

From underdevelopment to overdevelopment in ZoMeCS The potency of territory (territory = milieu * population)

Dr. José María ROMERO MARTÍNEZ

Universidad de Granada, E.T.S. Arquitectura, Avda. Andalucía 38, 18071-Granada, Spain
e-mail: jmr2@ugr.es

Msc. Yolanda ROMERO PADILLA

Universidad de Málaga, Facultad de Turismo, C/ León Tolstoi 4, 29071-Málaga, Spain
e-mail: rp.yolanda@gmail.com

Dr. Eduardo SERRANO MUÑOZ

Dr. Arquitecto, C/ Octavio Picón 31, Bajo C, 29017-Málaga, Spain
e-mail: tatotete@gmail.com

Abstract

Costa del Sol is a paradigmatic example of how a touristic theme park is being transformed -for the least fifty years- in an urban space with more diverse uses. We have called intentionally this area ZoMeCS, Zona Metropolitana Costa del Sol (Metropolitan Area of Costa del Sol). ZoMeCS is a place that creates life forms specific to its territory. We understand that its nature and its internal and external territorial linkages - connections that go beyond of the purely spatial-, make it a very modern urban space itself which links the tourism and its consequences with contemporary life. We make a reflection about the potential of ZoMeCS as laboratory of experimentation and research of contemporaneous milieu and population.

Keywords: territory, development, milieu, population, ZoMeCS.

Introduction. Costa del Sol & ZoMeCS

In the sixties, Costa del Sol appears as a trademark for a space where tourism development begins, as the name for a thematic place. For fifty years, this thematic place has had great changes and we can see nowadays not only the landscape or economy transformations but also the population and its relationship with this territory.

The background of this paper begins in 2003 with the publication of some newspaper articles¹, followed by the publication of two books² and the development of the research project "Urban Attributes in ZoMeCS"³. Here we present a summary from this work and a reflection of what happens in ZoMeCS now, with the crisis⁴. Because ZoMeCS whole area is very complex we only refer here to the Western part.

¹ The articles were written by Rafael Reinoso, José María Romero and Eduardo Serrano and published in the newspaper El Sur and the reviews.

² 020404 Deriva en ZoMeCS (2004) and Nerja Paisaje ZoMeCS (2005).

³ <http://www.tributosurbanos.es/areas/costa-del-sol.php>

⁴ This paper is a development of the participation held in the European Master BTU Cottbus in U. Seville (2011).

First Part: ZoMeCS description

ZoMeCS is a thick border located in the south of Spain between Africa and Europe. This place is a strategic sea route with a heavy traffic of ships and it is well connected with Europe through Malaga's airport -the fourth Spanish airport-, especially with the most important cities.



(5) View from space of Strait of Gibraltar. (6) Malaga, fourth Spanish airport, well connected with Europe.

Physical Milieu

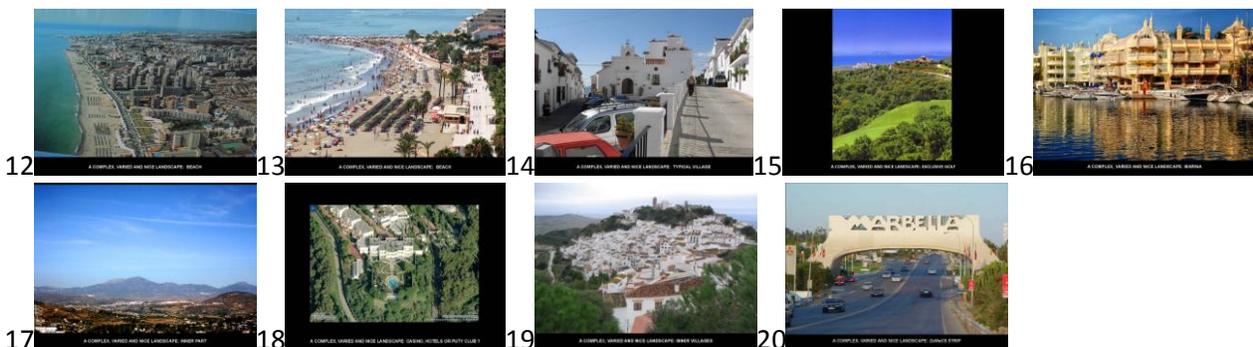
ZoMeCS is a band of 5-20 km wide and 130 km length between the mountain range and the sea. This location, protects it from strong winds and gives it a mild weather. So, in ZoMeCS there are 310 sunny days along the year and an annual average temperature of 18°C; 12-13 °C (winter) and 22-26 °C (summer).



