

GATED COMMUNITIES IN THE METROPOLITAN DISTRICT OF QUITO, ECUADOR:  
IDENTIFYING DEVELOPMENT FACTORS AND CONSEQUENCES

By

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To my family and friends

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Gated communities first appeared in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century, but it was not until the late 1960s and 1970s that they gained popularity and fully spread in almost all American cities. By the early 1980s, the phenomenon of gated communities rapidly proliferated in the major Latin American cities. Today, gated communities have become visible in medium, and large cities of Latin America. Since gated communities are usually inhabited by people of the same economic class, and access is commonly restricted to only residents; gated communities are seen as homogeneous housing developments that contribute to the segregation and fragmentation of the built environment.

The phenomenon of gated communities in Latin America has been widely researched by scholars in cities of the countries of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. However, limited research has been done for cities in Ecuador. This thesis has the purpose of identifying the factors that are contributing to the development of gated communities in the Metropolitan District of Quito (MDQ), Ecuador; and the effects that the increased development of gated communities is having on the built environment. As a way to develop a better understanding of this phenomenon in the

MDQ, the following issues were analyzed: crime statistics, private security companies, marketing of gated communities, and the effect of gated communities on the built environment.

Based on these topics, five objectives were developed as a way to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of gated communities in the MDQ. The five objectives that guided this research are the following: Analyze a possible connection between the development of gated communities and crime in the city, explore the relation between private security companies and the development of gated communities, identify the marketing strategies to sell housing in gated communities and whether security is used to promote them, analyze how gated communities contribute to the homogenization of the built environment, and identify signs that open space is becoming privatized. These objectives served to guide the research with the final purpose to better understand the phenomenon of gated communities in this Andean capital city of two million people.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Gated communities originated in the beginning of the twentieth century in the United States, but it was not until entirely master-planned retirement communities were built in the late 1960s and 1970s that gated communities fully emerged with the urban fabric of American cities (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). This form of development rapidly spread to Latin America and by the early 1980s the appearance of gated communities became more visible in major cities. Today, gated communities can be seen in medium and large cities across Latin America. The importance and interest for researching gated communities in the Latin American context is that this type of development can be seen as a physical consequence of the increasing segregation and the resulting fragmentation of the urban space in the Latin American city (Coy, 2006).

Gated communities have not been widely studied in the city of Quito. Borsdorf (2002) and Kohler (2002) discuss typologies of gated communities and their location within the Metropolitan District of Quito. Nonetheless, identifying the location and the typologies of gated communities does not explain the reason why this type of development is gaining popularity in the MDQ; it just shows the result of a type of development that is demanded by the population.

In order to identify the factors that are contributing to the development of gated communities in Latin America, several themes derived from the literature review are analyzed: crime statistics, private security companies, marketing of gated communities, and the effect of gated communities in the urban space. This thesis has the purpose of identifying the factors that are contributing to the development of gated communities in the Metropolitan District of Quito (MDQ); and the effects that the increased development of gated communities is having on the built environment. Based on this research question, five objectives were developed to guide the research.

The purpose of the five objectives is to identify the factors contributing to the popularity of gated communities and to explore the effects that this type of development has in the urban fabric of the city. The first objective is to analyze a possible connection between the development of gated communities and crime in the city. The second objective is to explore the relation between private security companies and the development of gated communities. The third objective is to identify the marketing strategies to sell housing in gated communities, and whether security is used to promote them. The fourth objective is to analyze how gated communities contribute to the homogenization of the built environment. And the last objective is to identify signs that open space is becoming privatized. Overall, these five objectives were developed as a way to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of gated communities in the MDQ, and to recognize the possible consequences associated with this type of development. This study does not try to obtain specific answers or identify all the elements discussed in the objectives. The objectives serve to guide the research with the final purpose to better understand the phenomenon of gated communities in this Andean capital city.

The first three objectives deal with security. Coy (2006) identifies fear of crime as one of the most important reasons for the success of gated communities in Latin America. Based on this claim, the first objective analyzes a possible connection between the development of gated communities and crime in the city. Fear of crime has also caused citizens to find alternative ways to protect themselves. Citizens feel that they cannot put the safety and protection of their homes in the hands of the public authorities. As a result, the market of private security companies has flourished in the region, a topic specially explored by Coy (2006), Freeman (2008), Rogers (2004), and Roitman (2005), which derives from the notion that security in Latin America is becoming a privatized service, and less of a public good (Rodgers, 2004). Since private security

companies are hired to protect gated communities, they have economically profited from the constant fear of crime that citizens experience.

The third objective is to identify the marketing strategies to sell housing in gated communities, and whether security is used to promote them. Blakely and Snyder (1997) claim that a persuasive language is used throughout promotional material such as brochures and websites where new communities are advertised. The marketing material used by developers focuses on specific target groups and tries to fit people into different categories according to their social class. Many times the success of gated communities has been attributed to the way developers use marketing as a tool to successfully convince people of almost all economic classes to move into these gated communities. Developers offer sophisticated amenities when selling luxurious communities. But, if they are targeting a middle class market, many times the only amenity offered is security. Similarly to private security companies, developers have also taken advantage of high levels of crime in the city to promote their developments as safe places to live that offer the protection of private security guards 24 hours a day.

The fourth and fifth objectives of this research deal with the possible effects that gated communities have on urban areas. Homogenization of the urban space happens when it is possible to recognize the spatial separation of different social groups in a geographic area according to ethnic differences such as religion or income (Borsdorf, et al., 2007). Based on this argument, the fourth objective tries to recognize a possible homogenization of the built environment in the city. Besides homogenization, another effect of gated communities on the built environment is the privatization of public space. Based on this claim, the last objective attempts to identify signs that open space is becoming privatized. This occurs when most of the open space and green areas in a city are provided inside gated communities. Borsdorf et al.

(2007) claim that “social exclusion is no longer an attitude of the upper classes; privatization, gating and fencing can be observed in all social classes and in all sectors of the urban economy” (Borsdorf et al., 2007, p. 377). Since all segments of the population seem to be demanding gated communities, public space will no longer be supplied by the public sector but by developers. Erazo and Ospina (2009) note that gated communities disintegrate the public space by eliminating any type of socialization land, recreation between residents inside and outside of the gates.

This thesis is structured in six chapters. Chapter 1 gives an overview of all the material presented in this thesis. Chapter 2 describes concepts and the main topics associated with gated communities found in the literature review. In Chapter 2, the origins of gated communities and the different typologies that exist in the United States and in Latin America are explored. The typologies of gated communities identified in the United States derive from previous studies done by Blakely and Snyder (1997) and Sanchez, Lang, and Dhavale (2005); the typologies identified in Latin America derive from studies done by Borsdorf (2002) and Thuillier (2005). In order to identify similarities and differences between gated communities in the United States and Latin America, a comparison is made between the typologies found in each region. Then, based on the literature review, the possible causes that have contributed in the popularity of gated communities in Latin America are discussed. Security and marketing are two factors identified as possible contributors in the development of gated communities. Fear of crime and insecurity in the city has caused many people to decide to live in gated communities. Also, developers use marketing to promote gated communities as the safest places to live. Finally, the potential consequences in the built environment associated with gated communities are identified.

Homogenization and privatization of public space are described as consequences associated with gated communities.

Chapter 3 explains the methods used to research, and the source of the information for the analysis. The different variables used to analyze security and the behavior of private security companies were selected based on research previously done by Betancourt (2007), Caldeira (2000), Coy (2006), Freeman (2008), Rodgers (2004), and Roitman (2005). The factors used to identify the influence of marketing were developed based on factors discussed by Blakely and Snyder (1997), Coy (2006), and Irazábal (2006). Also, to investigate if homogenization of the urban environment is happening, gated communities previously identified by Kohler (2002) are used in the analysis. Finally, the characteristics of the houses are analyzed and classified. This is significant because most of the housing currently being built in the MDQ is in the form of gated communities.

Chapter 4 is divided into three sections. Including data for Ecuador, Pichincha<sup>1</sup>, and the MDQ, the first section investigates different aspects about security and crime. Statistics about home robberies and burglaries are analyzed, as well as perception of insecurity in the city; and indexes of victimization in different administrative zones of the MDQ are explored. Also, statistics about the market of private security companies in Ecuador and Pichincha are analyzed. The second section explores the way developers use marketing to promote gated communities. As a method to identify the characteristics of gated communities currently being marketed in the MDQ, content of two real estate magazines and several real estate companies, construction companies, and architectural firms websites are analyzed.

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<sup>1</sup> Pichincha is the province where the Metropolitan District of Quito (MDQ) is located.

In the third section of Chapter 4, possible consequences of gated communities to the urban quality of the MDQ are analyzed. In order to identify if homogenization of the built environment is occurring in the city, information previously collected by Kohler (2002) about location of gated communities in the city is overlaid with a map with different economic sectors and their corresponding land value. This analysis is used as a way to verify if the income levels of families living in gated communities correspond to the predominant land value where they are located.

Chapter 5 explains the results of the analysis done in Chapter 4. The results are divided into two sections. The first section explains the factors contributing to the development of gated communities in the MDQ. Based on the analysis, it can be said that the real estate market and private security companies have benefited from insecurity and perception of insecurity in the city. The proliferation of security companies in Ecuador has coincided with the proliferation of gated communities targeting income levels. The second section describes some identified development patterns in the city. Based on the analysis of the types of gated communities, possible segregation patterns can be identified within the MDQ. Finally, the analysis of the amenities provided by developers inside gated communities, such as green areas, shows that public space is becoming a good highly supplied by the private sector rather than the public sector.

In Chapter 6, the conclusions of the research are presented. In Chapter 6, the five objectives that guided this research are addressed individually. Each objective is described in relation to the factors that are contributing to the development of gated communities in the MDQ. Also, the effects that the increased development of gated communities is having on the built environment and the implications for future urbanization in the city are discussed. Finally, Chapter 6 includes recommendations for future research.



## CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The first gated communities appeared in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century as a mechanism to protect family estates and upper class citizens (Low, 2001). However, it was not until the late 1960s that gated communities fully started to emerge with the urban fabric of the American city. Part of the success of gated communities is that developers can offer different types of gated communities according to a target market. Blakely and Snyder (1997) have identified typologies that respond to certain target markets.

The development of gated communities in Latin America also has its roots in the twentieth century with the appearance of country clubs located in rural areas (Janoshka and Borsdorf, 2002). Country clubs were used during the weekends and holidays. Eventually, as cities started to experience a fast paced growth, these country clubs started to emerge with the urban fabric of the city and people started to use them as full time residences. Country clubs were the first gated communities in Latin America and only the wealthy could afford to live in one. However, during the 1980s, gated communities started to be developed to reach different target markets. Although, similarities may be found between gated communities in Latin America and in the United States; a diversification of gated communities in Latin America has caused the emergence of different typologies of communities in the region.

Two factors are mentioned as contributing in the development of gated communities. On one hand, insecurity is one of the main factors that convince people to move into gated communities (Janoshka, and Borsdorf, 2002). Gated communities offer 24-hour security and protection by a private security company. On the other hand, gated communities are highly marketed for being exclusive communities because they are homogeneous communities

composed of people of the same economic class. This homogenization of the urban space has made segregation an acceptable development pattern.

As gated communities start to spread on the urban fabric, several consequences can be identified. One of the most advertised features of gated communities is the protection they offer by hiring private security guards to monitor the community. When clusters of gated communities emerge in the city, entire areas of the city start to be patrolled by private security companies. This causes a privatization of security. Another characteristic of gated communities is that they often include green areas and parks as an amenity. When many gated communities are developed next to one another, public space starts to become privatized. This is because the only open space available is located inside the gated communities and people living outside the gates are completely segregated from using this open space. As popularity of gated communities increases, services that used to be provided by the public sector start to be privatized.

### **Development of Gated Communities in the United States**

The first gated communities in the United States appeared in the late 1800s and they were built exclusively for wealthy individuals that wanted to escape the unsanitary conditions of industrial cities (Blakely and Snyder, 1997), and (Low, 2001). Blakely and Snyder (1997) discuss that eventually, during the twentieth century people from the East Coast and Hollywood aristocrats built gated communities for protection, privacy and prestige. The authors explain that it was not until entirely master-planned retirement communities were built in the late 1960s and 1970s that gated communities fully emerged with the urban fabric of American cities. Gated communities eventually spread to resorts and county club developments and subsequently to middle-class suburbs (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p. 4). Starting in the 1980s up until now, gated communities have become the most popular form of urbanization, and it is estimated that more than 8 million people have opted to live in this type of communities in the United States (Frantz,

2006). A big part of the success for gated communities was that real estate companies saw a big market for them. As a result, developers started the trend to build gated developments that offered residents space for leisure activities, private security, and an exclusive lifestyle.

It is very common that developers of gated communities market these types of developments as an escape from the urban chaos, violence, and noise of the inner city. These promoters encourage the elites and the middle-class to escape the city, move to the suburbs, and live close to nature and away from the violence associated with the city. Globalization plays an important role in the proliferation of gated communities that promote a certain lifestyle. By looking at the characteristics of such developments one can recognize the homogenization of consumers of gated communities.

Blakely and Snyder (1997) describe the prime motivation for developers to build gated communities in the United States. These authors explain the principal motivation of developers for designing these settlements is to make a profit on a growing leisure-consuming society (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Developers take advantage of promoting amenities that already exist in the site and also add other amenities such as golf courses, artificial lakes, and natural trails. For example, developers would select a site close to the beach or conservation areas and market the community for been located on an exclusive site, in an attractive, unspoiled landscape (Frantz, 2006). An example of this situation, were developers have taken advantage of the natural site and have added some extra amenities to create gated communities with a full range of amenities, is the Metropolitan area of Phoenix. According to Frantz (2006) “about 13 percent of all gated communities are located adjacent to a protected area, 8 percent have their own artificial lake; and almost one-third of them have access to a golf course” (Frantz, 2006, p. 67).

Blakely and Snyder (1997) describe three typologies of gated communities that adjust to different lifestyles of consumers and to their income. One typology labeled Lifestyle Communities targets retirees that are interested in having an active lifestyle. This type also targets consumer groups ranging from empty nesters to young families. Usually, Lifestyle developments have golf courses, polo fields, tennis courts, swimming pools, and other amenities. Lifestyle Communities include entirely master-planned communities that offer a “complete living experience, from gated subdivisions to schools, shopping centers, commercial offices, and parks and recreation” (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p. 47). An example of a Lifestyle Community is Leisure World Laguna Hills, south of the metropolitan area of Los Angeles. With a population of 22,000 residents, this community is the largest gated community in the United States and also the largest gated community that exclusively targets retirees (Frantz, 2006).

Blakely and Snyder (1997) describe a second typology of gated developments. Prestige Communities do not have the amenities that one may find in a country club style such as golf courses, and other recreational amenities; but they do have security guards 24 hours per day. Blakely and Snyder (1997) explain that the main reason for people in the United States move into this type of community is image. In prestige communities, image is the most important aspect for moving into one of these communities because the gates imply a barrier of status (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Developers in the United States promise their potential buyers that they are gaining status by living in an exclusive gated community separated from the rest of the population. Similarly to the Lifestyle Communities, prestige communities are also marketed for the advantage of living close to nature and away from the city chaos, but close enough to be able to work in the city.

In some cases, governments in the United States have provided people of low-income with gated public housing, and in some other cases local governments have opted to gate existing low-income communities as a “security measure.” Security Zone Communities are part of the third typology of gated communities described by Blakely and Snyder (1997). Unlike Lifestyle Communities and Prestige Communities, gates in Security Zone Communities are not built by a developer but by the residents with assistance of a neighborhood association or of a local government. This phenomenon occurs mainly in middle and lower income neighborhoods and the main motivation is to use walls or other fortification mechanisms to avoid the negative spill over effect of violence occurring in adjacent neighborhoods. Residents feel that by marking the boundaries and restricting access to the general public, their neighborhood would build and strengthen the feeling and function of community (Blakely and Snyder, 1997).

Besides the three typologies of gated communities identified by Blakely and Snyder (1997), the authors Sanchez, Lang, and Dhavale (2005) propose only two typologies of gated communities. Sanchez et al. (2005) used information from the 2001 American Housing Survey (AHS) to study the phenomenon of gated communities in the United States. According to their study “there are gated communities composed of mostly white homeowners with high incomes that have a secure main entry—the kind of classic gated community in the public mind. But there are also gated communities that are inhabited by minority renters with moderate incomes” (Sanchez et al., 2005, p. 281). This simplification in the typologies of gated communities may relate to the fact that class and race are correlated in the United States. Low-income people from minority groups are more likely to rent and high-income people are more likely to be homeowners; as a result the first typology that Sanchez et al. (2005) propose is based on status and the second with security.

The typologies identified by Sanchez et al. (2005) can be said to be a simplification of the typologies proposed by Blakely and Snyder (1997). For example, the two typologies Lifestyle Communities and Prestige Communities identified by Blakely and Snyder (1997) can be simplified as one typology solely based on status inhabited by upper class white homeowners. On the other hand, Security Zone Communities identified by Blakely and Snyder (1997) correspond to gated communities inhabited mainly by low-income minorities; where the prime motivation for people in moving into a gated community are concerns for security and crime.

