



THIRD AGE URBANISM: RETIREMENT UTOPIAS OF THE YOUNG-OLD

(VOLUME I)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	
[German]	vii
[English]	ix

PART A. INTRODUCTION

1. PREAMBLE	1
2. METHODOLOGY	4
Methodological Precedent	5
Literature Review	6
Exploratory Research	16
Documentation and Interpretation	25
Conclusions	25
3. POPULATION AGEING AND RETIREMENT	27
Population Ageing	27
Retirement	31
4. THIRD AGE	36
Third Age Subjectivity	36
Third Age Social Collectivity	44
5. THIRD AGE: URBANISM	52
Prehistory	52
Retirement Utopia, Age-Segregation, and Private Governance	64
Third Age Urbanism: From History to Present	65

PART B. THIRD AGE URBANISM

1. THE VILLAGES OF FLORIDA: CONSTRUCTED URBAN REALITIES FOR THE THIRD AGE	68
Scale: Small Town Metropolitanism	71
Programming: Hyperactive Adult Lifestyle	76
Themeing: Resilient Time	78
Infrastructure: Golf Cart City	93
Typology: Strip Hospital	99
Governance: New Autocracies	104
Collectivity/Subjectivity	110
Conclusion	116
2. THE URBANIZACIONES OF COSTA DEL SOL: SOLAR PARADISES OF INTERNATIONAL RETIREMENT MIGRATION	119
Climate: Solar Utopia	128
Morphology: Linear Metropolitan Territory	131
Programming: Co-Existing Ecologies	134
Typology: <i>Urbanizaciones</i>	137

Neo-Colonization: Displaced Cultures	146
Mobility: New Frontiers For Spatial Products	154
Governance: Legal Frontiers	156
Collectivity/Subjectivity	158
Conclusion	163
 3. HUIS TEN BOSCH OF KYUSHU: TELEPORTED URBANISMS OF THE THIRD AGE	 166
Paradoxes: Between Economy and Ecology	167
Typology: Demographic Mutations of the Theme Park	176
Typology: Themed Mutations of the Retirement Community	185
Themeing: Displacement (<i>tele-place</i>)	188
Themeing: Exteriority (<i>other-place</i>)	192
Themeing: Simulation (<i>simul-place</i>)	194
Collectivity/Subjectivity	199
Conclusion	200
 4. THE SENIOR RECREATIONAL VEHICLE COMMUNITY OF THE USA: NOMADIC NETWORKED URBANISM OF THE THIRD AGE	 203
Collectivity/Subjectivity	206
Domesticity: Homemaking	208
Infrastructure (Non-Physical): Communicating Networks	209
Infrastructure (Physical): Plugging-In	212
Infrastructure (Physical): Clustering	213
Infrastructure (Physical): Squatting	214
Nomadic Urbanism: Networked Fields	215
Historical Resonances: Pioneering/Escaping/Imagining	217
Conclusion	220
 <u>PART C. CONCLUSION</u>	
 1. TENDENCIES	 222
Retirement Utopias	223
Age-Segregation	228
Private Governance	232
Mobility	234
Themeing	236
Instrumentalisation	240
 2. SUMMATION	 243
Summation	243
Further Research	245
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 246
 CURRICULUM VITAE	 255

VOLUME II

FIGURES

A.2.1 – A.5.9 INTRODUCTION	258
B.1.1 – B.1.46 THE VILLAGES OF FLORIDA:	269
B.2.1 – B.2.34 THE URBANIZACIONES OF COSTA DEL SOL	292
B.3.1 – B.3.63 HUIS TEN BOSCH OF KYUSHU	310
B.4.1 – B.4.29 THE SENIOR RECREATIONAL VEHICLE COMMUNITY	332

ABSTRACT

THIRD AGE URBANISM: UTOPIEN DES RUHESTANDES

Diese Dissertation untersucht zeitgenössische urbane Mutationen, die durch das Aufkommen und die Expansion des *dritten Lebensalters* Gestalt angenommen haben.

Laut dem britische Sozialhistoriker Peter Laslett bezieht sich das dritte Lebensalter sowohl auf einen historischen Moment als auch einen Lebensabschnitt. Als historischer Moment, welcher in der entwickelten Welt auf die Mitte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts festgelegt werden kann, wird das dritte Lebensalter durch die Demografie einer höheren Lebenserwartung und die wachsende Vorrangstellung und Institutionalisierung des Ruhestandes gekennzeichnet.

Als Bezeichnung eines Lebensabschnitts wurde der Begriff des dritten Lebensalters eingeführt, um mindestens zwei Formen des Alters zu unterscheiden, die sich in der Nachkriegszeit herausgebildet haben. Der traditionelle Begriff des „Alters“ wurde differenziert in das durch Krankheit beeinträchtigte und abhängige vierte Lebensalter (die Hochaltrigen) und den seit Neuestem rapide wachsenden Bevölkerungsanteil des gesunden und unabhängigen dritten Lebensalters (die jungen Alten). Dieses dritte Lebensalter bildete eine neue Freizeit-Klasse, die sich über ihr Auftreten als Massenphänomen und die Langfristigkeit der Nichterwerbstätigkeit von bestehenden Vorstellungen von Freizeit unterscheidet. Dieser Lebensabschnitt wurde charakterisiert als einer der „späten Freiheit“ – wobei diese als Freiheit von Verantwortung aufgefasst wird - und zwar in Bezug auf: das Erwachsenenleben und die damit verbundene Erwerbsarbeit und Kinderbetreuung; die Kindheit im Sinne von Ausbildung und sozialer Eingliederung; als auch die Freiheit von den physischen und psychischen Beeinträchtigungen, die das traditionelle „Alter“ mit sich bringt. Diese Freiheiten, denen ein großes utopisches Potential innewohnt, wurden durch einen Mangel an Handlungsanweisungen begleitet, auf welche Weise Menschen sich in dieser neuen, historisch beispiellosen Lebensphase einrichten könnten. Aus diesem Grund erweist sich das Dritte Lebensalter per definitionem als ein Versuchsfeld für alternative Formen der Subjektivität und Kollektivität und, wie hier dargestellt werden soll, für alternative städtische Lebensformen und Morphologien.

Bis heute sind Dokumentation und Theoriebildung der urbanen Phänomene, die mit dieser demografischen Gruppe in Verbindung gebracht werden können, nur in geringem Ausmaß vorhanden und fragmentarisch. Die bestehende Forschung ist fokussiert auf einzelne urbane oder architektonische Beispiele, die unabhängig von den sozial-demografischen Fragestellungen, welche zu ihrer Entstehung beigetragen haben, betrachtet werden oder auf Fallstudien, welche funktionalistische Lösungsvorschläge zu dem sogenannten Problem des hohen Alters zusammenfassen. Im Gegensatz dazu wird diese Dissertation ein experimentelles urbanistisches Feld abstecken, das unmittelbar auf die veränderten Anforderungen dieses spezifischen sozial-demografischen Milieu zurückzuführen ist.

Die Arbeit besteht aus drei Hauptteilen. Der erste Teil stellt den sozial-demografischen Kontext dar, in welchem ein Urbanismus des dritten Lebensalters entstehen konnte. Es umfasst: den demografischen Prozess, der gemeinhin als das Altern der Bevölkerung bezeichnet wird; die zunehmende Bedeutung des Ruhestandes als gesellschaftliche Einrichtung; und das Entstehen einer neuen Konzeption von Subjektivität in Form des dritten Lebensalters und seiner assoziierten sozialen Formierungen. Die frühesten und einflussreichsten Ausprägungen eines Urbanismus des dritten Lebensalters – Youngtown, Sun City und Leisure World – werden zur umfassenden Darstellung des historischen Kontextes erörtert. Jedes dieser Beispiele, welche im Südwesten der Vereinigten Staaten über den Zeitraum einer Dekade von Mitte der fünfziger Jahre entstanden sind, definierte neue Standards, welche den zeitgenössischen Urbanismus des dritten Lebensalters beeinflusst haben.

Der zweite Teil der Dissertation, der das Herzstück des Projektes darstellt, umfasst vier zeitgenössische städtebauliche Fallstudien: The Villages in Florida, Vereinigte Staaten, die *urbanizaciones* der Costa del Sol, Spanien; Huis ten Bosch in der Nähe von Nagasaki, Japan; und die Senioren-Wohnmobil Gemeinschaft in den Vereinten Staaten. Jede dieser Proben ermöglicht die Dokumentation und Theoriebildung in Bezug auf spezifische konzeptuelle Leitbilder und Techniken der Materialisierung von Lebens- und Wohnformen der jungen Alten. Diese Leitbilder und Techniken fügen sich nicht unbedingt in etablierte Systeme urbaner und architektonischer Kategorisierung, sondern umfassen ein Spektrum, das von Golfcarts als urbaner Infrastruktur zu Praktiken der

Landnahme durch Wohnmobile und von Strip-Mall Krankenhäusern zu totalen „themed environments“ der Nostalgie führt.

Im dritten und letzten Teil der Dissertation liefert die Zusammenfassung der Fallstudien einen Entwurf aktueller Merkmale dessen, was als Urbanismus des dritten Lebensalters - *Third Age Urbanism* - bezeichnet werden könnte. Dieser Begriff soll nicht einen einzelnen morphologischen oder typologischen Zustand definieren, sondern eine Bandbreite von räumlichen Tendenzen, die sowohl durch bestimmte sozial-demografische Zustände definiert werden, als auch diese selbst definieren. Diese Tendenzen beschreiben eine radikal unterschiedliche Art von Urbanismus als das, was in der ersten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts und früher für das Alter entwickelt wurde. Zum großen Teil ist dies zurückzuführen auf die zunehmende Spezialisierung und Kommerzialisierung der heute einflussreichen Industrie, welche den Urbanismus des Ruhestandes maßgeblich prägt.

Folgende Tendenzen werden von der Dissertation ausführlicher behandelt: die Erweiterung und unspezifische Verwendung des Konzeptes der Ruhestands-*Utopie*; der ansteigende Grad an *Segregation* durch die Anwendung der Demografie und Marktsegmentierung bei der Produktion von Lifestyle Produkten; sich entwickelnde Formen privaten *Regierens* und in diesem Zusammenhang die zunehmende Präsenz urbaner *Informalität*; die zunehmende *Mobilität* von Individuen, sozialen Gruppe und Lebensräumen, in verschiedenen Ausprägungen; der wachsende Einfluss der Unterhaltungsindustrie, besonders anschaulich im Bereich des „Themeing“; und schließlich die zunehmende Instrumentalisierung des Städtebaus in Bezug auf die Effizienz der Bereitstellung von Freizeitprodukten und der Disziplinierung zeitlicher Abläufe. Die Dissertation befasst sich mit der Ambivalenz, welche diesen Tendenzen zu Eigen ist.

ABSTRACT

THIRD AGE URBANISM: RETIREMENT UTOPIAS OF THE YOUNG-OLD

This dissertation examines contemporary urban mutations that have materialised as a result of the emergence and expansion of the *Third Age*.

According to English social historian Peter Laslett, the Third Age refers both to a historical moment and a phase of life. As a historical moment, it may be characterised by the coincidence of the demographics of extended longevity, and the domination of retirement as an institution – a moment that occurred at the mid-point of the twentieth century in the more developed countries.

As a phase of life, the Third Age has been developed as a category to distinguish between at least two different types of older person that have emerged in the post-war period. The traditional notion of 'old-age' has bifurcated between the ailing and dependent 'Old-Old' (the Fourth Age) and a new and rapidly expanding population of healthy and independent 'Young-Old' (the Third Age.) The Third Age has emerged as a new leisure class distinct from previous conceptions in terms of its presence as a mass phenomenon and as a permanent one. As a phase of life, it has been characterized as a period of 'late freedom' – encompassing freedom from the responsibilities associated with: adulthood such as work and childcare; and childhood, such as education and socialization; as well as freedom from the physical and mental disabilities associated with traditional old-age. Such freedoms with which to construct utopias have been accompanied by a lack of existing scripts and protocols to direct how persons might live in this new, historically unprecedented phase of life. The 'Third Age', therefore, by definition, has emerged as an experimental field for alternate forms of subjectivity and collectivity, and, as will be presented in this dissertation, alternate forms of urbanism.

To date, the documentation and theorization of urban phenomena associated with this particular demographic group has been sparse and fragmentary. Previous research has tended to focus either on: single isolated urban or architectural examples excluded from the broader socio-demographic issues critical to their formation; or as case studies clustered together under the umbrella of functionalist solutions to the so-called 'problem of old age.' This dissertation, by contrast, is focused on delineating an experimental field of urbanism that has emerged from a specific socio-demographic milieu.

The dissertation is comprised of three main parts. The first part provides the socio-demographic context within which an urbanism of the Third Age has emerged. This encompasses: the process of demographic transformation commonly defined as population ageing; the increasing dominance of the institution of retirement; and the emergence of a conception of subjectivity described as the Third Age, along with the social forms associated with it. The first and most important precedents of Third Age urbanism – Youngtown, Sun City and Leisure World – are presented to provide a full historical context. Originating in the south-western United States over the period of one decade beginning in the mid-1950s, each example defined new protocols that would be influential in contemporary urbanism of the Third Age.

The second component of the dissertation – the project's core – encompasses four contemporary urban probes: *The Villages* of Florida, United States; the *urbanizaciones* of Costa del Sol, Spain; Huis Ten Bosch, near Nagasaki, Japan; and the senior recreational vehicle community in the United States. Each probe entails the documentation and theorization of conceptual approaches and material techniques novel to each of these sites of Young-Old inhabitation. These approaches and techniques do not necessarily fit neatly into classical systems of urban and architectural categorization, but vary in register from golf cart infrastructure to recreational vehicle squatting practices, and from strip-mall hospitals to comprehensively themed environments of nostalgia.

The third and final component of the dissertation provides a summation, in which collectively, the probes delineate contemporary features of what could be referred to loosely as *Third Age Urbanism*. This term is not intended to define a singular morphological or typological state, but a range of tendencies both producing, and produced by, specific socio-demographic conditions. These tendencies outline a mode of urbanism radically different from that associated with old-age during the first half of the twentieth century and prior; and considerably expanded upon the first historical precedents realised in the post-war period. To a large extent, this is a result of the increasing

specialisation, commercialisation and corporatisation of the now massive industry of retirement urbanism.

Tendencies the dissertation elaborates on include: the extension and exploitation of the concept of *retirement utopia*; the increased level of *age-segregation* through the application of demographics and market segmentation in the delivery of lifestyle products; evolving forms of *private governance*, including the emerging presence of urban formats of *informality*; the expanded realisation of individuals, social groups and environments in various states of *mobility*; the increasing influence of the entertainment-industrial complex, particularly evident in the deployment of *themeing*; and lastly, the increasing *instrumentalisation* of urbanism focused toward goals such as the rationalisation of the delivery of leisure products, and the disciplining of time. The dissertation addresses the inherent ambivalence that such tendencies elicit.

PART A. INTRODUCTION

1. PREAMBLE

“In fewer than one hundred years, human beings made greater gains in life expectancy than in the preceding fifty centuries.” Robert N. Butler, *The Longevity Revolution*¹

“How are we going to use this sudden, unprecedented, unanticipated release from mortality?” Peter Laslett. *A Fresh Map of Life*²

In recent decades, a profound societal transformation has been predicted by demographers. Widely hailed as the ‘demographic time bomb’, ‘the grey wave’ or the ‘senior epidemic,’ these terms refer to unprecedented population ageing taking place particularly in the developed world. The result of increasing life-expectancy and declining fertility rates, this tendency is further exacerbated by the arrival at retirement age of one of the largest generations in history.

Just as the resulting situation of fewer workers supporting ever-more retirees anticipates a future crisis that potentially threatens the viability of national economies, a related crisis of similar importance is marked by the emergence of a historically unprecedented phase of life – the ‘Third Age’ – constituting a demographic group without pre-existing scripts and protocols defining subjectivity, collectivity or the architectural and urban environment.

First theorized by American gerontologist Bernice Neugarten in 1974, who coined the term ‘Young-Old,’ this concept would be developed into the more elaborate theory of the ‘Third Age’ by British social historian Peter Laslett. In his 1989 book *A Fresh Map of Life*, Laslett refers to a shift in the developed world that began in the middle of the twentieth century, as the three traditional life phases – childhood, adulthood and old-age – were supplanted by a four-phase schema in which old-age would be partitioned between the Young-Old (the Third Age) and the Old-Old (the Fourth Age.) As an increasing proportion of the population reaches retirement age in a state of good health, the Young-Old are at once predominantly free of the responsibilities of education, employment and child-care, and at the same time unconstrained by many of the physical and mental impediments defining traditional old age. Whereas old age was formerly characterized as a period of dependency and decrepitude, the Third Age is defined as a longer period of independence and activity. As British sociologist Andrew Blaikie has described it, we are seeing “...for the first time in history, the emergence of a large (and potentially vast) social group whose daily experiences do not consist of work or schooling – at least, not in the traditional sense of socialization for work –

¹ Robert N. Butler, *The Longevity Revolution* (New York: Public Affairs, 2008), xi.

² Peter Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life: The Emergence of the Third Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 1.

and who, crucially, can expect to live up to a third of their lives in this state.”³ This relatively new demographic group would represent the “society of the future,” one that achieved, according to Neugarten, the idealised outcome of modernisation: a society based on permanent leisure.⁴

The relatively unformed parameters and conditions of this life phase, combined with the freedoms that define it – including for many a freedom from economic need – would characterize this demographic group as a Petri dish for new models of utopia. The first such utopian urban cultures would emerge out of the United States immediately after the middle of the twentieth century. These would include Youngtown, Sun City and Leisure World. Sun City – described by Italian urban theorist Marco D’Eramo as one of “the most radical social experiments of the twentieth century” – would become the most well-known and the most influential urban format catering specifically for the Third Age.⁵ Despite serious concerns voiced by sociologists and urban theorists at the time over the danger of ghettoizing the elderly, along with associated concerns for the potential for social isolation and neglect, age-segregated retirement communities would go on to be realized in large numbers. For the first time, this would lead to the production of Third Age urbanism as a form of age-segregated lifestyle product conceived of at a new scale of demographic specialisation. These lifestyle products would become highly successful, both in terms of their commercial profitability, and in terms of resident satisfaction.⁶ While such a contentious social experiment elicited research in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s – mostly from the social sciences – the presence of such communities was rapidly internalized within American urban culture and discourse in the decades following.

As the size of the Third Age population has expanded rapidly since mid-century, a massive amount of urban substance has been produced specifically addressing this socio-demographic group. By 2005, over three percent of owner-occupied housing units for those 55 years of age and above in the United States were situated in age-qualified (age-segregated) ‘active-adult’ communities – equating to almost one million housing units. An additional seven million housing units (24%) were occupied by those 55 years of age and above in communities that were not formally age-segregated but were nonetheless

³ Andrew Blaikie, *Ageing and Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 69.

⁴ Bernice Neugarten, ‘The Young-Old and the Age-Irrelevant Society’ in Bernice Levin Neugarten and Dail Neugarten, *The Meanings of Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), 45–46.

⁵ Marco D’Eramo, ‘Bunkering in Paradise’ in Mike Davis and Daniel Bertrand Monk (eds.), *Evil Paradises: Dreamworlds of Neo-Liberalism* (New York: The New Press, 2007).

⁶ On resident satisfaction, see for example: Gordon Bultena and Vivian Wood ‘The American Retirement Community: Bane or Blessing?’ *Journal of Gerontology* 24 (1969), 209–217.

dominated by residents of the same age.⁷ Such statistics describe a considerable amount of evidence that has only barely been touched upon within contemporary architectural and urban discourse.⁸

As will be presented, the age-segregated active-adult community has mutated considerably since Sun City. Contemporary experiments in Third Age urbanism have led to the realization of further novel urban formats. On Costa del Sol and Costa Blanca in Spain, for example, several hundred thousand foreign retirees live year-round within an elaborate leisure infrastructure consisting predominantly of detached mono-national communities. The senior recreational vehicle (RV) community in the United States, conservatively numbering between two and three million persons, consists of retirees who live year-round in their vehicles, most of whom coordinate their movements and meetings by satellite internet.⁹ The focus of the dissertation is to document and theorize contemporary cases of urbanism for the Third Age such as these – and in doing so expose latent urban novelties resulting from this socio-demographic transformation. Such phenomena may be labelled as ‘latent’ inasmuch as they have not yet been fully defined within an existing discourse, and are therefore not yet fully understood.¹⁰

⁷ Paul Emrath and Helen Fei Liu ‘The Age-Qualified Active Adult Housing Market’ Housing Economics: *The Economics Publication of America’s Housing Industry*. August 13, 2007. Estimates of the future popularity of housing specifically addressing the Third Age are surprisingly high. Half of the older American baby boomers (aged 50-59) surveyed in 2005 indicated that they would buy a new home upon retirement. 59% of those indicated interest in an age-segregated community. Harris Interactive, 2005 Del Webb Baby Boomer Survey. <http://library.corporate-ir.net/library/14/147/147717/items/191323/2005%20Baby%20Boomer%20Survey.pdf> (Accessed July 21, 2008).

⁸ With contemporary society being so heavily focused on youth as the engine of culture, the experimental nature of subjectivity, collectivity and urbanism of the Third Age has to a large extent been overlooked.

⁹ Dorothy Counts and David Counts, *Over the Next Hill : An Ethnography of RVing Seniors in North America* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 1996).

¹⁰ Incorporating various urban registers such as: scale, density, temporality, mobility, themeing, typology, landscape and infrastructure; the articulation of these novelties will touch upon their potential as well as their limitations. The potential of identifying forms of novelty lies in the possibility of re-applying them to the specific urban challenges of the Third Age, or old-age as a whole; or the potential of re-importing them into the general disciplines of architecture and urbanism.

2. METHODOLOGY

This dissertation is not conceived of as a theoretical dialogue with a single theorist or text, nor a limited circle of texts or theorists. The reason for this is the dearth of existing research addressing contemporary urban phenomena specific to the Third Age from an architectural and urban perspective. Instead, the dissertation focuses predominantly on the empirical documentation of actual urban phenomena, supported by a network of theoretical conversations with texts that address relevant themes. In disciplinary terms, these conversations address texts both from the fields of architecture and urban theory, and the social sciences such as sociology and demography. This approach is intended to reinforce the intertwined nature of the formal and the social, particularly as it relates to this subject matter. In this context, the research should not be understood as an attempt to attribute relations of cause and effect between the individual and the collective on the one hand, and the physical urban environment on the other. In other words, while this urbanism may be partially figured as a product of the forms of subjectivity and collectivity specific to this demographic group, it is also accepted that the urbanism itself plays a role in the production and reinforcement of particular modes of subjectivity and collectivity. The intention then is not to become preoccupied with separating cause from effect, but rather to elucidate a field of interrelated phenomena.

By incorporating predominantly qualitative methods and, to a lesser extent, selected quantitative ones, the research employs a mixed methodology. It is structured around a multiple case study approach. Rather than selecting the case studies by random sampling, they have been chosen based upon an information-oriented- and purposive-sampling approach. The particular selection of case studies as a whole is neither intended to facilitate a controlled comparison between them (although some comparisons will be touched upon in the concluding chapter), nor to present them as a coherent self-similar sampling. Instead, the case study research may be conceived of as a series of probes, which generate a catalogue of sorts – one that collectively delineates an image of contemporary urban novelty of the Third Age. The research structure also differs from the standard case study approach of conventional social science research insofar as the final explanatory phase of the dissertation is not primarily directed toward establishing cause and effect – the ‘why’ – but toward a theoretical framing of the various forms of urban novelty, both in opportunistic and critical terms.

Methodological Precedent

There are several relevant methodological precedents for this type of empirical urban research carried out by architects, particularly examples in which the phenomenon being addressed is located outside of the traditional canons of architectural history, theory or criticism. In each precedent, the methodological approach represents a form of disciplinary expansion in which an alternate or expanded set of tools or procedures are borrowed or appropriated from adjacent fields. While each of the approaches discussed below frame phenomena through a particular lens, to an extent they benefit from the suspension of judgment on the object of study.

Two of the earliest and most well known examples of this mode of research are *Learning from Las Vegas* by Robert Venturi, Denise Scott-Brown and Steven Izenour, from 1972,¹¹ and *Delirious New York* by Rem Koolhaas from 1978.¹² Both function as strategically focused research projects directed away from the architectural canon toward urbanism produced by the machinations of capitalism. Both texts attempt to supply a not yet existing theoretical framework to a phenomenon possessing, as Koolhaas characterized it, “a mountain of evidence without a manifesto.” This describes a form of induction involving the formulation of a coherent theoretical narrative around an existing complex urban phenomenon – a theoretical exercise conducted after the fact. Contemporary urbanism specific to the Third Age exhibits a similar imbalance between evidence and theory.

Each of these approaches utilizes a degree of methodological flexibility that could be characterized according to the logic of “the right tool for the job.” In the case of *Learning from Las Vegas*, it involves an expanded set of documentation tools, such as the reinterpretation of the conventions of the Nolli plan, exploring the use of filming while driving, and developing a set of tables and diagrams that communicate the relationship between key variables such as speed and distance. *Delirious New York*, on the other hand, functions as a mutated form of urban historiography situated between the registers of screenplay, ethnography, journal and novel. In this dissertation, a comparable level of flexibility is applied in the construction of a catalogue of sorts.

Both precedents interpret their subject matter through a specific lens or filter. While *Learning from Las Vegas* applies a semiotic filter, and *Delirious New York* a programmatic one, this dissertation addresses a broad subject matter through a socio-demographic lens. In this

¹¹ Robert Venturi, Denise Scott-Brown and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972).

¹² Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1978).

respect, the more recent research of architect Eyal Weizman may also be cited as an influential precedent. In *Hollow Land* Weizman refers to his interpretation of the Occupied Territories in the West Bank as “not [...] simply ‘political’ but rather ‘politics in matter’” – “a kind of ‘political plastic’” that maps the various forces shaping it.¹³ In similar terms, the urban phenomena of the Third Age addressed here may be understood as a type of ‘socio-demographics in matter’.

This research has been conducted according to the following roughly chronological, but often overlapping phases: literature review, exploratory research, fieldwork, documentation and theoretical interpretation, and conclusions. They are described in more detail below.

Literature Review

With no single dominant text or theorist addressing urbanism specific to the Third Age, it became evident early in the first phase of the research process – the literature review – that the existing body of knowledge is limited and highly fragmentary. This somewhat scattered literature may be divided into two overall categories. The first includes publications addressing the Third Age from within architectural and urban discourse, while the second involves publications from the social sciences addressing architectural- and urban-related themes specific to the Third Age.

The majority of material written by architects or urban theorists addressing issues related to population ageing represents a collection of bibliographical ‘near misses’ concerning the specific subject of study in this dissertation. These texts focus almost entirely in demographic terms on the Fourth Age rather than the Third. To a lesser extent they either address the scale of architecture rather than that of urbanism, or historical rather than contemporary phenomena, or they follow the logic of the prescriptive guidebook (deductive) rather than descriptive documentation (inductive.) The quality, particularly of the first of these ‘near misses,’ characterizes a general attitude toward ageing within architectural and urban discourse that corresponds to Neugarten’s initial critique of the lack of categorical distinction between the Young-Old and Old-Old, and in particular, to the categorization of both according to the qualities of the latter. These ‘near misses’ translate into the following dominant registers of literature: i) publications addressing ageing as a typology-specific problem-solving issue at the scale of architecture, of which the vast majority are focused on

¹³ Eyal Weizman *Hollow Land* (London: Verso, 2007), 5.

the 'problem' of the Old-Old;¹⁴ ii) prescriptive design guides for urban environments, also primarily addressing 'problems' of the Old-Old;¹⁵ iii) articles, thematic journals and publications addressing the architecture of ageing, most of which also address the Fourth Age or the second half of life as a whole;¹⁶ and iv) historical publications, chapters or articles focusing predominantly on Sun City, and to a lesser extent on Leisure World.¹⁷ The last of these categories will be referred to later in this chapter in providing the historical context of the origins of the retirement community.

With the limitation of relevant literature, and the breadth and social nature of the subject, it has been critical to also address relevant material produced within the field of the social sciences. This has been done both to better define the socio-demographic, economic and political context and to support a more informed and appropriate description and analysis. In terms of contextualizing the phenomena presented in this dissertation, there is a considerable amount of published material addressing: i) the demographic background of the Third Age;¹⁸ ii) the sociology of the Third Age;¹⁹ iii) the history of retirement;²⁰ and iv) the

¹⁴ Directed toward addressing the elderly as a typology-specific problem-solving issue at the architectural scale of housing, rooms and furniture, the majority of this literature stems from the late 1960s and 1970s, continuing into the 1980s, with a more recent spate of publications emerging from the late 1990s as a result of the increasing awareness of the expanding and potentially lucrative elderly housing market. Some of the well-known publications include, Martin Valins' *Housing for Elderly People: A Guide for Architects and Clients* (London: Architectural Press, 1988); and Leon Goldenberg's *Housing for the Elderly: New Trends in Europe* (New York: Garland STPM Press, 1981); and *The Journal of Housing and the Elderly*. More recent examples include: Benyamin Schwarz and Ruth Brent, *Ageing, Autonomy, and Architecture: Advances in Assisted Living* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Victor Regnier, *Design for Assisted Living* (New York: J. Wiley, 2002); and Bradford Perkins et al, *Building Type Basics for Senior Living* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2004).

¹⁵ In recent years the UN World Health Organization (WHO) has begun to address the issue of urbanism within the context of the theme of 'active-ageing' launched at the UN's 2nd World Assembly on Ageing and defined in the *Active Ageing: A Policy Framework* (New York; UN, 2002). The article of Philip Bors et al., 'Community design: the next step to an active society?' in *Journal on Active Aging* Jan./Feb. (2004), represents a conventional approach to the Active Community concept. Additionally, the WHO has recently initiated a research project to address ageing and urban environments with its *Global Age-Friendly Cities Project* launched in 2007. This project involves WHO collaboration with approximately 30 cities and was recently presented by WHO Ageing and Life Course Programme Head, Dr. Alex Kalache at the 2006 World Ageing and Generations Congress. The theme of 'ageing in place' has a longer history – important texts include: the June 2004 issue of *Intercom* magazine with five articles defining research on ageing in place; *Ageing in Place: The Promise of Livable Communities*, an AARP *Global Report on Aging* 2005 related to the AARP conference proceedings of 'Universal Village: Livable Communities in the 21st Century'; *Beyond 50.05: A Report to the Nation on Livable Communities: Creating Environments for Successful Aging* also by the AARP in 2005.

¹⁶ These have included thematically based issues of architecture periodicals such as *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*'s 'Getting Old' 7/8 (2002); and *Werk, Bauen + Wohnen*'s 'Housing for the Elderly' vol. 91/58, no. 1/2, 2004 Jan./Feb.. Further publications within this area include *New Approaches to Housing for the Second Half of Life* (Basel: Birkhäuser 2008) edited by Andreas Huber of the ETH's WohnForum which is centered around a presentation of best practice cases for housing approaches to retirement. Additionally, a number of contemporary architectural projects for the elderly by well-known architects have been completed. These include projects by MVRDV, Kazuyo Sejima, Peter Zumthor, and Robert Venturi. Published individually within architectural journals and monographs, these projects have not been thematized or discussed as a group addressing architecture for the elderly.

¹⁷ The history of the retirement community in the US – predominantly from the point of view of land use planning – has been described in Hubert Stroud's *The Promise of Paradise: Recreational and Retirement Communities in the US Since 1950* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). It contains a highly relevant chapter on Sun City, as does the historian John Findlay's *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Other texts to address Sun City include: Marco D'Eramo 'Bunkering in Paradise' in Mike Davis and Daniel Bertrand Monk (eds.), *Evil Paradises: Dreamworlds of Neo-Liberalism* (New York: The New Press 2007); Melanie I. Sturgeon, 'It's a Paradise Town': The Marketing and Development of Sun City, Arizona (Unpublished Masters Dissertation: Arizona State University, 1992); Michael Hunt et al., *Retirement Communities: An American Original* (New York: The Harworth Press, 1984); and Jane Freeman and Glenn Sanberg, *A History of Sun City, Arizona, 1960-1985* (Phoenix, AZ: Sun City Historical Society, 1984).

¹⁸ In terms of the field of demography, the publications of the United Nations Population Division are of importance in forecasting major population shifts. Relevant publications include: the report of the *Second World Assembly on Ageing, Madrid* (New York: UN, 2002); the report of the *Technical Meeting on Population Ageing and Living Arrangements of Older Persons* (New York: UN, 2000); *UN World Population Aging 1950-2050: Population Ageing*, 1999; *Ageing and Urbanization: the report of the UN Conference on Ageing Populations in the Context of Urbanization* (New York: UN, 1991); and the important historical

sociology and history of the retirement community.²¹ Relevant contextual material from these areas will be presented in detail later in this introduction, along with literature specific to case studies.

Amongst the existing literature addressing Third Age urbanism from both architecture and urban discourse, and social science discourse described above, there are three dominant positions that could loosely fit under the following headings: social critique, empirical research and scenario generation.

Social Critique

One of the earliest and most outspoken theoretical positions on the retirement community exists in the form of the social critique of American urban historian Lewis Mumford from 1956.²² Other notable texts of a similar vein include those of American anthropologist Margaret Mead from 1977,²³ and American writer Andrew Blechman from 2008²⁴ – positions that generally attack age-segregation practices as anathema to ‘societal good.’

Mumford’s essay “For Older People – Not Segregation But Integration” vigorously critiques the tendency of segregation observed in the early retirement communities in Florida and other parts of the country. These communities, according to Mumford, produce lives of “alienation, futility and misery” amongst their elderly subjects.²⁵

document: *The Ageing of Populations and its Economic and Social Implications* (New York: UN, 1956). Relevant publications from other agencies include: the Commission of the European Communities publication *Europe’s Response to World Ageing* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2002); The US Census Bureau’s: *An Ageing World*, (Washington DC: US Census Bureau, 2001); and the OECD’s *Ageing in OECD Countries: A Critical Policy Challenge* (Paris: OECD 1997). Other publications of relevance include the George Myers chapter ‘Demography of Ageing’ in the *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, (6th edition) (Boston, MA; London: AP Professional, 2005), and the article by Alex Kalache et al, ‘Global Ageing: The Demographic Revolution in All Cultures and Societies’ in the *Cambridge Handbook of Age and Ageing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹⁹ Research from the field of sociology is of importance both generally, and for specific case studies. Andrew Blaikie’s *Ageing and Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), outlines the wider cultural context of ageing including themes of communities and lifestyles. Peter Laslett’s *A Fresh Map of Life: The Emergence of the Third Age* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989) is an important text in redefining the life-course for the elderly and suggesting new paradigms of elderly activity. The catalogue to the 2000 Swiss National Museum exhibition *Späte Freiheiten* (Late Freedom) (München: Prestel 1999) also addresses a broad range of issues related to the lives of the elderly demographic primarily from a sociological point of view. Research of general importance from the field of social and human geography includes: Gavin Andrews and David Phillips (eds.), *Ageing and Place: perspectives, policy, practice* (London: Routledge, 2005), which examines how space and place affect the elderly. At an interdisciplinary level, a number of periodicals support discourse on the wider social-science oriented approach to ageing. These include, but are not limited to: *Ageing and Society*, *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, *Research on Aging*, *Gerontologist*, *Journal of Aging and Social Policy*, *Ageing International*, and *Generations*. Some research on urban themes within these periodicals is included in the descriptions of themes.

²⁰ See for example: William Graebner, *A History of Retirement: The Meaning and Function of An American Institution, 1885-1978* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1980); and Dora Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement: An American Economic History, 1880-1990* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

²¹ See for example historian Melanie I. Sturgeon’s ‘It’s a Paradise Town’: The Marketing and Development of Sun City, Arizona’ (Unpublished Masters Dissertation: Arizona State University, 1992)

²² Lewis Mumford, “For Older People – Not Segregation But Integration,” *Architectural Record* (May 1956): 191-194.

²³ Margaret Mead and Grace Hechinger, ‘Growing Old in America’, *Family Circle Magazine*, July 25, 1977. Reprinted in Anita Harbert and Leon Ginsberg, *Human Services for Older Adults* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press 1990), 48-53.

²⁴ Andrew Blechman, *Leisureville: Adventures in America’s Retirement Utopias* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2008).

²⁵ Mumford, “For Older People – Not Segregation But Integration”: 194.

“The worst possible attitude toward old age is to regard the aged as a segregated group, who are to be removed, at a fixed point in their life course, from the presence of their families, their neighbors, and their friends, from their familiar quarters and their familiar neighborhoods, from their normal interests and responsibilities, to live in desolate idleness, relieved only by the presence of others in a similar plight.”²⁶

The essay describes an increasing loss of dignity and purpose on the part of the elderly as a result of family dispersal and the breakdown of the three-generational family – a situation further aggravated by segregation. Mumford places the process of elderly segregation within the context of the ongoing socio-technical processes of specialisation, mechanisation and institutionalisation – processes he aligns to that of ‘zoning the old.’ He attacks the failure of existing housing proposals to provide a single common solution to what he categorizes as the three phases of old age – phases which translate roughly to Middle Age, the Third Age, and the Fourth Age. Mumford characterizes the range of challenges faced by the aged with particular concern shown toward the loss and trauma caused by moving household between each phase – each implying a loss of neighbourhood ties and the space for hobbies and interests such as a garden or workshop.²⁷ With the departure of children, the household of middle age is characterized as too expensive or too large to maintain and clean.²⁸ With the often enforced removal from the workplace, the beginning of the Third Age often leads to psychological crisis, and reductions in income, social connections and the sense of meaning in life. The challenge of Fourth Age is most obviously linked to a loss of independence and self-confidence as physical and mental capabilities diminish. Mumford sees this as a threat to society in terms of the high costs of institutional, nursing home or hospital care.²⁹

Counter to what he describes as the increasingly “...meaningless, effortless, parasitic, push-button existence” of the elderly, Mumford outlines an idealized scenario for a new habitat for the aged, one capable of restoring “...the kind of voluntary care that the three generation family once made possible.”³⁰ He proposes that the mixture of ages present in society as a whole should be reflected in individual housing developments. For a neighbourhood unit of six hundred people for example, there would be approximately thirty to forty older people. The elderly would reside in subgroups of six to twelve units or apartments located on ground floors with childless couples above. These living environments would be indistinguishable outwardly from the rest of the housing, and sited where there is constant diverting activity, allowing frequent visits from family and friends. In broad terms, Mumford envisions the

²⁶ Mumford, “For Older People – Not Segregation But Integration”: 192.

²⁷ Mumford’s terms of categorization of three phases of old age are: “liberation from reproduction” for middle age; “economic retirement” for the Third Age; and “physiological breakdown” for the Fourth Age.

²⁸ Mumford, “For Older People – Not Segregation But Integration”: 191.

²⁹ Mumford, “For Older People – Not Segregation But Integration”: 192.

³⁰ Mumford, “For Older People – Not Segregation But Integration”: 192. It can be assumed that Mumford was referring to the invention of ‘leisure technologies’ such as radio and television.

formation of new social ties through the potential of a mixed community of services, including: gardening, handicraft, baby sitting, baking and cooking, with the possibility of overlapping interactions with those of school children. Smaller clinics are proposed, along with services of visiting house workers and visiting nurses, imagining some current strategies of Ageing in Place.

In 1977, Mead would offer a similar critique as Mumford of retirement communities – a critique also tied to the breakdown of the three-generational family and the increasing suburbanisation of the United States. In an interview Mead would remark:

“[...] older people used to stay in the family. Homes were big, and there was room for extra aunts and grandparents. Families lived close together in communities. Today we have many more old people than in the past. And we have changed our whole life-style. The flight to the suburbs in the last 25 years has done a great deal of harm. In these age-segregated, class-segregated communities, there is no place for old people to live near the young people they care about. So the poor ones are stacked away in nursing homes, which are sometimes called “warehouses for the old.” The more affluent ones move into golden ghettos or go to Florida, but they too are segregated and lonely.”³¹

In the more recent *Leisureville: Adventures in America's Retirement Utopias*, Blechman describes older American's search to rediscover 'community' in age-segregated towns as a form of societal secession. He focuses on *The Villages* of Florida as an “autocratic fantasyland” based on the “selfish and fraudulent” policy of segregation.³² Blechman places this phenomenon at the intersection of a range of problematic societal tendencies in America including “geographic and financial withdrawal, ‘enhanced reality,’ and the endless pursuit of leisure.”³³

These social critiques of age-segregation would present a number of important points, particularly within a broad societal discussion. They would however be accused of harbouring romanticized views of a multi-generational integrated old-age that did not necessarily exist, and of describing lifestyles differing from those described in empirical research.³⁴

³¹ Mead, 'Growing Old in America', 48.

³² Blechman, *Leisureville*, 218-220.

³³ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 222.

³⁴ See for example: John M. Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 170.

Empirical Research

The most active period of empirical research addressing the level of resident motivation and satisfaction in retirement communities took place in the late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. This would generate surprisingly positive findings. While the bulk of this work was conducted by social scientists, further empirical research was carried out by architects during the 1980s in an attempt to formulate a typological understanding of retirement communities.

Some of the more representative empirical research from social scientists addressing the theme of the retirement community comes from the American sociologists Gordon Bultena and Vivian Wood in "The American Retirement Community: Bane or Blessing?" published in 1969. They attempt to address the fact that "[w]idely divergent views prevail as to the desirability of older persons segregating themselves in planned retirement communities."³⁵ On the one hand, they describe the commonly articulated position of social critique in which the residents of retirement communities lead bored, disillusioned and shallow lifestyles dedicated to hedonistic pursuits, in communities based on the "invidious and undemocratic" strategy of segregation. On the other hand, they summarize an opposing position in which retirement communities are seen to "offer the aged a unique opportunity to remain physically and socially active and to avoid the isolation that plague[s] many of their peers in more conventional settings."³⁶ Their research goes on to show that residents in age-segregated retirement communities in Arizona show a considerably higher level of morale and happiness, than other retirees living in integrated age-mixed new towns in the same state. This is attributed in part to differences in the types of residents including different levels of education and income, along with a higher proportion of residents without children. The higher levels of satisfaction in age-segregated communities is also partly attributed to the particular social structures that it supports, in particular, "...the individuals adaptation to a new set of [leisure based] role behaviours may be eased by his participation in social systems in which others are undergoing similar role transitions [from work-centred to leisure-centred lifestyles.]"³⁷ Bultena and Wood conclude that there is:

"...no evidence in [their] study that [age-segregated retirement communities] have a detrimental effect on morale, satisfaction with retirement, or level of social interaction; quite to the contrary. Obviously, retirement communities are not a universal solution for older persons, but neither did we find them to be ghettos of ill-adjusted, frustrated and alienated old people."

³⁵ Gordon Bultena and Vivian Wood, "The American Retirement Community: Bane or Blessing?" *Journal of Gerontology*, 24: 209-217 (1969): 209.

³⁶ Bultena and Wood, "The American Retirement Community: 209.

³⁷ Bultena and Wood, "The American Retirement Community: 214.

The study on residents of Leisure World, California in the late 1960s by social researchers Maurice Hamovitch and A.E. Larson presents a satisfaction rate of over three-quarters amongst residents, with over 85% stating that they never have intentions of leaving.³⁸ In the 1976 *New Communities USA*, researchers Raymond Burby and Shirley Weiss make similar findings by comparing the attitudes of residents in two age-segregated retirement communities to retirees in planned new age-integrated towns, suggesting a greater potential for social interaction and connectivity, and higher chances of avoiding social isolation in the age-segregated communities.³⁹

In his 1985 “In Defence of Age-Segregated Housing”, American gerontologist and geographer Stephen Golant summarises much of the empirical research to argue against what he refers to as unfounded emotional attacks on age-segregated communities.⁴⁰ In opposition to the common claim that the elderly in such communities are physically and socially isolated, the many forms of interaction and connection that take place with those outside of these communities are cited. For Golant, such communities are characterized by “positive functions and attributes [...] that result] in more supportive and protective environments than those found in places occupied by people of all ages.”⁴¹ An important positive aspect of age-segregated communities that he describes – adding to the existing research – is the clustering of large numbers of similar consumers with similar demands, leading to “certain economies of scale whereby goods and services can be delivered more effectively and efficiently, at lower average costs.”⁴²

For Golant, the suitability of such communities is not universal, nor does he suggest that these should be the universal housing option for older persons. In describing the suitability of age-segregated communities for particular seniors, he cites the three population typology profiles of the gerontologist Irving Rosow. These three groups include: i) those with strong age-peer identification, who, in a youth-centred society, identify themselves as outsiders; ii) those with “deviance” patterns of age-identification who evaluate their own behaviour and appearance based on comparisons with the young, and therefore maintain more positive self-image and behaviour when within an age-segregated environment; and iii) those with dissociation patterns of age identification, who deny their oldness, and do everything possible to avoid being around or being associated with other old persons. While the first two

³⁸ Maurice Hamovitch and A.E. Larson *The Retirement Village*, paper presented at the Institute for State Executives in Aging at the University of Southern California, Idyllwild Campus (February 1966). Cited in Michael Hunt et al., *Retirement Communities: An American Original* (New York: The Harworth Press, 1984).

³⁹ Raymond Burby and Shirley Weiss, *New Communities USA* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath 1976). In focusing on the individual happiness of the residents of such communities, these studies tend to bracket out the broader societal and urban implications of such phenomena.

⁴⁰ Stephen Golant, “In Defense of Age-Segregated Housing,” *Aging* 348 (1985): 22–26.

⁴¹ Golant, “In Defense of Age-Segregated Housing”: 23.

⁴² Golant, “In Defense of Age-Segregated Housing”: 23.

types are suited to age-segregated lifestyles – for different reasons – the third is clearly not.⁴³ In this context, Golant argues that these types of communities play an important role for the relatively small percentage of retirees who wish to settle in them.

Further empirical research of relevance includes special issues of the *Journal of Housing for the Elderly* – headed by American architect and researcher Leon Pastalan. A 1984 special issue entitled *Retirement Communities: An American Original* by Michael E. Hunt, Allan G. Feldt, Robert W. Marans, Leon A. Pastalan and Kathleen L. Vakalo focuses on addressing the question “what is meant by the term ‘retirement community’?”⁴⁴ While the publication is primarily dedicated toward the presentation of a system of typological classification, making “it possible to compare the development of experiences of a wide range of retirement communities on a comparative basis”; it also offers relevant contextual information to the limited history of the typology in the US.⁴⁵ A history that emerged out of the demand on the part of a fast-growing population of empty-nest retirees for an entirely new package of housing and services specific to their preferences for “independence, self-determination, privacy, health maintenance, companionship of peers, security, and meaningful work-substitutes which have not been available to date in the typical community.”⁴⁶

In addressing its typological goals, the book presents five typologies of retirement community, ranging from large-scale to small-scale, from Young-Old to Old-Old residents, and ranging in the level of recreational and health services, and sponsorship – whether for profit or non-profit. The categories are defined as: retirement new town, retirement village, retirement subdivision, retirement residence, and continuing care retirement centre. (fig. A.2.1) Whereas the first three types address the Third Age specifically, the first, the retirement new town, is the most relevant to this research, representing the largest of the retirement communities, with populations of over 5000 inhabitants.

“Retirement new towns are designed for retirees interested in both a leisurely and active life-style within a self-contained community setting. These privately built developments, aimed at both the pre-retirement and the retirement market, are most commonly found in Sunbelt and western states so as to take advantage of a climate conducive to year-round outdoor activity.”⁴⁷

The selected retirement new town case studies presented by Hunt et al are Leisure World, California and Sun City, Arizona which are described according to a checklist of characteristics that include: resident and housing characteristics; facilities, services and

⁴³ Golant, “In Defense of Age-Segregated Housing”: 24-25

⁴⁴ Michael Hunt et al., *Retirement Communities: An American Original* (New York: The Harworth Press, 1984), xiii.

⁴⁵ Hunt et al., *Retirement Communities: An American Original*, xiv.

⁴⁶ Hunt et al., *Retirement Communities: An American Original*, xi.

⁴⁷ Hunt et al., *Retirement Communities: An American Original*, 249.

programs; medical care; ownership/management/governance; financing; and marketing. In comparing the various qualities of the retirement community typologies, the retirement new town is described as best adaptable in accommodating the natural ageing of the population within it. This has been observed with respect to addressing the increased needs of the Old-Old, through strong cultures of volunteerism, a large enough base of residents to support expanded healthcare services such as hospitals, extended-care facilities, and home-visiting services. Also noted is the tendency for residents to play an increasingly active and meaningful role in the governance of retirement new towns. This is particularly the case as privately developed houses are sold, and responsibility for communal amenities is passed on to residents.⁴⁸

Scenario Generation

The third relevant strain detectable within existing literature is what could be loosely termed as scenario generation. This may be understood as a form of architectural and urban research applied to the opportunistic extrapolation of demographic and urban conditions of the Third Age, as presented in the work of Dutch architectural historian Ole Bouman, and the Dutch group NL Architects.

Bouman's 2006 essay "Architecture of Demography: Building on a Collective Suicide" firstly addresses the conventional notion of how architecture and the city are passively affected by demographic transformation.⁴⁹ This incorporates architecture's response to demographic ageing in the development of "new topologies, new urban forms of organization, and new systems of representation to appeal to new audiences." This extends to architecture's accommodation of the programmatic consequences of such a demographic change, described in terms of the scenario of a society with *fewer* primary schools, highways, single family houses, business parks, stairs and nightclubs, and *more* elderly homes, ramps, elevators, healthcare amenities, elderly clubs.

Secondly, Bouman addresses forces operating in the opposite direction, namely how architecture can actively affect (or support) demography. The possibility for such a set of relations is reinforced by the fact that demographic changes are based on "active" rather than passive decisions. The government building programs supporting urbanisation in China,

⁴⁸ A second, but slightly less relevant issue of *Journal of Housing for the Elderly* – edited by Leon Pastalan – was published in 1989 and entitled: *The Retirement Community Movement: Contemporary Issues* (New York: The Harworth Press, 1989). Of note is Pastalan's registration of the arrival of large for-profit corporations in the retirement community business, signalling a fundamental shift in a field historically dominated by non-profit organizations whose primary concern was the charitable servicing of need.

⁴⁹ Ole Bouman, "Architecture of Demography: Building on a Collective Suicide," in *Volume Magazine, Archis* vol. 21 no. 1 (2006), 36-41.

and the Israeli building programs in the West Bank are presented as examples in which “[d]emography means the exertion of power on a scale that not only effects architecture, but also needs the power of architecture.”⁵⁰ In contrast to these examples, Bouman describes the passivity of the default position in the western world toward demography in general, and ageing in particular. He characterizes the impact in the west of demographic ageing as producing a society of individualism and secularism, a tendency that can be “[...] described as the ultimate sub-urbanization of an individual’s life, a historical shift towards personal happiness. [...] in which private life overshadows any collective vision [...]”⁵¹ The inability to support a “grand vision for society” within such an individualized framework implies the loss of architecture’s mandate at a collective level,⁵² Within such a schema, Bouman is critical of architecture’s tendency to only perform in the supportive role of enabling good health and providing for “pleasure and leisure after retirement” rather than playing a larger role in any collective action addressing the massive consequences of population aging on society as a whole. Bouman does not, however, offer suggestions as to what the architecture or urbanism of this non-individualized society might be.

The 2003 project “Costa Geriatrica” by NL Architects perhaps goes a small way in envisioning the level of Bouman’s ambitions for the scale of design and demographic thinking by addressing the urban implications of rapidly ageing populations in the context of Catalonia’s coast.⁵³ NL Architects describe some of the emerging urban tendencies as a result of population ageing. These include: the reconfiguration of the image of retirement by the baby boomers in the United States; the construction of active retirement communities that accommodate new sets of lifestyle and sporting activities such as rock-climbing and kayaking facilities; and the expansion of universal design to an urban scale, evident for example in larger traffic lights, and more elevators in public spaces. Three demographically driven urban scenarios are outlined for the regions immediate future including i) letting existing population ageing tendencies run their course toward an aged and shrunken city; ii) maintaining the existing working population through either “fucking for the future” or embracing working-age immigration that would produce a more ethnically diverse city; and lastly iii) embracing the urban potential of the Catalan coast as the “grey capital of the world.” The last scenario is developed into a variety of imaginative urban proposals.

While such a third strain of literature does not fully reconcile the opposing positions categorized under the umbrella terms of ‘social critique’ and ‘empirical research,’ the

⁵⁰ Bouman, “Architecture of Demography”: 37.

⁵¹ Bouman, “Architecture of Demography”: 37.

⁵² Bouman, “Architecture of Demography”: 37.

⁵³ NL Architects ‘Costa Geriatrica’ in Manuel Gausa et al (eds.), *Hicat: Hypercatalunya Research Territories* (Barcelona: Actar, 2003), 402-419.

positions presented by Bouman and NL Architects do present a synthetic wide-angled view of the issue that directly addresses the spatial implications of extrapolated tendencies and practices.

The range of publications and articles described above contribute to an outline of an existing body of knowledge, and define the limitations of existing knowledge concerning Third Age urbanism. While the more specific research addressing individual cases study sites will be presented in the section on exploratory research below, it is evident that they, as with the general texts, are more extensive in their description and analysis of social patterns and organization and considerably less concerned with specific spatial conditions. In light of this blank area, the 'evidence' – or 'archive' – supporting the findings of the dissertation, is located in the physical and material reality of the urban case study phenomena themselves, along with the various forms of media supporting them, such as maps, promotional videos and brochures.

Exploratory Research

The second phase of the project – exploratory research – has been primarily directed toward the selection of urban probes or case studies. This has necessitated the design of a selection process, including the criteria with which to select case studies. The selection process involved firstly, a specific literature review, focusing on architectural/urban-based or social science-based literature addressing specific and relevant urban phenomena. Secondly, a detailed experience survey was conducted consisting of a series of formal and informal interviews with experts on the topic. Interviewees from the academic field came from disciplines ranging from sociology, geography, demography, leisure studies and gerontology, to urban design and architecture. Interviewees from the commercial and public sector included local politicians, town planners, and real estate developers.⁵⁴ Lastly, exploratory field research was undertaken based upon evidence pointing to the relevance of a particular phenomenon or phenomena. This involved a form of on-site observation, or 'scanning' of

⁵⁴ Experience survey interviewees have included: Dr Louise Plouffe, Senior Technical Officer in the Ageing and Life Course Programme, World Health Organization; Alex Kalache, head of the Ageing and Life Course Programme, World Health Organization; Prof. Dr. Francois Höpflinger, Professor of Sociology, University of Zürich and author of *Traditionelles und neues Wohnen im Alter*, (Traditional and New Housing for the Elderly) 2004, and *Demographische Alterung und individuelles Alter* (Demographic Ageing and the Individualized Elderly), 1999. Dr. Andreas Huber, Social Geographer, Researcher and Project Leader of 'Housing Innovations for the Elderly', Wohnforum, ETH Zürich. Dr. Magrit Hugentobler, Sociologist, Researcher on 'Housing Innovations for the Elderly', Wohnforum, ETH Zürich. Anita Baumli, psychologist and advisor to Uster on ageing in place strategies. Uster, Switzerland. Dr. Heather Gibson, Associate Professor, Leisure Studies, University of Florida, USA. Specialist in ageing and leisure. Prof. Dr. Jerome Singleton, Professor of Leisure Studies, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada. Specialist in ageing and leisure. Prof. Chris Rust, Professor of Design at Sheffield Hallam University. Specialist in design for the ageing population. Prof. David Weightman, Professor and Director of the School of Art and Design at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA. Specialist in design for the ageing population. Ivo Bracher, CEO of Bracher and Partner, and BonaCasa. developer of elderly housing in Switzerland.

multiple aspects of urban morphology, organization and performance such as: built fabric, infrastructure and landscape; program, function and use; density; public, private space; mobility; infrastructure; economics; social and lifestyle aspects. The 'scanning' process also incorporated the collection of primary source material such as photographs, sketches and measurements, as well as additional material such as promotional literature, postcards, maps and artefacts. Regions visited included Third Age 'Meccas' such as Florida and Arizona in the United States, Costa del Sol in Spain, and Japan.

The case studies have been selected according to three criteria. i) Each case must be a contemporary urban environment produced specifically for the Third Age, in nations that have reached the historical period of the Third Age according to Laslett's definition (the criteria will be described in detail later in this chapter.) This particular criteria explains the tendency toward spatial and/or organizational concentration of the urbanism of the Third Age by limiting the location of possible case studies to the so-called 'developed world.' Also as a result of the definition of the Third Age, all case studies are necessarily centred around the theme of leisure. ii) The selected cases must represent exemplary and novel forms of urbanism addressing the Third Age. They are to either project alternate visions of urbanism in general, involving, for example, new visions of infrastructure, typology or temporality for the Third Age; or, specifically address challenges related to the urbanism of the Third Age, such as urban mobility. iii) As a result of the limited definition of the Third Age described in i), it has been desirable to select as wide a geographic and cultural range of case studies as possible.

This process has led to the selection of four case studies that satisfy the first two criteria, and which also, by happenstance, satisfy the geographical range of the third criteria. One case study has been selected in each of the three dominant continents of the Third age: North America, Europe and Asia; with a fourth nomadic case study selected which covers the broad area of the United States. (fig. A.2.2)

The first case study, *The Villages* of Florida, may be framed as a contemporary extrapolation of the first urban format for the retirement community developed in the late 1950s and 1960s at Sun City. At the beginning of the twenty-first century *The Villages* replaced Sun City as the world's largest single-site retirement community, located in the state that has become known as the 'retirement capital of the United States.' While *The Villages* may be also characterized as an age-segregated 'active adult' lifestyle-product, it is realized at a new scale beyond that of Sun City. *The Villages* also incorporates several additional urban features ranging from a form of golf-cart infrastructure, to new urban typologies, to the extensive application of

themed environments by theme park designers. It first emerged as a possible case study as a result of a conversation with a real estate agent for a Del Webb community in Central Florida during an exploratory field trip in 2005. The perceived importance of *The Villages* has been confirmed by interviews during the experience survey. Perceived as a major success story within the retirement community industry, it is a model that many developers have attempted to emulate.

A limited amount of material has been published by architects and urbanists on *The Villages* – most notable of which is American architect June Williamson's "Sounding the Home Town Theme" from 2000.⁵⁵ The article addresses the themed deployment of nostalgic images of 'home' within new American developments linked by their selective deployment of New Urbanist concepts. *The Villages* applies themeing to support an image of hometown nostalgia. This experience is not delivered within a pedestrian-accessible mixed-use setting, but within distinct zoned areas accessible predominantly by golf-cart. For Williamson, the popularity of *The Villages* opens up an important question concerning the suitability of existing suburban and exurban environments for an ageing population. She writes: "The implication of the folksy Villages rhetoric is that aging Americans do not find the sociability they crave in their present neighborhoods, a message not to be underestimated."⁵⁶

From the field of social sciences, a limited amount of specific literature addressing *The Villages* has emerged in recent years. Most compelling is the work of American political scientist Hugh Bartling. His 2006 essay "Tourism as Everyday Life: an Inquiry into The Villages, Florida" addresses the themed aspect of the community within the context of its advertised "year-round vacation."⁵⁷ As a form of permanent, rather than temporary tourism, Bartling describes the need to reconsider this alternate form of touristic activity. In describing *The Villages* as a heterotopia based on the "celebration of the inauthentic," Bartling interrogates the origins and references of the themed elements at *The Villages* in considerable detail. An additional key aspect of his work is the exposure of the developer's problematic exploitation of Florida's private governance laws – a situation that places hidden financial burdens on residents and produces extraordinary profits for the developer.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ June Williamson, "Sounding the Home Town Theme," *Thresholds* 20 (2000): 56-61.

⁵⁶ June Williamson, "Sounding the Home Town Theme": 59.

⁵⁷ Hugh Bartling, "Tourism as Everyday Life: an Inquiry into The Villages, Florida," *Tourism Geographies* (Vol. 8, No. 4, November 2006): 380-401. See also his "Private Governance, Public Subsidies: The Cultural Politics of Exurban Sprawl in Florida, USA," (paper presented at the 4th International Conference of the Research Network: Private Urban Governance and Gated Communities, Paris, 5-8 June, 2007).

⁵⁸ An additional account of *The Villages* is provided by American writer Andrew Blechman. He presents a journalistic, but more atmospheric type of anthropological portrait of *The Villages* in his 2008 book *Leisureville: Adventures in America's Retirement Utopias*. By linking *The Villages* to a specifically American history of communities such as Youngtown and Sun City, the book functions primarily as an attack against age-segregated communities on social grounds. Andrew Blechman, *Leisureville: Adventures in America's Retirement Utopias* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2008).

The second case study is situated along the Costa del Sol in the south of Spain. As the region with the highest level of retirement migration in the EU, it has become known in recent decades as 'the retirement home of Europe.' Several hundred private residential communities known as *urbanizaciones* have been developed along the coastline in the territories between what were formerly traditional fishing villages and tourist resorts, forming a near-continuous linear-urbanism stretching along 150km of the coast between the settlements of Estepona to Nerja. This development has attracted predominantly foreign retirees – Third Agers mostly from Britain, Germany and Scandinavia – due to the warm climate and relatively inexpensive cost of living. The total urban system supports a massive population of retirement migrants within a vast leisure infrastructure dominated by beaches, golf courses, bowling clubs and tennis courts. The *urbanizaciones* are configured to reconstruct the specific cultural contexts of 'home,' except without work and without rain. The phenomenon of European retirement migration to Spain, as one of the central modalities of Third Age urbanism in Europe, emerged out of the experience survey, in particular in conversation with Swiss human geographer Andreas Huber in 2005, along with social science texts that came up in the literature review.

Existing research from the point of view of architectural and urban discourse addressing the urbanism of Costa del Sol is less focused on the question of ageing and retirement, and more general in its description of climatically dependent touristic urbanism. In both Cesar Portela's *La Arquitectura Del Sol_Sunland Architecture* from 2004 and MVRDV's *Costa Iberica – Upbeat to the Leisure City* from 2000, the focus is on temporary rather than permanent mass tourism. Portela describes the historical tendencies that led to the production of a "mass tourism machine" along the Spanish coast and attempts to isolate architectural gems amongst the "falsity, vulgarity and most banal standardisation"⁵⁹ Only in passing does the text refer – in underestimating the extent of their yearly stays – to the "[...] great many foreigners who own homes and who alternate their residence between Spain and her warm winters and Europe and her temperate summers, making our country a type of seasonal 'old people's home.'"⁶⁰ MVRDV use the linear leisure urbanism of the Spanish coast in general, and Benidorm in particular, as a vehicle to further their research interests in density and time-sharing. According to MVRDV:

"...[the Iberian Peninsula] mainly consists of temporary shifts of people grouped together in very specific social appearances. In springtime, huge numbers of elderly retired people escape their cold and probably unhealthy mother countries for the weather and colder times of the year; in summer the biggest concentration of youth in the world can be found as a

⁵⁹ Cesar Portela, ed., *La Arquitectura Del Sol_Sunland Architecture* (Valencia: COA Catalunya, 2004), 12.

⁶⁰ Portela, *La Arquitectura Del Sol*, 08.

contemporary disco-world-jamboree; in autumn it becomes a fine retreat for the Spanish themselves: and in the winter months the place turns into a pure 'Ghost town'."⁶¹

While this adequately describes the temporal conditions of Benidorm, it conflicts with what social scientists have described, and what is clearly observable on the Costa del Sol, where the time-sharing configuration MVRDV describes is more spatially demarcated.⁶² Spanish architect José María Romero touches upon the statistics of the considerable foreign retiree population on Costa del Sol in the publication *020404 Deriva en ZoMeCS: (Zone Metropolitan Costa del Sol)* from 2004.⁶³ There is little connection made however between such demographic conditions and the detailed and articulate description of the urban attributes of the coast. He develops descriptive terms such as: space of sociability (rather than public space), and space of productivity (of free time rather than goods,) that are useful in framing Third Age urbanity on the Costa del Sol.⁶⁴

More extensive research from the social sciences field has addressed the phenomenon of Northern European retirement migration to Spain, and in particular those arriving in Costa del Sol. British social scientists Russell King, Tony Warnes and Allan Williams' *Sunset Lives: British Retirement Migration to the Mediterranean*, published in 2000, is the first to systematically explore this form of international retirement migration.⁶⁵ King et al place the phenomenon within the context of the massive change in the 'social construction' of old age in the twentieth century, which has resulted in the internationalisation of location-driven retirement in Europe. They isolate three factors that have led to its rise including an increased familiarity with foreign destinations, improved transport and accessibility, and the reduction of institutional and legal barriers to foreign living.⁶⁶ Lured by Southern Europe's lower cost of living and property, attractive climate, and the cultural and geographical familiarity that has grown with mass tourism, large concentrations of British retirees have emerged in locations such as Costa del Sol, Costa Blanca, Tuscany, and Malta. In turn, this has transformed formerly dense compact cities such as Malaga into "linear metropolitan areas" encompassing hundreds of *urbanizaciones*. King et al describe the lack of social integration with 'locals' within such mono-national communities, but also challenge the conditions within which such migrants are intended to integrate.

⁶¹ MVRDV, *Costa Iberica – Upbeat to the Leisure City* (Barcelona: Actar, 2000), 72-73.

⁶² This will be addressed in the later chapter.

⁶³ José María Romero, *020404 Deriva en ZoMeCS: (Zone Metropolitan Costa del Sol)* (Granada: Rizoma Fundación, 2004).

⁶⁴ These will be addressed further in the case study chapter.

⁶⁵ Russell King, Tony Warnes and Allan Williams, *Sunset Lives: British Retirement Migration to the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Berg, 2000).

⁶⁶ King et al, *Sunset Lives*, 30-31.

British anthropologist Karen O'Reilly provides a detailed anthropological account in *The British on the Costa del Sol: Transnational Identities and Local Communities*.⁶⁷ O'Reilly questions the validity of terms such as 'colonies' and 'retirement ghettos' by engaging in a considered investigation of "a community betwixt and between two cultures and two worlds; a community of British nationals who uncannily reflect Britain's ambivalent and changing relationship to the Other."⁶⁸ In the 2004 essay "The construction of Heimat under conditions of individualized modernity: Swiss and British elderly migrants in Spain" O'Reilly, together with Swiss human geographer Andreas Huber address the construction of notions of home/community in foreign *urbanizaciones* – environments they refer to as 'non-geographic sites'.⁶⁹ Huber advances this notion in his "Retirement Settlements in the Spanish Coastal Regions: a New Kind of Non-place?" in which he describes the *urbanizaciones* of Costa Blanca as "purpose-built, age-defined settlements or colonies generally situated outside historically established villages." Huber categorizes these sites according to Marc Augé's concept of *non-place* – artificial spaces without identity, history or urban relationships.⁷⁰ This text is perhaps the closest to a synthetic spatial account of 'the retirement home of Europe'.⁷¹

Huis Ten Bosch, located near Nagasaki, in the south of Japan, is the third case study. It is remarkable in terms of the development of a new typology for the Third Age, one produced as a hybrid of the retirement community and theme park. Offering residents the possibility to be both resident in Japan, and visitor to Holland, the theme park environment functions symbiotically with the retirement community, offering a fully-fledged leisure infrastructure. The phenomenon of Huis Ten Bosch came up in the early stages of the literature review through the writings of Miodrag Mitrasinovic, Marc Treib and David D'Heilly in 2004 and 2005. The relevance of this site was reinforced in the experience survey and during fieldwork in Japan.

Texts specifically addressing the Japanese Huis Ten Bosch have tended to focus on the theme park more than the retirement community aspect of the site. As a result, articles such as Sarah Chaplin's 1998 "Authenticity and Otherness: The New Japanese Themepark," tend to dwell on questions of simulacrum, authenticity and place within the context of recent developments of the cultural theme park in Japan, rather than engaging in the issue of

⁶⁷ Karen O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol: Transnational Identities and Local Communities* (London: Routledge, 2000).

⁶⁸ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 17.

⁶⁹ Karen O'Reilly and Andreas Huber, "The construction of Heimat under conditions of individualized modernity: Swiss and British elderly migrants in Spain," *Ageing and Society* 24 (2004), 327-351. See also: Graham Chesters, *Foreigners in Spain: Real-Life Stories from Expatriates in Spain* (London: Survival Books, 2004).

⁷⁰ Andreas Huber, "Retirement Settlements in the Spanish Coastal Regions: a New Kind of Non-Place?" (unpublished article, 2004). Huber has also published relevant titles in German including: *Sog des Südens*, *Auswandern im Alter*, and *Heimat in der Postmodern*.

⁷¹ Further spatial aspects of this phenomenon will be investigated further including mobility, morphology and governance.

themeing as a permanent residential condition of retirement.⁷² Japan-based writer David D'Heilly furthers this line of discussion in "Letter from Huis Ten Bosch" in 1994, two years after the complex opened.⁷³ According to D'Heilly: "Imagine taking travel brochures of Holland, carefully extracting the text, and merging all the photos into one image file. Then imagine using this file as a plan, locating reclaimed land, and spending 540 billion yen (approximately \$4.7 billion) to develop it. Welcome to Huis Ten Bosch..." D'Heilly somewhat cynically refers to the development as the "city of the future," an extruded reality which brings together the "absolute values of healthy sport, 'good' ecology, and benevolent technology, and behold: urban design begins with the amusement park."

Landscape architect and theorist Marc Treib's 2002 essay "Theme Park, Themed Living: The Case of Huis Ten Bosch (Japan)"⁷⁴ and architectural theorist Miodrag Mitrasinovic's article from the same year "Huis Ten Bosch: Dutch Village for Japanese Retirees"⁷⁵ have come closer to addressing the issue of the hybridized theme-park-retirement-community. Treib describes the resulting blurring between a "theatrical background against which to be seen and [...] an actual stage upon which to live."⁷⁶ Importantly, Mitrasinovic touches upon the specific demographic intention of both the themepark and the residential component of the project – one that addresses a market segment consisting predominantly of retirees, and of women. In this context, architecture and urbanism produces a very particular form of social displacement – a surreal hybrid in which: "[t]he social practices of drinking coffee in an outdoor café, enjoying the movement of relaxed crowds, sitting on a bench and gazing at people passing by – let alone observing tulips and boats plying along the canals and facing a copy of Hotel de L'Europe – are social practices historically unknown to the Japanese."⁷⁷ Huis Ten Bosch offers the possibility of mediating such exoticism, within the controlled and familiar context of Japan.

Specific literature from the field of social sciences addressing Huis Ten Bosch, includes the work of the Swedish anthropologist Staffan Appelgren, who published a doctoral dissertation entitled *Huis Ten Bosch: Mimesis and Simulation in a Japanese Dutch Town* in 2007.⁷⁸ Appelgren presents an anthropological investigation addressing how visitors and

⁷² Sarah Chaplin, "Authenticity and Otherness: The New Japanese Themepark," *AD Magazine* Vol.68, No ½ January/February (1998).

⁷³ David D'Heilly, "Letter from Huis Ten Bosch," *Any Magazine*, No.4, (January/February 1994): 56-57.

⁷⁴ Marc Treib, "Theme Park, Themed Living: The Case of Huis Ten Bosch (Japan)" in *Theme Park Landscapes: Antecedents and Variations*, ed. T. Young and R. Riley (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002).

⁷⁵ Miodrag Mitrasinovic, "Huis Ten Bosch: Dutch Village for Japanese Retirees," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 341 (July/August 2002): 72-79.

⁷⁶ Treib, "Theme Park, Themed Living": 227.

⁷⁷ Mitrasinovic, "Huis Ten Bosch: Dutch Village for Japanese Retirees": 78.

⁷⁸ Staffan Appelgren, *Huis Ten Bosch: Mimesis and Simulation in a Japanese Dutch Town* (Goteborg: Goteborg University, 2007).

residents interact with the mimetic environment of Huis Ten Bosch. Central to his thesis is the framing of mimesis (or imitation) “as a creative and explorative immersion in the other rather than [simply] as submission, resistance, or political posturing.”⁷⁹ In this context Huis Ten Bosch offers an environment that opens up the possibility to individuals for constructing “identities and negotiating social expectations [and ...] displacing themselves and exploring cultural diversity.”⁸⁰ While there is passing reference to the residential component of the development, the issue of the dominant demographic group it supports plays only a limited role in the argument.

The last case study, the senior recreational vehicle (RV) community in the United States, is of interest as a nomadic counterpoint to the three other sedentary forms of urbanism. Perhaps the largest nomadic community of modern times, it represents a spatially distributed, but socially coherent form of network urbanism consisting of Third Agers who have abandoned sedentary environments for a year-round nomadic life on the road. The spatial and temporal patterns of this community are supported by a novel use of both physical and non-physical infrastructures. The Senior RV community emerged as an important case study out of conversations with the New York architect Christian Hubert in 1997, and was confirmed in the experience surveys, literature review and fieldwork between 2004 and 2010.

There is a limited prehistory from the late 1960s of architectural and urban discourse on RV communities, most notable of which is a speculative project produced by Archigram's David Greene entitled “Instant City Children's Primer.” Published in 1969, it consists of an illustrated article describing a project for a future dispersed city of nomadic inhabitants living in trailers.⁸¹ Greene refers to a group of trailer nomads as ‘node-owners’ plugged into camouflaged ‘logplugs’ and ‘rokplugs’ in the wilderness. ‘Logplugs’ for example, would offer vital services such as water and power, and most importantly what is referred to as the ‘international information hookup’ – an Archigram-ism perhaps for the yet to be invented internet. According to Greene, “Plugs will increase the service to these [instant and remote] communities... The whole of London or New York will be available in the world's leafy hollows, deserts and flowered meadows.”⁸² Imagined is a utopia formed from the collision of the most urban and the most anti-urban of conditions, in which the best aspects of the urban environment would be brought to the natural one. With this in mind, it is possible to suggest that *Instant City* may be considered as a vague premonition of the contemporary senior RV

⁷⁹ Appelgren, *Huis Ten Bosch*, 231.

⁸⁰ Appelgren, *Huis Ten Bosch*, 231.

⁸¹ David Greene, “Instant City Children's Primer,” *AD*, No.5 (1969): 274-276.

⁸² Greene, “Instant City Children's Primer”: 274-276.

Community, but one that missed the demographic and spatial specificity of what would emerge as a contemporary condition.

American architect Kazys Varnelis's more recent 2007 essay entitled "Swarm Intelligence: Quartzsite Arizona" addresses the socio-spatial phenomenon of an instant city where hundreds of thousands of RVers congregate during the winter months in the Arizona desert.⁸³ Varnelis does not address the issue of ageing or lifestyles of retirement, but rather defines the phenomenon of Quartzsite through the lens of Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt's concept of the 'multitude' – a self-organizing network swarm – understood within the context of a societal shift from the fixed hierarchical structures of Fordism to the flexible and distributed networks of late-capitalism. Quartzsite is described as a form of dense exurban sprawl – a "capital of multitude" that produces a "Bilbao-effect" out of motorhomes rather than buildings.

Writings on the US recreational vehicle community from the point of view the social sciences is primarily limited to the excellent 1996 publication *Over the Next Hill: An Ethnography of RVing Seniors in North America*, by Canadian anthropologists Dorothy and David Counts.⁸⁴ The text provides a thorough portrait of the RV community, by placing the phenomenon in a broader sociological and historical context and by describing how this community works and what its qualities are. Important to Counts and Counts description of RVing is its placement within the context of an evolving concept of retirement. "While young people have been spending their energy in sedentary pursuits, buying homes in the suburbs, working in factories and offices, and raising kids, a generation of elders have become nomads. These folks are not acting like old folks used to! What is going on here? What are these seniors telling us about the concept of aging in North America?"⁸⁵ The images associated with this type of nomadic practice are examined, from the gypsy to the pioneer. Counts and Counts define its current practice in terms of a subculture that has claimed a new frontier – an "interstitial one, composed of areas not yet encroached upon by urban culture."⁸⁶ The altered meaning of 'home' is examined, along with the activities and social practices of RVers. These anthropologists find a remarkably strong bond and sense of community amongst RVers that operates across great distances. Not unexpectedly, the spatial analysis is somewhat limited, as is attention to the burgeoning use of satellite internet communications and the emergence of online RV clubs as the dominant staging

⁸³ Kazys Varnelis, "Swarm Intelligence: Quartzsite Arizona," in *Blue Monday: Stories of Absurd Realities and Natural Philosophies*, ed. Robert Sumrell and Kazys Varnelis (Barcelona: Actar, 2007), 144-170.

⁸⁴ Dorothy Ayers Counts and David R. Counts, *Over the Next Hill: An Ethnography of RVing Seniors in North America* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press 1996).

⁸⁵ Counts and Counts, *Over the Next Hill*, 15.

⁸⁶ Counts and Counts, *Over the Next Hill*, 111.

site for social coordination and interaction amongst this community – a phenomenon that emerged largely after their research was published.

The four case studies selected by no means represent an exhaustive summary of all existing urban tendencies related to the Third Age. It could be possible to have selected many more, but the limitations of the dissertation format, and the desire to go to some level of depth in each case has necessitated such a cut off point. In selecting case studies, urban phenomena that actively engage with known limits have been embraced.⁸⁷ Despite their engagement with limits however, each probe is an *entirely* real physical urban environment inhabited by considerable numbers of real people. Each, therefore, is a true story. Collectively these stories are intended to delineate a provisional outline of an urbanism of the Third Age.

Documentation and Interpretation

The third major phase of the project after exploratory research concerned documentation and theoretical interpretation. This involved both: i) documenting and interpreting the spatial, conceptual, material and organizational principles involved in the phenomenon using the relevant tools in each case, and; ii) contextualizing the phenomenon within architectural and urban discourse, and to the extent appropriate, within its social, cultural, political and economic milieu.

In this context, the term ‘description’ also implied ‘interpretation.’ What the documentation includes or excludes is particular to the nature of each urban novelty. This has been based upon combining qualitative tools (predominantly) and quantitative tools in a mixed methodological approach governed by the maxim: “the right tool for the job.” As a result, the range of tools used during this phase have included: interpretive mapping; conceptual diagramming; comparative analysis; analysis of aerial and ground based photography; statistical data, such as population, density; and empirical time and distance calculations.

Conclusions

In the final phase, conclusions have been drawn on the specific characteristics of the urbanism, social collectivity and subjectivity associated with each of the case study probes. While these novelties are articulated within the respective case study chapters, the

⁸⁷ This has led to certain case studies having what has been referred to as an ‘extreme quality,’ whether in terms of the extent of their social organization, conceptual approach or material technique. The shock often attached to the reception of such case studies, the author will argue, is to a large extent a function of the unfamiliarity with, and relative newness of, these experiments, combined with the relative newness of the phase of life itself.

concluding chapter identifies broader tendencies that may be identified across the various case studies in collective terms. These more general tendencies – which are not only addressed in positive and opportunistic terms, but also in critical terms – delineate some of the key contemporary features of what could be loosely referred to as *Third Age Urbanism*.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ As a topic combining urbanism and demographic aging involves common expectations and potential misinterpretations, it is relevant to frame what the dissertation scope does not include. Based on the focus of the dissertation being the urbanism of the Third Age, it is not intended to address or offer urban solutions for what is traditionally known as old-age; what Laslett has called the Fourth Age and Neugarten the 'Old-Old.' Based on the working definition of the Third Age, and therefore, on the location of urban phenomena associated with it, the dissertation will not directly address the problems of ageing in the context of poverty and the developing world. Based on the intention to frame the dissertation as a project in the documentation and theorization of urbanism of the Third Age, it is not intended as a prescriptive guidebook on how to best design retirement communities.

3. POPULATION AGEING AND RETIREMENT

The urban phenomena presented in this dissertation are a product of a transformation that has two major components: one is the demographic process of *population ageing*; the other is the social, political and economic process of the institutionalisation of *retirement*. With the intention to provide the relevant contextual background, these two components will be described, followed by the characterization of the new demographic group these components contribute to – the ‘Young-Old’ or the ‘Third Age.’

Population Ageing

The origins of the theorization of population ageing are typically situated in the first half of the twentieth century as the processes associated with what would later be described as the ‘demographic transition’ became more evident. As these tendencies became clearer as the twentieth century progressed, an increasing level of concern toward the theme of ageing developed. This would cross over from scholarly research to reach a crescendo in popular newspapers and magazines in the 1980s and 1990s through terms such as the *demographic time bomb*, the *grey wave*, and the *senior epidemic*.⁸⁹

The Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations evolved from the 1950s as the ‘official’ source of international data and analysis on population ageing. The earliest of a series of high profile UN reports on population ageing was published in 1956. Entitled *The Ageing of Populations and its Economic and Social Implications*, the report addresses the broad implications of such a demographic shift taking place primarily in the more developed countries.⁹⁰ The most recent publication on ageing produced by the Population Division is entitled *World Population Ageing 2007* – a document heavily influenced by the UN’s Second World Assembly on Ageing, that took place in Madrid 2002. Four major findings on world population ageing are laid out in the report: Firstly, population ageing is: “*unprecedented*, a process without parallel in the history of humanity.” Secondly, it is “*pervasive* since it is affecting nearly all the countries of the world.” While the more developed nations possess a higher proportion of older persons in their populations, this age group is growing more rapidly in the less developed regions. Thirdly, it is “*profound*, having major consequences and implications for all facets of human life”; including the

⁸⁹ Relevant popular texts in the promotion of ageing-related themes include: Ken Dychtwald, *Age Wave: The Challenges and Opportunities of an Aging America* (Los Angeles: J. P. Tarcher, 1988); Laurence J. Kotlikoff and Scott Burns, *The Coming Generational Storm* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 2005).

⁹⁰ United Nations, Population Division. *The Ageing of Populations and its Economic and Social Implications*, (New York: UN, 1956).

economic, the social and the political. And lastly, “Population ageing is *enduring*.” It is a process that is unlikely to be reversed in the future.⁹¹

In quantitative terms, the report documents how the world population aged 60 years and over tripled to 600 million between 1950 and 2000. By 2050, this is expected to more than triple again to arrive at a population of 2 billion older persons, a number equivalent to the world’s total population in 1927. The older population is growing far more rapidly than the population as a whole; expanding at 2.6% per year compared to 1.1%. The proportion of older persons in the total population rose from 8% in 1950 to 11% in 2007, and is expected to rise to 22% by 2050.⁹² This translates into a situation in which there are anticipated to be more older persons than children under the age of fifteen in the world by 2047, a condition already achieved in the more developed world in 1998.

The process of population ageing is not consistent across all countries and regions in terms of the proportion of aged persons, and the pace by which their numbers are growing. The most commonly articulated distinction is between the more and the less developed nations.⁹³ The more developed nations – Western Europe and Japan in particular – are demographically the oldest in the world, with older persons making up over a fifth of the population in 2007, a proportion expected to grow to a third by 2050. This is contrasted to the less developed world that has a proportion of 8% of older persons in 2007, expected to grow to a fifth by 2050.⁹⁴ (fig. A.3.1)

Population ageing has been described by demographers as the result of “two of humanity’s greatest victories: increased longevity, or a victory over death and disease; and reduced birth rates, or a victory over unwanted childbearing.”⁹⁵ The overall decline in human mortality rates, for example, which had taken place within a relatively short period of time has led, in historical terms, to a sudden, unprecedented extension of human life-expectancy, corresponding roughly to a doubling of human life expectancy within the period of a century.⁹⁶ (fig. A.3.2 – A.3.3)

⁹¹ United Nations, Population Division, *World Population Ageing 2007* (New York: UN, 2007), xxvi.

⁹² United Nations, *World Population Ageing 2007*, xxvii.

⁹³ While the reference to the more developed and less developed nations will be used – corresponding to developed and developing – the limitations of such a schema are multiple. This is particularly the case concerning a number of so-called developing nations that possess many of the same characteristics as the so-called developed ones. However, in discussing the demographics of population ageing, the distinction is useful, despite its oversimplification.

⁹⁴ United Nations, *World Population Ageing 2007*, xxvii. The pace of population ageing is taking place later, more rapidly and at lower levels of socio-economic development in the developing world.

⁹⁵ United Nations, Population Division, *Technical Meeting on Population Ageing and Living Arrangements of Older Persons* (New York: UN, 2000), 2. Forum member Antonio Golini is quoted here.

⁹⁶ There is considerable debate as to whether the rate at which the human life expectancy will continue to increase. While it is anticipated to increase rapidly in the less developed countries, in the more developed countries the pace of the increases are expected to decline.

The process by which this transformation has taken place is commonly described in terms of the theory of the 'demographic transition.' Based on the 1929 work of American demographer Warren Thompson, the theory describes a series of stages in a nation's economic and demographic transformation from a pre-industrial to an industrialised society.⁹⁷ (fig. A.3.4) While the demographic transition has later been criticised due to its imprecise correspondence to empirical data (along with other limitations), it remains in contemporary terms, according to Simon Szreter, a compelling metaphor in explaining broad tendencies of social and demographic change – particularly in already developed countries.⁹⁸ The first stage of the demographic transition describes a pre-industrial society in which high mortality rates are attributed to a prevalence of infectious and parasitic diseases, high infant and maternal mortality, periodic famine, and poor medical knowledge. At the same time, high birth rates exist for a range of reasons including religious and social expectations of large families, a demand for children to assist in farm work, and a lack of family planning. Stage two describes a developing society characterized by rapidly diminishing mortality rates due largely to improved medical care limiting child and maternal mortality, improved sanitation and improved water and food supply which limits disease and increases longevity.⁹⁹ Although birth rates remain at similar levels as stage one, large increases in population occur during this period, in parallel with a change in the age structure toward a younger population. This particular phase of the demographic transition took place during the nineteenth century in Northern and Western Europe as a result of the industrial revolution. In stage three of the demographic transition, birth rates fall due to the increasing impact of industrialisation and urbanisation including: the increasing cost of raising children due to the rise of compulsory education and their reduced capacity as workers; the reduction in subsistence farming for which children were necessary labourers; the improved education, workforce participation and status of women; and perhaps most importantly, the increased availability of family planning and advances in contraception. (fig. A.3.6) Mortality rates continue to fall but at a lower rate during this period, while the age structure evens out, and the population continues to grow, but at slower rate than in stage two. Stage four describes a fully industrialised society with both low mortality and low birth rates and a relatively stable or low growth

⁹⁷ Warren S. Thompson, "Population," *American Journal of Sociology* 34, no. 6 (1929): 959-975.

⁹⁸ Simon Szreter, "The Idea of Demographic Transition and the Study of Fertility Change. A critical intellectual history," *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 4 (1993): 659-701.

According to Jean-Claude Chesnais, Elizabeth Kreager, and Philip Kreager, the demographic transition has been embraced because of its simplicity as "the only interpretive schema which reflects a synthetic and coherent view of contemporary demographic changes." A range of criticisms include its historical Eurocentric emphasis and its corresponding incapacity to predict the specific demographic development of any single country. Also criticized is the lack of account for factors such as migration, nuptiality and the diffusion of demographic changes between countries. See: Jean-Claude Chesnais, Elizabeth Kreager, and Philip Kreager, *The Demographic Transition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 5.

⁹⁹ A related and sometimes interchangeable term to describe the mortality component of the demographic transition is what has been referred to as the "epidemiologic transition" a term coined in the early 1970s to refer to a long-term change in the main causes of death from infectious and acute to chronic and degenerative diseases.⁹⁹ This aligns to a concentration of mortality at the end of life rather than at the beginning and middle, a change most evident in the tendency toward what has been called a "rectangular survival curve." (fig. A.3.5)

population. What is critical in this context is the effect these conditions have on the age structure of a population. In particular, they produce a rapidly ageing society.¹⁰⁰ In some cases a fifth stage has been included to the demographic transition that describes a post-industrial condition in which birth rates continue to fall to well below replacement rates, causing the total population to shrink, leading to the further ageing of the population.¹⁰¹

In addition to the two major factors in population ageing addressed above – falling mortality and falling birth rates – the extent to which this process takes place can be influenced by historical events, of which a number of examples may be cited. The political decision to implement the single-child-family policy in China in 1979, for example, will have a considerable impact on ageing China's population, particularly as the larger generation born prior to the policy's implementation reach retirement age. The effects of migration can also have considerable impact on the ageing of regional populations. The most common examples of this include regions – especially rural ones – in the former East Germany, where the younger population leaves for large urban areas mostly in the former west.

Perhaps the most influential historical and demographic event effecting population ageing in the immediate future is the massive temporary increase in fertility that took place immediately after the World War II in most of the developed world – the so-called 'Baby Boom.' In quantitative terms, the Baby Boomers represent the largest generation in history. In the period between 2010 and 2029, 76 million American Baby Boomers will reach the common retirement age of 65 years. This event has been described in particularly hyperbolic terms within the popular media, and in books with titles such as *The Age Wave*, or *Primetime: How Baby Boomers will Revolutionize Retirement and Transform America*. In *Age Power* for example, psychologist Ken Dychtwald exclaims: "The force of this demographic quake has been reverberating through society's institutions [...] Although it began as a baby boom, it [is] now rising up into an *age wave*, destined to crash upon society's shores, transforming everything in its path."¹⁰²

Despite the dramatic rhetoric, the implications of this demographic event have been felt in significant ways at different life phases of the cohort. Just as a massive school building

¹⁰⁰ At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the demographic transition is in the early to middle phases in the less developed countries.

