

20.

Inclusive
communities,
exclusionary city,
planning N/A?
Mapping
condomínios fechados
semi-quantitatively
in Lisbon, Cascais
(and Barreiro)

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INTRODUCTION: MAPPING URBAN INCLUSION/EXCLUSION?

If one is seeking a prototypical exemplification of exclusionary urban development, the gated community is what they are looking for. Gated communities are residential developments, originating in the USA and flourishing all around the urban planet. They are characterised, first, by spatial seclusion with respect to the outer urban space – more often in the form of multi-villa fenced estates; and, second, variable degrees of social homogeneity. Gated communities are idealised and advertised as inclusion spaces among peers sharing the same class – and typically, if silently, the same self-perception of race/ethnicity – and exclusion spaces with regard to urban “outsides”, considered to be dangerous, chaotic or simply too mixed. In the USA, the success of gated communities after the Second World War was associated with the “white flight”, the abandonment, by white middle and upper classes, of “inner cities” where black (and poor) immigrants were settling in; and hence suburbanisation.

The flourishing of gated communities in the USA and around the world, particularly in metropolises in the Global South, has been studied at length.¹ Pow’s recent review (2015) of critical scholarship on gated communities emphasises the tendency to project one stereotype, the USA prototype, worldwide; and the risk that this may end up foreclosing a more nuanced understanding of gated residential developments in different contexts.² In line with this warning, we will engage the inclusion/exclusion dichotomy from a socio-spatial perspective by exploring *condomínios fechados* (CFS, literally “enclosed condominiums”), the Portuguese version of gated communities. CFS arrived in Portugal relatively late, in the 1980s, and, as we shall show, though conceptually adherent to the USA gated communities, have many peculiar characteristics, which will help us rethink the inclusion/exclusion dichotomy as framed in theories based on cases in the USA and the Global South.

This endeavour is in line with discussions about the capacity of Southern European cases to problematise universalistic urban theories (Baptista 2013;

1 To get a sense of the variety of geographical contexts and disciplinary/theoretical perspectives, see Caldeira (2000), Low (2003), Atkinson and Flint (2004), Glasze Webster and Frantz (2006), Petti (2007), and Akgün and Baycan (2012).

2 Let us remark that Pow (2015), interested in building a less dismal account of gated community developments and seeking an “epistemology of hope”, ends up dismissing some critical accounts rather lightly.

Tulumello 2017a). Southern European cities show quite peculiar patterns of urban development when compared to the experiences of other European and Anglophone countries, and particularly the way late processes of suburbanisation have been accompanied by restructuring patterns made up of counter-urbanisation and gentrification (Morelli Rontos and Salvati 2014). As a result, the contemporary socio-spatial patterns found in contexts characterised by low levels of segregation (Arbaci and Malheiros 2010), together with the dimensions of spatial inequality associated with them, can only partially be accounted for by dichotomic discussions of spatial inclusion/exclusion.

Against this backdrop, we have three goals. First, to present a socio-spatial picture of CF proliferation patterns in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area by presenting a “semi-quantitative” map (Tulumello 2017b and below) of CFS in Lisbon and Cascais (and Barreiro, where none were found). Second, to discuss the role of urban policy and planning – and of the latter’s “absence” or reluctance to steer urban development – in opening and closing the space for CFS. And, third, to use the Portuguese case to review explanatory and analytical concepts generally associated with gated residential developments – above all the association of gated communities with suburban life. In conclusion, we should open the way to further discussion by suggesting that the concepts of fragmentation and polarisation can provide a looser, though not less rigorous, framework to complement the inclusion/exclusion dichotomy in the conceptualisation of contemporary spatial (in)justice patterns.

The chapter is organised as follows. We begin by presenting the spatial inclusion/exclusion dimensions international scholarship associates with gated community developments; and the peculiarity of the Portuguese case. We then discuss the changes in planning law that made CF production possible during the 1990s. After the methodological remarks, we present the results of the CF mapping in Lisbon and Cascais (and Barreiro). Finally, we set out some explanatory arguments for the different patterns found in the three cities, before a theoretical discussion on inclusion/exclusion and fragmentation/polarisation.

INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY, EXCLUSIONARY CITY? FROM GATED COMMUNITIES TO *CONDOMÍNIOS FECHADOS*

The socio-economic production of US gated communities can be understood from two converging perspectives. From the supply side, gated communities

were one component of the suburbanisation of American cities, a carefully planned developmental strategy fuelled by, on the one hand, economic support for home ownership and private transportation started with the New Deal and, on the other, the discursive construction of “inner cities” as dangerous places (see Beauregard 2003 [1993]). From the demand side, gated communities were therefore one answer, among many,³ to the request for “safe spaces” (Epstein 1998) for the emergent middle-classes, increasingly concerned by the growing diversity in cities restructured by industrialisation and black immigration from the rural South. Gated *communities* offer middle-class suburbanites a sense of inclusion within homogeneous social communities⁴ – a sense of community hardly achieved in suburbs, where public spaces are virtually inexistent. The achievement of such an inclusion is therefore grounded on the secession from the outer urban space – granted by the physical seclusion of the settlements, the offer of common services that reduce the need to go into in the urban space and the car as a safe “bubble” (Amendola 1997, 169) for the unavoidable movements within the outside; in other words, on the exclusion of dangerous “others” (Sibley 1995).

However, things are more complicated. For one, aspirant buyers have to accept a series of restrictions, such as the prohibition to practice certain activities, the possibility to receive guests at certain hours of the day only or the *de facto* governance by the developer. To get into a gated community, one has to accept being excluded from the fruition of certain rights (within the community) and spaces (the urban spaces from which to ideally secede). Locking out dangers and diversity is paid for by locking oneself in: by one’s own “enclosure” (Tulumello 2017a, 56). As such, the gated community constitutes a peculiar space where inclusion/exclusion are continuously negotiated and contradicted – even within the paradigmatic USA example.

The Portuguese case adds further layers. To begin with, CFS have appeared relatively late, since the 1980s. This is partly because of the relatively late emergence of patterns of consumption associated with the suburbanisation of the main urban regions of Lisbon and Porto. Raposo (2002; 2008), the author of the most comprehensive research on the social production of CFS, showed how they share some spatial and social characterisations with USA gated

3 For a discussion of the variety of urban forms emerging in connection with fears of crime, disorder and diversity, see Tulumello (2017a, chapter 4).

