Water, New Towns, and Interior Colonization: The Experience of Spain, 1939-1965

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When Luis Buñuel shot his third film *Las Hurdes: Tierra sin pan* in 1933, the gap between Spain's urban life and the blighted countryside had reached increasingly dramatic and politically dangerous proportions. Using a George Bataille-inspired technique of chilling montage and abrupt juxtaposition, the "anarchist-surrealist" documentary about one of the poorest and most remote village of Spain was immediately censored by the Republican government, intent as it were to promote a more optimistic vision of rural Spain through various projects of agrarian reform and propaganda.[1] In the footsteps of Mussolini in Italy (reclamation of the Pontine Marshes south of Rome) and Roosevelt in the United States (Tennessee Valley Authority), large-scale irrigation, dam construction, electrification, and foundation of new settlements were all necessary solutions to the improvement of rural life and overall political stability that the Second Republic studied, but had no time to implement.[2]

Although the most urgent needs were in rebuilding the cities and their industrial peripheries, the post-Civil War reconstruction promptly focused on the rural scene. The implicit objective was to stabilize the impoverished rural population away from the big cities and thus prevent rural flight, excessive urban expansion, and potentially explosive socio-economic conditions.[3] Propaganda was also instrumental in this policy, as the schematic and simplistic prewar partition of the country between the Republican industrial cities and the "rebel" small towns remained in the discourse of the victors. Thus the New Spain not only thanked the "agrarian man" but also took pains at presenting him (and her) as the model of the New Spaniard, long-suffering and reserved, anchored in the old tradition of individual courage in the face of adversity and exacting daily labor: "Spain used to live at the expense of its villages. At the best they served as the backdrop of a picturesque drama, glimpsed through the window of a train or of an automobile… It is the war itself that eventually brought the city dwellers nearer to the countryside."[4]

Colonial landscapes and settlements

The *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* (I.N.C.) was created in October 1939 to strengthen the strategy of "ideological ruralization of the proletariat" and implement a pro-active policy of land reclamation and rural foundation.[5] The planners identified six major river basins whose improvement could help spur both agricultural development and improvement of the rural way of life: the Guadalquívir and its associate rivers such as the Viar in Andalucia; the Guadiana River that was the backbone of the Plan Badájoz from Badájoz to Ciudad Real; the Tagus and Alagón Rivers from the Portuguese border to Toledo; the Ebro River between Huesca and Lerida; the Duero River between Salamanca and Palencia; and the Segura River around Murcía.[6] Over three decades, the architects, planners, and workers of the National Institute of Colonization worked in collaboration with State's hydraulic engineers to create new man-made landscapes of dams, irrigation canals, electric power plants, towns, and church towers. Overall, the fine network of canals and reservoirs infrastructure that channeled the

