SPECULATIVE COASTLINES

The Commodification of Leisure Typologies

Emile Iacopo Jourcin & Melina Schechinger

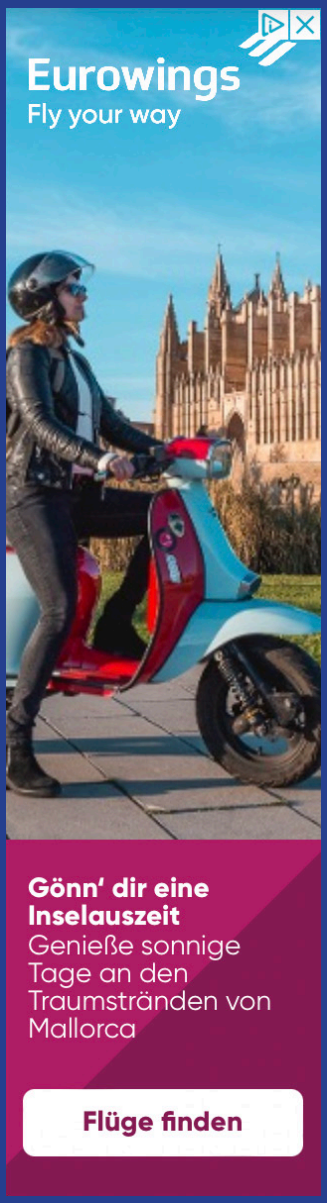

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Image on the left Screenshot of one of the advertisements popping out on our computers during the research for this thesis. Image from Eurowings.

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INTRODUCTION

Tourism can be considered one of the main economic driving forces of the Mediterranean. Its coastlines materialize spatially the consequences of tourism, while, blissfully overlooked in the relentless pursuit of capital, they represent a distorted mirror of our reality. This thesis explores how the "touristification" of the Mediterranean coastline has been closely intertwined with asymmetrical power relationships and speculative practices.

The word "Mediterranean" in itself stems from contradictory and conflicting notions. Evoking at once concepts such as the sunny weather, growing natural catastrophes, the "nice" friendly people, and exploited precarious bodies. It is "realm so vast and so inaccessible that, despite the efforts made, it can only be said to have been minimally explored."[1] The Mediterranean's duality poses an unsolvable dilemma: "the economies that support its coastal communities are also the ones eroding them."[2] Yet, this paradox forms its defining core, being "less united by Braudel's rhythm of olive, grain and wine cultivation, shared trade and Roman legacies than the fortnightly pulse of the package tour, the circulation of resort types and the shared culture of sun-seeking tourism."[3]

Sara Gainsforth's article series *Tourism is a complex subject* evokes the necessity to untangle the political economy of traveling abroad.[4] With over 230 million international tourists annually, the Mediterranean is the world's largest tourist destination.[5] Today, 28% of the world's tourist expenditure goes to the Mediterranean coast, and over 4,500 square kilometers along its coastline are occupied by—documented—touristic accommodations and infrastructures.[6]

It can be argued that throughout history, coastlines have been increasingly characterized by temporary leisure typologies. The first known example is the Roman *villa marittima*. According to Ackermann, the villa's type is rooted in its ideology. He defines ideology not as a "strongly held conviction, but rather in the sense of a concept or a myth so firmly rooted in the unconscious that all who hold it affirm it as an incontrovertible truth".[7]

1 Laura Lo Presti, "The Mediterranean Hypersea: Mapping Troubled Waters", in *Mediterranean*, eds. Manon Mollard, Eleanor Beaumont, and Kristina Rapacki, The Architectural Review 1510, 2023, 11.

2 Manon Mollard, Eleanor Beaumont, and Kristina Rapacki, eds., *Mediterranean*, The Architectural Review 1510, 2023, 2.

3 Pau Obrador Pons, Mike Crang, and Penny Travlou, *Cultures of Mass Tourism: Doing the Mediterranean in the Age of Banal Mobilities* (London: Routledge, 2016), 1.

4 Sarah Gainsforth, 'Il Turismo è Un Oggetto Complesso', *Slow News*, February, 2023.

5 Pons, Crang, and Travlou, *Cultures of Mass Tourism*, 1.

6 Luciano Segreto, Carles Manera, and Manfred Pohl, eds., *Europe at the Seaside: The Economic History of Mass Tourism in the Mediterranean* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 3.

7 James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses*, The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts 1985 (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1990), 10.

Fig. 1 Sabine Réthoré, *Méditerranée Sans Frontières*, 2011.
Artwork from Public Domain.

In this sense, the villa's ideology revolves around the pursuit of leisure, as an impulse to escape the city "generated by psychological rather than utilitarian needs."[8] It serves as a tool for the dominant class, which "reinforces and justifies the social and economic structure and its privileged position within it […] often requiring, for the realization of the myth, the care of a laboring class or slaves."[9] Bentmann and Müller, in *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture*, define the villa as hegemonic architecture, as process of subtle manipulation to maintain power shaped by economic, aesthetic, political, and social forces. While the villa type has been changed numerous times throughout history and the specific forms of leisure have evolved, their core ideology has remained unchanged. For this reason, the thesis argues that other leisure typologies, such as the coastal resort or the hotel, embody the same ideology. In doing so, this work attempts to expand upon the question of the "villa as ideology."[10]

On a territorial scale, this ideology manifests in the speculative nature of temporarily inhabited structures, often tied to land acquisition. These landholdings—kept as a form of asset—become a playground for profit-driven projects. Through the consumption of coastal land and the subsequent "territorial colonization," the sprawl of speculative architectures under private ownership persistently exploits other actors. It can therefore be argued that the built environment thus becomes a form of currency, embodying forms of colonialism, gentrification, and exploitation. On the building scale, leisure typologies represent the pursuit of an unachievable dream or myth for the owners and the consumers. The only apparent innocent dream of the escape from the city hides a more problematic side, reinforcing the existing asymmetric social structure within the households while generating and relying on unrecognized and undervalued labor for the sake of leisure.

The thesis explores these dynamics by tracing the genealogy of coastal leisure types and their embodied ideology, focusing on a comparison between the Italian and Spanish coasts, seen as pivotal actors in this narrative. The Roman villa marittima, will be examined as the initial manifestation of this ideology, analyzing its reliance on the exploitation of other actors. Furthermore, the commodification of leisure through innovations in transportation systems will be elaborated. From the aristocratic Grand Tour to the Package Tour the leisure ideology travels to England, returning afterwards to the Mediterranean as a democratized phenomenon. Four case studies are examined as examples of commodified leisure spaces, showing how the right to vacations was moslty enabled by private investments. The consecutive evolution of the cases will be studied, showcasing the consequences of the leisure typologies growth. This process of uncontrolled exponential expansion leaves fissures in its wake.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Reinhard Bentmann and Michael Müller, *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture,* trans. by Tim Spence and David Craven (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1992 [1970]), 5.

Fig. 2 Perspective of Villa Laurentinum from Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 1841.
In Helen H.Tanzer*, The Villas of Pliny the Younger.*
(New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1924), 77.

The Roman villa marittima

> "The seafront gains much from the pleasing variety of the houses built either in groups or far apart; from the sea or shore these look like a number of cities."[11]

With these words, Pliny the Younger described the shore—seventeen miles from Rome—to his friend Gallus, illustrating how the intense building activity, seen from the sea, dotted the coastline with numerous seaside establishments. By the second century A.D., the proliferation of *villae marittimae* became a widespread phenomenon among the Roman patricians, who often flaunted the luxury and conspicuous consumption within them.[12] Pliny the Younger's account of his *Villa Laurentinum (Fig.2)*, highlights both the territorial colonization and the elite's habit of temporarily residing in leisure retreats. The villa played a key role in shaping the household's dynamics and driving coastal urbanization.

Throughout history, the notion of *otium* (leisure), has evolved, although consistently contrasted with *negotium* (business or affairs typically carried out in urban centers). *Otium* has been described as a retreat for study and self-improvement, as an indulgence in the dreaming of luxuries as well as an "occasion to challenge strict social norms."[13] Nonetheless, the definition of the term *villa* has evolved, especially due to its variations in forms of later periods. The *villa marittima* was first defined in Columella's *De Re Rustica*—a first-century treaty on agriculture—as a maritime estate not primarily focused on agriculture, differently from the ones in the countryside, namely *villa rustica* or *fructuaria*.[14] These villas, built on the seashore, were the product of a phenomenon enabled by the alleviation of piracy in the Mediterranean Sea. The villa owner, usually part of the urban elite, was seen as a "protector", and brought a sense of safety to coastal areas, contributing to the coastal urbanization.[15] The villas were supposed to be seen from the sea, often placing the main entrance on this seaside to allow the enjoyment of the view through a portico.[16] The architecture of *villae marittimae* was intended to make them landmarks from the sea, designed to impress anyone navigating along the coast. These buildings were meant to symbolize power and control over a wild natural landscape, with its owner seen as the "civilizer".[17]

In order to facilitate the enjoyment of *otium* the *villa marittima* was supported by infrastructures, such as road networks or water management systems, which were fundamental prerequisites for the diffusion of the *villa marittima*.[18] Water infrastructure enabled the Roman bathing culture and other "luxurious" amenities such as fountains and fish-breeding pools. (I)

The most notable example of the ancient *villa marittima* is *Villa Laurentinum (Fig.3)*, which benefitted from the presence of *Via Severiana* connecting several coastal cities to Rome. *Villae marittimae*, though located outside the city, were always linked to it, as the surplus of wealth generated in the urban knots was invested in these villas. Ackerman analyzes this process, showing how the ideology of the villa resisted or was even reinforced during many crises. In the review of *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses*, Tafuri describes the villa as a "reversed city," a refuge from the city's issues.[19] This phenomenon exacerbates ur-

11 Pliny The Younger, *Letters and Panegyricus*, trans. Betty Radice, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard university press, 1969), 143.

12 Annalisa Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy: A Social and Economic History*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, v. 30 (Boston: Brill, 2007), 13.

13 Ackerman, *The Villa*, 1990, 112.

14 Ibid., 42.

15 Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy*, 24-25.

16 Ackerman, *The Villa*, 1990, 56.

17 Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy*, 226.

18 Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy*, 2007, 173.

19 Manfredo Tafuri, 'La città rovesciata', review of *The Villa,* by Ackerman, *L'Indice dei libri del mese* A.10, n.3, March, 1993.

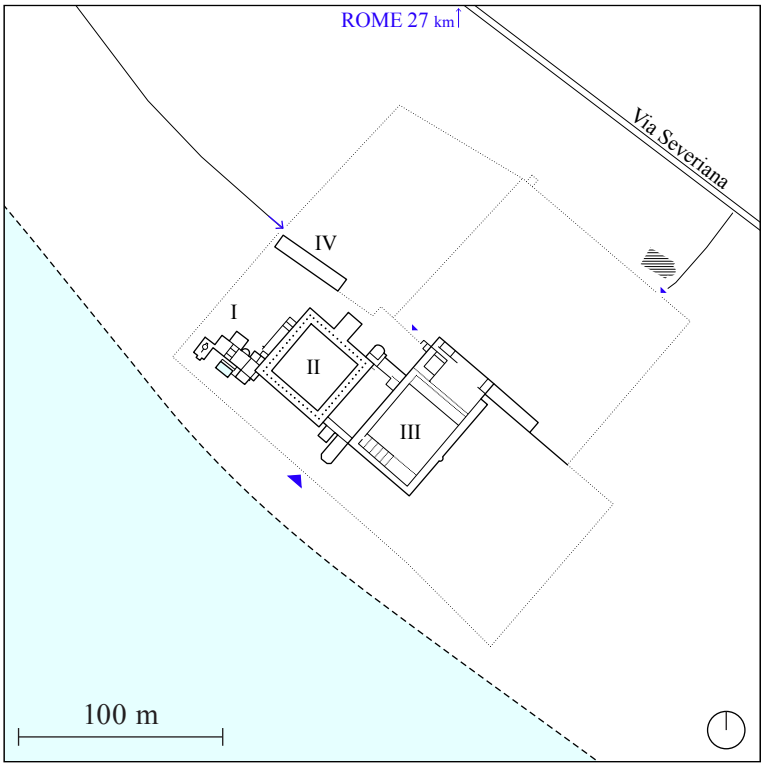


Fig. 3 Diagrammatic plan of Villa Laurentinum.
Drawn by the authors, adapted from *Ramieri, Anna Maria. "Via Severiana."*
(Bullettino Della Commissione Archeologica Comunale Di Roma 109, 2008), 382.

ban characteristics into this temporary utopia. The practice of slavery and the adoption of patriarchal familial values which originated in the urban Roman *domus* were materialized in the specific spaces of *Villa Laurentinum*.

In the aftermath of the Second Punic War (218 - 201 BC), Roman patricians gained access to new capital and slaves. While slaves are mentioned by different sources, their presence remains archaeologically invisible. One example is the lack of information on the location of their sleeping facilities in the plan of *Villa Laurentinum*. Marzano suggests that these were annexed structures made of perishable materials, which have not survived until today.[20] Excavations in 2008 found a grid of some rooms attributed to servants (IV),[21] near the northern periphery of *Villa Laurentinum*, and Pliny's letter also addressed slaves and freedmen sleeping next to the bedroom wing (III).[22] In any case, it is important to acknowledge that the labor force used to built and maintain the estate depended primarily on slaves. Thanks to Cooper's work, one can gain insights into Roman households and their terminologies.[23] The *villa maritima*'s domesticity reinforced social dominance in a very similar way to the urban Roman *domus*. Here, the *paterfamilias* served as the *dominus* (master) of the *domus* —referred in Latin both to a physical building and to the cluster of people. Cooper's *Closely Watched Households* highlights how superposing the notion of paternal authority was linked to the one of ownership.[24] The *domus* provided a setting for the Roman male to assert his power in the *Domus*, with spaces like the courtyard (II), and the baths (added later) as spaces of social control. A similar analysis can be done on the access space of *Villa Laurentinum*.

Access to the entrances to *Villa Laurentinum* already reflected a differentiation of class categories. Probably, the main facade faced the beach, as the courtyard opened to the south, where access was reserved for the high echelons of society. This class could move between locations by boat, as depicted in many paintings. *(Fig. 2)* The presence of *Via Severiana* in the back also provided the owner access to the land. The entrance is marked by the rest of a posthumous church and is likely the owner's access point. Passing through the garden, one could enter directly the private part of the villa. The archaeological evidence does not reveal a specific entrance for the slaves, but its location near the northern side of the villa can be interferred. The architecture allowed the owner to remain free from the public gaze, with a clear distinction between spaces. The infrastructural network connecting the *villa marittima* to the city also acted as a continuum of class differentiation in the entrance space.

As mentioned previously, water management has been crucial in the history of leisure, and the privilege of controlling water is a status symbol of that lifestyle. The pool is an element that follows the history of leisure and temporary habitation along the coasts, dating back to the Romans. High-tech canalization (sometimes filled with seawater) creates communal spaces where the spatial experience is strongly defined by leisure, involving labor required to maintain such structures. Furthermore, the baths played a key role as a place for *negotium*, bringing the communal practice of bathing from the city to the domestic sphere. Additionally, the system enabled fish-breeding in *piscinae* (pools), in which centre sometimes a pavilion was built to host the *cenatio* (dinner).[25] The presence

20 Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy*, 136.

21 Stefano Buonauguro, Carmelina Camardo, and Nicoletta Saviane. "La Villa della Palombara a Castelfusano. Nuovi dati dalle campagne di scavo 2007-2008." In *AMOENITAS II*, Vol. II. Rivista Internazionale di Studi Miscellanei sulla Villa Romana Antica. (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2012), 77.

22 Pliny The Younger, *Letters and Panegyricus*, 135.

23 K. Cooper, 'Closely Watched Households: Visibility, Exposure and Private Power in the Roman Domus', Past & Present 197, no. 1 (1 November 2007), 3–33.

24 Ibid., 4.

25 Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy*, 41.

of *piscinae* shows the combination of an agricultural source of revenue, coming from fish as luxury goods, with a space for recreation and entertainment.