A band 5-20 km wide and 130 km length between the mountain range and the sea. (9) View from Fuengirola (Mediterranean Sea, set built and mountain backdrop). (10) View of Marbella from Sierra Blanca (from mountain backdrop, set built, Mediterranean Sea). (11) View of Marina Puerto Banús, Marbella.

It has a complex and varied landscape with a strong contrast between seaside and inner part. In the seaside, there are -supposed- public beaches, with a growth of concession spaces for private facilities of public use like sun loungers, *chiringuitos* and marinas. Its dynamics have been altered till its artificiality - coastal ecosystem loss and need of artificial maintenance with sand input. All that remains as an example of the ancient beaches is the Natural Place *Las Dunas de Artola* in Marbella, preserved as a fossil dune.

In the inner part, we found again a contrast between a typical village picture, anchored in time and ready for the showcase use, and a place that really works as an inner village. In this landscape are mixed views from the mountains and the Golf Valley. We also found private architecture sometimes too pompous makes it difficult to distinguish a casino from a resort or luxury *putyclub*. In this landscape, the old national highway 340 is transformed into a such Main Street of ZoMeCS.



A complex, varied and nice landscape. (12) Beach. Fuengirola. (13) Beach. La Carihuela. Torremolinos. (14) Typical village. Mijas. (15) Exclusive golf. Marbella Club (with views of The Rock of Gibraltar). (16) Marina. Puerto Marina. Benalmádena. (17) Inland part. Golf Valley. Mijas. (18) Casino, hotels or 'putyclub'? Rey Fahad Palace. (19) Innervillage. Casares. (20) ZoMeCS Strip. Old N-340 Motorway. 'Marbella gate'.

Transport infrastructure

Since sixties the N-340 motorway has been the main connector a long Costa del Sol. However, the new highways, A-7 (public) and AP-7 (private), are the current fast connectors. So, N-340 has become the Main Street of ZoMeCS.

There is public transport too, but it is very insufficient. A suburban train connects Malaga with Fuengirola -only 25 km- and it is complemented with private lines bus.

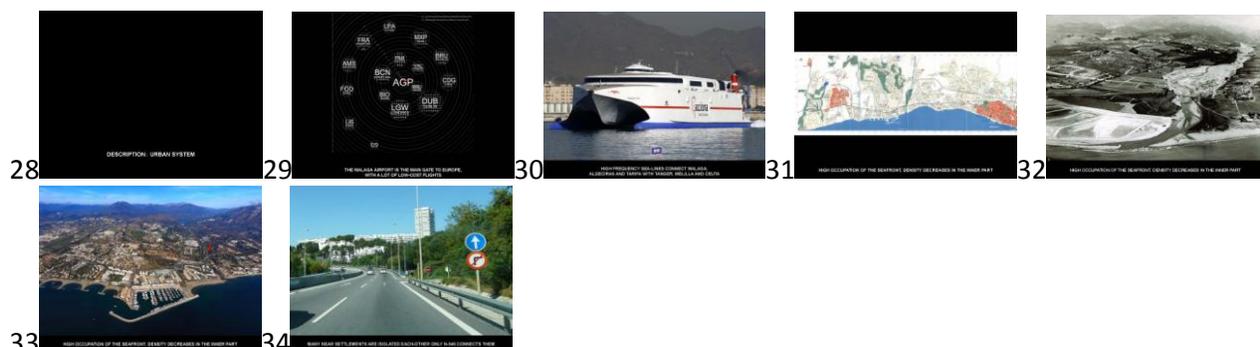
For external connection, there are the Malaga's Airport and the Ports. The airport is the main gate to Europe with a large number of low-cost flights. Nowadays there is a plan for its expansion. The nearest ports of ZoMeCS have a high frequency of sea-lines that connect Malaga, Algeciras and Tarifa with Tanger, Melilla and Ceuta. At the present time, Malaga's Port has important and increasing cruise traffic.



Transport infrastructure. (22) Since sixties the N-340 motorway is the main connector inside an outside. (23) Now, when new highway has been built, N-340 has become the *Main Street* of Costa del Sol. (24) A-7 and AP-7 highways, current fast connections. (25) Public transport is very insufficient: a suburban train (Malaga-Fuengirola, 25 km) and lines bus. (26) The Malaga airport: nowadays airport expansion. (27) High frequency sea-lines connect Malaga, Algeciras and Tarifa with Tanger, Melilla and Ceuta. Malaga Port.

