

OPEN PORT – CLOSED RESIDENTIAL QUARTERS? URBAN STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION IN THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF VALPARAÍSO, CHILE

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With 5 figures, 4 tables and 3 photos
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Summary: In recent decades the construction of residential quarters with restricted access in Chilean cities has increased dramatically and has been the subject of many surveys. However, most of these studies focused on the metropolitan area of the country's capital, Santiago de Chile. The country's second largest agglomeration, including the urban areas of Valparaíso and Viña del Mar, is the subject of this study. In Valparaíso, known as Chile's "Gateway to the World", the contradiction between an open port and an open-minded, liberal population and the impact of globalisation, resulting in gated communities and restricted areas is one of the most significant characteristics of urban development in recent decades. The new structures of fragmentation that can be found in Santiago de Chile and all other Latin-American metropolises affected by globalisation, neoliberalism, and post-modern urban development, also emerged in the Metropolitan Area of Valparaíso. Caused by the natural setting and amenities (coastline, sea view) in Valparaíso, the traditional bipolarity of the rich and the poor city has remained to a certain degree. The wealthy live in high-rise buildings near the coast, the middle and lower classes in the hinterland, preferring single household dwellings of standardised design. It is only in the distribution of central functions that a tendency towards fragmented structures comes to the fore.

Zusammenfassung: Offener Hafen – geschlossene Wohnviertel? Urbane Transformation in der Struktur der Metropolitanregion von Valparaíso, Chile. Während der letzten Dekaden hat die Errichtung von Wohnvierteln mit eingeschränktem Zugang (Gated Communities, Barrios Cerrados) in chilenischen Städten dramatisch zugenommen und ist Gegenstand vieler Untersuchungen geworden. Die meisten dieser Studien sind jedoch anhand der Metropolitanregion von Santiago de Chile durchgeführt worden. Die zweitgrößte Agglomeration des Landes, die die beiden großen Städte Valparaíso und Viña del Mar einschließt, ist dagegen das Untersuchungsobjekt der in diesem Artikel vorgestellten Untersuchung. In der Hafenstadt Valparaíso, bekannt als Chiles Tor zur Welt, ist der Kontrast zwischen der Weltoffenheit und der damit verbundenen offenen liberalen Mentalität einerseits und der Ausbildung von Gated Communities und Stadtteilen mit eingeschränktem Zugang eines der Hauptkennzeichen der Stadtentwicklung der letzten Dekaden. Nur zu einem Teil zeigen sich dabei fragmentierte Strukturen, die in der Hauptstadt Santiago sowie in allen anderen bislang untersuchten lateinamerikanischen Städten typisch für die Entwicklung der letzten Dekade – unter Einfluss von Globalisierung, Neoliberalismus und postmoderner Stadtgestaltung – sind. Bedingt vor allem durch naturräumliche Faktoren (Küstenlinie, Meeresblick) bleibt die alte Bipolarität von reicher und armer Stadt in der Metropolitanregion Valparaíso kleinräumlich noch erhalten. Lediglich in der Verteilung der zentralen Funktionen sind fragmentierte Strukturen erkennbar.

Resumen: Puerto abierto – barrios cerrados? Transformación urbana en la estructura del Área Metropolitana de Valparaíso. En la última década en las principales ciudades chilenas se acrecentó el proceso de construcción de espacios residenciales de acceso restringido para quienes habitan en ellos. El estudio de los efectos que este tipo de intervenciones ha tenido sobre las ciudades del país está centrado en su mayor parte en la realidad del área metropolitana de Santiago, existiendo escasos antecedentes sobre la situación del resto de las urbes que conforman el sistema urbano nacional. En este sentido, el texto intenta avanzar en la dirección señalada y contribuir al conocimiento de la construcción de la ciudad cerrada en el área metropolitana de Valparaíso, a través del estudio de los elementos que la componen como son los condominios, autopistas urbanas y grandes centros comerciales levantados desde 1990 en adelante.

Keywords: Metropolisation, gated communities, urban fragmentation, Valparaíso, Chile

1 Introduction

Processes of socio-spatial and functional fragmentation, increasing socio-spatial segregation and the encapsulation of socio-economically defined residential quarters as gated communities, *barrios cerrados* in a Latin-American context, are by now well researched for many Latin-American countries (for Chile: BORSODRF 2000; BORSODRF a. HIDALGO 2004; ROVIRA 2002; for Argentina: JANOSCHKA 2002; JANOSCHKA a. BORSODRF 2006; SVAMPA 2001; for Mexico: KANITSCHIEDER 2002; KOHLER 2005; PARNREITER 2005; for Ecuador: KOHLER 2002; for Brazil: PÖHLER 1998; COY a. PÖHLER 2001 etc.). On the whole, these studies dealt with the capitals, i.e. landlocked cities in a Spanish-American context, and even for Brazil only studies on landlocked metropolises have been published to date.

There is no doubt that socio-spatial exclusion will affect medium-sized and even smaller towns. In Chile or Mexico, *barrios cerrados* exist in towns of as little as 50,000 inhabitants. Lacking to date are specific studies of subordinate urban centres. These are important for assessing whether the phenomena we know from the big metropolises repeat themselves here and/or in what way they are shaped by topographical, urban-functional or economic conditions. We therefore chose the second-largest Chilean metropolitan area of Valparaíso (819,807 pop. 2002). As Chile's "Gateway to the World" it is an important, welcoming port and trading post, includes Chile's best-known coastal resort Viña del Mar with high-end tourism and matching infrastructure as well as up-market locations for main and second residences of prosperous Chileans (WILHELMY a. BORSODRF



Photo 1: Vertical condominiums at the municipal border between Viña del Mar and Concón. Dunes in the background. Photo: A. BORSODRF 2005

1985). This raises the question whether tensions arise between openness to the world and exclusion, tourist public space and local encapsulation, scarcity of attractive building land and the voracious spatial appetite of gated communities, and if so, what form they take.