Even though the actors introduced in this chapter, from the profiting private owner to the blissfully ignorant fish in the pool, will alter their specific roles, the underlying asymmetries will permeate throughout the thesis. The villa associated with the owner's idea of enjoyment and relaxation, serves as the starting for a narrative of leisure that, from the villa type and pursuing a conservative ideology, will expand and grow. It will spread to other coasts, repeating itself on a larger scale —from individual patronage to a larger speculative phenomenon—eventually leading to the commodification of leisure.

From The Grand Tour to the Package Tour

> "You show us Rome was glorious, not profuse.
> And pompous buildings once were things of use.
> Yet shall, my Lord, your just, your noble rules
> Fill half the land with imitating fools." [26]

While the countryside villa type, gained popularity in England through architectural drawings brought back from Italy during the *Grand Tour*, it simultaneously solidified its independence from agricultural functions. Lord Burlington (1694–1753),[27] to whom the citation is referring, participated, as was common during the eighteenth century, in the *Grand Tour*, a tradition among the British nobility and wealthy middle class. As part of their education, they would spend part of the year traveling, primarily to Italy, to visit and study classical buildings, art, and literature. Works of art, books, or architectural models were often taken as "souvenirs" to bring back home. This reflects the revival of classical forms and styles, a trend that had been present since the Elizabethan Era (1558 - 1603).[28] The architect Inigo Jones (1573–1652) was one of the first to develop a new fascination for ancient Roman buildings. He was particularly drawn to Palladio's graphic documentation of villa designs, which he redrew and often added further details to. Ackermann thus refers to Palladio and Inigo Jones as "the early seventeenth-century importer into England of the chaste classicism […] taken as the orthodox purveyors of the classical tradition".[29] Even though Palladio's drawings primarily depicted villas that included agricultural functions, it was the imitations of the *Villa Rotonda (Fig. 4)*, which did not include agricultural functions, that could be taken as a paradigm of the resurgent Palladianism: "the revival of the Platonic concept that architecture could imitate nature by exemplifying the principles of harmony in the universe."[30]

Although the drawings facilitated the spread of the trend for these architectural types, it was the similarity between the British and Italian socio-political contexts that proved decisive in the villa's arrival in England rather than in another country, such as Spain or France.[31] The country house played a significant role in England from the Elizabethan to the Victorian era, as the privileged classes anchored their power to their landholdings. Their economy was often reinforced by a business in the city, most commonly in London, where they owned another, smaller accommodation for the shorter business stays or "for the season" of Parliament.[32] These buildings should not be considered villas, as they serve as both primary residences for their owners and productive enterprises generating income from agricultural activities.[33] However, the situation is comparable to that of Venice. In both cases, the landholdings were inherited or acquired by a privileged class, which was politically and commercially involved, having financial interests in agriculture, rents, the exploitation of land resources, and a fixed labor force. In both Britain and Venice, land reforms occurred—through enclosure in Britain and land reclamation in Venice—marked by the loss of traditional families in favor of larger estates. These changes consolidated the wealth and power of the already affluent, who benefited from the growing population and the increased demand for agricultural produce.[34] The Mediterranean villa

26 "Pope, Epistles, pp. 139-4" in Ackerman, *The Villa*, 1990, 156.

27 Richard Boyle, commonly known as Lord Burlington, was the 3rd Earl of Burlington, part of a wealthy aristocratic family.

28 Ackerman, *The Villa*, 1990, 140.

29 Ibid., 136.

30 Ibid., 41

31 Ibid., 157.

32 Ibid., 104.

33 Ibid., 135–58.

34 Ibid., 157.

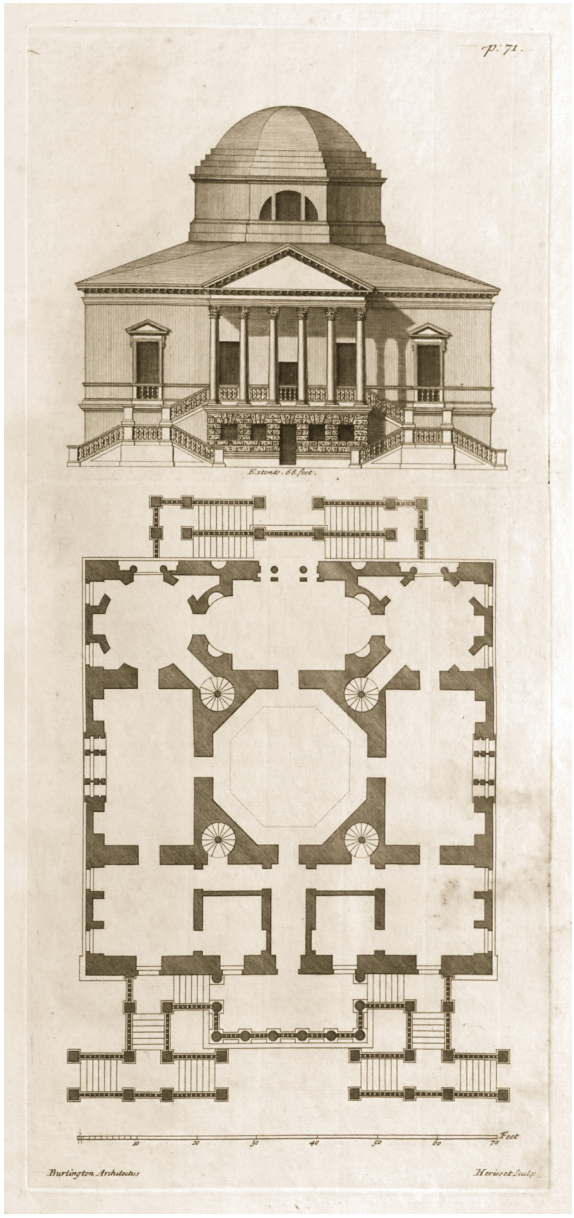


Fig. 4 Drawing of Lord Burlington's Villa Chiswick by Indigo Jones, 1727. In William Kent, ed. *The Designs of Inigo Jones, consisting of Plans and Elevations for Publick and Private Buildings.* (London, 1727), 116.

became a desirable model of form, scale, and spirit, reflecting a shift in taste towards naturalness and classical purity. This ideal was supported by influential intellectuals and liberal aristocrats, embracing a revival of Platonic concepts where architecture imitates nature, follows rules of harmony and symmetry, and incorporates an increased use of geometric forms.[35]

The wealthy middle class and aristocrats, like Lord Burlington, were interested in the villa type not because of their taste or interest in art but because of the political, moral, and aesthetic meaning the villa incorporated for them.[36] The simplicity of Palladian's drawings had as a consequence that its English imitations often "seem over-detailed and too academic"[37], but it also motivated amateur architects, like Lord Burlington, to appropriate the role of the designer. Hence, the ideology incorporated in the villa was striking. "Only when architectural design could be perceived as a moral and conceptually expressive enterprise could it acquire sufficient status to justify their involvement."[38]

Gibbs' *Book of Architecture* (1728) was the first to compile designs for small country houses identified as villas, finally independent from their agricultural function. Similar books documented and promoted the villa type and its construction and served as a manual. These books anticipated the democratization and accessibility of the villa ideology for city dwellers with lesser income. "Once the villa had been presented in this way as a commodity, it was a short step to its manufacture by entrepreneurs for the open market and another short step to its mass production on the periphery of great cities and ultimately even of smaller ones."[39] There are, however, other factors that helped in the process of the democratization of the villa ideology over the nineteenth century. Those are the effects of the eighteenth-century egalitarian philosophy and romanticism, the growth of cities, and the growing industrialization, which also included the invention of transportation systems, such as trolley transport, the steamboat, and, especially the railway, decisive for the reappearance of the *villa marittima* type on the English seaside.

Throughout the First Industrial Revolution in England, the railway system drastically transformed travel by making it more accessible to a wider spectrum of the population. This newfound mobility, connecting industrial towns to coastal areas, played a crucial role in popularizing the villa ideology along the seaside, manifesting itself as seaside resorts.[40] Among the wealthy classes of eighteenth-century English society, a new trend of sea-bathing and sports emerged, promising improvements in health and attractiveness. Thus, the initial interest in the seaside as a temporary destination for healing and recreation was sparked, although these beaches were regarded more as a health treatment than a leisure destination.[41] The *Romanticism* movement likewise played an important role, fostering a sense of nostalgia and a desire to reconnect with nature, promoting activities like sea bathing as a way to immerse oneself in the natural world. [42] A temporary visit to the seaside was a way to escape the polluted and industrialized cities. The idea of leisure at this time could be understood as the pursuit of pleasure and health as equally important, at this time. Additionally, temporarily living by the sea was seen as social prestige, drawing businessmen away from fully engaging with the industries where their wealth was generated.[43] As John K. Walton recalled:

35 Ibid., 141.

36 Ibid., 156.

37 Ibid., 138.

38 Ibid., 156.

39 Ibid., 17.

40 Segreto, Manera, and Pohl, *Europe at the Seaside*, 1–2.

41 John Urry, 'Mass Tourism and the Rise and Fall of the Seaside Resort', in *Tourism*, (London: SAGE, 2010), 101.

42 John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 3. ed, Theory, Culture & Society (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2011), 36.

43 John K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History*, 1750-1914 (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983), 4.

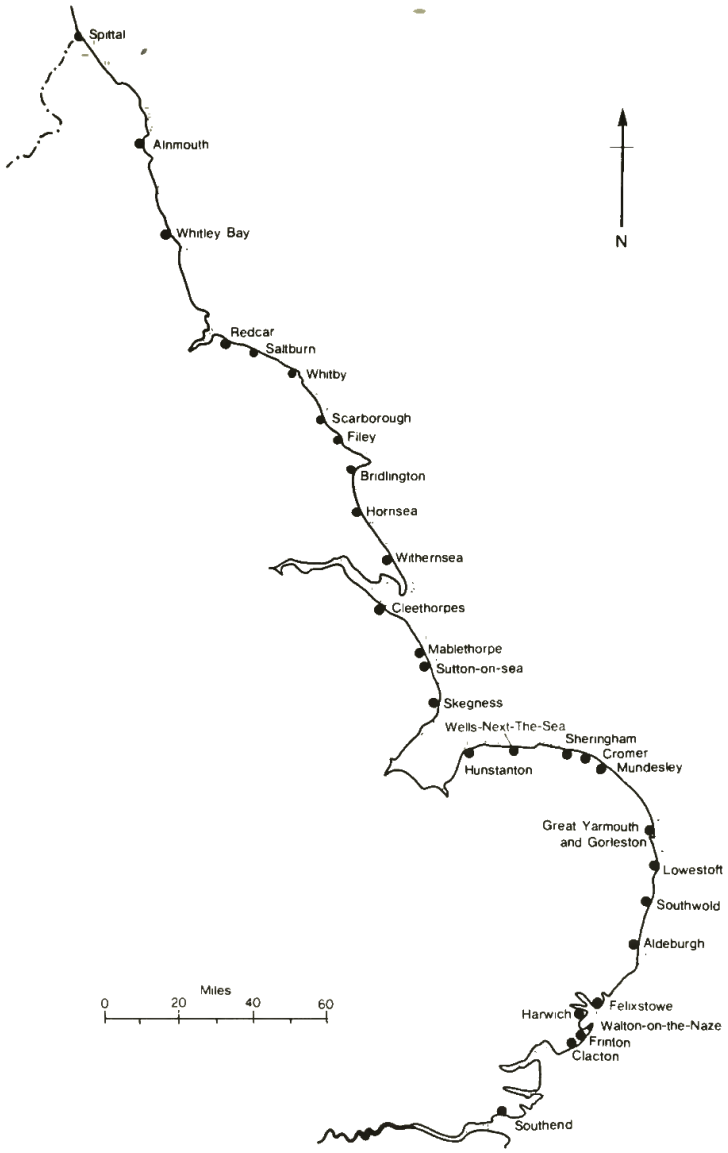


Fig. 5 Seaside Resorts of North-East England of the Early 20th Century, In John K. Walton *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History, 1750-1914*. (New York: Leicester University Press, 1983), 57.

"Seaside resorts were centers of wealth and conspicuous consumption and had more than their fair share of comfortably-off residents."[44] It was this privileged social class, marked by aristocrats and wealthy merchants, whose investments began competing for coastal land and were thus responsible for shaping the first allotment of seaside resorts and privatizing their territory.

Even though the seaside's initial settlements predate the invention of the railway, this new mode of travel played a crucial role in the overall organization of these new sites, with train stations becoming the focal point not only for visitors but also for commercial goods and infrastructure. This transport line reached the seafront, where the fight of "the relentless advance of the "pleasure periphery" across endlessly desirable (but not, it is becoming clear, endlessly available) vistas of new and "unspoiled" coastline was taking place."[45] In the early 1840s excursion trains became available.[46] Their advent boosted the growth and spread of seaside resort, becoming the fastest growing areas in the first half of the nineteenth century.[47] It gave holidaymakers more choices and helped to turn holidays into a national trend.

Railways made the journeys to the coast easier, faster, more comfortable, and cheaper. Therefore, it was possible for the less wealthy middle class to take part in the trend, reaching also the working class, who had previously visited the sea mainly under charity programs.[48] Consequently, an increasing variety of resorts were erected. Blackpool became the world's first working-class seaside resort in the late nineteenth century.[49] Another repercussion was the increasing specialization of resorts, attracting certain social groupings.[50] It led to a division of social classes, as the wealthier English society was gradually retreating into exclusive, "protected" reports, with equally comfortable access to the urban knots.[51]As John K. Walton argues in his book *The English Seaside Resort* that the new coastal settlements might have served as a way to distract "the masses from the reality of their economic exploitation and political subservience" or, in the case of the more socially mixed resorts, to "encourage the diffusion of more 'civilized' and 'refined' modes of behavior and awakened the sensibilities of working-class visitors to an appreciation of the desirability of beautiful and orderly surroundings."[52] This might be linked with the generalization amongst the British elite of the idea of civilizing the "rough" working class through organized recreation in the Victorian era. It could be seen as the start of the negative connotation attributed to mass tourism, "despised and ridiculed" and seen as "tasteless, common or vulgar."[53]

Additionally, the railway created a holiday pattern amongst the wealthy, whereby wives and children stayed for a longer break in the summer at the seaside, while *paterfamilias* commuted at weekends to join them, working the rest of the week in London. Although, in the second half of the nineteenth century, it became common to have servants, during this period, the sole charge of the children of a nursemaid or nanny.[54]

At the same time, the rise of a more structured and routine work pattern led to efforts to rationalize leisure similarly. Changes in working hours and the nature of work, with work becoming a time- and space-bound activity, created a clear separation from play, religion, or festivities.[55] The week-long holiday was first introduced in the cotton textile ar-

44 Ibid., 75.

45 John K. Walton, 'The Seaside Resort: A British Cultural Export.', *History in Focus*, The Institute of Historical Research, Issue 9: The Sea (Autumn 2005): 2.

46 Walton, *The English Seaside Resort*, 11.

47 Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 33

48 Walton, *The English Seaside Resort*, 22.

49 Gary Cross and John K. Walton, *The Playful Crowd: Pleasure Places in the Twentieth Century* (Columbia University Press, 2005), 11–56.

50 Urry and Larsen, The *Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 34.

51 Walton, *The English Seaside Resort*, 73.

52 Ibid., 4.

53 Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 32.

54 Walton, *The English Seaside Resort*, 24.

55 Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 34–35.