¹⁰¹ An additional theory of population ageing, describing a second demographic transition, has been proposed by Belgian sociologist Ron Lesthaeghe. It distinguishes between two historical phases in the reduction of birth rates in Western Europe: the first transition, occurring roughly between 1870 and 1930, as a function of the growing institutional influence of the state, and the reduced influence of the Churches allowing for the introduction of birth control; and the second, and more public transition that took place since the 1960s as a result of the improved status of women, the availability of the oral contraceptive pill, the increasing significance of individual autonomy over that of the state or other collective institutions, and the decoupling of marriage and sex. See Ron Lesthaeghe, "Der zweite demographische Übergang in den westlichen Ländern: Eine Deutung," *Zeitschrift für Bevölkerungswissenschaft*, 18, no. 3 (1992): 313-354

¹⁰² Ken Dychtwald, *Age Power: How the 21st Century will be Ruled by the New Old* (New York: Putnam, 1999).

program was necessary in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s, the decades immediately after the turn of the twenty-first century are likely to necessitate a corresponding expansion in facilities and residences addressing the aged.

Retirement

The institution of retirement has a relatively recent history. Its emerging dominance took place in the developed world roughly in the period between 1880 and 1980 as labour force participation rates for males 65 years or older plunged from approximately 80% to 25% in the U.S. for example, and from approximately 75% to 10% in the U.K. (fig. A.3.7) While this process is often attributed to the introduction of state pensions, it is, to a large extent, also a result of other factors.

Germany became the first nation in the world to introduce the state pension with Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck's *Old Age and Disability Insurance Bill* in 1889. When first implemented, it would offer pensions to workers over 70 years, an age limit that would be later reduced to 65 years, thereafter becoming the standard age for retirement internationally.¹⁰³ Directed toward maintaining the income of the worker too old to work, this policy marked one of the early cornerstones of the welfare state in Germany. Beyond setting up a form of social safety net, however, ulterior political motives have been attributed to Bismarck's plan – specifically in terms of a concession to prevent more radical reforms proposed by the socialists at the time. When proposing his policies in 1881 Bismarck candidly stated "Whoever has a pension for his old age is far more content and far easier to handle than one who has no such prospect. Look at the difference between a private servant and a servant in the Chancellery or at the court. The latter will put up with much more, because he has a pension to look forward to."¹⁰⁴ The actions of Germany were followed by the passing of legislation for state supported pensions in countries such as Denmark (1891), New Zealand (1898), France (1905), Australia (1908), United Kingdom (1909), and Sweden (1913).¹⁰⁵

In the US, the broad institutionalization of retirement occurred through similar legislation in 1935 – a time when the average life expectancy was 62 years. For many, it represented a long overdue action "through which the United States finally took on functions that European

¹⁰³ Holborn, Hajo, *A History of Modern Germany — 1840–1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 291-93. At the time the bill was introduced, life expectancy for the average Prussian was 45 years.

¹⁰⁴ Cited in Markus M. L. Crepaz and Arend Lijphart, *Trust Beyond Borders: Immigration, the Welfare State, and Identity in Modern Societies* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 15.

¹⁰⁵ Einar Overbye, 'The New Zealand Pension System In An International Context; An Outsider's View', *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, no. 06 (July 1996).

nation-states had carried for decades.”¹⁰⁶ American economic historian Dora Costa introduces the triumph of the institution of retirement not as a condition specific to the United States but as one tied to the same tendencies as those present in other parts of the now ‘developed world.’ She argues that the similarities in the declining labour force participation rates for men 65 and over between the United States, Britain, France and Germany since the late nineteenth century “...suggest[s] that an analysis of the factors that fostered high retirement rates in the United States can explain, not just the rise of American retirement, but also that of European.”¹⁰⁷ (fig. A.3.7) As a result of Costa’s argument, and the fact that the United States emerged as the site of the first experiments in urbanism for the Third Age, emphasis will be placed in this introduction on the institution of retirement in the United States along with an investigation of the first retirement communities there.

The intention of the US Social Security Act was not only the provision of a safety net for those 65 and older, and therefore deemed too old to work, but was also intended to shift older workers – supposedly less able to keep up with technological change in a rapidly modernizing industrial economy – out of the workforce to open up places for younger workers and therefore partially alleviate the massive unemployment of the great depression.¹⁰⁸ It was also hoped that the act would stimulate consumption.

While 1935 marks the founding date of the state pension, the social and economic beginnings of retirement in the United States began earlier with a variety of private and occupation-specific pensions, such as those offered to former union army soldiers. It was not uncommon for unions or industry associations in the years prior to social security to – rather than provide pensions – provide a social safety net in the form of the ‘old-age home’, an institution steeped in negative associations similar to the those attached to the ‘poor house.’ During the pre-social security period older workers were already being pushed out of the workforce based on sickness, but most commonly due to broad sectoral shifts in the economy, particularly industrialisation and the speeding up of the production-line; and technological change that would render the skills of many older workers obsolete.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, retirement was becoming feasible for more people financially as general income

¹⁰⁶ William Graebner, *A History of Retirement: The Meaning and Function of An American Institution, 1885-1978* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1980), 181.

¹⁰⁷ Dora Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement: An American Economic History, 1880-1990* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 8-9.

¹⁰⁸ See Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 181-214.

¹⁰⁹ Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 21-25. It is relevant to note that the fall in labor participation rates prior to the introduction of Social Security is attributed to the shift from agriculture to industry.

levels were rising and private pension plans became more common.¹¹⁰ Both of these tendencies would continue after the introduction of social security.

While it is perhaps challenging to comprehend in the contemporary setting, retirement was not always viewed as desirable on the part of those who were expected to experience it. In the 1930s and 1940s, even after the implementation of social security, it remained unpopular as an institution in the United States. Retirement was commonly perceived socially as an embarrassing phase of obsolescence – one marked by a corresponding drop in self-esteem.¹¹¹ These negative attitudes toward retirement were addressed on two main fronts: through the development of sociological theory to support the relevance of retirement; and secondly, through the promotion, by those with a vested interest, of positive images of retirement in the popular media.

Those with special concerns for retirement's popularity included corporations, labour unions, and insurance companies. For the insurance companies in particular, private pension plans designed to top up social security represented highly profitable business. During the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, all of these proponents invested a great deal of effort in transforming negative attitudes toward retirement. These attitudes were diagnosed according to one prominent businessman as "...an absence of ideas about what to do with oneself" during retirement. The cure proposed was a national effort to teach people, starting at age fifty, to enjoy leisure. This corresponded to the widespread production of propaganda focused upon glamorizing retirement, a procedure achieved, according to Mutual Life Insurance Company vice-president H. G. Kenagy during a 1952 session of the National Industrial Conference Board, by presenting "...constant stories of happily retired people telling what they do, but still more, of course, emphasizing what they did to get ready for the life they are now living."¹¹²

According to Graebner, the selling of retirement had begun in earnest, as evidenced in several hundred newspaper advertisements by insurance companies from the 1940s presenting retirement as "the joy of being at the ball park on a weekday afternoon." "...Far from being evidence of maladjustment, [retirement] was a bounty bestowed by the society and by the pension."¹¹³ In aggressively marketing retirement as a consumable commodity its

¹¹⁰ This is indicated by Costa with home ownership rates for retired men in the US aged 65 and older rising from one-third in 1900 to three-quarters in 1990. An additional indicator is the increase in the percentage of private wage and salary workers covered by (private) pension plans, a figure rising from 10% in 1930 to 45% in 1990. Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 15-17.

¹¹¹ Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 227-228. "For a time it seemed as if retirement might be permanently assigned this negative definition. In 1952, *Lifetime Living* [the lifestyle magazine targeted to "people who plan ahead"] could not find a corporation head, labor leader, or pension expert who would defend mandatory retirement in a public forum."

¹¹² Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 231.

¹¹³ Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 231.

beginnings as a bureaucratic and corporate instrument of rationalization and control were ignored.¹¹⁴ The marketing project had become extremely successful. By the beginning of the 1960s:

“...the meaning of retirement had been transformed. It was now a form of leisure, a way of spending time following the conclusion of one’s work life; it was a stage of existence, inevitable but to be welcomed and even celebrated. Once largely a device for maximizing productivity in a bureaucratizing society, retirement had become a state of being, apparently benign, classless and apolitical.”¹¹⁵

At the same time as retirement was being promoted, its theoretical foundations were being recast. According to William Graebner’s *A History of Retirement*, leisure theorists argued during this period that:

“...technological unemployment could be, and indeed had to be converted into leisure. Retirement was the inevitable result of the need to shorten the work life to spread available work. Although forced withdrawal from the workplace might have been interpreted negatively, leisure theorists chose to emphasize technology’s potential for freeing Americans for new forms of leisure.”¹¹⁶

The positive reception of retirement, and the enjoyment of leisure time tied to it, necessitated a new conception of old age, one freed from the higher levels of activity associated with work-life. This was satisfied by the development of ‘Disengagement Theory,’ which would play an important role after 1950.¹¹⁷ Where the previous paradigm of ‘Activity Theory’ viewed retirement as “a violation of the organism’s constant need for a high level of interaction”¹¹⁸ Disengagement Theory conceptualized ageing as “...an inevitable mutual withdrawal or disengagement, resulting in decreased interaction between the aging person and others in the social system he belongs to.”¹¹⁹ Retirement, defined as ‘permission to disengage,’ allowed the old to preserve self-esteem while lowering activity levels. Release from the world of work prevented embarrassment caused by awareness amongst colleagues of diminishing faculties.¹²⁰

¹¹⁴ Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 215.

¹¹⁵ Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 270.

¹¹⁶ Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 269.

¹¹⁷ For an outline of Disengagement Theory see: E. Cumming and W. E. Henry, *Growing Old: The Process of Disengagement* (New York: Basic Books, 1961).

¹¹⁸ Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 227-228.

¹¹⁹ Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 227-228.

¹²⁰ Disengagement theory would later be selectively re-combined with activity theory to theoretically support the age-segregated active-retirement community. For an outline of Activity Theory see: R. J. Havighurst, “Successful Aging” in *Processes of Aging*, ed. R. H. Williams, C. Tibbitts, and W. Donahue (New York: Atherton, 1963), vol. I, 299-330.

This dual effort to recast retirement led to an image of the last years of life that was undeniably utopian in nature – a utopia tied to the full-time consumption of a lifestyle of leisure. This period saw what Costa refers to as “The Rise of the Leisured Class.”

“Increasing numbers of retirees are citing a preference for leisure as their main motivation for leaving the labor force. Among men who began collecting Social Security benefits in 1941 and in 1951 only 3 percent stated that they retired because they preferred leisure to work.... By 1963 the figure was 17 percent and by 1982 48 percent.”¹²¹

While Costa attributes one of the key reasons for the success of the lifestyle of retirement to increases in average income with which to enjoy retirement, an additional key factor has been a fundamental development in forms of leisure, and as a result, its affordability.¹²² The twentieth century saw the spread of technological advancements such as radio, television, VCR, CD and DVD players – technologies that have been critical in lowering the cost of entertainment. Additionally, these forms of leisure are ideally suited to the older population, as they do not necessarily require great amounts of physical exertion. Technologies such as these have, according to Costa, “broken the link between the consumption of entertainment and location, thereby increasing the recreational possibilities of the elderly living in rural areas and perhaps inducing more of the elderly to migrate to areas with a lower cost of living.” Following WWII, technological advances in outdoor sporting equipment and the techniques with which it is produced have been passed on to consumers in the form of inexpensive products such as tents, waterproof clothing, boats, and cooking equipment. There has been a large increase throughout the middle of the twentieth century in the supply of public recreational facilities, such as parks, swimming pools, and golf courses.¹²³ In this context it is necessary to emphasize the coincidence of the process of retirement’s popularisation and the popularisation of mass leisure.

¹²¹ Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 133.

¹²² Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 28. The increasing affordability of, and expenditure on leisure is documented by comparing the relative decrease in total income spent on necessities (food, shelter and clothing) to the relative increase in income spent on recreation in the US. In 1888-90 approximately 75% of income was dedicated to necessities, and 2% to recreation; while in 1991 less than 40% of income was dedicated to necessities and almost 6% on recreation. See: Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 136.

¹²³ The tripling of the number of golf courses between 1921 and 1930 for example, prompted commentators to discuss the democratization of golf. Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 135.

4. THIRD AGE

Third Age Subjectivity

The phenomenon of the Third Age – or what has been referred to as the Young-Old – occurs at the intersection of the two tendencies described above: the demographic ageing of the population, and the emerging socio-economic dominance of retirement.

Several years before social historian Peter Laslett would develop his work on the Third Age, the more-or-less equivalent term, the ‘Young-Old,’ was coined by American gerontologist Bernice Neugarten in her 1974 article “Age Groups in American Society and the Rise of the Young-Old.”¹²⁴ The term ‘Young-Old’ is contextualized by Neugarten with other discernible periods in the life cycle which emerged at particular historical moments, such as: ‘childhood,’ which appeared with industrialisation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and ‘youth’ and ‘middle-age,’ which were both developed in the 1950s and 1960s. According to Neugarten:

“We are presently undergoing still another changing perception of the life cycle and still another meaningful division is appearing: namely, a division between the Young-Old and the Old-Old. Although chronological age is not a satisfactory marker, it is nevertheless an indispensable one. At the risk of over simplification, the Young-Old come from the group composed of those who are approximately 55 to 75 – as distinguished from the Old-Old who are 75 and over.”¹²⁵

Although Neugarten describes an overlap between the self-perceptions of the middle-aged and the Young-Old, she distinguishes the Young-Old from the middle-aged according to an arbitrary, yet meaningful, life event: retirement. The Young-Old are those who have retired, just as the middle-aged are distinct from adults as their children have left home. Neugarten intends, through the introduction of the terms ‘Young-Old’ and ‘Old-Old’, to acknowledge a broad and varied set of predicaments amongst the aged that is intended to challenge the uncritical adoption of a set of stereotypes of “older persons as sick, poor, enfeebled, isolated.”¹²⁶

Neugarten’s portrait of the Young-Old describes individuals who possess attributes including: spare time and the possibility to contribute to their community in social and political terms; relatively good health status; a higher level of education than those previously in their age

¹²⁴ Neugarten, “Age Groups in American Society.”

¹²⁵ Neugarten, “Age Groups in American Society,” 37.

¹²⁶ Neugarten, “Age Groups in American Society,” 37-38.

group; and high purchasing power. These qualities define a different type of person from traditional images of old age that characterised them as alienated and derelict cast-offs. The transformation of the role of this age group in society involves both a departure from the older person as 'repository of wisdom' and away from the role of economic producer or worker. For Neugarten, the Young-Old have "become the user[s] of leisure time. In that new role the Young-Old may be regarded as the first age group to reach the society of the future."¹²⁷

Neugarten's work on the Young-Old in the mid 1970s, is acknowledged by British social historian Peter Laslett in the late 1980s as one of the key influences in the development of his concept of the Third Age, described first in his essay "The Emergence of the Third Age"¹²⁸ in 1987 and published more extensively in *A Fresh Map of Life*.¹²⁹ For Laslett, the term Third Age is an outcome of a shift in the developed world most marked in the middle of the twentieth century, as the three traditional life phases – childhood, adulthood and old-age – are supplanted by a four-phase schema in which old-age is partitioned between the Young-Old (the Third Age) and the Old-Old (the Fourth Age.)

"The quadripartite division can be justified as follows. First comes an era of dependence, socialization, immaturity and education; second an era of independence, maturity and responsibility, of earning and of saving; third an era of personal fulfilment; and fourth an era of final dependence, decrepitude and death."¹³⁰

Just as is the case with Neugarten's work, *The Fresh Map of Life* addresses the challenge of correcting misclassifications of the aged, in particular the categorizing of the entire retired population according to an ailing minority.¹³¹ This aligns to what Laslett describes as "mistaking the Fourth Age for the Third, or taking the Fourth Age as properly descriptive of all those no longer living in the Second Age."¹³²

¹²⁷ Neugarten, "Age Groups in American Society," 45-46.

¹²⁸ Peter Laslett, "The Emergence of the Third Age," *Ageing and Society* 6, no. 2 (1987).

¹²⁹ Peter Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life: The Emergence of the Third Age* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989)

¹³⁰ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 4. These phases, according to Laslett, correspond more to life activities and events than to particular birthdays. It may be possible for example to move directly from the first age to the third, or from the second to the fourth. According to the sociologist Andrew Blaikie, there is a somewhat tragic form of irony implicit in this reconfiguration of life phases, "while the Third Age suggests an emancipatory view of retirement as adult life without the responsibilities of career or children, this has been achieved only by a[sic] socially suppressing the darker side of retirement as death's ante-chamber." Andrew Blaikie. *Ageing and Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 77.

¹³¹ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 152. "...the coming of the Third Age from the individual point of view is a personal, not a public occurrence: it has little to do with calendar age, social age or even biological age, and above all it is a matter of choice. All this, so the theory claims, is true in spite of the fact that for most people in the Third Age it is only possible in retirement, and that the time and conditions of retirement cannot usually be chosen by the person who retires."

¹³² Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 3. The scale of this misrepresentation is emphasized by the statistic of only 3 to 4% of Britains over the age of 65 being institutionalized. p.18. The term 'Third Age' is French in origin, coming from *Les Universités du Troisième Age* from the 1970s. Laslett also acknowledges the work of Bernice Neugarten in introducing the concept of the 'Young Old' in "Age Groups in American society and the Rise of the Young-Old." first published in 1974.

There are however many other schemas that offer different levels of detail in defining specific life events, a most well-known example being William Shakespeare's seven ages of man.¹³³

A more contemporary schema defines a nine-part life-phase incorporating: childhood, adolescence, youth (post-adolescence), middle adulthood, late adulthood, middle-age (empty nest phase), young-old, fragile old, old-old (advanced elderly).¹³⁴ Swiss sociologist François Höpflinger, for example, follows this schema in describing four-phases in the second half of life, a structure most notable for the introduction of a phase of transition between the Young-Old and the Old-Old characterized by fragility. This schema incorporates: late adulthood (middle age), healthy retirement (young old), advanced age with increased fragility, and old-age requiring assistance and the end of life (old-old).¹³⁵ The four-part life-phase schemas proposed by Neugarten and Laslett are focused upon here as they represent the canonical texts that clearly articulate the emergence of at least two types of elderly, beyond the traditional singular view

Laslett's argument for the emergence of the four-phase life schema is supported by English demographic records spanning back to 1540 that present a radical and profound shift in age composition and life expectancy that took place beginning in the end of the nineteenth century, reaching a critical point in the 1950s.¹³⁶ "The lives of American and British persons now last not far short of twice as long as the lives of their predecessors did in 1900, and at all times previous to that.... The numbers of those who are past their sixty-fifth birthday, moreover have risen some three times in both countries during the same period."¹³⁷

For Laslett this "astonishing" demographic transformation necessitates a radical revision of the map of human experience according to a new epoch beginning in the 1950s, when the countries of the developed world arrived at a demographic situation unprecedented in human history. This change is attributed to several factors. Firstly, an unprecedented contemporary distribution of mortality. This is most clearly illustrated in the tendency toward a rectangular survival curve, which presents a concentration of deaths in older years, suggesting both an extended Third Age, and an abbreviated Fourth. Secondly, a massive abrupt change that

¹³³ From Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, the seven ages of man may be summarized as: infant, schoolboy, lover, soldier, justice, pantaloon, and second childhood, "sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything" (Act II, Scene VII, lines 139-166).

¹³⁴ See for example: Andreas Huber, "The Housing Market in the Tension between Demography and Phases of Life" in *New Approaches to Housing for the Second Half of Life*, ed. Andreas Huber (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2008), 54-55. Huber describes seven phases beginning with postadolescence, to which childhood and adolescence are added.

¹³⁵ François Höpflinger, "The Second Half of Life: A Period of Life in Transition" in *New Approaches to Housing for the Second Half of Life*, ed. Andreas Huber (Basel: Birkhäuser 2008), 32-33.

¹³⁶ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, ix, xi. While *The Fresh Map of Life* addresses ageing in England in particular, "...it is repeatedly insisted throughout the text that its contents would apply... to all now elderly countries in Europe, North America, Africa and Australasia. One of the positions laid down is that the response of these countries, along with Japan, to the drastic ageing of their populations must affect what the rest of the world will finally do. For all of the nations seem destined to age in the same way, and some are already on the road. The emergence of the Third Age will occur sooner or later everywhere. In this sense it is a global readership that is being addressed, and its propositions are intended to be as general as is possible considering how widely societies and cultures differ from each other."

¹³⁷ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, vii.

took place between the 1890s and 1980s in human life expectancy. This period is characterized by what Laslett refers to as the *secular shift in ageing* – an irreversible and long-term transformation caused by improved: social arrangements, nutrition, living standards, and healthcare, including advances in medical technology.¹³⁸ For Laslett, this transformation represents a change “...so fundamental that it can indeed be conveyed only in geological metaphors, using the tens of thousands of years which mark the shortest intervals on the geological time-scale, and transferring the sense of fundamental, physical structure conveyed by the notion of landscape to the architectonics of society.”¹³⁹

Placing the secular shift within a context of biological time suggests an even more radical transformation, when one considers the more or less doubling of human life span over a one hundred year period within the history of a species that extends over two hundred thousand years.

Laslett points out three key features of this demographic shift that are central to his thesis. Firstly, the impact on one single generation who saw this shift taking place within their lifetime; secondly, the inevitable consequence of this shift challenging traditional conceptions of age and ageing in a very short period of time; and thirdly, as a result of the first two, the historical development of the Third Age as a ‘new social entity.’ The key implication of the last feature that requires emphasis is a lack of role models to those in the Third Age:

“The critical point for the issue of social adaptation is that at no period of their lifetimes did [Third Agers] have what sociologists call a *role model*. The experience, outlook and assumptions of those older than themselves, of their grandparents in the 1920s and 1930s, of their parents in the 1940s and 1940s, were entirely inappropriate as a guide to what things would be like for them in turn.

...few such built-in social mechanisms exist, or yet exist. They have neither models to copy, precedents to take note of, conventions to be guided by nor experience to consult, either personal or social experience.”¹⁴⁰

The establishment of these norms or models through continuity and stability is further challenged by the rapid turnover rate of those in the Third Age. Laslett offers the example of a two-thirds turnover rate in the over-sixty-five age group in the United States over a ten-year period, representing a rate of change so great “...as to make it impossible to create new

¹³⁸ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 65. It is important to note here that Laslett anticipates the end, “for at least a generation or so” of the acceleration of ageing at the end of the twentieth century. This is challenged by more recent demographic projections that in general anticipate the continuation of considerable increases in human life expectancy as well as the percentage of populations over 60 or 65 years of age.

¹³⁹ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 67.

¹⁴⁰ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 71-73. Laslett continues on page 73: “...the incapacity of girls in their teens to imagine what it will be like in so short a period as a dozen years hence does not mean that when they do come to be mothers they will act as if they do not know where they are or what to do. This is because a great assemblage of social models, norms and practices, tried remedies, supportive institutions and deeply marked attitudes are there to support them.”

models of behaviour for elderly persons and establish them in practice.”¹⁴¹ This issue of newness, and the lack of role models are key aspects in this dissertation. Lack, in this context, extends beyond the lack of role models for the individual subject, to the lack of existing models for social collectivity in the Third Age, and most importantly to a lack of formats and protocols for architectural and urban environments.

For Laslett, the Third Age may be understood not only as an attribute of an individual but also as an attribute of a population as a whole.¹⁴² *The Fresh Map of Life* attempts to establish the chronological moment in which various nations arrive at the collective circumstances of the Third Age – the moment in which the majority of the population can expect to enjoy life *beyond* the Second Age.¹⁴³ This is quantified according to three different measures.

The first measure establishing the arrival of the Third Age is what Laslett calls the Third Age Indicator (3AI) – the proportion of those, who upon reaching their 25th birthday can expect to live to reach their 70th birthday. The moment at which this reaches fifty percent marks the moment of the Third Age emerging. In Britain, for example, this occurred at the very beginning of the 1950s.¹⁴⁴ The second measure requires a minimum of ten percent of a national population to be sixty-five years of age or over. Intended to ensure that the Third Age plays a substantial enough role in society, this occurred in most developed countries during the 1930s and 1940s.¹⁴⁵ The third measure in establishing the arrival at the Third Age involves national wealth, which according to Laslett must be relatively widely distributed and sufficient to support the basic needs of citizens, along with the necessary arrangements being in place to allow this to be possible. The arbitrary standard of a minimum gross national product of \$7,000 [in 1988 figures] per head represents a level of wealth at which “...it should be possible to provide for fairly comfortable living standards in the Third Age for a critical mass of persons.”¹⁴⁶ Laslett does offer a relevant caveat to this form of measurement, particularly during the early historical years of the Third Age.

“Few, or very few, of the large number of British wives, widows and spinsters who since the 1950s have lived long enough after twenty-five to satisfy the requirements laid down for the Third Age have been in a position to live a Third Age as it is conceived in this book. Leisure,

¹⁴¹ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 72.

¹⁴² Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 78. “Although we need not, indeed should not, reckon our own Third Age experience by our birthdays, in practice we have to accept that it only becomes a possibility for most people after the end of the Second Age, at retirement. Age at retirement, then, is of crucial importance to the length of life a person can hope to spend in the Third Age. Some people can choose when to finish working – to leave the Second Age in fact. But for most, the age of retirement is fixed for practical purposes, fixed by others – by Government or employers.”

¹⁴³ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 78.

¹⁴⁴ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 86.

¹⁴⁵ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 85.

¹⁴⁶ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 91-92.

independence and education (this is especially so in Britain), have been and still are lacking as well as money, and this is for most men as well. It could well be said that the principles and ideas of Third Age living are a mockery for the poorer old, who have been and lamentably still are, so large a proportion of those in retirement.”

Such a statement raises the important issue of economic access to the Third Age. While individuals experience the period after the Second Age with varying levels of wealth and resources, and therefore different levels of independence and access to activities, Laslett's concept of the Third Age is argued in the context of a broad shift on a mass scale in which “Time, or leisure rather – and a means to use it – has ceased to be the monopoly of an élite made up of hundreds, thousands, or at most in tens of thousands of persons. It is becoming a commodity of millions of our citizens, our elderly citizens, those in the Third Age.”¹⁴⁷

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the three broad measurement techniques described above determine that the nations experiencing the Third Age are those of the so-called ‘more developed’ nations: these include the regions and nations of Western Europe, Scandinavia, the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.¹⁴⁸

While two-thirds of the content in *A Fresh Map of Life* is dedicated to describing the Third Age as a mode of subjectivity, as a demographic attribute, and in outlining its historical background, the last third is focused upon addressing its implications, in particular, addressing how “...to use this sudden, unprecedented, unanticipated release from mortality?”¹⁴⁹ This final component operates to a large extent as a manifesto on the potential of the Third Age, a manifesto offered in the face of a lack of existing models.¹⁵⁰ Laslett argues for a negotiation between the two general theories of ageing: activity, and disengagement. He proposes a model on the one hand favouring activity over idleness, one that involves engagement in educational, cultural and other pursuits. On the other hand, he argues for the important social purpose that disengagement plays in allowing for ‘replacement and renewal’ in society; and supporting expanded opportunity for the previous generations.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 202. It is necessary to note that the term ‘leisure’ does not only encompass activities normally associated with retirement lifestyle marketing such as golf or tennis – which often involve considerable expense – but the general use of time not allocated to work. In this context, ‘leisure’ does not necessarily imply the consumption of products, and therefore expenditure, although this has developed as the way retirement has been sold.

¹⁴⁸ At the same time as suggesting this measuring system, Laslett questions its universality based for example on the sheer scale of populations over the age of sixty-five in the Soviet Union and China; and if one considers that there are minority populations of Third Age elites in many other countries not satisfying the three measures Laslett proposes.

¹⁴⁹ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 1.

¹⁵⁰ It is important to note that Laslett's theory of the Third Age has received criticism for being voluntaristic and normative, and for its presentation of elitist, English middle-class views, along with methodological shortcomings such as a lack of connection to existing theories of ageing and a lack of empirical data. See for example: Mike Bury, “Ageing, Gender and Sociological Theory,” In *Connecting Gender and Ageing. A Sociological Approach* in ed. Sara Arber, and Jay Ginn (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1995).

¹⁵¹ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 156-157. These broader issues will be picked up in more detail in the concluding chapter.

The work of Neugarten and Laslett described above forms a general theory of the Young-Old or Third Age as a form of subjectivity. This subject is characterized as a healthy retiree between the ages of approximately 55 and 75, who is likely to be either married, or widowed. As a form of subjectivity largely without precedent prior to the middle of the twentieth century, by the early twenty-first century it would constitute between 15% and 30% of the population in nations of the more developed world. While it is not possible to define the individual subject of the Third Age as a generic type, he or she tends toward categorization as an active leisure subject, no longer tied to the conventional responsibilities of adulthood. A subject defined not by his or her position within productive labour, but by his or her consumption of leisure. This suggests a model distinct from previous forms of leisure subjectivity: differing for example from that of American writer Thorstein Veblen's privileged and moneyed leisure class at the end of the nineteenth century in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*¹⁵²; and distinct from the American anthropologist Dean MacCannell's mass tourist of the late twentieth century in *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*.¹⁵³ The constitution of the Third Age as a third type of leisure class diverges from Veblen's model in that it is a mass phenomenon in the developed world rather than representing a lifestyle accessible only to a moneyed elite. It differs from MacCannell's model of the tourist according to a different temporal condition: the tourist experiences leisure on a short-term temporary basis, whereas the Third Age is characterized by the experience of leisure on a permanent basis (or at least as long as reasonable health is maintained.)

An additional model of subjectivity with which to compare the Third Age would be the subject of American sociologist William Whyte's 1956 publication *The Organization Man*.¹⁵⁴ Whyte describes the culture of conformity aligned to the dominant mode of subjectivity at the time, the male employee of the large-scale corporate entity, living in the United States' rapidly expanding suburbia. While *organization man* is predominantly constructed around the productive work of the Second Age, the subjectivity of the Third Age is clearly distinct in that it is constructed around leisure – a primarily consumptive activity. While this stark contrast exists, it is likely that several aspects of the particular cohort that define *organization man* have been retained upon reaching retirement, particularly as cohorts arriving at the Third Age are formed to a large extent by the experiences of their late First and early Second Ages. Based on Whyte's description, this would suggest that the cohort described in *The Organization Man* – born during the 1920s and the early 1930s and arriving at retirement in the 1980s and 1990s – is likely to be more conformist than the children of *organization man*, the 'baby boomers' reaching the Third Age in the early part of the twenty-first century.

¹⁵² Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Macmillan, 1899).

¹⁵³ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976).

¹⁵⁴ William Whyte, *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956).

The theme of cohorts is addressed by Swiss sociologist François Höpflinger in his summary of the three main transformations in the dynamics of the second half of life. In addition to demographic ageing, he describes the importance of cohort-effects resulting from “new generations with different life histories grow[ing] old,” Lastly, related to generational change and cohort effects, Höpflinger describes the development of “new models for and forms of aging.”¹⁵⁵

Concerning cohort-related transformation, Höpflinger points out the tendency towards the “ageing of socially and culturally mobile generations.” Differences are presented between cohorts approximately twenty years apart, this time within a Swiss and European context. The ‘baby boom generation’ born in the 1950s for example, is characterized as distinct from the ‘swing generation’ born in the 1930s in several aspects. In general, the baby boomers encountered a less difficult childhood, and culturally, their youth and young-adulthood was shaped by globalised youth-culture and the “rapid dissolution of traditional cultural values regarding sexuality, marriage, founding a family and divorce.” In general, the baby boomers benefited from higher levels of education and therefore have been more equipped to react to rapid social and technological change. Höpflinger argues that these factors contribute to the arrival at retirement age of the more recent generation, in a state more active, innovative and open to learning, compared to a generation before. This also suggests that later generations, after the baby boomers, are likely to grow older differently again.¹⁵⁶

Linked to these transformations is the emergence of new models and forms of ageing that are, according to Höpflinger, increasingly “individual, pluralistic, and dynamic. [...] Examples of this include increasing divorce rates for longstanding couples, rising numbers of career changes after forty-five, greater geographical mobility of those fifty and over (old-age migration), and pluralistic approaches to life after retirement.”¹⁵⁷ Tied to this transformation is what Höpflinger describes as the diminishing distinction between youth-associated behaviour and the behaviour of the old, in areas such as the use of technologies, communication, mobility, fashion and consumption.

These transformations described above align closely to the broad societal process of individualisation described by German sociologists Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-

¹⁵⁵ Höpflinger, “The Second Half of Life,” 31.

¹⁵⁶ Höpflinger, “The Second Half of Life,” 33-34.

¹⁵⁷ Höpflinger, “The Second Half of Life,” 36.

Gernsheim.¹⁵⁸ For the Becks individualisation is defined in terms of the social transformations taking place in the developed world in recent decades in which traditional dominant social institutions – the family, the household, class and neighbourhood – have become increasingly subordinated to individual choice and freedom, supporting a more differentiated and pluralistic society. In the case of the Third Age, the liberation of the individual from these structures is exaggerated by the fact that there were no clear role models or pre-existing institutional structures addressing the Third Age in the first place. Some of the only clues would exist in the ‘zombie categories’ – to use Beck’s term – those that still live on, but as dead terms such as the extended family, or the integrated and tightly-knit neighbourhood.¹⁵⁹ This brings us to the theme of social collectivity in the Third Age.

Third Age Social Collectivity

The emergence of the Third Age as a new form of subjectivity is linked closely to the transformation of forms of social collectivity in life’s later years. These transformations occur in social networks and social interaction as well as household family units, in turn, affecting, and being affected by, the modes of urbanity of the Third Age.

In the transition from the Second Age to the Third age – from a life of work to one of retirement – social interactions and social networks outside of the family household unit tend to shift from predominantly work-focused to leisure-centred interactions. For many this represents a radical break that causes considerable psychological disturbance. One of the more extreme examples embodying this is the Japanese social disorder ‘autumn leaves syndrome.’ The term refers to the considerable trauma suffered by recently retired Japanese company-men whose identity and social networks have been constructed largely around work relations. Such a trauma translates on a societal level into a marked increase in divorce rates for retired couples, and tragically, a considerable rise in suicide rates amongst men who have recently retired.¹⁶⁰

The transition from work to retirement coincides with an important shift from compulsory to voluntary activities. According to Laslett, this represents a key opportunity of the Third Age. “The diminution of compulsion in social and individual life may yet free those in the years of personal achievement to create forms of social collaboration previously unknown.”¹⁶¹ Existing forms of this type of collaboration include the peer- and interest-based modes of

¹⁵⁸ See: Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim, *Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism and its Social and Political Consequences* (London: Sage, 2002).

¹⁵⁹ Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, *Individualization*, 203-204.

¹⁶⁰ Florian Coulmas, “Nasses Herbstlaub. Die Langeweile der Japanischen Männer,” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, February 23, 2005.

¹⁶¹ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 157-158.

association that situate the club, volunteer association, course, or hobby class at the core of the collective social sphere of interaction – defining collective structures often less hierarchical than those associated with work environments. Höpflinger describes the field of collective pursuits for the Third Age in terms of an evolving expansion: “Social activities that were previously considered the preserve of young adults – sports, sexuality, education, etc. – are increasingly defined as central prerequisites of growing old successfully.”¹⁶² Examples of such activities and interactions, and urban and architectural environments to support them, will be presented in more detail within the case study chapters.

In line with the transition toward the dominance of the institution of retirement and the emergence of the Third Age as a demographic period is the well-documented historical transition beginning in the late nineteenth century in the dominant type of family household unit for those sixty-five years of age and over. Within the developed world in particular, this transformation may be framed as a shift in the sixty-five and over age-group away from multi-generational households – whether extended-family and stem-family – toward smaller single-generational household units consisting of either married couples or individuals living alone.¹⁶³ In the United States, the percentage of non-institutionalized men aged sixty-five and older *not* living in extended families rose relatively consistently from 27% in 1880 to 79% in 1990.¹⁶⁴ (fig. A.4.1) This tendency is not unique to the United States, but common throughout the developed world. In eighteenth-century England around 40% of married males aged 65 and over lived only with their spouse – a figure that had increased to just over 80% by the beginning of the 1980s.¹⁶⁵ In Switzerland, 28 percent of those 65 years or older lived in a household of three or more in 1970, a figure that had dropped to 5% in 2008.¹⁶⁶ Japan, with a far stronger social tradition of the extended-family – particularly when compared to the other developed nations – experienced a considerable decline in the proportion of retirees

¹⁶² Höpflinger, “The Second Half of Life,” 36.

¹⁶³ There is some controversy over the mythologization of the multi-generational family as the traditional household unit for the elderly – particularly in the Anglo-American context. Laslett argues that the historical role of the stem-family in England, and in Europe has been exaggerated, and attempts to dispel what he refers to as the myth or misbelief “...that in the past all older people lived in families, mostly their own families, but if not then, in families of their relatives, usually the families of their married children.” Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 111. According to American social historian Tamara Hareven “...in the American colonies and in pre-industrial Europe, there never was an era when coresidence of three generations in the same household was the dominant familial arrangement. The ‘great extended families’ that became part of the folklore of modern society rarely existed. As in the present, families in the past tended to reside in nuclear units. [...] The older generation resided in a separate household from their children but resided nearby.” Tamara Hareven, “Historical Perspectives on the Family and Aging” in *Aging and the Family: Theory and Research* in ed. Rosemary Blieszner and Victoria Hilkevitch Bedford (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 16.

¹⁶⁴ Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 108.

¹⁶⁵ Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life*, 111.

¹⁶⁶ Höpflinger, for example, in the Swiss context, describes the tendency of increases in the percentage of single-person elderly households and two-person elderly households, while the percentage of three or more person multi-generational households is declining. Höpflinger, “The Second Half of Life,” 37-39.

living in multigenerational households, alongside a large increase of elderly couples and individuals living alone.¹⁶⁷ (fig. A.4.2)

While the multi-generation and single-generation family types described above represent non-institutionalized living arrangements, it is necessary to briefly touch upon institutionalized living arrangements, particularly as they are most commonly linked to old-age. Perhaps contrary to this popular perception of old-age, the proportion of those institutionalized has been, and continues to be relatively low. In the US for example, the percentage has risen slowly from between 1 and 2% in 1880 to around 5 % in 1990. (fig. A.4.3) In Japan, less than 5% of the elderly were institutionalized in 1995.¹⁶⁸ In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century these institutions were predominantly union- or church-run and funded old-age homes, and have been replaced in more recent times by institutional and semi-institutional living arrangements classified according to a range of terms: Nursing Homes/Long Term Care; Assisted Living Residences; Dementia/Alzheimer's Care Centres; Independent/Residential Living Apartments/Congregate Housing; or Continuing Care Retirement Community (CCRC).¹⁶⁹ As they are predominantly directed toward the needs of the period of transition between the Third and Fourth Age, or exclusively of the Fourth Age itself, these types of institutionalized living arrangements will not be addressed in further detail.

Such a broad transformation, from multi-generation to single-generation households as the dominant living arrangement for the aged, has been attributed to a series of factors.

Canadian social scientists Andrew Wister and Thomas Burch summarize four general theories of causation:

"...(1) the economist's hypothesis that rising real income reached a threshold whereupon older individuals could finally express latent but unchanging tastes for independent living; (2) the demographic hypothesis that kin availability has declined due to sustained low fertility; (3) the hypothesis that increases in the supply of affordable and manageable single-person dwellings has provided the opportunity for separate living among the elderly; and (4) the cultural and normative hypothesis, that changing values have transformed traditional family norms and attitudes."¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ In the developing world the extended-family and stem-family structure remains the dominant model through economic necessity, and the maintaining traditional social models. See Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*.

¹⁶⁸ U.S. Census Bureau *An Aging World: 2001* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), 68.

¹⁶⁹ For a more detailed description see: Bradford Perkins and J. David Hoglund, *Building Type Basics for Senior Living* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley and Sons, 2004), 3.

¹⁷⁰ Andrew Wister and Thomas Burch, "Attitudes of the Elderly, Towards Living Arrangements: Conceptual and Methodological Issues" in *The Retirement Community Movement: Contemporary Issues*, ed. Leon Pastalan (Binghamton, NY: The Hawort Press, 1989), 6.

The last of these hypotheses has generated considerable discussion over whether these changing values and kin relations have involuntarily forced the elderly out of the three generational family, or whether the elderly have voluntarily chosen to live apart from the larger family based on a prioritization of "...privacy and independence or what may generally be terms 'individualism.'" ¹⁷¹ Through their own research and that of others, Wilster and Burch show the dominance of voluntary choice in the decision of elderly to live apart from the other generations and note the importance of the varying preferences of different cohorts that have different propensities to voluntary individualisation. ¹⁷² Period effects during the formative early adult years of cohorts such as the depression, or World Wars are attributed to "...the formation of self-reliance among today's elderly [compared to those of previous generations.]" ¹⁷³ The importance of the voluntary aspect of the hypothesis requires emphasis, particularly in the context of arguments against specific forms of urbanism for the Third Age – on the part of Mumford or Mead for example – which are based upon the assumption that the elderly have been involuntarily ejected from the three-generation family household, and from society in general.

The economic hypothesis Wilster and Burch refer to may be expanded upon with reference to the more recent work of Costa and Graebner. Costa, in particular, attributes the increased independence of household family units for those over 65 years of age to the real increase in income that took place throughout the twentieth century. This made the extended-family and stem-family household unit no longer a result of economic necessity for a large proportion of the population. ¹⁷⁴ "Although retirees in the past would have preferred to lead lives independent of those of their children, they simply could not have afforded to do so." ¹⁷⁵ In addition to general income levels rising, the introduction of the pension has, to a large extent, been attributed to the increase in retirees living alone or as a couple. According to Eleanor Roosevelt, in her presentation supporting the Social Security Act to the Chamber of Commerce in January 1934, American society "owes to its old people their own home life as long as they possibly can live at home. Old people love their own things even more than young people do. It means so much to sit in the same chair you sat in for a great many years; to see the same picture that you always looked at... .And that is what an old age security bill will do." ¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ Wilster and Burch, "Attitudes of the Elderly," 6.

¹⁷² Wilster and Burch, "Attitudes of the Elderly," 8.

¹⁷³ Wilster and Burch, "Attitudes of the Elderly," 15. Such a theory of voluntary individualization is supported by the work of Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim who define the process of individualization as one of the dominant tendencies in contemporary society. See: Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, *Individualization*.

¹⁷⁴ Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 106-132.

¹⁷⁵ Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 130.

¹⁷⁶ Copy of Address, delivered Washington D.C., 5 January 1934, Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, box 3027; cited in Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 200-201.

In the United States, the Social Security Act of 1935 would, for many, mark the official shift in responsibility from the family (and charitable institutions), to the welfare state. But, according to sociologists and social historians, in the lead up to the approval of the legislation, the diminishing role of the family was already in an advanced state. According to Graebner:

“The concept of the “welfare state” as an organizing device has also helped obfuscate the relationship between social security, the family, and the state. At issue is the oft-repeated idea, reflected in the historical interpretations..., that old-age security involved the assumption, by the state, of functions previously delegated to or carried out by other institutions. The theoretical basis for this view was well established by 1919, when Arthur W. Calhoun published his three-volume study, *A Social History of the American Family*. Calhoun described the increasing dissolution and disorganization of the family under the impact of population dispersion, commercial development, and most important, “the movement of political democracy which made the individual the social unit. [...] The reduction of family functions,” he claimed, “has been due in large measure to the transfer of prerogatives to more inclusive social institutions,” including school, shop, church and state.”¹⁷⁷

A further factor to consider in the decline of the multigenerational family – particularly based on the geographical scale of the United States – has been the mobility requirements of the modern industrial workforce. The American sociologist Abraham Epstein wrote in 1922: “the conditions of impotence in old age are augmented still further by the break-up of the family unit in modern society. With increasing rapidity home ties and family solidarity are being weakened and broken by the mobility so essential to modern industrial development.”¹⁷⁸

The general decline of the multi-generational family household unit – based on the range of causes touched on above – would lead to the domination of ‘intimacy at a distance’ as the model for cross-generational relations for the Third Age. A model in which the elderly live independently but maintain close and regular contact with children and grandchildren. Höflinger writes the following:

“The dominant principle for relations between generations of a family is the model of *multilocal, multigenerational families* – that is to say, separate households but good relations between generations, based on the idea of *intimacy at a distance*. There are good and close relationships between generations because each generation enjoys its own private sphere.”¹⁷⁹

At the same time, advances in outpatient care, incorporating healthcare and additional services brought to the home have enabled the elderly to live independently in their own

¹⁷⁷ Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 199.

¹⁷⁸ Abraham Epstein, *Facing Old Age Dependency in the United States and Old Age Pensions* (New York: Knopf 1922). An obvious but necessary point to add is the fact that increases in life expectancy, and the corresponding extension of the Third Age, and the period of good health it implies, has further enabled social independence for the elderly from the extended family.

¹⁷⁹ Höflinger, “The Second Half of Life,” 38-39.

homes for longer periods of time than previously.¹⁸⁰ This tendency has been described as 'Ageing in Place.' Credited with providing continuity and the spatial and social integration of the elderly, it represents the dominant housing situation for the single-generational housing unit of the Third Age. It describes the concept of the elderly continuing to reside in the family home in the Third Age, but also, in many cases, well into the Fourth.

American geographers Graham D. Rowles and Hege Ravdal have linked the importance of 'Ageing in Place' to "societal recognition of the role of ownership and attachment to place, and to the presumed need for the familiar, as adaptive features of aging."¹⁸¹ Together with statistics that present the dominant desire of retirees to stay in their same home in the same place, Rowles and Ravdal argue for the importance of place in lifelong biographies – "...places that provide a spatial structure, a geographical context, around which life experience can be organized."¹⁸²

While *Ageing in Place* has been presented as both the default and the ideal housing option for those in the Third Age by a number of institutions and organizations, it does suggest a range of challenges.¹⁸³ The first of these challenges involves the potential to over-romanticise the concept of place attachment, particularly in the context of the diminishing centrality of 'place' within contemporary society.¹⁸⁴ The increased level of mobility implied by the statistic that the average American moves his or her household 11.7 times in a lifetime,¹⁸⁵ defines a far more mobile subject than that defined 100 years previously.¹⁸⁶ Within this culture, home is less an absolute lifelong base, and increasingly a product tailored to specific lifestyle requirements. This is reinforced by a 2005 survey which indicates that individuals nearing retirement are highly mobile, and far more likely to select a home that addresses their immediate needs. In the 41-49 age-group for example, "59% indicate they will buy a new home for retirement, with 45% of those willing to do so out of state."¹⁸⁷ This type of move

¹⁸⁰ Höpflinger, "The Second Half of Life," 38-39.

¹⁸¹ Graham D. Rowles and Hege Ravdal, "Aging, Place, and Meaning in the Face of Changing Circumstances," in *Challenges of the Third Age: Meaning and Purpose in Later Life*, ed. Robert S. Weiss, and Scott A. Bass (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 90.

¹⁸² Rowles and Ravdal, "Aging, Place, and Meaning," 92.

¹⁸³ The AARP *Beyond 50.05* report for example promotes 'Ageing in Place' as the ideal housing model for the elderly. See: AARP, *Beyond 50.05 A Report to the Nation in Liveable Communities: Creating Environments for Successful Aging* (Washington D.C.: AARP, 2005). The majority of governmental and NGOs currently promote Ageing in Place as the optimal model for elderly living.

¹⁸⁴ Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells, for example, has written of the shift from the dominance of the space of places to the space of flows. See: Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society* (London: Blackwell, 1996).

¹⁸⁵ U.S. Census Bureau, *Population Profile of the United States: Geographical Mobility*, <http://www.census.gov/population/www/pop-profile/geomob.html> (accessed August 01, 2009). Approximately a third of those moves take place between counties or states.

¹⁸⁶ Höpflinger describes the increased housing mobility amongst the elderly with the example of the percentage of Swiss between the ages of 60 and 75 "who had changed their place of residence within the last five years rose from 8 to a good 20 or 21 percent between 1970s and 2007." Höpflinger, "The Second Half of Life," 39.

¹⁸⁷ In the Harris Interactive, *2005 Del Webb Baby Boomer Survey*. <http://library.corporate-ir.net/library/14/147/147717/items/191323/2005%20Baby%20Boomer%20Survey.pdf> (accessed July 21, 2008).

represents what Eugene Litwack and Charles F. Longino refer to as *amenity migration*, an event most likely to take place at the onset of retirement.¹⁸⁸

Market researchers Lynette M. Loomis, Patricia Sorce and Philip R. Tyler's 1989 study describes the primary push factors that drive retirees away from Ageing in Place in their existing homes and neighbourhoods, and the pull factors that draw them to retirement communities.¹⁸⁹ While push and pull factors vary based on individual backgrounds and circumstances, and according to different cohorts, they have attempted to establish a common set of causes. Many of which have been exploited by the American building industry in the promotion of retirement communities as a desirable alternative to Ageing in Place. Primary push factors include the inability to maintain one's own home, and the impression that one's housing and neighbourhood are inadequate. Additional push factors such as high living costs, adverse climate, insecurity and fear of crime, and the death of a spouse are likely to have further impact in rendering Ageing in Place less attractive.

As 'empty nesters,' Third Agers often find themselves in large family homes with more space than they require, with grounds that can require considerable upkeep. The inadequacy of existing homes and neighbourhoods has two predominant components, one concerning healthcare and services, the other, leisure amenities. Ageing in Place can, according to Loomis, Sorce and Tyler, translate into physical isolation from services, such as healthcare, which increase in importance in the transition from the Third Age to the Fourth, and become critical in the Fourth Age.¹⁹⁰ The distance and unavailability of leisure activities is a common challenge for retirees living in mixed-age suburban and exurban environments constructed predominantly around activities focused on the First and Second Ages. Because of this, it is not uncommon for retirees to find themselves socially and spatially isolated from others, and from other retirees, and from leisure opportunities with which to consume their time.

Pull factors include the perceived opportunity in retirement communities of "companionship, a monitoring system, safety, security and social activities," as well as affordability and the availability of healthcare services.¹⁹¹ To this list it is necessary to include the location of

¹⁸⁸ Eugene Litwack and Charles F. Longino, "Migration Patterns Among the Elderly: A Developmental Perspective," *Gerontologist* 27 (1987): 266-272.

¹⁸⁹ Lynette M. Loomis, Patricia Sorce and Philip R. Tyler, "A Lifestyle Analysis of Healthy Retirees and Their Interest in Moving to a Retirement Community," in *The Retirement Community Movement: Contemporary Issues*, ed. Leon Pastalan (Binghamton, NY: The Haworth Press 1989), 21-22.

¹⁹⁰ This challenge has been increasingly addressed by visiting services such as nursing, cleaning and meal deliveries brought to homes in countries such as Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and Japan. In Aarhus, Denmark, for example, a government funded mobile nursing network services. The Danish commune Aarhus consists of approximately forty local centers, each of which is responsible for the visiting homecare of local residents. The Frederiksbjerg Lokalcentre for example services a population of approximately 40,000 inhabitants, including around 4200 retirees, with a staff of 192 full time employees, most of whom are qualified nurses. many of those the service looks after would otherwise need to be in institutional care.

¹⁹¹ Loomis, Sorce and Tyler, "A Lifestyle Analysis of Healthy Retirees," 21-22.

friends and family members, and importantly, the relative favourability of climate and leisure amenities. The aggregate of these push and pull factors is summarized well by Neugarten:

“The needs of the Young-Old in housing, location and transportation will be increasingly affected by the decisions they make with regard to the use of leisure time. The large majority will be living independently, apart from children and other relatives. This fact, combined with the desire to find interesting things to do, will lead them to seek environments which maximize options for meaningful pursuits. The extent to which age-segregated communities will increase depends, presumably, upon the extent to which the Young-Old will be provided opportunities for meaningful community participation in their present locations.”¹⁹²

It is this last challenge in particular that the new urban formats for the Third Age would address in the years soon after the mid-point of the twentieth century.

¹⁹² Neugarten, “Age Groups in American Society,” 43.

5. THIRD AGE: URBANISM

Prehistory

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, retirement in the United States had been institutionalized for approximately twenty-five years, and the Third Age, as a historical moment had occurred. It was at this time that the United States appeared as the incubator of the largest, most consolidated and most visible of the early urban experiments addressing the Third Age.

It is possible to posit several reasons why these experiments first took place in the United States. One key aspect is the fact that other regions where the Third Age had emerged by that time, such as Western Europe and Japan, were still preoccupied with the urgent task of rebuilding existing cities severely damaged after World War II, and supplying enough basic housing for those who urgently needed it. The United States by contrast had emerged out of the war intact, without damage to cities, allowing wartime industrial production to be seamlessly converted to domestic consumer production at wars end. The United States saw an economic and suburban housing boom take place during this period, with considerable quantities of capital available to invest in large areas of inexpensive undeveloped land. A strong housing market also meant retirees were able to sell their original homes relatively easily.

The geographic scale of the United States supported a wide variety of climates and a range of living costs, allowing retirees to move to favourable climates and pay low living costs without moving outside of the borders of the country and risking the loss of pension entitlement. Also, as a result of the scale of the United States, combined with the processes of urbanisation and industrialisation, the 'traditional' place-centred multi-generational family had already been considerably dispersed, if it had actually existed before. In terms of the level of individualisation from the institution of the multi-generational family, retirees in the United States were also more likely to live in single-generational households than those in nations such as Japan or Italy.

Closely linked to the reasons described above was the emergence at this time of both a new consumer and a new supplier in the retirement housing market. The new consumer was entering the rapidly expanding demographic group described earlier in this introduction as the Third Age, one increasingly discerning and precise concerning their specific wants and needs. The new supplier would be the private developer producing projects of a scale and

sophistication beyond that of previous conventional housing tracts, involving the development of entire cities incorporating all necessary infrastructure and amenities.

This new consumer who appeared in this post-war period is best described by editor Leon A. Pastalan in his foreword to *Retirement Communities: An American Original* as:

“...an increasing proportion of Americans who are confronted by the empty-nest and compulsory retirement. Increasingly they are able, financially and otherwise, to enter the housing market for specialized housing commensurate with their needs, a trend which will ensure investment in retirement housing. To be sure, many and perhaps most people in this category will find housing other than in retirement communities. Nevertheless, there will be in the future as there are now, many elderly households demanding to have their very particular housing preferences satisfied by highly specialized packages of housing and services. These specialized packages will be directed toward meeting the elderly’s preferences for independence, self-determination, privacy, health maintenance, companionship with peers, security, and meaningful work-substitutes which have not been available to date in the typical community.”¹⁹³

The new supplier – distinct from the mostly charitable associations that were responsible for most of the pre-war communities – became increasingly aware of the expanding market for homes for retirees; increasingly capable of assessing these wants and needs through various techniques such as demographic, and market research; and increasingly skilled in effectively marketing, advertising, constructing and selling such lifestyle packages for the maximisation of profit. At the logistic level, American companies such as the Del E. Webb Corporation emerged out of World War II with the advantage of considerable experience in the planning and construction of large-scale urban projects. Within the context of a prospering American economy, these companies were able to exploit the availability of large tracts of inexpensive land, and a range of climatic zones from which to select them.

A considerable expansion in the conception of housing the old would see a shift from the provision of the institution of the retirement home for the traditional old (the frail, sick and dying), toward the selling of retirement communities as leisure lifestyle packages to the Young-Old. This would correspond to a shift in both provider and motive for provision from a charity, union or state-provided service, to a consumer product sold for profit.

As architects Michael Hunt, Leon Pastalan and others suggest in the 1984 *Retirement Communities: An American Original*, retirement communities in the United States were not an entirely recent phenomenon, but had a short stuttering start dating back to as early as the 1920s when:

¹⁹³ Michael Hunt et al, *Retirement Communities: An American Original* (New York: The Harworth Press 1984), xi.

“...various labor, fraternal and religious organizations acquired relatively inexpensive property in Florida with the intent of creating a supportive living environment for their retiring members, Moosehaven, for example, was established in 1922 by the Loyal (fraternal) Order of Moose as a means of caring for its retired members.... Other sponsored communities in Florida were created for benevolent purposes until a series of catastrophes, culminating with the stock market crash of 1929, brought their development to a standstill. The post-World War II period represented a new era of retirement community development, as private builders in Florida and in other parts of the U.S. recognized the potential for marketing homes to a growing population of older Americans.”¹⁹⁴

The typical retirement villages emerging in Florida in the early 1950s were relatively small planned communities of 500-1000 units marketed as ideal accommodations for retirees. According to Geneva Mathiason, Secretary of the US National Committee on the Aging, “In their simplest forms these are real estate developments containing small individual houses designed for sale, with a small down payment and monthly repayments within retirement income. Often, though not always, they are several miles from a town of any size.”¹⁹⁵ They were not age-segregated in legal terms, but rather ‘naturally occurring retirement communities.’ Amenities were limited, with some communities providing small grocery stores, laundromats, outdoor recreation areas and occasionally a communal building for hobbies or crafts.

Marking a considerable break from these early Floridian examples would be a set of experimental developments that would lay down the initial protocols for Third Age urbanism. Founded in 1954, Youngtown, Arizona, would become the first *age-segregated* retirement community. The design of Sun City, Arizona, founded in 1960, would involve the first systematic deployment of demographic-, and market-segmentation techniques in defining a consumer, and lifestyle product for the Third Age. This would lead to the delivery of an active lifestyle product at a new scale of demographic specialisation. Sun City would go on to become the first, and in the twentieth century, the largest age-segregated *active-retirement city*. Leisure World, California, founded in 1964, would become the first *gated age-segregated* retirement community, and later, it would become the first legally *incorporated* retirement city.

The preference for highly specialized ‘packages’ of housing and services, as Pastalan referred to them, would lead to the realization of a new retirement milieu in the 1960s, one defined as a privately developed, ‘age-qualified’ (age-segregated) community. This community would be located in a favourable climatic zone, where the cost of living might be

¹⁹⁴ Hunt et al, *Retirement Communities*, 1.

¹⁹⁵ Geneva Mathiason, “Some Current Attempts at Better Buildings for the Aged” *Architectural Record* 119 (May 1956): 198.

lower than average, allowing the possibility for longer survival, physiologically, psychologically and economically. These communities would integrate the existing model of the suburban or ex-urban housing tract with leisure amenities supporting activities such as golf, tennis and swimming – defining the preliminary set of protocols for commercial success for what would develop in the United States into a multi-billion dollar retirement community industry.¹⁹⁶ These were neither the visions of state sponsored development, nor of the charity organization caring for the old, but those of the private sector developed as products sold for the purposes of making profit. They were directed toward satisfying what was perceived as a need and in doing so avoided the responsibility of addressing the broad and problematic social issues that such approaches raised.

Although not successful at the scale of the later Sun City and Leisure World developments, developer Benjamin Schleifer's Youngtown in Arizona is acclaimed as the first *age-segregated* retirement community. Located on a 320 acre (129 ha) former cattle ranch approximately 20 miles (3.2km) from the centre of Phoenix, it was designated exclusively for those fifty years of age and over. In 1954, Schleifer named the community 'Youngtown' so it "would be associated with youth and ambition [...] to make elderly people not feel old"; and to allow them to live and age with "dignity, even if their sole income was social security."¹⁹⁷ It was posed as an alternative to what Schleifer perceived as the institutionalized regimentation and confinement associated with old person's nursing homes. This opinion was formed during a visit to a friend living in a cooperative home for the aged in New York, where it appeared, according to Schleifer, that residents were "sitting there with nothing to do, just waiting to die." In contrast, imagined was a community based on independence where the aged could "stay active, live their own lives and not lose their identity."¹⁹⁸ In broad terms, the development was conceived of as "a place where the elderly could engage in an unregimented, recreational lifestyle."¹⁹⁹ (fig. A.5.1 – A.5.2)

The growth of the community was slow, limited by a series of teething problems associated with financing and non-delivery of public amenities and infrastructure promised to residents.²⁰⁰ Schleifer presented mixed messages in terms of amenities. While early

¹⁹⁶ Emrath and Liu, "The Age-Qualified Active Adult Housing Market." In 2007, the annual sales of age-qualified active-adult communities was \$7.3 billion.

¹⁹⁷ Cited in Blechman, *Leisureville*, 28-29.

¹⁹⁸ Ben Schleifer interview with Dave Garroay on NBC Television's *Wide, Wide World*, November 9, 1957. Accessed in the Youngtown Arizona Historical Society Archives. Cited in Melanie I. Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town': The Marketing and Development of Sun City, Arizona" (masters thesis: Arizona State University, 1992).

¹⁹⁹ Melanie I. Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town': The Marketing and Development of Sun City, Arizona" (masters thesis: Arizona State University, 1992), 66. In the Sun City Historical Society Archive.

²⁰⁰ By the beginning of 1955 only two houses were occupied, as completed houses were without gas, sufficient electricity and paved access roads. In Schleifer's hope to keep costs to a minimum, several of the existing ranch buildings were retrofitted, including ranch hand housing becoming the town hall, and the milking station becoming the hobby shop. 125 homes were built in the first year, with 40 remaining unsold by the end of 1955. See: Blechman, *Leisureville*, 29.

advertising referred to amenities that would be incorporated into the development, such as medical facilities, transportation services and shops, by the late 1950s these were still not constructed. While most likely a product of cash flow problems, Schleifer argued that the status of construction was a function of Youngtown being a “deliberately planned incomplete community” in which “older persons needed to be able to create and direct their own futures.”²⁰¹ In the early years, the residents established their own clubs out of the community centre, located in the former Ranch home, including the Veterans of World War I organization, the Youngtown Social Club, the Woman’s Club, and the Tuesday Afternoon Club. Slow but steady growth led to a community of 209 homes by 1957.

Youngtown would arrive to national prominence on November 9th, 1957 on Dave Garroway’s “Wide, Wide World” on NBC evening television, which would reportedly produce 50,000 viewer inquiries.²⁰² The segment included interviews with Schleifer, and residents. They described the qualities of living in an environment without cold weather and children, in which they were all at least 50 years old, with much in common, engaging in a variety of activities that would consume every day of the week. The show led to a considerable acceleration in home sales. Two years later in 1959, Youngtown had grown to approximately 1,400 inhabitants, and by 1963 Youngtown’s population reached 1,700. By that time it boasted thirty-nine clubs:

“...rang[ing] from Mens’ and Womens’ bowling leagues to the Loafer’s and Loaferette’s Clubs. Most of the Mens’ activities appeared to be sports related – golf, shuffleboard, horseshoes and archery, for example – while the women were involved in card and social clubs. By this time residents had a Hobby Shop, Arts and Crafts Shop, and a Rock and Gems Shop. They also had four doctors’ offices, a chiropractor, a dentist, and banking, legal, and shopping facilities within the community boundaries.”²⁰³

For a range of reasons, Youngtown attracted mostly white mid-western retirees from the snow-belt. Most commonly cited reasons for moving included weather, followed by health and the desire for “an entirely new way of life spent with others their age,” a life conceived in terms of ‘active living’, rather than ‘death’s waiting room.’²⁰⁴

By coincidence, several staff members of the Del E. Webb Corporation watched the 1957 NBC segment on television. One reported later that “they wondered why they had not thought of it themselves.”²⁰⁵ This would mark the moment of germination for what would

²⁰¹ Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 62.

²⁰² Jane Freeman and Glenn Sanberg, *A History of Sun City, Arizona, 1960-1985* (Phoenix: Sun City Historical Society, 1984), 15.

²⁰³ Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 63.

²⁰⁴ Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 59.

²⁰⁵ Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 77.

come to be known as Sun City, Arizona, the world's largest single-site retirement community in the late twentieth century, and the blueprint for many retirement communities that would follow.

Originating in Phoenix, Arizona, and founded by Mr. Del Webb as a construction company in the early 1930s, the Del E. Webb Corporation expanded quickly to emerge after World War II as one of the largest building contractors and developers in the United States.²⁰⁶ One of the company's larger projects during the war was the construction of Japanese Internment Camps housing over 25,000 detainees, where the company would create "an entire city, with roads, utilities, and public buildings as well as houses."²⁰⁷ These projects would be presented later to investors and planners as relevant experience in constructing 'planned' communities.²⁰⁸ The company diversified its business with a considerable amount of urban development, work that included Pueblo Gardens, a 1500 acre (607 ha) development outside of Tuscon, Arizona, in 1948, and San Manuel, a large community incorporating homes, shopping complexes and parks for the Magma Copper Company in 1953.²⁰⁹

Soon after the airing of the NBC segment on Youngtown, the concept of building age-segregated retirement communities was presented to Del Webb himself. He was reportedly sceptical, despite the claim by some staff members that they were capable of doing a better job than Youngtown in many aspects. His concerns were based on the risk implicit in investing large sums of capital in developing communities that addressed less than twenty percent of the whole population.²¹⁰ At this time, the development of a product ignoring 80% of the population would require particularly careful consideration as it would go against the prevalent market-logic that defined the operations of business in the first half of the twentieth century – a logic defined by mass-produced standardized products for a mass market.

Only one year prior to the NBC segment on Youngtown, the American advertising theorist Wendell Smith had published the seminal article "Product Differentiation and Market Segmentation as Alternative Marketing Strategies."²¹¹ Smith would outline an alternate marketing scenario to the previously dominant approach of mass-marketing, which he argued, had been based on "bending demand to the will of supply." Smith outlined an

²⁰⁶ See: Margaret Finnerty, *Del Webb: A Man. A Company* (Phoenix: Heritage Publishers, 1991), 9-37. Some of their most well known projects included the Beverly Hills Hilton, the Union Oil Center in California, the U.S. Pavilion at the New York World's Fair, the Flamingo Hotel in Las Vegas; along with larger scale projects that included: military installations in Arizona and California such as Williams Air Force base, Fort Huachuca, and Luke Air Force Base.

²⁰⁷ Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town," 75-76.

²⁰⁸ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 31.

²⁰⁹ Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town," 75

²¹⁰ Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town," 77.

²¹¹ Wendell Smith, "Product Differentiation and Market Segmentation as Alternative Marketing Strategies," *Journal of Marketing* 21, No.1 (July 1956): 3-8.

alternate approach in which manufacturers – rather than trying to take a full layer of the mass-market cake through mass-marketed standardized products, would instead, through product differentiation, take a single, deeper slice of the market cake. This could be done by designing specific products that would satisfy the specific desires of a smaller number of similar consumers. In having their needs met so precisely, Smith argued, consumers would be willing to pay more. This would lead to the necessity to better define the consumer and to know better his or her needs. While not explicitly referred to in descriptions of the process of arriving at the concept of Sun City, it is possible that executives at the Del E. Webb Corporation were aware of Smith's market segmentation article, and perhaps it is also possible that it had influenced the decision to proceed with building a community of such a scale addressing only a limited segment of the national housing market.

The development of the retirement community concept at the Del E. Webb Corporation was directed by one of Webb's vice-presidents, Tom Breen, who had "been interested in the elderly as an economic force for several years and was convinced the project would be successful."²¹² Before arriving at their plan to develop what would come to be known as Sun City, a considerable amount of market research was carried out by the company. They first engaged experts such as Northwestern University sociologist Dr Robert Havighurst, author together with Eugene M. Friedmann in 1954 of *The Meaning of Work and Retirement*. This book would outline the conceptual framework for 'activity theory' in which organized leisure could provide a "satisfactory substitute" for the status, structure, and "extra-economic values" that work offered during adulthood.

Havighurst and Friedmann made a distinction between the propensity for generational cohorts to enjoy a post-retirement lifestyle of leisure. Those who grew up in the pre-1920 work-centred society, they argued, would find this adaptation considerably more difficult than those raised in the post-1920 period of economic abundance. Havighurst's verdict on Del E. Webb Corporation's proposal for a large-scale age-segregated community was resoundingly negative. "You may not know what you are doing... ..because separating older people from their families won't work."²¹³ While Del E. Webb Corporation's intentions were precisely directed toward the provision of organized leisure activities, Havighurst's rejection was most likely to be based on two reservations. Firstly, he may have rationalized the necessity for activity to take place within the proximity of multiple generations of family, just as other researchers at the time had. Secondly, as he and Friedmann had suggested in *The Meaning of Work and Retirement*, the work-centred pre-1920 cohort retiring in the late 1950s and

²¹² Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town," 77.

²¹³ Jane Freeman and Glenn Sanberg, *A History of Sun City, Arizona, 1960-1985* (Sun City Historical Society 1984), 19.

early 1960s would not be able to adapt successfully to a comprehensive lifestyle of leisure.²¹⁴ In addition to engaging Havighurst, a Phoenix company, Western Business Consultants, was employed to present their professional opinion on the Del E. Webb Corporation's proposals. They also passed a negative verdict on age-segregated retirement communities.²¹⁵

Undeterred by the negative reactions of research experts, Breen would instigate a second phase of research that would involve providing financial support for a friend, Lou Silverstein, to travel around Florida in exchange for "firsthand information from on-the-spot interviews with people in housing developments in Florida." Silverstein returned with useful information for Breen. One of the most repeated comments from Floridian retirees was "I love children and grandchildren, but I don't want to raise somebody else's children." Another common complaint of residents was the non-delivery of developer-promised amenities. The preferences of those interviewed by Silverstein were summarized in a memo by Breen to other executives according to three basic concepts that would inform both the design of the community and its marketing: "Activity, Economy, and Individuality."²¹⁶ As an extrapolation of 'activity theory,' 'Activity' would refer to the conception of a retirement community supporting an active way of life through the supply of "facilities such as golf-courses, pools, shuffleboard courts, and recreational centers" which would also be "economical in that they would be community supported." 'Individuality' would be addressed by supporting residents in their choice "to do what they wanted, when they wanted, and with whom they wanted without [the Del E. Webb Development Corporation] dictating every move."²¹⁷

Based on the encouraging findings of Silverstein in Florida, Breen and two Del E. Webb Company executives, J.R. Ashton and L.C. Jacobson, discussed their findings with a Phoenix psychiatrist who offered the first expert opinion who gave positive feedback on their plans. Lastly, Webb executives set up a three day seminar with several developers associated with the Urban Land Institute from Washington D.C.. Despite the promising comments of the psychiatrist, the response from the developers on the company's proposal was negative, offering the general opinion that "[o]ld people want to be with their families, not together in an isolated community." Financially, the Urban Land Institute members determined that the proposed project would fail because of 'cannibalism' – a term referring to what they predicted to be a higher proportion of deaths compared to new residents.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town," 78.

²¹⁵ Freeman and Sanberg, *A History of Sun City*, 19.

²¹⁶ Freeman and Sanberg, *A History of Sun City*, 19.

²¹⁷ Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town," 79.

²¹⁸ Freeman and Sanberg, *A History of Sun City*, 19-20.

After collecting such mixed reactions from academic and industry experts, the Del E. Webb Corporation chose to take a calculated risk based on the combination of interest expressed in the Youngtown TV segment on the part of the public, the Florida market research findings, interviews with Youngtown residents, and a knowledge of the general demographic tendency toward a rapidly accelerating population of retirees.

The Del E. Webb Corporation was able to purchase 20,000 acres of land outside of Phoenix, adjacent to Youngtown, from the Boswell family who were growing cotton on the site at the time. Webb and the Boswells signed a land purchase agreement in May 1959, and formed a new corporation DEVCO (Del E. Webb Development Corporation) in partnership with the Boswells. The plan involved working toward a January 1st 1960 opening day, by which time five model homes would be completed and furnished; along with the first nine holes of a championship golf course, the recreation centre, swimming pool, crafts building, lawn bowling, shuffleboard, horseshoe pitching and croquet courts, which would be completed and open for the public to view as “The Nation’s First and Only Fully Planned Community with Complete Facilities Ready and Waiting For Your Active Retirement.”²¹⁹

The marketing of the community would become one of the focal points of DEVCO’s energies, involving the development of many innovative methods. Rather than simply selling homes, the marketing concept revolved around selling a complete lifestyle product – with DEVCO operating as a ‘one-stop retirement-shop.’ Excerpts from early marketing copy, highlight “a new way of life – an active way of life.”

“Who? For you alone who have reached the golden age of 50 or over... are retired, semi-retired or planning retirement and want to actively enjoy the best years of your life!
What? This completely different, completely-planned community incorporates everything that years of research revealed you wanted most. Lovely single-family homes and individually designed co-op apartments in a garden park setting are just \$8,000 to \$12,500 *including all improvements*. And the endless variety of facilities for every recreational and creative interest are yours at no additional cost.
Where? In fabulous Arizona... sun, fun and health capital of the world... Favorite playground of the sportsman, the sight-seer, the young in heart. You’ll live in a rich green valley, 12 miles from Phoenix, encircled by golden desert and picturesque mountains. Snow is unknown, rain a rarity, and every day is full of sunshine and clear, dry, invigorating air.”²²⁰

Emphasized was the experience of retirement in Sun City as a hard-earned bounty, one filled with activity and adventure.

²¹⁹ See the advertisement brochure: DEVCO, *You’re just 3 steps away from your beautiful home in Del Webb’s Sun City* (Phoenix, AZ: DEVCO 1960).

²²⁰ See the newspaper advertisement: DEVCO, “a new way of life – an active way of life,” *Saturday Evening Post*, November 28, 1959. Reprinted in Freeman and Sanberg, *A History of Sun City*, 27.

“What a wonderful thing it is to be on the freedom side of fifty! It’s no longer necessary to “keep up with the Joneses”... no longer necessary to drive yourself for your business, for your family. Years of well-earned retirement await you. But “retired” is hardly the word for the active folks living in Sun City. They **do** things! For the first time in their lives most of them have the time they’ve always wanted to get right in the middle of churchwork and civic and cultural activities. “Participation” is one of the key words in Sun City! In Sun City you’ll never have a problem with “what to do”... “What to do **first**” is more the order of things. Dancing, golf, bridge, swimming, lawn bowling, arts and crafts, shuffleboard... whatever your particular interests, you’re certain to find a lively group to enjoy it with.”²²¹

Broader marketing strategies involved; a competition prior to its opening to name the community; the offering of vacation packages with which one could experience the Sun City lifestyle prior to purchasing; and advertising in national publications targeting northern and eastern states during the snowy winter periods. Marketing also engaged existing residents themselves as they were seen by DEVCO as the best advertisers for Sun City, as a large number of new residents were encouraged to buy by existing residents who were friends and former colleagues.

With little in the way of precedent for such a retired lifestyle of leisure, the most-used rhetorical frame of reference in marketing these developments had become the vacation. Based on the commercial success of the Sun City experiment in particular, the concept of the Third Age would develop toward that of the ‘year-round vacation in the sun’ as a spatial and temporal counterpoint to a Second Age of work. This is evident in *An Introduction to Resort-Retirement Living: The Sun City Sampler* for example:

“Have you ever returned home from a sunny vacation spot wishing there was a place like that where you could live the year around? Have you ever dreamed of a community that has the recreational facilities, the scenic interest, the climate that makes a resort a delightful place to visit and, yet, has all of the things necessary for day-to-day living? Things like a wide variety of stores and service agencies, complete medical facilities, houses of worship for all faiths – all within minutes from your doorstep. And speaking of your doorstep, have you ever wished that you could enjoy all these amenities and conveniences and still have the choice of the type of residence that best suits your lifestyle and your budget, anything from a charming compact apartment home to a house large enough to invite the whole neighborhood in for dinner. And about your neighborhood, have you ever longed for neighbors who would share your interests – people who would take as much interest in their homes and their community as you do?

This may sound like some Utopia of the future, but it is actually a description of the way it is NOW in Sun City, Arizona, the community that makes retirement worth looking forward to. The next time you take a vacation, visit Sun City, Arizona, the resort that’s designed to be lived in 365 days a year.”²²²

²²¹ See the advertisement brochure: DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City Arizona: A New Look* (Phoenix, AZ: DEVCO 1965).

²²² See the advertisement brochure: DEVCO, *An Introduction to Resort-Retirement Living: The Sun City Sampler* (Phoenix, AZ: DEVCO c. 1965).

These sentiments were echoed in a film commissioned by DEVCO to advertise Sun City entitled “The Beginning.” By 1965 the 26-minute film had been presented on 939 occasions on television to an American audience of approximately 28.3 million.²²³ Its plot was based around a couple from the American mid-west. After happily retiring from his company, the husband slowly becomes bored and dissatisfied with his new life. As his contact with former colleagues fades, neighbourhood children break his new birdbath, and the cold of winter sets in, the couple take a vacation to Arizona to visit friends living in Sun City. They become overwhelmed by the friendliness and animation of the community, and the beauty of Arizona’s climate and landscape. The final climactic scene follows the couple as they drive toward home after their visit to Sun City. Along the highway they stop the car, have a short discussion, do a U-turn, and drive back to Sun City to live permanently. The closing title reads “The Beginning” rather than “The End.”²²⁴

When it finally opened in January 1960, the public reception of the Sun City project was unexpected. Over 100,000 people visited the site during the opening weekend, with 2000 houses being sold in the first year, exceeding DEVCO’s estimate of 1700 homes sales over the first three-year period. Sun City’s population would grow from 0 on January 1st 1960 to over 7,000 by January 1st, 1963. The community would continue to grow to a relatively stable wintertime population of approximately 42,000 people. Del Webb would appear on the cover of *Time* magazine in August 3, 1962 in an issue that heralded him as the inventor of The Retirement City as “A New Way of Life for the Old” – for those “too old to work and too young to die.” (fig. A.5.3)

While sharing the basic premise of an age-qualified retirement community, Sun City would develop in different ways to the Youngtown precedent. Most obviously, they differed in terms of scale, literally between that of a small town, and that of a small city inhabited entirely by retirees. *Phoenix Gazette* writer Burt Fireman would assert an additional comparison around the level of planning and completion. He would characterize Youngtown as a community that was purposely incomplete, in which residents developed their own activities and community organizations. This would contrast to his description of DEVCO’s intention to provide a country-club atmosphere, “a ready-built package rather than a do-it-yourself opportunity.”²²⁵

It was indeed the packaged aspect that was so critical to the success of Sun City – a package that was so precisely constructed for one particular demographic group about which DEVCO had assembled a considerable amount of data. By spatially concentrating such large

²²³ Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 92.

²²⁴ The Garland Organization, VHS, *The Beginning* (Phoenix, AZ.: The Garland Organization, 1965).

²²⁵ Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 62.

numbers of a homogenous demographic group, the Sun City model functioned as a highly rationalized and efficient form of leisure machinery. Its one-hundred and thirty clubs, seven recreational centres, twenty-five churches, three libraries, two hospitals, eighteen commercial centres, forty-three banks and eleven golf courses proved capable of disciplining leisure time according to the logic of activity theory, as a form of urban machinery capable of warding off the persistent threat of retirement-induced boredom.²²⁶ (fig. A.5.4 – A.5.6)

Four years after the opening of Sun City in Arizona, the community of Rossmoor Leisure World opened in Laguna Hills, halfway between Los Angeles and San Diego in Orange County, California. The concept was developed by Ross W. Cortese, founder of the Rossmoor Corporation, in the late 1950s, and realized in the early 1960s. According to Hunt et al, Cortese recognized:

“...a neglected market, mature adults faced with rising property taxes, decaying municipal services, threatened personal safety, and changing neighborhoods. Moreover, he recognized the trend toward early retirement, increasing social security benefits and greater personal savings, better pension plans, longer life spans, and increasing desire to get more out of retirement, all of which made the market desirable from a developer’s viewpoint. He concluded this group needed more than just housing and created a new, totally planned community which offered shelter and an extensive package of services.”²²⁷

Rossmoor Leisure World would become one of the most famous retirement communities in the world, one intended to “supply the basic needs of life for people aged 52 or older, create a serene atmosphere of beauty, provide recreation and religious facilities...then leave the living to the individual.”²²⁸ From these statements, similarities between Rossmoor Leisure World (RLW) and DEVCO’s Sun City, Arizona are obvious. Both essentially centred on the concept of an age-segregated lifestyle-product – a product that not only incorporated housing, but a full package of services and amenities including shopping areas, club houses supporting hobbies, classes, games and sports such as swimming, tennis and golf. Both Sun City and RLW reached a considerable size approximating a small city, although RLW was less than half the size of Sun City, accommodating approximately 21,000 inhabitants by 1980.²²⁹ Subtle distinctions between the two communities include RLW’s more mixed housing types built at a slightly higher density than Sun City,²³⁰ and the more homogenous

²²⁶ Amenity statistics from: Marco D’Ermo, “Bunkering in Paradise” in *Evil Paradises: Dreamworlds of Neo-Liberalism*, ed. Mike Davis and Daniel Bertrand Monk (New York: The New Press, 2007), 181. And Sun City Visitors Center, “Recreation Abounds in Sun City,” Sun City Visitors Center, <http://www.suncityaz.org/recreation.htm> (accessed July 28, 2008).

²²⁷ Hunt et al. *Retirement Communities*, 53.

²²⁸ Hunt et al. *Retirement Communities*, 26.

²²⁹ Hunt et al. *Retirement Communities*, 26.

²³⁰ RLW would incorporate two fourteen storey towers, apartment buildings of up to three floors, duplexes as well as single-family detached dwellings.

resident geography at RLW where three-quarters of residents originated from within the state.²³¹ (fig. A.5.7 – A.5.9)

Two critical distinctions can be made between Rossmoor Leisure World, and the two previous precedents. The first involves security, and the second, governance. Whereas the perimeters of Sun City and Youngtown are not surrounded by security measures, RLW is enclosed by a continuous brick perimeter wall topped with barbed wire. There are thirteen guarded entry gates staffed by a security team overseen by deputies of the Orange County Sheriff's office, but consisting mostly of resident volunteers, who also patrol the interior 24 hours per day, 7 days per week. Security is cited as the primary reason for residents to move into the community²³² The second important aspect concerning RLW is the decision, on the part of residents in a vote to incorporate the community as a legal city, becoming The City of Laguna Woods in 1999. It would become the only city in the United States legally able to discriminate against residents under 55 years of age unless they were married to a resident who satisfies the age limit.

Retirement Utopia, Age-Segregation and Private Governance

Although these historical precedents originate from the mid-point of the twentieth century, they continue to play a considerable role in defining the protocols and formats of the contemporary urbanism of the Third Age. In considering these historical examples collectively, three key tendencies may be identified – *retirement utopia*, *age-segregation* and *private governance*.²³³

The retirement community, particularly as it has been imagined at Sun City, constructs a historically new form of idealized leisure society – *retirement utopia*. As a city inhabited entirely by retirees it has been imagined as a perfect and ideal environment free from the inconveniences of work, parenting and education; and intentionally set apart from the images of illness and dependence associated with old age. With no obvious precedent for a mass urban society based upon full-time leisure, this model has been conceived of and marketed according to a pre-existing part-time utopia – in this case, the vacation resort. The primary translation has involved adapting the temporary leisure framework of the resort into a permanent environment. Just as was the case with the resort, the retirement community became a utopia centred predominantly on an individualized and privatized, rather than a communal vision of emancipatory leisure.

²³¹ Hunt et al. *Retirement Communities*, 27-28.

²³² Hunt et al. *Retirement Communities*, 28.

²³³ These tendencies will be elaborated upon further in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

These retirement utopias have been implemented largely through the device of *age-segregation* – a strategy corresponding to what Mumford described as the ongoing “specialization, mechanization, [and] institutionalization” of old age.²³⁴ Age-segregation would emerge at a point of coincidence between a new group of consumers with specific requirements distinct from those of other life phases, and a new type of supplier – one possessing new tools for understanding specific demographic compositions and preferences. By concentrating on such a specialized demographic group, a high level of efficiency and economies of scale in the delivery of products and services became possible. In achieving this, according to D'Eramo, Sun City was able to combine “low suburban density and the abundant services typical of cities. Two irreconcilable utopias...”²³⁵ As suggested by Mumford and Mead however, such an apparently ideal situation raises a number of issues concerning a broader vision of urban society – issues that will be addressed further, mostly in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

The framework by which these urban precedents of the late 1950s and early 1960s were realized was a form of *private governance* known as the Common-Interest Housing Development (or CID.) The specific legal instruments by which age-segregation is enforced in these privately planned retirement communities are Covenants, Conditions and Restrictions (or CC&Rs.) The broader sets of CC&R rules would play a central role in maintaining what D'Eramo refers to as the “totality of control and the absence of individuality” within such communities, rules enforced by the ‘parliaments’ (Homeowner’s Associations) of these private cities.²³⁶ It is precisely this level of control that would attract retirees to these developments, and lead to the eventual incorporation of Leisure World as Laguna Woods, the first private incorporated urban entity for the elderly to become a “fully constitutional political subject.”²³⁷

Third Age Urbanism: From History to Present

The three tendencies identified collectively across the historical precedents of the late 1950s and early 1960s continue to have a central influence in contemporary forms of Third Age Urbanism. In fact, the four contemporary case studies may be framed in broad terms as an extrapolation and mutation of the concepts of retirement utopia, age-segregation and private

²³⁴ Mumford, “For Older People – Not Segregation But Integration,” 192.

²³⁵ D'Eramo, “Bunkering in Paradise,” 80.

²³⁶ D'Eramo, “Bunkering in Paradise,” 184.

²³⁷ D'Eramo, “Bunkering in Paradise,” 187-88.

governance developed in the post-war period. This historical progression is touched upon by Dora Costa in the following terms:

“Today, a leisurely retirement lifestyle, filled with recreational activities, including mass tourism, low-impact sports such as golf, and inexpensive entertainments, is often made possible by resettlement to a community with a better climate or other environmental amenities or to one with a low cost of living. Since 1940, the demand by the elderly for residence in an area with a warm February temperature has increased, even though the price has risen. Such a community is not necessarily one in which children or relatives reside, but it is one with greater recreational opportunities. As recreational opportunities have expanded, independent living [for retirees] may have become more attractive. The increasing attractiveness of independent living may in turn have increased the attractiveness of retirement.”²³⁸

In addition to the tendencies toward *utopia*, *age-segregation* and *private governance*, a further collective inventory of tendencies applying to the contemporary case studies will be presented in the concluding chapter, through the terms: *mobility*, *themeing*, and *instrumentalization*.

In the next chapters, the four contemporary urban probes will be presented individually, and in detail, focusing on the specific novel features and characteristics of each. In the case of *The Villages* for example, this will incorporate the examination of *scale*, *programming*, *themeing*, *infrastructure*, *typology* and *governance*. The exploration of the *urbanizaciones* of Costa del Sol will be articulated through: *climate*, *morphology*, *programming*, *typology*, *neo-colonization*, *mobility* and *governance*. Huis Ten Bosch will be interpreted through the terms of *typology* and *themeing*; while the senior recreational vehicle community in the United States will be examined predominantly through the lenses of *domesticity*, *infrastructure*, and *nomadism*. The novelties, features and tendencies identified both in the individual case study chapters, and in collective terms in the concluding chapter, sketch a set of contours describing an experimental urbanism of the Third Age – an urbanism radically different from that associated with the phase of life formerly known as old age.

²³⁸ Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 129.

PART B. THIRD AGE URBANISM

1. THE VILLAGES OF FLORIDA: CONSTRUCTED URBAN REALITIES FOR THE THIRD AGE

Located northwest of Orlando, *The Villages of Florida* is a privately developed lifestyle-product for the over-55 age group. As of 2007, it accommodated over 68,000 inhabitants, establishing it as the largest single site retirement community in the world. Anticipated to expand to a population of over 110,000 by the time the development reaches its full build-out area in 2012, *The Villages* represents the most recent generation of 'active-adult' retirement communities in the United States. (fig. B.1.1 – B.1.2)

Envisioned by its founders as a "Disney World for Active Retirees"¹, *The Villages* exceeds the dominant model of post-war American retirement urbanism originated in Del Webb's Sun City of the early 1960s. Several aspects of *The Villages* – elaborated under the headings: *scale, programming, themeing, infrastructure, typology* and *governance* – make it distinct from the previous Sun City model.

- Larger than any retirement community preceding it, *The Villages* has emerged as a homogenous mono-demographic city that assumes a cultural centre of gravity in the region. Simultaneously, *The Villages* deploys techniques that manipulate its scalar perception and scalar performance.
- Programmatically, *The Villages* offers a more extensive and intensive 'lifestyle-product' within the programmatic framework of a "vacation that never ends."² This corresponds to an intentional disciplining (in a Foucaultian sense) of leisure time, as an antidote to the persistent threat of retirement-induced boredom.
- *The Villages* employs a strategy of 'hyper design' (to use Bob Somol's term) to support the comprehensive *themeing* of the environment as "Florida's Friendliest Home Town." Referring to psychologist's Jean Piaget's theory of the child's perception of time, the urban environment is staged as a discontinuous temporal schema – one that intentionally supports nostalgia through the bracketing out of contemporary time. It is suggested that this produces a form of 'resilient time' – one that dulls the subject from the perception of time passing – and in turn defines an alternate performative role for architecture and urban settings to that typically categorized as 'representational post-modernism.'
- *The Villages* features a novel system of infrastructure designed for golf carts, incorporating pathways, tunnels, bridges and parking spaces. Allowing access to almost the entire ground plane, it produces a form of smooth vehicular space connecting the community. As the golf

¹ H. Gary Morse, "Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow!," *The Villages Daily Sun*, [unspecified day and month,] 2007.

² The Villages, DVD, *Your Lifestyle Tour of Florida's Friendliest Hometown!* (Florida: The Villages, 2004).

cart does not require a driver's license to operate, it offers a viable mode of transport, bridging between the automobile on one hand, and the mobility scooter or wheelchair on the other.

- *The Villages* presents a mutation of the conventional American strip mall typology.

According to the programmatic requirements of the community, the strip operates not as a retail boulevard (as first theorized by Robert Venturi, Denise Scott-Brown and Steven Izenor), but as a hospital ensemble composed of dispersed clinics addressing various ailments and body parts. In doing so, this arrangement challenges – through diffusion – the negative associations attached to the image of the hospital as singular institutional mega-building.

- *The Villages* has developed a remarkable exploitation of the possibilities of Florida State Community Development District (CDD) laws initially introduced for Walt Disney's Disney World near Orlando. This has evolved into a form of private governance that is extraordinary in its consolidation of power, and its profitability.