This pattern of development in the United States has influenced urban development in Latin America. As a result, many of the typologies of gated communities described by Blakely and Snyder (1997), and up to some extent the two typologies proposed by Sanchez et al. (2005), have started to emerge in Latin America. Borsdorf (2002) explains that consumer habits, leisure time activities, prestige and elitist ideologies are elements of a globalized attitude that is mainly influenced by a North American lifestyle. These consumer patterns have ultimately affected the Latin American city and developers have taken advantage and marketed communities that adapt to this ideological model.

### **Development of Gated Communities in Latin America**

The Spaniard colonizers strictly followed the Laws of the Indies when designing their new cities in the Americas. These laws strictly dictated the overall physical development pattern that the settlement had to follow as well as the type of society that the city was going to be. The main pattern that the new settlements had was a central plaza, surrounded by a cathedral, and buildings that served an important political purpose such as a town hall (Smith, 1995). The elite housing was located in very close proximity to the plaza and the lower classes, such as poor indigenous people, settled in the peripheries. In short, the closer people lived to the central plaza, the higher

the social class of the person. Regardless of the patterns of separation among social classes in the early colonial city, the city was open and without walls.

The early colonial houses were designed with the traditional Spanish internal patio and access to this space was closed towards the street. Also, up until the mid-nineteenth century, different levels of privacy were established inside residential structures. Visitors did not have access to the second or third floors because these spaces were reserved for women (Janoshka and Borsdorf, 2002). Janoshka and Borsdorf (2002) explain that the mining towns of the nineteenth century were an early form of gated community. These communities were highly segregated depending on the type of job that a person performed in the mine; workers that performed hard labor jobs did not occupy the same location as employees that performed more intellectually-oriented activities. These compounds were usually walled and access was restricted to the public. These two cases show early forms of segregation at different scales; one at a micro scale by restricting access to a single building, the other at a macro scale by restricting access to multiple individual houses with a wall.

The contemporary upper class gated community of Latin America can be traced to country clubs or golf clubs. These athletic clubs first appeared in Mexico City and Buenos Aires at the beginning of the twentieth century. The idea of creating country clubs and golf clubs in Latin America can be attributed to wealthy British men. These clubs rapidly gained popularity among European descendants of different nationalities, and “in the case of Buenos Aires, the first country clubs were built in early 1930s and completely emulated the lifestyle of the English-oriented bourgeoisie” (Janoshka and Borsdorf, 2002, p. 101). As this athletic clubs became more popular, new clubs not only included sports facilities but also housing started to be added.

In the beginning, the houses of these clubs were mostly used as weekend and vacation homes, and had a low occupancy rate during the week. However, during the mid-1950s, as cities grew bigger, urbanization caused security problems to these clubs. As a result security measures such as walls, gates, and private security guards had to be implemented in these communities. Then, during the 1970s, country clubs were developed in suburban areas not far from the city center. As a result, developers started to market them not as weekend and vacation homes but as full-time residences. Using Buenos Aires as an example, “about 70 country clubs for the upper and upper-middle classes were founded in this city in the mid-1980s, mainly for sports activities in a quasi-natural environment” (Janoshka and Borsdorf, 2002, p. 101).

Today, country clubs are not the only form of gated communities in Latin America. They have morphed into different typologies that can be recognized throughout the region. In the last three decades, the structure of the Latin American city has been affected by the appearance of “tall apartment buildings and of individual family home quarters totally separated from the rest of the city by walls, fences and security installations” (Borsdorf, Hidalgo, and Sánchez, 2007, p.365). Scholars studying the phenomenon of gated communities in Latin America, still have trouble in finding a common name for this type of development because the term changes depending on the country and the context (Borsdorf et al., 2007). Also, gated communities are classified based on physical characteristics such as amenities offered, density, and length of occupation. Since the term for gated communities differs from each country in Latin America, Borsdorf et al. (2007) compiled a list of names describing the different names given to gated communities in different Latin American countries. In Chile gated communities are known as *condominios*, in Brazil *condomínios fechados*, *barrios privados* in Argentina (as one type of



gated community), conjuntos or urbanizaciones cerradas in Ecuador and fraccionamientos cerrados in Mexico (Borsdorf et al., 2007, p. 366).

**The Latin American typology of gated communities.** Not all gated communities are created equal. The differences include the physical size of the development and the market target. Target groups can be the middle-class, upper-middle class, and upper class. Based on a study done by Thuillier (2005), in the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires, this author recognizes different typologies of gated communities that not only can be found in the capital city of Argentina, but also in other urban areas in Latin America. As in other cities in the region, the construction of gated developments has multiplied in the peripheries of Buenos Aires.

Thuillier (2005) analyzes the recent diversification of the market for gated developments. The first type of gated community in the majority of Latin American countries that targeted the upper class is the country club, which originally was only inhabited during the weekends and holidays. Such developments offered residents amenities such as golf courses, polo fields, tennis courts, football fields, and swimming pools. The second type of gated community described by Thuillier (2005) is known as *barrios privados* (private neighborhoods) a democratized version of the country club because “their collective amenities and spaces are sharply reduced” (Thuillier, 2005, p. 258), making them more affordable for a greater segment of the population. Developers marketed gated communities for their amenities such a golf courses and polo courts; with *barrios privados* the selling points of developers are the “assurance of a 24/7 private police service and affordable monthly fees” (Duren, 2006, p. 317) and sometimes a small park for children. Also, unlike country clubs, *barrios privados* have permanent residents. On average, country clubs and *barrios privados* are located within 45 km from a major city.

In addition to the previously discussed types of gated communities, Thuillier (2005) explains clubes de chacras and mega emprendimientos. These communities are usually located approximately 80 km from metropolitan areas. Developers created clubes de chacras as they began to recognize how the former country clubs started to emerge with the urban fabric of cities, and that people not only used their homes in the country clubs as weekend or holiday residences but as permanent homes. Thuillier (2005) describes this type of community as “a form of farm-style country home, usually larger than the ancient country clubs, offering huge plots of one hectare or more” (Thuillier, 2005, p. 258). On the other hand, mega emprendimientos can be described as huge master planned communities that include various gated communities surrounded by private schools and universities, shopping centers, and semi-public spaces.

The case study of the Buenos Aires metropolitan area done by Thuillier (2005) is useful for analyzing the typologies of gated communities because quantitative information, such as plot size, density, and land value, is available for the four types of gated developments. Having quantitative information makes the comparison easier and helpful for recognizing similar typologies in other countries in the region.

These four types of gated communities identified in the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires are also found in other regions of Latin America. In general terms, the type that has become more popular in Latin America is the barrio privado because it targets middle and upper-middle classes. The country club style has been the preferred typology for the more affluent classes. On the other hand, mega emprendimientos have been mostly a phenomenon in municipalities outside metropolitan areas in Argentina, Chile, and Brazil. Recognizing the different typologies of gated communities helps to better understand the type of housing that the market demands and

how successful developers are in supplying it. It also shows the influence that globalization poses in consumer habits when it comes to housing and lifestyles.

### **Similar Patterns between Gated Communities in North America and Latin America**

The case study of the four different types of gated communities in Buenos Aires identified by Thuillier (2005) shows similarities with the Lifestyle Communities and Prestige Communities identified by Blakely and Snyder (1997) in the United States. Borsdorf (2002) claims that there is not much difference between the Lifestyle Communities and the Prestige Communities in Latin America based on a study of gated communities in Quito, Ecuador, and in Lima, Peru. The author uses the Arrayanes Country Club in Quito as an example of the relation between country clubs, clubes de chacras, and Lifestyle Communities, while Borsdorf (2002) uses the concept of *barrio cerrado arribista* in a gated community of Lima, in order to explain the similarities between the *barrios privados* and the Prestige Communities.

An example of a gated community in Ecuador helps to find similarities between the North American and the Latin American typology of Lifestyle Gated Communities. Borsdorf (2002) analyzes the case study of the Arrayanes Country Club in Quito, Ecuador. This gated development is located in a rural area outside the Metropolitan District of Quito (MDQ). Since the development is located 27 km away from Quito, people can just be members of the country club or if interested they can acquire a plot and build a home according to strict urban design guidelines. The entire area of the community consists of 178 hectares with 178 plots of an average size of 1,000 square meters. The common areas include a clubhouse of 8,000 square meters of constructed space, three swimming pools, an eighteen-hole golf course, ten tennis courts, equestrian facilities, and other athletic complexes such as basketball courts and soccer fields, a restaurant, a picnic area, and a barbeque facility (Arrayanes Country Club, 2009). The

entire development would seem more than perfect in the context of a suburban community in the United States.

Borsdorf (2002) further explains that any trace of the Ecuadorian culture has been lost in this community. An American lifestyle is emulated at every scale, from the street patterns, the overall architectural style of the development, and the segregation of the population with the rest of the urban population. The entire development can be seen as an analogy to the North American suburbs; since the entire development is located in the outskirts of Quito, the entire gated community can be seen as a rural paradise in the middle of nature. In conclusion, the Lifestyle Communities represent the maximum expression of globalization, because almost every element in these communities seems to be imported from some other culture foreign to the local context.

Borsdorf (2002) has also identified a similar typology of gated communities in Latin America comparable to the Prestige Communities identified by Blakely and Snyder (1997). He uses the term *barrio cerrado arribista*, which can be roughly translated as “show-off gated neighborhood”, but cannot be literally translated from Spanish to English. In general terms this type of gated community is very similar to the Lifestyle Communities. Regardless of not having amenities such as golf courses or a country club, these communities are usually located in areas of the city with high real estate value and optimum infrastructure (Borsdorf, 2002). Borsdorf (2002) explains that in the *barrio cerrado arribista*, “the lifestyle is less important than the social meaning that implies to live in a high income community“ (Borsdorf, 2002, p. 586). Also, the image of prosperity associated with living in a gated community is more important than the lifestyle one may find in a country club.

An example of a *barrio cerrado arribista* is the gated community Las Casuarinas located in the Municipality of Miraflores in Lima, Peru. The majority of the residents of this community belong to the upper-middle and upper class. The average cost for a developed plot is superior to \$140,000 (US dollars) and the average size of a plot of land can be greater than 500 square meters (Plöger, 2006, p. 14). The land value in the Municipality of Miraflores ranges from \$400 to \$2,500 dollars per square meter (Gastañadui, 2008). Borsdorf (2002) explains that unlike the large size of the individual plots, the common areas of the community are extremely reduced and none of the facilities found in the Lifestyle Communities can be found in this development. The author also claims that individuality and a lack of social contact between neighbors persist throughout the entire gated community; the individualistic spirit can be seen by the lack of sidewalks, green areas, and parks in the development. Also, unlike the Lifestyle typology in which the entire development follows a similar architectural style, in the *barrio cerrado arribista* each development (horizontal or vertical) has its own architectural style and has its own gate. In other words, each plot of land is gated in an already gated community (Borsdorf, 2002, p. 595). In conclusion, the *barrio cerrado arribista* responds to consumers that demand exclusivity, exclusion, individualism, and security.

The analysis of these two gated communities in two countries of South America helps to understand the way that two different North American typologies of gated communities have been exported to Latin America. On one hand, the analysis shows that the Lifestyle Community typology described by Blakely and Snyder (1997) has been implemented in Quito and Lima exactly as if it was implemented any suburb in the United States. In addition, not a single sign of the local culture can be identified in the Arrayanes Country Club in Quito, Ecuador. One can argue that residents feel positive about adopting a North American lifestyle. On the other hand,

the Prestige Community typology described by Blakely and Snyder (1997) shows differences when compared to the South American cases. The main difference is that while in the North American model all the houses must follow strict urban design guidelines (in the United States it is very common that the developer builds all the houses), in the Latin American version of the Prestige Community, identified by the name *barrio cerrado arribista*, each house can have its own architectural style, security gate, and in many cases does not have to comply with imposed urban design guidelines. This is because in Latin America many times developers do not build the houses; they simply provide the plots to be developed and the design is done by an architect chosen by the owner of the parcel. Nonetheless, the image of status and exclusivity are present in both North American typologies discussed and on the Latin American adaptations of these American typologies.

### **Factors contributing to the development of gated communities**

Two factors should be taken in consideration in order to better understand the homogenization and fragmentation of the urban environment caused by gated communities. Security and marketing are factors that many scholars claim is one of the main driving forces that convince people to move into gated communities (Betancourt, 2007), (Caldeira, 2000), (Coy, 2006), (Freeman, 2008), (Rodgers, 2004), and (Roitman, 2005). Crime seems to affect everybody equally, and as a result, gated communities have been planned and marketed for almost all economic classes. A major characteristic of gated communities is that they offer 24 hours of security provided by a private security company. This has caused that security in many cities to become a privatized service, not provided by public authorities. Marketing is another factor that can be used to understand the popularity of gated communities (Blakely and Snyder 1997). Real estate companies and developers market gated communities promising exclusivity by creating communities for homogeneous socio-economic classes. They also market a safe

suburban lifestyle that allows people to live close to nature and enjoy several sport amenities, but still be able to work and travel to the city center in a relative short period of time.

## **Security**

The popularity of gated communities in Latin America is mostly attributed to fear of crime. The perception of insecurity drives Latin American elites to move into gated communities. Urban violence statistics show that “fifteen of every 100,000 urban inhabitants in Latin America are killed each year” (Coy, 2006, p. 123). However, this does not mean that violence and crime are distributed evenly among all sectors of the population. Homicides and rapes occur more often in low-income areas, which usually are located in the periphery of metropolitan areas. Middle and upper classes are subject to different types of crime. The types of crime that these two classes experience are mostly assault, robberies and kidnapping. Nevertheless, regardless of the type of crime and the degree of violence that individuals experience in their daily life, the entire population is vulnerable to crime and violence.

Violence does not affect everybody equally because vulnerability to crime depends on the victim’s income level, age group, gender, and geographic location (Coy, 2006). A study conducted by the municipal agency that is in charge of monitoring crime in the metropolitan region of Quito in 2007 (Observatorio Metropolitano de Seguridad Ciudadana del Municipio de Quito-OMSC), shows that, residents between the ages of 16 and 30 had the greatest percentage of homicides in the city, compared to other groups (OMSC, 2007). Also, for megacities, such as São Paulo, Brazil the rate of homicides is higher for males between the ages of 15 and 24 (Coy, 2006). According to Coy (2006), in 1995 the homicide rate for the entire population of São Paulo was 60 per 100,000; but when the numbers are calculated for males between the ages of 15-24, the number changes to 260 homicides per 100,000. Freeman (2008) shows that the murder rate in

São Paulo increased from 35 per 100,000 residents in 1983 to 67 per 100,000 residents in 1999, but decreased to 38 per 100,000 in 2004.

Roitman (2005) claims that part of the popularity of gated communities in Buenos Aires can be attributed to the raise in crime rates in Argentina. The author shows that from 1980 to 2000, the rate of crime increased by 376%. But, since not all citizens have the same vulnerability to crime, crime alone cannot be the only factor that people consider when deciding to move to a gated community. Many times, the perception of crime, and not real crime, is used as an excuse for people to opt for this type of development. Low (2001) claims that in the United States fear of crime comes associated with fear of ethnic diversity as well as changes in the neighborhood by the arrival of residents of various minority groups. In the Latin American context, fear of crime is not associated with ethnic differences of the population but with the rise of urban insecurity and rising criminality; however, besides some cities in Colombia, big Brazilian cities, and Mexico City, which have a history of violence, the rest of the cities of the hemisphere are relatively safe (Janoshka and Borsdorf, 2002).

The perception of the amount of crime and the actual rate of crime not always correlates. Freeman (2008) describes the pattern of violent crimes, such as murder, kidnapping, and armed robbery in Rio de Janeiro from the 1980s to the early 2000s. This author shows a rise in crime during the 1980s and 1990s, and then a decline in crime in the early 2000s. “In Rio the homicide rate was 27 per 100,000 residents in 1983, grew sharply to 78 in 1994, and then declined to 45 in 2004” (Freeman, 2008, p. 532). This situation is described by Caldeira (2000) as “crime talk” and occurs when a decrease in crime showed by statistics not always represents a decrease in the perception on how vulnerable a person feels about crime.



The lack of credibility of public authorities and the limited resources of the public sector to respond to crime has caused an increased involvement of the private sector in providing security services that used to be provided by the public sector. Authors argue that increase in the perception of crime can be because people no longer trust the authorities and many times the police force is seen as part of the problem. As a result, people feel that the private sector should get involved in providing security. Many times police departments and the military are involved in corruption. This causes the public to perceive that law enforcement officers collaborate with criminals and powerful organizations involved in drug trafficking and kidnappings. Besides distrust on the public authorities, another reason why the private sector continues to get involve in providing security is that the public sector does not have the sufficient funds to successfully combat insecurity and crime. Consequently, “the increase in private security hired by companies, banks, shopping malls as well as residential developments is another indicator of the failure of the state to provide enough public police to patrol and control the city” (Roitman, 2005, p. 305).

