

Carlos, Beltran; Roca, Josep

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New Holiday Towns

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NEW HOLIDAY TOWNS
SOCIAL IMPACT OF NEW STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE IN TOURIST
DESTINATIONS: MARINA D'OR CASE

BELTRÁN CARLOS, LIDIA¹; ROCA CLADERA, JOSEP²

Key words: New Holiday Towns, tourism social impact, non-place, Marina d'Or

Abstract

Since the start of tourism as rewarding and massive activity in the mid-nineteenth century, the traditional urban systems of the Spanish coast have been gradually transformed to satisfy an increasingly changeable and demanding typology of tourist. Among the different models of urban development that have taken place so far, this study examines the phenomenon of New Holiday Towns. The objective of this paper is to reflect on this model of tourist development that is spreading internationally. A few cases of New Holiday Towns were studied chronologically, noting the notable difference between the first appeared and the current ones. And finally, a sociological study was carried out in a specific case: Marina d'Or, Oropesa del Mar, Castellón. I used a quantitative methodology, the survey, and ethnography as a qualitative method of analysis through participant observation. This study questions this model of tourist development, arguing that its urban management and exclusive reliance on the tourist activity turn New Holiday Towns into Non-places. Is being a Non-place a symptom for the future stagnation of these New Towns? In that Case, what would be the panacea for them?

Introduction: From Traditional to Mass Tourism

To understand the evolution of tourism, it's essential to refer to the theoretical concept that IRIBAS (2003) refers, that is, the types of customer. He distinguishes them, according to their different behaviors and space applications. The first two types of customer are the vacationer and the traveler, both set in the late nineteenth century. The vacationer is described as that "guy who usually belonged to middle classes of some financial relief, and who was seeking

¹ **Beltrán Carlos, Lidia:** PhD (c) in the doctoral program Urban and Architectural Management and Valuation (Department of Architectural Constructions I, School of Architecture of Barcelona, Polytechnic University of Catalonia) beltrancarlos.lidia@gmail.com

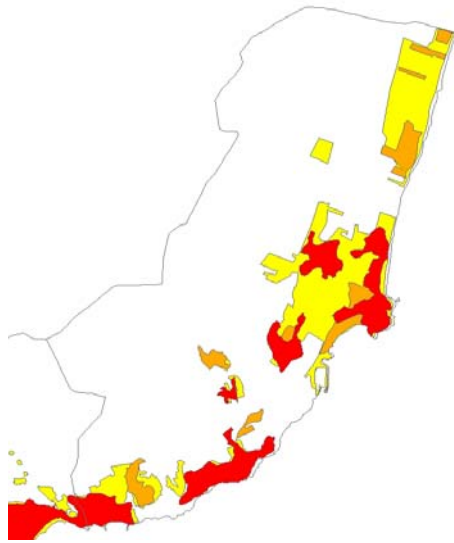
² **Roca, Cladera, Josep:** Director of the Centre of Land Policy and Valuations and Professor of the doctoral program Urban and Architectural Management and Valuation (Department of Architectural Constructions I, School of Architecture of Barcelona, Polytechnic University of Catalonia) josep.roca@upc.edu

the recovery of the labor force in his vacation." He enjoyed long periods of holidays, staying every year in own vacation homes located along the waterfront, and used to keep then the same social patterns of behavior than during the rest of the year. Is the class that discovered the first "summer places" and, therefore, the coastal area. This typology was complemented by the traveler, who "started the travel and a tradition of knowledge and approach to folk-exotic places." They were nomadic tourists searching for new experiences. These two types have evolved and been shaped to the arrival of mass tourism. This third type of customer emerged thanks to the restoration of the economies of the countries that experienced the Second World War and that, in late 1950. The scope of a social welfare state in Europe and the emergence of the tour operators, led to this new demand for tourism, who claimed for first time its right to holiday: the working class. "Thus, mass tourism is not just a quantitative change, being the reflection of two different structural situations. Modern tourism was born with industrial civilization and the Mediterranean coast became a leisure space for industrialized Europe." (CASALS, 1974) In Spain the first experiences of mass tourism came with the international unlock of Franco regime in the mid-twentieth century. But is not considered fully installed until 1962, the date on which tourism began to be a crucial social and economic development for the country. (PEREZ, 2003)

Impact of mass tourism in Spain

The growth of tourism-real estate market, certainly represented a basic pillar of economic growth in the Mediterranean regions and islands. However, when local governments decided to exploit tourism industry, they did not foresee the environmental impact, social and economic development that it entailed. A study by RAMOS, A., ESMARAGDA, B. Y ROCA, J. (2009) which analyzes the impact of the Sprawl Urban model in Spain, shows how Spain has been, along with Portugal and Ireland, the European country with the greatest increase of land consumption between 1990 and 2000. "The analysis of data obtained by Corine Land Cover (CLC) confirm that the Mediterranean coastline (Balears, Murcia, Comunidad Valenciana), attached to the territory where the land market liberalization has been the dominant political, were the territories where there has been a greater dispersion of urbanization and urban development less sustainable. A growth model openly opposed to that experienced by other Spanish regions like Pais Vasco, Islas Canarias, Galicia and Cataluña, where sprawl has been a much more content." As for the provinces with a higher relative growth, the study quoted Alicante and Castellón. (Comunidad Valenciana)

Table 1. Urbanized area in the municipality of Oropesa del Mar, Castellón, 1900, 2000, 2006



Municipality area of Oropesa del Mar 21,52km ²			
	1900	2000	2006
Urbanized area	2, 03 (8%) (CLC 1990)	2, 96 (11%) (CLC 2000)	5, 50 (21%) (CPSV)
Population	2.451 (INE 1991)	4.287 (INE 2001)	8.964 (CPSV)
	1990-2000	2000-2009	
Increased of urbanized area	0,93 km ² 4%	2,54 km ² 10%	

Source: ROCA, La urbanización de la costa mediterránea española: 1956-2006. (2009) Scale 1/150.000.

A good example is the municipality of Oropesa del Mar in Castellón,(where the study case of this paper, Marina d'Or, is located). Table 1 shows how the urbanized land area of the municipality and its population doubled between 2000 and 2006 period. Comparing the evolution of Oropesa del Mar the last 50 years with other coastal municipalities of Castellon, all experienced a greater increase in urbanized land in this period, and Oropesa is one of the municipalities at the top of the list, despite being one of the smaller coastal municipalities.

Figure 1. Old postcard and current image (2010) of Oropesa del Mar, Castellon.



We can see in the foreground the historical center of Oropesa del Mar and in the background the New Holiday Town: Marina d'Or. Source: Greenpeace, Destrucción a toda costa. (2010)

Vacation homes played an important role in this increased of land consumption on the Mediterranean coastline of Spain. "As an indicator of this situation, it's noted that between 14% and 19% of Spanish households have second homes. Data from the National Institute of Statistics, relating to the estimation of places for second homes by regions, clearly confirm

this fact. Thus, the Comunidad Valenciana, is situated at the head of Spain.” VERA (2005)

Change strategies in the Mediterranean tourist destinations

An analysis on the growth of mass tourism in the Mediterranean between 1987 and 2002 MANERA.C y GARAU.J (2005), confirmed that tourism enjoyed good prospects, but were taking place "*fundamental changes*" in the mass tourism of the Mediterranean coast because "The Mediterranean basin loses strength as a world tourist destination." Competition from new emerging tourism receptors, (especially the Middle East and Southeast Asian countries); with the number of tourists from America and Europe losing weight worldwide; offset by the increase of tourists whose origins are Southeast Asia and the Middle East and inertia to a cut of stay in the foreign country; were the causes of "*stagnation*" in the traditional destinations of the Mediterranean coastline. The offer based on sun and beach of the Mediterranean tourist destinations, was not enough competitive in the international market, so a *new paradigm appeared: the leisure time*, which IRIBAS (2003) explained as follows: "The tourism success is produced by the accumulation of alternative time offers which satisfies and covers the needs and aspirations of tourists. (...) In the future, the basic patterns of operation of tourism will be that whenever there will be a greater use of mediation systems and charters in combination with the use of the Internet, more intense use of space and time, ie holidays will be shorter but more intense. We will have to fill the time of tourist with activities and offers all day, every time there will be more diversification, probably because, ever going to have more number of holidays, shorter in duration but more numerous throughout the year , and each time the products will be more defined and outlined to the market. Moreover, the new architecture that is required for tourism is not architecture about *form*. What is claimed now, is a new conception in which space is a tool, not an end. The real purpose of the construction is the construction of time. The group of architects will participate in these processes, because the tourist space will be defined in relation to the satisfaction which enables and gives the customer, and form have only instrumental value. I will not deny the importance of formal aspects, and it is clear that good architecture never enough, but I express my conviction that it is not essential factor for success, unless the good bill matches a prior process of construction of time." Following this new paradigm, tourist system of the coastline began to *show signs of a slow process of change*. (VERA, 2005):

The first process of change is based on "the renewal and differentiation of conventional destinations of sun and beach, whose main research focus in improving image of the destinations and the creation of new products." Parallel to this line, new emerging spaces for

tourism are developing. "This is, first, construction of new complexes and facilities for tourism and leisure in mature destinations, usually outside the urban and regional structure of space tourism. In other cases, settlements that are built ex novo (city residential, resort golf) and appear in territories not transformed by tourism, away even from conventional destinations, based on alternative products. The objective in this new stage is the orientation of tourist destinations to demands with a higher level of spending and seasonally adjusted. Thus, these facilities have become the main argument of the coastal municipalities to single local tourism models."