Urban System

The land in Costa del Sol has had great transformations. The urban density has a high occupation in the seafront and decreases towards the mountains in the inner part. Often, this occupation of land is made in form of isolated private suburbs with an only connection with the highways.



High occupation of the seafront. Density decreases in the inner part. (29) Malaga's airport is the main gate to Europe, with a large number of low-cost flights. (30) High frequency sea-lines connect Malaga, Algeciras and Tarifa with Tanger, Melilla and Ceuta. Malaga Port. (31) Occupation of land is made in form of islands without connection. from the coastline toward the mountains. (32) start of works of puerto banús in the sixties. (33) puerto banus at present time. (34) Many near settlements are isolated each-other, only N-340 connects them.

In ZoMeCS, the planning of public use places are almost nonexistent. In contrast, most of social facilities are private (unnecessary), where people meet and build their social ecosystems. We call this places private spaces with public use -private clubs and schools for foreigners, resorts and leisure parks.



Private spaces with public use. (35) Most of social equipments are private, where people meet and build their social ecosystems. Centro comercial La Cañada. (36) Private club. Marbella. (37 - 38) Private club. Sotogrande. Cádiz. (39) Leisure parks in Malaga's coast. (40) Private schools for foreigners in Malaga's coast. (42) Territory broken into pieces no built - no cropland land (terramas vagues). Rio Verde and Puerto Banús. Marbella.

Population

We identify four main population groups in ZoMeCS:

- **Native people.** People who have born in this territory.
- **Tourist-resident.** Tourists who live in ZoMeCS part of the year. Mainly, they are pensioners, professionals, small entrepreneurs..., jet-society, who come from others Spanish regions and others European countries. The tourist-resident, usually, is homeowner. For this reason, they can live in Costa del Sol as a second residence place.
- **Classic and thematic tourists.** Tourist who come for a short stay and lodge in establishments from formal offer.
- **Foreign workers.** Immigrant people who come mostly from Maghreb and Latin America for work in the service sector.

In the Western Costa del Sol census there are over 500.000 people registered but there is a transient population of over 9 million people who visit Costa del Sol along the year. The estimated people who use ZoMeCS territory during the year are over 9'5 million -2 million people estimated in august-. The percentage of foreigners registered in the census is about 35% (175.000 people) and the percentage of tourist homeowners is about 15% (1.320.000 tourist - residents). Many people of transient population do not pay taxes even though they use public equipments and infrastructures.



Population. (43)Main population groups. (44) High degree of mobility. (45) People in census. (46) Foreign people in census. 44 Golf Clubs, 7 Marinas, 22 Hotels of 5* + 142 Hotels of 4* (60% total hotel rooms). (47) People from different communities do not mix. (48) Native people see territory only as an economic resource.

In all these groups we observe a high degree of mobility of two types. An outward mobility produced by tourists, immigrants and tourist-residents to their cities of origin. And an internal mobility generated by work commuters -many from Malaga city- or by people who wants leisure and shopping.

People from different communities do not mix: they have nothing to be shared nor have an idea of what could be common in ZoMeCS. National or high level income communities are selfish and closed while native people see territory only as an economic resource, which destination is to be built.

Economy

Costa del Sol has had since the sixties an economic development based on the conjugation of two factors: the promotion of this land like one of "the best places in the world to live in" and "money which comes" (and goes away) to invest in this space.

There are three dominants economic sectors: building, tourism and the services demanded by the growth of foreigner residents (not tourists). Employment in this sectors are low-skilled, precarious and highly rotational (most of them are seasonal works). All this, make it very vulnerable in time of crisis.

ZoMeCS has not yet its own circuit and accumulation of capital (the process of primitive accumulation has not been achieved) where technical, political and economic decisions are made far: Seville, Madrid, Frankfurt, London... In addition, the weakness of the public institutions and the attraction for Real Estate Market had favoured the emergence of speculative economy and political corruption.

At this moment, 2011, for most of natives the end of the crisis is to return to business as usual, they do not imagine a different way of living.

