The impacts of the second home business upon the leisure practice of the inhabitants, in Angra dos Reis, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

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Introduction

It has been documented by many researchers that second homes are a product for the affluent (Coppock 1977; Ball, 2005; Paris, 2009; Kauppila 2010). After all, one only considers buying a second home if one has enough money after providing for the principal residence, and since most of the world faces difficulties meeting the costs of a principal residence, no matter how modest that home may be, the second home is only within the means of a relatively wealthy minority. This paper sits firmly in a South American context, but most of the literature on second homes comes from Europe and North America. We seek here to make use of that literature without constraining our analysis of what is particular to a Brazilian context.

The European literature identifies two key features of second homes. The first is associated with the “seasonal migration from urban to rural [or coastal] residence” (Coppock 1997: p. 4) as part of an affluent lifestyle of conspicuous consumption. The idea commonly propounded in the research literature is that while second homes existed in small numbers before the Industrial Revolution, they acquired a different meaning after it when the clock began to rule the routines of life (Urry, 1995); they were a way to escape “from everyday work and stress, enjoyment of being away and simultaneously being somewhere where [the] everyday lost its importance” (Pitkänen, 2008: p. 183). The second home became an escape from the rigours associated with the first home. The second feature is related to the “differences in national and personal identities which define the preferences, fashions, climates and local physical geographies” (Ball, 2005: p. 241). The second home in this case was not so much an escape from the first home, but a magnet, to a preferred location, offering something not attainable in the first home. It was located in the mountains or on the coast or wherever was preferred, where the first home was not.

Both features “play important parts in understanding the growing of the second home market, although the economic and financial factors are important as well” (Ball, 2005: p. 241). As Paris notes (2009: p. 296), “the idea that owning a second home is an investment recurs strongly across the literature, although this is typically seen in terms of potential capital gain or asset accumulation rather than as an investment to generate income”.

The second home market developed earlier in the UK than it did in Brazil. In the 1970s the UK started to develop a “study of housing in rural areas that measured the diversity of the housing stock” (Clark, 1981: p. 59) and a conference was organised in Birmingham “to explore the nature of the problems posed by second homes” (Coppock, 1977: p. 195), while Brazil only started to develop the second home market in the late 1970s. But this is not the only difference. One of the prominent differences between the UK and Brazil rests on the physical structure of the properties. While in the UK they are most commonly part of the fabric of an existing settlement, in Brazil since
In the 1980s they have typically followed the gated community model common in many North American cities (Blakely and Snider, 1997) that is based on the segregation of the physical and social space from existing habitations. As McKenzie (2006) mentioned, gated communities have been developing in modern society not as “a passing fashion but an important institution, reflecting the ideological shift toward privatism” (p. 3), and we would add, as a means of securing symbolic capital.

In considering the ‘field’ of the second home phenomenon in Brazil this paper is concerned to identify some of the social processes and relationships that serve to include and exclude through the deployment of different forms of capital. To that end we make use of the personal experience of the first author as well as empirical research in an ethnographic style; hence the use of ‘I’ in some of the following sections. In this context we argue that ‘leisure’ is not simply a force that includes, nor simply one that excludes; it both bridges divides and reaffirms barriers.

Direct experience of the second home issue

My first connection with the reality of the second home business started in the late 1990s, when I assumed full responsibility for all organizational planning in the leisure department of a gated community called “Porto Frade”. It is part of Angra dos Reis city, located on the south coast of Rio de Janeiro state in Brazil and popular with second homeowners because of the large number of beaches (approximately 2000) along the coast. For many years I felt pleased to work in a place where the physical space seemed to be perfect for both the professional who intended to plan and develop leisure provision in the private sector (in my personal case), but also for those who could afford a private space to enjoy their leisure time. Others shared that feeling: as I heard at Porto Frade, “I feel I’m on a fantasy island” (second home owner from my field diary, June, 2012). This feeling of wellbeing, is commonly expressed by second home owners who believe it is something they can acquire within this particular gated community. This is derived from a mix of the ‘unspoilt’ natural environment that allows them to identify with the past and all the leisure facilities they need for enjoyment and relaxation.