**Privatization of security.** Security in Latin America is becoming a privatized service. Coy (2006) argues that in recent years, it has become very popular for private companies to provide security services that was formerly provided by the public sector. Statistics from different Latin American countries suggest that private security will only continue to expand. Betancourt (2007) lists the number of private guards in different Latin American countries. According to the author, Brazil has approximately 570,000 security guards, followed by Mexico with 450,000, and Colombia with 190,000 registered guards. The expansion of private security companies is a phenomenon that happens across every country in Latin America. In Ecuador, one can appreciate the way that the private security industry has flourished. The argument of the privatization of security has gained attention because according to Pontón (2006), in 2003 there was 40,368

registered security guards compared to 33,300 registered police officers. It is important to note that these figures of Ecuador, as in other countries of Latin America, could be much higher since many times a significant number of people in the informal sector work as security guards.

## **Marketing**

Developers that promote gated communities not only sell an image of security, but the idea that when people move into a community with gates the residents will have total control of the environment and will be alienated from the outside world. Blakely and Snyder (1997) claim that in reality, developers do not market the gates per se, but they market emotions and images. The authors also argues that one explanation for the rapid popularity of gated communities in the United States is that once a developer has success with one gated development, other developers will follow the trend and will develop more communities in the same area. For example “any developer who saw a competitor using gates successfully would be likely to modify his or her own development strategy to include at least some of the new product” (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p. 15). One example of a profitable development firm in Latin America is Alphaville Urbanismo S.A.. It was the first Brazilian firm that proved to be one of the most successful development companies to join the promising market of gated developments following the North American model (Coy, 2006). As gated housing continues to spread around the region, this phenomenon cannot be seen as a transitory trend but as a type of development that will continue to gain popularity.

Developers follow what becomes successful in the market. They constantly modify their developments to supply the trendiest amenities in their communities. As more developers become interested in a particular location, clusters of gated communities start to develop in parts of the city. When clusters of gated developments start to emerge, one can start to recognize different typologies of gated communities that have been built targeting different economic

sectors of the population. The different typologies of communities emerge because developers sell different packages of communities as if housing was a consumer product. The consumers are drawn to these packages because they are “fulfilling their specific demands concerning security, residential quality, round-the-clock care, and other lifestyle necessities” (Coy, 2006, p. 126).

Developers in the United States and in Latin America add different amenities such as golf courses, lakes, and highly decorated gated entrances with architectural styles that range from Mediterranean to Neoclassical to name a few. By including all these amenities they are selling their developments faster and as a result they make higher profits. Blakely and Snyder (1997) claim that a persuasive language is used throughout promotional material such as brochures and websites where new communities are advertised. Also, the names given to these communities try to evoke sophistication and class. Two examples are Ecoville and Alphavilles in Curitiba, Brazil. Irazábal (2006) explains how the prefixes eco and alpha of these gated developments in this Brazilian city “evoke ecological balance and returns to origins or beginnings; and alpha also connotes an idea of dominance or superiority which can be interpreted as dominance or superiority, being at the top or at the beginning of everything” (Irazábal, 2006, p. 75).

Gated communities have several implications for the urban space and the society of Latin American cities. Gated communities are marketed for their advantage of providing exclusivity and homogeneity. As a result, the city becomes segregated and the public is drawn away from the public space towards gated islands of wealth. Gated communities are only a part of a trend of carefully controlled environments such as enclosed malls, shopping centers, entertainment centers, big box retailers, private education centers, and business parks (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Borsdorf et al., 2007).

## **Homogenization of Urban Development**

The withdrawal of the state in controlling urban development has caused the emergence of a strong private real estate sector that is in charge of affecting the urbanization of cities through big private investors, and middle and upper class homebuyers. Sabatini (2003a) argues that in the city of Santiago, Chile, this situation has reduced the scale of geographic segregation.

Traditionally, when the Chilean government was in charge of providing social housing for the people, the preferred location for public housing were areas with cheap land (Sabatini, 2003a). Sabatini (2003a) claims that the advantage of having the real estate sector in charge of urban development is that they can transform rural areas into urban areas and modify the social class of neighborhoods by constructing large projects that are highly marketed to attract high income or middle-income families in areas of the city close to lower-income neighborhoods. As a result, there is a reduction in the scale of segregation in the city.

The emergence of a strong private sector in charge of the development of cities, has caused developers to have a very strong influence on the urbanization and urban lifestyle trends in Latin American (Coy, 2006). Borsdorf and Hidalgo (2008) analyze the phenomenon of gated communities in Chile and explain the influence that real estate companies in this country have over the state. The authors also explain how these developers and real estate companies are part of a large network of international corporations that are joint ventures of Chilean, North American, Mexican, Brazilian, and Spanish enterprises. A concrete example of a very successful Brazilian company that is mostly involved in the development of gated communities is Alphaville Urbanismo S.A.. In the 1970s, Alphaville Urbanismo S.A. built the first gated community in the metropolitan region of São Paulo; today the company has built gated communities and edge cities in almost every major city in Brazil and it has even built projects in Portugal. The example of Alphaville Urbanismo S.A. described by Coy (2006) perfectly

illustrates the influence that globalization has had in the real estate market and the power that these firms have on the housing market in Latin America. At the same time, the expansion of Alphaville Urbanismo in Europe, using the same formula that the company has used in Brazil, shows the homogenization of urban development across continents.

The popularity of gated communities has to be seen as a desire of the population to live in homogeneous environments with people of their same social and economic status. This process of people selecting where they want to live can be considered as a voluntary form of segregation. However, Roitman (2005) claims that “gated communities contribute to a type of segregation that cannot be defined as either voluntary or subjective, but rather influenced by both” (Roitman, 2005, p. 306). A desire of a family to move into a gated community is not completely influenced by feelings of wanting to segregate themselves from other social classes, but is also highly influenced by violence and perception of insecurity. The difference is that low-income people do not have the same opportunities for mobility as upper income residents have.

Even though gated communities are usually regarded as causing strong segregation between social classes, Sabatini (2007) argues that segregation should not be considered as something negative, and it only depends on the scale of the segregation. For example, the distribution of middle and upper class gated communities located in traditionally poor peripheral areas of the city represents an increase residential segregation, as well as a reduction of its geographic scale (Sabatini, 2003b). In the case of the city of Santiago, Chile, the effort of the real estate market to locate gated communities in low-income areas has modified traditional segregation patterns, “the relative large size of the projects allows the investors to restructure residential segregation on a reduced spatial scale” (Sabatini, 2003b, p. 17).

According to Sabatini (2007), at a neighborhood scale where homogeneous wealthy gated communities coexist next to poor neighborhoods, segregation may not be a problem. This is because poor residents may benefit from the positive externalities of living next to wealthy residents. In the case study of Santiago, Sabatini (2007) describes that with the arrival of gated communities in a predominantly low-income area, public services for low-income residents such as public transportation, street lighting, police patrol, and better roads, were implemented once the gated communities were constructed. Positive economic externalities described by low-income residents was that gated communities not only brought low-skilled jobs such as gardeners and maids, but also jobs for occupations such as carpenters, plumbers and painters (Sabatini, 2007). Critics of these types of jobs may argue that the only types of jobs that gated communities provide are low paid jobs that do not contribute significantly to the local economy. On the other hand, these low-skilled jobs offer the opportunity for uneducated people to at least find a job close to home and eliminates transportation costs for people that otherwise would have to find a job in distant locations.

Sabatini (2003) describes various positive externalities of gated communities located in poor neighborhoods in Santiago. However, Thuillier (2005) has a different perspective about what middle and upper class gated communities denote in low- income areas of the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires, Argentina. Thuillier (2005) claims that the gates of gated communities can be seen as welcoming and exclusive, and that “the presence of these islands of wealth amongst a sea of popular neighborhoods creates frustration and envy, and finally generates the insecurity and violence that gated communities were supposed to remove for their residents” (Thuillier, 2005, p. 264). Nevertheless, the impact of gated communities in one city will not have the same impact in another, and it is possible that they help increase segregation and

homogenization of the built environment, but as Sabatini (2003) argues, the closer the gated communities (middle and upper class) are located to the poor, the more positive externalities that may seem to bring.

**Open space.** Borsdorf and Hidalgo (2008) claim that deregulation poses a challenge to urban planning because municipalities have lost control of the built environment. At the same time, private developers have taken advantage of deregulation and have been able to use foreign capital to respond to the demand of affluent classes and build gated communities that many times are of the scale of a small European city. Also, Coy (2006) explains the challenges that gated communities pose on public authorities and the role they have in providing adequate public space in the city. He argues that, “the implicit conflict between public accessibility and the privatization of urban space proves to be an overriding challenge for public authorities necessitating, among other things, adequate mechanisms to solve neighborhood conflicts and specific rules of land regulation” (Coy, 2006, p. 126). The phenomenon of gated communities in Latin America has been greatly influenced by globalization, in particular the influence it has on the population’s consumption habits. As a result, the sector of the population that can afford and desires to live in gated communities would most likely continue to demand such developments, and developers will be there to supply what the market demands.

As gated communities proliferate around the cities, so does the privatization of public space. Developers have the advantage that they can purchase large parcels in the best real estate locations of the cities to develop them into gated communities. Since the sites where gated communities are located encompass large areas, developers include amenities such as parks and recreation fields for the exclusive use of its residents. As a result, public spaces for recreation that used to be provided by the local authorities are now provided by the private sector. The

protective walls and security structures of gated communities break with the traditional urban fabric of the city because they decrease the permeability of neighborhoods. Erazo and Ospina (2009) explain that this type of development modifies the urban environment and changes the city structure because gated communities disintegrate the public space by eliminating any type of socialization land, recreation between residents inside and outside of the gates. As this pattern of development continues to expand, the social life of the streets and parks of neighborhoods of many Latin American cities will become empty spaces without any time of human activity.



### CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

Based on research studies done by Betancourt (2007), Caldeira (2000), Coy (2006), Freeman (2008), Rogers (2004), and Roitman (2005); different variables and parameters are used in order to analyze if security is an issue to consider in explaining the expansion of gated communities in the Metropolitan District of Quito (MDQ). The elements that are taken into consideration are secondary sources of crime statistics and data about the behavior of private security companies in Ecuador. The influence of marketing is also analyzed, taking into consideration factors discussed by Blakely and Snyder (1997), Coy (2006), and Irazábal (2006). In order to understand if homogenization of the urban space is occurring, the location of gated communities were identified according to administrative zone.

The analysis of crime statistics helps to understand if crime is a factor that is causing people to move into gated communities. The primary source of this information were reports developed by a municipal agency of the MDQ that is in charge of monitoring crime called Observatorio Metropolitano de Seguridad Ciudadana (OMSC). This source provided the information of a survey done in the administrative zones of the MDQ that analyzed how safe citizens feel in different administrative zones of the MDQ, and the frequency with which crime occurs in different parts of the city. Other statistics that were analyzed are home robberies and burglaries in the city from 2006 to 2009.

The information used from the survey developed by the OMSC consisted of three variables. The first variable is the Índice de Percepción de Inseguridad (IPI) (Index of Perception of Insecurity – IPI), which indicates how safe people feel in their neighborhoods. The second variable is the Índice de Victimización a Hogares (IVH) (Index of Victimization to Homes - IVH), which indicates if someone in the household has been a victim of a car robbery (theft of

accessories of the car is also considered), or if the home has been robbed in the past twelve months. The last variable analyzed from the survey is the Índice de Victimización a Personas (IVP) (Index of Victimization to Persons – IVP), which indicates if a person, sixteen or older, has been a victim of a robbery with or without the use of force in the past twelve months in the city.

The three variables were obtained from surveys administered in eight administrative zones of the MDQ. Subsequently, each administrative zone was divided into its corresponding census block and 12 homes were administered a survey in each census block (OMSC, 2008). It is important to mention that of the 12 homes selected, a survey was administered to all members with at least 16 years of age. For example, in the administrative zone of Quitumbe, 216 homes were selected to complete the survey. Since Quitumbe has 18 census blocks and 12 homes were selected on each census block, this gives a total of 216 homes selected to take part in the survey. This methodology was applied to the other administrative zones of the MDQ as a way to obtain a representative sample of the population of the MDQ.

In order to get a better picture of the behavior of private security companies in Ecuador, secondary resources were used. These sources were obtained from previously published studies by the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) Ecuador in a scholarly journal named Ciudad Segura. This journal served as a source for statistics about the behavior of private security companies in Ecuador. The statistics that were analyzed are: the increase in the number of private security companies in Ecuador from 1990 to 2006; the growing rate of private security companies from 1990 to 2006; and revenues of private security companies from 2000 to 2005. These statistics are significant because they can help the researcher better understand the relationship between private security companies and the development of gated communities.

Since gated communities heavily depend on private security companies for protection, these companies may benefit from an increase in the development of gated communities.

The influence that marketing has on the popularity of gated communities is analyzed based on content analysis of two real estate magazines and selected websites. The digital version of the two most popular real estate magazines in Ecuador, Inmobilia Ecuador and El Portal Magazine were used to analyze advertising material of gated communities that are being marketed by developers, construction companies, or architectural firms in Quito. When a website of the developer, construction company, real estate company, or architectural firm was provided in the real estate magazines analyzed, these website were visited in order to find if additional gated communities are under construction in the city.

The factors that researcher tried to identify on each advertisement included aspects that have been discussed by Blakely and Snyder (1997), Coy (2006), and Irazábal (2006) including promotional slogans used to advertise gated communities, target market, location of the developments, security features, type of house, amenities, and the price<sup>2</sup> (see Appendix A). Based on these characteristics, each gated community was classified as middle class, upper-middle, or upper class community. It is important to mention that, similarly to the way gated communities are developed in the United States, in all the gated communities identified in the content analysis, the developer provided the layout of the plots and the houses ready for occupancy. This process of identifying gated communities that are being advertised on real estate magazines and on websites was helpful in understanding the current supply and the characteristics of gated communities in the MDQ.

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<sup>2</sup> Classification based on price was used applying the parameters used by Kohler (2002) in a previous study of gated communities in Quito.

In order to identify if homogenization of the built environment is occurring in the city, the information about gated communities in Quito from a previous study done by Kohler (2002) was used to match the location of these communities with a map with the different economic sectors of the population developed by Tupiza and D'Ercole (2001). This methodology helps identify if a particular type of gated community targeting a certain social class can be associated with the prevalent economic sector of an administrative zone. Each parcel of land in the MDQ is classified according to an economic sector. In total there are nine economic sectors with their corresponding land value (Table 3-1). The difference between the commercial land value and the economic sector classification is that, in the economic sector classification, each economic sector is assigned a land value according to three parameters, infrastructure, type of existing construction, and commercial value of the land (Tupiza and D'Ercole, 2001). The economic sector classification method of calculating the value of a parcel is believed to be more accurate than the commercial land value classification because the later classification method of the land, at times of economic crisis, may be very subjective and unpredictable (Tupiza and D'Ercole, 2001). Therefore, the classification of the land according to an economic sector is considered more accurate than the commercial land value classification because it does not takes into consideration infrastructure, and the type of existing construction.

This methodology will provide a better understanding of the factors that are contributing to the development of gated communities MDQ; and the effect that the increased development of gated communities is having on the built environment. The methodology will also guide the analysis in trying to find answers of the five working hypothesis described in Chapter 1.

Table 3-1. Economic sector according to land value

Economic sector	Land value (in US dollars)
1	172 or more
2	102-171
3	85-101
4	50-84
5	24-49
6	16-23
7	8-15
8	4-7
9	0-3

[Adapted from Tupiza, A. and D'Ercole, R. (2001). Valor del Suelo en el Distrito Metropolitano de Quito: Cartografía, análisis, metadatos. *Cooperación Científica y Técnica entre el Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito (MDMQ) y el Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD)* retrieved March 10, 2010, from [http://www4.quito.gov.ec/spirales/3\\_publicaciones/libros/Valor\\_del\\_suelo\\_en\\_el\\_dmq.pdf](http://www4.quito.gov.ec/spirales/3_publicaciones/libros/Valor_del_suelo_en_el_dmq.pdf)

## CHAPTER 4 DATA ANALYSIS

### **Historical Background and Context**

The city of Quito was founded in 1543 in a site that was originally an Inca settlement. In 1563 “Quito became the capital of the administrative territory or *audiencia real*, which determined its role as an administrative and service center for a rich and densely populated zone” (Zaaijer, 1991, p. 87). In 1830, the city became the capital city of Ecuador. Traditionally, the Laws of the Indies dictated that the new cities founded should avoid high altitude locations because those sites usually have irregular terrains, which is problematic for the implementation of the grid system. Smith (1955) explains that the city of Quito was an exception since the city is located at an altitude of 2,800 meters and spreads out on a hillside. Nonetheless, the city has taken advantage of the natural landscape and developed in a north-south linear pattern at the foot of the volcano Pichincha.