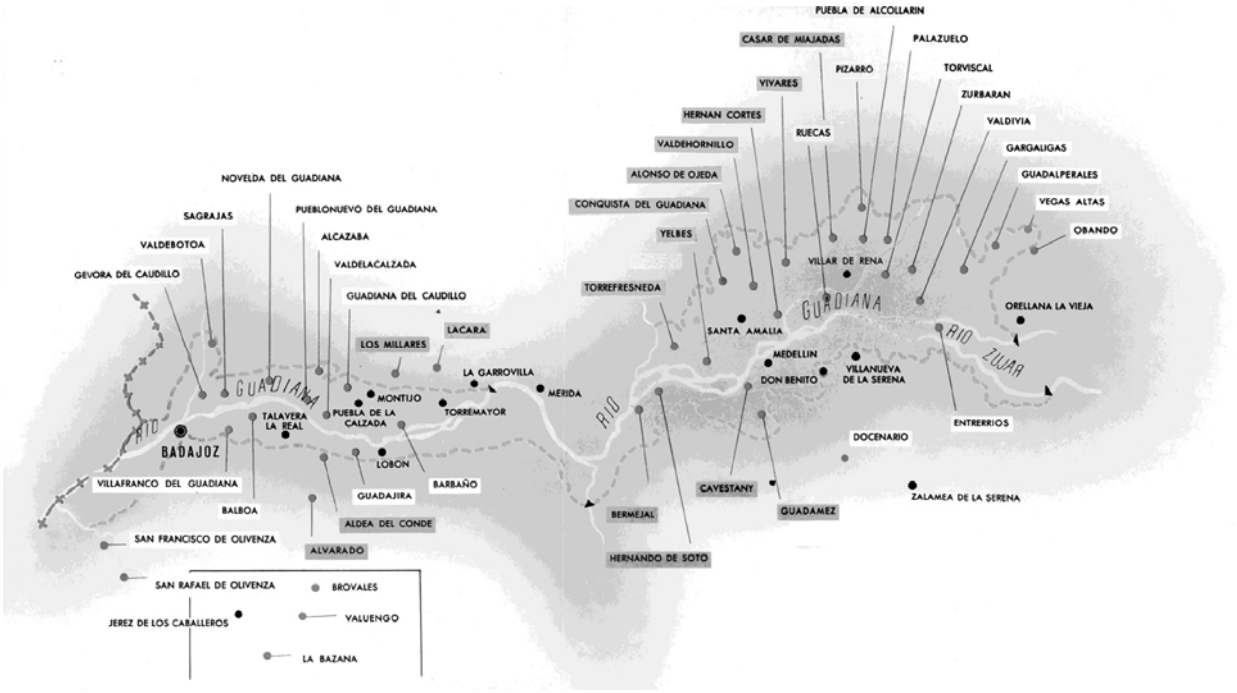

Fig. 1. New towns within the reclaimed basin of the Guadiana River (Plan Badajoz). Source: I.N.C.

water within the newly irrigated fields was relatively invisible with the exception of some large dams, for instance near Alcántara on the Tagus River at the border with Portugal. As very few towns were founded on the banks of a river, the connection of the infrastructure was primarily visible from and within the fields.

More than sixty-five thousand colons and their families—thus an estimated half a million of residents considering the size of rural families and their service employees during that period—settled in these newly reclaimed and historically poor and under-equipped regions of Spain. Three hundred and two towns were built and integrated within the new regional networks. Relatively small in size and low density (mostly one story high), they included more than forty thousand dwellings, designed both as residential and productive unit with their outbuildings and patios for animals and machines. Within the newly irrigated river basins, towns were generally built six or seven miles apart, each at the center of a specific radius of cultivation in practical distance from each town center. Although a genuine historical perspective should not be limited to the study of urban or architectural isolated "parts," but rather embrace an integral vision of territorial insertion, landscape values, production of hydraulic engineering, as well as the ethnographic values produced by these particular scenarios of social life, this essay focuses on the strategies of new foundations and the use of urban design and architecture to establish their identity with the newly settled regions (fig. 1).

Arguably, the program of colonization was not an experiment *ex novo*. From the Reconquista, Spain had forged a rich and brilliant tradition of urban foundation, both in America and in the Peninsula itself.[7] Architects and planners of the I.N.C. found a fertile ground in that heritage, yet they were equally and unequivocally aware of modern planning in Germany, Palestine, and Fascist Italy.[8] Italian new towns like Sabaudia and Segezia, as well as the 1933 *Concurso de Anteproyectos para la construcción de poblados en las zonas regables del Guadalquivir* served as blueprints for the first generation of towns.[9] Morphologically, early towns like Bernuy (1944, Manuel Jiménez Varea, Gimenells (1945, Alejandro de la Sota), Suchs (1945, José Borobio), Torre de la Reina (José Tamés, 1951) or Valdelacalzada (1947, Manuel Rosado) were planned rationally and systematically, albeit with a lot

of design diversity, according to a loose grid centered on an enclosed and at times arcaded plaza mayor. Each town was planned and built by a single architect as a unified project responding to a precise program. The town edges provided spaces for parks, schools, or sport fields, while the peripheral blocks created a genuine urban façade fronting the fields. Within this overall strategy, the towns continued to appear within the agricultural landscapes as compact white settlements dominated by a slender, and usually postwar modern in design, bell tower. This distinct architectonic element functioned mostly as a visual symbol allowing to visualize and to recognize the towns from the main roads. Interestingly, as the detached towers did not really have a precedent in rural Spain, the main source of influence for this modern typology were the well published images of Sabaudia and other Pontine cities to which the contemporary literature made ample reference (fig. 2).