4 See Low (2003) for a rich anthropology of the construction of community in USA gated communities.

communities while, at the same time, having their own particular features. On the one hand, CF advertising analysis shows the centrality of the dyad security/privacy, as exemplified by one slogan: “it’s a jungle [*selva*] out there. It’s great you’re in here” (Quinta da Graciosa advertisement, quoted in Raposo 2002, 334). On the other, however, advertising promises do not seem to be completely kept. Consider this excerpt from an interview with a CF resident:

I was born in a village in Trás-os-Montes, I’ve lived in Angola for a long time... I need space and light. So, when I found out about it, I came here. Of course, there are things I like that I don’t have here: the neighbourhood grocer, the butcher... If I like it or not? There’s no point in wondering whether I like it or not... It’s better to like it. Among the horrible available places... (Fátima, interviewed in Câncio 2008 [2005], 124; our translation).

Not only is Fátima not really excited by life in a CF; she feels her inclusion in a “non-neighbourhood”, without the traditional features of Portuguese towns, as a loss – the cost to be paid for the inclusion in the CFS may be more expensive than for US suburbanites. But there is more, the very aspiration to be included in a gated community seems a bit at odds with a different societal context, in which, for instance, the very construction of the local “community” is less central than in the USA.⁵ As such, the demand for gated communities needs to be understood on different grounds: the possibility, for a growing but not yet affluent, middle-class to access some facilities it could not afford outside CFS (Raposo 2002, 349); and, due to the low levels of segregation in Portuguese cities, the idea of the urban territory being “insufficiently segregated” (Raposo 2008, 126). From a supply side, then, CFS offered the possibility to expand the market of semi-luxury facilities to wider social classes, hence fostering urban accumulation processes. With regard to spatial dynamics, CFS can be studied for their role in metropolitan restructuring over time, and their implications for urban policy and land-use management patterns. Indeed, CF production (may have) had relevant consequences in other urban assets. This shall be explored when discussing institutional processes; or rather, the spatial planning dimension.

5 In general, and cutting a very long story short, European societies have a common political and cultural tradition that is more centred on the role of *society* (and hence on the social pact and welfare state), on the one hand; and *individual* positive rights, on the other, than on the value of the local community. See, for instance, the debate between Tonnies (1887) and Weber (1968 [1958]), and the USA-Europe comparison by Norton and Bieri (2014).

THE ROLE OF PLANNING: CFS FROM SEMI-INFORMAL REALITY TO UNCOMFORTABLE FACT

Though CFS are linked with general, ultimately global, social transformations, they do not happen independently of local institutional processes. Specifically, being a product of urban development and the construction industry, CFS happen within a framework of regulations and planning practice (Le Galés and Vitale 2015; Tulumello 2015), whose analysis says much about CFS' social production. In particular, it is worth discussing the way, during the 1990s, planning laws made the development of CFS formally possible; and the role of spatial planning in the management of CF production more generally.

Up until the early 1990s, Portuguese regulations about land ownership and urbanisation procedures made the production of typical gated communities impossible.⁶ On the one hand, the legal regime for allotment operations, as defined in Decree-Laws 289/1973 and 400/1984, obliged developers, in the name of the land's social function and urbanisation being seen as an eminently public function, to transfer the unbuilt parts of the developed parcels (streets, public spaces, green spaces and public facilities) to the municipality. On the other, the regime of *propriedade horizontal*, (horizontal ownership), instituted by Decree-Law 40333/1955 to regulate the ownership of private and common parts of residential dwellings,⁷ only applied to individual multi-storey dwellings. In practice, the regimes foreclosed the possibility to create multi-apartment building or multi-villa fenced allotments with shared common areas and facilities – while CFS made up of individual apartment buildings with fenced areas were possible if licensed as “private works” (*obras particulares*). Multi-dwelling CFS already existed at that time, so they were being promoted in a semi-informal framework (Raposo 2002).

Things changed in the early 1990s. First, Decree-Law 448/1991 introduced the possibility to exchange the transfer of unbuilt areas with either plots of land outside the parcel or urbanisation fees. Second, Decree-Law 267/1994 amended the *propriedade horizontal* by explicitly extending it to multi-dwelling estates. In short, the new regimes introduced and regulated the

6 The following is based on the discussion by Raposo (2002, 335-363), and on the analysis of the legislative documents referred to.

7 Literally, by allowing the parcelisation in horizontal sections (i. e. the flats of a multi-storey dwelling) owned individually and prescribing the shared ownership of common parts.

production of fenced estates with several dwellings, common areas and services.

Raposo (2002, 335-363) discusses how the introductory parts of the aforementioned laws systematically refer to the need to adapt the legislation to new social realities, the reforms being justified by the need to adapt the legislation to the “evolution that happened in the meanwhile” (Decree-Law 267/1994).⁸ Though it was not made explicit, this evolution can be seen in the semi-informal emergence of the phenomenon of CFS. As such, legislation approached the issue as a sort of inevitable trend, which maybe was not to be endorsed, but would not be enforced or fought – after all, the decade of 1985-1995 was characterised by a continuity of centre-right governments (led by Aníbal Cavaco Silva), which strongly pushed for a neoliberal transformation of the Portuguese state.⁹

What legislation made possible still had and has to go through local planning regulations. The 1990s were also the decade of the first generation of comprehensive masterplans in Portugal¹⁰ and, more generally, of the development of spatial planning as a systematic practice, after the deregulation of the 1980s. So let us take a look at the municipal masterplan regulations adopted by the places focused on in this study: Lisbon (1994), Cascais (1997)

8 The original regime of *propriedade horizontal* had been introduced during the dictatorship of *Estado Novo* (1933-1974). At that time, legislation also mentioned the necessity to adapt to new social realities. The Decree-Law 40333/1955 referred to the “grave problems” associated with common property, including the promotion of “promiscuity”, the idea of Portugal as a country of “owners” being central to the self-representation of the dictatorship. As such, the introduction of the *propriedade horizontal* to some extent marked the acknowledgement, by the legislation, of the impossibility of giving all citizens full access to property (Raposo 2002, 342-343).