This feeling of wellbeing is “a largely mental construct” (Cohen, 2010: p. 108) of the second homeowners that provides them with a return on their investment because of the benefits derived from their leisure time. The benefits of the gated community come from “the production and the consumption of a particular social experience” (Urry, 1995: p. 131). This is closely associated the US concept of leisure living, which has been incorporated into housing developments in Brazil:

- mass-produced housing based on a leisure-time model, incorporating garages, work rooms, and game and televisions rooms. Special automobiles are designed for leisure driving, such as station wagons, vans, and trucks to pull boats (Blakely & Snyder, 1997: p. 48)

In trying to understand the significance different forms of human mobility have for the production and consumption associated with leisure
living. Kauppila (2010) distinguishes between those who spend little time in any one destination and those who make frequent visits to the same destination. Those owning second home are clearly in the latter category, establishing a different relationship with the host community. Through their continued presence they are able to change the area because of their cultural as well as economic capital. Angra dos Reis suits this leisure form, not just because of its environmental resources, but because of the easy travel distance for middle and upper class people from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Since the 1980s they have been travelling to Angra dos Reis every weekend expecting to escape from everyday work and stress (Tulik, 2001).

They have constructed their special place in terms of a friendly community, where the neighbours look like themselves, in other words where they feel at home (Blakely and Snider, 1997). Porto Frade is separated from the everyday routines of work by distance/time and from local people by the physical barriers of gates, fences and walls. As long as the locals can be kept out the second-home owners can enjoy their leisure time (playing golf, fishing, running a boat) with people like themselves. The walls serve not just to mark territory but identity too. For instance the second home owners in Frade do not want to share the same beach with locals who they see as lacking manners and being ignorant of etiquette (e.g. they speak too loudly and use bad language, they cook barbecues on the beach and behave badly). As one property developer explained to a second home great potential buyer of a gated community:

be sure that if you buy a second home here, all of the local people that you are seeing now, on this beach, won’t come anymore. This is very common when a gated community is established in this area. In the same way that second home owners don’t feel comfortable with the local people, they also don’t enjoy sharing their leisure time with second home owners (Field note, 15/02/2010).

A high proportion of the beaches are now walled off by the developers of the gated communities. According to Roitman (2006: 116), the gated communities are a kind of a process of segregation that “allows their residents to reinforce social homogeneity and sense of community”. As Blakely and Snider (1997: p. 15) explain, these communities:

...have their antecedents in modern utopias, but they have been transformed into a totally new product, organised and marketed as a solution to the contemporary problems rather than as a search for a better communal system.

The result is a privileged space where second homeowners enjoy their leisure time, which means “areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatized” (Blakely and Snider, 1997, p. 2). In other words, the longstanding residents of Angra dos Reis are excluded.
Physical Separation as Social Separation

In Frade the physical separation is intrinsic to the social separation in the construction of parallel worlds (photo 1). One physical space is made up of locals living without good quality council services. They experience irregular disposal of rubbish, inadequate clean water, deteriorating roads, and lack of sewers. The other physical space not only enjoys those services, but was built to support outdoor physical activities such as swimming, boating, fishing and golf as the hallmark of an affluent lifestyle. Central to this formulation are “the gates”, which have functioned as a symbol of “the crystallisation of wider social divisions” (Atkinson and Blandy, 2006: p. 9). With this kind of community ‘the gates control its entrances, preventing penetration by non-residents’ (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p. 2).

![Photo 1: View of a gated community located along the coast](image)

Photo taken on by Renata Corrêa 25/12/2006.

The locals around Porto Frade often mentioned “the gates” in the interviews. The term was not normally used with antagonism, but in the hope of one day living in the place called “the world of well-being”.

Porto Frade is a place where everything works. I clearly remember when I passed through the gates numerous times to do work for the second homeowners. When somebody passes the gate, the security guards ask your name, your address and the reason you are there. Try to get into Porto Frade! You will see immediately that the main entrance presents two ways in [Photo 2], one for the second homeowners and another for the visitors. I have to confess to you that in the past when I used to pass through the gate via the visitors’ entrance, I always said to myself, “One
day I will buy a house here”, and now I have become an owner. (Local resident N3)

The gates are not just a physical representation of the division between the local areas but a symbolic one too. Symbolically they not only represent the class division within this neighbourhood but also the impact the gated community has on the leisure lives of the locals. Part of the evidence for these impacts rests on the way the second homes have been geographically located close to desirable natural amenities such as beaches, waterfalls and forests, separating those resources from the original community. If these extensive natural areas in the surroundings of Frade were not separated-off, they could work as a potential way of generating encounters between locals and second home owners, groups of “different social background and experience” (Atkinson and Blandy, 2006: p. 9). The consequence is fewer informal interactions, thereby placing greater strain on those encounters that do occur, making conflict more likely.