In an attempt to answer these questions, we created, in a research project running for several years, a complete geo-referenced database of all *barrios cerrados* within the metropolitan area of Valparaíso. It comprises structural data on type, surface area, number of inhabitants, social strata, types of building, infrastructure, start date and duration of the building project plus property developer. On the basis of these data it is relatively easy to carry out evaluations and create maps, as will be shown by some examples. With the exception of reports on first results, which were published in Chilean scientific journals (HIDALGO a. BORSODRF 2005a, 2005b), the findings of the studies have not been published internationally to date.

2 Theoretical framework

Previous studies of the socio-economic and spatial transformation in Latin-American metropolises usually identify the trend towards neoliberal economic models and globalisation as causes of the extensive socio-spatial change (DE MATTOS 1996; PARNREITER 2004). Still, the relation between these mega-processes on the one hand and the mutations in urban space on the other must not be thought of as a linear one and world-wide findings show a great variety in their manifestations. (GLASZE et al. 2006).

The urban shapes that growing cities develop in the context of globalisation must therefore be analysed in terms of the contradictions that emerge between the global and the local level (BORJA a. CASTELLS 1998). The artefacts of globalisation seem to reproduce themselves in an undifferentiated manner when you look at globalised architecture, transport systems, urban structuring, gated communities and fragmentation, but there are also individual manifestations, dependent on local or regional settings, traditions, norms and mentalities. BORSODRF and HIDALGO (2006) in particular have stressed the importance of cultural factors in the formation of *barrios cerrados*. An example of this inconsistency is the development of mall-style shopping centres all over the world, which are all based on the Anglo-American model and yet throw up very disparate forms in different countries. In Manila for instance, the malls

include churches, in Santiago de Chile education institutions (SALCEDO 2003), and in Madrid even skiing halls and indoor go-cart arenas can be part of a mall (BORSODRF 2004a).

The socio-spatial exclusion phenomenon of the *barrios cerrados* in Chile too shows significant differences from other, even Latin-American, countries. So far *ciudades valladas*, walled and secured residential quarters for over 50,000 inhabitants (cf. BORSODRF a. HIDALGO 2005) have only been developed in Argentina (JANOSCHKA a. BORSODRF 2006) and Brazil (COY a. PÖHLER 2001), but are limited there to one large development project each, while in Chile a number of such “new towns” based on exclusion are being erected. Typical for Chile – and unique to date – is the concurrent construction of private motorways to take the inhabitants of such towns exclusively and without congestion into the city centre in a matter of minutes, while their less privileged neighbours take over an hour for the same distance on public roads in morning and evening rush-hour gridlock (BORSODRF a. HIDALGO 2005; HIDALGO et al. 2003).

Unique to Chile too is the construction of *parcelas de agrado* on plots of more than 5,000 m². These are areas designated to agricultural use, which, on current regulation, must not be subdivided into smaller plots but can be built on for residential purposes. On the periphery of Chilean cities there are many *barrios cerrados* that were formed out of such plots and where you find well appointed bungalows with swimming pools and generous gardens (MEYER a. BÄHR 2001; BORSODRF a. HIDALGO 2006).

The emergence, at the same time, of business parks, campus universities and shopping malls on the periphery and unconnected to the city organism shows how the process of suburbanisation is being superseded by new structuration patterns which can only be classified as post-suburbanisation (ORTIZ a. ESCOLANO 2005; ESCOLANO a. ORTIZ 2005). The cellular developments of the “new towns” (*ciudades valladas*) also fall under this new spatial pattern (DE MATTOS 1996, 1999).

At the same time, the core cities also change. In Chile de-industrialisation goes hand in hand with tertiarisation. On abandoned industrial sites, but not only there, new service sector and shopping centres spring up. The city centre responds with renovation, targeted siting of high-quality infrastructure and by wooing investors to create office space for business services and other high-end services. Chilean commentators have coined the word *elitización* for these processes (GARCÍA 2001), a term that includes the phenomena of gentrification.

In view of these changes it seemed advisable to adapt the old model of Latin-American urban development to take account of the new structures (BORSODRF et al. 2002, reprinted in BORSODRF 2004b, 14 and BÄHR 2004, 331). The new model is based on studies of Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Quito, Lima and México D.F. and is, of course, a generalised and thus simplified structural scheme of Latin-American metropolises that cannot contain all peculiarities of the Chilean course of development described above.

BORSODRF (2003) has tried to integrate the new, post-modern development phase in the outline model of Latin-American urban development and in a similar fashion; HIDALGO and BORSODRF (2005b) have added this latest phase to the layout model of Latin-American urban development, originally developed by GORMSEN (1981). Well into the 1970s, the Latin-American city showed a bipolar socio-spatial pattern: the rich city (*ciudad rica*) faced by the poor city (*ciudad pobre*). As a result of post-modern development processes, a new and fragmented structural pattern has emerged in recent decades, a “city of islands”, as JANOSCHKA (2002b) has called it. Figure 1 shows the new skyline of the Latin-American city with the major indicators (population density, land price and social prestige).