9 It is interesting to note that the early 1990s were characterised by different attempts to solve the issues of informal and semi-informal urbanisation. Informal settlements (*bairros de lata*) were addressed by the Special Programme for Relhousing (PER, Programa Especial de Relojamento), which provided financial resources for the clearing up of the settlements and the provision of social housing; Illegal allotments were addressed through upgrading and registration under the provisions for Urban Areas with Illegal Genesis (AUGI, Áreas Urbanas de Génese Ilegal). The different approaches to different issues – *clearing* “slums”, *upgrading* illegal allotments and *legalising* CFS – are telling of the different power of actors at stake, an issue that deserves discussion that we have not space for here.

10 The municipal masterplans (Planos Diretores Municipais, PDM) were introduced in 1982, but only during the 1990s, when, for instance, the masterplans became a compulsory instrument to apply to EU funds, they were systematically adopted all around the country.

and Barreiro (1994).¹¹ In general, the issue of CFS is not explicitly mentioned in the plans. As far as regulations are concerned, there is a distinct approach in Lisbon and Cascais, on the one hand, and Barreiro, on the other, with regard to operations of allotment. While Lisbon and Cascais fully embraced the changes of Decree-Law 448/1991, the Barreiro plan meant transferring the unbuilt lands in allotted areas to the municipality, making the production of multi-apartment building or multi-villa CFS *de facto* impossible – and this begins the explanation as to why we did not find any CFS in Barreiro, as will be discussed below.

We shall now focus on Lisbon and Cascais by using the interviews we conducted for comparative research on spatial planning and urban security (Tulumello 2017c). Planners in these cities, much in line with the early 1990s' legislators, consider CFS something perhaps undesirable but inevitable. A planner in Cascais stated “if CFS appeared, there must have been a necessity, namely with regard to security”.¹² An interesting point is the peculiar (Portuguese) vision of enclosed collective spaces, something that, all around urban Europe, is not automatically associated with CFS – think, for instance, of the Italian and German tradition of courtyards in collective residential buildings. The planners we interviewed seem to share the general idea that unbuilt spaces should remain public, as exemplified by an interview with a planner in Lisbon about a detailed plan, in a social housing district, which introduced enclosed blocks with semi-public courts. Asked whether this was considered an instrument to improve the hierarchisation of open spaces, the planner remarked: “we don't want to make CFS!” It is quite telling how the planner felt the need to justify a decision that, elsewhere, would be regarded as absolutely normal: “sincerely, we felt that a private use and management by the residents could be interesting when compared to spaces open to everyone”. The planner added that they did not feel this was an attack on the fruition of public space, particularly in a neighbourhood where public spaces are very “generous”.

11 Respectively adopted by the Resolutions of the Council of Ministries 94/1994, 96/1997 and 26/1994.

12 This is at the very least problematic in a country and metropolitan region where crime rates are historically among the lowest in the world – and particularly in Cascais, which has among the lowest in the region (Tulumello 2017c).

NOTES ON METHODOLOGY AND CONTEXT: MAPPING CFS SEMI-QUANTITATIVELY

Against the backdrop set out in the previous sections, our empirical contribution to the discussion is presenting and discussing the first systematic map of CFS in two, plus one, municipalities: Lisbon and Cascais, and Barreiro where there were none (see discussion below). Roitman and colleagues (2010, 9) remind us how the literature on gated communities has not systematically addressed the study of the way these developments transform urban fabrics by “segmenting the physical city [...] and creating physical and emblematic barriers”. Indeed, in the vast literature about gated communities and similar developments, besides our own work on gated residential estates in Palermo (Tulumello 2017a, 60-62), we were only able to find two examples of systematic maps of gated communities (De Duren 2006; Akgün and Baycan 2012) – where, by the way, the maps only represent the location, and not the shape or size, of the developments. The point is probably that mapping CFS and gated communities is an extremely complex task, for the very simple reason that systematic data about these developments are collected by planning and local authorities virtually nowhere. This is certainly the case in Lisbon and Cascais, as the planners we interviewed confirmed. This problem extends to urban fortification and privatisation processes in general (Tulumello 2017b) – see also a recent report in *The Guardian* (2017) on the difficulty of mapping privatised public spaces in London.

When we started to engage with this topic in Lisbon in 2011, we soon realised that the only way to move towards a systematic mapping of gated residential developments was to use a plurality of sources to compensate for the absence of a complete single source. This meant that only through a long-term engagement could we expect to collect a reasonable amount of data, and we ended up deeming the preliminary maps produced during a six-month research period in 2011¹³ unsatisfactory (Tulumello 2017b). After several rounds of updating and integrating data between 2013 and 2016, we are now confident that the maps we present here rigorously depict the state-of-the-art of CFS in Lisbon and Cascais, but without being able to affirm once and for all that we have mapped *all of them*. This is why we call these maps, which offer a comprehensive and systematic representation of the problem, or at the very

13 And available in Tulumello's PhD dissertation (2012).

least the most comprehensive and systematic representation possible, “semi-quantitative” (cf. *ibidem*).

So, how were the maps created? We started from existing works (see Appendix), which, by the way, confirmed the existence of deep methodological problems, as shown by the very different numbers – e.g. Ferreira and colleagues (2001) counted more than double the CFS of Raposo (2000) counted roughly at the same time. The data we started with were the lists produced, and successively updated, by the group of researchers led by Rita Raposo (Raposo 2002; Pereira 2010; Raposo, Cotta and Martins 2012; see Appendix). The methodology of these studies was the collection of CF advertising in newspapers, real estate magazines and, more recently, websites. This is a sensible approach because, as we shall see, it is sometimes hard to distinguish a CF from a condominium by its spatial features – especially in Lisbon, where the typology of a single-apartment building CF is the most common. As social construction is central to CF production, we have only included residential developments explicitly advertised as CFS or the synonymous *condomínios privados*.

We then researched real estate agencies and developers’ websites, together with web GIS services (Google Maps, Google Street View, Bing Maps), to (i) find and map the CFS listed in the aforementioned works and (ii) look for further CFS. In some cases – four in Lisbon and 23 in Cascais – we found confirmation of the existence of CFS listed in previous works, but were not able to find their geographical location, so they were left off the maps but are included in our final numbers.

