



**GATED COMMUNITIES IN
SOUTH AFRICA:**
Comparison of four case studies
in Gauteng



Gated communities in South Africa: Comparison of four case studies in Gauteng

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

During the past few years, gated communities have rapidly increased in South Africa. Although the major growth has occurred in metropolitan areas, especially Gauteng, the occurrence has not been limited to these areas. Gated communities in South Africa can broadly be categorised as security villages and enclosed neighbourhoods. In the context of high crime rates, many people consider enclosed neighbourhoods or security villages the only option for safe living in cities. However, few pause to consider the longer-term impact of these developments.

Previous research in 2000 focused on enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa and some of the challenges this presented to local councils (Landman 2000). However, since then, municipalities have substantially restructured as part of an ongoing process of transformation after 1994. This calls for a revised understanding of how gated communities would influence local councils in South Africa after the demarcation process. The study also highlighted a need to look at gated communities as a broader concept than simply “enclosed neighbourhoods”, which is only one type. This is especially relevant since it has become apparent that there are a number of similarities and differences between these types that may have varying implications for spatial planning and policy development.

To understand these implications, in 2002 CSIR Butek embarked on extensive research on gated communities in South Africa in 2002. This project was divided into two phases. The first focused on a national survey of gated communities, to determine their extent and location (Landman 2003). The second phase comprised detailed case studies of four areas in the cities of Johannesburg and Tshwane. This document focuses on a comparison between these four areas.

1.2 Project Methodology

The in-depth case study involved two types of gated communities in two metropolitan councils in South Africa (thus four case studies). It was particularly interested in the *motivation* for, as well as the *nature, operation* and *experience* of, two specific gated community models in Johannesburg and Pretoria. The two types include:

- *Enclosed neighbourhoods* (road closures). These are existing neighbourhoods that have been fenced in by the closure of public roads.
- *Large luxury security villages or estates*, such as golfing or country estates and other large, mainly residential, security areas. (Smaller security townhouse complexes - up to 50 units - are not included.)

The aim of the broader project is to identify the similarities and differences between these two types of gated communities, with specific reference to the motives for their establishment, the spatial characteristics, and the impact and implications of the two types, both in terms of spatial planning and institutional management.

The research involved a range of methods to obtain information, focusing on a qualitative approach. The main sources of evidence for each case study area included:

- Semi-structured (focused) interviews
- Spatial information (on the case study area), including maps
- Direct observation
- Documentation review.

Interviewees included the chairman of the Homeowners' Association (HOA) and/or estate manager (regarding the operation and management of the area), as well as a small sample (no more than 15) residents who were willing to take part in the study (regarding their experiences of the area). Interviews were also conducted with other role-players and stakeholders, such as the developers (where applicable), the SAPS, local-authority officials responsible for spatial planning and management, the private security companies operating in the area, and the Metropolitan Police.

The documentation collected covered a wide spectrum, ranging from council documents, policies, etc, to documentation on the establishment and management of the area by residents and other involved parties. These included minutes of meetings, community newsletters, letters to council, annual reports, information from the websites, etc.

1.3 Structure of this document

This document has six chapters. The next, Chapter 2, introduces the reader to the context within which the cases are located and in which they function, and explores their differences and similarities. The context includes the spatial context, socio-economic characteristics, challenges, etc, within the Cities of Johannesburg and Tshwane, as well as the relevant policy frameworks. The following chapter (3) compares the main characteristics of the case study areas, including their location within the city, physical layout, facilities and amenities, services provided, etc. Chapter 4 focuses on organisational aspects and compares the operation and management of the respective case study areas. This includes a focus on the management body, as well as other important role-players such the private security company and guards responsible for safety and security in the area. Chapter 5 then explores motives for wishing to live in gated communities. Chapter 6 follows with a detailed discussion of the impact and implications of the two types of gated communities in Johannesburg and Tshwane.

2. Context

2.1 Socio-economic, spatial and institutional context

The municipalities of Johannesburg and Tshwane are both located in the Gauteng Province. Gauteng has proportionately the largest urban population in South Africa (96%) and, until recently, had the highest overall crime rate in the country.

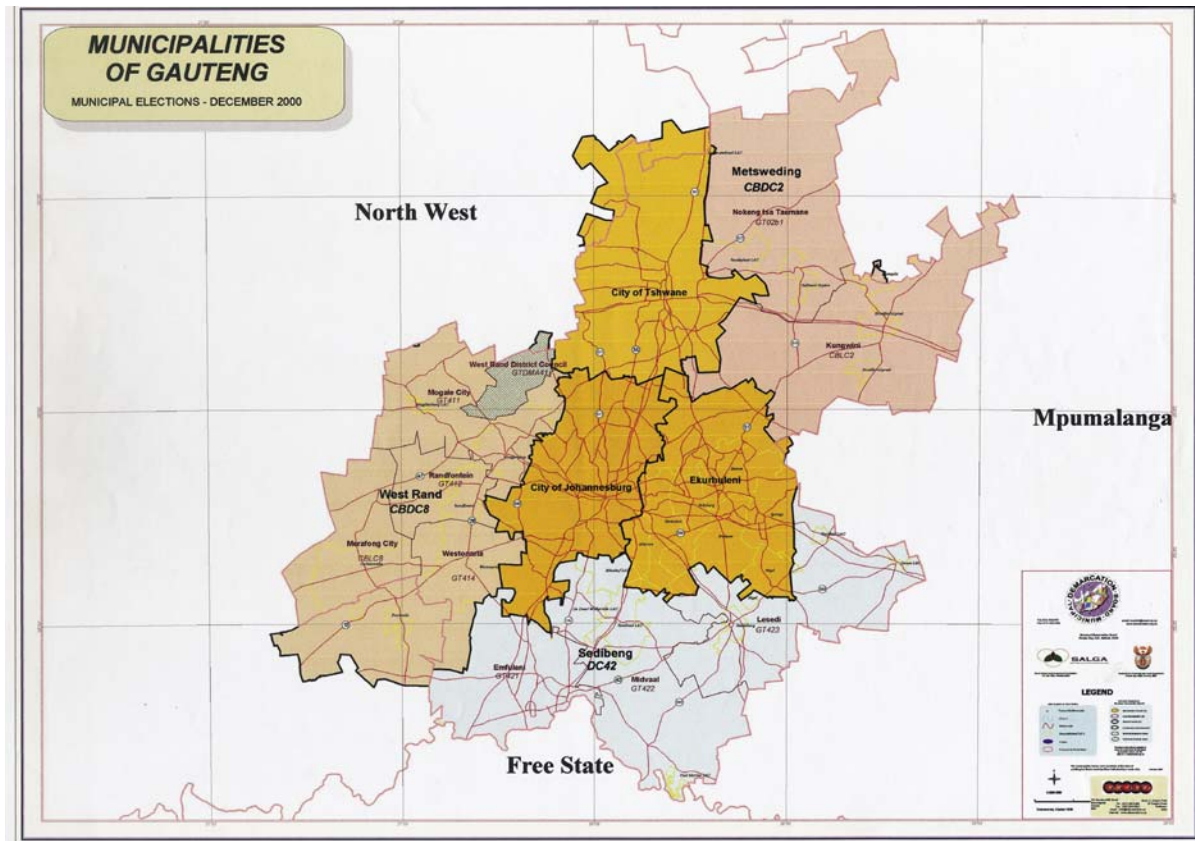


Figure 1: Location of the cities of Johannesburg and Tshwane in the Gauteng province

The municipalities of Johannesburg and Tshwane are two of the most urbanised in the country, both with populations of more than a million people. The estimated population of Johannesburg is 2.83 million, compared to 2.2 million in Tshwane. More than 7% of South Africa's entire population, and about 38% of Gauteng's population, currently reside in the City of Johannesburg, in an area of 1 626 square kilometres (Johannesburg IDP 2003/04).

Both cities fall in the highest category of average annual individual income for all the municipalities in the country (Figure 2). However, while the overall average individual income in these municipalities is comparatively high, the distribution within the cities is very unequal. Johannesburg's unemployment rate Johannesburg is estimated to be 30%, while only 53% of the population is formally employed. Low skill levels are regarded as a serious problem and an obstacle to economic growth (Johannesburg IDP 2003/04). Tshwane's unemployment rate is estimated to be 26%, and the gap between the rich and the poor is growing (Tshwane IDP 2002/03).

The City of Johannesburg identified a number of challenges for future development and urban upgrading, which relate to safety and security; unemployment and economic growth; the social and economic impact of HIV/AIDS; social inequality; skills constraints; full coverage and improved quality of water, sanitation, electricity, housing, health services, education and social development services (IDP 2003/04). Problems identified by the City of Tshwane include service gaps and unemployment, massive population influx, economic decline, HIV/Aids-, cumbersome administrative procedures, and environmental and institutional problems (Tshwane IDP 2002/03).

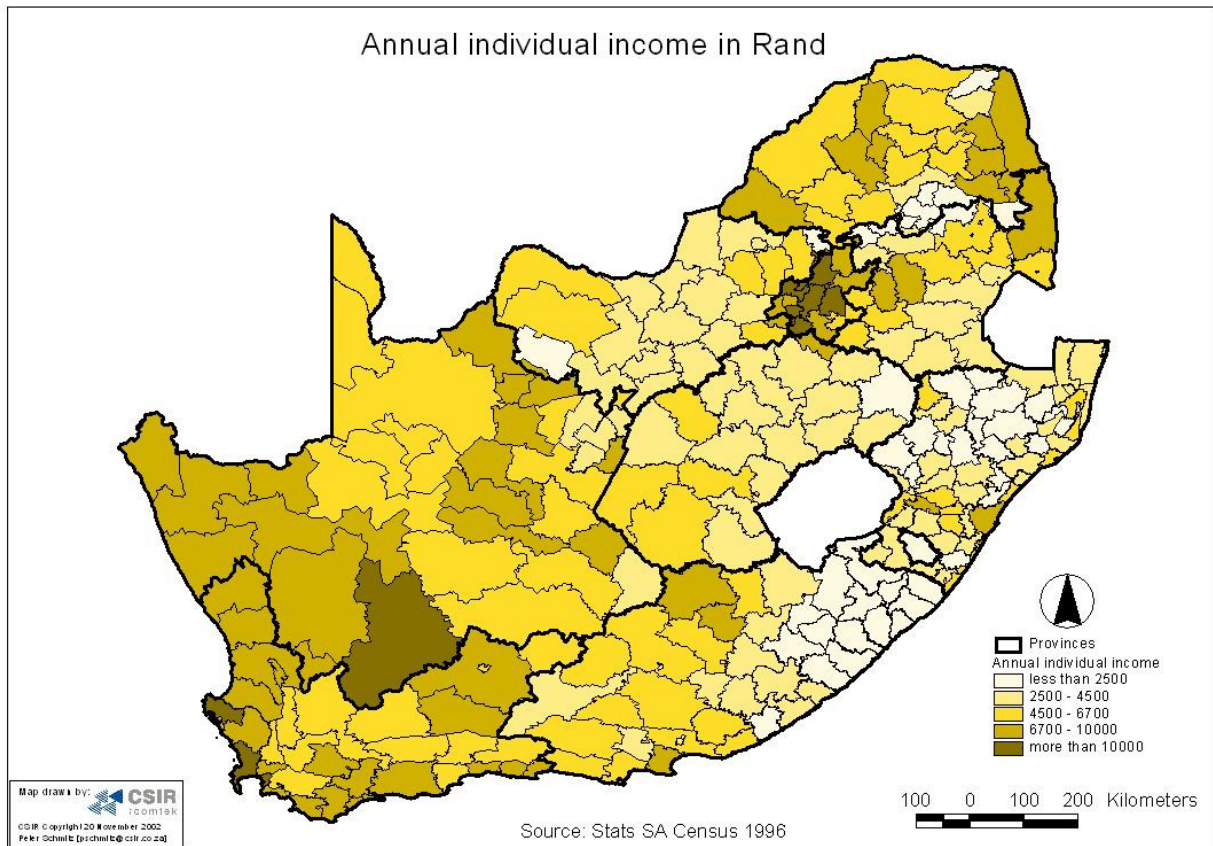


Figure 2: Annual individual income per municipalities in South Africa

Both cities are products of the apartheid ideology that guided development for 40 years prior to 1994. Despite many recent initiatives to address the spatial patterns of segregated development, including fragmentation, separation and low-density sprawl, with consequent well-developed white suburbs around the CBD and marginalised townships on the urban periphery, many of these patterns are still in place today.