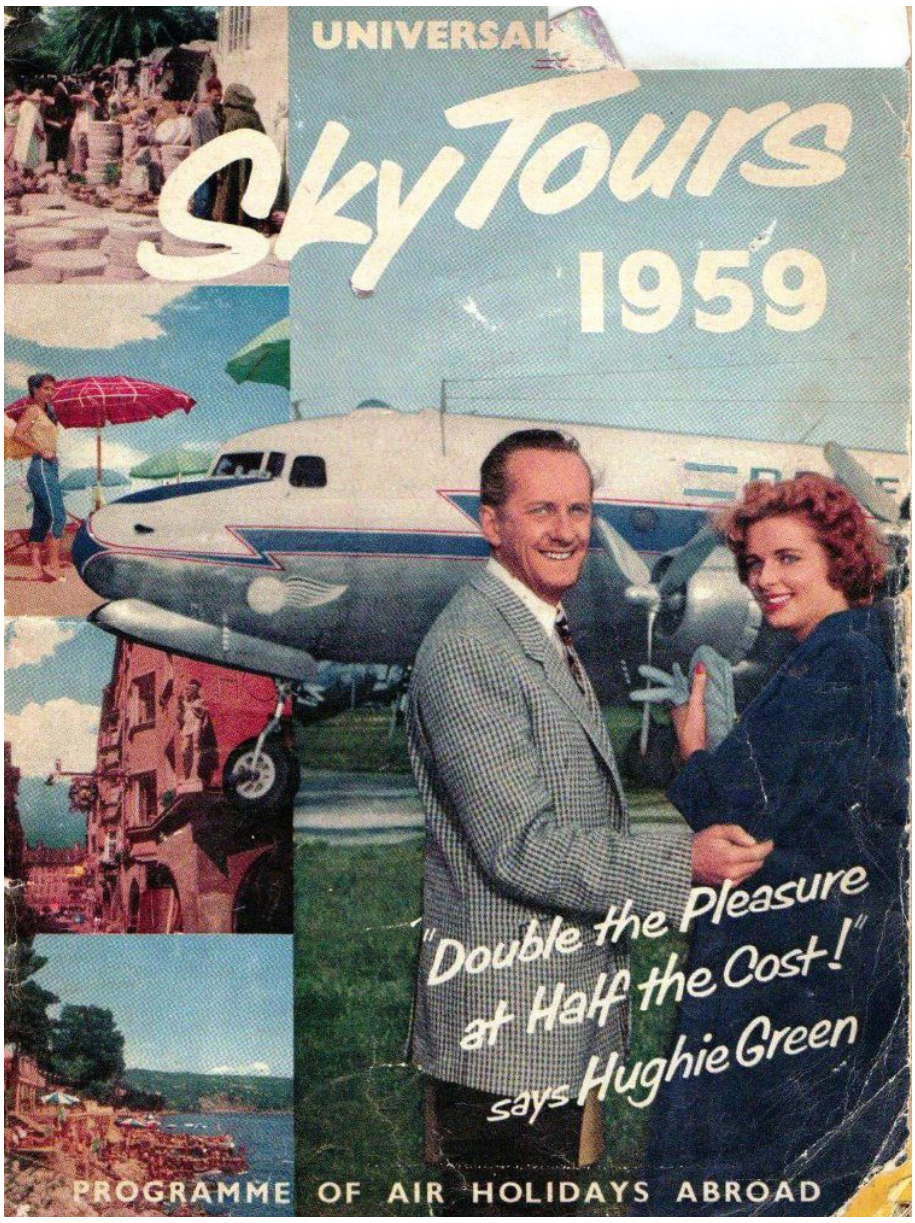


Fig. 6 Skytours Brochure from Thomson (1959). Image from The Guardian.

eas in Lancashire, in the north of England, where factory owners started to acknowledge "wake weeks" as periods of holiday. These were traded for regular attendance the rest of the year, thus contributing to the overall efficiency of the business, as machines could shut down for specific times of the year.[56] By the late 1860s, it was common, particularly amongst the new white-collar professions and the growing middle class, to take at least one week of holiday.[57] By the early twentieth century, every English and Welsh coastline was punctuated with resorts of various sizes.[58] *(Fig. 5)*

Resorts started appearing on the Belgian, French, and Dutch coasts in the late eighteenth century, reaching the German and Scandinavian as well as Spanish Atlantic coasts on the eve of the nineteenth century. However, it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the resort appeared in the Mediterranean, specifically at the *French Cote d'Azur*, the Ligurian coast in Italy, and the Spanish *Costa del Sol*, starting with the idea of health restoration through climate, rather than sea-bathing, and offering therefore mostly winter resorts, called *hivernants*.[59] During the interwar years, the tourist makers interest shifted to sunbathing and personal display on the beach, reaching the full flowering of that process in the 50s and 60s. The Mediterranean seaside was finally achievable and affordable due to the package tour and air travel.

The development of airplanes, pushed by the two World Wars and economized by the invention of package tours, had a similar effect on the travel culture as the railway: "Tourism became cheaper as it became faster."[60] But other than connecting urban centers with coastal areas, it enabled connecting any urban center to any coastal area, having a nearby airport. It detached, therefore, the tourist maker and their villa ideology from their regional context, challenging the new relationship "between the tourists and the people at their destination."[61]

The leisure typology of the seaside resort was remodeled in the Mediterranean, as it had to serve foreign visitors comfortably. The emerging seaside resort needs to be understood as an independent commercial enclave rather than a city for recreational use, as typical for those established along the British coast in the nineteenth century. From now on, the seaside resort will be defined as the use of land by a private entity, where units of commercial accommodations and other recreational facilities come together within a clear boundary while regulating entrance flows.

To follow the narrative, the *British Air Package Tours* will be examined as the central agent facilitating the transition of visitors from the British seaside to Mediterranean destinations. Even though the UK has been and still is one of the main departure points for the Mediterranean vacation, there are many other nations, including local regions, that show loyalty in the statistics of coastal visitors.[62] The creation of package tours goes hand in hand with the privatization of air transport.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the British government owned three flag carriers used for journeys, due to their scarcity, reserved only for the wealthiest ones. Around the same time, ex-servicemen, acquired airplanes and created the first private airlines. They lacked economic funds and were mostly precarious, which forced them to pair up as "associates" with public airlines. In 1944, the *Chicago Convention* established, for the first time, a framework for international civil avia-

56 Walton, *The English Seaside Resort*, 32.

57 Ibid., 25.

58 Walton, 'The Seaside Resort: A British Cultural Export.', 2.

59 Patrizia Battilani, Vacanze Di Pochi, *Vacanze Di Tutti: L'evoluzione Del Turismo Europeo*, Nuova ed, Le Vie Della Civiltà (Bologna: Il mulino, 2009), 115.

60 Peter Lyth, 'Flying Visits: The Growth of British Air Package Tours, 1945–1975', in *Europe At the Seaside*, ed. Luciano Segreto, Carles Manera, and Manfred Pohl (Berghahn Books, 2022), 11–12.

61 Ibid., 20.

62 "Table 1.1 - Foreign destinations of British tourists, 1951-1972" in Segreto, Manera, and Pohl, *Europe at the Seaside*, 13. "Table 3.3 - Arrivals of visitors in Spain by country or macro region of origin, 1955-1993" in *Tourism and Economic Development: European Experiences*, ed. Allan M. Williams and Gareth Shaw, 3rd ed (Chichester ; New York: J. Wiley, 1998), 46.

tion. However, it did not provide specific regulations for non-scheduled flights or for privately owned airlines in general, as their future significance was not anticipated.[63] The only condition was that seats could not be sold directly to customers. *Tour Operators*, which already existed, and private airlines took advantage of this situation. They offered packages that included a non-scheduled flight and accommodation at the destination.[64] This *Inclusive Tour* not only reduced costs but also made the journey less intimidating, as, apart from military veterans, few people were accustomed to leaving their home country. In this manner, they could be transported in a "cocoon"[65] to a Mediterranean resort, plane, and accommodation, both being adjusted for their customs.[66]

The Civil Aviation (Licensing) Act of 1960 ended the priority of national airlines and allowed the free market of private airlines.[67] Meanwhile, national carriers, traditionally catering to affluent passengers such as business executives and the wealthy, struggled to compete with the products provided by their commercial rivals,[68] unbound by the state policies still regulating national airlines.[69]

Tour Operators and private airlines allied to perfect the already introduced low-cost system of the Inclusive *Tour Package Air Holiday. (Fig.6)* Tour operators purchased aircraft seats and hotel beds for the entire season at a discounted price.[70] *Charter Airlines* were focusing on low-cost destinations and provincial airports, for whose creation they were sometimes even responsible. Luton was, for instance, essentially brought into existence by *Brittania,* who pushed flights from this airport to the Mediterranean.[71] Similarly, "many new resorts in the Mediterranean […were…] virtually created by [Inclusive Tour] charter services."[72] The increased flight offers provided up to three return flights per day while still being able to reduce costs. Consequently, air travel became the direct competitor of surface transportation, further increasing the clientele of aviation.[73] By 1970, half of British tourists were traveling through packaged tours.[74] The aerial connection between the UK and the Mediterranean, which was cheaper than to any other destination in Europe, ultimately paved the way for the emergence of ultra-cheap scheduled airlines in the 1990s, such as *EasyJet* and *Ryanair.* This story heralded the death of the traditional British seaside resort, which was no longer able to compete with the Mediterranean offers in any way.

The transport innovations of the railway and airplane made seaside journeys accessible not only to the social elite but also to the lower and middle classes, granting them the chance to temporarily escape city life for leisure. This logically led to the proliferation and expansion of leisure typologies along the seaside, as well as innovation and diversification in their forms. The privileged classes took advantage of this situation to either socially educate, segregate, or distract the lower and middle classes from their precarious every day, likewise caused by the puppeteering privileged class. Similarly, the fall in the real cost of flying "essentially supply led"[75], promoted by the *Inclusive Tour* industry. This leads to the conclusion that the spread of the leisure ideology, as well as the creation of the leisure types, was generated and encouraged by the privileged classes. Not recognizing this intimate relation between generators or educators and the consumers or users is one origin of the problematic terminology of "mass tourism." This pejorative term tends to deny auton-

63 Flights without a fixed schedule that can be customized to specific needs and are often cheaper for groups.

64 Antoni Serra, 'The Expansion Strategies of the Majorcan Hotel Chains', in *Europe At the Seaside*, ed. Luciano Segreto, Carles Manera, and Manfred Pohl (Berghahn Books, 2022), 104–24.

65 Lyth, 'Flying Visits', 13.

66 Ibid., 12–14.

67 Barry K. Humphreys, 'The Economics and Development of the British Independent Airlines since 1945', University of Leeds, 1973, 74–75.

68 Lyth, 'Flying Visits', 20.

69 Ibid., 25.

70 Ibid., 22.

71 Ibid., 24.

72 Ibid., 21.

73 Ibid., 18.

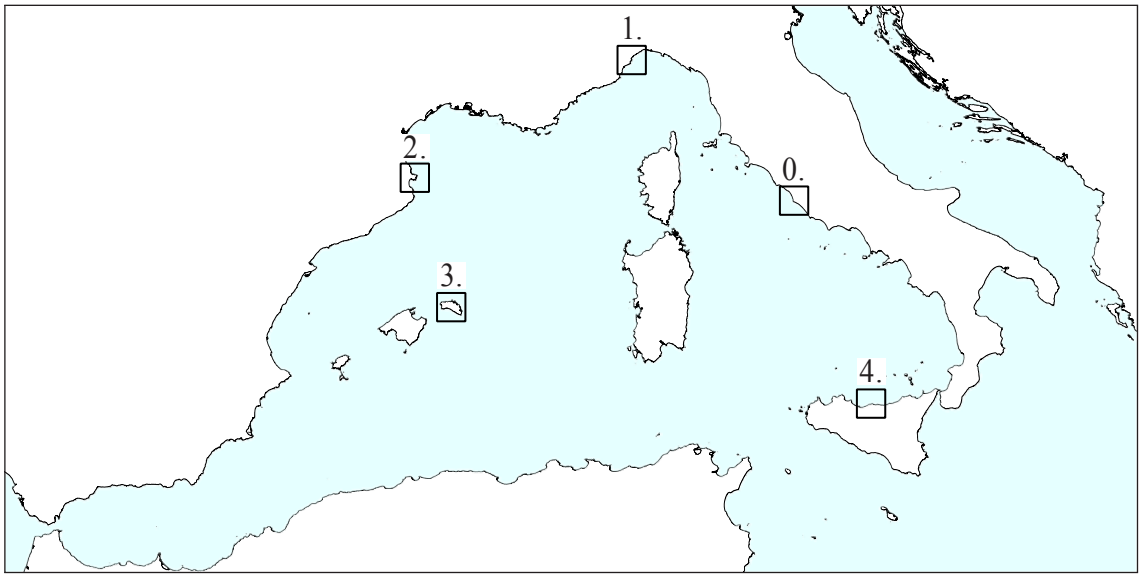
74 Ibid., 14.

75 Ibid., 25.

omy and individual identity to what is often presented as passive herds of manipulated consumers of a predigested, homogenized commercial experience;[76] or as the "barbarians of the age of leisure."[77] The middle class represents both and neither, a commodified marionette and an empowered free agent. Both the commodification and democratization of the leisure ideology will serve as the guiding themes in the next chapter.

76 John K. Walton, "Introduction" in Patrizia Battilani and Donatella Strangio, eds., *Il turismo e le città tra XVIII e XXI secolo: Italia e Spagna a confronto* (Milano: Angeli, 2007), 21.

77 Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London: Constable, 1975), 11



0. *Villa Laurentinum*
1. *Hotel Punta San Martino* ****
2. *Cap de Creus - Club Med Resort*
3. *Hotel Milanos Pinguinos* ***
4. *Cefalù - Club Med Resort*

Fig. 7 Location map of four case studies. Drawn by the authors.

Hotels and Resorts within the Welfare State

> "A remarkable instance of the production of space on the basis of a difference internal to the dominant mode of production is supplied by the current transformation of the perimeter of the Mediterranean into a leisure-oriented space for industrialized Europe."[78]

In 1974, Lefebvre published the book *The Production of Space*, in which he gave special attention to leisure as "the reproduction of capitalism through the production of space."[79] The aftermath of the Second World War was marked by a phase of economic growth—thirty years from 1945 to the 1970s—generally considered the "golden age" of the welfare state.[80] The term "welfare state"—originating in Britain but established across Europe—labels a democratic, industrial, capitalist society in which social provisions are legally guaranteed.[81] It had several consequences, such as the generalized introduction of paid vacations, which enlarged the pool of holidaymakers and transformed traveling into a widespread right. Thus, as pointed out by Lefebvre, the dominant European mode of production—based on the development of industrial capitalism—was rapidly converting the coasts of the Mediterranean.

Among the affected countries, Italy and Spain stand out as the two European nations that have become most prominent as international tourist destinations in the twentieth century.[82] Both countries started an intensive construction phase that has shaped the coastline's landscape to this day. Nonetheless, Italy already had, historically, cultural tourism, initiated with the *Grand Tour* in the Renaissance and was already a consolidated tourist destination—predominantly for the social elites—at the beginning of the twentieth century. In Spain, where cultural tourism never took place in similar measures, the tourist phenomenon arrived later, over the twentieth century.[83] Therefore, both countries also reacted in different ways, while Spain—since the liberal policies of the *Stabilization Plan* of 1959—adapted its infrastructure to cope with the touristic boom, embracing cheap and standardized tourism, Italy diversified what was offered outside the traditional structures.[84] A similarity can be identified between both countries regarding the promotion of tourism in its early stage of the twentieth century, during their respective dictatorships, both attributed tourism to a propagandistic role in highlighting the nation's glories and dedicated substantial financial resources to it.[85] But while politicians at both local and national levels, along with opinion leaders, emphasize the positive role tourism plays in economic development, the environmental impact and tourism policies appear to be less prioritized.[86]

Mary Nash relates this phase of the touristic boom to Mary Louise Pratt's *Contact Zone*[87], referring to a spatial and temporal conviviality of intercultural subjects, travelers, and "traveled," who create a mutual relation, renegotiating and reconstructing values, social behavior, and gender.[88] Within the context of Spain, Nash describes the encounter of the foreign, stylized, and sexy *la sueca* (the Swedish) and the native women in this *Contact Zone.*[89] Francos' regime imposed a patriarchal, national-catholic society in which male privilege and female inequality were regulated by law, ideologically legitimizing female subordination to men.

78 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, Reprinted (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 66.

79 Henri Lefebvre, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, ed. Łukasz Stanek, trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), xvii.

80 Mark Swenarton et al., eds., *Architecture and the Welfare State*, First edition (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 8.

81 Wil Arts and John Gelissen, 'Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism or More? A State-of-the-Art Report', *Journal of European Social Policy 12*, no. 2 (May 2002), 139.

82 John K. Walton, "Introduction" in Battilani and Strangio, *Il turismo e le città tra XVIII e XXI secolo*, 13.

83 Juan Carlos Gonzáles, "Iniciativas desde España e Italia en torno a la industria de los forasteros (1905-1929)" in Battilani and Strangio, *Il turismo e le città tra XVIII e XXI secolo*, 358.