Since this model too is based on findings from several Latin-American capitals, it is worth looking more closely at the second-biggest Chilean agglomeration.

The focus here is on empirical analysis. Theories on the emergence of gated communities, the intensification of segregation on a small spatial scale and on fragmented urban development, have been presented on many occasions and been the subject of intense

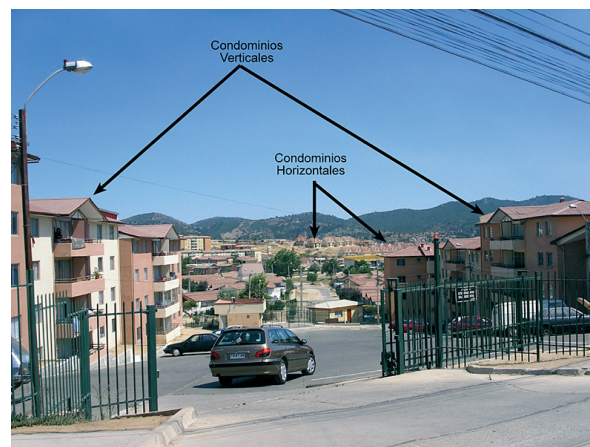
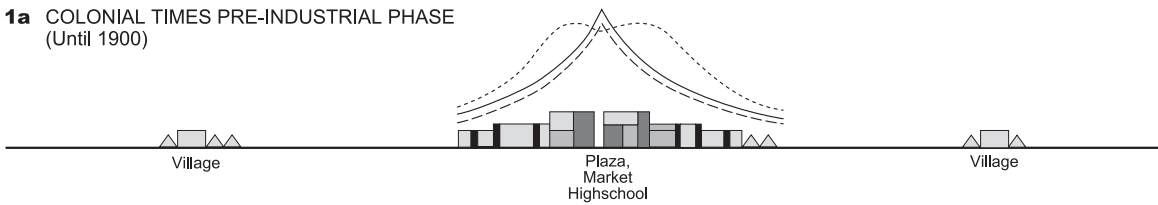
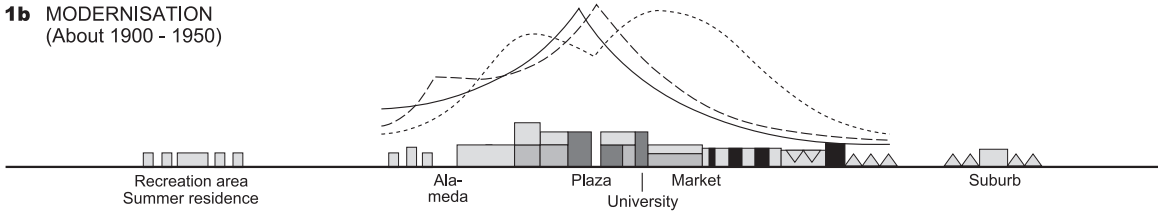


Photo 2: Condominios horizontales and verticales in Quilpué. Photo: R. HIDALGO 2005

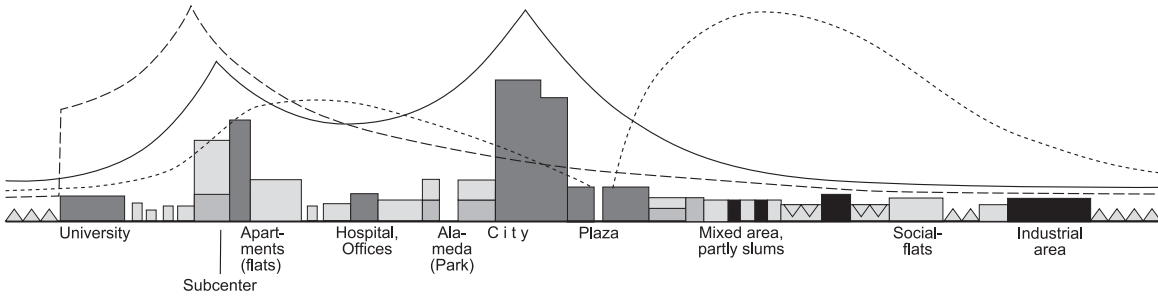
1a COLONIAL TIMES PRE-INDUSTRIAL PHASE
(Until 1900)



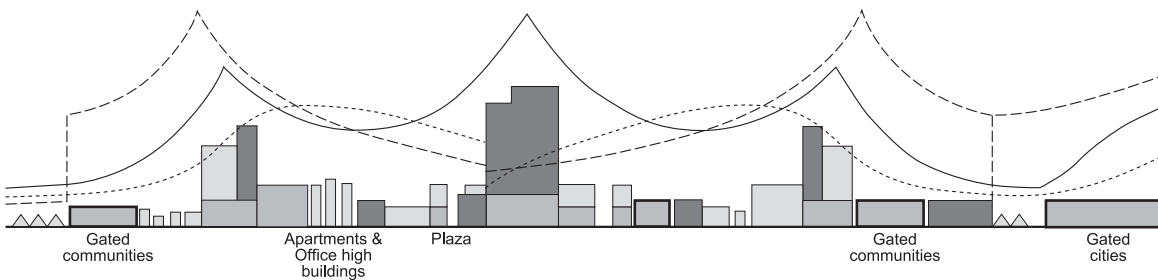
1b MODERNISATION
(About 1900 - 1950)



