to plan an autonomous touristic neighborhood as it was 4km away from the city. The architect sets out an urban distribution since two big axis parallel to the sea: a pedestrian promenade separated from a road avenue by a block; between which you could maintain visual relation because of the edification with see-through floors. The three and a half band of blocks of the sector are generated from a module of rectangular supersquare 260x180m, related with the contemporary proposal for Brasilia, dimensions that the author justifies because of speed of the cars (as the same Le Corbusier said): this is bigger, therefore, its facades must be bigger (Oliva 2004: III, 415) as well as gaining area for the internal spaces. These superblocs –in which vehicles have access to its interior– constitute bit open spaces in which residential and service blocks are build. Finally, the sector is zoned in two residential parts: one of a minor extent for familiar housing and the much bigger and flat one to construct isolated blocks of different heighs. Practically no equipments are drawn, as they are to be a second summer vacation residence.

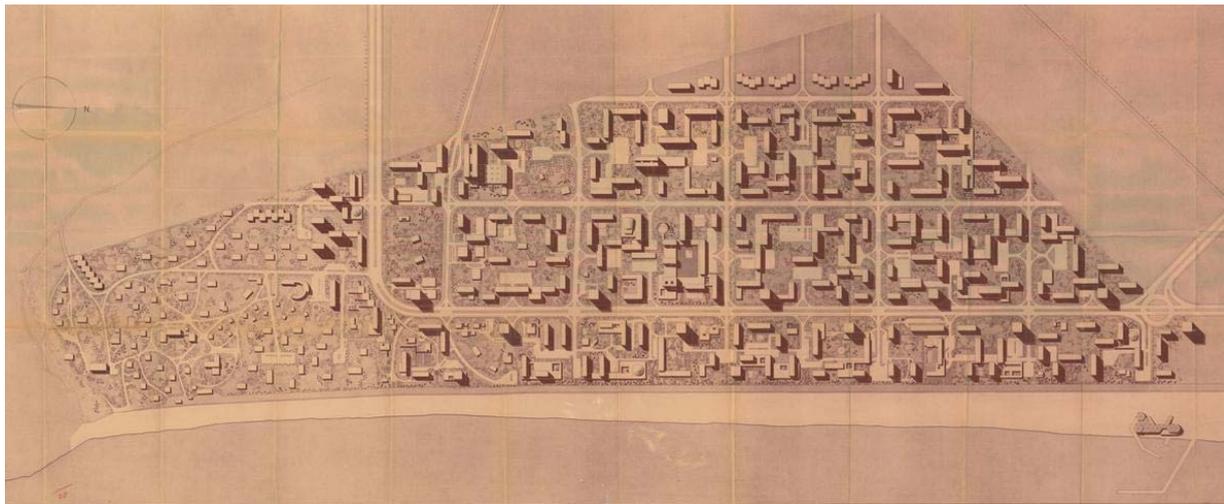


Fig. 4: Distribution plan of the Polígono 1 of the beach of San Juan in Alicante by J. Guardiola Gaya in 1959

There are various aspects that are convenient to emphasize about this proposal, in particular, the block zone around the great avenue. The distribution is meticulously drawn with the position, shape and number of floors of each one of the blocks, whose heights vary from 2 to 10 floors. All these, disposed according to an orthogonal geometry, follow a certain logic by which the taller buildings are further away from the beach or perpendicular to it to guarantee better views. Taking care of the distance between blocks, it generates a distribution of volumes that tend to stagger to the inside; the sight of the sea is the target. Another approach is applied to the situation of the 10 towers of 10 floors that, as boundaries to the quincunx, mark the principal avenue out at the rate of one per block. The intention is to signalize the functionalist boulevard arteries –nearby and distant– and create a more perceptible urban landscape to the velocity of an automobile, sequencing the space. The setting out of the internal zones are big open private spaces in which it is prohibited to construct fences to generate a continuous surface. It is recreated an artificial green nature, that did not exist before, as a group of large green parks where pedestrians would walk; again the city in two scales

In this approach, in general, a lot of Le Corbusier's ideas are collected (to rise the edification on a green carpet, to separate the traffic areas, only open edifications) that are applied in a more practical way (roads reaching down to the floor and zoning applied to the typologies). While in a much more detailed way, there is echoes from Bakema and Van den Broek, reflected in the combination of different architectonic typologies (towers, blocks and detached houses) inside a same block. With all this, Guardiola designs a fragment of a city –that was to be much bigger– in which the protagonists are the big gardened open spaces, perceived and used as public, spiced of residential blocks. As formerly there was no vegetation, and he decides to create because he believes that it is necessary into any vacation city's frame. This artificial nature is completely controlled by Man's hand, which allows larger density of edification than the ones of the studied cases before, thanks to the so detailed urban project of this vacation city.