The city of Quito was renamed in 1991 with the official name of the Distrito Metropolitano de Quito-DMQ (Metropolitan District of Quito-MDQ). The city became a metropolitan district in an effort by the central municipality to decentralize its political influence over the rest of the municipalities. Quito is located in the Provincia de Pichincha (Province of Pichincha) at an altitude of 2,800 meters (Figure 4-1). The MDQ is divided into eleven metropolitan zones that are classified as urban or suburban zones (Figure 4-2). Of the eleven metropolitan zones, only eight have their own administrative zone. The eight administrative zones are Quitumbe, Eloy Alfaro, Centro, Zona Norte, La Delicia, Los Chillos, Tumbaco and Calderon. The metropolitan zones Norcentral, Noroccidente, and Aeropuerto are part of the administrative zones of Norte, La Delicia, and Tumbaco respectively. The five urban administrative zones of the MDQ are: Quitumbe, Eloy Alfaro, Centro, Zona Norte, and Calderon. La Delicia, Los Chillos, Tumbaco,

Norcentral, Noroccidente, and Aeropuerto are the suburban administrative zones. The INEC estimates that the total population of the MDQ is 1,841,200 (INEC, 2001). Of this total, 1,413,694 live in the urban administrative zones and 427,506 live in the suburban zone. Each administrative zone is further divided into parishes (Figure 4-3). The MDQ consists of 32 urban parishes and 33 suburban and rural parishes.

The development of gated communities is a recent phenomenon that has not been extensively studied in the city of Quito. As a result, the purpose of this analysis is to recognize the possible factors that are influencing in the development of gated communities in the MDQ and the effect that this type of development has on the built environment. The factors identified as possible sources of influence are security and marketing. The consequences of gated communities may be seen if signs of homogenization of the built environment can be recognized. The results of the analysis are expected to be consistent with information previously explored in the literature review, discussed in Chapter 2.

### **Identifying Factors**

The following factors and consequences regarding the phenomenon of gated communities will be analyzed. The influence of private security companies will be explored as a way to identify a possible link between an increase in gated communities and the success and growth of private security companies in the last two decades in Ecuador. The second factor identified as influential in the development of gated communities is marketing. This section will describe the way that developers advertise gated communities and the techniques used to sell gated communities according to different target markets. Finally, to see if homogenization of the built environment is occurring in the city, variables such as location of gated communities according to social class will be identified. Taking in consideration all these variables will help create a comprehensive analysis of the development of gated communities in the MDQ.

## **Security**

The issue of security and crime has been widely discussed as a possible factor in the increase in the development of gated communities. To find a possible connection between crime and the development of gated communities, several variables regarding security and crime will be analyzed. First, crime statistics and perception of insecurity will be discussed. Secondly, the behavior of private security companies will be studied to see if there is a link between the development of gated communities and the growth of private security companies. Since one of the main features of gated communities is the protection offered by private security guards, a possible link may exist between the two. The researcher expects to find a connection between security and the popularity of gated communities.

### **Crime statistics and perception of insecurity**

Figure 4-4 shows the number of home robberies and burglaries in the MDQ from 2006 to 2009 registered by the police. An increase or decrease in crime would directly affect the type of housing developers will try to supply and the type of housing that consumers will demand. Consumers would see a direct benefit and convenience in the security systems that gated communities offer. An increase in home robberies and burglaries in the city, opens the door for developers to market gated communities for their security amenities.

In general, Figure 4-4 shows that from January 2006 to April 2008, home robberies and burglaries in the MDQ did not follow a steady pattern that one leads to assume that crime has increased or decreased. Although there seem to be a steady decline from September 2008 onward. The month with the highest number of robberies and burglaries was August 2006 with 432 incidents registered. The second month with the highest number of incidents was April 2008 with 421 occurrences. The two months with the lowest number of incidents are September 2009 and November 2009, with 142 and 115 incidents respectively. However, when the statistics are



analyzed from 2008 to 2009, home robberies and burglaries are decreasing. Just after April 2008, the trend seems to be that robberies and burglaries are decreasing in the MDQ.

Figure 4-3 shows the results of a survey done in all the administrative zones of the MDQ, where three variables can be seen. The first variable is the Índice de Percepción de Inseguridad (IPI) (Index of Perception of Insecurity - IPI), which indicates how safe people feel in their neighborhood, and if crime and security are widely discussed in their household. The second variable is the Índice de Victimización a Hogares (IVH) (Index of Victimization to Homes - IVH), which indicates if someone in the household has been robbed in his or her home or if the person was victim of a car robbery in the past twelve months. The last variable is the Índice de Victimización a Personas (IVP) (Index of Victimization to Persons - IVP), which indicates if a person, sixteen or older, has experienced a robbery with or without the use of force in the past twelve months in the city.

Figure 4-6 represents the average IPI, IVH, and IVP of the administrations shown in Figure 4-5. The IPI shows that an average of 99% of the population surveyed in the MDQ responded that they do not feel safe in their neighborhood. On the other hand, the IVH indicates that 25.59% of households have actually been victims of some type of crime to their home or vehicle. The IVP describes that 18.3% of the people surveyed have been victims of a robbery or theft. Clearly the perception of crime is much higher when compared to the number of people that actually have been directly affected by crime. It is important to mention that none of the administrative zones has an IPI lower than 95.2%.

When comparing the IPI, IVH, and IVP in the eight administrative zones, the suburban administrative zone of Tumbaco has the lowest rates in all three indexes. However, besides Tumbaco, there is not much difference between the rates of the urban and suburban

administrative zones. The suburban zone of Los Chillos has the highest IPI (100%), followed by the Zona Norte with a 99.8% of respondents feeling insecure in their neighborhood. The zone with the lowest IPI is Tumbaco (95.5%) followed by the urban zone of Calderon (96.6%). The administrative zone Norte has the highest IVH (31.9%), followed by Los Chillos with a 30.6% of surveyed people claiming that they have been victims of a robbery or burglary to their home or car in the past twelve months. The zones with the lowest IVH are Tumbaco (14.5%) followed by the urban zone of Quitumbe (21.5%). The two zones with the highest IVP are Quitumbe (23%) and Los Chillos with a 19.9% of respondents claiming that they have been victims of a robbery. The zones with the lowest rates of IVP are Tumbaco (11%) and Calderon (11.9%).

### **The market of private security companies**

Table 4-1 shows the growth in number of private security companies in Ecuador from the year 1990 to 2006. In a period of sixteen years, the number of companies went from 54 in 1990 to 849 in 2006. This represents an increase of sixteen times from 1990 to 2006. The comparison of the growth rate of security companies in the 1990s with the growth rate in the six-year period of 2000 to 2006 (Figure 4-7) shows that the growth rate of private security companies started to decline after the 2000s. On the one hand, in the ten-year period from 1990 to 2000 the number of companies increased from 54 in 1990 to 390 in the year 2000, this growth rate represents an increase of more than seven times from 1990 to 2000. In this period, 336 new security companies were created. On the other hand, in the six-year period from 2000 to 2006 the number of private security companies more than doubled. In 2000 there were 390 security companies and by 2006 there were 849. During this time 459 new security companies were created in Ecuador.

According to Pontón (2006), of the total number of private security companies registered in Ecuador, 52% are located in the province of Pichincha and 28% are located in the province of Guayas. Ecuador's two most important cities and economic powers are located in these

provinces; the port city of Guayaquil is located in Guayas and the city of Quito is located in Pichincha. This means that 80% of private security companies are located in urban areas that have higher percentage of wealthy citizens compared to the rest of the country. Table 4-2 shows the growing rate of security companies from 1990 to 2006 for the entire country of Ecuador, the provinces of Guayas and Pichincha. The province of Pichincha experienced a higher growth rate in private security companies than Guayas from 1990 to 2004. The most significant difference in the growing rate between these two provinces occurs from 1990 to 2000. During this decade, the growing rate of security companies in the province of Pichincha grew 10% more than in Guayas. From 2000 to 2006 the two provinces experienced very similar rates, with the exception of the period of 2002-2003 in which private security companies in the province of Pichincha grew 8% more than in Guayas. When comparing the growth rate of security companies in Pichincha with Ecuador, Pichincha has a very similar growth rate to the national rate.

Private security companies have become very lucrative businesses and the increase in revenues shows that this type of business is highly demanded by society. Figure 4-8 shows the total revenue of private security companies from 2000 to 2005. From 2000 to 2005 the total revenues of these companies more than doubled. The highest percentage change occurred from 2000 to 2001 when revenues of private security companies increased more than 100% in only one year. The graph also shows that after 2003 the growth rate of revenues is not as significant as in previous years, since from 2003 to 2005 the growth rate of revenue of private security companies is only 11%. The private security sector has been so successful that according to Pontón (2006) the number of private security guards in Ecuador surpassed the number of registered police officers in 2003. In 2003 there were 40,368 registered security guards compared

to 33,300 registered police officers, this means that there were almost 21% more private guards than policemen in the country.

## **Marketing**

The analysis of marketing material of gated communities tries to find a link between marketing and the increased popularity of this type of development. This section explores the way developers advertise gated communities according to certain target markets. This analysis will help identify what amenities are offered depending on the target market. Special attention is given to security amenities because security is recognized as one of the most popular features included in gated communities. Other amenities that are also considered are green areas and playgrounds. The detailed list of the gated communities and the variables analyzed can be found in the Appendix A. Part of the success of gated communities has been the way developers have used marketing as a tool to successfully convince people of almost all economic classes to move into these communities.

### **Advertizing of gated communities and their target market**

A total of 52 gated communities were identified as being marketed in the MDQ (Table 4-3 and Figure 4-9). The administrative zone with the highest number of gated communities being advertised is Tumbaco with 15 communities on the market. This represents 28.8% of the total number of communities identified in the MDQ. Other zones with a considerable number of gated communities under construction are Zona Norte and Los Chillos with 13 and 12 communities respectively. The administrative zones with the lowest number of gated communities are Eloy Alfaro and La Delicia, both with two communities on the market. Each of them represents 3.8% of the total number of gated communities identified in the study.

The 52 gated communities identified in the study were classified according to a target market that developers are trying to reach. Table 4-4 and Figure 4-10 show the number and

percentage of gated communities that target different social classes in different administrative zones of the MDQ. Tumbaco is the zone with the highest number of gated communities targeting the upper class. Of the total of 15 communities identified in the study in Tumbaco, ten are being marketed as upper class, and the rest as upper-middle class communities. This zone is the only one that does not have middle class communities in the market. Los Chillos is the zone that has the most heterogeneous distribution of gated communities. In this zone, each of the three target markets has four developments. The administrative zones of Eloy Alfaro and Quitumbe have the most homogeneous distribution of gated communities. The two gated communities being advertised in each zone, both are targeting middle class consumers. The Zona Norte has eight upper-middle class gated communities on the market, making it the zone with the highest number in this category. Calderon and La Delicia, both have two gated communities advertised for the middle class and two targeting upper-middle class buyers.

### **Marketing of security features**

Table 4-5 shows the total number of gated communities identified in the study that advertise having permanent security systems such as a private security guards, electric gates, and security cameras. Security features seem to be one of the preferred amenities offered in gated communities in all administrative zones of the MDQ. Of the total of 52 gated communities advertised, 39 mention having a private security guard and restricted access to unauthorized people. Security is advertised in 75% of the gated communities in the MDQ (Table 4-5, Table 4-6 and Figure 4-11). Of the seven administrative zones where gated communities are being advertised, the ones in Tumbaco are not primarily marketed for their security features. Of the total of 15 communities identified in this zone, only 7 mention that they have private security guards. The administrative zone of Los Chillos and the Zona Norte both have the same numbers of gated communities marketed for their security features. In Los Chillos, eleven of the 12

communities identified have security amenities and 11 of 13 in the Zona Norte. The four middle class gated communities in Eloy Alfaro and Quitumbe also have private security guards. It is important to mention that Tumbaco is the zone with the highest number of gated communities targeting the upper class, but is the zone where security is not the most important feature being promoted.

Table 4-7 and Figure 4-12 show the percentage and number of gated communities that are marketed for their security features and classified by target market. Gated communities targeting middle class people are highly advertised for the security features installed in their communities. Of the total of 14 middle class gated communities, 13 mention having private security guards. This means that 92.9% of these communities are being marketed for their security features. In the upper-middle class gated communities, 66.7% or 14 of the total 21 gated communities are being advertised for their security. Twelve out of the 17 upper class gated communities mention having security feature, which represents 70.6% in this category. It seems that security is an amenity that is most widely advertised for middle class gated communities than for upper-middle or upper class communities.

### **Type of housing and amenities included**

Table 4-8 and Figure 4-13 show the characteristics of homes advertised in the marketing material analyzed. The gated communities identified across the MDQ may comprise apartment buildings, townhouses, single-family houses, or a combination of condos and townhouses. Overall, the trend seems to be to build townhomes, since they represent 59.6% of the total housing types. Of the total of 52 gated communities identified, 31 are townhomes. The second most popular typology is single-family homes, which represent 17.3% of the total market. The administrative zone of Tumbaco has five developments offering this type of houses, making it the zone with the highest number of gated communities offering single-family homes. Gated

communities in the form of apartments account for 15.4% of the market. Five of the eight vertical gated communities identified are located in the Zona Norte. The combination of apartment and townhouse represent 7.7% of the gated communities. Only four gated communities offering this combination were identified.

Besides security features, other amenities are also highly advertised. In 33 of the 52 gated communities, some type of green area for leisure activities is being advertised. Another amenity that was found in almost all gated communities regardless of target market was a common area used for special events such as birthday parties or other celebrations. In 23 of the 52 gated communities some type of common area is included in the development. A swimming pool is an amenity that is constantly talked about in the literature as a feature that is key to the success for the marketing of gated communities. Surprisingly, only 11 of the 52 communities identified include a swimming pool as an amenity. Eight of the eleven gated communities with swimming pools are located in Tumbaco and the rest are in the Zona Norte.

### **Identifying Consequences**

As a way to identify if changes in the built environment are occurring due to the development of gated communities; the location of these communities, and the size of the houses that have a construction permit will be analyzed. Matching the location of the gated communities with a land value map of the MDQ helps identify if the target market of the gated communities matches the land value. The analysis of the size of the houses that will be built and their location in the city can help to recognize where certain social classes may choose to live in the city. This can also help identify segregation patterns in the city.

**Location of gated communities in the MDQ.** The map in Figure 4-14 represents the location of gated communities in the MDQ. The map was composed using information from a previous study of gated communities done by Kohler (2002). The original map done by her shows the

location, and number of gated communities in a diagram of the MDQ. Kohler (2002) originally classified the gated communities into four categories, middle class, upper-middle class, upper class, and upscale class, depending on the selling price per unit<sup>3</sup>. To make the information presented by Kohler (2002) comparable with the information obtained from the content analysis of marketing material, the four categories identified by Kohler (2002) were simplified and gated communities were reclassified into three categories, middle class, upper-middle class, and upper class (Table 4-9). The only difference with the categories presented by Kohler (2002) is that in the classification used in this thesis upper class and upscale class gated communities are combined and simply named upper class. The information provided by Kohler (2002) was overlaid on a map with different economic sectors according to land value present in the administrative zones of the MDQ. Analyzing the type of gated communities with the prevalent economic sector of the zone helps to identify if clusters of a certain type of gated communities can be recognized in certain administrative zones. Also, using the information from the diagram done by Kohler (2002), a chart was developed (Figure 4-15) with the percentages of the types of gated communities that exist in different administrative zones.

The percentage of gated communities of a certain social class can help analyze if clusters of a specific type of gated communities is emerging in certain administrative zones of the MDQ. From Figure 4-15, it can be seen that 80% of the gated communities built in Quitumbe target middle class, and 20% target upper-middle class people. Calderon shows a similar pattern to Quitumbe. In this zone, 60% of the people that live in gated communities are middle class and the rest upper-middle class. The administrative zones Centro and La Delicia show a

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<sup>3</sup> It is important to mention that according to the *Cámara de Industrias de Guayaquil* (CIG) (Chamber of Industries of Guayaquil), the minimum monthly salary in Ecuador corresponds to \$240 US dollars or \$1.50 US dollars per hour (CIG, 2010). In comparison, the minimum monthly salary in US dollars in the countries of Venezuela, Brazil, and Colombia corresponds to \$372, \$292, and \$262 respectively (CIG, 2010).



homogeneous characteristic since the gated communities in these areas are exclusively targeted for middle class people. On the other hand, the administrative zone Norte has gated communities of three different social classes. This zone has 40% of gated communities occupied by the middle class and 40% by the upper-middle, and the rest corresponds to upper class. In the suburban administrative zone of Los Chillos, 50% of the gated communities are occupied by the upper-middle class, 40% by the middle class, and 10% is inhabited by the upper class. Tumbaco has the highest percentage of upper class communities than any other administrative zone. This suburban administrative zone has 80% of gated communities occupied by the upper class.

