

# Workshop and Special Issue: European Urban and Regional Studies (2024)

## The Residential Compounds in Urban Segregation in Granada (Spain)

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# WHAT IS A RESIDENTIAL COMPOUND?

It's a model of housing development that complies two main **characteristics**:



## Physical or symbolic delimitation

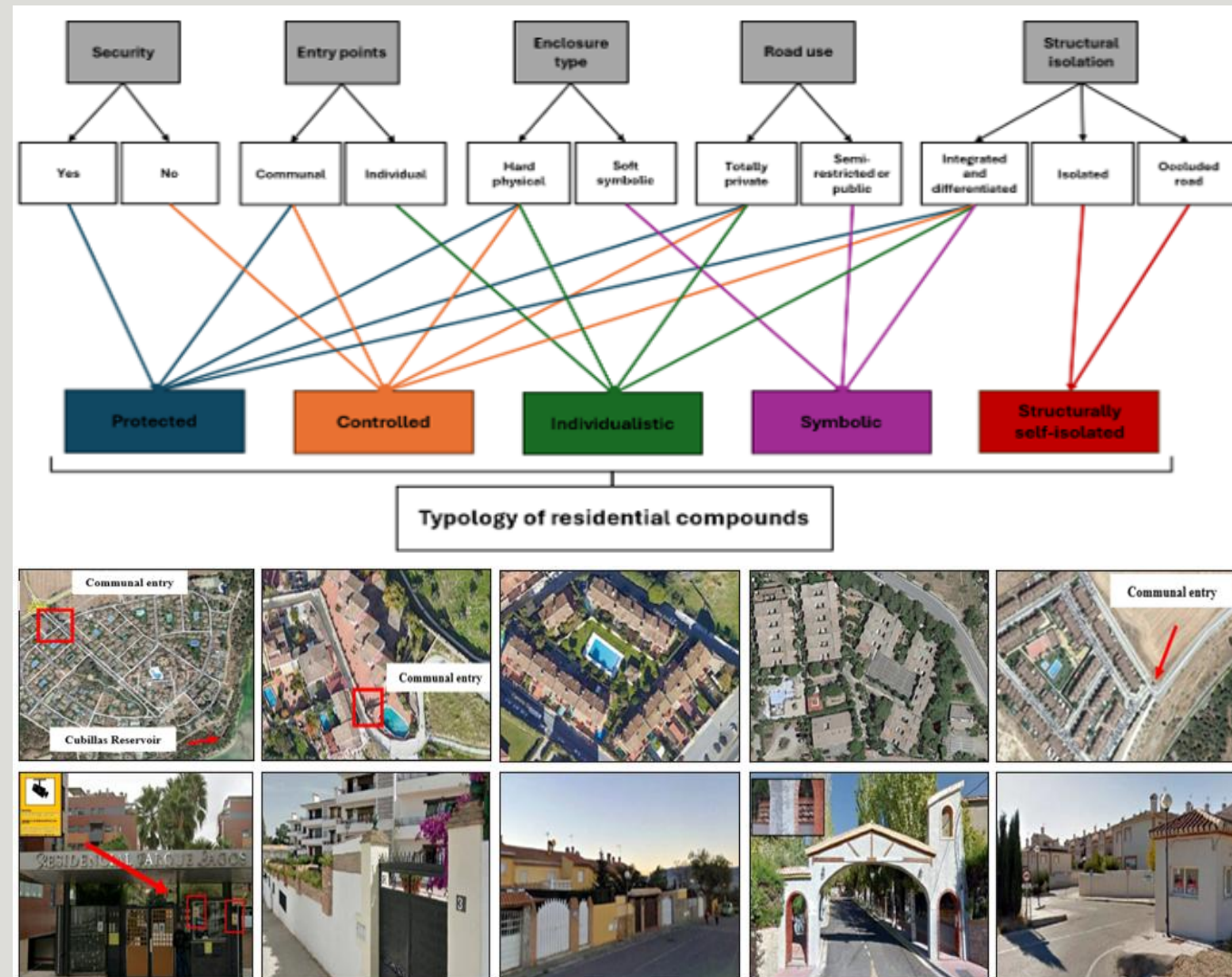
*walls, fences, bollards... distance from the nearest population centre, road structure in a cul-de-sac or dead-end streets, etc.*



## Share amenities as social meeting points

*swimming pools, sports courts, garden with benches, playgrounds...*

Both characteristics can enable **socio-spatial isolation** and **internal interaction** among their residents



# RESIDENTIAL COMPOUNDS AND SEGREGATION

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## The residential compounds promote

- Micro-scale socioeconomic concentration
- Privatisation (or limitation) of public space
- Towards the fragmentation of socio-urban life



## Socioeconomic segregation

- Social inequality & polarization of class structure
- No causal relation; e.g. Southern Europe
  - Spain: structural economic changes and weakening of the Welfare State...