Fig.2. Cañada del Agro, Albacete, 1962. José Fernández del Amo, architect. Source: INC.

The towers were, and have continued to be, an artifact that linked the towns to the concept of a regional landscape of colonization. According to the Spanish Dictionary of the Real Academia, a *colonial landscape* (paisaje colonial) is the "result of the valorization of previously uncultivated areas through new agricultural production, and its population with persons that were brought from outside, as results from territorial reorganization through the use of special plans and laws." In addition, according to the Dictionary, "the whole process is typically generated from outside the territory itself in relation with the needs of the metropolises."[10] Although these were clearly the conditions under which Franco's regime embarked on the process, the National Institute of Colonization made a concerted planning effort to permanently "populate" these landscapes. In that sense, the landscapes of the I.N.C. implied a structural transformation of the discussed regions. They became productive territories, but they were also planned to support the full socio-economic, cultural and religious needs of the newly arrived colons. In that sense they were and remain more homogeneous and more self-sufficient than most other traditional landscapes.

Modernization and abstraction of the vernacular and the urban form

From the end of World War I onwards the study of popular architecture was seen as the basis for the design of low-cost houses that would respond to the increasing migratory fluxes toward urban centers. In contrast with their Northern peers, Spanish architects oriented their reflection toward the normalization of the vernacular production in order to promote solutions confirmed by traditional construction methods and the availability of abundant manpower. Rejecting the regionalist mask Fernando García Mercadal, Josep Lluís Sert, and the architects of GATCPAC saw in the emulation of rural vernacular esthetics and tectonics (Ibiza in particular) the means to "mediterraneanize" the modern.[11] In 1939 the newly created National Institute of Housing enacted the *Ordenanzas de la Vivienda*, a set of regulations based upon pre-Civil War research that established all technical conditions necessary for the new worker dwelling unit and colonist house, including number and dimensions of rooms, orientation, preferred materials, and ventilation systems.[12] As a result, the typology within the I.N.C projects was strictly regulated. The houses were rationally conceived behind a vernacular and, within the first generation of towns, "regionalist" mask that would recall the typical dwellings of the region. Likewise, all basic constructive elements like windows, bars, balconies, and urban furniture were standardized. Given the amount of new foundations, the limited number of types and their systematic repetition within the towns, standardization at the I.N.C. became "such a natural process that [architects] had to redouble their efforts to avoid it."[13] As

Alejandro de la Sota wrote about Gimenells, it was important to achieve a variety of urban form that "without being overly irregular would be sufficient to evade the rigorous aspect of a town of grid-like pattern."[14]

The Vth National Assembly of Architects of 1949 marked a seminal date for the Spanish architectural world, which opened to an international forum after ten years of relative isolation. Italian guest lecturers Alberto Sartoris and Gio Ponti argued for a new architecture of "mediation" whose modernity would reflect "the rational and functional concept of the art of building… as old as the world and born on the coasts of the Mediterranean," thus reconnecting with the pre-Civil War debates in Spain.[15] Josep Antonio Coderch's projects for Sitges in the 1940s, the birth of *Grupo R* in Barcelona (1951), and the Spanish Pavilion for the IX Milano Triennale (1951), among others, provided the impulse and the cultural alibi, not only to adopt a stripped-down vernacular as a politically acceptable form of Spanish modernity but also to set up a less rigid relational system between buildings and their environment. Likewise, whereas the reference to the Escorial had dominated Spanish architecture during the 1940s, many saw in the Alhambra in Granada a more appropriate historical reference to the modern condition and needs of postwar Spain (Manifesto of the Alhambra, 1953).[16]

Fig. 3. Sketch for the façade of Esquivel, Sevilla (1952). Alejandro de la Sota, architect. Source: Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.