We integrated the maps through two other sources: first, field visits to places with a high concentration of CFS – e.g. Alta de Lisboa in Lisbon and Quinta da Marinha in Cascais; and, second, a screening of the authorisations for CCTV systems in residential developments conceded by the Portuguese Authority for the Protection of Personal Data (Comissão Nacional de Proteção de Dados, CNPD)¹⁴ – we checked case by case whether the developments had been advertised as CFS.

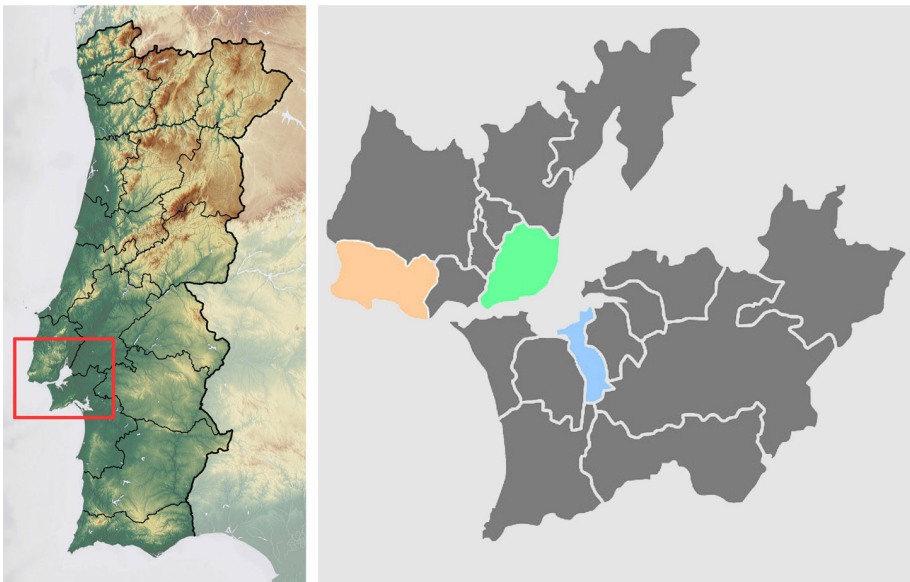
14 All authorisations are made public on the Authority’s website: www.cnpd.pt/bin/decisoies/decisoies.asp.

The maps were originally designed on Google Maps for convenience, then exported and developed in GIS software (ArcMap and Quantum GIS), making use of the atlas produced for the project EXPERTS¹⁵ and available cartography.¹⁶

The selection of Lisbon, Cascais and Barreiro as case studies was due to our aiming at an approach with maximum variation (Flyvbjerg 2006), with the goal being to explore the phenomenon of CFS amid a range of different socio-economic and territorial contexts (Figure 20.1). As shown in Table 20.1, the three cities exemplify quite different socio-territorial contexts. Lisbon, centre of the metropolitan region and capital of Portugal, is, despite some decades of population loss due to suburbanisation, a very dense city that centralises much of the economic capital of the region and the country –

Figure 20.1

Metropolitan Lisbon and the municipalities of Lisbon (green), Cascais (orange) and Barreiro (blue)



Sources: our elaboration; map: Wikipedia.

15 A comprehensive atlas of the rehousing process carried out in metropolitan Lisbon through the Special Programme for Rehousing. The atlas is currently being finalised and will be released online in 2018.

16 We used Open Street Map (an open source “wiki” map, www.openstreetmap.org) as the base map plus a general basic cartography provided by the municipality of Cascais and the open-source maps made available by the municipality of Lisbon (Lisboa Aberta, <http://dados.cm-lisboa.pt/dataset>) – and corrected some topological mistakes we found.

Table 20.1 *Main socio-economic and territorial indicators*

		1991	2001	2011
Resident population	Lisbon	663,394	564,657	547,631
	Cascais	153,294	170,683	206,429
	Barreiro	85,768	79,012	78,764
Unemployment rate (%)	Lisbon	n/a	7.3	11.8
	Cascais	n/a	6.9	12.1
	Barreiro	n/a	9.5	15.4
Professional-managerial employees (%)*	Lisbon	21.8	30.9	42.5
	Cascais	18.7	25.4	33.8
	Barreiro	8.2	13.9	20.1
One-person households (%)	Lisbon	n/a	18.0	35.0
	Cascais	n/a	15.3	24.6
	Barreiro	n/a	13.3	24.5
Illiteracy (%)	Lisbon	5.7	6.0	3.2
	Cascais	5.2	4.6	2.5
	Barreiro	6.0	5.8	3.6
High education attainment (%)	Lisbon	11.8	21.0	33.6
	Cascais	11.0	19.0	27.9
	Barreiro	3.5	8.2	13.8
Population density (inhabitants/km ²)	Lisbon	7,840	6,673	6,448
	Cascais	1,577	1,756	2,120
	Barreiro	2,680	2,468	2,164

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, censuses 1991/2001/2011.

* Rate of civil servants, managers, executives, and specialised professionals (with technical and scientific charges) over the employed population.

about a million workers commute to Lisbon every day. Cascais, which has grown demographically since the 1960s, is among the most socio-economically developed municipalities of Portugal, despite the polarisation between the more developed coastal local councils¹⁷ and the inner ones. The recent history of Barreiro, on the southern bank of the River Tagus, has been characterised by phases of industrialisation and deindustrialisation towards the end of the 20th century, with demographic contraction and efforts to reconvert the local economic system during recent decades. Cascais and Barreiro are much less dense than Lisbon, with urbanisation patterns typical of suburban rings. The three cities are quite different with regard to the social composition of their populations. On the one hand, Lisbon has the highest concentration of professional-managerial employees, one-person households and educational attainment; while, on the other, Barreiro, is characteristic of a more traditional social composition. Cascais falls in between the two. A further important distinction concerns political and planning cultures (Tulumello 2017c): during the last two decades, Lisbon and Cascais have seen the alternation of centre-left and centre-right parties, while the Communist party has governed Barreiro with continuity. As regards planning, Barreiro represents a more traditional approach to statutory land-use planning, while Lisbon has seen a deep shift toward strategic planning during the last two decades; with Cascais again falling in between the two.