New Holiday Towns

In line with these two processes of change, a third appears: the New Holiday Towns, an urban phenomenon which is sometimes confused with tourist resorts or residential developments for holidays. INTI (2010) defined some aspects that distinguish the New Towns from other urban settlements: "Firstly, a New Town is planned and built, based on a large scale, integral master plan, on a site where no town was before. This is what set a New town apart from 'normal', gradually developed towns. Secondly, the foundation of the New town is grounded in a clear (political) decree. Connected to this is the characteristic that the new settlement will grow into a town in a short time span. Thirdly, the New town will have a certain degree of political, governmental and/or economic autonomy. This is what discriminates New towns from (large scale) town expansions that are not autonomous in any way, but have been attached to an existing town." Based on this definition, INTI argues that, although the second half of the twentieth century was the era in which many New Towns emerged, they have been designed for thousands of years, and are characterized by:

Design. "The New Town might well be one of the most popular and most theorized design assignments for architectures and urban developers. Each stage of architectural history is marked by its own idealized urban models."

Size and rapid growth. "The rapid growth, which is typical for a New Town, is assumed to be an amplifying factor. In a New Town there is no knowledge or corporate culture yet to deal with the issues, expertise that old towns have already acquired."

Life cycle. "The ageing of (parts of the) New town is one of the aspects of its life cycle"

Starting situation and concept. "The problem of the new town lies in the starting situation of the town: the way how a New Town has been destined from the start, both by political goals and by the history of its creation. In economic geography this is called 'path dependence'."

These factors, individually they are not specific only to the New towns, other urban settlements also have and they are not new towns. However, together, are critical for understanding the logic, problems, social, economic and cultural character of the New Towns. The *Holiday New Towns* are characterized by being New Towns built with a single goal: to supply the demand from mass tourism. They therefore are specialized in leisure tourism and differ from mature tourist destinations by offering new products, aimed at satisfying the needs of tourists. The first New Holiday Towns emerged in the mid-twentieth century, with the advent of modern tourism, thanks to support from the local government with a strong business investment. Unlike those towns with a common identity created by a community throughout history, those responsible for the identity and image of this New Holiday Towns are the politicians, builders, promoters... who built it. Its inhabitants, tourists, are mere spectators of this scene, made to measure for their holidays.

This is followed by a tour of some New Holiday Towns (NHT) that appeared throughout the twentieth century. Some of them are just on planes, while others were built. Some were able to adapt successfully to the changes in tourism demand, while others became ghost towns. NHT built in different countries and with a different political, economic, and social context, but all with the same goal: leisure for the masses. They will be analyzed from the factors of the New Towns mentioned above.

Ciutat del repós i les Vacances (Rest and Vacation Town), Castelldefells, Barcelona. 1933

Starting situation and concept

A project in which architects and politicians sought solutions to enable cheap working-class holidays. "A place to predominate the "cultural work time, rest and intellectual education" Where there should be "rebuild and strengthen the forces of the workers" through "trips, exercise, and agricultural work." (ROVIRA, 2003) But not only it is tied to an urban project, "the solution presented is also due to political and social program to respond the economic crisis of the country, to show the place that it takes in the Catalan political life and the theoretical impact of it in the international reflections of the architects of the modern movement. Beyond a regional context, it is about understanding the supranational scope of the Catalan project." (ROLAND, 2009)

Size, rapid growth and life Cycle



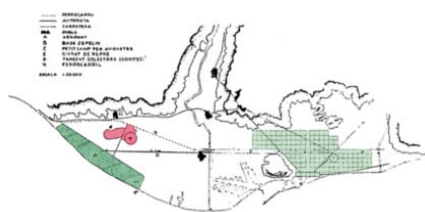
Aerial image of Castelldefells
Grid 33x33km Source. Google maps

The extension of the Gran Via de les Corts Catalanes in Barcelona, 15km, would give direct access to the New Town. So it was located in a place away from noise and pollution, but close enough and accessible from the city. The beach of Castelldefells is located from Estany Remolar until just before the coast of Garraf, with 12 kilometers of beaches lined with pine forests occupy areas of up to 300 meters wide. (PPG-AU FAUFBA) The project was conducted in 1933, with the support of social and cultural groups and becoming a very popular project. The works began, but the Spanish civil war (1936-1939) stopped the project, which has been finally on the plans.

Design

The Project belongs to GATEPAC³, which constituted one of the best legacies of the twentieth century avant-garde in Spain. The action would take place in the coastal area of Baix de Llobregat and provided five areas: (A)bathing area, (B)area weekend (with removable houses for rent), (C)area of residence (with hotels, houses and school colonies minimum), (D)zone for rest cures in sanatoriums and (E)agricultural crop area with vegetable gardens for rent. (Catalan encyclopedia) Among the projects they wanted to do, La “Caseta Desmontable” (dismantled House) highlights. It is proposed as a type of minimum housing for the holiday period in Catalonia. It seeks to live in harmony with the landscape and nature. (GATPAC, 1935)

Figure 2. Extension of the Gran Via in Barcelona for sanitation. Macià Plan. 1933.



Source: PPG-AU FAUFBA and Catalan enciclopedia

Figure 3. Programm of the project *Ciudad del repós i Vacances*.



Source: PPG-AU FAUFBA and Catalan enciclopedia

Figure 4. La caseta desmontable, 1929-1935. GATCPAC.



Source: A.C. Magazine GATEPAC

³ Group of Spanish Architects and Technicians for the Progress of Contemporary Architecture

Prora, Binz, Germany. 1936

Starting situation and concept

“The Nazis planned mass murder and they also planned mass tourism, as part of their attempt to indoctrinate the entire German population.” (BBC news, Holiday camp with a Nazi past, 2008) Between 1936 and 1939, the “Strength through Joy” organization constructed the mostly finished several kilometer long complex of buildings.” It was a sub-organization of the “German Labor Front” whose main objective was the extensive organization of leisure time for the Germans, especially the layout of holidays. But Prora is not just a listed monumental construction of the Nazi regime, is the largest architectural project of the time that was actually carried out. 20,000 people were to spend their holidays there. (Documentation Center of Prora)

Size, rapid growth and life cycle



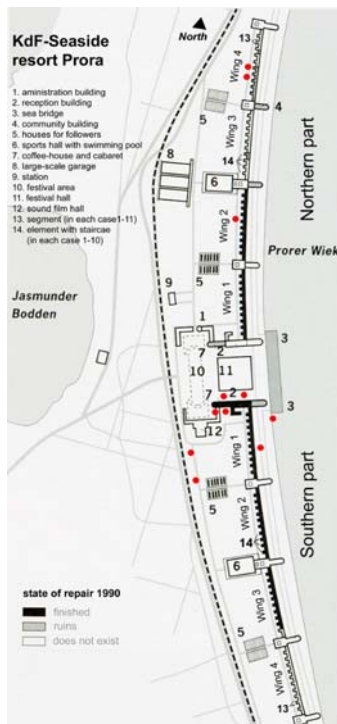
Aerial image of Prora
Grid 33x33km Source. Google maps

“Strength through Joy” constructed a 4.5 km long building strip, consisting of 5 blocks each with a length of 500m; the “KdF Sea Bath Rügen”. The leader of the “German Labor Front”, Robert Ley, has consistently stated that Hitler himself has had the idea of building five “KdF Sea Baths”. However, it is only in Prora where this has been realized. The laying of the foundation stone took place on the 2nd of May 1936, the third anniversary of the “Storming of the Unions”.

The laborers began their construction of the foundation during April 1938. In the summer of 1939, the so called accommodation houses that are parallel to the beach and the skeletal construction in the centre were completed. Construction was halted with the beginning of the war in 1939, seeing as the construction companies were needed in building facilities necessary for the war. By the end of the war, Prora was used as a refugee camp. Until 1991 the compound of the former “KdF Sea Bath” would remain a restricted military zone. The “NVA” would hand it over to the Federal Defense Force, which it would in turn evacuate by the end of 1991. Ever since its evacuation, the revenue authorities have tried to market Prora in a commercial manner. Prora was put under monumental protection in 1994. The central and most preserved section was sold to private investors in 2004, who wish to install hotels, holiday homes, wellness centers and sport facilities.

Design

Figure 5. Kdf-Seaside Prora



Source: Documentation Zentrum Prora

It is not only interesting from the architecture perspective (implementation of modern architecture in National Socialism); it was also an element of the National Socialists' labour and social policy, serving its aggressive military and racial policies. In the beginning of 1936 a competition was held in which 11 architects participated. There were clear building regulations: all rooms must point towards the sea. A festival hall is meant to hold up to 20,000 people. Hitler himself supposedly chose the design by the Cologne architect, Clemens Klotz. (Documentation Zentrum Prora)

Figure 6. Prora aerial image



Source: Bernd Kuehl "Holiday camp with a Nazi past" BBC news (2011)

Figure 7. Reception hall of Prora



Source: Herbert Hoffmann, "Deutschland baut," Stuttgart, 1938.