In broad terms, *The Villages* represents a new scale and sophistication to the ongoing rationalization of the market-driven delivery of urbanism in the form of retirement lifestyle products. This form of urbanity both supports and is supported by particular forms of subjectivity and social collectivity. As the large majority of the resident population consists of recently displaced arrivals, *The Villages* defines a site of individual and collective tabula rasa – a clean slate upon which residents construct their own identity and position within a network of social relations. The production of this subject takes place predominantly through the selection of active leisure roles – roles commonly aligned to youthful behaviour. Youthfulness in these terms is not only enacted through scripted and unscripted leisure activities, but also through the ongoing maintenance of the body itself, through the expanded consumption of items such as hair and beauty products, clothing, and external and internal prostheses such as contact lenses, hearing aids, dentures and artificial hips. Collectively, *The Villages* expands the experiment of the post-nuclear family society initiated in Youngtown and Sun City in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Family structures at *The Villages* are dominated by the retired married heterosexual couple. Extra-household social relations are predominantly peer- rather than kin-based, and organized around third-age activities of leisure, rather than second age activities of work. Through constructed demographic homogeneity, and 'town branding', an additional layer of urban collectivity is supported: one that addresses contemporary forms of urban estrangement.

Brief History: *The Villages*

The Villages emerged from what was prior to 1989 known as Orange Blossom Gardens. Ohio-based businessman Harold Schwartz, together with his business partner at the time, started acquiring land in central Florida in 1959. Until the late 1960s, the developers experienced limited commercial success with only a small number of quarter-acre parcels of land being sold by mail-order, prior to this type of land sale being banned by the Florida legislature.³ From 1972 until 1983, Schwartz's partner developed and managed Orange Blossom Gardens as a mobile home (trailer) park for retirees, selling a total of 390 homes within the eleven-year period.⁴ (fig. B.1.3) In 1983, after several disagreements with his partners on the future of the property, Schwartz acquired it outright.⁵ Various sources credit Schwartz's shift in vision for Orange Blossom Gardens to a visit in the early 1980s to Sun City Arizona to visit his sister, Ethel Shaw.⁶ Schwartz was reportedly impressed by the scale and quality of Sun City, and particularly its ability to attract residents based on selling a 'lifestyle' rather than a specific quality related intrinsically to its location. As was the case with Sun City, the location of Orange Blossom Gardens in the early 1980s was both in the "middle of nowhere," and with favourable climatic conditions, especially during the winter months.⁷ In addition to marketing a lifestyle-focused product supported by additional amenities, such as golf courses and recreational centres, Schwartz introduced security as a "foremost concern" by constructing gates and guardhouses at the entrances to what would later become a collection of distinct "villages."⁸ Upon taking full ownership of Orange Blossom Gardens in 1983, Schwartz entered into partnership with his son Gary Morse, the current President and CEO of the enterprise. Schwartz, Morse and other members of their extended family moved to the area shortly after to further develop the project. Over the following years, their family business expanded from approximately 400 homes in 1983, to 3,100 in 1989 – the same year that the surrounding expanded area of communities became known as *The Villages*. Schwartz retired in 1994, handing over the leadership of the company to his son, before passing away in 2003. By 2006, *The Villages* had acquired the anticipated full built-out property area of 25,000 acres – approximately the same area as Walt Disney World – upon which 34,710 of the anticipated 56,000 homes had been completed.⁹ (see fig. B.1.4) Schwartz and Morse's approach has produced considerable commercial success with *The Villages* being named as the best-selling master planned community in America in 2003,

³ Andrew Blechman, *Leisureville: Adventures in America's Retirement Utopias* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2008), 43.

⁴ Morse, "Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow!"

⁵ Gary Corsair, "Villages Founder Schwartz Dies at 93," *The Villages Daily Sun*, December 24, 2003.

⁶ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 43. And Corsair, "Villages Founder Schwartz Dies at 93."

⁷ The average daily minimum-maximum temperatures in January are 49°-70 °F (9°-21°C) and in July are 74°-90 °F (23°-32°C). See: Paul Eisenberg, *Fodor's Florida 2005*, (New York: Random House, 2005), 19.

⁸ Corsair, "Villages Founder Schwartz Dies at 93," refers to a 1994 interview with Harold Schwartz.

⁹ Morse, "Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow!"

2004 and 2005.¹⁰ The developer sold over 4000 houses in 2005, equating to the sale of one house every two hours leading to annual gross revenues in excess of US\$1 billion.¹¹

Occupying territory that was formerly horse and cattle pasture, *The Villages* has developed into a large-scale low-density master planned retirement community of detached single-storey single-family houses positioned on sculpted man-made landscapes of lawns and lakes. Each “village” is bordered by golf courses, lakes, and recreation centres; with a single gated entry and guardhouse. There are over fifty villages in the community – each of which is zoned only for residential use – with names such as Village of Palo Alto, Village of Springdale, Village of Hemingway and Village of Mulberry Grove. Two (soon to be three) “downtowns” function as entertainment and retail centres, while additional retail and professional complexes resembling strip malls are located at points of contact between *The Villages* and the surrounding region.

Scale: Small Town Metropolitanism

While *The Villages* has not sought the status of incorporated city, it has become so large that it has effectively produced a city in its own right, an important entity within the regional network of towns and cities in Central Florida. It represents the largest single-site retirement community in the world, and the largest single-site real estate development in the US.¹² According to a real-estate sector commentator, *The Villages* is “a retirement community on steroids.”¹³ In quantifiable terms, the population, land area, and amenities of the complex are considerably greater than the largest and most famous of the twentieth century post-war retirement settlements – Del Webb’s Sun City.¹⁴

The Villages surpassed Sun City’s peak population of 42,000 winter-time inhabitants in 2003, reaching a population of 68,000 by 2007.¹⁵ The project’s developers anticipate a total of 110,000 inhabitants by 2012, a figure that would exceed the combined populations of the three Sun City enclaves near Phoenix (Sun City, Sun City West, and Sun City Grand) by nearly 20,000 inhabitants.¹⁶ Based on its 2007 population, *The Villages* would constitute the

¹⁰ David Corder, “The Villages Micropolitan Statistical Area Ranks as Fastest Growing in the Nation,” *The Villages Daily Sun*, April 22, 2008.

¹¹ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 39.

¹² The Villages, “The Villages Market,” The Villages, <http://www.thevillagescommercialproperty.com/the-villages-market.asp> (accessed July 22, 2008).

¹³ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 39.

¹⁴ The developer is unwilling to disclose financial information, particularly concerning the amount of money spent on the development.

¹⁵ As of 2008, the permanent population of Sun City is 27,000, with an additional 15,000 seasonal residents that leave mostly during the summer. Sun City Visitors Center, *Sun City Statistics* (Sun City, AZ: Sun City Visitors Center, 2008.)

¹⁶ The combined population of the three discontinuous Sun City communities is 91,000 inhabitants. Sun City Visitors Center, *Sun City Statistics* (Sun City, AZ: Sun City Visitors Center, 2008.) and: The Villages, “The Villages Market.”

State of Florida's 29th largest city, and based on its anticipated 2012 population, it would rank as the 14th largest, placing it above important cities such as Gainesville, Boca Raton, and Palm Beach.¹⁷

The Villages' total land area encompasses 25,000 acres (approximately 100 sq km), exceeding Sun City's land area of 9,000 acres by over two and a half times. Its total land area matches that of Walt Disney World, the world's largest private development project at the time it opened in 1971, and the world's largest theme park resort – an area close to double the size of Manhattan.¹⁸ (fig. B.1.5)

The quantity of amenities at *The Villages* is in stark contrast to those of Sun City. As of 2008, more than two-thirds of the planned 91 recreational centres, 69 pools, and 47 golf courses were completed.¹⁹ Sun City by comparison has seven recreation centres, seven swimming pools, and eight golf courses.²⁰

The private development has reached a size capable of supporting its own media complex, *The Villages Media Group*, owned by the developer.²¹ Media coverage includes: Villages-specific television stations: VNN2, a news and lifestyle focused station reaching 70-90,000 households, and additional channels communicating the local events schedule (VNN20) and weather (VNN99); *The Villages Magazine* delivered monthly to 23,000 subscribers; a radio station, WVLG 640AM, reaching over 75,000 households; and a newspaper, *The Villages Daily Sun*, "ranked #1 among U.S. newspapers in circulation growth in 2006" with an average paid daily subscription of almost 30,000.²²

The military base or the state university campus in the United States represents the closest approximation to a permanent mono-demographic city of the scale of *The Villages*. The Texas A & M University at College Station in Texas for example supports 46,542 students within a city population of 74,125 inhabitants and a metropolitan population of 196,734. Within the city population, 51.2 percent are between the ages of 18 and 24.²³ Fort Hood Texas, is one of the largest military bases in the United States with a population of 33,711 persons. While it is possible to categorize Fort Hood, as with any 'company town,' as a mono-functional city, it is not a mono-demographic one. While 98.7% of the population is

¹⁷ US Census Bureau 2006 Estimates, <http://www.citytowninfo.com/places/florida/alphabetically> (accessed July 24, 2008)

¹⁸ Walt Disney World, "Walt Disney World Resort Landscape Facts," Walt Disney World, <http://wdwnews.com/viewpressrelease.aspx?pressreleaseid=99849&siteid=1> (accessed July 23, 2008).

¹⁹ Morse, "Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow!"

²⁰ Sun City Visitors Center, *Sun City Statistics*.

²¹ This theme will be discussed in more detail in the Governance section of this chapter.

²² The Villages. "Commercial Property," The Villages, <http://www.thevillagescommercialproperty.com/media.asp> (accessed July 22, 2008).

²³ Texas A&M University, "Fall 2007 Common Data Set, US Census data, 2006 estimates."

under 45 years old, these demographic groups are spread with 33.3% under the age of 18, 32.3% from 18 to 24, 33.1% from 25 to 44.²⁴ Where the former is an institutional concentration of education delivery to a segment of the first age, the latter is a geo-strategic concentration of military force of a segment of the second age. However, both of these examples fall short of the size and demographic consistency produced by the delivery of lifestyle products for the third age at *The Villages*.

Going beyond quantifiable numbers, the project addresses notions of scale – whether real or virtual – in order to promote specific qualities. In broad terms, *The Villages* presents two simultaneous tendencies concerning urban scale: on the one hand, simulated expansion (or scaling up); and on the other hand, simulated contraction (or scaling down.) While the former is a by-product of the demographic homogeneity of the consumer, the latter is the intended product of urban, architectural design and branding strategies deployed by the developer.

Scaling up

The Villages produces a simulated form of urban expansion as a result of the spatial concentration of such a homogeneous demographic group. While the demographic segment consisting of middle class retirees between 60 and 75 years of age constitutes the vast majority of the population, in a conventional mixed urban setting the demographic segment would constitute between five and ten percent of the total population. To locate the same size of demographic segment of Third-Agers that exists in *The Villages* in a conventional mixed demographic setting, one would have to identify a city between ten and twenty times larger than *The Villages*. In other words, the population would roughly equate to the middle class Third Age population of a city such as San Diego or Houston.²⁵

This form of scaling up is most evident in the staging of cultural and recreational activities, and the deployment of local media, all directed toward the demographic segment of the Third Age. The organizers of events at *The Villages* were able to entice renowned entertainers of the past such as Lee Greenwood to perform to large audiences. Concerts by prominent musicians with such large followings nationally or internationally would typically be supported only by cities with larger populations. The Villages of Florida often appears as an incongruous entry on the list of touring cities of such entertainers – a list that typically reads as a register of the larger cities in the southeast of the United States. Large-scale events that belie the actual size of the community are staged such as the Florida Senior Olympics, and

²⁴ US Census Bureau, *2000 US Census data*, (Washington DC: US Census Bureau, 2000).

²⁵ UN Statistics Division, "Population Density and Urbanization: City Proper," United Nations, <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sconcerns/densurb/citydata.aspx?id=United%20States> (accessed December 02, 2008).

other shows and programs of note that require a concentrated demographic base including the monthly Classic Car Cruise-In, and the annual large-scale Mardi Gras and Oktoberfest parades.

This scaling-up tendency is closely tied to the potential economic benefits that retailers can achieve, based on a clustered and relatively homogenous consumer group – to which products can be more efficiently marketed, advertised, and sold. Other apparent benefits exist, of which some might be considered questionable in ethical and social terms. Prominent amongst them is the elimination of tax burden for public amenities, such as schools, that address other user and age groups. The built realization of a market segment on such a scale represents a further stage in the efficiency and rationalization of the delivery of lifestyle products – constructing a socio-economic centre of gravity in the region for a particularly focused demographic entity. This leads to a form of urban life that could be tentatively called “retirement-metropolitanism.”

Scaling down

Just as demographic homogeneity produces a scaling-up effect; the developer of *The Villages* consciously counters this phenomenon through a scaling down effect – a purposely enacted impression of a small town or village environment. The slogan for *The Villages* – “Florida’s Friendliest Hometown” – is ubiquitous throughout the community, on signs, banners and in print, radio and television media. Advertising brochures, promoting a specific lifestyle, focus on small-town events such as parades, fairs and contests. Promotional videos repeatedly use expressions such as “small town charm” and “friendly neighbours.” Gary Morse, CEO and President of *The Villages*, describes the majority of residents as “small town people.” He writes: “We would not want to retire to a big city. So we decided to develop a series of 3 small towns just like the small town we grew up in. There was another small town up the road a few miles in each direction.”²⁶

The massive scale of *The Villages* as a whole is deliberately masked through the subdivision of the territory into smaller sized neighbourhoods or “villages.” Each individual village – with its own name, identity, and amenities – forms a base unit within the development. Rather than having a single urban centre to service all inhabitants, multiple individual ‘small towns’ with their own ‘town squares’ form the core of social life. They function as the largest acknowledged urban identity units. The two current ‘downtowns,’ with a third planned to open

²⁶ Morse, “Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow!”

in 2010/11, service approximately 35,000 inhabitants each, limiting the perceptual scale of urban sectors, preventing any real density or concentration beyond a certain scale.

The atmosphere of the small town is emphasized through the themed design of the 'historic' town squares surrounded by 'quant' artificially aged buildings between two and three stories in height.²⁷ According to Morse, *The Villages* is targeting potential residents who have not lived in large cities, but have lived more suburban adulthoods and small town childhoods. Acknowledging his own bias of having grown up in a small town and not wanting to retire to a large city, Morse recalls the history and collective memory of an entire generation: in 1940, 52% of the population of the United States was living in non-metropolitan areas, and by 2000, 50% of the population was living in suburban areas.²⁸

The implication that the idea of a small town is more appropriate for retirement than the city undoubtedly plays on dominant fears ascribed to urban living by the middle-class during the post-war period, and the alienation and boredom ascribed to the sprawl of suburbia and exurbia of the 1980s and 1990s. Here, an affinity might be discerned to concepts outlined by the so-called New Urbanists – addressing a notion of urbanity based on the desire to realize “The Second Coming of the American Small Town” as an antidote to the failings of urban sprawl. This project for a renewed form of community-based living, one rooted in a cultural vernacular, aims to recreate an idealized size and atmosphere of urban ensembles based in part on an assumed collective nostalgia for a hometown – when things were ‘simpler,’ when one could walk everywhere, and when everyone knew everyone else’s name.²⁹

This ‘scaling down’ of *The Villages* is most clearly manifested in a form of pseudo-familiarity in which it is customary for strangers to greet other strangers as friends as if in a small town. While not necessarily involving extended communications, an extraordinary ‘friendliness’ exists – particularly evident in the ‘town squares’ – through greetings such as “Hi ya buddy,” “Mornin’,” “How ya doin’,” and so on. This tendency may be understood as a product of the architectural, urban and branding techniques in play, but also of the homogeneity of residents in which there is very little in the way of ‘Other’ to fear (whether defined economically, racially, or in terms of age.)

Overall, these two diverging tendencies – scaling up and down – represent an experiment in the re-engineering of urban scale as an entirely elastic construct. While up-scaling is directed

²⁷ The architecture of themeing at The Villages will be addressed in more detail later in this chapter under the section: “Themeing.”

²⁸ US Census Bureau, “Demographic Trends in the 20th Century,” US Census Bureau, <http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/censr-4.pdf> (accessed October 12, 2008): 32-33.

²⁹ New Urbanism in relation to The Villages will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter under the section: “Themeing.”

toward the elimination of the programmatic *boredom* of small town life, through a demographically concentrated form of urban *over-stimulation*; down-scaling is directed toward the elimination of the social *alienation* of the large city or exurbia through the simulation of the aesthetic and behavioural *familiarity* of the small town. (fig. B.1.6) The methods behind these two tendencies are investigated further in the following sections: *programming* and *themeing*.

Programming: Hyperactive Adult Lifestyle

According to advertisements for *The Villages*, rather than purchasing a 'house,' prospective residents buy into a 'lifestyle,' or more accurately, a 'lifestyle product.' This lifestyle product – promoted to a greater extent than the actual houses in the advertising material – offers the prospective buyer the possibility of practically unlimited leisure settings and activities referred to generally within the United States as the "Active Adult Lifestyle." (fig. B.1.7)

The emergence of the term *lifestyle* coincides, according to the sociologist David Chaney, with the mid-twentieth century shift in social organization from a production-based culture of work to a consumption-based culture of leisure. For Chaney, lifestyle is a distinctly modern form of social grouping, based upon modes of consumption. Chaney here uses the term consumption to refer to "all the types of social activity that people do that we might use to characterize and identify them, other than (or in addition to) what they might 'do' for a living."³⁰ In this context, members of the Third Age, who as retirees must by definition construct their individual identity outside the realm of work (and to varying extents, through the memory of and association to their former work identity) may be seen as emblematic lifestyle subjects, ones focused upon the consumption of leisure products.

The following excerpt from a promotional DVD for *The Villages* offers a glimpse into how 'lifestyle' as product is constructed:

[Screen Rendered Title: 'The Villages Lifestyle']

[Jennifer, Sales Manager for *The Villages*] "You know, a lot of people ask me what *The Villages* is really all about? I start by telling them that *The Villages* is much more than a name, it's really a wonderful way of life..."

[Male Voiceover] "... and ooooh what a life it is. *The Villages* is a collection of quaint neighborhoods, together providing the feel and amenities of small town America, yet at the same time, individually providing the comfort and familiarity of home, including a variety of recreational opportunities, like neighborhood swimming pools, village recreation centers,

³⁰ David Chaney, *Lifestyle: Key Ideas* (London: Routledge, 1996), 14.

tennis courts, horse shoes, bacci, and shuffleboard. You'll also find neighborhood country clubs and restaurants. The lifestyle is easy and relaxed, offering streets and recreational trails that are perfect for bicycling, in-line skating, and evening strolls."³¹

This form of marketing at *The Villages* may be understood as a contemporary extension of the approach developed for Del Webb's Sun City – one characterized by the shift away from selling houses to retirees, toward selling complete lifestyles for retirement. As was the case with Del Webb's Sun City, the lifestyle at *The Villages* is themed programmatically as a vacation that never ends: "Remember enjoying good times while on vacation with family and friends? The excitement of what to do each day and the possibilities of tomorrow and wishing that it didn't have to end? Life at *The Villages* is like being on a permanent vacation! Here you'll discover the perfect place to enjoy life as you've always dreamed."³² This quality of timeless leisure is reiterated in the range of advertising statements such as "enjoy free golf for the rest of your life", and "free country club membership for the rest of your life."

In *Working at Play: The History of the Vacation in America*, social historian Cindy Aron describes the long running tension between the notion of vacation as a regenerative practice necessary for a healthy and productive working population, and the anxiety and guilt of not working as a result of the American protestant work ethic.³³ At *The Villages*, it is the former that is promoted, while an attempt is made to suppress the latter through the application of the habits, organisation and structure of work to leisure. This suppression takes place through a programming of a *hyperactive*-adult leisure, one that has reached a new level of intensity that far exceeds that of the original active-retirement lifestyle of Sun City.

The Villages supports over 1,000 clubs, and more than 1,200 events each month³⁴ compared to the precedent of Sun City that supports just over 130 clubs.³⁵ The most comprehensive clearing house for programming information is published every Thursday in *The Villages Daily Sun* providing a directory of activities taking place in dozens of recreational centres, 16 movie screens, and "33 golf courses, 55 tennis courts, 48 swimming pools, 9 softball fields [and] 3 fitness clubs."³⁶ Events are also regularly broadcast in *The Villages Magazine*, on the radio, television, and on developer and community websites. (fig. B.1.8)

³¹ The Villages, DVD, *Your Lifestyle Tour of Florida's Friendliest Hometown!* (Florida: The Villages, 2004).

³² The Villages, *The Villages: Our Hometown* (The Villages, Florida: The Villages, 2007), 3.

³³ Cindy Aron. *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

³⁴ The Villages, "Medical and Professional Plazas," The Villages, <http://www.thevillagescommercialproperty.com/ProfessionalPlazas.asp> (accessed July 22, 2008).

³⁵ Sun City Visitors Center, "Recreation Abounds in Sun City," Sun City, <http://www.suncityaz.org/recreation.htm> (accessed July 28, 2008).

³⁶ The Villages, "Medical and Professional Plazas."

Occupational studies researchers investigating the phenomenon of retirement have suggested that a highly organized and active use of leisure time offers, in retirement, the possibility of fulfilling similar levels of structure to that of the working period of ones life. "Serious or committed leisure appears capable of performing some of the socio-psychological functions normally associated with employment such as structuring time, providing interests and social relationships, status and identity."³⁷ In a Foucaultian sense, this mode of hyperactivity 'disciplines' retirement time, producing a *busy-ness* out of leisure, and in so doing, resists the persistent threat of boredom. Boredom in this context is not only a threat in itself, but also in its role as a precursor to contemplation – contemplation often directed towards the larger issue of mortality. The latter therefore represents a serious menace to the insulation of the Third Age from the Fourth.

Themeing: Resilient Time

According to Gary Mark, Director of Design: "*The Villages* is really a themed lifestyle community."³⁸ As "Florida's Friendliest Home Town," it is both an extensively and intensively themed environment, one that may be framed as an extension of the logic of *total-design* or *hyper-design*.

Hyper-design, theorized by Bob Somol, Penelope Dean and The Orange Studio in the context of the gated communities of Orange County, California, represents a useful conceptualization of themeing in which design is understood as a colonizing force extending the frontier of design: "from "designer objects" to "designer lifestyles" to "designer environments."³⁹ They describe a condition, manifested most emblematically in the gated enclave in which "design emerges as an urbanization technique that, through the logic of capital and urban development, has advanced into a total operation characterized by extreme spatial prescription, control, complexity and organization."⁴⁰ These environments are understood as "comprehensively designed" in terms of a "...carefully constructed package synthesizing inhabitants, architecture, landscaping, rules and marketing strategies into visual coherence and relational obedience..."⁴¹ implemented through CC&Rs (Covenants, Conditions and Restrictions.)⁴² This mode of hyperdesign not only applies to the aesthetic control of colour schemes and landscaping species, "but also extends into time and space

³⁷ Kenneth Roberts, "Great Britain: Socioeconomic Polarisation and the Implications for Leisure" in *Leisure and Lifestyle: A Comparative Analysis of Free Time*, ed. Anna Olszewska and Kenneth Roberts (London: Sage, 1989), 55.

³⁸ Gary Mark, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 17, 2008.

³⁹ Robert Somol and Orange Studio, "Endless Orange," *transScape*, no.11 (2003): 93.

⁴⁰ Somol et al, "Endless Orange," 93.

⁴¹ Somol et al, "Endless Orange," 93.

⁴² Concerning CC&Rs, see also the section later in this chapter on "Governance."

through an imposed micro-behaviour management where activities such as carwash and garbage collection are spatially and temporally prescribed.”⁴³ *The Villages* enacts just such a colonization by design, but one applied through the filter of themeing.

An introduction to the conception of *The Villages* as a themed environment is best articulated in the statement of CEO, Gary Morse, in describing his ambition to “...create the Disneyworld of retirement,” a the place where “Retirees’ Dreams Come True.”⁴⁴ This implies the objective to replicate the success of Disney’s Floridian theme parks as entertainment and leisure experiences dedicated to collective fantasies and desires.⁴⁵ The transformation that Morse suggests in his statement is a ‘world’ directed not toward children, but toward retirees, one that implies a corresponding shift in symbolic content toward the production of ‘Florida’s Friendliest Hometown.’⁴⁶

The themed content of the ‘hometown’ was successfully deployed by Walt Disney in “Main Street USA” in the original Disneyland, later replicated in the ‘Magic Kingdoms’ of all other Disney parks around the globe. (fig. B.1.9) According to Mark Gottdiener, Disney “...sought to recapture memories of his own youth by designing a space containing the fantasies of this childhood, including a recreation of the type of small Midwestern town where he grew up”; referring to Marceline, Missouri, a rural town of approximately 3,000 inhabitants.⁴⁷ According to Disney, this would produce a form of temporal rupture from the present: “For those of us who remember the carefree time it recreates, Main Street will bring back happy memories. For younger visitors, it is an adventure in turning back the calendar to the days of their grandfather’s youth.”⁴⁸ *The Villages* – with a focused demographic age-group of whom “the vast majority... were small town people”⁴⁹ – suggests an interpretive framework aligning to the former position described by Disney.⁵⁰ In addition to the themed content of the hometown producing temporal rupture, it also suggests spatial rupture. For Disney, the pedestrian space of Main Street USA – and Disneyland in general – is intentionally in stark contrast to the suburban automobile-dominated surrounding of the everyday environment.⁵¹ *The*

⁴³ Somol et al, “Endless Orange,” 93.

⁴⁴ Morse, “Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow!” and Corsair, “Villages Founder Schwartz Dies at 93.”

⁴⁵ Gary Morse is well known for making himself unavailable for interviews, and is famous for being a recluse concerning interaction with the media (except in the case of the media he controls.) Assumptions therefore, have been made by the author about the intended meaning of Morse’s statement.

⁴⁶ An alternate interpretation of Morse’s reference to Disneyworld would refer to replication of a vast scale of private ‘self’ governance. This will be discussed later in this chapter under the section: “Governance.”

⁴⁷ Mark Gottdiener, *The Theming of America: American Dreams, Media Fantasies, and Themed Environments*. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001), 121.

⁴⁸ Henry Caroselli, *Cult of the Mouse* (Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, 2004), 85.

⁴⁹ Morse, “Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow!”

⁵⁰ This rupture from the surrounding also takes place through the terms of the “permanent vacation”, *The Villages* lifestyle articulated in the various elements of promotional literature.

⁵¹ Additional forms of rupture identified by Gottdiener at Disneyland include: the reversal of family power relations in which children’s wishes dominate over those of the adults; the illusion that consumption of rides and entertainment is free; and the

Villages articulates a similar condition to its surrounding landscape, through the creation of specific pedestrian dominated ‘hometowns’ occupied by a single demographic group.

While the specific theme of the ‘hometown’ is quite evident throughout the entire built environment of *The Villages*, it is most intensively concentrated in the so-called ‘downtowns’ of the community: Spanish Springs, Lake Sumter Landing, and the soon to be completed Brownwood, all inspired by the atmospheres and qualities of “native Floridian” towns such as St Augustine, Key West, and Arcadia – as prominently stated in promotional pamphlets.⁵²

“At the heart of every great community there’s a special place ‘where good friends gather for a great time.’ In *The Villages* you’ll discover two charming destinations for old-fashioned fun all year long: Spanish Springs Town Square and Lake Sumter Landing Market Square. These turn-of-the-century squares will make you feel like you’ve taken a step back in time to a simpler, more enjoyable way of life. Stroll along the quaint streets... do some shopping, grab a bite to eat, see a movie or sample one of ‘Florida’s Best’ at our micro-brewery.”⁵³

Not only conceived as meeting places for residents, the town squares are primarily designed to stage an impression of a specific lifestyle of entertainment and leisure to facilitate the sales of homes to visitors and interested buyers.⁵⁴ The sales centres are prominently located in *The Villages*’s town squares. At Spanish Springs Town Square, for example, the real estate office is situated on the plaza’s main axis, taking on the role of an important civic building. (fig. B.1.10) This interlacing of play and consumption echoes Disney’s programmatic organization of Main Street USA in which the majority of buildings (including those appearing to be civic ones) are dedicated to consumption of Disney products.

The design team responsible for the physical environment of *The Villages* is led by Vice-President of Design Tracy Mathews, and Director of Design Gary Mark. (fig. B.1.11) Mathews, daughter of CEO Gary Morse, received her degree in interior design from Arizona State University. Mark is a Canadian architect trained at The University of Toronto. He worked from 1987 to 1992 for Forrec Ltd, a theme park design firm based in Toronto known for one of the first themed shopping centres in Edmonton: Canada’s Wonderland. Forrec designed Universal Studios Florida theme park, a project Mark worked on extensively until it opened in 1990. He began working on *The Villages* in 1992, in charge of Spanish Springs, the first town square that opened in 1998. Since 1999, he has been *The Villages*’ in-house architect, working on the Lake Sumter Landing Market Square and Brownwood Paddock Square – as well as having a hand, together with Mathews, on all other environments being

dominance of leisure and play over work. Mark Gottdiener, *The Theming of America: American Dreams, Media Fantasies, and Themed Environments* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001), 122-125.

⁵² Gary Mark, interview by author, *The Villages*, Florida, January 17, 2008.

⁵³ *The Villages*, *The Villages: Our Hometown*, 4.

⁵⁴ Gary Mark, interview by author, *The Villages*, Florida, January 21, 2008.

developed at *The Villages*. Addressing themed architecture, Mark describes his previous experience in borrowing architectural motifs and importing entire environments from other locations – “bringing existing styles and existing facades into a park setting for entertainment purposes, and that fits into what we do here [at *The Villages*.]”⁵⁵

The Villages’ downtowns are constructed around elaborate fictional narratives, just as Disney conceived of the physical architectural attractions at Disneyland as a form of 3D story telling. These environments were primarily developed by so-called “inventioneers” – graphic artists with animated film backgrounds – rather than architects.⁵⁶ According to Mark:

“We don’t take ourselves too seriously. We’re not trying to make an architectural statement here... We write story lines that we use... and that comes from my theme park background. The story line acts as your concept, you go back to it to design facades. It’s funny, we make up stories for some of these buildings and some of the residents think they’re real... They don’t even know any better because we even go to the trouble of painting old graphics on the buildings and people think that’s an old general store when it really isn’t. We’ve got some old law office signs down in Spanish Springs that I have to take down because everybody’s walking in there thinking it’s a law office... So we’ve got to watch [it], sometimes we play tricks on our residents... Not on purpose, but by accident. We forget about these things because we get so into the story line and the concepts that it’s almost so believable that they think it’s true, and it isn’t.”⁵⁷

An essay by Hugh Bartling – entitled “Tourism as Everyday Life: an Inquiry into The Villages, Florida” – offers a thorough analysis of the narratives deployed in the project’s town squares, arguing that their thematic content is based less on concerns for historical accuracy and authenticity than on what *The Villages’s* Vice President Gary Lester describes as “something people [can] relate to.”⁵⁸ Spanish Springs Town Square, as the oldest of the plazas, “speaks to Florida’s legacy as a site of exploration and settlement by the Spanish.”⁵⁹ While Spanish settlements were usually limited to coastal regions, their architectural style is generally associated with the state of Florida as a whole. Taking this assumption as a given, Bartling writes, “the Spanish Springs motif fits nicely with the myth surrounding Ponce de Leon’s quest for the Fountain of Youth that allegedly motivated his 1513 expedition to the peninsula.”⁶⁰ Whether true or not, history evolves here, Bartling implies, as a commodity and is reframed to meet the needs of the market. Thus, according to a story constructed by the

⁵⁵ Gary Mark, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 17, 2008.

⁵⁶ In early 1950s, when Walt Disney made the transition the 2D animated cartoons to 3D theme park environments. He used the same animated cartoon professionals (artists, set designers, special effects expert, writers, etc.) to design the spatial environments. Architects were excluded from the earlier stages of the design process. This moment marked the formation of the “Imagineers” (by combining the terms “imagination” and “engineering”) in 1952 coinciding with the development of Disneyland in Anaheim. Disney and the imagineering team conceived the architecture of Disney in terms of motion-picture storyboards. See for example: Beth Dunlop, “Walt Disney World, Off to Work We Go” in *Building a Dream: The Art of Disney Architecture*, ed. Beth Dunlop (New York: Abrams 1996), and Karal Ann Marling, ed., *Designing Disney’s Theme Parks: The Architecture of Reassurance* (Paris: Flammarion, 1998.)

⁵⁷ Gary Mark, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 17, 2008.

⁵⁸ Hugh Bartling, “Tourism as Everyday Life: an Inquiry into The Villages, Florida” *Tourism Geographies* 8, no. 4 November 2006): 390-391.

⁵⁹ Bartling, “Tourism as Everyday Life,” 391.

⁶⁰ Bartling, “Tourism as Everyday Life,” 391.

developer and as stated in the *Special Historical Edition* of the *Spanish Springs Gazette*, the town of Spanish Springs was allegedly founded by an expedition to explore the interior of Florida led by Spanish army captain and cartographer Ruiz Portola in 1783:

“...after passing through a heavily forested area of rolling hills and lakes, the party came upon an area of exceptional natural beauty, the centerpiece of which was a crystal clear artesian spring. In addition to the ready availability of drinking water and the abundance of game in the area, the weary Spaniards were so taken by the beauty of the springs that they decided to make the site their base camp... ...giving it the name Spanish Springs.”⁶¹

Spanish Springs Town Square incorporates at its edges a series of amenities: cafés, bars, restaurants and dining clubs, shops, a radio station, chamber of commerce, multiplex cinema, church, small park, as well as the largest and most dominant structure on the square, the sales centre. The buildings are articulated in a somewhat exaggerated Spanish Colonial Revival style, featuring stuccoed exterior walls, large arches, exposed black-stained wooden beams, and clay-tiled roofs. (fig. B.1.12) While admitting their somehow relaxed approach to the use of architectural quotations, the designers specifically mention St Augustine, Florida, as a design model.⁶² Nonetheless, Bartling questions the authenticity of this style, stating that it “...owes more to a hybrid vernacular developed and popularized by Anglo boosters and real estate speculators during San Diego’s Panama-California Exposition of 1915 which found its way to Florida during the period of real estate speculation and growth during the early 1920s.”⁶³ Rather than considering such fabrications to be fake, untruthful, or problematic, the generic response from residents is overwhelmingly positive, repeatedly stating that the themed aspects of their town squares are “fun,” “entertaining,” “unique,” “playful,” “special,” or “cute.”⁶⁴

The square itself – measuring approximately 110yards x 110yards (100m x 100m) – is framed by fixed seating, planting, and small kiosks at its edges. In the centre is a gazebo, where bands play every evening from 5-9pm. (fig. B.1.13) At one corner of the square is a monument to Harold Schwartz, the founder of *The Villages* and father of current CEO Gary Morse. The memorial is remarkably similar to that of Walt Disney at both Disneyland and Disney World – life-size bronze statues of Disney holding hands with Mickey Mouse and proclaiming: “Partners. We believe in our idea, a family park where parents and children could have fun – together.” The inscription on the statue of Schwarz self-importantly states: “Founding Father: The Villages.” (fig. B.1.14)

⁶¹ The Villages of Lake Sumter, “Spanish Springs Gazette: Special Historical Edition: 1783-1905,” *The Villages Daily Sun*, [unspecified day and month,] 1998.

⁶² Gary Mark, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 17, 2008.

⁶³ Bartling, “Tourism as Everyday Life,” 393.

⁶⁴ Residents, interviews by author, The Villages, Florida, May 2005, January 2008.

Bartling points out that the Harold Schwartz statue is “the only memorial to an actual ‘real’ person” – all other acts of memorialisation being fictitious.⁶⁵ Here, the device of the historical plaque is extensively used, applied to buildings throughout the downtown area. The plaques, similar to those found in the historical districts of many cities, contribute to the construction of fictional narratives that addresses the origins of the town. They play a significant role as story-telling devices in support of staged themes – recalling a fictitious history of individuals and buildings. (fig. B.1.15) As Bartling notes: “These placards not only portray a cohesive story, but they also reflect a selective discussion of history, economics and social interactions that embody dominant understandings of an American myth that is based on the uncritical invocation of individualism, capitalism and social progress.”⁶⁶ To be more specific and as absurd as it might seem, the constructed ‘history’ at *The Villages* alludes to “a familiar allegorical path of European settlers conquering a fierce frontier, acquiring wealth and developing a civilized society out of uncharted wilderness.”⁶⁷ The following plaque inscription offers an impression of type the general registers that are put to work in the construction of specific narratives.

“Mosquito Juice Takes Spanish Springs By Storm!

Taken prisoner by Indians when she was a child and spending several years living with the natives before being traded away as a guide, “Silencio” had learned how the local tribes made strong fermented liquor with wild grains and other native ingredients. Joining forces with Keller Sebal and sharing their background knowledge within a few months they produced a batch of home made beer almost worthy of the name and certainly strong enough to lay low the unsuspecting drinker. Jugs of this potent Spanish Springs “beer” (locally known as “Mosquito Juice”) became one of the settlement’s first trade exports. Its ready availability in the village also attracted visitors with a thirst for something stronger than artesian spring water.”⁶⁸

The plaques’ narratives are further supported by “Historical Issues” of the local newspaper that are published to promote the history of each of the downtowns before they open.⁶⁹ (fig. B.1.16) These newspaper issues are prefaced by the following small-print under the header: “Featuring a compendium of pseudo-factual, quasi-historical hyperbole and altogether fanciful tall tales depicting what might have been the incomplete folklore of a town that never was but very well could have been considering all the time and effort we have spent to make it seem real for your amusement and entertainment.”⁷⁰ One excerpt, for example, ties Spanish Springs to Ponce de Leon’s Fountain of Youth:

⁶⁵ Bartling, “Tourism as Everyday Life,” 391.

⁶⁶ Bartling, “Tourism as Everyday Life,” 391.

⁶⁷ Bartling, “Tourism as Everyday Life,” 391. For Bartling: “This mythos reinforces particular social, political and economic prejudices that form the substance of much of the country’s contemporary political and social malaise but which simultaneously act as effective themeing strategies.”

⁶⁸ The Villages of Lake Sumter, “Spanish Springs Gazette,” 4-5.

⁶⁹ Gary Mark, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 17, 2008. According to Mark: “...we usually write up a little newspaper... I think if you read [it] you’ll get a chuckle out of it. But none of it is true...”

⁷⁰ The Villages of Lake Sumter, “Spanish Springs Gazette,” 1.

“Spanish Springs Well Water: The Fountain of Youth?

That same year [1852], Oke Peterson moved to Spanish Springs from Virginia and built a cooperage beside Sebald’s new Saddlery and tack shop. The town people were mystified by Peterson’s motives, since there was no great local demand for barrels. It turned out that Peterson planned to ship kegs of the Spanish Springs artesian water north, bottle and sell it as water from Ponce de Leon’s fabled Fountain of Youth. The scheme was wildly successful for a few years due to Peterson’s considerable talents as a salesman, but ultimately collapsed under the weight of promises that the water could not keep. In 1857 Mr Peterson was shot dead by the widow of a man who refused all treatment for his ailments except Ponce de Leon’s Elixir of Youth, Spanish Springs, Florida.”⁷¹

Director of Design Gary Mark states: “...the only thing that’s true [in the newspaper and plaques] are some of the [names of the] characters that are in those stories are friends and family of ours. We ... just throw names in... because it’s more fun to poke fun at our friends than it is to make up something...”⁷² The main residents dining club and bar at Spanish Springs Town Square, for example, is named “Katie Belle’s” after Katie Belle Schwartz, the mother of founder Harold Schwartz.⁷³ A number of roads and parks are also named after family members. In wild-west style lettering on the side of the building housing the design team is a sign reading: “Mathews and Mark Design Co.: Practical and Ornamental.” (fig. B.1.17)

In the construction of these artificial narratives, elaborate material techniques are also appropriated to obtain the desired level of thematic consistency. One notable example is the technique of artificial ageing applied to the built fabric and used previously at Universal Studios theme park. According to Marks: “We had a term called *scenic ageing*... we literally went out and bashed up concrete with chains, and we aged it to make it look 100 years old.”⁷⁴ (fig. B.1.18)

⁷¹ The Villages of Lake Sumter, “Spanish Springs Gazette,” 7-8.

⁷² Gary Mark, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 17, 2008.

⁷³ The plaque located outside Katie Belle’s Resident Dining Club, Spanish Springs Town Square, The Villages, reads as follows:

“Katie Bell Van Patten

Namesake of the Katie Belle Saloon in the Van Paten House Hotel, Katie Belle Van Patten was the wife of Jacksonville businessman, John Decker Van Patten who, along with a number of other investors, built the luxurious hotel in 1851. Originally, Mr Van Patten thought his wife would merely be flattered to have the saloon named after her. Much to his surprise, the very first thing Katie Belle did upon learning the establishment had been so named, was to travel from their comfortable home in Jacksonville to Spanish Springs for what she referred to as an inspection tour. Upon her arrival and visit to the nearly completed saloon, she immediately stopped all work, declaring that the décor and the floorplan were nothing short of a disaster in the making. She fired the architect and the interior designer that day and the next morning announced to her husband that she was relocating to Spanish Springs to oversee the completion of “her” saloon. Furthermore, she stated that she had decided since the saloon would have her name on it, that she felt personally obligated to make sure the place was properly run. John Decker Van Patten argued in vain that running the saloon was no job for an honest woman, let alone his wife, but he could not prevail. Katie Belle made the saloon her showplace and her kingdom. She ruled successfully with an iron fist in a velvet glove for almost forty years and in so doing, made the Katie Belle Saloon a legendary place for good times throughout the territory.”

⁷⁴ Christine Giordano, “Fashion Statement: Style Design: The Team that Holds It Together,” *The Villages Daily Sun*, December 2, 2004.

The spatial organization of the Spanish Springs Square locates parking lots behind the ring of buildings defining the square. The basic arrangement therefore is similar to the standard American shopping mall that operates as an object within a field of parking, except with particular differences. First and most obvious is that the standard air-conditioned and enclosed mall interior is open to the sky, and presented, not as artificial interior, but as themed 'naturally-formed' exterior 'public' space. Secondly, whereas standard shopping malls have blank exterior façades, here they are highly articulated, in a similar fashion to the surfaces the central space of the town square. While this additional external façade treatment does – according to designer Gary Mark – “double the cost of façade design,” it is deemed necessary to maintain the continuity of the promoted urban theme.⁷⁵

Opened in 2004, Lake Sumter Landing Market Square is the second themed downtown at *The Villages*, located approximately 3 miles (4.8km) south of Spanish Springs. (fig. B.1.19) In contrast to the first downtown, the piazza fronts directly onto a man-made lake, and is themed as a turn of the twentieth century Floridian beach-side town, inspired by waterfront towns such as Key West, Apalachicola and Watercolor.⁷⁶ The southern frontage to Lake Sumter – an artificial body of water, 2' to 12' (0.6m – 3.6m) deep, covering a former peat moss mine of about 340 acres (137 ha) and includes an artificially aged boardwalk, a lakefront hotel, and a lighthouse. The northern frontage of the lake is primarily defined by a landscape of golf courses.

As is the case with Spanish Springs, the Lake Sumter Landing Market Square is defined by shops, cafés, restaurants, and multiplex cinemas around its perimeter. The buildings feature, according to the designers, “a mixture of styles and influences, from Key West’s Victorian architecture and bright Caribbean colours to Cracker-style shotgun houses and New England cedar roofs.”⁷⁷ The Sales Centre is also here the most dominant building on the square, mimicking an old, and extremely large seaside hotel. The Sales Centre is located nearby an area of ‘Creeside Cabanas’ overlooking the lake, in which visitors wanting to ‘test-experience’ *The Villages*’s lifestyle can stay for several days at discounted rates. The town square itself is similar to the general arrangement of the Spanish Springs square with a central gazebo, a hard surfaced open area for dancing surrounded by landscaping, planting, kiosks, a fountain and fixed seating areas. (fig. B.1.20) Similar events are scheduled from 5pm to 9pm every evening.

⁷⁵ Gary Mark, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 17, 2008.

⁷⁶ Giordano, “Fashion Statement.”

⁷⁷ Giordano, “Fashion Statement.”

The downtown area of Lake Sumter is remarkable for the level of design consideration applied to the artificial staging of the town's growth over time including a semi-abandoned and partly reprogrammed 'industrial area', abandoned railway tracks along the waterfront, and an abandoned canal and dyke system 'formerly used' for shipping. (fig. B.1.21) The artificial construction of an early railway era palimpsest is particularly sophisticated, including the construction of an already 'ruined' and reprogrammed station. The plaque to this building reads as follows:

"Lake Sumter Station

In 1880 an ambitious project to extend the railways inland from Florida's east coast achieved a significant milestone when the Florida Atlantic Line established rail service into Spanish Springs just north of Lake Sumter Landing. A year prior to this, a business group in Lake Sumter landing had acquired the right of way to begin construction on a rail spur running north to Spanish Springs to help move goods and passengers between the two towns. Dubbed the Lake Sumter Line by its owners, this rail service was a solid success from the date of its completion in 1884 until it ceased operations in 1956. Most of the rail beds have long since been torn up, but careful observation while driving on the causeway north of Lake Sumter Landing will reveal scattered evidence of the Lake Sumter Line's path through local history.

Plaque courtesy of Lake Sumter Landing Historical Preservation League".

Brownwood Paddock Square is *The Villages's* third town square, planned to open at the south-western edge of the development in 2010/2011. (fig. B.1.22) As indicated in the developer's commercial real estate advertising: "Brownwood's design is based on old-look architecture of Old World Florida and will take residents back to a time in the 1800's when Florida's cattle hunters and cowboys roamed the state."⁷⁸ According to Mark, "Florida was one of the largest cattle producing states in the United States."⁷⁹ In designing Brownwood, the design team spent time in Arcadia, Florida, a former "hub of the cattle industry," documenting the town, its history, buildings and artefacts, as well as interviewing residents, including "a local cowboy that's third generation Arcadian, who grew up in Arcadia, Florida."⁸⁰

The constructed history of the town is presented in *The Brownwood Banner: Special Historical Issue 1879-1929*. (fig. B.1.23) The area was reportedly first settled as a cattle-ranch in the mid-1800s by a Floridian cowman K.O. Atlas. In 1879, the ranch was purchased by Chicago businessman William Brown, and developed into a small town. Based on conditions set by the first owner of the ranch, "pieces and parts of K.O. Atlas' original dogtrot

⁷⁸ The Villages. "Commercial Property: Brownwood Paddock Square," The Villages, <http://www.thevillagescommercialproperty.com/prop-brownwood.asp> (accessed November 11, 2008).

⁷⁹ Gary Mark, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 17, 2008. "I don't know if you know the term 'cracker'... Florida cracker is used to describe a native Floridian. It depends on who you talk to, some people find it a little derogatory... but I think a lot of people use it pretty freely. It's... like the word [pause] 'redneck'... ..it comes from the crack of the whip of Florida cattlemen... because they used whips here to run their cattle... So that downtown at Brownwood is going to be centered around [the theme of] the Florida cattlemen..."

⁸⁰ Gary Mark, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 17, 2008.

cabin and corral, barn and other ranch buildings still stand at the centre of the town that would come to be known as Brownwood.”⁸¹ As with the approach to the other downtowns, an artificially constructed layering of historical periods forms an important aspect of the design.

The spatial organization, planning, and programming of Brownwood are remarkably similar to that of the other squares, suggesting that the evolution of the selected design typology might have reached a stable state. The town square includes a central gazebo for the nightly live music, with a large area around to it for dancing. One and two storey buildings define the edge of the square, programmed mostly with retail, dining and entertainment offers. As with the other two downtowns, the square is anchored with a sales centre and a multiplex cinema. The roads entering the town are mostly lined with retail, with expansive parking areas behind the single row of buildings. A secondary curvilinear perimeter road – similar to that at Lake Sumter - circles the car parks, tying the urban composition together. (fig. B.1.24)

While the two completed downtowns are remarkable for the level of detail achieved in realizing a fictional urban narrative in built form, the extent to which themeing is applied to the broader material and conceptual realm at *The Villages* is also extraordinary. As described by Somol and Dean’s term *hyperdesign*, design colonizes, extending beyond the buildings, urban design and landscaping to include ‘props’ that play various roles in the environment. These include: the buses transporting visitors around the development that are styled both inside and outside to mimic turn of the twentieth century San Francisco street trams; and the ubiquitous presence of retro-styled golf-carts – a trend promoted by the developer owned TV station, magazine, newspaper, and golf cart dealerships. (fig. B.1.25) On Lake Sumter, props include staged sunken and abandoned fishing boats and rowboats, plastic seagulls, and painted seagull droppings. (fig. B.1.26) As reported by Christine Giordano of *The Villages Daily Sun*, many of the old boats were purchased through the online auctioneer Ebay:

“They were brought to The Villages in the backs of trucks. “Some of them cost us more to ship them here than the boat was worth,” Mark said. Then Mathews fell in love with a boat while she vacationed in the Virgin Islands. “I stayed in a hotel, and they shuttled you into town,” she remembered. “I got all the information on those boats that I could and I came home and I said to my dad, ‘We’ve got to have a couple of these boats; they’re just darling.’ So we found a company in Maine, and they made us two of them.”⁸²

The two largest boats, known as the Lake Sumter Line, offer boat tours with a narrated fictitious history of the lake.

⁸¹ The Villages, “The Brownwood Banner: Special Historical Issue 1879-1929,” *The Villages Daily Sun*, [unspecified day and month,] 2007, 1.

⁸² Giordano, “Fashion Statement.”

The graphic design identity of *The Villages* as a whole is similarly consistent in its reference to the formats, fonts, and ornaments of the past. This is clearly evident in signage, correspondence, web-site design, and general advertising material. One notable example is the promotional package, made of cardboard, but treated to look like a old-fashioned leather satchel, containing a glossy brochure, presented as a 1950s photo album; and a DVD in the form of a 1950s vinyl record. (fig. B.1.27) Aged period themes extend to a range of programmatic aspects of the community, including retail and dining venues, such as the 1950s themed diner *Johnny Rocket*; the *Sonic Drive-In*, with waitresses bringing orders to cars wearing roller skates; as well as events such as the monthly classic car *cruise-in*. All of these events take place within the soundscape of the radio station piped into the town squares through speakers hidden in fibreglass rocks and lighting poles. The radio station WVLG 640AM – according to its advertisements – “plays the greatest music of all time” focusing on commercial music from the 1930s to the 1970s.

This array of temporal references from the past – 1891 train station ruins, 1908 model T Ford retro-styled golf carts, 1920s styled street trams, 1930s Cadillacs featured at the monthly Cruise-Ins, and 1957 Chevrolet retro-styled golf carts – support the overall intent of the theme park as type, that is the production of precise forms of spatio-temporal displacement. *The Villages* carries out just such a displacement, a reframing of space and time through the recreation of the spatial environment of the hometown and the temporal framework of the retiree’s adolescence. Contemporary time is obliterated, the here and now erased.

Such an approach to urban design discloses similarities to the concept of ‘decentration’ – as outlined by Swiss child psychologist Jean Piaget in his 1946 essay “The Child’s Conception of Time.”⁸³ The term ‘decentration’ describes the processes by which a child’s immature and intuitive conception of time is gradually substituted or replaced with a mature and rational conception of time. Whereas the child’s notion of distinguishing temporal events is both irreversible and egocentric, the mature conception is characterized by a rational understanding of time as reversible and decentric. According to Piaget, the “...two chief results of decentration and the resulting reversibility of temporal concepts are the unfolding of time in two directions, after the discovery that the present is but a single moment in a continuous process, and the coordination of all the intersecting trajectories that, at any given moment, form a medium common to a host of simultaneous events.”⁸⁴ As a result of decentration, rational time is characterized by three fundamental attributes: homogeneity,

⁸³ The author is indebted to François Höpflinger for his suggestion to investigate the work of Piaget in relation to temporal design.

⁸⁴ Jean Piaget, “The Child’s Conception of Time” in *The Essential Piaget*, ed. Howard Gruber and Jacques Vonèche (London: Jason Aronson Inc, 1995), 571.

continuity, and uniformity. (fig. B.1.28) A typical example indicative of the difference between an intuitive conception of time and a rational one is the child's repeated question during automobile rides: "Are we there yet?"

For Piaget, the continuity of time, like the homogeneity for the mature conception of time, "...should not be taken for granted at all levels of mental development: for young children, in effect, time is discontinuous as well as local, since it stops for any partial motion. That is why adults are thought to have stopped ageing, why a tree is thought to age if it grows but not otherwise, etc."⁸⁵ This addresses the core of Piaget's theory of the child's intuitive conception of time: "everything is relative."⁸⁶ Within this framework, the perception of passing of time, and of the act of ageing itself, is contingent on the transformation of something in relation to something else. In other words, it is the experience of relational change that produces the experience of time passing.

Addressing *The Villages* through this lens, it is possible to argue that the themed built and material environment supports a reversal of decentration – one in which the conception of time turns back toward the intuitive and the egocentric, in turn, staging time as discontinuous and non-uniform. Time is halted in the period that coincides with the resident's youth. Fragments of contemporary time – whether in the form of contemporary-styled public spaces, buildings and objects – have been deliberately eliminated. Little material of the contemporary present exists therefore with which to experience the relative passing of time, or the going "out of fashion" of buildings or objects.⁸⁷ The material composition of the town is already entirely 'old,' with little in the way of the 'new' against which to perceive this material getting relatively 'older.'⁸⁸

Temporal discontinuity and the elimination of contemporarily in *The Villages* can be seen as an extension of a discontinuous temporal logic that prescribes the demographic makeup of the inhabitants themselves. Limited to those over-55 years of age, residents are displaced from conventional relational adjacencies to the young, and therefore are not constantly reminded of being old – or of getting 'older.'⁸⁹ This is tied to the intended effect of the town square as described by Mark:

⁸⁵ Piaget, "The Child's Conception of Time," 571.

⁸⁶ Howard Gruber and Jacques Vonèche, ed., *The Essential Piaget* (London: Jason Aronson Inc, 1995), 646.

⁸⁷ There are no late 1980s, early 1990s deconstructivist buildings for example.

⁸⁸ One could argue that a small "naturally occurring old town" – in contrast to an artificially designed theme park version of an old town – could also produce such a perception of discontinuous historical time. While this is partially true, the success of *The Villages* in this respect is the comprehensive nature of temporal design, an approach that extends to the street furniture, public transport, and importantly, to the artificially constructed demographic occupants of the 'town.'

⁸⁹ *Villages residents, interviews by author, The Villages, Florida, May 2005, January, 2008.* A common response when asking residents how old they feel is: "I don't feel old, I feel just like I did when I was a teenager."

“...a lot of our demographic, the people that move here, come from small towns, and a lot of small towns had a town square... ...where people meet, [where] they can be seen, [where] they can watch. [In] our town squares there’s entertainment there every night and it’s the hub... for our community. People go there and they dance at night, they shop, they eat, they watch, they drink, they have a good time. So, we wanted a downtown because to us, for our residents... for them it was a memory flashback to their childhood, or their bringing up, of the old-days...”⁹⁰

Paradoxically, a comprehensive culture of discontinuity with the present is posited as the key to sustaining a culture of youth. *The Villages* produces what could be described as *resilient-time* – disengaging the residents from the predicament of ageing. What could offer a more egocentric perception of time than that defined by a total environment, one designed to produce feelings of nostalgia toward ones own childhood past?

Having played an important role in architectural and urban discourse in the 1960s to 1980s – the theme of memory becomes an alternate lens through which to address themeing at *The Villages*. In broad terms, post-modern discourse articulated a counter position to twentieth century modernism, by positing the city’s architectural typologies as a container of collective memory in Aldo Rossi’s *The Architecture of the City*; by reading the city as a palimpsest through tracing the formal layers of historical memory in Peter Eisenman’s work such as *Moving Arrows, Eros and Other Errors*; or by returning to the memory of the pre-industrial city in the neo-traditional discourse of Leon Krier and Maurice Culot in “The Only Path for Architecture.” The articulation of these approaches to embracing memory and remembering runs counter to the earlier modernist-inspired rupture from the past – or forgetting of the past. This form of ‘conscious amnesia’ is most emblematically represented in Le Corbusier’s 1925 Plan Voisin, a project that proposed to literally erase 600 acres of the historical city of Paris, to be replaced by the abstraction (and unfamiliarity) of the ‘new machine age.’ This approach to erasure, or forgetting, during the modernist period operates at many scales, ranging from the urban project of Plan Voisin, down to the erased ornament of the International Style interior. The intention to produce a form of blankness stands in stark contrast to the Victorian interior that came before, and the post-modern interior that came after it. Comparisons between such interiors find a notable formal alignment in guidebooks to designing for patients suffering from dementia – intended to address the primary environmental challenges of memory loss and disorientation. The ideologically inspired visual hygiene associated with the conventional modernist interior – in which functional and symbolic elements are either hidden within furniture pieces or erased entirely – is deemed as disorienting by such guides, and uncondusive to supporting memory and symbolic association to the dementia sufferer. Instead, such guides propose that all symbolic and functional objects be displayed to offer

⁹⁰ Gary Mark, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 17, 2008.

continual memory triggers and associations and to allow for objects to be found easily. This approach functions in a similar way to memory games for exercising and thus maintaining the functional capabilities of memory. Such games are increasingly advocated by gerontologists, particularly for those elderly at risk of suffering from dementia. It becomes possible therefore to conceptualize the themed environments at *The Villages* as psycho-temporal aids supporting the continuous exercising of memory. This suggests the possibility of a shift in understanding *The Villages*, and the themeing that drives its design, from a purely representational form of architecture – in a post-modern sense – to an architecture that is performative in its deployment of representational means. Both in terms of producing an idealised environment of youth within which one is not intended to age, and in terms of supplying an environment that ‘exercises’ memory and the mind.

The conception of *The Villages* according to the image of the small town₂ suggests an alignment with New Urbanism. At a superficial level, one might be able to identify similarities with some of the most emblematic of the American New Urbanist projects such as Seaside or Celebration. Resemblances can be found in *The Villages*’s downtowns, designed as pedestrian-oriented public spaces, alluding to traditional neighbourhoods. Here, the “second coming of the American small town” – as proposed by New Urbanism proponents Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk – appears to be fully embraced in the scenography of the town squares. Differences, however, exist – primarily concerning issues of mixity and density. The downtowns do not comply with the programmatic mix demanded by New Urbanist Charter, as the downtown areas exclude living. While they cluster a series of functions, i.e. shopping, entertainment, and dining (as well as the developer’s real estate offices), the residential areas are located elsewhere in separate mono-functional zones specifically dedicated to living. The practice of zoning – or functional separation – takes place not according to the modernist desire to introduce order and hygiene within the city, but as a measure to consolidate the developer’s political power, avoiding communal participation in decision-making processes. The legal map of community districts – drawn up by the developer – intentionally defines boundaries around the downtowns areas, specifying the exclusion of residences within the zone, and in doing so preventing conflicting votes of residents in local legislative procedures.⁹¹

Nonetheless, the designers of *The Villages* openly acknowledge a certain affinity to the tenets of New Urbanism in view of the challenge of sprawl. For example, for director of design Gary Mark, urban sprawl refers to “communities that are growing where you can only get around with cars, [where] there [are] no pedestrian routes and no real shopping. Other

⁹¹ This will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter under the section: “Governance”.

than living, people have to get in their cars and drive to do anything. The Villages, we feel, is a lot different from that.”⁹² Mark attempts to differentiate *The Villages* from conventional sprawl, aligning the New Urbanism aspiration for urban compactness with the concept of community autonomy:

“I believe 80% of our resident traffic is within our community, and approximately 60% to 70% of that traffic is by golf cart. And that’s important because a development of our size obviously impacts traffic in the surrounding community... I don’t feel that we are an example of urban sprawl because we, within our community, develop commercial centers... recreational centers, educational centers... We feel we have one stop shopping here where you don’t have to leave The Villages to do your everyday chores in life. You can shop here, you can eat here, you can be entertained here, you can be educated here...”⁹³

While the various extensive programmatic offerings within the boundary of the community suggest a certain level of compactness, the actual overall density is very low. In this context, *The Villages* then, is far from the ambitions of the Charter for New Urbanism, which envisions that: “Many activities of daily living occur within walking distance allowing independence to those who do not drive, especially the elderly and the young. Interconnected networks of streets should be designed to encourage walking, reduce the number and length of automobile trips, and conserve energy.”⁹⁴ When completed, *The Villages* will house 110,000 residents within an area of 25,000 acres (10,100ha) representing a population density of approximately 1,000 inhabitants/sqkm; considerably less than the 3,200 inhabitants/sqkm at Seaside; and closer to the density of generic sprawl cities such as Houston or Phoenix with 1,100 inhabitants/sqkm and 1,400 inhabitants/sqkm respectively.⁹⁵

Just as the residential areas operate as monofunctional and low-density forms of urbanity that replicate the dominant protocols of suburbia, the typical commercial form of sprawl (particularly big-box retail and the strip) is present at the periphery of the development. As asserted by Bartling, while *The Villages*’ promotional material highlights the hometown lifestyle of the town squares, the community as a whole is reliant upon more conventional suburban strip mall shopping centres along the development’s periphery, housing the “...essential supermarkets, gas stations and discount stores that are absent from the town centers.”⁹⁶

⁹² Gary Mark, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 17, 2008.

⁹³ Gary Mark, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 17, 2008.

⁹⁴ Congress of the New Urbanism, “The Charter of the New Urbanism” in *The Regional City*, ed. Peter Calthorpe and William Fulton (Washington DC: Island Press, 2001), 279-285.

⁹⁵ US Census Bureau, “US Urban Areas: 2000 Ranked by Population,” US Census Bureau, <http://www.demographia.com/db-ua2000pop.htm> (accessed October 22, 2008). Manhattan, by comparison, has a population density of 27,500 inhabitants/sqkm.

⁹⁶ Bartling, “Tourism as Everyday Life,” 389. Also, based on: Gary Mark, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 17, 2008: “There are conscious attempts to limit the impact of the latter by concentrating the “commercial centers (different from our downtown centers)... on the periphery of our community... The reason for that is external traffic... we don’t want it impacting our community. We don’t want someone driving from Leesburg, through our community to get to that shopping center.” Effectively, through the peripheral-ization of the sprawl-associated commercial elements to the edge of the development, the traffic impact is kept ‘outside.’”

The disproportionate emphasis placed on the marketing and promotion of *The Villages* through the traditional-themed pedestrian-friendly small town, together with the promotion of the golf cart as ‘convenient’ non-automobile means of transport operate as a form of deception from the actual reinforcement and expansion of sprawl (both in its residential and commercial forms) that is being realized by the developer.⁹⁷

It is equally questionable whether the Villages achieves the stated political agenda of New Urbanism to address social inequity manifested in “increasing separation by race and income”⁹⁸ according to “a broad range of housing types and price levels [that] can bring people of diverse ages, races and incomes in daily interaction, strengthening the personal and civic bonds essential to an authentic community.”⁹⁹ Despite house prices exhibiting a reasonable range between \$55,000 and \$740,000 (although the large majority of homes range between \$150,000 and \$300,000), inhabitants are still 98.42% Caucasian¹⁰⁰, and as a result of the CC&Rs for the community itself, 97.9% of the inhabitants are in the 45-65 year age-group or older.¹⁰¹ It may be suggested then that *The Villages* exploits an aesthetic interpretation of the New Urbanist approach, but it bypasses the performative, political and ecological agenda attached to it.¹⁰²

Infrastructure: Golf Cart City

The overall organization of *The Villages* is based to a large extent upon a highly developed system of infrastructure allowing the entire urban territory to be fully accessible by golf cart – a feature that is vigorously advertised in the promotional DVD video for the community:

[Male voiceover accompanying images of golf cars driving around manicured landscapes in *The Villages*]: “...it’s everything that makes a home town, welllllll, a home town. And when you talk about a special lifestyle, all of these conveniences are just a golf-car ride away. Whether you play golf or not, you’ll quickly notice that golf-cars are the main source of transportation throughout *The Villages*.... As a matter of fact, many new residents replace their second car, once they experience the unique convenience and fun in having a golf-car instead, whatever your taste for luxury may be.”¹⁰³

⁹⁷ The ‘non-automobile’ aspect of mobility will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter under the section: “Infrastructure.”

⁹⁸ Congress of the New Urbanism, “The Charter of the New Urbanism.”

⁹⁹ Congress of the New Urbanism, “The Charter of the New Urbanism.”

¹⁰⁰ US Census Bureau, “2000 Census Statistics.”

¹⁰¹ US Census Bureau, “2000 Census Statistics.”

¹⁰² Andres Duany offers a somewhat puzzling comment of praise for Blechman’s book on *The Villages*: “Leisureville is like the science fiction of Kurt Vonnegut—except that it is reality. What a great country!” Based on *The Villages* being presented by Blechman as contrary to the positions of New Urbanism, it is not clear whether or not the final sentence is ironic.

¹⁰³ *The Villages*, DVD, *Your Lifestyle Tour of Florida’s Friendliest Hometown!* (Florida: The Villages, 2004).

Golf carts have a relatively short association with retirement communities. They were used at Sun City and Leisure World, but they were not integrated in a considerable way into the overall design of the communities to the degree to which they have been at *The Villages*. At Sun City, for example, golf cart mobility was focused primarily on the golf course areas, with the first golf-cart pathways installed three years after opening in 1963.¹⁰⁴ The integration of the golf cart into the overall urban design and planning of communities is a more recent phenomenon, of which *The Villages* – with its estimated 30,000 golf carts and 84 miles (135km) of golf cart-specific infrastructure – represents the most advanced experiment to date.¹⁰⁵

While conflicting histories of the electric golf cart exist, most accounts credit the Californian Merle Williams and his Marketeer company with the invention and first application on the golf course in 1951 – a vehicle required to operate on both hard and soft terrain, and more specifically, to drive over lawn surfaces without damaging them.¹⁰⁶ Williams developed the first cart based on his early experimentation with electric motors for small cars during the gasoline-rationing period of the Second World War. The first golf cart had an electrical motor with batteries allowing it to cover a range of 2km at a maximum speed of 10km/h. The commercial availability of electric golf carts expanded in the mid-1950s with the founding of manufacturers such as E-Z-GO and LEKTRO in 1954, and Cushman in 1955. During the early period of development, battery technology was one of the main limitations of the popular success of the golf cart, along with safety concerns related to the stability of the three-wheeled chassis. The first gasoline-powered golf carts became available in 1971, allowing for longer range.¹⁰⁷ While the vehicles became available commercially from the mid 1950's, it took some time before they became culturally acceptable.¹⁰⁸ By the late 1970s, both electric and gasoline powered cars were widely used on golf courses, and their use had begun to spread to a number of other functions including airport terminal transport as well as park and campus maintenance or security.

While both electric and gasoline powered carts offer a similar high speed of up to 30km/h to 40km/h, the electric version is currently somewhat limited by its range of approximately 30 miles (50km) on one charge, taking eight hours to fully restore the batteries. Based on the

¹⁰⁴ Jane Freeman and Glenn Sanberg, *Jubilee, The 25th Anniversary of Sun City Arizona* (Phoenix, Arizona: Sun City Historical Society, 1984), 108.

¹⁰⁵ There is no official record of the number of golf carts in *The Villages*. Golf cart dealerships estimate approximately 30,000 in early 2008.

¹⁰⁶ See: Aileen McCready, "Villages residents have watched golf cars evolve over five decades," *The Villages Daily Sun*, July 24, 2008. Other sources credit Melvin Havorson with the 1962 invention of golf carts initially designed to assist injured golfers on the golf course.

¹⁰⁷ "Golf Carts: An Overview" Articlesbase, <http://www.articlesbase.com/business-articles/golf-carts-an-overview-361199.html> (accessed July 24, 2008).

¹⁰⁸ This was accelerated by the well-publicized use of the golf cart by an injured President Lyndon Johnson on a golf course in the mid-1960's.

distances involved at *The Villages*, gasoline-powered carts are the most popular with a range of 300 miles (483km) per tank for each 10 gallon (38 litre) tank of gasoline. At an efficiency of approximately 30 miles per gallon, the golf cart is slightly more efficient than the average American automobile at 24.6 miles/gallon.¹⁰⁹ Golf carts are increasingly accessible in terms of cost, with both electrical and gasoline-powered carts ranging from US\$4000 (reconditioned) up to US\$8000 (new, accessorised.)¹¹⁰ Within *The Villages*, this has led to the common phenomenon of residents trading in their second car for a golf cart. Developer owned dealerships support such exchanges. (fig. B.1.29)

Legally, drivers of electric golf carts, and other similar vehicles classified as *Neighbourhood Electric Vehicles* (NEV) do not require a standard driver's license in the State of Florida. Their use, however, is limited to roads with speed limits under 20mph (32kmph) and drivers are required to be over 15 years of age. As these vehicles do not require specific permits, the loss of a driver's license – due to driving infringements or age-related causes – do not prevent accessibility to vehicular mobility. Importantly, the waving of the requirement for driver's licenses is a significant advantage in the common situation of widows who never held a driver's license while married, as they previously relied upon their spouses to drive. Additionally, in the case where a resident still has a driver's license, it is not uncommon for individuals of a certain age to lose the confidence necessary to drive a car.¹¹¹

As with automobiles in the United States, specific customisation cultures have emerged around the golf cart. It is especially common at *The Villages* for golf carts to be personalized through the application of owner's first names on each side of the vehicle. In the case of single owners, pet names or toy names are often included. Other common touches include license plates and decals supporting football or baseball teams, "we support our troops" bumper stickers, and state and national flags. Examples of more extreme customisation include retro-styled carts resembling the 1911 Model-T Ford, the 1950s Chevrolet, or the 1960s Cadillac. (fig. B.1.30 – B.1.31) According to dealers, these retro-styled models are extremely popular. Other instances of 'pimping' culture include golf carts referring to the owner's previous profession. Examples include a fire truck golf cart with a retracted ladder, a state trooper patrol car, and a 1970s family station wagon. This particular form of cultural expression has been extensively documented in *The Villages Magazine* and on the local television channel VNN2. The golf cart is used prominently as a marketing tool for promoting

¹⁰⁹ Golf Cart figures offered by dealership in The Villages. Automobile figures from: US EPA Fuel Economy Ratings, 2004 Average MPG.

¹¹⁰ Karen Johnson, "The Villages Golf Car Store: Customizing Golf Cars," *The Villages Daily Sun*, March 04, 2004.

¹¹¹ According to the local Sumter County Police Force, several occasions can be cited in which residents without licenses are stopped for driving infringements.

a unique, memorable and fun identity for *The Villages*. This has extended to the setting of a world record related to golf cart usage:

“Official word came Friday that The Villages set the only Guinness World Record held by a retirement community. The September charity event nearly tripled the efforts of the previous group of retirees to orchestrate The World's Largest Golf Cart parade. The 3,321 carts winding through the paths of The Villages in the Fall is a meager showing for the 57,000 retirees who travel mainly by golf cart in the sprawling community.”¹¹² (fig. B.1.33)

The infrastructure supporting golf cart mobility at *The Villages* is sophisticated from a traffic-engineering point of view – taking into account the coexistence of two vehicular systems: automobiles and golf carts. According to their different speeds and required infrastructure, a series of measures are deployed. Four specific conditions shall be distinguished.

- First, most elaborate are the efforts undertaken to separate the golf-cart infrastructure and main automobile thoroughfares. Golf cart roadways are conceived as 10' (3m) wide two-way curvilinear lanes typically meandering within a 50' (15m) wide strip of lawn and trees. (fig. B.1.33) They appear spatially as an extension of the golfing landscape, rather than as an extension of the street system. The complete independence of the two forms of traffic is made possible by underpasses and overpasses at locations where carts must cross automobile traffic. (fig. B.1.34) The total length of this infrastructure of so-called “recreational trails” is likely to increase to 84miles (135km) by 2012.¹¹³
- The second form of infrastructure is a widened automobile road with a designated golf cart lane next to the curb on each side. This condition typically operates as a transitions from the first to the third type of infrastructure.
- The third condition involves the coexistence of the two modes of transportation on the same surface in areas where both automobiles and golf carts are constrained to a 15mph(24kmph) speed limit. This is the most common condition within the perimeter of the individual gated villages and in the downtown areas. Here, conventional automobile road and signal systems are used.
- The fourth type is that of unrestricted ‘golf cart-scape’, predominantly located on the golf courses and surrounding recreational landscapes completely removed from automobile traffic. Transitions have been carefully designed to resolve where any two modes of infrastructure meet. (fig. B.1.36)

¹¹² Erin Cox, “Golf-Cart Parade Sets Record,” *The Orlando Sentinel*, March 4, 2006.

¹¹³ Morse, “Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow!”

In the post-2004 period The Villages has renamed these pathways ‘recreation trails’ in an attempt to promote them as usable also for bicycles and pedestrians on foot. See: The Villages, “Traffic Counts,” The Villages, <http://www.thevillagescommercialproperty.com/traffic-counts.asp> (accessed July 22, 2008). “There are opportunities for other modes to accommodate movements, the best example being the separate multi-modal transportation [golf cart/bicycle/pedestrian] trails built throughout the community...”

In addition to the basic road system infrastructure described above, an extensive system of golf cart designated parking areas has also been distributed throughout the community. These spaces are measured at approx. 5' x 9' (1.5m x 2.7m) compared to the regular vehicular parking lot of 8' x 20' (2.4 x 6.1.)¹¹⁴ It is also worth noting that practically all vehicular-service interfaces at *The Villages* – drive-in restaurants, drive-in banking facilities, and car washes – are adapted to golf carts.

The entire system of golf cart mobility is designed in such a manner as to alleviate the distinction between infrastructure and landscape – urban systems conventionally demarcated by the two dominant material surfaces of asphalt and lawn. Whereas automobile use is limited to asphalt roads, the golf cart is intentionally designed to allow vehicle access across almost the entire ground plane of the community. According to this spatial logic, the activities of shopping, going to the doctor or hairdresser are an extension of the landscape of golf; becoming the 19th, 20th and 21st holes. Such an approach to urban space – determined by a single means of mobility – suggests a kind of deterritorialization of established urban type forms, generating a 'smoothness' of the urban environment within what could be termed a 'leisure space.'¹¹⁵

The golf cart might be considered an intermediate mode of transportation – establishing a bridge between the speed and range of the car on the one hand and the speed and range of a person on foot on the other. From such a vantage point, the golf cart may be interpreted as a form of *bodily* prosthesis – an extension of the equipment framework that increasingly defines the active body of the Third Age – technologies dedicated to increasing quality of life or extending life expectancy such as pacemakers, artificial joints, hearing aids, cosmetic implants, antidepressants and other forms of pharmaceutical products. The golf cart and its infrastructure function as a form of *urban prosthesis*, for they offer a supplementary system of urban mobility accessible to those not able to psychologically, physically, or legally drive an automobile.

Beyond the design of golf cart-specific infrastructure and landscape systems, the performance of the golf cart plays a considerable role in the overall planning logic of *The Villages*. In particular, this is applied to the location and frequency of amenities, such as recreational centres and 'downtowns'. While the location of multiple downtowns is based in part upon Morse's desire to prevent any one of them becoming larger than an idealized "small hometown," their design and construction ensures that maximum travel distances to a

¹¹⁴ Measured on site by author, January 2008.

¹¹⁵ This alludes to spatial qualities of particular projects proposed by Superstudio, Archigram, and Cedric Price in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

major shopping area are maintained to approximately 3 miles (4.8km) or approximately 10 minutes by golf cart. The location of recreational centres follows a similar, but denser pattern ensuring a maximum travel distance of approximately 1.2 miles (2km) or 4 minutes by golf cart.¹¹⁶

It is necessary to consider that “while only an estimated 35% of *The Villages*’s residents play golf, a much higher proportion own golf carts, whether individually or with a partner.”¹¹⁷ The advantage of golf carts in *The Villages* is clear for those unable to drive automobiles (as a means of alternate mobility), and for those who play golf (as a means of extended mobility), but it is less clear as to why there is such a high proportion of golf-cart owners who maintain driver’s licenses and automobiles, but do not play golf.

According to *The Villages*’s promotional material the golf cart offers “unique convenience and fun”.¹¹⁸ Additional clues are presented in the sales video ‘The Villages: America’s Friendliest Hometown’¹¹⁹.

[A retired couple, sitting in their golf cart are being interviewed. The wife responds]: “What I like most about livin’ in a golf cart community is the access that I have with the golf cart. I can do my grocery shopping, go to the hairdresser, go to the physician... Everything is right here on the property, so I don’t have to leave, get in my car, and drive across town.”

Suggesting a link between the themes of security, accessibility and mobility, the statement implies that ‘regular suburbia’ – one lacking amenities inside a property boundary, and one without golf-carts – forces inhabitants to expose themselves both to un-safe situations and to the time-consuming drudgery associated with driving ‘across town’ to access amenities. According to *The Villages*’ webpage, it is the availability of this alternate form of transport and infrastructure, together with “...a wide range of internal commercial, recreational, and medical sites that limit the need to perform external trip making, as well as reduce the average length of trips. The internal capture rate of The Villages development is 75 percent during the p.m. peak hour.”¹²⁰

Research into gated communities is relatively consistent in its attribution of security concerns to a perceived fear or paranoia that is higher than actual danger – a situation in the US that is

¹¹⁶ The relative popularity of the golf cart is reflected in a recent survey conducted by The University of South Florida. See: The Villages, “Traffic Counts.” It was determined through the latest origin-destination (O-D) study that golf carts alone accommodate 33 percent of the trips generated [in The Villages]. The measured mode split also shows that autos are used for only 64 percent of the trips, which is already much lower than the Florida statewide average of 91 percent (from analysis done by the University of South Florida).” Results of the same survey suggest that more than half of trips in The Villages were taken for the purpose of shopping, followed in distant second by social and recreational activities, followed by golf, and visits to medical offices.

¹¹⁷ The Villages, “The Villages,” The Villages, www.thevillages.com (accessed January 12, 2006).

¹¹⁸ The Villages, DVD, *Your Lifestyle Tour of Florida’s Friendliest Hometown!* (Florida: The Villages, 2004).

¹¹⁹ The Villages, DVD, *Your Lifestyle Tour of Florida’s Friendliest Hometown!* (Florida: The Villages, 2004).

¹²⁰ The Villages, “Traffic Counts.”

leading to an increasingly polarized urban condition between fortified and non-fortified space.¹²¹ *The Villages*'s promotional material builds on this fear, albeit in an implicit way. The negative psychological association of daily automobile travel in peri-urban environments is perhaps a more convincing argument for the popularity of golf cart use. Worsening traffic congestion and expanding commuting times are perceived as a threat to the quality of life. This has led to a 'cooling off' of the affection toward the car – a shift from the notion of equating the automobile with freedom to equating the it with entrapment.¹²² In *The Villages*, the golf cart is offered as an alternative image of mobility, one emphasizing a form of liberation. In contrast to automobiles: the expanded landscape accessible by the golf cart defuses the possibility of traffic congestion; it is less enclosed - allowing exposure to the (generally favourable) climate; it is smaller and therefore more convenient to park; and it is less expensive than a car to purchase, run and maintain.¹²³ Miniaturization, customization and the availability of new-retro models appear also to contribute to the popular appeal of golf.

Within the context of *The Villages*, the golf cart suggests an alternate spatial experience of the urban realm constructed from the golf course outward - one that configures the city as a new form of smooth leisure space. In a broader context, the impact of the golf cart on urban settlements for the expanding elderly population appears to be increasingly significant. This is potentially reinforced by the identification of suburbia as one of the least suitable forms of permanent settlement in the face of unprecedented population ageing.¹²⁴

Typology: Strip Hospital

United States Highway 27/441 (State Road 7) running through *The Villages* is the major road connecting the community to Belleview and Ocala in the North-West and Leesburg and Orlando in the South-East. (fig. B.1.36) It defines the original southern border of the early Orange Blossom Gardens development. After the development extended south across the state road in the late 1980s, it retained its role as the primary artery bringing traffic in and out of *The Villages*. As the area has continued to grow, the traffic corridor has expanded from two-lanes in the 1970s to eight-lanes in the early 2000s. Only since 2005, as the increasingly

¹²¹ See for example: Mike Davis, *City of Quartz* (London: Verso, 1990); Edward Blakely and Mary Snyder, *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1997); Setha Low, *Behind the Gates: Life, Security and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America* (New York: Routledge, 2003.)

¹²² Not coincidentally, this is one of the primary New Urbanist critiques of the contemporary American city. See for example: Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Jeff Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* (New York: North Point Press, 2000).

¹²³ The electric golf cart, as an alternate mode of transport that does not rely on fossil fuels is also of great importance in the context of increasing gasoline prices and the impending exhaustion of oil reserves.

¹²⁴ Suburbia encourages the isolation of individuals not able to drive an automobile, based upon the wide spread distribution of amenities.

rapid expansion of *The Villages* to the south has slowly shifted the centre of gravity of the settlement, has another entry point to the development obtained similar importance: County Road 466.

The 2.7miles (4.3km) of US Highway 27/441 that intersect *The Villages*' property pass through Lake and Sumter Counties before extending into Marion County in the north-west. The formal planning of the community within this area has focused on a strategy of locating what the developer has termed "professional plazas" – concentrations of single storey mall-like commercial spaces with adjacent parking lots accessible from the main highway – leased primarily to health professionals. While the professional plazas have been located along the access corridor, the commercial shopping centres and the 'downtown' entertainment districts have been located off the highway corridor – but in close proximity to the main thoroughfare. The strategy of the developer in this case has been the concentration of commercial activity with the potential for attracting traffic from the surrounding area to the 'edge' of the community, while preventing heavy traffic penetrating the 'quiet' interior of *The Villages*. As of January 2008, 65 distinct health professional and related businesses were located along the segment of US Highway 27/441 owned by *The Villages*, many of which had been established since the mid-1990s. These plazas include a wide range of medical offices and clinics, specialized in cardiology, dentistry, oncology, gynecology, chiropractic, dermatology, lung medicine, sleep disorders, and so forth. A small number of more generic retailers are located along the strip, many of which focus on fulfilling support functions for the nearby professional plazas. This is particularly obvious for example in the Walgreens drugstore branches with their large prescription counters and drive-in prescription windows..

All professional plazas and shopping centres along The Villages segment of the strip are accessible not only by car, but also by golf cart. Golf cart pathways as well as lower speed dual-use car-golf-cart roads feed the plazas and shopping centres. Accessibility along the strip was considerably improved by the construction of a highway overpass in the early 1990s. Such amenities and specifically the provision of "Medical and Professional Plazas" feature prominently in advertising brochures and on websites intended for both customers and potential tenants:

"The Villages 70,000 residents embrace an active lifestyle that places a premium on excellent healthcare. With over 33 golf courses, 55 tennis courts, 48 swimming pools, 9 softball fields 3 fitness clubs, a wellness center and 1200 other sanctioned activities per month, residents enjoy staying in good health! And they do it all in their golf cars. In fact, golf cars is the form of transportation most of your patients will use to get to your office, which is just one of many unique aspects of bringing your practice to The Villages.... In addition to the 278,000 square feet of medical office space, the Villages community is

currently home to a 198 bed acute care Hospital with a 90,000 square foot VA specialty clinic as well as an extended care hospital both currently under construction.”¹²⁵

As the expansion of *The Villages* accelerated substantially in the 1990s, other smaller piggy-back communities developed nearby. These include the Del Webb’s Spruce Creek Country Club to the north and Stonecrest Retirement Community to the north-west in Marion County. This created a substantially larger base of Third Age consumers, along a more heavily trafficked corridor, leading in turn, to the expansion of less regulated strip development to the north-west and south-east of *The Villages*’s controlled segment of US Highway 27/441. As of January 2008, there were an additional 108 health professionals and supporting businesses along the highway to the northwest and southeast of *The Villages*. (fig. B.1.37)

While extensive signage advertises the various health related services to passing motorists within the professional plazas leased by *The Villages*, there is a certain level of aesthetic control defined by the developer attempting to contain the size and number of signs. On the areas not owned by the developer, there is a more uncontrolled and lively use of signage and billboards intended to attract customers ‘off the street.’ This is evident in the considerable increase in the scale of signs, the use of extravagant sales pitches, neon lighting, and LEDs on billboards. (fig. B.1.38 – B.1.39) For example, one LED advertisement along the strip flashes the following announcement:

“Memory Loss?
Gait Imbalance?
Look No Further!!”

To a large extent, this particular commercial development along the highway corresponds to what has been termed “the strip” – a generic type form of the contemporary urban fabric, described and analysed by Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour in their seminal study *Learning from Las Vegas*. As outlined in their chapter “System and Order on the Strip,” the urban realm exhibits a visual impression of disorder, one generated from the contrast between the erratic visual order of buildings and signs on the one hand and the visual order of the public highway – with its consistent visual rhythms and rules concerning street lights, median strips, turning radiuses, lane widths, curbs, and parking norms – on the other hand.

“The continuous highway itself and its systems for turning are absolutely consistent. The median strip accommodates the U-turns necessary to a vehicular promenade for casino crawlers as well as left turns into the local street pattern that the Strip intersects. The curbing

¹²⁵ The Villages, “Medical and Professional Plazas,” The Villages, <http://www.thevillagescommercialproperty.com/ProfessionalPlazas.asp> (accessed July 22, 2008).

allows frequent right turns for casinos and other commercial enterprises and eases the difficult transitions from highway to parking. The streetlights function superfluously along many parts of the strip that are incidentally but abundantly lit by signs, but their consistency of form and position and their arching shapes begin to identify by day a continuous space of the highway, and the constant rhythm contrasts effectively with the uneven rhythms of the signs behind....

The zone *of* the highway is a shared order. The zone *off* the highway is an individual order. The elements of the highway are civic. The buildings and signs are private. In combination they embrace continuity *and* discontinuity, going *and* stopping, clarity *and* ambiguity, cooperation *and* competition, the community *and* rugged individualism. The system of the highway gives order to the sensitive functions of the exit and entrance, as well as the image of the strip as a sequential whole.”¹²⁶

Addressing the building scale of the architecture of “commercial persuasion,” Venturi describes a general condition of strip architecture – labelled “big sign and little building” – in which the sign is scaled and located according to the speed and direction of the automobile.¹²⁷ Signs on buildings are also based upon their orientation toward the strip. Thus, side façades assume a more important role than back façades, as they are viewed more easily and for a longer period of time by drivers travelling up and down the strip. This is also the case at *The Villages*, particularly along the length of the highway immediately outside those portions of the strip that are not owned by the developer.

The fundamental organisation and structure of the generic American strip has hardly changed since the publication of *Learning From Las Vegas*. While particular forms of economic rationalisation have led to an increase in store size producing the phenomenon known as ‘big-box,’ the organisational protocols determining traffic movement, parking, and the use of signage are essentially similar. To a large extent, the prevalence of the strip has expanded within the increasingly decentralized, non-hierarchical and dispersed ex-urban condition of the American city.

What is of primary interest in comparing the strip at *The Villages* to that of *Learning From Las Vegas* and the more generic contemporary American strip, is less its conformity to this organisational logic, than its particular novelty in programmatic terms. In outlining the programmatic makeup of the Las Vegas strip, Venturi et al describe a range of activities “...juxtaposed on the Strip: service stations, minor hotels, and multi-million dollar casinos. Marriage chapels (“credit cards accepted”) converted from bungalows with added neon-lined steeples are apt to appear anywhere toward the downtown end.”¹²⁸ The programmatic makeup of the contemporary generic American strip is focused less comprehensively on entertainment as in Las Vegas, and more upon a combination of more broadly defined retail

¹²⁶ Robert Venturi, Denise Scott-Brown and Steven Izenour, *Learning From Las Vegas* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972), 20.

¹²⁷ Venturi et al, *Learning From Las Vegas*, 13.

¹²⁸ Venturi et al, *Learning From Las Vegas*, 20.

and entertainment experiences. The generic strip landscape is characterised by the increasing prevalence of larger economies of scale situated often within the logic of chains and franchises. These are partly regionally dependent, but include, ubiquitous fast-food chains such as McDonalds, Burger King and KFC; supermarkets and discounters such as Wal-Mart; home improvement companies such as Home Depot, etc. While there is a limited presence of such well-known commercial entities along *The Villages's* 5 mile (8.2km) strip, it is remarkable for the dominance of health-care related programs at a frequency of approximately 35 clinics per mile (22 per km), exceeding the programmatic specialisation of the casino strip of Las Vegas. The precedent for such a programmatic concentration of health-related services is obviously located in the typology of the hospital. Within this context therefore, it is possible to interpret the strip hospital not only as a programmatic mutation of the strip, but also an organisational mutation of the hospital.

According to architect Markus Schaefer, the history of the hospital typology is characterised by two dominant phases that saw the alignment of medicine and architecture: the enlightenment and modernity. During the enlightenment, the typology of the hospital solidified around the principle of healing – buildings were “structured with access to fresh air and greenery, they exemplified the belief in the healing powers of rationality and nature.”¹²⁹ In the modern period, “the belief in technology and organization, social concerns and new building construction methods resulted in healing machines with modular layout and clear separation of functions.”¹³⁰ Schaefer describes the more recent predicament of a loss of formal architectural clarity associated with the contemporary hospital as a result of their increasing scale and complexity: “They turned into complex conglomerates of parts, often a wild mix of buildings and infrastructures from different times where new organisational principles had to be found, ranging from internal streets as in shopping malls to abstract grids, to a bewildering array of way-finding solutions and numbering methods.”¹³¹

Such hospital typologies, according to Schaefer, have led to a general reduction of “privacy and individuality” of the patient; within the rationalised and centralised institution of the enlightenment hospital; the submission of the body to the modernist hospital as healing machine; and in the contemporary megastructure hospital, the loss of spatial frames of reference, or sense of place.¹³² These tendencies, combined with the mental association to illness and death, attribute strong negative connotations to the institutional image of the centralised hospital.