MAPPING CFS IN LISBON, CASCAIS (AND BARREIRO)

In this section, we shall present the results of the CF mapping in Lisbon and Cascais. Another “finding” is the absence of CFS in Barreiro: we were not able to trace any CF and the planners we interviewed confirmed that no CFS existed to the best of their knowledge. A previous study (Ferreira et al. 2001) had found one in the 1990s, but it did not provide any detail.¹⁸ We shall set out some possible explanations for this absence in the next section.

17 Sub-municipal administrative unit, *freguesias* in Portuguese.

18 Ferreira and colleagues (2001) may have adopted a more extensive definition of CF than the one we are using and the group led by Raposo used, as the difference in the number of CFS they found roughly during the same years as Raposo (2002) suggests (see Appendix). Though Ferreira and colleagues (2001) refer to advertising as the main source of evidence, we can only speculate that they may have included estates spatially secluded or equipped with security 24/7 but not explicitly advertised as CFS.

Table 20.2

Condomínios fechados in Lisbon and Cascais, main findings

	LISBON	CASCAIS
	81 (77 mapped)	127 (102 mapped)
CFS (count)		
of which:		
multi-villas	1	51
apt. building(s)	77	72
mixed	3	4
Average # of units	92*	49***
Average surface (ha)	1.21**	4.96****

* Average of 42 CFS. ** Average of 78 CFS. *** Average of 68 CFS. **** Average of 111 CFS.

We shall now move on to the discussion of the findings in Lisbon and Cascais, starting with the general numbers, summed up in Table 20.2, which suggest the two cases are significantly different. On the one hand, Cascais has a much higher concentration of CFS, also considering that its population is roughly 40% of that of Lisbon. On the other, Lisbon is characterised by the absence of “typical” gated communities – multi-villa developments; and this is reflected in the smaller average CF surface. In contrast,

the average number of units per CF is double in Lisbon – as we shall see, we found many small developments in Cascais.

Against this general background, the first couple of maps show the CF spatial distribution in the two municipalities (Figure 20.2). In Lisbon, CFS tend to be spread all around the municipality, with concentrations in the most affluent areas of the city: the historic centre, and the districts of Avenidas Novas (central), Belém (south-west) and Parque das Nações (north-east, built for Expo 98). In Cascais one can observe, on the one hand, a concentration of small developments on the densely urbanised southern coastline; and, on the other, a number of very large CFS,¹⁹ located on the outskirts of the city.

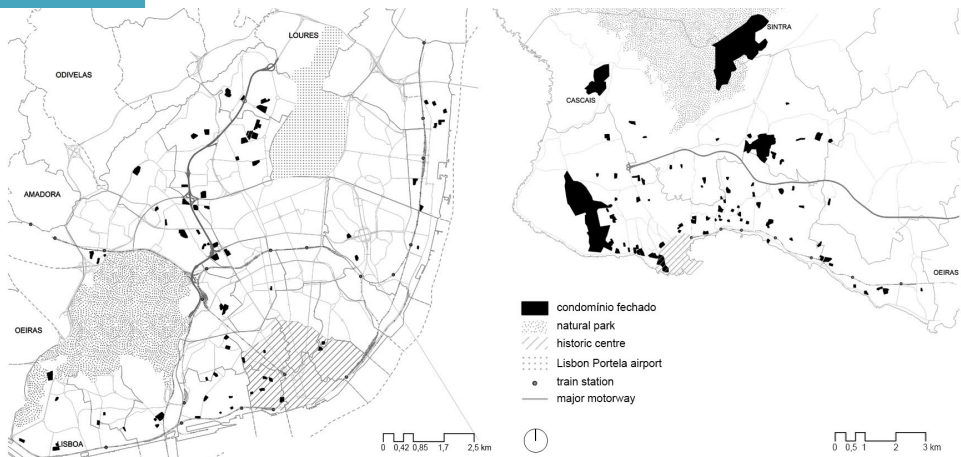
Concerning typology (Figure 20.3), as expected, apartment buildings are dominant in the most densely urbanised areas (in other words, in the entire municipality of Lisbon and the southern part of Cascais), while we found multi-villa CFS in the suburban parts of Cascais only. With regard to the size, in terms of housing units (Figure 20.4), in Cascais we found a great number of small developments, plus some big multi-villa ones (three with more than two hundred units plus nine with more than a hundred). In Lisbon, we did not

19 The biggest of which, Quinta da Penha Longa (198 ha) and Quinta da Marinha (166 ha), include a resort and a golf course in their area.

find as many small developments and a number of large apartment building developments (five with more than two hundred units plus 10 with more than a hundred, roughly a sixth of all CFS).

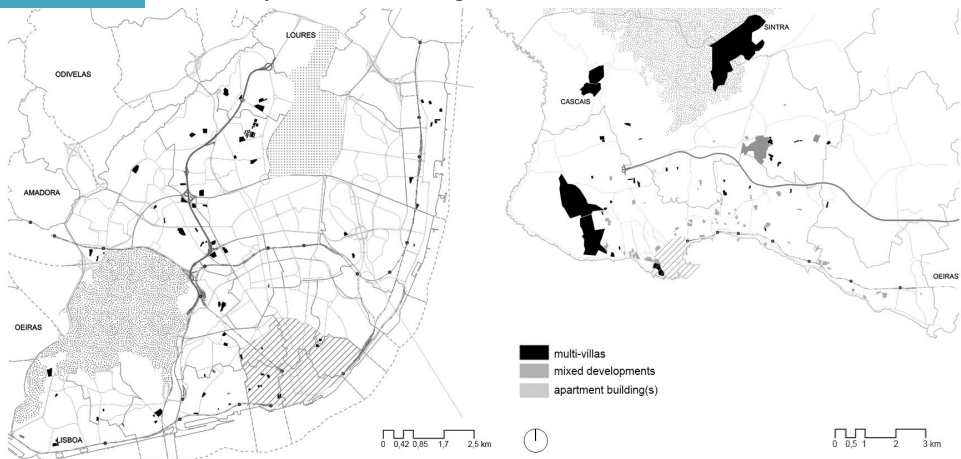
The following maps show the temporal stages of CF production (Figure 20.5). First, the maps show how, though a few CFS existed before the new regulations in the early 1990s, the phenomenon boomed afterwards. In Cascais, one can observe how earlier developments were located along the coastline and next

Figure 20.2 *Condomínios Fechados in Lisbon (left) and Cascais (right)*



Source: our elaboration.