It was in this context that the relationships between local residents and second homeowners were analysed.

Second homes in Frade and leisure: the dichotomy of integration and segregation

The Frade neighbourhood we know today is comparatively new when we consider that in the early 1960s the inhabitants did not have any sort of public utility, particularly a transport system, which meant that the inhabitants used to travel to Angra dos Reis (the commercial centre) by canoe to shop. One local who was born in the 1950s explains the situation in this way:
In the past Angra dos Reis used to be a rural area made up of farmers and fishermen. Here we used to cultivate all sorts of vegetables and cereals for our sustenance, although the vital link between the village of Frade and the merchant known as “the old big merchant” established in Angra dos Reis were the fish and the banana. All of those used to be sold for the “old big merchant”. We canoed down the bay (approximately four men) from the Village of Frade at 12 pm and we got there at 5 am with the canoe full of fish and bananas to negotiate with the merchant (local resident N3, in May, 2012).

![Photo 3: The Village of Frade in the 1960's. Photo taken on by Carlos Borges.](image)

Until the 1970s, fishing and agriculture formed the basis of the village’s economy, which meant fish and bananas. The economic and social changes generally associated with “progress” were triggered locally by the advent of two things: the building of the nuclear power stations (Angra I and Angra II), and also the Rio-Santos Road. The subsequent wave of new developments encouraged the tourism sector to design residential areas especially on the south coast. In this case, the second home business was supported by the idea of leisure living that “created a demand for second home housing developments away from the primary domicile” (Blakely and Snider, 1997: p. 48). With the arrival of the nuclear power station, the Rio-Santos Road and the investment in the tourism sector, Angra dos Reis and the surrounding villages, particularly Frade, gained a new configuration in terms of physical and social space (Photo 3 and Diagram 1).
For the explanation of these shifts we might look to the sociological literature about relations between time, space and leisure. Urry (1995: p. 174) provided four main ways in which societies have intersected with their respective “physical environments”.

Diagram 1: The impacts of the economic and the social changes upon Angra dos Reis from the 70s.
Stewardship of the land so as to provide a better inheritance for the future generations living within a given local area; exploitation of land or other resources through seeing nature as separate from society and available for its maximum instrumental appropriation; scientisation through treating the environment as the object of scientific investigation and hence of some degree of intervention and regulation; and visual consumption through consumption through constructing the physical environment as a landscape not primarily for production but embellished for aesthetic appropriation.

In this regard the Frade Neighbourhood can be most closely associated with visual consumption and it is through this relationship with the environment that the second home business has been functioning on the basis of goods and services “produced for sale in the market and the price mechanism generates economic outcomes” (Giddens, 1990: p. 55). Hence, Urry (1995) argued that consumerism situates leisure services at an axial point in understanding modern societies.

However, experience of living in the field demonstrates that the leisure world, even in modern society, is not totally dominated by passive consumerism; that there are – even in economic terms – more notions of ‘value’ than is often argued, that there is a major and unrecognised social dimension to much leisure activity, which demands new modes of ‘economic’ thinking and that we can see in a small-scale (Bishop and Hogget, 1989: p. 150)

We are not, therefore, suggesting a simplistic contrast between a distressed present and an idyllic past in which the locals used to have freedom to enjoy their leisure time within the natural environment. Even though in the present situation this sort of enjoyment highlights constraints and the domination of the economic dimension by the establishment of the second home business, there are local people who have acquired specific knowledge, such as fishing and the ability to captain or crew a boat or ship, that has allowed them to enter the social networks of the second home business of Angra dos Reis. Apparently excluded from ‘the leisure offer’ of the gated community, some locals are able to use cultural capital acquired through leisure pursuits as an entrée to acquire new social capital through the second home networks.

Methodology

Being immersed in the Frade neighbourhood between 2010 and 2012 (for a total of eight months) meant addressing the “real methodological challenge involved in gaining knowledge of the field”, (Spracklen, Timmins and Long, 2010: p. 397). I had to resolve this in trying to learn how “to think, see, feel, and sometimes act as member of its culture […] at the heart of the participant observation method – involvement and detachment” (Sluka and Robben, 2007, p. 1). As Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995) pointed out
Carrying out such research involves two distinct activities. First, the ethnographer enters into a social setting and gets to know in an intimate way. The ethnographer participates in the daily routines of this setting, develops ongoing relations with the people in it, and observes what is going on. Indeed the term “participant-observation” is often used to characterize this basic research approach. But, second, the ethnographer writes down in regular, systematic ways what she observes and learns while participating in the daily rounds of life of others. (p. 1)

This suggests that the ethnographic method can be seen as a method of both collecting and producing knowledge (Spracklen, Timmins and Long, 2010) but also a “highly particular and hauntingly personal” (Mannen, 2011, p. 13) experience which “carries quite serious intellectual and moral responsibilities” (Mannen, 2011, p. 1). Conducting research in the Frade neighbourhood, presented various ethical challenges. For example consider the following excerpt from an interview:

Researcher: Do you think that the physical division between the Porto Frade and the Village is really important?