¹²⁹ Markus Schaefer, “Building Hospitals – Hospital Buildings” in *The Architecture of Hospitals*, ed. Cor Wagenaar (Amsterdam: NAI, 2006), 202.

¹³⁰ Schaefer, “Building Hospitals – Hospital Buildings,” 202.

¹³¹ Schaefer, “Building Hospitals – Hospital Buildings,” 202.

¹³² Schaefer, “Building Hospitals – Hospital Buildings,” 202.

Since the 1980s, some hospitals and hospital designers have supported a shift “away from highly centralised, large-scale hospitals toward smaller, decentralised healthcare facilities.”¹³³ The strip-hospital at *The Villages* may be viewed within this shift of understanding. Where general hospital decentralisation has seen a more or less unsystematic distribution of clinics across an urban territory; the hospital-strip at *The Villages* is organised more consequently along a linear band accessible by automobile and golf cart and within close reach of the community. Such a solution avoids the negative stigma associated with the iconography of a centralised institution, while adhering to both the concept of decentralized clinics and the organisational logic of the highway.

Just as the modernist hospital is organised according to types of procedures and corresponding body parts – assembling a centralised and coherent body – the hospital strip redistributes this body into fragments along the strip. This also supports the performance of a market place for privatised healthcare, evident for example in competing advertisements of up to 4 chiropractors, for example, along a 2.1 mile stretch of the road.

The emergence of this typology of the strip-hospital may therefore be understood within the context of a series of factors: the increasing dominance of the private automobile (and in the case of *The Villages*, the addition of the golf cart); the corresponding growth of the strip as one of the most dominant formats supporting consumption; the specific demographic concentration of the Third Age at *The Villages*, that in turn produces a particularly active market for the consumption of health and body-related services; and most importantly, the desire to remake the image and performance of an institution that in modern times has been so closely associated with disease and death – themes generally avoided by the Third Age population.

Governance: New Autocracies

The developer of The Villages practices a form of private governance over the community based upon state Community Development District (CDD) laws.¹³⁴ The predecessor for the legal framework that allows for this particular form of government – known as Florida Statutes Chapter 190 – is the special legal district that the State of Florida approved in the mid-1960s that would become Disneyworld.

¹³³ Stephen Verderber and David J. Fine, *Healthcare Architecture in an Era of Radical Transformation* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2000), 126.

¹³⁴ See: Bartling, “Tourism as Everyday Life,” and Blechman, *Leisureville*.

After having secretly acquired approximately 25,000 acres of land through various ghost companies, Walt Disney first lobbied the Florida State Legislature to designate the land area as a drainage district. This was an act not uncommon at the time when state governments would create territorial entities with governmental status to address specific challenges such as drainage or land management.¹³⁵ The Reedy Creek Drainage District was ultimately formed in 1966. Lobbying at state level, Disney was subsequently able to acquire an independent municipal status for the so-called “drainage district” – “free of state, county and local ordinances and land-use laws, and empowered with the ability to float its own tax-free bonds...”¹³⁶ Tempted by the \$400 million investment for the construction of Disney’s model residential community, named Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow (EPCOT), the State of Florida agreed to the change of the district’s municipal status.

The creation of this new legal entity, entitled the Reedy Creek Improvement District, was significant in so far as “it extended the scope of private governance and it normalized the practice of private autonomy as it related to development.”¹³⁷

As the rapid rate of private development increased in Florida in the late 1960s and 1970s, the State made further steps to formalize legislation supporting private entities to develop land, and to raise necessary funds for infrastructure. One of these measures was Chapter 190 of the Florida Statutes passed in 1980 to allow Community Development Districts, or CDDs. After a tentative start, with the first CDD in Tampa in 1982, the number of CDDs grew rapidly from 43 in 1992 to nearly 500 in 2007.¹³⁸ As stated by Bartling in “Tourism and Everyday Life,” the CDD as a planning instrument gave a free hand to private development:

“A CDD is a special-purpose governmental district that is established by the state following an application by a petitioner. Once the state establishes the CDD, the district is able to assume many of the planning, development and revenue-generating functions of a local government. For the developer, this allows for the issuance of tax-free bonds at the early stages of a development by the CDD, freeing up capital that would otherwise go towards building the basic infrastructure. Bonds are paid off through gradual monthly assessments on landowners in the CDD over the period of the bond’s life.”¹³⁹

Rather than defining a form of democracy based upon voting rights aligning to typical standards of citizenship, CDDs operate as private pseudo-democratic entities in which voting

¹³⁵ Hugh Bartling, “Private Governance, Public Subsidies: The Cultural Politics of Exurban Sprawl in Florida, USA” (paper presented at the 4th International Conference of the Research Network: Private Urban Governance and Gated Communities, Paris, 5 June, 2007), 3.

¹³⁶ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 105-106.

¹³⁷ Bartling, “Private Governance, Public Subsidies,” 3.

¹³⁸ Bartling, “Private Governance, Public Subsidies,” 4-5.

¹³⁹ Bartling, “Tourism as Everyday Life,” 396-397.

rights to select the governing 'Board of Supervisors' correspond to the level of individual land ownership. Bartling writes:

"Since the developer generally owns virtually all of the land at the beginning of the project, they have effective control over the CDD until the point at which new resident's land outweighs that of the developers. However, much of the debt accrued by the CDD is generated in those early years of the CDD when they are controlled by the developer and because of the long servicing of the bonds, they are generally paid off by future residents. This allows the developer access to a risk-free source of capital, allowing the initial 'sticker price' of the homes to be artificially low, thus, enhancing the developer's competitiveness in the housing market."¹⁴⁰

While instrumental in funding *The Villages* and other developments, the CDDs less visible operations (described as "stealth-like" by Andrew Blechman) have not attracted a great deal of attention. Their presence as the predominant form of local governance is neither thematised nor registered in promotional literature. Residents usually are first made aware of the CDD when they sign their contract.¹⁴¹

Both Bartling and Blechman have noted the questionable ethics associated with conflict of interests in CDD operations. This is particularly the case as CDDs define a mode of local governance, in which quasi-public board members and administrators are "exempt from traditional rules meant to minimize conflict of interest by the Florida Statute governing CDDs (F.S. 190). This gives wide latitude for questionable board behavior since the boards are initially controlled by individuals appointed by the developer."¹⁴²

The Villages is constituted by twelve CDDs, representing the largest concentration of such districts in the State of Florida. (fig. B.1.40) Frequent conflicts arise from the juxtaposition of two forms of CDD control. Whereas the three commercial CDDs are exclusively overseen by the developer, the nine residential jurisdictions are under the purview of the residents – as soon as they acquire ownership of their lot.

The most common conflict concerns overpriced utility charges for golf course use, maintenance, etc. "Homeowners are not only assessed monthly for debt servicing payments in their own residential CDDs, but they also pay monthly assessments for golf course access and maintenance."¹⁴³ One particular example is worth mentioning. The commercial CDD branch of the developer purchased golf courses at an overpriced rate in 2004, covering debt payments through the monthly fees that were charged to the residents. The difference

¹⁴⁰ Bartling, "Tourism as Everyday Life," 397.

¹⁴¹ Bartling, "Tourism as Everyday Life," 397.

¹⁴² Bartling, "Tourism as Everyday Life," 397.

¹⁴³ Bartling, "Tourism as Everyday Life," 398.

between the actual value of two golf-course properties (\$8 million) and the inflated price (\$50 million) translates into pure profit for the developer, with the residents shouldering the costs in the form of increased recreational amenity fees.¹⁴⁴

While *The Villages* straddles three different Florida Counties – Marion County, Lady Lake County, and Sumter County, the vast majority of the development resides within Sumter County. The CDD legislation allows for a relatively autonomous form of private governance, except for the issuance of building permits, comprehensive plans, annexation and law enforcement, which remain the responsibility of the county.¹⁴⁵ In order to exert further control, the developer managed in recent years – through campaigning and various other political measures – to place allies within the Sumter County governmental body.¹⁴⁶ This situation has translated into a form of selective responsibility that maximizes the economic burden of infrastructure and maintenance on the county; while maximizing decision-making power and economic benefits for *The Villages*' developer.

In reaction to the questionable activities of the developer, an independent Property Owner's Association (POA) was formed in 1975 – a type of political resistance by residents. This action has had, however, a limited effect – due to the lack of official power attributed to such organizations within the legal framework of the CDD system – favouring the developer.¹⁴⁷ As a strategy to counter the actions of the POA, a Home Owner's Association (HOA) was founded in 1991, one effectively paid and controlled by the developer.

The organization of this legal entity, however, cannot be confused with a conventional HOA: a collective of homeowners voted by other homeowners to run a non-Chapter 190 residential development. In a standard HOA supervised development, the means of micro-control are administered by means of CC&Rs or Covenants, Conditions and Restrictions. The equivalent to CC&Rs at *The Villages* are the so-called Declaration of Restrictions (DRs), managed by the CDDs legal body. Just as with HOA administered CC&Rs, these Declarations of Restrictions are primarily directed toward the protection of "property value, safety, prestige, lifestyle."¹⁴⁸ In *The Villages*, DRs vary slightly from CDD to CDD – according to when they were formed and their commercial or residential focus. Common residential CDD restrictions address issues such as age, animals, landscaping etc.:

¹⁴⁴ Bartling, "Tourism as Everyday Life," 398.

¹⁴⁵ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 104.

¹⁴⁶ See chapters entitled "Government Inc." and "Foreign Policy" in Blechman, *Leisureville*.

¹⁴⁷ See Blechman, *Leisureville*, 114.

¹⁴⁸ Somol et al, "Endless Orange," 89.

“1. Age Restrictions: The Villages is an adult community designed to provide housing for persons 55 years of age and older. All homes must be occupied by at least one person who is at least fifty-five years of age. Persons under the age of 19 years may visit for a maximum of 30 days per year but may not reside permanently in any dwelling.
 2. Animals: Only domestic pets are permitted and they should not be allowed to make any unreasonable amount of noise or create a nuisance. Pets must be controlled by a leash when not in the confines of the home. As a courtesy, owners should pick up after their pets. All city and county pet ordinances should be adhered to.
 3. Maintenance of Landscaping: Landscaping will be maintained to provide a neat and clean appearance. Removal of weeds, dead plants, grass clippings, trash and debris is required to meet this objective. Trees with trunks exceeding four (4) inches in diameter will need Architectural Approval to be removed from any homesite. Lawn ornaments are prohibited, except for seasonal displays not exceeding a thirty-day duration.”¹⁴⁹

While such rules are typical in the increasingly dominant market of gated communities and homeowner administered communities, what is particular about *The Villages* is the level of developer control that extends to multiple facets of the community. According to Blechman: “Like the owners of a theme park, the Morse family caters to the needs of a captive audience. ...they own liquor stores and liquor distribution rights, a mortgage company, several banks, many of the restaurants, two giant furniture stores as well as a giant indoor furnishings arcade called the “Street of Dreams,” a real estate company, golf cart dealerships, movie theaters, and the local media.”¹⁵⁰ Businesses in *The Villages* that are not owned by the Morse family rent commercial space, paying a percentage of revenues.

The ownership – and therefore the control – of the local media offers multiple strategic advantages for the Morse family business. Commercially, the ownership of radio, television stations, the local magazine and newspaper, monopolizes the lucrative advertising market in the area, allowing the developer to set their own fees for advertising. The exertion of editorial control allows the possibility of shaping the messages communicated to residents, particularly concerning local events. This is particularly evident in both the programming and the obvious biases that extend beyond conventional levels of editorial influence. *The Villages Daily Sun* newspaper, for example, is widely reputed for its emphasis on “cheerful profiles of fellow Villagers than on hard news”¹⁵¹ – reporting just enough bad news of crime and violence taking place outside *The Villages* to “make one feel relieved to live inside the gates.”¹⁵² (fig. B.1.41)

News stories presented as journalistic editorial pieces are often tied to a larger field of commercial activity or political influence. For example, editorial stories on the “fun culture of

¹⁴⁹ The Villages Community Development Districts, “Deed Restrictions and Covenants,” The Villages, <http://www.districtgov.org/vccdd/deedrestrict.asp> (accessed June 10, 2008).

¹⁵⁰ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 111.

¹⁵¹ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 110.

¹⁵² Blechman, *Leisureville*, 110.

golf cart pimping,” featured in *The Daily Sun* newspaper, *The Villages Magazine*, and VNN, the local television station, double as advertisements for the community as well as promotion for the Golf Cart Stores, the golf cart sales chain within the development – also owned by the Morse Family.

Despite adhering to the standard graphic format of a newspaper – implying an objective and impartial rendering of news based on expected journalistic ethics of fairness and impartiality – *The Daily Sun* presents a consistent bias in favour of the developer’s actions, exhibited through an almost entirely positive coverage of general events taking place within the community. Sensitive issues raised by the Property Owner’s Association, such as the lowering of the water table as the cause of sink-holes in the development, are consistently downplayed, as are complaints on overpriced sales of properties to developer controlled CDD boards.¹⁵³

The developer, being one of the main donors to the campaigns of the Republican Party and former President George W. Bush, has played a significant role in State politics. During the 2008 presidential primary campaign and election, for example, local newspapers were noticeably more positive toward desired Republican rather than Democratic candidates. Similarly, the Morse family’s – eventually successful – attempt to gain control of the local Sumter County board of administrators was shaded in a positive light.¹⁵⁴ The same board later authorized large scale infrastructural works upgrading the road links to and from *The Villages*.

This mode of private governance, upheld by the developer’s control of various local markets, represents an extremely successful consolidation of political and economic power – a consolidation further accentuated by the general disempowerment of the leisured residents of *The Villages*. At the municipal level, resident representation is only possible in the residential CDD boards, although only after key decisions concerning design, financing, and construction have been made. Nonetheless, the residents are required to pay fees for amenities and maintenance that are set by the developer – a situation that the local Property Owner’s Association refers to as “taxation without representation.”¹⁵⁵ Taking into account that information about local and county politics is mostly supplied by the developer’s media company, County officials are generally only elected if endorsed by the developer.

¹⁵³ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 109-112.

¹⁵⁴ See the chapter entitled “Foreign Policy” in Blechman, *Leisureville*, 144-160.

¹⁵⁵ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 113.

Consolidations of power operate not only politically but also spatially. In the map of *The Villages*, there is a conspicuous blank area in the middle of the settlement, one without designation. Based on the frequency of swampy areas within and around the community, areas classified as nature reserves, one is likely to assume that this is what occupies the central zone. Upon closer inspection of aerial photographs, discussions with residents, and more careful examinations of the site, it is clear that this inaccessible zone is actually the developer's estate, an area encompassing approximately 1,200 acres (485ha) at the core of *The Villages*. (fig. B.1.42) This area is notable for its contrasting density and scale of built fabric compared to the surrounding area. Visible in the aerial photographs are approximately twenty large residential structures located in an open landscape of trees and original horse-grazing paddocks, and one particular monumentally scaled residence.

Evoking the position of the castle in a typical medieval town, the Morse family's estate occupies the centre of *The Villages*. But in contrast to the outward and public display of power evident in formal political representation and pageantry of the castle, the power and wealth of the Morse's operates privately, as a form of stealth power. This is suggested in various ways, including Morse's resistance to giving interviews, and the general anonymity and secrecy with which much of the family's business is conducted. (fig. B.1.43) Further spatial manifestations of this power are evident within the community, including a private restaurant for family and core employees hidden on an un-marked upper floor near Lake Sumter Landing Square, and hidden two-way mirror fronted private boxes for the developer at the local multiplex cinema.¹⁵⁶ The invisibility of this power better enables its implementation, and maintains the illusion of a retirement arcadia characterized by collective solidarity and lack of social hierarchy between residents. A visible master is not conducive to such an illusion.

Collectivity/Subjectivity

The urbanity of *The Villages* both supports and is supported by particular forms of subjectivity and social collectivity.¹⁵⁷ It represents an expansion of the experiments in post-nuclear family societies begun in the first retirement communities Youngtown, Sun City and Leisureworld in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In these environments, the unit of household collectivity is dominated by retired married heterosexual couples (84.5%), and to a lesser extent, single occupant households of retired widows (most commonly) or retired

¹⁵⁶ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 205-206.

¹⁵⁷ This is to suggest both the qualified acceptance of environmental determinist arguments for collective and individual arrangements – in the mode of Simmel or Benjamin – and to suggest that the environment is impacted by and is to a certain extent a product of a broader socio-cultural-economic milieu of individual and collective life.

widowers/bachelors/spinsters/ divorcees.¹⁵⁸ The less common household composition involves shared roommate situations with two or more individuals. Within this framework, social relations outside of the household unit are predominantly peer-based rather than kin-based, and organized around programmed Third Age leisure activities, rather than Second Age activities of the workplace. The reduction of the influence of relationships with family and co-workers is reinforced by the uniformity of inhabitants' displacement as retirement migrants mostly from other states. While the promotional material presents limited examples of the transfer of small social groupings from other locations outside *The Villages* and outside Florida, the predominant challenge that new residents face is to create new social relations with those around them. *The Villages* therefore offers the opportunity to forge social connections, based less on what one has done in the past, and more on what one will do during retirement. As a result of this, *The Villages* defines a site of tabula rasa both collectively and individually, allowing residents – in the words of a Villager – “to be anything they wanted to be or do before that they couldn’t,” and in doing so, setting up alternate networks of interaction.¹⁵⁹ According to Gary Mark, “to use the analogy of a cocoon, they are reborn – I think – when they come here.”¹⁶⁰ This process of reinvention is promoted through the offer of an extensive range of activities, which some residents experience as a form of programmatic over-stimulation. Such a phenomenon aligns with Charles Kadushin’s description of the transition from social relations based on proximity – associated with small towns – to multiple network-based relations in which “new circles are formed on the basis of intellectual and human interests.”¹⁶¹ According to one resident, “the only problem with being a widow in *The Villages* is that you’re so busy you forget you *are* one.”¹⁶²

Connected to the notion of ‘remaking’ oneself at that *The Villages*’ is an interesting by-product of the community’s isolation from an external population base large enough to fill the necessary service jobs in the community – that is the tendency for many Villagers to engage in a new work-life after retirement. Within an environment constitutionally based on leisure, it is ironic that so many residents have engaged in second ‘careers,’ either on a part-time or full-time basis, either for fun or for financial reasons. One couple interviewed appear to be indicative of this tendency – a retired police officer and his wife, a retired school teacher who run an electronic organ store in *The Villages* as well as offering lessons to interested residents.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ US Census Bureau, “2000 Census Statistics.”

¹⁵⁹ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 24.

¹⁶⁰ Gary Mark, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 17, 2008.

¹⁶¹ Dirk de Meyer and Kristiaan Versluys, et al. ed., *The Urban Condition: Space, Community and Self in the Contemporary Metropolis* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1999), 125-126.

¹⁶² Blechman, *Leisureville*, 13.

¹⁶³ The late 2000s economic recession is likely to intensify this level of ‘self-productivity’ – the coexistence of work and leisure within a self-contained urban entity.

In addition to reinventing the individual and his/her social relations through extensive lifestyle programming, the process of personal and social reinvention is reinforced by regulations specifying demographic segregation, as well as the marketing campaign supporting the image of *The Villages*. The imposition of CC&Rs produces a remarkably consistent mono-demography of peers, generating the impression of an 'even' playing field for social interaction in which social barriers, and fear of the "other" – whether defined in terms of age, socio-economic status or race – diminish through the elimination of difference. This produces in sociological terms what would be referred to as a 'milieu-oriented habitat.' This condition is reinforced by the perception that "people say they feel 'younger' or 'ageless' when they are surrounded by people their own age"¹⁶⁴ – a mental state supported by Piaget's concept of "decentration" and relational understandings of time. With any form of "otherness" being eliminated, a high level of artificially constructed social openness, familiarity, and accessibility is produced, similar to what is conventionally associated with village or small town life – despite the size of *The Villages* approximating that of a city. While a great proportion of residents do not know one another – they are strangers simply as a result of the community's vast size – it is extraordinary how residents systematically greet one another on the street as if they were members of one community. For outsiders, such familiarity seems unsettling, particularly if one is accustomed to the anonymity and indifference associated with urban life. Such 'Hyper-friendliness' may be a partial result of comprehensive marketing efforts, promoting *The Villages* as "Florida's Friendliest Hometown" – through various forms of media, including large billboards announcing one's arrival into the community. Familiarity is here branded and generally accepted as a form of role-playing on the part of the residents.

Based on these observations, there appear to be two predominant layers of social collectivity at *The Villages*: one revolving around the multiple peer-based networks of leisure affiliations such as sports, hobbies and interest clubs, educational classes, neighbourhood associations; and the other supported by an artificially constructed collectivity of pseudo-familiarity between strangers that are deemed unthreatening as a result of a lack of difference. The latter is particularly interesting because it takes an inherently paradoxical assumption for granted: the treatment of the unfamiliar through feigned familiarity, a condition linked to the conceptualization of *The Villages* as a "hometown," in which no one grew up or spent a significant proportion of his or her life.

Constructed social familiarity at *The Villages* thus challenges and contradicts conventional interpretations of the urban subject. Claude Fischer for example argued that "the more urban

¹⁶⁴ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 181.

(larger) a person's community of residence, ... the greater his sense of social isolation (or anomie.)"¹⁶⁵ This notion is closely related to Simmel's portrayal of the metropolitan subject, who as a defence mechanism against alienation and over-stimulation, develops an attitude of reserve and indifference toward other subjects. The alternative presented in the case of *The Villages* suggests a form of urbanity or urban 'machinery' capable of engineering familiarity at the large scale of the city – exceeding the scale of a village or small town – and in so doing, producing the impression of a de-urbanized social collective.¹⁶⁶

Residents of *The Villages* commonly remark on how strong the feeling of collectivity is in the community. For many interviewed, this is associated with the a high level of collective organization, participation and funding in the leisure activities, as well as the impression of a relatively flat socio-economic structure amongst residents. Inhabitants dress in an almost uniform fashion, what might be termed Florida-casual; and despite variations in the price levels of houses, their design and construction are relatively homogeneous as they are built by the same developer and controlled by same regulations. (fig. B.1.44 – B.1.45) The construction of such a present-day collective might be considered in view of Bob Somol's description of a contemporary form of "corporate socialism" as outlined in his analysis of the Irvine Ranch development in Orange County, California. Somol writes:

"The 'utopian' development of Irvine, achieved through an official policy of 'planned living,' recuperates some of the socialist ambitions of CIAM, though now provided for by corporate sponsorship. The combination of collective rules of appearance and maintenance, the basic nucleus of planning revolving around the dwelling unit and sub-development, and the attention to a balance of work, recreation, circulation, education and living, demonstrates the surprising survival of CIAM[']s social] goals through other means..."¹⁶⁷

One obvious difference within the context of *The Villages* involves the balance of activities described Somol. Though similar in its structure and compared to Irvine, The Villages community primarily excludes work, defining perhaps what could be described as a form of 'leisure socialism.'

Sites of individualisation at *The Villages* appear to be quite specific. As acknowledged by Ulrich Beck, contemporary individualisation is the extent to which forms of behaviour are increasingly defined by forms of social control (neighbours, corporation and family) and less by traditional ideological organizations and institutions (whether political or religious).¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Claude Fischer, "On Urban Alienations and Anomie: Powerlessness and Social Alienation," *American Sociological Review* 38 (June 1973): 312. Based on Louis Wirth's 1938 text "Urbanism as a Way of Life" reprinted in *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, ed. Richard Sennett (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), 143-164.

¹⁶⁶ See also the earlier section on 'Scale.'

¹⁶⁷ Somol et al, "Endless Orange," 91.

¹⁶⁸ See for example: Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim, *Institutionalized Individualism and Its Social and Political Consequences* (London: Sage, 2002).

While the residents of *The Villages* are individualised from the dominant institutions of the broader family and workplace, they are remarkably consistent in their outward representations of lifestyle. Individualisation does however become more evident in particular activities, and the products associated them. Customized golf carts are one example of sites of identity formation, and are sometimes tied to a representation of the previous professional identity. For example, former fireman Dave Miller features prominently in the November 2007 issue of *The Villages Magazine*, as does former state trooper policeman Rodney Lynch. Both represent themselves and their golf carts through the lens of their previous professions.

The extent to which alternative lifestyles – or further individualised forms of living – are present within *The Villages* is generally concealed. It can be assumed however that hidden identities exist within the community. In *Leisureville* Blechman refers to a series of individuals with hidden personality traits: transsexual Wendy-Marie, hedonist philanderer Chez, known as Mr. Midnight, a group of homosexual women masked as the Women's Softball Club, and the local Swinger's Club disguised as the Wine Tasting Club. The outward presentation of this level of individualized lifestyle is generally suppressed amongst the social environment at *The Villages*. This could be a function of the form of generational uniformity that is dominant within the community, one aligned more to what has been termed the 'silent' or Eisenhower generation, rather than the generation referred to as the 'Baby Boomers.' Blechman writes:

"Members of the "GI generation (born 1901-1924) and the "silent (or Eisenhower) generation" (1925-1942) generally didn't question authority but rather obeyed it. They held low-risk jobs that supplied steady paychecks. Retirement for them represented an opportunity to finally take it easy and relax after a lifetime of toil. They prefer group activities to individual pursuits. They like communal hobbies; and when they travel, they often do so in large groups. These are the folks who have enthusiastically populated retirement communities modeled on Sun City."¹⁶⁹

The behavioural patterns of so-called Eisenhower generation might also be considered in view of the emblematic subject of William Whyte's *Organization Man*, characterized by an ideology of collective conformity rather than individual expression. The younger 'baby-boomer generation' that is playing an increasing role in the community is less likely to adhere to institutional forms of control, with the likelihood that manifestations of individualization might increase. According to Blechman:

"...the boomers are risk takers searching for purpose. Whereas Sun Citians flocked to hear Lawrence Wreck perform old favorites at the Sun Bowl, boomers were camped out in the rain at Woodstock listening to Jimi Hendrix reinterpret 'The Star-Spangled Banner.'" They're the generation of LSD, the Pill, Watergate, and protests against the Vietnam War. They are active, adventurous, and individualistic, and you're more likely to find them mountain biking,

¹⁶⁹ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 188-189.

surfing, and sipping espresso at sixty-five than playing shuffleboard, clog-hopping and square dancing.”¹⁷⁰

Whether or not the individuals are members of the Eisenhower Generation or Baby Boomers, there is a powerful tendency within *The Villages* toward youthfulness in attitudes and behaviour – particularly in relation to the party culture supported within the community. One interesting example is in the area of sexual behaviour documented by Blechman and also presented in the local news: “Seniors are now one of the fastest growing populations at risk of STDs because they are so promiscuous. Also, more than sixty percent of sexually active older singles have unprotected sex. After all, who’s going to get pregnant at seventy?”¹⁷¹

The Villages produces a culture of individual and collective youthfulness, but one paradoxically without youth. Youthfulness in these terms is not only produced through communal activities, but also through the repair, development and enhancement of the individual body itself. The programming of the strip-hospital complex supports – what might be termed – ‘cyborgian’ ambitions of the residents with respect to a broad range of treatments and products, from the bio-chemical and the bio-mechanical, to the bio-cosmetic and the psycho-chemical. Blechman’s describes his interaction with the ‘Don Juan’ of *The Villages*, Mr. Midnight: “I have to pick up my Viagra,” he says, and soon returns with a brown package. “It’s not that I need it, mind you. It’s an enhancement, like whipped cream and nuts on a sundae. If it’s a special night, I might take 100 milligrams. If it’s one of my regular honeys, I’ll probably pop a fifty. Friendship only goes so far.”¹⁷²

Canned flavoured oxygen is another party enhancer available over the shelf at *The Villages* gas stations. (fig. B.1.46) It comes in three different flavours. Below is a short excerpt from an interview with a gas station attendant:

Question: “Is this a kind of medical treatment? Or a back up for people prescribed on oxygen?”

Gas Station Attendant: “Nah. Folks around here use it as a hangover cure. I heard mint’s the favourite.”¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 188-189.

¹⁷¹ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 81. See also: WFTV Orlando, “Doctors In Retirement Community Seeing Increase In STDs,” WFTV.com, <http://www.wftv.com/news/9275560/detail.html> (accessed on June 8, 2008).

¹⁷² Blechman, *Leisureville*, 203.

¹⁷³ Gas Station Attendant, interview by author, The Villages, Florida, January 18, 2008.

Conclusion

The Villages represents an urban experiment, based on the protocols of the entertainment-industrial complex, applied to the transformation of the established American post-war model of the retirement community. It is not coincidental that Disneyworld, Sun City and *The Villages* have been built as large-scale urban entities in what used to be 'the middle of nowhere,' on relatively worthless land in warm climates. What these sites have in common is that they were each conceived on a tabula rasa onto which an elaborate leisure utopias have been projected.

The 'total landscape' of the theme park functions as a sophisticated spatial and temporal apparatus directed toward the controlled production of effects.¹⁷⁴ In the case of Disneyworld, the apparatus constructs a diverse fantasy world for children – one typically located far away in the past or future. In the case of *The Villages*, the apparatus is dedicated toward the construction of a fantasy world for the old – through a return to the hometown of their 'youthful' past.

The 'return' that takes place at *The Villages* may be seen as a built embodiment of the logic upon which the Third Age is based – that is the denial of the existence of the last period of life, the Fourth Age of decrepitude, dependence and death. In this case, denial is performed through the production of a comprehensive culture of youthfulness, one that celebrates (hyper-)activity, and paradoxically, a nostalgia for childhood. While the argument over whether this constitutes a productive or irresponsible form of denial can be debated; the effectiveness of such an apparatus is less disputable. Various aspects of *The Villages* investigated in this chapter contribute to this culture of youthfulness, and many are closely linked to the tradition of the artificial spatio-temporal devices of the entertainment-industrial complex.

In achieving a new scale of market segmentation for the Third Age, *The Villages* eliminates the First and Second ages (in relation to whom the residents feel 'old'); and the Fourth Age (who embody the 'depressing' reality of the future.) The constructed edge of the 'city' maintains the fantasy 'bubble' of *The Villages* in contrast to an 'unruly' exterior, just as The Magic Kingdom is held apart from the surrounding exurban chaos. The 'city' is up-scaled through a new level of programmed hyper-activity that artfully combines the frameworks of business (associated with 'meaningful' roles of the Second Age) and vigorous play

¹⁷⁴ The term 'total landscape' refers to the conceptual construct of the theme park as typology in: Miodrag Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape, Theme Parks, Public Space* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

(associated with the fun of the First Age.) Meanwhile, the 'city' is simultaneously down-scaled and temporally displaced through the themeing of the 'hometown.' As a construct literally imported from the theme park, themeing produces a form of resilient 'youthful time' through a comprehensive environmental staging of nostalgia. Disconnecting residents from contemporary time, the 'hometown' literally transports them back to their childhood pasts.

The Villages produces further novelties in the form of architectural and urban devices. The golf cart – positioned at the intersection of nostalgia and futurism that is typical of Disneyworld's mobility projects – unites almost the entire ground plane of *The Villages*, one that is heavily promoted in connection to the theme of play, and 'ride.' The strip hospital further engages the culture of youthfulness through the conscious diffusion of the hospital as singular iconic mega-building associated with illness and death. It places the consumer of hearing aids or colonoscopy services in a similar position to that of the consumer shopping for tire prices along the strip.

The influence of the entertainment-industrial complex extends to the specific model of private governance and control— one that evolved from the planning legislation introduced for Disneyworld. However, private governance in *The Villages* – extending to dominate almost every area of life, including the control of local media – appears to be more potent, profitable, and thus more ethically questionable than that at Disneyworld. The consolidation of power and wealth is more remarkable for the stealth-like presence of the forces at work defining *The Villages*.

In producing such an artificial and tenuous construct, the Villages presents a reality of many paradoxes. The complexity of this urban reality evades straightforward categorization according to existing theoretical models such as Michel Foucault's Heterotopia, or Giorgio Agamben's State of Exception. As Hugh Bartling suggests, The Villages is:

"...simultaneously completely fabricated and extraordinarily real... ...a space where vacation is permanent, but where residents of a town and region are faced with the costs of growth that threaten the very viability of their 'vacation.'"¹⁷⁵ These paradoxes extend further to a new city that is simultaneously an old town; a sprawling exurbia presented as New Urbanism; a childhood 'hometown' in which none of the residents grew up; and, a total environmental culture of nostalgia designed to maintain the mental condition of youthfulness.

The tension between the unfamiliar and the familiar alludes to certain strands of dystopian science fiction based on extrapolations of existing realities, through themes such as: the

¹⁷⁵ Bartling, "Tourism as Everyday Life," 400.

autocratic control of society through the control of media and information; outwardly 'perfect' worlds that conceal more sinister relations of power and control; segregation and demographic control of societies; and the employment of deviant practices for the purposes of disciplining time and evading boredom.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Obvious examples would include: George Orwell's *1984*; Peter Weir's *The Truman Show*; William Nolan and George Clayton Johnson's *Logans Run*; and J.G. Ballard's *Cocaine Nights*, respectively.

2. THE URBANIZACIONES OF COSTA DEL SOL: SOLAR PARADISES OF INTERNATIONAL RETIREMENT MIGRATION

“...the region of Europe which has attracted the largest number and highest density of expatriate retired residents.” Russell King, Tony Warnes, Allan Williams¹

“...a home away from home better than home.” Armando Montilla²

Just as Florida and Arizona define a migratory sunbelt for American retirees, Spain's Costa del Sol and Costa Blanca function as the corresponding migratory sunbelt for the retirees of Europe.³ Commonly referred to as 'Europe's retirement home,' Costa del Sol in particular has attracted hundreds of thousands of retirees since the 1980s from northern and western European nations such as Great Britain, Germany, France, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands.⁴ (fig. B.2.1) While both the American and European forms of retirement migration involve moving large distances to experience more favourable climatic conditions and lower costs of living, the primary difference in the European case involves the crossing of national cultural and linguistic borders. The spatial conditions of this trans-cultural interaction will be one of the primary themes addressed in this chapter.

The exact scale of this migratory phenomenon has been particularly difficult to quantify as it consists of a 'veiled population' of predominantly unregistered foreign residents.⁵ While the official number of registered foreign residents on Costa del Sol documents 247,096 (2007) out of total official population of 1,587,840 (2009), estimates of actual foreign residents range up to 600,000, of whom a considerable proportion are British retirees.⁶

While the existing literature describes the urban phenomenon of Costa del Sol in terms of a time-sharing logic between indigenous residents, tourists and retirement migrants; this

¹ Russell King, Tony Warnes and Allan Williams, *Sunset Lives: British Retirement Migration to the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 207.

² Armando Montilla, "The Creation of the New German 'Extra-Metropolitan' Suburbia: The Case of the *Feriensiedlungen* of Mallorca" (paper presented at the 2003 Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences. June 2, 2003).

³ Costa del Sol rather than Costa Blanca will be the focus of this chapter due primarily to the dominance of British retirees there, speculation that the actual British retiree population is considerably larger than that on Costa Blanca, the availability of literature addressing these constituents, and as the focus of the fieldwork conducted in March and April 2009.

⁴ The phenomenon of European retirement migration to Spain has been addressed by geographers and sociologists such as Andreas Huber, Karen O'Reilly, Russell King, Tony Warnes and Allan Williams. See: Andreas Huber and Karen O'Reilly, "The construction of Heimat under conditions of individualized modernity: Swiss and British elderly migrants in Spain," in *Ageing and Society* 24 (2004): 327-351; Andreas Huber, "Retirement Settlements in the Spanish Coastal Regions: a New Kind of Non-place?" (unpublished paper, 2004); Karen O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol: Transnational Identities and Local Communities* (London: Routledge, 2000); Russell King, Tony Warnes and Allan Williams, *Sunset Lives: British Retirement Migration to the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Berg, 2000.)

⁵ The term 'veiled population' has been used by José Maria Romero to described this phenomenon. Romero estimates that the territory of ZoMeCS is occupied by twelve million inhabitants. This consists of the range of additional constituents including unregistered resident tourists (foreign residents), tourists, and business travellers. See: José Maria Romero, *Territory ZoMeCS: Urban Attributes* (Granada: Rizoma Foundation, 2004), 3.

⁶ Karen O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol: Transnational Identities and Local Communities*. (London: Routledge, 2000), 49.

chapter will foreground the organization of the various constituents according to the coexistence of three spatial ecologies. Consisting of the historical towns, tourist resorts, and *urbanizaciones*, this arrangement registers the historical and programmatic transformations of the coast during the latter half of the twentieth century. Dominated by foreign retirement migrants, the *urbanizaciones* have emerged as the dominant ecology in spatial terms, and to a large extent, programmatically. Filling in the accessible territory between the historical fishing villages and tourist resorts, several hundred residential *urbanizaciones* have formed what appears to be a near-continuous linear carpet of urbanism stretching along more than 150km of the coast roughly between the settlements of Estepona and Nerja. (fig. B.2.2) This urban system supports a considerable population of retirees through a vast leisure infrastructure.

Just as sociologists such as Karen O'Reilly have argued that international retirement migration taking place on Costa del Sol produces a form of subjectivity 'betwixt' two cultures and locations, it will be argued here that the *urbanizaciones* themselves represent a hybrid urbanism lodged in the gap between the vacation resort and the American gated community; and between the Andalusian pueblo and the colonial outpost. Aligning with other cases of Third Age urbanism presented in this dissertation, the *urbanizaciones* are to a large extent based on the mutation of the temporary leisure typology of the leisure resort toward full-time leisure use. It is the format of the vacation resort therefore that is the most influential model in the realization of *urbanizaciones* – one that produces a private form of social space through an array of communal leisure infrastructures such as golf courses, swimming pools, and bars. Collectively, the *urbanizaciones* do not contribute to a coherent connective urban fabric, but rather to a field of disjointed entities that are distinct from much of their surroundings in both organisational and cultural terms. Organisationally, Costa del Sol may be understood as a linear form of ex-urban development, forming a metropolitan condition without a clear organizational or productive centre of gravity – apart perhaps from the role the airport of Malaga plays in facilitating the trans-national mobility necessary for the realisation of such a condition.

Culturally, what is remarkable about the *urbanizaciones* is their tendency toward mono-national cultural environments through the concentration of British and German retirees. Such concentrations have been controversially termed 'colonies' – a term O'Reilly has challenged. This chapter will maintain the relevance of the descriptive potential of the term 'colony', but through an understanding of colony and colonialism distinct from that of the nineteenth century nation state, and distinct from that of the late twentieth century corporation. This will be presented in terms of a form of demographic and consumer

colonisation, one that is less a product of top-down control than in a collective bottom-up consumption of urban territory that conforms to the logic of what the American architect Keller Easterling calls a 'spatial product.'

The investigation of this case study does not only describe the retirement phenomenon in Spain, but outlines a set of protocols for retirement lifestyles that have begun to colonise other territories as specific local conditions change, such as exchange rates, property prices, relative costs of living, legal status, and treaty membership within regional organizations such as the EU. Particular shifts in these variables have led to the migration of the model of the *urbanizacion* to locations such as the Balkans and Turkey. As replicable products, the *urbanizaciones* operate as solar- and golfing-utopias that simultaneously exploit the local exotic context as a packaged product, at the same time mimic the specific cultural contexts of the migrant's 'home' environment. This takes place in a setting largely devoid of work and rain – one constructed as a 'home away from home better than home.'⁷

History Of International Retirement Migration

The type of migration producing this form of urban phenomenon on Costa del Sol has been characterised as the most prolonged and populous case of what British sociologists Russell King, Tony Warnes and Allan Williams have referred to as 'International Retirement Migration' (or IRM.) King et al see IRM as a contemporary phenomenon that challenges, in a positive way, the traditional image of the retiree as frail and burdensome. In particular, "The innovative residential settings and lifestyles associated with IRM are one manifestation of new, positive and developmental ambitions among older people drawn from a broad income spectrum and a range of occupational backgrounds."⁸

With a prehistory in the earlier European migrations of the wealthy elite to the inland spas of the eighteenth century and the fashionable seaside resorts of the early nineteenth century, IRM is presented by King et al as the third of three evolutionary stages of retirement migration. In this schema, the first stage is described as urban-to-rural migration, based upon a return to one's childhood home upon retirement. The extent of this type of migration is influenced by how recently the process of urbanisation has taken place in a particular region. The second stage takes place with the elevated influence of factors such as environmental attractiveness, accessibility, social support and housing availability, alongside the diminishing

⁷ Montilla, "The Creation of the New German 'Extra-Metropolitan' Suburbia," 3.

⁸ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, xii. Additionally, "...although international retirement migration is selective of the upper two-thirds (or so) of the income spectrum, most educational, occupational and residential history backgrounds are found amongst British retirees abroad." King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 4.

importance of childhood connection in retirement location choice. The movement to British coastal resorts in the 1920s, 1930s and 1950s is an example of this second stage, supported by the expansion of mass rail connections and the increasing accessibility afforded by the automobile in this period. The third stage incorporates more individuals retiring to multiple widely-dispersed locations under the guise of a more pure form of lifestyle or amenity migration.

According to King et al, the specific background to the retirement migration of Britons is relatively more complex than other nationalities, providing, in turn, considerable incentives for retiring in foreign countries. For example, "...its imperial history has produced an exceptional range of family-related destination opportunities; it has achieved high levels of owner-occupation; and, in comparison to most other Western European countries, its early (and now remote) urbanisation means that relatively few people have strong ties to a rural or provincial region where generations of their ancestors lived."⁹

The internationalisation of location-driven retirement in Europe has been placed within the context of "radical improvements in older people's incomes and assets"; and massive changes in the 'social construction' of old age in the twentieth century, particularly in terms of preferences and opportunities.¹⁰ The latter has been addressed in detail in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, while the former – economic improvement – is evidenced by a doubling of average real income in the UK between 1975 and 1995.¹¹ As a result, "... those who move at retirement have higher real incomes and assets, [and] they demand better housing and environments. Increasingly, the preference to live in attractive, 'unspoilt' landscapes is asserted, diverting migrants into rural areas, some of which were until recently poorly serviced and experiencing population decline."¹²

A sudden rise in long-distance migrations around the age of retirement is commonly known as the 'retirement peak.'¹³ Moves at this time are typically undertaken for positive rather than negative reasons, including: improving one's residential surroundings, advancing development of the self, strengthening social or familial relations, or simply for hedonistic reasons.¹⁴

⁹ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 27.

¹⁰ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 1-2.

¹¹ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 15.

¹² King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 22.

¹³ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 18. These are typically "...undertaken by the more affluent, married couples and owner-occupiers."

¹⁴ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 6.

Three major factors have been identified by King et al as to the rise of IRM in recent decades including: the increased familiarity with foreign destinations, improved transport and accessibility, and the reduction of institutional and legal barriers to foreign living.¹⁵

From the 1960s on, a considerable increase in the frequency of foreign vacations led to tourism becoming the dominant activity supporting increased familiarity with foreign cultures. This is documented in the number of British travelling abroad rising from 5 million in 1965 to 12 million in 1980, increasing further to approximately 24 million in 1995 – and supported by the increasingly frequency of tourism for older persons.¹⁶

Improved accessibility has been a key factor in the growth of IRM, particularly in terms of the reduced real cost and time involved in transport. Important events in the evolution of improved transportation include the expansion and improvement of the European motorway network in the post war period, the introduction of the Boeing 707 airliner in the late 1950s, the growth of economies of scale in the tourist charter flight market, and the expansion of routes of low cost airlines.¹⁷

The third key aspect is the reduced role of institutional and legal barriers both at the level of the nation state, and at the level of the European Union. In addition to the democratisation of Spain in the 1970s, the Single European Act of 1986 supported freedom of movement and the possibility to acquire property rights between EU nationals. According to King et al:

“IRM is embedded in important EU institutional and social policy considerations, including Articles 48 and 49 of the Treaty of Rome on free movement, the Single European Act which removes barriers to property rights across member states, Article 8 of the Treaty of European Union (Maastricht) which bestows limited electoral rights, and the Social Charter which envisions the potential to harmonize pension and welfare systems across the Community.”¹⁸

This “enhanced international portability of social and health service entitlements,” as King et al refer to it, encouraged many Britons to retire abroad. Such legal transformations began in the 1980s as the UK’s bilateral agreements concerning the payment of government pensions to residents abroad was expanded, and became increasingly tangible in the early 1990s as more of the policy ambitions of the EU’s vision of a ‘social Europe’ were realized. This process would be mirrored by a corresponding societal “decline of reciprocal or inter-

¹⁵ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 30-31.

¹⁶ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 31.

¹⁷ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 31.

¹⁸ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, xi-xii.

generational family support and obligations” which would lessen the importance of local networks and ties for retirees.¹⁹

In recent years IRM has gained the explicit political and economic support of the European Commission. It is particularly interesting to note that rather than framing the pensioners of IRM as a revenue drain on local economies (as is the most common characterization), the Commission intentionally describes them as protracted tourists. In other words, as attractive revenue-generating visitors of great economic value to local regions:

“The idea of freedom of movement is being enhanced to ensure that people of any age can travel from one part of the Union to another perhaps for very long periods. This is particularly relevant for older people who have retired and who may wish to spend many months in parts of the Union other than their original home (because the weather is better or the cost of living lower, for example). In effect, this amounts to protracted periods as tourists.”²⁰

While the phenomenon of IRM has expanded in recent decades to other locations – such as American citizens retiring to the Caribbean or Latin America, or small numbers of Germans retiring to South East Asia – the oldest and by far the largest scale realization of IRM is North-South European retirement migration centred on the coast of Spain. Much of this, as described in this chapter, is a function of particular geographical, social, cultural, economical and political conditions.

Tourism and IRM on Costa del Sol.

Historically, Northern Europeans were first drawn to Costa del Sol in the nineteenth century as the Mediterranean coast evolved into Europe’s ‘great winter playground’ and ‘pleasure periphery’.²¹ As a spa resort, Malaga in particular emerged as a site of overflow from what was at the time an overcrowded French Riviera.²² Further expansion took place to the west of Malaga, in Torremolinos, by the beginning of the 1930s. At that time, such hotel accommodations were still directed toward attracting the wealthy leisure class. In the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War and World War II, the wider territories of Malaga, Torremolinos, and Marbella were successfully promoted as high-status destinations for foreign vacationers. There was practically no tourism-related development outside of these areas of the Costa del Sol at that time. According to King et al, the most radical changes in

¹⁹ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 13. They do point out however that the role of the reduction of institutional and legal barriers to foreign living can be exaggerated as retirement migration to Spain was taking place – albeit on a smaller scale – before Spain joined the EU.

²⁰ European Commission, *Tourism in the European Union: A Practical Guide*. (Brussels: European Commission, 1996). Cited in O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 36.

²¹ As described by E. Reynolds-Ball in *Mediterranean Winter Resorts* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trüber and Co., 1899) cited in King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 32.

²² King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 34.

the region would take place from 1950 onward with the emergence of international mass tourism – a phenomenon that would alter the “social construction of the region as a tourism destination.”²³

“Mass Mediterranean tourism was constructed around sea, sand, sun and sex and paid scant attention to the indigenous cultural features of the destinations. Reduced costs enabled foreign holidays to be extended first to the lower middle class, and then to large sections of the working class; at the same time, the tour companies’ pursuit of economies of scale made such an extension of the market an economic imperative. In other words, there was cumulative causation in the expansion of mass tourism. The scale of this expansion was immense, and the Mediterranean region as a whole [now] attracts approximately a third of all international tourists.”²⁴

The phenomenon of all-inclusive package tours developed in the 1960s and 1970s was one of the key aspects of this transformation.²⁵ The rapid rise in the popularity of Costa del Sol as a tourist destination is evident from statistics that track a rise in visitors from 51,000 in 1959, to 925,000 in 1968, to 2.5 million in 1975, to 8.5 million in 2002.²⁶ This growth would correspond to the transformation of the Costa del Sol (with perhaps the exception of some parts of Marbella) from an exclusive to a mass tourist destination.

The 1980s marked a particular shift as Spanish local and central government attempted to offset the destabilizing effects of seasonal economic fluctuations typical of the tourism industry, by promoting foreign investment in land and property in the coastal areas. Due to its relatively low cost “...developers capitalised on this new market, building cheap, high-rise, often poorly constructed blocks of apartments in an unregulated fashion in many of the most popular resorts. Urbanisations (new, densely concentrated developments of small or larger villas) sprang up in a spontaneous and often unplanned manner in and around these same resorts.”²⁷

During this period, the British pound gained in strength against the Spanish currency with the British pound reaching 220 pesetas in 1985. According to O’Reilly, “Tourists were, by now, flocking to Spain in large numbers and, attracted by the low prices, good exchange rates, the sun and sea, and the increasingly welcoming infrastructure of the tourist areas, they began to consider Spain as a place to live.”²⁸ This improved infrastructure supported higher levels of international connectivity, public transport, shopping and entertainment than would otherwise

²³ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 34.

²⁴ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 34.

²⁵ O’Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 31-32.

²⁶ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 59. 2002 statistics from Andalucia.com, “Spain – Residential Tourist Statistics,” Andalucia.com, <http://www.andalucia.com/spain/statistics/tourism.htm> (accessed November 25, 2009).

²⁷ O’Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 33.

²⁸ O’Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 34.

be available.²⁹ The most rapid expansion in numbers of foreign retirement migrants took place during this period, when Britons – following the example of the Germans – started acquiring retirement homes and holiday homes on the Spanish coast. This led to a rapid transformation in which “...old village nuclei and the clusters of seafront hotels were soon surrounded by modern *urbanizaciones*.”³⁰ The process saw the emphasis in the area shift from spa-towns to high-status resorts, to mass tourism sites and finally, to a comprehensive site of mass retirement migration.³¹ This later expansion coincided with a period of British economic recovery in the mid-1980s along with a massive expansion in the British property market. This allowed many Britons to make considerable profits on selling homes in Britain that could be invested in cheap properties elsewhere, such as Spain “... buying themselves a higher standard of living to retire to, or buying themselves an income in the way of small businesses serving the tourists and newly settled communities of expatriates.”³²

The end of the 1980s saw the first decline in tourism on the Spanish coast largely as a result of economic recession. As mass tourism figures contracted, there was a mirrored growth in the market for holiday homes and retirement homes, in parallel with efforts on the part of the Spanish Tourist Authority to promote cultural tourism particularly in the inland areas away from the congested coastlines.³³

From 1990 on, further fluctuations in the exchange rate and the fortunes of the global economy affected both the rate of growth of foreign retirees settling, and the location and scale of new development, on Costa del Sol. Further challenging times would include: the economic recession of the early 1990s combined with the British pound dropping in value to as low as 167 pesetas in 1993;³⁴ the minor economic recession at the beginning of the 2000s; and most recently, the collapse of property markets and international recession at the end of the 2000s, an event that coincided with the advancing devaluation of the British pound in relation to the Euro. Despite these setbacks, growth of residential retirement development along Costa del Sol continued over those decades. As a result, formerly dense compact cities such as Malaga, have transformed in that period into a “linear metropolitan area” encompassing hundreds of *urbanizaciones*.

²⁹ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 35.

³⁰ “Jurdao and Sanchez estimate that there were 470 *urbanizaciones* in the Costa del Sol by 1969 – including 120 in Mijas and 105 in Marbella. Most housed fast growing foreign communities.” King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 59.

³¹ O'Reilly interviewed an English professional couple who moved to Fuengirola in the 1960s: “There were none of these big blocks in those days; none of this was here, and none of the people, it was a tiny fishing village ... and the Spanish were poor, and most of them were illiterate in those days. All us Britons knew each other in those days, and we would visit each other for drinks and for dinner. We were a small cliquey group, not like now. There are so many now, it's impossible to know them all, and most of them are not really our type, you know.” Interview with ‘John and Judith’ in O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 31.

³² O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 34.

³³ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 34.

³⁴ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 34.

Population Quantification

Quantifying the foreign and British retirement population on Costa del Sol is notoriously difficult based to a large extent on the 'floating' quality of those residents. While European nationals staying longer than six months in any one year are required by law to register at the local police station, it is estimated that a large proportion of the foreign resident population remain unregistered and unwilling to fill out census forms. This is attributed to a number of reasons. Firstly, according to O'Reilly, residents "...find the process of applying for and gaining residence permits an expensive, time-consuming and a bureaucratic nightmare. Then, acting as a further deterrent, there is always the possibility that the permit will be refused and the person will be asked to leave the country within a few days."³⁵ Additionally, residents may not know exactly how long they plan to stay, and they may plan to move from one apartment to another during the period. Many also feel that as European citizens they have a right to be in Spain and therefore should not be required to hold residency permits. The imprecision involved in quantifying such an elusive population is clearly evident in the following excerpts from Karen O'Reilly's *The British on Costa del Sol*:

"For the whole of Spain, according to C. Bel Adell (1989), there were 46,914 British residents in Spain in 1986 and 73,555 in 1989. According to European Commission figures, 86,000 Britons were living in Spain in 1991.[...] In 1995 D. Creffield reported that, according to British Embassy estimates, 300,500 Britons were living in Spain. Another source [suggests...] 100,000 Britons apparently live on the Costa del Sol. Various reports estimate there are [in 2000] between 100,000 and 300,000 British, and approximately one million foreign nationals living in Spain as a whole; whereas back in 1986 apparently one million foreign nationals owned property in Spain's coastal areas. In June 1999 the *Entertainer* reported that there were 600,000 English-speaking foreigners living in southern Spain."³⁶

"Social scientists Francisco Jurdao and Maria Sanchez hazarded a guess that over 25,000 Britons were living in Mijas in 1990, a Village whose total population at the time numbered only 36,000! On the other hand, 34,000 Britons were registered with the British Consulate in Malaga as resident in the Malaga province in 1993. At the same time the British Consul, Michael Bartrum, told me he estimated that 20,000 Britons were living in the village and coastal areas of Mijas. According to the census figures collected by Mijas council in 1994, there were then 6,379 British residents and 136 Irish living in the municipality."³⁷

³⁵ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 46.

³⁶ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 49.

³⁷ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 49. The British consulate estimates 50,000 permanent British residents versus the 1991 census that shows approximately 15,000, of whom just over half are over 50 years of age. The same 1991 census estimates a total foreign population of 47,000. King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 60-61. According to O'Reilly, "Jurdao and Sanchez in 1990 estimated that 70% of the population of the Mijas municipality was foreign, with 50% of those being British. An English newspaper the *Entertainer* in 1998 "quoted a figure of 600,000 English speaking foreigners living in southern Spain." O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 34. It is of interest to note that there are negative ramifications to such underestimations in official population statistics – in particular this involves the under-funding of public services such as hospitals, post offices and other infrastructure such as roads.

O'Reilly and Huber describe the 25,126 registered British residents in the Province of Malaga in 2001 as the largest national group, constituting 30% of registered foreign-national residents. Of those British residents over two-thirds were 45 years of age and over. These official figures contrast radically with other estimates of the actual population. According to a reporter for the Guardian newspaper in 2007: "There are now more Britons living in Spain than in any other European country, aside from the UK, and British embassy staff say the real figure may be three times higher than official estimates. The southern Costa del Sol alone has a shifting British population - not counting tourists - of up to 300,000 people."³⁸

In this context then, no attempt to fix a single population figure will be made, other than to suggest that estimates of the foreign resident population on Costa del Sol in 2009 could range from approximately 25,000 to 500,000, of whom between roughly 30% and 50% are British – a considerable proportion of whom are retirees.

Climate: Solar Utopia

International retirement migration is – according to King et al – the result of the increasing importance of "amenity and lifestyle influences on the selection of retirement locations."³⁹

This may be contextualized with respect to the decreasing importance of family-related locational decisions, a shift aligning to the social phenomenon of increasing individualisation theorised by Ulrich and Elisabeth Beck discussed earlier in the introductory chapter of this dissertation.

Of the range of factors attracting the foreign retirement migrant from northern to southern Europe – including climate, lower living costs and house prices, and the increased familiarity of southern culture and lifestyles – it is the climate that is registered as the most important factor by far in foreign residents' decisions to move to Costa del Sol. In a survey conducted by King et al in 1996, for example, 48% listed the climate as the most important reason for foreigners living in Costa del Sol, while 29% listed it as the second most important reason.⁴⁰

Possessing a Mediterranean-Subtropical climate, Costa del Sol can be characterised quantitatively by an average of approximately 2800 sunshine hours each year, compared to 1500 in London, 1700 in Berlin, or 1500 in Stockholm. Average January daytime winter temperatures of 11°C to 18°C compare to 2°C to 8°C, -2°C to 3°C, and -5°C to -1°C in the other European cities; while summer daytime temperatures in August are between 26 to

³⁸ Giles Tremlett, "Spain," *The Guardian*, January 27, 2007.

³⁹ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 202.

⁴⁰ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 95.

32 °C compared to 13°C to 23°C, 14°C to 23°C, and 13°C to 20°C in London, Berlin and Stockholm respectively. Annual rainfall measures 233mm on average on the Costa del Sol, compared to 593mm, 603mm, and 554mm in London, Berlin and Stockholm. And snowfall is more or less unheard of on the Spanish Coast.⁴¹

In climatic terms then, the Costa del Sol functions as a form of solar utopia. In promotional and sales materials for properties on the coast, the presentation of this climate, and the lifestyle and activities associated with it, play a central role.⁴² Spanish architect Juan Palop-Casado has described a collective zone of such favourable climatic sites around the globe as the 'geometry of paradise' – effectively two sub-tropical 'corridors of good weather' that contain "a unique reserve of energies, economies, technologies, geographies, lifestyles, biology, times and places that are worth decoding..."⁴³ (fig. B.2.3) These corridors increasingly function as sites of overlap between the geography of tourism and that of retirement migration – something emphasised by the fact that all of the case studies of this dissertation are located within these corridors.⁴⁴ In this regard, there are obvious parallels with the phenomenon of retirement migration in the United States centred on Florida and Arizona, reinforcing the increasing attractiveness of climate in relation to the traditional institutions that maintained older persons in the places they had previously lived – in particular, the long-term proximity of family members, friends and broader social and functional networks.⁴⁵ Tied to this, King et al ask:

"What is meant, and what lies behind, the dominating prevalence of references to the favourable climate? The most appreciated elements are the mildness, sunshine and relative dryness of the winters, including the absence of frosts – the general effect is liberating and cheering. The Mediterranean winter climate not only allows but encourages people to be active out-of-doors; which for a few means golf, tennis or adventurous rambles, and for many more means meals on the patio, leisurely sight-seeing or shopping, and meeting friends by the harbour or at a club. The heat of summer is appreciated by some but not others, but is a minor qualification for the hundreds of our informants who were clear that the climate raised their morale."⁴⁶

⁴¹ Weather statistics sourced from: www.theweathernetwork.com; www.worldclimate.com and www.weather.com. (accessed November 12, 2009).

⁴² Activities commonly referred to include beach sunbathing, golf, tennis, gardening, outdoor dining.

⁴³ LPA (Juan Palop-Casado), *Urban-Photosynthesis: Projects and Works by Laboratory for Planning and Architecture 2002-2009* (Las Palmas: LPA, 2009), 9. "In 1996 the Climatology Department of Syracuse University (USA) concluded that Las Palmas de Gran Canaria is the city with the best climate in the world. At a time when the word 'climate' is always accompanied by bad news (climate change, greenhouse effect, sea level rise, etc...), we could not help to react to this good news... and ask: what does this mean for architecture and urbanism? [...] Since then we have had the 'hidden agenda' or 'conscious distraction' as the theme of good weather in each of the projects we have worked on. In parallel to professional work, we have also developed research to define the overall scale of the phenomenon: the two sub-tropical bands that go along the planet. Projects and research work, have enabled us to discover that this climatic condition contains a unique reserve of energies, economies, technologies, geographies, lifestyles, biology, times and places that are worth to decoding and spatially re-encoding again."

⁴⁴ It is also necessary to mention that the attractiveness of these climatically favourable destinations is often enhanced by low living costs – an aspect that will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

⁴⁵ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 33-36.

⁴⁶ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 179-180.

These sentiments are perhaps most evident in a range of interviews with residents recorded by King et al, O'Reilly and Huber; examples of which are listed below:⁴⁷

"The Costa Brava winters are not good; it's a bit like the South of France climatically... You need to go further south... The Costa del Sol climate, we think, is the best in Europe. Even now, in February, we are wearing summer clothes."⁴⁸

"We had visited Fuengirola and Marbella on holiday, so we knew the area well, including inland. Also you get more sunshine here – the temperature is marvellous."⁴⁹

"The climate of the Mediterranean "...feels quite delicious – the atmosphere so dry, and the heavens so clear and blue with the sun shining brightly, that all nature seems sparkling with life... I [never] ceased from wonder at finding each succeeding day as fine as the foregoing. What a difference does climate make in the enjoyment of life!"⁵⁰

"...we were sunbathing in January – it was wonderful."⁵¹

"...[the climate] keeps the older people more active – no long, dark, cold evenings."⁵²

According to O'Reilly, for many Britons, Spain has been comprehensively developed as a socially constructed space by the tourism industry as a site of "holidays, escape, leisure, fun, liminality, fecundity and new beginnings."⁵³ Below are just two examples of the type of advertising rhetoric involved in constructing the Costa del Sol as a tourist destination:

"For British tourists, holidays to the Costa del Sol offer accustomed favourites; hotels, bars and clubs all catering perfectly to Anglo-Saxon tastes. Combine that familiarity with glorious Spanish sunshine and the warm waters of the Mediterranean and for many you have the perfect holiday recipe! Even though there are a lot of establishments offering a taste of Britain in this part of Spain you still don't have to look far to find more than a smattering of the unique Andalucian culture. But, without doubt the biggest attractions of Costa del Sol holiday deals are the scorching sun and entertaining nightlife."⁵⁴

"A home from home, with the added sun, sand and sangria? Or the full-on spice of Spain?"⁵⁵

The recent history of mass marketing of tourism on the Costa del Sol promotes the sun as a hedonistic leisure good. However, in the longer historical view of the Costa del Sol, and other Mediterranean winter resorts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such sun-bathed settings were not only about hedonism – or 'paradise regained' as Marc Boyer describes it – but also incorporated two other functions. The first of these was ostentation, in which "...privileged persons led a worldly life while others shivered in the mists"⁵⁶, and the second was therapeutic, based on the perceived health-reviving qualities of the climate. This

⁴⁷ "On countless occasions the benefits of living in the south were explained to us by reference to the drier and warmer climate. The sun encourages an active life, reinvigorates and cheers, and longer winter days and sunny evenings enable more to be done and more to be seen." King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, xiii.

⁴⁸ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 101.

⁴⁹ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 101.

⁵⁰ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 212.

⁵¹ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 212.

⁵² King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 212.

⁵³ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 106.

⁵⁴ The Cooperative Travel, "Costa del Sol Holidays – Cheap Last Minute Holidays and Package Deals to Costa del Sol," Cooperative Travel, <http://www.co-operativetravel.co.uk/holidays/costa-del-sol/> (accessed November 28, 2009).

⁵⁵ Thomson Holidays, "Holidays in Costa Del Sol," Thomson Holidays, <http://www.thomson.co.uk/destinations/europe/spain/costa-del-sol/holidays-costa-del-sol.html> (accessed November 28, 2009).

⁵⁶ Marc Boyer, "Tourism in the French Mediterranean" in *Mediterranean tourism: facets of socioeconomic development and cultural change*, Yiorgos Apostolopoulos, Philippos J. Loukissas, and Lila Leontidou (London: Routledge, 2001), 42.

therapeutic aspect was in fact one of the strongest drivers in the early stages of Mediterranean tourism. According to Boyer:

“At the beginning of the nineteenth century, [the physician] Laënnec built up a theory: ‘There is no illness, said he, that cannot be relieved by a change of air.’ During that time, the Romantic ‘mal du siècle’ was ‘phthisis’ [tuberculosis]. Laënnec who, around 1820, invented auscultation and the stethoscope, diagnosed tuberculosis but did not know how to cure it. To stop or moderate its progression, the physicians recommended the South of France, provided the patients ‘made good use of the climate of the south’. During the nineteenth century, many treatises and guides on the Mediterranean began this way.”⁵⁷

This was also case with Malaga, which first attracted foreigners as a health resort in the 1830s and 1840s for those hoping to avoid the overcrowded French Riviera. Sun and ‘the outdoor life’ would play an increasing role in treatments of diseases such as tuberculosis in the late nineteenth– and early twentieth-centuries. As Costa del Sol evolved into a mass tourist destination in the 1970s and 1980s and the ostentatious status of much of the coast was lost, the arrival of large numbers of foreign retirees in the 1980s and 1990s saw a renewed foregrounding of the therapeutic qualities of the sun on the Costa del Sol amongst those retiring there. This perception extends to the accepted role warmth and low humidity play in easing the symptoms of diseases that commonly target the older population such as arthritis and rheumatism.⁵⁸ This is reinforced in the rhetoric used by interviewees in the King et al volume, in tandem with their survey data which revealed that the “...Costa del Sol produced the highest relative frequency of ‘for my health’ main reasons for the move...” compared to other European retirement migration destinations.⁵⁹ This is perhaps clearest in resident responses such as those cited below:

“...my husband wasn’t well and he didn’t want to go through more English winters”⁶⁰
“...the dampness is terrible in England and that makes you old.”⁶¹

Morphology: Linear Metropolitan Territory

“On this coast, Spanish entrepreneurs, international holiday companies and northern European residents have totally transformed large tracts of what was until recently a dominantly rural area and, in the process, created an unprecedented and distinctively European ‘rainbow’ society. [...] No other part of Europe has changed so much through recreational and retirement residential developments over the last thirty years...”⁶²

⁵⁷ Boyer, “Tourism in the French Mediterranean,” 42.

⁵⁸ In recent years, the increasing concerns in recent years over skin cancer as a result of prolonged exposure to the sun – especially for skin types more used to colder, less sunny northern climates – has challenged the uncomplicated impression of the sun as health-giving. It is likely that the twins of sun and health will not be entirely decoupled by the current cohort of retirees, nor the next.

⁵⁹ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 179-180.

⁶⁰ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 212.

⁶¹ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 212.

⁶² King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 208-209. According to King et al, “...the nearest global parallels are parts of the Californian, Florida and Queensland coasts.”

The rapid post-war expansion of Costa del Sol has seen the official registered population of the province of Malaga (spanning from Gibraltar in the south-west to Nerja on the north-east) rise from 775,000 in 1960, to 1,161,000 in 1991, to 1,567,581 in 2009, reflecting both the tendencies of labour migration and the leisure migration of IRM.⁶³ Between 1950 and 1991, for example, individual municipalities that saw the largest growth included: Benalmadena, with a twelve-fold increase; Torremolinos, nine-fold; and Fuengirola, six-fold.⁶⁴ (fig. B.2.4)

Malaga, the largest settlement along Costa del Sol, has transformed radically since the 1950s. Formerly a compact, relatively high-density town, set apart from the other smaller traditional fishing villages dotted sporadically along the coast; the current urban formation – which stretches more or less continuous low-medium density agglomeration along 150km of coast – is particularly difficult to describe in terms of traditional modes of urbanism. This approximately 500 sq km area functions neither as a centralized city, nor as a collection of discrete villages, but rather as a series of co-existing ecologies that combine to produce what Andalusian architect José María Romero has referred to as a linear metropolitan condition.⁶⁵

In these terms, large expanses of the region may be characterized as a form of retirement ‘exurbia’, to adapt Edward Soja’s expression. Within this urban agglomeration, development has been almost entirely decentralized, in the sense that it has operated independently, in functional terms, of an urban core or central business district. Where Soja describes the relationship in Orange County, California between “a new kind of industrialization [...] begetting a new kind of peripheral urbanization, an offset urban form, a manufactured landscape of flexible economic specialization,” Costa del Sol defines yet another form of peripheral urbanization based instead on the concentrated instrumentalisation and industrialisation of leisure.⁶⁶ Within this urban structure, no single dominant site of production exists, but rather distributed sites of consumption. The only allusion to a possible centre is in the functional role played by Malaga Airport, 8km south-west of Malaga’s city centre, in supporting the mobility necessary for the tourism and retirement migration industries to exist.

While American journalist Joel Garreau focuses predominantly on the shopping mall and the office park as the emblematic elements of the increasingly polycentric urbanism of the

⁶³ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 62. For 2009 figures see: Typically Spanish, “Málaga population grows by 300,000 in seven years,” Typically Spanish, http://www.typicallyspanish.com/news/publish/article_21074.shtml (accessed November 25, 2009).

⁶⁴ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 62. Such growth tendencies have generally continued since the 1990s.

⁶⁵ In José María Romero, *Territory ZoMeCS: Urban Attributes* (Granada: Rizoma Foundation 2004), Romero refers to this particular area as ‘ZoMeCS’, short for “Zone Metropolitan Costa del Sol.”

⁶⁶ Edward Soja, “Inside Exopolis: Scenes from Orange County,” in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, ed. Michael Sorkin (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 97.

American 'edge city', the equivalent identifiable elements on a contemporary Costa del Sol are most likely to be the urbanized spaces of the beaches themselves, and the golf-courses and *urbanizaciones*. These will be addressed in more detail in the description of the dominant urban ecologies on Costa del Sol. As a territory then, Costa del Sol largely excludes the conventional 'productive' urban components of industry and commerce, and instead, delivers those things necessary to support an intensive use of territory for non-productive leisure purposes. While defining a programmatic shift from Garreau's Edge City, the aspirations Garreau ascribes to it seem fitting to Costa del Sol: "the most purposeful attempt [...] made since the days of the Founding Fathers to try to create something like a new Eden."⁶⁷

The sprawling agglomeration of Costa del Sol is distinctly linear in its overall organization. This is a function of the importance of the geographical features in defining its development, and the corresponding arrangement of its infrastructure. The linear coastline in particular has played a dominant role with its beach access and views operating as a key attractor. The mountain ranges running parallel to the beaches have played a similar role to that of the water line in limiting the extent of buildable development along the back edge of the linear urbanism.

The dominant lines of infrastructure supporting this urban formation are the *Autovía del Mediterráneo* road running the length of the coast from Nerja to Maliva, and the A7 and AP-7 toll highways. (fig. B.2.5) Without connecting rail services beyond the limited stretch of coast between Malaga and Fuengirola, and with only limited public bus lines connecting the various settlements, tourist resorts and *urbanizaciones*; the private automobile is indispensable to a workable occupation of the territory.⁶⁸

As a result of both the rapid growth of the region, and political and planning mismanagement, these linear infrastructural systems have been placed under increasing pressure – pressure that has maintained and reinforced the linear orientation of the urban development. This is nowhere more obvious than in two specific moments: where the perpendicular feeder roads meet the main highways; and in the occupation of the main highways by the public bus system. In the case of the former, there are moments where feeder roads meet stretches of highway with speed limits of 100km/h at intersections with 90-degree stop signs and only limited visibility of oncoming highway traffic emerging around a corner. (fig. B.2.6) This is a

⁶⁷ Edward Soja paraphrasing the position of Garreau's supporters of Edge Cities in Stephen Graham, ed., *The Cyber Cities Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003), 458.

⁶⁸ According to José María Romero, "the Costa del Sol has a greater length of highway per inhabitant compared to the rest of Spain (by a factor of two to one) and compared to the European average (by a factor of two and a half to one.)" Romero, *Territory ZoMeCS*.

result of increasing the number of lanes and lifting the speed limit of the main (public) road parallel to the coastline, while (initially privately developed) perpendicular access roads and their connections have been left as they were when they were developed at some stage decades previously. The public bus system reinforces both the linear organization of the region and the limited availability of public transport options. It suffers similar growing pains to the highway on-ramps. Without dedicated bus lanes, the highway supports sporadic stopping 'alcoves' that cause considerable problems for following and merging traffic. (fig. B.2.7)

Programming: Coexisting Ecologies

The occupation of Costa del Sol functions, to a limited extent, according to a temporal, seasonal rhythm. During the high summer period, for example, when the influx of foreign holidaymakers reaches its peak, a number of permanent retirement residents take their own 'vacations' to visit family in the home countries to the north. The winter period by contrast is when the foreign retiree population is reportedly at its height, including those temporary retiree tourists who spend the rest of the year based in their home countries. Existing urban interpretations of the Costa del Sol have been heavily weighted toward these temporal rhythms, rather than a spatial understanding of the co-existence of the various users occupying the territory. Such an approach has also privileged the impact of tourism, rather than retirement migration over the area. The preoccupations of Cesar Portela's *La Arquitectura Del Sol_Sunland Architecture* from 2004 and MVRDV's *Costa Iberica – Upbeat to the Leisure City*, 2000, for example, are on temporary rather than permanent mass tourism.

Portela describes the historical tendencies that led to the production of a "mass tourism machine" along the Spanish coast. His publication attempts to isolate objects of architectural interest amongst the vast "falsity, vulgarity and most banal standardisation" of such a regime.⁶⁹ Only in passing does the text refer – in underestimating the extent of their yearly stays – to the "... great many foreigners who own homes and who alternate their residence between Spain and her warm winters and Europe and her temperate summers, making our country a type of seasonal 'old people's home.'"⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Cesar Portela (ed.), *La Arquitectura Del Sol_Sunland Architecture* (Valencia: COA Catalunya, 2004), 12.

⁷⁰ Portela (ed.), *La Arquitectura Del Sol*, 8.

The Dutch architects MVRDV explore the linear leisure urbanism of the Spanish coast in general, and Costa Blanca's Benidorm in particular, as a vehicle to further their research interests in urban density. According to MVRDV:

"This 'Ciudad lineal' [that encompasses the total edges of the Iberian Peninsula] cannot be described in classical urban terms. It mainly consists of temporary shifts of people grouped together in very specific social appearances. In springtime, huge numbers of elderly retired people escape their cold and probably unhealthy mother countries for the weather and colder times of the year; in summer the biggest concentration of youth in the world can be found as a contemporary disco-world-jamboree; in autumn it becomes a fine retreat for the Spanish themselves: and in the winter months the place turns into a pure 'Ghost town'." ⁷¹

While this last passage from MVRDV perhaps adequately describes the temporal conditions of Benidorm, it conflicts with what is observable on the Costa del Sol, and with the descriptions by social scientists of the area. On the Costa del Sol, these seasonal rhythms are evident in the make-up of the population at a given point in time, however, the demarcations between temporary and permanent, local and foreign, and young and old are more clearly discernable in spatial terms. While appearing at first aerial glance as a continuous urban fabric, the urbanity of the coast consists of multiple disconnected islands of contrasting geo-political make-up. As a result, the urban structure of Costa del Sol is formed from by coexisting urban ecologies: the traditional towns, the tourist resorts, and the *urbanizaciones*. The composition of these three ecologies is most evident in the *Guía Oficial* map (fig. B.2.8) where each ecology occupies its own distinct spatial zone. According to King et al for example: "The Costa del Sol [...] has been successively a fashionable tourist magnet, one of the earliest and most popular zones for mass-market holidays, and the region of Europe which has attracted the largest number and highest density of expatriate retired residents." ⁷² The placement of such a disparate collection of subjects into the region is mobilized by the infrastructure supporting this environment as described earlier, including: the road system and its link to the regional transport hub, Malaga Airport. ⁷³

The first ecology – that of the traditional towns – is generally dominated by permanent Spanish residents (except for the touristic cores at their centre). Each of these settlements may be characterized separately according to a specific history and focus. Historically, towns such as Torremolinos, Benamadena Costa, Fuengirola, Estepona, Nerja and Mijas, had quite particular characteristics and were smaller than the larger towns of Malaga and Marbella. Most have centuries-old histories as small fishing villages, but have transformed radically in

⁷¹ MVRDV, *Costa Iberica – Upbeat to the Leisure City* (Barcelona: Actar, 2000), 72-73.

⁷² King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 207.

⁷³ The emergence of cheap airlines has been a critical aspect in connecting the coast to the rest of Europe. Flights are fast and extremely inexpensive.

the late twentieth century as a result of succumbing to the “...irresistible pressures for change in functions and social character, if not [...] built appearance.”⁷⁴ (fig. B.2.9) Most maps, even in recent times, focus on the presentation of these original urban settlements – rather than the tourist resorts or retirement *urbanizaciones* that have rapidly grown between them – depicting a series of small towns and villages spaced intermittently along the waterfront edge. (fig. B.2.10)

The cores of these ‘traditional towns and villages’ have tended to remain as sites of indigenous Spanish inhabitation, but the functions have long since left fishing and other small industries to instead service the dominant tourism and retirement industries. While a large proportion of the pre-war built fabric has been maintained in these settlements, much of it has been renovated. As a result, some of these villages have become caricatures of themselves. (fig. B.2.11) This is particularly evident in a town such as Mijas, which has come to most resemble a theme park. Presenting the impression of a eighteenth or nineteenth century Andalusian hillside town, the most cherished historical area is constructed on what is now a multi-storey parking building.

Hundreds of tourist resorts and hotels form the second ecology. These resorts and hotels grew most rapidly in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s and were – and still are – occupied predominantly by foreign tourists on a temporary basis. They range from the waterfront hotel complexes such as the Natali Torrelmolinos and the Sol Timor Apartments to the package holiday resorts such as the vast Hotel Holiday World between Fuengirola and Benalmadena. (fig. B.2.12) These developments have been situated predominantly on beachfront properties nearby traditional towns. In more recent years, as large areas of coastal land have become scarcer, they have spread to more distant waterfront locations, or to sites within proximity of the beach, and most recently, to inland areas.

The development of this second ecology of the tourist resorts has been instrumental in the formation and growth of Costa del Sol’s third ecology – the *urbanizaciones*, occupied predominantly by international retirement migrants. King et al argue that there are two levels at which the machinations of tourism influence IRM. The first level concerns “informing individual search spaces and building familiarity with living abroad;” and the second “the intertwining of tourism and retirement migration in the development of a resort.”⁷⁵ With respect to the first, King et al describe the phenomenon of IRM “...as a progression from the mass tourism boom which transformed international travel and holiday making in Europe

⁷⁴ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 210.

⁷⁵ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 33-34.

from the 1960s.”⁷⁶ They describe a cohort effect in which those who experienced “...this sun-seeking tourist boom were young and middle-aged adults in the 1960s and 1970s,” and it would therefore be that same cohort that would be attracted to retiring to the Mediterranean coast upon reaching retirement age in the 1980s and 1990s.⁷⁷

The second level of influence concerns the various stages in the lifecycle of resorts – discovery, development, saturation and decline – theorized by the British geographer Richard Butler.⁷⁸ In particular, the promotion of IRM has been seen as a logical strategy amongst coastal resorts in response to a loss of market share in a competitive global tourism market.⁷⁹

“There is certainly some logic in the proposition that tourist destinations are attractive to those intending to relocate when they retire, and Karn offers evidence of the tourism-retirement link in the UK. More specifically, Foster and Murphy provide North American evidence that retirement migration is more likely to be significant in the intermediate ‘development’ or ‘consolidation’ stages of a resort rather than in its decline. The reasons are that large-scale amenity retirement migration is based on landscape and climate attractions, and minimum infrastructure and social requirements. The attractions are shared in a large measure with tourism, which also generates some of the infrastructure and social requirements of the retirees.”⁸⁰

The suitability of resort urbanism and its supporting infrastructure on Costa del Sol to the requirements of migratory retiree lifestyles aligns with those arguments presented in the introduction and also discussed in the other case studies investigated. This concerns not only the issue of architecture and infrastructure, but also the ideology behind the resort vacation – which remains a central component of the rhetoric promoting such lifestyle experiences. This ties closely with the notion of the vacation being translated, in retirement, into the endless vacation.

Typology: *Urbanizaciones*

The third ecology of the *urbanizaciones* is primarily located in the territory between the first two ecologies, and occupied by full-time (and to a limited extent part-time) British and international ‘resident tourists.’⁸¹ Collectively, it constitutes a new scale of retirement home –

⁷⁶ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 81.

⁷⁷ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 81.

⁷⁸ R. W. Butler, “The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for the Management of Resources,” *Canadian Geographer* 14, no. 1 (1980): 5-12. Cited in King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 81.

⁷⁹ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 81.

⁸⁰ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 33-34.

⁸¹ The term ‘resident tourist’ is an official local one that refers to foreign residents living more or less year-round on the Costa del Sol. Additionally, there is a proportion of the foreigners spending only the winters on the Spanish coast to enjoy the warmer climate, but head north to their European home countries to enjoy the milder summers.

what may be referred to as the 'Florida of Europe' – a low-medium density coastal metropolis constructed of hundreds if not thousands of *urbanizaciones*. (fig. B.2.13)

The standard *urbanizacion* is built by one developer or general contractor and consists of between a dozen and several hundred free-standing, semi-detached or terraced owner-occupied dwellings. Most *urbanizaciones* share communal facilities such as swimming pools, garden areas and sometimes golf courses and are populated typically by residents of a single nationality.⁸² The development of the multiple *urbanizaciones* across the territory as a whole has not been a highly planned, coordinated or controlled activity, but one that has largely been spontaneous and opportunistic, and, in many cases, linked to a local culture of development corruption. (fig. B.2.14)

The *urbanizaciones* can be described, to a large extent, as a typology at the intersection of several others, including those of the foreign vacation resort and the American gated community, and the Andalusian village and the colony.

Just as the touristic infrastructure described previously is highly suitable as a support structure for retirement migration at a regional scale; the organisational and programmatic framework of the foreign vacation resort as an urban typology is closely related to that of the *urbanizacion*. As a leisure rather than work-focused environment in which a form of pseudo communalism is organized around shared leisure facilities such as swimming pools, lawns, tennis courts and golf courses, the foreign vacation resort is typically sited within a demarcated perimeter of foreign occupation, defining a world distinct from the indigenous local context around it. The distinct world of the resort, and the accommodation facilities it supports, engage in a dialogue between local and global conditions, articulating the exotic local destination (Spain in the case of the *urbanizaciones*) to the (British in this case) visitor/resident, whilst at the same time operating according to familiar globally convergent protocols concerning programmatic expectations, language, technology, food etc. Within the context of the vacation resort, the aesthetic qualities of the local situation, in terms of architectural and landscape expression in particular, are most commonly realized as an appliqué to an internationally standardized 'sub-structure.' The expansion of such an approach to lifestyle products for retirement migration has seen the increasing application of themeing techniques from the entertainment-industrial complex to the architecture and landscape design of the *urbanizaciones*.

⁸² See Andreas Huber, "Retirement Settlements in the Spanish Coastal Regions: a New Kind of Non-place?" (unpublished article, 2004), 2-3.

While both the *urbanizacion* and the foreign vacation resort define comprehensive private spaces of accommodation and leisure amenities, the most critical difference between the two resides less in the urban and architectural infrastructure, than in the length of time the residents reside in such an environment, and the resulting social bonds that form within that communal environment over time. This social aspect will be addressed later in this chapter.

To date, the work of Swiss social geographer Andreas Huber is the most sophisticated socio-spatial study of the phenomenon of Spanish retirement *urbanizaciones*. Focusing mostly on those on the Spanish Costa Blanca (which are for practical purposes very similar to those on Costa del Sol), Huber characterizes *urbanizaciones* as:

“... fully planned and structured settlements of various sizes that lie outside the historical boundaries of towns and villages. They are often initiated by a single ‘promoter’ (builder or building and general contractor), who buys a large area of land, which he transforms into building land by a series of legal procedures. This transformation allows the investor to implement the necessary infrastructure later and to ‘urbanize’ the land, in order to sell the building plots or build on them himself.”⁸³

For Huber, “These ‘urbanizations’ cannot be characterized as either urban or suburban. They are ex-urban, in the sense that they may well be located near a town or large village, but do not really form part of it. They cannot be compared with any form of traditional settlement, even though some ‘urbanizations’ do indeed have characteristics of a village.”⁸⁴ (fig. B.2.15)

One of the central aspects of Huber’s analysis of *urbanizaciones* is a comparison to the model of the American gated lifestyle-community – a comparison that draws out two parallel features. The first is articulated in terms of the deployment of standardized housing and landscape designs; the second concerns the provision of collective or communal facilities. In both cases, however, it is necessary to describe particular aspects that are specific to the Spanish cases.

The standardization of the *urbanizaciones* is portrayed by Huber through the sensation of “driving around in circles” experienced as a result of a remarkable environmental homogeneity. This may be understood as a function of tried and tested urban planning and architectural formats that are particularly limited in their variation. In planning terms this may be described according to a set of default protocols – representing a certain logistical efficiency and security emphasis. These include a merging of suburban- and village-planning frameworks, most clearly evident, for example, in the dominance of single-use residential

⁸³ Andreas Huber, “Retirement Settlements in the Spanish Coastal Regions: a New Kind of Non-place?” (unpublished article, 2004), 2-3.

⁸⁴ Huber, “Retirement Settlements in the Spanish Coastal Regions,” 2-3.

areas with limited public space, accessed by small-scale curved meandering streets and cul-de-sacs.

In architectural terms, there is a dominance of one particular 'stylistic' form – what has become known in local real estate parlance as P.M. (Pueblo Mediterraneo) or 'Mediterranean Village' style. While Huber does not go into detail concerning the specific stylistic background of the Spanish *urbanizaciones*, he does characterize these formations as relatively dense assemblages of two to four story high dwelling complexes with clay tiled roofs and walls of white, beige or earth-toned stucco. (fig. B.2.16) Freestanding villas are less uncommon, but tend to follow the same material palette as the apartment or townhouse dwellings. The hillside village of Mijas (mentioned previously) is often presented as the model for this form of architecture, despite its architectural authenticity being compared by some critics to that of Malaga airport. (fig. B.2.17) While the tone of the stucco finishing amongst the various *urbanizaciones* ranges from the standard off-white to tints of terracotta, ochre or apricot, the basic formula exhibits a quite remarkable level of stylistic standardisation. Upon close inspection, the elements required to produce the effect of Pueblo Mediterraneo are relatively minor, such as the thin layer of paint and stucco over a brick or masonry wall, a slight difference in roof tile profile, and the removal of rain guttering from roof edges. Huber refers to the role such an architectural style plays as a representational device. Beyond Huber's reference to the theory of staged authenticity common to the spaces of tourism suggested by MaCannell, it is as equally useful to refer to the notion of the balance between making the exotic familiar, while keeping the exotic *exotic* as described by M.Y. Brannen with reference to Huis Ten Bosch.⁸⁵ In the case of Pueblo Mediterraneo, its role stylistically is to represent a local authentic Spanish village community, one that must be sufficiently exotic to a British retiree that it feels like he or she could not be living in Britain. (fig. B.2.18) At the same time, the architecture is necessarily made familiar through generic contemporary amenities, and through an infrastructure that is almost entirely British in its makeup. The latter in particular plays out in terms of other residents being predominantly British along with a supporting leisure and consumer culture that is comprehensively British in its construction. The production of a retired lifestyle equivalent to that experienced in Britain is realized demographically, programmatically, and culturally on Costa del Sol, but is necessarily denied and camouflaged in stylistic terms by the aesthetic construct of Pueblo Mediterraneo.

⁸⁵ M. Y. Brannen, "Bwana Mickey: Constructing Cultural Consumption at Tokyo Disneyland," in *Remade in Japan*, ed. Joseph Tobin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 219. Cited in Sarah Chaplin, "Authenticity and Otherness: The New Japanese Themepark," *AD Magazine* 68, no. 1 / 2, (January/February 1998): 77. See also: Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, "Images of Empire: Tokyo Disneyland and Japanese Cultural Imperialism," in *Disney Discourse: Producing the Magic Kingdom*, ed. Eric Smoodin (New York: Routledge, 1994), 181-202.

The provision of collective facilities is, according to Huber, similar to American gated communities in terms of an organized provision of social clubs and leisure activities: "...most 'urbanizations' offer a wide choice of leisure facilities for pursuing sporting activities and have a comprehensive network of retail units, health centres, foreign residents clubs, banks and security services."⁸⁶ (fig. B.2.19) Apart from these limited support services, *urbanizaciones* are predominantly mono-functional residential developments, without schools, churches, police stations or municipal offices.

As is the case with the American gated community, due to private ownership and limited accessibility, these communal facilities do not constitute a form of public space, but perhaps what may best be framed, according to José María Romero, as a type of social space – which would consist of both a public and a private component. Just as is the case with American gated communities, as Huber suggests, the development of public space is not in the interests of the *urbanizaciones*' developers as it does not generate as much revenue, as it cannot be sold. On the Costa del Sol, Romero describes the dominance of forms of private social space over public social space. Where the latter equates to the traditional understanding of public space, which materializes in the beach (although even some have been partly privatised), and to a lesser extent on the streets of the town centres; the former is flourishing on Costa del Sol. Romero refers in particular to the controlled commercial spaces such as the shopping malls and the leisure clubs which range from golf clubs, spas, tennis and horse riding clubs, most of which require membership.⁸⁷ One of the most social of these private social spaces is the typical British pub located inside the larger *urbanizaciones*. A particularly interesting attribute of such a building form is the level of schizophrenia between what is conventionally a Spanish Pueblo Mediterraneo-themed exterior (albeit with a typical British pub sign and name), and an Olde British pub interior. This may provide a useful analogy to the form of subjectivity that characterises the British retirement migrant – betwixt two cultures and two locations as O'Reilly proposes. The permanent residents for example pride themselves in their ability to 'fit in' to the Spanish environment, particularly through not looking like British tourists, while at the same time, they socialize almost entirely with fellow British retirement migrants. (fig. B.2.20) This theme will be addressed in more detail later in this chapter.