Figure 4-14 shows that the suburban administrative zone of Tumbaco is the preferred location for the most expensive and exclusive gated communities in the city. This analysis is supported by the land value in the parish of Cumbaya located in the administrative zone of Tumbaco. According to Tupiza and D'Ercole (2001), considerable parts of the land in Cumbaya are located in areas classified as Sector 2 and 3; this means that land costs between \$85 to \$101 and \$102 to \$171 US dollars per square meter respectively. The Zona Norte also has areas where the land value is very high, especially in the north central part, where most of the principal commercial, administrative, financial, and touristic activities take place. Therefore, this area has some of the best infrastructure and accessibility of the entire city. The north central part of the Zona Norte is classified as Sector 1, which corresponds to a land value of more than \$172 US dollars per square meter. In Los Chillos, most of the land in the parishes of Conocoto, Guangopolo, and La Merced are classified as sector 4 or 5, which corresponds to a land value between \$50 to \$84 and \$24 to \$49 US dollars per square meter respectively. It is important to mention that in the administrative zone Centro the land is also one of the most expensive in the MDQ. Land is expensive in this zone because the colonial historic center and many of the

ministries, public offices, and the presidential palace are located there. However, the people that actually live in the historic center is mostly low and middle class.

Areas such as Quitumbe, Calderon, and La Delicia have the greatest percentage of gated communities of the less affluent classes. These zones are less exclusive than other administrative zones. As a result, gated communities constructed in these areas target middle class people. Most of the land values in these three administrative zones are classified as Sector 5 (\$24 to \$49 US dollars per square meter), Sector 6 (\$16 to \$23 US dollars per square meter), or Sector 7 (\$8 to \$15 US dollars per square meter), which corresponds to the lowest land values in the MDQ. Overall, each social class in the MDQ is segregated towards the zone that it can afford to buy into. Nonetheless, gated communities seem to appeal to all social classes.

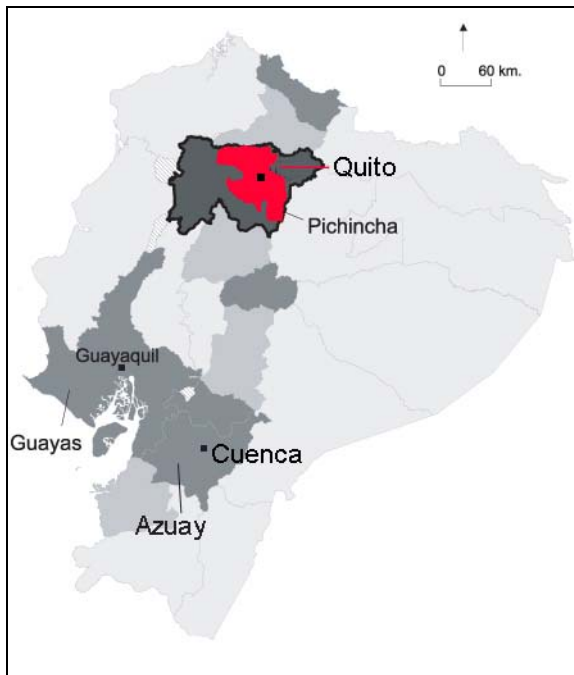


Figure 4-1. Location of the MDQ with respect to the rest of the country.

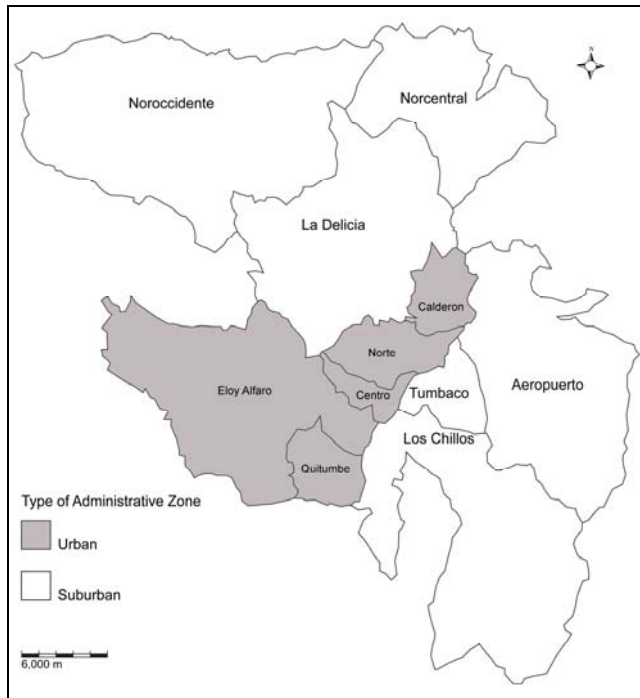


Figure 4-2. Administrative zones in the MDQ. [Adapted from Direccion Metropolitana de Planificacion Territorial (DMPT) and Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito (MDMQ). (2010). *Division Politico Administrativa del DMQ*. Retrieved January 3, 2010, from <http://www4.quito.gov.ec/pdf/dmq.pdf>.]

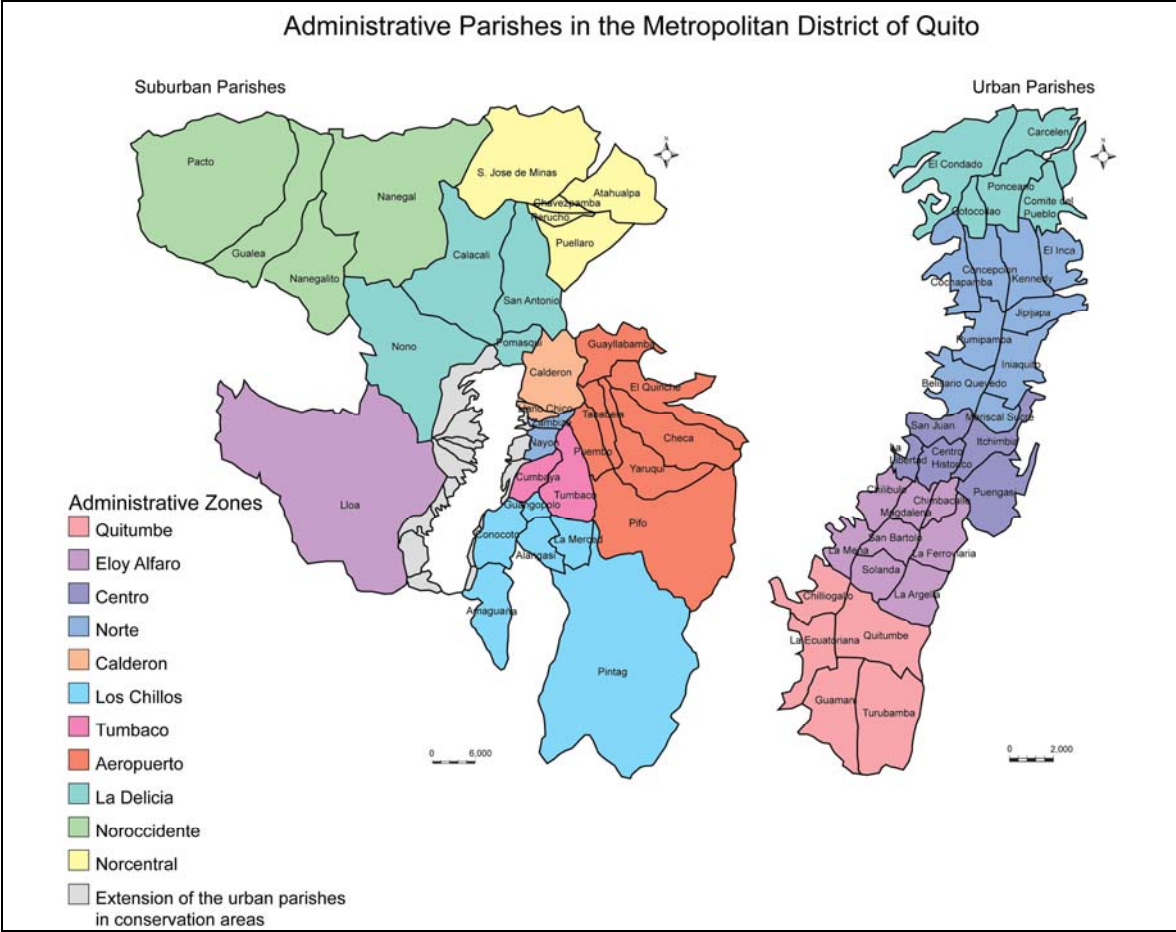


Figure 4-3. Administrative parishes in the MDQ with their corresponding administrative zone. [Adapted from Direccion Metropolitana de Planificacion Territorial (DMPT) and Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito (MDMQ). (2001). *Fondo Parroquial del DMQ*. Retrieved March 1, 2010, from [http://www4.quito.gov.ec/spirales/9\\_mapas\\_tematicos/9\\_1\\_cartografia\\_basica/9\\_1\\_1\\_1.html](http://www4.quito.gov.ec/spirales/9_mapas_tematicos/9_1_cartografia_basica/9_1_1_1.html).]

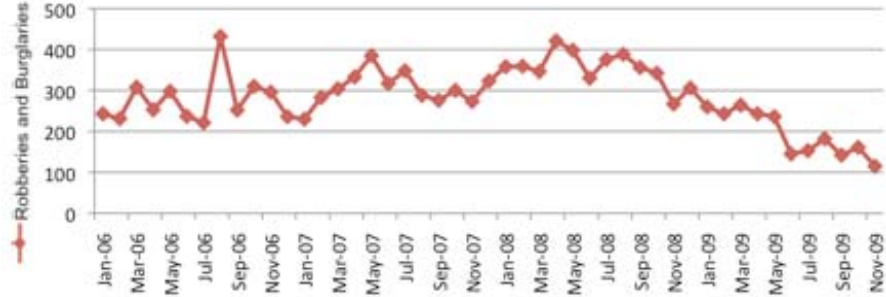


Figure 4-4. Home robberies and burglaries in the MDQ. [Adapted from Observatorio de Seguridad Ciudadana del DMQ, cited on Analisis delictual a Nivel Nacional, November 2009.]

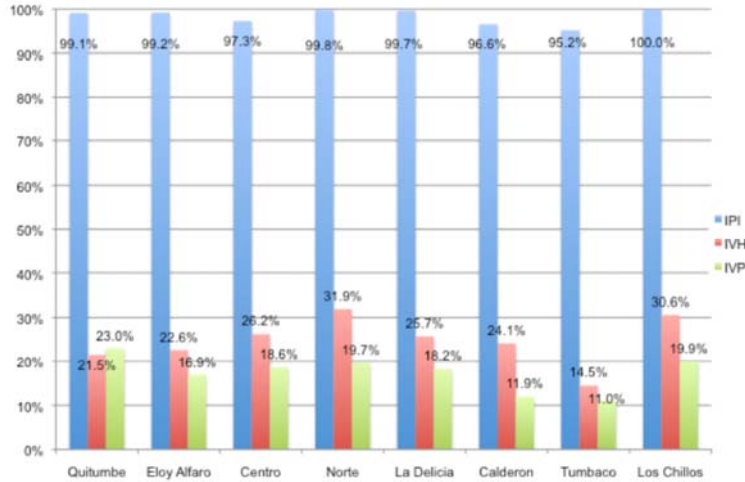


Figure 4-5. Comparison between IPI, IVH, and IVP. [Adapted from Observatorio Metropolitano de Seguridad Ciudadana (OMSC). Alcaldia Metropolitana de Quito. (2008). Decimo Informe. Retrieved January 4, 2010, from [http://www.observatorioseguridaddmq.net/plugin/1-9-10\\_10mo%20estudio%20victimizacionpart2.pdf](http://www.observatorioseguridaddmq.net/plugin/1-9-10_10mo%20estudio%20victimizacionpart2.pdf).]

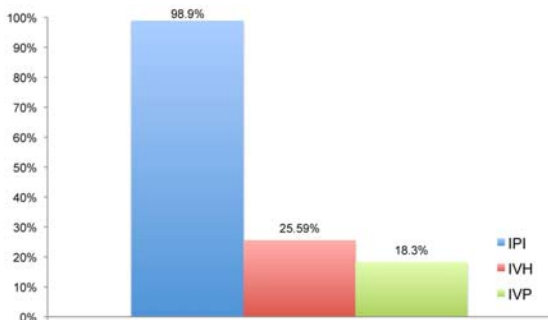


Figure 4-6. Comparison of IPI, IVH, and IVP. [Adapted from Observatorio Metropolitano de Seguridad Ciudadana (OMSC). Alcaldia Metropolitana de Quito. (2008). Decimo Informe. Retrieved January 4, 2010, from [http://www.observatorioseguridaddmq.net/plugin/1-9-10\\_10mo%20estudio%20victimizacionpart2.pdf](http://www.observatorioseguridaddmq.net/plugin/1-9-10_10mo%20estudio%20victimizacionpart2.pdf).]

Table 4-1. Number of private security companies in Ecuador from 1990-2006.

1990	1995	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
54	163	390	435	487	562	641	758	11%

[Adapted from Superintendencia de Compañías cited by Montalvo Carrera, P. (2007). Costos de la Violencia en el DMQ. Ciudad Segura, 18: p. 4-9. Retrieved December 14, 2009, from [http://www.flacso.org.ec/docs/ciudad\\_segura18.pdf](http://www.flacso.org.ec/docs/ciudad_segura18.pdf).]

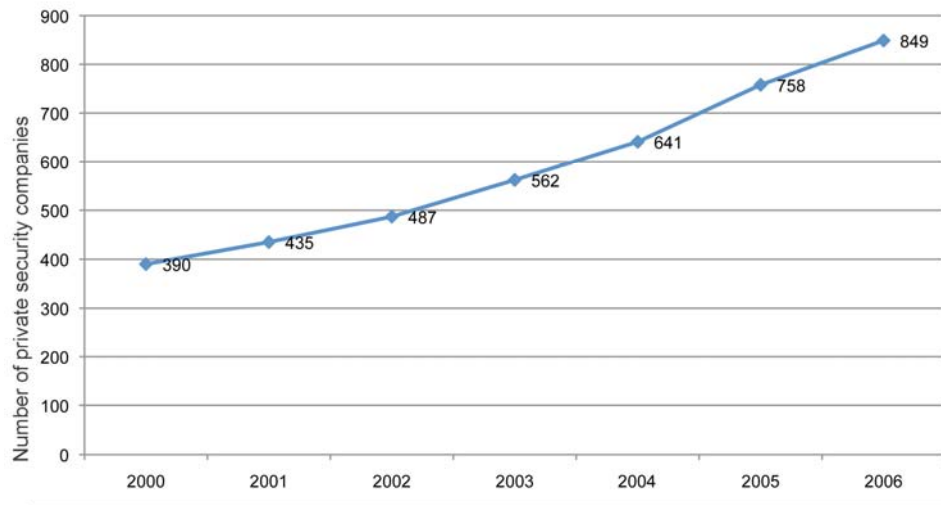


Figure 4-7. Number of private security companies in Ecuador from 2000 to 2006. [Adapted from Superintendencia de Compañías cited by Montalvo Carrera, P. (2007). *Costos de la Violencia en el DMQ. Ciudad Segura*, 18: p. 4-9. Retrieved December 14, 2009, from [http://www.flacso.org.ec/docs/ciudad\\_segura18.pdf](http://www.flacso.org.ec/docs/ciudad_segura18.pdf).]

Table 4-2. Growth rate of private security companies in Ecuador from 1990-2006.

Province	1990-95	1995-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06
Guayas	32%	21%	9%	15%	10%	9%	16%	11%
Pichincha	41%	31%	10%	11%	18%	14%	16%	13%
Rest of country	76%	33%	21%	9%	19%	28%	20%	11%
Ecuador	40%	28%	12%	12%	15%	15%	17%	12%

[Adapted from Superintendencia de Compañías cited by Montalvo Carrera, P. (2007). *Costos de la Violencia en el DMQ. Ciudad Segura*, 18: p. 4-9. Retrieved December 14, 2009, from [http://www.flacso.org.ec/docs/ciudad\\_segura18.pdf](http://www.flacso.org.ec/docs/ciudad_segura18.pdf).]

Table 4-3. Number and percentage of gated communities advertised according to administrative zone.

Administrative zone	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Calderon	4	7.7	7.7
Los Chillos	12	23.1	30.8
Eloy Alfaro	2	3.8	34.6
La Delicia	4	7.7	42.3
Norte	13	25.0	67.3
Quitumbe	2	3.8	71.2
Tumbaco	15	28.8	100.0
Total	52	100.0	

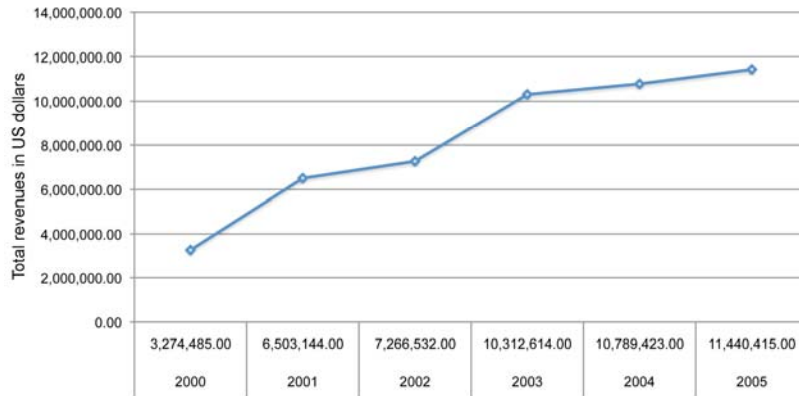


Figure 4-8. Total revenue of private security companies in Ecuador. [Adapted from Superintendencia de Compañías cited by Pontón, D. C. (2006). *La privatización de la seguridad en Ecuador: impactos y posibles escenarios. Ciudad Segura*, 7. Retrieved December 14, 2009, from [http://www.flacso.org.ec/docs/ciudad\\_segura7.pdf](http://www.flacso.org.ec/docs/ciudad_segura7.pdf).]