*What is the contribution of residential compounds to the evolution of this segregation?*

# METHODOLOGY



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## Sources

- **Primary source:** census of Residential Compounds in Granada up to 2022
- **Secondary sources:** 1) the Population and Housing Censuses from 1991 onwards; 2) the Average Income per Household (Spanish Tax Agency) since 2015

## Challenges in measuring this phenomenon in Granada:

### 1. *How to categorise and measure its socio-economic structure?*

**Challenge 1:** Spanish censuses change the socio-economic categories over the years

- ✓ Grouping of population into four main categories (1991 census estimated from available data): 1) affluent class; 2) manual working class; 3) property class; 4) intermediate class

### 2. *How to analyse their spatial distribution?*

**Challenge 2:** 2011 census data missing due to its sample-based nature & some data is also missing for all census tracts in 2021

- ✓ Segregation was calculated (Duncan and Duncan index) for 1991, 2001, and 2021 (the Average Income per Household data helps partially mitigate the issue)

### 3. *How to measure the residential compounds impact on Granada' socioeconomic segregation?*

**Challenge 3:** Physical and social heterogeneity (lack of academic consensus); Absence of residential compound censuses, including gated communities"; Micro-scale segregation (measurement obstacles with current Spanish sources):

- ✓ Residential compounds census in Granada (geolocation included) and overlay this information on segregation and socioeconomic distribution maps

# RESULTS: RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

Table 1 and 2. Evolution of the residential segregation index and class structure

|                               | Socioeconomic status |       | Occupation and professional status |       | Income |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|-------|------------------------------------|-------|--------|
|                               | 1991                 | 2001  | 2001                               | 2021  | 2021   |
| Affluent class/high inc.      | 40,3%                | 32,9% | 33,1%                              | 24,7% | 33,5%  |
| Manual working class/low inc. | 40,6%                | 31,3% | 31,0%                              | 23,8% | 22,0%  |
| Property class                | 13,90%               | 13,4% | 13,5%                              | 11,6% | -      |
| Intermediate class            | 20,0%                | 13,0% | 12,0%                              | 9,1%  | -      |