Las Vegas, Nevada, EEUU. 1930

Starting situation and concept

"The business of Vegas is the disruption of chronological time, in the generation of long sequences of systematized and identical throughout the day, so that the tourists lose the notion of chronological time and start spending wildly." (IRIBAS, 2003) With Las Vegas vacation concept related to leisure, "understood as a state of passivity and inactivity, not associated with work, leisure ... -change moving toward the entertainment." The entertainment industry transformed what was previously vice into virtue, making free time a new production activity. (...) The culture ceases to be a result complex social, spatial and historical, to become a serial product, an amount of entertainment, leisure and consumption, spiced with elements of culture and behavior patterns and generator of magical illusions of life. The culture industry does maximize the economic efficiency of time, there is no free time or over, or passivity or inactivity, but more and more attractive urban proposals for leisure, entertainments that involve a reciprocal action, the visitor and the receiver, which inevitably leads to the consumption of

goods and services. (...) The space invade with its control the public space, the streets belong to the stores and malls, not the city nor the citizens.(...) The new urban reality is defined as "posurban", a new stage of urbanism where public spaces have been generated and created by and for society, the city whose public space is made for a "public" and private, for show. "Muxi (2004)

Size, rapid growth and Life cycle



Aerial image of Las Vegas
Grid 33x33km Source. Google maps

Las Vegas started as a stopover on the pioneer trails to the west, becoming a popular railroad town in the early 20th century. Nowadays it is called The Entertainment Capital of the World. “A growing retirement and family city, it is the 28th-most populous city in the United States, with an estimated population of 583,756 inhabit. The 2010 population estimate of the metropolitan area was 1,951,269. (U.S. Census Bureau, 20010). The area of the city is currently 340km².(Las Vegas Nevada.gov, 2010)

Design

In the book “Learning from Las Vegas”, (VENTURI, SOCOTT, IZENOUR, 1978), Las Vegas is analyzed as a communication system, where symbol is connecting with architecture, as an architecture of persuasion. “Las Vegas is to the Strip what Rome is to the Piazza”

The goal of the *Strip* is to attract attention of users through style and signs, “Signs inflect toward the highway even more than buildings”. Image, speed, inclusion and allusion in architecture over vast space, are evidenced through the Strip.

Figure 8.Connecting Architecture with Symbols

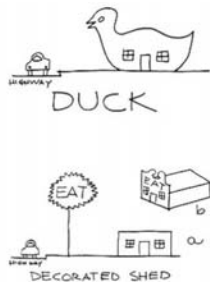


Figure 9. Las Vegas Strip Hotels



Figure 10. Map of Las Vegas. Strip showing every written word seen from the road



Source: VENTURI. Learning from Las Vegas,1978

Cancun, Estado de Quintana Roo, México. 1969

Starting situation and concept

In the early 70's, the Mexican government visualized the opportunity to economically revive the development of the Yucatan peninsula thanks to the tourist activity. So he planned the top tourist New Town of sun and beach and the main source of income from tourism planned in Mexico: Cancun.

Size, rapid growth and life cycle



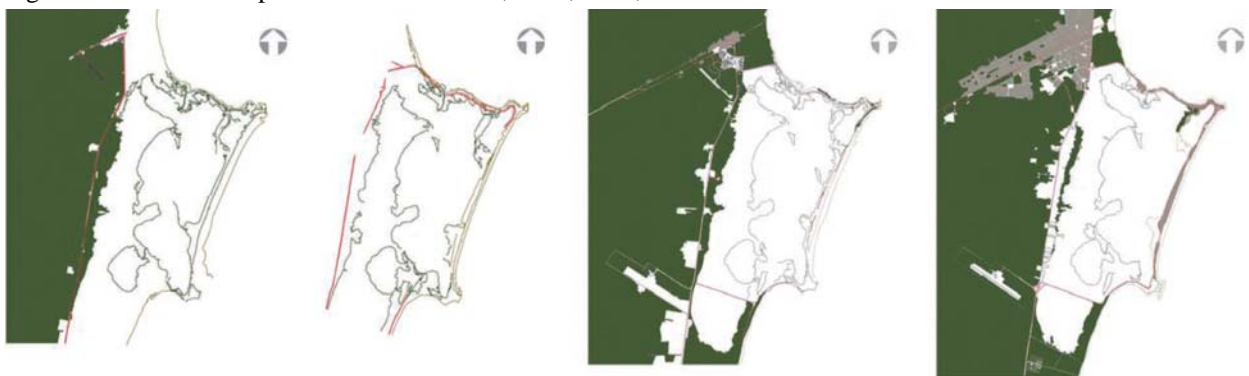
Aerial image of Cancun
Grid 33x33km Source. Google maps

The growth forecast of the urban planning of Cancun were few, since in a few years the city was occupied quickly. Cancun had in 1993, already 188,000 people over 2008 ha. Immigration in the years after increased the population and in just 40 years of existence, Cancun has become come a city of 628,306 inhab. (ITER, 2010).

Design

Three urban elements and their interaction with the beach explain the characterization of Cancun: “First of all, Kukulcan Boulevard, which serves as access avenue and settling for the hotel area, and does not have any exit to the beach, In the second place, private and tourist land holding all-inclusive resorts that have developed as autonomous units whose physique configuration is thought from its views to the sea. Finally, the coast line and its land reservations considered as public beaches that wanted to find a solution to social tourism and planned eleven public openings from the Boulevard to the beach.” (ALDAPE, 2010)

Figure 11. Urban development of Cancun 1969, 1970, 1974, 1991.



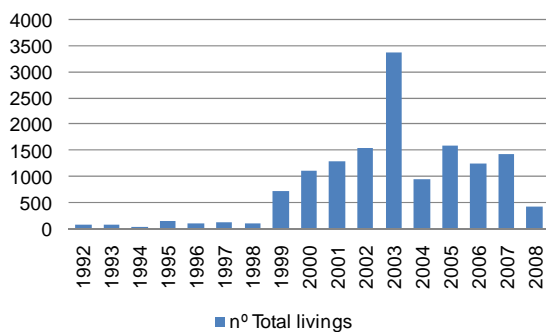
Source:ALDAPE, La configuración del espacio turístico de Cancun, 2010

Marina d'Or. Oropesa del Mar, Castellón, Spain. 1989

Starting situation and concept

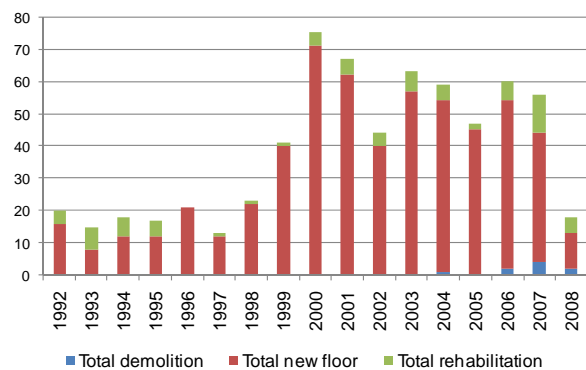
Oropesa del Mar had agriculture as their main economic activity until mid-twentieth century, when it began the development of tourism, like other coastal towns of the Mediterranean. In the 60's the first buildings and urbanizations were built as tourist destinations by the sea, making Oropesa the traditional destination for vacationers from Castellón. Thus, tourist and real estate market became the main source of income for Oropesa, which encouraged the private company, Marina d'Or Group⁴, in the late 80's to build Marina d'Or. The project initially intended to be just a urbanization, but with the Law Regulating Urban Activity⁵ (LRAU) in 1994, Marina d'Or Group and the local government of Oropesa del Mar, decided to build what would be the largest New Town in Spain: *Marina d'Or, Ciudad de Vacaciones*. The Figures 14 and 15 graph shows that the real-state boom in Oropesa began in the late 90's, just after the LRAU. In 2003 the town built a total of 3.377 new housing units, doubling from 2002 to 2008 the number of urban properties in the municipality.

Figure 14. New floor building, Oropesa



Source: Own elaboration from data of IVE, 2009

Figure 15. Licenses granted by building works, Oropesa



Source: Own elaboration from data of IVE, 2009

Size, rapid growth and life cycle

The growth of Marina d'Or is longitudinal to the coast along 4km and 800m deep. It occupies actually the Municipalities of Oropesa and cottages with a total of 170ha and is bounded on the east by the sea, in the west by the railroad, south of the river Chinchilla and north by the nature reserve of Cabanes. It is for this reason that today their expansion will occur with

⁴ The Group has developed its own fully integrated business model, where full control of the business cycle allows them to keep costs to a minimum: Land Purchase, Land Plots Management, Construction, Trading and Selling and After-Sales service. The important increase that has been achieved in real state sales is due to: commercial strategy; a highly specialized product with added value; strong customer relationships; accost rationalization strategy and international expansion. (Marina d'Or Group, 2010)

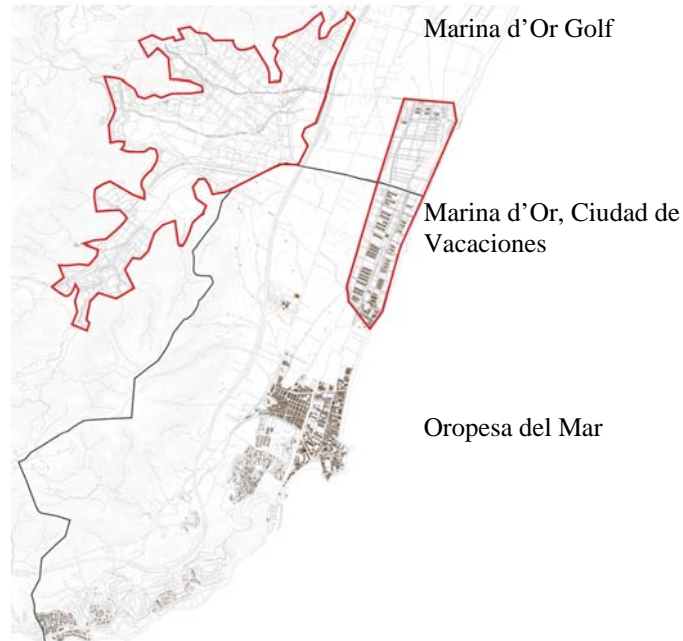
⁵ The LRAU involved the liberalization of the urban ACTIVITY in Comunidad Valenciana. A liberalization of the previous monopoly of land ownership, typical of the traditional Spanish urban system: liberalization in the fields of urbanization, formulation of proposals for detailed planning; and execution and management planning. (Gasco, 2009)

Marina d'Or Golf, a master plan of 1.800ha, which will complement the leisure of the New Holiday Town with golf resorts, amusement parks, spa, sky slopes... hotels and vacation homes.