In the City of Johannesburg, most of the underdeveloped township areas were to the south of the mining belt. The rapid growth of the city in the 1950s and 1960s led to increased urbanisation and saw critical housing shortages in the so-called “locations” or “townships” (separate areas for non-whites). These “townships” are marginalised areas, with a poor local economic base. In this way, apartheid planning resulted in a disempowering urban structure with little impetus for economic and social development and a high dependency on the north of the city for employment, basic commodities and services. In contrast, the more affluent suburbs to the north of the city grew and diversified. Over time, many city residents and businesses fled to the northern suburbs. This resulted in the development of several decentralised nodes, offering employment, recreation and retail opportunities (including shopping centres) in the northern suburbs. Johannesburg followed the growth pattern of American cities, which saw the rise of so called “edge cities”, based on private car ownership and offering the functions of former central business districts, albeit at decentralised locations - for example Sandton, Randburg and Midrand.

The City of Tshwane follows a similar pattern. The marginalised areas are, however, generally more dispersed. The bulk of the previously disadvantaged population is concentrated in the north-western sector of the metropolitan area, in Shoshanguwe and Atteridgeville, as well as in the north-east, in Mamelodi. The more affluent population is concentrated in the southern and south-eastern sectors of the urban area, including

Centurion and eastern Pretoria. Most of the job opportunities are in the central (54%) and south-eastern sectors. However, while 47% of the population of Tshwane lives in the north-eastern sector of the area, only 10% of the jobs are available in this area.

These spatial patterns have had severe implications in both municipalities, impacting on the lives of the majority of people, in terms of access to jobs, public transport and resources, including:

- extensive time-consuming and relatively expensive commuting for the poor in outlying areas, aggravating poverty and inequity;
- an over-dependency on private car-based transport;
- increased traffic congestion and air pollution, owing to increasing numbers of cars;
- the development of rapid transport roads that do not lend themselves to small-scale economic operators (including informal markets);
- an inefficient economy, wasting scarce resources such as land, energy and finance.

Both of these municipalities have developed their local integrated development plans (IDPs) to reflect the vision and principles of the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001). This includes a prominent focus on integrated and sustainable development through urban compaction, and a focus on activity corridors and public transport. In addition, both plans highlight the need to address the apartheid development patterns of the past, such as spatial fragmentation, separation and low-density sprawl. Such spatial approaches are aimed at uplifting the previously marginalised areas, improving the quality of life of the urban poor and integrating these areas with the rest of the city, thus creating more opportunities through greater accessibility and scales of economy.

While the general aims and spatial approaches to achieve these are very similar in both municipalities, their approaches to gated communities differ somewhat. Whereas the Johannesburg IDP (2001) makes no mention of either enclosed neighbourhoods or security estates, the Tshwane IDP (2001) recognised the growth of both of these types, as well as of secure office parks. The Tshwane IDP document acknowledges the negative impact of these types of developments on achieving the aims of the IDP, but does not address the issue again within the strategies and spatial approaches to achieve these aims.

2.2 Distribution of crime in the two municipalities

The cities of Johannesburg and Tshwane both fall within the second-highest category of overall crime rates in municipalities, but significantly in the highest category as regards property crime (Figure 3). Schönreich and Louw (2001) point out that there are particular patterns in South Africa pertaining to the occurrence of violent crime and property crime in certain parts of a city. Often, the incidence of property crime in a certain area is frequently inversely related to the incidence of violent crime. Townships and poorer areas, which experience the highest per capita levels of violent crime in cities, often also have the lowest levels of property crime. On the other hand, wealthier suburbs tend to experience exactly the opposite. City centres or inner-city areas often experience high levels of both property and violent crime (Schönreich and Louw 2001: 6).

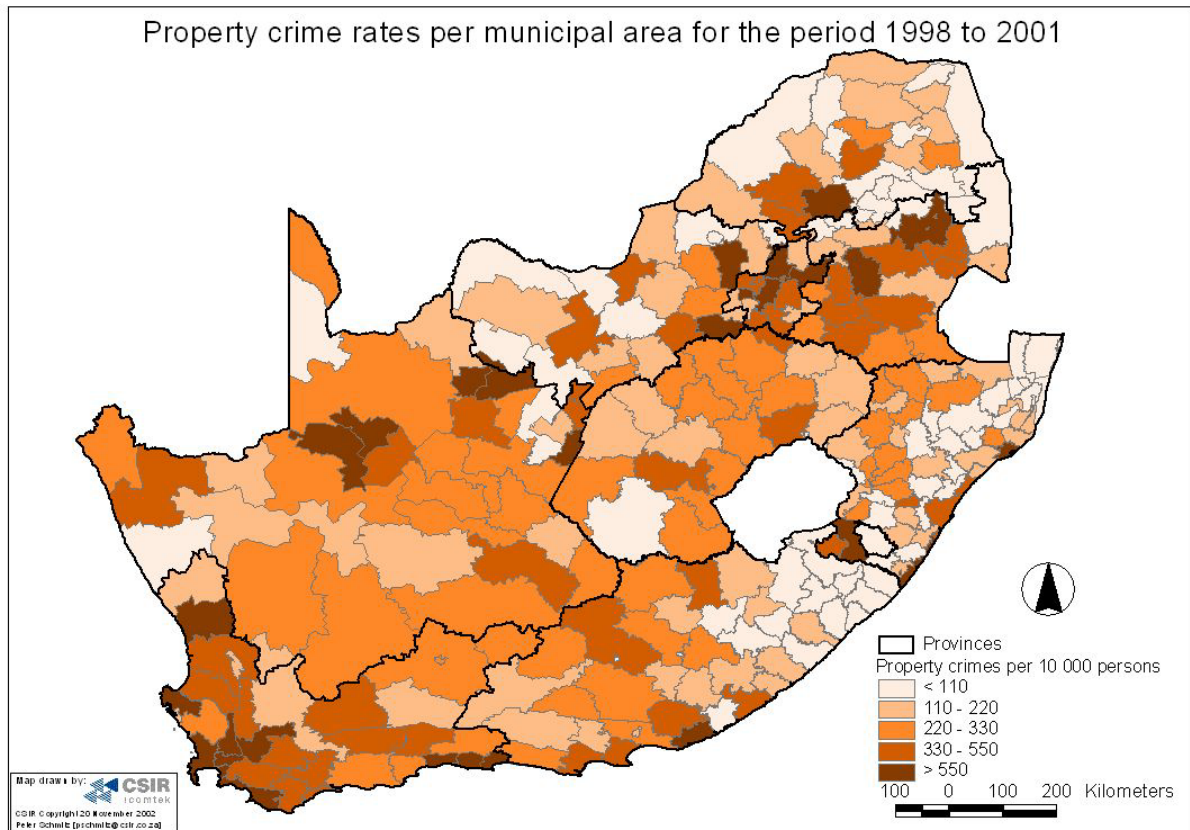


Figure 3: Property crime rates in municipalities in South Africa (1998-2001)

Victim surveys, conducted by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), have also indicated very high levels of fear of crime in both these municipalities. These factors have contributed to a large demand for different types of gated communities.

When the five largest cities or urban conglomerations in South Africa are compared, the crime patterns also differ. Recorded crime rates (recorded crimes per 100 000 population) in selected police areas in 2000 indicated that the highest crime rates occurred in Johannesburg, followed by Pretoria and then Cape Town (Figure 4). This could also have an influence on the fear of crime in Gauteng, since Johannesburg and Pretoria are the largest cities (population-wise) in Gauteng.

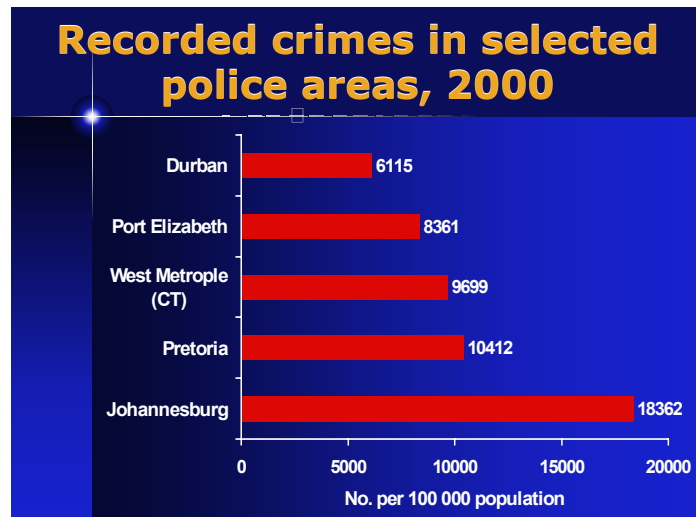


Figure 4: Recorded crime in selected police station areas (Shönteich 2002b:3)

The distribution of crime also differs within these two cities. When the

distributions of overall crime rates in both municipal areas (according to IDP planning regions) are compared, the CBD falls within the highest categories in both cases. In Johannesburg, Sandton/Rosebank (a well-developed and high-income region) falls in the second-highest category. In Pretoria, three regions fall within the second-highest category, namely Pretoria North (Region 7), eastern Pretoria (Region 4) and Mamelodi (Region 3).

Eastern Pretoria is a high-income area, Pretoria North a mixed income area and Mamelodi generally a low-income area.

