

## New Landscapes: gated housing estates in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Rita Raposo, Lisbon

### 1 A preliminary analysis of the gated housing estate phenomenon

In this preliminary chapter, we analyse the two dimensions we believe hold greatest relevance to the gated housing estate phenomenon in general and which contribute most to studying its social production. Firstly, we interpret the phenomenon as a specific socio-spatial form with a defined physical morphology and with specific social characteristics, causes and possible effects. Secondly, we stress the fact that gated housing estates are generally a real estate product, a commodity and the direct outcome of the real estate market structure and its dynamics. Even if there is documentation of gated housing estates not built by developers, but rather resulting from the outcome of collective action by residents, as is the case of «security zone» gated communities referred to by BLAKELY & SNYDER (1997) for the USA or by CARVALHO (2001) for S. Paulo, Brazil, it should be noted that these cases seem to be less frequent in Portugal (no significant incidence has been identified), and to have very different social characteristics and significance. Besides other aspects, these «socially emerging» gated housing estates have poor and lower class inhabitants, and the discussions of governance and community always present on the gated housing estate research agenda surely cannot be posed in the same way for residential areas already existing as for those built from scratch.

As a unique socio-spatial form, the phenomenon can broadly be interpreted as a form of segregation as it translates into space already existing social boundaries. It can be distinguished from other known forms of segregation through the unique association of two traits: 1) the use of physical-architectural barriers and 2) its voluntary character. The gated housing estates use a specific «method» to obtain the spatial consecration of social inequality – «architectural policing» (DAVIS 1990) – and in this case the method is not applied to a «territory of rejection» (VIEILLARD-BARON 1996) nor to an «involuntarily defined population group held to be, and treated, as inferior by the dominant society» (MARCUSE 1997: 232) as happens in the case of the ghetto. Instead, gated housing estate inhabitants are typically middle and upper-middle class. At least in Portugal, the upper-class is not as affected by this form of housing. Due to their greater liberty of choice they seem to prefer more «individualistic» housing solutions.

As real estate products, gated housing estates are commodities and as such space and society are engineered to create a sellable product. This is particularly important in explaining their social production. Firstly, this is due to the perception that gated housing estates are mostly driven by the supply side of the real estate market. Even if the broader social, economic, institutional, spatial, political and cultural context produces a framework propitious to this product's success, the direct role of the real estate development sector cannot be dismissed. Secondly, the gated housing estate product is heavily subject to a logic of aestheticisation that especially today, dominates the production, circulation and consumption of economic goods (LASH & URRY 1994). That seems part of its easily transferable success.

Usually, gated housing estates contain an important intrinsically embodied component of sign-value or image. This symbolic content is conveyed through planning, architecture, landscaping and other methods and emphasised by its marketing throughout the promotion phase. The rest is completed by consumers whose aspirations match the symbolic images on sale. Given the material form of gated housing estates, their physical separation, enclosure and self-contention, and the central place that home and habitat occupy within it, they constitute the ideal terrain for the use of several symbolic images that simultaneously represent both social segregation and social identity. In fact, they are usually presented as separated realities in both physical and symbolic terms. Gated housing estates not only bring about physical segregation and control but also symbolically reconstruct reality in order to ensure the same practical result.

The gated commodified utopias or paradises that have mushroomed across the Lisbon Metropolitan Area for almost two decades used to represent an absolute novelty in Portugal. In fact, there is no trace of any similar previous socio-spatial form or any that could preclude it in any way. Clearly, this is an import of recent years, as probably was the case in most countries and regions around the world. It is not easy to determine the exact path that the introduction of gated communities took in each case, the Portuguese situation being no exception. The most obvious approach is to look back in history to ascertain the origins of this form of settlement and to define a typical set of prevailing social factors. Most probably, the gated housing estate phenomenon first appeared in the Anglo-American world more than two centuries ago, and was re-created in the United States during the last century. From there, it was exported to the rest of the world through the set of

forces known as globalisation, that, while absent at the time of its first appearance, now seem to make it able to travel long distances.

If we take the formal and social characteristics of gated housing estates as our reference, the search for its historical origins first leads us to a specific time-space-society context, that is, to a transitional, recent-modern, bourgeois, and liberal capitalist, Anglo-American world. Two different but sequenced and socially connected residential forms seem to form part of this first version. The more pristine of these forms is the British residential square or, better, its enclosed and gated version that appeared in London in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century and was exported to the USA a few decades later (LAWRENCE 1993). The second is represented by the planned Anglo-American romantic suburb. The first examples were built during the 1830's in England and arrived just a few years later in the United States of America (FISHMAN 1987; ARCHER 1988). Examples of both forms have already been referred to by MCKENZIE (1994) and LUYMES (1997) as antecedents of contemporary gated housing estates. The second edition of this phenomenon or its contemporary form, can be found in various and very different countries and regions all over the world. According to several references (BLAKELY & SNYDER 1997; LUYMES 1997), it appears that it once again started in a similar geographical location, namely the USA, around the late 1960's, before expanding explosively in the next decades within the USA and worldwide.