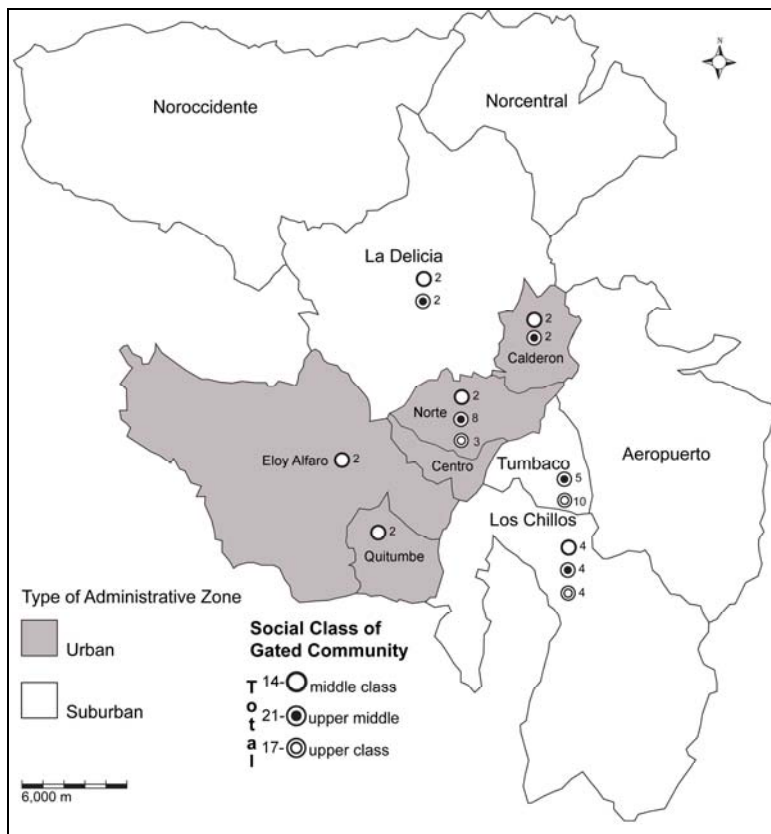


Figure 4-9. Gated communities for sale in the MDQ. [Adapted from Direccion Metropolitana de Planificacion Territorial (DMPT) and Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito (MDMQ). (2010). *Division Politico Administrativa del DMQ*. Retrieved January 3, 2010, from <http://www4.quito.gov.ec/pdf/dmq.pdf>.]

Table 4-4. Gated communities by administrative zone and target market

Administrative Zone		Target market			Total
		Middle	Upper-middle	Upper	
Calderon	Count	2	2	0	4
	% within Administrative zone	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Target market	14.3%	9.5%	.0%	7.7%
Los Chillos	Count	4	4	4	12
	% within Administrative zone	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
	% within Target market	28.6%	19.0%	23.5%	23.1%
Eloy Alfaro	Count	2	0	0	2
	% within Administrative zone	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Target market	14.3%	.0%	.0%	3.8%
La Delicia	Count	2	2	0	4
	% within Administrative zone	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Target market	14.3%	9.5%	.0%	7.7%
Norte	Count	2	8	3	13
	% within Administrative zone	15.4%	61.5%	23.1%	100.0%
	% within Target market	14.3%	38.1%	17.6%	25.0%
Quitumbe	Count	2	0	0	2
	% within Administrative zone	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Target market	14.3%	.0%	.0%	3.8%
Tumbaco	Count	0	5	10	15
	% within Administrative Zone	.0%	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	% within Target market	.0%	23.8%	58.8%	28.8%
Total	Count	14	21	17	52
	% within Administrative zone	26.9%	40.4%	32.7%	100.0%
	% within Target market	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

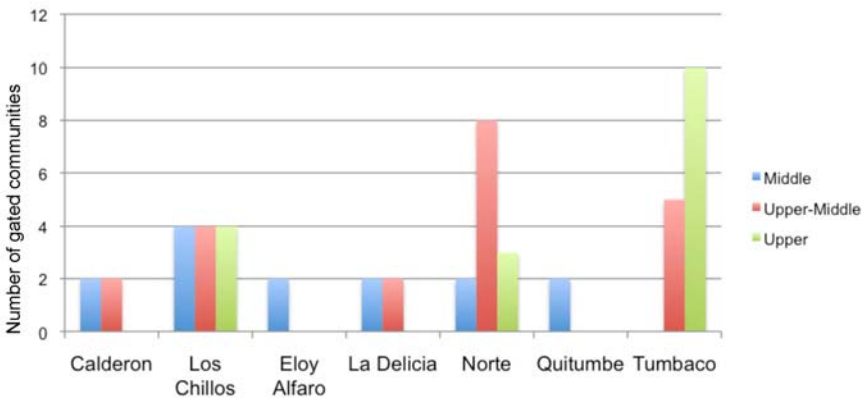


Figure 4-10. Gated communities by administrative zone and target market

Table 4-5. Security advertising for gated communities

Security	Frequency	Percent
No	13	25.0
Yes	39	75.0
Total	52	100.0



Table 4-6. Security advertising for gated communities according to administrative zone

Administrative zone		Security		Total
		No	Yes	
Calderon	Count	1	3	4
	% within Administrative zone	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
	% within security	7.7%	7.7%	7.7%
Chillos	Count	1	11	12
	% within Administrative zone	8.3%	91.7%	100.0%
	% within security	7.7%	28.2%	23.1%
Eloy Alfaro	Count	0	2	2
	% within Administrative zone	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within security	.0%	5.1%	3.8%
La Delicia	Count	1	3	4
	% within Administrative zone	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
	% within security	7.7%	7.7%	7.7%
Norte	Count	2	11	13
	% within Administrative zone	15.4%	84.6%	100.0%
	% within security	15.4%	28.2%	25.0%
Quitumbe	Count	0	2	2
	% within Administrative zone	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within security	.0%	5.1%	3.8%
Tumbaco	Count	8	7	15
	% within Administrative zone	53.3%	46.7%	100.0%
	% within security	61.5%	17.9%	28.8%
Total	Count	13	39	52
	% within Administrative zone	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
	% within security	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

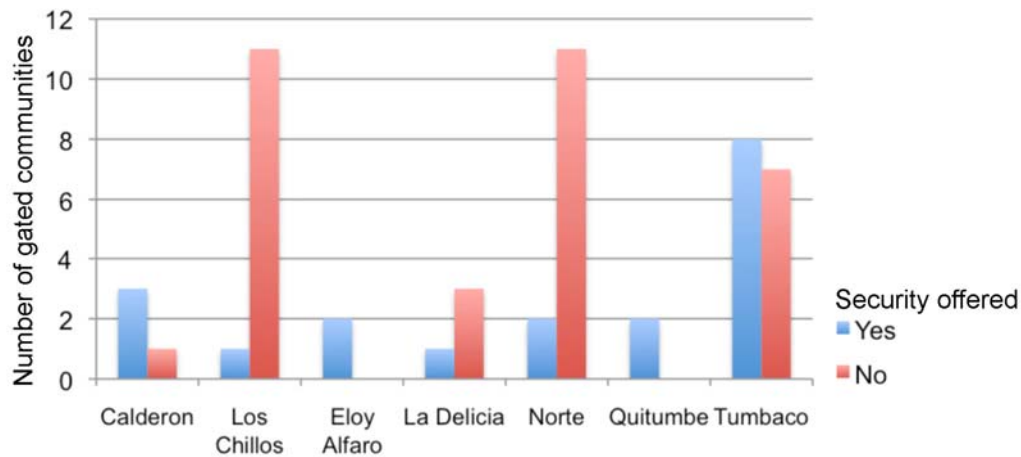


Figure 4-11. Security advertising for gated communities according to administrative zone.

Table 4-7. Security advertising for gated communities according to target market.

Target market		Security		
		No	Yes	Total
Middle	Count	1	13	14
	% within Target market	7.1%	92.9%	100.0%
	% within security	7.7%	33.3%	26.9%
Upper-Middle	Count	7	14	21
	% within Target market	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	% within security	53.8%	35.9%	40.4%
Upper	Count	5	12	17
	% within Target market	29.4%	70.6%	100.0%
	% within security	38.5%	30.8%	32.7%
Total	Count	13	39	52
	% within Target market	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
	% within security	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

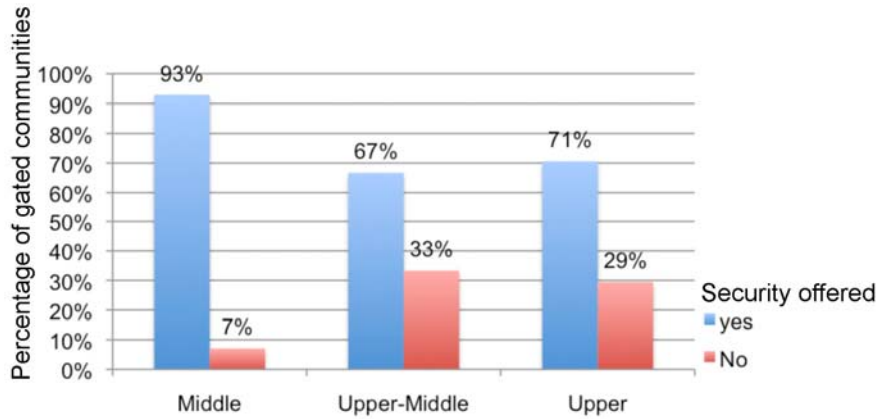


Figure 4-12. Security advertising for gated communities according to target market.

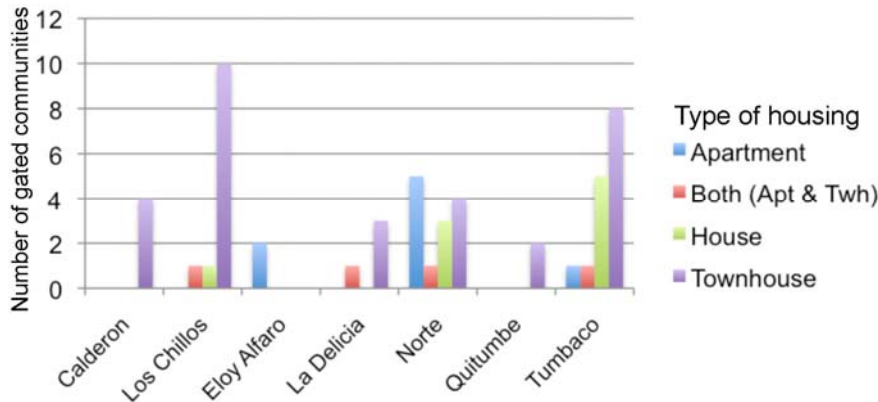


Figure 4-13. Gated communities by administrative zone and type of house.

Table 4-8. Gated communities by administrative zone and type of house.

Administrative zone		Type of House				Total
		Apartment	Both (Apt & Twh)	House	Townhouse	
Calderon	Count	0	0	0	4	4
	% within Administrative zone	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Type of house	.0%	.0%	.0%	12.9%	7.7%
Chillos	Count	0	1	1	10	12
	% within Administrative zone	.0%	8.3%	8.3%	83.3%	100.0%
	% within Type of house	.0%	25.0%	11.1%	32.3%	23.1%
Eloy Alfaro	Count	2	0	0	0	2
	% within Administrative zone	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Type of house	25.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	3.8%
La Delicia	Count	0	1	0	3	4
	% within Administrative zone	.0%	25.0%	.0%	75.0%	100.0%
	% within Type of house	.0%	25.0%	.0%	9.7%	7.7%
Norte	Count	5	1	3	4	13
	% within Administrative zone	38.5%	7.7%	23.1%	30.8%	100.0%
	% within Type of house	62.5%	25.0%	33.3%	12.9%	25.0%
Quitumbe	Count	0	0	0	2	2
	% within Administrative zone	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Type of house	.0%	.0%	.0%	6.5%	3.8%
Tumbaco	Count	1	1	5	8	15
	% within Administrative zone	6.7%	6.7%	33.3%	53.3%	100.0%
	% within Type of house	12.5%	25.0%	55.6%	25.8%	28.8%
Total	Count	8	4	9	31	52
	% within Administrative zone	15.4%	7.7%	17.3%	59.6%	100.0%
	% within Type of house	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4-9. Social class of gated community according to sale price per unit.

Social class of gated community	Sale price/per unit
Middle	\$17,190-\$35,392
Upper-middle	\$35,393-\$70,794
Upper	\$70,795>

Source: Adapted from Kohler, P. (2002). Enclosed Residential Complexes in Quito: Natural and Statutory Realities Influence Distribution and Form. *Geographica Helvetica* 57(4), 278–289.

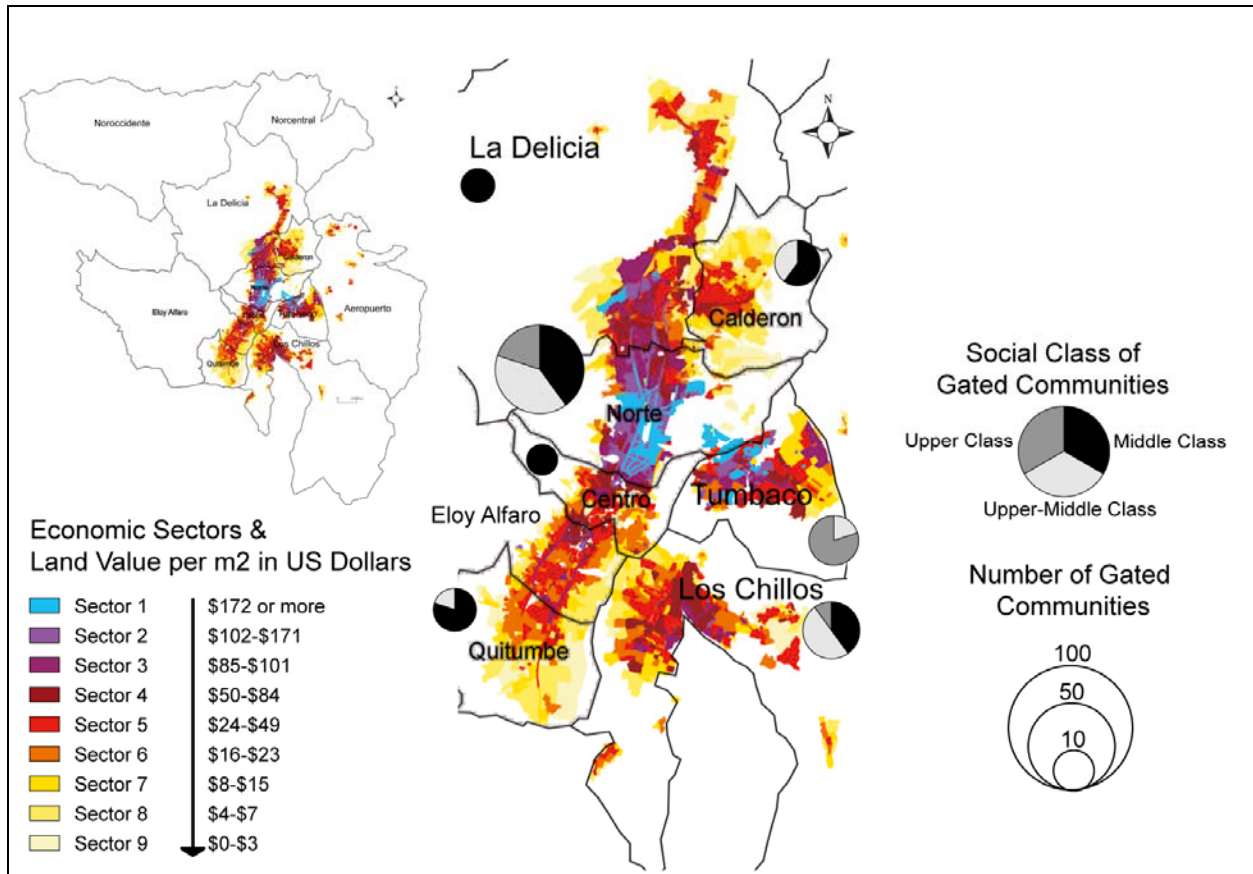


Figure 4-14. Gated communities by administrative zone, social class, and land value. [Adapted from Tupiza, A. and D'Ercole, R. (2001). Valor del Suelo en el Distrito Metropolitano de Quito: Cartografía, análisis, metadatos. *Cooperación Científica y Técnica entre el Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito (MDMQ) y el Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD)* retrieved March 10, 2010, from [http://www4.quito.gov.ec/spirales/3\\_publicaciones/libros/Valor\\_del\\_suelo\\_en\\_el\\_dm\\_q.pdf](http://www4.quito.gov.ec/spirales/3_publicaciones/libros/Valor_del_suelo_en_el_dm_q.pdf); Direccion Metropolitana de Planificacion Territorial (DMPT) and Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito (MDMQ). (2010). Division Politico Administrativa del DMQ. Retrieved January 3, 2010, from <http://www4.quito.gov.ec/pdf/dmq.pdf>; and Kohler, P. (2002). Enclosed Residential Complexes in Quito: Natural and Statuary Realities Influence Distribution and Form. *Geographica Helvetica* 57(4), 278-289.]