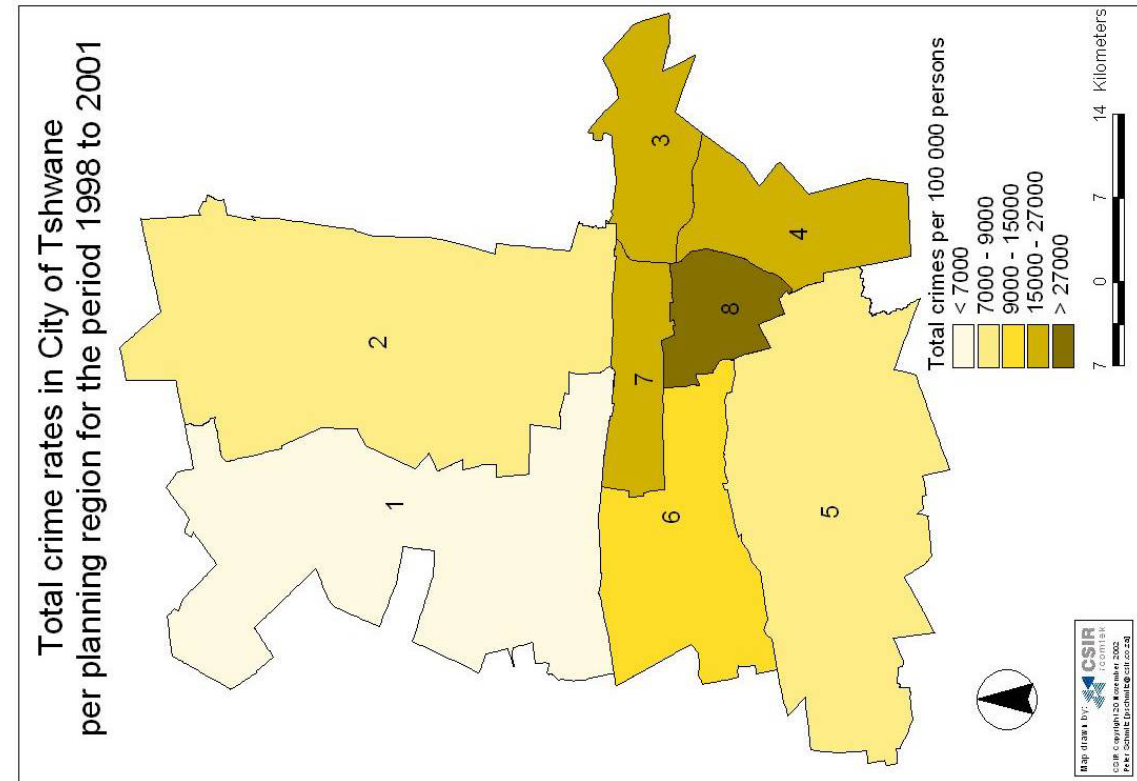


Figure 6: Overall crime rates in Tshwane

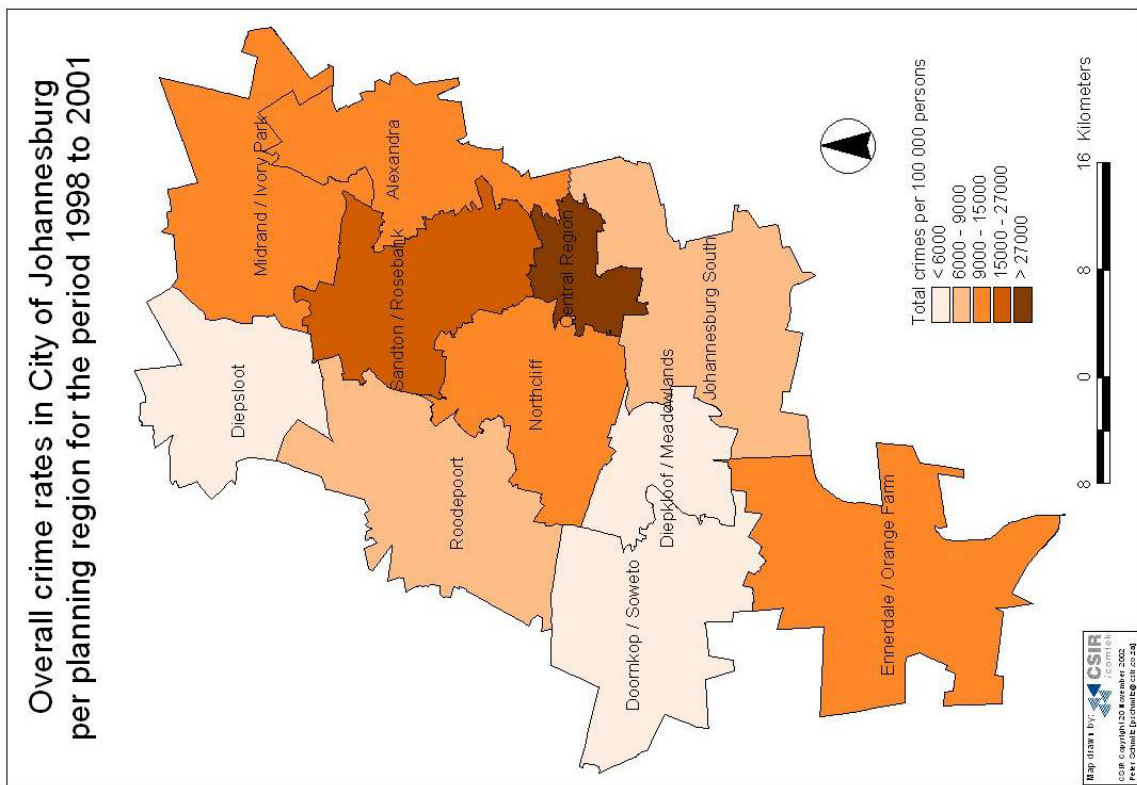


Figure 5: Overall crime rates in Johannesburg

2.3 Spatial response to crime: defensive architecture and neighbourhoods

Businesses in Johannesburg and Tshwane have responded to crime by increasing security measures to protect their properties. They make use of methods that range from changes to the interior of buildings, for example closed-circuit surveillance (CCTV) cameras and bullet-proof glass in banks and in 24-hour garage shops, etc., to exterior changes such as burglar bars in front of windows, security gates on doors, big shutters in front of the entire facade, high fences or walls around properties, access-control entrances, etc. Many also make use of sophisticated alarm systems linked to private response vehicles, to reduce crime. Some have opted for physical relocation to areas perceived to be safer, such as shopping centres (for example, Sandton Square and Menlyn Park) or access-controlled office parks (for example, those along the N1 highway in Midrand) protected by private security staff.

Residents have also responded with increased security measures. These vary from the installation of electronic devices, such as closed-circuit surveillance cameras, alarm systems, panic buttons, electronic gates, intercom systems, to physical modifications such as burglar bars, security gates, fences and walls around properties. The extent and nature of the changes depend, among other things, on the location of their residences, their financial abilities, the measure of security perceived to be necessary, and the risk. These responses are not restricted to private homes, but many apartment buildings and other high-rise buildings are increasingly making use of similar measures to improve their own security. This is especially the case in the central residential neighbourhoods - for example, Hillbrow in Johannesburg and Sunnyside in Pretoria.

However, for many South African urban residents the implementation of these measures is not enough. They want to live in a more secure neighbourhood. This has led to the increase in the number of *security villages* and *enclosed neighbourhoods* in both Johannesburg and Tshwane. Security villages include a number of different types of development with different uses, ranging from smaller townhouse complexes to larger office parks and luxury estates. The emphasis is on the fact that these areas are purpose-built by private developers, with security being the uppermost requirement, although lifestyle requirements are also important. Another form of gated community is the enclosed neighbourhood. These neighbourhoods are closed off through road closures, as well as fences or walls around entire neighbourhoods in some cases. The residents must apply to their local municipality for the right to restrict access, and can do so only for security reasons.

The national survey¹ (Landman 2003) confirmed that the cities of Johannesburg and Tshwane have the highest numbers of enclosed neighbourhoods in the country, and large numbers of security estates in addition to other types of gated communities, such as office parks, secure townhouse complexes and secure high-rise apartments. The City of Johannesburg indicated that there were 49 legal neighbourhood closures with a further 37 whose approval had expired. In addition, there were an estimated 188 illegal closures and 265 pending applications. The City of Tshwane had 75 formal applications from neighbourhoods to close off their areas. Thirty-five other applications had been approved. This demonstrates the large demand. As stated, the main reason for the proliferation is considered to be crime. In both municipalities, the enclosed neighbourhoods and security estates occurred in planning regions with comparatively high property crime rates.

¹ The national survey was conducted in 2002 and the numbers therefore indicate the situation as it was then.

2.4 Institutional response to defensive urbanism

Both Johannesburg and Tshwane have developed (and continue to develop) policies on road closures, to deal with the demand and problems associated with enclosed neighbourhoods. While the policies² accept that enclosed neighbourhoods are just one type of gated community, neither city addresses the issue of typology of gated communities in depth, although Tshwane briefly refers to two types. Both policies acknowledge security estates as an alternative, and Johannesburg goes so far as to promote this type as opposed to enclosed neighbourhoods. The Johannesburg policy clearly opposes the establishment of enclosed neighbourhoods in principle, but the policy states that they will be tolerated for a period of two years due to the high crime rates in the city. This will apply only to neighbourhoods that have legally applied for permission to restrict access. In addition, the policy makes provision only for the establishment of road closures according to the “public approach”³. They therefore combine a principled approach with a pragmatic approach. The Tshwane policy is much more lenient towards the establishment of enclosed neighbourhoods, and makes provision for the establishment of road closures according to either the public or private approach. According to an official responsible for the applications, almost all the applications have been in terms of the public approach. This policy therefore reflects a more pragmatic stance, leaning towards favouring the development of gated communities. Public hearings have, however, started to reflect tensions within the council, suggesting two opposing groups, one strongly in favour of the development of gated communities and one firmly against.

3. Development and characteristics of security villages and the enclosed neighbourhoods in Johannesburg and Tshwane

3.1 Location of case study areas in cities

As mentioned before, the study included an investigation of four gated communities, two enclosed neighbourhoods and two large security estates, one of each in Johannesburg and

² This discussion refers to the most recent policies on road closures in the two municipalities at the time when the case study research was conducted (2002-early 2003). The City of Tshwane has recently completed its new policy (late 2003), which is currently being used to evaluate applications for road closure.

³ There are different approaches to, or models of, enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa within different municipalities. These include a public approach, a private approach, some combination of the two, or both. Municipalities may support one of the two, a combination of the two, or have both models from which residents can then choose. The implications of these two approaches are very different. If the roads, parks, sidewalks, etc, are still owned by the local authority, the local authority is responsible for the maintenance of these areas (public approach). If the areas have, however, been taken over by the residents’ association, these areas become private space and the residents are responsible for their maintenance (private approach). Enclosed neighbourhoods also have different implications for accessibility. According to the South African Constitution it is the right of all people to have access and free movement to all public space. The important issue then is whether the enclosed area remains under public control or is taken over as “private space” by the residents/homeowners’ association. If the enclosed area stays under public control, all people have the right to enter the public spaces within this area, and provision should be made for them to be able to do so at all times.

Tshwane. The location of these neighbourhoods is indicated on the map below. Both case study areas in the City of Johannesburg are located in the northern part of the municipal area. The large security estate, Dainfern Golf Estate, is located in the north-west, between the R28 and the N1 freeways, and the enclosed neighbourhood, Gallo Manor, in the central northern area, close to the M1 and N1.

The case study areas in Tshwane are located to the south-east of the municipal area, with the security estate, Woodhill Golf Estate, very close to the eastern municipal boundary and the enclosed neighbourhood, Strubenkop, slightly more centrally situated, close to the N1 and the N4 freeways.

Both cities' security estates are located on the urban periphery, while the two enclosed neighbourhoods occur in older neighbourhoods of Johannesburg and Pretoria. Although Dainfern is not located on the municipal boundary, and urban development has since spread north (including Diepsloot), it was originally developed on the urban periphery. As mentioned previously, the City of Johannesburg has a very strict urban growth boundary, which often restricts further urban sprawl within the municipal boundaries. Dainfern is located close to the urban growth boundary. One of the reasons for the development of large security estates on the urban periphery may be linked to the need for large greenfield sites, especially in the case of golf estates. Location therefore plays a major role in the selection of suitable land for the development of large security estates.

This pattern is also in line with the findings of a national survey on gated communities, which indicate that enclosed neighbourhoods tend to occur in older, well-established neighbourhoods in traditional suburban arrears, while large security estates tend to occur in newer suburbs on the urban periphery (Landman 2003). This was also found to be the case with the distribution of these two types of gated communities in Brazil (Landman 2002).

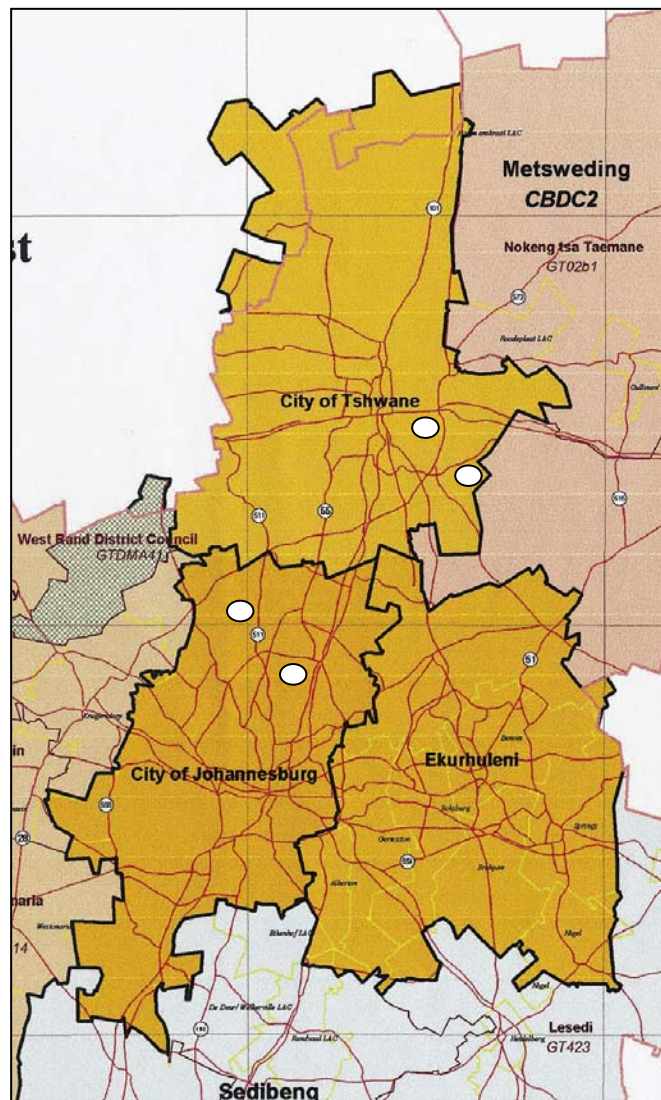


Figure 7: Location of four case study areas in the cities of Johannesburg and Tshwane

3.2 Topology and morphology (structural organisation and form)

Despite similarities in terms of security features and aspects of their layout, the four case study areas, and more specifically the two types, differ in size. The security estates are much larger than the enclosed neighbourhoods, one reason being the inclusion of a golf course in both cases. This does not imply that all enclosed neighbourhoods are small. There are examples of much larger enclosed neighbourhoods in Johannesburg, such as in Wendywood and Lombardy East, and in Wapadrand in Tshwane.

The size of an enclosed neighbourhood is usually dependent on the structure and form of the existing neighbourhood and the number of residents or households involved. The two enclosed neighbourhoods studied (Figures 8 & 9), are laid out on a closed-road network system, which lends itself to access control. In addition, both exclude any major arterials or neighbourhood access routes, which made it easier to receive approval for road/neighbourhood closure, since such closures are less likely to have a significant impact on traffic patterns. The land use in both cases is predominantly residential.

The security estates are some of the largest ones in the country, Dainfern covering an area of 320 ha and Woodhill 212 ha (Figures 10 & 11).