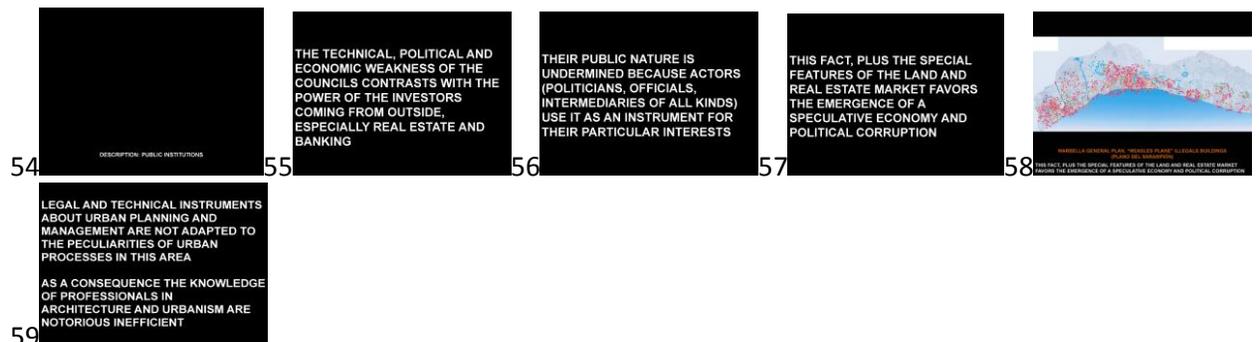


Economy. (50) Economic developmetn during sixties. (51) Costa del Sol has not yet its own circuit and accumulation of capital. (52) Three dominants economic sectors. (53) For most of natives the end of the crisis is to return to business as usual.

Public institutions

In ZoMeCS, the technical, political and economic weakness of the councils contrasts with the power of the investors coming from outside, especially from Real Estate and Banking. This weakness can be explained by the undermining of the institutions’ public nature: politicians, officials and intermediaries of all kinds use these institutions as an instrument for their particular interests.

In other hand, legal and technical instruments about urban planning and management are not adapted to the peculiarities of urban processes in this area. As a consequence the knowledge of professionals in architecture and urbanism are notorious inefficient.



Public institutions. (55) Technical, political and economic weakness of the councils. (56) Their public nature is undemined. (57) Marbella General Plan “Measles Plane” Illegals buildings (Plano del Sarampión). (58) Emergence of a speculative economy and political corruption. (59) Urban planning and management are not adapted to the peculiarities of urban process in this area.

Second Part: Urban Attributes in ZoMeCS

By modern territory we mean a territory based on the development, whose aim is the social welfare state: with public *necessary facilities* (housing, health, education, justice, public infrastructure ...). And, in the other hand, by overdeveloped territory we understand a territory based on private productive facilities with public use (*unnecessary facilities*).

The overdeveloped territory emerge directly from the undevelopment without going through the stage of a developed territory. So, this process don't have the intermediate industrial or processing stage. From the subsistence changes directly to the service economy.

In the following points, we describe the main attributes of ZoMeCS: territory, population, sociability and culture, economy and productivity, temporality and mobility. We explain the evolution of this attributes since the sixties, a stage of undevelopment, until now, identifying four moments: before 1960; 1960-1992; 1992-2007; 2007-2011- to the future.

ZoMeCS Territory

ZoMeCS is not a conventional space. It is a linear city with no historical centre, without relevant down towns, without appropriate public transport, without urban planning nor common policy, with inhabitants without politics rights because they aren't registered.

However, ZoMeCS is a metropolitan territory which produces specific living ways in its inhabitants. Compared with the origin of the Costa del Sol, with a monofunctional use of space, now we can see a transformation and an increase of variety and differentiation of uses.

While in the contemporary cities there is a transforming process of their historical centres into theme parks from themselves, ZoMeCS (initially a tourist theme park of sun and beach), has become into a space with varied uses, which tends to urban or metropolitan uses.

Making a temporal comparison of the territory transformation since a stage of undevelopment to the present, we identify four times:

- Before 1960: undeveloped territory
- 1960-1992: no modern, no developed
- 1992-2007: post modern, overdeveloped territory
- 2007-2011 to the future: post modern, overdeveloped and, what else?

Urban development in ZoMeCS has been a process which springs directly from undevelopment to overdevelopment. From the absence of urban *necessary facilities* ZoMeCS has passed to the occupation of much of its territory with private productive *unnecessary facilities* with public use.



Urban Attributes. ZoMeCS Territory. (61) Metropolitan territory. (62) Contemporary cities vs. ZoMeCS. (63) Modern and postmodern territories. (64) Development in ZoMeCS.