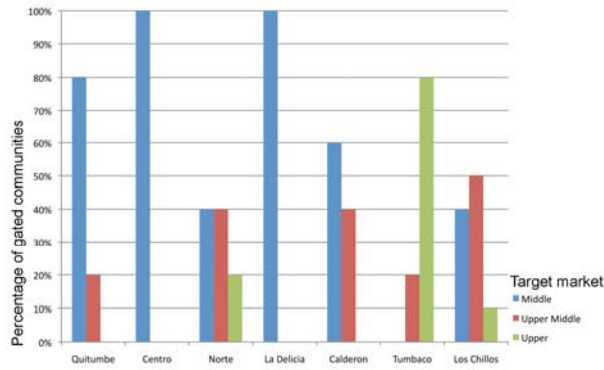


Figure 4-15. Gated communities by administrative zone, social class, and land value. [Adapted from Kohler, P. (2002). Enclosed Residential Complexes in Quito: Natural and Statutory Realities Influence Distribution and Form. *Geographica Helvetica* 57(4), 278–289.]

## CHAPTER 5 RESULTS

The results of the analysis will be presented in two sections. The first section explains the two factors contributing to the development of gated communities that structured this study: security and marketing. On the one hand, several variables that deal with security such as statistics about perception of crime, robberies and burglaries in the MDQ, and the role of private security companies will be explained. Also, different marketing practices used to advertise gated communities are analyzed, and the effect that this has on the type of housing that people demand. The second section describes development patterns that are occurring as a consequence of the development of gated communities. In this section, factors such as the size and typology of housing and preferred locations of gated communities within the MDQ are identified, and the possible causes of the privatization of open space and green areas are explored. The results of the analysis will help to better understand the phenomenon of gated communities in the MDQ.

### **Factors Contributing to the Development of Gated Communities**

In Chapter 4, security was analyzed from different perspectives with the purpose of identifying the role it plays in the development of gated communities. Crime statistics and perception of insecurity were discussed. Statistics about home robberies and burglaries from 2006 to 2009 showed the most recent trends in crime affecting in the MDQ. Also, the IPI, IVH, and IVP indexes of various administrative zones were identified. A map with the land value was used to identify if a relationship may exist between security and land value. Another aspect of security discussed was private security companies in Ecuador by analyzing statistics of growing rate and total revenues of these companies. Finally, content of marketing material of the most recent gated communities for sale across the MDQ was explored, to identify if security features

are highly advertised by developers. Studying these factors help to better understand the importance that security plays in the popularity of gated communities in Quito.

According to the content analysis of marketing material, 39 of the 52 gated communities identified for sale in the MDQ directly express that their development offers the protection of a private security guard and sometimes in addition to this, video cameras for monitoring and electric gates with restricted access. This means that at least 75% of all these developments will require the services of some type of private security company. This high demand for security in gated communities contributes to the growing rate of increase in private security companies in Ecuador. According to Pontón (2006), more than half of all security companies are concentrated in the Province of Pichincha, which is not a surprise; considering that the majority of the housing supplied will have a private guard to protect the residents. Another implication is that security is becoming a private good. The demand for the services provided by the police force are diminishing and housing and neighborhoods are no longer patrolled by the public entities but by private companies. This is consistent with the number of security guards and policemen, which according to Ponton (2006) in 2003 there were 40,368 registered security guards compared to 33,300 registered police officers in Ecuador. Clearly, as the amount of gated communities increase, and since they will probably continue offering security guards, the number of private security companies will continue to grow.

The 52 gated communities identified in different marketing materials were further classified according to specific target markets. According to the theory, one could assume that security features would be more promoted in upper class than in middle class gated communities. However, the results of the analysis showed a different situation. In the advertisement material, in 13 of the 14 middle class gated communities security was mentioned as an amenity; this

means that more than 90% of the advertised middle class gated communities have a private security guard for protection. In the marketing for upper class, security is also used as a mode to attract buyers; however, the percentage is lower (70% or 12 out of the 17 identified). Moreover, regardless of the apparent decrease in home robberies and burglaries in the MDQ from April 2008 to November 2009 (Figure 3-3), developers continue to take advantage of insecurity to market gated communities.

From the analysis, it cannot be assumed that gated communities targeting a middle class market have more security features than the ones targeting an upper class market. However, it can be speculated that middle class gated communities are located in areas with higher crime rates than areas where upper class gated communities are located. A second reason for this may be that when developers are marketing their developments to an upper class market, they do not have to mention security features because the potential buyers of these communities already assume that the community will be gated and will have many security features. Instead of concentrating on security features, developers take advantage of promoting other features such as swimming pools, green areas, gymnasiums, barbeque areas, tennis courts, and other amenities. But, when a developer is promoting a middle class gated community, many times the only special amenity is the security features and not the other life style amenities one may find in an upper class community.

The relation between high levels of insecurity in areas with lower land value, and lower levels of insecurity in areas with a higher land value is not clear when comparing the IVH. The Zona Norte, which has the highest IVH, has a rate double than that of Tumbaco. The land values in the Zona Norte are very mixed; ranging from areas where the land costs less than \$15 dollars per square meter, to parts of the city such as where the main commercial and financial activities



happen and the land value surpasses \$172 dollars per square meter. In parts of Tumbaco the square meter of land ranges from \$85 to \$171 dollars per square meter. In this case, both zones have large parts of the population belonging to an affluent economic class, with the difference that the administrative zone Norte also has a large part of low-income citizens. When comparing the IVP, Quitumbe has the highest rate, and Tumbaco the lowest. The land value in the urban administrative zone of Quitumbe is one of the lowest in the entire MDQ. In this zone, most of the land costs less than \$15 dollars per square meter, and in only a few small sections the square meter of land costs between \$16 and \$23 dollars per square meter. When comparing the IVP between Quitumbe and Tumbaco an inverse relation may exist between higher crime rates in lower income areas and lower crime rates in upper income areas. However, in both areas the IVP is higher than 95%.

As mentioned above, the IVH and IVP are lower in the administrative zone of Tumbaco. Tumbaco also has the lowest IPI among the rest of the zones. As identified by Kohler (2002), and in the analysis of this study, Tumbaco is the only administrative zone that does not have middle class gated communities, and is the zone with the highest percentage of upper class gated communities. Tumbaco is the zone with the highest number of upper class gated communities of all the zones. In this zone, ten out of the 15 gated communities for sale are targeting the upper class. The suburban administrative zone of Tumbaco has the lowest index of crime and perception of crime, and apparently is the preferred location for developers to build upper class gated communities than any other administrative zone of the MDQ.

The real estate market and private security companies have benefited from insecurity and perception of insecurity in the city. The proliferation of security companies in the last two decades in Ecuador has coincided with the proliferation of gated communities targeting all types

of economic classes. Sometimes security is the only amenity that a gated community may offer outside the ordinary wall and fence that all gated communities have. Regardless of the target market, security is always one of the most important features to mention when selling these developments. Areas with high perception of crime and most affected by crime are areas with the lowest land value in the city. As a consequence, these are the preferred location for middle class communities. On the other hand, Tumbaco, where the most expensive land is located, is the preferred location for upper class gated communities that not only offer security mechanisms for protection, but a variety of amenities for the enjoyment of its residents.

### **Development Patterns**

Several variables were analyzed as a way to find the type of development patterns in the MDQ. One variable taken in consideration was the identification of the prevalent types of gated communities in different administrative zones. In the analysis section, it was identified that green areas are the second most common amenity provided by developers inside gated communities. The question now is to identify what implications these variables have in the development patterns of the Metropolitan District of Quito.

The characteristics of the gated communities identified in the content analysis of the marketing material shows similar characteristics with the ones identified by Kohler (2002) in Quito. Kohler (2002) identified that in Quitumbe, 80% of the gated communities are middle class communities and the rest are upper-middle class. In Tumbaco, she identified that 80% of the gated communities are upper class, and the rest are upper-middle. Of the 52 gated communities identified in the marketing material, only two were located in Quitumbe, while 15 were identified in Tumbaco. Similarly, the two communities identified in Quitumbe correspond to a middle class target market. On the other hand, ten of the 15 gated communities in Tumbaco target the upper class market, five to the middle-upper market and none to the middle class. Up

to some degree, both administrative zones have been exposed to gated communities and demand seems to exist in both. However, what differentiates Quitumbe and Tumbaco is the target market that developers are trying to reach.

Besides Tumbaco, which has five gated communities selling single-family houses, the overall trend throughout the MDQ has been to construct townhouses. Townhouses represent 59.6% of the total housing identified in the marketing analysis. Vertical gated communities seem to be found in the Zona Norte, which is the zone with the highest land value and with the highest density.

Green areas and other types of common areas were identified in almost all types of gated communities for sale. Green areas are provided in 33 of the 52 gated communities analyzed. Other more luxurious amenities such as swimming pools, barbeque areas, and gymnasiums were mostly mentioned in upper class communities. Developers try to convince consumers to move into gated communities by increasingly offering amenities such as green areas, and playgrounds. Open space for leisure activities is the second most mentioned amenity after security features in almost all gated communities identified in the marketing material analyzed. This is significant because developers realize that providing amenities such as green areas and open spaces, is as important as providing security features.

Of the total of 52 gated communities identified as currently being marketed for sale in the MDQ, 27 are located in Los Chillos and Tumbaco. This represents about 51.9% of the total number of gated communities identified in the MDQ. The gated communities identified in these two administrative zones not only were advertised for their security features but for the green areas available for the enjoyment of their residents. In Los Chillos, 11 of the 12 gated

communities have some type of green area in the development, and nine of the 15 gated communities identified in Tumbaco have them as well.

Figure 5-1 describes a cluster of seven gated communities in the suburban parish of Cumbaya, in the administrative zone of Tumbaco. The seven gated communities are located in one of the most exclusive areas of the MDQ. According to Tupiza and D'Ercole (2001), the land where these gated communities are located is classified as Sector 1, which corresponds to a land value of \$172 dollars per square meter or more. From Figure 5-1, it can be seen that six of the seven gated communities have some type of green area or open space inside the development. The gated community Urbanización Jacaranda is the largest of the seven, and it even includes tennis courts and a clubhouse.

The developers of this cluster of gated communities have extensively supplied green areas and open space for the private use of the residents. Coy (2006) claims that gated communities cause a privatization of public space. However, in this particular location, the supply of open space inside the gated communities has not affected public space outside of these developments. In Figure 5-1, it can be appreciated that adjacent to the gated communities, there is a public linear park bordering the reservoir. The existence of green areas inside the gated communities has not stopped the city in providing a public park outside these communities; and developers, regardless of the existence of this linear park, have still opted in providing open spaces inside the gated communities.

It can be speculated that, despite that a gated community is located close to a public park, developers still provide open space inside gated communities because they know that providing such amenities will help sell the development, as well as it will give the development more prestige. Nonetheless, this example of a cluster of gated communities located close to a linear

park of a reservoir is the exception and not the rule. If that reservoir would have not been located there, probably there would have not been a linear park and residents outside these gated communities would have not have a public space to enjoy. Consequently, the claim that Coy (2006) makes about the privatization of open space may be true in some cases.

Figure 5-2 shows the morphology of a neighborhood in the urban parish of Chaupicruz located in the northwestern part of the Zona Norte. Similarly to the neighborhood of Figure 5-1, Chaupicruz is also classified as Sector 1. The main difference between the neighborhood identified in Tumbaco with the one in the Zona Norte is that one is located in the core of the city and the other in the suburban parts of the city. Both neighborhoods can be described as homogeneous areas because both neighborhoods are composed of upper class residents. However, the main difference between these two neighborhoods is that the one in the Zona Norte does not have gated communities and all the green areas and open spaces are public spaces. Also, since the neighborhood in Chaupicruz does not have gated communities, it is very permeable and residents can easily walk from one park to the other. This cannot be easily accomplished in the neighborhood in Cumbaya because the clusters of gated communities prevent the green areas and open spaces from been connected. Consequently, it can be said that the open spaces and green areas in the neighborhood in Chaupicruz represents more democratic spaces than the private open spaces in the gated communities of Cumbaya.

In order to better understand the current development patterns in the MDQ, different variables were analyzed. The exploration of the types of gated communities according to social class helped identify segregation patterns within the MDQ. The analysis of the amenities provided by developers inside gated communities, such as green areas, proved that open space is becoming a good highly supplied by the private sector. Analyzing these variables, helped

identify the present development patterns in the city, as well as some of the consequences that can be expected if gated communities continue to be development in the MDQ.

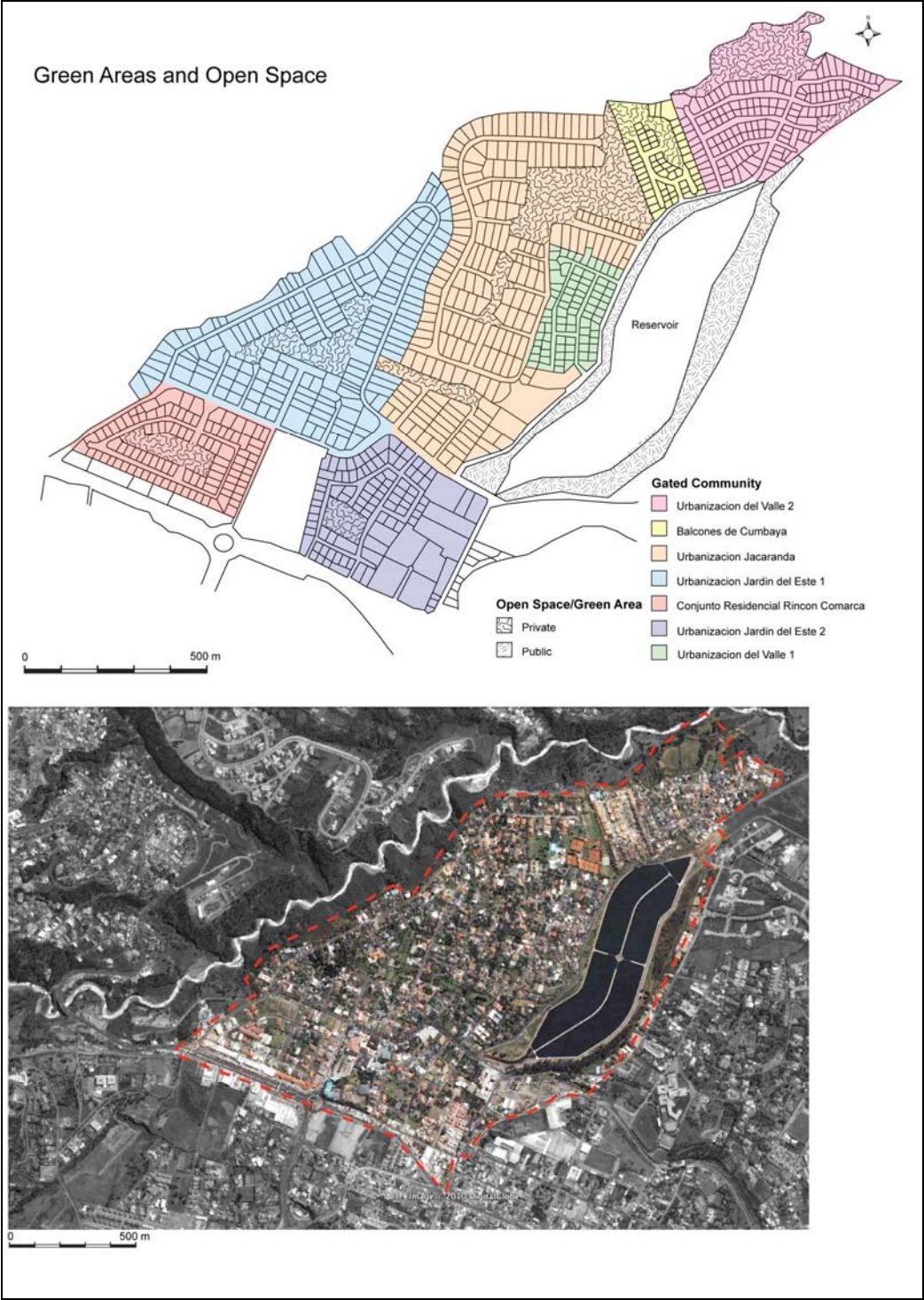


Figure 5-1. Green areas and open space in Cumbaya, Tumbaco. [Adapted from Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito (MDMQ), (2006). *Zona Administración Tumbaco*. Retrieved on February 30, 2010, from <http://cae.org.ec/ordenanzas/Q83.pdf>.]