In both cases, the security estates are laid out on a closed-road network system. They both incorporate a curvilinear road layout structured around the golf course. The estates comprise a number of smaller neighbourhoods, separated by the major through routes and the golf courses. In both cases, the land use promotes the lifestyle concept and is therefore more varied than in the case of the two enclosed neighbourhoods. Land use include residential areas (mainly single houses on a plot), recreational (including the golf course and smaller parks), and movement areas (including roads and pedestrian walkways). Security played a major role in the design of both estates. Features such as elaborate guardhouses and



Figure 8: Road layout of Gallo Manor (Scale 1:40 000)

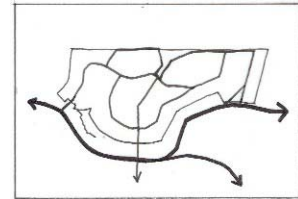


Figure 9: Road layout of Strubenkop (Scale 1:40 000)

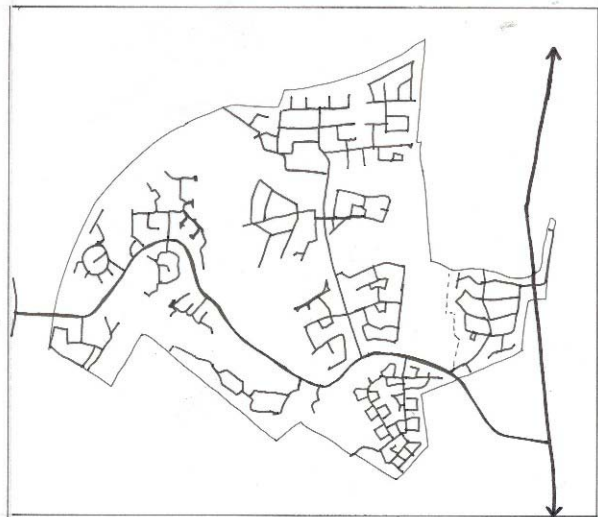


Figure 10: Road layout of Dainfern Estate (Scale 1:40 000)

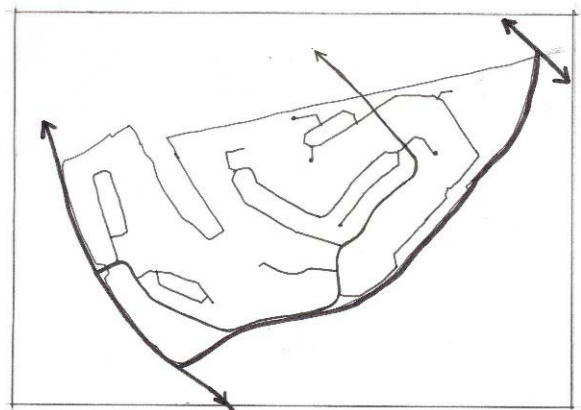


Figure 11: Road layout of Woodhill Golf Estate (Scale 1:40 000)

entrance gates, fences and walls are characteristic architectural and urban design elements. Unlike in the case of enclosed neighbourhoods, security is not an add-on; it is an integral part of the design.

3.3 Facilities and amenities

The two enclosed neighbourhoods have very few facilities and amenities, most of which are small neighbourhood parks. One also has a place of worship within the boom gates. In both cases, there are no shops inside. By comparison, the two security estates have a far wider range of facilities and amenities. In both, the golf course is the main attraction. Other facilities and amenities include a clubhouse/country club, restaurants, tennis and squash courts, dressing rooms, golf shops and private schools. On both estates the clubhouses also provide conference facilities.



Figure 12: Golf course and clubhouse in Dainfern (Dainfern website)



Figure 13: Golf course and clubhouse in Woodhill (Woodhill website)

3.4 Services

The enclosed neighbourhoods offer no or limited traditional services to their residents. The local councils still provide these services. However, some residents maintain the parks and provided additional lighting and traffic-calming signs in one of the neighbourhoods. Both enclosed neighbourhoods have security guards at their main entrances, and one patrol vehicle to support them.

In contrast, the two security estates offer a wide range of services to their residents. Both estates enjoy a 24-hour, seven-day-a-week security service at the entrance gates, supported by vehicles that patrol the area on a constant basis. There are also on-site estate agents present in both cases, as well as an on-site post office inside their boundaries. Additional services in Dainfern include stormwater management schemes, civil services, its own electricity station and exclusive telephone exchange.

3.5 Architectural style and housing types

No coherent architectural style is evident in any of the four case study areas. Most households in the enclosed neighbourhoods reside in single houses on a single plot. The houses range from small typical suburban single-storey houses to large double-storey houses. Many houses in the area have burglar bars and a series of security gates. For example, one of the residents interviewed in the neighbourhood in Johannesburg lives in a big single-storey house across from the park. The property is protected by a palisade fence

with a security gate. These measures are supported by an intercom system, where the outside bell and mouthpiece of the intercom are located next to the driveway in front of the gate. There is a second security gate in front of the porch leading to the front door, and lockable garages in the front garden. This highlights a prevalent aspect in both of the neighbourhoods - the implementation of several layers of security: target-hardening measures at the front door and gates, around the property and around the neighbourhood. This demonstrates the process of extending security measures over time as the risk increases.

Residents within the security estates are free to make use of any architectural style that adheres to the estate's architectural rules and regulations. The majority of houses are large single houses (single or double-storey) on separate plots. Provision is made for a small percentage of group housing (upmarket townhouses). The freedom of choice is reflected in the multitude of styles that have been used in the area. These range from traditional classic, to modern classic and eclectic to modern, post-modern, Italian, Mediterranean and even a touch of the vernacular. The different styles contribute to a strong sense of individuality and identity within the estates. It is also noteworthy that, while the level of security is much higher in the estates than in the enclosed neighbourhoods, there is considerably less focus on target-hardening measures inside the estates. Many of the houses have no boundary fences or walls, or low walls and no burglar bars on windows or security gates.



Figure 14: Main entrance gate to Woodhill estate



Figure 15: Entrance gate to Dainfern Estate (Apple Creek Real Estate website: www.applecreekrealestate.com)

The architectural styles and character of the guardhouses/entrance gates also differ, even between two cases of the same type. In the enclosed neighbourhoods, the guardhouses ranged from a small wooden garden house and booms across the street to an impressive brick building with booms and steel gates in the second case. The two security estates in turn have elaborate large entrance gates cum guard houses (main gates) that accommodate two-lane traffic in both directions with separate entrances for visitors and residents. The gates also express a specific architectural style with elaborate finishes, creating an imposing presence (Figures 14 & 15).

3.6 General atmosphere and quality of life

The enclosed neighbourhoods comprise quiet residential streets lined with typical suburban houses. The streets are narrow and designed for local residential traffic. The sidewalks are generally wide and mostly well maintained, and often lined with luxuriant trees. The areas are well signposted. Many people walk or jog through both these neighbourhoods. Others walk their dogs and in some cases children walk alone or with dogs.

The general atmosphere in the security estates is tranquil, offering the residents a wide range of amenities and opportunities. The estates offer many breathtaking views across landscaped parks, man-made lakes, the golf course (where many natural features such as rocky outcrops or trees have been retained), and across the valley, past local sports fields towards urban areas in the far distance. Both areas are partially located on a hill, further contributing to beautiful vistas.

4. Operation and management

4.1 Residents' or homeowners' association

This section is concerned with the governance of the area and in particular the governing body, the Residents' or Homeowners Association (HOA). The HOAs are represented by a steering committee or board of trustees. The HOAs in all four areas play a very important role in their operation and management. In the case of the enclosed neighbourhoods it would not have been possible to establish these areas without the HOA. It was, and still is, a formal requirement of both municipal policies on road closures that the application should be submitted by a formal legal body, taking the form of a Section 21 company. The HOAs were therefore established prior to the establishment of the enclosed neighbourhoods, and coordinated the application process, including gaining support for the neighbourhood closure, collecting contributions for the application fees, preparing the application documents, organising a traffic-impact study and submitting the documents to the local councils. After submitting successful applications, they coordinated the physical establishment of the area and employed private security firms to secure the neighbourhoods.

The board or steering committees of the HOAs are elected annually at the AGM. Residents are expected to pay a monthly contribution for the maintenance of the infrastructure and the security services within the area. Those who do not belong to the HOA (membership is obligatory) or object to the road closure cannot legally be forced to contribute financially.

Both security estates were developed by private developers. The HOAs were therefore established after the establishment of the estates. The HOAs are responsible for the general management of the areas. This includes a number of tasks:

- to levy contributions from members;
- to inform members of decisions taken and actions performed regarding the estates;
- to manage and control the security of the estate and communicate with the security companies;
- to manage the enforcement of the rules, regulations and controls of the estate;
- to issue, alter and add rules and regulations for the administration and control of properties in the estates;
- to provide for the maintenance of sidewalks and open areas; and
- to control the architectural standards of buildings and other structures within the estates.

Their main role is therefore to advance and protect the communal interests of the owners and residents of the estates to ensure acceptable aesthetic, architectural, environmental, security and living standards inside the boundaries of the estates. Every person who owns property inside the estates becomes a member of the HOA. Every member may attend the AGM and vote. Members are required to pay monthly levies as prescribed by the HOA. The board or steering committees of the HOAs are elected annually at the AGM.

4.2 Private security

Private security companies provide services in all four case study areas. This includes manning the access-control gates/booms, as well as performing regular security patrols within these areas. The nature of their duties, however, differs -, mainly between the enclosed neighbourhoods and security estates, but even between the two enclosed neighbourhoods. In one of the enclosed neighbourhoods the guards monitor access and seldom stop any vehicles to enquire as to their purpose in visiting an area. If a vehicle looked suspicious, they would inform the patrol vehicle to keep an eye on the passengers. In the other enclosed neighbourhood, visitors are required to complete a visitors' register and submit details of a personal nature. Visitors are supplied with an entry disc to be returned on exit.

The security measures are stricter in both security estates. As they are private developments, access is strictly controlled and entry can be obtained for a legitimate reason, for example visiting a resident (which will be confirmed telephonically), meeting with the administrative personnel or working inside the estate, for example on a building site, or as a gardener or a domestic worker. All visitors are requested to complete a visitors' register and submit personal details. They are also issued with entry discs. This highlights the focus on strict access control and illustrates the processes involved.

The security companies are also in contact with the SAPS and provide relevant information were applicable.

4.3 Rules, regulations and controls

As the enclosed neighbourhoods were functioning as existing "open" neighbourhoods prior to closure, they have almost no additional rules and regulations applicable to residents,

apart from the municipal by-laws and other laws applicable to all urban residents in public spaces.

In comparison, both the security estates have extensive additional rules, regulations and controls. The rules are applicable to all the residents, as well as to members' families, tenants, visitors, friends, contractors, etc. The regulations address a wide range of issues, of which some are related to:

- conduct in streets, sidewalks and open spaces. this refers to what activities may be performed as well as traffic rules and regulations, for example speed restrictions;
- environmental management, including maintenance of gardens, infrastructure, etc.;
- architectural standards and general aesthetics of the area;
- good neighbourliness, including rules related to noise levels, times of silence, etc.;
- security;
- levies;
- notices;
- pets;
- the club and golf course; and
- boundary walls and fences

The estate rules are considered an integral part of the successful management of the estates and are provided to aspirant buyers prior to investment in the area. Both areas have comprehensive documents which provide an overview of all the rules and regulations, as well as long lists of do's and don'ts.

5. Reasons for the response or development

A number of issues that reflected the residents' motives for choosing to live in a secure area emerged during the interviews. Some were applicable to both the enclosed neighbourhoods and the security estates, for example safety and security, economic gain and control, as well as greater efficiency and independence; others were related mainly to the two security estates, including searching for a sense of community, proximity to nature and lifestyle, and status, prestige and privacy.

5.1 Safety, security and the fear of crime

The most important reason given by the residents from all four areas was a need for safety and security. Although this is the only justification that may be used to apply for road closures in both municipalities, it was also the main motive behind residents' choice to live in the two security estates.

Only a few incidents in a neighbourhood are enough to intensify fears of crime and victimisation. People start to talk about crime every day, and speculate about ways to reduce the risk and, as a result, initiate action against potential crime. The fear of crime plays a significant role in the drive for neighbourhood closure. For example, many

residents in Gallo Manor are afraid of being hijacked (despite extensive target-hardening measures⁴), as one resident has explained:

When we moved in here we just had chicken-wire fencing around most of the property, and just steel tubing and a wire gate. Then eventually we upgraded that to a proper wall and a decent gate. It was still not a locked gate. It was only some time after that we went the route which you find now ... Did you see - most people have electronic gates? So eventually we went to that [electronic gates] because ... my wife's cousin from Cape Town and her husband were staying with us for a week. I am an early bird. I get up and leave home quite early, so I got early this one morning and did my thing and went out to my car and thought, gee, Norman must have gone out early this morning. His car has gone. So I just went off to work and a bit later I got a phone call ... to say that his combi had been stolen ... they actually stole his combi from our driveway. This was before the street closure. So then we thought we must at least do something so then put in an electric gate. But even then it got to the point where ... especially at night, when you reversed out of your driveway and got out to open the gate, there was a certain level nervousness about reversing into the street.