Two aspects of this history are of particular relevance. Firstly, it should be noted that probably from the beginning, and surely since the romantic suburb form, gated housing estates have simultaneously been a unique form of segregation, enforced both practically and symbolically, and a commodity, an established commercial formula driven by real estate developers, able to be replicated wherever social conditions create the opportunity (FISHMAN 1987). Secondly, and also from its outset, gated housing estates seem to require the presence of a typical set of social factors key to determining their appearance. In fact, if we compare the first and the second editions of the phenomenon we can find several contextual similarities, despite the fact that space and society have changed a lot since then and that the actual geography of the phenomenon is much more diversified and ample (for more specific references, see RAPOSO 2002). We believe it should not be taken as incidental that the second edition of the phenomenon started in the USA nor that it once again happened at a time of rapid, deep social and spatial change, and even of epochal transition.

It seems legitimate to establish a parallel between a period that witnessed the passage of traditional society to modernity and a period that saw the arrival of

post-fordism and post-modernity. In both periods, the social structure and the culture of many cities underwent deep and rapid changes, revolutionising their space. The formation of new classes or social groups, the development of new class relationships and class dynamics seem typical of both moments. In particular, the importance of phenomena like growing class or social group tensions as well as social polarisation, including the rapid upward social mobility of certain sections of the population with a simultaneous increase of poverty should be stressed. In cultural terms, or more exactly in terms of the «mental life» of the metropolis in both moments, it is worth stressing the importance of «civilisation fears», of feelings (more or less realistic) of insecurity, of losing control over habitual space and society, and the search for identity, community and roots in general.

But it should be noted that both the first and the second editions of the phenomenon also appear to be associated with other kinds of social conditions, i.e., with a set of factors that seem to have no special relation to any epochal transition nor to an equivalent set of described factors, but that, instead, seem related to specific, local cultural and political conditions. «Strong market, weak state» (an expression used by PEIXOTO in 2002 with reference to the analysis of another Portuguese social issue) suitably expresses in a nutshell a situation where privatisation and real estate agency freedom and scope of action have the overhand, superimposing public initiative and control over space and, as such, over society. In fact, gated housing estates seem to flourish and generally do better where one can observe the absence, the failure or the abstention of State intervention in the regulation of space and in the provision of public goods. That clearly happened at the time of the first edition of the phenomenon and it appears to be happening again today. As such, all of these observations may help us to understand not only why Anglo-American cities were the unique platform for the first edition of gated housing estates but also why this phenomenon has again been able to take foot in society today worldwide, including in Portugal.

## 2 The research methodology

To be able to study the social production of gated housing estates in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA), we conducted an area-wide survey of the phenomenon for the period between 1985-1999. It included a census of developments with the identification of existing cases and the construction and loading of a database covering various aspects, such as, for example, the main formal characteristics of identified developments, their locations, the real estate agents involved and their promotional texts. We also visited and observed sev-

eral developments and conducted in-depth interviews with key participants such as real estate agents (developers, consulting agents and sales agents), development administrators, municipal council technical personnel, architects and legal experts.

For the LMA gated housing estate census, we were dependent on specific methodological procedures both for identifying the developments and for the gathering information as there is no public or private Portuguese institution able to provide that kind of information, including national statistical agencies and the municipal authorities. To carry out the identification process we resorted to the observation of advertisements published in the Portuguese weekly newspaper *EXPRESSO* throughout the 1985-1999 period. Besides the fact that this weekly newspaper has the highest profile and highest circulation numbers in Portugal, it is also the only newspaper whose pages extensively and regularly advertise real estate developments, especially those located in the LMA and in national tourism areas. To validate the procedure we regularly consulted other newspapers and the specialist real estate press and visited the first two Portuguese Real Estate Fairs (1998 and 1999). This cross-referencing confirmed that the advertisement observation in the main weekly Portuguese newspaper was indeed a very good source of information for the census. Of course, one should keep in mind that the efficacy of the procedure selected is not optimal, and that other gated housing estates may have been built in the area during this period, perhaps very small scale developments targeting very local markets, and thus were not publicised in the press.