Oropesa del Mar (2009)
Grid 33x33km Source: Google maps

Figure 16. Municipality of Oropesa and Cabanes (2009) Scale 1/150.000



Source: Own elaboration from urban plans of the Oropesa Council

Table 2. Urbanized land of Marina d'Or (2010)

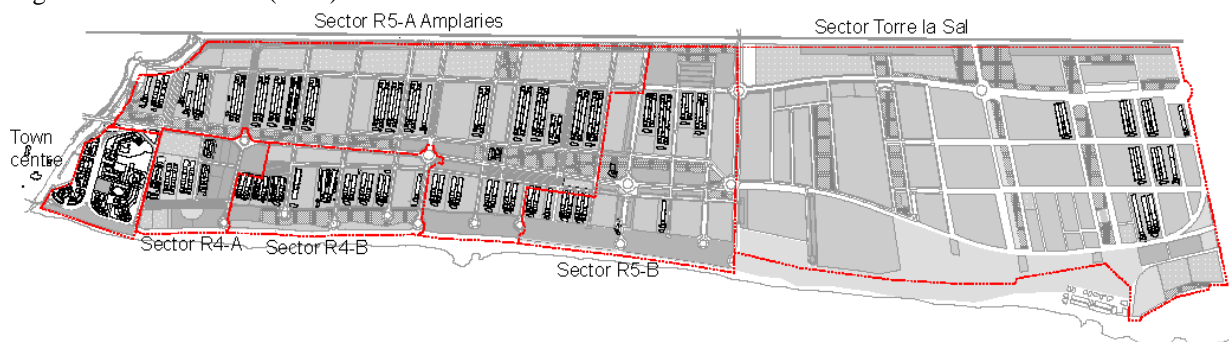
		Soil classif.*	Area(m2)	Gross floor area index (mst/m ²)
PGOU ⁶ Oropesa 1982	Sector D3 (Town centre) Approved in 1989	SU-R	90.000	
	Sector R4-A, R4-B, R5-A, R5-B. Approved in 2001	SU-R	1.196.788	0,675-0,85
		SUR-R	276.525	0,675-0,75
PGOU Cabanes 1983	Sector Torre la Sal. Approved in 2005	SUR-R	1.206.421	0,55
	Marina d'Or Golf. Approved in 2009	SUR-R	9.911.970	0.30

Source: Memoria informativa PGOU 2009 Oropesa del Mar and PGOU 2009 Cabanes

The n° of inhabitants: max. n° liv. x 2,1 inhab/liv

*SU-R: Residencial Urbanized Soil; SUR-R: Residencial Urbanizable Soil

Figure 17. Marina d'Or (2009). Scale 1/9.000



Source: Own elaboration from urban plans of the Oropesa Council

⁶ General Urban Plan 2009

Design

As we see Marina d'Or has a very rigid urban structure that extends along the coast regularly and repetitively to its limits. With a functional organization, its activities are divided into horizontal strips parallel to the sea that are interspersed. Tertiary services (hotels, spa, restaurants, shopping, commercial centre ...) are concentrated in the Town Center, leaving the strip further from the sea to put the theme parks, nightclubs ... Its main avenue, Avenida Barcelona, is the entrance to Marina d'Or and showcase of leisure and entertainment of the city, as the *Strip* from *Las Vegas*. Here are all advertising icons and sculptures of Marina d'Or placed on roundabouts every 200m. In terms of building type, there is a marked difference between the first sector built, Town Centre, where there is great diversity in height, types of housing, façade and uses (all the ground floors contain activities) and other sectors. In sectors R4-A,-B R4, R5, A, R5-B, there are only two types of building, which are repeated again and again. It's a massive and serial architecture. (The variety appears only in a few parcels built by other agents than Marina d'Or). In the sector Torre la Sal, the same typologies are repeated, although there are bungalows as an alternative. Thus, public space is a monotonous scene of brick buildings without any complexity, except for the publicity of Marina d'Or, which grabs all the attention of urban space "as a monument".

Figure 18. Sector Town centre



Figure 19. Sector R4-A,-B R4, R5, A, R5-B, Building typology I



Figure 20. Sector R4-A,-B R4, R5, A, R5-B, Building typology II



Source: Own Photos

All these New Towns built for the holidays, some of them with really large dimensions, are actually *cities*? Referring to the definition of *City as an ecosystem*, (RUEDA, 1997), are they *cities* with the required contacts, regulations and exchanges? Does their public space represent the collectivity of society, the spirit of neighborliness? Is it a performance space where society becomes visible? (BORJA, 2001) Are they *cities* builders of *places* or *non places*?⁷

To determine if this urban phenomenon is a builder of places or places, the process explained in the Table 3 was carried out:

⁷ "If a place can be a place of identity, relational and historical, a place that is neither identificatory or relational, or historical, define a " non-place "... a world where the scores of transit and temporary occupations, promised a world of solitary individuality, to provisionally ephemeral, to the passage." AUGÉ.M. (2004)

Metodology

Table 3. How to detect a place or a non-place? Source: Own elaborated using the attached bibliography			
CONCEPT Synthesis made from (AUGE, 2004 & SILVESTRO y ROCA, 2007)		INTERMEDIATE VARIABLE	TOOLS
What is a place?	What is a non-place?	How to detect a place or a non-place?	Which methodology to use?
IDENTIFICATORY Space where you notice that you take part of it, with which you feel identified	ANONYMOUS Space you do not recognize, that you never come to see as your own	TOWN CONTEXT Starting situation and concept; Design; Size and rapid growth; Life cycle (INTI, 2009)	Election and research of a CASE OF STUDY: MARINA D'OR, OROPESA DEL MAR
HISTÓRICAL Space in which one has a longer relationship, forming part of his own biography or personal history	PROVISIONAL Point of transit and temporary occupation	USERS ROOTS with the town FREQUENCY by users in town	QUANTITATIVE METHODOLOGY: THE SURVEY ⁸
RELATIONAL Space where abound relationships with their personal or materials elements	NO RELATIONAL The user of the site is not alone, but maintaining a "contractual relationship" with others	RELATIOSHIPS between neighbors DIVERSITY of the town model and of the users	
HUMANIZED Ideal space for our body which allow to find ourselves or communicate us with other people	DEHUMANIZED Does not help or even difficult in the practice to become more human	PRIVACY vs. XOLLECTIVE SPACES INTENSITY OF USE the users make of public spaces (ROCA, J.,BURNS, M. Y GARCÍA, P.,2003)	ETNOGRAPHY AS A QUALITATIVE METHOD OF ANALYSIS: PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIO N ⁹
HOME Most personal space of human beings	ACCOMODATION Provides only external corporal wellbeing	WAYS OF INHABITING URBAN SPACE in day life	
COMMON Space where a group recognizes itself	INDIVIDUAL Space where one experiences loneliness	VALORATION OF URBAN SPACE users do (ROCA, J.,BURNS, M. Y GARCÍA, P.,2003)	
LIVED SPACE ¹⁰ 'Lived space' in depth by personal subjectivity of each	SHOW Fictional relationship between gaze and landscape	SATISFACTIÓ N of their users	

⁸ 150 surveys were made to users of Marina d'Or (residents of Marina d'or, residents of nearby cities, tourists... people who was using Marina d'Or urban space) between 1 and 15 August 2010, weeks where Oropesa reaches the highest occupancy (Tourist Info Oropesa del Mar, 2009)

⁹ I chose one of the days with more occupation of the year, Saturday August 14, 2010 (INFOTUR Oropesa del Mar, 2009) The same photo tour in three different time zones was carried out: from 11:30 am to 14h, from 17.30h to 20h and 21h to 23h. (PEREZ, 2009) Special attention was paid to the intensity of use, ways of living and the diversity of the urban space. The objective of this methodology was also to provide a more global view of Marina d'Or from this sequence of photos enumerated and continuous in terms of location.

¹⁰ "The 'place' is ... the 'living space' in depth by personal subjectivity of each, a space in which one notes that is part (sort of) of his own being (ie, with which you feel identified), a space that you have a long relationship (ie, part of his own biography or personal history), an area abounding with relationships or personal items (relationship with the environment)." (SILVESTRO, J.M. y ROCA, J., 2007)

Results. Case of Study: Marina d'Or

User roots

The purpose of this variable is to know the links between the users of Marina d'Or (MD) with the New Town.