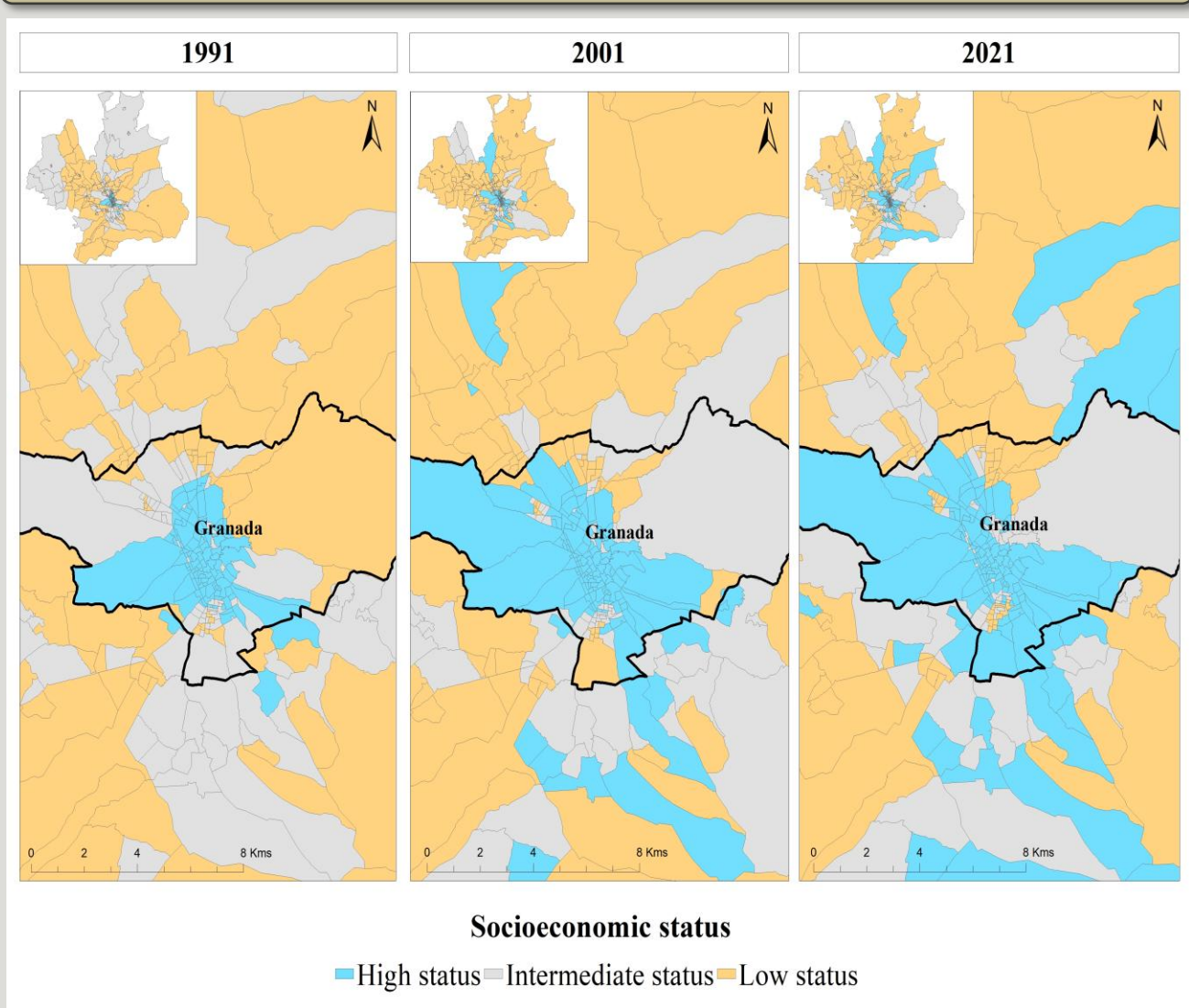
**Note:** in 1991 the employed and unemployed are classified into classes having worked before; in 2001 only the employed are classified; in 2021 the indices are calculated for income levels, percentage of consumption units below 50% of the median and above 140% of the median

|                      | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 | 2021 |
|----------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Affluent class       | 19%  | 28%  | 36%  | 40%  |
| Manual working class | 34%  | 25%  | 21%  | 25%  |
| Property class       | 14%  | 14%  | 13%  | 15%  |
| Intermediate class   | 32%  | 33%  | 30%  | 20%  |
| Total                | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

**Note:** in all cases it refers to employed persons, but in 1991 they must have been estimated from employed persons, unemployed persons who have worked before and retired persons. In 2021 it does not include the total number of metropolitan municipalities but reaches 95% of the employed population.

**Source:** own elaboration based on the 1991, 2001 and 2021 censuses, [www.ine.es](http://www.ine.es); and microdata from the 2011 census with variables recoded by INE at its own request.

Figure 1. Evolution of residential segregation in 1991, 2001 and 2021 (census tracts)