For the process of gathering information on these advertised developments, we also had to resort to other sources and procedures. In fact, newspaper advertisements do not usually provide all the required information, even if they have the specific advantage of indicating the time the product went on sale and of containing promotional details such as texts and images. For collecting additional information, we relied on *in situ* visits, interviews, consultation of municipal elements regarding subdivision and individual construction processes, and, finally, on telephone enquiries to the developments' real estate agents (developers, builders or sales agents). For the processing of all information designated for the database, we used *Système Pour l'Analyse des Données* (SPAD). The data was analysed as follows: 1) a simple descriptive characterisation; 2) a development typology, based on an analysis of multiple correspondences; 3) and a content analysis of promotional texts.

For the survey of *condomínios fechados* or gated housing estates of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area an operational definition of the phenomenon had to be con-

structed. We defined it as a residential form that may include several practical housing solutions (apartment blocks, individual houses, or a mix of both), and that incorporates the following traits: 1) private (or privatised) amenities for collective use (swimming-pools, gardens and parks, streets, tennis courts, golf courses etc.); 2) perimeter impermeability and access control (LUYMES 1997); 3) collective private property (or privatised access) of open space corresponding to physical support for amenities. There was a need to differentiate between private and privatised, relating to amenities and open space in order to better categorise the gated residential forms found in the LMA. We identified at least four situations, three of them corresponding to big, master-planned gated housing estates, that were built anew as walled and gated estates but that, at the same time, retained within public spaces, such as streets and green spaces. It means that even if the entire developed space (always a subdivision) is, from its outset, totally enclosed and impermeable (with walls or fences, and gates and entrance controls), the spaces within that are not private housing or equipment lots remain public property.

### 3 Gated housing estates in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

The Lisbon Metropolitan Area has nineteen municipalities over its 3,122 square kilometres, and approximately 2.5 million inhabitants. For the aforementioned period, we identified a total of 97 newly developed gated housing estates in the LMA, distributed across just ten municipalities. Furthermore, from the beginning of 2000 and at least through to the end of 2001, the phenomenon was increasingly popular, spreading to other LMA municipalities. Those two years correspond to the second phase of a positive cycle in the Portuguese real estate market. Starting in 1998, the property boom parallels a phase when *condomínios fechados* became quite a common and even fashionable real estate product in Portugal.

Of the 97 developments we identified across the LMA for the period defined above, only 10 were built prior to 1990, and all of these were small scale developments covering less than 5 hectares each. In the following three years, a further 27 new developments were built in the LMA, including the first large scale and master-planned gated housing estate – the Quinta da Marinha launched in 1991 with 168 hectares and 318 housing units (the other big and medium size developments located in LMA are: the Quinta do Peru, launched in 1993, with 133 hectares and 250 housing units; the Quinta do Picão, launched in 1994, with 30 hectares and just 30 housing units; the Quinta da Beloura, launched in 1994, with 175 hectares and 1,586 housing

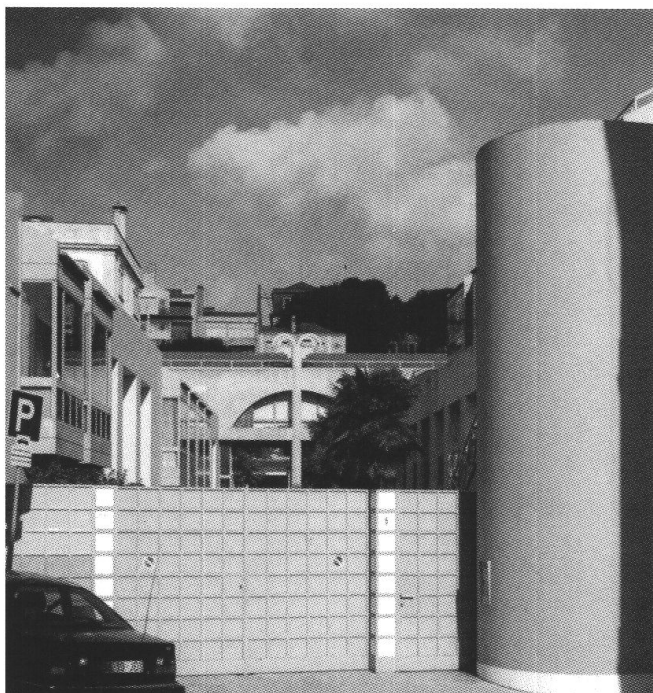


Photo 1: Photo of the access gate of a small *condomínio fechado* in Lisbon

*Photo de la protection d'un petit «condomínio fechado» à Lisbonne*

*Photo des Eingangstors eines kleinen «condomínio fechado» in Lissabon*

Photo: R. RAPOSO

units; the Herdade da Aroeira with 345 hectares and 1,633 housing units, the Belas Clube de Campo with 133 hectares and 994 housing units, the Montado with 100 hectares and 329 housing units, the Quinta da Penha Longa with 220 hectares and 200 units, and the Casas de Azeitão with 16 hectares and 243 housing units, all launched in 1995; the Quinta Patino launched in 1996, with 46 hectares and 142 units). Over the next 5 years, the real estate market experienced a slump with the growth rate of this particular residential form also declining. Indeed, only 28 new gated housing estates were built during those years. Finally, in the last two years of the surveyed period (1998-1999), the real estate market recovered due to a very positive macro-economic conjuncture and significant and steady decreases in mortgage interest rates. During those two years a further 32 new developments were built in the LMA.