The gatekeeper: I think that in terms of security it is excellent. It is excellent to have this physical division [the gatekeeper reinforced]. I am going to repeat what I have said to you few minutes before the interview: Can you imagine if Porto Frade was opened for all people of different social background? This gated community would be a favela [Brazilian original term] in the same way as the Village of Frade. (Gatekeeper-local interviewed in April, 2012).

This has to be read in the context of official protestations from the heads of the administration of Porto Frade that local residents enjoy free access to the beach despite the gates. In trusting the researcher the gatekeeper has effectively given the game away about the true nature of ‘access’. Even with apparent anonymity the researcher has to recognise that publication might jeopardise the respondent’s employment. Beyond that the very presentation of the quote may make the respondent appear little more than a stooge of big business; some repayment for willing co-operation in the research.

A second dilemma related to the roles that the ethnographer may adopt and an appreciation that at different times I assumed more than one of Gold’s (1958) four possible roles: complete observer; observer as participant; participant-as-observer; or complete participant. Davies (2008) and Fielding (2008) demonstrate the tensions of reflexivity inherent in the choice and the “effect upon the ethnographer of the experience of the fieldwork” (Davies, 2008, p. 218). Fielding (2008) highlighted that:

The most basic choice is whether to tell members of the setting what you are up to. Those that accept the need for covert observation usually justify it on the basis that some groups would otherwise be closed to research. I justified my use of covert observation in the National Front research on the basis of the group hostility to research (Fielding, 2008: p. 271).

On some occasions I interacted in the research field as a complete participant, experiencing for myself the satisfaction and strategies of the
second home owner. While that gave me some insight to the operations of the second home business network and leisure time in the surrounding natural environments by all parties, on other occasions I engineered more formal contact to gain information in the role of participant as observer.

For many researchers the most challenging task is to establish a rapport, win trust and be accepted in a specific community (Long, 2007: p. 95). Fortunately, that was not my experience as I was already known in the area. The principal challenge I experienced was how to find the best way to record the information and after that, how to organize it in such a way as to keep faith with different circumstances and groups. There is no simple recipe for those who are immersed within the field; they have to resolve to take lessons from the field and adapt their research accordingly. The circumstance I recorded in my field notes (below) shifted my thoughts about how to record in that particular field.

My concern throughout this particular day was to draw a map of the Village of Frade. Even in the morning the thermometers in Rio reached 40 degrees, and the first thought that came in my mind was the dreadful day I would have. However, I was aware how this task was important. If I start to build the map of the physical structure of the Village, I would be able to build also the map of social space of the Village, which will allow me to have an overview about the distribution of the collectiveness. So, I got in the Village around 11am and I started walking through the street jotting down some characteristics of the physical space of the Village. After approximately 40 minutes I noticed that many people were looking very curious in my direction, especially some shop assistants who were outside the shop [nobody can stand the high temperatures]. Suddenly, one of them, in an audacious way came to me and said, “I would give my life to read this note book”. (Field note, 12/01/2010)

That event made me appreciate that I might be jeopardising my own position in the field, becoming persona non grata even if I had not been formally barred from the community. Fortunately that did not happen, but avoid a repeat that might have had a different outcome I adopted Fielding’s (2008) solution, that anthropologists should follow the example of journalists who have minds trained to register facts, names, places, etc. Anthony Cohen (1992: p. 339) refers to “the mental notebook which is never closed”, and also exhorts researchers to carry their field with them mentally, “long after they have left physically” (Cohen, 1992: p. 344). After that experience I designed different ways to record within the field (Diagram 2).
In this research I combined observations and interviews. 27 unstructured interviews were carried out between January 2010 and May 2012. There are five different groups of interviewees: (1) locals resident since before the 1970s; (2) local residents who became employees of the “Porto Frade”; (3) the second homeowners who practise fishing and golf as leisure activities; (4) the locals who established a relationship with the second homeowners through leisure activities (golf and fishing); (5) the heads of the institutions such as environmental NGOs, the “Porto Frade” gated community, estate agents and the Director of the State Office for the Environment in Rio de Janeiro.