# RESULTS: RESIDENTIAL COMPOUNDS

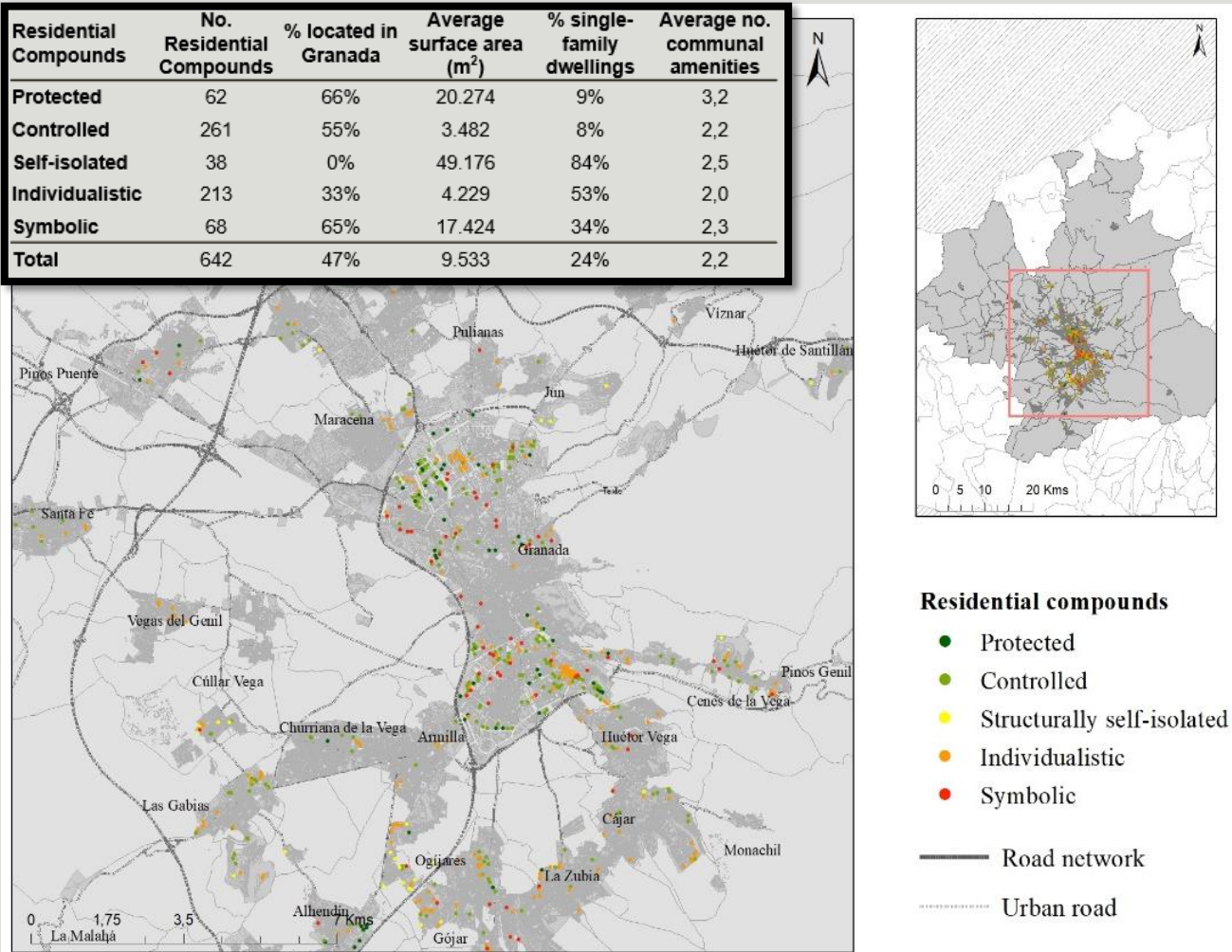
Table 3. Distribution of RCs according to the average income (census tracts)

| Income percentile | No. Residential compounds | Residential compounds by section | % of Dwellings in RC | Average income 2021 |
|-------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 90 - 100%         | 96                        | 2,1                              | 23%                  | 28.122              |
| 75 - 90%          | 159                       | 2,7                              | 23%                  | 23.585              |
| 50 - 75%          | 195                       | 2,0                              | 12%                  | 18.796              |
| 25 - 50%          | 130                       | 1,3                              | 9%                   | 15.708              |
| 10 - 25%          | 35                        | 0,6                              | 5%                   | 13.936              |
| 0 - 10%           | 27                        | 0,7                              | 8%                   | 10.557              |
| Total             | 642                       | 1,6                              | 13%                  | 18.111              |

Table 4. Distribution of RCs by type and year of completion

| Type of Residential compound | No. of Residential compounds |           |           |           |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                              | Until 1990                   | 1991-2000 | 2001-2010 | 2011-2020 |
| Protected                    | 9                            | 7         | 36        | 10        |
| Controlled                   | 69                           | 77        | 104       | 11        |
| Self-isolated                | 7                            | 7         | 17        | 7         |
| Individualistic              | 51                           | 85        | 74        | 3         |
| Symbolic                     | 25                           | 15        | 22        | 6         |
| Total                        | 161                          | 191       | 253       | 37        |