On the "colonization front," from the early 1950s and the foundation of Esquivel onwards, a new generation of I.N.C. towns sprang up from the drawing boards of Alejandro de la Sota, José Fernández del Amo, Miguel Herrero, Fernando Terán, and others like Antonio Fernández Alba. For this new generation of architects, the search for a more abstract urban form to match the modernized vernacular implied that the grid and the block could lose their absolute character and be substituted by more organic plans and relationships between city and nature.[17] Camillo Sitte's tenets of urban composition, which provided a traditional sense of identity to the first generation of new towns built in the 1940s, remained critical, although in a reinterpreted manner, to the implementation of that novel dialectic between tradition and modernity.[18] Accordingly, de la Sota designed the pioneering Esquivel (1952) as a symmetrical fan-shaped figure, whose apparent rigidity reflected "it was born all at once on a flat terrain."[19] An extensive system of pedestrian-only streets, alleys, and small squares gave access to the front of the houses, whereas another system of streets, wider and border by high courtyard walls, concentrated all the agricultural traffic and the commercial movement. Overall, Esquivel's urban spaces were traditional, yet, as William Curtis wrote, "they were abstracted in order to adapt them to a new order and a new landscape."[20] Likewise, the church and the town hall did not appear as the walls of a square, but rather rose as a corporeal, freestanding, and somewhat surrealist complex at the edge of the park that separated the curved town façade from the regional road (fig. 3).

José Luis Fernández del Amo developed further the vision of a modern urban form in Cañada de Agra (1962), Villalba de Calatrava (1955), Miraelrío (1964), and especially Vegaviana (1954).[21] Planned as a settlement of three hundred and forty houses, Vegaviana was located in the midst of a thousand-year old landscape of oak trees. Aware that the countryside would disappear over time for cultivation, del Amo decided to conserve the oak groves throughout the town, as natural relics and monuments. He allowed the landscape to penetrate the whole organism, and made it indispensable to the loose definition of the streets and squares. Blocks became like groupings of attached patio houses that could be read as large-scale objects or urban fragments within the urban context. The *plaza mayor* with its church, town hall, and shops still came into view but its edges mutated into an informal and poetic mix of built fabric and landscape. Located less than fifty kilometers southwest of the infamous Hurdes region, now part of the

Fig. 4. Aerial view of Vegaviana, Cacéres. José Fernández del Amo, architect and urbanist. Source: I.N.C.

dammed basin of the Alagón river, Vegaviana was praised as a work of "human, plastic, and social quality,"[22] "whose architecture derives from man and serves his vital fulfillment."[23] As Del Amo would write, "I have run across the Spanish land and have learnt, in all its corners, what an anonymous architecture could teach me…. Going from surprise to surprise, I have been taught to guess the measure and the function of the spaces that man built to shelter his life and his work, and how he set up an environment for social life. So were born and were made the villages and small towns that I admire and from which I have gathered the hidden laws of spontaneous organization" (fig. 4).[24]

In contrast to the Fascist Pontine cities whose public buildings and spaces were scenically and politically conceived as objects of propaganda to be extensively photographed and visited, the 300 Spanish towns were built along little traveled roads, almost anonymously, and thus far from the tourists' gaze. Beyond the pragmatism of the program and the timeless quality of their streets, a dream-like and "surrealist" atmosphere often transpires. De la Sota's "expulsion" of the church from the fabric of Esquivel, his circular brick church in Entrerríos, the "fractured centrality" of Villalba de Calatrava, the open plazas of Gévora, Hernán Cortés, or the ring of farmhouses of Miraelrío… are all examples where, in the words of Antonio Pizza, "in lieu of the center, conventional pole of the 'Full'… we come across the spectacular exposition of the 'Void.'"[25] In *Profession Reporter* (1975), Michelangelo Antonioni captured the power of this "metaphysical," or rather "surrealist" void, when, leaving the Palacio Güell on their way to Almería, Nicholson/Locke and the Girl enter a sun-scorched and deserted Andalusian town of the I.N.C. [26]

Conclusion

The agrarian politics of Franquism and the work of the National Institute of Colonization have been intensively studied and are nowadays adequately integrated into the contemporary history of Spain. Undoubtedly, the settlements of the National Institute of Colonization have been subjected to critical discrimination, both in terms of their architectural image and their ideological content, yet, since the study by Monclús y Ollón in the late 1980s, their importance has risen among historians. They have now been recognized as important catalysts for the development of modern architecture during the period of postwar autarky, as well as effective incubators for some of the best architects of the second half of the 20th century (Alejandro de la Sota, Fernández del Amo, and Antonio Fernández Alba).