1c METROPOLISATION
(About 1950 - 1980)



1d FRAGMENTATION
(Since about 1980)



Source: GORMSEN 1981, modified

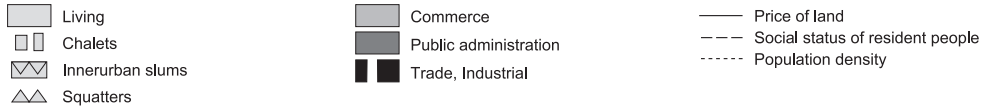


Fig. 1: Model of the Spanish-American urban development, after GORMSEN (1981) modified and up-dated by the authors

debates, with several contributions by the authors of this paper. Their arguments are widely known, so there is no need to repeat them here.

3 Selected area and method of the study

The metropolitan area of Valparaíso is made up of five municipalities with a total population of 819,807 (2002). They are Viña del Mar, Concón, Valparaíso, Quilpué, and Villa Alemana (cf. Fig. 2). In each of these municipalities, the built-up area currently is much smaller than the total municipal territory. Attractive building land, however, is already very densely built-up.

The dual role of capital and port is typical for all Spanish-American countries (WILHELMY a. BORSODORF 1984). With the exception of the few *Puertos Habilitados*, the ports did not play any significant role in regional maritime traffic until the 18th century. This changed at the end of the 18th century, when overseas trade was opened up. In the 19th century British investors took economic control of Valparaíso and similar ports. Opening up to world trade was accompanied by a quick expansion of the transport routes into the hinterland, in the case of Valparaíso this included not only Santiago but the Aconcagua valley, and to a certain degree the Argentinean province of Cuyo as well as the central Chilean longitudinal valley (SALINAS 1967).

At that time and due to its function as a port and the existence of numerous service industry centres, Valparaíso rose to become the second-largest city in Chile. Connecting Viña del Mar with its attractive beaches and parks to the city meant that it became the preferred residential location of the upper class in the emerging conurbation. The bipolar structure (poor city – rich city) emerged as early as the beginning of the 20th century, i.e. earlier than in Santiago (CÁCERES a. SABATINI 2003). The reason for this lies in the physical geography of the place. On the coast, where a sea view is a major location factor for residential buildings, linear growth trends are predetermined by topography. This explains why Concón was included into the agglomeration as early as the 1920s. Inland development trajectories follow the railway line and/or today the new motorways. (MORALES a. ALLESH 1996). Growth there, however, was mainly driven by the middle and lower classes as well as tradespeople.

These developments resulted in a bipolar structure, which already became quite pronounced in the 1950s and on two levels of scale: on the level of the

total agglomeration (poor harbour – rich coastal resort, or rich coast – poor hinterland) and on a smaller spatial scale: rich plots with sea view – poor quarters without sea view.

Changes in this classic image of a bipolar agglomeration over recent decades will be substantiated below. Before that, it is necessary to take stock of terminology and research methods.

Chilean Law no. 19537 of 1997 distinguishes between two types of common ownership (*condominio*): Type A, called horizontal *barrio cerrado* below, with several residential buildings on one commonly owned plot, and Type B, called vertical *barrio cerrado* below, with residential units taking the form of apartments in a multi-storey building. In this case, too, the owners only own shares in the plot on which the building has been erected. Since the plot is not subdivided in legal terms and treated as one unit, it is legal to fence it in and secure the plot.

In a total survey we collected the structural data mentioned above for *condominios* constructed in the period from 1990 to 2000, added location data via GPS and visualised the database in a geographical information system. We then compared the emerging spatial pattern with the socio-economic development index (IDSE) of the Chilean national office of statistics, which corresponds to the pattern of the human development index developed by the UNDP (PNUD/MIDEPLAN 2000). This index works with three sets of indicators (for details cf. HIDALGO a. BORSODORF 2005b).

4 Barrios cerrados and socio-spatial change in the metropolitan area of Valparaíso 1992–2002

The transformation from a bipolar to a fragmented agglomeration and the onset of socio-spatial exclusion date back to the early 1980s in Reñaca, where the first line of high-rise and terraced high-rise buildings were erected. This high-rise development soon spread to the higher coastal terraces and led to much higher density for these districts (NEGRETE et al. 2000). Not until the 1990s were new high-rise buildings constructed as *condominios* with fences all round, security personnel and other security features. Such “resort” developments were built on the higher terraces from Reñaca to Concón (CASTRO a. VILLAGRÁN 1997).

Initially the new *condominios* only reinforced the old bipolar structure by intensifying the contrast between the favoured sea view locations and the less

Table 1: Residential quarters, units and surface area of condomínios in the Metropolitan Area of Valparaíso by municipality, 1990-2000

Municipality	Number of condomínios				Number of dwelling units				Surface area			
	horizontal	vertical	total	%	horizontal	vertical	total	%	acreage (m ²)	%	floor space (m ²)	%
Concón	27	35	62	21.2	519	860	1,379	14.8	313,271.92	39.2	131,160.32	14.5
Quilpué	42	14	56	19.1	518	1,027	1,545	16.5	77,517.48	9.7	162,451.00	18.0
Valparaíso	30	46	76	25.9	428	2,747	3,175	34.0	118,353.40	14.8	219,459.17	24.3
Viña del Mar	5	88	93	31.7	29	3,062	3,091	33.1	273,712.36	34.3	376,297.34	41.7
Villa Alemana	1	5	6	2.0	80	66	146	1.6	16,198.15	2.0	12,590.39	1.4
Total	105	188	293	100	1,574	7,762	9,336	100	799,053.31	100	901,958.22	100