The LMA gated housing estates in the survey are by no means homogeneous; the differences in structural characteristics being very high (Photo 1). Of the 97 estates investigated, only 10 cover an area larger than 5 hectares. Further obvious differences concern the

number of housing units, the type of amenities and the form of security used. In fact, if we only take the variable number of housing units and compare just the small size developments, we notice that the developments range from 20 units to 300 units each. Through statistical analysis of multiple correspondences, it was possible to identify three distinct classes of gated estate developments in the LMA. Briefly, the first class, of 72 cases, is characteristically a class composed of apartment building developments of between 21 and 50 apartments or between 101 and 200 apartments. The estates cover 5 hectares or less and they lack more exclusive amenities, such as golf courses, tennis courts or clubhouses (in both this and the second class of gated estates, the most frequent amenities available are swimming-pools and gardens).

The second class is characterised by developments with individual houses and less than 50 units. 18 of the estates fitted into this category. Finally, the 7 major master-planned gated housing estates in the LMA form their own gated estate category. Here, the range of amenities, the number of housing units, the area and the mixed housing character are important. Interestingly, the publicity material of all of the developments in the survey proved to not make any significant contribution to the analysis due to their similarity, despite the real differences of the developments being promoted.

Generally, the normal images on sale are of places where society, space, and time are bestowed with qualities beyond the norm. Society is usually presented as a world where social relations and social life are warm, authentic and moral as is idealistically conjured up by the very idea of community (TÖNNIES 1979), but where, simultaneously, all are respectful of individual and family privacy and of rational neighbouring. This is as recommended by the very logic of the contractual association of socially alike but independent individuals. Space is represented as safe, controlled, ordered and beautified, as a landscape expurgated of its dark side (BARRELL 1980) or as W.J.T. MITCHELL (1994) will put it, a real estate that became an ideal estate. Finally, time is a promise of a bright and new future, perfect for starting all over while also nostalgic of a past – a great part of gated housing estates have embodied in themselves and extol in their publicity explicit references to noble, distinct or aristocratic worlds. Examples of such texts, taken from the promotional brochures of two gated housing estates illustrated in figures 1 and 2.

In connection with the spatial distribution of these LMA gated housing estates, it is worth mentioning that the municipalities of Cascais, Oeiras and Lisbon,