Figure 2. Distribution of residential compounds in the metropolitan area of Granada

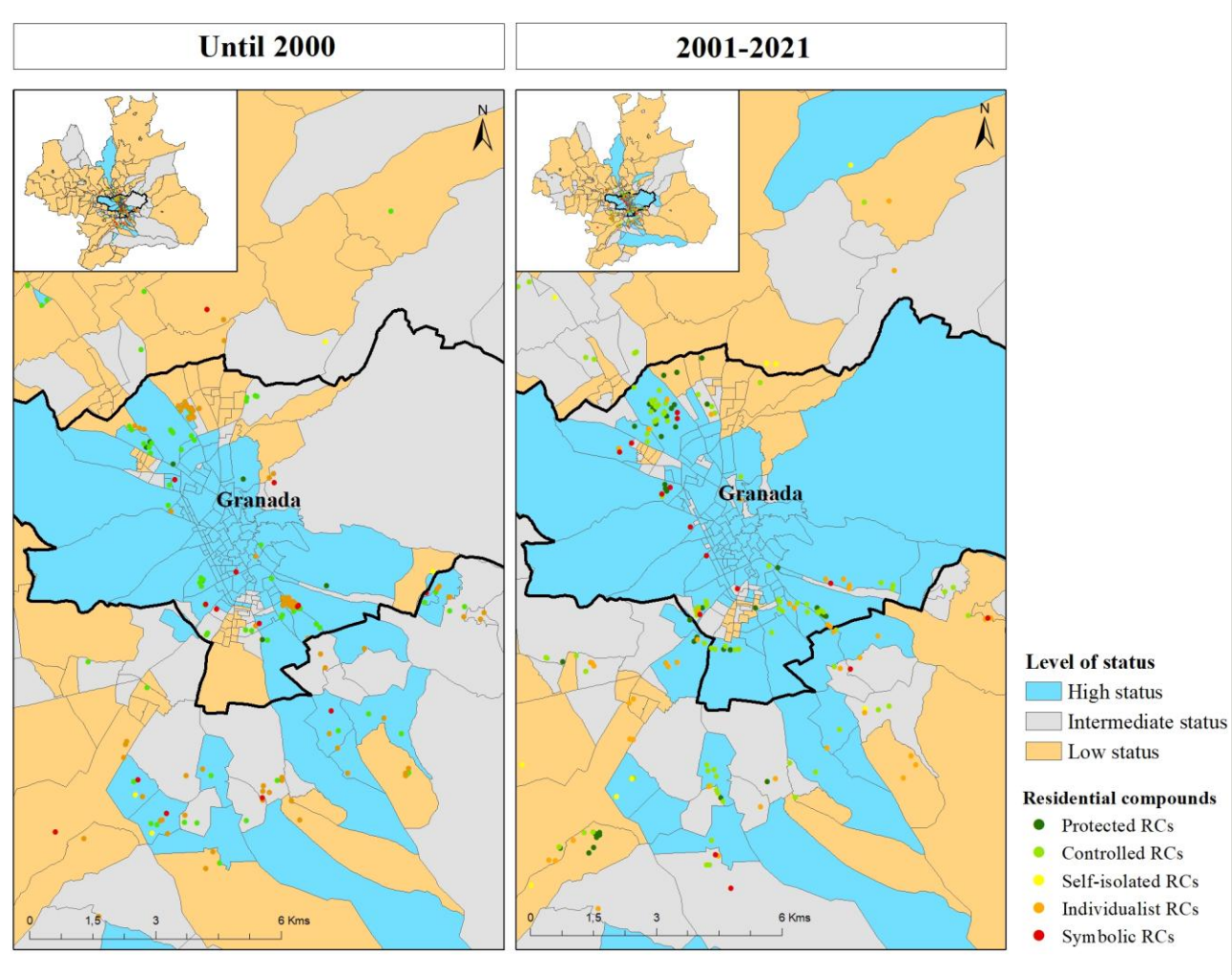


# RESULTS: RESIDENTIAL COMPOUNDS AND SEGREGATION

Table 5. Promotion of dwellings in residential compounds by census tract status (by quintiles)