Another example of the urban project in three dimensions, as it was advising Le Corbusier (1972, 1939: 56), is the one done by Juan Antonio García Solera in the partial plan Bahía Blanca (1969), known as Urbanova, placed 5 km south from Alicante. Here the terrain, also with a trapezoidal shape of curve borders, is enclosed between a back road and the sea where the houses' sights are pointed to. From the first minute, and although the terrain is flat, the author organizes a road waving network to reduce the cars speed, when he draws the 14 blocks (or isles) for the towers and other 4 for equipments; a hotel in the centre and a promenade are the principal elements that articulate the distribution. Inside each block, the towers are placed in the perimeter, leaving a central space for gardens, leisure and sports. The towers (10

floors) elevate in a porticated plant for the sea to be visible from different points in the interior (Oliva 2005: 132-146). Significantly the houses present programs that adjust to the requisites of the public protected homes, which points to a double vocation of this neighbourhood: destined to vacationers and to residents who looking for escape from the traditional cities.

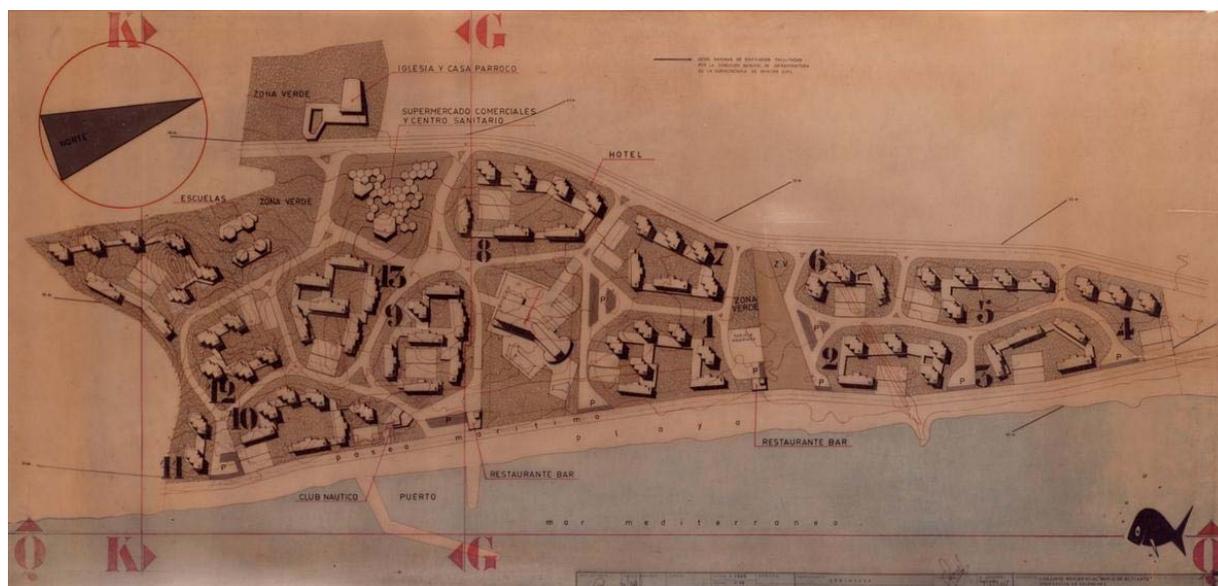


Fig. 5: Plan Parcial Bahía Blanca o Urbanova de Alicante de J. A. García Solera en 1969

This proposal shares approaches with the previous one of Playa de San Juan, in spite of the difference of sizes, road sketches (reticular versus organic) and the geometry of the blocks. It is also an urban project of detailed design where the position, dimension and height of the residential edifications inside the urban structure are settled, trying to reach the best orientation, for what the project requires different strategies. The result is an urban structure in which the blocks are green isles from which the blocks and towers emerge, releasing their spaces right to the level of the floor and the beach. These big public spaces are private and are full of gardens through roads for pedestrians are made. The functional principles before said (traffic, scales, green carpet, clear floor) inspire the general planning 'green city' of Le Corbusier.

Both the Playa de San Juan and Urbanova projects, design new urban models sourcing from the technique of tridimensional urbanism to avoid the interpretation of excessively abstract ordinances which parametres on occupation, floors and edificability are fixed as well are the ones that generate in the functionalist urbanism (plans with abstract design that do not define the shape of the city). Because of that they recur to the urban detailed project that permits to distribute the volumes in the space, increasing the density of them at the same time that other big portions are liberated in the open space (in private) where artificial nature can be recreated or, at least, fragments of it. The result are some fragments or neighborhood of the vacation city constituted by a carpet as more continuous and green as be possible, over which residential blocks emerge. Unlike the bluster proposes, in which pre-existent nature is integrated at the same time that separarates the villages the city-net, here nature is created artificially and moves to the centre of these turistic neighbourhoods with a tridimensional urbanism *a priori*.