84.6% of those polled slept in Marina d'Or, while the rest in other nearby tourist destinations: Oropesa (2km away), Cabanes, (10km away) or in Castellón, (22km away). The latter came to Marina d'Or to make use of different activities (supermarkets, shopping center, shops, amusement parks...), or just crossed MD going for a walk along the coastline from elsewhere. 9% of those polled worked in MD, of whom the majority lived in Oropesa, Cabanes or Castellón and came every day just to work, so they didn't spend their free time in MD¹¹. 45.30% of those polled had a vacation home, 29% stayed in a rental property, 19% in a hotel and only 6% had a principal residence. Of this 6%, the majority had it out of MD, Figure 21.

Figure 21. Where do you sleep and in which kind of accommodation?

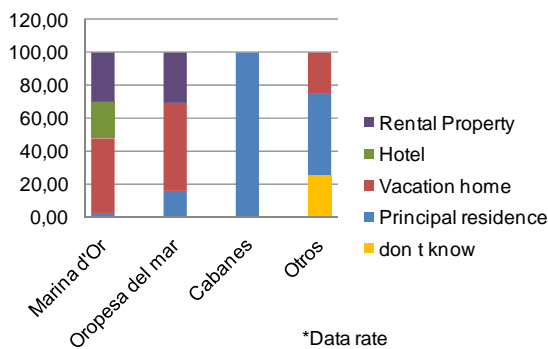
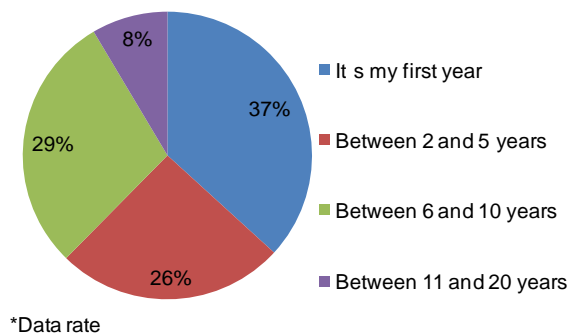


Figure 22. How many years ago do you frequent Marina d'Or?



Very few people frequented Marina d'Or since its foundation, 20 years ago, Figure 22. And who visited the New Town more years ago, were those who owned a principal residence (in Oropesa, Cabanes and a very low percentage in MD); or a vacation home, that they have bought during the real-state boom in Oropesa, especially in the period 2000-2005. Figures 23 and 24. From this period, the percentage of vacation home decreases and increases for hotels and rental housing, Figure 24.

¹¹ Because the surveys were made in the public space, it was necessary to go directly to their places of work to get workers. But so very few agreed to answer because they worked for MD and were afraid of getting into trouble. That is why the percentage of workers is so low.

Figure 23. How many years ago do you come to Marina d'Or and where do you sleep?

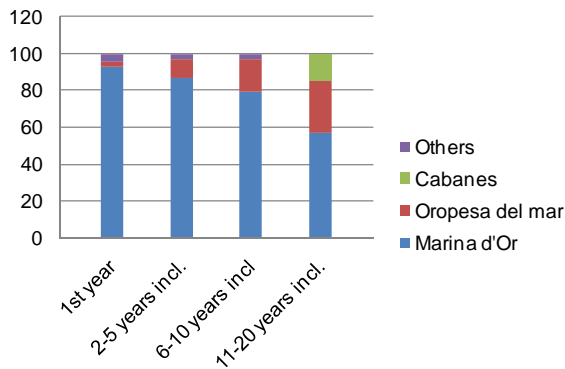
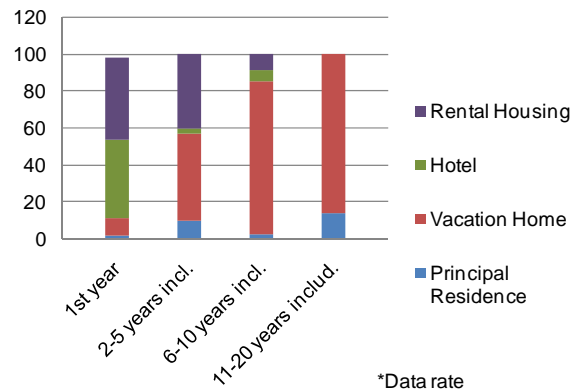


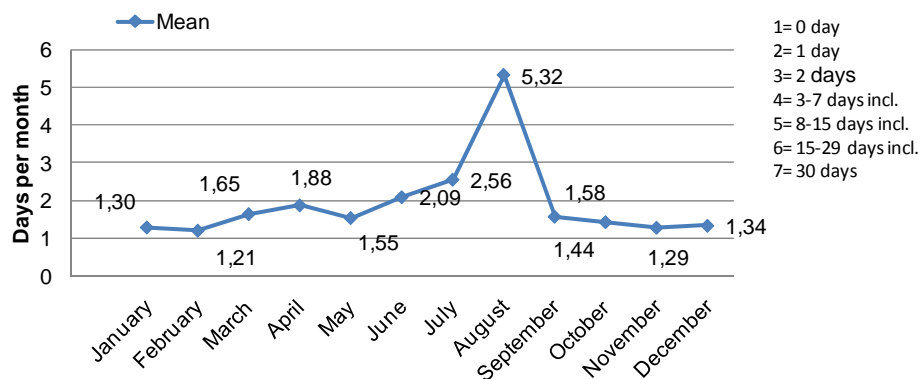
Figure 24. How many years ago do you come to Marina d'Or and in which kind of accommodation do you sleep?



Frequency of use

The average of frequency of use of MD is 0 to 1 day per month, except July and August. In July amounts to 1 day, and in August the average is between 8 and 15 days¹². The overall average is 1 day /month, Figure 25.

Figure 25. How many days per month do you come to Marina d'Or?



Except July and August, 75% of users are not going to MD the rest of the year, Figure 26. The busiest periods apart from August and July, are April (Easter), September, June, October ...from 3 to 7 days. The period of 1 to 2 days a month, weekend, have also a minimum percentage, Table 4. Relating the Table 4 with the type of accommodation is seen as the seasonal increase depending on the type of accommodation, Figure 27.

¹² Please note that the surveys were done in August

Figure 26. How many days per month do you frequent Marina d'Or?

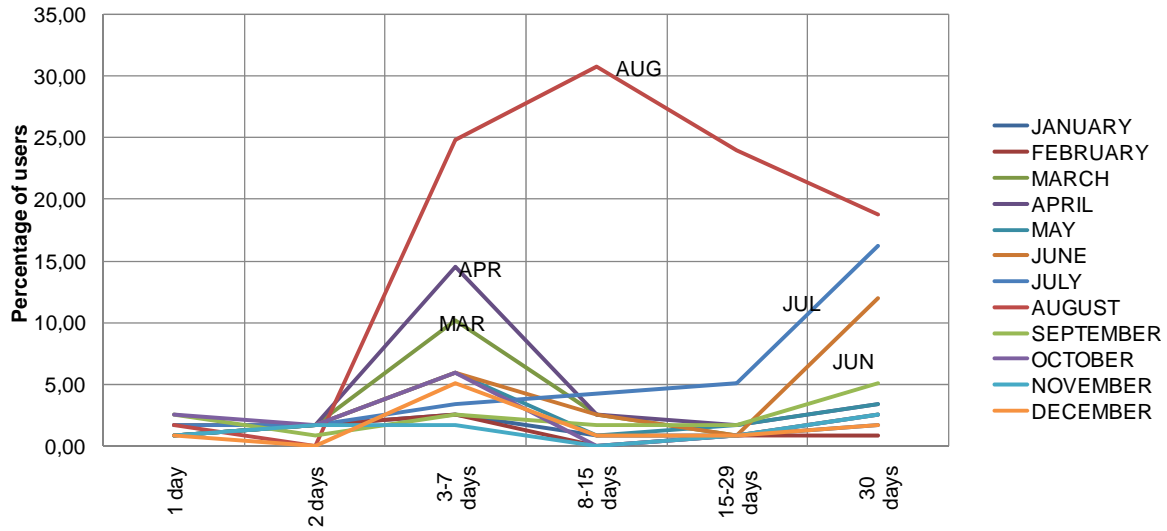
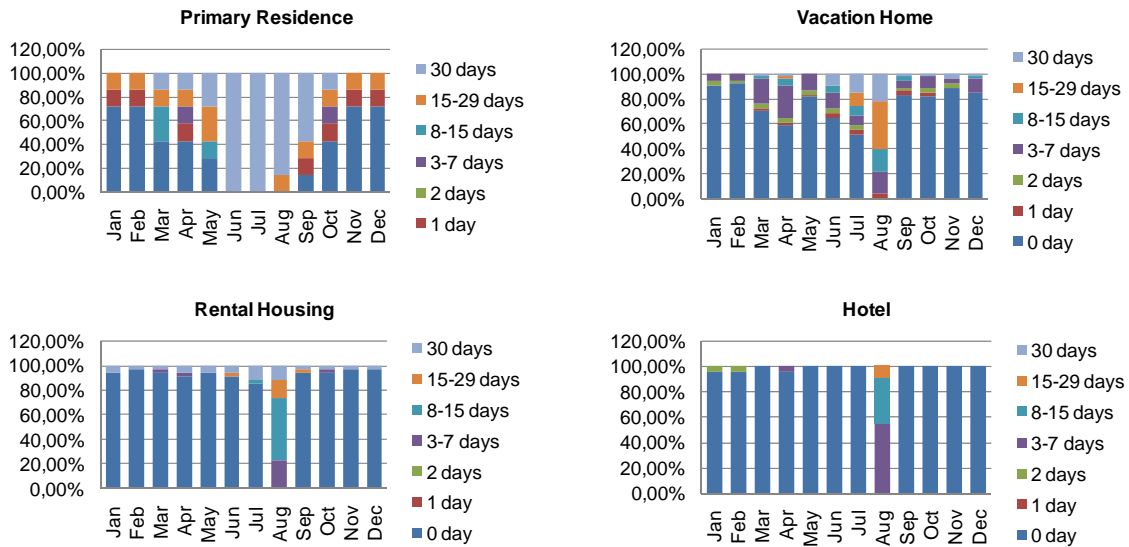


Table 4. How many days per month do you frequent Marina d'Or?