For Romero, the replacement of public spaces of sociability with private social spaces on the Costa del Sol produces an inversion between the historical towns and the *urbanizaciones*. He describes a process by which the cores of the historical urban sites undergo

⁸⁶ Huber, "Retirement Settlements in the Spanish Coastal Regions," 8.

⁸⁷ Romero, *Territory ZoMeCS*, 3.

thematization in which “they become depopulated of citizens and filled with spectators, tourists and consumers [...] at the same time, the themed spaces of the territory in between the traditional urban centres undergo a process of urbanization, becoming urban spaces full of vitality and differentiation.”⁸⁸ In this context, the largest and single most important ‘city’ along the Costa del Sol – Malaga – is understood as a ‘dormitory suburb of ZoMeCS (Romero’s acronym for ‘Zone Metropolitan Costa del Sol’).’⁸⁹ In other words, a picture is drawn in which the private social spaces of the *urbanizaciones* function with more vitality and variety than the former ‘centres.’

Huber does not touch upon the role of golfing landscapes in the production of the *urbanizaciones* and their partial coincidence with the American golf community phenomenon. However, in Costa del Sol in particular, golf has emerged as one of the major conceptual and organisational armatures for the development of the urban landscape. The sport – if that is an appropriate term with which to characterise it – has been described in a number of contexts as one ideal for retirees. It provides exposure to the outdoors and fresh air, a leisurely three to four hour walk, social contact, and the minimisation of risk of impact- or contact-inflicted injury. According to the American economic historian Dora Costa:

“Today, a leisurely retirement lifestyle, filled with recreational activities, including mass tourism, low-impact sports such as golf, and inexpensive entertainments, is often made possible by resettlement to a community with a better climate or other environmental amenities or to one with a low cost of living. Since 1940, the demand by the elderly for residence in an area with a warm February temperature has increased, even through the price has risen.”⁹⁰

In an effort to exploit areas of land more distant from the overheated coastal real estate market, a united regional branding ploy was initiated, expanding the original name of *Costa del Sol*, to the double moniker of *Costa del Sol – Costa del Golf*. (fig. B.2.21) Since the beginning of the 1990s, the number of golf courses has expanded rapidly to more than 60 by 2009, representing the highest concentration of golf courses in Southern Europe.⁹¹ According to one real estate agent interviewed on Costa del Sol, “...the majority of retirees don’t play golf, but they love living next to courses. Golf is getting very trendy in Spain.”⁹² Insofar as golf has been associated with a desire for status and prestige, it has become an essential tool in the branding of *urbanizaciones*. Based on the ongoing ambition toward exclusivity evident in a city such as

⁸⁸ Romero, *Territory ZoMeCS*, 2.

⁸⁹ Romero, *Territory ZoMeCS*, 2.

⁹⁰ Dora Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement: An American Economic History, 1880-1990* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 129.

⁹¹ Estate Agent for Valle Romano, interview by author, Estepona, Spain, April 04, 2009.

⁹² Estate Agent for Valle Romano, interview by author, Estepona, Spain, April 04, 2009.

Marbella, it is of no surprise that the majority of Costa del Sol's golf courses are located within its vicinity. (fig. B.2.22)

The word 'golf' has emerged in recent decades as a term capable of adding instant value to a range of products, despite these products not being related to or even being in the vicinity of a golf course. On the Costa del Sol, this extends to: the naming of streets such as 'calle del Golf'; the naming of houses: 'Balcon del Golf' or 'Golf Gardens'; *urbanizaciones*: 'Estrellas del Golf'; to geographic features: 'Monte del Golf.' (fig. B.2.23) As golf has grown in recent decades to become an internationally televised sport, it has also emerged as an internationally recognized symbol of affluence and status, from America to Europe to Asia. This has been indicated by Arthur Yeo for example, manager of a Chinese golf development, in his statement quoted in Singapore's Business Times: "The Chinese have a hunger for the Western lifestyle and golf is a game where you must be in the privileged class to play.... Like people who drive Mercedes Benz or BMWs, you have "arrived" in a society if you play golf."⁹³

Just as Keller Easterling has characterized golf as "a global real estate phenomenon, an addictive game for developers as much as it is for foursomes of men and women in the afternoon..."⁹⁴, the golf-course has become one of the central planning tools in the more recent development of Costa del Sol. (fig. B.2.24) This tool is increasingly responsible for defining the territory as a set of discrete urban 'interiors.' What is taking place in this part of Spain therefore, aligns to American architect and theorist Bob Somol's description of the golf community phenomenon in the American context. According to Somol, golf represents the:

"...most popular planning technique available today; it effortlessly combines personal security and group play, community identity and topographical variation. [...] The same desire for enclosure that fuels gated developments is at the heart of the success of golf courses. [...] The new domestic courses transform exterior space into a form of interior by mobilizing the landscape not merely as a natural resource for health and adventure, but as an acquired sign of value and security."⁹⁵

While the term 'golf' provides added value to developers in its naming possibilities, the names of internationally famous golf stars have provided even greater added value to the promotion of golf courses and golf course communities. Spain's most famous golfer, Seve Ballesteros, who incidentally has several streets on the Costa del Sol named after him, has applied his name to the promotion of several golf course communities in the area. (fig. B.2.25) Offering the advantage of being a household name in Spain, along with being internationally famous as a

⁹³ Arthur Yeo, general manager of a Chinese golf development. Cited in Keller Easterling, *Enduring Innocence*. (Boston, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 91.

⁹⁴ Keller Easterling, *Enduring Innocence*. (Boston, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 80.

⁹⁵ Robert Somol, "Golf Space: The New Town Square Has 18 Holes," *Wired Magazine* 11, no.06 (June 2003): 163.

former golf star, the Ballesteros name has functioned perfectly as an indigenous, but internationally recognizable brand. Ballesteros, for example, plays a key role in the promotion of Valle Romano resort near Estepona. (fig. B.2.26) In the promotional video he is presented several times, playing golf, socializing in the clubhouse, talking to viewers about the great opportunity of investing in such an impressive development. The promotional literature includes Ballesteros's comment:

"It gives me enormous pleasure to introduce you to Valle Romano Golf & Resort: a luxury development in a unique setting that offers a different way of appreciating and enjoying life, designed for those who really know about making the best choices in life. You will be able to live in a luxury home with all the services and amenities you need, surrounded by a stunning golf course where you can play all year round. Now you can understand why I've chosen to buy here! Within a very short space of time it will be a wonderful reality where, I hope we will be able to meet in person.
Until then: Severiano Ballesteros"⁹⁶

Easterling has described the same role that the names of famous golfers play in golf course community planning franchises in the United States and internationally, focusing on the 'King of Golf' Arnold Palmer and his company Arnold Palmer Golf Management (APGM.)

According to Easterling, "...APGM collects statistics about the power of golf to add value to real estate. They use a Harvard Business School study to demonstrate that branded courses and golf products generate a premium of up to 20 percent on the value of the surrounding real estate. The company can also demonstrate that potential homeowners are more responsive to advertisements for branded golf communities."⁹⁷ This addition of value that the golfing brand gives is described by Easterling as an unusual blend of Marx's commodity fetishism and the "irrational activities" of Pierre Bourdieu's symbolic capital.

While the strategy of APGM aligns with that of Ballesteros on Costa del Sol, the difference between the generic American exurban landscape and that of *Costa del Sol - Costal del Golf* is the extent to which golf defines the identity and branding of a lifestyle at the scale of the entire coast. In other words, rather than functioning as a branding device at the scale of a single development (in the case of the American APGM,) the collective branding strategy involves an entire coastal region accommodating between two and three million inhabitants and over eight million annual visitors. In this environment, *Costa del Golf* functions as a codename for a comprehensive environment of successful retirement. The most important advantage created at the regional scale is the possibility for golfing landscapes to produce a second line of real estate 'frontage' once beach frontage has been built out or legislated against – without resorting to waterfront reclamation projects such as those seen in Dubai.

⁹⁶ Severiano Ballesteros, "Valle Romani Golf Resort," Football Village, <http://www.footballvillagespain.co.uk/football-village-ballesteros.htm> (accessed December 12, 2009).

⁹⁷ Easterling, *Enduring Innocence*, 81-82.

The Costa del Golf phenomenon therefore, produces an inland shoreline of manicured green at the foothills of the coastal mountain range.

While the three characteristics described above – standardisation, communal facilities and golf – offer particular parallels to the logic of the American gated community, there are however several important differences that Huber points out that make a direct comparison inappropriate. These concern issues of governance, age controls, and security.

Although both American gated communities and Spanish *urbanizaciones* are funded and built by the private sector, unlike the American gated lifestyle community which is run entirely privately by an elected resident's organization upon completion of construction, the *urbanizaciones* "...become the responsibility of the local council as soon as building work is completed and the 'urbanization' has been adopted as a council-run area."⁹⁸ This does not prevent the forming of residents' associations within *urbanizaciones*, but it does affect the level of control able to be exerted over the various areas. This implies, practically without exception, that the roads, and sidewalks are not restricted in access, as they are 'public spaces' owned and maintained by the municipality. The situation with security described below, is closely related to this situation.

The minimum age-restrictions common to American gated-retirement communities (most commonly 55+) are almost non-existent in the case of the *urbanizaciones*. In this sense, the *urbanizaciones* conform to the classification of *naturally occurring retirement communities* (or NORCs as they are commonly abbreviated). Amongst the various *urbanizaciones*, the vast majority of the population is over 55, without it being legally institutionalized within a series of *covenants, codes or restrictions* as it is commonly in the United States.

Lastly, there is a distinct contrast in the levels at which security operates between the American and Spanish communities being presented here. Whereas American gated communities are typically highly protected along their communal boundaries with walls, ditches, embankments and guarded access gates; the individual dwellings of the *urbanizaciones* typically have their own walls, fences and security systems. Security company signs or stickers illustrated with guards and attack dogs are ubiquitous. (fig. B.2.27) This leads to the impression of an even more exaggerated form individualisation as property rights are more vigorously defended on a home-by-home basis rather than a community-by-community basis. While more ready access to the so-called public streets of the

⁹⁸ Huber, "Retirement Settlements in the Spanish Coastal Regions," 7.

urbanizaciones is supported legally, in most cases, those perceived as outsiders are actively made to feel unwelcome.⁹⁹

Neo-Colonization: Displaced Cultures

“Most ‘urbanizations’ consist of exclusively foreign colonies, with an infrastructure designed especially for retired people. Mainly British dominated settlements have, for example, British restaurants, pubs and clubs with ‘traditional’ British food and ‘traditional’ British culture – such as snooker, darts, karaoke, bingo and the live reception of English football matches.”¹⁰⁰

While the three aspects of *governance*, *age-control* and *security* described above differentiate the Spanish *urbanizaciones* from the American gated community, there is a fourth, perhaps more salient, aspect that comprehensively distinguishes the two phenomena – that of neo-colonization.

Although less evident in the specifics of the urban planning or the architectural form of the individual *urbanizaciones*, their domination by single nationalities is most apparent in terms of displaced micro-cultures constructed by language, media, consumer environments and programmatic sites of communal life. In *urbanizaciones* such as *Miraflores* for example, within which the vast majority of residents are British retirees, English is spoken almost exclusively. Stores and supermarkets are British-owned and sell British products. Kiosks stock every major British daily newspaper, and streets, dwellings, bars and restaurants deliberately evoke the ‘homeland’ with names such as: Churchill’s Bar, Cornish Pride, The Scots and Irish, and The London Pub. Interiors of local pubs and restaurants follow the British script word for word, producing a form of cultural displacement that extends to familiar cultural events ranging from ‘quiz-nights’ to ‘Sunday roasts’ – all undeniably British in their make-up. (fig. B.2.28) According to O’Reilly:

“There are over a hundred British-run bars and over fifty British clubs in the Fuengirola area. There is a British club for almost every interest and activity: bowls clubs, a cricket club, an arts centre, a Scottish country dancing club, bridge clubs, a theatre group, Brownie Guides, walking clubs, social clubs, fund-raising groups, and many more. These bars and clubs tend to have a vast majority of British customers and British members. [...] There are even an Anglican church and a British cemetery in the area. There is a British baker’s shop, English and Scottish butcher shops, an English grocery store called ‘A Taste of England’, and an English bookshop. For many British, daily life involves talking to and being with other British people and very little interaction with the Spanish.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ As a field researcher, the sensation of feeling unwelcome was reinforced by suspicious and unfriendly stares from residents. It was explained by one resident that a single man in his twenties or thirties who is driving around the *urbanizaciones* and photographing housing complexes in Costa del Sol will be immediately suspicious to residents as a potential burglar on a fact-finding mission.

¹⁰⁰ Huber, “Retirement Settlements in the Spanish Coastal Regions,” 3-4.

¹⁰¹ O’Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 90.

The same level of national coherency can be experienced in German *urbanizaciones* located more frequently to the east of Malaga near settlements such as Torres. Instantly perceptible is a language shift from English to German, a hospitality shift from Guinness and fish and chips in cluttered dark wooden interiors to Löwenbräu and currywurst in beer gardens. Rather than a melting pot, or 'rainbow culture' – as King et al referred to it – Costa del Sol appears to be dominated more by discrete areas of national identity, a situation most evident in the micro-Britains and micro-Germanys of the *urbanizaciones*.

This phenomenon of cultural displacement is most frequently discussed by the various social scientists addressing Costa del Sol in terms of the themes of integration (particularly the lack of it) and identity. King et al, for example, argue that the high proportion of British residing in these large self-administered and self-contained *urbanizaciones* is the major reason for the level of weak integration between the British and the indigenous population. This, it is presented, is not only the case with the British, but also with the *urbanizaciones* occupied predominantly by Germans or Finns such as Avenida Finlandia.¹⁰² O'Reilly argues that British migrants to Spain "...are not integrating into Spanish society, there can be no doubt about that. They are not successfully learning the language and therefore cannot communicate with Spanish people. They spend most of their work and leisure time with other Britons. They have even constructed a marginal, informal community and economy."¹⁰³

As a result of the realities of linguistic and cultural barriers, in combination with the importance placed upon climate and lifestyle in determining the choice to move to Costa del Sol, King et al suggest that British retirees prioritize the feeling of 'being at home' ahead of integrating into a foreign culture – a desire they compare to that of the tourist. "Hence the effort made by many retirees to create a home [away] from home, the attempt to fashion their own cultural environment within their new home – the fully carpeted Essex bungalow on the Costa del Sol [...] [...] the tourist resort, or even the cosmopolitan countryside of Tuscany, with its confusion of cultures and manners, allows everyone the illusion of being 'at home' and the freedom to 'be themselves'." ¹⁰⁴

While the national cultural concentrations of the *urbanizaciones* produce a remarkable lack of integration between the British retirement migrant and the local Spanish culture; they are understood to be highly effective in supporting strong social integration amongst the British migrants themselves. For King et al "The *urbanizacion*, with its inward-facing cul-de-sacs and

¹⁰² King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 145. This has been changing to some extent in recent years with more Spaniards buying homes for retirement or as a second holiday home in *urbanizaciones* that were previously occupied entirely by British persons.

¹⁰³ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 160.

¹⁰⁴ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 162-163.

residents' committees, is in effect a miniature village, within which virtually every permanent resident is known. One of the characteristics of such small communities is that new arrivals tend to find themselves quickly incorporated into the local social networks." ¹⁰⁵

Linguistic Colonization

Perhaps the most frequently discussed aspect of non-integration of IRM cultures within the Spanish environment is language.

Although it is necessary to note that some international retirement migrants make considerable efforts to learn the local language and participate socially with local people, statistically only about a quarter of foreign residents on Costa del Sol are fluent in Spanish. King et al attribute this to two primary factors. The first is the result of the vast majority of the local Spanish population being reliant upon the international tourist industry and therefore speaking English – "...the *lingua franca* of the Costa del Sol." ¹⁰⁶ O'Reilly documents conversations with British retirees in the field in which she was frequently told that "it doesn't really matter if you don't speak any Spanish, you can get by," a statement reinforcing the common thesis of their simple desire for an "...England in the sun." ¹⁰⁷ The second attributed factor is the concentration and density of British *urbanizaciones*, which focus the vast majority of social interactions amongst British migrants. ¹⁰⁸ This is corroborated by O'Reilly's descriptions of a communal feeling of solidarity amongst the British on the Costa del Sol, one that is "...reminiscent of the rhetoric of war-time Britain and conjuring images of patriotism and unity." ¹⁰⁹

The linguistic self-containment of the *urbanizaciones* is further reinforced through the ready availability of British media products including daily newspapers, and magazines (produced both locally and in the UK) and in particular through satellite television; a situation resulting in only a very low percentage of British retirement migrants reading local newspapers, magazines or watching local television. ¹¹⁰ (fig. B.2.29) This finding is supported by the thesis of American economic historian Dora Costa who frames the development of the popularity of retirement in more remote, climatically favourable locales as increasingly supported by contemporary technology and media which provides information and entertainment cheaply

¹⁰⁵ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 150.

¹⁰⁶ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 131.

¹⁰⁷ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 91-92.

¹⁰⁸ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 131.

¹⁰⁹ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 91-92.

¹¹⁰ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 150.

and remotely from where it is produced through TV, DVDs, CDs and the general process of the mediatization of culture.

While the comprehensive quality of this cultural displacement forms a clear picture of a lack of integration between the foreign migratory retirement cultures emerging on Costa del Sol and a local 'Spanish' or 'Andalusian' culture, both Huber and King et al raise the question of the relevance of integration as a concept. King et al go so far as to refer to the notion of integration as a 'myth':

"To put this starkly: if retired British people live on estates with other English-speaking neighbours and residents, if the local supermarket provides all their needs without a word needing to be spoken, if there are 'English' pubs and restaurants in the vicinity, and if the locals with whom they come into contact speak some English, why bother to learn the local language, and why bother to integrate? And in any case, integrate to what? Especially in the Costa del Sol, the local society is to a large extent a product of recent urbanisation driven by the needs of holiday-makers and foreign residents, and far removed from the Andalusian society that might have formed without mass tourism."¹¹¹

Huber also questions the relevance of the concept of integration in the context of language. He identifies three aspects of the difficulties of international retirement migrants learning the 'local' language. These include the contrast between the local Andalusian dialect and Spanish as it is typically taught in language schools; the obvious challenges of memory in old age; and lastly, the fact that foreign residents are not necessarily required to speak the local language in their day to day dealings, whether at the supermarket, restaurants, pubs, leisure club, or in the newspaper or on television. (fig. B.2.30) Huber, like King et al, suggests that the issue is:

"... not *why* foreign residents should seek to integrate, but *which* culture they should integrate into. All 'urbanizations' are the product of a new development, which arises from a demand by indigenous and foreign tourists, long-term holidaymakers and permanent residents. There are, therefore, no historically developed places, which people can integrate into, if need be. The spatial distribution or scattering of foreign population within an existing local district does not guarantee in any way a high level of social interaction. An individual foreigner in an 'original' Spanish village does not automatically become, 'one of them', just because he lives there. Indeed, for the person living in an 'urbanization' it appears much easier to become, 'one of them', as the inhabitants of the 'urbanization' tend to be people of the same social and cultural background."¹¹²

Such a discourse questions the convention of the obligation to integrate. By doing so, such a discourse suspends the typical moral judgements associated with this theme, and therefore opens up alternate insights and readings of the phenomenon. This is particularly the case when one pays attention to the danger of uncritical understandings of the 'local.'

¹¹¹ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 137.

¹¹² Huber, "Retirement Settlements in the Spanish Coastal Regions," 5.

Non-place

“As long as there is the sun and the slow pace of life, we could be anywhere in the world.”
Malcolm, Retired British resident on Costa del Sol.¹¹³

“One can gain the impression that parts of the Costa del Sol have stronger functional links to Manchester and Gatwick than with Malaga and Granada. Some parts of the coast have an especially ‘non-authentic’ atmosphere, and the Costa del Sol has been described as a ‘pseudo place’.” Russell King, Tony Warnes, and Allan Williams¹¹⁴

In a 2004 essay, O'Reilly together with Huber addressed the reinvention of the notion of ‘home’ (or ‘Heimat’ in German) in foreign *urbanizaciones* – environments they refer to as ‘non-geographic sites.’¹¹⁵ Huber advances this notion in another essay in which he expands upon the description of such “purpose-built, age-defined settlements or colonies generally situated outside historically established villages” as ‘non-places.’ Drawing on French anthropologist Marc Auge’s description of ‘non-place’ as a spatial emblem of contemporary ‘supermodernity’, Huber articulates its alignment to the characteristics of the *urbanizaciones*.¹¹⁶

Auge’s text may be understood as an attempt to come to terms, from an anthropologist’s standpoint, with spatial formats of late-capitalism such as airports, shopping malls, hotels, supermarkets and highways; formats that problematise the basic premise of a discipline conventionally focused upon an ‘organic’ continuity, specificity and authenticity in the relationship between the construction of place and its inhabitants. Huber frames the *urbanizaciones* in terms of Auge’s description of artificial spaces lacking in: a) a singular location-specific character of place (identity); b) connectivity to a broader immediate context (relation); and c) continuity to the temporal layers of a specific place (history). While Auge’s emblematic examples of non-place are predominantly sites of transit or short-term occupation generated according to systems of serialized architectural or urban production, the *urbanizaciones* suggest the extension of the system of categorization to include permanently displaced residential conditions.

¹¹³ Interviewee Malcolm: from O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 26.

¹¹⁴ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 144. “The distribution of retired British residents in southern Iberia is largely defined by the major resorts, the intervening extensive planned housing developments, and the adjacent inland villages and hills. Generalizing, we may say that the further away from Malaga Airport, and the further inland from the coast itself, the more contact people have with the local Spanish population.”

¹¹⁵ Karen O'Reilly and Andreas Huber, “The construction of Heimat under conditions of individualized modernity: Swiss and British elderly migrants in Spain,” *Ageing and Society* 24 (2004): 327-351. See also: Graham Chesters, *Foreigners in Spain: Real-Life Stories from Expatriates in Spain* (London: Survival Books, 2004).

¹¹⁶ Huber, “Retirement Settlements in the Spanish Coastal Regions.” Huber has also published relevant titles in German including: *Sog des Südens*, *Auswandern im Alter*, and *Heimat in der Postmodern*.

Just as Auge's term 'non-place' suggests a 'snug fit', it is one of perhaps several contemporary theoretical terms that could be applied to the *urbanizaciones* as an instrumentalised spatial format – further terms that may not necessarily pry open fresh conclusions. The *urbanizaciones* could be framed, for example, in terms of Spanish sociologist Manuel Castell's term 'space of flows' defined in contrast to the 'space of places.' This would be possible in terms of literal human flows as well as the cultural and economic flows associated with such a phenomenon. The *urbanizaciones* would similarly function according to Foucault's notion of 'heterotopia' – or 'other-space' – a counter site to the dominant site of society – following the characteristics of enclaves, islands, vacation resorts, retirement communities and colonies. The last term on that list however – the colony – has a considerable history in the discussion of British retirement migration on the coast of Spain, and will be addressed in more detail.

Neo-Colonisation

"[*Urbanizaciones*] are reminiscent of colonial compounds in a third world city, with an infrastructure custom built to the needs of retirees from another part of the world." Karen O'Reilly and Andreas Huber¹¹⁷

"The implication of the labels of colonisers and expatriates is that a lack of integration is through choice, due to the desire to colonise an area and to re-create a patch of Britain." Karen O'Reilly¹¹⁸

The term colony has been used frequently by commentators to characterise – most often in negative terms – the *urbanizaciones* occupied by international retirement migrants. In her detailed anthropological account of *The British on the Costa del Sol: Transnational Identities and Local Communities* British anthropologist Karen O'Reilly is eager to question the validity of terms such as colonies and retirement ghettos.

"Although [...] Britons living in Fuengirola cannot be considered to be integrated within wider Spanish society, neither in terms of ethnic identity nor in more concrete actions, it would not be a faithful representation of the situation to label them colonisers. They do not 'integrate' or 'assimilate', but [...] nor are they reconstructing a little England in the sun. Nor do they wield political or economic power; in fact, they are excluded from the main Spanish institutions." ¹¹⁹

The primary lens through which O'Reilly argues that the *urbanizaciones* of British retirees do not function as colonies is a conception of nineteenth century practices of political colonisation referring most commonly to the governance of a land area by another nation

¹¹⁷ O'Reilly and Huber, 'The construction of Heimat under conditions of individualized modernity,' 334.

¹¹⁸ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 142.

¹¹⁹ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 144.

state “usually for the purpose of economic or other forms of exploitation.”¹²⁰ *Urbanizaciones*, she argues, are “governed neither by the country or state from which they emigrate nor by the migrants themselves. [...] Neither is the situation one of more subtle economic domination or control...”¹²¹

Rather than holding a societal position of centrality and control, as is normally associated with practices of nineteenth century colonialism, O'Reilly argues that the British are marginalized in Spanish society, in economic, social, structural and ideological terms.¹²² This marginality, she argues, is seen as beneficial to the British, allowing them to select and combine advantages from each culture, without suffering from any expectations of integration.¹²³ As a result, the *urbanizaciones* of British retirees on Costa del Sol are described as “...a community betwixt and between two cultures and two worlds; a community of British nationals who uncannily reflect Britain’s ambivalent and changing relationship to the Other.”¹²⁴

The notable exception O'Reilly grants to the characterization of British economic and political marginality on Costa del Sol concerns residential and thus territorial occupation – an aspect over which the British, she implies, hold a dominant position. Based on the extent of this territorial domination of the British *urbanizaciones*, it may be necessary to challenge O'Reilly's claim to such a level of economic marginality. While the British migrants do not necessarily represent an organised economic power – in the sense of a public or private sector corporation, or governmental organisation – collectively they define a dominant proportion of the regional economy. This is particularly the case when one is reminded that the regional economy grew to a large extent from land speculation and development supporting, firstly, the mass tourist boom generated mostly by British tourists, and, secondly, the international retirement migration boom made up predominantly of British retirees. Rather than a powerful single colonising voice capable of dominating the region, it is an economic power generated out of a collective consumer voice of many thousands of Britons, together with British and Spanish developers who have generated, and continue to generate, vast swathes of territory based on the perceived desires of this consumer group, understood

¹²⁰ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 142.

¹²¹ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 142.

¹²² O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 17. “...the permanent migrants, those who are settled in Spain, do not retain a myth of return to the glorious homeland. Their ethnic identity is neither overtly stressed or politically organised; it is not emphasised in order to stress discreteness or to claim rights. In fact differences from Spanish people are made to appear less than they are at times of interaction, while similarities with Spanish are highlighted in conversations with less permanent migrants. On the other hand, neither are these Britons colonising the areas to which they migrate.”

¹²³ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 160.

¹²⁴ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 17.

collectively in demographic terms.¹²⁵ (fig. B.2.31) The Spanish architect Carlos Garcia-Delgado Segué describes the problematics of a similar condition with respect to the collective construction of touristic environments at the intersection of two cultures.

“The inhabitants of places specialised in sun and sand tourism learn very quickly – especially if they retain the memories of an economy of scarcity – that their mission is to offer the visitor what the visitor hopes to find. They then set about replacing their cultural values – richer than their personal economy – with a saleable simulacrum of these values. The perversion inherent in this process is obvious, for in reality what is offered is not what the host actually has, nor even what the visitor expects to find, but what the host believes the visitor expects to find. [...] One often hears it said, in these places: “what the Germans want is...” and there follows some fabrication, thought up by someone who is trying to recreate on his own the most profitable representation of himself and his country.”¹²⁶

Such an interpretation suggests a form of colonisation distinct from that of the nineteenth century – which was based on the explicit imposition of the political (and economic) will of the foreign imperial nation state – and distinct from the neo-colonialism of the twentieth century – based on the subtle imposition of the economic will of the multinational corporation. Rather, it represents a contemporary, perhaps late-twentieth or early twenty-first century, form of neo-colonialism based on the imposition, in bottom-up rather than top-down terms, of the demographic will of a collective of consumers, meeting the speculative offerings of a collection of developer suppliers. In other words, it functions as a result of the coincidence of bottom-up forces – that is the almost unintended collective effect of the concentration of tens of thousands of micro-environmental (and therefore *demographic*) colonisations taking place at the intersection of forces of globalisation, individualisation and the market.

O'Reilly refers to a secondary definition of colonisation – an ecological one – as a spatial or environmental expansion of a “...species into a new habitat, such as a freshly cleared field, a new motorway verge, or a recently flooded valley.” She acknowledges that the *urbanizaciones* conform to this form of environmental appropriation, but she warns against accepting this label based upon the “dangerous assumption” of defining the British as a separate ‘species’.¹²⁷ However ‘dangerous’ this may appear, the interpretation of a separate species (or perhaps more appropriately ‘sub-species’) is necessarily based on the fact that the British do not integrate into this society. As O'Reilly outlines herself, “...the British in Spain can be described as a strongly ethnic group: [they] are essentially British.”¹²⁸ While differentiating themselves from the Britons of Britain, they are still remarkable for their lack of

¹²⁵ Additionally, the British are the owners of the private lands and properties within the *urbanizaciones*. While the areas are obviously under the jurisdiction of Spanish and European Union law, there is in fact a considerable amount of informal control and governance that takes place within the homeowners associations, entities which set rules concerning the maintenance and appearance of properties – rules that are often closely linked to British conceptions of suburban conformity.

¹²⁶ Carlos Garcia-Delgado Segué “Living from Tourism, Dying from Tourism,” in *La Arquitectura Del Sol_Sunland Architecture*, ed. Cesar Portela (Valencia: COA Catalunya, 2004), 176.

¹²⁷ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 142.

¹²⁸ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 86.

integration. In terms of the social life they construct, the language they speak, and the media and products they consume, they function as another 'sub-species', another ethnic group to the local Spaniards. In this context it is difficult to deny the appropriateness of the ecological understanding of colonisation to the English in their new Mediterranean habitat; and in turn, particularly within the understanding of a collective bottom-up behaviour of individual actors that results in a form of spatial (and economic) domination that is not related to a single consciously coordinated political or corporate will, but as the product of a swarm, and the anticipation of that swarm, occupying a new habitat.¹²⁹

Mobility: New Frontiers For Spatial Products

Advancing the discussion of neo-colonial urban formats, the *urbanizaciones* may be further categorised according to Keller Easterling's term 'spatial product' – a mode of urbanism produced less according to the established tools of planning and design such as prescriptions of figure-ground relations, or public-private space – than by an abstract calculus of currency exchange rates, retirement eligibility rules and inter-governmental immigration regulations. In other words, these organisations are to a large extent the product of what is commonly referred to as the market, although they are a function of a wider set of influences. Such an organisational calculus is central in framing the potential attractiveness of this urban habitat.

In specific terms then, the *urbanizaciones* may be defined as the product of an aggregation of several organisational variables including: a) the specific demarcation of the territory in terms of favourable air and water temperatures, humidity, and sunshine hours per year; b) limited legal and institutional barriers to retirement migration; c) portability of pension and healthcare entitlements across borders; d) a high level of transport connectivity; and e) a low cost of property and living expenses.

The last of these is one of the more volatile economic variables susceptible to the relative performance of different economies, real estate markets and currency exchange rates. During the majority of the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s, a strong British economy and real estate market, and a relatively strong British Pound, ensured the attractiveness of Spanish *urbanizaciones* for British retirement migrants. The mid-2000s however, saw the coincidence of increased living and property costs in Spain relative to the reduced value of foreign

¹²⁹ It would be possible to advance this discussion with reference to non-hierarchical forms of network organization described in Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt's *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York: Penguin, 2006); or Eric Bonabeau, Marco Dorigo and Guy Theraulaz's *Swarm Intelligence: From Natural to Artificial Systems* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

currencies such as the pound against the Euro, and the diminishing value of foreign pensions for many European retirees in Spain. The ensuing crisis in property markets and the financial sector beginning in 2007 placed increasing pressure on the value and liquidity of further assets held by international retirement migrants. An additional set of contentious issues have discouraged foreign retirement migrants such as disputes over the eligibility of non-Spanish EU citizens to claim free healthcare in Spain, and threatened demolitions of *urbanizaciones* deemed illegal due to their positioning within the protected 100m coastline edge according to the 1988 Spanish Coastal Law (known as the ley de costas).¹³⁰

The diminishing popularity of retirement migration to Costa del Sol and Costa Blanca in the post-2007 period is hinted at statistically by house sales in the Costa del Sol falling 51% between 2007 and 2009.¹³¹ This transformation has been palpable during fieldwork in early 2009 with a considerable number of empty and abandoned real estate offices, falling property prices, hundreds of recently completed but empty dwellings, and many construction projects on hold. (fig. B.2.32) While perhaps an over-reaction, this has elicited local concerns over the potential for empty *urbanizaciones* – or what might be described as Spanish ‘retirement Detroit.’ In parallel to a perceived process of shrinking, a tendency toward the re-nationalization of some properties within some *urbanizaciones* has reportedly occurred, as foreign and local income levels have converged and retirees from Spain’s larger inland cities such as Madrid consider retirement on the coast. At the Urbanizaciones Finca Dona Maria established in 2002 in Benalmadena for example, the make-up of the residents had shifted from 90% British residents in the mid-2000s, to 50% Spanish, 20% Scandinavian, and 30% British by 2009.¹³²

Rather than marking an end to this form of retirement migration, the late 2000s financial, credit and real estate crisis appears to be displacing retirement migration to the expanded periphery of the European Union – to countries such as Croatia, Bulgaria and Romania – as their organisational calculus as spatial products has become increasingly favourable. With an equally pleasant climate and strong air links, these countries offer a cost of living considerably lower than Spain; and since inclusion in the EU, many of these countries offer a similar portability of pension benefits and healthcare accessibility. This shift may also be contextualised with the phenomenon described earlier by King et al concerning the transition from tourist to retirement migration destination on Costa del Sol. In this case, there is the implication that a slightly

¹³⁰ The Olive Press, “The Coast is Clear... or Not?” The Olive Press, <http://www.theolivepress.es/2009/02/09/the-coast-is-clear-or-not/> (accessed November 30, 2009).

¹³¹ Spanish Property News, “Home sales down 10pc in August, best result this year,” *Spanish Property News*, October 15, 2009, under <http://www.spanishpropertyinsight.com/buff/2009/10/15/home-sales-down-10pc-in-august-best-result-this-year/> (accessed 30 November, 2009)

¹³² Real Estate Agent at Urbanizaciones Finca Dona Maria, interview by author, Benalmadena, Spain, April 2, 2009.

younger cohort of retirees has began to consider retiring in destinations that became popular as tourist destinations later than Spain – locations such as Greece, Turkey or the Balkans.¹³³

The urban environments being produced in these new retirement frontiers are remarkable in their similarity to those in Spain. The golf course remains the dominant armature around which many of the contemporary communities are oriented, reinforcing the ease of mobility of the development protocols of such spatial products. The Porto Maricchio Resort in Barbariga, Croatia, for example, is a golf resort retirement community under construction since 2006 featuring a signature golf course designed by Jack Nicklaus.¹³⁴ (fig. B.2.33) Within this emerging schema, the same flexibility with which holidaymakers select resort holiday destinations is increasingly applied to the selection of permanent retirement locations, producing retirement as an increasingly globalised lifestyle product. In turn, this defines a product that offers both the exotic (local) atmosphere of the destination, while supporting the comforts of a (global) home reminiscent of the location of origin – but with more favourable weather and year-round golf.

Governance: Legal Frontiers

On several levels, the residents and institutions of the Costa del Sol have a reputation for operating at the frontier of legality. Within the British tabloid media, for example, Costa del Sol has been characterised firstly as the retirement location of choice for British career criminals (as Costa del Crime), and in more recent decades as the retirement magnet for British policemen (as Costa del Cop.) O'Reilly, for example, cites a report in one of the British tabloid newspapers referring to “the bar owned by the famous bank robber Ronnie Knight, the criminal, [which] is frequented by an ex-policeman, the cop, who once worked on his case.”¹³⁵ The characterisation of pseudo-legality extends from the stereotypes of British retirement migrants (whether as cops or robbers), to the local authorities and their business dealings with local interests, particularly developers. The frequency with which local mayors and officials along the Costa del Sol have been jailed on corruption offences is impressive. According to Andalusian architect José María Romero, such a local form of governmental corruption defines the very particular form of politics on Costa del Sol.¹³⁶

¹³³ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 213.

¹³⁴ Nicklaus.com, “The Istrian 18 holes for the king of golf,” Nicklaus.com, <http://www.nicklaus.com/design/portomaricchio/index2.php> (accessed December 14, 2009); and Hotel-online.com, “Porto Maricchio - The Development of Luxury on the West Coast of Istria: Croatia: A Kempinski Hotel and a Nicklaus Golf Course at Center of Development,” hotel-online.com, http://www.hotel-online.com/News/PR2007_1st/Feb07_PortoMaricchio.html (accessed December 14, 2009).

¹³⁵ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 4-5.

¹³⁶ Romero, *Territory ZoMeCS*, 11.

Costa del Sol may be identified as the site of some of the most extreme 'laissez faire' planning despite a range of European Union and Spanish laws addressing the protection of coastlines, the prevention of land grabs and so forth. Local English newspapers on the Costa del Sol have reported cases of numerous international retirement migrants having their Spanish retirement dream destroyed by forced demolition. The majority of corruption cases have involved Mayors and local officials accepting campaign contributions and bribes from developers for preferential treatment in the approval of developments, many of which have been located on protected or contested lands. (fig. B.2.34) These are best described in short excerpts from the local news media below:

"Alleged corruption in the Axarquía town of Alcaucín returned to the headlines last week with news that investigators may have discovered a substantial sum of cash missing from the accounts. In February, the town's mayor and 12 others were arrested on suspicion of town-planning corruption in the municipality. José Manuel Martín Alba immediately resigned as mayor of Alcaucín when he was detained and taken to prison, where he remained until June when he was released on bail of 120,000 euros. Last week, it was revealed that the former mayor, his two daughters and five other people were interviewed again by Guardia Civil officers at the beginning of August. The new line of investigation is reported to have stemmed from paperwork seized by officers during the initial raid on Alcaucín town hall in February. It centres on the 2004 sale and purchase of a plot of land in Calle Carrión where 36 apartments, with garages and swimming pool, in two blocks have now been built. The land was classified as non-developable, and therefore unavailable for building."¹³⁷

"The sleaze scandal, which hit the southern Spanish resort city Marbella in spring 2006, soon proved to be only the tip of a massive corruption iceberg. During the spring operation, codenamed Operation Malaya, the police arrested the city's mayor and deputy mayor amid allegations of money laundering, property development offences, including building on land protected from development, manipulation of public tenders, the acceptance of bribes as well as schemes to alter the price of municipal services. During a second investigation, 'Operation Malaya 2' new offences came to light, resulting in some 30 city councilors and business people being accused of corruption. These accusations were in addition to the arrests made earlier in the year. Then, 29 people were arrested, including Mayor Marisol Yagüe, her deputy, Isabel García Marcos and José Antonio Roca, who was town planning advisor. During the investigation, Judge Miguel Ángel Torres said of Mr Roca that he was the driving force in Marbella City Hall and that the Mayor performed a mere symbolic role. In September 2006, the former mayor and her deputy were released from custody on 60,000-euro bail. Those arrested as part of 'Malaya 2' included the former chief of Marbella's police Rafael del Pozo and Tomás Reñones, the city's second deputy mayor. Mr Reñones became acting mayor after the arrest of the mayor and the first deputy mayor. However, his involvement in the scandals became clear during the following-up investigations and Judge Torres ordered his unconditional detention. Tomás Reñones was football player and captain of Atlético de Madrid, the football club owned by the late Jesús Gil, the first of the big corrupted mayors of Marbella and founder of GIL, the political party whose members included the disgraced mayor Marisol Yagüe. Also arrested during this summer was Julián Muñoz,, another former mayor of Marbella, on charges of bribery and misappropriation of public funds. Mr Muñoz, also a member of the GIL party, became mayor in 2002. During his short term of office he fell publicly out with the all-powerful town planner José Antonio Roca. Mr Roca was dismissed only to organise a 'coup' one month later, which resulted in Mayor

¹³⁷ Dave Jamieson, "Ex-mayor Questioned Again in Corruption Probe," *Costa News*, 26 August 2009, under http://www.costa-news.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3591&Itemid=122 (accessed December 3, 2009).

Muñoz being expelled from City Hall on a vote of censure.”¹³⁸

The evidence of such ‘fluid’ and opportunistic relationships of coercion between the private sector and the public one can be identified in a number of particular conditions. One of the most startling examples is to be located at the interface of private sector planning and the provision of public infrastructure and services – an example already mentioned previously – where the feeder roads of the *urbanizaciones* meet the public highway system at a ninety degree stop sign. Such a junction occurs in the residual space between the privately developed space of more or less total aesthetic control (at least at the time of construction), and the public space of infrastructure, a realm that appears to have been more influenced by short-term catch-up strategies and profit maximisation than by long-term visions of infrastructural investment. Dozens of complaint letters addressing these dysfunctional and pseudo-legal situations are sent each month to editors of English language newspapers such as *Sur in English* and *Costa News*. However, it is the same community of English retirees that actively exploit the specific advantages of a perceived position located between two legal systems through the dealings of their own form of informal economy to “elude government requirements such as registration, tax and social security obligations, and health and safety rules.”¹³⁹ Such activities, according to O’Reilly, range from “home maintenance, decorating and ironing, to taxying, pool maintenance and car mechanics.” These are often engaged in to ‘top up’ fixed pension incomes.¹⁴⁰

Collectivity/Subjectivity

There are a number of similarities in the form of social collectivity between the British retirement migrants on the Costa del Sol, and the predominantly American retirees residing in *The Villages* of Florida. One important parallel lies in the dominance of a post-nuclear family structure – in particular, the prevalence of retired, married heterosexual couples (between 70% and 75%).¹⁴¹ This can also be contextualized within a general shift from ‘family-related’ to ‘lifestyle-related migration.’ King et al align this phenomenon to a general

¹³⁸ Daniel González Herrera, “Marbella awaits new elections after most local politicians are accused of corruption,” *City Mayor’s Politics*, 16 November, 2006, under http://www.citymayors.com/politics/marbella_corruption.html (accessed December 3, 2009). See also: Thinkspain.com, “Malaya’ corruption case ‘involved 670 million euros of laundered money,” *thinkSPAIN*, Saturday, October 10, 2009, under <http://www.thinkspain.com/news-spain/17166/malaya-corruption-case-involved-670-million-euros-of-laundered-money> (accessed December 03, 2009). “The money thought to have been laundered during the infamous ‘Malaya’ case in Marbella has been calculated at around 670 million euros. Most of this involves payments received in exchange for ‘favours’ relating to building development in the city, say police. It is said to have been laundered by up to 26 people who worked according to the orders of the alleged ringleader, former town planning assessor for Marbella Juan Antonio Roca. The suspects are spread across Spain and include six lawyers from a firm in Madrid. In addition to property development corruption on the Costa del Sol – and particularly in and around Marbella – the ‘Malaya’ case is believed to have involved homes built in Los Alcázares (Murcia).”

¹³⁹ O’Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 122.

¹⁴⁰ O’Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 122.

¹⁴¹ O’Reilly and Huber, ‘The construction of Heimat under conditions of individualized modernity,’ 333.

cohort-shift involving: "...a general decrease in the importance attached to kin ties and the spread of individualistic attitudes."¹⁴² They cite the work of British sociologist Anthony Giddens who refers to the fact that "...the 'baby boom' generation [also the latest cohort of retirees]... has distinguished itself through the rejection of moral restraint in favour of the values of emotional intimacy, hedonism and 'self realization'."¹⁴³ By surpassing the locationally fixed and centralised extended family, therefore, the act of retiring abroad is in the vast majority undertaken by couples.¹⁴⁴

As is the case with *The Villages*, the majority of extra-household social relations on Costa del Sol are peer- rather than kin-based, and oriented primarily around leisure-focused activities. One of the key distinctions in the forms of social collectivity between the two locations is the nationally-distinct concentration of British retirees within the foreign Spanish context of Costa del Sol. As mentioned previously, while there is a distinct lack of integration between the foreign and indigenous communities; there is a close, perhaps compensatory, level of association amongst the British retirees themselves. Rather than producing a condition of British cultural claustrophobia, or an 'affectless zone'¹⁴⁵ lacking in the forms of social meaning conventionally associated with work or family life, King et al's research along with that of Betty and Cahill has suggested that these environments have allowed for "...a well-structured lifestyle which on the whole keeps [British retirees on Costa del Sol] busy, happy and healthy."¹⁴⁶ The expatriate clubs have been identified as central to this.

The comprehensive range of clubs, associations and activities is remarkable in the extent to which each evokes a connection to the 'homeland.' They range from the more formal organizations such as the Royal British Legion (a charity organization run by former British armed forces servicemen), and clubs such as the Torremolinos Social Club, bingo clubs, golf clubs, bridge parties, amateur dramatics associations, lawn bowls clubs, Scottish dancing clubs, church groups, and alcoholic's anonymous groups; to less formal social interaction taking place in British pubs and restaurants. Less common are activities involving direct interaction with the Spanish context such as: "...local coach trips to places of interest, some longer-distance holiday trips (to discover the 'real Spain'), small British lending libraries, talks

¹⁴² King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 203.

¹⁴³ Anthony Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy, Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992). Cited in King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 203.

¹⁴⁴ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 89.

¹⁴⁵ For many, the time immediately after retiring, can cause some trauma in attempting: "...to adjust to a complete change of environment, a 'total displacement', which makes people uncertain of where they stand in an unfamiliar setting where the conventional props of their lives are missing. Individuals may find themselves living in what J. G. Ballard calls an 'affectless zone', without conventionally defining activities and structures (work, family, neighbourhood etc.). This allows them to invent new roles for themselves." King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 148.

¹⁴⁶ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 149. See also C. Betty and M. Cahill, "British Expatriates Experience of Health and Social Services on the Costa del Sol," in *Into the Margins: Migration and Social Exclusion in Southern Europe*, ed. F. Anthias and G. Lazaridis (Avebury: Aldershot, 1999), 83-113.

by 'experts' on Spanish life and customs, and, always popular, informational sessions on Spanish health, legal and financial matters."¹⁴⁷

Newcomers are often welcomed by expatriates and brought into social networks soon after the time of their arrival. While these forms of collectivity are generally characterized by their lack of hierarchy, there are some limited social hierarchies defined within these British in-groups according to the number of years spent in Spain. O'Reilly presents a more nuanced picture of social collectivity amongst the British migrants – one "...conceptualised [more] in terms of networking and exchange, and the construction of a symbolic community than in terms of residential segregation."¹⁴⁸ From her point of view, the role of an informal economy is very important in the presentation of this milieu – one involving voluntary work and social exchange as well as an informal economy of odd-jobs. "In addition to the considerable amount of informal work amongst the British there is a lot of networking and exchange of advice, information, help and even goods like videos and books."¹⁴⁹ According to O'Reilly, for the British community in Costa del Sol:

"...Their sense of status, self-worth and belonging derive from other Britons; if there are not enough of them, or if the networks are not maintained, many people will feel disempowered and disconnected, lost and alone, so it is crucial that they maintain buoyant and exclusive membership. [...] Britons involved in the networks of community are becoming more and more self-sufficient and independent of the Spanish. They are strengthening the boundaries, confirming and reconfirming their marginal status to the Spanish, needing to integrate less and less as they become more dependent on each other both practically and emotionally."¹⁵⁰

O'Reilly describes the in-between quality of this social collective, in-between being staunchly proud Britons in Britain and fully integrated Britons in Spain: "The Britain they have left behind is one they do not identify with much, but the historical nation remains part of who they are. They do not expect to be allowed to integrate into Spanish society, and they retain a strong dependence on their home society, sometimes financially and sometimes emotionally, but always with the secure knowledge that if all else fails, they can (and do) just go home."¹⁵¹ Based on this understanding she suggests the conceptualization of the British in Spain as a collective migratory population tied together by common origins – in other words, a diaspora.¹⁵²

In terms of the question of subjectivity, the British on Costa del Sol present further similarities with the residents of *The Villages*. As recently displaced arrivals they are faced with an

¹⁴⁷ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 149.

¹⁴⁸ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 120.

¹⁴⁹ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 122.

¹⁵⁰ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 153.

¹⁵¹ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 159-160.

¹⁵² O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 159-160.

environmental and social tabula rasa from which to construct a new identity. In place of the environment of work, this occurs to a large extent through the participation in leisure activities and hobbies associated with the permanent vacation – ones that are predominantly focused on the realization of pursuits associated with youthfulness, and hedonism.¹⁵³

The legal and conceptual categorization of this subject – the British retiree on Costa del Sol – has been a topic of debate. Romero for example, suggests an umbrella term that articulates the legal and statistical ephemerality of non-registered foreign retirement migrants – ‘floating subjects.’¹⁵⁴ In fact, considerable ambiguity is built into the broad label of the foreign retirement migrant based on a series of variables ranging from how much time one spends in Spain each year, if one is present in Spain legally or not, to whether one maintains ownership of a house in Britain. While King et al describe the difficulty of classification between various types of foreign residents, they offer four categories with which to do so: the *long-stay international tourist*, *second home-owners*, *seasonal migrants*, and *permanent residents*. The *long-stay international tourist* usually does not own a property but rents, often going for winter stays lasting more than one month in the same location each year. *Second home-owners* are working age tourists travelling for short stays. It is common that these second homes evolve into retirement homes. *Seasonal migrants* are distinct from *second-home owners* in terms of the longer length of stay and their higher likelihood of being retired. Types range from *snowbirds* who spend more time at a northern European base and travel south to avoid the northern winter; to *sunbirds* who spend more time based in southern Europe and travel north in the summer to avoid excessive heat. In Mijas on the Costa del Sol for example, 44 percent of foreign residents spent more than three months a year outside of Spain in 1990. The last category, *permanent residents*, refers to retirement migrants who mostly own their own homes and reside year-round in the South.¹⁵⁵ O'Reilly presents a five-part classification system that more or less aligns to that of King et al. It includes: *expatriates* (equating to King's *permanent residents*), *residents* (equating to *seasonal migrants* 1), *seasonal visitors* (equating to *seasonal migrants* 2), *returners* (equating to *second-home owners*) and *tourists* (equating to *long-stay international tourists*.)¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ While this is often presented as a positive possibility for self-realization, there are however various forms of ‘fallout’ from this permanent state of vacation – fallout that can include common problems such as alcoholism, depression and loneliness. See for example the section on “Black Spots in Paradise” in O'Reilly and Huber, “The construction of Heimat under conditions of individualized modernity,” 345

¹⁵⁴ Of particular interest is the fact that the invisible status of such subjects contributes negatively toward the assessment of need for public services and infrastructure such as hospitals, highways, sewage treatment plants and so forth on the Costa del Sol.

¹⁵⁵ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 44.

¹⁵⁶ O'Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol*, 140. O'Reilly makes a point of challenging the use of the term ‘immigrants’ to categorize international retirement migrants in Spain in the sense that such individuals are not assigned to “powerlessness, minority status, and often colour...”

While it is clear from the range of categories above that there is no single 'typical British retiree in Spain' there are certain tendencies that King et al describe. They are for example: "...predominantly well-off, with above-average levels of education and an employment background mainly in business, management and the professions."¹⁵⁷ This defines some similarities with European international retirement migrants in general, and British amenity migrants to England's southern coast in particular.¹⁵⁸ The majority of international retirement migrants have prior experience of holidaying in the area they choose to retire in, a history that informs King et al's hypothesis of a social class transformation of the population of foreign retiree residents in Spain over time – from an elite to a mass population of residents.¹⁵⁹

"Year-of-arrival analysis supports the hypothesis that IRM started in the 1960s and 1970s as an elite phenomenon and in the 1980s and 1990s acquired a broader social base. A partial recording of geographical mobility prior to retirement reveals that our subjects had considerable migration and travel experience prior to settling in their chosen destinations. These earlier migration paths were moulded by both former 'colonial' links and participation in the skilled international migration flows of the modern global economy. Whilst the diverse experiences of travel, work and residence overseas are important, the findings confirm that for the majority the key link with the destination is previous holidays, for some through the purchase of a second home prior to and in anticipation of retirement."¹⁶⁰

The 'mental space' of the British retiree in Spain is described by O'Reilly in terms of a constructed picture of both Spain and Britain— highlighting the contradictions between the situations of the residents:

"Their lives and identities, their community, all serve to maintain a balance between an imagined Spain and a historical Britain – reality being something they construct there for themselves. There is a constant contradiction between wanting to integrate and yet doing nothing about it; constructing an isolated community yet pretending they are integrated; loving Spain yet being frustrated by it; living in Spain and being like the Spanish yet not really knowing what that means; feeling marginalised yet doing nothing about it; acting ethically but denying that too."¹⁶¹

This supports the notion of an in-between identity directed toward getting the best of both worlds, but one distinctly more British than Spanish. This supports a form of internal duplicity or schizophrenia: on the one hand expressing distaste toward 'British lager-lout' mentality,

¹⁵⁷ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 88-89.

¹⁵⁸ "The settlement was pioneered by people of unusually high education in the 1960s and 1970s, with 'intellectuals' (lecturers, teachers, artists, etc.) [...]. Since the 1980s the phenomenon has become socially more broadly based, with higher proportions of employees in production and services." King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 88-89.

¹⁵⁹ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 85. The heterogeneity of the IRM in Costa del Sol is emphasised on page 204 by King et al in referring to the range of individuals they met in their research, including: "a dedicated field student of Carthagenian archaeology, an avid researcher of local church liturgy, several keen yachtswomen, and others who were selflessly dedicated to community service; all very different from the also relatively rare relentless party-goers, ex-colonial chauvinists and 'alternative' commune dwellers."

¹⁶⁰ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 89.

¹⁶¹ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 153.

and expressing displeasure toward Britain by associating it with “dullness, boredom, greyness, cold, old-age, crime and lack of respect for the elderly,”¹⁶² while spending the majority of their time only with British people and watching British football matches in British bars. On the one hand promoting Spain’s “warmth, sunshine, sociability, good health, leisure, safety and respect for older people”¹⁶³ while complaining about the Spanish ‘manjana attitude.’

Conclusion

Since the 1980s, international retirement migrants from Northern- and Western Europe have realized micro-Britains and micro-Germanys on Spain’s Costa del Sol. Formed as an extension of the logic of the Mediterranean coastal tourist resort, these solar utopias may be seen as an index of the forces of globalisation on the field of population ageing – most notably: improved transport and accessibility, the reduction of institutional and legal barriers to foreign living, and the increased familiarity with foreign destinations. These transformations, amongst others, have supported a form of ‘cultural and economic convergence’ that increasingly enables the successful negotiation of everyday life for international retirement migrants in foreign cultural contexts. This is touched upon explicitly by King et al:

“Today, if a person knows how to make an international telephone call from a public booth in Britain, to do their weekly shopping in a supermarket, or to draw money from their bank account through a ‘cash machine’, they rarely have trouble doing the same things in any part of Western Europe – which was not the case twenty years ago. These activities reflect a general process of ‘cultural and economic convergence’ which has involved the standardization of product ranges, and simplification of the ‘customer interface’ in many convenience, telecommunications and financial services.”¹⁶⁴

Such a form of convergence has facilitated, and been facilitated by the international tourism industry. On Costa del Sol, the infrastructure supporting tourism has proved highly suitable at a regional scale to the immense growth in international retiree-occupied *urbanizaciones* – an event that has led to a more or less continuous carpet of ex-urban development stretching across the coastal landscape. The suitability of this touristic environment may be framed in terms of the attractions of landscape and climate, and in the common infrastructural and social requirements such as airport connectivity and leisure attractions. It is appropriate to add the aspect of language to the more tangible objects of ‘cultural and economic convergence’ – especially in the key role it plays in touristic and therefore retirement

¹⁶² King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 145.

¹⁶³ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 145.

¹⁶⁴ King, Warnes, Williams, *Sunset Lives*, 201.

migration infrastructure. In particular, this convergence is enacted through the internationalisation of English, and its subsequent domination on the touristic and retirement milieu of Costa del Sol. A further contribution toward such rapid development has been a form of governance characterised by innovative alliances between the public and private sector at the boundaries of legality.¹⁶⁵

The most significant distinction between the retirement milieus of Florida (or Arizona), and those addressed here in Spain, is the latter's production of national/cultural/linguistic differences between so-called 'indigenous' spaces of 'locals,' and those of 'foreign retirement migrants.' With the addition of 'temporary tourists', the overall territory accommodates three primary constituents who to a large extent occupy a three-part territorial ecology of 'traditional towns,' 'tourist resorts' and 'retirement *urbanizaciones*.' The presentation of this three-part spatial schema challenges the previous discourse on the Costa del Sol that has privileged a temporal and seasonal reading of the region. The spatial relationship presented here is most eloquently framed in the *Guía Oficial* map of the Costa del Sol, which registers a direct visualization of the predominant stages of historical growth of the region, along with the territorial demarcations of each of the three ecologies. The multiple bubbles on the map that delineate the retirement *urbanizaciones* index a contemporary form of cultural and territorial neo-colonization. This is based neither on the imposition of the dominant power of a nation state (a condition that Karen O'Reilly correctly dis-associates the *urbanizaciones* from,) nor on the imposition of the economic power of a corporation, but in terms of a large scale aggregation of consumer desire for spatial retirement products fed through the rational and irrational mechanisms of the market. In other words, an ecological colonisation based on the demographic logic of the swarm.

Just as touristic infrastructure is highly suitable for retirement migration at a regional scale, it is at the scale of the individual *urbanizaciones* themselves that the organisational and programmatic framework of the foreign vacation resort is an equally important influence. As a leisure rather than work-focused environment in which a form of pseudo communalism is organised around common leisure facilities such as swimming pools, lawns, tennis courts and golf courses, the vacation resort is typically arranged within a demarcated perimeter of national occupation, defining a world distinct from the local indigenous context around it. The distinct environment of the resort engages in a dialogue between local and global conditions, articulating the exotic local destination (Spain) to the (British) visitor/resident, whilst at the same time operating according to familiar protocols of global convergence. Within the context

¹⁶⁵ In this particular context these alliances have been focused toward the production of economic win-win situations on both sides of the public-private divide. The public sector gains however have been largely limited to improved economic conditions for administrative officials.

of the vacation resort, the iconography of this 'exotic' context operates as a form of applique to the substructure of the generic shell. The expansion of these approaches into environments for retirement migration has seen the increasing application of themeing techniques from the entertainment-industrial complex applied to both the architecture and landscape design of the *urbanizaciones*.

Organisationally, the *urbanizaciones* function as spatial products with the mobility and reproducibility of neo-colonial formats. The ease of redeployment of these protocols is evidenced by the rapid emergence of new *urbanizaciones* in places such as Greece and the Balkans based on variations in relative currency values and the expanding borders of regional alliances. Such retirement lifestyles most resemble package holiday products, both in terms of the tropes of desire they employ, and in terms of the formulation of a product capable of collapsing the 'exoticism' of destination and the familiarity of 'home' into a single space.

Just as a third culture between Holland and Japan is formed at Huis Ten Bosch, the *urbanizaciones* produce a third culture between Britain and Spain and in turn produce a third type of subject, between the Briton and the Spaniard. The key theme in this case is the empowerment offered to the international retirement migrant, as a curator, to select, edit and recombine the most desirable aspects of each culture and each identity. For the British on Costa del Sol, such an experimental curatorial project is largely underwritten by the security offered by the national cultural solidarity of fellow British retirement migrants living closely together in this foreign lifestyle laboratory.

3. HUIS TEN BOSCH OF KYUSHU: TELEPORTED URBANISMS OF THE THIRD AGE

Huis Ten Bosch, "...the theme park to end all theme parks." Joy Hendry¹

Huis Ten Bosch has been described as one of the largest and most elaborate theme parks in history.² Opened in 1992 near the Japanese city of Nagasaki, the 151 hectare site covers an area five times that of Disneyland in Anaheim. Constructed literally of Dutch bricks, it exists as an urban ensemble of full-scale replicas of historical Dutch townscape and landscape. (fig. B.3.1 - B.3.2)

Themed environments consisting of replicas of remote iconic buildings have an extensive history spanning from the 'Greek' temples of the English garden tradition, the great exhibitions of the nineteenth century, and Coney Island's amusement parks at the turn of the twentieth century, to Walt Disney's post-war theme parks, the casinos of Las Vegas and the contemporary *gaikoku-mura* (foreign villages) of Japan. Although Huis Ten Bosch conforms to this lineage, it is noteworthy as a typological hybrid of the conventional themed environment and the residential community. Most significant in the context of this research is the fact that the full-time residential population of Huis Ten Bosch consists largely of retirees. As a result, it operates as an index of the coincidence of contemporary socio-demographic conditions and the specific Japanese economic and cultural milieu.

After depicting the historical background of Huis Ten Bosch – including its conceptualization as a model ecological city of the future – this chapter will examine it as an evolution of the urban typology of the theme park based on the demographics of population ageing; and as an evolution of the urban typology of the retirement community according to the logic of the entertainment-industrial complex. Based on the introduction of permanent residential occupation into the themed environment, the conventional terms framing the spatio-temporal and social effects of the theme park – namely *displacement*, *exteriority* and *simulation* – will be re-examined. Notably, the performative, as well as symbolic workings of themeing will be incorporated into this discussion, suggesting mechanisms that not only produce hybrid conceptions of place or space, but also hybrid notions of subjectivity and collectivity.

¹ Joy Hendry, *The Orient Strikes Back: A Global View of Cultural Display* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 43.

² See Miodrag Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape, Theme Parks, Public Space* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006). Mitrasinovic's work - focusing on the material and cultural production of the theme park as an urban apparatus - is the most extensive to date on this theme. *Total Landscape, Theme Parks, Public Space* includes a chapter on Huis Ten Bosch. It focuses primarily on the 'themeparking' and 'themeing' of the environment, but does not go into great detail concerning the issue of retirees as primary residents

Paradoxes: Between Economy and Ecology

The brainchild of entrepreneur Yoshikuni Kamichika, Huis Ten Bosch opened in 1992, as an expanded version of the smaller 'Nagasaki Holland Village' ten kilometres to the south-west. (fig. B.3.3 - B.3.4) Located thirty-six kilometres from Nagasaki, the site encompasses 151 hectares (or 375 acres) of land largely reclaimed for military purposes during the Second World War and for industrial development in the post-war period.³ Similar in size to the principality of Monaco, the complex was realized at an overall cost of 540 billion Yen (\$4.7 billion or CHF 5.5 billion in 1994), representing one of the largest public-private developments in Japanese history.⁴(fig. B.3.5 - B.3.8) Kamichika in particular has been instrumental in assembling a conglomerate of thirty partners to fund the project, including: the Nagasaki prefectural and Sasebo city governments, the Industrial and Development Bank of Japan, the local railway JR Kyushi, local gas and electricity utilities, as well as several large corporations such as Mitsubishi and Fujitsu.⁵

Huis Ten Bosch – literally meaning 'House in the Forest' in Dutch – refers to the Dutch royal family's summer palace near Den Haag, one of over 150 Dutch buildings and townscapes replicated on the Kyushu site. Collectively, the complex functions as a town containing 6 hotels, 60 restaurants, 68 shops, 12 amusement facilities, 12 museums, 6km of canals, banks, a post office, a fire station, a hospital and a marina, as well as several hundred residential houses and apartments. Huis Ten Bosch attracts between four million(1993) and two million(2006) visitors, making it one of Japan's largest theme park attractions behind Tokyo Disneyland and Tokyo Sea World Park. Appealing to mostly middle-aged and elderly women as an environment dominated by cultural rather than amusement landscapes, entry costs 4800 Yen (\$50 or CHF55-) for a one-day 'passport,'⁶ The attractiveness of the environment as a destination has been partly attributed to the unique and highly identifiable, branding elements of Dutch culture, such as the windmill, the tulip, the canal and the canal house, and the familiar work of painters such as Van Gogh, Vermeer, and Rembrandt.

For Nihon Sekkei architect Takekuni Ikeda, the development of Huis Ten Bosch articulates an ideology embodying "... a new system of values that should serve as the standard for

³ Huis Ten Bosch can be reached in 65 minutes by bus or 90 minutes by boat from Nagasaki's city centre. From Tokyo, Nagasaki is six and a half hours by train or 105 minutes by air.

⁴ David D'Heilly, "Letter from Huis Ten Bosch," *Any Magazine*, no.4 (January/February 1994): 56. The land area of Monaco is 195 hectares or 482 acres.

⁵ Companies included: Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Mitsubishi Trading, Matsushita and Fujitsu electronics industries, NHK, the Japan Travel Bureau, Mitsui Real Estate Group, Nissan Automotive, Kirin and Suntory beverages, and Snow Brand Dairy Products.

⁶ Treib, "Theme Park, Themed Living," 225.

urban development in Japan as we enter the 21st century.”⁷ This ambitious framework, according to its creators represents “...the first time a town [in Japan has been] constructed with the goals of achieving ‘the coexistence of ecology and economy’ and ‘a harmony between the Dutch and Japanese cultures.’”⁸ In this context, the coexistence of the often contradictory frameworks of ecology and economy may be understood in terms of the desire on the one hand to produce a model sustainable town based around an ecological reverence to nature similar to that observed during the Edo period, while at the same time, ensuring an economically viable enterprise based on the successful precedent of the Japanese cultural themepark grounded, in the case of Huis Ten Bosch, to the local history of the Dutch on Kyushu during the Edo period. For Mitrasinovic this combination of historical and ecological themeing produces a “somewhat confusing conceptual layering,” but one that is underlined by an intelligent marketing strategy on multiple conceptual levels, in terms of: “ecological concerns, alternative living, Holland as tourist destination, national history and so on.”⁹ The complex nature of these negotiations is foregrounded in the founder and ecologist Kamichika’s irritation whenever the term ‘theme park’ is applied to Huis Ten Bosch: “This is NOT a theme park. It is a future ecological city.”¹⁰ The presence of any form of themed environment at Huis Ten Bosch is articulated by Kamichika as a concession to the economic interests of the companies, municipalities and utilities that funded the project.

The Japanese *gaikoku-mura* (foreign village.)

The development of Huis Ten Bosch as a themed environment can be contextualized within the economic, cultural, social and demographic shifts that coincided in the 1980s and early 1990s in Japan. The national economic boom during this period saw the level of national wealth double in a time period of six years; resulting, amongst other effects, in an explosion in demand for foreign goods and experiences.¹¹ (fig. B.3.9.) The increased fascination for things western was fueled by the caché attached to expensive western goods inflated in price by high import taxes and duties imposed by the Japanese government.¹²

The economic boom led to an explosion in the popularity of westernized forms of leisure consumption, such as the theme and amusement parks that began appearing in Japan in the

⁷ Takekuni Ikeda, “The Spirit of the Huis Ten Bosch Project,” in *Huis Ten Bosch: Design Concept and its Development*, Nihon Sekkei (Tokyo: Nihon Sekkei and Kodansha, 1994), 8.

⁸ Shigeyoshi Saito, “Profile of the Huis Ten Bosch Project,” in *Huis Ten Bosch: Design Concept and its Development*, Nihon Sekkei (Tokyo: Nihon Sekkei and Kodansha, 1994), 37.

⁹ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 188.

¹⁰ Yoshikuni Kamichika, interview by author, Huis Ten Bosch, Japan, June 18, 2008.

¹¹ Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, “Statistical Handbook of Japan, 2006,” Statistics Bureau, Director-General for Policy Planning and Statistical Research and Training Institute, <http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/handbook> (accessed October 11, 2006).

¹² Sarah Chaplin, “Authenticity and Otherness: The New Japanese Themepark,” *AD* 68, no. 1 / 2 (January/February 1998): 77.

early 1980s. The earliest, and perhaps most famous of these environments are the twin parks of Tokyo Disneyland and Tokyo DisneySea opened in 1983 – the third and fourth most popular parks in the world with 12.9 million and 12.1 million visitors annually.¹³ (fig. B.3.10) In parallel to the emergence and rapid growth of this form of amusement park in Japan, another typology of leisure park appeared, known as the *gaikoku-mura*, or cultural theme park or foreign village. Based upon the concept of providing a substitute for foreign travel, consumptive experiences and culture, the foreign village typology may be understood as a reaction to the practical constraints of limited vacation time and limited income for many Japanese, while at the same time offering the convenience of experiencing foreign culture framed by the comfort and familiarity of Japanese language, customs and food. Since the middle of the 1980s dozens of foreign villages appeared in Japan, representing large swaths of the globe including New Zealand, Turkey, Canada, and Italy. Some of the more well-known *gaikoku-mura* include: *Gluck's Kingdom* in Hokaido, modelled on a historical German town, opened in 1990 (closed in 2001); the *Shakespeare Country Park* or *Rosemary Park* in Maruyama, modelled on William Shakespeare's home region in Stratford upon Avon, England, opened in 1997; and *Parque Espana* in Shima, modelled on a Spanish town, opened in 1994. (fig. B.3.11 – B.3.13) Huis Ten Bosch would become the largest and most famous of these environments.

Japan and The Netherlands

The selection of the Netherlands for the cultural identity of Huis Ten Bosch is linked to the specific local history of the Nagasaki area. During the self-imposed isolation of the Edo period between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, the Dutch and the Chinese were Japan's only points of contact with the rest of the world. The Dutch maintained a trading function during that period on Deshima – an artificial island in the bay of Nagasaki – under the stipulation that no religious missionary activities would be conducted.¹⁴ Deshima covered an area of approximately 70 x 210 meters and was connected to the mainland by a guarded wooden drawbridge. Deshima would become the single point of arrival of western knowledge and goods including shipbuilding, astronomy, navigation, gunnery and medicine. (fig. B.3.14) The influence of the Dutch can still be detected in the region with several Dutch words existing in the local dialect. According to Ikeda, "...the Netherlands played an important role in the modern history of Japan. However, the Japanese public is almost completely unaware of, and lacks the appreciation for these contributions. By re-examining the history of our trade

¹³ Figures for 2006 from Coaster Grotto, "Theme Park Attendance," Coaster Grotto, <http://www.coastergrotto.com/theme-park-attendance.jsp> (accessed October 19, 2007).

¹⁴ China also made agreements with Japan and was allowed to trade from an island adjacent to Deshima. Deshima. (2010). In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica Online: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/159129/Deshima> (accessed April 05, 2008).

with the Dutch, whose culture is different from that of Japan, we can recognize anew our country's own culture and take this opportunity to give a thought to today's Japan."¹⁵

Themeing the Netherlands

The development and realization of the design of Huis Ten Bosch was overseen by Japanese architects Nihon Sekkei, and a fifteen member committee comprising of "...experts in Japanese and Dutch architecture, construction and culture" led by Nihon Sekkei urban planner and design architect Takekuni Ikeda.¹⁶ The Dutch town planner Jan Heeling, and member of the committee, is credited with playing a key role in the design of the overall planning of Huis Ten Bosch, in a manner consistent with the "historical and traditional formation of a Dutch city. [...] simulat[ing] the establishment of an imaginary city on the site of this project."¹⁷

"A brief outline of the history of this imaginary town begins with its formation in the 12th century at the mouth of the river which flows into the bay. The town was established as a fishing village with some farming as well. Between the 12th and 14th centuries, the fishing village established an inner harbour and outer harbour, churches, a town hall, and a fortified wall and gate were built to protect the village from invading enemies. During the 14th through 17th century, a block of warehouses was constructed for the East Asia Trading Company. At this time, *Palais Huis ten Bosch* was also built. In the 19th century, as industry flourished, the harbour was expanded and *Palais Huis ten Bosch* was enlarged. In the 20th century, with the suburban environment well established, vacation houses were built, a canal was dug where once there was nothing, and stretches of trees were planted. The city has been rejuvenated as a new town in complete harmony with its natural surroundings. The harbour has been transformed into a yacht marina, where rows and rows of sail-boats are berthed."¹⁸

The design of the individual buildings and townscapes was based upon an extensive research and surveys carried out in eighteen Dutch cities. This process was aided by the support of the Netherlands government and the Dutch royal family, with the latter party agreeing to allow the Huis Ten Bosch palace to be copied, and for the new Japanese town to take its name. In addition to the Palais Huis Ten Bosch, exact replicas were made of eleven iconic free-standing buildings including: Stadhuis, Gouda; De Waag, Gouda; Korenbeurs, Leiden; Waterpoort, Sneek; and Kasteel Nijenrode, Breukelen; forming visual anchors in the various squares.¹⁹ (fig. B.3.15 – B.3.20) Drawings of the replicated buildings were supplied by the Dutch government and the local municipalities. As these buildings are owned by the Dutch public sector, they were free from potential copyright problems. A further sixteen buildings were constructed based on "some modifications such as minor changes in the

¹⁵ Ikeda, "The Spirit of the Huis Ten Bosch Project," 8.

¹⁶ Saito, "Profile of the Huis Ten Bosch Project," 38.

¹⁷ Saito, "Profile of the Huis Ten Bosch Project," 38.

¹⁸ Saito, "Profile of the Huis Ten Bosch Project," 38.

¹⁹ Nihon Sekkei, *Huis Ten Bosch: Design Concept and its Development* (Tokyo: Nihon Sekkei and Kodansha, 1994), 170.

design or reduction in size.”²⁰ These individual replicas have been carefully knitted together with additional buildings and townscapes based on the principles of existing Dutch urban scapes from the various historical periods and regional settings. The problem of the discrepancy between the function of the original Dutch building and the Japanese replica has been accommodated according to the logic of ‘renewal design.’ In the Netherlands, according to Nihon Sekkei:

“Changes to exteriors of the [historical] buildings are not permitted. Instead, urban resources are utilized to their fullest extent by transforming the interior of the building so that it has [a] completely new function while leaving the exterior of the building unchanged. Many buildings have undergone this form of transformation; for example, a church may have been redone to function as a housing complex or museum. The original *Domtoren* in Utrecht is the bell tower of the church, but in Huis Ten Bosch it functions as an observation deck; the building has been given a new interior and function[s] while keeping its exterior appearance intact. Likewise, the *Stadhuis* (City Hall) in Gouda serves as *Ornamental Glassware Museum* and rest house.”²¹

At Huis Ten Bosch, a great deal of attention was paid, not only to the formal accuracy of the replicas, but also to materials and construction techniques. In a number of cases, Dutch craftsmen were brought over to Japan to oversee construction and pass on techniques to local workers. In the case of the 12 hectares (30 acres) of pavement for example, ten million bricks were imported from the Netherlands, and laid under the supervision of Dutch bricklayers.²²

The wider spatial organisation of Huis Ten Bosch articulates a sequence of eight collective ‘public’ squares, or ‘theatres’ as Mitrasinovic refers to them.²³ Each theatre has its own character and programmatic inclination, and is named after a specific region of The Netherlands.²⁴ The individual theatres are connected by two loop systems. The first land-based loop connects the theatre ‘islands’ by bridge, while the second, the water-based loop is defined by a canal system navigated by various boats and water taxis. (fig. B.3.21 – B.3.27)

A highly choreographed set of temporal events and ‘pseudo events’ take place in the various theatres scheduled around daily, weekly, monthly and seasonal time frames. (fig. B.3.28 – B.3.29) On a daily basis, there are ‘spontaneous’ street performances by jugglers, painters or street musicians scheduled on a rotating basis throughout the park. Each theatre supports a

²⁰ Saito, “Profile of the Huis Ten Bosch Project,” 38.

²¹ Saito, “Profile of the Huis Ten Bosch Project,” 38.

²² Saito, “Profile of the Huis Ten Bosch Project,” 39.

²³ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 38.

²⁴ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 38. The theatres include: Entrance Theatre, Kinderdijk Theatre, Maurats Square Theatre, Nassau Square Theatre, Alexander Square Theatre, World Bazaar Theatre, Utrecht Theatre, and the Palace Theatre.

particular program of events, which plays out within the overall choreography of the park. When the park was originally opened, these regular events would include: the daily cheese-making demonstrations by Dutch agronomy and agriculture students in the Kinderdijk Theatre; the seafood market, and the five-member Dutch band playing four times daily in the Utrecht Theatre. The most important showcase event occurring each day was the Royal Horse Parade. Starting from Friesian Horse Land, it looped throughout the park to the Huis Ten Bosch Palace, where it picked up Dutch costumed actors performing as the Dutch royal family. It then returned, travelling through the park once again. The 'royal family' were driven by "three traditional Seventeenth-Century Dutch carriages, (and) a dozen Friesian horses imported from Holland..."²⁵ A group of Italian Flag Master performers travelled simultaneously on the same loop in the opposite direction as the Royal Horse Parade. Additional events were scheduled on a weekly basis. These included the Canal Fantasy Show incorporating fireworks on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays. The monthly and seasonal rhythm marks a series of festivals that are typically tied to flower themes. March and April mark the period of the Tulip Festival, while June and July are the months of the Hydrangea Festival. The Harvest Festival from September to November, and the Christmas Festival in December are associated with the Cosmos and Pansy flower themes respectively.²⁶

Experimental future ecological city

"We commenced the Huis Ten Bosch project in Nagasaki Holland Village with the traditional Japanese spirit of reverence for Nature in our hearts. Although we basically used Dutch architecture as a model, we tried to build a town based on the manners and concepts of the city of [the] Edo [period]."²⁷ Takekuni Ikeda.

While the economic requirements of the wider project determined the Dutch-themed foreign village concept, the ecological ambitions of entrepreneur, ecologist and founder, Yoshikuni Kamichika define a more challenging conceptual argument in the formation of the project. In these terms, the ideology behind Huis Ten Bosch was defined in opposition to that of contemporary urban development in Japan. Ikeda describes three fundamental problems tied to the modern twentieth century approach: firstly, "a weakened sensitivity to Nature;" secondly, "the incompatibility of certain modern rationalist ideals with traditional culture and concern for the environment," and thirdly, "a lack of deterrents inherent in modern rationalist ideas." In other words, an ideology with "no clear limitations on Man's actions."²⁸ For Ikeda

²⁵ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 229.

²⁶ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 231. As Huis Ten Bosch faced falling visitor numbers in the years following its opening, a corresponding fall in revenues led to a staged reduction in the number and frequency of event programming. By 2008, five years after bankruptcy, the majority of the programs involving Dutch actors – including the Royal Horse Parade, the Dutch band and the Dutch agronomy and agriculture students had been discontinued.

²⁷ Ikeda, "The Spirit of the Huis Ten Bosch Project," 10.

²⁸ Ikeda, "The Spirit of the Huis Ten Bosch Project," 9.

and Kamichika the ecological and developmental approach of the Edo period, as well as the contemporary Dutch approach to the environment, become the central framework by which ecology is addressed at Huis Ten Bosch. According to Ikeda:

“The environment of the towns and villages in the Netherlands has much in common with Japan as it existed before modernization. In other words, there are many similarities between this Dutch environment and the Japan of a time when the town’s look reflected its culture, a culture whose spirit revered Nature. There is clearly a deterring force that has kept the Netherlands from succumbing to the 20th century mindset which not only places efficiency and economics above all else, but tossed Nature aside as well.”²⁹

The overall intention then, was “...to build a town which was in harmony with nature, [establishing] an environment which would allow the natural elements of water, light, sound, and waste matter to coexist with sophisticated technology such as energy supply and intelligent town systems.”³⁰ The primary area of ecological attention in the design was the water environment, with the canal system being designed to enhance the local marine ecosystem, to allow for regular water changes through changing tide levels, and to ensure that no wastewater is pumped into Omura Bay. Wastewater from the various facilities is treated in three stages at a water processing plant, and recycled for cooling systems, sanitary installations and for plant irrigation. Below ground level, a system of tunnels more than three kilometres long contains water supply, energy and communication for the complex – producing an “interesting paradox” according to Huis Ten Bosch between what “appears to be a 17th century Dutch town” above ground, and “a high tech tunnel system” below.³¹ Further care was taken in designing the complex to limit light and sound pollution, reduce waste and maximise the level of recycling. (fig. B.3.30)

Presenting these approaches to sustainability is an ecological excursion reminiscent of the ‘staged authenticity’ of the ‘back of house’ tours described by Dean MacCannell in *The Tourist*.³² In such presentations, the tourist – who according to MacCannell is implicitly searching for lost authenticity – is offered ‘truth’ in the form of displayed technical expertise and ‘wizardry’ in support of the environment.

Residential Theme Park

²⁹ Ikeda, “The Spirit of the Huis Ten Bosch Project,” 10.

³⁰ Saito, “Profile of the Huis Ten Bosch Project,” 39.

³¹ Huis Ten Bosch, “Ecology”, Huis Ten Bosch, <http://english.huistenbosch.co.jp/about/ecology/index.html> (accessed October 18, 2007).

³² See the chapter on “Staged Authenticity” in Dean MacCannell’s *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 91-108.

Central to Kamichika's vision of Huis Ten Bosch as a model of a future ecological city – one exceeding the conventional logic of the theme park – is its occupation by permanent residents.³³ Huis Ten Bosch therefore was conceptualized as a 'living town' "where the people can live an active round-the-clock lifestyle."³⁴ Kamichika conceived of the residential area as a selective community of successful retired artists and writers who previously worked in Tokyo, but who may have originally grown up in or nearby the Nagasaki region – constituting a creative and ecologically engaged group interested in developing a new model of sustainable urban life. This socially engineered 'cultural retiree community' was facilitated during the bubble economy, when demand outstripped supply, and according to accounts of those within the company "doctors and lawyers were rejected from buying because they were perceived as selfish, and as potential trouble makers."³⁵ Kamichika envisioned the residents taking a volunteer role in running the park, educating visitors, and over time, taking a central role in an administrative commission that would be set up to run Huis Ten Bosch as an open town that would not charge admission.³⁶ With the economic collapse at the end of 1989, just prior to the complex opening, the supply of residential properties at Huis Ten Bosch suddenly exceeded demand, and Kamichika's selective profile of those inhabiting the community became increasingly difficult to realize.³⁷ The community that emerged however, corresponds to Kamichika's vision inasmuch as it consists largely of retired or semi-retired residents – a predominantly Third Age population with an average age in the mid-50s.³⁸

The residential housing realized at Huis Ten Bosch consists of 190 houses and apartments located at the edge of the admission area of the park. The most prominent neighbourhood of 'Wassenaar' consists of 130 free-standing villas and 60 apartments flanking the Entrance, Kinderdijk and Maurits Square theatres.³⁹ Modelled on the canal-house typology from the Wassenaar region in the south-west of the Netherlands, the two to three storey villas are built with pitched tile roofs, red Dutch bricks, with doors, window frames and other details

³³ Yoshikuni Kamichika, interview by author, Huis Ten Bosch, Japan, June 18, 2008.

³⁴ Saito, "Profile of the Huis Ten Bosch Project," 37. This conception would undergo minor modifications as project development progressed. Rather than placing the permanent residential housing properties within the boundary of the restricted-entry area of the theme park – based on fears of privacy and overcrowding – they were placed in adjacent areas within the overall complex.

³⁵ Tadaharu Takemoto, Interview by author, June 14, 2008.

³⁶ Yoshikuni Kamichika, interview by author, Huis Ten Bosch, Japan, June 18, 2008.

³⁷ Toshiro Sakai, Interview by author, June 14, 2008. With the drop in demand for Wassenaar properties after the economic collapse, average prices would fall from 140 Million Yen up to 160 Million Yen in 1992 (US\$1.48 Million to US\$1.69 Million) to around 30 Million Yen to 50 Million Yen (US\$317,000 to US\$529,000) by 2008. Two major reductions in cost would take place in 1997 and 2002, with the last apartments sold in 2004.

³⁸ Survey conducted by author amongst Wassenaar residents, June 2008. See also Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 233, which documents the majority of the approx. 400 residents in the over-60 demographic.

³⁹ Other apartment areas include the more contemporary development of Huis Ten Bosch Hills built several years after Huis Ten Bosch opened in 1992. Huis Ten Bosch Hills is set apart from the theme park and Wassenaar are on the hill overlooking the project. It consists of 333 apartments, many of which are owned or rented by employees of Huis Ten Bosch. Urbanistically, stylistically and demographically, it is not considered part of the Huis Ten Bosch site proper, and is in fact seen as an eyesore by many of those at Huis Ten Bosch. An additional area of 130 'Forest Villa' condominiums is located within the paid admission area of Huis Ten Bosch between the Utrecht and Palace theatres. The condominiums consist of terrace houses clustered around a small artificial lake. They are owned largely by companies, and occupied on a largely temporary basis by company employees on vacations to Huis Ten Bosch. (fig.37-38) Tadaharu Takemoto, Interview by author, June 14, 2008. See also Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 233.

highlighted in white. The villas are situated on long narrow plots with a small garden fronting the main entrance to the street, and a larger garden with boat mooring facilities along the canal edge, making the residences accessible both from the canal and the street. (fig. B.3.31 – B.3.35) The 60 apartments in Wassenaar are located in four story neo-classical styled buildings on the eastern edge of the neighbourhood overlooking the canals, and boat mooring facilities. Access to both apartments and villas is controlled by a gated entrance overseen by a security guard post.

Huis Ten Bosch residents have free year-round access to the public spaces, shops, restaurants and amenities of the theme park with what is referred to as the 'Huis Ten Bosch passport,' an entry document bearing the owners photo and identification information. (fig. B.3.36) For many of the inhabitants, the spaces of the theme park function as an 'urban living room,' with residents spending time in European-styled cafes, restaurants and shops. Amenities such as a supermarket, bank and post office are used by the residents, just as they would in a regular town.⁴⁰ (fig. B.3.37 – B.3.40)

Marketing brochures developed for Wassenaar in the late 1980s depict finely dressed middle-aged residents enjoying a cultured European lifestyle of leisure amongst the 'natural' landscape and lifestyle opportunities of Huis Ten Bosch. Activities illustrated include: leisure sailing on the canals and the bay; shopping for French wines, Dutch cheeses and breads as well as fresh seafood at the market; visiting museum galleries containing classical paintings by European masters; shopping for jewellery, ties and marine-themed gifts; barbequing fresh seafood in front of the villas with a backdrop of yachts moored on the canal. The Wassenaar brochures present European domestic interiors, furniture and lifestyle accoutrements throughout. Images of domestic life depict couples enjoying cognac in front of a fireplace, bedroom balconies with canal views, two storey atrium entrances and four-poster beds – tatami mats are conspicuously absent.

Several of the key desirable qualities of living in Wassenaar overlap with these advertising images, according to a number of residents interviewed. The most articulated desirable characteristic is the beauty of the landscape and the quiet calmness this engenders. This is commonly described in terms of an immersion in 'green' nature, canals and the coastal environment, as well as a level of controlled aesthetic beauty contrasted by many residents to the dense and chaotic Japanese city of above-ground electrical cables, neon and street noise. Additional qualities include the presence of security and gating to the residential

⁴⁰ The Post Office and Bank left the site in 2001 based on the argument of rationalization on the part of each of those institutions.

neighbourhood; as well as the accessibility to Nagasaki and Fukuoka airports. A major desirable characteristic is the range of amenity and entertainment opportunities available to Wassenaar residents in the theme park of Huis Ten Bosch, including: museum exhibitions, seasonal flower displays, shopping, restaurants. There are a considerable number of classes and activities available to residents and visitors offered by Huis Ten Bosch within the area of the park. The full program of activities offered have a marked Dutch and European bent, ranging from patchwork quilting, flower pressing, and senior English, to yoga, pilates, and fabergé egg making. This variety of classes is attended largely by residents who are female, and of retirement age.⁴¹

The future town of Huis Ten Bosch

“...with only 250 [homes] constructed it is necessary to charge an admission fee to the project. However, with the completion of the 2nd and 3rd construction stages, the population is expected to grow to 10,000 and 150,000 respectively, and it should no longer be necessary to charge admission fees to Huis Ten Bosch.” Shigeyoshi Saito.⁴²

Prior to Huis Ten Bosch opening in 1992, it was planned that it would cease operating as a private admission-based theme park and become a fully-fledged town by the year 2010.⁴³ It was estimated that with an average of four million visitors annually – a figure it achieved only in the first years before visitor numbers dwindled to their 2007 number of 2.16 million – the park would have paid back its original development costs by that time.⁴⁴ This transition from private theme park to public city was thwarted therefore by the Japanese economic recession that occurred at the end of 1989; but also by Huis Ten Bosch’s financial burden of undercapitalization upon completion; declared bankruptcy in 2003; as well as the necessity for a series of transformations to meet local planning and building regulations such as street widening.⁴⁵

Typology: Demographic Mutations of the Theme Park

In typological terms, Huis Ten Bosch may be framed as a mutation of the theme park as a result of a shifting demographic landscape defining visitors, and by extension, potential residents. (fig. B.3.41)

⁴¹ This information is based on interviews with Wassenaar residents and interviews and visits to the activity program participants in Huis Ten Bosch in June, 2008.

⁴² Saito, “Profile of the Huis Ten Bosch Project,” 37.

⁴³ According Motokazu Tashiro of Nihon Sekkei: “The plan of the city with 30000 inhabitants” was called “abode plan”, it was the plan for along the Omura canal. But it was not published.” Interview with author, June 12, 2008.

⁴⁴ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 38.

⁴⁵ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 38. Also, Tadaharu Takemoto, interview with author, Huis Ten Bosch, Japan, June 12, 2008; Yoshikuni Kamichika, interview with author, Huis Ten Bosch, Japan, June 18, 2008.

In *Total Landscape*, Mitrasinovic presents a detailed description of the contemporary theme park as an apparatus that simultaneously: fabricates consumer desire and fantasy through a variety of media formats; constructs physical transportation infrastructure to bring consumers to a venue; and “organizes theme parks as [a] material construct, symbolic environment and experience factory.”⁴⁶ This is achieved through two parallel approaches to producing the theme park, one termed ‘Themeparking’, and the other ‘Themeing’.