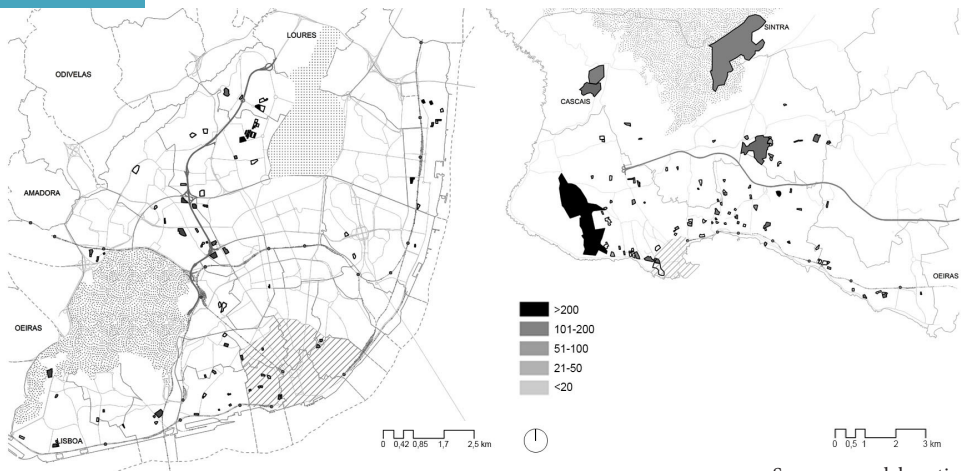
Figure 20.3 *CF Typologies (multi-villas, apartment building and mixed developments) in Lisbon (left) and Cascais (right)*



Source: our elaboration.

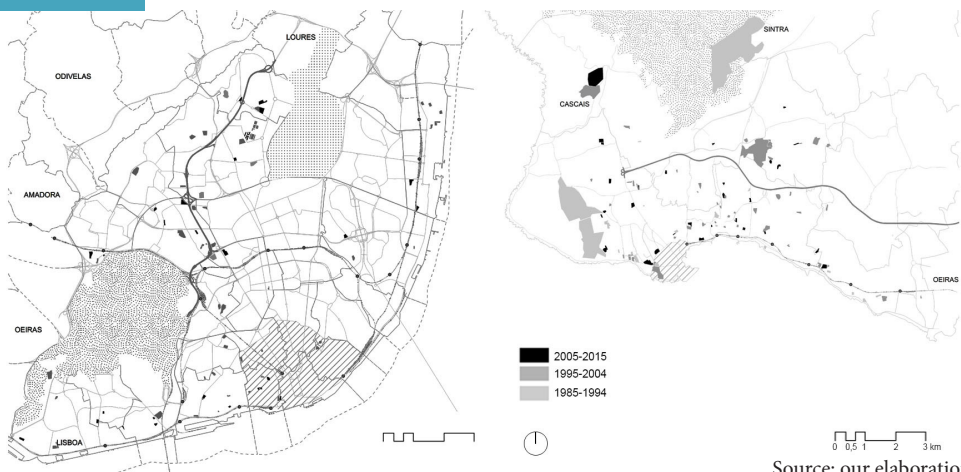
to the historic centre, in the western part of the town; while CFS only spread towards the interior at a later stage. In Lisbon, the main expansion after the 1990s happened in the central development axes, only spreading around the city after 2005, with a concentration in the district of Alta de Lisboa, and, amid regeneration and gentrification processes, reaching the historic centre. Alta da Lisboa, located in the north of the municipality and to the west of the airport, is a particular case. The original plan for the district, designed

Figure 20.4 *Number of housing units in CFS in Lisbon (left) and Cascais (right)*



Source: our elaboration.

Figure 20.5 *Temporal stages of production of CFS in Lisbon (left) and Cascais (right)*



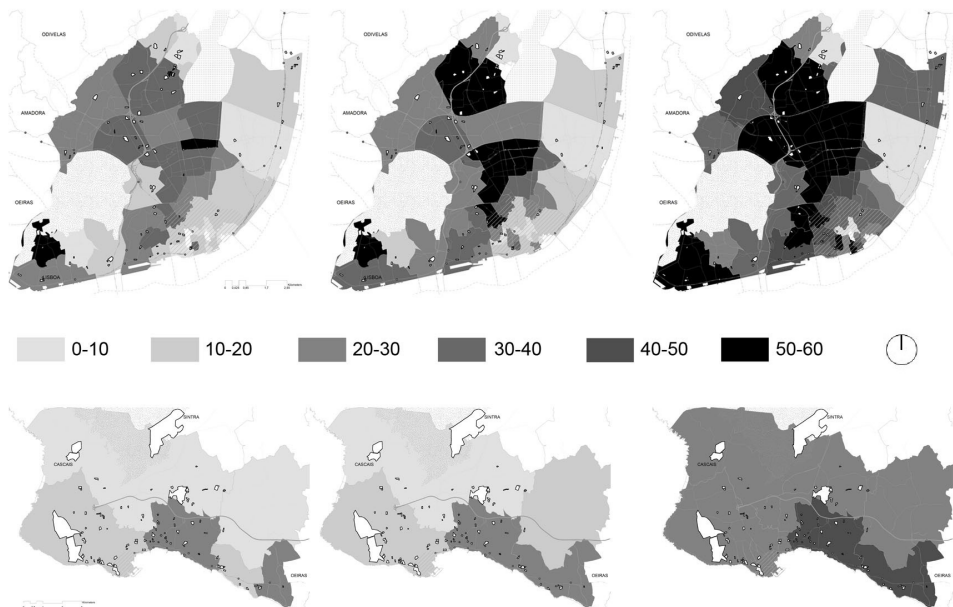
Source: our elaboration.

during the 1980s, envisaged a mixed district made up of social and free market housing. While during the 1990s, social housing was built thanks to funding by the national Special Programme for Rehousing, the management company had trouble in launching the free market developments. Only in the late 2000s were the first developments completed and, in a territory that had long been marked by the presence of informal settlements being by that time seen as a “social housing district”, their being advertised as CFS seemed an appropriate way to overcome the concerns of the middle and upper classes.²⁰

Finally, we have compared the geographical spread of CFS with the historical progression of the professional-managerial employee rate – whose geography we consider a good indicator of social polarisation – broken down at the local council level (Figure 20.6). The maps show increasing rates over the last three decades, confirming the economic growth and specialisation of both

Figure 20.6

CFS and professional-managerial employee rate, 1991, 2001 and 2011 in Lisbon (above) and Cascais (below)



Source: our elaboration; data on professional-managerial employees, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, BGRI censuses.