84 Segreto, Manera, and Pohl, *Europe at the Seaside*, 7.

85 Battilani and Strangio, *Il turismo e le città tra XVIII e XXI secolo*, 30.

86 Segreto, Manera, and Pohl, *Europe at the Seaside*, 9.

87 "… social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today." in Mary Louise Pratt, 'Arts of the Contact Zone', *Profession*, 1991, 34.

88 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Second edition (London New York: Routledge, 2008), 7–8.

89 Mary Nash, 'Turismo, Género y Neocolonialismo', *Historia Social*, no. 96 (2020), 47.

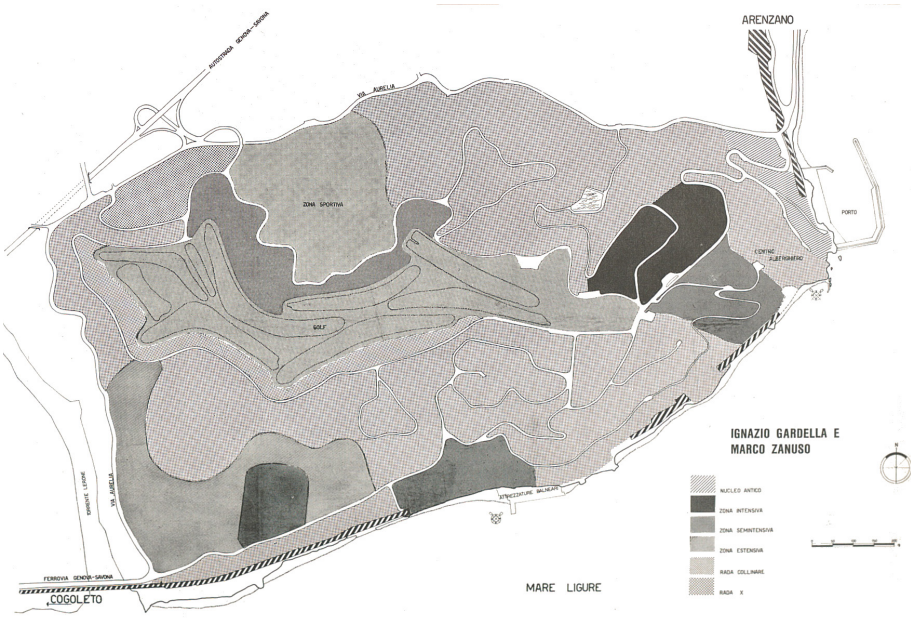


Fig. 8 Plan of Arenzano (1957). In Ernesto N. Rogers, ed. *Casabella n.283. Casabella Continuità. Vol. Coste Italiane 1 Urbanistica*, (1964), 17.

Women were categorized as prolific reproductive bodies, bound to the domesticity framework at home, and submitted to asexuality and chastity.[90] "Hence, any bodily manifestation of eroticism, seduction or sexual desire represented a clear provocation and interference in the Francoist feminine archetype."[91] The new icon of *la sueca* and the bikini quickly became symbols of sexual permissiveness, female empowerment, autonomy, and modernity. Especially young women working in the hotel industry, near the female foreigners, were quickly inspired by their style and behavior, causing fissures in the regime's moral and religious hegemony that would lead to its erosion.[92] Even if Italy was developing already out of dictatorship cross-cultural encounters were present and the phase of the touristic democratization can be generally interpreted as a *Contact Zone*, the physical spaces that Pratt refers to can likely be found within the leisure typologies emerging at this time.

The standardization and democratization of leisure gave rise to a large variety of leisure typologies, in analogy to the case of the diversification of the English seaside resort after its popularization. These new types range from campsites, tourist complexes, leisure towns, marinas, and resorts to villas, motels, hostels, touristic apartments, pensions, apart-hotels, and coastal hotels. Often, there is no sharp distinction between them. Therefore, the focus will lie on the coastal resort and hotel as the most clearly identifiable types. Despite their variety in forms, they all retained the underlying ideology already embedded in the concept of the villa, centered on the pursuit of leisure. Their reliance on the exploitation of others likewise persists at both the building and territorial scale. Furthermore, the leisure typologies will be analyzed as both highly commodified spaces and places of encounter. In these, the temporary inhabitants act as assets for the accommodation owners, while, at the same time, they forge spaces of freedom, challenging the social norms. In the following, *Hotel Punta San Martino* (Liguria, Italy), *Club Med's* resorts of *Cefalù* (Sicily, Italy) and *Cap de Creus* (Cadaquès, Spain), as well as *Hotel Sol Milanos Pinguinos* (Menorca, Spain) will serve as case studies. *(Fig.7)*

The four examples showcase three methodologies of private land acquisition: aristocratic land arrangement, privatizing neo-colonization, and (artificially) creating economic pressure. These shifts in territorial ownership come to the detriment of public entities or other middle-class family businesses, meanwhile commodifying the holiday consumer. The following section will examine the the four cases in regard to the reliance of the leisure ideal on the exploitation of others and on possible spaces of encounter fostering *Contact Zones*.

The four building complexes, along with *Villa Laurentinum*, share the characteristic of being situated almost directly on the seashore. Their main entrance lies on the opposite side, so to access the seaside, one would need to pass through the accommodation. This suggests that these four cases were colonizing the seafront, pioneering, and unbound from any prior presence of a settlement. In the case of *Hotel Punta San Martino,* it can be noted that the whole Pinegrove of Arenzano was established on the site. *(Fig.8)* The four sites' full operation required a previously inexistent network of infrastructure to be specifically developed for them. This highlights not only the significant amount of capital, logistics, and resources required but also the highly intensive labor involved.

90 Nash, 'Turismo, Género y Neocolonialismo', 43.

91 "De ahí que cualquier manifestación corporal de erotismo, seducción o de deseo sexual representara una clara provocación e injerencia en el arquetipo femenino franquista." translated by the autors. Nash, 'Turismo, Género y Neocolonialismo', 44.

92 Ibid., 59.

Fig. 9 Postcard of Club Med Cap de Creus, built in 1960. Image from Collierbar.

The early history of *Club Med*, founded in 1950 in Paris, is characterized by the creation of private resorts, especially in countries like Spain and Italy. *Club Med* after seven years of non-profit association became a commercial organization and remains a large multinational corporation and a key player in the tourism and leisure industry. Like other institutions in charge of building leisure sites for consumption, "Club Med created integrated environments promising predictable pleasures."[93] The *Cefalù* resort *(Fig.11)*—on the northern coast of Sicily—and *Cap de Creus (Fig.9)* —in Girona, the northern part of Costa Brava at the border with France—are both part of the starting phase of *Club Med*. These resorts were initially conceived similarly to campsites, with military tents and small cabins serving as accommodations within the yet unexplored territory. These should help the visitors immerse themselves in the natural environment of *Cefalù* or *Cap de Creus*, respectively. It encouraged the escape from the everyday life of French cities into an enclosed "earthly paradise",[94] developed and owned by French entrepreneurs. These resorts serve as examples of "neo-colonialist" settlements,[95] privatizing landholdings with foreign capital, withdrawing them from the home country's public use. Furthermore, this example clearly illustrates the commodification of holidaymakers. *Club Med's* owners strategically selected sites in foreign countries to minimize building and maintenance costs. Meanwhile, visitors had to undertake longer journeys to reach these leisure destinations. French visitors were willing to tolerate greater discomfort in exchange for a more affordable holiday overall. Through this, *Club Med* potentiated the idea of traveling to a different country for holidays without being previously specifically demanded.

Starting from the high baseline of labor required for infrastructural and service care and labor, it can be seen that it varies and requires particular attention, especially concerning the number of guests. The two resorts show similar infrastructure, their required network of roads, especially for *Cap de Creus,* must be pointed out. Due to the proximity to the French border, it seems reasonable that the French clientele of Club Med was approaching the site via car. The resort of *Cefalù*, on the other hand, is located on the Islands of Sicily, indicating the use of ferries or airplanes required to arrive at its location, in addition to the required road network. Both resorts show a similar occupancy capability, with *Cap the Creus* hosting 900 Cefalù 1132 visitors, with their sleeping accommodations spread for individual or double cells. In both cases, the sanitary facilities are for communal use, along with a large, shared swimming pool.

A rising phenomenon in post-war Italy was the *lottizazione,* through which large landholdings were parceled to generate capital. The *Hotel Punta San Martino* is part of the *Arenzano Pinegrove*, which serves as an example of this method in practice. The aristocratic family owning this land saw the potential to speculate when the highway was built in 1956 and, consequently, founded the real estate company *Cemadis*. As no legal framework was regulating these transactions, the territory was parceled into smaller plots of building accommodations—ranging from villas to hotels and apartments—to the newly established Milanese middle class. One of the first buildings constructed in 1957, towering above the cliffs of the seafront, was the *Hotel Punta San Martino (Fig.22)*. This case study shows how the absence of norms facilitated private ownership

93 Ellen Furlough, 'Packaging Pleasures: Club Méditerranée and French Consumer Culture, 1950-1968', *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 1 (1993), 74.

94 Ellen Furlough, 'Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no. 2 (1998), 279.

95 Manuelel Valenzuela, 'Spain: From the Phenomenon of Mass Tourism to the Search for a More Diversified Model', in Tourism and Economic Development: European Experiences, ed. Allan M. Williams and Gareth Shaw, 3rd ed (Chichester; New York: J. Wiley, 1998), 56.

Fig. 10 Hotel Milanos Pinguinos, built in 1973. Image from Booking.

to take the lead in transforming tourism into a commercial practice rather than a social one.

The creation of the resorts of Club Med illustrated what the Catalan writer Josep Pla referred to in 1961 as "invasión turistica" (touristic invasion).[96] The "explosive expansion"[97] that would follow the coming years was leading, right after the Catalan province Girona, the Balearic Islands, offering more than 50,000 hotel beds in 1964. The archipelago could be seen as a hub for what later became the biggest hotel chains of the world, featuring a common element at the outset of their story, as they were all starting as family businesses. Melia International, as a prime example, has its origins in 1956, when the 21-year-old Gabriel Escarrer was starting to run a small hotel in Palma de Mallorca. A few years later, the small hotel chain *Hoteles Mallorquines Asociados* was created, and many new hotels, such as *Hotel Sol Milanos Pinguinos (Fig.10)* were contructed. This early expansion on the Balearic Islands enabled the chain to solidify its presence. In 1976, it rebranded as *Hoteles Sol*, coinciding with its expansion into the Iberian Peninsula— a trend shared by several other growing hotel chains.[98] The protagonists of these narratives are represented by the chains that endured the early years of fierce competition. However, many family-run businesses were forced to sell their hotels to the relentless competitors who would eventually dominate the coastal territory (not only) of the Balearic Islands.

96 Nash, 'Turismo, Género y Neocolonialismo', 41.

97 Joan Carles Cirer Costa, 'The explosive expansion and consolidation of the Balearic hotel sector 1964-2010', 200.

98 For instance, the chain Barcelò, see Serra, 'The Expansion Strategies of the Majorcan Hotel Chains', 126–27.

While *Hotel Punta San Martino* is only able to accommodate 126 guests, *Milanos Pinguinos* guest capacity is eighteen times higher, offering 2.268 beds. The Balearic hotel's sanitary facilities and services are further optimized, stacked, and concentrated vertically in two towers, whereas the Ligurian hotel requires a more complex system. The construction of the latter matches the development of the highway inaugurated in 1956, highlighting the prioritization of automobile owners, primarily the higher end of the national middle class, as the main clientele. Meanwhile, the hotel built on the island of Menorca in 1970 is fully dependent on tourists arriving via air traffic, exemplified by the airport's construction in 1969, revealing the most common tourist on the islands during the boom; from middle to low-class of northern European countries, as Britain, booking a yearly holiday through a *Tour Operator*, selling the *Inclusive Packaged Tour.* The infrastructure of the two hotels reveals differences, especially about the possible accommodated clientele. Thus, even though one might think that infrastructural efforts would be in proportion to guest capacity, the examination leads to a different conclusion. The efforts stand rather to the amount of capital possible to obtain. This shows how economic profit justifies extraction processes, which are furthermore not only damaging the environment but also prioritizing the leisure type over the nearby residential settlements.

The hermetic nature of the four case studies— enclosed and restricting access to the visitors and staff— further exemplifies the prioritization of leisure practice above any other. The entrance of all the case studies examined displays a clear attitude concerning labor force management, one which is characterized by controlling incoming and exit flow. The single entrance to the resorts, used by both guests and workers, aligns with *Club Med's* philosophy of treating both subjects as belonging to the middling salaried sector, namely: teachers, secretaries, technicians, but

Fig. 11 Club Med Cefalù, built in 1951. Image from Collierbar.

also liberal professions and commerce, students, and a small group of workers (mostly from the well-paid trades).[99] These spaces can be considered examples of *Contact Zones*, encouraging encounters with people from different backgrounds, but in the case of *Club Med* it was "an experience constructed predominantly by and for white, economically advantaged Europeans."[100] In contrast, the hotels feature separate service entrances, hidden from the guests, preventing holidaymakers from being reminded of the duties and everyday hustle they seek to escape. These service entrances suggest neglect of the labor force, giving a hint about the exploitation of labor conditions while prioritizing time and economic efficiency over the workers' health and well-being.

On the opposite side of the main entrance, the four case studies offer direct access to the beach. In the case of the Italian hotel, the beach is privatized, contrasting with the Spanish case, where, although claimed by the hotel's hammocks, the beach is theoretically still accessible to the public. *Hotel Punta San Martino* has easier controllable coves and *Milanos Pinguinos* docking at a vast stripe of sandy beach. This reflects the different legal frameworks adopted in Italy and Spain, where the lack of regulations enabled the privatization of public land. The relationship between the four building complexes and the beachfront underscores the interaction between holidaymakers and the natural environment. *Club Med* aims to provide a leisure experience that allows visitors to fully immerse themselves in nature, an example is the simple tents as accommodations at *Cefalù (Fig.11)* that are not linked to any pathway system but are directly placed on the grass. On the other hand, *Hotel Punta San Martino* displays a compact layout, on the top of a cliff, elevated from the natural surroundings emphasizing the dualism of the escape from the city and protection from nature. Like two intruders, the two towers of *Hotel Milanos Pinguinos* stand at the beachfront, in stark contrast, disrupting the natural landscape.

The four case studies share a common thread: the natural environment is marketed and conceived as a consumer good —the beautiful view, the clean air, and the fresh seawater. On the leisure sites, temporary inhabitants are not meant to take care of their natural surroundings but to fully enjoy and profit from its benefits, as these are not present in industrialized cities. This relationship to nature generates a feeling of superiority and privilege, which are further enforced by the shape, view, and form of the respective building complexes. The campsites' intent to blend into the landscape can be seen in the concern of the architects of *Cap de Creus* about the view it might have from the sea: "It should look like a swarm of seagulls."[101] The loose, improvised style of the tents in *Cefalù* aligns with a movement of freedom, of "esprit libre." Nonetheless, the overall site organization symbolizes the aim to oppose daily activities in the industrial city and to celebrate "self-indulgent physical pleasures,"[102] forgetting its repercussions, as showcased by their advertising slogan: "*Club Med* vacation. The antidote to civilization."[103]

The view from *Hotel Punta San Martino*, on the other hand, allows the hotel guests to overlook the entire landscape from an elevated point of view, like the Roman *villa marittima*. In both cases, the view seems to be a way to control the surrounding land, evoking feelings of endless land ownership. At the same time, its fortress-like appearance, with small

99 Furlough, 'Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s', 281.

100 Ibid.

101 'donessin impressió d'una volada de gavians', trans. by the authors. Gemma Domenech Casadevall, 'El Club Med i el Parc Natural del Cap de Creus: patrimoni i paisatge en conflicte' in Nadia Fava and Marisa García Vergara, 'Proceedings International Seminar. Touristic Territories: Touristic Imagery and the Construction of Contemporary Landscape' (Girona, 2014), 118.