ZoMeCS Population

Since the sixties ZoMeCS population has been increasing its variety and quantity:

- Before 1960: native inhabitants
- 1960-1992: native inhabitants + mass tourists
- 1992-2007: native inhabitants + creoles + mass tourists + postmodern tourist + tourist-resident + immigrants
- 2007-2011 to the future: creoles postcrisis? + mass tourists + postmodern tourist + tourist-resident + immigrants

With the native population and the temporary occupation of mass-tourists, it appears a kind of tourist-resident who ever going to have more importance in the territory. At the same time, these resident-tourists attracts other populations such as migrant workers, nationals and foreigners.

Since the beginning of the crisis in 2007 Malaga is one of the Spanish province who has had the greatest growth in population census (8.12%). In the last ten years has growth a 25%. Also significant is the number of foreigners inhabitants in census, wich is currently around 35%, an important amount are foreigners from European Union.

These data can be explained by the following hypothesis: there are around 1'3 million estimated tourist-resident homeowners who come to ZoMeCS along the year; in a crisis time, some of these people may be forced to choose between their two places of residence; they will choose ZoMeCS if they get an advantage over its original place of residence (like maybe a well communication with Europe, weather or landscape).

ZoMeCS Sociability and culture

The Sociability produced by the special characteristics of the territory has been transforming toward a new individualism, looking for personal autonomy:

- Before 1960: local and traditional
- 1960-1992: local and traditional transformation. New individualism
- 1992-2007: new individualism as personal autonomy. Community life is located in private equipments
- 2007-2011 to the future: individualism? net society?

Community life is produced mainly in the private productive equipment with public uses and it decrease on conventional public places: the street, the square, the beach..., places in an irrevocably process of privatization , in a process without a break.

ZoMeCS Economy and productivity

ZoMeCS urban development carries an economy which goes violently from subsistence to services production:

- Before 1960: subsistence farming and fishing
- 1960-1992: mass tourism (sun + beach)
- 1992-2007: mass tourism (sun + beach) + entertainment industry + services + building + real estate as a financial assets
- 2007-2011 to the future: mass tourism (sun + beach) + entertainment industry + services + shopping

The economic transformation begins with an economy associated with the support of mass tourism. Later, the sun and beach tourism has been complemented by the leisure industry, which makes its appearance with the building industry and the real estate, especially of speculative kind.

At the present, the services and trade are developed according the global economic situation.

ZoMeCS Temporality

Before sixties, temporality in ZoMeCS was marked by the continuous rural. With the beginning of sun and beach tourism, it began a strong summer seasonality too. However, the seasonality in the use of territory has gradually expanded from the period of mass tourism in the years 60 and 70 until current moment, so we have now a more varied temporalities: daily, weekly, seasonal and annual temporalities:

- Before 1960: continuous rural
- 1960-1992: seasonal (summer)
- 1992-2007: daily: in / out (malaga: dormitory town); weekly: weekend inside and out; weekend 3 o 4 days out work; weekend 3 o 4 days in to play golf, health; seasonal: all year long; annuals: dependent on economic cycles and crisis
- 2007-2011 to the future: more variety ? peak oil ?

Daily temporality can be explained by the fact of Malaga's city is actually a dormitory town of ZoMeCS from people who live in Malaga and works on the coast. About weekly temporality, we can observe how much people stay several days resting or working in ZoMeCS, alternatively, for example for long weekends (during the building boom, workers had a rhythm inverted in respect of the tourists'). Seasonal temporality is directly connected with the typical and thematic tourism, however temporality the rest of the year is expanding because many tourists-residents are homeowners. Finally, exists an annual temporality which is variable and dependent on economic cycles and global crises.

At the moment, thinking to the future, we must ask us if these temporalities will become more diverse or maybe they will have a strong change because peak-oil.

ZoMeCS Mobility

The mobility in ZoMeCS has become more diverse and varied in time and types thanks to the large number of transport infrastructure have been developed:

- Before 1960: very low
- 1960-1992: unidirectional
- 1992-2007: Malaga airport: nowadays airport expansion (two airstrip)
 - o Malaga airport passengers. January 2007: 331.000 (103.000 spanish + 227.000 foreigners); July 2007: 787.000 (178.000 spanish + 607.000 foreigners)
 - o Malaga port recent expansion: transatlantic
 - o AVE (high speed train) since 2008
 - o interurban transport: lineal circulation+ transversal circulation (inner)
 - o private transport: old road N-340 (strip and main street), highway A-7, highways private AP-7
 - o public transport: Malaga-Fuengirola commuter train
- 2007-2011 to the future
 - o Malaga airport passengers. January 2011: 285.000 (82.000 spanish + 203.000 foreigners); July 2011: 784.000 (137.000 spanish + 647.000 foreigners)
 - o Peak oil

Since the crisis began in 2007 to the current moment (2011), the number of passengers at the airport has been maintained. In addition, since then (2008), there is the AVE, which shows the total increase in passenger arrivals to the coast (in this case, especially national ones).