When I was interviewing I was mindful of the starting point of Kvale and Brinkmann (2009: p. 1), that the “interview attempts to understand the world from the subjects’ points of view, to unfold the meanings of their experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations”. At the same time I was grappling with the essence of the interview.

What is the interview? Is it a game in which the winner is determined by who knows how to play better with the words? What is the interview? Is it a moment when the interviewer asks, “help me please”? What is the interview? Is it a way to denounce corporate practices and also voice the lack of satisfaction of the people? (Pereira, 2012: p. 61).

I have yet to answer these questions to my satisfaction. All I could do in the field was to resolve to treat research participants with respect and value their representations of events.

**Networks and field: the relationship with social capital**

As Veal (2011: p. 141) pointed out “Many human activities operate through
networks involving nodes and links between them, including transport systems, electricity supply systems and telecommunications”. Similarly, Rowe (2006: p. 324) observed that “the intensification of communications convergence has been described as heralding the coming of the ‘network society’”. This network society shapes and reshapes many dimensions of life such as work, family, religion, education, community and also our particular interest, leisure. However, Castells and Cardoso (2005: p3) challenge the idea that the network rests on “the emergence of a new technological paradigm, based in information and communication technologies” that “technologies do not determine the society: it is society” (p. 3). As Cohen (2010, p. 17) points out, this means that the agents who operate within the networks express their needs, values and interests through their “language, ecology, traditions of belief and ideology, and so forth”.

This network society has attracted much attention from social scientist (e.g. Burt, 1980; Castells, 1996; Walker, Kogut, Shan, 1997; Scott, 2000; Ward, Tampubolon, 2002). While some researchers have combined mathematical analysis with a qualitative approach (see Veal, 2011), others have looked to interpret social interaction on the basis of its symbolic meaning as a durable social relation built by a specific group. This offers researchers the opportunity to give proper attention to values, such as solidarity (see Wacquant, 1987). Both approaches depend on the fundamental idea that people are linked together by one or more social relationship (Scott and Marshall, 2009). The way we see and also think about the concept of network is associated with the opposition of two forces: “The first one is the reproduction of network structure as a general social resource for network members and the second one is the alteration of network structure” by their own members (Walker, Kogut and Shan, 1997: p. 109). Both forces deal with the symbolic power which sometimes is unrecognized by the members of the network. This way of seeing the concept of network is particularly related with Bourdieu’s approach considering distinct forms of capital (e.g. cultural capital, historical capital, symbolic capital, sporting capital), especially social capital. We note, however, that although the concept has been well-worked by leisure scholars trying to understand the benefits that groups might derive from working together (Pereira, Long, Amaral, 2012: p. 99), this has tended to owe more to Putnam than to Bourdieu’s conception of the notion.

For Bourdieu it is wrong to try to evaluate social capital or networks without considering how they are embedded in the appropriate ‘field’. This notion of the field, is described by Wacquant (1987: p. 72):

Agents who enter a given field [network] share a common commitment to compete for the stakes and abide by the rules specific to that field. Moreover, they do so only by virtue of a fundamental misrecognition. The root image behind the concept is that of the magnetic field, that is, a space of forces in constant tension and systemic interdependence; […] the fundamental point is that every field is an arena of permanent struggles and conflicts.

In addition the field is an ideological construction that through the years has become more and more autonomous. For instance, in Brazil there
is a constitutional law that guarantees that the beaches cannot be privatized, and cannot be used for the purposes of an exclusive group. However the network (the field) of second home business in Brazil is strong to transcend the law and appropriate rights, which in turn contributes to faster growth of the gated communities in this country and the business builds up momentum that attracts more power to itself. Following Bourdieu (1992) we might that that this is “doubtless accompanied by an increase in the standards expected of anyone seeking right of entry to the field and in particular, by a reinforcement of the demands on their general or even specific competence” (Bourdieu, 1992: p.177).