102 Furlough, 'Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s', 277.

103 Furlough, 'Packaging Pleasures: Club Méditerranée and French Consumer Culture, 1950-1968', 77.




Swimming pools of the case studies from left to right and top to bottom:
Fig. 12 Hotel Punta San Martino. In Gio Ponti. *Domus n.344*, (1958), 3.
Fig. 13 Club Med, Cefalù. Image from Tripadvisor.
Fig. 14 Hotel Sol Milanos Pinguinos. Pau Obrador Pons.
Tourism as Dwelling (Durham theses, Durham University, 2004),110.
Fig. 15 Club Med Cap de Creus. Image from Collierbar.

window openings and a flat roof, is also characteristic of the *villa marittima* and the Ligurian Hotel. It shows the desire to resemble an aristocratic residence of ancient times. Furthermore, this might be linked with the conservative ideology of the aristocratic real estate company *Cemadis*. This form stands in contrast with *Milanos Pinguinos* bold appearance of the two imposing towers. The rationalized buildings reflect both the democratization of leisure and, simultaneously, the commodification of the middle class. They reflect *Sol Melia's* priority to generate profit over the visitors' individual leisure experience. This is stressed by the perpendicular positioning of the towers towards the sea view, as the priority lies in attracting visitors from northern European countries, accepting the discomfort of a longer journey for a cheaper holiday. All in all, one can observe how the architectural form and positioning of the sites symbolize the privilege and luxury of being able to spend an enjoyable holiday.

A shared element that supports this argument is the swimming pool. *(Fig.12 - Fig. 15)* The swimming pool stands as a paradigm of holiday luxury, often featured as the centerpiece on postcards sent to family and friends, symbolizing the ideal vacation and the social prestige associated with travel.[104] The two hotels' swimming pools showcase this exuberance clearly because of their connection to the sea view. The resort's pool lies at the core of the site, representing the center for the temporary community. Pools serve as places of gossip, hostility, bodily display, conviviality, boredom, high maintenance, and play. They can be seen as the perfect stage for "theatres of sociality and distraction that sit right in the middle of the Mediterranean tourist experience."[105] They are cultural laboratories in which tourists can cultivate workable utopias, structures of feeling, and new ways of living and relating with others.[106] This description of Pons seems to coincide with what Pratt calls the *Contact Zone*. This is stressed by the inward-facing arrangement of hammocks around the pool, consistently situated at the heart of the leisure typologies studied, but also the enduring presence of staff facilities or accommodation next to swimming pools. One can imagine how different actors clashed here: the bikini icon of *la sueca* sunbathing on the hammock, the native cleaning lady, the foreign couple, and the native hotel manager. Pools have been and still are temporal spaces of encounter where different social classes and cultures clash, challenging the existing norms and social conducts and eventually creating new ones.

The leisure typologies constructed in the decades of the "golden ages" can be seen as both symbols of the democratization of leisure and highly commodified spaces. On the one hand, an increasing amount of people can enjoy a leisurely week, on the other, emerging businesses push tourism products to generate more profit. As a consequence of both, the establishment of the new habit of going on holidays in this period crystalizes. As Ellen Furlough stated, "Vacations had become 'necessities' rather than luxuries."[107] It could be observed a tendency of the increasing commodification not only af the architectural types but also of its inhabiting actors: the middle class and the labor force. Nonetheless, *Contact Zones* can occur within these commodified spaces, these moments of encounter challenge the commodified subjects, who redefine the leisure typologies, placing them in the center of communal intercultural and multi-social gatherings.

104 Alicia Fuentes Vega, Bienvenido, *Mr. Turismo: Cultura Visual Del 'Boom' En España*, Primera edición, Grandes Temas 74 (Madrid: Cátedra, 2017), 227.

105 Pons, Crag, and Travlou, *Cultures of Mass Tourism*, 91.

106 Ibid., 107.

107 Furlough, 'Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s', 276.

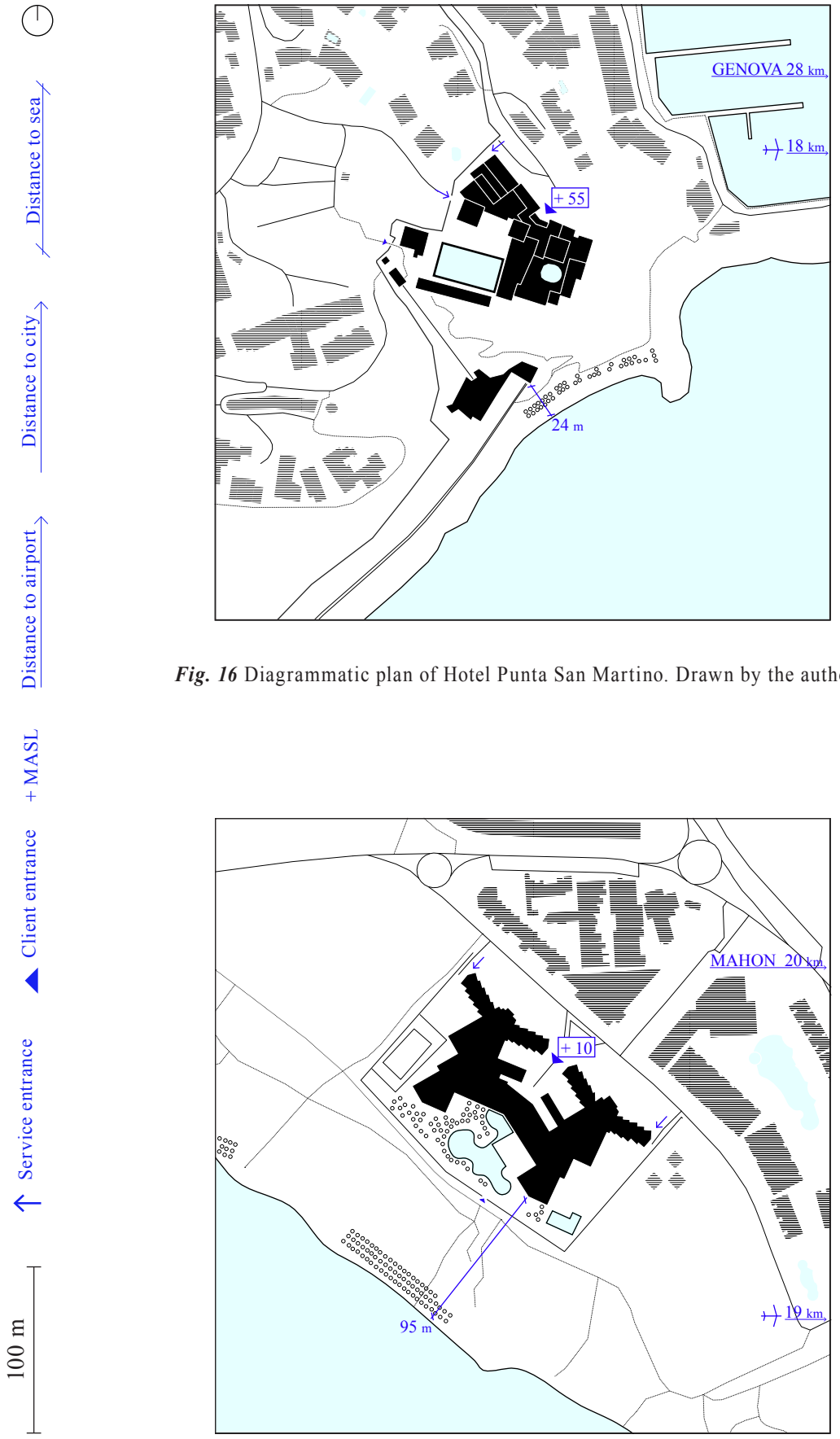


Fig. 16 Diagrammatic plan of Hotel Punta San Martino. Drawn by the authors.

Fig. 17 Diagrammatic plan of Hotel Son Milanos Pinguinos. Drawn by the authors.

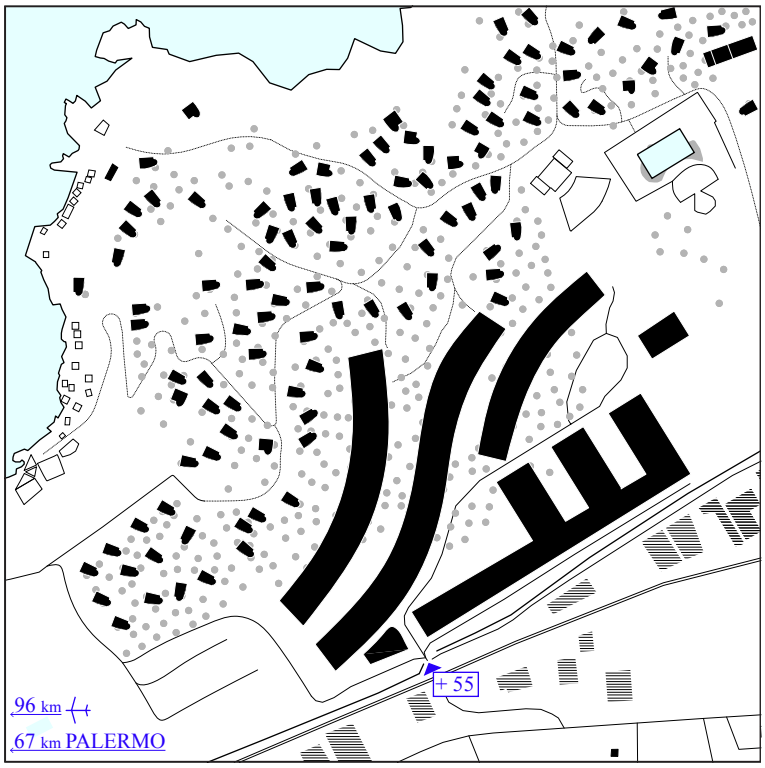


Fig. 18 Diagrammatic plan of Club Med Cefalù. Drawn by the authors.

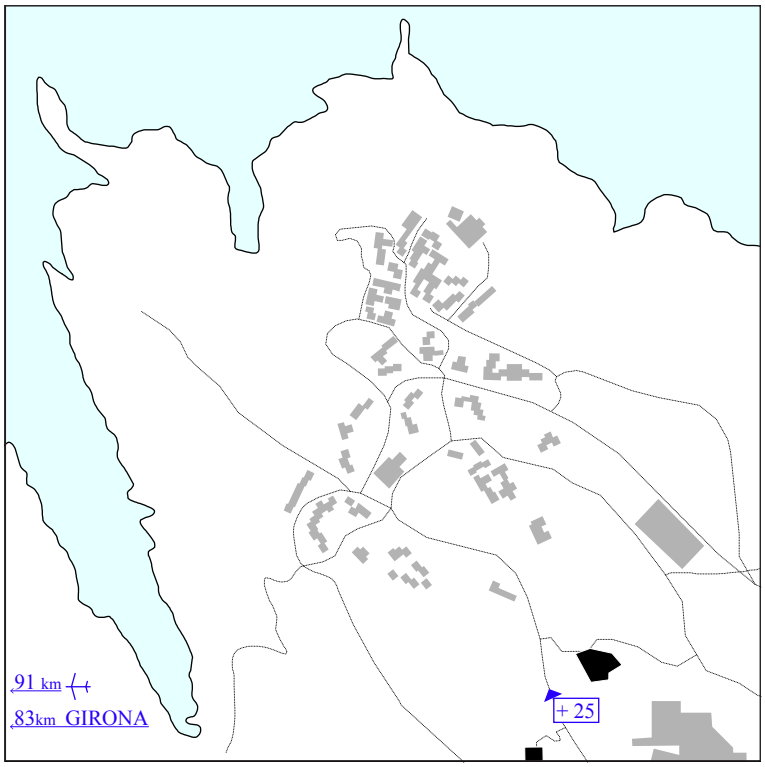
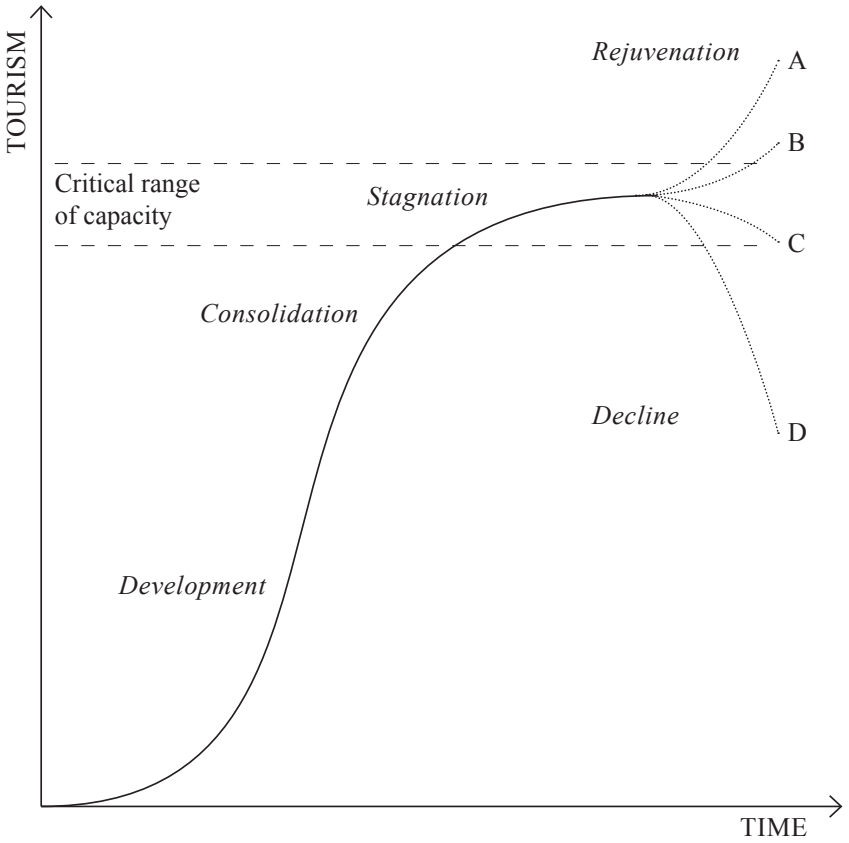


Fig. 19 Diagrammatic plan of Club Med Cap de Creus. Drawn by the authors.



A. *Cefalù - Club Med Resort*
B. *Hotel Milanos Pinguinos* ***
C. *Hotel Punta San Martino* ****
D. *Cap de Creus - Club Med Resort*

Fig. 20 Case studies intered in Butler's Diagram. Drawn by the authors, adapted from R.W. Butler, 'The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources', *Canadian Geographies / Géographies Canadiennes 24, no. 1* (1980), 7.

Towards Neoliberal Policies

> "The quality of the leisure lasts, and the price is forgotten."[108]

> "Yes, we have had problems with hotel managers. Because, of course, the hotel sells a vacation, right? It sells happiness, partying, everything nice, and you don't want to have some women there, at the door of your hotel, protesting."[109]

The comparison of sentences pronounced by Gabriel Escarrer—founder of *Melia Hotels*—and Yolanda Diaz—part of the association *Las Kellys*—shows the polarization produced by the tourist industry. On the one hand, the idealization of leisure tends to hide its costs; on the other hand, depersonalized ownership, which results in protests at the entrance of the hotel, highlights the impossibility of addressing the problems directly. This chapter will analyze the case studies previously introduced at a later stage of their lifespan when the crisis of the welfare state left space for the rise of neoliberal governance. Since the economic crisis of the 1970s, individual rights over private properties have been strengthened, and the free-market economy has created growing competitiveness.[110] In the following pages, we aim to show the evolution of ownership within the competitive market, its spatial implication, and the social reactions.

Confronted with an increase in tourism in recent years, Italy and Spain remained the two main destinations for foreign vacationers in 2023.[111] The thirst of politicians and real estate agencies has yet to be quenched, and the repetition of arguments to promote tourist sites needs to be tackled. Gainsforth's "four clichés" help to untagle these false narratives: the first cliché claims that tourism is a "resource," but in truth, the resource is the territory, tourism being a tool to generate economic value from it. The second cliché is that the extracted wealth returns to the territory, which is not true when the ownership is situated abroad. The third is that touristic demand generates supply, which, as seen in the previous chapter, is often the opposite case. The fourth cliché is that tourism is an economic engine managed by institutions, when it is mostly managed by private investments, and public planning with experts in the field of tourism is mostly lacking.[112]

To better study the evolution of each case study *Butler's Diagram* (1980) *(Fig.20)* is used to show the possible patterns of development in tourist areas, where—after an early stage of growth and reaching a critical amount of capacity—the site may experience "rejuvenation" or "decline" as alternatives to "stagnation."[113] After more than fifty years of development, the four case studies analyzed in the previous chapter represent different stages in the diagram. Grouping them by this criterion, overall trends in the tourist industry become apparent. These often-overlooked tendencies can be linked with the four clichés of Gainsforth. Although the four clichés are present in each case study and strongly intertwined, some are highlighted, corresponding to specific narratives.