The term ‘Themeing’ addresses the production of “specific behavioral outcomes in visitors” through the organisation of elements such as: park layout, phone answering system, web site, marketing campaign, lighting fixtures, transportation systems, operational budget, staffing schemes and so forth.⁴⁷ For Mitrasinovic, the dynamics of ‘themeing’ are understood in terms of the ‘Theater of Operations’ (TOP), a military term defining the complex multi-dimensional space-time of contemporary warfare. In the context of the theme park, the TOP consists of i) the internal pattern of theme park circulation, ii) the mode of harlequin dress that the environment and actors within it take on, iii) sensorial stimuli including sight, sound, smell and touch, and iv) the scores - the interaction of people and events in space and time. The TOP is configured through the arrangement of what Mitrasinovic calls ‘environmental modules’. These include food and retail outlets, rides and attractions, and storage spaces, offices and other elements of support. It is the specific arrangement of the modules that produces the individual character of each ‘theatre’ space – as a self-contained totalized landscape.

In contrast, the term ‘Themeparking’ refers to broader aspects of the production of theme parks, operating at four different scales: i) globally, in terms of a strategic scope of operations in economic and geographic terms; ii) regionally, in terms of a cumulative strategy applied to the theatre of operations; iii) locally, in the tactical domain of the design of the theme park, the control of crowds, and so forth; and iv) operationally, in terms of the manoeuvring and support of field operations such as daily staffing, supply, control.⁴⁸ Two of the primary strategic practices addressed in the evaluation of the site and viability of a theme park are economic location models, and demographics. Economic location models assess, for example, “the demand for amusement, entertainment and leisure (AEL) of a potential trade theatre location.”⁴⁹ They utilize market saturation theory to evaluate potential based upon the

⁴⁶ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 18.

⁴⁷ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 35.

⁴⁸ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 55.

⁴⁹ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 62.

ratio of AEL demand to AEL supply, and in relation to the Buying Power Index – which models a market's overall potential.

Connected to these practices, Mitrasinovic describes the importance of demographics in identifying and comparing potential 'theatres of trade'. This type of demographic information addresses: "population, household base, population growth potential, income potential, age makeup, populations of daytime workers, students, tourists, occupation mix, etc."⁵⁰ Typically bought from demographic data vendors – companies that focus on reformatting existing data together with GIS data – this information heavily influences assessments of viability, location, the proposed type of attractions and in the case of Huis Ten Bosch, the type of resident targeted. In other words: "These vendors analyze and visualize (spatialize) information about consumer demographics, buying behaviours (BPI), lifestyles and other relevant data into multidimensional maps."⁵¹ It is critical here to emphasise the importance of demography in the development of theme parks.⁵²

In the context of the development of theme parks as a mode of privatized urbanism, the customer, visitor or subject is defined through 'market' demographics and most importantly, through the lens of 'lifestyle segmentation.' As an extrapolation of location-based demographic data, lifestyle segmentation defines activities, opinions and interests of specific demographic groups within specific locations. According to companies that supply such products, 'Lifestyle Segmentation' is a key concept for identifying customer characteristics, location and market potential. The Nielsen Claritas PRIZM NE is one such product that segments American consumers into sixty-six lifestyle profiles. PRIZM profile 14, for example, describes the 'New Empty Nests' segment:

"With their grown-up children recently out of the house, New Empty Nests is composed of upscale older Americans who pursue active – and activist – lifestyles. Nearly three-quarters of residents are over 65 years old, but they have no interest in a rest-home retirement. This is the top-ranked segment for all-inclusive travel packages; the favorite destination is Italy."⁵³

Targeted demography and lifestyle segmentation are key aspects in the development of the processes of both 'themeing' and 'themeparking,' and both played an important role in the development of Huis Ten Bosch.

⁵⁰ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 62.

⁵¹ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 62.

⁵² Such practices are similar to those employed in the development of contemporary retirement communities, particularly in the United States.

⁵³ Claritas, "PRIZM NE Segment Snapshots," Tetrad, http://www.tetrad.com/pub/prices/PRIZMNE_Clusters.pdf (retrieved April 2, 2010). Another example is profile number 28 entitled: *Traditional Times*. "Traditional Times is the kind of lifestyle where small-town couples nearing retirement are beginning to enjoy their first empty-nest years. Typically in their fifties and sixties, these upper-middle class Americans pursue a kind of granola-and-grits lifestyle. On their coffee tables are magazines with titles ranging from Country Living and Country Home to Gourmet and Forbes. But they're big travelers, especially in recreational vehicles and campers."

Historical paradigms: the theme park and demography

Further to the discussion of contemporary ‘themeing’ and ‘themeparking’ practices, demographic change is a key lens through which to frame the various phases of theme park history. In *Total Landscapes: Theme Parks and Public Space*, for example, Mitrasinovic highlights the dialectical relationship between Disney’s Anaheim park of the mid-1950s and the Coney Island parks of the first decade of the twentieth century, a relationship based to a large degree on a shift in the dominant demographic group and hence the dominant consumer. While the original Coney Island parks such as Dreamland or Luna Park offered forms of metropolitan entertainment directed toward the immigrant bachelor – supporting the “institutionalization of misbehavior through the reformist framework of leisure” – Disneyland provided forms of suburban entertainment aimed towards families, and directed toward the “re-institutionalization of the conservative notion of ‘proper family entertainment.’”⁵⁴ (fig. B.3.42) For Disney, Coney Island represented an earlier, outmoded vision of entertainment, a “...defective poorly planned, conventional theme park.”⁵⁵ This was also tied to his conception of New York as a site of fear and alienation, and as an environment in which consumption was restricted, in contrast to his idealized view of small town life in the American Mid-West.⁵⁶ Mitrasinovic describes the comparable influence of demographic change on theme park design with a more contemporary example: “in the late 1990s, ageing baby-boomers brought theme park operators in the US to identify the need for more balanced entertainment offering more emphasis on shows and ‘street performances’ and higher quality of entertainment compared to the aggressive rides of the early 1990s.”⁵⁷

Such demographic-influenced transformations of the theme park typology could suggest considering Huis Ten Bosch as an emblematic marker of a third phase in this particular history. According to this schema, the first phase in the demographic history of the theme park after the worlds’ fairs of the nineteenth century is represented by the amusement parks of the turn of the twentieth century – of which the bachelor-oriented theme parks of Coney Island such as Dreamland would be emblematic of a society dominated demographically by youthful immigrants, many of whom were single. These parks have been described by some commentators as urban anti-alienation devices, exemplified by the famous *Barrels of Love* ride.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 55.

⁵⁵ John Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940* (Berkeley, CA: UC Berkeley Press, 1992), 69.

⁵⁶ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 55.

⁵⁷ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 62.

⁵⁸ See for example: Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1978).

The first modern theme park, Disneyland in Anaheim, California, opened in 1955 and centred on the notion of 'family entertainment,' would be emblematic of a second phase in the demographic history of the theme park – one occurring in the midst of a baby-boom and a society dominated demographically by the nuclear family. (fig. B.3.43) In both of these first two phases of the theme park, great emphasis was placed on kinaesthetic- or more haptic experiences suited to mass consumption.

The characterisation of a possible third phase would be based instead on forms of cultural entertainment addressing the older and demographically-dominant baby boomer generation at the end of the 20th Century. Huis Ten Bosch would function as a suitable emblem for this shift – especially when the specifics of Japan's demographic situation are considered. Possessing the most aged population in the world, and the longest average life expectancy, the ageing-process of the Japanese population is anticipated to further accelerate in the first half of the twenty-first century. (fig. B.3.44) In the context of the leisure and entertainment industry, the sheer size, high disposable income and abundance of leisure time attached to the older demographic segments of the population – and the Third Age in particular – has played, and will increasingly play a central role in the development of the amusement-, and cultural- theme park market in Japan.

The demographic realities of an ageing population, and the increasing proportion of females in the upper age segments – has been critical in defining the type of visitor for which the Huis Ten Bosch experience is designed. In addition to this, a more unique situation exists at Huis Ten Bosch in which particular demographic and social conditions define a possible resident profile within the structure of the theme park experience.⁵⁹

Hybrid residential-themeparks

The three part demographic history of the theme park sketched out above coincides with moments in the very limited history of experimental hybrids between theme parks and residential communities. There are two broad forms of this. On the one hand there is the more extreme case of the theme park inhabited by permanent residents, and on the other hand, the residential area that is themed.

⁵⁹ This is not to suggest that parks catering to children have disappeared – more that demographic tendencies have lead to a relative shift toward the older leisure consumer.

The first example, the theme park inhabited by permanent residents, is a form of hybrid with a sparse and stunted history. Two important instances of such a hybridized urbanism prior to Huis Ten Bosch are the short-lived Lilliputia of Dreamland in Coney Island realized at the turn of the twentieth Century, and the unrealized first vision of the EPCOT centre envisioned by Walt Disney fifty years later. While neither environment was directed toward retirees, they each outline a particular relationship between the logic of the theme park and residential habitation.⁶⁰

Lilliputia

Lilliputia was one of the most important attractions at Dreamland, one of the 'big three' amusement parks during the height of Coney Island's golden period. On summer weekend days during the first decade of the twentieth century, visitors to Coney Island attractions travelling by subway would number in the hundreds of thousands.

Located where the New York Aquarium is currently sited, Dreamland was opened by William H. Reynolds in 1904. (fig. B.3.45 – B.3.46) Under the management of Samuel W. Gumpertz, Lilliputia brought together a community of three hundred 'midgets,' previously spread across North America in various circuses and fairs. Lilliputia was modelled on the architecture of fifteenth century Nuremberg, but built in cardboard at exactly half scale. The halving of scale extended to everything from the building exteriors, bedroom furniture and toilets, to the miniature horses, bantam hens and miniature Chinese laundrymen working. Within an area of 80 x 175 feet (24m x 53m), Lilliputia operated as a municipality, incorporating a parliament, theatre, circus arena, livery stable, beach complete with lifeguards, and a Lilliputia Fire Department that would respond to a false alarm every hour. Visitors were encouraged to enter Lilliputia to experience the scale contrast between themselves and the midget population – a contrast accentuated by the regular visits to Lilliputia of giants from another one of Dreamland's attractions.⁶¹ Within Lilliputia, the resident was also an employee and pseudo-performer – operating as the focus of attraction for the visitor. (fig. B.3.47) Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of Lilliputia was its formulation as a kind of social experiment. As Rem Koolhaas has noted in *Delirious New York*:

⁶⁰ One additional example that deserves a brief mention is the case of the former East German border town of Prenzlau that would operate as a theme park of the old East German way of life. See: Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 183. "Everyday items such as cars, clothes or food were to be limited to those previously used by people living under the Communist regime. In addition to conventional attractions like rides, a swimming pool and a zoo, there was also to be a museum of East Germany's social and political history and many other everyday things that characterized life in East Germany."

⁶¹ Dennet A. Stulman, "The Dime Museum Freak Show Reconfigured" in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, ed. Rosemarie Garland Thomson (New York: NYU Press, 1996), 319; and Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, 76.

“Within the walls of the midget capital, the laws of conventional morality are systematically ignored, a fact advertised to attract visitors. Promiscuity, homosexuality, nymphomania and so on are encouraged and flaunted: marriages collapse almost as soon as they are celebrated; 80 percent of newborn babies are illegitimate. To increase the frisson induced by this organized anarchy, the midgets are showered with aristocratic titles, highlighting the gap between implied and actual behavior. Midget City represents Reynolds’ institutionalization of misbehavior, a continuing vicarious experience for a society preparing to shed the remnants of Victorianism.”⁶²

Lilliputia was extraordinarily popular as an attraction until the entire Dreamland site was devastated by fire in 1911, causing the park to close.

EPCOT

Walt Disney’s early vision of EPCOT – an acronym for the “Experimental Prototypical City of Tomorrow” – represents the second important collision of the typologies of the theme park and the residential community. EPCOT was defined by the ambition to build a model utopian city of the future for 20,000 inhabitants on the site that would later become Disneyworld near Orlando, Florida. Detailed plans for EPCOT were first presented in February 1967 in a film made by Walt Disney. The film has been shot in October of 1966 (two months before his death). (fig. B.3.48) Disney presented his vision for a radial city organised around a central core. The core was to be a climate-controlled zone under a glass roof containing commercial facilities, offices, municipal authorities, restaurants, market stands and entertainment facilities. Two office towers were to rise above the central core, while lower-rise residential apartment buildings surrounded the central zone, followed at the edge by low-density residential housing connected to the centre by radial roads. The desire to build EPCOT was reportedly driven not only by profit motive, but also by Disney’s “public-service idealism and patriotism.”⁶³ EPCOT was intended to become:

“...a planned, controlled community; a showcase for American industry and research, schools, cultural and educational opportunities. [...A place where] people actually live a life they can’t find anywhere else in the world today. EPCOT will be a ‘living blueprint’ of the future... a fully operating community with a population of more than 20,000. Here American free enterprise will constantly introduce, test and demonstrate new concepts and technologies years ahead of their application elsewhere.”⁶⁴

The strong influence on the EPCOT plan of the modernist planning principles of Ebenezer Howard and CIAM is well documented in Steve Mannheim’s *Walt Disney and the Quest for Community*.⁶⁵ The community would be organized by centralized top-down planning and

⁶² Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, 49.

⁶³ Mitrasinovic, *Total Landscape*, 184.

⁶⁴ Walt Disney quoted in Holt McPherson, “Vacation Kingdom Of The World Will Be In Florida,” *The Dispatch*, December 5, 1970.

⁶⁵ Steve Mannheim, *Walt Disney and the Quest for Community*, (Farnham, Surrey; Ashgate, 2003).

control that would come, not from the State, but from private enterprise – i.e. the Disney Corporation. According to Walt Disney: “In EPCOT there will be no slum areas because we won’t let them develop. There will be no landowners and therefore no voting control. People will rent houses instead of buying them, and at modest rentals. There will be no retirees, because everyone will be employed according to their ability.”

When Disney died in December 1966, the plans for EPCOT were placed on hold, and then later substantially modified. The EPCOT centre that opened in 1982 was considerably different from that presented by Disney in 1966. (fig. B.3.49) The realized park did not support any residents within its grounds. It would consist of two main components: Future World and World Showcase. Future World comprises a series of pavilions presenting technological innovations of corporate free enterprise including exhibits sponsored by Exxon, GE, MetLife, Bell, General Motors, and Kodak. The World Showcase consists of a series of pavilions representing eleven countries organized around a common lagoon. Pavilions include attractions, food, beverages and gift stores with products related to the particular national cultures.

In Walt Disney’s early conception of EPCOT, retirees were to be excluded, as the city of the future was envisioned as a space of the productive nuclear family – directed toward work and to a lesser extent education. Political representation of the individual resident at the municipal level was to be avoided through the corporation retaining control of all property ownership. The residents of the unrealized EPCOT were to be model functional citizens in clear contrast to the individualised misbehaviour of the Lilliputia residents. EPCOT visitors were to experience a smooth rational operation of transportation and zoned residential activity.

Huis Ten Bosch, in comparison, places the resident and visitor in a different set of relationships. Residents of Wassenaar are less the object of attention/attraction for the visitor, than the townscape, landscape and cultural attractions of Huis Ten Bosch. In this context, it is more the visitors themselves that form an animated attraction for the residents, who occupy the park also in leisure mode. A high proportion of the many residents interviewed noted the activity of people watching within the park as one of the enjoyable activities of Huis Ten Bosch for them.

Theme parks inhabited by permanent residents vs themed communities

While the examples above represent the rarer but more comprehensive version of the theme park-community hybrid (the theme park inhabited by permanent residents) it is relevant to also illuminate upon the more abundant version, the themed residential community. In the United States, for example, the themed residential community is increasingly common, tending toward the norm rather than the exception in the development of new residential communities. Themeing has been adopted by numerous developers as a commercial strategy to provide property with an easily recognizable and 'coherent' identity or 'brand,' functioning as a tool to drive consumer demand by referring stylistically to historical periods and locations that imply certain lifestyle forms.

One of the most infamous examples of the themed residential community is Disney's Celebration in Florida, opened in 1994. While Celebration occupies the grey zone between the two forms of themed living described above, what distinguishes Celebration from Disney's original vision for EPCOT is the extent to which the strategies of the theme park are dominant. While it was not completely resolved at the time of Disney's death whether or not an admission fee would be charged for visitors entering EPCOT, it was envisioned as one of less than a half dozen themed attractions and infrastructural elements that would be linked along a central spine of the 'Disney Florida Project' – as Walt Disney World was known at that time. EPCOT was conceived of primarily as a form of attraction, integrated into the experience of the theme park spine, and secondarily as a town. While built on Walt Disney World property, Celebration was never conceived of as an area in which visitors would pay an admission fee, nor was it integrated into the singular circulatory logic of the original spine. What is remarkable about Celebration however, is the level of control and attention to detail in the deployment of themed elements, extending to the piping of music and artificial bird sounds through fibreglass rocks. In these terms Celebration represents a high level of refinement in the application of themeing techniques to a residential community.

Huis Ten Bosch tends toward the model of the theme park inhabited by permanent residents, rather than this more conventional model of the themed residential area. However, inasmuch as Huis Ten Bosch represents the transformation of the typology of the theme park (toward the realities of aging demographics and marketing strategies related to lifestyle segmentation), it is also necessary to consider Huis Ten Bosch in terms of a transformation of the generic retirement community according to the strategies of the entertainment-industrial complex in general, and themeing in particular.

Typology: Themed Mutations of the Retirement Community

Societal transformations in Japan and other more developed nations helps contextualize the emergence of Huis Ten Bosch as a specific form of alternative to the conventional Japanese retirement situation.⁶⁶ In historical terms, the most common living situation for Japanese Third Age retirees has been the extended- three-generational family or *dokyo*. The dominance of this situation however has diminished considerably in recent decades. In 1980 almost 70% of Japanese over 65 years of age were living in extended families with their adult children, a figure that had dropped to 50% by 1998.⁶⁷ According to Rebick and Takenaka, this is due to several factors originating both from the older and younger generations. The most relevant factors in framing the rise of environments such as Huis Ten Bosch are economic and social ones. For example, the rise in levels of affluence – particularly amongst the elderly – has considerably reduced aspirations for multi-generational living arrangements. The desire on the part of many elderly to not take part in the multi-generational family is also linked to the social interest in maintaining a certain level of independence. Additionally, in demographic terms, as the number of children in each family continues to fall, it becomes increasingly difficult “...for the children to accommodate parents, especially if they have demands on both the wife’s and the husband’s side. Finally, the higher age at which women now have children means that they can often be caught in the position of having to care for two generations at the same time, or two generations without much of a break.”⁶⁸

The decline of the extended family structure in Japan and other countries can be linked broadly to the process that the German sociologist Ulrich Beck refers to as ‘individualisation.’⁶⁹ This has led, as a result, to a considerable expansion in the Japanese market for homes for retirees – ones focused on catering specifically to members of the Third Age, but not their extended families. Rather than marketing retirement homes as contained physical objects related only to the needs of shelter, these environments are increasingly being bought and sold as lifestyle products. This may be understood as a shift toward selling or buying a broad package that includes not only a home, but an entire range of leisure

⁶⁶ See: Marcus Rebick and Ayumi Takenaka, ed., *The Changing Japanese Family* (London: Routledge, 2006), 3. “Rapid social transformation accompanied by population ageing, plummeting fertility rates and diversified definitions of the family are, indeed, common among many industrial countries. Italy in particular, faces similar problems and has many characteristics that invite comparison with Japan.”

⁶⁷ Misa Izuhara, “Changing families and policy responses to an ageing Japanese society” in *The Changing Japanese Family*, ed. Marcus Rebick and Ayumi Takenaka (London: Routledge, 2006), 164.

⁶⁸ Rebick and Takenaka, *The Changing Japanese Family*, 13.

⁶⁹ See: Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (London: Sage, 1992); and Andreas Huber and Karen O’Reilly, “The construction of Heimat under conditions of individualized modernity: Swiss and British elderly migrants in Spain,” in *Ageing and Society* 24 (2004): 327-351. As mentioned in previous chapters, individualisation refers to the social transformation occurring particularly in developed countries in recent decades in which dominant traditional social hierarchies and structures – such as the multi-generational family – have become increasingly eroded in relation to the individual choices of all generations.

activities and services, and an image of townscape and landscape, that constructs a broader image of lifestyle – in other words, ‘a way of living.’

Residential lifestyle products increasingly construct a ‘way of living’ according to the logic of the entertainment and leisure complex through both spatial and temporal events. Spatial frameworks at Huis Ten Bosch include the various amenities beyond the house itself such as docks, canals, restaurants, cafes, bars, museums, theatres, scenery, riding stables, golf courses and so on. The temporal program of events is highly organized, offering in retirement – the Third Age – the possibility of experiencing a similar level of structure to that of the working period of one’s life – the Second Age. As touched upon in the introductory chapter, occupational studies of retirement have suggested that: “Serious or committed leisure appears capable of performing some of the socio-psychological functions normally associated with employment such as structuring time, providing interests and social relationships, status and identity.”⁷⁰ This suggests that the role of the entertainment and leisure complex in the Third Age operate as an anti-boredom mechanism, supporting a ‘disciplining’ – in a Foucaultian sense – of retirement. This model of the entertained leisure lifestyle is of relevance within the cultural context of a work-obsessed Japanese culture in which retirement still maintains strong negative associations. This is evident for example in the Japanese term ‘autumn leaves,’ used to refer to male retirees. Serious social problems have become evident in recent years related to the impact of retirement on former company men who, after a forty-year period of eight-hour working weeks, suddenly face full-time leisure. In many cases, great strain is placed on the well-being of individual identity, self-esteem, as well as relationships such as marriages. This challenge is heightened by the general societal perception of retirement as a period of idleness and uselessness.⁷¹

The production of consumer desire for lifestyle products takes place in the world of marketing.⁷² In the case of Huis Ten Bosch, the positive national cultural identity of The Netherlands offers a great deal of material for the construction and branding of a highly identifiable and differentiated lifestyle product. For Japan, and this region in particular, associations to the Netherlands operate at multiple levels. As one of the top tourist destinations for visitors from Japan, the Netherlands represents an advanced western society rich in history, culture and iconography, in terms of art, design, architecture, townscape, landscape, food, monarchy, and so on. In parallel to being perceived as a

⁷⁰ Kenneth Roberts, “Great Britain: Socioeconomic Polarisation and the Implications for Leisure,” in *Leisure and Lifestyle: A Comparative Analysis of Free Time*, ed. Anna Olszewska and Kenneth Roberts (London: Sage, 1989), 55.

⁷¹ See for example: Florian Coulmas, “Nasses Herbstlaub. Die Langeweile der Japanischen Manner,” *NZZ*, February 23, 2005.

⁷² The history of the contemporary retirement community for the new third age begins with Del Webb at Sun City. It was the first private developer to propose mono-demographic city-scale lifestyle communities for retirees. Through concentrating one demographic group within a limited urban area, Webb was able to define and support one particular lifestyle through extensive leisure and recreational facilities and services. See the introductory chapter.

contemporary site of western exoticism, the fact that the Netherlands was for approximately two hundred years Japan's only window to the western world is important and still engrained in the Japanese psyche.⁷³ Through this thematic machinery, Huis Ten Bosch paradoxically supports on the one hand, the desire for Dutch culture and townscape – the 'exotic' other – and on the other hand, the concept of *furusato*, or native place. According to Mitrasinovic, the concept of *furusato*, associated with a rediscovery of roots and tradition, was aggressively promoted in Japan from the early 1990s "...in the face of long processes of modernization and industrialization within which the majority of now idealized 'native landscapes' have truly disappeared."⁷⁴ This produced a shift in the pattern of behaviour of the older Japanese "...from travelling abroad to also travelling within the country for the purpose of visiting native villages, towns and regions."⁷⁵ Acknowledging this, Huis Ten Bosch's marketing "targeted predominantly Kyushu natives living in Tokyo and other metropolitan regions, who upon retiring would have liked to settle in an exclusive retirement community conveniently situated in the 'native region.'"⁷⁶

Huis Ten Bosch's bridging of the local and global extends also to the terms of the past and the present. While functioning as a type of time travel back to sixteenth century Holland, or to Dejima Island during the Edo period, Huis Ten Bosch is also marketed as an environmentally sustainable example of contemporary urban-scape supported by state of the art contemporary technology. This is linked to Japan's increasing level of environmental awareness, particularly as an outcome of various environmental problems caused by industry in the post-war period. In broad terms then, the mechanisms of themeing – which in the case of Huis Ten Bosch focus upon the historical and cultural content of the Netherlands – are well suited to the branding of residential lifestyle products for the Japanese Third Age.

Themeing: displacement, exteriority and simulation

In further examining the environment of Huis Ten Bosch, three terms related to the discourse on themeing will be addressed: *displacement*, *exteriority*, and *simulation*. In each case, the permanent, rather than temporary immersion within the themed residential environment problematises the conventional understanding of these terms.⁷⁷

⁷³ This has arisen consistently in discussions with Japanese concerning this region.

⁷⁴ Miodrag Mitrasinovic, "Huis Ten Bosch: Dutch Village for Japanese Retirees," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (July/August 2002): 72.

⁷⁵ Mitrasinovic, "Huis Ten Bosch," 72.

⁷⁶ Mitrasinovic, "Huis Ten Bosch," 73.

⁷⁷ This is intended to extend the discussion of the theme park resident beyond that of Mitrasinovic.

The first term *displacement*, or what could be framed as the notion of *tele-place*, engages in the subject of tourism. In the case of Huis Ten Bosch, this corresponds in spatial terms to a form of ‘overseas’ tourism without the requirement for actual overseas travel, and in temporal terms to a form of full-time everyday tourism rather than a part-time touristic practice. The second term, *exteriority*, or the notion of living in an *other-place*, engages in questions of utopia and heterotopia. At Huis Ten Bosch, the theme park apparatus is directed toward the construction of a total landscape of spatial and temporal otherness in contrast to the contemporary Japanese urban environment. The third term *simulation*, or what could be described as the *space of simulacra* or *simul-place*, engages in questions of authenticity. In the case of Huis Ten Bosch, the conventional dialectics of authenticity are problematised as a result of the culturally specific understanding of authenticity in Japan, as well as an extended temporal concept of the everyday performativity of such a ‘simulated’ environment.

Themeing: Displacement (*tele-place*)

“Each street, building, and hotel in Huis Ten Bosch is the duplicate of one that actually exists somewhere in Holland. Think of it as a form of telepresence where rather than extending your body, reality is now extruded to reach you.” David D’Heilly⁷⁸

As David D’Heilly suggests, Huis Ten Bosch produces a form of displacement, or teleportation, that operates both spatially and temporally – by bringing to Japan an alien location (The Netherlands,) and an alien time period (the fifteenth to eighteenth century.) The term *teleportation* was coined in the early 1930s by American writer Charles Fort, who connected the Greek prefix *tele-* (distant) with the Latin suffix *portare* (to carry) to describe a ‘transitory force.’ “Teleportation was the means by which the contents of another level of existence, normally hidden from view, could suddenly cross over and intrude, seemingly from nowhere, into our own plane.”⁷⁹ One of the most well known examples of teleportation is the science fiction television series *Star Trek*, in which a ‘transporter’ allowed instantaneous displacement from ship to ship, ship to planet and vice versa. (fig. B.3.50) The device was reportedly introduced into *Star Trek* by Gene Roddenberry, the writer-producer of the show, to avoid the necessity for the “prohibitively-expensive visual effects required to land a starship on a new planet every week.”⁸⁰ This anecdote has obvious parallels in supporting the logic of the Japanese foreign village culture as an inexpensive and time-efficient alternative to flying far away to foreign cultural attractions.

⁷⁸ D’Heilly, “Letter from Huis Ten Bosch,” 56.

⁷⁹ David Darling, *Teleportation: The Impossible Leap* (New York: Wiley, 2005), 7.

⁸⁰ AllExperts, “Teleportation,” AllExperts.com, <http://en.allexperts.com/e/t/te/teleportation.htm> (accessed April 3, 2010).

The theme park as a mechanism of spatial-temporal displacement has a considerable pre-history. This includes the medieval village replica at Versailles in the eighteenth century, Ludwig II of Bavaria's fantasy medieval castles of the nineteenth century, the canals of Venice in the early twentieth century amusement parks of Coney Island, and the Tomorrowland and Frontierland of mid-twentieth century Disneyland. (fig. B.3.51) This mode of displacement is tied to convenience on the one hand – eliminating costly and time-consuming travel – and to the desire to display technical mastery on the other hand. In mediating the 'perfect' displacement of a spatial-temporal milieu, there are a series of conscious design decisions to be made. (fig. B.3.52) This process of mediation appears to have been successful at Huis Ten Bosch. According to the urbanist Marc Treib:

"Japanese or Asian visitors can easily believe themselves transported to Holland: the townscape is right; the food and drinks are right; the ambience seems right – little matter that the surrounding mountains, and nearly exclusive Japanese faces, or the language spoken. Best of all they needn't worry about jet lag, a new currency, and all the real inconveniences and difficulties of foreign travel. As Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* noted, the purpose of this variety of tourist venues is to take the travail out of travel."⁸¹

The Japanese foreign village as a typology represents perhaps one of the most efficient modes of pseudo-displacement – finding precisely a Japanese balance between making the exotic familiar, while keeping the exotic exotic.⁸² This alludes to the way packaged tours to foreign countries are increasingly organized by Japanese companies in such a way that meals, hotel rooms, schedules and so forth are designed to be 'Japanese-friendly.' This is also the case with touristic practices originating from other countries – of which the American package tour to Europe is one example. The primary aim of these practices is to produce displacement, but 'on one's own terms.'

The concept of the displaced visitor aligns with that of the tourist. The mechanism of themeing immerses the displaced visitor/tourist into an alien environment for a limited period of time. Operating in a similar mode to the cinematic suspension of disbelief, it relies upon total immersion in an alternate world. The more 'total' the immersion, the more comprehensive the contrast between the theme park and 'everyday conditions,' the more powerful the effect of the displacement.

Tourism discourse is consistent in conceptualizing spatial-temporal displacement as a temporary or short-term phenomenon. In Dean MacCannell's *The Tourist*, tourism is

⁸¹ Treib, "Theme Park, Themed Living," 227.

⁸² Mary Yoko Brannen, "Bwana Mickey: Constructing Cultural Consumption at Tokyo Disneyland," in *Remade in Japan*, ed. Joseph Tobin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 219. Cited in Chaplin, "Authenticity and Otherness": 77. See also: Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, "Images of Empire: Tokyo Disneyland and Japanese Cultural Imperialism," in *Disney Discourse: Producing the Magic Kingdom*, ed. Eric Smoodin (New York, Routledge, 1994): 181-202.

described as a modern social practice made possible by the temporary enjoyment of leisure. John Urry's *The Tourist Gaze* is explicit in defining the 'minimal characteristics' of the social practice of tourism in relation to a logic of temporality and the everyday:

"Tourism is a leisure activity, which presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organized work. It is one manifestation of how work and leisure are organized as separate and regulated spheres of social practice in 'modern' societies [...] The journey and stay are to, and in, sites outside the normal places of residence and work. Periods of residence elsewhere are of a short-term and temporary nature. There is a clear intention to return 'home' within a relatively short period of time [...] The tourist gaze is directed to features of landscape and townscape, which separate them off from everyday experience. Such aspects are viewed because they are taken to be in some sense out of the ordinary..."⁸³

The spaces of the themed environment relate to a specific subject, i.e. the temporary theme park visitor. At Huis Ten Bosch, the visitor/tourist not only 'exits' Japan, but also the realities of everyday life to participate in a collective fantasy.⁸⁴ This raises the question of how mechanisms of spatial-temporal displacement operate according to permanent or semi-permanent residency, rather than the temporary visitor/tourist. What does it mean to be living permanently in the displaced environments of theme parks, and living permanently in a touristic state? What are the implications of the exotic environment becoming 'everyday'?

There are two possible ways to interpret the operation of spatial-temporal displacement for residents (rather than visitors) of Huis Ten Bosch. The first would be to propose an extension to the model of tourist temporality, and the second would be to suggest another model of subjectivity with which to interpret the lifestyle of displacement, suggesting a shift from the figure of the tourist to that of the emigrant.

If the concept of the tourist vacation of the Second Age operates as a two-week escape from the yearly cycle of work, the entire Third Age itself represents an extended escape (or vacation) from the life period dedicated to work. This suggests an alternate mode of temporality for the Third Age defined by a prolonged duration and rhythm of vacation or excursion from that of the Second Age. Rather than seeing the resident as permanent - in opposition to the tourist as temporary visitor - it defines the resident according to an extended degree of temporariness – a long-term tourist perhaps – one enjoying retirement as a hard earned vacation after a lifetime of work. The concept of retirement itself has often been packaged in these terms, and this is undoubtedly how resort-style retirement resorts have been marketed to potential buyers. Huis Ten Bosch is not different from this. Its exotic

⁸³ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage, 1990), 2-3.

⁸⁴ See Hugh Bartling, "Tourism as Everyday Life: an Inquiry into The Villages, Florida," *Tourism Geographies* 8, no. 4 (2006): 380. Bartling raises questions around the functioning of full-time retirement tourism within the context of the themed retirement community of The Villages of Florida.

environment is defined in stark contrast to the notion of both a lifetime of work, and a lifetime of living in the Japanese city.

The contemporary Japanese city and the lifestyle it supports have been characterised in far from utopian terms by many urban commentators. Marc Treib for example describes the scarcity of land and the difficulty of owning one's own home in the contemporary Japanese city - unless one is very affluent:

"...appreciated by Westerners for its dynamic characteristics, it is less appreciated by those raising families within. Even for architects, the austere architecture of Tadao Ando is appreciated primarily for its fashioning of a quiet moment within a world of seeming chaos. Like Ando's architecture – like the television that purveys exotic places and people – Huis Ten Bosch provides a respite, however contrived. For the young and single, the Japanese city is still a place to study and to live their lives. But marriage forces couples and families to the periphery, to crowded apartments set willy-nilly and cheek by jowl. Then comes the daily commute. Enter the tranquility and planned order of Huis Ten Bosch as a short-term balm. It seems a dream; it is a dream, divorced in place, in time, a dream of somewhere across the sea that never really was."⁸⁵

The waning of the shock of this exotic dream is undoubtedly one of the effects of longer-term exposure to Huis Ten Bosch. But it could be said that this is a common effect of all consumer purchases, whether it be a child's toy, a car or a lifestyle. It is the potential for this waning that is overlooked at the beginning of one's relationship to a consumer object of novelty and desire. As novelty diminishes over time, especially that associated with the visual, it is the habitual day to day inhabitation of the environment that implies a form of lasting displacement that has the possibility to maintain its contrast with the Japan on the other side of Huis Ten Bosch's boundary. And it is the possibility of these habitual activities and practices that define the particular lifestyle that Huis Ten Bosch offers. Thus, the spatio-temporal displacement of Huis Ten Bosch suggests also a mode of programmatic displacement, one in which the specific programmatic components produce an entirely altered set of social activities. As Mitrasinovic has noted: "the social practices of drinking coffee in an outdoor café, enjoying the movement of relaxed crowds, sitting on a bench and gazing at people passing-by – let alone observing tulips and boats plying along the canals and facing a copy of Hotel de L'Europe – are social practices historically unknown to the Japanese."⁸⁶

The concept of the resident inhabiting not only an exotic townscape and landscape, but also an exotic lifestyle – as described above – forms the basis for the another model of understanding for the displacement of the theme park resident. Rather than considering the

⁸⁵ Treib, "Theme Park, Themed Living," 229-230.

⁸⁶ Mitrasinovic, "Huis Ten Bosch," 78.

resident as an extended tourist or vacationer as the described above, the resident may be alternatively framed in terms of the subjectivity of the emigrant. This way of framing the resident represents a shift in understanding from a subject devoted to the short-term (predominantly visual) consumption of displaced townscape and landscape, to a longer-term (programmatic) consumption of a displaced lifestyle. This is the primary characteristic of the emigrant – one “who leaves a place, especially his or her native country, to go and live in another country.”⁸⁷ Voluntary emigration is almost without exception based upon the intention to achieve a better life or life-style.

Rather than only defining Huis Ten Bosch through the eyes of the visitor as a form of immobile tourist, it may also be possible to focus on the Huis Ten Bosch of the resident, who produces a form of emigration while not really leaving one’s native country. This suggests a form of in-between living condition – both in Holland and Japan, at the same time as being neither fully in Japan nor fully in Holland – producing in turn a third type of culture. Such a third way of living engages directly with the realities of globalisation and its effects.⁸⁸

Themeing: Exteriority (*other-place*)

Huis Ten Bosch produces a form of spatio-temporal *exteriority* – or ‘other-place.’ Inasmuch as it is a real ‘counter-site’ operating in contradiction to other sites, it would be possible to consider it in relation to Michel Foucault’s concept of *heterotopia*. It is apparent that Huis Ten Bosch has an abundance of attributes that satisfy Foucault’s principles of heterotopias described in “Of Other Spaces”:

- “Heterotopias are capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible.”
- “Heterotopias are most often linked with slices in time... The heterotopia begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time.”
- “Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable.”⁸⁹

Additionally, Huis Ten Bosch satisfies all the categories of heterotopia described by Foucault: addressing the crisis of ageing, a colony of the elderly, and a space of illusion.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ *Encarta Dictionary*, 2003, s.v. “Emigrant.”

⁸⁸ This evokes the *Third Culture Kid* phenomenon, a term used to describe “...someone who [as a child] has spent a significant period of time in one or more culture(s) other than his or her own, thus integrating elements of those cultures and their own birth culture, into a third culture”. See: K. B. Eakin, “According to my Passport, I’m Coming Home,” State Department, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/2065.pdf> (accessed October 11, 2006).

⁸⁹ Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” *Diacritics* 16 (Spring 1986): 22-27.

- Heterotopias of *crisis* are special exterior places designed specifically for individuals in a state of crisis in relation to society or their environment. According to Foucault, crisis heterotopias are dying out – but remaining examples include the boarding school, in which the ‘crisis’ of puberty is meant to “...take place elsewhere than at home.”⁹¹
- Heterotopias of *deviation* are “those in which individuals whose behaviour is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed.”⁹² The most prominent examples Foucault gives are the prison, the psychiatric hospital, and the colony – places of societal discipline and control.
- Heterotopias of *illusion* create a space “that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned as still more illusory.”⁹³ The example Foucault offers is the old-fashioned French bordello or brothel in which rooms were ‘dressed’ according to historical themed periods, as were the prostitutes.

Huis Ten Bosch functions as a heterotopia of illusion from the point of view of the visitor. Based upon fantasies of freedom, heterotopias of illusion place priority on the image, supporting the possibility to escape the ‘tyranny’ of everyday structured life. While the residential house purchases may satisfy the terms of an illusory heterotopia – the Huis Ten Bosch of the resident operates as a heterotopia of deviation – particularly as the perception of the environment becomes absorbed by habit over time. The heterotopia of deviation is compensatory in the sense that it is another real space, “...as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled.”⁹⁴ It is based upon enforcing systems of power through various forms of discipline. In the case of the residents of Huis Ten Bosch, it is precisely the disciplining of leisure that is central – both through the total control applied to the spatial environment of the theme park, and the fully compartmentalized temporal structure of activities and events that take place within and around it. Huis Ten Bosch supports a highly disciplined leisure lifestyle – able to be structured to the same extent as the perceived norm of the Second Age of work – if not functioning as a substitute for it.

This suggests a shift in the logic of the heterotopia, particularly that of deviation. In Foucault’s work, the heterotopia of deviation is consistently produced by the apparatus of the state through various forms of top-down disciplinary power enacted primarily on an involuntary

⁹⁰ See Graham Shane, *Recombinant Urbanism* (West Sussex: Wiley, 2005), for an argument of three, instead of two, categories of heterotopia in Foucault’s work.

⁹¹ Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 22-27.

⁹² Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 22-27.

⁹³ Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 22-27.

⁹⁴ Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 22-27.

basis. In contrast to this, Huis Ten Bosch residents voluntarily purchase disciplinary services, services that ensure an idealised counter reality to ward off the threat of boredom.

Themeing: Simulation (*simu-place*)

Inasmuch as Huis Ten Bosch is a copy or facsimile of existing buildings, townscapes and landscapes, it functions as a spatial-temporal simulation. From a conventional Western cultural perspective, this phenomenon is typically attributed with a lesser value than the original – and in many cases such a copy is seen as crass or kitsch. In the case of Huis Ten Bosch, this lack of authenticity suggests a problematisation of the concept of place – or more precisely – of anthropological place.

As introduced in previous chapters, Marc Augé argues that the anthropological notion of place is increasingly challenged by the conditions of late-capitalism - or super-modernity, leading to the production of what he refers to as *non-places* – places without identity, relations or history. The most emblematic examples of non-places include airports, supermarkets, hotels and motorways – sites of transit or short-term occupation that are often the result of systems of serialized architectural or urban production. The conventional amusement park is included in Augé broad term of non-place.⁹⁵ Huis Ten Bosch however, does not fit within the category of anthropological place, nor does it completely fit into the term non-place.

While the identity of Huis Ten Bosch is associated with a foreign place, it does construct its own particular form of identity, one at least partially related to the specific history of the region, although not historically specific to the exact site it occupies. Built upon a tabula rasa in the early 1990s, Huis Ten Bosch has limited relations to its surroundings, to the extent that the adjacent hills are deemed undesirable to simulating the iconic flat Dutch landscape. However, Huis Ten Bosch does utilize its given specific harbour setting and relationship to the existing infrastructural systems such as the railway and highway network. Overall, Huis Ten Bosch lacks a conventional ‘organic’ continuity and authenticity, but suggests a claim to the construction of an alternate form of place – albeit one operating as a simulation of another. Alternate terms may be helpful in constructing a more nuanced description of Huis Ten Bosch’s interaction with ‘place’ – particularly concerning the questions of simulation and authenticity.

⁹⁵ This concept can be aligned to the characterizations by Rem Koolhaas of larger scale manifestations of forms of non-place – under what he has termed the ‘Generic City’ and ‘Junkspace.’

The first alternate term of relevance – ‘hyper-place’ – defines the contemporary transformation of sites historically distinguished as ‘anthropological places.’ This transformation may be understood within the context of both the extensive and intensive phenomenon of mass urban tourism – and a corresponding heightened competition through the branding and marketing of city identities, that in turn leads to an exaggeration of the ‘place-ness’ or identity of the urban environments themselves. In “The Generic City,” Rem Koolhaas defines a contemporary phenomenon concerned with identity - one framed in opposition to the ‘generic city.’ According to Koolhaas, as the world’s urban population increases exponentially, the limited quantity of existing urban material history (or urban ‘anthropological place’ in Augé’s terms) is placed under increasing strain. This is:

“...exacerbated by the constantly increasing mass of tourists, an avalanche that, in a perpetual quest for ‘character,’ grinds successful identities down to meaningless dust. ...The stronger identity, the more it imprisons, the more it resists expansion, interpretation, renewal, contradiction. Identity becomes like a lighthouse – fixed, overdetermined: it can change its position or the pattern it emits only at the cost of destabilizing navigation. (Paris can only become more Parisian – it is already on its way to becoming hyper-Paris, a polished caricature...)”⁹⁶

Hyper-places in this sense, are represented by the heavily touristed cultural city centres such as Venice, Paris or Rome. Hyper-place functions through an excess of, or an over emphasis on, identity. It aligns to the concept of the packaged tour brochure in which the images presented are intended to produce a convergence of meaning, supporting a singularity of identity. In this context, the city of Amsterdam, with its canals and historic canal houses, would constitute an emblematic Hyper-Place.

An alternate term of relevance - ‘simul-place’ - refers to the notion of the simulation – through the logic of the copy - of the image of ‘place’.⁹⁷ The logic of simul-place is based upon the painstaking faithful copy – to the highest technical ability – of the identity and associated historical detail of a particular place. As a simul-place is not likely to be in the same location as the original ‘place’, the set of relations to its surroundings are altered.

In the case of Huis Ten Bosch, the precision of copying is applied to individual buildings, ensembles of buildings, urban-scape and landscapes. The extraordinary attention to detail extends to the fact that the bricks used in construction were shipped from the Netherlands. Rather than following the common theme park practice of down-scaling (Disneyland’s Main

⁹⁶ Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, *SMLXL* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1995), 1248.

⁹⁷ The type of ‘simul-place’ has a broad history, of which some of the most well known examples include the tele-placement of Venice from Northern Italy to Coney Island at the turn of the 20th century, to Las Vegas and Japan at the end of the 20th Century. It is in the Japanese cultural theme-park that this mode of place has perhaps reached its apotheosis, in terms of the accuracy of the copy – and HTB is the most comprehensive of these.

Street USA shrinks upper floors by a factor of 2/3), Huis Ten Bosch constructs almost all of the architectural and townscape elements at a scale of one to one. The Gouda market square for example consists of a full-scale construction of the street facades, town hall centrepiece, public square and street furniture. The products and arrangement of the daily market itself is also modelled closely on that of the Dutch 'original.' Italian theorist Umberto Eco describes the power of the public's admiration of the technical perfection of fakes: "The pleasure of imitation, as the ancients knew, was one of the most innate in the human spirit."⁹⁸ Eco defines Disneyland's engagement with the desire for simulation, through openly confessing its production. This evokes figure of the post-tourist, who rather than searching for authenticity – as in Dean MacCannell's *The Tourist* – takes delight in the technical perfection of the fake.

While stark differences between the 'original' and the 'copy' at Huis Ten Bosch are not necessarily perceivable at the scale of individual buildings or particular 'public' spaces, the sampling and recompositing of specific elements from various parts of the Netherlands produces an entirely new set of relationships and adjacencies, producing not a series of individualized caricatures, but an idealized form of Frankenstein-esque Dutch urbanism. Icons such as the town hall of Gouda and the Utrecht Dom tower; and the flat Dutch canal landscape combine together in certain viewpoints with the surrounding Japanese hills to produce particularly strange visual moments. (fig. B.3.53 – B.3.54) David D'Heilly describes this aptly in terms of the notion of the recomposited travel brochure: "Imagine taking travel brochures of Holland, carefully extracting the text, and merging all of the photos into one image file... Welcome to Huis Ten Bosch, a full-scale facsimile of a "real" Dutch town."⁹⁹ (fig. B.3.55)

In the process of simulating 'Dutchness', a series of modifications have been enacted to address the particularities of local taste, the local market and the specific expectations of the theme park.¹⁰⁰ The townscape operates almost on a one-to-one relationship to the actual original site in Holland. Many of the shops sell Dutch products including imported cheese, clothing, and trinkets, sold in some cases by Dutch students on an exchange semester with Leiden University dressed in national costume. There are however a number of adaptations for local tastes including restaurants serving Japanese food, the expectation that Japanese manners and decorum be maintained in visitors behaviour in the park, and the fact, as pointed out by D'Heilly, that "there are no squatters, no stolen bicycles rusting in the canals,

⁹⁸ Umberto Eco, *Faith in Fakes: Travels in Hyperreality* (London: Vintage, 1986), 46.

⁹⁹ D'Heilly, "Letter from Huis Ten Bosch," 56.

¹⁰⁰ This operates as a highly sensitive balancing act between what various commentators on the Japanese cultural theme park have called "making the exotic familiar, while keeping the exotic exotic." See Brannen, "Bwana Mickey," 219.

no drugs or red-light districts.”¹⁰¹ This suggests the obvious breakdown in the authenticity of the simulation, and particularly the authenticity of the ‘original’ itself. In this context, it is possible to consider Huis Ten Bosch as a simulation of an already exaggerated image – a simulation of a hyper-place.

Key writers addressing contemporary culture have engaged in some depth concerning the question of simulation, and the dialectics of authenticity. The French philosopher Jean Baudrillard for example uses Disneyland as the ideal model with which to describe the complex set of relations around this theme. As an environment it represents a miniaturization and condensation of ‘Real America’ and the ‘American Way of Life’. But, he argues:

“...this conceals something else... Disneyland is presented as imaginary in order to make us believe that the rest is real, when in fact all of Los Angeles and the America surrounding it are no longer real, but of the order of the hyperreal and of simulation. It is no longer a question of a false representation of reality (ideology), but of concealing the fact that the real is no longer real, and thus saving the reality principle. The Disneyland imaginary is neither true nor false: it is a deterrence machine set up in order to rejuvenate in reverse the fiction of the real.”¹⁰²

This would also imply the possibility for a similar manner a questioning of the ‘real’ upon which the Japanese Huis Ten Bosch is modelled – Baudrillard would argue that it is a construction based upon something already constructed as ‘Dutch.’ Put another way, Huis Ten Bosch in Japan is neither an original nor a copy, but a simulation of an already existing hyper-place. There is no ‘real Holland’ as it itself is modelled on the tourist brochure that is designed to sell it.¹⁰³

If the environments of non-place, hyper-place and simul-place have been typically associated with places of transition or only temporary inhabitation, what is the implication then of these places being experienced in long-term inhabitation?

In the case of Huis Ten Bosch – what may be called a simulated hyper-place – the high level of execution of simulation and the appeal of that which is simulated has produced sufficient desire to support the sale of the Huis Ten Bosch lifestyle. However, the power of the simulation as a visual experience fades into the background over time – according to the notion that the materiality of the city becomes indistinct through habitual use and incidental perception. Over time it is likely to become less important to the resident that he or she lives

¹⁰¹ D’Heilly, “Letter from Huis Ten Bosch,” 56. For D’Heilly this is not an issue of lack of authenticity as these elements “weren’t in the tourist brochures anyway.”

¹⁰² Jean Baudrillard, “Simulacra and Simulations,” in *Selected Writings*, ed. Mark Poster (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 170.

¹⁰³ This returns the discussion full circle to D’Heilly’s analogy of Huis Ten Bosch to a tourist brochure. See: D’Heilly, “Letter from Huis Ten Bosch,” 56.

in a fake Dutch town. The visitor's focus on what the place looks like (in relation to the dialectic of original-copy) shifts to the resident's experience of how the place performs. Thus, in spite of its fakeness it cannot avoid functioning as a 'real' town. Baudrillard describes the difficulty of producing a pure fake – one that is absolutely not real. As an example, he describes the production of a simulated (rather than 'real') hold-up in a bank:

"Be sure to check that your weapons are harmless, and take the most trustworthy hostage, so that no life is in danger (otherwise you risk committing an offence). Demand ransom and arrange it so that the operation creates the greatest commotion possible. But you won't succeed: the web of artificial signs will be inextricably mixed up with real elements (a police officer will really shoot at sight; a bank customer will faint and die of a heart attack; they will really turn the phoney ransom over to you.) In brief, you will unwittingly find yourself immediately in the real, one whose function is precisely to devour every attempt at simulation, to reduce everything to some reality."¹⁰⁴

Baudrillard's statement reinforces the notion that despite being a simulation of a town, and despite many of the people performing the role of visitors and theme park workers, Huis Ten Bosch still performs as a real town with real retirees living in it. Residents buy groceries at the local shop, mail letters at the post office and drink coffee with their friends in the cafes. Actual urban life is produced, although as described previously, it is realized in the form of an in-between culture, situated between Japan and the Netherlands, but it is an undeniably real form of urban life nonetheless. (fig. B.3.56)

Attention to cultural specificity may support a further understanding of the value attached to 'simulation.' In the Japanese context in particular, the notion of authenticity has a different basis from that of the occidental perspective. As Sarah Chaplin argues:

"...considered in a more traditional Japanese way of thinking, the approach to building these theme parks is in many respects akin to the way in which Shinto shrines are rebuilt every 20 years or so and visited regularly throughout the calendar, a thoroughly authentic practice which has existed for hundreds of years. What is celebrated is not the actual antiquity of the structures themselves, but the importance of the site on which they are built and the faithfulness and skill of their ritualized reconstruction."¹⁰⁵

Chaplin's argument suggests a shift in the attribution of cultural authenticity and value from a form of hardware (the original authentic bricks and mortar that constitute the unique 'place') to a form of software (the protocols by which buildings are constructed.) (fig. B.3.57) In this sense, to examine Huis Ten Bosch through a Japanese lens further limits the extent to which Huis Ten Bosch can be seen as a 'fake.' With the introduction of a longer temporal scale of

¹⁰⁴ Baudrillard, "Simulacra and Simulations," 176.

¹⁰⁵ Chaplin, "Authenticity and Otherness," 77.

perception, as proposed by Huis Ten Bosch founder Kamichika, the conventional dialectics of authenticity are further problematised:

“Kyoto’s urban planning was originally modelled after ancient Xian (in China.) After 1,000 years, it had ceased to be a copy of anything. It had become the unequivocal (symbol) of ancient Japan. Cities are consummated by their inhabitants through the culture they create. One thousand years from now no one will dare say that Huis Ten Bosch is the model of a Dutch city. Rather, it will be an unquestioned (symbol) of traditional Japan.”¹⁰⁶ (fig. B.3.58)

In considering the urban environment in performative rather than only symbolic terms, and on a long-term rather than temporary basis, Huis Ten Bosch represents a more radical urban proposition than that conventionally framed through the dialectic of authenticity. As a result, Huis Ten Bosch positions the theme park and residential hybrid as a form of urban start-up capable of realizing entirely novel forms of lifestyle and culture.

Collectivity/Subjectivity

The various forms of novelty that Huis Ten Bosch produces extend to the realms of subjectivity and collectivity. In structuring retirement as a form of permanent spatial displacement, residents are situated in a complex and ambiguous space between an ‘almost-Netherlands’ and an ‘almost Japan.’ This constitutes an altered set of practices – no longer sleeping on tatami mats, instead, living on western styled furniture in brick houses with fireplaces. By day, many residents buy cheese at the market, spend time watching visitors while sitting in the cafés, cruise the canals on small vessels and attend classes on Fabergé egg making or tulip pressing. (fig. B.3.59 – B.3.61)

Rather than themeing delivering only a temporary semantic journey to another time or place, an experience in which the residents have a profound awareness of a representational landscape within which they are immersed; in the context of the permanently occupied retirement community such a themed environment suggests an artificial performative milieu for actively restaging subjectivity and collective relations, one that allows ample time with which to experiment or workshop various roles, modes of interaction, and lifestyles. At Huis Ten Bosch it allows the opportunity for the resident to occupy their own position in the gaps between the roles of Dutch resident, Japanese tourist or Japanese emigrant in the Netherlands and that of Japanese resident in Japan. For many residents this ambiguity opens emancipatory possibilities to construct alternate identities and lifestyle realities. (fig. B.3.62 – B.3.63) One of the most notable statements from residents in this regard concerns

¹⁰⁶ D’Heilly, “Letter from Huis Ten Bosch,” 56.

their perceived ability to reconfigure what many describe as the overbearing obligation in Japanese society to accept social invitations from neighbours. In Huis Ten Bosch, many of the residents turn down invitations to neighbourhood events based on the state of exception that the environment represents.¹⁰⁷

Huis Ten Bosch therefore implies a more individualized collective realm compared to the typical emigrant community, which conventionally builds strong collective identities within foreign environments, and compared to a more tightly knit Japanese urban society. This perhaps reinforces the failure of Kamichika's vision of a dynamic brain-trust community of retired successful artists and intellectuals working collectively towards realizing an ecological and sustainable model society. There are however other rich hybridized formats of individual and collective life that have emerged, including the Japanese reinterpretation of: Dutch ceramic painting traditions; Fabergé Egg crafting classes; Dutch auction strategies; and the American Indian canoe building tradition – a craft tested with domestic animals on the Dutch-designed canals of Huis Ten Bosch.

Conclusion

Huis Ten Bosch functions as a uniquely Japanese negotiation between the often contradictory realms of ecology and economy. On the one hand, this plays out in terms of a model sustainable and inhabitable city of the future, grounded in many of the ecological principles of Edo, but based on exploiting contemporary technologies to their full potential. On the other hand, by economic necessity, such an enterprise is based on the urban typology of the Japanese cultural theme park, instilled with the thematic content of historical Dutch townscape and touches of the local history of the Dutch in Kyushu.¹⁰⁸

Closely related to this somewhat challenging narrative is the coincidence at Huis Ten Bosch of two broad tendencies occurring with respect to the urban leisure typologies of the theme park and the retirement community. The first tendency is the mutation of the theme park according to the demographics of population ageing; while the second is the increasing influence of strategies from the entertainment-industrial complex – particularly themeing and the disciplining of time – in the design of retirement communities. In other words, the condition is one of intersection between the theme park becoming retirement community, and

¹⁰⁷ This may be partly a result of the early history of Wassenaar as a only a partly occupied community.

¹⁰⁸ For the singer Michael Jackson, Huis Ten Bosch was one of his favourite places in the world. As an explorer of the gaps between the realms of adult and child, male and female, black and white, nature and artifice, his fascination in the ambiguous status of Huis Ten Bosch comes as no surprise. He visited twice, staying in the Royal Guest House each time with an entourage of several bodyguards. At one point he decided to buy the park but was reportedly dismayed at the cost to purchase it, as well as further discouraged by his financial advisors from entering into such a deal. Tadaharu Takemoto, Interview by author, June 14, 2008.

the retirement community becoming theme park. It is important to note that these mutations are not only particular to Huis Ten Bosch in Japan, but to many other environments in the more developed countries, including, to a certain extent, two of the other three case studies addressed in this dissertation.

While partly transforming the spatial framework of known leisure typologies, these mutations more radically transform its temporal logic. In the case of the theme park, the temporary visitor is replaced by the permanent resident, modifying the conventional theme park discourse around the terms *displacement*, *exteriority* and *simulation*.

In its production of *displacement* - a form of teleportation - Huis Ten Bosch shifts the logic of temporary escape associated with the figure of the visitor/tourist, suggesting instead the temporally extended figure of the emigrant. As with other emigrant cultures, the process of displacement produces a third culture – in between that of the former home and the new host. At Huis Ten Bosch, it appears that emigration is based neither on escaping extreme hardship, nor on the basic desire for an improved climate. Instead, it suggests a willingness to construct and experiment with a mediated and altered ‘foreign’ way of life in the Third Age.

Huis Ten Bosch’s construction of *exteriority* – or as other-place – transforms the visitor’s heterotopia of illusion – an image-based fantasy of freedom and escape – to the residential heterotopia of deviation. In these terms, Huis Ten Bosch is controlled, disciplined and perfected, as much as the urban-scape of contemporary Japan is perceived as uncontrolled and imperfect. This represents not only a disciplining of the urbanism and architecture of the town, but of the lifestyles of leisure that it supports amongst its residents. The highly controlled spatial and temporal scheme of events available to residents could be interpreted as a form of anti-boredom machinery. In contrast to Foucault’s heterotopias of deviation – aligned consistently with the top-down power of the state – Huis Ten Bosch functions as a form of disciplining service – a ‘normalizing’ heterotopia supplied by the market and voluntarily consumed by residents.

Discourse around the theme of *simulation* – or simulated hyper-place – applied to Huis Ten Bosch shifts slightly within its cultural context, and between the figure of the visitor and the resident. Based on the extended period of inhabitation of the resident the perception of appearance of ‘fakeness’ is likely to wane over time as the everyday performance of Huis Ten Bosch as a ‘real’ town establishes itself. For residents, the performance of Huis Ten Bosch becomes less the ‘idea of living in a Dutch town’ than the performance of detached living on the canal edge, having coffee with friends in a cafe, playing golf, watching a theatre

group, and watching hundreds of strangers of different shapes and sizes interacting with each other and the environment itself. The common categorization of Huis Ten Bosch as a 'spectacle of the fake' is further challenged by the Japanese understanding of authenticity – one that is oriented toward the protocols and procedures of construction rather the aura of the actual original object.

Overall, Huis Ten Bosch presents a high level of Third Age experimentation in its construction of hybrid subjects, hybrid collectivity, through the performance of hybrid forms of culture and urban life.¹⁰⁹ In these terms, the residents of Huis Ten Bosch skirt between a form of escapist and emancipatory practice based on the construction of an 'almost elsewhere.' As Isabelle Auricoste has pointed out:

"Elsewhere is always paradise. To escape from our everyday surroundings is to experience the feeling of entering another world. The desire to encounter the duality of existence, ever present in the history of humanity, sends us in search of a world different from our own, rich with possibilities."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ In embracing foreign-ness Huis Ten Bosch openly engages complex issues of globalization, culture, space and time that one could consider as a realization of expanded concepts of subjectivity, collectivity and space presented in 20th Century science fiction. Examples of subjectivity include the 'time tourists' of Robert Silverberg's *Up the Line* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969); or the multiplied cross-temporal personas in David Gerrold's *The Man Who Folded Himself* (New York: Random House, 1973).

¹¹⁰ Isabelle Auricoste, "Leisure Parks in Europe: Entertainment and Escapism," in *The Architecture of Western Gardens*, ed. Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 483.

4. THE SENIOR RECREATIONAL VEHICLE COMMUNITY OF THE USA: NOMADIC NETWORKED URBANISM OF THE THIRD AGE

This chapter examines the socio-spatial practices of the senior recreational vehicle community in the United States. While little in the way of official governmental statistics exist for this 'nomadic' society, it is conservatively estimated to number between two and three million members of the Third Age who have relinquished their sedentary homes and lifestyles for a continuous year-round life 'on the road.'¹ (fig. B.4.1 – B.4.2) While nomadic communities are not a new occurrence, it will be suggested that one of this scale, sophistication and level of connectivity is unprecedented, particularly in the last six hundred years. The infrastructure supporting these practices will be presented as two overlaid networks: one physical and one non-physical.

In the preeminent historical text on nomadism: *The Muqaddimah*, medieval Arab social historian Ibn Khaldun describes the two fundamentally different environments from which all human cooperation and social organization developed: a) the desert life of nomadic tribal societies and b) the sedentary life of towns and agricultural villages. For Khaldun, "the very nature of [nomadic] existence is the negation of building, which is the basis of civilization."² Nomadic societies therefore – both before and after the period of Genghis Khan – have been defined structurally as *anti-urban* societies, representing a mobile 'other' functioning outside of the hierarchical construction of the sedentary urban realm and the state apparatus. Within this context, it will be suggested that the practices of the senior recreational vehicle community (abbreviated here as SRVC) problematise this opposition, and by implication, problematise and broaden how we understand and define urbanism.

The practices of the SRVC exceed conventional classifications of pure nomadism by: firstly, embracing nomadic mobility as a leisure activity rather than one practiced for subsistence, as is the case with historical forms of nomadism; and, secondly, it exceeds these classifications by operating with a high degree of instant and uninterrupted connectivity across a scale not previously possible within nomadic societies, ones that have traditionally occupied a form of

¹ Canadian anthropologists Dorothy and David Counts note that historically it has been very difficult to quantify the population of RVers in the US with any level of precision as the US census has no specific category for RV or motor home residences. Estimates are based upon a combination of industry sales figures, industry questionnaires and partial censuses. Between 1990 and 1994, Counts and Counts conducted field research into an emerging social formation that would lead to their 1996 publication: "While young people have been spending their energy in sedentary pursuits, buying homes in the suburbs, working in factories and offices, and raising kids, a generation of elders have become nomads... There are literally millions of them. Nobody knows how many because there is no way to count them, but millions (two or three millions appears to be a conservative estimate) do not just leave home to wander a few months of the year. These people live in those motor homes or trailers, they have no other home." David Counts and Dorothy Counts, *Over the Next Hill: An Ethnography of RVing Seniors in North America* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 1996), 15.

² Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 118.

'non-communicating' space. Conventional anti-urban categorizations of nomadism are surpassed in SRVC practices through the realization of a physically spread, but densely connected social-field – one that holds the potential to produce instant bottom-up formations of actual physical urban density from mobile vehicles. Rather than producing urbanity from its most common building block (built fabric), the SRVC constructs urbanism almost entirely through infrastructure. These practices lead to a collision of the most urban and the most anti-urban of conditions, suggesting an alternate spatial model that could be provisionally termed *nomadic urbanism*.³

This chapter will conclude with a contextualization of these contemporary spatial practices in relation to historical mobile societies with which they resonate, including those of: the frontier 'pioneers' of the nineteenth century American west; the suburbanites of mid-twentieth century American urban 'flight'; and the projected but previously unrealized visions of the 1960s and 1970s 'avant-garde' such as Superstudio and Archigram, as well as Buckminster Fuller. Archigram's *Instant City* project in particular may be considered as a partial premonition of the contemporary SRVC, realized by the same generational cohort thirty to forty years later, as retirees, but realized at a greater level of complexity.⁴

History of the Recreational Vehicle

A Recreational Vehicle – or *RV* as it is commonly known in the United States – is a "...vehicle that combines transportation and living quarters for travel, recreation and camping."⁵ There are essentially two categories of RVs: towable and motorized. (fig. B.4.3) Towable RVs are designed for towing by a motorized vehicle such as an automobile, van, or

³ Based predominantly on extensive field investigations undertaken in a recreational vehicle (RV), this research has also engaged in on-site aerial photography, membership in RV and senior RV clubs, online presence in senior RV forums, and interviews with senior RVers; in addition to a broad investigation of literature and media related to the theme. As existing documentation on the spatial practices of this specific community is relatively limited - particularly within urban and architectural discourse - it is this 'opening' that the research attempts to address. In highly specific terms, documentation is mostly limited to the ethnography of RVing seniors in North America undertaken in the mid-1990s by Counts and Counts, *Over the Next Hill*. This publication is of use because it conducts extensive research into specific sociological and demographic aspects that this author as an architect and urbanist is not able to conduct. While the Counts and Counts work broadly describes the background, motivations and social practices of the lifestyle it does not address a detailed critical investigation of the community as a form of spatial practice and altered urbanity. See also: Kazys Varnelis, "Swarm Intelligence: Quartzsite Arizona," in *Blue Monday: Stories of Absurd Realities and Natural Philosophies*, ed. Robert Sumrell and Kazys Varnelis (Barcelona: Actar, 2007), 144-170. More generally, there have been several publications within architectural and urban discourse addressing the broad theme of nomadic and mobile architecture including: Alexander von Vegesack and Mathias Schwartz-Clauss, ed. *Living in Motion: Design and Architecture for Flexible Dwelling* (Weil am Rhein: Vitra Design Museum, 2002); and Jennifer Siegal, ed. *Mobile: The Art of Portable Architecture* (Princeton Architectural Press, 2002). Nomadic practices are widely discussed in anthropological studies of various nomadic societies such as Peter Carmichael, *Nomads* (London: Collins and Brown, 1991), and in various philosophical texts as a model of thought and action such as Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Nomadology: The War Machine* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1986).

⁴ It is worthwhile to note the disparity between the perceived spatial, political and organizational radicality of Archigram's utopian visions at the time they were produced (and even now), and the relative indifference with which this form of its realization has been received, particularly within urban and architectural discourse.

⁵ Recreational Vehicle Industry Association (RVIA), "RVs: Frequently Asked Questions," Recreational Vehicle Industry Association, http://www.rvia.org/Content/NavigationMenu/RV_Facts_News_FAQs/default.htm (accessed December 10, 2006).

pickup truck.⁶ Motorized RVs – most commonly motorhomes - are "recreational camping and travel vehicles built on or as an integral part of a self-propelled motor vehicle chassis. They may provide kitchen, sleeping, and bathroom facilities and be equipped with the ability to store and carry fresh water and sewage."⁷ The larger class A motorhomes can be as large as 2.6m wide, 13.7m long and 4.0m high. With 'slide-outs' - expanding walls on both sides of a motorhome, - its width can expand to up to 4.3m, producing a home on wheels of up to 45 or 50sqm in floor area.⁸ (fig. B.4.4) The cost of new RVs range from approximately US\$4,000-\$150,000 for towable RVs up to US\$48,000-\$1,500,000 for motor homes. As is the case with used vehicles, used-RVs are often significantly less expensive. According to the Canadian anthropologists Dorothy and David Counts, the SRVC consists of individuals from a wide range of socio-demographic segments, but those living this lifestyle have been categorized as predominantly middle-class, many of whom formerly lived in suburban areas.⁹

The RV's ancestors in the US are the early homes on wheels that included covered wagons and horse drawn caravans, and camping rigs such as the automobile camper and the tent-and cloth-top camper. Early commercially available RVs were predominantly towable. The 'Curtis Aerocar' in the 1920s was the first commercially produced trailer in the US – foreshadowing modern *fifth-wheel trailers*.¹⁰ The iconic Airstream trailer became one of the most popular after this period, becoming available in 1936. Early motorhomes were the result of custom conversions of automobiles and buses - only becoming commercially available in the US in 1956. The first was the VW van camper, followed by the Chevrolet and Ford van campers and the Dodge house-car in 1961. The first large scale mass-produced motorhomes were produced by Winnebago Industries in 1966. The 'Winnebago' became extremely popular, and was a commonly used term in the 1970s and 1980s to refer to motorhomes in general.¹¹ The Recreational Vehicle Industry Association – founded in 1963 to promote the industry – is partly responsible for considerable growth in RV ownership in recent decades. According to the University of Michigan RV Study commissioned by the RVIA, in 2005 there were an estimated 8.2 million RVs on the roads in the US, and approximately 30 million 'RV enthusiasts.'¹² RV ownership is particularly high in the upper

⁶ A towable RV is also "of a size and weight small enough so as not to require a special highway movement permit. It does not require permanent on-site hook-up." RVIA, "RVs: Frequently Asked Questions."

⁷ RVIA, "RVs: Frequently Asked Questions."

⁸ It is necessary to make the distinction between the term RV and the terms: *mobile home*, *off-road vehicle* and *snowmobile*, terms with which the RV is often confused. A *Mobile Home* for example is "essentially a moveable house – often 3.0m or 3.7m in width – and can only be moved by a large tractor." Mobile homes are commonly located in permanent trailer parks, the inhabitants of which have been labelled in some areas as 'trailer-trash', as these mobile home parks have often catered to lower socio-economic groups.

⁹ Counts and Counts, *Over the Next Hill*, 283, 315.

¹⁰ Counts and Counts, *Over the Next Hill*, 60.

¹¹ For additional discussions of nomadic architecture see: Robert H. Kronenburg, *Houses in Motion: The Genesis, History and Development of the Portable Building* (London: Academy Press, 2002); and Irene Rawlings and Mary Abel, *Portable Houses* (Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2004); and Roger White, *Home on the Road* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 2000).

¹² Richard T. Curtin, University of Michigan, *The RV Consumer: A Demographic Profile 2005 Survey* (Reston, VA: RVIA, 2005).

age-groups - with a reported 8.6% of US households over the age of 55 owning RVs. This percentage data equates to 3.5 million households, or approximately 5.6 million individuals with RVs in the senior age bracket.¹³

Collectivity/Subjectivity

According to the amount of time individuals spend in their vehicles, 'RV enthusiasts' may be divided into three general categories - *vacationers*, *snowbirds* and *full-timers*. *Vacationers* own or rent a sedentary residence, spending the majority of their time there, and vacation in an RV for a period typically numbering in weeks. *Snowbirds* maintain a sedentary residence, in which they typically reside during the summer months - traveling south in an RV in the winter months. The opposite is also true for those living in the southern states such as Arizona, who travel north to avoid high temperatures in the summer. *Snowbirds*, who are predominantly retirees, spend between 4 and 8 months of the year in an RV. *Full-timers* relinquish their sedentary residence, adopting a full year-round nomadic lifestyle. The act of going 'full-time' has been documented as a traumatic experience in which home ownership is given up, through the selling of the sedentary home, and the selling, giving away or placing into storage of furniture and other household possessions. Once those steps have been taken, individuals often express a feeling of freedom and liberation from the world of consumer goods.¹⁴ The vast majority of the two to three million *full-timers* in the US in the mid-1990s were both elderly and retired.¹⁵ The community of full-timers (what will be referred to here as the SRVC) – retired third-agers whose only 'home' is the RV they travel in – constitutes the focus of this research.

In historical terms, there are three broad categories of nomadism: *hunter-gatherers*, *pastoral nomads*, and *peripatetic nomads*. All three rely upon nomadic practices for subsistence and survival. Nomadic hunter-gatherers follow seasonally available wild plants and game, and practice the most established subsistence method. Pastoralists raise animal herds and move seasonally to avoid unfavourable climatic conditions and to prevent pasture depletion in any single area. Peripatetic nomads, common in developed nations, travel from place to place to

¹³ In 2005, there were 64.7 million Americans over the age of 55 living in 40.7 million households. US Census Bureau, *Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement* (Washington D.C.: US Census Bureau, 2005).

¹⁴ Of the full-timers interviewed in the Counts and Counts survey, 75% sold their home or listed it for sale, 4% rent it through an agency, and an additional 5% have relatives living in it. Counts and Counts *Over the Next Hill*, 273.

¹⁵ Counts and Counts, *Over the Next Hill*, 148. A 1993 Recreational Vehicle Industry Association study found that the typical motor home owner was 63 years old. The highest ownership rates of RV's on the US population were people aged 55-64, 16 percent of whom owned RVs. The next highest ownership rates were 12.8% of those aged 65-74. Of people aged 75 and over, 43.4% owned RVs. Counts and Counts carried out a questionnaire of RVers in the mid-1990s. They found that "86% of serious and full time RVers are aged 56 or older. 79% were retired. Average ages of RVers for various surveys range from 63.4 for men, 60.9 for women. A 1993 survey of lot holders at an RV co-op park were 65.8 years old on average. A study of the membership of the Family Motor Coach Association (FMCA, a club for motor home owners) depicts the average RV owner as a retired 63 year old man or 60 year old woman with some college education."

earn a living by offering a trade wherever they go.¹⁶ Senior RVers function in a similar fashion to these three forms of nomadism inasmuch as they do not reside in a 'fixed' sedentary dwelling – instead moving from place to place on a predominantly seasonal basis.¹⁷ Importantly, as they do not rely on nomadic behavior for subsistence or survival as the other three do, but take part in it by choice as a leisure-oriented lifestyle, senior RVers suggest the necessity for a fourth category of nomadism: *leisure nomads*.

In these terms, the leisure-oriented lifestyle of the SRVC may be understood as an emblematic product of the Third Age, and the ongoing process of what Ulrich Beck calls *individualisation*: the societal transformation occurring in western countries in recent decades in which dominant traditional social hierarchies have become increasingly subordinated to individual choice and freedom.¹⁸ According to senior RVers, it is the possibility of *freedom*, *independence* and *adventure* that attracts them to the lifestyle.¹⁹ This suggests a radically different basis for constructing a nomadic practice, producing a form of distributed leisure space aligned to the logic of the full-time tourist rather than the traditional survivalist logic of the pastoral nomad or the hunter-gatherer. The articulation of this nomadic leisure subject will take place throughout this chapter, particularly as the individual mobile subject constitutes the primary spatial component or 'driver' of this form of nomadic urbanism.

The SRVC defines a range of collective behaviours, from those informally defined by RVer etiquette in the cases of adjacent parking, to the more formal structures of collective behaviour such as the RV clubs. As is the case in environments such as *The Villages*, there is a remarkable level of friendliness toward other RVers within the community. Spontaneous invitations made to RV neighbours to attend events such as camp-fires, sing-alongs, pot-luck dinner, bake-offs and dances are common in informal camping areas, often taking place in the semi-public space between camped RVs. (fig. B.4.5 – B.4.6) Perhaps the most common of these activities is the pot-luck dinner, a form of social interaction that coincides with some

¹⁶ Nomadic societies – especially pastoralists and hunter-gatherers have undergone considerable decline during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries due to a series of technological, economic and political transformations. These included: the increasing dominance of the political goals of the nation state which led to more rigid policing of national boundaries; the emergence of technologies that resulted in weakening the relative military power of the nomadic people and also their political autonomy; and the development of alternative forms of transportation which made areas only previously accessible to nomads accessible to others. See Thomas Barfield, *The Nomadic Alternative* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1993).

¹⁷ "...in mountainous areas nomads may spend the winter in the lowlands, move to the foothills in the spring, to the high mountain pastures in the summer, and return in the fall. If they attempted to stay in any one place the whole year-round, they would soon find themselves both short of pasture and subject to climatic extremes that their animals could not easily survive: in the winter the highlands are covered in snow, in the summer, the lowlands are extremely hot." Thomas Barfield, *The Nomadic Alternative* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1993), 12. The RV analogue to this situation involves those who spend the colder winter months in the southern states such as Florida or Arizona, and the hotter summer months in the northern states.

¹⁸ See Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (London: Sage, 1992); and also see the excellent description of similar social transformations related to retirement migration on the Spanish coast by Andreas Huber and Karen O'Reilly, "The construction of Heimat under conditions of individualized modernity: Swiss and British elderly migrants in Spain," in *Ageing and Society* 24 (2004): 327-351.

¹⁹ Counts and Counts, *Over the Next Hill*, 98.

of the primary limitations of the recreational vehicle: a kitchen large enough to cook for more than four or six guests, and enough plates and cutlery to service a larger group. (fig. B.4.7) Such an arrangement involves tactical practices on the part of RVers in which the timing of one's first serving is critical, along with the size of tray one is armed with.

The clubs, which have become the dominant staging area of the more formal aspects of collective life within the SRVC will be discussed in more detail below in the context of non-physical infrastructure.

Domesticity: Homemaking

The practices that define the phenomenon of the senior RVing play out at an architectural scale through a form of 'compensatory domesticity.' The adoption of such a lifestyle necessitates in most cases a radical downsizing of the quantity and scale of individual material possessions. The material fact of reducing the floor area of one's former domestic space by a factor of between four and ten is described in anthropological accounts of RVing as both traumatic and emancipatory. Such an event may be described in terms of a severing of one's connection to the sedentary ground of the suburban home within and upon which the majority of RVers have spent their entire lives up to that point. As a result, the notion of 'Home' transforms into a composite construct consisting of the recreational vehicle as a constant and stable figure, situated on a variable and unstable ground of temporary and often squatted occupations of public and private property. This process of uprooting the domestic home typically leads, in the case of RVers, to exaggerated homemaking practices aimed toward compensating for the potential emotional threat associated with constant displacement, homelessness and homesickness. These practices may be observed both in the interior and on the exterior of the vehicle.

Within the RV interior, a form of hyper-domesticity more fitting to the suburban ranch house than a moving vehicle can be observed. Due to the obvious volumetric and weight limitations, this is often achieved with a remarkable efficiency of materials. The layout and designated functions of the familiar domestic 'rooms' of the American middle-class home are both miniaturized and amplified, as is its most recognizable materiality and colour palette. Familiar domestic elements include the carpets, tiles and upholstery fabric of the 'living room', the stained oak or mahogany wood panelled cabinets of the 'kitchen,' as well as common interior ornaments such as cushions, flowers and small 'tchotchkes' that are stowed during periods of driving and refurnished upon parking. Such arrangements translate into the construction of

an RV domesticity closer to the rationale of the 'moving home' than the 'homely vehicle.' (fig. B.4.8 – B.4.9)

The production of such a familiar and intensified image of domesticity within the interior is reflected in the immediate external surroundings of the RV. This space is often organised according to the structuring of the typical suburban domestic landscape through the articulation of semi-private, semi-public and public spaces. Within this schema, the positioning of the RV in relation to existing site characteristics and constraints such as trees, sun orientation and other vehicles, as well as the placement of particular objects and furniture is critical. Most RVs have a retractable awning that can be extended to produce a space mimicking the domestic verandah, a semi-private covered space that is often spatially reinforced through the placement of an additional ground surface. Green artificial turf is most commonly used for this – mimicking the domestic lawn – to which is often added a 'welcome' doormat, foldable tables and chairs. Additional items such as barbeques, temporary fireplaces, potted plants, exercise equipment, and a remarkable variety of garden ornaments such as whirligigs, neon palm trees and garden gnomes both personalize and demarcate the exterior domesticated space of the 'home.' (fig B.4.10 – B.4.11) This reaches its most vivid form in the outdoor placement of deckchairs under the extended awnings of RVs parked in Wal-Mart parking lots. These particular practices suggest that while senior RVers relinquish their house (or apartment), the notion of 'home' is not given up. Instead, a conscious amplification of homemaking practices takes place, both on the interior, and the immediate exterior of the moving 'home.'

Infrastructure (Non-Physical): Communicating Networks

Descriptions of the spatial practices of nomads are relatively consistent throughout accounts by social historians and anthropologists such as Ibn Khaldun, Jibrail Jabbur, Thomas Barfield, and philosophers such as Gilles Deleuze & Felix Guattari. The nomad functions according to a territorial occupation of space rather than one that is codified, divided and controlled. Nomadic space is characterized by the dominance of the trajectory of movement (pathway or line) over the importance of destination (node or fixed point). For the nomad, the space between points is critical. Points are secondary – inasmuch as a point is arrived at only to be left behind. This functions in contrast to sedentary space that privileges the fixed point over the line. This is no more evident than in the account Counts and Counts offer for the senior RVer disease known as 'Hitch Itch': "After a week or two in one place they begin to feel its symptoms – restlessness and dissatisfaction. Once it starts, the only recourse is to

hitch up the rig and head down the road. The relief is only temporary. The next time the sufferer is in one place for a while, he or she will suffer a relapse.”²⁰

For Deleuze and Guattari, the nomad plays a key role in their discourse, as a metaphor for a force that resists the territorializing apparatus of the sedentary state. (This aspect of nomadism – as a form of marginality – will be returned to in the conclusion.) For Deleuze and Guattari, the emblematic space of this nomad is the flat and smooth desert, defined by characteristics rather than borders, in contrast to the divided and striated space of sedentary territory. They describe the function of the sedentary road, “...which is to parcel out a closed space to people, assigning each person to a share and regulating the communication between shares. The nomadic trajectory does the opposite, it distributes people (or animals) in an open space, one that is indefinite and noncommunicating.”²¹ In addition to the non-communicating aspect of nomad space, it is the limitation of communication between the dispersed individuals and factions of nomadic societies (communication that typically took place through serial chains) that is challenged by the contemporary leisure nomad.²²

Initially developed for military purposes, portable satellite internet technologies have in recent years become available in a civilian context, supporting an unprecedented level of communication and interconnectivity for the SRVC in real time. This communication system – constituted as an infrastructural network that is perceived as predominantly non-physical in nature – has had a strong impact on how the community operates spatially. It consists of two main elements: firstly the mobile RV-based communication equipment - computer and two-way satellite internet dish and box - in which each moving vehicle operates as a node or point; and secondly, the series of circuits or lines of communication – in particular the web-based RV club sites and the internet that supports them. (fig. B.4.12)

On-board RV communication equipment is increasingly sophisticated, and remarkably widely used amongst the SRVC. According to Counts and Counts, as early as 1995 over two-thirds of full-timers had computers in their RVs.²³ While more recent figures are not readily available, based upon observation it may be estimated that this proportion has increased substantially. In addition to the increasing presence of portable and laptop computers, a high proportion of senior RVers currently use two-way satellite internet access, evident by observing dishes on the roofs of vehicles. With a satellite dish mounted to an RV, a user is able to access the internet from any remote location in the US with a view toward the

²⁰ Counts and Counts, *Over the Next Hill*, 313.

²¹ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Nomadology: The War Machine* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1986), 50.

²² From an overview of literature on early nomadic societies, social communication might best be described in terms of serial chains.

²³ Counts and Counts, *Over the Next Hill*, 148.

southern sky. (fig. B.4.13) Two-way satellite internet allows the transmission and receipt of data from remote areas via satellite to a hub, which then sends the data to the internet. Download speed typically averages at around 1Mbps with contemporary satellite technology (2009) although some packages allow download speeds up to 10Mbps. Commercially available to consumers from the late 1990s, satellite internet access has radically improved the ability of remote and mobile civilians to communicate.

In recent years, the dominant staging area of RV communities - typically known as RV Clubs - has become the internet. RV Clubs are one of the central aspects of the RV lifestyle. (fig. B.4.14) As early as 1994, the RVIA listed 12 'national' RV clubs and 32 clubs organized for owners of RVs of particular brands names – numbers that have grown substantially since then. Clubs not only organise yearly or seasonal rallies and conventions but also keep members in close communication through newsletters and magazines – many clubs supply parking spaces and redirect mail. In general the clubs have increasingly cemented a web-based presence with forums, chatrooms, info sites, etc. Forums offer support on travel itineraries, technical issues, buying and selling RVs, RVer dating, RV friendly recipes, discount RV merchandise, security tips, rallies and conventions etc. The largest and most well known RV community is the Good Sam Club, founded in 1966 to allow RVers to get to know and help one another. It publishes *Highways* magazine and has a considerable web presence on www.goodsamclub.com. As of July 2006, there were over 1,000,000 Good Sam Club members. Large rallies of the Good Sam Club are known as *Samborees*. Escapees (www.escapees.com) is one of the first RV clubs exclusively for senior RVers. It was founded in 1978 and as of early 2008 it had over 100,000 members. It has two large-scale rallies each year known as *Escapades*.²⁴ (fig. B.4.15) Many other clubs are based upon RV brands (but generally offer the same services such as networking, newsletters, mail forwarding etc.) - these include the Winnebago-Itasca Travelers (Winnebago Clubs) with 19,000 members in 2006.

The commercial availability of portable satellite internet systems has supported the expansion of instantaneous and remote communication to and from nomadic vehicles, leading to a dramatic increase in access to, and online-isation of the social networking operations of this community; communications that previously took place via mailed newsletters to post office boxes around the country.²⁵ As a massive clearing house of

²⁴ Counts and Counts, *Over the Next Hill*, 16.

²⁵ Several geographers and urban theorists have used nomadism as a metaphor for describing being online in general, tied with it the possibility to access the net from remote locations, whether from a hotel away from home, from a commercial aircraft or from a mobile telephone on the move. The distinction between this situation and the SRVC is that the internet user/surfer still maintains a sedentary home base even while accessing the web remotely or in transit. In the case of the senior RVer by contrast, he or she is without a sedentary home, and has internet accessibility built into and integrated into the home, which

information, these websites support the large scale coordination of events, actions, spontaneous meetings and so forth. The website *www.datastorm.com* is just one example of a micro-community in which individual RVs are positioned at all times on a communal map and messaging board. (fig. B.4.16) This level of instant connectivity at a distance has radically increased social coherency of the community to the point that it may be understood to be as socially dense as it is physically sparse. This is supported both by the staggering numbers of senior Rvers active in clubs online, and the intensity of the traffic of information.

Infrastructure (Physical): Plugging-In

If the first form of infrastructure supporting the SRVC is mostly non-physical, the second is of a more physical nature. It consists of two main elements: firstly, the road and highway system (constituting a system of lines or circuits); and secondly, the parking/camping sites for vehicles (constituting a series of points or nodes.) The RVs themselves operate as mobile elements that flow within the physical network. (fig. B.4.17)

The road and highway system in the United States forms a critical aspect of RVing infrastructure as the vehicles have limited off-roading capabilities. Operating as a system of lines, it is formed by overlaying the various road and highway networks including the primary roads of the Interstate Highway System, and the secondary and tertiary roads of the various state and county networks. The sheer scale and extent of the road system is an important factor in the growth of the RVing lifestyle in the United States.²⁶ Although RVs are somewhat limited in their 'off-roading' capacities – implying restrictions in freedom of movement – there are various types of non-paved off-road surfaces that are easily accessible, the most notable of which include the deserts of the south-west, where RVs park in almost any location.

Parking and camping sites function as a series of infrastructural nodes within the US road and highway system. These nodes may be classified as either formal or informal sites. Formal campsites include: public parks, membership or coop parks and private parks. (fig. B.4.18) As of 2005, there were over 16,000 public and privately owned park/campground sites in the US. Privately-owned campgrounds include chains such as the Kampgrounds of America (KOA) a franchised RV park group. RV Membership Parks are profit-making associations of affiliated parks that offer sites on a time-share basis. Rvers pay annual

itself is mobile. In this case, body, net-interface, mobile vehicle and home are integrated into the same system – one and all are nomadic.

²⁶ The Interstate Highway System is the largest highway system in the world at 68,860km in length, ten times larger than the next largest national highway network (Germany). The US National Highway System, incorporating the Interstate Highway System and other principal roads is a total of 160,000 miles (256,000 km) long. Federal Highway Administration, "Eisenhower Interstate Highway System – Frequently Asked Questions," Federal Highway Administration, <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/interstate/faq.htm> (accessed December 6, 2006).

membership fees for inexpensive but limited period use of sites. Public campgrounds include city or federally owned and operated sites. Formal sites typically offer what is referred to as a 'hook-up.' Hook-ups supply electricity and water and sometimes waste removal services directly to the RV not available with informal sites.

Infrastructure (Physical): Clustering

Common informal sites include the Long-term Visitor Areas (LTVA) administered by the US Department of the Interior. These sites are available to 'boondockers' – or those who stay in areas where there are no power or water hook-ups and no charge for occupying the space (for up to six months). The term comes from the phrase *docking* (parking) "out in the *boonies* [remote areas]."²⁷ A high proportion of RVs are equipped to boondock. This requires self-contained water and waste disposal tanks and a 12-volt electrical system, which, for long-term boondockers, is normally powered by either solar panels or a generator. Some LTVAs also offer a centralized water supply, and waste dumping facilities.

The points or nodes within the physical network vary greatly in size: from single RVs parking alone or in small groups on a remote site, to instant cities of RVers numbering in the hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. SlabCity – one of the more well-known informal sites – is located on the site of an abandoned US military base near Niland, California. It is named after the concrete foundation slabs from temporary (now demolished) WWII buildings. While some RVers live there permanently, the area is most densely populated with RV residents from November until early March.

The most famous informal site is Quartzsite - a small Arizona desert town close to the Californian border and approximately 50 miles (80km) north of Yuma. Its permanent population of approximately three and a half thousand inhabitants expands drastically in the winter months stretching the existing infrastructure to its limits. (fig. B.4.19 – B.4.20) While there are no official RV population figures, estimates of the peak number in late January range from 300,000 to one million, and a total of 1.5 to 2.0 million cumulatively over the winter months; effectively producing an *instant city* dedicated to the nomadic Third Age.²⁸ Quartzsite has developed since the 1960s as a pilgrimage site for the SRVC. Regular events take place in the winter months including the Tyson Wells Sell-A-Rama, the Main Event, the QIA Pow Wow and the Quartzsite Sports, Vacation and RV Show. The focus of the shows

²⁷ Counts and Counts, *Over the Next Hill*, 311.