²⁰ See the website of the management company for the development advertising: <http://sgal.altadelisboa.com/en/>.

cities. The patterns of polarisation, however, are quite different. In Cascais there is strong polarisation and, in fact, socio-economic segregation, between the wealthier coastal areas and the inner ones, with gated-community-like CFS almost exclusively concentrated in the least wealthy areas. Though one reason must be the availability of more land for multi-villa developments, the perception of these areas as the least homogeneous and the presence, for instance, of large social housing neighbourhoods, must play a significant role in the production of more fortified estates. In Lisbon, polarisation patterns are very different, and show a complex blend of different situations, with different axes of wealth, much more spatially mixed with areas less economically developed and social housing neighbourhoods. Though earlier stages of CF development are located, as we suggested, in wealthier zones, there has been a progressive spread into different areas.

DISCUSSION: (UN)PLANNED SPACES OF INCLUSION/EXCLUSION

Our mapping in Lisbon, Cascais and Barreiro has confirmed the existence of a number of peculiar traits of CFS and their production in Portugal. With regard to the role of CFS and similar developments in reshaping urban and metropolitan territories, while gated communities are generally considered to be a suburban phenomenon, we have seen how they can become, and indeed are mostly used in metropolitan Lisbon as, instruments for restructuring dense urban areas. This is particularly evident in a central, dense city such as Lisbon, but even in Cascais, in coexistence with typical examples of “prime” suburban development. With regard to temporal stages, we have seen the CF phenomenon booming after 1995. Though we have no definitive data to make conclusions on causal relationships, this raises the question as to whether the legislative and planning changes intended and did regularise, or rather produce, the CF phenomenon in the first place. Mirroring discussions about gentrification (Hamnett 1991), it is at the intersection of supply and demand side explanations that this discussion should focus. For our purposes, suffice to say that, during the early 1990s, national legislation and municipal planning (in Lisbon and Cascais) did *open up* the space for CFS, at the very least.

Besides emphasising the peculiarities of the phenomenon in metropolitan Lisbon, we adopted a comparative perspective in order to discuss other explanatory dimensions. The differences among our three cases are

significant and add layers to the discussion of the conditions necessary for CF developments.

Cascais is, overall and despite the abovementioned peculiarities, the case where we found a more typical pattern of gated communities, US style: the presence of large, suburban multi-villa CFS provided with amenities and spatially secluded from a segregated urban fabric – indeed, an example of a wealthy, if (and!) unequal, town.

In Lisbon, CFS are instead a component of urban restructuring processes; and concentration (in wealthy areas), diffusion and “mix” patterns (in the case of Alta de Lisboa above all) also coexist due to the denser socio-economic polarisation, almost in absence of segregation. Against this background, it is worth coming back to the issue of the social production of CFS. In Lisbon, in absence of the physical seclusion from the urban fabric and of the typical spatial amenities of gated communities, this is largely limited to the provision of security, which we can now consider in perspective. On the one hand, security devices are not exactly “tough” in some cases: a good example is the condominium DueDomani – located in Chelas, a dominantly social housing district – advertised as a *condomínio semi-privado* (semi-private condominium) and surrounded by a one metre tall fence without locks (Tulumello 2015, 496). On the other, during our fieldwork we found a great number of condominiums with 24/7 patrolling and CCTVs, very similar to neighbouring CFS but not advertised as such – and therefore not included on our maps. It is very hard, when not impossible, to distinguish between CFS and non-CFS in Lisbon, if not for the fact that some are labelled so. This makes us reflect on the fact that CFS in metropolitan Lisbon are often nothing more and nothing less than a promotional strategy (supply side) and hence an instrument for middle class self-representation (demand side).

This should be kept in mind while thinking about the absence of CFS in Barreiro. On the one hand, we cannot downplay the role of planning. As we discussed, the 1994 municipal masterplan made the construction of multi-dwelling CFS impossible and, more generally, the dominance of a statutory approach to land use management (Tulumello 2017c) may have had a role in preventing semi-informal developments such CFS. At the same time, however, land use management failed in preventing another dimension of informal urbanisation, and specifically illegal allotments, which can be found throughout Barreiro – to the extent that a special taskforce for their upgrading and regularisation exists in the municipal planning department. Moreover, as

the case of Lisbon shows, one does not really need much more than advertising and some security devices to produce and sell CFS. As such, other dimensions must come into play, above all the fact that Barreiro is among the least (possibly *the least*) suitable municipality in the metropolitan region for CFS. As far as location is concerned, Barreiro is among the municipalities worst served by highways and connections to Lisbon – being in the least favourable position with regard to the two bridges connecting the southern bank of the River Tagus to central Lisbon. As far as socio-economic composition is concerned, the history of Barreiro, its characterisation as an industrial hub and recent post-industrial decline, have not helped in drawing the middle and upper classes towards the municipality.

CONCLUSION: FROM INCLUSION/EXCLUSION TO FRAGMENTATION/POLARISATION

Two dimensions stemming from the mapping of CFS in metropolitan Lisbon are particularly useful when considering the inclusion/exclusion dichotomy. First, we have seen how some peculiar traits of the Portuguese planning tradition and urbanisation regulations have impeded the creation of privately owned collective spaces in modern times, in the name of a modernist conception of urban planning and of land as public competence.²¹ We cannot help but notice how this is in contrast with the historical development of Portuguese cities through blocks (*quarteirões*), where dwellings enclose open spaces that can be shared or divided among the single residences (*quintais*, backyards). In a way, some CF typologies, and the legal amendments that opened up the space for them, ended up (re)creating the possibility of a healthy instrument for urban design and planning. As the planner in Lisbon reminded us, when public spaces are already generous (as is the case in metropolitan Lisbon generally), privately owned common open spaces are good for both the residents (who enjoy the protected open spaces) and the city (in terms of management of public space).²²

21 The idealisation of the city as a continuous, verdant public space pinpointed by high-rise dwellings was one of the central aspects of Le Corbusier's work.