This is clearly indicative of the fear of crime that prevailed in the neighbourhood at that time. People were nervous and applied a number of preventive measures, from physical target-hardening to social control - driving around the block to check out a suspect. It was not a case of immediately going for the extreme option of closing off the entire neighbourhood. It was a gradual build-up. Residents systematically upgraded the security measures around their houses, until they came to a point where they had to secure the neighbourhood as well. It was an evolutionary process of gradually securing one's surroundings, from small alterations to one's house, to bigger alterations to the property and finally transforming the entire neighbourhood. In the neighbourhood in Pretoria (Strubenkop) a resident was ready to move to a security estate prior to the road closure. He explains:

Ag nee, hulle het motors gesteel en die ding is as jy hier bo inkom is dit 'n makliker roete uit by die WNNR verby en ... ek het besluit om Silver Lakes toe te trek ... eintlik het al klaar 'n erf daar gekoop [Well, they'd stolen vehicles and the thing is, if you enter at the top here it is easier to exit past the CSIR and ... I decided to move to Silver lakes ... in fact I had already bought a plot there ...].

Security estates are perceived to be safer than "open" neighbourhoods. It was therefore not surprising that residents from the security estates also presented safety and security as the main driver behind their decision to invest in these areas, combined with a choice of lifestyle, related to open spaces and the golf course. When asked why he chose to stay at Woodhill, one resident responded:

Well, as you say, first and foremost for the security and in our case the golf course ... but, from a security point of view, I think that was the main driving force ... and the golf course a secondary reason.

A couple that was also interviewed concurred with this sentiment. The security estate therefore allows residents to enjoy the park-like environment with peace of mind. For

⁴ Target-hardening is the physical strengthening of building facades or property boundaries - for example, through burglar bars in front of windows, security gates in front of doors and boundary walls or fences.

example, one of the promotional pamphlets for Dainfern states that, within the security park, residents can enjoy “gentle strolls along the Jukskei river - and you can even jog safely after dark”.

Dainfern Ridge is life as it used to be - before homes became fortresses and children had to be escorted to visit their friends ... Come and live the way life should be lived. (A Dainfern Ridge brochure.)

The reference to “the way life should be lived” harks back to a past associated with safety and security. Dainfern is reputed to offer this security through access control and other measures, but without a need for fortress homes. Within the estate, one is free to enjoy the environment, away from fortified homes, and unmaintained and degraded surroundings.

Classically designed parks, with porticoes, fountains and water features. A far cry from what passes for parks in the city. A place to stroll freely. No litter. No noise. No tension. (A Dainfern Ridge brochure.)

Fear of crime becomes a major driver, together with the perception that crime is worse in South Africa than elsewhere, and that this situation is not likely to change in the near future. Therefore, if crime is higher in South Africa (perceived reality), all the more reason for staying in a security estate, where crime can be prevented through a variety of measures, including physical target-hardening, by-law enforcement (internal rules), and private security patrols. In this way, spatial control also becomes a means of social control and offers some community protection.

5.2 Sense of community and identity

The search for a greater sense of community and social control were especially prevalent in the two security estates. The establishment of these estates have surpassed their spatial aims, including the creation of a secure, aesthetically pleasing built and natural environment. It also attempts to offer harmonious living for like-minded residents within a demarcated area. As mentioned in the previous section, these estates are governed by a comprehensive set of rules, regulations and controls. This is one of the reasons why many choose to stay in the estate, as one of the residents from Dainfern explains:

The governing body makes sure that everybody abides by the rules... like the dogs are not allowed to walk on the freeway or go out of the property unless the dogs are on a leash. And if somebody breaks the law, you have somebody to phone and they send somebody on a motorbike and that person is spoken to. ... There are rules and if you do not abide by them you will be asked to please leave the estate. ... Sometimes you think thank goodness you can still live by certain standards (Vrodljak 2002:143).

The space therefore becomes more than a physical foundation for living, it also becomes a stage for specific social behaviour. Similar trends are observable in Woodhill, where the sense and establishment of a strong cohesive f are very important to the residents. This is reflected not only in newsletters, community activities and in personal interviews with residents, but also stipulated in the HOA’s rules. Residents are informed of what to expect when buying property in the area, not only in terms of their own obligations, but also what would be expected from everyone else in the area to ensure stability.

Those who adhere to the rules and buy into the estates because of them have an opportunity to be part of a large family of friends, and to experience an improved sense of community. This is emphasised in one of the Dainfern brochures, which portrays the estate as a “friendly community where children and adults play, visit and relax without bolting doors and barring windows”.

Although not emphasised as strongly, the search for a sense of community and common social values was also mentioned to be one of the motives for the Gallo Manor neighbourhood closure in Johannesburg. In one of the community newsletters (1998), the Gallo Manor committee states that the title of the newsletter had been changed from “Gallo Manor Access Management Project” to “Gallo Manor Community Newsletter”, because access management is considered only part of the larger vision for the area and the local community. Other aspects to receive attention are the development of parks and traffic control. The committee, however, strongly emphasises that the most important aspect is bringing the entire community together, supporting common ideals and goals. Mobilising the community against crime and gaining support for closure became a way to involve residents in neighbourhood affairs and provide opportunities to increase the sense of community in the area.

5.3 Financial investment and market trend

The search for financial stability was also a major driver in residents’ choice to stay in the two security estates. Dainfern is more than a peaceful community. It is also a sound financial investment. This is emphasised in one of the promotional brochures:

The Dainfern Valley has become a name to conjure with - not least because it is proving to be one of the best residential property investments in the north.

At the end of the day, choosing a place to live must also make financial sense, especially in a predominantly capitalist society where property investment is seen as one of the best ways to make a profit, albeit sometimes only after some time. If one can combine a good quality of life with a sound financial investment, that is all the more reason to invest in the estate. Security of investment and a return on the investment are further reasons for buying in Woodhill. This is emphasised on the Woodhill website:

Safety of investment is as important as personal safety. All estate owners from the smallest to the most elaborate are assured to have peace of mind and confidence in the value of their property. Experience has shown that the value of golfing estate property increases over time and continues to be in great demand.

The word “safety” is therefore also associated with financial investment.

Although not that prevalent in the two enclosed neighbourhoods, financial security or gain also plays a role. A secondary motive for the neighbourhood closure in Tshwane related to property prices. A few residents maintained that a neighbourhood closure would benefit property prices. This benefit is often claimed in local newspapers.

5.4 Proximity to nature and specific lifestyle choice

As large security estates are private developments built as master-planned communities, they can be tailor-made to suit a specific lifestyle. This is another driver behind the choice to stay in the two security estates studied. Aspects such as “healthy living”, access to sports facilities, extensive natural features, a sense of community and exclusivity, all play a role, as repeatedly referred to on the Woodhill website.

The concept of security is extended to include freedom from the fear of crime, especially when using “public” (or communal) spaces within the enclosed areas. In addition, safety is combined with a specific lifestyle, focusing on health and access to nature. Other attractions include the sense of community and exclusivity.

The provision of a range of facilities is an important part of the package. These facilities and amenities are located within a securely defined environment, but close to other metropolitan attractions and services. Location plays a major role. A security estate can symbolise Utopia. It becomes a “dream” to live in such an area (as one of the residents from Woodhill exclaimed). It is a manifestation of an entire lifestyle. Another resident commented:

I think it is just the lifestyle - not living behind huge walls and security bars and alarms. They are obviously on the boundaries, but we don't necessarily feel that inside here.

The value of the image of a rural valley and focus on an “open, natural” environment for potential buyers was clearly recognised by the Dainfern developers, and described in the brochure advertising Dainfern Ridge:

Drive north on the William Nichol, past Epsom Downs and Fourways. The lush Dainfern Valley lies ahead, with the meandering Jukskei River clearly discernable.

The brochure responds to buyers’ desire to live in a rural environment, yet close to urban facilities and services. This is one of the reasons why younger people, in particular, choose to buy in secure estates. Fife (2002a) sums it up:

The second reason for buying in a gated community is a combination of prestige and lifestyle. It creates the ideal suburban bliss; the exclusive and happy family playing in the streets with like-minded neighbours, taking dogs for a walk along the fairway or river bank and living in a world that excludes all danger (p 65).

Dainfern therefore offers more than an escape from the “bad” city, but an embracing of a Utopia in an increasingly uncertain outside world.

5.5 Greater efficiency and independency

Greater efficiency was a motive in all four areas. One of the reasons for the neighbourhood closure in Johannesburg was that many residents felt that the police did not or could not do enough to ensure safety and security in the area, because of a lack of resources, in terms of both vehicles and manpower. Another reason for wanting the closure was the

perception that the city council did not respond timeously if at all to requests for services or maintenance of infrastructure in the area. . The residents had become disillusioned by the perceived lack of commitment by the council to maintain the park and river areas, which were overgrown and frequently inhabited by vagrants. Residents associated these areas with opportunities for crime. The council's poor management of the area was the reason for taking control of the area by, firstly, controlling access into the area and then, having secured the area, proceeding with attempts to upgrade and maintain it. By taking over many of these responsibilities (such as the park maintenance), or paying for services (such as private security), residents felt that they would experience more effective service provision.

Similar sentiments were echoed in the neighbourhood closure in Tshwane. Although this was not a major concern, a few interviewees in Strubenkop mentioned that there had been problems in certain public spaces prior to the closure, where a number of people would gather, for example, on a Sunday afternoon and leave the area littered with crisp packets, coke bottles and an array of other rubbish. This distressed many residents. Cleaning these spaces could often be a problem, since technically it was the local authority's responsibility, but it could take days before being done.

The desire for greater efficiency and improved quality of services was especially prominent in the case of Dainfern. One of the promotional brochures for Dainfern Ridge explains:

The entire infrastructure already complete. Roads paved. Gardens planted. Services laid on. Gatehouse and perimeter security in full operation. Estate efficiently managed to deal with everyday maintenance and social issues.

It emphasises a completed environment, all-inclusive, with roads, gardens, access control and perimeter security. It also points out that these services are maintained daily by an efficient management body and indicates that any maintenance issues will be dealt with effectively. The standard of amenities is very high, as pointed out on the website:

The manicured greens, immaculate fairways, carefully crafted water features and meticulous landscaping is of the highest possible standard.
(Dainfern website.)

This is perceived to be in strict contrast to the parks in the noisy city, where one cannot walk freely and safely.

5.6 Status, prestige and exclusivity (elitism)

Although to a much lesser degree in the enclosed neighbourhoods, the issues of status and prestige were found in all four cases to be motives for moving to a secure environment with access control. The advertisements for both estates highlight this fact. The reasons for living in Dainfern go beyond mere comfortable access to facilities and amenities. They touch on issues of privacy and exclusivity of the amenities. This is very important to the residents.

With Dainfern the preferred destination for international corporations, there is a large community of expatriates, in addition to local captains of industry, who seek to reside in the very congenial and secure environment.
(Dainfern website.)

It is therefore about more than security. High-powered people prefer to socialise with like-minded people, and need a private and secure space to do so. The creation of such a space is ensured through strict access-control. Residents choose to keep out people who have no business on the estate through spatial measures, such as access-controlling gates, walls, electric fences and private security patrols. Defining space becomes more than just creating a place safe from natural threats, for example wind, rain, extreme heat or cold, etc, but also a place safe from human threats. Living on the estate becomes a status symbol. This is reflected very clearly in one of the promotional brochures:

Visitors envy the residents of Dainfern Ridge. The strong but unobtrusive security. The relaxed and friendly atmosphere. The sense of style.

Living in Dainfern is regarded as a privilege. More than that, it is considered a mark of achievement. It is associated with class, style and status.

This is one of the most sought-after areas to own a home in the entire Johannesburg-Gauteng area. (Dainfern Ridge brochure.)

Similar patterns are evident in Woodhill. In marketing the estate, the advertisers make reference to its exclusivity and prestige:

It will make the superlative lifestyle associated with such developments, usually reserved for those in the uppermost income bracket, an affordable dream for potential homeowners. (Woodhill website.)