Nº days/month	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	FREQUENCY
0 dias	91,45	93,16	81,20	74,36	85,47	75,21	67,52	0,00	85,47	86,32	92,31	90,60	75,69%
1 day	0,85	0,85	0,85	1,71	0,85	1,71	1,71	1,71	2,56	2,56	0,85	0,85	1,47%
2 days	1,71	1,71	1,71	1,71	1,71	1,71	1,71	0,00	0,85	1,71	1,71	0,00	1,48%
3-7 days	2,56	2,56	10,26	14,53	5,98	5,98	3,42	24,79	2,56	5,98	1,71	5,13	7,30%
8-15 days	0,85	0,00	2,56	2,56	0,85	2,56	4,27	30,77	1,71	0,00	0,00	0,85	4,19%
15-29 days	0,85	0,85	0,85	1,71	1,71	0,85	5,13	23,93	1,71	0,85	0,85	0,85	3,57%
30 days	1,71	0,85	2,56	3,42	3,42	11,97	16,24	18,80	5,13	2,56	2,56	1,71	6,29%
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100%

Figure 27. Frequency of use of Marina d'Or/type of accommodation

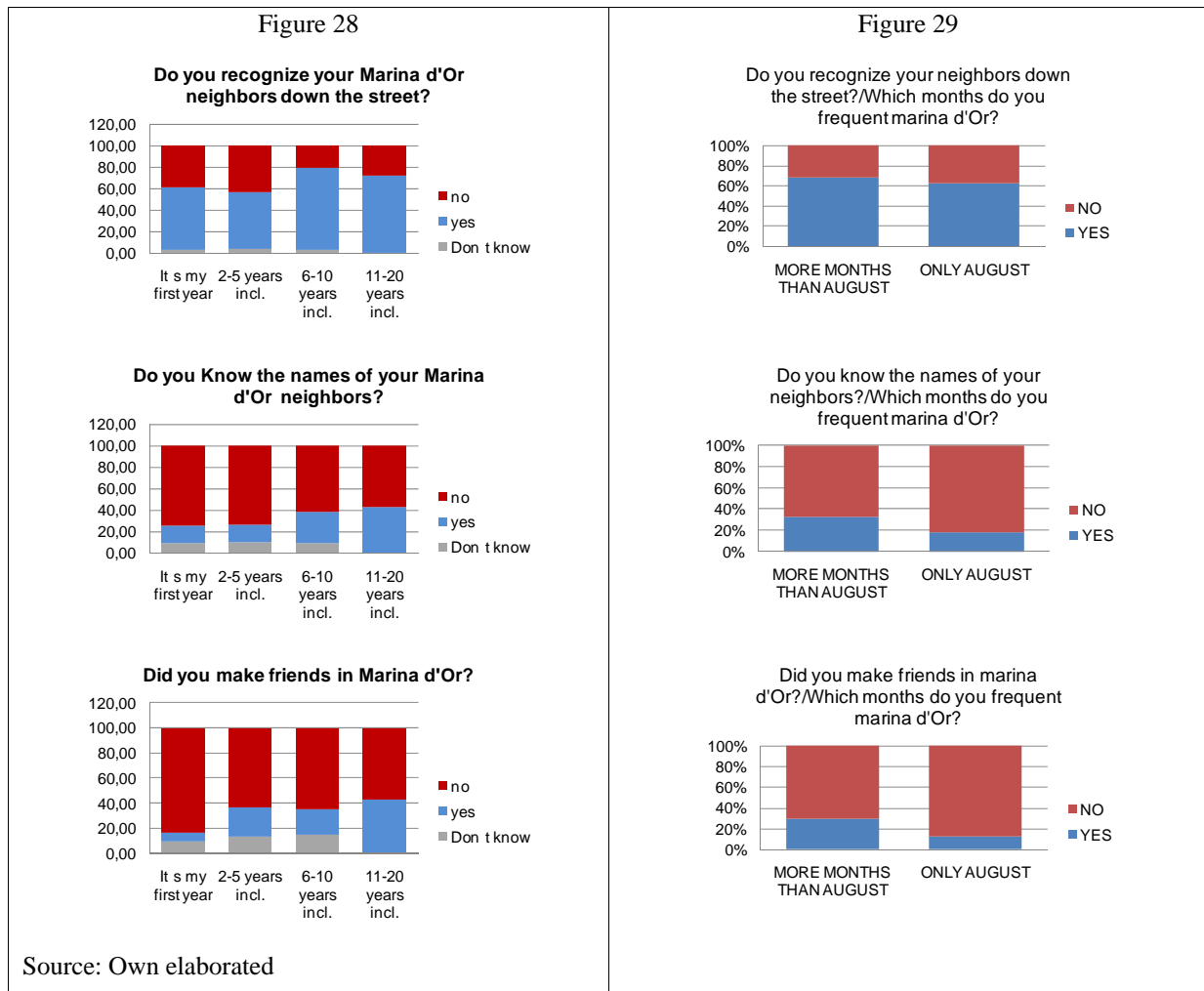


Source: Own elaborated

Relationships

With this variable, is to see if MD as New Holiday town, is an urban phenomenon that contributes to establish social relations between its users and what kind of relationships.

66% recognized on the street to the neighbors, employees... MD, as only 24% knew their names, and only 17% had made friends. The relationship increases as more years frequented the city, Figure 28, and the less seasonally was its frequency of use, the relations were closer, Figure 29.



Diversity of users

The tourism of Marina d'Or is mostly national, 93% of those polled were Spanish tourists who came mainly from the interior and north of the country, Figure 30, looking for good weather and beach. A very small percentage belongs to the Comunidad Valenciana, and to Castellón only 7%. Taking into account that the municipality of Oropesa is the traditional destination of many Castellonenses, is a surprising fact. The distances between the principal residence of those surveyed and MD are: minimum distance: 22km (Castellón); maximum distance 500km (Córdoba); and the average distance is 310km. One of the reasons why the frequency of use in MD is so low and seasonalized. The average age of users is between 1960 and 1980, ie 30

and 50, being 38 years old the most common age. A very high percentage (71%) have children and, despite one of the initiatives of the PGOU 2009 of Oropesa¹³, is to attract the Elderly, a low percentage of them frequent MD.

Figure 30. Spanish nationality

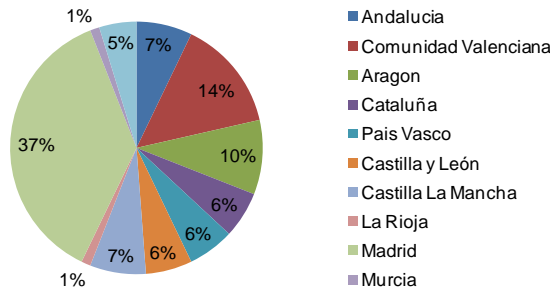
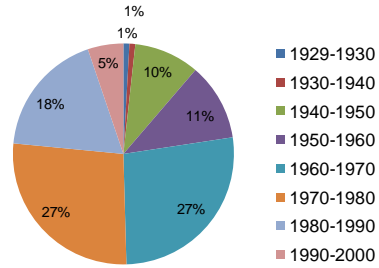


Figure 31. Birth year



Diversity of public space

Figure 32. Images of Marina d'Or streets



To understand the diversity of urban space in MD, all the streets, plazas, green areas ... were photographed and compared, for example Figure 32. As shown, the same section of street is repeated again and again, equipped with the same architecture, urban furniture, lighting, vegetation ... This is the result of a city built by one agent, Marina d'Or, a serial production. The private enclosures of all apartment blocks and hotels leave the streets wall-wall as residual spaces, just to pass. Compared to the dimensions that occupy these private spaces, the sidewalks of the streets have a minimum width of sidewalk, leaving space only for cars and parking. The green areas, avenues, are also monotonous and repetitive. Just in the advertising of the public spaces used to promote MD, it's possible to find diversity. These are the only references that help to get one's bearings at MD, Figure 34.

Figure 33. Symbology on Barcelona Av., MD Strip



¹³ General Urban Plan of Oropesa del Mar 2009

Intensity of use

The private and public spaces of MD were listed, and asked users to the intensity of use they made of them. ROCA, J., BURNS, M. Y GARCÍA, P. (2003) It was observed that except the beach, bars, restaurants, bars and Jardines MD; the remaining spaces are visited once a week, less than once a month, or never. In the Table 5, the more intense tones correspond to higher intensities. By highlighting in red the two higher rates, they are always contiguous in the intensity scale, which shows that a greater percentage of users do the same intensity of use in each space.