Source: Database BORSODORF a. HIDALGO, after cadastral data and own survey

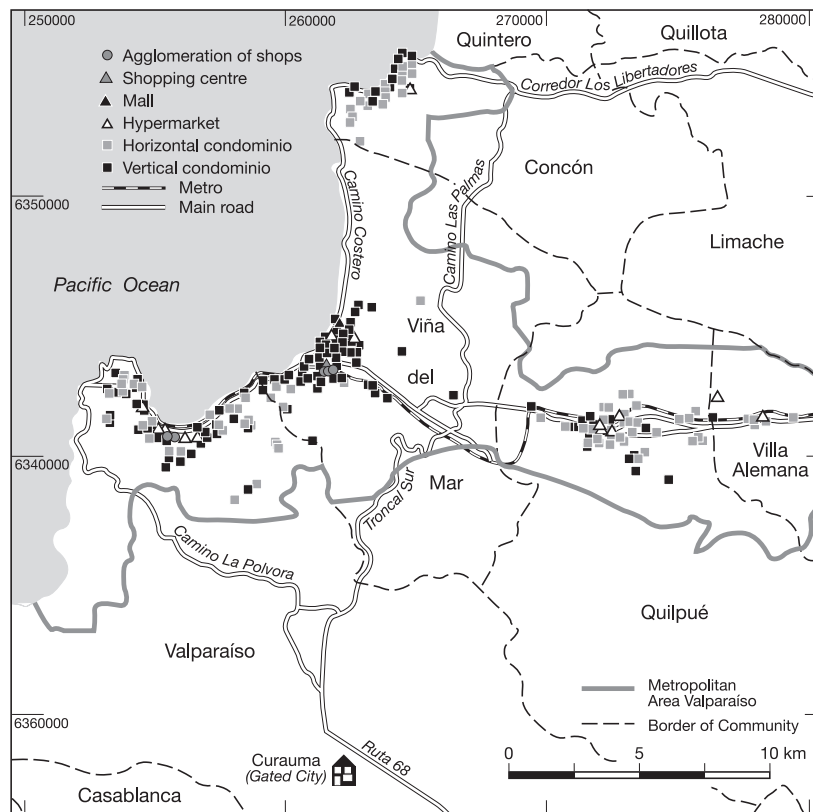


Fig. 2: Spatial distribution of barrios cerrados and shopping infrastructure in the Metropolitan Area of Valparaíso. Database: BORSODORF/HIDALGO

attractive inland locations. However the “resource” sea view is finite while the desire for exclusivity and security has taken hold of ever-wider parts of the population and been stoked up by clever developers with sophisticated advertising campaigns. So from the mid-1990s onwards, secured and fenced-in high-rise buildings began to spring up beyond the sea view line. Other developers now began to offer

“horizontal *condomínios*”, i.e. walled common building plots, mostly with standardised, homogenous bungalows. Those few of these *barrios cerrados* with a sea view of course still count as the most exclusive ones, but inland “*condomínios de dasas*” can be of high quality and attract the higher social strata, if they contain sports facilities (tennis, pool), parks or even a golf course.

Table 1 shows that between 1990 and 2000 over 9,000 residential units were constructed in the metropolitan area, spread over nearly 300 *condominios*. Of these, 83% are high-rise apartment blocks and only 17% single household dwellings.

Depending on their exposition and the residential preferences of the buyers, the extent to which municipalities of the metropolitan area benefit from the *condominios* boom varies greatly. Valparaíso counts 34% of the residential units constructed in that period on its territory, but Villa Alemana only 1.6%. Over two thirds of all building activity therefore was concentrated on the two major municipalities of the agglomeration, Valparaíso and Viña del Mar.

If you look at the spatial distribution of the *condominios* (Fig. 2), the location preferences for the new residential type become quite clear. The terraces near the coast in Valparaíso, Viña del Mar and Concón are very sought after. It was here that the first apartment blocks were built and later, in lee locations, horizontal *condominios* too. Between Concón and Viña del Mar, however, there is a coastal strip that cannot be built on for ecological and technical reasons. It is a wide

area of dunes with extremely strong and dynamic eolian activity.

Recently a new focus has emerged in Quilpué near the new motorway and it is beginning to affect Villa Alemana.

If you correlate this distribution pattern to the socio-economic development index, to the distribution of retail facilities (hypermarkets and malls) and the mobility flows within the metropolitan area, further development dimensions emerge, which we will sketch below:

1. In the period between the last two censuses the peripheral parts of the metropolitan area have grown much faster demographically than the central parts. At 33.4% population growth, Villa Alemana grew four times as much as the average for the agglomeration (Tab. 2). The attractive municipalities of Viña del Mar and Concón show growth rates well below the average for the metropolitan area, and Valparaíso even loses population in absolute terms.