|                     | Pre-existing sections |           | New sections |           |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
|                     | Until 2000            | 2001-2021 | Until 2000   | 2001-2021 |
| Higher status       | 14,7%                 | 12,1%     | 29,0%        | 31,9%     |
| High status         | 10,0%                 | 6,4%      | 15,3%        | 14,7%     |
| Intermediate status | 8,4%                  | 6,9%      | 5,8%         | 12,0%     |
| Low status          | 2,8%                  | 4,1%      | 1,0%         | 7,7%      |
| Lower status        | 1,9%                  | 2,1%      | 0,0%         | 4,6%      |
| Total               | 8,6%                  | 6,2%      | 7,8%         | 12,7%     |

Figure 3. Distribution of RCs according to level of status (census tracts)



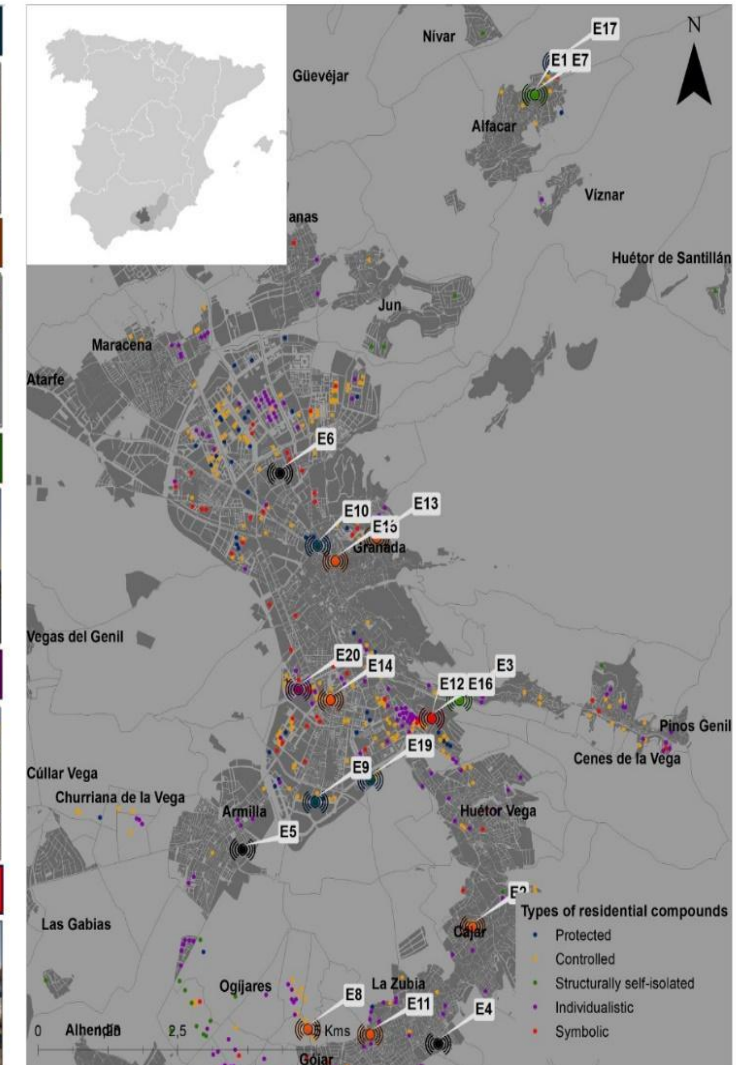


# CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. There are residential compounds of all types of areas, regardless of social status. This reinforces our belief that there are a **certain tendency towards the class fragmentation** of the urban structure.
2. Although **their presence is more relevant in the more privileged areas** of Granada, **we also find residential compounds in other areas of lower status**.
3. The metropolitan area of Granada appears to be a typical case of Southern Europe, but **more studies of this kind are needed to generalise the results**

The incipient proliferation of this phenomenon as well as their modest but certain contribution to social fragmentation and segregation, can be better understood by addressing the following questions:

- *What do residents value most about the RCs they live in - security or tranquility?*
- *Do these RCs foster real communities in a sociological sense? (Analysing neighbourhood relations)*
- *How does living in such housing estates reinforce a sense of class, behind the trend towards residential segregation and fragmentation?*





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