This section has highlighted a number of reasons behind people's choice to stay in a secure and protected area with access control. It is not just about safety and security, although this is clearly the main driving force in all four cases. Additional reasons include a search for a sense of community, sound financial investment, and greater efficiency regarding service delivery and standards. Reasons especially linked to security estates include proximity to nature, privacy and status. The question is whether developments such as these are accountable only to themselves and their residents, or whether they have implications for the larger urban environment of which it is still part, albeit it only for services that cannot be provided from within. The next section will investigate the impact and implications of the two types of gated communities under discussion, namely enclosed neighbourhoods and security estates in Johannesburg and Tshwane.

6. Impact and implications of security area

6.1 Effect on crime reduction and the feeling of safety

The case studies showed that crime had been reduced in all four areas, although not completely prevented. A few cases of crime continued to be reported after the enclosure, particularly within the two enclosed neighbourhoods.

The local SAPS stations confirmed that Dainfern and Woodhill had experienced extremely low crime rates, and that they were aware of only a few isolated cases reported since its establishment. All the residents agreed that they felt much safer living in a security

estate. One resident from Woodhill pointed out that moving into the area had made a huge impact on his and his wife's sense of security.

A huge impact. I mean, if you look at the number of incidents. Don't get me wrong - there have been one or two incidents but they are very isolated and you certainly feel much safer. Sometimes you forget to lock your door - don't worry too much about it.

For many Dainfern residents, staying in the estate also imparts a feeling of safety. They can relax and enjoy their life inside, without feeling that the security is intrusive. This is emphasised in one of the brochures:

Security at Dainfern Ridge isn't intrusive - just very effective. High walls, with electric wiring designed not to be lethal but forcibly discouraging, 24-hour patrols to spot any undesirable activity before a problem can arise.

Security is therefore aimed at reducing "undesirable activity" and "forcibly discouraging" people from entering the estate if they have no lawful reason to do so. Apart from reducing crime, it is also aimed at reducing residents' fear of crime (through visible patrols, etc) and ensuring compliance with the estate's by-laws. As one resident explained:

There is no tension, there's no fear. When you drive through the gates at Dainfern you leave something behind. You are completely relaxed. You don't have to lock your doors, you don't have to worry about anything, it's like you're on a holiday (Vrodljak 2002:126).

Similar patterns were found in the enclosed neighbourhoods. The local SAPS stations, as well as the security companies responsible for access control and security patrols, confirmed that crime was reduced significantly after the road closures. Interviews with residents indicated that the majority of the households felt that living in a gated community dramatically reduced their fear of crime and provided a feeling of safety in their environments. One resident felt that there was no question that the gates and fences had added to the sense of security, and then added:

Ek dink veral as 'n mens weggaan met vakansie het jy altyd daardie benoude gevoel. Kom ons pak agter in die garage, laat niemand moet sien dat jy weggaan. Jy het nie buite gepak nie, want die straat was vol mense. Nou met die straatsluiting is daar die minimum mense wat rondloop. Ouens wat jy dophou is jou bure se mense wat jy amper vertrou, wat hier werk – so, nee, definitief, dit maak a groot verskil. [I think especially when one goes away on holiday you always have that anxious feeling. Let's pack at the back of the garage, so that no one will see that you are going away. You didn't pack outside, because the street was full of people. Now, with the street closures, there is a minimum of people walking around. Those that you watch are your neighbour's people that you almost trust, who work here – so, definitely, it makes a big difference].

This demonstrates people's near-paranoia about crime in Pretoria, to the extent that the fear almost dictates all their movements and activities. It also contributes to high levels of distrust between people, especially towards strangers in the street. It appears that the road closures have helped to alleviate some of these crime-related anxieties, through the assurance that those who are inside have a legitimate reason to be there.

This was also the case in the neighbourhood in Johannesburg. All the residents interviewed maintained that crime had reduced dramatically since the closure. The following is an example of their experiences.

Immediately when they closed it, the crime rate here dropped completely. Completely and utterly stopped from 2 incidents a week - that is, 2 incidents a week of robbery and hijacking and all sorts...

This view was supported by the local security company responsible for the area. All the residents interviewed felt safer after the neighbourhood closure, even though some objected in principle to the action.

Although whilst I say in principle it is the wrong way to solve the problem, it definitely gives you a much better feeling of security.

This shows that, despite misgivings regarding the validity of enclosing the neighbourhood to prevent crime, its impact is experienced as positive and beneficial. The increased feeling of safety is also reflected in the difference in usage patterns of residents - for example using the street, allowing children to walk to their friends, etc.

You can just see [it] by the people you see in the street, and it is obvious from the body language [that] people feel much more at ease in the street.

Therefore, while crime was not completely prevented, both crime and the fear thereof were significantly reduced - and perceived to be reduced - in the case study areas.

6.2 Impact on the neighbourhood character and the use of outdoor spaces

Most of the residents in the two neighbourhood closures agreed that the neighbourhood closure had had a positive impact on the neighbourhoods' character, and had increased use of its public spaces, such as streets, parks, etc, as the following excerpt from a resident (Gallo Manor, Johannesburg) indicates:

Well... it has definitely changed the community's attitude towards the public open space.

The use of the public space in this neighbourhood therefore seems to be linked to the community's attitude. If residents feel safe they will use it. It is also a matter of mutual sentiment. One group's actions influence another's. For example, if you see your neighbour jogging, you may feel it is safe to jog as well. Or if you see children playing in the park on a regular basis you may consider allowing your own child to play there too. The next excerpt supports this principle:

There are kids in the middle of the day or night just floating around. So the closed-off area is getting support by virtue of the fact that if you drive around here in the late afternoon, like now, and early in the morning, you will see 20 or 30 people jogging, and kids playing in the street. Obviously kids play in the park.

So that is one thing that happened. The other street closures and booms that were put up have made a tremendous difference to the use of the

open public space. Before that you didn't see many people walking in the streets. You didn't see many couples or people [walking] with dogs. You very rarely saw kids playing in the street and now you see a lot of that. You see lots of little groups of children playing in the street. In fact, about 15 m up the road from our gate the kids are always there, and they have got little ramps for their skate boards. So there are lots more children playing, [and] you see lots more people walking around just casually. You see lots more people walking their dogs.

This last person stated that almost all those he referred to as using the public space were from inside the area. This meant that very few people from outside used the public space inside the neighbourhood enclosure, despite the fact that these areas were public space. It indicated the extent to which one group can “territorialise” a public area and create a seemingly safe environment.

Similar remarks were expressed in the enclosed neighbourhood in Tshwane. The neighbourhood experienced a number of changes, both in atmosphere and image, after the security access-control restrictions were implemented. One resident remarked:

Dit is amper weer 'n ou wêreldse platteland se straatjie. Kinders sal rêrig in die strate rolskaats ry, rêrig bal speeltjies kan doen in die straat. [It is almost like a small street in the old-world countryside again. Children can really roller-skate and play ball games in the street.]

Another resident remarked on the cleanliness of the urban spaces, compared to their condition before the closure, when people would leave garbage on the sidewalks, such as coke bottles and crisp packets.

Residents of security estates also highlighted the benefits they enjoyed by having access to facilities for their exclusive use in close proximity to their homes. In their cases, they had however bought into the package from the start, and could not compare conditions to a time prior to closure.

All the Woodhill residents interviewed agreed that living in the estate had changed their lives completely - not only in terms of security and the feeling of safety, but also in terms of lifestyle. They were free to make use of the common facilities in a relaxed way, without feeling they lived in a prison. One resident compared his current lifestyle with his previous one:

Previously we stayed in a normal house in Waterkloof Glen. So, although we are in a more secure area, we are actually in a more open area than we were previously.

He and his wife regularly play golf, but do not often make use of the other communal facilities. Another family, however, does. The wife explains:

I run a business from home, so a lot of the time I meet somebody at the club house for coffee because it is so convenient. The kids sometimes play tennis. We use the driving range, but not too much, unless there is a function at the club.

Residents in Dainfern also experienced these benefits. Living in Dainfern enables the residents to enjoy the secure communal spaces outside their homes, such as the roads, parks, golf course, etc. They own the area and are therefore proud of their environment.

People can afford to have very low or no walls around their properties, because they feel safe and the common spaces are secure and private. The following excerpt from a resident's comment illustrates this concept of privacy yet openness inside the estate:

We are trying to establish a community within and trying to separate ourselves from people without ... We are very segregated here, we are very by ourselves here and are very proud... We are not trying to incorporate ourselves into other places where people live, we have divided ourselves. (Vrodljak 2002:134.)

6.3 Impact on sense of community, social cohesion and quality of life inside the closed off area

Many of the residents also highlighted the improved quality of life within these protected areas, not only because of a reduction in crime and the fear of crime, but also due to a more efficient provision of services in some areas. Within the enclosed neighbourhood in Johannesburg, the residents' association had taken over some of the functions traditionally provided by the council, such as the maintenance of the park, sidewalks, and the provision of lighting fixtures in parts of the area, in spite of their monthly tax contributions remaining the same.

The two security estates offer a wide range of services to their residents, such as a golf course, club house, restaurants, pro shop, postal facilities, garden services, etc. A resident from the large security estate in Johannesburg even pointed out that if she could not live in such a protected and well serviced area, she would have left the city and country long ago. Living in Dainfern enables the residents to enjoy the secure communal spaces outside their homes, such as the roads, parks, and golf course. They own the area and are therefore proud of their environment. People can afford to have very low or no walls around their properties, because they feel safe and the common spaces are secure and private.

Privatising the space inside the walls therefore helps to establish a sense of community and social cohesion. The walls define "place", both physically and socially, in terms of identity and belonging. The walls enable people inside to trust each other and have the confidence to go out of their homes into the communal spaces. Everyone inside becomes part of an extended family, as many pamphlets on Dainfern point out.

This is also the case in Woodhill. One woman was very enthusiastic and maintained that her family had definitely experienced an increased sense of community after moving into the area. She explains why:

We have made a lot of friends. We made house friends from the social evenings. Obviously, with my involvement with the magazine, I tend to know a lot of people. But via that we have started a book club with a couple of friends all living around here ... And I think the school contributes towards that if you have kids of the same age living on the estate.

The sense of community therefore appears to be linked to the activities and facilities offered within the estate. Another resident from Woodhill was, however, not so convinced:

I guess there is ... a marginal effect. ... What they did try to do was to split the estate up [800 homes] into 6 or 8 cells or areas, and try to get people

to work in smaller groups but that wasn't very successful. I think there are some areas, like the couple whose name I gave you - their cul de sac seems have developed a little bit of a community. They have a street party or street braai, but none of the bigger picture.

For him, some of the concern relates to the fact that the area is so large and that this hinders attempts to bring people closer together.

The majority of the residents and the residents' association committee of the enclosed neighbourhood in Johannesburg were of the opinion that the sense of community inside the area had greatly improved since the establishment of the access-control management system. A number of interviews also highlighted the perceptions of the residents that the sense of community had increased to varying degrees since the neighbourhood closure. One resident mentioned that there had been no sense of community before the closure, but that various actions that took place during the process towards closure had contributed to an increased sense of community, for example a community barbeque. Another resident agreed that the process had helped to create a greater sense of community:

I would say that before the streets were closed and before meetings were organised to discuss it, there was very little sense of community in our area. ... The whole debate about street closures did generate more community spirit. I would say yes, definitely, the process that we went through and the actual closures led to more of a feeling of community.

Similar trends were observed in Pretoria. Without exception, all the interviewees from Strubenkop commented on an increased sense of community within in the area. It started with a big barbeque to inaugurate the neighbourhood closure, in Elizabeth Grove Street, just inside the main entrance gates. A resident commented on the improved sense of community and the barbeque:

Ons het uitgekamp. Groot braaivleis. Daar was skape geskenk en jy het mense ontmoet wat jy nooit besef het reg om jou, vier huise van jou af, bly.[We camped out. Big barbeque. Sheep were donated and you met people that you had never realised lived nearby, only four houses away.]

The barbeque offered residents an opportunity to get to know their neighbours, confirm support for the neighbourhood closure, and create a greater sense of community. In addition, annual general meetings also provide an opportunity for the local community to get together and discuss issues of mutual interest.

6.4 Impact on social cohesion with the broader urban environment

Building walls and having access control also have wider implications. Residents see themselves as different from those outside the area. They have a need to divide themselves from the rest of the city to ensure security and privacy. This leads not only to spatial segregation, but also to social exclusion. All residents want is to be left alone, to mind their own business and create their own perfect little world inside the walls. There is a constant reference to the "inside" and the "outside", and a clear distinction between the community inside and that outside. The physical separation, through walls and gates, therefore also gives rise to social differentiation. This is experienced in two ways. Firstly it

results in outsiders envying those living in Dainfern, and secondly it leads to increased stereotyping of outsiders.