The site at *Cap de Creus* of *Club Med* serves as an example of what Butler's diagram identifies as "decline," as the territory is withdrawn from its touristic use. In 1998, *Cap de Creus* in *Cadaquès* was declared a natural park. Right in the middle of it was *Club Med*, still operating.[114]

108 "La calidad del ocio perdura y el precio se olvida" trans. by the authors. Cañellas, M. À. "Las frases de Gabriel Escarrer Juliá, «un hotelero de vocación»." Ultima Hora, November 26, 2024.

109 Yolanda Diaz representing *Las Kellys Benidorm*, from an Interview made by the authors, August 2024.

110 David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 135.

111 Sarah Gainsforth, 'Portofino: Overtourism Di Lusso', *Slow News*, Il turismo è un oggetto complesso, no. Ep.4.

112 Sarah Gainsforth, 'Il Turismo è Un Oggetto Complesso', *Slow News*, Il turismo è un oggetto complesso, no. Ep.2.

113 R.W. Butler, 'The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources', *Canadian Geographies / Géographies Canadiennes* 24, no. 1 (March 1980): 5–12.

114 Nadia Fava and Marisa García Vergara, 'Proceedings International Seminar. Touristic Territories: Touristic Imagery and the Construction of Contemporary Landscape' (Girona, 2014), 120.

Fig. 21 Satelite Image of Cap de Creus (2024). Image from Google Earth.

In 2001, the *Ministerio de Medio Ambiente* (Ministry of Environment) expressed their interest in purchasing the coastal resort to demolish and deconstruct it to regenerate the ecosystem at the site, offering the owners 1.8 million euros. At the same time, *Club Med* announced plans to transform the resort with an ecological approach, integrating it into the environment. However, a state-commissioned study concluded that the only way to truly regenerate the ecosystem was through complete deconstruction. Advocates for demolition argued that the resort occupied one of the park's most environmentally valuable areas. Over the next decade, the debate over the dismantling of *Club Med* became a symbol of ecological recovery for the *Costa Brava*, despite others arguing that it was the best-integrated tourist development along this coastal region.[115] Further criticism was that *Club Med* was seen as a French enclave catering exclusively to French clientele, whose spending remained within the resort's bubble rather than benefiting neighboring towns.[116] This shows how the second cliché, which pretends that the wealth extracted returns to the territory, fails in the resort typology of *Club Med*. Additionally, the club was viewed as a symbol of uncontrolled Francoist urbanization. The conflict reached its peak when residents presented a manifesto demanding the resignation of the park's director, citing a lack of dialogue and collaboration.[117] Once the fight was over and the decision to turn down the building enclave was made, a new fight about the economic value of the space was initiated. *Club Med* did not accept the 1.8 million offered by the *Ministerio de Medio Ambiente* but claimed 9 million. Due to the financial support from the *Generalitat de Catalunya,* it was finally possible to acquire the resort at this price. But, in the meantime, *Club Med* profited from several summers of full clientele. The deconstruction would go from 2009 until 2012 and continue with the project of EMF Architects, which would restore the site and create a viewpoint. *(Fig.21)* This story showcases the state's rather "clumsy" intent to cope with the expansion of tourist developments.

The site of *Cefalù* was renovated in 2018 by *King Rosselli Architetti* and is now listed among the most luxurious resorts of *Club Med*. The site had been vacant since 2005 and required several repairs due to arson attacks allegedly carried out by local communities during the winters. Since 1991, with the last version of the Polynesian tents spread across the lot, the site has had access to electricity. What makes *Club Med* unique is that they are both tour operators and landowners.[118] Therefore, without funds, they could leave the site vacant for over thirteen years. In 2018, *Club Med* invested 64 million euros in a renovation that—demolishing all previous structures—replaced the Polynesian huts with single-room villas. *(Fig.24)* This reflects the growing trend of large chains treating leisure sites as assets, not necessarily caring about their use unless they generate profit. This can be attributed to the first cliché mentioned previously, when the real resource becomes the territory itself, with tourism serving as a tool to generate value from it.

The *Arenzano Pinegrove*, which had already changed over time with the appearance of buildings not respecting the original masterplan, was finally sold in 1982 by its previous owner, *Cemadis*, to the owners of each plot, constituting the *Comunione Pineta di Arenzano*. This gave birth to a *gated community*: a wealthy enclave in which class disparities became

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid.

117 Ibid., 120–21.

118 Battilani, Vacanze Di Pochi, Vacanze Di Tutti, 387.

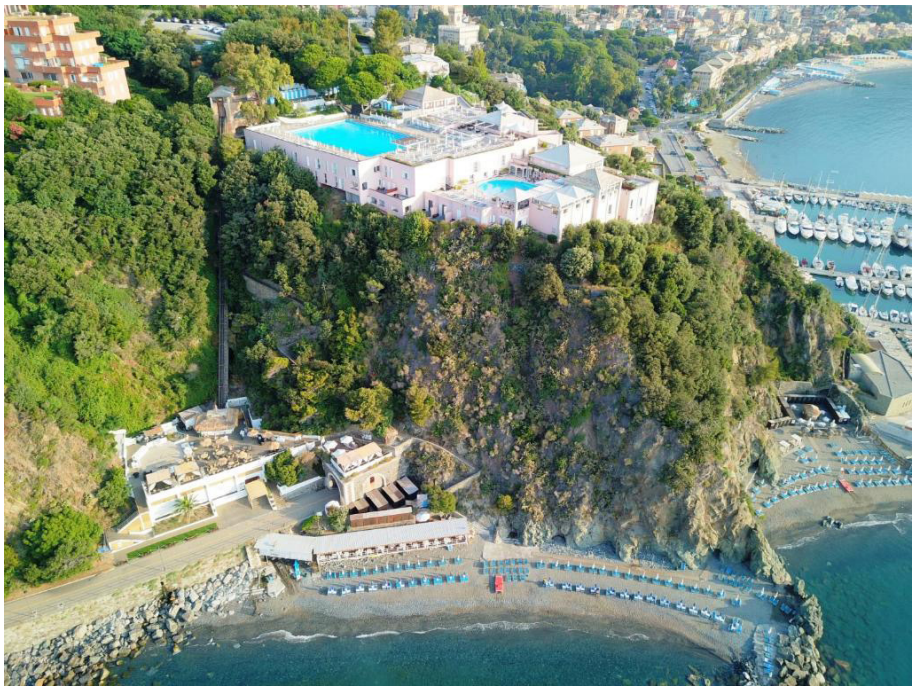


Fig. 22 Hotel Punta San Martino, built in 1957. Image from Traveloka.

more evident.[119] These (temporary) residential zones rely on private security, surveillance cameras, and fences, separating the residents from the public and reinforcing the notion of security through contemporary technological measures. It exemplifies how the area was facing a decline in its touristic amenities. One notable symbol of this decline is the vacancy of *Marina Grande*, a residential complex—built during a later phase—located on the opposite side of the Pinegrove compared with the entrance of *Hotel Punta San Martino.* The "cement fever" as Calvino called the proliferating urbanization on the Ligurian Riviera in the novel *La Speculazione Edilizia*,[120] reveals its fragility when faced with the passage of time and the effects of the sea, salt, and breeze, which erode the utopia it once represented. The *Hotel Punta San Martino (Fig. 22)* stands as the latest building owned by *Cemadis* and still active on the site, embodying a surviving stagnation at the building scale in Butler's diagram. It remains under the same ownership and operates seasonally, being profitable only during the summer months, from April to October. The speculative aspect described by Calvino on the Ligurian coasts was already a reality; vacationers were simply reproducing "the same apartments in the same huge residential blocks and the same automotive-urban life."[121] As seen in the previous chapter, due to the client's wealth and in contrast with other examples, the hotel business was functioning based on its demand. In the face of fierce competition, the hotel is struggling to adapt to growing standards and reduction of costs. Meanwhile, multinational corporations, working in unison with all other branches of tourism, such as airlines or travel agencies, are able to create demand.

Since the early 1980s recession, *Meliá International* has exemplified the increasing consumption of space by a shrinking number of owning entities, reflecting an abstraction process marked by the transition from family-run enterprises to corporate chains. The business, under the name *Hoteles Sol,* acquired the Spanish hotel chain *Hotasa* and *Hoteles Meliá* throughout the 1980s and started to market two brands, *Sol Hoteles,* being addressed to the tourism sector. The now leading hotel chain in Spain created *Bali Sol Hotel*, their first international division, during this period. Some of these touristic regions have virtually been created through the colonization of the chain by its resorts and hotels, as Serra has pointed out.[122] *Melia*'s expansion strategy shifted from a predominantly classic ownership model toward a more diversified strategic portfolio, including franchising, since the 1990s.[123] In 1995, *Sol Melia* entered the stock market, supporting their sister company, *Inmotel*, which increasingly focused on real estate management. In 2011, the top hotel company in Spain, South America, and the Caribbean was renamed *Melia Hoteles International*.

Sol Milanos Pinguinos is the chain's only remaining three-star property and is, therefore, considered "outdated" by its owners, who state that the hotel requires extensive refurbishment and expansion. This would not involve an increase in guest capacity but rather the ability to accommodate wealthier clientele and, thus, increase profits. This twelve-story building, located in the first row of the beach in San Bou, Menorca, is the largest hotel on the island. Other *Sol Meliá* hotels on the island have already undergone the "upgrading" process, transforming them into four- or five-star hotels. The CEO (Chief Executive Officer) says, "We saw that this commitment to quality had an important reward, not only in prof-

119 Marco Franzone and Gerolamo Patrone, *La pineta di Arenzano: architettura e paesaggio; storia di un'utopia mancata* (Milano: Skira, 2010), 38.

120 Italo Calvino, La speculazione edilizia, 1. ed., 1. rist, Opere di Italo Calvino (Milano: Mondadori, 1995), 3.

121 Ibid, 70.

122 Serra, 'The Expansion Strategies of the Majorcan Hotel Chains', 135.

123 Ibid.

Fig. 23 . Section of porposed expansion project for Hotel Sol Milanos Pinguinos (2017). Adapted by the authors from GOB Menorca 'The exhibition for San Bou has covered the balance of the costs for the legal proceedings', September 11, 2023.

itability but also in contribution to wealth."[124] As a result, a restoration project with a 60-million-euro investment was prepared in 2017. *(Fig.23)* However, the project was abruptly brought to a standstill. The *Balearic Environmental Association GOB (Grup Balear d'Ornitologia i Defensa de la Naturalesa)* initiated a legal procedure against the chain, obstructing the licensing process, which continues to this day.[125] The proposed project, which claimed to comply with the Tourist Law, anticipated an increase of five floors in the existing hotel. *GOB* revealed that the constructed volume exceeded the area outlined in the 1970 municipal general map, the official map of *Milanos Pinguinos*, and the map of the territory.[126] The hotel, being illegal since its establishment, could, therefore, not consider its refurbishment project regarding the Tourist Law.[127] For years has *Hotel Milanos Pinguinos* been the subject of polemic discussions. Some view the hotel as a destructive bomb, endangering the environment and landscape of the coastline, while others see it as a symbol of wealth and welfare. While the future of this hotel is still uncertain, the *GOB* association organizes fairs, talks, poetry readings, and exhibitions, collecting funds for their legal process and creating a supportive community.[128] The business story of Melia shows how a family-owned company grew to an incorporated multinational hotel chain with ties to several other branches, ranging from air travel to real estate investment and increasingly monopolizing the tourism market. This serves as a good example of how the tourism industry is most commonly supply-led due to the possibility of these big chains creating a supply.

Throughout the analysis of the case studies socio-political context, a growing process of abstraction can be observed, wherein owners, users, and maintainers become part of representative entities in the form of chains, clients, or maintenance companies. This enables chains to trade their sites as assets, leaving some buildings in a state of "stagnation" while selling others during a "decline" in tourist activity. This financial freedom allows chains to "rejuvenate" their most profitable sites. In contrast, other businesses that emerged during the touristic boom and could not expand similarly remain in "stagnation," not able to adapt to the growing standards and reduced costs. The chain's "rejuvenation" process provides new luxuries at competitive prices, generating a supply of accessible luxuries. This process will be further analyzed on a building scale and tested to determine to what extent *Contact Zones* can still be created.

The facilities of the four case studies have undergone different developments, which could be seen as characteristic of their stage in the Butlers' diagram. The site of *Cap de Creus*, for instance, represents "decline." Withdrawn from its touristic function, it was reconceived as a viewpoint within the natural resort. Materials like concrete, asphalt, glass, wood, and ceramics needed to be drilled, removed, or recycled to give the site a more natural appearance. While parts of the landscape were restored, two parking areas and an extensive road network sealed the natural soil anew, enabling easier site access for visitors. This demonstrates that even leisure typologies in "decline" demand significant labor and resources. Similarly, the "rejuvenation" process also involves major infrastructural expansions. The renovation of Cefalù in 2018 required individual villas spread across the large site to include private bathrooms.

124 "…y vimos que esa apuesta por la calidad tenía una recompensa importante, ya no en rentabilidad, sino en contribución a la riqueza." trans. by the autors. Javier Gilabert, "Gabriel Escarrer: 'Tenemos 392 hoteles en el mundo y solo el de Son Bou es aún de 3 estrellas", *Menorca.Info*, August 01, 2022.

125 Javier Gilabert, "La Transformación Del Hotel Sol Milanos Pingüinos, La Espina Clavada de Meliá", *Menorca.Info*, July 22, 2024.

126 GOB Menorca, 'Serious Errors in the Redistribution of Building Plots for the Son Bou Hotels', October 28, 2022.

127 David Arquimbau, Santiago Torrado, "Nadie Sabe Qué Pasará Con Esa Mole de Hoteles Que Rompe El Paisaje de Menorca", *El Diario*, October 01, 2023.

128 Javier Gilabert, "La Transformación Del Hotel Sol Milanos Pingüinos, La Espina Clavada de Meliá", July 22, 2024.

Fig. 24 Club Med Cefalù after its renovation of 2018. Image from Club Med.

The planned "upgrade" for *Milanos Pinguinos* also includes significant infrastructural changes to accommodate more luxurious services, further exacerbating the dissonance between infrastructure and the guests served. By altering the overall appearance, ultimately aimed at attracting more wealthy customers, the maintenance works of the hospitality facilities is strongly increased.

In the earlier studied period, "vacations had become 'necessities' rather than luxuries." Now, luxuries have become necessities. To meet these increasingly extravagant demands, the form of the buildings has also evolved. Only *Hotel Punta San Martino* has remained unchanged since its construction, representing the conservative entities protecting their aristocratic lands. By contrast, the volumetric increase planned for the Menorcan hotel proposes elevating the structure parallel to the coastline to provide a seaside view for the most spending customers. *Cefalù*'s new projects continue to pursue the idea of "blending into" the landscape while prioritizing the luxurious appearance of the villas, which serve as hotel rooms scattered across the site. The villa's round shape and wooden façades do not take into account the labor required to maintain these new facilities.[129] The rocky coves on the property are appropriated by constructing wooden paths and providing the possibility to chill on the hammock near the water. This demonstrates how the view, the sea, and the coast are increasingly commodified and sold as products. The desire to feel part of nature has overshadowed the importance of genuine coexistence. The cases of *Cap de Creus* and *Milanos Pinguinos* also highlight public concern about this commodification. The *Cap de Creus* case, despite its cumbersome process, shows that some political efforts are being made to address these issues. The territory was sold to the Ministry of Ecology of Catalunya, moving it into public ownership. Similarly, the *GOB* association's legal action against *Hotel Milanos Pinguinos* exemplifies this reactionary trend. Near *Hotel Punta San Martino,* the *Cemadis*-owned *Marina Grande* beach was reclaimed by the municipality of Arenzano in May 2024.[130] This represents a broader movement in Italy against the privatization of beaches, reflecting the growing concern about public space being appropriated for tourism.