22 See Tulumello (2015; 2017a, 88-91) for critical discussions of the implications of the modernist conception of public space for meeting otherness and feelings of safety in the public space.

Second, we have seen how CFS are often a simple “label” attached to quite ordinary real estate products. In these cases, then, the double movement of inclusion (among peers) and exclusion (of others and from others) loses spatial meaning, while social meaning becomes purely symbolic – and here lies the starkest peculiarity of the Portuguese case in the global arena. On the one hand, this makes sense in metropolitan fabrics where spatial segregation is relatively low and the encounter with otherness is much more common than in those contexts where gated communities were born and are flourishing. On the other, we find here further evidence of the secondary, if marginal, role of the construction of “community” in CF production, Portuguese style.

Though these arguments add some nuances to mainstream critical discussions about gated communities as inclusive/exclusionary devices, our point is not to underplay the critical implications of gated residential developments for urban justice. For instance, the fact that the possibility of collective private spaces remains limited to those who can afford access to luxury and semi-luxury housing shows how CFS, in scarcely segregated contexts, are capable of reshaping inclusion/exclusion patterns to certain benefits – such as access to protected open spaces – in complex and nonlinear ways. As such, rather than searching for “epistemologies of hope” (Pow 2015) with regard to exclusionary urban developments, our concern is to deepen the understanding of the complex ways exclusion/inclusion is (re)produced.

Three agendas for empirical research and theoretical/methodological development emerge. First, we see little engagement with planning as an institutional *practice* in international literature about gated communities; in other words, with laws, norms, and plans, programmes and policies. Our work – and that of Raposo (2002) –, however, has shown the centrality of national and local institutional and regulatory frameworks in the understanding of how CFS can spread, and inclusion/exclusion patterns be reshaped, in different contexts.

Second, we have shown some limits that the inclusion/exclusion dichotomy itself has in explaining socio-spatial phenomena in contexts where segregation is low. In the methodological approach of semi-quantitative mapping, and in the theoretical concepts of polarisation and fragmentation, we therefore found the grounds for a looser, but not less rigorous, framework for research. By visualising the micro-relations of inequality with regard to urban development (polarisation) and the cracks generated by spatial entities such as CFS (fragmentation), we were able to explore the grain of socio-spatial

phenomena on a scale that traditional segregation analysis fails to understand. This opens up virtually unlimited possibilities for further discussion, for instance, in the study of proximity/connectivity relations between CFS and social housing neighbourhoods, or the concentration/diffusion of CFS and public space and facilities.

In conclusion, let us return to the role of CFS in recent regeneration and gentrification processes in Lisbon. As our data is comprehensive only up until the period 2013/2015, we are fully aware that many changes may be taking place now that Lisbon has suddenly become a centre of attraction for tourists, international students, middle-class foreign pensioners and startupper, but also international real estate groups and platform capitalism behemoths such as AirBnb (see Vieira et al. 2016). Amid a turbulent socio-economic restructuring that started from the historic neighbourhoods and is spreading fast towards and beyond the consolidated urban core, new forms of exclusionary development are reshaping the urban fabric: luxury blocks of flats, prime student apartment blocks,²³ hybrid forms of short-rental dwellings, to give just a few examples. These new developments, though inserted in the urban core, are creating new forms of inclusion/exclusion, which link the city to global networks of wealth, capital and mobility, while creating local disconnections – e.g. by making housing unaffordable for virtually every “regular” worker in Lisbon, or pushing for a social cleansing of historically mixed neighbourhoods. Against this backdrop, even the scale of analysis that we have presented here may become too wide to explore new dynamics of inclusion/exclusion – and the restless search for new systematic and fine-grained methodological approaches is therefore much needed.

23 Collegiate Marques de Pombal is a perfect example, www.collegiate-ac.pt/en/.

Appendix 20.1

Available works about CFS in the Lisbon metro, with the total number of CFS found per municipality

	FERREIRA ET AL. 2001	RAPOSO 2002	SOARES 2003*	RAPOSO, COTTA 2007 (UNPUBLISHED REPORT, DATA PUBLISHED IN RAPOSO ET AL. 2012)	PEREIRA 2010	TULUMELLO 2012	PRESENT STUDY
Timeframe	Before 2001	1985-1998	Before 2002	1985-2004	1985-2004 with few updates afterwards	Before 2012	Before 2016
Type of data	Count	Count and list with further data	Approximate count	Count and list with further data	Count and list with further data	Count, list and map	Count and map
Source of data	Original research	Original research	Ferreira et al. 2001, slightly updated	Raposo 2002 and original research	Raposo, Cotta 2007, slightly updated	Raposo 2002 and original research	All the former and original research
Lisbon	62	23	45<X<90	38	—	49	81
Cascais	86	43	~90	89	91	—	127
Amadora	1	1	1	1	—	—	—
Loures	1	0	1<X<22	1	—	—	—
Mafra	10	5	1<X<22	18	—	—	—
Odivelas	0	0	1	0	—	—	—
Oeiras	31	7	~45	11	—	—	—
Sintra	15	6	1<X<22	14	—	—	—
V Franca de Xira	1	0	1	2	—	—	—
Total metropolitan north	207	85	n/a	174	n/a	n/a	n/a
Barreiro	1	0	1	0	—	—	0
Alcochete	1	0	1<X<22	1	—	—	—



Appendix

Continuation...

	FERREIRA ET AL. 2001	RAPOSO 2002	SOARES 2003*	RAPOSO, COTTA 2007 (UNPUBLISHED REPORT, DATA PUBLISHED IN RAPOSO ET AL. 2012)	PEREIRA 2010	TULUMELLO 2012	PRESENT STUDY
Almada	7	1	1<X<22	5	—	—	—
Montijo	2	0	1<X<22	0	—	—	—
Palmeira	6	3	1<X<22	4	—	—	—
Seixal	—	0	1<X<22	1	—	—	—
Sesimbra	7	2	1<X<22	5	—	—	—
Setúbal	10	6	1<X<22	8	—	—	—
Total metropolitan south	34	12	n/a	24	n/a	n/a	n/a
Metropolitan Lisbon	241	97	n/a	198	n/a	n/a	n/a

* The CF numbers are represented on a map of the metropolitan region with circles proportional to the count for each municipality, grouped in classes, resulting in the values presented here.

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