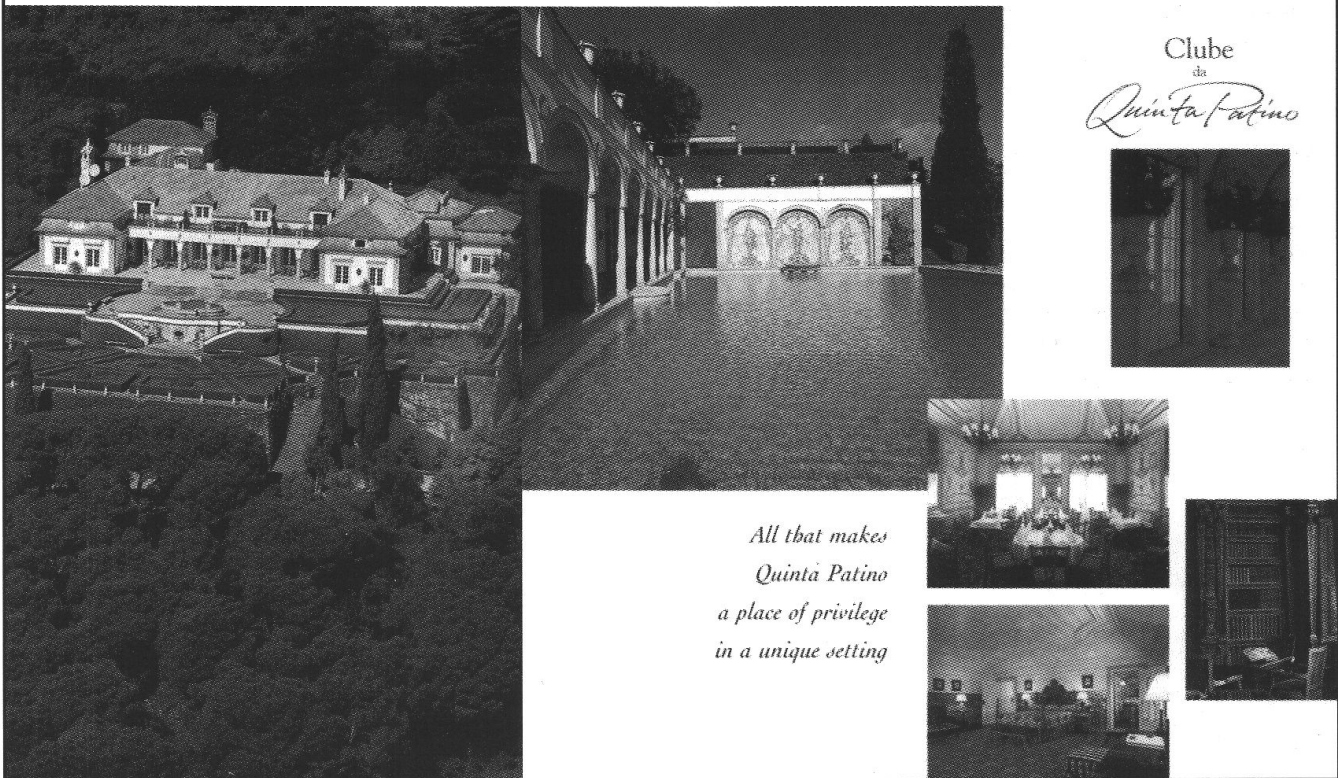
# Quinta Patino

*Within the security of this private walled estate, extending over 46 hectares (114 acres)  
of mature pine forest, purchasers have the choice of selection from:*

*91 individual villa plots with areas varying from 1.100 to 6.500m<sup>2</sup> (0,27 to 1,6 acres);*

*8 apartments in the **The Palace Residences**, adjacent to the Club*

*40 apartments and 3 villas comprising the **The Valley Residences**,  
overlooking the central park area.*



*All that makes  
Quinta Patino  
a place of privilege  
in a unique setting*

Fig. 1: Excerpts from the promotional brochure of the master-planned *condomínio fechado* Quinta Patino  
*Extraits de la brochure publicitaire du «masterplan» du «condomínio fechado» Quinta Patino*  
*Auszüge der Werbebroschüre des Masterplanes des «condomínio fechado» Quinta Patino*

forming a continuum along the northern bank of the river Tagus, are home to 43, 7, and 23 developments respectively. The developments in these municipalities alone account for 73 of the cases investigated. The Lisbon-Oeiras-Cascais axis, usually referred to as the «Linha de Cascais» is according to the INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTATÍSTICA (INE) (1999) and SALGUEIRO (1997) the most affluent and most socially favoured residential area in LMA. This axis has a traditional

aura of prestige related to both its landscape qualities and its image of affluence, cosmopolitanism and social distinctiveness. Following the same logic, the *condórnios fechados* inside Lisbon are located either in old, consolidated and prestigious areas of the city, or in its new or expanding areas. In the latter case, the social images of the development areas are still «under construction». The lack of «negative» symbolical charges (working class, mass market, or structural decay) in



Fig. 2: Excerpts from the promotional brochure of the master-planned *condomínio fechado* Quinta do Peru  
*Extraits de la brochure publicitaire du «masterplan» du «condomínio fechado» Quinta do Peru*  
*Auszüge aus der Werbebroschüre des Masterplans des «condomínio fechado» Quinta do Peru*

these areas are a definite plus for their potential association with affluence and modernity.

Clearly, gated housing estates both across the LMA and inside Lisbon are preferentially located in more affluent, expensive and prestigious sites consistent with their targeting of the middle and upper-middle classes. As such, they seem to enforce pre-existing segregation patterns inside Lisbon and, in more general terms (as the scale changes), in its metropolitan region. However, it should be noted that Lisbon like other Mediterranean metropolises has comparatively lower levels of socio-ethnic segregation and functional differentiation than North European metropolises (SALGUEIRO 1997), «due to the late development of industrial capitalism, and of a formal urban planning culture» (MALHEIROS 2002: 115). At the same time, «the relative exceptionalism of urban regulations» results in the «cities of the South and their suburban extensions displaying more <disorganised> patterns, in both urban and social terms» (idem). As such, gated

housing estates seem to provide an additional barrier against a territory that may be experienced as «insufficiently» socially clustered and separated.