Figure 5-2. Green areas and open space in Chaupicruz, Zona Norte. [Adapted from Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito (MDMQ), (2006). *Zona Administración Norte*. Retrieved on February 30, 2010, from <http://cae.org.ec/ordenanzas/Q80.pdf>.]



## CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS

The results of the analysis helped to better understand the phenomenon of gated communities in the Metropolitan District of Quito (MDQ), and to find answers to the questions that this study tried to answer. The purpose of this thesis was not to find absolute answers about the impact that gated communities are having in the built environment of the city; the main purpose was to better understand this phenomenon and identify factors that are promoting this type of development. This topic has not been widely studied in the city of Quito, and the available studies mostly deal with typologies of gated communities and location of these communities throughout the MDQ. These studies were very useful as a starting point, and to reinforce the information presented in this research. However, as a way to develop a better understanding of this phenomenon in the city of Quito, the following issues were analyzed: crime statistics, private security companies, marketing of gated communities, and the effect of gated communities on the built environment. Based on these topics, five objectives were developed as a way to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of gated communities in the MDQ.

One of the objectives of this research was to analyze a possible connection between the development of gated communities and crime in the city. In general terms, home robberies and burglaries statistics analyzed for the MDQ did not show a particular pattern. Except that the perception of insecurity is equally high in every area, regardless of income, and land value. The only time where a pattern shows that crime is decreasing is for the period between the months of April 2009 and November 2009. However, this is a very short period of time to claim that home robberies and burglaries are decreasing. As a result, the popularity of gated communities in the

MDQ cannot be solely attributed to rise in crime rates as Roitman (2005) claims as a reason for the increase in the development of gated communities in Buenos Aires.

In a way, the increase in crime justifies the development of gated communities and the desire for people to live in safer communities; however, crime statistics should be read with caution. When statistics show that crime has increased, there could be many reasons for it. It could be that people are reporting crime more frequently because local authorities have improved access to centers where people can report crime. Besides improvements in accessibility to public facilities where crime can be reported, communication improvements in telecommunications have made reporting crime easier. The use of cell phones has drastically increased in Latin America and having a telephone is no longer a privilege of high-income people that live in the well-serviced areas of the city, as indicated by Townsend (2000) and the International Telecommunication Union – ITU (2009), “cell phones are now appearing widely in the squatter communities that surround many third world cities; places where conventional wired phones have never existed” (Townsend, 2000, p. 2). According to the ITU (2009), the number of cell phone ownership in Latin America increased from 150 million in 2003 to almost 600 million in 2008. With such a high rate of cell phones in the region, it can be assumed that people are reporting crime more often than before.

According to Coy (2006), violence does not affect everybody equally and vulnerability to crime depends on factors such as the victim’s income level, age group, and geographic location. As a way to study the levels of insecurity and crime in the MDQ, three indexes were analyzed. Tumbaco has the lowest rates in the Index of Victimization to Homes (IVH), Index of Victimization to Persons (IVP), and Index of Perception of Insecurity (IPI) from all the administrative zones. Since Tumbaco has one of the highest land values in all the MDQ, it is also

the zone with the highest number of upper class gated communities. When the IVP is compared between Quitumbe and Tumbaco, an inverse relation exists between high crime rates in lower income areas and lower crime rates in more affluent areas of the city. Despite the fact that crime does not affect everybody equally, and vulnerability depends on location, in this study, Tumbaco was the administrative zone with the highest number of gated communities for sale than other administrative zones. This means that, regardless of Tumbaco being located in one of the safest zones; gated communities are still highly demanded by the population in this administrative zone.

Another objective of this research was to explore the relation between private security companies and the development of gated communities. Coy (2006) notes that in recent years, it has become very popular for private companies to provide security services that were provided by the public sector. The implication that this has for gated communities is that private security companies are not only hired to provide services to protect areas where commercial activity happens. Security companies are also hired to provide their services to residences, most of them gated communities. Identifying precise numbers for what percentage of security guards are employed to protect gated communities goes beyond the scope of this study. However, by analyzing the growing rates and increase in revenues of these companies in Ecuador and in the Province of Pichincha, it was possible to demonstrate that part of the success of these companies has to do with the popularity of gated communities. The fact that the most advertised amenity in marketing material of gated communities is 24-hour security provided by a private security company, gives an idea of the relation between gated communities and private security companies. Consequently, residential areas that used to be patrolled by the police are now being under the surveillance of private security companies.

Another aspect of this study was to identify the marketing strategies to sell housing in gated communities, and whether security is used to promote them. This has to do with the way developers' market gated communities. Developers market different packages of gated communities to different consumers. Basically, the goal of the developer is to fulfill a specific demand concerning security and lifestyle. The analysis of the marketing material shows that the gated communities with the most amenities are located in Tumbaco. While in most of the administrative zones the most advertised amenity was private security guards, gated communities in Tumbaco have swimming pools, children's playgrounds, green areas, and gymnasiums. It is important to note that the reason why these amenities are more frequently advertised in Tumbaco than in the other zones is the fact that Tumbaco has the highest percentage of gated communities targeting the upper class than any other administrative zone. However, security continues to be the most recurrent amenity advertised in gated communities of all target market. Developers have taken full advantage of the high perception of insecurity in the city to promote gated communities as safe places to live.

When developers continue developing gated communities specifically targeting an economic group, segregation patterns start to emerge. A goal of this study was to recognize a possible homogenization of the built environment. Homogenization starts to emerge when clusters of gated communities emerge and specific typologies of gated communities targeting specific economic groups become apparent in the urban fabric (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Another factor to consider is that the majority of gated communities in the MDQ advertised are townhouses. However, Tumbaco is the zone that has the highest number of gated communities offering single-family houses. Also, Tumbaco is the zone with the highest number of gated communities being advertised for sale. Of the 15 gated communities identified in Tumbaco, five

target the upper-middle class and the rest to the upper class. So, apparently a cluster of upper class gated communities is emerging in Tumbaco. It is important to mention that gated communities have been identified in almost all administrative zones; however, there is a difference between the target markets of gated communities between administrative zones.

The last goal of this research was to identify signs that open space is becoming privatized. It is true that in the city there should always be a balance between private space and public space. In the private space, strict control for privacy should prevail; next to this private space, public space that serves as a place for free encounter that everyone has access should exist (Gaja I. Díaz, 2002). The comparison between the two upper class neighborhoods, one located in the urban core of the city in the parish of Chaupicruz and the other in the suburban parish of Cumbaya, shows that a balance between private and public space is still visible in both urban and suburban parts of the city. However, this example is more likely to be the exception than the rule. As development will continue to spread to the outskirts of the city towards the suburbs, open space in the suburban areas may continue to be highly supplied by developers (inside gated communities), rather than by the public sector. This is supported by the fact that of the total of 52 gated communities identified as currently being marketed for sale in the MDQ, almost 52% are located in the suburban administrative zones of Los Chillos and Tumbaco; and of this 52 gated communities 33 offer some type of open space or green area inside the gates. Green areas may be available inside gated communities, but they are completely disconnected from the urban fabric. Erazo and Ospina (2009) anticipate what may happen if public space continues to be privatized by claiming that gated communities disintegrate the public space by eliminating any type of socialization land, recreation between residents inside and outside of the gates.

By analyzing different aspects of security and marketing practices used by developers, this research explored the factors that are contributing in the development of gated communities in the MDQ. The segregation patterns and signs of privatization of the open space demonstrate the possible effects that the increased development of gated communities is having on the built environment. It should be noted that each factor does not work individually; on the contrary, all factors analyzed have a strong relationship with one another. Crime and insecurity in the city have been used as an excuse to segregate people into gated communities. As a result, open space and security become privatized goods that only people inside the gates have the right to use and benefit from them. If more democratic and inclusionary development patterns do not start to be implemented, gated communities will continue to make segregation an acceptable form of urbanization in the city.

A number of opportunities exist for future research. Gated communities in the MDQ are a new phenomenon that is gaining popularity. This thesis has shown that most of the housing supply for the middle, upper-middle, and upper class residents of Quito, is in the form of gated developments. This opens the door for further research regarding the social consequences associated with the voluntary decision of residents to segregate themselves inside gated communities. Besides research regarding the social consequences associated with gated communities, physical consequences should also be further studied. This thesis identified that the majority of the gated communities are being constructed in the suburban administrative zones of the MDQ; which means that the city is sprawling to the suburbs and is following very low-density patterns. Gated communities will bring with them many of the negative consequences associated with sprawl such as commercial strip development, low density, single-use development, poor accessibility (or automobile dominance), and lack of public space (Gillham,

2002). Future researchers can start looking at these physical characteristics and see if they are emerging in the MDQ.

APPENDIX  
CONTENT ANALYSIS OF MARKETING MATERIAL

	Name of Development	Administrative Zona	Security	Lifestyle Promoted	Amenities	Type of housing	Target market	m2 constructed	Developer	Source
1	Acropolis de Occidentis	La Delfida	No	Exclusivity, Nature, View, Location	N/A	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	132	Acropolis	Inmobilia
2	Akari	Tumbaco	No	Nature, View, Location	Playground, Gym	House	Upper	76-146	Naranjo Ordóñez	Webpage
3	Alcanta	Chillos	Yes	Suburban	Green Areas, Common Areas	Townhouse	Middle	N/A	Inmocasales	Webpage
4	Amenia Garden's	Chillos	Yes	Exclusivity, Location	Green Areas	Townhouse	Upper	152-191	Jorge Lopez y Asociados	EI Portal
5	Bali	Tumbaco	No	Suburban	Clubhouse, BBQ, Pool	House	Upper-Middle	126	Naranjo Ordóñez	Webpage
6	Bella Durma	Norte	Yes	N/A	Green Areas, Playground	House	Upper-Middle	165-240	Alcain & Asociados	Inmobilia
7	Blue	Norte	No	View	Green Areas, Pool, Gym	Both (Apt & Twh)	Upper	80-187	Naranjo Ordóñez	Webpage
8	Bocherini	Tumbaco	No	View	Green Areas, BBQ	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	N/A	Sanchez Constructora	EI Portal
9	Boques Real	Norte	Yes	Views, Location	Green Areas, Common Areas, Pool, Gym	Apartment	Upper-Middle	91-132	Arana	Inmobilia
10	Bosques del Chamizal	Chillos	Yes	nature	Green Areas	Townhouse	Middle	112	Inmocasales	Webpage
11	Briston	Tumbaco	Yes	Exclusivity, Suburban, Location	Green Areas	Townhouse	Upper	140-210	Sunshine Home Constructora	EI Portal
12	Camino de los Eucaliptos	Norte	Yes	Family	Green Areas	House	Upper-Middle	162		EI Portal
13	Carra	Tumbaco	Yes	Nature	Green Areas, BBQ, Common Areas, Pool	Both (Apt & Twh)	Upper	127-207	Padco S.A.	Inmobilia
14	Casales Daniela	Norte	Yes	Family, Exclusivity, Nature, View, Dream, Location	Playground, Common Areas	Apartment	Middle	94-98	Inmocasales	EI Portal
15	Casales Victoria	Quitarabe	Yes	Good Life	Green Areas, Playground, Courts	Townhouse	Middle	65-76	Inmocasales	Webpage
16	Casas Metropoli	Eloy Alfaro	Yes	Dream, Location	Playground, Common Areas, Courts	Apartment	Middle	88	Inmocasales	Webpage
17	Catalina	Calderon	Yes	N/A	Green Areas, Common Areas	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	115	Vico Arquitectos y Asociados	Webpage
18	Corina	Chillos	Yes	Location	Green Areas, Playground, Common Areas, Court	Both (Apt & Twh)	Middle	63	Arana	EI Portal
19	Delphos	Norte	Yes	Family, Location	N/A	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	120	Inmocasales	Webpage
20	Diverito	Calderon	Yes	Family, Good Life	Green Areas, Common Areas	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	105	Vico Arquitectos y Asociados	Inmobilia
21	El Nogal	Chillos	Yes	Nature, View, Location	Green Areas, Common Areas	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	148	Dimetik	EI Portal
22	El Olivar	Tumbaco	Yes	Nature, Good Life	Club House, BBQ, Pool	House	Upper	160	Rivado S.A.	EI Portal
23	El Pilsener	Chillos	Yes	Exclusivity	Playground, Common Areas	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	N/A	Inmocasales	Webpage
24	Gaia	Chillos	Yes	N/A	Green Areas, Common Areas	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	N/A	Herman Irigoyen	EI Portal
25	Genova	Norte	No	Exclusivity, Dream	Green Areas, Playground	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	130	Romero & Pazzino	EI Portal
26	Glass's	Calderon	Yes	Suburban, Good Life, Location	Common Areas	Townhouse	Middle	65	Inmobiliaria La Coruna	Inmobilia
27	Guaynay	Quitarabe	Yes	Location	Green Areas, Common Areas	Townhouse	Middle	78-80	Inmocasales	Webpage
28	Haras de Zapau	Chillos	Yes	Exclusivity, Nature	Green Areas, Common Areas	Townhouse	Middle	105	Ciudad & Campo	Webpage
29	Ibis del Moral	Norte	Yes	Exclusivity, Nature, View	Club House, BBQ	Apartment	Upper	N/A	Monenas Constructores	EI Portal
30	Kazole Kondominium	Tumbaco	Yes	Exclusivity, Luxury	Green Areas	Townhouse	Upper	267-365	Nicomar Larrea y Asociados	EI Portal
31	Kaymanta	Tumbaco	No	Exclusivity	Green Areas, Playground, Pool, Gym, Courts	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	78-112	Naranjo Ordóñez	Webpage
32	Lafayette Plaza	Eloy Alfaro	Yes	Nature, Good Life, Location	Common Areas	Apartment	Middle	68-87	Ciudad & Campo	EI Portal
33	Loma Linda	La Delfida	Yes	Good Life, Location	Green Areas, Playground	Townhouse	Middle	112	Avares Construcciones	EI Portal
34	Los Garamitos	Chillos	Yes	Family, Good Life	Playground, Common Areas	House	Upper	220-250	Constructora Colonial	EI Portal
35	Los robles	Tumbaco	No	Exclusivity, Nature, View	Green Areas, Playground, Gym	House	Upper	164	Naranjo Ordóñez	EI Portal



	Name of Development	Administrative Zone	Security	Lifestyle Promoted	Amenities	Type of housing	Target market	m2 constructed	Developer	Source
36	Mirador Pichincha	Norte	Yes	View	N/A	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	235	Grupo Ampro	Inmobilia
37	MiralEste	Tumbaco	Yes	Location, Luxury	Common Areas, Pool	Apartment	Upper	70-230	La Torre	Inmobilia
38	Provenza	Tumbaco	Yes	Exclusivity, Suburban, Location	Green Areas, Playground, Pool	Townhouse	Upper	180	Edgar Perez	EI Portal
39	San Agustin del Valle	Chillos	Yes	Exclusivity, Dream	Green Areas, Playground, Common Areas, Gym, Courts	Townhouse	Upper	188	AllNuit	EI Portal
40	San Francisco	Chillos	Yes	Location	Green Areas, Common Areas, Gym	Townhouse	Upper	135-174	J3 Constructores	Webpage
41	Sèvres	Tumbaco	No	Exclusivity, Dream	N/A	Townhouse	Upper	180	Romero & Pazmino	Webpage
42	Sierra Morena	Tumbaco	Yes	Nature	Green Areas, Playground, Pool	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	120	Ciudad & Campo	Webpage
43	Terrazas del Condado	La Delfia	Yes	N/A	Green Areas, Common Areas	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	150	Urbizama	EI Portal
44	Torres Terranova	Norte	Yes	Luxury	Green Areas, Clubhouse, BBQ, Pool	Apartment	Upper	133-165	JG Constructores	EI Portal
45	Torres VistAzul	Norte	Yes	Location	Green Areas, Common Areas	Apartment	Middle	77-84	Centauo	EI Portal
46	Valdeprado de la Antena	Chillos	No	N/A	Green Areas	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	138-170	CFC Construcciones	EI Portal
47	Vayez - El Condado	La Delfia	Yes	N/A	Playground, Common Areas	Both (Apt & Twh)	Middle	90-145	Vayez	EI Portal
48	Verona	Norte	Yes	Family, Good Life	Playground, Common Areas	House	Upper-Middle	135-143	Romero & Pazmino	Webpage
49	Versailles	Norte	Yes	Family	N/A	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	135	Romero & Pazmino	Webpage
50	Villa Juliana	Tumbaco	No	Luxury	Green Areas, BBQ	House	Upper	182	Arte - Arregui, J. Teran Constructores	EI Portal
51	Villa Palermo	Tumbaco	No	Exclusivity, Good Life	N/A	Townhouse	Upper-Middle	145-180	PromoPinto	EI Portal
52	Villas Mediteraneo	Cajaron	No	Good Life	N/A	Townhouse	Middle	70	Finac Cla	EI Portal

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