In trying to understand what was happening in Angra dos Reis Bourdieu’s take on the ‘process of delegation’ proved useful. Bourdieu offered this as an explanation of a sort of social alchemy that take place within the field (the network of leisure in Angra dos Reis). First a group of social agents, named here G (locals with specific leisure ability – e.g. golf and fishing – second home owners, the head of the environmental NGOs) who compose the network of leisure in Angra dos Reis and have a common interest in the use of the natural amenities, especially the beaches. The office-machinery of the organizations, named here O (housing developers and the heads of the gated communities), brings the locals to work for the second homeowners considering their specific abilities such as nautical skills. That group of locals established first a professional relationship with the second home owners and then a personal relationship which allows them to share the same natural amenities as their ‘bosses’ do; they acquire the cultural capital of a different class with different tastes and leisure practices. By sharing this privilege with some of the locals who establish a friendly relationship with the second home owners the O group is able to develop a strategy by bestowing symbolic power on this particular group of locals who start a discourse affirming the idea that the beach, for instance, is the property of the second home owners. It is clearly in their interest to do so as they benefit from the money brought to the village by the second home owners. Hence, the locals from the Village of Frade who work for the second home owners become spokespeople, who are embedded with Wacquant calls ‘oracle effect’ that is:

...legitimate trickery, whose possibility is rooted in the very logic of delegation, whereby the leader (O) passes his words, off as those of the people he represents, and imposes his own definition of their situation, condition and interest. (Wacquant, 1987: p. 72)

G become the agents of O doing their work for them. The consequence of this can be seen in the following interview with a boat owner who takes second home owners sea fishing and enjoys access to the beaches beyond the gates as a consequence.

**Researcher:** Why you do not go to this beach within the Porto Frade area?
**Local working for the second home owners:** Very simple we do not go.
**Researcher:** Why?
**Local:** What beach are you talking about? This beach? Here, within the Porto Frade? They [the administration sector] do not allow us.
**Researcher**: But there is a law that guarantee that all the citizens in Brazil can share the natural amenities.

**Local**: Are you talking about people from the Village of Frade? Here within the Porto Frade?

**Researcher**: Yes, and I am saying that the law supports you.

**Local**: But here if you want to go on the beach you must be identified. The guards will ask me what am I going to do?

**Researcher**: But nobody can forbid your access through the gates.

**Local**: But besides the question about what am I going to do? The guards will follow me until I get on the beach.

**Researcher**: OK. But nobody can forbid your access

**Local**: I will tell you one thing, sometimes the problem is not the access, but I do not feel comfortable on that beach with wealthy people. In fact, I think that the Porto Frade is right. What would happen if you allow access for everybody? I think that people need to recognize their own place.

We can see here that the local resident is dumbfounded by the question. It just ‘does not compute’; because it is not part of the natural order of things the question appears ridiculous. Local residents are just not allowed – surely everybody knows that. Even when informed of the legal position he patiently explains that the guards make it all too clear that some people just should not expect to use the beach. Beyond that there is still a duality of argument in the response. On the one hand is the assertion that the guards make it all too clear that some people just do not go to the beach because of the access control (external), and on the other is an internalised rationalisation that the Porto Frade beach is simply not a place for everybody. However, it is not surprising that it does not suit local people when it has been made so clear that they are not welcome. This response was not atypical. At no time during fieldwork was there any consideration of the idea that the beach ought to be shared by all citizens. Whereas in parallel research in the UK (the Yorkshire Dales) it was the second homeowners who were the outsiders, the ‘offcumdens’, here it is the long-time residents who are the outsiders, excluded from use of the beach. The gates and the fences around the neighbourhoods, serve to segregate, but certainly in the case of the Village of Frade, the group who are excluded appear to collude in this process.

**Conclusion**

This paper has examined some of the consequences of the growth of the second home business in Angra dos Reis to date, but because of the popularity of second homes it continues to evolve. Already, in the same village of Frade, three more large gated communities are currently being built. Even though a discourse of sustainable communities has appeared in Brazil in recent years, gated communities are rarely designed to fulfil such goals whether in terms of the environment, social interaction, justice, public or private life. Moreover, the physical geography equates closely with the social geography to form parallel worlds. The role of leisure in this is confusing. Some of the skills possessed by local residents bestows cultural capital (e.g. fishing, sailing, navigating) that can be transferred to another field, that of the leisure lifeworld of the second homeowners. As work skills become leisure skills they represent a passport that allows passage through the gates
towards a different set of social connections. Yet those leisure activities are
the same ones that exclude the residents of Frade from the natural resources
of Porto Frade as they are kept beyond the gates for the consumption of the
second homeowners. It appears that a hegemony has rapidly been
established that the local residents of Frade do not think to challenge. While
the government may be complicit in this de facto segregation, so too are local
people, partly because of economic dependency, partly because of these
processes of incorporation.

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