Moreover, the "colonial landscapes" that were the works of the dictatorship have now been integrated within the democratic society and are more akin to what German scholars have defined as *Kulturlandschaft* or cultural landscape, i.e., the human achievement of transformation in context with nature whereby the growth of culture parallels the growth of nature, aiming together towards a heightening of the natural world through manmade cultural interventions.[27] Accordingly, it is now possible to symbolically invert the original finality of rural settlements like the towns of the Plan Badájoz and the basin of the Guadalquívir, and observe the rural environment as a locus able to evolve towards structures whose objectives of harmony with the natural environment and social integration of its residents make it one of the settings most desirable for the 21st century.

In that sense, one can reevaluate the importance of such an experiment in light of the unprecedented, highly contested, and environmentally devastating suburban sprawl that many tourist regions of Spain, and particularly the coasts from Valencia to Andalucia, are experimenting. The 2006 report released by Greenpeace under the title *Destrucción a toda costa: informe sobre la situación del litoral español* (Destruction along the entire coast: Notes on the situation of the Spanish littoral) was a devastating blow to the contemporary reputation of Spain as a model for new architecture and urban planning. Fueled by massive construction of second residences for Spanish and other European families and couples, the destruction of the coasts involves sprawling subdivisions, shopping centers, golf courses, marinas, and other uncoordinated projects. This tourist phenomenon presents many of the symptoms of a new form of colonization, this time with the appearance of an American-based suburban model, led by the private sector with the high complicity of local regional and municipal governments. This essay does not attempt at presenting solutions nor at imagining what kind of regulating infrastructure would be required in order to better control development. It only aimed at presenting a historical case study of important significance whose analysis and emulation in post-Franco democratic Spain could lead to significant progress in challenging the status quo of international real estate market forces.[28]

Endnotes

[1] On *Tierra sin pan* (Land without Bread) and its relationship to politics, see Jordana Mendelson, "Contested Territory: The Politics of Geography in Luis Buñuel's *Las Hurdes: Tierra sin pan*," *Locus Amoenus* II (1966): 229-242. Also see the exhibition catalogue by Yasha David, *Buñuel: La Mirada del siglo* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Reina Sofía, 1996), and Jordana Mendelson, *Documenting Spain: Artists, Exhibition Culture, and the Modern Nation, 1929-1939* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2005). One can also make a relationship to North American social documentaries on the poverty-stricken Tennessee Valley in the 1920s-30s: see Robert L. Snyder, *Pare Lorentz and the Documentary Film* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).

[2] See Javier Monclús and José Luis Oyon, *Políticas y técnicas en la ordenación del espacio rural*, Volume I of the *Historia y Evolución de la Colonización Agraria in España* (Madrid: MAP/MAPA/MOPU, 1988). In 1933, a competition was organized for the design of new towns in Andulacia's countryside: see "Concurso de anteproyectos para la construcción de poblados en las zonas regables del Guadalquivir y del Guadalmellato," *Arquitectura* XVI, nº 10 (1934): 267-298.

[3] On the reconstruction, see *Arquitectura en Regiones Devastadas* (Madrid: MOPU, 1987); LLuís Domènech, *Arquitectura de Siempre: Los años 40 en España* (Barcelona: Tusquets Editores, 1978); Carlos Sambricio, *Cuando se quiso resucitar la*

arquitectura (Murcia: Colegio de Arquitectos, 1983). The analogy with Fascist policies in the Pontine marshes and elsewhere following Mussolini's speech of the Ascension Day 1927 are quite obvious, but a comparative analysis remains to be done.

[4] "Muerte y reconstrucción de unos pueblos," *Reconstrucción* X, nº 8 (1949): 6.

[5] Gabriel Ureña, *Arquitectura y urbanística civil y militar en el período de la Autarquía (1936-1945)* (Madrid: Istmo, 1979), 76. On the I.N.C., see Javier Monclús and José Luis Oyón, op. cit. It is only after the establishment of the Department of Architecture at the I.N.C. in 1941, under the direction of José Matés Alarcón, that the first significant settlements were established (El Torno, Bernuy, Gimenells).