Serious doubts are presented for the future with the PEAK OIL.



Urban Attributes of ZoMeCS. (65) Population. (66) Sociability and culture. (67) Economy and productivity. (68) Temporality. (69) Mobility.

Epilogue

ZoMeCS (*Zone Metropolitana de la Costa del Sol*, Costa del Sol Metropolitan Zone) is the territory whose trademark is Costa del Sol. This mark covers and hides the real territory. As the map is not the territory, Costa del Sol is not ZoMeCS.

For us the territory is a composition of two things: the milieu (physical environment including artificial structures), and the human population.

Capitalism appears when capital and work are combined in a productive machine (that produces goods and desires, bodies and souls). In a similar way ZoMeCS (as we see it is now) starts when monetary capital met the territory lying between Gibraltar and Malaga city. Investors decided that the main actor was this attractive milieu with fantastic weather, large beaches, nice landscape and typical villages; meanwhile the native population was a secondary agent, just a tool to transform the former territory.

The traditional farming and fishing economy was replaced by the building industry and massive tourism.

During three or four decades, more and more foreign people have become residents. A new inhabitant category emerged, neither native people, nor tourists: the so called by us “*resident-tourists*”, foreigners who live a great part of the year in ZoMeCS.

A third economic sector increases as this population grows: the services to the resident-tourists. It means that economic and social links within ZoMeCS are emerging between 2 main groups:

- The tourist-residents who are only consumers and bring loads of money from outside to feed an important part of local economy.
- Those who work in ZoMeCS: native people, foreigners who like to live there and do their best to have a sustained job, labour immigrants from Maghreb and Latin America...

The questions about ZoMeCS are now: its inhabitants will be able to create a common way of life? Will be they able to invent a ZoMeCS beyond crisis?

And now some questions for us, the architects who live and work in ZoMeCS:

Between capital and territory there is a third actor, an intermediary between two poles: the local agents (such as politicians, officials, technicians, lawyers, realtors, brokers of all kinds) who often act as Trojan horses to capture the whole territory for capital sake.

As architects and urban planners, we have been part of this third actor. But not always has been in such way: there was a time when we thought our role was to design buildings and structures (that is: a physical environment to live in) for... inhabitants (not for capital).

We see ZoMeCS as a broken territory; we see there are a number of not colonized land pieces among other urbanized and built pieces ones. We know that if the places are disconnected, the life of this territory

is in risk; if isolated, these areas can do little. The same happens in the population component of the territory: many of resident-tourists' communities are separated one from each other, so they are weak.

But ZoMeCS is a real net-territory, not a metaphoric one; ZoMeCS has a rich biodiversity and social diversity; it is a good place for complicity between humans and nonhumans that we need; ZoMeCS invites our bodies to be happy.

We, architects in ZoMeCS, have an important task: if we want the ZoMeCS milieu to become a good “partner” to the project of a new planet (absolutely necessary if we want to live after this terminal capitalist crisis) we must connect the separate parts to restore the biological flows and we must connect natural and artificial things to get a new nature where humans are not an illness.

After frenetic urbanization has disrupted many parts of the territory we can do a much better thing rather than to stop all activity: we can build a real sustainable world.

As creole citizens of ZoMeCS we have a more important task: to connect the “social pieces” in order to get a distributed and powerful intelligence and to obtain the territory of the promising good life that Nature holds.



Epilogue. (71) ZoMeCS and the architects. A theory of the intermediation in territory. (72) About ZoMeCS (Zona Metropolitana de la Costa del Sol): as the map is not the territory, Costa del Sol is not ZoMeCS. (73) Territory: Milieu · Population. (74) Capitalism: capital · work. ZoMeCS: Capital · territory. (75) ZoMeCS nex inhabitants, nor native people, neither tourists: the *resident-tourist*. (76) The questions about ZoMeCS: Its inhabitants will be able to create a common way of life? Will be they able to invent a ZoMeCS beyond crisis? (77) The third actor, an intermediary between capital and territory: they are the local agents who often act as trojan horses. (78) The question about architects and urbanists as a third actor: Between milieu and capital, or between milieu and inhabitants? (79) To connect the separate pieces in the milieu. To connect milieu and population. To connect the “social pieces”.