While there have been regulatory changes regarding the seafront, managing the spread of swimming pools within leisure types remains problematic. In Menorca, regulations limit agrotourism to one swimming pool per 10 inhabitants.[131] However, the *Milanos Pinguinos* project plans to increase its swimming pool capacity by 77% while maintaining the same number of visitors. *(Fig. 23) Cefalù* added a new infinity pool during their renovation in 2018. Rising concern about water consumption on islands suffering severe droughts in Europe appears to have little impact for now. These increasing quantities of new standard luxuries not only have to be constructed but also maintained. The labor force responsible for their maintenance contrasts starkly with the "influencer culture," showcasing sunsets reflected in swimming pools. This contrast exposes how the abstraction of owners, users, and maintainers within the leisure industry fosters growing indifference among the actors, reducing the chance of any incidental *Contact Zone*.

129 "…they should take more into account that even if it is very nice to look at, then you have to maintain it and clean it." Yolanda Diaz representing *Las Kellys Benidorm*, from an Interview made by the authors, August 2024.

130 Comunione Pineta di Arenzano, "Situazione spiagge", June 08, 2024.

131 Javier Gilabert "Menorca se sitúa a la cabeza de España en número de piscinas: una por cada 10 habitantes" Menorca.Info, August 28, 2022.

> "They want to get more stars, and these stars they get affect how many square meters the rooms have, if they have a pool if they have a sauna, and so on and so on. But it doesn't include the labor behind."[132]

A new *Contact Zone* emerged through the collective action of the chambermaids' association, *Las Kellys*, quoted in the beginning of this section. This *Contact Zone* did not arise by chance. The abstraction of actors within the hotel industry created cracks in the optimized system. These fissures enabled the "camareras de piso"—room waitresses—from different parts of the country to empathize with one another, united by their shared fate as undervalued, discriminated, and exploited. Together, they organized and protested at the hotel's main entrance, forcing both the hotel manager and vacationing visitors to confront these contrasting realities.

This inspirational act of strength and resilience stemmed from a plethora of terrifying stories. The association's name, *Las Kellys,* is an acronym for "las que limpian," literally translated as "the ones who clean." They aim to protect the predominantly female labor force from exploitative working conditions, specifically addressing the issue of employment externalization. This condition, arising from the competitive market, gradually transformed labor into a commodity, creating greater distances between employers and employees. In this system, workers are no longer tied to a specific building; instead, they become workers without a fixed workplace and have to respond to constant demands, depriving them of routine or stability. Furthermore, this system also reinforced gender-based inequalities, through "the feminization of the touristic sector, as well as the construction of women as its invisible sustainers."[133] It represents "the undervaluation of all those activities related to care and welfare that have been generated in the neoliberal system."[134] Chambermaids must contend with precarious working conditions, often seasonal, part-time, and low-paid. As Sinclair points out, "gender roles affect both the ways in which labor is supplied within the tourism sector and the nature of the demand for it."[135] *Las Kellys* exposes the contradictions of a space that provides accommodations for the traditional "happy family" at the expense of others. These spaces—an abstract domesticity—are difficult to be appropriated by anyone inhabiting it.

The association's name can be understood in Pratt's terms, as an autoethnographic act as it engages "with the representations that the others have made of them."[136] Through their union, they confront the criticalities produced by this progressive abstraction. The evolution of the studied leisure typologies and their embodying ideologies illustrates the ongoing abstraction of the actors who inhabit them. This reinforces the social and economic structures of the dominant class—particularly the owners of chains—who solidify their privilege by generating a system that smaller, less capitalized actors cannot compete with. The promotion and creation of accessible luxuries establish these as the new standard for holidaymakers. This creates growing disparities between consumers and the enablers or maintainers of these spaces. Another consequence of the process is

132 Yolanda Diaz representing Las Kellys Benidorm, from an Interview made by the authors, August 2024.

133 "La feminización del sector turístico, así como la construcción de las mujeres como las sostenedoras invisibles del mismo, …" trans. by the autors. In José Luis López-González and María Medina-Vicent, "Las Kellys y El Turismo: De La Invisibilidad Del Cuidado a La Visibilidad Política", *Digithum*, no. 25 (15 January 2020), 9.

134 "…el menosprecio a todas aquellas actividades relacionadas con el cuidado y el bienestar que ha sido generado en el sistema neoliberal." trans. by the autors. In Ibid.

135 M. Thea Sinclair, *Gender, Work and Tourism*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013..

136 Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone", 35.

reflected is the crisis of the *Contact Zone*, which is not able to be created incidentally due to the indifference of the abstracted subjects. Nonetheless, the actions of Las Kellys showcase friction within the ever-optimizing system. It might show the possibility of paving the way to re-imagine the leisure ideology and its embodied space.

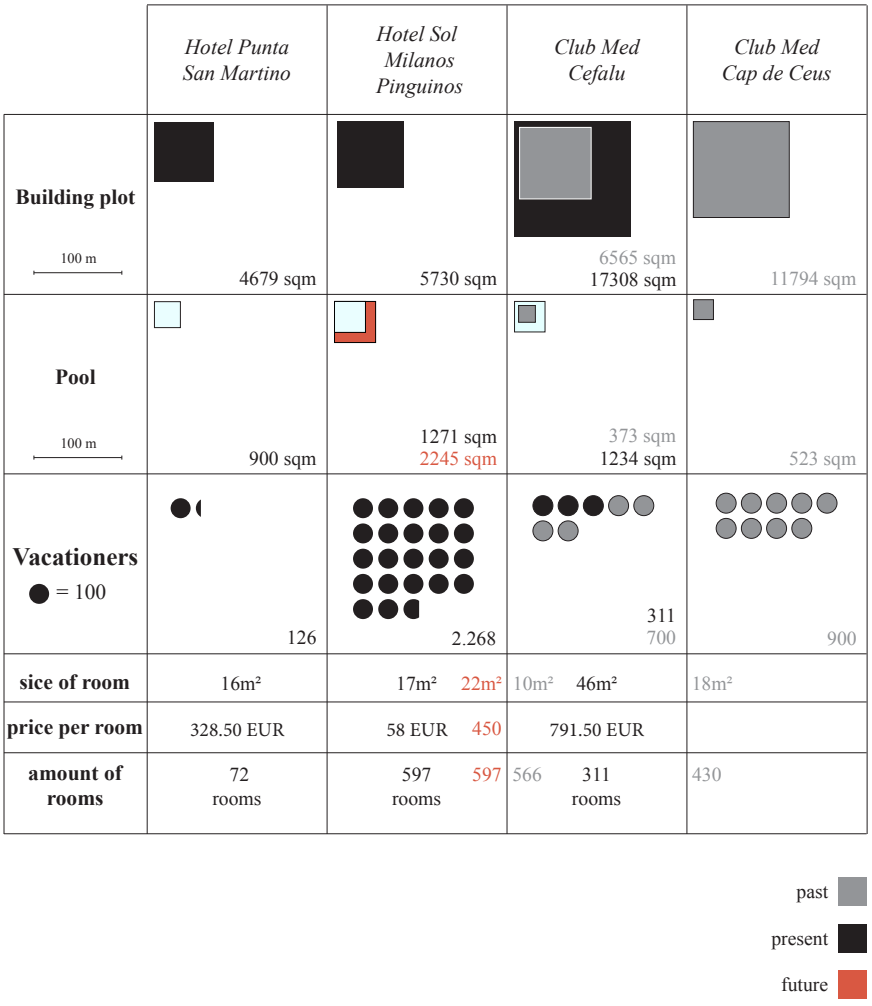


Fig. 25 Comparative diagram of the case studies. Drawn by the authors.

CONCLUSION

Expanding upon the question of "the villa as ideology," this thesis has examined the application of this ideology to other leisure typologies and traced its genealogy. It has shown that the ideology has stayed the same—conservative in its essence—while, once more, the terminology of the villa could be amplified and referred to other leisure typologies.

The desire to escape the city, temporarily leaving behind everyday life to pursue leisure, remains a persistent impulse in our society. However, our society has changed, with more than half of the population now living in cities that have become larger and faster-paced. Therefore, leisure spaces not only accommodate more people but are also frequented more often and for shorter timeframes, all while meeting increasingly luxurious standards. These spaces, although only inhabited temporarily, have evolved into expansive settlements that dominate the entire Mediterranean coastline. This evolution is reflected on both a territorial scale and a socio-political level, with land being increasingly consumed, leading to the privatization of the coastline by a shrinking variety of ownerships. Changes in land ownership have resulted in the loss of other entities, including small and mid-sized businesses, public institutions, the environment (climate, flora, fauna, soil, water), and the common good.

The myth of leisure and its embodiment within leisure-oriented typologies has been overtaken by the myth of endless capital, through which the former was exploited and commercialized, using the middle class as marionettes. In this process, leisure spaces have undergone commodification and abstraction. The notion of abstract space can be resumed with the "conquest of the lived by the conceived."[137] The primary victims of this process are the labor force, predominantly female in the care and maintenance sector even today, highlighting the persistence of social asymmetries.

The thesis demonstrated how the development of coastal spaces, was and is predominantly forged by speculative and hegemonic habits. The Roman *villa marittima* served to introduce the ideology's reliance on exploitative practices, the actors present in this type, and the spatial characteristics. Then, in the aftermath of the Second World War, leisure changed from a regime of privilege to a regime of access, showing how this phenomenon exacerbates both its best and worst. The four case studies are used as paradigms to compare this period in different sites and cultures. Even though the "democratization"—too often generalized under the term "massification"—represents an opportunity, with the gained rights of the rising middle class, this class was at the same time used by privileged actors, who were commodifying not only this class but also the land and emerging typologies. These commodified spaces get further optimized, having consequences in the arrangement, as well as the involved actors. The spaces of leisure typologies result abstracted, due to the ab-

137 Japhy Wilson, "The Devastating Conquest of the Lived by the Conceived": The Concept of Abstract Space in the Work of Henri Lefebvre', *Space and Culture* 16, no. 3 (August 2013), 366.

straction of the actors (labor force, clients, and owners) from individual and independent subjects to subjects represented by an entity (cleaning companies, accommodation platforms, hotel chains). Their only temporary physical presence leaves no time or space for engagement or appropriation. The absence of a lived domesticity, and the treatment of the spaces and actors as assets, represent the distorted mirror of our reality.

The increasing concerns of tourism and *overtourism* happening in the Mediterranean cities become evident due to the protests and revendications aiming to stop this expansion. Slogans like "VISIT OUR CITY! And destroy it! ENJOY YOUR 9.596 AIRBNBS"[138] showcases the rage generated by the housing crisis. The limit of short-term rentals is included in most manifestos. These revendications, are akin to the ones of *Las Kellys,* showing once again the link that occurs in between urban knots and coastal areas. Nonetheless, the actions and protests are mainly taking place in cities, while the coastlines seem to be mostly marginalized in these concerns.

138 Flyer taken from the protest: "Valencia s'ofega" 19 October 2024, Valencia

Vacations—from the latin word *vacare*—means "to be empty." This invites us to think about the speculative coastlines not only as intensely crowded but also as an unused space. Vacancy has value and "as a positive asset, it can rewrite urban relationships previously controlled by financial networks," as Easterling defines the possibility of interpreting it. Even though only temporally vacant, the leisure types show similar potential. The role of architects, who used to work in the making of the leisurescapes, can invert the trend of production. The thesis aimed to put a spotlight on these territories and their problems, that show the possibility for spatial planners to take action. But these problems seem as urgent as overwhelming. *Las Kelly's* and their actions, give hope, showing that *Contact Zones* are possible to be created rising awareness of the consequences of the ever-optimized system.

How can we learn from their actions? How to escape the city? How can we prevent these leisurescapes from being vacant half of the year? Can we stop their expansion? Can we stop their destruction? Can we disrupt this ideology and its asymmetrical power structures? Should we "design" *Contact Zones?* The quest is open; perhaps it is possible to re-conceive the leisure ideology and reimagine its associated typologies.

Fig. 26 Photo inside a Hotel in Benidorm

ANNEXE

Interview with Yolanda Diaz (Las Kellys), August 2024, Benidorm.

The interview takes place within the context of a workshop made in collaboration with Giulia Coluccello and Nomundari Munkhbaatar during the European Architecture Students Assembly in Spain.

*The questions of the interview were written commonly with the members of the workshop

How was the start of the Association? It was in 2014 ... was it a special year, was there a special event that initiated it? Were you there from the beginning?

Yolanda Diaz: The word "Las Kellys" comes from a play of words, an acronym: Las Que Limpian. (The ones who clean) In this case, hotels, right? And well, I saw through social networks, on a Facebook page that had more than 9,000 followers, all women, all waitresses, from all over Spain, that they were starting to protest, to say things. So, I got in touch with the comrades who had started in Barcelona. I went to Barcelona, I talked to them, they explained to me what we wanted, what they wanted, and then I tried to bring all these ideas here.
And so it was. We put an advert on that page, which said: "If you are from Benidorm, if you are a waitress, or a cleaner, or an assistant and you are tired if you don't feel valued as a worker if you think you are exploited if you can't cope with your life anymore, come to the meeting on the 25th of July". So, we called a meeting on the 25th of July, the first meeting, to explain what the association was, and how they were organizing in other places, like Barcelona, Madrid, or the Canary Islands. That's how the association started here in Benidorm.

Melina Schechinger: How many were you in this meeting?

YD: At that first meeting, we were 35 women. After that, we became up to 180 women in an assembly.

How does the Association internally function? Is there a fixed General Assembly? Are the decisions made democratically or by consensus?

YD: We, well, in that meeting of 35 women, I explained the points, those that you have laid out, the points, well, the demands that were being carried throughout the state, but then each zone could put its own things. And I called another meeting for 15 days later, to see how the matter was going, right? And 15 days later almost 100 women showed up. So, we decided to create a working group. A working group among those women, that would be more aware of the emails, of the phone calls, of talking to the press and trying to explain to women who had never read an employment contract, nor knew that there was an agreement, that they had rights, that they would begin to understand that not only do you have to work, but you have to go to work in conditions. The next step was to become an association. But a legal association, not a group of working women. So, what we did was to make a statute: appointing a president, a spokesperson, all those things that an association does. This among the 100 women, those who were there, and we also chose the one who wanted to, because not everyone has time, because they have small children, or not everyone dares to show their face, right? Because it is very complicated to show your identity in an association like this, which is going to protest. It's not a syndicate, for which you get some resources and so on, but,

we are just workers, we are just going to go and say, “Hey, watch out, we are here’, right?” So, it was decided to form a working group. Within that working group we made a WhatsApp group, and each one was in charge of one thing: One read the emails that we received, another one was in charge of the phone calls, another one was in charge of taking posters to the hotels, that is, when we had assemblies, to hang posters up so that the women knew that there was an assembly, things like that. The important thing is that in our assemblies the women had freedom, they were not afraid, because there was a lot of fear. There is fear of speaking out, there is fear of protesting, there is fear of being thrown out of work... And they could bring their children, because we were all mothers there, most of them brought their children to the assemblies, because the assemblies were in the afternoons, after work. And so we organized ourselves. We started with the most basic thing, which was to organize ourselves, and to make the problem visible, to start reading laws, and agreements, to talk to lawyers, labor lawyers, and all those things. The first important decision we made in the assembly was to make that same year, in 2014, on August 16, because August 16 in Benidorm is the maximum occupation of tourism and August 16 is a holiday, the long weekend of August, and that’s when it is measured in figures, in this data, the occupation of Benidorm is measured, so we decided to do in the center of Benidorm, in the Plaza Triangular, a concentration. And we all made green t-shirts with this, and we went at 6 o’clock in the morning before going to work (work starts at 7 o’clock in the morning) to hand out propaganda, some flyers that said: “The concentration of the Kellys of Benidorm in the Plaza Triangular on August 16.” And what the association did was to prepare posters, large posters, those to carry like that, and well, we made a presentation of our association, but we wanted to do it for the people of Benidorm, not in a closed place, but in the middle of the street. Here I have the newspaper clipping of that day, so you can see that we were 300 women from the Kellys. Benidorm is a city of partying, it is a city of tourism, of having a good time, nobody imagined that 300 women were going to take to the streets to say, enough is enough, this is exploitation. Many tourists passing by the triangular square, which is the center of Benidorm, where McDonald’s is located, thought it was just another party, they thought it was a bachelorette party, things like that...