Relationships between residents inside and outside Woodhill also suffer from time to time. Despite a number of successes regarding a sense of community and social cohesion inside the estate, the sense of satisfaction does not always extend outside. Residents from the surrounding area (Garsfontein) complained to the council regarding the extensive use of St Bernard Street on the way to the Woodhill entrance. They maintained that this contributed to an increase in crime in this area, as well as to loitering and increased traffic congestion. The Woodhill Residents' Association had prohibited all construction vehicles or workers involved in the development of sites in the estate, as well as domestic workers, from entering at the Garsfontein entrance (reserved for residents). They had to enter and leave the estate at the St Bernard entrance and were only allowed on the estate between 06:00 and 18:00 during the week, and 07:00 and 14:00 on Saturdays (Strauss 2003; Venter 2003). As a result, there was major congestion at the gate. This caused extreme frustration, inconvenience, traffic friction and illegal activity along St Bernard Street, and major resentment on the part of property owners along this street and from the surrounding area. The council informed the Woodhill Residents' Association and board of directors of the complaints, but they did not respond. Consequently the Tshwane City Council took the case to the Pretoria High Court. After hearing both sides, the Court ordered that both the St Bernard Street and Garsfontein entrances serve as access to the estate, and that the public and domestic workers (in taxis and buses) could enter the estate at any time. In addition, the judge ordered that another entrance from De Villebois Mareuil Avenue be opened temporarily for construction vehicles as well.

Social cohesion can also be influenced by perceptions, which play a very important role in the fear of crime. They often lead to gross generalisation and stereotyping. It is however, not only blacks that are often stereotyped, but also groups of males. One of the people involved with the security in the enclosed neighbourhood in Johannesburg explained the role of the security guards:

They basically know who they should keep in and who they should keep out. They know who looks suspicious - e.g. any 3 males in a car, any two or three males. They will actually stop at the gate and go through a questioning process. Any family situation, irrespective of colour, they will never question. Any single person, especially a female they will never question, even if that person is a stranger.

While it is generally accepted, and corroborated by statistics, that the majority of criminals in South Africa are young males, these are not the only people committing crimes in the country, and excluding these people from enclosed areas can aggravate resentment, antagonism and even hatred towards those living inside closed-off areas. This may even escalate if increasing numbers of neighbourhood closures restrict access to those considered "suitable". On the other hand, it may be a violation of human rights if people are prohibited from entering public spaces. This could put in question the implementation of democracy in South Africa and whether there are conditions in which democracy and constitutional rights do not apply, such as in areas with high crime rates. It re-emphasises the issue of the role of private security guards, in terms of stopping people, as discussed earlier. This touches on the right to freedom of movement in public urban spaces. It also questions the validity of neighbourhood closures as a replicable form of local crime prevention across the entire city.

Although the interviews in Strubenkop did not reveal much in this regard, one resident pointed out that a friend had commented on the discomfort caused by the road closure, since he had to sign in every time he wanted to jog through the area.

6.5 Financial implications

All four case study areas were financially viable at the time the interviews were conducted. Residents' monthly payments ensured sufficient financial resources to maintain the infrastructure and support the security services. Residents in both the enclosed neighbourhoods confirmed that the closure had had a positive impact on insurance premiums (lower) and property values (higher). Residents in the security estates believed their investments to be sound. For example, it was indicated that many residents had made a compound return of 23.5% at Dainfern Gardens, since prices for stands had risen from R180 000 to R1.2 million since its establishment. Investors who bought or built homes had also made good rental returns (Fife 2002b:65).

6.6 Impact on traffic: vehicles and pedestrians

Both types of gated communities studied had an impact on pedestrian and vehicular traffic. For example, in the enclosed neighbourhood in Johannesburg, there had been resistance from workers related to accessibility into the area when all the pedestrian gates had been closed:

What we did about a year ago, in fact it was at the previous AGM, is we decided to close the pedestrian gates. ... We had a lot of resistance to that, but the resistance came from the maids, because the taxis drop them off right there, and then they walk into our area.

While an additional one or two kilometres is usually not a problem for people with private transport, it can be a major discomfort, both physically and timewise, for people who have to walk. Many workers are dependent on taxis to reach their workplaces. Taxis usually keep to the major and minor arterials, and seldom make a detour to drop off commuters. In addition, they are often not allowed into enclosed neighbourhoods. The workers then have to walk from the drop-off point to their workplace. Closing certain roads can force workers to walk much longer distances, even several kilometres. If they do not have access cards, they are required to complete the register and wait for confirmation from the house before they are allowed to enter, despite the fact that the roads inside are still public spaces. One of the interviewees confirmed that her domestic worker now had to walk much further, but stated that the sacrifice was "to the benefit of everyone in the area".

Closures have also had an effect on pedestrians and joggers, since they can only enter through the main gate.

The neighbourhood closures also lead to a change in traffic patterns, since they divert through-traffic and in effect keep out all users apart from residents, visitors and workers, as in the Johannesburg case study. They can also alter the behaviour of motorists inside the area for better or worse:

I don't know how much this has got to do with security, [but] one of the nice things is they [the booms] seem to slow the cars down.

Another resident, who lives on the main access road, which is the only access point at night, complains about cars speeding and the impact on her animals and children.

The only problem that I have had is that, because this is the only access road to the area, especially at night, people drive far too fast. I have lost I can't tell you how many cats on this road ... which is very very upsetting for the children as well.

While the two neighbourhood closures in question have not had a significant impact on traffic patterns due to their layout and size (very small neighbourhoods planned with a closed-road network system), several indeed have, because of the ripple effect, as well as the fact that many of these are not suited to road closure because of their layout and position within the road network system. This is evident when one considers the two case study areas in relation to their larger context. They are located in broader areas which comprise many neighbourhood closures. By closing off a large number of neighbourhoods, the existing urban form and road network (Figures 16 and 18) are severely affected and transformed. Large areas are now changed into isolated and inaccessible super-blocks, with little resemblance to the original fine-grained urban form (Figures 17 and 19). Through-traffic is also limited to a few major arterials that often lead to increase congestion and travel times.



Figure 16: Existing road network and urban form around Gallo Manor



Figure 17: Transformed road network and urban form around Gallo Manor, resulting in a gross urban fabric and a structure of super-blocks



Figure 18: Existing road network and urban form around Strubenkop



Figure 19: Transformed road network and urban form around Strubenkop, resulting in a gross urban fabric and a structure of super-blocks

This suggests that one cannot consider neighbourhood closures in an isolated way, one by one. One has to consider the combined impact on the city as a whole. It also suggests that neighbourhood closures should be considered when developing spatial development frameworks and urban management plans. In turn, these frameworks should be consulted when residents apply for closures. In this regard, neighbourhood closures could have significant policy implications.

The same may also be true in the case of spatial fragmentation. Again, one area is not likely to have a significant impact and may not in context create significant fragmentation of the urban form and between neighbourhoods. But, as soon as the numbers escalate, the problem becomes more severe, as is visible when one starts to consider enclosed neighbourhoods as closed spatial entities (Figures 17 and 19). Eventually this may lead to an ensemble of closed cells connected by high-speed arterials in the city, where only the privileged and their workforces have access to these enclaves.

As security estates are designed as closed entities from the start, many of the traffic problems can be anticipated. However, in some cases, for example Woodhill (as discussed previously), the impact of construction vehicles on the surrounding neighbourhoods was not anticipated.

6.7 Impact on urban management and maintenance

Since neighbourhood closures are concerned with public space and public property, they have direct implications for local authorities that have to deal with the increasing demand for such closures. In the case of Gallo Manor, the traffic study did not indicate that it would have significant negative consequences, and crime statistics proved that the crime in the area was very high at the time that the application was considered. It was also one of the very first applications for a neighbourhood closure in Johannesburg. These were some of the reasons why the application was approved.

Since then it also appears that the council has not experienced any problems in terms of the maintenance of the area regarding refuse collection, access by service vehicles and emergency services. One of the committee members alluded to the fact that emergency vehicles should have an up-to-date map of which roads are closed and which allow access through manned booms or open gates. However, not all areas comply with this requirement and, in many cases, gates are operated by remote control with no manned entrance, or alternatively people close off roads without permission, resulting in a lack of knowledge of the situation and consequently no record of the closures.

Local authorities face a moral dilemma, as one engineer correctly states:

I suppose you do have a moral dilemma, which is if these guys are allowed to do it just because there isn't a problem, you know, why should they be allowed to do it and others not allowed to do it because they do create problems? I don't know - there is a moral dilemma.

The question becomes one of where to draw the line. Should those areas that lend themselves to neighbourhood closure, such as Gallo manor or Strubenkop, be allowed to close their roads, while others that are located unsuitably be refused? Or should all applications be refused because this would be fair to those who are not in a position to close off their roads? And what if they go ahead anyway and close off their roads illegally at huge expense? Furthermore, how should the council deal with angry residents who

complain about the high crime in their areas, or with residents who maintain that their areas are suitable for road closure?

Security estates may prove less problematic since they are planned as closed entities from the start. Infrastructural costs involved in creating a security estate, especially when it includes a golf course, are enormous. When developers are prepared to do this, it may turn out to be a financial blessing to local government. Large security estates may become cash cows for local governments, and solve the problem of urban expansion through privatisation. The developer provides all the infrastructure at his own cost. In these cases local authorities will be responsible only for ongoing service provision, such as electricity and water supply. The residents' association will be responsible for the maintenance of the roads, parks and other facilities or amenities on the estate.

A council official commented that the City of Johannesburg allows the development of large estates in order to retain the tax base that the wealthy represent. Dainfern contributes a large proportion of the city's revenue through property tax. This supports statements that gated communities can offer a more efficient way of providing services (through privatisation) and help to keep or attract the wealthy within the municipal system. It also demonstrates that these developments can increase the tax base for local authorities.

As mentioned earlier, the effectiveness of services delivery by the council to the Woodhill Estate has been the subject of growing tension. While the residents' association maintains that the council is not effective in providing these services, the council maintains that lack of access to the estate makes it difficult to provide these services. One way to solve this is to privatise the streets and allow the residents' association to provide these services in the future.

7. Conclusions and way forward

This document has compared four case studies (two enclosed neighbourhoods and two security estates) in the Cities of Johannesburg and Tshwane. It has shown that there are a number of differences and similarities between enclosed neighbourhoods and security estates in South Africa.

The case studies also confirm previous interpretations (as documented in earlier CSIR reports) of some of the major drivers behind the establishment of gated communities (Landman 2000). They also indicate many similarities in the main motives discussed in the international literature on the subject (Landman 2002a, 2000b, forthcoming).

This document has shown that municipalities do not always have the same demand for, or respond similarly to, different types of gated communities. Nevertheless, there were remarkable similarities between the same types in the two municipalities studied.

The main objectives of the study were:

- to determine the critical differences and similarities between different gated communities in SA;
- to identify key lessons or policy issues emanating from this for planning and development in SA.

The remainder of the conclusion will deal with these two issues. The similarities and differences are explained according to the main themes used to discuss the findings of the case studies in the report - namely the reasons, the spatial characteristics, the operation and management, and the impact and implications.

7.1 Similarities between enclosed neighbourhoods and security estates

Reasons

The main reason in all four case study areas was to create a safer environment and reduce crime. In addition, the residents wanted to experience a feeling of safety, including aspects such as feeling safe in the house and feeling safe outside when using outdoor “common” spaces. Crime was therefore the major driver behind the occurrence of both these types of gated community. Residents in both types also thought that a protected area would contribute to an increase in property prices.

Spatial characteristics

There are a number of similarities between the two types regarding their spatial characteristics. All four case study areas were located close to a wide range of facilities and amenities, including major shopping centres. They were also located in close proximity to major access routes or through-routes. It therefore appears that location within the city plays an important role in terms of gated communities.

There are also many similarities in terms of the spatial organisation and form of these areas. All four neighbourhoods have clearly defined (and protected) edges. This is in fact one of the main distinguishing characteristics of gated communities. The common spaces inside are user-friendly and designed or adapted to be this way. The roads are all laid out on a closed-road network system. This too is a distinguishing characteristic of many larger (neighbourhood scale) gated communities, as such neighbourhoods are easier to protect and control due to a limited number of entrances/exit points. In all four cases the neighbourhood design or layout relates to the topography and incorporates prominent natural features. While this is a prominent issue in the choice of a site in a security estate, it turned out that the two existing neighbourhoods also reflected this characteristic. The neighbourhoods all have green open spaces to enhance the ecological balance. The fact that the existing neighbourhoods also incorporated this aspect shows that these two areas were originally designed or laid out as smaller neighbourhoods with their own neighbourhood parks or green areas around the river. They therefore lent themselves to closure in the sense that they constituted identifiable smaller entities. The layout also supports a wide range of activities.