2. These figures contrast with those for building activity in the same period. In relative terms, Concón, Villa Alemana and Quilpué are the winners here, but

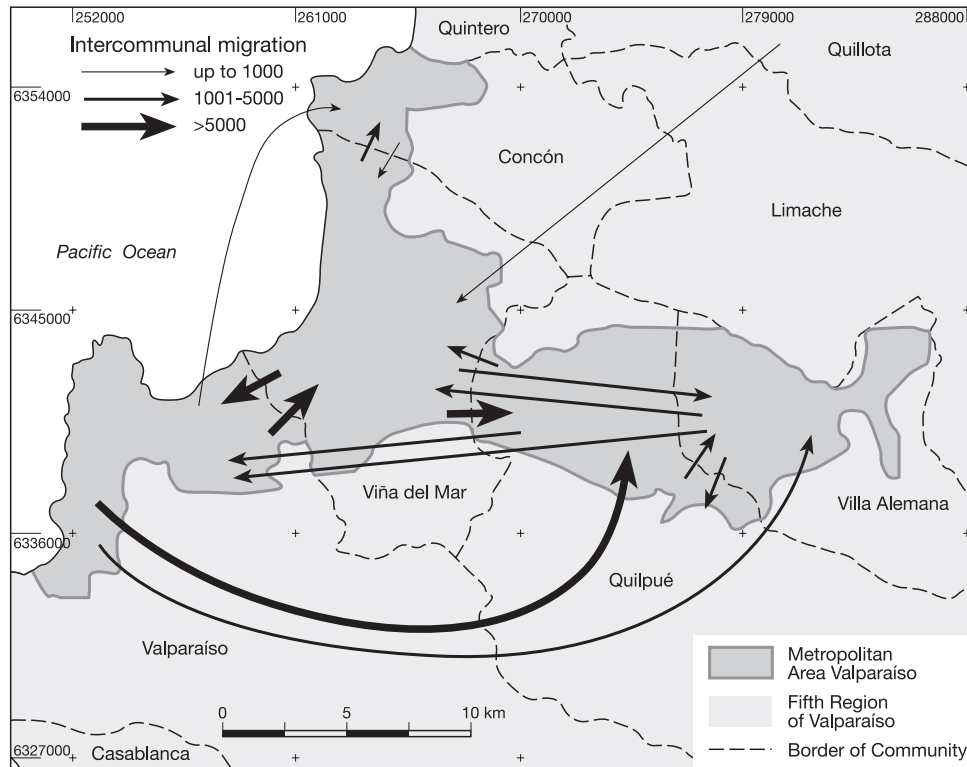


Fig. 3: Intrametropolitan migration 1997-2002 in the Metropolitan Area of Valparaíso. Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas 2002

Table 2: Population and demographic urbanisation rates for 1992 and 2002 in the Metropolitan Area of Valparaíso

Local authority	1992	2002	% change
Valparaíso	282,840	275,982	-2.48
Concón	18,872	32,273	41.52
Quilpue	104,203	128,578	18.96
Villa Alemana	71,672	95,623	25.05
Viña del Mar	285,454	286,931	0.51
Total AMV	763,041	819,387	6.88
Total Province of Valparaíso	808,576	876,022	7.70
Total V. Región	1,384,336	1,539,852	10.10

Source: Instituto de Estadísticas 1992, 2002

in absolute terms the growth of Viña del Mar deserves note, which increased the number of its residential units between 1992 and 2002 by 27,513 units (Tab. 3).

3. There is obviously a clear contradiction between demographic development and building activity. It can only be explained by assuming that a large proportion of the newly constructed living space was erected as second homes. A *condominio* is ideally suited for a holiday home as it is well protected even during the absence of the owner. The census of 2002 provides some clues: in Valparaíso and Viña del Mar 19.6 and 15.3% of dwellings stood empty, that is a total of 22,970 residential units! One can assume that most of these apartments and single household dwellings are in fact second homes (Tab. 4).

4. The entire agglomeration shows high mobility. In particular within the last five years before the 2002 census, Quilpué and Viña del Mar have absorbed people from within the metropolitan area, on the other hand it was mainly Viña del Mar, but also Valparaíso that lost many of their inhabitants to neighbouring municipalities (cf. Fig. 3).

5. Central to the mobility in the conurbation is the construction of new, inter-communal trunk roads and the widening of existing ones. They also form orientation axes for developers planning and implementing new projects. Orientation towards transport routes will intensify once the underground metro Merval, which is currently under construction, comes into service.

6. The two main types of *barrios cerrados*, the *condominios horizontales* and the *condominios verticales*, are being developed in all municipalities of the metropolitan area. There is however a clear preference for high-rise apartment blocks in Viña del Mar and Concón, i.e. along the coast, while in the areas further inland with their predominantly mediterranean landscape the preferred house type is the single household dwelling. In Quilpué, for instance, you can find only 42 horizontal and only 14 vertical *condominios*.

In areas facing the sea the vertical housing developments are responsible for gentrification, or, as the Chileans call it, elitization. The expensive apartments with sea views are being bought by prosperous social classes. This is further underlined by the socio-economic development index which rose significantly between 1992 and 2002 (Fig. 4 and 5).

7. Just as true is the correlation between a high proportion of horizontal *condominios* and a concen-

Table 3: Number of dwellings 1992 and 2002. Rate of change and relative weight of condominios in the development activity in the Metropolitan Area of Valparaíso 1992-2002

Municipality	1992 (A)	2002 (B)	% change	Residential units in condominios 1990-2002 (C)	C/B-A*100
Valparaíso	73,425	81,090	10.44	3,175	41.42
Concón	6,225	11,561	85.72	1,379	25.84
Quilpue	27,967	39,559	41.45	1,545	13.33
Villa Alemana	18,818	28,646	52.23	146	1.49
Viña del Mar	83,589	99,622	19.18	3,091	19.28
Total AMV	210,024	260,478	24.02	9,336	18.50
Total Province	228,314	289,257	26.69	N.A.	
Total V. Región	409,026	532,654	30.22	k.A.	