[6] Additionally, a series of small areas directly in contact with the Mediterranean coast were colonized and populated between Valencia and Málaga.

[7] On Spanish America, see Graziano Gasparini, "The Spanish-American Grid Plan, an Urban Bureaucratic Form," *The New City* I (1991): 6-17 and in the same volume "The Laws of the Indies of 1571": 18-33; Mario Sartor, "La città latinoamericana tra antecedenti precolombiani, leggi di fondazione e tradizione," *Zodiac* 8 (1988): 14-47. On 18th century foundations, see a summary in José Tamés Alarcón, "Proceso urbanistico de nuestra colonización interior," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (November 1948): 414-424; Carlos Sambricio, *Territorio y Ciudad en la España de la Ilustración* (Madrid: MOPU, 1991).

[8] See the two articles by José Tamés Alarcón, "Proceso urbanistico de nuestra colonización interior," op.cit., and "Actuaciones del Instituto Nacional de Colonización 1939-1970," *Urbanismo*, COAM 3 (1988): 4-18, where he referred directly to Sabaudia, Segezia, and Nahalal, the kibboutz-village designed in 1921 by Richard Kauffman. On German architects in Spain, Joaquín Medina Warmburg, *Projizierte Moderne: Deutschsprächige Architekten und Städtebauer in Spanien (1918-1936)* (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag, 2005); Carlos Sambricio, "Hermann Jansen y el concurso de Madrid de 1929, *Arquitectura* 303 (1995): 8-15.

[9] "Concurso de anteproyectos para la construcción de poblados en las zonas regables del Guadalquivir y del Guadalmellato," *Arquitectura* XVI, nº 10 (1934): 267-298.

[10] For this paragraph, see Águeda A. Villa Díaz y Juan F. Ojeda Rivera, "Paisajes coloniales en el Bajo Guadalquivir. Origen, evolución y carácter patrimonial," *PH. Boletín del Instituto Anadaluz del Patrimonio Histórico* XIII, nº 52 (2005): 43-55.

[11] See for instance Antonio Pizza, "The Mediterranean: Creation and Development of a Myth" in *J. LL. Sert and Mediterranean Culture*, ed. Antonio Pizza and Josep Rovira (Barcelona: Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña, 1995), 12-45; Josep Rovira, "Ibiza y la mirada de la vanguardia" in ed. Josep Rovira, *Urbanización en Punta Martinet, Ibiza, 1966-71* (Almería: Colegio de arquitectos de Almería, 1996), 33-54; and Carlos Sambricio, "La normalización de la arquitectura vernácula: un debate en la España de los veinte," *Revista de Occidente* (December 2000): 21-44.

[12] José Fonseca, Director of the National Institute of Housing, was an important link between the pre-Civil War era and the reconstruction: see among others José Fonseca, "La vivienda rural en España: estudio técnico y jurídico para una actuación del Estado en la material," *Arquitectura* XVIII, nº 1 (1936): 12-24. On the Housing Ordinances of 1939, see Manuel Calzada Pérez, "La vivienda rural en los pueblos de colonización," *PH. Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico* XIII, nº 52 (2005): 55-67; Alfredo Villanueva Paredes and Jesus Leal Maldonado, op. cit.; Ignacio de Sola-Morales, "La Arquitectura De La Vivienda En Los Años De La Autarquia, 1939-1953." *Arquitectura* 199 (April 1976): 19-30. In parallel, architects documented the architectonic elements of traditional construction and catalogued the typologies in relation to the climate and other regional characteristics. This scientific labor was popularized through a series of publications like *Construcciones rurales* and *La vivienda rural.*

[13] Manuel Calzada Pérez, "La vivienda rural en los pueblos de colonización," 61.

[14] Alejandro de la Sota, "Vivienda agrupada. Pueblo de Gimenells," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (November 1948): 439-441.

[15] Antonio Pizza, "The Tradition and Universalism of a Domestic Project," in ed. Antonio Pizza & Josep Rovira, *In Search of Home: Coderch 1940/1964* (Barcelona: Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña, 2000), 89-90.