Security features are very important in all four areas. They all have prominent entrances into the neighbourhood, featuring booms or gates at the exit or entry points, manned by 24-hour security guards.

There is no coherent architectural style or theme in any of the areas. They all have quiet residential streets with suburban houses and/or townhouses and the sidewalks are

generally well maintained. The urban spaces are well used in all four areas - for example to jog, to walk, and to accommodate children playing.

Operation and management

There are a number of similarities between the two types related to the operation and management of the area. Both types are managed by an HOA, which is governed by a board of directors or HOA committee. In all four case study areas the HOA is responsible for the financial management of the area. They also distribute monthly newsletters to inform the HOA members of any decisions or activities.

All four areas are patrolled by security guards throughout the day and night. Each area has its own patrol vehicle exclusively assigned to that area. The guards are also responsible for access control at the gates. Security is an integral part of the operation of all the areas.

Impact and implications

Residents from all four areas believe that crime has been significantly reduced or prevented as a result of the gates, fences and presence of private security. Staying in a secure area has also contributed to a reduction in the fear of crime inside these areas. The SAPS and/or the metropolitan police have indicated a significant reduction in crime or very low crime rates in all four areas. It was however, mentioned that the closed-off areas are contributing to crime displacement.

In all four cases the residents believed that the closure has assisted in improving the neighbourhood's character and in the use of "common" space⁵. In addition, it has assisted to create an atmosphere of living in a small rural town or country/English village. In general, with a few exceptions, the residents believed that the sense of community had increased after the closure, or after moving into a closed-off area. One of the activities contributing to this was being able to take part in decision-making related to neighbourhood matters.

All four neighbourhoods were financially viable at the time the research was conducted. Most of the interviewees were of the opinion that it had contributed to an increase in property prices and it therefore constituted a safe financial venture to invest in a secure (physically protected and controlled by private security) area.

All four areas had an impact on urban management and maintenance. All the neighbourhoods prohibited or strongly discouraged any form of public transport inside their areas. Where this was allowed, the vehicle (for example, a taxi) would be thoroughly interviewed first and often followed by a patrol vehicle once inside. All four areas contributed to the privatisation of public space or what was formerly considered to be part of the public realm. They also contributed to the privatisation of public urban governance through the creation of strong micro-governments, taking the form of HOAs.

⁵ This section repeatedly refers to "common" space, since the term public space is contested and also not appropriate to use in the case of large security estates, which are private developments. Although the common areas (roads, sidewalks, parks, etc, lawfully remain public space, they are technically converted to semi-public or controlled spaces through access control and other measures of social control. In this case it would be inappropriate to refer to these spaces as public spaces in the true sense.

Financially, all four neighbourhoods provided the local council with an increased tax base or additional revenue through application and privatisation of some of the council's traditional functions. In this way, to a greater or lesser degree, they all became "cash cows" for local councils.

This discussion shows that there are many similarities between the main themes or categories of investigation. As such, one can start to compile general characteristics of these types of gated communities. There are, however, a number of differences as well.

7.2 Differences between the two types

Reasons

Whereas safety and security is the most prominent reason for the establishment of enclosed neighbourhoods, followed by others to a far lesser degree, it is but one of many reasons for choosing to stay in a security estate. Other reasons, which were not found in the enclosed neighbourhoods, included living in a "controlled" environment, having access to an idyllic lifestyle (in search of Utopia), experiencing peace and tranquillity, living in a neighbourhood associated with prestige, and a search for privacy, exclusivity and status. One additional reason that surfaced in enclosed neighbourhoods was the chance to negotiate reduced insurance premiums.

Spatial characteristics

A major difference is the location of the two types. While security estates are built on greenfield sites on the urban periphery, the two enclosed neighbourhoods are situated in older built-up areas in the suburbs.

Other differences relate to the morphology and topology of the neighbourhoods. One of the major differences between the two types studied is the size of these areas. While they are just examples of these types, and although there are a few larger enclosed neighbourhoods, these cases do represent more general trends. One of the main characteristics of security estates is the large area they usually cover. The difference in size is clearly visible when one compares the four areas. The difference in size may also relate to the fact that the security estates were purposefully designed as closed-off neighbourhoods, while the enclosed neighbourhoods were closed in retrospect, and as such cannot be closed without having an impact on the existing urban traffic and use patterns. The general opinion is that the larger the enclosed neighbourhood, the larger the impact on the city and surrounding environment.

Being purposefully designed from the start, the two security estates also have a number of other characteristics that were not found to be present in the two enclosed neighbourhoods. They have a clearly defined centre (around the clubhouse), constituting the social heart and focus of the design (physical heart). The larger neighbourhoods are also both divided into distinguishable smaller parts, each with its own character and attractions. The master-plans also provide a strong sense of order: in both estates the residential areas are designed around the golf courses (Figures 8-11 and 8-12). As such, the golf courses become a strong element, directing the structural organisation and urban form. Attention is also given to the design of the landscape and the atmosphere created. Landscaped parks, walkways, and roads feature prominent elements such as porticoes,

fountains, water features, bridges, characteristic light fittings, purposefully designed street furniture, etc. In the smaller enclosed neighbourhoods, the size of the closed-off area allows a sense of familiarity (knowing most of the people).

There are also differences in terms of the land use and facilities present in the two types. While the enclosed neighbourhoods are almost 100 percent residential, the security estates combine residential land use (still the largest component) with commercial land use and a much larger proportion of open space. The open space within the estates also includes sports facilities, with the golf courses comprising the largest percentage. The enclosed neighbourhoods have only one or two small parks, no shops and almost no other facilities, bar perhaps a place of worship. In comparison, the two security estates include a number of facilities and amenities such as sports facilities, small shops, restaurants, a clubhouse, and conference facilities. The services provided within the areas also differ. Whereas enclosed neighbourhoods offer limited additional (private) services, the security estates offer a range. The estates also have their own postal facilities and post boxes inside the walls.

Another difference relates to design and approval of houses inside the closed-off areas. Whereas the approval of proposed houses in enclosed neighbourhoods follows the traditional route (requiring only approval by the city council), those in the security areas are also dependent on strict review by an architectural committee.

Operation and management

The one major difference between the two types relates to their establishment. This is also the distinguishing characteristic in terms of the typology that was developed. Therefore, while security estates are purposefully developed by private developers and then transferred to the HOA, enclosed neighbourhoods can only be established through approval from the local council, as they involve public roads in existing suburbs. As such, it is essential to have the support of the majority of the residents in a neighbourhood before an application can be launched. Consequently, the establishment of enclosed neighbourhoods is very dependent on a process of community mobilisation to gain support for the closure.

Directly related to this issue are the differences in the time of the establishment of the HOAs in the four areas. In the case of the enclosed neighbourhoods the HOAs were established prior to closure and played a critical role in the application process. In contrast, in the security estates the HOA was established after the (partial) occupation of the area. The developers lobbied and applied for the development rights to build the estates.

The security estates are managed and operated according to very strict rules, regulations and controls that are legally enforceable. This is not the case in the two enclosed neighbourhoods.

Impact and implications

The major differences relate to the degree of social control and the impact on urban management and maintenance. Three issues stand out regarding social control inside security estates. These two neighbourhoods enforce certain behaviour inside the barriers, through specific codes of conduct, and the social conduct is enforced by the trustees or

board of directors of the HOA, as well as the security guards on the ground. As a result, the residents experience a sense of being in control of their lives and immediate environment. These issues are not present in the two enclosed neighbourhoods.

Compared to security estates that are designed from the start to minimise their impact on the surrounding areas, the closure of existing neighbourhoods has a huge impact on changes in traffic, cycling and pedestrian-use patterns, and often contributes to increased traffic congestion, as well as the increased discomfort and vulnerability of pedestrians and cyclists.

In terms of the data obtained, there are also differences between some aspects of financial management, where the residents inside the enclosed neighbourhoods indicated that they received a discount in insurance premiums and are therefore satisfied with the monthly contributions they make towards the operation of the areas.

In summary, it is therefore clear that while there are a number of similarities between enclosed neighbourhoods and large security estates, there are also differences. The question is whether this has implications for policy development and spatial planning in the cities of Johannesburg and Tshwane. The next two sections will address these two questions.

7.3 Implications for spatial planning in Johannesburg and Tshwane

This study has shown that, while one specific neighbourhood may not have a significant impact on the urban form, several can lead to significant urban transformation. Is this the type of transformation that the City of Johannesburg or Tshwane envisages? Is it possible to achieve integration and compaction, with a focus on accessibility and pedestrian-friendly environments, while allowing increasing numbers of neighbourhoods to close their streets? It may be possible, but it is surely going to be hampered by the proliferation of enclosed neighbourhoods. The sheer numbers of these types of development suggest that they are not likely to decrease in the immediate future. This may therefore lead to the establishment of a city based on a number of isolated super-blocks linked by a network of rapid, road-based transport that would definitely contribute to increased spatial fragmentation and social separation.

Large security estates also have a number of spatial implications. Dainfern covers an area of 320 ha and Woodhill an area of 212 ha. These areas are accessible only to those residing within them, or with a reason to be there (visitors, contractors, etc). To all other urban residents the area is inaccessible. As such, it starts to create a huge impenetrable super-neighbourhood in the urban landscape. This negates the idea of integrated development promoted by the cities of both Johannesburg and Tshwane. It contributes to the old pattern of inappropriate densities and fragmented development patterns, albeit it for the main purpose of crime prevention. It also creates a precedent for these types of development. When Dainfern was initiated in 1991, it was one of its kind in Johannesburg. However, since then, similar developments have proliferated across the city. While one can argue that one or two luxury estates may be tolerated to offer a choice of lifestyle to the rich, a large number can seriously compromise the aims set out in the Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework (SDF). The same can be argued for Tshwane, regarding its IDP.

These two types of gated communities, therefore, pose a number of challenges for the two local governments in terms the general direction of spatial planning and development as highlighted in the IDPs and SDFs of Johannesburg and Tshwane. These challenges include a threat to integrated development, and involve spatial fragmentation, social exclusion, and reduced citizenship or participation. Planners have an important role to play in the development of SDFs. They need not only to ensure spatial integration, but also to create the pre-conditions for social cohesion that will foster opportunities for economic growth. If this calls for a reconsideration of gated communities to prevent their negative future impact, so be it. It may therefore be necessary to act boldly, even in the face of huge pressures and demands. This can involve two approaches.

Firstly, a review of the long-term implications of gated communities and their potential impact of hindering integrated development is required. In addition, a differentiation between different types of gated communities is necessary. Planners must consider the overall impact of gated communities on the spatial form and functioning of the entire municipal area as a whole.

Secondly, the direct adding of gated communities in their SDFs and IDPs might be necessary. Parts of the current IDP and SDF may need to be revisited, so that these types of development may be taken into account. The mandatory five-year review of IDPs offers an opportunity to address these issues. Alongside this, a reconsideration of the primary objective of reducing crime is called for. Are gated communities the best or only option for reducing crime? Do alternatives exist? In this sense, enclosed neighbourhoods cannot be considered only within the context of spatial planning and development policies, but also as part of the larger debate on local crime prevention.

It therefore calls for a context- and type-specific approach to gated communities in these two municipalities. This document has indicated that there are different types of gated communities and that their purpose, as well as the impact they have, often differs. As enclosed neighbourhoods mostly concern public space, it is these councils' responsibility to deal with them for the benefit of all urban residents. Compared to their ability to intervene in enclosed neighbourhoods, they have fewer tools available to address concerns regarding large security estates. However, as enclosed neighbourhoods are likely to have a greater impact on the cities (especially as crime levels remain high, as well as the demands for these types of responses to crime), they should focus their attention on these types of developments.

7.4 Future research

In addition, it would assist future decision-making to not only explore the possibilities of alternative crime-prevention initiatives, but also other types of gated communities. The case studies discussed in this paper did not include small townhouse complexes or office parks. It may be that, due to their size, nature and use, these types of development will not have a major impact on the achievement of the visions, principles and general direction highlighted in the IDPs of the two municipalities concerned, and therefore need not be of a major concern to planners. The different implications of the different types of gated communities therefore require further exploration.

The issue of gated communities involves numerous complexities and intricacies. It is a highly emotive and controversial issue, since it reduces the comfort of some groups to the benefit of others. This document does not provide black and white answers. At best, it highlights the difficulties that local authorities face when dealing with the problem. However, in spite of its being a difficult and controversial issue, local institutions cannot

merely sit back and accept the status quo. Larger gated neighbourhoods are having a significant impact on the spatial form and function of the two cities, and may ultimately negate many of the aims that are contained in the current policy documents, particularly those that relate to integrated spatial development. A concerted effort is required from all role-players and stakeholders to find ways to manage the issue in the short term and to provide suitable alternatives in the medium and long term.

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