In the study and analysis of agents involved in the social production of LMA gated housing estates we focused mainly on developers and estate agents, along with national bodies, especially in connection with their roles as the legislative and political-administrative authority at the municipal level. Regarding these agents and their relevant characteristics and attitudes, some aspects deserve emphasising. The interviews and the observations made in connection with the evolution and dynamics of the LMA real estate market, and its relation to the processes of introduction and expansion of this specific product, confirmed the importance of the supply side for this market. Of course, the existence of a potential demand for a product is also important; with regards to gated developments, this has been the case in Portugal in recent years.

Over the last two decades, certain segments of the middle and upper-middle classes (managers, senior executives, technicians, and scientific and intellectual professionals) have experienced relative growth, these groups by the end of the last decade accounting for around 10% of the active population (PEIXOTO 1999). This reveals the growing importance of academic qualifications in Portuguese social mobility processes (ESTANQUE & MENDES 1997) and is associated with the profound and rapid economic and social changes that Portugal experienced during those years, including the restructuring of productive, social and spatial structures. These same processes however, were also responsible for growing poverty, social exclusion (CAPUCHA 1998) and social polarisation (GASPAR et al. 1998), in particular in the LMA. As mentioned before, Portugal may be described as a semi-peripheral country that experienced modernity relatively late and which throughout the last twenty years has been subject to social and spatial changes associated with post-modern and post-fordist trends.

It is highly probable that the main clients of gated housing estates stem from the privileged socio-economic segments of society described above. This assumption was given further flesh by both the interviews conducted and observations made (specifically, the type of lifestyle offered, the social image and values presented). Further, the prices asked are usually much higher than those of non-gated alternatives. The decision for these target groups to move to such areas could also lie in their perception of residential areas elsewhere in the metropolis being disorganised and generally insecure. This perception results not only from those factors referred to but also from a persistent deficit in public planning, space regulation and provision of public goods further increasing distrust in public institutions. This same factor also seems to encourage the search for interpersonal relations of confidence in the form of socially alike groups and the adherence to private provision schemes that commodify habitat and even, in a certain sense, local government.

As to the agents making up the supply side, we should note that they are mainly developers with significantly different profiles. Part reflect the main trends in the Portuguese real estate market of the last twenty years, such as increasing specialisation, professionalisation (SALGUEIRO 1994), modernisation and product diversification. However, other developers have retained the traditional business form, that of the small family-owned building firm. This kind of developer is usually connected to the very small scale developments and is not usually active within Lisbon's municipal boundaries where land prices and the nature of the market serve as a deterrent to small scale developers.

Such firms are more at ease in suburban municipalities where they usually face a much more favourable economic and institutional environment.

With regards the analysis of the attitude of public authorities towards *condomínios fechados*, two main aspects are worth mentioning. Firstly, during the 1990's, new legislation came into force regulating both horizontal property (condominium law) and subdivision and building operations, which clearly facilitated and even encouraged the spread of the gated housing phenomenon. Secondly, the attitude of municipal authorities has also been generally very favourable. This is understandable given the advantages to be gained, such as revenue generated by authorising developments, lesser demands on public goods and the prestige that especially the bigger developments are perceived to bestow on municipalities due to their reputation as «quality projects».

Finally, there is other interesting data that may help us to understand how *condomínios fechados* were imported into Portugal. There is evidence to suggest that *condomínios fechados* made their way to Portugal via Brazil, where this form of residential area has been a reality since the 1980's (CALDEIRA 1996; RIBEIRO 1997). For example, 16 of the 97 surveyed developments were sold by a sales firm whose senior staff are all Brazilians. The key retail executive of the real estate division of the most important Portuguese business group involved in *condomínios fechados* development is also Brazilian (responsible for 2 major and 1 medium sized development – 2 in partnership with the Brazilian group that developed all of the well-known Brazilian Alphaville developments). Further, two small projects were developed by two other Brazilian firms and another large scale development was undertaken by a firm owned by a Brazilian businessman who has been operating in Portugal for several years and who has also constructed similar developments in the Algarve, on the south coast.

#### 4 Conclusion

This paper sought to interpret the gated housing estate phenomenon both as a specific form of segregation and as a real estate product and commodity. The focus on these two dimensions enabled us to investigate the temporal, spatial and social aspects of the selected case studies. The historical development of this form of residential area was also investigated in light of any clues the past could deliver for future developments of the phenomenon. In fact, the social factors and agents involved in the process seem to be specifically connected to the two dimensions mentioned above. We stressed how the phenomenon is usually related to

contexts of deep change or crisis, with profound economic, social, cultural and spatial restructuring, ending up in social polarisation and class or group tension, in climates of insecurity where control over space and society seems to slipping, and in the search for identity and community.