Source: Instituto de Estadísticas 1992, 2002

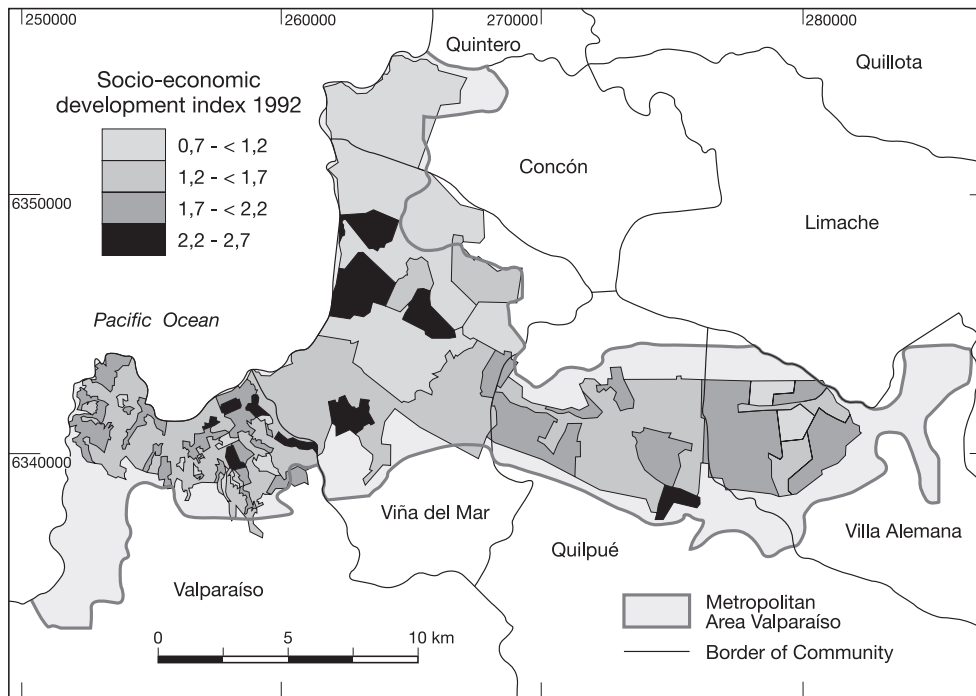


Fig. 4: Socio-economic development index in the Metropolitan Area of Valparaíso 1992.
Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística 1992

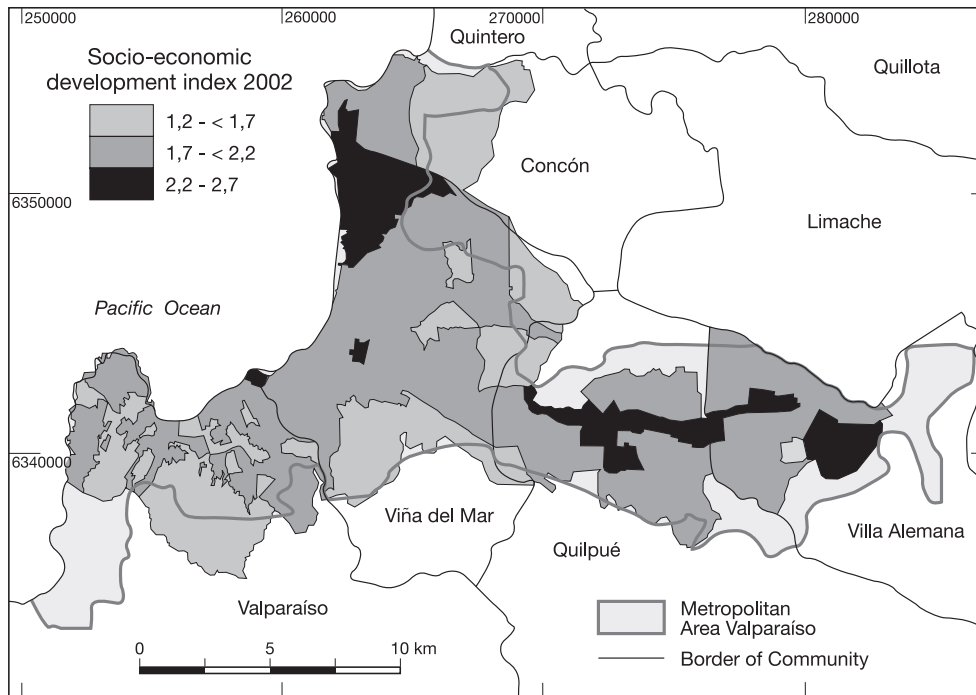


Fig. 5: Socio-economic development index in the Metropolitan Area of Valparaíso 2002.
Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2002

tration of middle and low income population in the metropolitan area of Valparaiso. This simple pattern is being disturbed along the new TRONCAL motorway, where some very exclusive *condominios* with high quality infrastructure have sprung up.