[16] On that period, see Gabriel Ruiz Cabrero, *The Modern in Spain after 1948* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001). On Grupo R, see Carmen Rodríguez and José Torres, *Grup R* (Barcelona: Gili, 1994). For the Manifiesto de la Alhambra (Chueca Goitia, Fisac, et.al.), see ed. Angel Urrutia Núñez, *Arquitectura Española Contemporánea – Documentos, Escritos, Testimonios Inéditos* (Madrid: COAM, 2002), 356-375.

[17] Paredes and Maldonado, op.cit. On page 344, they give the following numbers: from 1940-1949:

23 new towns (3072 dwellings); from 1950-1959: 144 new towns (17650 dwellings); from 1960 to 1969: 96 new towns (9300 dwellings).

[18] On Sitte's influence in Spain, see Victor Pérez Escolano, "La diffusione dei principi sittiani in Spagna e nell'America Ispanica," in ed. Guido Zucconi, *Camillo Sitte e i suoi Interpreti* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 1992), 156-161; and Carlos Sambricio, "De la ciudad lineal a la ciudad jardín. Sobre la difusión en España de los supuestos urbanisticos a comienzos del siglo," *Ciudad y Territorio* 94 (1992): 147-159. On the second generation of towns, see Antonio Pizza, "Die Dörfer Der Agrarkolonisation Im Spanien Francos," ed. Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, *Die Architektur, Die Tradition Und Der Ort: Regionalisme in der Europäischen Stadt* (Ludwigsburg: Wüstenrot Stiftung, 2000), 464-93.

[19] Alejandro de la Sota, "El Nuevo pueblo de Esquivel, cerca de Sevilla," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 133 (December 1953): 15-22; "Pueblo para el Instituto de Colonización, 1952-1956, Esquivel, Sevilla," *AV: Monografias (Alejandro de la Sota)* 68 (Nov.-Dec. 1997): 38-45. Interestingly, Esquivel recalls, at a smaller scale, Ernst May's unrealized project for Siedlung Bornheimer Hang in Frankfurt (1926).

[20] William Curtis, "Dúas obras." *Grial* 109 (1991): 17. Quoted in Pedro de Llano, *Alejandro de la Sota: O nacemento dunha arquitectura* (Pontevedra: Deputación Provincial de Pontevedra, 1994), 41.

[21] For an overview of Del Amo's works for the I.N.C., see *Fernández Del Amo: Arquitecturas 1942-1982* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1983), and José Luis Fernández del Amo, *Palabra y Obra. Escritos Reunidos* (Madrid: COAM, 1995). On Vegaviana, see for instance "Vegaviana: un poblado de colonización," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 202 (1958): 1-14.

[22] Quoted from Francisco Javier Saenz de Oiza, "El Pueblo de Vegaviana," *Arquitectura* 7 (1959: 25-28, reprinted in *Fernández Del Amo: Arquitecturas 1942-1982*, 46.

[23] Oscar Niemeyer, catalogue of the 1961 Biennale of São Paulo where Del Amo received the Gold Medal, quoted by José de Castro Arines, "El hombre y la obra" in *Fernández Del Amo: Arquitecturas 1942-1982*, 16.

[24] José Luis Fernández del Amo, "Del hacer de unos pueblos de colonización," *Palabra y Obra: Escritos Reunidos* (Madrid: COAM, 1995), 77.

[25] Antonio Pizza, "Los lugares del habitar en los poblados de colonización" in *La habitación y la ciudad moderna: ruptures y continuidades. Actas del Primer Seminario DOCOMOMO Ibérico* (Zaragoza: Fundación Mies van der Rohe, 1998), 137-143, quoted by José Rivera Serrano in "Colonización: figuración, abstracción y vacio." *PH. Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico*, 80.

[26] Research for this essay has been made possible with the support of the University of Miami, Cristiano Rosponi (Agenzia per la città, Roma), and Luigi Prisco (Regione Lazio).

[27] See John Czaplicka, "Cultural Landscape as Discursive Framework, *Kritische Berichte* 2 (2000): 5-19. Also see Hans-Jürgen Ruckert, *Die Kulturlandschaft Am Mittleren Guadiana; Junge Wandlungen Durch Den Plan Badajoz*. Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1970).

[28] See www.Greenpeace.com.