The segregational aspect of gated housing estates is clearly linked with this set of factors. But it is also related to another aspect, that is to the presence of a «weak state», a state proving unable to provide public goods and general regulation of space and society. Under these conditions, the opportunity is created for the private initiative of the real estate sector, specifically in the supply of a specific and complex real estate product targeting certain segments of the population. That product is more than a simple housing formula. In fact, it engineers and commodifies space and society, in both physical and symbolic terms, thereby demonstrating the power and freedom of action the private sector is granted and on occasion even requested.

In Portugal, and specifically in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, the phenomenon started cautiously in the 1980's, taking on a more significant scale during the 1990's. In the final year of that decade at least 97 developments came onto the market. The case studies investigated herein have clearly contrasting formal characteristics, thus enabling the classification of three different development groups. As to their social production, we stressed the importance of the real estate industry agency, including a very probable and strong influence from Brazil, in addition to a more ample and complex set of factors specifically related to the social reality of Portugal and the LMA in recent decades. All the elements we identified as typical of the gated housing estate phenomenon and of its social context are verifiable in the case of such developments in Lisbon. However, they also encompass specific and singular characteristics as is to be expected for all countries or regions in the world where this phenomenon occurs.

## References

- ARCHER, J. (1988): Ideology and Aspiration: Individualism, the Middle Class, and the Genesis of the Anglo-American Suburb. – In: *Journal of Urban History* 2: 214-253.
- BARRELL, J. (1980): The Dark Side of the Landscape: the Rural Poor in English Paintings, 1730-1840. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BLAKELY, E.J. & M.G. SNYDER (1997): *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States*. – Washington and Cambridge: Brookings Institution Press and Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.
- CALDEIRA, T. (1996): Building Up Walls: The New Pattern of Spatial Segregation in São Paulo. – In: *International Social Science Journal* 147: 55-66.
- CAPUCHA, L. (1998): Pobreza, Exclusão Social e Marginalidades. – In: J.M. VIEGAS & A.F. COSTA (coord.): *Portugal, que Modernidade?* – Oeiras: Celta: 209-242.
- CARVALHO, M.C. (2001): Áreas Violentas de São Paulo Criam os «Condomínios de Pobre». – In: *Folha de São Paulo*, 2.09.2001, São Paulo: 9.
- DAVIS, M. (1990): *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. – London and New York: Verso.
- ESTANQUE, E. & J.M. MENDES (1997): *Estrutura de Classes e Trajectórias de Classe em Portugal*. – Coimbra: Centro de Estudos Sociais/Faculdade de Economia da Universidade de Coimbra.
- FISHMAN, R. (1987): *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia*. – New York: Basic Books.
- GASPAR, J., E.B. HENRIQUES & M. VALE (1998): Economic Restructuring, Social Recomposition and Recent Urban Changes in Portugal. – In: *GeoJournal* 46: 63-76.
- INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTATÍSTICA (INE) (1999): *Tipologia Socio-Económica da Área Metropolitana de Lisboa*. – Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Estatística.
- LASH, S. & J. URRY (1994): *Economies of Signs & Space*. – London: Sage.
- LAWRENCE, H. (1993): The Greening of the Squares of London: Transformation of Urban Landscapes and Ideals. – In: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 1: 90-118.
- LUYMES, D. (1997): The Fortification of Suburbia: Investigating the Rise of Enclave Communities. – In: *Landscape and Urban Planning* 39, 187-203.
- MALHEIROS, J. (2002): Ethni-cities: Residential Patterns in the Northern European and Mediterranean Metropolises – Implications for Policy Design. – In: *International Journal of Population Geography* 8: 107-134.
- MCKENZIE, E. (1994): *Privatopia: Homeowner Associations and the Rise of Residential Private Government*. – Yale: Yale University Press.
- MARCUSE, P. (1997): The Enclave, the Citadel, and the Ghetto: What Has Changed in the Post-Fordist U.S. City. – In: *Urban Affairs Review* 2: 228-264.
- MITCHELL, W.J.T. (ed.) (1994): *Landscape and Power*. – Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- PEIXOTO, J. (1999): *A Mobilidade Internacional de Quadros*. – Oeiras: Celta.
- PEIXOTO, J. (2002): Strong Market, Weak State: the Case of Recent Foreign Immigration in Portugal. – In: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 3: 483-497.
- RAPOSO, R. (2002): *Novas Paisagens: A Produção Social de Condomínios Fechados na Área Metropolitana de Lisboa*. – Lisboa: Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, Phd dissertation (unpublished).
- RIBEIRO, L.C.Q. (1997): *Dos Cortiços aos Condomínios Fechados*. – Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.
- SALGUEIRO, T.B. (1994): *Novos Produtos Imobiliários e Reestruturação Urbana*. – In: *Finisterra* XXIX, 57: 79-101.
- SALGUEIRO, T.B. (coord.) (1997): *Internacionalização*,



Reestruturação Económica e Produção de Novas Marginalidades na Região de Lisboa. – Lisboa: Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica/Direcção Geral do Ordenamento do Território e do Desenvolvimento Urbano.