Table 5. Intensity of use

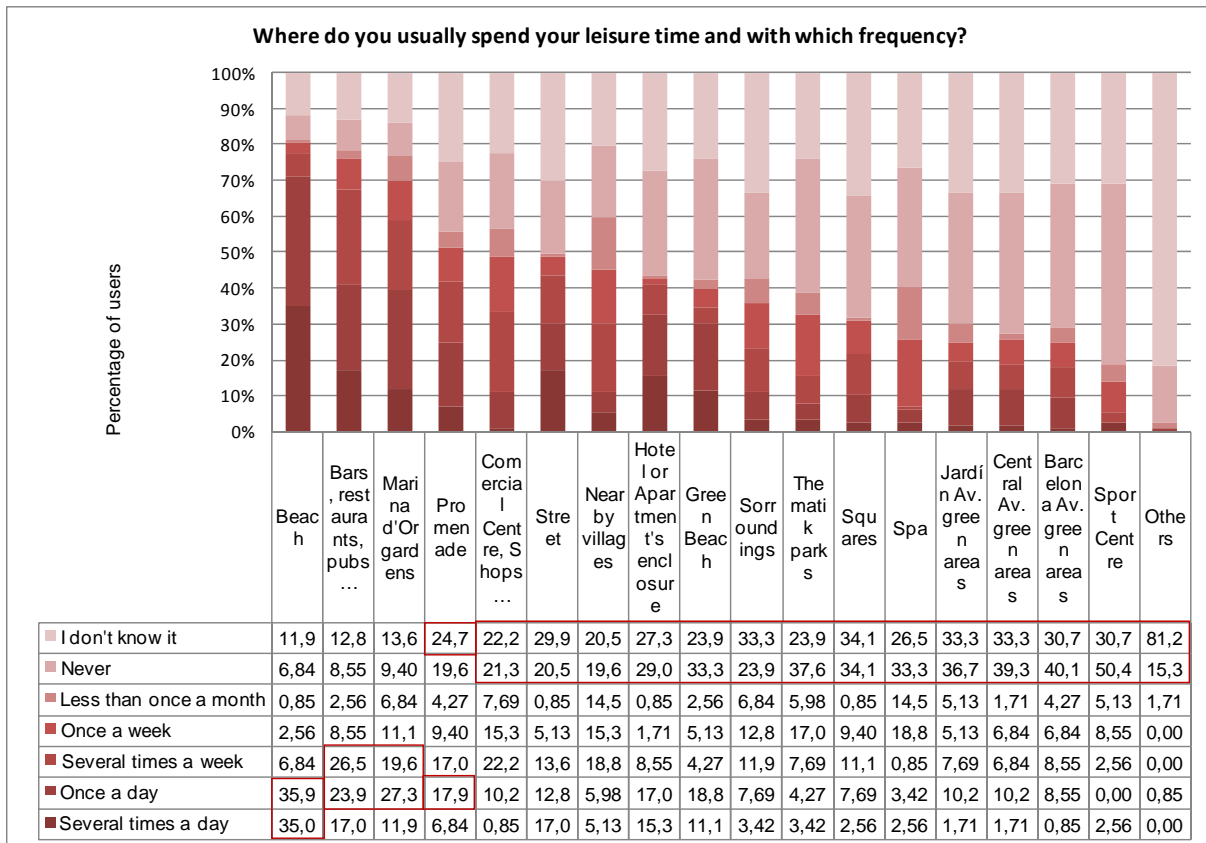
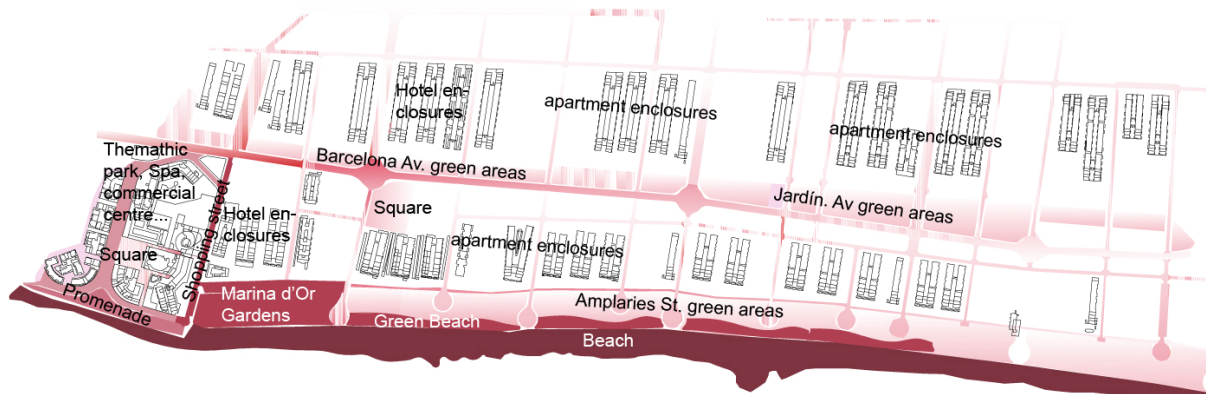


Figure 34. Map of intensity of use of Marina d'Or



Source. Own elaborated. Scale 1/10.000

The highest intensities are concentrated obviously close to the beach and the activities, Figure 34, which are located nearby the Town center. Inactivity on the ground floors of buildings, (the private enclosures wall-wall ensure peace and security to its neighborhood), is one of the consequences of the low of intensity of use in the rest of the town.

When the methodology of participant observation was carried out in the morning, afternoon and evening, the intensity of use extracted from the surveys was reaffirmed. All green areas and places were almost empty during the day. Marina d'Or Gardens, where the company offers activities like a resort (concerts, karaoke, aerobics ...) was the only space used and recognized by users. As discovered exception through this method, the illegal sale improvised the "top-blankets" at night at Amplaries Street. During two hours approx. this street and adjacent green areas had a maximum intensity of use. The explanation for these so low intensities of use in most of the public spaces, is also their lack of diversity, being all alike were hardly recognizable by its users. The lack of identity of Barcelona Av., the street Amplaries ... is another reason why users didn't know their names, although they crossed them every day to go to the beach.

Analyzing how these variables behave, these areas were classified into three significant components, Table 6. The first one (1), corresponds to the spaces they have in common only a low intensity of use. The second one (2), meeting spaces that do not involve economic consumption and where there is not organized entertainment: beach, squares, streets... In the third component (3) are those spaces that involve organized entertainment: thematic parks, Garden's Marina d'Or... and therefore consumption

Table 6. Components of use

	Components		
	1	2	3
Beach	-.094	,571	,241
Green beach	,366	,674	,051
Hotel or apartment enclosures	,273	,607	,315
Gardens Marina d'Or	,223	,443	,529
Promenade	,259	,730	,142
Barcelona Av. green areas	,720	,594	,048
Jardín Av. Green areas	,759	,438	,116
Amplaries St. Green areas	,698	,516	,144
Squares	,497	,481	,434
Streets	,366	,442	,553
Commercial centre, shops...	,562	,160	,575
Bars, restaurants...	,204	,154	,775
Thematic parks	,541	,119	,588
Spa	,638	,263	,470
Sport centre	,768	,109	,384
Villages nearby	,738	,086	,269
Marina d'Or surroundings	,685	,144	,332
Otros	,148	,413	,431

Source: Own elaborated

Ways of inhabiting urban space in day life

The lack of relations between users of Marina d'Or, didn't help to use collectively the public space. Except for the beach, where there was mass of users, the other living spaces were used individually and behavior patterns were the same at the same times of day, predictable.

Figure 35. Space of component 1, Barcelona Av. green areas.



Figure 36. Space of component 2, The green beach.



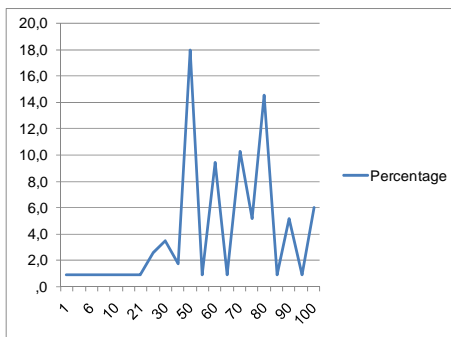
Figure 37. Space of component 3, Garden's Marina d'Or.



Valuation

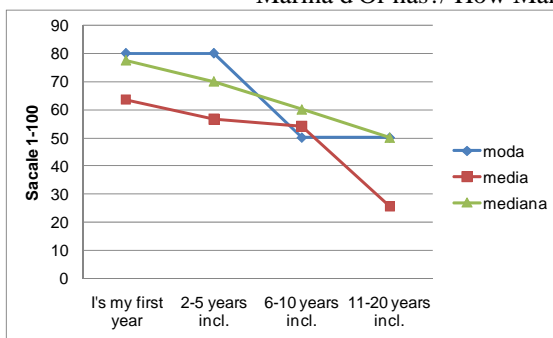
This aspect was important to know the reasons of the users to choose Marina d'Or as tourist destination. First, they were asked: What level of attractiveness, do you think Marina d'Or has? With an average of 53.40 and the approval of most of the users above 50 the level of attraction of Marina d'Or, one can conclude that they are satisfied, Table 7.

Table 7. On a scale of 1 to 100 (1 = very low, 100 = very high), What level of attractiveness, do you think Marina d'Or has?