3.- Conclusions: two cities, Summer and Winter

Obviously the phenomenon of tourism, developed between the World War II and the Crisis of Petrol (1945-75), has some characters of its own: new build-up (planning), coastal situation (sun and beaches), lineal development (promenade), overlapping of tourists and summer vacationers (second residence), displacement in automobile (mass phenomena), traffics division (road and pedestrian), architecture in open edification (hygiene and views) and decisive presence of open spaces (with nature, original or artificial). Clearly, they are cities inspired by the functionalist doctrine ICMA, that are defined and adapted to the singularity of the coastal landscape –and the sight of the horizon in the sea- and try to put in harmony these two opposite ways of enjoying time in vacations. However, they also point out an important deviation in their each zoning models: they do not contain industrial areas because the unique industry is the hotel and the estate business, that is: the own construction of the city. Except for Benidorm, capital of hotel squares of tourism of sun and beaches of the Mediterranean, the most of the touristic nucleus have developed to residential cities, that is the reason of being of the cities: consolidate places to live and coexist.

Until here, we have analyzed a series of examples displaying different types of touristic cities: for its schemes, urban morphologies and architectonic typologies, which are different because of its respective treatment given to nature (original or artificial) that is the *sine qua non* condition of the city for vacations. Nature –green and/or blue– that can be let outside urban nucleus or joined to it, leaving place to a city in bluster or a network of settlements that recuperate the human scale (La Manga and El Saler); this solution permits that the city develops in low densities (<100 inhabitants/hectare). Or a totally artificial nature –as continuous as possible– that stays on a carpet of open spaces and in which blocks and towers are built, showing a model of city that requires a detailed plan to appoint the tridimensional urbanism to balance the private estates and the space of public use (Playa of San Juan and Urbanova); this type of solutions allows to increase densities by means of intensification of edifications (200 inhabitants/hectare). Or, a third type in which nature, men-made and completely privatized, is driven inside the private plots, familiar housing or homeowners' association, for its exclusive use, leading to a nucleus of extreme typologies with high density of occupation of the ground –familiar zones– or with a high edification density –towers or skyscrapers' zone– (Campoamor and Benidorm); this last model, in the sector of towers, elevates the densities similar to maximums of industrial or Winter cities (>500 inhabitants/hectare). The main difference that distinguishes the three urban models comes from the different relation between opened spaces –preexistent nature or added– and the architectonic typologies that define every new city.

It is quite significant that these traditional “antiurban” elements –nature, open spaces and isolated architecture– are just the ones that define these new cities for vacations, and this is why for so many time these touristic nucleus –empty most of the year and constituted practically just as second residences– were not considered authentic cities, primary cities, or not even cities. Obviously, these nucleus were not like Winter cities and not even wanted to be like that, they were satellite-cities accommodated in the coastal periphery –and cultural–, away from the industrial city. They were not even equipped like them (no schools, no hospitals, no social centers), but, good for them, they had no industries of the secondary sector. Contrary to this, they had more open public and private spaces in which “nature” proportioned the germ of urban dispersion.

A panoramic vision over the Spanish Mediterranean coasts in the years of the energetic crisis of petroleum (1973-75) shows us a geographic hint of small and different nucleus for vacations. Instead of just some touristic destinations, we discover a network of a lot of little cities, of new build-up or an increase of the existent ones, the origin of the actual metropolitan dispersion. We use the term “city”, in spite of its dimensions, because no one had rural vocation, as all of them were thought for the business of leisure. They were more like “other cities”, the cities for summer vacations. It was maybe Cano Lasso who had a clear vision of the future of tourism like an industry of services although his distribution for El Saler failed. He not only started from considering that it was a city for summer vacation, but he noticed that in

coming time there would be “more important the permanent population of retired, pensionists and millionaires”. He referred in utopic terms to the megalopolis or “fantastic lineal city” that would border all Mediterranean coasts at the time he appreciated “a march to the land of the sun, very accused in the United States and initiated vigorously in Europe” (Aa. Vv. 1964). A phenomenon extended until today in the American *Sun Belt* (Vázquez 2011) and, also and after, in the old Europe

In the years that separates us from then onwards (1975-2010) we have seen new urban touristic expansions that have made these vacation nucleus grow until true cities, trough extending themselves more and more over the geography with typologies of low density. This first touristic nucleus that we have analyzed were part of the start of the actual extended city, disperse and diffuse and confused with the territory. Because those primitive cities of second residence, in their posterior development have turned into prime residence cities at such point that, in Spain there is double number of houses that of families. Half is in the cities of Winter and the other half is in the cities of Summer. These primitive nucleus, as well as not having industry and being “other cities”, gone from being secondary homes to just first ones and, therefore, to become the “other cities”, the second ones. The cities have been doubled. –of Winter and of Summer- and the society had been more nomad, moving of some to others. Although, in a lot of cases, the cities of Winter and the Summer ones placed in the coast are interweaved as to become near to a continuous hybrid.

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