²⁸ For Quartzsite winter RV population figures see: Kazys Varnelis, "Swarm Intelligence," and Richard Grant, *Ghost Riders: Travels with American Nomads* (London: Little, Brown, 2003.) Also, Verlyn Michel, Mayor of Quartzsite, interview with author, Quartzsite, AZ, January 25, 2008.

range from the sales of RVs and RV accessories, to rocks, gems, and assorted junk. The movements of such large numbers are coordinated to a large extent through the club websites online. The Escapees club for example, has several pages online dedicated to social events and activities, running three or more gathering locations in the Quartzsite area simultaneously. The majority of winter RVers at Quartzsite boondock on US government designated LTVAs. They are placed in various spatial arrangements that range from individual detached stand-alone vehicles, to four vehicle 'courtyards,' to linear bands and pinwheel corrals – constructing small micro-communities and even neighbourhoods of temporary association. (fig. B.4.21) The instant city phenomenon does not only take place at Quartzsite. There are many other examples of large scale club events also coordinated online, such as the Good Sam Club rallies 'Samborees', sometimes attracting as many as tens of thousands of RVers.

This clustering tendency is a product of both the socio-cultural rituals tied to the SRVC, and the technological support that allows for communication and coordinated movement. In effect, these instant cities, like Quartzsite, constitute a form of urbanity produced almost entirely from bottom-up forces, without top-down planning apart from a basic provision of vital infrastructural services.

Infrastructure (Physical): Squatting

The points or nodes associated with the physical infrastructure not only exist in what are traditionally understood as 'non-urban' areas. In many cases informal RV parking sites are embedded within the existing urban fabric – operating on an unwritten 'timeshare' basis. The sight of RVs parked in supermarket or big-box retail parking lots is the most visible form of this. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as *destination boondocking*, as it involves parking for temporary overnight accommodation along the way to a distant destination.

According to one RVer, these sites include:

"...in the winter, hotel/motel parking lots. In the summer, school yards. Anywhere else that is quiet and that we won't be in anyone's way. Shopping centers, church parking lots (except on Saturday night), and our all-time favorites are old roads that have been straightened. They are often level, drive-in and drive-out, paved and quiet. Also gravel pits, boat launches, etc."²⁹

The discount retailer Wal-Mart, for example, has a well known policy of allowing free overnight parking for RVs in most of its retail parking lots. (fig. B.4.22) This functions for mutual benefit: RVers have a free, relatively safe, accessible and reliable network of

²⁹ Counts and Counts, *Over the Next Hill*, 173.

locations to stay in overnight, with access to bathrooms and necessary food and supplies (Wal-Mart parking lots are patrolled 24 hours per day by private security guards); and in return, Wal-Mart has a large number of loyal customers who occupy parking lot space mostly during the off-peak overnight period. This form of boondocking has become a widely accepted activity, so widely practiced that several guidebooks have been published that list locations and directions to every Wal-Mart in the US, as well as supplementary titles that list the limited number of Wal-Marts that for various reasons do not allow overnight parking.³⁰ Courteous destination boondocking practice involves both: parking on the side of the parking lot furthest from the building entry point, and limiting regular homemaking activities on the immediate exterior of the vehicle. In some of the RV guides to Wal-Mart parking lots, it is recommended that RVers thank the store manager personally for allowing them to stay, along with notifying him or her of what they spent in the store.

Destination boondocking practices are the most obvious engagement on the part of senior RVers in marginal and informal behaviour typically associated with other forms of transient nomadic lifestyles such as squatters and the 'homeless.' It is precisely these practices that skirt, and challenge the logic of accepted spatial and legal behaviour of the sedentary environment. The possibility for the transient RV occupation of existing urban environments is supported by the fact that these practices are relatively indistinguishable from regular parking, especially in the case of smaller RVs, making it difficult for law enforcement to control. The Wal-Mart case is interesting as an example of a large corporation willing to tolerate as an informal timesharing activity what would normally be understood as illegal squatting. It would be possible to conceive of this practice, whether it takes place in a church, school or retailer parking lot, as an opportunistic occupation of urban space, producing an agile, reactive additional layer of urbanity infiltrating empty pockets of the existing sedentary fabric.

Nomadic Urbanism: Networked Fields

The overlaying of the two broad categories of infrastructure classifies the RV as both a node (in the non-physical case) and a material flow (in the case of the physical), suggesting a complex network of interconnected flowing nodes functioning in-between the physical and non-physical realms. (fig. B.4.23)

³⁰ Titles include: *Wal-Mart Atlas*, *Wherezitat?: Locate-A-Walmart*, and *Wal-Mart Stores That Do Not Allow Overnight Parking* available at www.rvbookstore.com.

Manuel Castells in *The Rise of the Network Society* theorizes a shift in the dominant mode of urbanism at the end of the 20th century, a shift supported to a large extent by the rapid growth of information and communication, as well as transportation technologies. For Castells, contemporary society is increasingly structured around flows: “flows of capital, flows of information, flows of technology, flows of organizational interaction, flows of images, sounds and symbols... Flows are not just one element of the social organization: they are the expression of processes *dominating* our economic, political and symbolic life.”³¹ Castells argues that the traditionally defined urbanism of the ‘space of places’ (that which we associate with the traditional sedentary city of identity, centrality and materiality), is becoming increasingly subordinate to that which he refers to as the ‘space of flows’, the space that “...links up distant locales around shared functions and meanings on the basis of electronic circuits and fast transportation corridors, while isolating and subduing the logic of experience embodied in the space of places.”³² The ‘space of flows’, in other words, refers to an emerging spatial logic in which social interaction occurs in between others who are both absent and distant in time and space – a schema in which living, inhabitation and social connectivity transgress immediate physical distance.³³ We may understand this as a quite different conception of urbanity from a conventional place-centered vision. The space of flows is closely aligned to how one might conceptualise the SRVC – an arrangement in which houses themselves and their inhabitants are literally in a state of flow, along with the dense social information flowing between them – producing an urbanity that is physically spread (to varying degrees), but densely connected socially. In other words, it functions as a socially coherent urban field. In this context, the nomadic community of the SRVC realises a practice that is not anti-urban by definition, but one producing an alternate form of decentralized urbanism instead. From Castell’s point of view, density as an urban concept is reframed from describing purely physical material conditions to include socio-informational ones. Additionally, the mobility and clustering of the SRVC suggests a shift in the understanding of urban density from a relatively stable condition, toward one that is in a state of fluctuation and instability. Rather than producing urbanity with its most common building block of the sedentary city (built fabric), this highly mobile dispersed and connected field produces a *nomadic urbanism* through infrastructure.

³¹ Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society* (London: Blackwell, 1996), 412.

³² Manuel Castells, “Informationalism and the Network Society,” in *The Hacker Ethic and the Spirit of the Information Age*, Pekka Himanen (New York: Random House, 2001), 171.

³³ This position is indebted to Dean’s paper on the Australian Royal Flying Doctor Service as an important case study precedent in dispersed urbanism. Penelope Dean, “Outback Metropolis – Time Sharing Urbanism,” *Architecture Australia* (January/February 2000): 86-91. According to Dean, given the rise of the network society “...it seems necessary to rethink what urbanism is and how to practice it. The RFDS (Royal Flying Doctor Service) is an interesting example. Whilst it bears no historic reference to the evolution of the ‘city’ as we know it, it is an extreme example where minimum density is coupled with maximum social cohesion.” If the RFDS functions as a fixed decentralized network, the RV community operates as a mobile distributed network.

This form of spatial practice may be visualized in relation to particular historical moments of the sedentary city. One technique would engage the egg dish analogy Cedric Price uses to describe various city morphologies. Price describes: the ancient city as a boiled egg with a hard outer wall; the seventeenth - nineteenth century city as a fried egg with a clearly defined centre and edge; and the modern city as a scrambled egg, a diffuse formation without a clearly defined centre. Within this framework, the urbanism of the SRVC would function as an egg crepe (the “usuyaki tamago” in Japanese), an infra-thin, almost transparent layer that would be laid over the existing ‘city’ and the remaining area. (fig. B.4.24)

Historical Resonances: Pioneering/Escaping/Imagining

The contemporary spatial practices of the SRVC may be placed within the context of other historically mobile practices. There are three examples in particular that resonate: those of the early pioneers of the nineteenth century American west, aligned to the movement from east to west; those attached to the suburban flight from urban America in the mid-twentieth century period; and those practices proposed by the architectural avant-garde of the 1960s and 1970s, particularly Archigram, who projected a shift from a sedentary urban culture toward a mobile condition within technologised nature. All three examples may be pulled together under the umbrella of urban decentralization, of which the so-called ‘exurban’ condition of the American edge city is the most documented contemporary form. According to Castells: “...this spatial form is indeed very specific to the American experience. Because... it is embedded in a classic pattern of American history, always pushing for the endless search for a promised land in new settlement.”³⁴

Pioneering: From Westward To Inward

The pioneers of the nineteenth century American west carry a certain resonance with senior RVers, often framing their own actions as the “modern embodiment of the early pioneers.”³⁵ For these individuals, the ‘pioneer spirit’ stands for the ethos of freedom, adventure, discovery, independence, and resourcefulness in engaging the uncertain, the unknown and even the potential danger attached to what is beyond the range of view. This is tied also – through the logistical limitations of RV interior space – to a Spartan minimal lifestyle devoid of excessive comfort or luxury. As well as a psychological state, the ‘pioneering spirit’ also defines a social attitude with clear micro-scale spatial implications. This is most obvious in the circled and closed courtyard formations of RVs that echo the circled wagon corral

³⁴ Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, 400.

³⁵ Counts and Counts, *Over the Next Hill*, 94.

originally designed to offer protection from external attackers. (fig. B.4.25) This has been adopted by RVers as a way of producing a central space for communal activities – activities that also echo the social activities of the pioneer period: the communal meal around the camp-fire, games and the sing-along.

At the macro-scale, the pioneer's line of the frontier pushing ever westward, would be reframed as an 'interstitial frontier' in the case of the SRVC, according to Counts and Counts, one "...composed of areas not yet encroached upon by urban culture."³⁶ Spatial expansionism for the senior RVer is directed toward the production of a form of nomadic urbanity in areas where urbanity is not yet present (at least in obvious terms.) The practice of destination boondocking extends this frontier beyond one based upon a finding or filling of gaps where urbanity has not yet manifested itself (in the traditional sense of the non-city area), to include the extension of frontiers of transient occupation within the already existing city. In the case of the latter, these frontiers are particularly interesting in the way they contest legal and social aspects of urban space.

Escaping: The Second Wave

One may also argue that an additional moment of resonance exists between the spatial practices of the SRVC and those of mid-twentieth century urban 'flight'. If the first wave, from the urban to the suburban environment, was driven by fear of urban crime, falling property values and public school integration as well as government and military policy; then the SRVC may be interpreted as a second wave of flight, from the suburbs to anywhere and everywhere. (fig. B.4.26) It is interesting to note that the participants of the second wave are of the same cohort that took part in the first wave as children or young adults, the so-called 'Baby-Boomers.' In light of the conventional three-part RV motive – freedom, independence and adventure – it would be possible to suggest that the second wave is at the same time driven by a fear of confinement, dependence and boredom associated with ageing in place in the suburban periphery. Based on the "endless search for the promised-land in new settlements," Castells identifies that this also means that: "each wave of social and physical escapism (for example, the abandonment of inner cities, leaving the lower social classes and ethnic minorities trapped in ruins) deepened the crisis of American cities."³⁷ The abandonment of the suburbs by retirees may be interpreted in the most negative light as another form of selfish abandonment from, in this case, the suburbs that have either not delivered what they had promised, or at least are likely to be structurally unsuitable (as they

³⁶ Counts and Counts, *Over the Next Hill*, 111.

³⁷ Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, 400.

were designed predominantly with two generational families in mind) for an aged and increasingly ageing population.³⁸

Imagining: Technological Arcadia

The strongest historical resonance exists between the SRVC and the projected spatial visions of members of the 1960s and 1970s architectural avant-garde such as Superstudio and Archigram, as well as the engineer/designer Buckminster Fuller. Archigram in particular – through projects such as: *Instant City*, *Walking City*, *Underwater City*, *Living Pod*, and *Freetime Node* – engaged in themes of nomadism, networks, mobility, and transience; exhibiting a preoccupation toward the exploitation of technology to further personal choice and freedom. This approach, characterised most distinctly in a declared moratorium on building, challenged what they saw as an architectural establishment distracted in the tenets of permanence and good-taste. The suspension of ‘building’ in Archigram’s work was not meant to signal the end of urbanism, but the emergence of a new form of urbanism in light of the inevitable decline of our existing modes of city, suburb, etc. For this new urbanity to emerge, according to Archigram’s David Greene “...we will have to wait until the steel and concrete mausoleums of our cities, villages and towns etc., decay and the suburbs bloom and flourish. They in turn will die and the world will perhaps again be a garden. And that perhaps is the dream, and we should all be busy persuading not to build but to prepare for the invisible networks in the air there.”³⁹ This particular urban vision has been variously described by commentators as: techno-primativism, high-tech ruralism or techno-pastoralism – a vision based upon returning to nature through technology, and escaping the constraints and the monotony of the city through urbanism. For Archigram, this urbanity is also clearly one based upon infrastructure.

In the 1969 project, “Instant City: Childen’s Primer,” David Greene describes a scenario for a dispersed city of nomadic inhabitants living in trailers. (fig. B.4.27 – B.4.29) He refers to trailer nomads as ‘node-owners’ plugged into camouflaged ‘logplugs’ and ‘rokplugs’ in the wilderness. Logplugs, for example, would offer vital services such as water and power, and most importantly what is referred to as the ‘international information hookup’ – an Archigram-ism for the yet to be invented internet. According to Greene, “Plugs will increase the service to these [instant and remote] communities... The whole of London or New York will be

³⁸ The argument for suburbia’s failure to address the needs and desires of the new third age is most clearly stated in Del Webb’s Sun City promotional film: The Garland Organization, VHS, *The Beginning* (Phoenix, AZ.: The Garland Organization, 1965).

³⁹ David Greene, “Instant City: Children’s Primer,” in *A Guide to Archigram 1961-1974*, ed. Herbert Lachmayer, Schoenigm Pasqual and Dennis Crompton (London: Academy Editions, 1994), 297.

available in the world's leafy hollows, deserts and flowered meadows."⁴⁰ Imagined is a utopia formed from the collision of the most urban and the most anti-urban of conditions, in which the best aspects of the urban environment would be brought to the natural one. With this in mind, it is possible to suggest that *Instant City* may be considered as a premonition of the contemporary Senior RV Community, an urban vision realized by the same generational cohort thirty to forty years later, as retirees.⁴¹

Conclusion

As a nomadic form of urbanity developed through particular socio-demographic and technological transformations, this particular community offers some particularly interesting challenges concerning how one thinks about contemporary urbanity and nomadism. Rather than only highlighting this community's abandonment of suburbs and ex-urbs, it would be appropriate and necessary to frame the SRVC as an ongoing experiment in the development of new forms of urbanity, collectivity and subjectivity for the Third Age. Just as this community is perceived to turn its back on the traditional notion of 'home', but replaces it with other practices of 'home-making', the apparent abandonment of traditional forms of civic engagement and responsibility have lead to other modes of civic action being formed. The spatial practices suggest a situation beyond the uncomplicated realization of the technologised arcadia of Archigram's *Instant City*, with its romantic vision of both technology and nature as a means to transcend the city; but also a more complex occupation of the existing sedentary city, in which the senior RVer functions as a more transgressive agent – potentially fulfilling some of the tactical ambitions of the marginalized figure of the urban wanderer described by de Certeau.⁴² In parallel to this form of squatting, the practice of clustering, suggests a tentative model for building cities without buildings, one generated almost entirely from bottom-up forces. These gatherings may be likened to a flashmob of sorts, although the clusters of the SRVC represent mobs both far larger and more limited in their demographic heterogeneity. It is perhaps the perceived non-threatening image of this particular demographic that has facilitated the stealthy realisation of the marginal spatial practices of a large-scale social movement.

⁴⁰ Greene, "Instant City: Children's Primer," 297.

⁴¹ While not intentionally referring to the SRVC, the work of French artists Christophe Berdaguer & Marie Péjus *After...* from 2003 addresses the aging of these utopian visions by exchanging the original collaged figures on the *Instant City* project (typically young models culled from magazines of the period) with figures reflecting what their age would be 35 years later. This serves to foreground the notion that if indeed this utopia of nomadic urbanity without the city has been realized by the SRVC, it has been realized by a demographic segment (predominantly aged middle class Baby-Boomers), one entirely different from what was originally depicted and what we must assume was imagined. Without having addressed the specific economic or political conditions for such an urbanity to be realized, we can assume, from the way Archigram, and David Greene in particular wrote about this project, that it is presented as a general condition of urbanity, one not directed toward any particular demographic group.

⁴² See for example Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

PART C. CONCLUSION

1. TENDENCIES

The primary focus of this dissertation is the articulation of emerging urban phenomena resulting from a differentiated construction of contemporary old-age. Collectively, such phenomena define an urbanism that diverges considerably from popular impressions of old-age architecture and urbanism developed in recent history. These impressions have been formed most visibly in publications such as *Nueferts Architect's Data*, *The Metric Handbook* or *Architectural Graphic Standards* – each portraying typologies of architecture intended to provide ‘solutions’ to an old-age of dependence and ill-health. One of the most evident features of this divergence is a comprehensive shift in the scale of environments addressing old-age, from housing at an architectural scale, to the urban scale of the village, town and city.

To a large extent, these emerging urban phenomena are the product of demographic shifts that have taken place in the developed world in the second half of the twentieth century, which have led to the bifurcation of the conception of old-age across the fields of social history and gerontology. Whereas prior to the mid-point of the twentieth century, life stages were defined according to three phases – childhood, adulthood and old age – they would later be divided into four phases, with old-age splitting between a new Third Age, or Young-Old age of extended active leisure enjoyed in relatively good health, and a Fourth Age aligned to the dependence and decrepitude associated with traditional old age. The new Third Age or Young-Old would become a historically unprecedented demographic group produced at the intersection of the increasing dominance of the institution of retirement and the demographic transformation referred to in a variety of contexts as the *longevity revolution*, the *age wave*, or the *senior epidemic*. Rather than engaging in a discourse on impending national economic crises that such terms imply, this dissertation addresses the crisis associated with the lack of existing protocols and frameworks defining possible lifestyles and living environments of the Third Age. The latter crisis by necessity defines this group as a demographic site of experimentation – one that, by default, produces new forms of subjectivity and social collectivity, as well as new forms of urban and architectural environment.¹ The actual built examples of Third Age urbanism selected as case studies reflect the extent of this experimentation.

¹ Such a demographic event, and the resulting forms of subjectivity, collectivity and urbanism they produce, resonate with Marc Augé's description of the three dominant shifts defining the contemporary condition of supermodernity – transformations producing excesses in time, space and the ego. The acceleration of history (or the excess of time) represents the first of these categories of transformation characterized by the coexistence of four generations as a result of the extension of life expectancy; the second, the spatial shrinking of the world (or the excess of space) is a result of technological advances in transportation and communication. Here Augé refers not only to the increasing mobility of the individual, but also to the notion that “space/place itself is mobile, it becomes a form of media...” This observation is particularly relevant to the recurrence of urbanism as media in the case of the themed environments of Huis Ten Bosch, *The Villages*, and the *urbanizaciones* of Costa del Sol, as well as the literally mobile environments of the senior RV community in the US. The third transformation corresponds to an increase of

While conclusions are drawn on the urbanism, social collectivity and subjectivity of each of the case study probes within the respective chapters, this concluding section will address the case studies in collective terms. As a group, these probes delineate contemporary features of what could be referred to loosely as *Third Age urbanism*. This term is not intended to define a singular morphological or typological condition, but a range of tendencies both producing, and produced by, specific socio-demographic conditions. As the dissertation shows, these tendencies outline a mode of urbanism considerably different from that associated with the old-age of illness and disability characteristic of the first half of the twentieth century and prior; and largely expanded upon the first historical precedents realized in the United States in the post-war period.² To a great extent, this is a result of the increasing specialisation, commercialisation and corporatisation of the now massive industry of retirement urbanism – an industry estimated to be worth several billion dollars each year in the United States alone.

Of six broad tendencies of Third Age Urbanism presented here, the first three – *retirement utopia*, *age-segregation* and *private governance* – were established with the early historical examples such as Sun City and Leisure World in the 1960s. These tendencies have been further developed and refined to their contemporary state, as presented in cases such as *The Villages* of Florida, which represents the most developed contemporary progeny of Sun City. An additional set of exclusively contemporary tendencies of Third Age Urbanism will be addressed under the headings: *mobility*, *themeing* and *instrumentalisation* – terms that resonate with the broader transformations that have taken place in the developed world in the second half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first.

Retirement Utopias

The first tendency of the collective case study research, and of the historical precedents of Third Age urbanism concerns the exploitation of the concept of retirement *utopia*. As already described above, the conditions for this particular demographic group – in particular, the freedom from responsibility and the resources to enjoy that freedom – offer fertile ground for the possible realization of ideal or utopian conditions.³

individuation (or an excess of ego) – "...a crisis of collective identity bound to the decline of mega-narratives, religion, nation, class, family etc, and therefore a crisis of individual identity." Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London: Verso, 1995). As the demographic site of expanded life expectancy, mobility and individuation, there may be no collective group more emblematic of these conditions of supermodernity than the Third Age.

² Prior to the mid-point of the twentieth century, alternatives to housing the aged in the extended family home or the less common ageing in place model involved charitable or public institutions such as old-age homes. These were predominantly organised at the architectural scale and addressed dependent and inactive residents requiring care.

³ In this sense, the Third Age represents perhaps *the* ideal demographic site of utopia.

According to Italian urbanist Marco D'Eramo, the typology of the retirement community, as it has been realized at Sun City, constitutes, "one of our era's greatest (and most snubbed) social experiments [...] a social revolution."⁴ Central to this experiment is the conception of Sun City as a new form of utopian leisure society – a perfected and ideal environment devoid of the involuntary impositions of work. This led to the realization of an urban environment available to a mass audience on a full-time basis within which the pressures of work, education, and financial survival were removed, along with the discomfort of freezing winters. Other inconveniences to be eliminated would include children, high living-costs, the pollution and congestion linked with the industrial city, along with the boredom and loneliness associated with retired life.

As a form of Third Age society did not exist prior to Sun City, Youngtown and Leisure World, they were constructed and marketed according to already-known leisure utopias. In these particular cases, the utopian model of the vacation resort became the most commonly used model. As forms of leisure urbanism experienced on a temporary basis, the vacation resort typology would be reconfigured to perform as a permanent environment. In programmatic terms this translated as an abundance of infrastructure for sporting and organized leisure activities such as golf, tennis and swimming, sightseeing, hobbies and handicrafts.

Although initially conceived by Del Webb as an inexpensive lifestyle product available to the average American retiree, Sun City would still define a mode of urbanism requiring individual property ownership. In contrast to the long tradition of inclusive communal utopias, this type of retirement community may be characterized as a non-communal one – or a *privatopia* to use Evan McKenzie's term – one attempting to construct perfect and ideal conditions for a part of, rather than the whole of society.⁵ The grounds for utopia based firstly on age-exclusivity would later expand as Sun City developed further, based on income-segregation, as the Del Webb Corporation followed what they perceived as the market, focussing on supplying lifestyle products to higher income retirees.⁶

Just as was the case with the American post-war experiments, the concept of retirement utopia as an 'endless vacation' remains a central aspect of the contemporary urbanism of the Third Age. This is particularly the case in the conscious production of desire around it, which, in turn, is focused on facilitating its sale as a lifestyle product. For at least half of those

⁴ Marco D'Eramo, 'Bunkering in Paradise' in Mike Davis and Daniel Bertrand Monk (eds.), *Evil Paradises: Dreamworlds of Neo-Liberalism* (New York: The New Press, 2007). 180, 185.

⁵ See: Evan McKenzie, *Privatopia: Homeowner Associations and the Rise of Residential Private Government* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁶ See also the 'Segregation' section later in this chapter

nearing retirement in the United States for example, as described by the *2005 Del Webb Baby Boomer Survey*, there is a popularly perceived coincidence between arriving at this stage of life, and buying a new lifestyle product in the form of a new home in a new age-segregated environment.⁷ These environments are represented by their developers as utopias of voluntary leisure – in which one is able to do what one wants, where, when, how, and with whom one wants to do it. As is the case with many utopias that approach realisation – as D'Eramo also mentions – such arrangements may often be associated more closely to totalitarianism than their supporting rhetoric of freedom suggests.⁸

The production of these contemporary 'perfect' urban worlds takes place not just in programmatic and social terms, but increasingly in symbolic terms through techniques such as themeing. The utopias presented in this dissertation include experiments in urban formations approaching one or a combination of the following utopias: *solar utopias*, *vacation utopias*, *youthful utopias*, *golf utopias*, *high-culture utopias*, or *freedom or nature utopias*.

Functioning as *solar utopias* and *vacation utopias*, all four case study probes are situated along the northern line of Juan Palop-Casado's 'geometry of paradise' – two contour lines that register the earth's subtropical bands of ideal weather. The three sedentary utopias presented are based on north to south migratory practices to zones of favourable climatic conditions. Of those cases, Costa del Sol is perhaps constructed to the highest degree around the sun. It is represented both with emphasis on extending the hedonistic outdoor culture of the beach vacation to a permanent year round experience, as well as offering the climate as a therapeutic aid to common old-age illnesses such as arthritis, rheumatism and asthma. *The Villages* of Florida is also presented as a migratory destination for year-round outdoor life attracting retirees from the rest of the continental USA. Huis Ten Bosch is located on the southern-western island of Kyushu in Japan and is known for more favourable weather than the rest of the country, attracting retirees as well as visitors from the more northern cities such as Tokyo. The RV lifestyle is also represented in terms of the desire for mobility and flexibility, and the possibility to situate oneself in the most favourable climatic zone on a season-by-season basis.

The environment of *The Villages* of Florida also functions as a *youthful utopia*, in the sense that it constructs an idealized urbanism of the childhood hometown. In transporting the aged to this environment, they are able to engage in the carefree 'youthful' pursuits of sports,

⁷ Half of the older American baby boomers (aged 50-59) surveyed in 2005 indicated that they would buy a new home upon retirement. 59% of those indicated interest in an age-segregated community. Harris Interactive, *2005 Del Webb Baby Boomer Survey*. Pulte Homes, <http://library.corporate-ir.net/library/14/147/147717/items/191323/2005%20Baby%20Boomer%20Survey.pdf> (accessed July 21, 2008).

⁸ See also the 'Governance' section later in this chapter.

cheerleading, car customising as so on. This is supported to a large extent by a formal and symbolic milieu produced by the extensive and intensive themeing of the environment. Paradoxically, its performance as a youthful utopia is predicated on the elimination of the presence of youth from within its boundaries.⁹ A similar form of demographically constructed youthfulness takes place in the remaining three case studies based on limited numbers of actual youth – a condition that is a function of naturally occurring age-segregation.

Both the contemporary *urbanizaciones* of Costa del Sol, and the overall landscape of *The Villages* of Florida, function as *golf utopias* – perfected arcadian landscapes laid out on previously barren land. As a form of golf-urbanism, these sites maintain golf's symbolic association to advanced levels of social refinement, a situation linked also to the perception of a non-productive, expensive, and therefore luxurious pursuit of perfecting performance with club and ball.

Huis Ten Bosch provides another case of a utopia tied to a form of social refinement, in this case functioning as a *utopia of* (exotic European) *high culture* experienced from the point of view of the Japanese retiree. This transforms the temporary Japanese vacation to sites of European culture toward a permanent and year-round experience, producing a utopia functioning both symbolically and performatively. In symbolic terms this is based on a representational construct of exoticism, while in performative terms this is centred on the provision of an alternate set of programmatic and spatial experiences uncommon to the contemporary Japanese city.

Additionally, the senior RV community in the United States functions as a dual utopia, both a *utopia of freedom*, and a *nature utopia*. This is to a large extent a product of the myth and idealisation of the American highway and the American frontier wilderness – both linked closely to the settling of the United States.

The broad term *utopia* implies by definition the formation of new forms of society. As suggested by D'Eramo, the radical extent of such forms of retirement community are remarkable precisely because of their unprecedented age-exclusivity. In other words, D'Eramo's concern regarding Sun City, and age-segregated communities like it, is based on questioning whether such an exclusive vision of society constitutes a desirable or viable utopia, a supposedly ideal and perfect place or state where everyone lives in harmony and everything is 'for the best.' In this context, the reality that millions of retirees around the world

⁹ This is tied also to a utopia of friendliness promoted at The Villages in terms of "Florida's Friendliest Hometown."

consciously choose to spatially secede from the rest of society to achieve the ideal lifestyle is significant.

As these particular visions of retirement utopias are realized according to increasingly sophisticated techniques (see the sections on 'Mobility', 'Instrumentalisation', and 'Themeing' later in this chapter); at the same time they envision an increasingly banal, commercial and individualistic framework for the ideal society of the Third Age. In the least flattering light, this represents the reduction of the critical power of utopia to the individual accumulation of leisure amenities and leisure experiences. Such an assessment may, to a large extent, be a function of the individualized utopian ambitions of the modern vacation resort – which are tied predominantly to the achievement of personal, often hedonistic, fulfilment as a form of consumption and escape from everyday life.¹⁰ Just as Laslett criticises the indolence and social irresponsibility of the model of tourism applied to the Third Age; Neugarten asks, "Will [the Young-Old] experiment with what some observers would call their truly human condition – the condition of freedom from work and freedom from want? [...] With their relative good health, education, purchasing power, free time and political involvement, they are not likely to become the neglected, the isolated or the expendables of the society. Will they, instead, become the social contributors, as well as the self-fulfilled?"¹¹ Such questioning is applicable in the contemporary context – particularly as retirement utopias based purely on leisure-centred self-fulfilment become increasingly prevalent – and in light of the vast amount of experience and expertise being decommissioned by the age of sixty or sixty-five that could provide a range of positive inputs for society.¹² Apart from the basic question of how such a large population of pension-drawing retirees can be sustained by fewer and fewer workers, further questions are being addressed as to how fulfilling such a lifestyle of pure leisure and consumption can be.

The utopian possibilities of retirement lifestyles appear to play out more effectively when the scripts of the master-planner, themeing consultant, marketer or events coordinator, break down. Examples that challenge the banality or self-fulfilment focus of the existing utopias are most commonly located at the margins or are identified as accidents. The dominance of the model of the leisure utopia of retirement is being challenged by a number of residents at *The Villages* of Florida for example, where, due to the scale of the age-segregated leisure town

¹⁰ While the vacation was also meant to have recuperative qualities for the workforce, the additional recuperative capacity supplied by the last eighteen years of a twenty year vacation may be questionable in many cases.

¹¹ Bernice Neugarten, 'The Young-Old and the Age-Irrelevant Society' in Bernice Levin Neugarten and Dail Neugarten, *The Meanings of Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), 45-46.

¹² In looking to the future, it appears that the broad impression of retirement as the utopia of leisure is being challenged – just as it took several decades for retirement to be accepted socially.

and due to its relative isolation from supporting urban areas, residents are filling the majority of job vacancies – many of whom are in the midst of developing second ‘hobby-careers.’¹³

Utopian lifestyles constructed around alternate forms of social interaction have also emerged in sites such as the nudist colony of Costa Natura on Costa del Sol, or the online RV Swingers Club that coordinates various events and meetings around the US. For certain residents at Huis Ten Bosch, the utopia of living in Japan as a Japanese tourist to the Netherlands translates not only into living in a town that looks Dutch, but also articulating an altered set of relationships amongst one another, in turn, defining social conditions quite different from the norms of Japanese society. One example of this is the suspension of the social obligation to accept all invitations from neighbours. Such moments reinforce the potential emancipatory possibilities of the urban experiments of the Third Age – suggesting a demographic Petri-dish allowing for the reinvention and restaging of old-age, in a manner not entirely dissimilar to some of the procedural operations of Berthold Brecht’s epic-theatre.

Age-Segregation

Common to the historical examples of the American post-war retirement community, as well as the contemporary case studies presented here, is the dominance of *age-segregation* in the delivery of lifestyle products – and its corresponding application through the logics of demographic and market segmentation. In several ways, age-segregation has been one of the key elements in the realization of retirement-utopias – resonating with the process Mumford perceptively identified in the late 1950s as the “specialization, mechanization, institutionalization” of old age.¹⁴ The historically unparalleled nature of such an approach to urban-segregation by age is emphasised by D’Eramo who suggests that: “Throughout human history, none of the world’s civilizations could have imagined that the old should be confined separately. [...] No one could have imagined that [...] the elderly *would aspire to segregate themselves* from the rest of society.”¹⁵

The arrival of age-segregation at the end of the 1950s would occur at a moment when the emergence of a market consisting of a sufficiently large group of new consumers (the Third Age) with specific requirements distinct from those of other life phases, intersected with an emerging form of supplier, one existing at a large enough size to build urban-scaled environments, and supported by a new understanding of the demographic composition,

¹³ The spontaneous volunteer activities offered by online RV communities to drive to the area of devastation left by Hurricane Katrina is another example of an alternate vision of retirement.

¹⁴ Lewis Mumford, “For Older People – Not Segregation But Integration,” *Architectural Record* (May 1956): 192.

¹⁵ D’Eramo, “Bunkering in Paradise,” 185-186.

needs and preferences of that group. In this context, the emergence of age-segregation on a large scale would coincide with one of the first systematic deployments of techniques of demographic-segmentation in the development of what would become Sun City.¹⁶ The Del E. Webb Corporation was one of the main innovators in the use of survey techniques to define the specific needs and desires of new retirees, and in so doing, defined a new market segment for housing, and the necessary amenities associated with it.

Age-segregation would evolve to become an increasingly refined tool to spatially concentrate demographic- and market-segments. The advantages of these particular practices have been clearly identified by American gerontologist and geographer Stephen Goland, among others, in describing the clustering of large numbers of similar consumers with similar demands, that in turn produce "...certain economies of scale whereby goods and services can be delivered more effectively and efficiently, at lower average costs."¹⁷ In the case of Sun City, this resulting demographic density allows, according to D'Eramo, for the reconciliation of two normally irreconcilable situations: "low suburban density and the abundant services typical of cities."¹⁸

While the early experiments of Youngtown, Sun City and Leisure World represent the first crude attempts at an age-segregated vision of retirement, the contemporary realizations of (Third-)age-segregated urbanism have become both more sophisticated and more ubiquitous. Of the contemporary case studies presented in this dissertation, the instruments that legally enforce age-segregation at The Villages *covenants, codes, and restrictions* (CC&Rs) remain more or less the same as they were at Sun City in the early 1960s; while the tools and strategies around the activity of market-segmentation developed considerably. This is reinforced by the fact that the two remaining sedentary communities addressed in the dissertation (the *Urbanizaciones* of Costa del Sol and the Wassenaar development of Huis Ten Bosch) are not age-segmented in legal terms, but have nevertheless evolved to be age-segmented. This is a result of being tailored precisely to the Third Age in their design and marketing as lifestyle-products, that they are purchased largely by that demographic group. In this sense, they may be classified as *naturally occurring retirement communities* (NORCs.) The physical aspect of segregation has also been reinforced through the expansion of walling, gating, and other security systems evident at Huis Ten Bosch, *The Villages* and at the *urbanizaciones* of Costa del Sol.

¹⁶ While the discipline of *demography* may be framed as the broad study of human population, its structure and change; the more recent discipline of *demographics* is preoccupied with the examination of population characteristics – including age, gender, race, education, and disposable income – as they are deployed predominantly in marketing-related activities such as demographic profiling and market segmentation.

¹⁷ Stephen Golant, "In Defense of Age-Segregated Housing," *Aging* 348 (1985): 22–26.

¹⁸ D'Eramo, "Bunkering in Paradise," 180.

Both the contemporary and mid-century cases mentioned above demonstrate that by concentrating one single demographic group within a large area, it is possible to support a density of Third Age peer-based social interaction, and to deliver the density of amenities specific to the Third Age, while maintaining a low (ex-/sub-) urban density. For suppliers such as DEVCO at Sun City and the Morse family at *The Villages*, the reconciliation of these typically contradictory conditions has been highly profitable. And for consumers, such products have become highly desirable – if one is to believe that the majority of empirical surveys are correct – allowing those capable of paying for such privatized lifestyles to enjoy happier, less socially isolated, more fulfilled, active and longer lives than their peers.¹⁹

This conventional win-win narrative of age-segregation – happy retirees and profit-making developers – has been challenged by a number of sociologists, urbanists, and historians from a broader societal perspective. The critiques of Mumford, Mead, D'Eramo and Blechman explore the perceived losses that take the form of 'societal distortion' and social and fiscal inequity. The American writer Bill Bishop, for example, in his 2008 publication *The Big Sort*, describes the problematic implications of an increasingly sorted and segregated American society, one based on "finding cultural comfort in 'people like us,' we have migrated into ever-narrower communities and churches and political groups. [...] Now more isolated than ever in our private lives, cocooned with our fellows, we approach public life with the sensibility of customers who are always right."²⁰

The theme of segregation is of course not specific to the retirement community. It is of particular concern regarding the more common phenomenon of gated communities, where segregation has functioned along two primary axes: wealth and race. However, by adding a third axis, that of age, a further mode of segregation has been added. One representing, according to D'Eramo "...a double utopia: the proprietary utopia of the private town on one hand; the self-segregating utopia of the retirement community on the other – a threefold order of wealth, race, and age. A utopia of clean streets free of the clamor of cackling kids, where it never rains."²¹

A further critique of age-segregation addresses the rupture that it constructs in the transition from one life phase to another. While the transition from the second phase of adulthood to

¹⁹ See for example: Michael Hunt et al., *Retirement Communities: An American Original* (New York: The Harworth Press, 1984), 2; where a considerable list of social-science research is listed describing the positive experience of such communities by residents.

²⁰ Bill Bishop, *The Big Sort: Why the Clustering of Like-Minded America is Tearing Us Apart* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2008), 302-303.

²¹ D'Eramo, "Bunkering in Paradise," 187-188.

the third phase of the Young-Old is presented as a positive one associated with emancipation, freedom and experimentation, the transition from the third to the fourth phase is perceived in strongly negative terms. The denial of the presence of the decline of the Fourth Age is a recurring theme in the various urban case studies of the Third Age – evident for example in the non-existence of a cemetery in *The Villages*, and the resistance for several years on the part of its developers to constructing assisted care facilities.

The counter arguments to age-segregation described above extend to the notion that the costs associated with this situation are largely assumed by other sectors of society, or society as a whole; such as the environmental costs of unsustainable low-density land development; and other costs associated with a form of societal fracturing across generational lines. This fracturing refers not only to the social and spatial isolation of large numbers of the Third Age from other generations, but also to the fracturing of the inter-generational pact at an economic level. This is most evident in community-wide decisions to intentionally opt out of support for communal services that Third Age residents do not personally benefit from. At *The Villages*, this includes property taxes to support local schools, kindergartens or maternity hospitals. The implication of such practices is that in their current format these communities may be considered, to varying degrees, as ecologically, socially and economically unsustainable.

While the call to redress the inter-generational fracturing evident in retirement communities such as *The Villages* has focused on supporting strategies such as ‘ageing-in-place,’ one of the primary difficulties of this approach is that the density of the Third Age demographic in most (sub-/ex-)urban environments in which ageing-in-place occurs is insufficient to support the level of amenities and social interaction anywhere near that of the sedentary Third Age case studies addressed here.²² Other critics of age-segregated retirement communities have instead proposed the mixed-use and mixed-generational approach of New Urbanism as the ideal model. However, apart from the inability for this movement to realise its stated ambitions toward mixed-use and inter-generational urbanity, new-urbanist strategies lack the tools necessary to address the altered programmatic requirements for an urbanism that caters to the Third Age as well as the First, Second and Fourth. A further limitation in realising ambitions for precise and ‘equitable’ inter-generational mixtures in urban settings is the fact that as residents age within their homes, and as residents move out or pass away, the age composition of specific urban areas changes over time. An urban area planned as an inter-generational one can change considerably within a time period of twenty years. Further

²² Most NGOs associated with ageing such as the Age Concern, AARP and WHO propose models of urban integration, the most common of which is Ageing in Place as the ideal scenario. It is important to note that none of these organizations propose a return to the three generational family.

strategies such as imposing age controls on housing units to maintain the 'desirable' intergenerational mix are understandably unpopular as they are seen to force residents out of homes they become attached to over time.

In light of such a broad range of critiques against age-segregation, one possible approach involves maintaining the demographic density of the Third Age as well as the social interaction and amenities supporting it, (as presented in the age-segregated communities such as *The Villages* or Huis Ten Bosch), but doing so within an age-integrated setting. Integrating such a high level of Third Age demographic- and amenity-density into a multi-generational urban context would necessitate further investigations into how the innovations of Third Age urbanism presented here may be adapted to higher density urban environments suited to being co-populated by residents of other generations.²³

Beyond the reflections on age-segregation and demographic density attached to the examples of sedentary urbanism above, the senior Recreational Vehicle community, as a nomadic form of urbanism, defines an alternative framework with which to engage these issues. While functioning also as a more or less *naturally occurring retirement community*, the mobility and flexibility of this type of urbanism allows for the staging of radically different demographic- and built-densities that provide an interesting challenge to the typical spatial correlations of age-segmentation.²⁴

Private Governance

Emerging forms of *private governance* represent a third tendency that may be identified within Third Age Urbanism – one that facilitates expanded control over privately developed lifestyle products on the part of the developer, and in limited cases, the resident. Three of the historical precedents of Third Age urbanism along with three of the four contemporary case studies presented here, have been developed in this manner – as master-planned communities realised and to a certain extent governed by private developers. Within this framework, the objectives of the developer contrast considerably to those of public sector housing development. Whereas the latter focuses upon addressing basic housing needs, the former is directed toward the primary goal of profit maximisation. In the case of Third Age

²³ This approach may be more clearly presented in terms of a discussion of demographic composition per square kilometre. If Sun City, Arizona, for example, functions with just over one thousand Third Agers per square kilometre, the urban planning and design challenge would involve adding the corresponding proportion of First, Second and Fourth Agers (based on a typical population pyramid) to that square kilometre. This would mean adapting Sun City's Third Age leisure infrastructure within that one square kilometre to also accommodate approximately fifteen hundred Second Agers, eight hundred First Agers and two hundred Fourth Agers for example. In these terms, the selected Third Age case studies would provide a starting point to discuss viable demographic densities and their corresponding infrastructures.

²⁴ This will be discussed further under the 'Mobility' section.

urbanism, the dominance of private development has led largely to the realisation of age-segregated urban and architectural environments conceived of as lifestyle products – ones tailored to the desires of a particular demographic group.

From the historical precedents of Third Age urbanism, the *common-interest housing development* (or CID) has become the dominant framework of private governance. Within the CID, the specific legal instruments by which age-segregation has been enforced have been CC&Rs. In addition to enforcing age-segregation, CC&Rs outline acceptable and unacceptable aesthetic practices and behaviour – maintaining what D’Ermo refers to as a “totality of control and the absence of individuality” resulting from the enforcement of rules by the ‘parliaments’ of these private cities (the Homeowner’s Associations.)²⁵

In many cases it is this level of control that attracts retirees to this kind of development. In fact, in the case of Leisure World, it was precisely the threat of losing control that triggered its eventual incorporation as Laguna Woods – allowing it to become the first private incorporated urban entity in which the elderly stand as the only “fully constitutional political subject[s].”²⁶ This development toward Third Age self-rule – reaching its climax at Laguna Woods – would outline a full set of legal instruments with which a municipality could operate with complete self-interest toward a single demographic group. By doing so, this would define a precedent for an entirely altered conception of ‘the civic’ and ‘the civic subject.’ The most obvious implications of this, as suggested above, include the conscious abstinence of Third Age tax-payers from supporting community-wide services such as child-care and schools.

Contemporary Third Age urbanism in particular – which has been dominated by private sector developers – is a site of additional innovative forms of private governance. In further refining lifestyle products for the Third Age, and in the ongoing quest for profit maximisation on the part of developers, many development activities have actively engaged with the frontiers of legality. In doing so, these cases have highlighted the vulnerability of those in the Third Age to products misrepresented with great virtuosity as utopias.

Through its exploitation of Florida State’s Community Development District (CDD) laws, *The Villages* of Florida represents one of the most extreme contemporary forms of private

²⁵ D’Ermo, “Bunkering in Paradise,” 184. This form of control would play a central role, on the part of residents, in guaranteeing the maintenance of property value.

²⁶ D’Ermo, “Bunkering in Paradise,” 187-88.

governance for the Third Age.²⁷ *The Villages* has produced a new scale of private government that is extraordinary in its consolidation of power and profitability. Such a consolidation has seen the coincidence on the one hand of a resident perceived egalitarianism and pseudo collectivism, while on the other, a developer-constructed autocracy on a large scale. As the construction of CDDs are completed by the developer, the residents obtain private control – and supposed self-governance – over them. Based however on the Morse family's manipulation of the legal framework of the CDD, the residents inherit debt-ridden facilities that they are forced to pay off over time. Costa Del Sol in Spain represents a similarly problematic form of governance based on frontier formats of public-private corruption in the name of profit maximisation through misappropriation. This has produced large numbers of victims in the form of Third Age residents who purchased properties that turned out to have been illegally built on protected waterfront.

While these urban developments are products of the supposedly efficient, objective and indifferent mechanisms of the market, they are entwined with all of the paradoxes and inconsistencies that mark neo-liberal urban development practices. Such practices in this case see the elaborate staging of retirement paradises for those capable of paying for it, by those most interested in profiting from it. As a result, the innovations and advantages of such lifestyles are enjoyed by a limited few. Such a situation raises the question as to how such advantageous amenity-laden environments could be publicly accessible rather than only privately accessible.

In contrast to the conventional top-down master-planned communities of the other contemporary and historical case studies, the senior RV community represents an alternate *informal* mode of private governance – one produced in bottom-up terms. As an informal and distributed field – one as physically dispersed as it is socially coherent – the senior RV community defines a horizontal organization capable of squatting unused urban sites and of realizing instant cities consisting of hundreds of thousands of RVers. This allows for a flexibility and speed of decision-making best illustrated in the senior RV community's rebuilding efforts in and around New Orleans immediately after Hurricane Katrina in 2005.

Mobility

The first of a series of tendencies exhibited mostly in the contemporary urban case studies examined here is the realization of Third Age individuals, social groups and environments in

²⁷ In parallel to this, the further refinement and extension of CC&Rs has been effective in advancing the homogenization of a resident population across D'Ermo's three axes of wealth, race and age.

various expanded states of *mobility*. As a recently formed phase of life defined by freedom from a set of responsibilities that are largely place-specific, the Third Age is entwined with the theme of mobility by definition. Such an observation aligns closely to what Augé refers to as the contemporary “excess of space,” or the spatial shrinking of the world due to technological advances in transportation and communication.²⁸ Here, Augé refers not only to the concept of the increasingly mobile individual – to whom it is necessary to add the category of mobile forms of social collectivity – but also to the fact that “space/place itself is mobile, [...] becom[ing] a form of media.”²⁹

Each of the four contemporary urban case studies presents strong evidence of broadened states of mobility. The first three sedentary case studies – *The Villages*, the *urbanizaciones* of Costa del Sol, and Huis Ten Bosch – present a north-south migratory model that marks the coincidence of the arrival of retirement age with the onset of expanded personal mobility. This form of Third Age mobility also functions in collective terms. In the case of the *urbanizaciones* of Costa del Sol, collective cultures are physically transported from their country of origin to form micro-British and micro-German diasporas in the south of Spain. Huis Ten Bosch engages in a similar form of collective mobility by concentrating retirement migrants from all over Japan, and allowing them to collectively experience a permanent vacation in an ‘almost-Netherlands’ without ever leaving the southern island of Kyushu.

Distinct from the migratory model described above, the senior RV community produces a literal form of nomadic mobility with the onset of retirement. This type of mobility applies to both the roaming individual or married couple; and to the large satellite internet-coordinated groups of retirees capable of producing instant cities with short notice in various parts of the country.³⁰

The second key aspect of Augé’s thesis described above – the mobility of space/place as a form of media – is an increasingly prominent feature of Third Age urbanism. This is illustrated most vividly in the mobility of Dutch urbanscapes that are teleported to Huis Ten Bosch in the

²⁸ Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London: Verso, 1995), 16.

²⁹ Augé, *Non-Places*, 16.

³⁰ A further area of discussion concerning mobility involves a more literal interpretation: specifically, the question of urban transportation. The golf-cart transportation infrastructure developed at The Villages represents one of the most remarkable developments in terms of configuring and realizing an alternate means of vehicular mobility within the automobile-dominated environment of the United States. As golf carts do not require a driver’s license to operate, they may be used by elderly persons not able to keep their licenses. This system of infrastructure could potentially address how existing (ex-/sub-)urban environments – which are based almost entirely upon the mobility of the private automobile – could accommodate a rapidly ageing population lacking drivers licenses or the confidence to drive. Further explorations, involving the misuse or decontextualization of this form of innovation also offer the possibility to challenge the elitist associations of the golf-cart. What would be the potential to retirement urbanism, or urbanism in general if the golf cart and its infrastructure would be taken out of the context of the gated enclave or the low-density development, or the specific climatic, cultural and political conditions of this region of the US? This could define further experiments in the retrofitting of existing urban and peri-urban environments with prosthetic infrastructures, or the potential to develop new alternative forms of urban space from the starting point of altered mobility.

south of Japan. This teleportation functions in a literal, material sense, (in terms of containers of Dutch bricks); as well as through the mediatized image-architecture that matches representations of the Netherlands in Japanese travel brochures. The transportation of British culture to the *urbanizaciones* of Costa del Sol functions most explicitly in the pub interiors and in the leisure landscapes of lawn bowls and cricket pitches. *The Villages* also produces a form of mediatised urban architecture dedicated to the construction of the resident's childhood hometown of the early twentieth century. Here *The Villages* constructs a type of temporal- as well as spatial mobility – one with the obvious precedent of Disney's Main Street USA, transported from turn of the twentieth century Marceline, Missouri to mid-century Anaheim, California.

Such a comprehensive deployment of various forms of mobility in the Third Age points to a reconceptualisation of notions such as 'home', 'place', and 'identity' – concepts conventionally linked to stasis or immobility. Counts and Counts for example describe the life-perspectives of senior RVers suffering from what they refer to as 'trailer-itch' – a form of nomadic restlessness that may best be conceptualized as the opposite of homesickness. Similarly, Huber and O'Reilly document the reconfiguration of the notion of '*heimat*' or 'home' amongst International Retirement Migrants on the coast of Spain – where 'home' reaches an alternate level of abstraction that transcends historical constructions of place.

A further effect of the prevalence of mobility across these case studies is a blurring of the roles, activities and supporting infrastructures between those associated with the mobile realms of tourism, migration, and nomadism, and those associated with the traditionally immobile realm of retirement. With each case study employing a variation of the logic of 'retirement as endless vacation,' the mobility associated with the vacation, and the potential opportunities it suggests (in terms of climatic favourability, lower costs of living and so forth) becomes available as a full-time lifestyle product for the Third Age. This is reinforced by the intersection of Juan Palop-Casado's 'geometry of paradise' as a map of climatically ideal tourist destinations, with the dominant international retirement destinations it inadvertently describes. Such widespread flows of Third Age subjects, collective groups, architectures and urbanisms reinforce the ongoing process of retirement's globalisation.

Themeing

The increasing influence of the entertainment-industrial complex on Third Age urbanism represents an extension of the mobility of space/place as a form of media described above.

This point is reinforced by the deployment of *themeing* in all three of the contemporary sedentary case studies.

In this context, the term *themeing* not only refers to forms of representational architecture, urban or landscape design, but also to the scripting of performative narratives in time and space. Within this schema, retirement is increasingly understood by developers and designers as a problem of leisure-time utilization – one capable of being solved according to an entertainment paradigm. Such permanent urban entertainment environments correspond to an affirmation of both activity and disengagement theories – facilitating the consumption of leisure-time through a variety of scripted events that replicate the density of the activity structure of work, while at the same time doing so in an environment artificially disconnected from the milieus of the first and second ages. In this sense these environments are realized as sites of what Bob Somol refers to as ‘total design’ or ‘comprehensive design’ – ones that operate as enclosed, internally consistent worlds in which design colonizes the spatial and temporal realms: from urban spaces, architecture, furniture, objects, vehicles, and clothing, to the activities and events that take place within and around them.

Just as themeing provides an infrastructure supporting the consumption of leisure-time and leisure-space, it is necessary to emphasise the central role themeing plays in the marketing, branding and differentiation of these lifestyle products to targeted clusters of consumers. In this way, the themed environment may be understood, according to the American sociologist Mark Gottdiener as “a tool exploited in business competition or place competition, rather than a symbolic milieu constructed for its own sake.”³¹

Conceived of by its developer as a “Disneyworld for active retirees,” *The Villages* is planned by theme park designers to temporally and spatially transport residents to their childhood hometowns. The extensive range of events choreographed within *The Villages* contributes to this total themed environment. The most intensively themed spaces of *The Villages*, the downtowns, are designed not only to function as entertainment and leisure centres, but as a ‘lively and fun’ extension of the choreographed sales centre experiences.³² While *The Villages* may be categorized as a themed retirement community, Huis Ten Bosch – as a large-scale cultural theme park with an integrated retirement community – represents the most palpable example of the intersection of the entertainment-industrial complex and the realm of retirement. This reflects both the demographic transformation of the target-audience of the theme park, and the increasingly common developer approach to the Third Age as a

³¹ Mark Gottdiener, *The Themeing of America: American Dreams, Media Fantasies, and Themed Environments* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001), 10.

³² It is not by coincidence that the sales centres are the largest and most present buildings at each of the downtown squares.

demographic group centred around the problem of entertainment consumption. Operating on an *urbanizacion* by *urbanizacion* basis, the Pueblo Mediterraneo style of the *urbanizaciones* of Costa del Sol plays a central role in constructing a form of themed exotic lifestyle product for British and German retirement migrants.

Such a tendency toward the themeing of Third Age environments poses several concerns. As one of the most outspoken critics of the expansion of this phenomenon in the everyday spaces of urbanism, American architect and urbanist Michael Sorkin is critical of the level of control, and the corresponding closure of imagination resulting from themeing, along with the questions of whom it is controlled by and for what purposes. For Sorkin, one of the most threatening aspects of these environments "...is that the producers of themes exercise a hegemony over the structures of fantasy in our culture. [...] theme parks are an operation aimed at narrowing, reducing, marginalizing, and delimiting the fantasies acceptable within our culture."³³ In the case of *The Villages* for example, the Morse family's total control over the content of the themed environments results in narratives that are highly specific and loaded with particular biases.

Of similar concern to Sorkin's is the tendency of themeing to transform the logic of urban environments according to that of the shopping mall – corresponding to "...the notion that the city is a phenomenon of pure exchange," articulating a completely privatized urbanism that further reduces the public sphere.³⁴ Such constraints are also enforced in places such as *The Villages* where the developer maintains an extreme level of control over what forms of collective action may take place within its boundaries.

In some cases however, the deployment of themeing within Third Age lifestyle products problematises aspects of Sorkin's critique of themeing. Two components of his critique will be addressed here: firstly, the danger themeing poses to the critical value of utopia; and secondly, the disengagement of space and time that themeing produces. According to Sorkin, in addressing the former:

"The theme park is a direct assault on the historical view of utopia as a privileged site for research into the way in which the physical form of the city embodies a set or a prospective set of democratic social relationships. In the theme park all the images and relationships are presented in an uncritical way: the relationships are pre-digested, they are wrested from their original contexts and they are without any kind of social dynamism, which is crucial to any notion of what it means to think in a utopian way. For a constructor of theme parks utopia is an idea that has always already existed, and this is an assault on the idea that it is a form of

³³ Michael Sorkin, "The Themeing of the City," *Lotus International*, no.109 (2001): 16.

³⁴ Sorkin, "The Themeing of the City," 17. Sorkin refers in particular to the sacrificing of rights in places like Disneyland where free speech is suspended and demonstrations are not allowed.

speculation about the future. Urbanism is a speculative practice and is founded on the belief that we have not already invented all the satisfactory forms of social relations, that new possibilities give rise to the possibility of new possibilities. The theme park is diametrically opposed to the idea that there should be any new possibilities: from its perspective there is only a recombination of possibilities that have already been discovered.”³⁵

It is difficult to dispute Sorkin’s position on the threat that themed environments pose to the critical value of utopia, particularly as the physical form of *The Villages* and Huis Ten Bosch is so closely based on historically known images of urbanity, and such images are deployed in a largely uncritical way. However, what is interesting about such urban arrangements – following on from the discussion of D’Eramo on the radicality of Sun City as a form of utopian social experiment – is the radical reconfiguration of programs and inhabitants applied to such environments. In the case of *The Villages* for example, this is based on a single highly focused user-group exclusively focused on leisure pursuits, compared to the original mixed users and programs of small-town America that the themed environments are based on. Here, such a re-inhabitation and reprogramming generates multiple uncertainties – mostly at the level of social organization. Outcomes such as the artificially constructed hyper-friendliness (most of the inhabitants do not actually know one another) supported by the total themed environment of ‘Florida’s Friendliest Hometown’ oscillates between what is for some a social utopia, and for others a form of science fiction dystopia. Nevertheless, it is challenging to argue that such an urban setting is devoid of social dynamism.

Sorkin criticises themeing and the theme park “...with its works of architecture or special structures drawn from any time in the past, [which] is a great danger to a stable understanding of our own relationship to temporality. So one of the risks of these places lies in the creation of a kind of mystifying and forced temporality.”³⁶ In the cases of *The Villages*, and Huis Ten Bosch it is precisely the disengagement of space and time produced by themeing that is deployed for instrumental effect. At *The Villages*, the childhood hometown theme offers the possibility for the resident to occupy a temporal gap between old age and youth, a gap that supports a range of activities from cheerleading and golf-cart customizing to competitive (senior) athletics. In the case of Huis Ten Bosch, the Dutch theme allows the opportunity for residents to occupy their own positions in the gap spatially and performatively between the role of Japanese tourist in The Netherlands, and Japanese resident in Japan. As described above, for many residents, this ambiguity opens emancipatory possibilities to construct alternate identities and lifestyle realities, illustrated by the pleasure of Huis Ten Bosch residents in their ability to reconfigure what many describe as the overbearing obligation in Japanese society to accept social invitations from neighbors.

³⁵ Sorkin, “The Themeing of the City,” 16.

³⁶ Sorkin, “The Themeing of the City,” 15.

Likewise, the artificial ageing of the themed environments of *The Villages* and Huis Ten Bosch constructs a fixed temporal milieu that resists the experience of time passing. As the environment of 'total design' is already pre-aged, there is no sense of it ageing further or going 'out of fashion', and therefore little perception of one's self ageing or growing older in relation to it. Such environments undoubtedly produce the destabilisation of one's relationship to temporality that Sorkin alerts to. The resulting temporal construction directly addresses the desires of the Third Age to escape the reality of the inevitable onset of the Fourth Age and death – an individualised construction representing a possible threat to notions of a collective societal reality.

Beyond the relevant critiques of themeing addressed above, there are several positive qualities of themeing and theme parks identified by Sorkin that are applicable to the permanent residential environments of retirement. These include: firstly, the possibility of the theme park as an environment to support the formation of identity and legibility of 'special places' similar to what takes place in the formation of a neighbourhood identity; secondly, the fact that themeing supports a certain license to experiment as "...laboratories or privileged sites for the invention of special forms...";³⁷ and lastly, the fact that themed environments actively engage with elements of pleasure and play.

These positive qualities, together with those elements of critique problematised at *The Villages* and Huis Ten Bosch suggest a broader and perhaps more nuanced interpretation of themeing in such environments – defining a view of the themed environments such as *The Villages* and Huis Ten Bosch as artificial performative milieus for actively restaging subjectivity and collectivity – a simultaneously escapist and emancipatory project taking place within a site of exclusion and control.

Instrumentalisation

The last tendency identified here is a broad one, and may be described as the increasing *instrumentalisation* of urbanism toward the precise objectives of the Third Age. This is linked to some of those tendencies described above, such as *themeing*, which represents one of the central strategies in contemporary Third Age urbanism. Such an increasing level of instrumentality may be provisionally described through a catalogue of what could be referred

³⁷ Sorkin, "The Themeing of the City," 9.

to as *geron-technologies*³⁸ – a series of concepts, devices and instruments deployed toward the specific ends of the Young-Old.

At *The Villages* for example, *geron-technologies* may be understood as an umbrella term for a series of urban devices and concepts that function in instrumental terms, such as: the deployment of golf cart infrastructure to support alternate forms of mobility for those without licenses or those exhausted from a life of automobile commuting; the development of an alternate urban typology of the ‘strip hospital,’ which challenges the negative association of the hospital as a singular architectural icon; and the creative ‘scaling’ of the urban realm between the demographic density and event structure of a city, and the staged intimacy of a village. The elaborate themed environments and temporal programming function as equally important *geron-technologies* at *The Villages*. This is particularly the case concerning their instrumental disciplining of time – both in the sense of the extensive range of ‘home-town’ leisure programming which on a weekly basis uses up and therefore controls immediate time; as well as the technique of themeing-out contemporary time in favour of a type of ‘timeless’ extended historical time. Whereas the former speeds up immediate time based on the desire to evade boredom, the latter slows down longer time periods in denial of the approaching onset of the Fourth Age and mortality.

As a themed environment, Huis Ten Bosch operates in similarly instrumental terms as *The Villages*. As a typological construction it integrates the rationale of the theme park and retirement community by addressing both demographic shifts in the theme park market leading to higher demands for cultural programming, and the potential for the theme park to provide temporal and spatial structures to support the consumption of leisure time and the elimination of boredom.

The *urbanizaciones* of Costa Del Sol function as a set of culturally-specific neo-colonial retirement protocols capable of reducing social and cultural alienation through the clustering of foreign individuals and groups of common nationalities. As a form of *geron-technology*, this basic set of protocols is capable of redeployment according to a range of variables, from economic fluctuation to the changing borders of regional alliances.

The American senior RV community may be framed as a *geron-technology* capable of producing a highly flexible, spatially dispersed but socially coherent form of network urbanism. Supported by both physical and non-physical infrastructures, it offers accessibility to a range of landscapes, climates, social interactions and possible urban formations. In

³⁸ The term ‘Technologies’ is understood in its broadest terms here.

doing so, it allows for a way of life formed from the collision of the most urban and the most anti-urban of conditions, in which desirable aspects of the urban environment are curated together with those of the 'natural' environment.

2. SUMMATION

The range of urban tendencies presented here may be understood as being both produced by – and in some situations the producers of – specific socio-demographic conditions of the Third Age.³⁹ What is perhaps most evident is the development of relatively new forms of urbanism in relation to the recent emergence of a new phase of life – a life phase positioned at the intersection of demographic ageing and retirement. These urban formats are also strongly influenced by a range of contemporary conditions, from globalisation and neo-liberalism to individualisation.

The urban experiments investigated here draw the outer contours of what may be described as *Third Age urbanism*. As a large societal group – one that has achieved the modern dream of a life of leisure – the late-freedom of the Third Age translates into urban formats that, by necessity, engage in *utopian* aspirations. Whether as utopias of permanent vacation, high culture or endless youth, these urban formats are formed largely through the mechanisms of formal or informal *age-segregation*. *Age-segregation* has been employed by private developers as a means by which to more efficiently and profitably deliver demographic-specific goods and services. Such a model also sets up the conditions for contained micro-cultures of youthfulness, which are paradoxically predicated on the elimination of youth. The increasing prevalence of age-segregated environments for the Third Age does however raise important concerns over the future of age-integrated societies, and of the future of the ‘generational contract.’

Rather than conforming to the most common category of utopia – that of communality – these formats of Third Age urbanism operate largely as *privatised* utopias of individualisation and self-fulfilment. Master-planned and developed largely by private corporations with the dominant goal of profit maximisation, these housing and amenity packages are conceived of and marketed as lifestyle products tailored specifically to the demographic profile of the Third Age. While being self-represented by developers as urban formats functioning according to the fair and objective mechanisms of the market, offering subsequent forms of private self-governance and self-determination, the majority of the case studies present situations quite to the contrary of such idealised aspirations.

Third Age urbanism engages directly in themes of *mobility*. To a large extent, this is a product of the freedom of the Third Age from the responsibilities of the First, Second and

³⁹ Due to the complex nature of their entwinement, the project of separating cause from effect – between modes of subjectivity and social collectivity on the one hand, and urban environments on the other – is not a focus of the dissertation.

Fourth Ages – responsibilities that are conventionally fixed to place. Also important to the expanding realisation of Third Age mobility is the emergence of inexpensive transportation and communication technologies; and the increasing prevalence with which architecture and urbanism is itself conceived of as a form of mobile media. As a result, the Third Age urban formats investigated here reinforce the production of mobile forms of subjectivity such as the endless vacationer, the migrant, or the leisure nomad, in parallel to the development of urban environments that are transported – either literally or metaphorically – from distant locations. This media-based conception of architecture and urbanism is increasingly realised in environments for the Third Age through techniques developed by the entertainment-industrial complex such as *themeing*. This particular conception of urbanism – framed in terms of entertainment – coincides with contemporary commercial understandings of the ‘problem’ of leisure time. In the majority of the urban case studies investigated here, *themeing* operates as one of several *geron-technologies* that operate within a wider conception of an *instrumentalised* urbanism of the Third Age. This defines a framework for producing urban and architectural ‘products’ that not only satisfy future residents’ needs for ‘dwelling’, but also provide a complete lifestyle package that constructs a replacement, in spatial and temporal terms, for the former structures of work, education, leisure, family relations and so forth. Such technologies operate in broad terms as a set of instruments to satisfy the specific needs and desires of the Third Age.

The production and consumption of lifestyle products of Third Age urbanism elicit a certain ambivalence – one that oscillates between an interpretation of a broad set of emancipatory practices on the one hand, and escapist ones on the other. On the one hand, it is possible to celebrate the case studies examined here as radical urban experiments dedicated toward the *emancipation* of the Young-Old from the traditional social and urban marginalisation of old-age. In this sense, the Third Age have sought after and produced new environments that support individual freedom and self-fulfilment, as well as new forms of collective life. They have gone on to inhabit environments and lifestyles that in some cases realise features of the more radical utopian experiments of the 1960s. In this way, it is possible to embrace the Third Age as the demographic group most engaged in defining new forms of life, and new forms of environment within which to live. On the other hand, these lifestyle products support certain practices of urban and social *escapism*, inasmuch as the realisation of these urban formats – which has been based on the freedom from the responsibilities of the other phases of life – has translated in many cases to the abandonment of the responsibilities toward the rest of society as a whole. This raises a series of more challenging issues concerning the expanded fallout of increasingly individualised, segmented and aged societies in the developed world.

Further Research

These conclusions are not intended to close the topic of Third Age urbanism, but instead to open up further questions that may be addressed in further research. These questions relate not only to issues of architecture, urban design and planning, but also to the sociological implications of these urban formats:

- How will future *cohort change* transform these urban models, particularly as the Baby Boomer Generation reaches retirement en masse in the second decade of the twenty-first century?
- Further to this, what urban formats will emerge to address even *later cohorts* that have grown up in a society marked by a less clear differentiation between work and leisure?
- Just as retirement only came to prominence as an institution during the twentieth century, it is possible that it will transform considerably in the twenty-first? How, for example, might retirement evolve beyond the sociological models of activity theory and disengagement theory, and how might those changes affect forms of urbanism for the old?
- How might emerging critiques of individualised society, and renewed calls for collectivism develop into ideologies and urbanism that surpass the dominant model of 'self-fulfilment' in the Third Age? What expanded role, for example, could the state or other collective institutions have in the future of Third Age urbanism?
- How will broader social, political, economic and ecological changes affect these forms of urbanism? For example: will the senior RV community continue to expand as oil becomes scarcer, and more expensive?
- What urban forms will emerge as the less developed countries reach similar age compositions in the middle of the twenty-first century as the more developed countries reached at the end of the twentieth century?
- And lastly – how might the demographic- and amenity densities of the cases of Third Age urbanism presented here, translate into higher-density demographically-integrated urban settings in the future?

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An aerial photograph of a desert landscape. In the upper left, there is a cluster of mobile homes. A multi-lane highway runs diagonally from the top right towards the bottom right. The rest of the landscape is sparsely populated with mobile homes scattered across the dry, brownish ground. The text is overlaid on the upper half of the image.

THIRD AGE URBANISM: RETIREMENT UTOPIAS OF THE YOUNG-OLD

(VOLUME II: FIGURES)

DEANE SIMPSON
DISS. ETH No. 19064

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**THIRD AGE URBANISM: RETIREMENT UTOPIAS OF THE YOUNG-OLD
(VOLUME II: FIGURES)**

DISSERTATION

Submitted to

ETH ZURICH

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF SCIENCES

by

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M.S. AAD Columbia University of New York

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accepted on the recommendation of

Prof. Dr. Marc Angélil, examiner

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2010

VOLUME II

FIGURES

A.2.1 – A.5.9 INTRODUCTION	258
B.1.1 – B.1.46 THE VILLAGES OF FLORIDA:	269
B.2.1 – B.2.34 THE URBANIZACIONES OF COSTA DEL SOL	292
B.3.1 – B.3.63 HUIS TEN BOSCH OF KYUSHU	310
B.4.1 – B.4.29 THE SENIOR RECREATIONAL VEHICLE COMMUNITY	332

INTRODUCTION (Figures A.2.1 – A.5.9)

Scale	large		medium		small
Resident Characteristics	young, predominantly healthy		old, predominantly healthy		old, mixed healthy and frail
Level of Services	extensive health, outdoor rec., & other	limited/no health; extensive outdoor rec. & other	limited/no health, outdoor rec., & other	limited/no health, outdoor rec.; extensive other	extensive health; limited outdoor rec.; extensive other
Sponsorship	profit			non-profit	

RETIREMENT NEW TOWN

Scale	large		medium		small
Resident Characteristics	young, predominantly healthy		old, predominantly healthy		old, mixed healthy and frail
Level of Services	extensive health, outdoor rec., & other	limited/no health; extensive outdoor rec. & other	limited/no health, outdoor rec., & other	limited/no health, outdoor rec.; extensive other	extensive health; limited outdoor rec.; extensive other
Sponsorship	profit			non-profit	

RETIREMENT VILLAGE

Scale	large		medium		small
Resident Characteristics	young, predominantly healthy		old, predominantly healthy		old, mixed healthy and frail
Level of Services	extensive health, outdoor rec., & other	limited/no health; extensive outdoor rec. & other	limited/no health, outdoor rec., & other	limited/no health, outdoor rec.; extensive other	extensive health; limited outdoor rec.; extensive other
Sponsorship	profit			non-profit	

RETIREMENT SUBDIVISION

Scale	large		medium		small
Resident Characteristics	young, predominantly healthy		old, predominantly healthy		old, mixed healthy and frail
Level of Services	extensive health, outdoor rec., & other	limited/no health; extensive outdoor rec. & other	limited/no health, outdoor rec., & other	limited/no health, outdoor rec.; extensive other	extensive health; limited outdoor rec.; extensive other
Sponsorship	profit			non-profit	

RETIREMENT RESIDENCE

Scale	large		medium		small
Resident Characteristics	young, predominantly healthy		old, predominantly healthy		old, mixed healthy and frail
Level of Services	extensive health, outdoor rec., & other	limited/no health; extensive outdoor rec. & other	limited/no health, outdoor rec., & other	limited/no health, outdoor rec.; extensive other	extensive health; limited outdoor rec.; extensive other
Sponsorship	profit			non-profit	

CONTINUING CARE RETIREMENT CENTER

Figure A.2.1. Retirement Community Typologies

Source: Michael Hunt et al., *Retirement Communities: An American Original* (New York: The Harworth Press, 1984), p. 17.

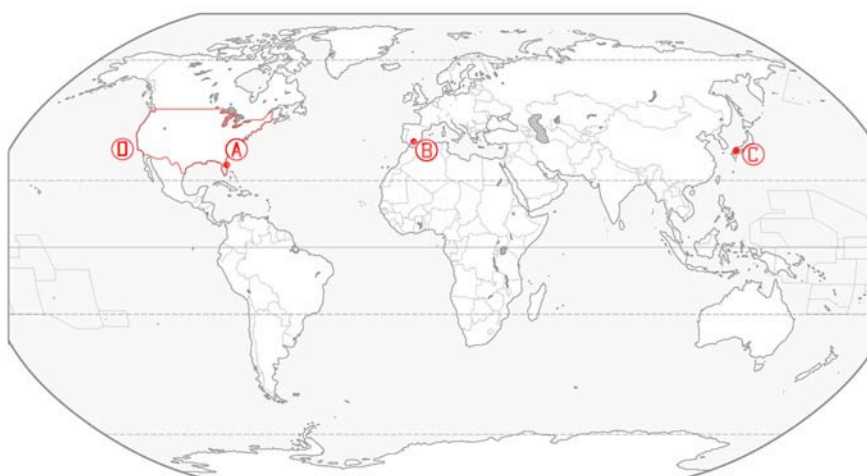


Figure A.2.2. Case study locations. A: The Villages of Florida; B: The *Urbanizaciones* of Costa del Sol; C: Huis Ten Bosch of Kyushu; D: The Senior RV Community, USA.

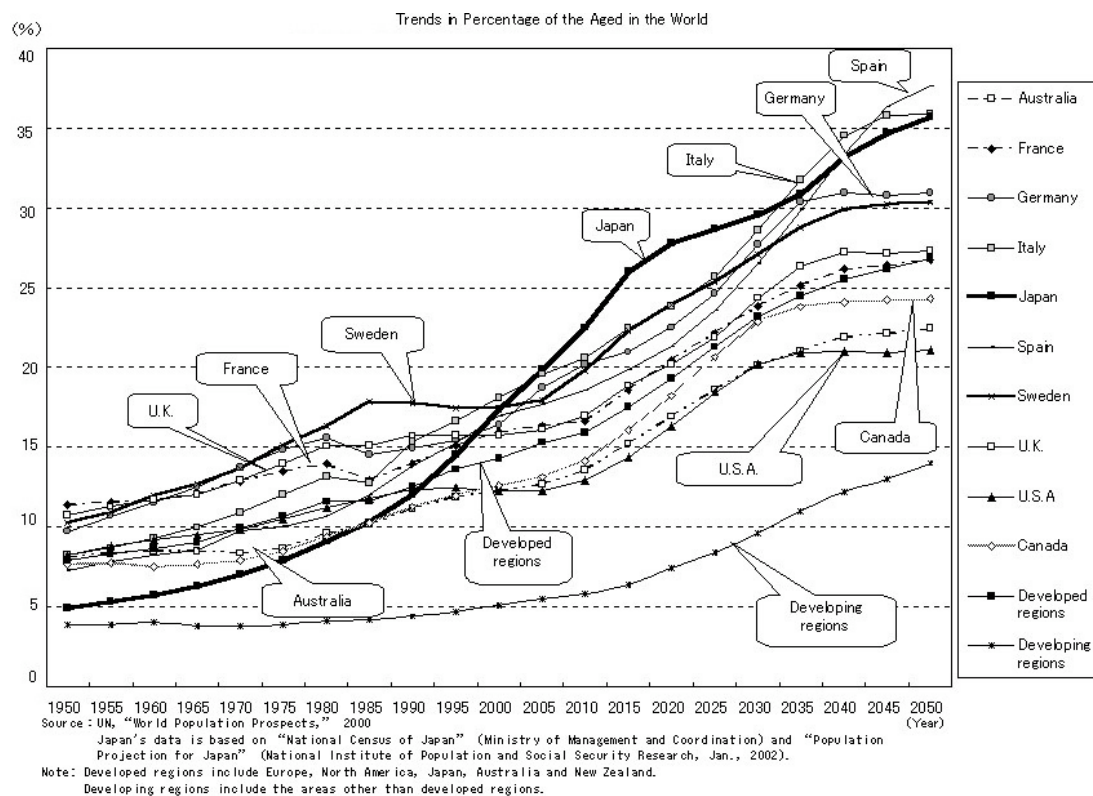
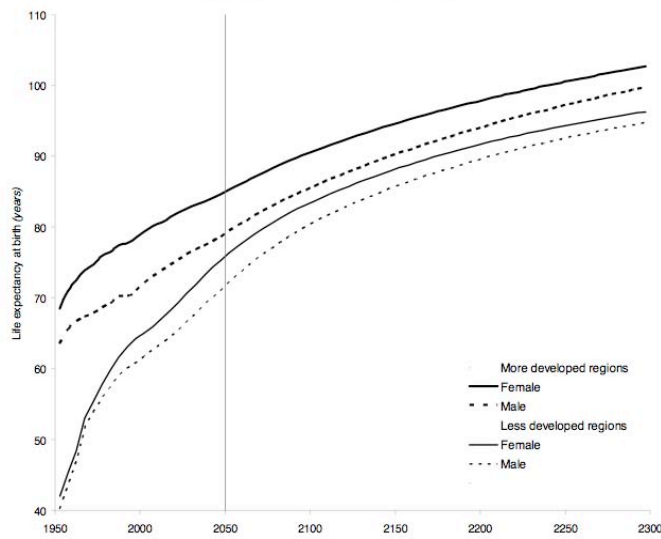


Figure A.3.1. Trends in the Percentage of Aged in the World
 Source: UN Population Division, *World Population Prospects, 2000* (New York: UN, 2000).

Humans by Era	Average Lifespan (in years)
Human, Neanderthal	20
Human, Neolithic	20
Human, Classical Greece	28
Human, Classical Rome	28
Human, Medieval England	33*
Human, end of 18th Century	37
Human, early 20th Century	50
Human, circa 1940	65
Human, current	77-79 (varies by region)

Figure A.3.2. Average Lifespan: Humans by Era
 Source: Encyclopedia Britannica (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1961)

Figure 16. Male and female life expectancy at birth, more developed and less developed regions: 1950-2300



United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Population Division
World Population to 2300

Figure A.3.3. Male and Female Life Expectancy at Birth, More Developed and Less Developed Regions: 1950-2300

Source: UN Population Division, *World Population to 2300* (New York: UN, 2004).

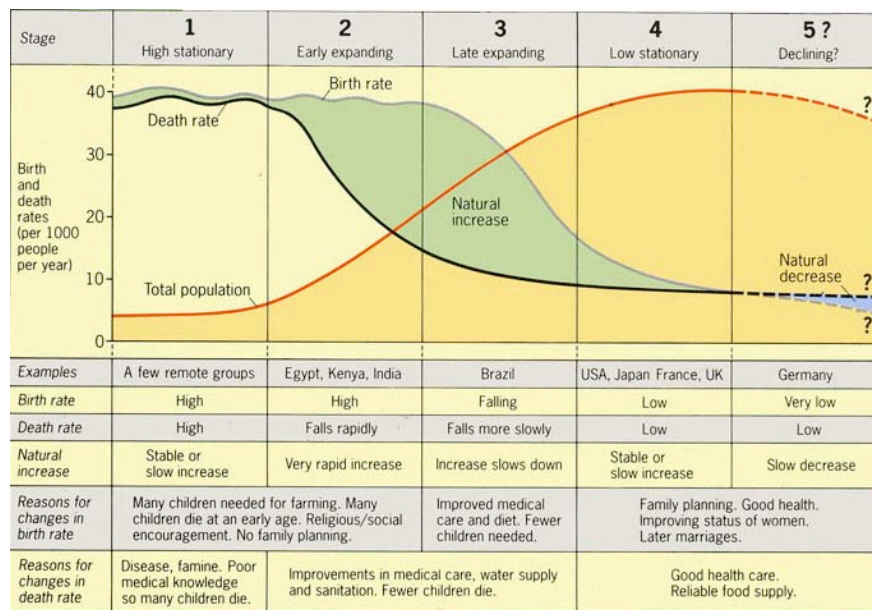


Figure A.3.4. The Demographic Transition

Source: David Waugh, *Key Geography* (Cheltenham: Nelson Thornes, 1994)

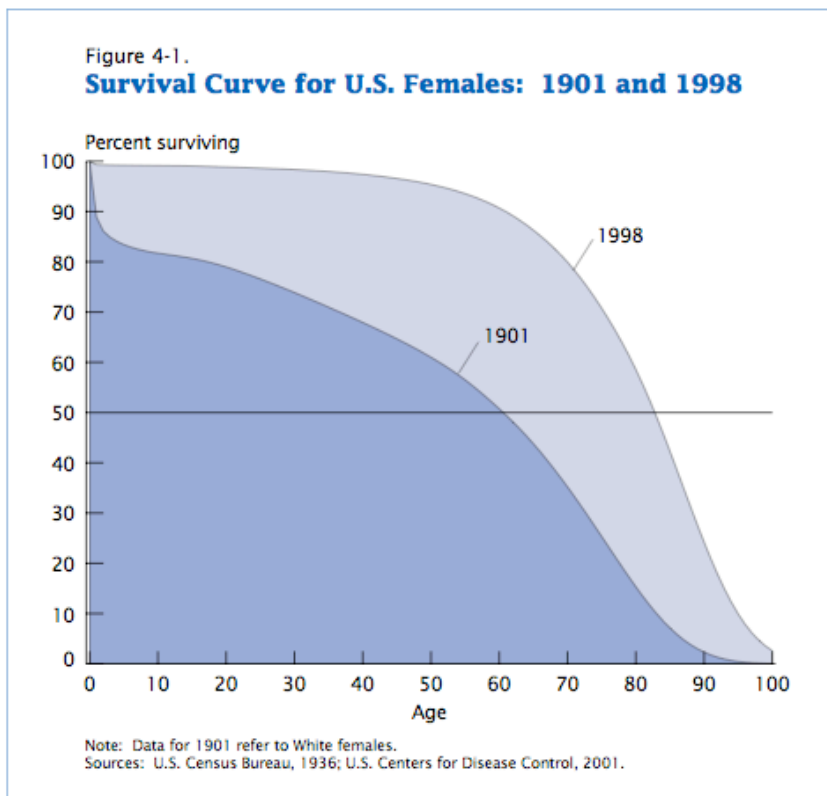


Figure A.3.5. Survival Curve for U.S. Females: 1901 and 1998
Source: U.S. Census Bureau *An Aging World: 2001* (Washington DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2001).

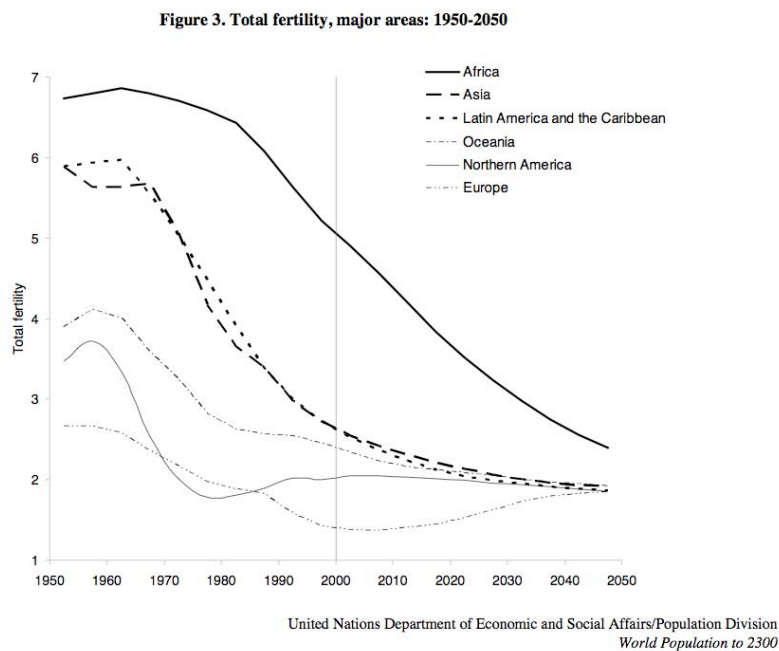


Figure A.3.6. Total Fertility, Major Areas: 1950-2050
Source: UN Population Division, *World Population to 2300* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), p. 68.

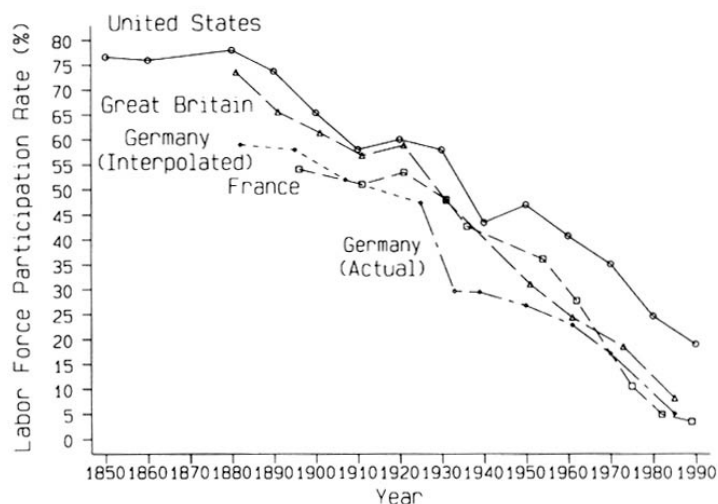


Figure A.3.7. Labour Force Participation Rates of Men Aged Sixty-Five and Over, 1850-1990, United States, Britain, France, and Germany
Source: Dora L. Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement: An American Economic History, 1880-1990* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 9.

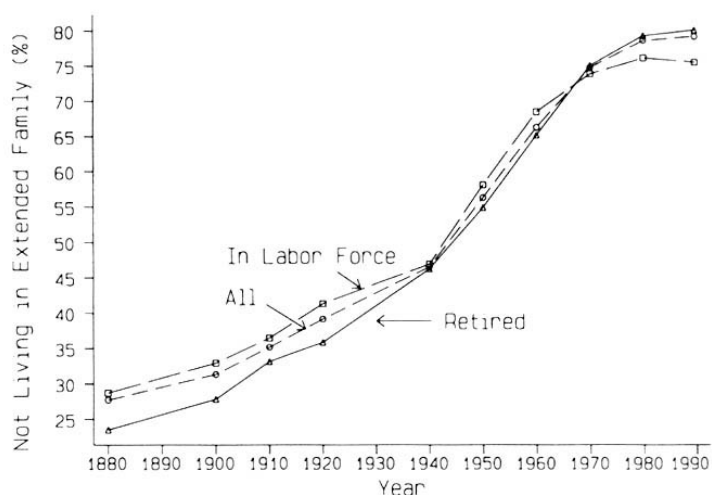


Figure A.4.1. Percentage of Non-Institutionalized Men Sixty-Five or Older Not Living in Extended Families, by Retirement Status.
Source: Dora L. Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement: An American Economic History, 1880-1990* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 108.

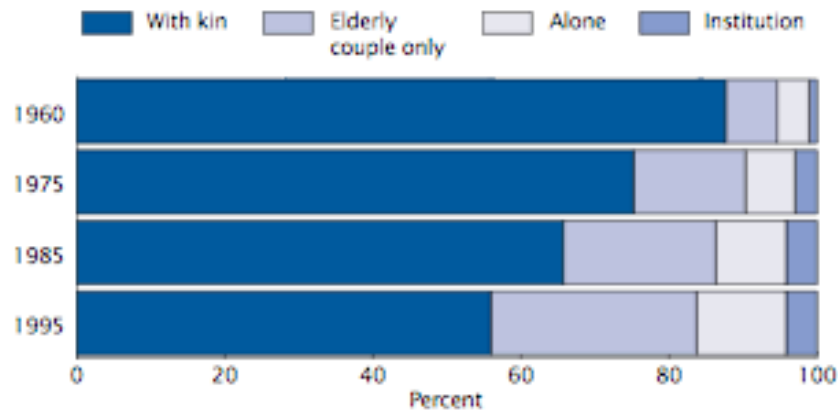


Figure A.4.2. Living Arrangements of Japanese Elderly: 1960 to 1995
 Source: U.S. Census Bureau "An Aging World: 2001" (Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2001) p.68

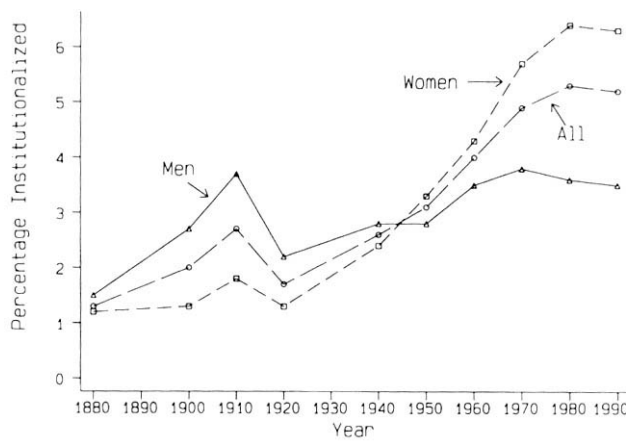


Figure A.4.3. Percentage of U.S. Population Age Sixty-Five or Older Currently Institutionalized, Men and Women, 1880-1990
 Source: Dora L. Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement: An American Economic History, 1880-1990* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 113.