8. The phenomenon of the “new towns” (*ciudades valladas*), which can be found at the edge of the metropolitan area of Santiago de Chile, seems set to reach the edge of the smaller agglomeration on the Pacific coast as well. In Curauma, some 15km east of the coast, near the Ruta 68, the motorway connection to Santiago, one of the largest development projects in the region is being realised on 4,300 hectares of land. Over the planned development period, the developers want to create housing there for 150,000 to 200,000 people (see: <http://www.curauma.cl>). The fenced-in area includes plots for industry, services and retail. Parts of it have already been completed. Here, unlike in most new towns of Santiago, landscape designers have been engaged. Some of the already completed parts of the estate have been draped picturesquely around a lake and deserve to be called aesthetically pleasing. In Santiago, this might at most be said of the new town of La Reserva, where the potential builders could choose from 90 international architects.

9. The location of malls, shopping centres and hypermarkets¹⁾ is oriented towards motorways and the *barrios cerrados* (Fig. 2). Like them, they form enclaves of exclusion and are usually only accessible by car, guarded round the clock and equipped with CCTV. They are, however, accessible to the entire population of the city. Their proximity to the new *condominios* might, however, be taken to mean that these *condominios* are creating elements of infrastructure outside their gates which form a new, fragmented, pattern of central facilities.

10. In sum it can be said of Valparaiso that some phenomena resemble those of the metropolitan area of the capital, which is eight times the size of Valparaiso. These phenomena include the emergence of the two main types of *condominios*, plans of new (walled-in) towns at the periphery, a trend towards fragmentation of formerly central facilities. Unlike in

¹⁾ As to the terminology: mall = shopping centre under one roof with plazas for events and several anchor stores; shopping centre = agglomeration of shops under one roof without plazas and with one anchor store at the most; hypermarket = large supermarket with more than 5,000 m² shopping floor space, occasionally with a few associated specialist shops; non-integrated agglomeration of specialist shops: concentration of various large specialist shops on separate plots in spatial proximity.



Photo 3: Bungalows of standardized design in Curauma
Photo: A. BORS DORF 2005

the capital agglomeration, however, the development of *condominios* does not drive fragmentation, because they are clearly oriented towards main lines (coast, motorways) and continue the existing polarity of rich and poor city on a small spatial scale.

5 Conclusion

The study of the *barrios cerrados* in the metropolitan area of Valparaiso has thrown up converging and diverging features in comparison to the neighbouring capital region of Santiago de Chile. From this fact alone one can conclude that beyond all generalisation necessary for the formation of models, let alone theories, it is vital to study the area-specific features. The existence of a model can be quite useful here, as it helps to recognise more clearly the idiographic manifestations of the case in question and to explore their causes more effectively.

In the case studied here, it is first and foremost topographic and orographic factors which create favoured and less favoured areas for high-end housing demand. Most of all, it is the sea view which distinguishes expensive plots from less expensive ones. To maximise the ROI on such locations, the developers of *barrios cerrados* along the coast have mainly built high-rise apartment blocks, i.e. vertical *condominios*. In the bucolic Mediterranean landscape of the coastal hills, however, there was another possibility to create housing with high social prestige, but there it took the form of bungalow estates (horizontal *condominios*). These tend to be the exception, though, since the general assumption in the metropolitan area of Val-

Table 4: Occupied and unoccupied dwellings in the Metropolitan Area of Valparaíso, Census 2002

Municipality	Dwellings in which residents were encountered	%	Dwellings in which no residents were encountered	%	Unoccupied dwellings	%	Total dwellings	%
Valparaíso	75,207	32.80	1,364	16.68	4,512	19.64	81,090	31.13
Concón	8,920	3.89	270	3.30	2,371	10.32	11,561	4.44
Quilpué	36,299	15.83	644	7.88	2,616	11.39	39,559	15.19
Villa Alemana	26,584	11.59	362	4.43	1,700	7.40	28,646	11.00
Viña del Mar	82,312	35.89	5,536	67.71	11,771	51.25	99,622	38.25
Total	229,322	100	8,176	100	22,970	100	260,478	100
%	88.04		3.14		8.82		100	

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas 2002

paraíso still holds true: vertical *condominios* for the upper classes, horizontal ones for the middle and lower social strata. Such a clear distinction is neither possible for Santiago nor for most other Latin-American metropolises. The “resource sea view” is creating completely new patterns of preferences and prices due to its high location returns.

This might also be the reason why fragmentation, as a mark of post-modern urban development in the whole of Latin-America, is less manifest in the agglomeration of Valparaíso and Viña del Mar. Insofar as it shows at all, it does so in retail and services. The socio-spatial distribution pattern of the conurbation, however, follows the old bipolar model of rich city – poor city in almost classic fashion. In this case, the residential districts along the coast and the motorways are rich, with the remaining areas of the agglomeration forming the poor city.

In general, however, the problems caused by the spread of closed residential quarters that are only accessible to their inhabitants within the city, which until just over twenty years ago was considered public space in its entirety, are similar in Valparaíso as in Santiago or other Latin-American metropolises. An ever-increasing amount of city territory is taken out of public space. In Santiago, however, the municipalities with high proportions of *condominios* are situated at the periphery, while in the metropolitan area of Valparaíso it is precisely the most attractive locations with sea views in Viña del Mar and Concón that are becoming inaccessible to the public.

These findings are surprising as well as worrying. Valparaíso, a port of all places, could have been expected to display more openness, as could sophisticated sea resorts such as Viña del Mar and Concón.

It is precisely the contradiction between claims and reality, which throws into question the sustainability of the urban development model of *barrios cerrados* for Valparaíso and Viña del Mar.

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