And about how is everything decided? By a show of hands. When you asked me if the decisions are democratic or by consensus, in the assemblies we say that there is a problem in this hotel and we have to go and protest in front of the hotel. We all explain the steps we have taken, because first we have reported it to the labor inspectorate, we have tried to talk to the hotel management, they have not listened to us, and then, the final thing is to do, is to stand in front of the hotel with a megaphone, like here, and say: “You, you are exploiting the women, you are exploiting the waitresses” All this is decided, among those in the assembly who raise their hands: “How many of you want, yes or no? “If the majority says yes, then yes. - It is always yes. Because that’s empowerment. (laughs) (showing a layer of a newspaper) This was the day that the association was presented in the street in Benidorm. This was the 16th of August. We had this banner that you see there (showing the photo), and we had a stool. Since the banner was very big, it would reach us over here, we would

climb on top of the stool to speak into the microphone.

Now, to continue, we know that you are organized in "territorial groups", how does the communication within territorial groups work? How does the internal communication work? Where do you physically meet? Do you have a space here in Benidorm for Las Kellys?

YD: How do we communicate? Well, most of the time by Skype or by this Google Meet, whatever it's called. We do meetings like that, we have participated in meetings, even in the pandemic with Yolanda Diaz, the Minister of Labor, and Irene Montero, who was then Minister of Equality. We do everything remotely. Then, we have also gone on several trips all together. We have gone to the European Parliament and we have gone with those from Barcelona, Madrid, Palma de Mallorca, Fuerteventura, Canaria, twice to the European Parliament. And well, we have been several times to Barcelona, twice to Madrid, that is, one weekend and we have had meetings, but most of the meetings outside Benidorm are online. [...]

MS: And where do you meet with the territorial group?

YD: Here in Benidorm we don't have a place, because the city council doesn't want to, that is, they don't get along with us, they don't want to know anything about us, about the association. And so what we do is to meet in the rooms of the social center. We request a room online for such and such a day and if there is space, they give it to us. And if there is no space, then sometimes we have even met in the cafeterias of some people we know. But it is usually in a room at the social center. We do not have our own premises because our membership fees are very low; they are ten euros, to put it mildly. Because you can't ask them to make more sacrifices to pay more dues and pay for a venue.

When we tried to contact you, we were struggling a lot to find a phone number or any specific contact information? Is this on purpose? How could a new interested member approach you?

YD: At the beginning, we did have a phone number, but the calls were even at eleven o'clock at night, Saturdays and Sundays, and sometimes there were calls that we didn't want, insults: calling us "lazy", once they called us "Kelly Borrocas" (here, Borrocas is as if we were almost terrorists) (laughs),... And then we decided to delete the number from the networks. We bought a cell phone, a card, just for the association, because at the beginning there was my number, and it was a saturation, because, you won't believe it, but we have received, even from Valencia, 80 emails a day, that is, from waitresses saying: "explain." The waitresses first come and explain a little about their work, but they end up telling you about their lives (laughs). Of course, it is like our assemblies; at the beginning, they are like therapy: "I am terrible at work, but this has consequences on my children, on my family, on my way of living. I am still tired...", and in the end, we look like psychologists to each other, don't we? So we decided to remove that telephone number because, in the end, it was very

stressful, that is, I even became a little bit anxious, seeing that I could not access or solve things, like harassment, like stories that were beyond my reach, and that I tried to explain and direct them: “go, denounce it, go to the labor inspectorate,...”, that in the end we even decided to report it to the labor inspectorate as an association and then it became so...you had to spend 24 hours a day answering the phone, you couldn’t do anything else, right? I work too, I have a family and... and that’s why we took it off the phone number. Now, if they want to contact us in Benidorm, it is a waitress who knows another waitress and who comes. Besides, we try to get people involved. Because the first thing we say in the assemblies is that I am not a lawyer and I am not going to solve the problem, we have to solve it together. Because if you come here because of a problem and you leave, then you don’t form a group. We try to make sure that those who come here know who the association is at work. In the city hall, they don’t want to know who we are the association, that’s why they don’t tell you anything. But there is a website, and sometimes the person who runs the website is not on the website all day long, because you have to understand that we work from seven to three, whether it’s Sunday, whether it’s Saturday, whether it’s a holiday. Most of us, when we leave at three or three thirty or four o’clock, we rush off to get the children, to do things, the food for the next day... And then you have to dedicate so much time to an association... you end up exhausted (laughs). [...]

Isabel Grohe: Are there any protests against specific hotel chains or any special events? Apart from general protests, are you trying to address specific cases?

YD: Well, sometimes they are general because the demands are general, but when it is a specific hotel, we go against that hotel, that is, we have stood in front of the hotel pointing to that hotel there. We’ve been standing in front of hotels with a megaphone going loud and saying here, here, here is where they do it wrong, right? That, when we do this in front of a specific hotel is because we have already tried everything. That is, when we have tried to talk to the managers or the management when we have tried to talk to the syndicates, when we have tried to talk to the labor inspectorate... When nothing works, when already, despite having done all that, things remain unchanged, is when we decide that what we have to do is to let the people know that this is where they are not respecting the workers.

Emile Jourcin: And in this case, how does the city council and the police react?

YD: It’s funny, but we’ve never had any problems. When a concentration is made, here there is one way to do it: It is to ask, to say, to send a writing to your government delegation, saying that on that day, from this hour to that hour, there is going to be a concentration. The police always come with two vans, always. But they must have liked us (laughs) because we have never had any problems with the police. They have been there, watching, and observing, but we have never had any problems in that respect. Also, we, when the police come, we try to explain things: “Well,

this is why we are here, is it okay?" And they say: "No, no, no, no, come on, come on, it's okay. I say, "Oh, okay." We always explain why we're there. We have had problems with hotel managers. Because, of course, the hotel sells a vacation, doesn't it, sells happiness, party, everything nice, and they don't want to have some women there, at the door of their hotel, protesting. So, it is true that many directors come out (they take pictures of us and everything) and try to stop us from being there. That's why we say, "No, we have the permit". We've never gone to a place without communicating it. Because if we don't communicate it, yes, we could have even a fine of three thousand euros. But since we have communicated it, we can't be fined. And we call the press too, so that they can be there.

This week, we were trying to talk to the workforce that was cleaning hotels, to understand their position, but we felt very intrusive, taking away part of their very valuable and scarce time. How do you approach new possible members of the association? Or in general, how do you manage, in your very tight schedule to find time to organize? Is there a specific room within the hotel where you feel safer or just safe?

YD: Well, I'm going to start at the end. Inside the hotels, we have the staff dining room, which is where we have breakfast. And we eat breakfast, the cooks eat, all that. It's a place where there's a bulletin board and you can hang things up, we can talk, sit and talk because it's on the lower floors of the hotel, where the kitchens are, the laundry and all that. And there it's very rare that neither the director nor anybody comes because it's the lowest. (laughs) But I also want to make you understand that the workers are afraid. They are afraid, afraid to talk. Especially the female workers, more than the male workers. Because many women who work as waitresses are single mothers, they are separated, they are foreigners, and so they are afraid of losing the only livelihood they have.

I mean, I think it's that they come to us. Let's see. We are the association, we are the housekeepers.

We do not work in an office, we are not a union that has its office, but we are those workers. So, in Benidorm, where there are 170 hotels, I think, one hundred and something, it is rare that in a hotel there is no one from the association or rare that the association has not been appointed. So, when there's a big problem or when there's anything, it's very easy to see someone from the association. I get a call and they say, "So-and-so gave me your phone number." I say, "But my phone number is everywhere!" They don't even ask me for permission to see if I want to talk or not. And sometimes they call me on the phone, explain to me and then we meet. In the beginning, one day, one or two of us go; we meet in a cafeteria, we have a cup of coffee and they tell us about the problem. If we see that it is a very big problem, that we need to report it, we tell them: "Well, you have to do it like this, like this, like this. And if you don't know, you come to the assembly and we fill out the paperwork for you, and that's what we are there for, to support you." Because most of them don't even know what to do. Most of them don't even know that there's a work agreement, they don't know what contract they've signed, they don't know anything.

Is there social housing foreseen for Las Kellys? Are you also including

living places for the cleaning labor force in your demands?

Which concrete actions – short-term actions - do you do in order to tackle your rather long-term formulated goals, like for instance, the last point of your manifesto: Link the hotel category to the quality of the work produced there. Currently, the regulations for establishing a hotel's category are regional and only set minimum requirements, such as square meters, whether there should be a telephone or a safe, but there are no requirements that mandate optimal labor standards.

YD: Yes, the fact that hotels are conditioned to the quality of the work, the stars. Yes, this example is very curious because when they give the hotel four stars, three stars, they charge more for the rooms, they only calculate the size of the room and if you have saunas, if you have swimming pools, well, the amenities, but they don't look at the working conditions that the hotel provides. We are seeing that big luxury chains like Barcelo or Hilton, for example, in Barcelona, in Madrid, and now I also think that NH and Ibis, which are very famous international chains, are going to set up in Alicante, because they are the ones that have the worst working conditions, the ones that have outsourced. So we made this point because many hotels, although it seems unbelievable with what they earn, they ask for public subsidies to help them to computerize, the state gives them money. During the pandemic, the State, as the hotels had to close, gave money to the hotels, and we said: 'Well, since it's public money that you pay with our taxes, including me, my taxes and the taxes of all the workers, at least they should give it to the hotels, well, at least they should respect the working conditions', that was one point. Now we are focused because the new government in Spain wants to put some proposals for early retirement. We can't work at 67. You can't even do this job at 50, let alone at 67. We are aiming for a maximum of 62 years. And that is a campaign that we are running now because the Spanish government is revising professions in order to retire them earlier, professions with a certain danger.

How is your relationship to the city council? Is there public awareness? How do politics react to your actions? To which actions did you get most feedback?

YD: Yes, the public reacts very well because in the last few years we have had, especially Spanish tourists, who have come to the hotel asking about the famous women who are on TV. And they have been interested in what happened to us, why we were protesting. It took a lot to get to that point, because at the beginning, even our colleagues from other departments said: 'But are you crazy? What do you want? If you have a job, what do you care? You are doing the same thing you do at home,' they said.

MS: Who was saying that?

YD: The men, colleagues from other departments in the kitchen or technical services. But now, when they saw that we didn't get tired, that we were very persistent, that we went to meet with politicians, with Europe,

with I don't know what, they started to respect us, didn't they? And to say: 'Well, they were right'. (laughs)
Then, what actions have had the most impact?
There's the social media action and the direct action, which we call it. The social media action, the one that had the most repercussion was a picture we took of a room, which was: nappies on the floor with baby poop, everything lying around, well, the table full of junk, I mean, how were you going to clean up, vomited all over the floor, right? We put that photo on social networks and, well, they called us on all the TV channels: 'What's this, wow, I don't know what!' And we tried to explain that yes, it's very dirty, but we didn't blame it on the tourists, we blamed it on the amount of rooms. [...]

¿As most of us are future spacial designers, do you have a proposal or idea for how a hotel could adapt in order to make everyday life of the workforce more bearable? How would a regular workday change for you if the spaces you work in would be more exposed, if for instance the service entrance wouldn't be hidden, but at the main entrance?

YD: The thing about going in through the back door, yes it's true that sometimes it's very humiliating, that they don't see you, as if you don't count for the hotel, but what they should do is that they think that we are the ones who clean the rooms and not only the rooms, but everything in the hotel. When they renovate a hotel and build a new hotel, they put a lot of very nice, decorative things, but then a decorator comes or an architect comes or something and they start to draw: 'and this is going to be done like this, this is going to be done like that', but they don't say that it has to be cleaned, do they? And they give us very little time to clean the rooms. Here, years ago it became fashionable that they removed all the railings from the houses and put all glass, very nice, right? But then you have to hang almost to be able to clean down to the bottom of the glass, it's very uncomfortable and more in beach areas where the sun creams, the sand, ... Thank goodness that they removed the carpets, that was super dirty and smelled bad. But it is true that they should take more into account that it is very nice to look at, but then you have to maintain it and clean it. And we always wondered: In a big hotel in Benidorm, like a big hotel in Barcelona and so on, 200 people can work, between waitresses, cooks, reception and we all have children. There are big factories where, for example, there are nurseries, there are areas where your children can go and be with a monitor or whatever. And the factories are from Monday to Friday, but we work holidays, Christmas, every day and we have a serious problem of balancing with our family life and they could dedicate some space there. At 7 o'clock in the morning there's no nursery open. We spend a lot of our time our lives in a hotel, don't we, working? [...]

NM: In general, it is not only about working conditions, but also about the size and the borders for tourism in the city. Are your demands not only for working conditions, but also against tourism in general?

YD: It's not against tourism per se, it's how tourism is managed, because I'm not going to go against tourism, but I am against when tourism is

everything, when overcrowding takes away the essence of the city, the essence disappears and it's just a tourist slogan, I don't know how to explain it. I'm not going to say that I'm against tourism because it's the way of life of many cities in Spain, Spain is a tourist power. Last year before the pandemic Spain received 85 million visitors, and now they say that this year they are going to break the record and we are going to have more than 100 million visitors. So, what we say, how does so much tourism affect the worker? What I said before, rising rents, the disappearance of the traditional shops. Then, those of us who live here, with our taxes, are the ones who pay for the cleaning of the beaches, that we hardly ever use the cleaning, because so many people are dirty. So, that then falls on what I pay, rubbish tax and all that, which generates that tourism. Tourism yes, but with control. It cannot be that here we are going to build more and more and more so that more tourists come. And then, that amount of tourists doesn't translate into a better life for me. It means that the employer earns more. It means that the hospital is saturated in summer. It means that everything is saturated, that you can't go anywhere, that you can't enjoy anything, right? [...] If I earn 1200 euros a month, but I have to pay 700 euros rent. And I have to eat, electricity, telephone, everything. What benefit do we workers have, except a lot of work, many hours of work, with so much tourism?

Valery Miarkulava: What is the most interesting thing you have found after the tourists have left? Until the tourists have left, in the room?

YD: A denture. In a glass. Like a false lie in a glass. Well, we've come across a lot of things, haven't we? A lot of things that people aren't careful. That you go to make the bed and the condom pops out from between the sheets. Because people who go to a room sometimes don't realise that there is a person who is going to clean it. Because they don't see us cleaning, they think they're cleaning themselves. I should also tell you that when we were in Brussels, we were with colleagues from Marseille and with colleagues from the United Kingdom. And we also communicated with them, didn't we? How long do you imagine they give us to clean a room? Between 6 or 7, 10 minutes maximum. It's toilets, beds, terraces. Because anything that takes too long, over time, you don't get paid. Nobody, nobody expected this, because we are the invisible ones in the hotels. Because when you go to a hotel, you see the receptionist, you talk to the receptionist, and when you go to the dining room you see the waiter, but you never see the chambermaid, the maid who cleans the room. So there were people who said: "We didn't even know this profession existed." Yes, because we have always been there is a profession called "floor chambermaid", you go as a "waiter," but we have always been "the cleaning girl", "la chica"(the girl), you can be 50 years old, but it's always "la chica".

YD: Nice talking to you, hey can I take a picture with you all, to show my colleagues? Like this, yeah, like this in the round, right?

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This paper is part of a research project on Domesticity within the TPOD laboratory consisting of the following Theoretical Statements:

Collective Rampart, Jean Richter
Gay Apocalypse, François Mégret
Mechanical Symphony, Paulina Ornella Beron
Murder on the Floorplan, Léo Perrin-Livenais
Peasant-Mania, Julia Maraj
Speculative Coastlines, Emile Iacopo Jourcin & Melina Schechinger
The Architecture of the Superblock, Michelle Mortensen
The Boundaries of Labor, Lea Marzinzik
Typological Mestizaje, María Ruiz Medina
Work It Home, Emilie Hamel

Image Screenshot of one of the advertisements popping out on our computers during the research for this thesis. Image from Melia.