N	Valid: 117. Lost: 0	
Media		53
Mediana		60
Moda		50
Desv. típ.		31
Percentiles	25	30
	50	60
	75	80

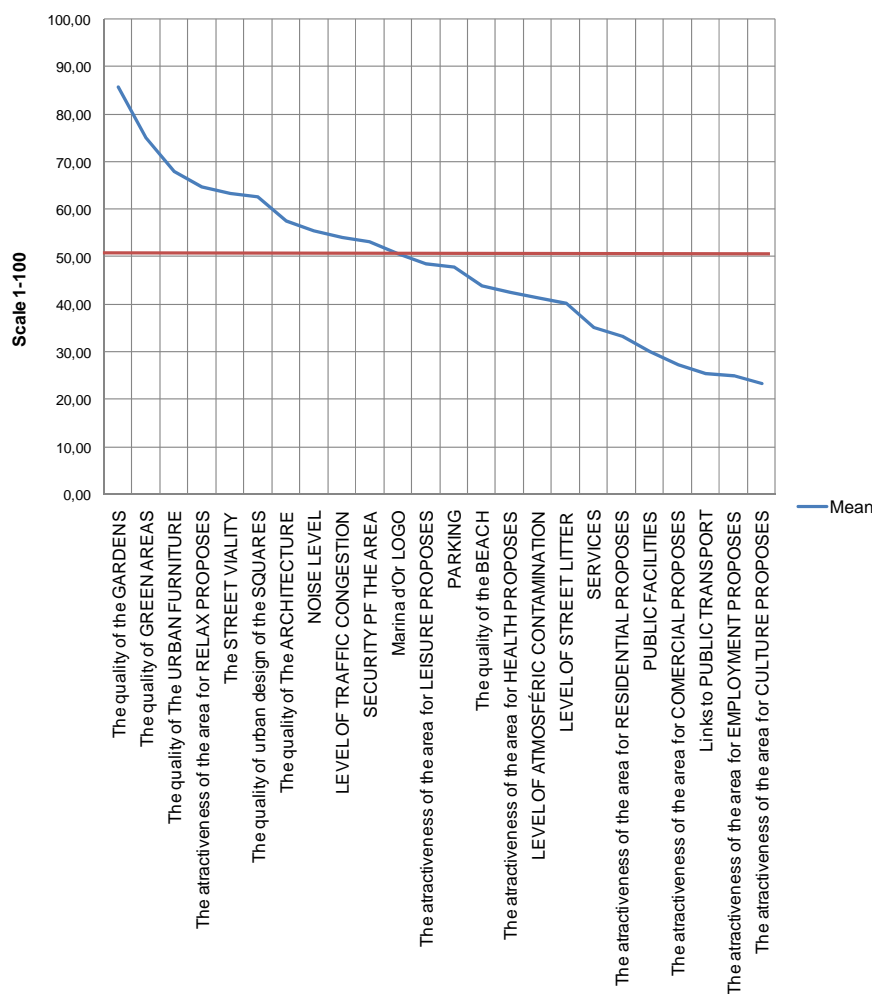
Table 8. On a scale of 1 to 100 (1 = very low, 100 = very high), What level of attractiveness, do you think Marina d'Or has?/ How Many years ago do you visit Marina d'Or?



N	Valid 117	1st year	2-5 years	6-10 years	11-20 years
	Lost 17				
Media		63	57	54	26
Mediana		78	70	60	50
Moda		80	80	50	50
Desv. típ.		23	24	24	20
Perc	25	70	55	50	33
	50	78	70	60	50
	75	80	80	75	50

Source: Own elaborated

Figure 38. How would you rate the following aspects of Marina d'Or? Scale 1-100(1=very low, 100= very high)



However, to relate this Graphic with How Many years ago do you visit Marina d'Or? Table 8, is observed as *the level of satisfaction decreases, as more years users frequent the New Town*. When users were asked about valuation on some specific aspects of Marina d'Or, Figure 38, it is surprising that despite the low intensity of use of the green areas, however, obtained a very high appraisal. Unlike the beach for example, with a very high intensity of use and

low valuation. The variables show the users' ignorance about issues as public transport (48, 7% of those polled didn't know about it); public facilities (34%); employment (42%); health and culture equipments (37%). Their holidays were so short that they did'nt need them, so did'nt miss them. For example, they ignored the quality of MD connection by public transport, because 82% of those polled arrived by private vehicle to the town. A large percentage complained about the waste management at the New town, which did not work regularly due to the large population load endured by Oropesa during summer. Despite the large area of private spaces, the level of security also has a very low value. And so does the parking. Users complained about the lack of parking places, another consequence of excessive population and inadequate public transport services, despite the large areas of both private and public parking in the town.

Satisfaction

Users responded freely over positive and negative aspects that have Marina d'Or. Quietness, rest and relax was the top rated positive aspect of MD, followed by family vacation (with children), estainment, fun, green areas, sea, climate, sun, and all the aspects involved in comfort: hotel facilities and easy accessibility to the beach. The negative aspects were the beach, with a large percentage of dissatisfied users, as well as the lack of shops, facilities, services, entertainment, culture, cleaning, maintenance and promenade. Only two polled complained about the Marina d'Or Neighborhood Association, which does not work since 2 or 3 years ago. They sometimes argued, that they came to the New Town to rest, and the last thing they wanted was to have conflicts with their neighbors on issues related to the organization of MD. "I'm on holidays!" Moreover, there is a feeling of reproach to Marina d'Or by their neighbors, making the Group responsible for all the evils of town, sometimes saying they feel "cheated" because Marina d'Or promised them anything else, when they bought their apartment.

As for the slogans of Marina d'Or: "In Marina d'Or, Holidays all year", 56% of those polled were not agree; "Buy an apartment in Marina d'Or is the best inversion you can do", 66% of those polled were not agree; and "Marina d'Or is the best city for holidays to enjoy the whole family", 49% of those polled were not agree. 73% said they would return back to Marina d'Or. In terms of reasons, 28% responded freely "because I own a vacation home"; 16% "because I like Marina d'Or" and 8% "for the peace, rest and relax." Those polled who did not want to return, was mostly "for the quality of the beach" and "because there is nothing to do." Despite the media publicity of Marina d'Or golf Project, only 52% knew it. Of these, 35% thought the project was "pure speculation" and 23% thought it was "interesting and attractive".

Conclusion

It is obvious that seasonality affects the intensity of use of any tourism destination based on sun and beach, an issue that will inevitably impact on other variables: relationships between neighbors, intensity of use of public space and ways of inhabit inhabiting urban space, as shown in the results of the survey. However, the impact is not so strong in a mature tourist destination, developed from a historic center and gradually, as in a New Holiday Town. The former retains a population of primary residence which keeps active the destination throughout the year. This is because apart from tourism, other activities as fishing, agriculture... have been traditionally developed through years, although clearly less important. But this issue allows the existence of a commercial activity and minimum ongoing service throughout the year, providing the possibility of using the destination by the population with vacation homes, housed in hotels, holiday homes ... anywhere season. The existence of this population base is crucial. Arguably, Marina d'Or lacks a significant base population, because

as a New Town has not developed enough and is therefore a matter of time that the roots of its neighborhood increase. However, after 20 years, the frequency of use of Marina d'Or is very low and the trend is that the use of hotels and rental apartments is increasing compared to primary and vacation homes, which leads to its users frequenting the New town less often and shorter periods of time. As consequence, there is a lack of social cohesion in Marina d'Or and according to the results of the surveys, it is likely that this situation will worsen in the future, impede the progress of the new Town, because who is going to worry about the city if not its own citizens? Moreover, the private interests of the group Marina d'Or, the council of Castellón and the city of Oropesa del Mar for a thriving Marina d'Or are very high. Question that encourages new strategies for change, as the opening of an airport a few kilometers from Marina d'Or, or the mega project Marina d'Or Golf. Thus, this holiday destination initially planned for the rest of the family, is becoming a macro tourist resort, based on massive holidays occupied by entertainment offerings. Reason why the satisfaction of the traditional vacationers declines the more years they spend in Marina d'Or. And it may be, that these strategies for change influence mature destinations as for example Oropesa and they also become places of passage for tourists spontaneous. Maybe this new approach is the key to “success” for the future tourist destinations, as predicted IRIBAS (2003), but what is certain is that it will not help Marina d'Or, nor other tourist destinations, to become a *place* for their neighborhood. Another issue is that unlike mature tourist destinations which grew gradually and involved various agents, both public and private, New Holidays Towns have a very fast pace of growth thanks to the intervention of fewer players. In the case of Marina d'Or, Marina d'Or Group has taken over the whole urban process: planning, management, construction and sale. This is the cause of the lack of diversity of architecture and urban space in the new town, fact which prevents users to recognize public space. The conclusion of this study is that Marina d'Or is a New Town builder of *non-places* and those New Holiday towns settled on the same basis, so they are.

Reflection

Is it a precedent for future stagnation and decline that tourist destinations become builders of *non-places*?, Should it be avoided? How? The General Urban Plan 2009 of Oropesa del Mar, suggests to attract the elderly to encourage principal and vacation homes and longer holidays. This specialization of the population is an optimal destination for a New Town as Marina d'Or? Or on the contrary, we should focus on satisfying this new type of tourist seeking short holidays and fill their time of leisure activities and innovative offers all day? On what basis should settle Marina d'Or and the future New Holiday Towns that are expanding internationally?

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