TÖNNIES, F. (1979): Comunidad y Asociación. – s.l.: Ediciones Península.

VIEILLARD-BARON, H. (1996): Les Banlieues. – Paris: Flammarion.

### Summary: New Landscapes: gated housing estates in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

This paper examines the main features of the social production process of *condomínios fechados* across the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. This residential form first appeared in Portugal in the 1980's and spread quickly in the 1990's. The article opens with a preliminary analysis of the development of secured residential complexes, aimed at understanding its specificity and pinpointing the main factors involved in its social production. In this analysis, we do not focus on the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) alone but rather adopt a broader approach. In the second chapter we describe the research methods used, such as a survey of *condomínios fechados* built in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area between 1985 and 1999, interviews with social actors and content analysis of promotional materials. Finally, we present selected research results and discuss several issues central to understanding the social production of gated housing estates in the LMA, including the importance of foreign models, the supply side agency of the real estate market, and the broader social context.

### Résumé: Nouveaux paysages: des ensembles résidentiels fermés dans l'Aire Métropolitaine de Lisbonne

Cet article analyse les principales dimensions du processus de production sociale de *condomínios fechados* dans l'Aire Métropolitaine de Lisbonne (AML). Cette forme résidentielle a surgi au Portugal dans les années 1980 et s'est répandue rapidement durant la décennie suivante. Cet article commence par une analyse préliminaire du phénomène des ensembles résidentiels fermés. Cette démarche est aussi importante pour la compréhension de sa spécificité que pour la recherche des raisons principales de sa production sociale. Dans cette analyse on n'envisage pas seulement le cas de l'AML, mais on se livre à une approche plus large. Dans le deuxième chapitre, sont présentées les méthodes de recherche utilisées: le recensement de *condomínios fechados* dans l'AML, pour la période 1985-1999; les interviews avec des acteurs sociaux intéressants; l'analyse de contenu des éléments publicitaires. Finalement, sont présentés quelques résultats de la recherche et discutés plusieurs éléments jugés fondamentaux pour la compréhension de la production sociale d'ensembles résidentiels fermés au sein de l'AML, à savoir:

l'importance des modèles étrangers, les activités du côté de l'offre du marché immobilier, ainsi que le restant du contexte social.

### Zusammenfassung: Neue Landschaften: Bewachte Wohnkomplexe im Verdichtungsraum Lissabon

Der Aufsatz untersucht die wichtigsten Charakteristika der sozialen Produktion von *condomínios fechados* im Verdichtungsraum Lissabon. Diese Wohnform wurde erstmals in den 1980er Jahren in Portugal realisiert und verbreitete sich in den 1990er Jahren rasch. Im ersten Abschnitt stellen wir zunächst eine einleitende, grundsätzliche Analyse des Phänomens «bewachter Wohnkomplex» dar, die notwendig ist, um die Eigentümlichkeit des Phänomens zu verstehen und die wichtigsten Faktoren, welche an der sozialen Produktion beteiligt sind, identifizieren zu können. Dabei beschränken wir uns nicht auf den Verdichtungsraum Lissabon, sondern beziehen weitere Beispiele ein. Im zweiten Abschnitt stellen wir zunächst die Untersuchungsmethoden dar: Bestandsaufnahme aller bewachten Wohnkomplexe, die zwischen 1985 und 1999 gebaut wurden, Interviews mit wichtigen Akteuren und Inhaltsanalysen von Werbematerial. Zum Abschluss stellen wir die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dar: den Einfluss importierter ausländischer Vorbilder, die Aktivitäten der Angebotsseite im Immobilienmarkt sowie den weiteren sozialen Kontext.

### Teaching of Geography – relevant questions

- Which regions are the most probable historical origins of gated housing estates and how can the historical dimension contribute to the overall explanation of the phenomenon?
- Why does Portugal and the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon seem to be more receptive to the gated housing estates phenomenon than northern European countries and regions?
- Rethink the concept of segregation, and namely of modern segregation, in the face of the new transformations of space and society.
- What reasons contribute toward the demand and supply of enclosed housing developments in Portugal?

Prof. Dr. **Rita Raposo**, Centro de Investigação em Sociologia Económica e das Organizações, Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, Gabinete 213, Rua Miguel Lupi, 20, 1249-078 Lisboa, Portugal.  
e-mail: rraposo@iseg.utl.pt

*Manuskripteingang/received/manuscript entré le*  
24.8.2003

*Annahme zum Druck, accepted for publication, accepté pour l'impression: 8.12.2003*