Figure A.5.1. Partial Aerial View of Youngtown, AZ, Residential Area

Source: Bing.com, "Map of Youngtown, AZ," Bing Maps,

<http://www.bing.com/maps/#JnE9eXAueW91bmd0b3duJTJjK2FyaXpnbmElMmMrVVNBjTdlc3N0LjAlN2VwZy4xJmJiPTcwLjcwMDAzNTkzMTM3JTdINjAuMTc2Mzg0OTI1NSU3ZTMxLjUwMzg0NzYzODAxOTIIN2UtMzUuMDA5MTYxOTQ5NTAwMQ==> (accessed April 7, 2010).



Figure A.5.2. Youngtown Clubhouse Square.



Figure A.5.3. Del Webb, Cover of *Time* Magazine, August 3, 1962.



Figure A.5.4. Cover, Del Webb Advertisement for Sun City, 1965.
Source: Sun Cities Area Historical Society Archive.



Figure A.5.6. Aerial Photograph, Sun City Open Day, January 1, 1960.
Source: Sun Cities Area Historical Society Archive.



Figure A.5.7. Map, Laguna Woods Village, California (formerly Rossmoor Leisure World).

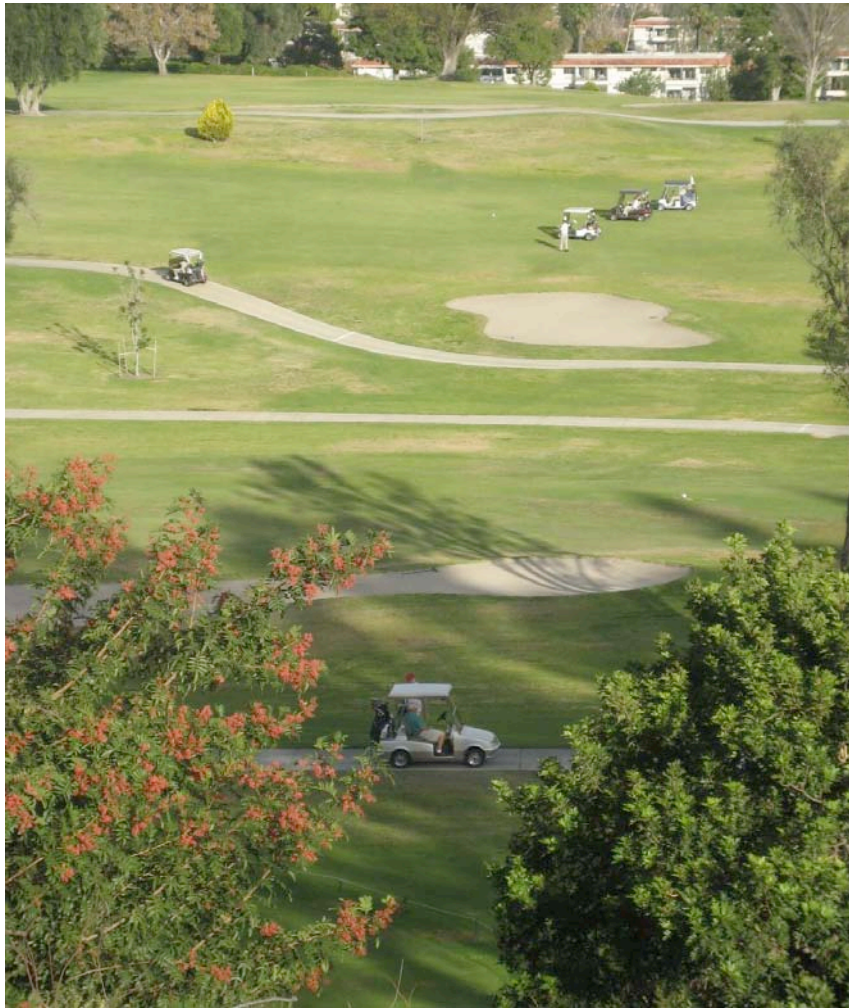


Figure A.5.8. Golf Course, Laguna Woods Village, California (formerly Rossmoor Leisure World).



Figure A.5.9. Gated Entry, Laguna Woods Village, California (formerly Rossmoor Leisure World).

THE VILLAGES OF FLORIDA (Figures B.1.1 – B.1.46)

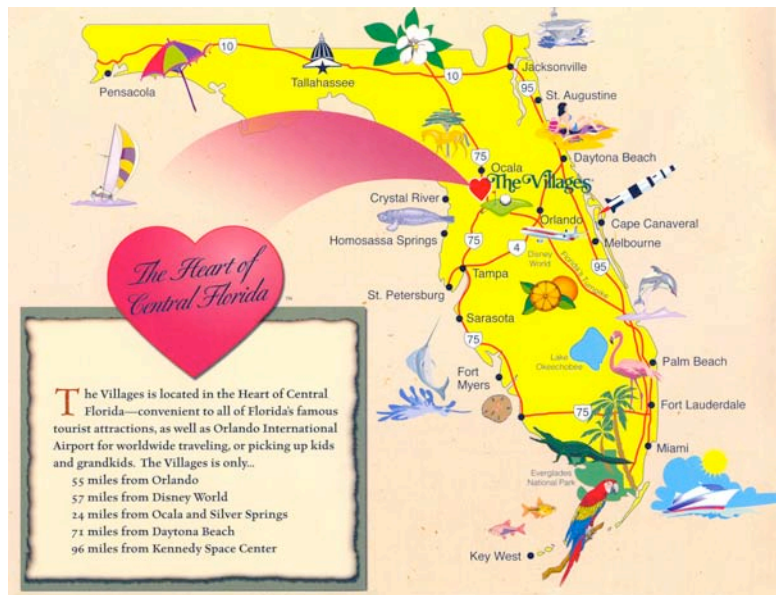


Figure B.1.1. Location of The Villages

Source: The Villages, *The Villages: Our Hometown* (The Villages, FL: The Villages, 2007.)

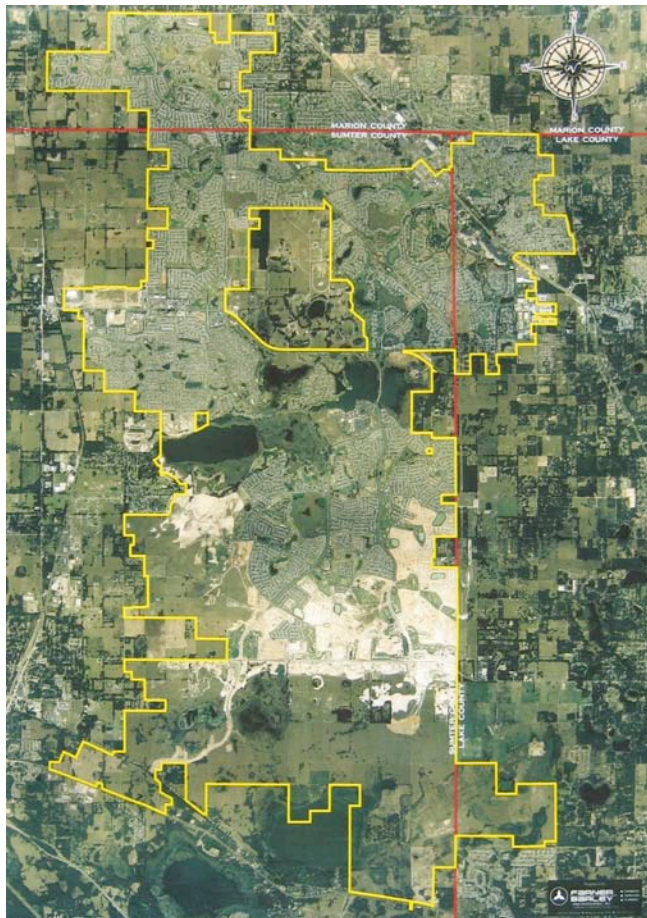


Figure B.1.2. Aerial Photograph, The Villages, 2007.

Source: Gary Mark, The Villages.

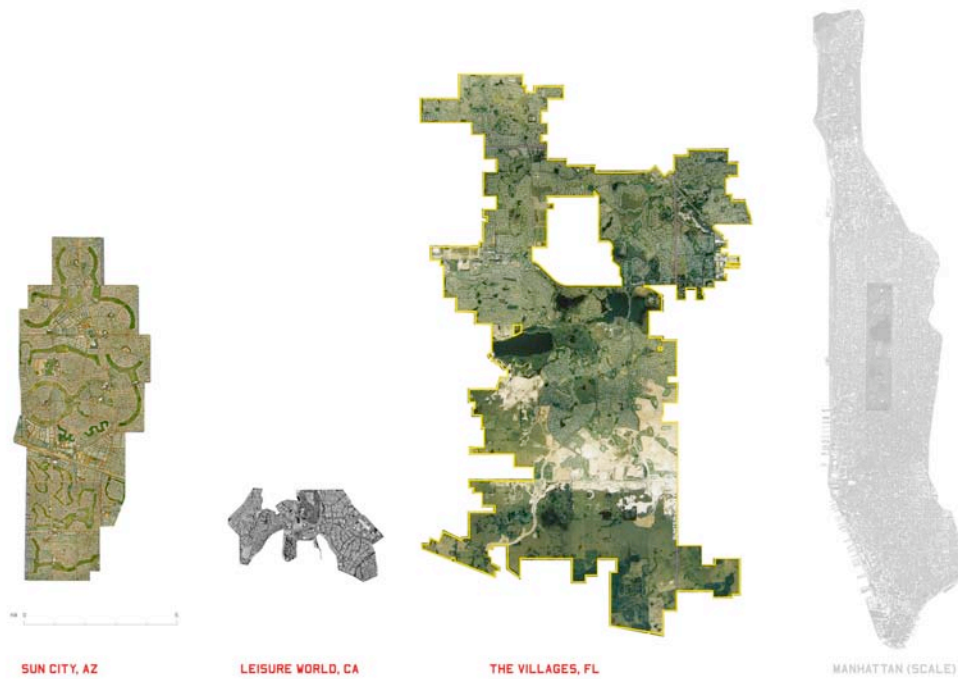


Figure B.1.5. The Villages size in comparison to Sun City AZ, Leisure World CA, and Manhattan NY.

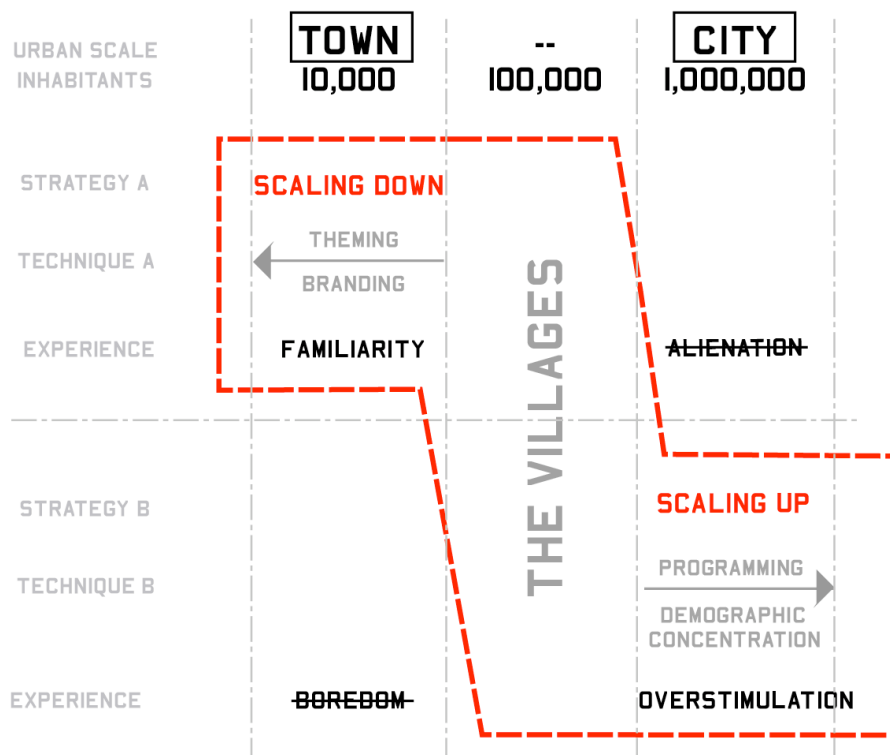


Figure B.1.6. Small town city. Elastic urban scale combining: town familiarity and city stimulation.

[illegible]

May 6th through May 14th		The Villages COUNTRY CLUBS							
Fridays, May 6 Saturdays, May 7 Sundays, May 8 Mondays, May 9 Tuesdays, May 10 Wednesdays, May 11 Thursdays, May 12 Fridays, May 13 Saturdays, May 14	Country Club	Greenville Champions		Nancy Lopez Legacy		Palmer Legends		Orange Blossom	
		Country Club		Country Club		Country Club		Country Club	
		AUG 10: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 10: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 10: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 10: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 11: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 11: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 11: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 11: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 12: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 12: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 12: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 12: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 13: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 13: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 13: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 13: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 14: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 14: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 14: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 14: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 15: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 15: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 15: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 15: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 16: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 16: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 16: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 16: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 17: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 17: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 17: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 17: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 18: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 18: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 18: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 18: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 19: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 19: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 19: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 19: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 20: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 20: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 20: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 20: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 21: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 21: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 21: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 21: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 22: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 22: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 22: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 22: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 23: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 23: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 23: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 23: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 24: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 24: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 24: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 24: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00	
		AUG 25: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 25: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00		AUG 25: 7:00-8:30 PM, new 11:00-12:00			

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272



Figure B.1.9. Main Street USA, Disneyland



Figure B.1.10. Spanish Springs Sales and Information Building



Figure B.1.11. The Villages Design Team: Tracy Mathews (right), Gary Mark (left)



Figure B.1.12. Spanish Springs Town Square: Spanish style architecture

The Villages[®]

SPANISH SPRINGS



Figure B.1.13. Spanish Springs Town Square: plan (from commercial real estate advertisement)



Figure B.1.14. Spanish Springs Town Square: Harold Schwartz statue



Figure B.1.15. Spanish Springs Town Square: plaque in front of 'Katie Belle's'



Figure B.1.16. Spanish Springs Gazette: Special Historical Issue



Figure B.1.17. Faux advertisement in Lake Sumter Market Square



Figure B.1.18. Spanish Springs Town Square fountain (some have claimed as the Fountain of Youth)



Figure B.1.19. Lake Sumter Market Square



Figure B.1.20. Lake Sumter Market Square, plan (from commercial real estate advertisement)



Figure B.1.21. Lake Sumter Market Square, faux ruins.



Figure B.1.22. Paddock Square, Brownwood, rendering (from The Brownwood Banner: Special Historical Issue)



Figure B.1.23. The Brownwood Banner: Special Historical Issue.

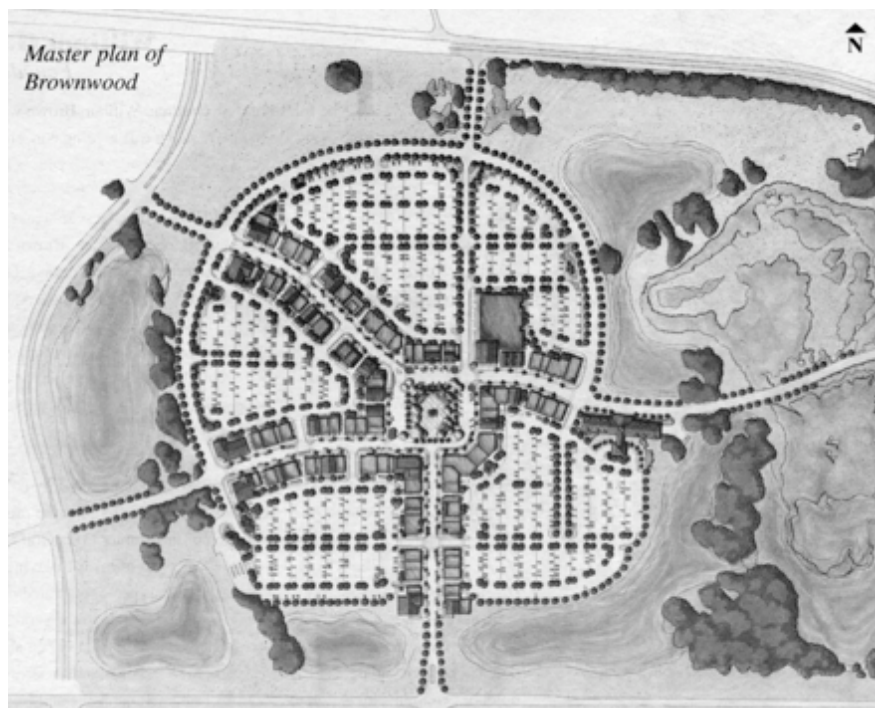


Figure B.1.24. Brownwood, master plan (from The Brownwood Banner: Special Historical Issue)



Figure B.1.25. The Villages' tram bus



Figure B.1.26. Abandoned boats, Lake Sumter



Figure B.1.27. Promotional DVD, *The Villages: Your Lifestyle Tour of Florida's Friendliest Hometown!*

JEAN PIAGET: THE CHILD'S CONCEPTION OF TIME (1946)

In Howard Gruber and Jacques Vonèche (Ed.) The Essential Piaget Jason Aronson Inc, London

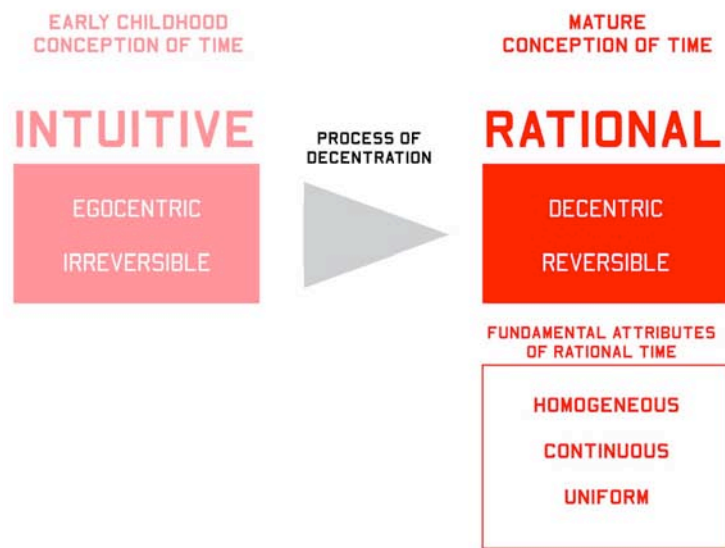


Figure B.1.28. Jean Piaget's "The Child's Perception of Time", diagram (Deane Simpson after Jean Piaget)



Figure B.1.29. Golf carts, The Villages



Figure B.1.30. Custom golf carts, The Villages (from The Villages Magazine, November 2007)



Figure B.1.31. Custom golf carts, The Villages



Figure B.1.32. World's Largest Golf Cart Parade, September 2005, The Villages



Figure B.1.33. Golf cart roadway, The Villages



Figure B.1.34. Golf cart overpass, The Villages.

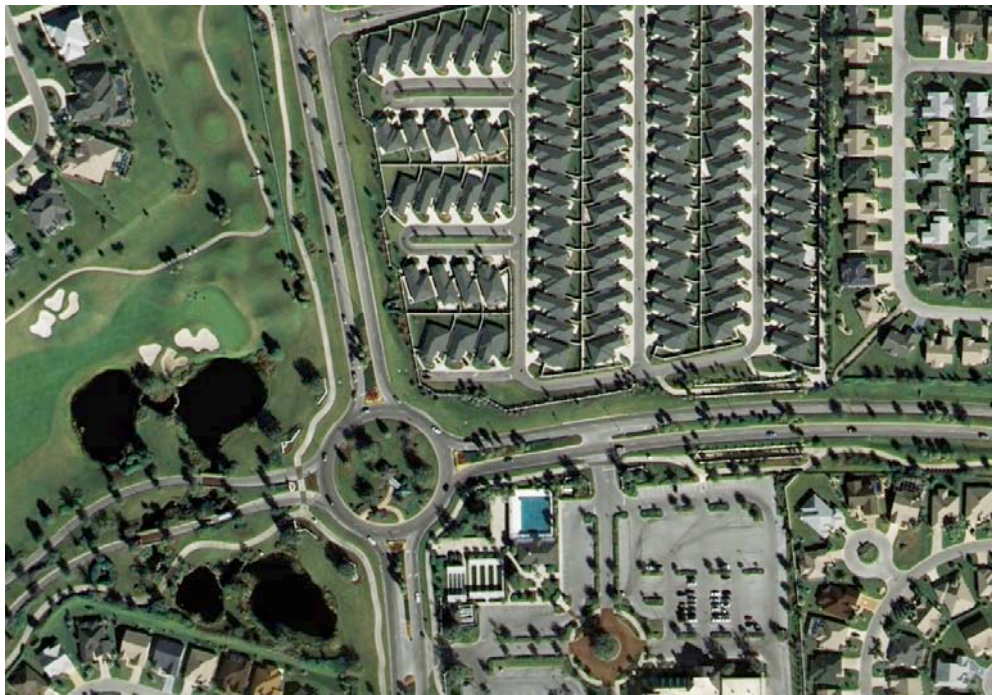


Figure B.1.35. Detail of aerial photograph, The Villages



Figure B.1.36. Map, The Villages (from The Village of Virginia Trace)



Figure B.1.37. Partial map of strip, The Villages.



Figure B.1.38. Billboards along hospital strip



Figure B.1.39. Signage with LED along hospital strip

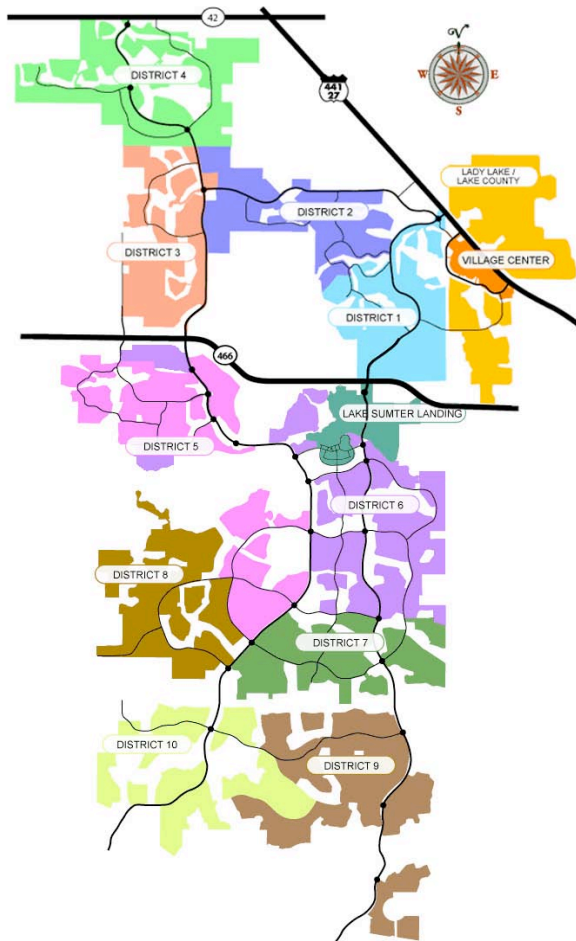


Figure B.1.40. CDD Districts, The Villages (thevillages.com)



Figure B.1.41. The Villages Daily Sun newspaper



Figure B.1.42. 'Void' in the center of The Villages (the Morse family compound)

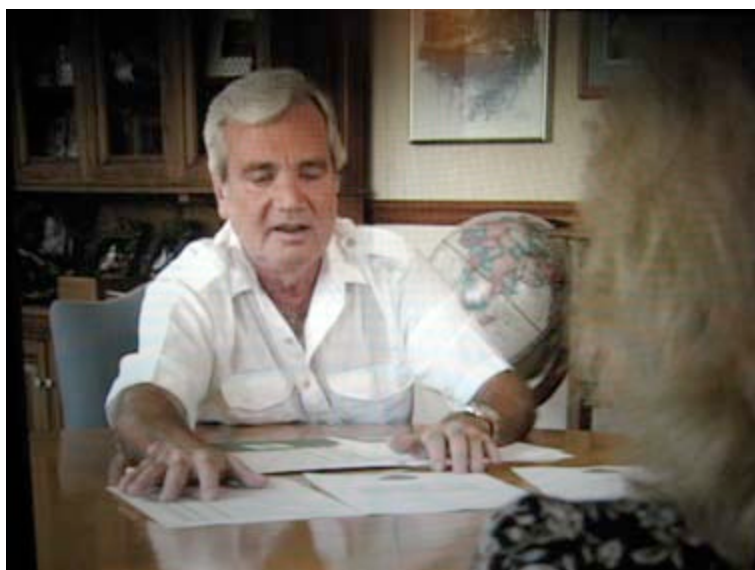


Figure B.1.43. Gary Morse, President and CEO of The Villages (still from *The Villages, Your Lifestyle Tour of Florida's Friendliest Hometown!* DVD, Florida: The Villages, 2004)



Figure B.1.44. Typical “Village”, The Villages



Figure B.1.45. Typical “Villager” clothing style, The Villages



Figure B.1.46. “Power oxygen” sold over the counter in gas stations, The Villages

THE URBANIZACIONES OF COSTA DEL SOL (Figures B.2.1 – B.2.34)

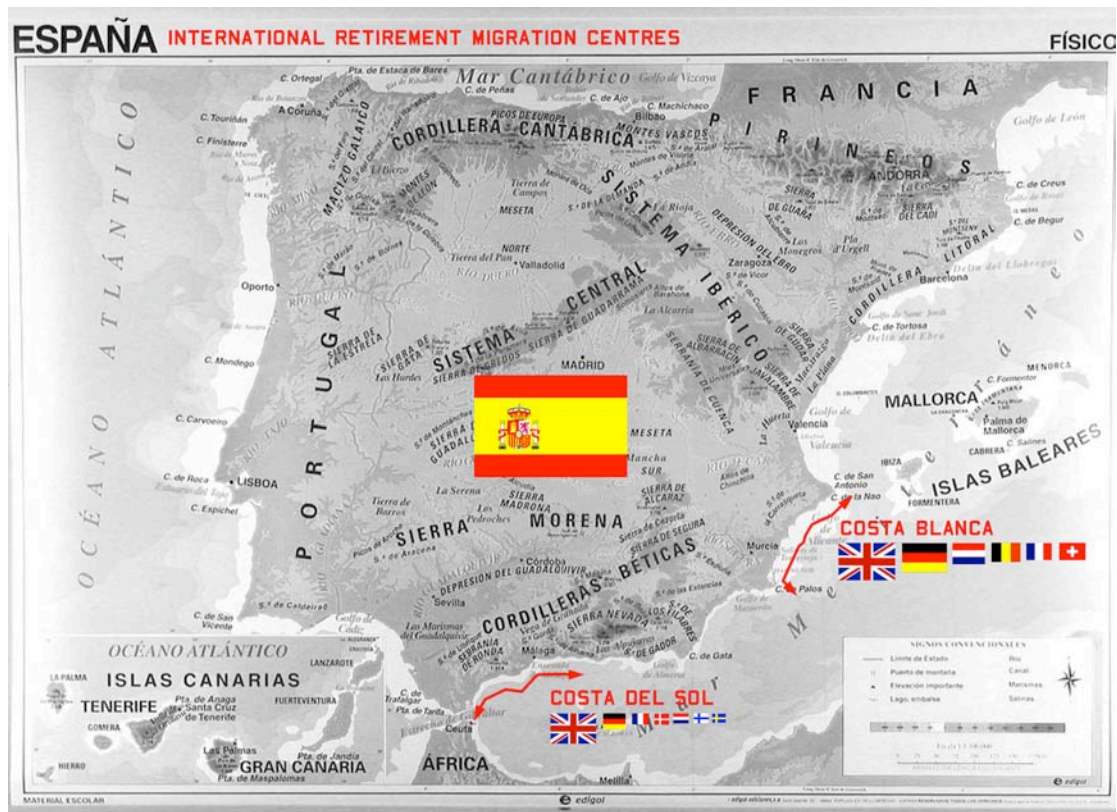


Figure B.2.1. International Retirement Migration Centres in Spain. Flags correspond to the relative numbers of registered migrants by national origin, 2001.

Source: Spanish statistics cited in Andreas Huber and Karen O'Reilly, "The construction of Heimat under conditions of individualized modernity: Swiss and British elderly migrants in Spain," in *Ageing and Society* (24, 2004), pp. 327-351. Graphic by Deane Simpson.



Figure B.2.2. Costa del Sol, aerial view, 2009.

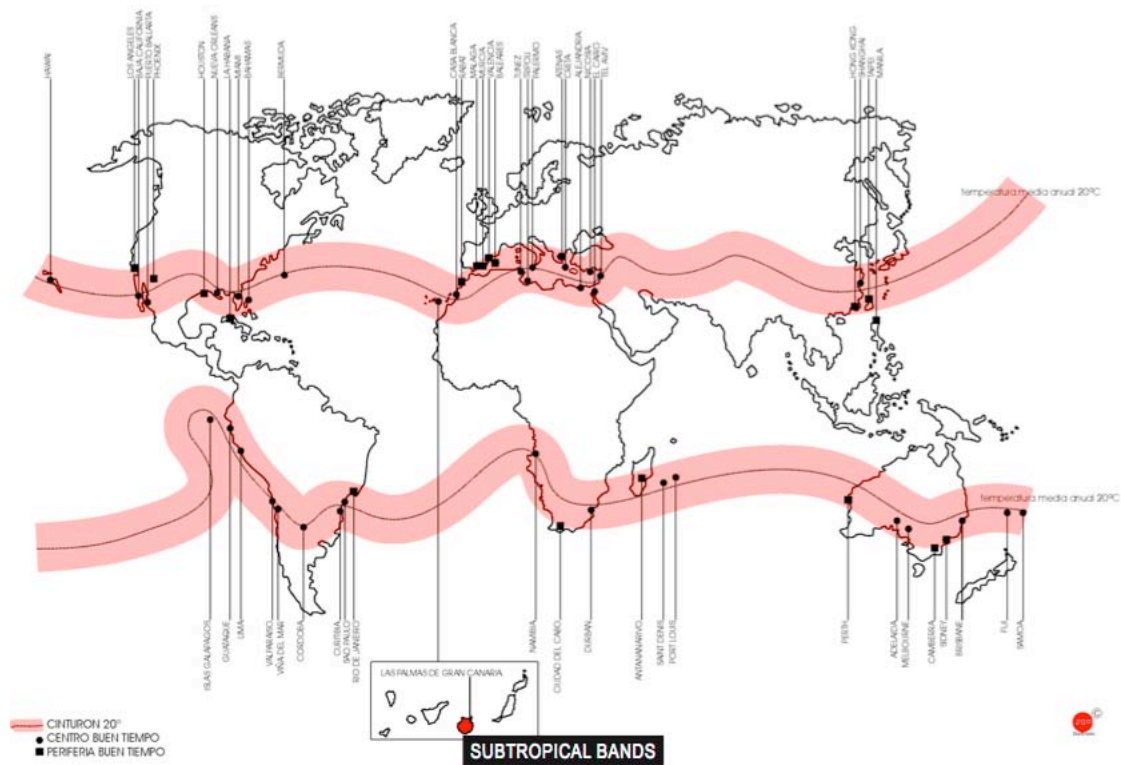


Figure B.2.3. Geometry of Paradise

Source: Juan Palop-Casado, LPA, *Urban-Photosynthesis: Projects and Works by Laboratory for Planning and Architecture 2002-2009* (Las Palmas: LPA ,2009).



Figure B.2.4. Torremolinos, 1959; Torremolinos, 2009

Source: Pat Jackson, Deane Simpson



Figure B.2.5. Costa del Sol, road infrastructure map
Source: <http://lcaladirect.co.uk/Images/map1.bmp>



Figure B.2.6. Costa del Sol, 90-degree stop sign–highway intersection
Source: Google Earth 2009, Deane Simpson 2009

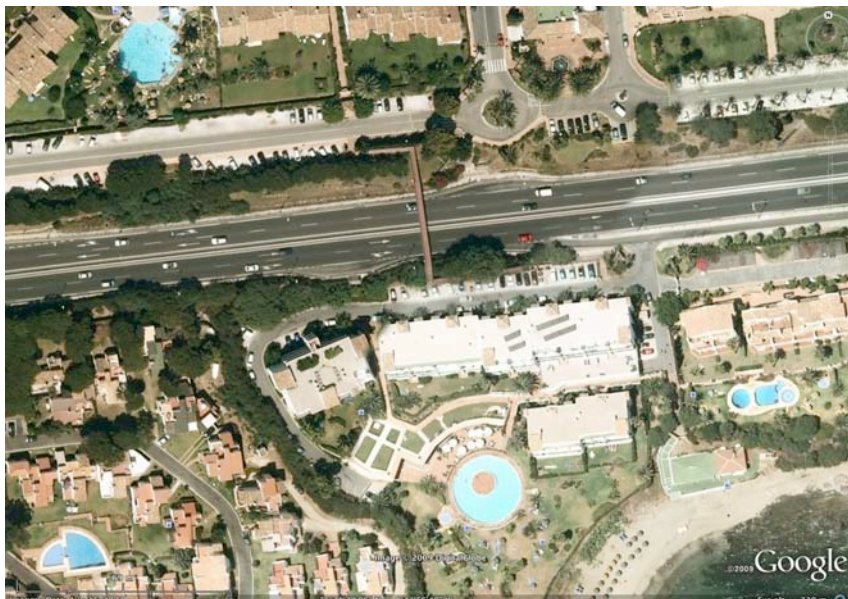


Figure B.2.7. Costa del Sol: highway bus stops
Source: Google Earth 2009

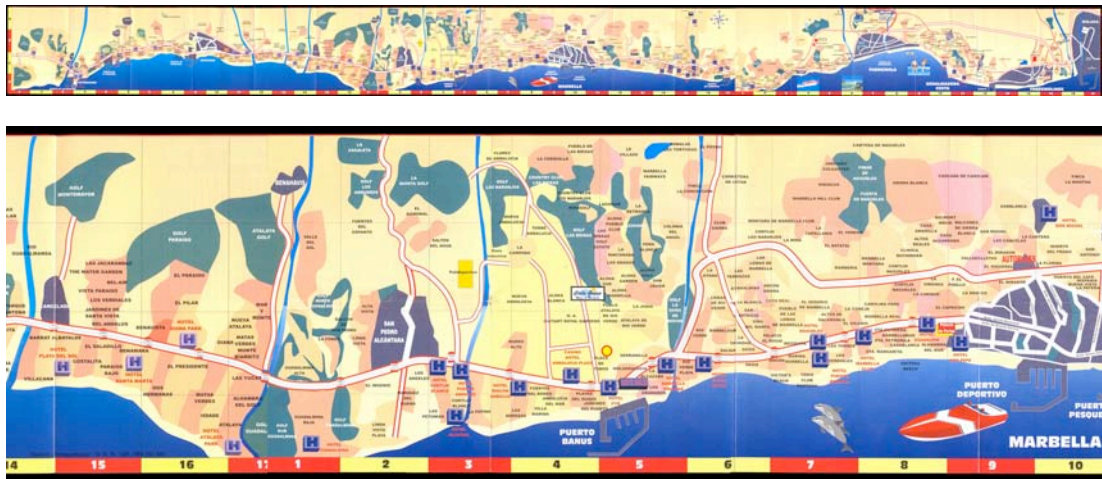


Figure B.2.8. Guia Oficial Map of Costa del Sol Urbanizaciones, 2009. Assembled map and detail.
Source: Producciones GeoGraphic



Figure B.2.9. Costa del Sol: aerial view of traditional town core



Figure B.2.10. Typical representational map of Costa del Sol
Source: <http://www.property-spain.com/images/costa-del-sol-map.jpg> (accessed January 12, 2009)



Figure B.2.11. Mijas Pueblo, historical postcard, c.1965
Source: <http://aboutspaintravel.com/files/u2/postcard-costa-del-sol-donkey-taxi.jpg> (accessed November 20, 2009)



Figure B.2.12. Costa del Sol, Hotel Holiday World between Fuengirola and Benalmadena



Figure B.2.13. Costa del Sol, aerial view near Benalmadena



Figure B.2.14. Costa del Sol: typical view of *urbanizaciones* near Marbella.



Figure B.2.15. Costa del Sol: typical view of hillside *urbanizaciones* near Malaga.



Figure B.2.16. Costa del Sol: typical view of PM style *urbanizaciones* near Torremolinos.



Figure B.2.17. Costa del Sol: Mijas Pueblo

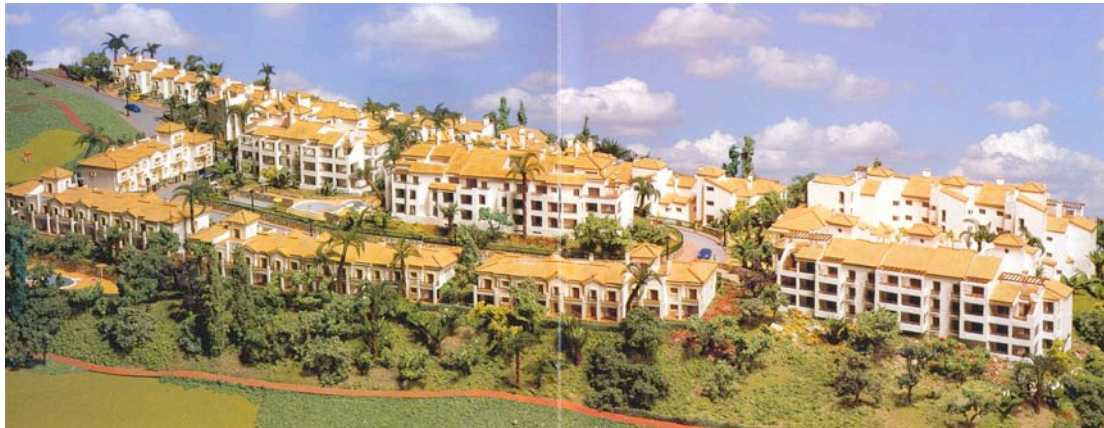


Figure B.2.18. Costa del Sol: model view of Urbanizacion Alhaurin Golf, Sierra de Mijas
Source: Grupo Inmo, *Living at the Peak of the Costa del Sol is a Privilege*, Brochure, 2009.



Figure B.2.19. Costa del Sol: entry to Urbanizacion la Cortijera, near Fuengirola



Figure B.2.20. Costa del Sol: English pub in *urbanizacion*, near Marbella



Figure B.2.21. Costa del Sol - Costa del Golf: sign on highway near Fuengirola



Figure B.2.22. Costa del Sol - Costa del Golf: map

Source: Grupo Inmo, *Living at the Peak of the Costa del Sol is a Privilege*, Brochure, 2009.



Figure B.2.23. Costa del Sol. Balcón del Golf near Marbella



Figure B.2.24. Costa del Sol. Aerial view of golf landscape near Estepona



Figure B.2.25. Costa del Sol: road sign near Fuengirola



Figure B.2.26. Seve Ballesteros advertising Valle Romano Golf and Resort
Source: Valle Romano Golf and Resort



Figure B.2.27. Costa del Sol: security sign near Campo Mijas



Figure B.2.28. Costa del Sol: events advertising outside English pub, near Marbella



Figure B.2.29. English language papers on Costa del Sol



Figure B.2.30. Costa del Sol: English cuisine, Fuengirola.



Figure B.2.31. Costa del Sol: aerial view of *urbanizaciones*



Figure B.2.32. Costa del Sol: abandoned real estate offices, Fuengirola and Miraflores



Figure B.2.33. Porto Maricchio Resort with golf course designed by Jack Nicklaus in Barbariga, Croatia.
Source: http://www.hotel-online.com/News/PR2007_1st/Feb07_PortoMaricchio.html (accessed December 14, 2009).

Roca denies Liechtenstein money laundering link

Judge has added eight new charges against the alleged Malaya mastermind

By David Eade

THE FORMER director of town planning in Marbella, Juan Antonio Roca, the alleged mastermind behind the Malaya corruption scam, has been before Judge Oscar Pérez to hear new claims made against him. He denied that he had used a foundation in Liechtenstein to carry out money laundering operations.

At these new pre-trial hearings, Sr Roca is accused along with 17 other people from the over 100 now implicated in the Malaya case. Among those under the spotlight is former mayor Julián Muñoz.

The judge has now incorporated in the main case another eight offences against Sr Roca. These include trafficking in influences, use of false documentation, bribery, fraud, obstructing justice, a fiscal crime and two charges of money laundering.

The Liechtenstein allegations revolve around the Melifero foundation, which was

allegedly used for money laundering in an operation dubbed 'Crucero Banús'. The judge has indicated that almost a million euros was involved and that Sr Roca had evaded paying the tax authority around 465,000 euros.

It is also claimed that Sr Roca benefitted by receiving two apartments from Massimo Filippa, another of those implicated in the case, for his part in helping in the liquidation of a company owned by his father - the implication being that the properties were Sr Roca's percentage of the deal.

Unknown damages

Last week it was suggested that the total value of money and assets that have been misappropriated by Sr Roca in the Malaya case may never be known. The investigation has been underway for three years and Marbella town hall admits it has no idea of the true damage that it has suffered in the scam.

The police have not been able to close the report on the



Juan Antonio Roca during a court appearance

value of the municipal assets that Sr Roca is alleged to have misappropriated. However, they have seized 130 properties that he owned.

The Malaya case broke on March 29, 2006. It is just one of a number of corruption cases underway on the Costa del Sol, taking in 'Arcos', 'Astapa',

'Troya', 'Hidalgo' and 'Ballina Blanca'. At present more than 230 politicians and businesspeople are implicated in these investigations.

Figure B.2.34. Costa del Sol corruption cases in newspapers.
Source: Costa del Sol News, April 2-9, 2009

HUIS TEN BOSCH OF KYUSHU (Figures B.3.1 – B.3.63)



Figure B.3.1. Huis Ten Bosch Entrance View.



Figure B.3.2. Huis Ten Bosch Tourist Map.
Source: Huis Ten Bosch Company.

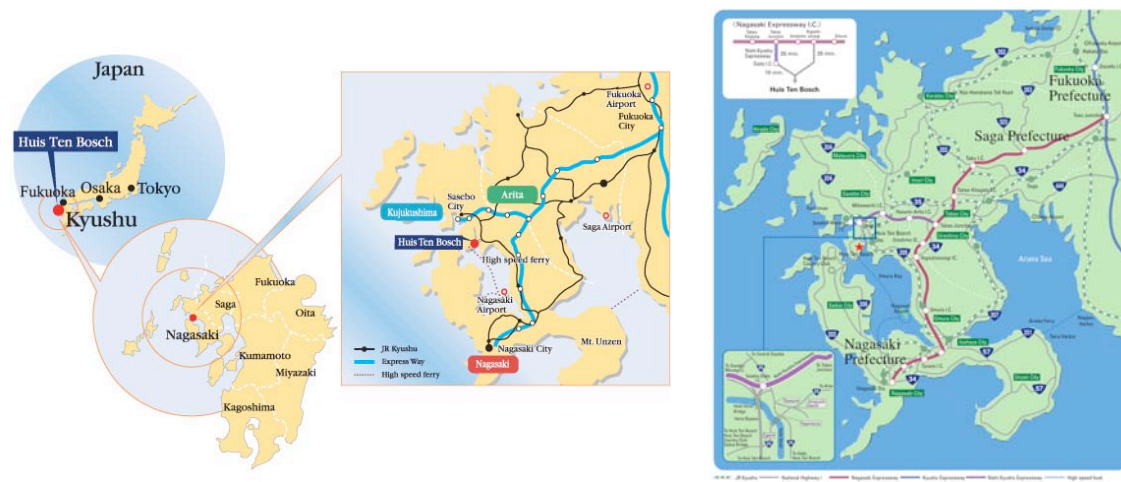


Figure B.3.3 – B.3.4. Huis Ten Bosch location.
Source: Huis Ten Bosch Company.



Figure B.3.5. Huis Ten Bosch, south view from tower.
Source: Huis Ten Bosch Picture Chocolates Box



Figure B.3.6. Huis Ten Bosch, artist's rendering of complex. C. 1991.
Source: Huis Ten Bosch Company.



Figure B.3.7. Huis Ten Bosch, under construction. C. 1989.
Source: Huis Ten Bosch Company.



Figure B.3.8. Scale comparison. From left: Copenhagen, Huis Ten Bosch, Tokyo Disneyland and Tokyo Sea World Park.
Source: Google Earth.

Figure 3.3
National Wealth

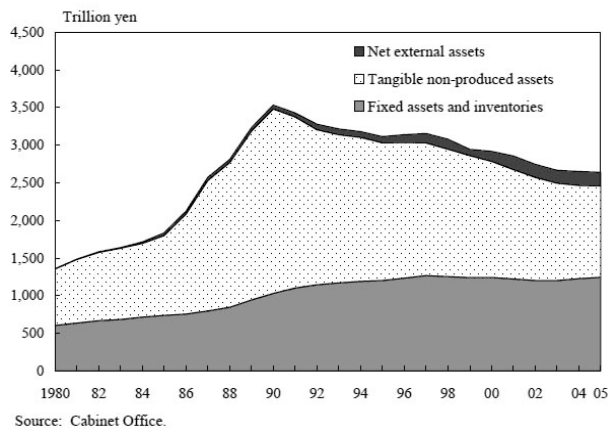


Figure B.3.9. National Wealth of Japan, 1980-2005.
Source: *Statistical Handbook of Japan, 2005*. <http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/handbook> (accessed October 11, 2006).



Figure B.3.10. Tokyo Disneyland and Tokyo Seaworld Park.
Source: Tokyo Disneyland.



Figure B.3.11. Parque Espana, Shima, Japan.
Source: Parque Espana.



Figure B.3.12. Shakespeare Country Park, Maruyama, Japan.
Source: Shakespeare Country Park.

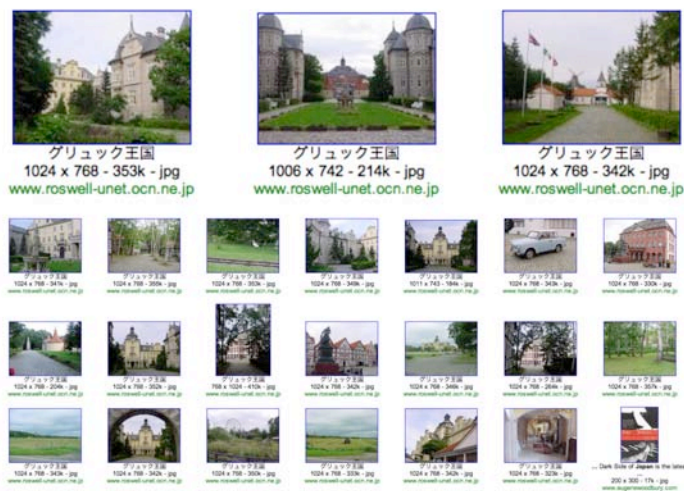


Figure B.3.13. Gluck's Kingdom, Hokaido, Japan.
Source: Google image search (source images no longer exist – accessed October 8, 2006).



Figure B.3.14. From left, Edo-period, Japanese paintings of Dutch trading ships and traders. Edo-period map of Nagasaki., Deshima Island on the top-left.
Source: Deshima Museum, Nagasaki.



Figure B.3.15. Nijenrode Castel. aerial view, The Netherlands (left), Japan (right).
Source: Google Earth.



Figure B.3.16. Nijenrode Castel, exterior view, The Netherlands (left), Japan (right).



Figure B.3.17. Gouda Town Square, aerial view, The Netherlands (left), Japan (right).
Source: Google Earth.



Figure B.3.18. Gouda Town Square, aerial view, The Netherlands (left), Japan (right).

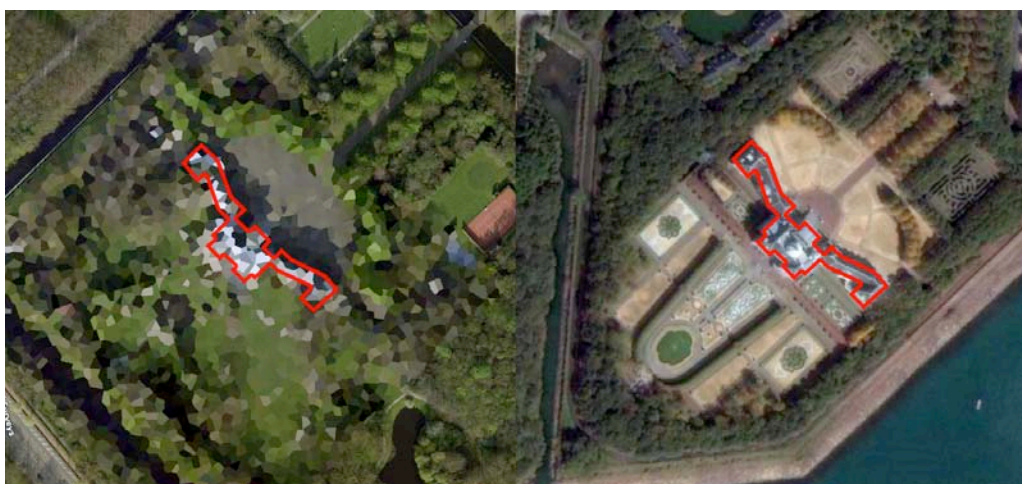


Figure B.3.19. Huis Ten Bosch Palace, aerial view, The Netherlands (left), Japan (right).
Source: Google Earth.



Figure B.3.20. Huis Ten Bosch Palace, aerial view, The Netherlands (left), Japan (right).
Source: Huis Ten Bosch Company.



Figure B.3.21. Huis Ten Bosch, view of entry island.



Figure B.3.22. Huis Ten Bosch, view of canal and Wassenaar from entry island.



Figure B.3.23. Huis Ten Bosch, canal system with Dom Tower in background.



Figure B.3.24. Huis Ten Bosch, view south-west toward entry island from ANA Hotel.



Figure B.3.25. Huis Ten Bosch, view north-east from Dom Tower.



Figure B.3.26. Huis Ten Bosch, canal interior of Hotel Europe.



Figure B.3.27. Huis Ten Bosch, canal view.



Figure B.3.28. Huis Ten Bosch, programmed events including weddings.
Source: Huis Ten Bosch Company.



Figure B.3.31. Huis Ten Bosch, Wassenaar Villas.
Source: Huis Ten Bosch Company brochure.



Figure B.3.32 – B.3.34. Huis Ten Bosch, views of Wassenaar Villas.



Figure B.3.35. Spreads from advertising brochures for Wassenaar.
Source: Huis Ten Bosch Company Wassenaar brochure.



Figure B.3.36. Huis Ten Bosch, Resident 'Passport', C. 1992.



Figure B.3.37 – B.3.40. Huis Ten Bosch, urban views including phone boxes, street markets, fire station and post office.

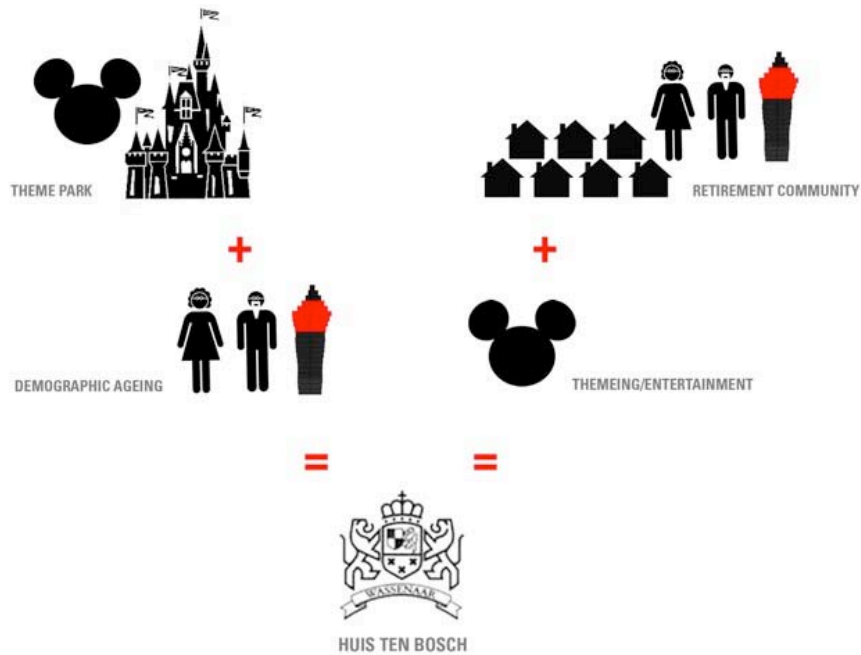


Figure B.3.41. Huis Ten Bosch at the intersection of the retirement community becoming theme park and theme park becoming retirement community.



Figure B.3.42. Paradigmatic moments in the history of the theme park: Dreamland, Coney Island (left); Disneyland, Anaheim (right).

Source: Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1978); Beth Dunlop, ed., *Building a Dream: The Art of Disney Architecture* (New York: Abrams, 1996).

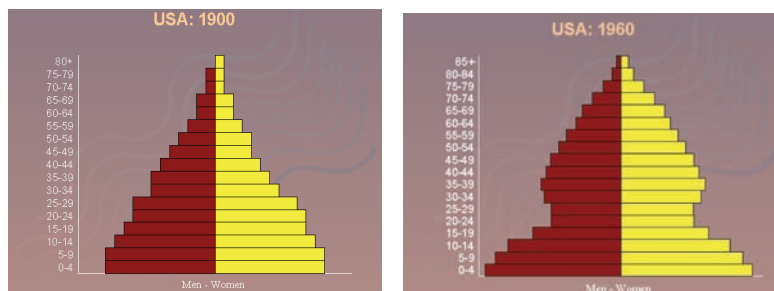


Figure B.3.43. Demographic Pyramids, USA, 1900 and 1960.

Source: US Census Data, http://www.ageworks.com/course_demo/200/module2/images/usa60.gif (accessed April 10, 2010).

JAPAN: POPULATION PYRAMIDS

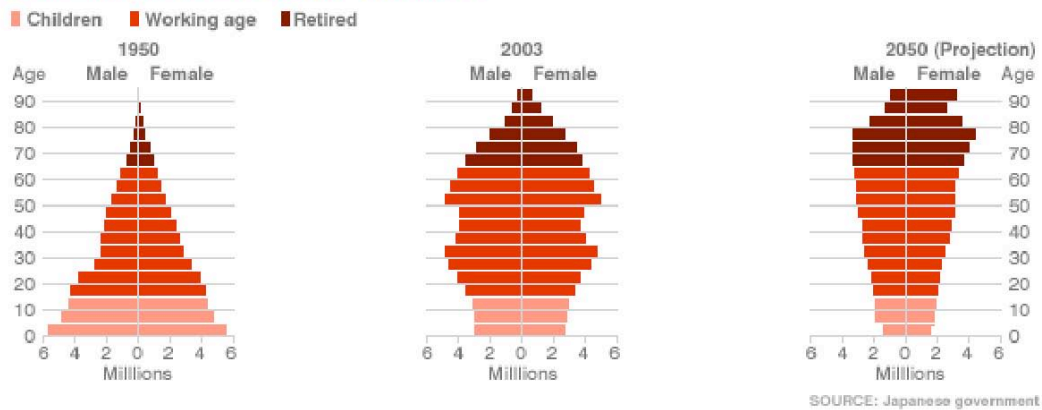


Figure B.3.44. Demographic Pyramid, Japan.

Source: Japan Governmental Statistics, http://www.nationmaster.com/country/ja/Age_distribution (accessed October 10, 2006).

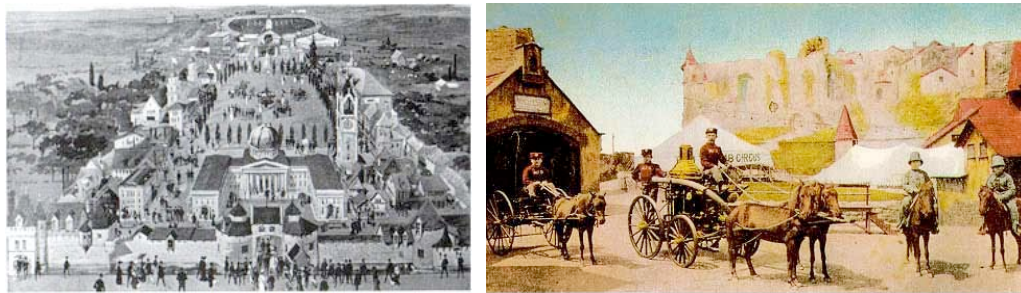


Figure B.3.45 – B.3.46. Lilliputia, Dreamland, Coney Island. 1904; Lilliputia Fire Department, Dreamland, Coney Island. 1904.

Source: Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1978).

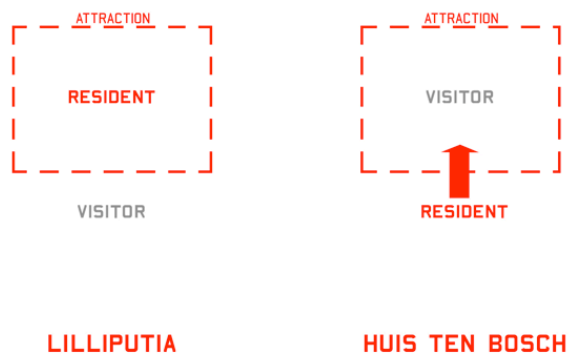


Figure B.3.47. Comparison of residential theme park rationales.

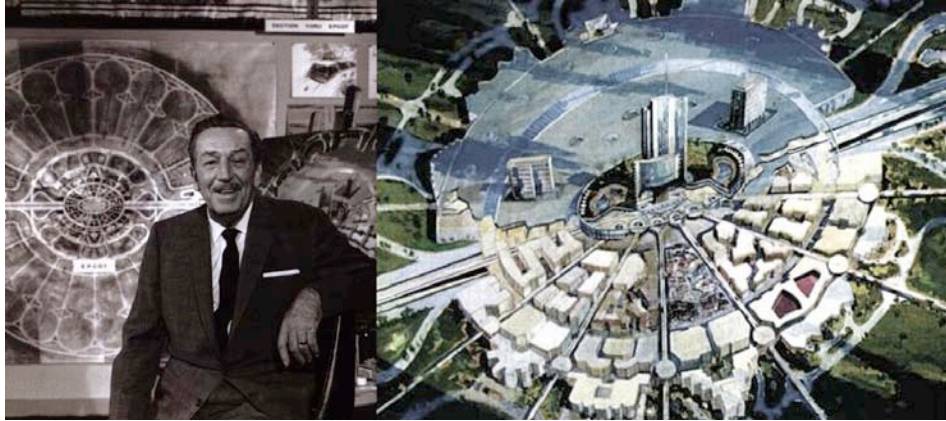


Figure B.3.48. Stills from original EPCOT promotion film. Walt Disney World, Florida. 1967.
Source: The Original Epcot, "Walt Disney's Original EPCOT Project," <http://www.the-original-epcot.com/2008/05/epcot-film-video.html> (accessed November 26, 2008).



Figure B.3.49. EPCOT, realized plan, 1982.
Source: Walt Disney World



Figure B.3.50. Teleported urbanism map incorporating the 'transporter' (teleporter) from the Star Trek television series, C.1960.



Figure B.3.51. Precedents of spatio-temporal displacement: The Canals of Venice, Dreamland, Coney Island, C.1904 (left) Canals of Venice, Las Vegas, C. 2005 (right).
Source: Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1978).



Figure B.3.52. Diagram of spatial and temporal displacement, and recombination.



Figure B.3.53. Town Hall of Gouda and the Utrecht Dom Tower recomposited at Huis Ten Bosch Japan, Frankenstein-esque Urbanism (Robert de Niro as Frankenstein.)



Figure B.3.54. Huis Ten Bosch, view from Utrecht Dom Tower.

The brochure is a multi-page document with a pink and white color scheme. It features several sections:

- Top Left:** A large photo of a canal scene in Amsterdam with people on a boat. Text includes "Holland キラメ" and "アムステルダム 6/8".
- Top Center:** A section titled "美味しいディナー" (Delicious Dinner) featuring "エビと肉のクロケット" (Shrimp and Meat Croquettes).
- Top Right:** A section titled "小旅行プラン" (Short Trip Plan) with a table of travel packages and prices.
- Middle Left:** A section titled "ホテル・ファン・クレーフ" (Hotel Van Cleef) with a photo of a hotel room and text describing the amenities.
- Middle Center:** A section titled "NH/バルビゾン・パレス" (NH/Barbizon Palace) with a photo of a hotel room and text describing the amenities.
- Middle Right:** A section titled "運河と美しき橋の街 ブルージュ" (Canals and Beautiful Bridge Town Bruges) with a photo of a canal scene and text describing the town.
- Bottom Left:** A section titled "アムステルダム6/8 旅行代金" (Amsterdam 6/8 Travel Costs) with a table of travel costs for various packages.
- Bottom Center:** A section titled "目で味わう 春のキューケンホフ公園" (See with Your Eyes Spring's Keukenhof Park) with a photo of a tulip field and text describing the park.
- Bottom Right:** A section titled "フェルメールの定跡をたどる 723美術館の陶器の町 デルフトとロイヤルシエティハーグ" (Follow the Footsteps of Vermeer 723 Museum's Pottery Town Delft and Royal City The Hague) with a photo of a museum and text describing the museums.

Figure B.3.55. Huis Ten Bosch as recomposited Japanese travel brochure for the Netherlands. Source: ANA Travel Agents.



Figure B.3.56. Huis Ten Bosch as performative landscape.



HARDWARE



SOFTWARE

Figure B.3.57. Differing conceptions of authenticity: European hardware, Mona Lisa at the Louvre; Japanese software, Shinto Shrine.



XI'AN, CHINA



KYOTO, JAPAN

Figure B.3.58. Authenticity of the copy over time: Kyoto as Xi'an copy.

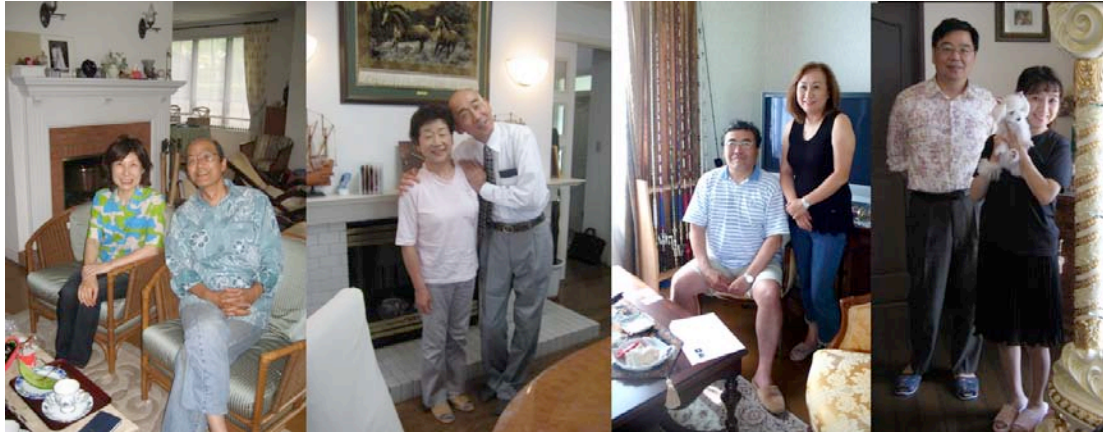


Figure B.3.59. Huis Ten Bosch, Wassenaar residents.



Figure B.3.60. Huis Ten Bosch: one of many hobby and craft classes attended predominantly by Wassenaar residents.



Figure B.3.61. Spreads from advertising brochures for Wassenaar.
Source: Huis Ten Bosch Company.

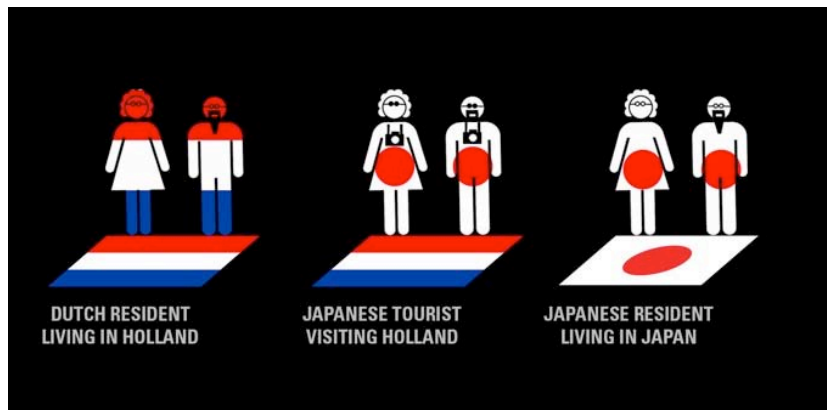


Figure B.3.62. Wassenaar residents: 'plastic' identities.



Figure B.3.63. Huis Ten Bosch, photograph from the photostudio attraction.

SENIOR RECREATIONAL VEHICLE COMMUNITY (Figures B.4.1 – B.4.29)

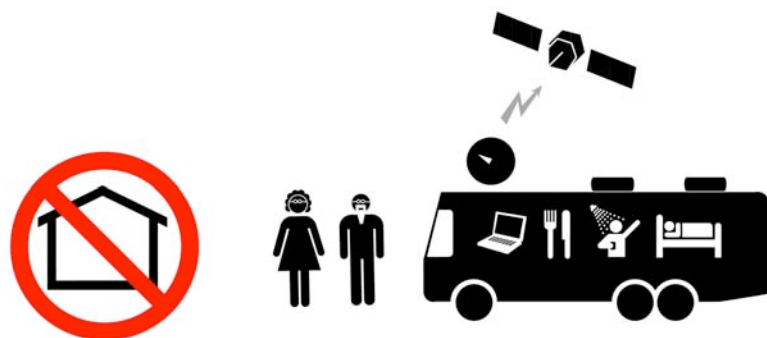


Figure B.4.1. Senior Recreational Vehicle Community (SRVC).

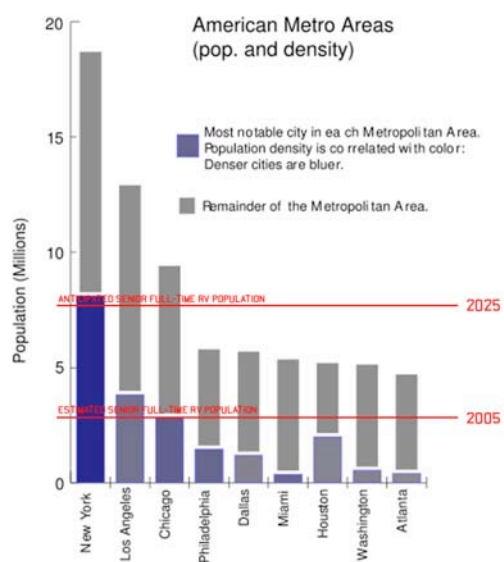


Figure B.4.2. Estimated senior RV community population compared to American cities.
Source: David and Dorothy Counts, *Over the Next Hill: An Ethnography of RVing Seniors in North America* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 1996); US Census Data.

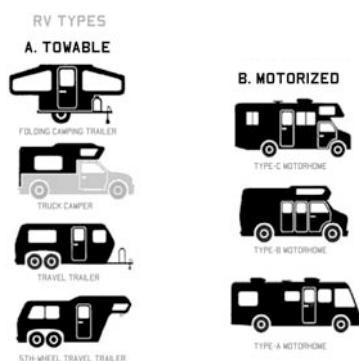


Figure B.4.3. Recreational Vehicle (RV) types.
Source: Recreational Vehicle Industry Association, RVIA.com

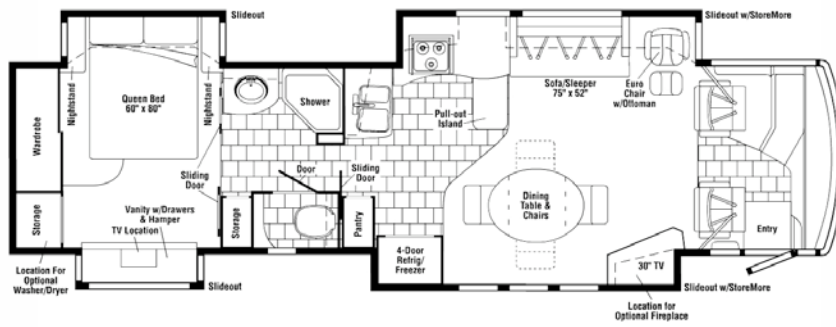


Figure B.4.4. Recreational Vehicle (RV) floor plan.
Source: Winnebago Company.



Figure B.4.5. Senior RV community, various group events.
Source: assorted RV web sites.



Figure B.4.6. Chili competition, Quartzsite, AZ.



Figure B.4.7. Senior RV community, 'Pot-Luck' dinners.
Source: assorted RV web sites.



Figure B.4.8. RV interior: living, dining and kitchen areas.
Source: Winnebago Company.



Figure B.4.9. RV interior: bedroom.
Source: Winnebago Company.



Figure B.4.10. RV exterior, Quartzsite, AZ.



Figure B.4.11. RV exterior, Quartzsite, AZ.

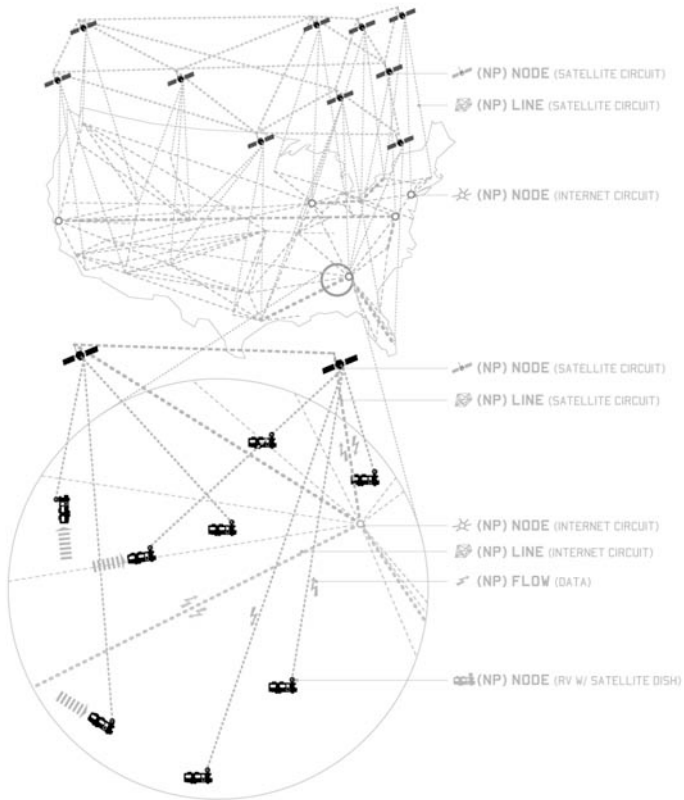


Figure B.4.12. SRVC Infrastructure (non-physical).



Figure B.4.13. RV gathering, Quartzsite, AZ.



Figure B.4.14. RV club logos.
Source: assorted RV web sites.

ESCAPEES RV CLUB

ESCAPEES MEMBERS, DON'T TRAVEL WITHOUT

SkyMed

INTERNATIONAL

Ad Rates

Ad Index

HOME

Resources/Links

Groups & Events

Parks & Parking

Discussion Forum

JOIN! ESCAPEES

Store

Club Benefits

What's Hot

Special Offers

Commercial Directory

Escapes Discussion Forum

Go

New

Find

Tools

Welcome!

Login/Join

RV Related Forums

Latest Post: October 09, 2006 07:19 AM

Forum	Topics	Posts	Last Topic
<div>Beginning RVing</div> <div>Getting started in the RV lifestyle.</div>	864	12504	<div>Re: Leaving pets inside RV (KAYERIVERCITY)</div> <div>October 08, 2006 11:35 PM</div>
<div>General RV Information</div> <div>General discussion forum for RVers.</div>	1767	17327	<div>Re: GPS (paradoxtna)</div> <div>October 09, 2006 12:24 AM</div>
<div>Sharing the Fulltime Lifestyle</div> <div>Living fulltime in an RV.</div>	814	11072	<div>Re: How do we winter in the traile... (SSage)</div> <div>October 09, 2006 06:06 AM</div>
<div>Graduating to Fulltime</div> <div>New Fulltimer's Graduating Classes and support.</div>	112	4909	<div>Re: Where are all the '06ers this... (ShunPiker)</div> <div>October 09, 2006 06:04 AM</div>
<div>Technical Tips and Tricks</div> <div>Hints and how-to related discussions.</div>	1311	11928	<div>Re: Washer and Dryer Set Up? (TomMarik)</div> <div>October 09, 2006 07:16 AM</div>
<div>RVing on a Budget</div> <div>For RVers on a budget.</div>	148	2535	<div>Re: RV Lot Rental Web Sites? (stacey frank)</div> <div>October 09, 2006 06:46 AM</div>
<div>Working on the Road</div> <div>Employment and working while traveling.</div>	234	2296	<div>Re: Art Festivals (PrayerSmith)</div> <div>October 08, 2006 12:34 AM</div>
<div>Volunteering Adventures</div> <div>Volunteer work discussion for RVers.</div>	89	618	<div>Re: Moosehorn NWR seeking "live on... (DavidMc)</div> <div>October 09, 2006 06:06 AM</div>

Link: http://escapes.infocore.cc/forums/a/tpc/f/263602661/m/2621083602?r=0121036112#0121036112

Figure B.4.15. Escapees RV Club, online forums.
Source: www.escapees.com (accessed October 9, 2006).



Figure B.4.16. Datastormusers.com, online locational tracking.
Source: www.datastormusers.com (accessed November 16, 2006).

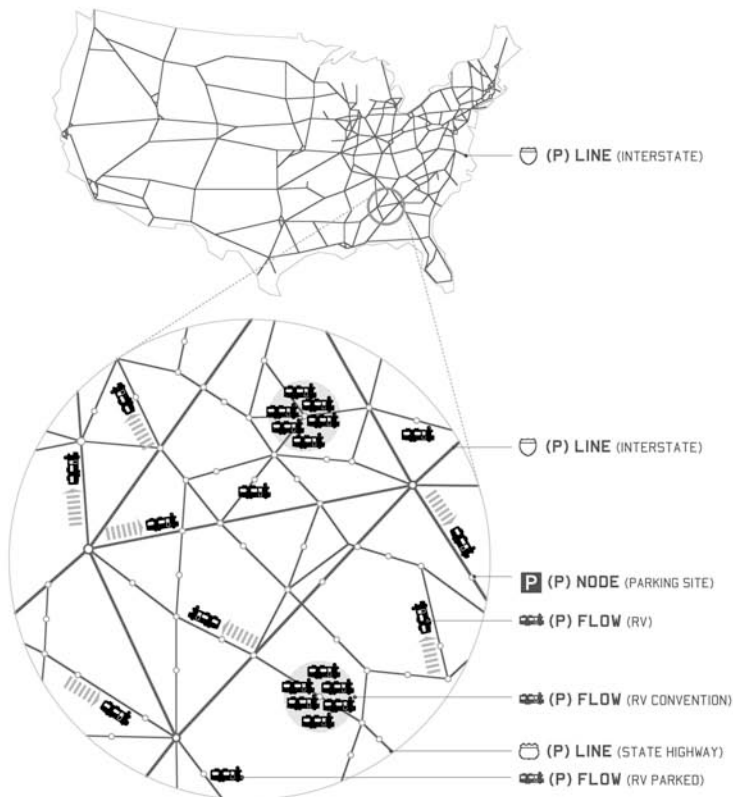


Figure B.4.17. SRVC Infrastructure (physical).



Figure B.4.18. Yakama Nation RV Resort, plan.
Source: <http://www.ynrv.com/> (accessed October 9, 2006).

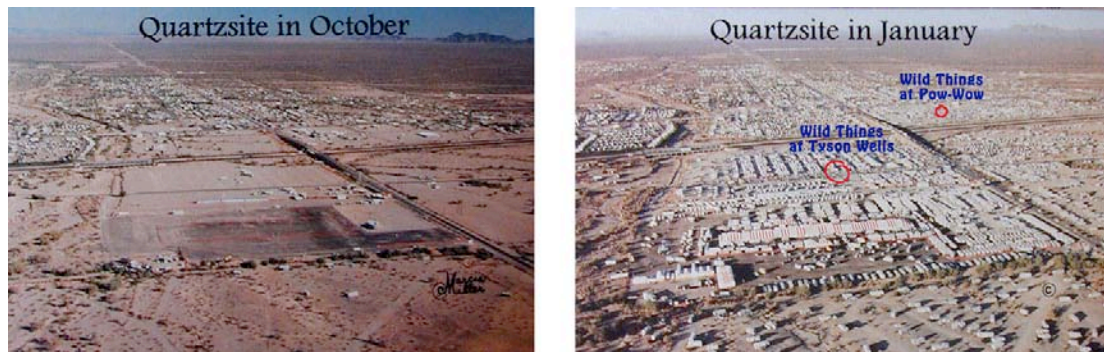


Figure B.4.19. Seasonal occupation, Quartzsite, AZ.
Source: Marcia Miller, www.dakinivisions.com/dakini/b_pages/quartzsite/quartzsite.html (accessed October 22, 2006).



Figure B.4.20. Aerial view, Quartzsite, AZ.



Figure B.4.21. Aerial views, Quartzsite, AZ.



Figure B.4.22. RVs parking in Wal-Mart parking lot.

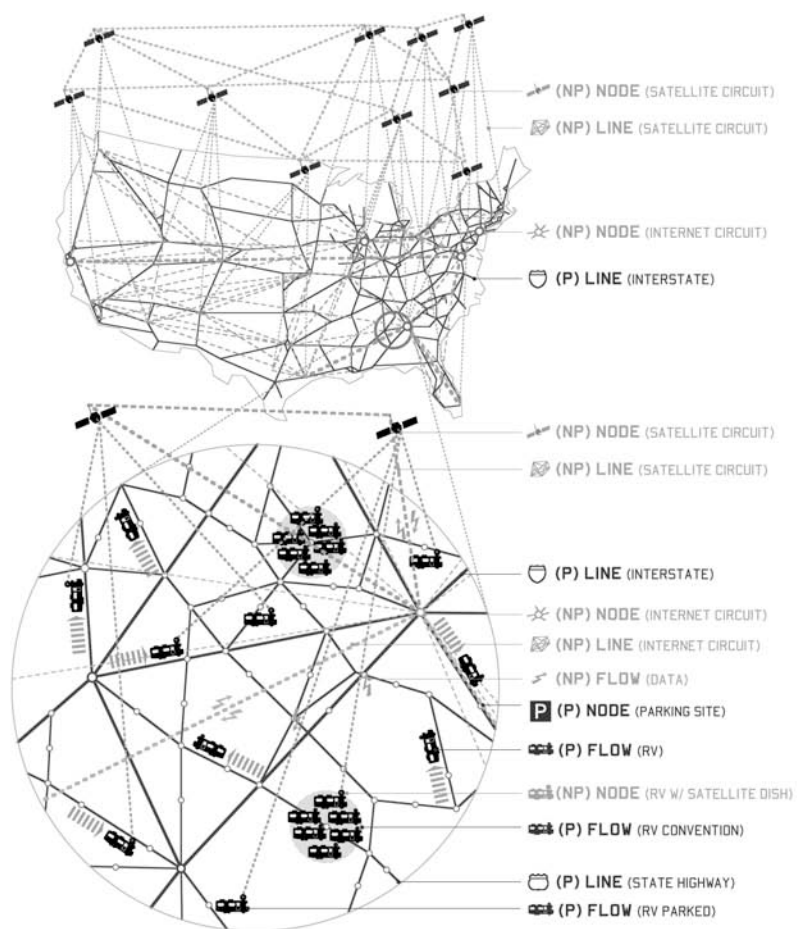


Figure B.4.23. SRVC Infrastructure (physical and non-physical combined).



Figure B.4.24. City as egg dish, after Cedric Price. SRVC as usuyaki tamago (Japanese egg crepe).

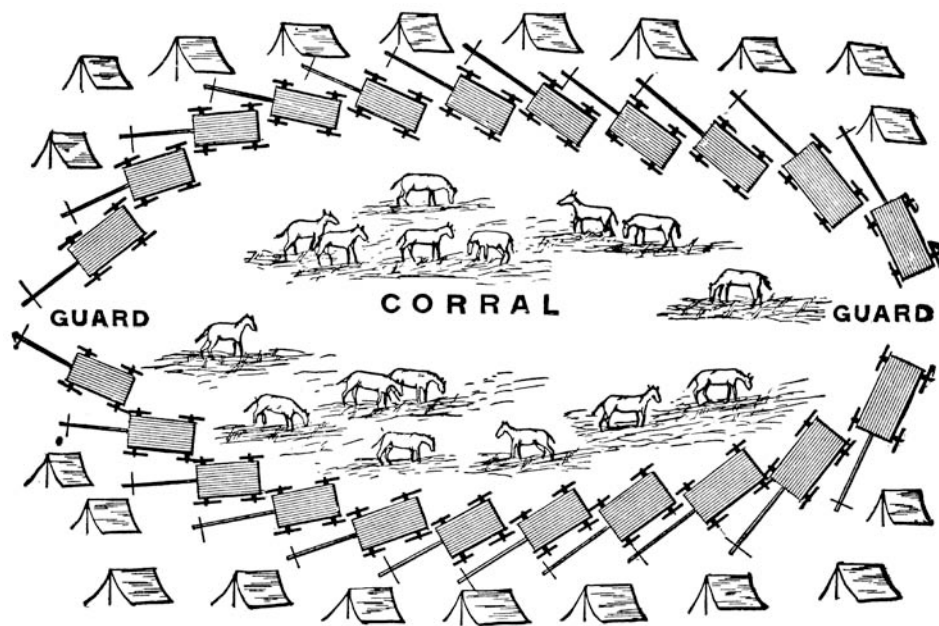


Figure B.4.25. Wagon corral plan.

Source: Hubert Bancroft, *History of Utah, 1540–1886* (San Francisco, CA: The History Company, 1889).

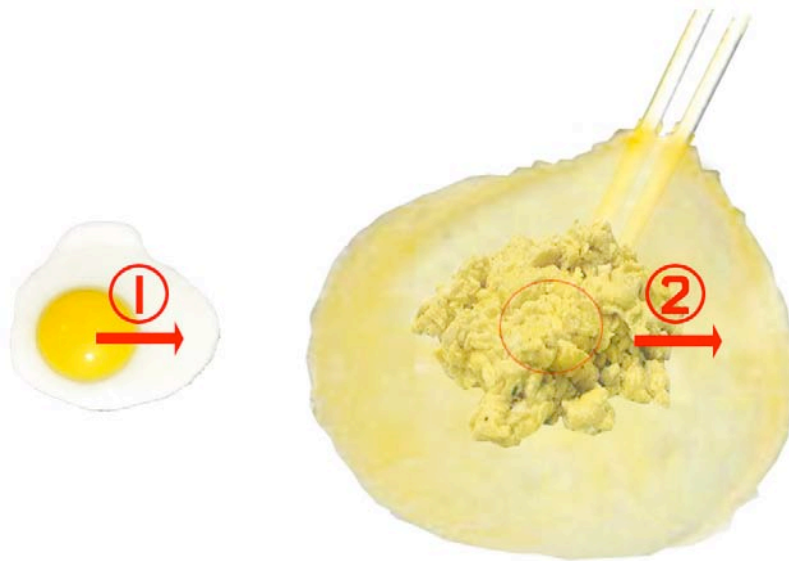


Figure B.4.26. Two waves of American urban escapism. Wave 1: from city centre to suburbs c.1950. Wave 2: from exurban city to anywhere and everywhere c.2000.

Instant City Children's Primer

devised by David Greene of Archigram

Here we present a Primer and sources, and some of the parts available so that you can go out now and make your own instant village. Don't hang about for all that architect-designed hardware. Also introduced here is Rokplug and Logplug, a new kit for the node owner to supply the needs of non or partially autonomous unit visitors that blend into the landscape and foliage, not forgetting the invitation to dream at the end. All the following pieces of living gear constitute hardware purchasable now to make instant villages, towns, etc. (camping scene not included). All right—it's still a hard network.



We all know that a car is a self-powered mobile room, with



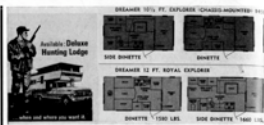
Internal support systems (air conditioning, communication)



We also know that a traffic jam is a collection of rooms, so is a car park—they are really intensely formal and regularly changing communities. A drive-in restaurant comes to



The house car is a self-powered container adapted for living inside. Any gathering of house-cars thus constitutes a gathering of living



The parking concept is a container, purpose designed to clip onto a parking track, a sort of hotel between a caravan and a house car. It's main advantage being that the



A caravan is a mobile container usually used as a living base for short periods. A few power premises is required, for use in conjunction with it, usually a car



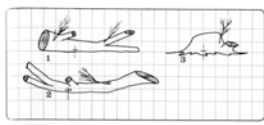
The trailer home is a movable container and for living in for extended periods. It requires a high powered prime mover. These containers are frequently adapted



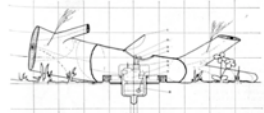
Villages of house trailers like this are relatively immobile and their major strength, usually, is to situate straight suburbs as closely as



possible. This is achieved by a comprehensive inventory of purchasable units which can be made the trailer look like a 'wolf' from



Logplugs and Rokplugs (shown above) are selected for simulation of real logs and rocks. They serve to conceal autonomous mobile living containers. They could be manufactured from the real thing and would thus bring into any setting a high degree



This diagram explains the workings of a typical simulation log. The living quarters for both logs and logs

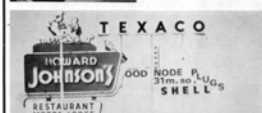
- 1 Access lid
- 2 Cold water service
- 3 Cable line discharging
- 4 AC and DC current
- 5 Telephone
- 6 Educational look-up
- 7 Operating credit and cost
- 8 Plug connection
- 9 Service monitoring and control
- 10 Removable cover
- 11 Plug final original source
- 12 Supply cable



This is an instant cluster of two cars parked next to their Rokplugs. Since it is difficult to recognize their status from nature's own products, they are equipped with a lighting signal that locates each one within a



Typical dashboard fitted with plugged display device



Logplugs and Rokplugs connections will be indicated in the usual way on hand steering systems. These signs will also inform the correct



Logplugs and Rokplugs connections will be indicated in the usual way on hand steering systems. These signs will also inform the correct

Figure B.4.27. David Greene, "Instant City: Children's Primer," 1969.
Source: Herbert Lachmayer, Schoenigm Pasqual and Dennis Crompton, eds., *A Guide to Archigram 1961-1974* (London: Academy Editions, 1994).



Figure B.4.28. David Greene, "Instant City: Children's Primer," 1969.
Source: Herbert Lachmayer, Schoenigm Pasqual and Dennis Crompton, eds., *A Guide to Archigram 1961-1974* (London: Academy Editions, 1994).

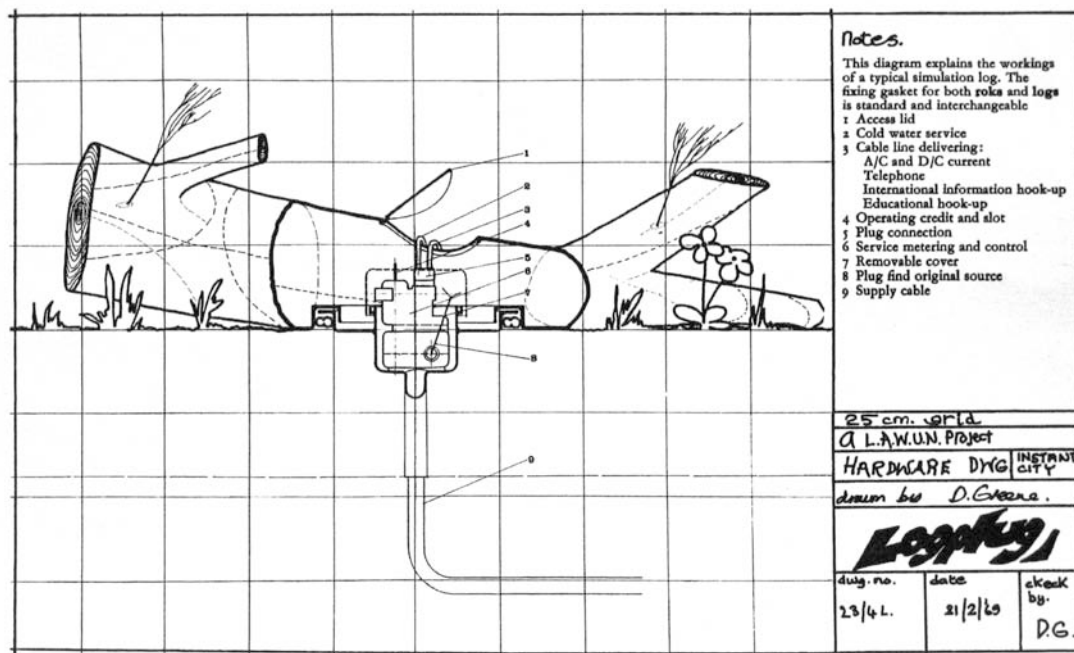


Figure B.4.29. David Greene, Logplug from "Instant City: Children's Primer," 1969.
 Source: Herbert Lachmayer, Schoenigm Pasqual and Dennis Crompton, eds., *A Guide to Archigram 1961-1974* (London: Academy Editions, 1994).