GATED COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA:
A review of the relevant policies and their implications

CSIR
BOUTEK

Gated communities in South Africa: A Review of the relevant policies and their implications

K Landman

BP615

2004

STEP

BOU / I348

CONTENT

1. INTRODUCTION 2

1.1 BACKGROUND 2
1.2 DEFINITION OF GATED COMMUNITIES 3
a) Enclosed neighbourhoods 3
b) Security Villages 5
1.3 STRUCTURE OF DOCUMENT 6

2. SETTING THE TREND 6

2.1 THE RDP (1994) 6
2.2 GEAR STRATEGY (1996) 6

3. RELEVANT PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT POLICIES 7

3.1 THE DEVELOPMENT FACILITATION ACT (1995) 7
3.2 THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY (1995) 9
3.3 THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK (1997) 9
3.4 THE WHITE PAPER ON SPATIAL PLANNING AND LAND USE MANAGEMENT (2001) 11
2.4 WHITE PAPER ON NATIONAL TRANSPORT AND MOVING SOUTH AFRICA (1998) 12
2.4 THE URBAN CORRIDOR PROGRAMME 13
2.5 HUMAN SETTLEMENT PLANNING AND DESIGN GUIDELINES (REDBOOK) 13

3. RELEVANT HOUSING POLICIES 15

3.1 THE CONSTITUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE HABITAT AGENDA 15
3.2 THE HOUSING WHITE PAPER (1994) 15
3.3 THE HOUSING CODE AND THE HOUSING ACT (1997) 16

4. RELEVANT CRIME PREVENTION POLICIES 18

4.1 NATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGY (1996) 18
4.2 WHITE PAPER ON SAFETY AND SECURITY (1998) 18
4.3 ADDITIONAL GUIDELINE DOCUMENTS 19

5. MAIN PARADIGMS AND DIRECTIONS REFLECTED BY THE POLICIES 19

5.1 MAIN PARADIGMS AND DIRECTIONS 19
Integrated development 23
Sustainability and sustainable development 24
Safer settlements 24
5.2 IMMEDIATE OUTCOME: RESULTS AND TENSIONS 24
Planning and development 24
Housing 25
Crime Prevention through planning and design 26
Sustainable Human Settlements 27

6. ASSESSING THE RELEVANCE OF GATED COMMUNITIES 27

6.1 POLICIES ON GATED COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA 27
6.2 GATED COMMUNITIES IN PRACTICE 28
6.3 TENSIONS INHERENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF GATED COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA 29
Equity versus efficiency 29
Neighbourhood re-design versus metropolitan planning 29
Expectations versus what is possible 29
Freedom/democracy versus safety 30

8. CONCLUSION 31

Integrated development planning 31
Safer settlements 32
Urban sustainability 32
Way forward 34

REFERENCES 35

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The current South African government has committed itself to urban reconstruction and development, as evident in the two major macro-development strategies developed after 1994. They are the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) and the Growth, Economic and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR). The RDP is directed at addressing the social aspects of sustainable development by meeting the basic needs of people and encouraging people-driven processes. GEAR is the country's main economic strategy and attempts to address issues of economic inequity, as well as the country's continued economic growth.

In addition, most of the influential planning and development policy documents advocate integrated development and greater equity. Gated communities, as a response to high levels of crime, however, have the potential to impair the rightful implementation of the goals and vision of these policy documents in practice.

Since the transition to democracy in 1994, crime has been one of the key priority issues that the South African government had to address and has often been identified as the top priority by residents in numerous surveys, community participation programmes and workshops. Crime is also generally considered to be the main reason for the proliferation of gated communities in the country. When comparing the change in crime rates in South Africa from 1994 to 2001, it shows a decrease from 1994 to 1997 and then an increase from 1998 to 2000, surpassing the original rates in 1994. There was a slight decrease from 2000 to 2001. In line with this, Masuku (2002) showed a stabilisation of many crime types[1] in 2002, albeit at a very high level.

Despite this stabilisation, perceptions are that crime is very high, especially in metro areas. According to an HSRC survey (1999), over half of the respondents (53%) from the rural areas felt safe compared to urban residents, where just over 40% (43%) and only one third in metro areas (35%) felt safe. An explanation for the fear of crime in these areas is the actual crime rates. During 1999, 55 murders per 100 000 of the population were recorded in South Africa as a whole. With the exception of Pretoria, the rate was higher in metropolitan areas: 117 in Johannesburg, 82 in Durban, 68 in Cape Town and 37 in Pretoria (Louw 2001:1)[2].

The government also committed itself to crime prevention, as well as enhanced safety and security for all its residents, as evident through the development of a range of strategies and policy documents on crime prevention, such as the White Paper on Safety and Security (1998). This White Paper also refers to Crime Prevention through Environmental Design, which, for many, justify the development of gated communities. This has exacerbated the tensions regarding gated communities in the country, such as whether it should be allowed to reduce crime regardless of potential negative impacts on urban reconstruction and

[1] The distribution of crime rates and different types of crime varies between different geographic areas, including provinces and cities. The fear of crime also varies and cannot always be linked to actual crime rates (Schonteich and Louw 2001).

[2] Louw (2001) points out that it is a world-wide phenomenon that certain types of crimes are more prevalent in urban areas because of the presence of factors associated with high crimes. For example, population density is thought to be associated with crime in the sense that greater concentrations of people lead to increased conflict, greater levels of stress and competition for limited resources.

development in the future. The South African government is not always clear on how to address these tensions. Gated communities, therefore, hold the potential to be a major factor influencing decision-making, policy formulation and the implementation of these policies on national and local government level.

The main objective of this report is to determine the relevance of different types/models/approaches of gated communities in terms of national priorities and policies and highlight their implications for institutional sustainability, integrated development planning and safer settlements.

1.2 Definition of gated communities

One can broadly distinguish between two types of gated communities in South Africa, namely enclosed neighbourhoods (which are existing neighbourhoods that have been closed off in retrospect) and security villages (which are private developments). This was confirmed by a national survey on gated communities[3] (Landman 2003a).

a) Enclosed neighbourhoods

The first major type of gated community in South Africa, is *enclosed neighbourhoods*. An increasing number of existing neighbourhoods, which were originally designed as open neighbourhoods, are being closed off through gates or booms extending across the road and, in some cases, fences that extend around entire neighbourhoods. Access into these neighbourhoods is restricted and controlled by a few access control points, either in the form of remote controlled gates or security manned gates or booms. The roads within these neighbourhoods were previously, or continue to remain, in public ownership, depending on the model used. The size of the enclosed neighbourhoods varies from small cul-de-sacs with less than 10 houses to large neighbourhoods with up to 1000 houses. Residents need to apply for the right to restrict access to their local municipality and can only do so for security reasons.

Applications and approvals for enclosed neighbourhoods are submitted and approved per neighbourhood, regardless of the number of roads inside that have to be closed. It is also important to distinguish between temporary and permanent road closures. Roads may be closed by the traffic department from time to time to manage traffic flowthrough curbs, “no entry” signs, etc. Roads that are closed for security reasons – to allow security access restriction – may do so on a temporary basis for only two years. Although they also constitute permanent physical structures (for example brick guard houses, fences and gates), these are technically a temporary road closure.

[3] In 2002 CSIR Building and Construction Technology (Boutek) embarked on more extensive research on gated communities in South Africa. This project comprised two phases. The first focused on a national survey (quantitative approach) of gated communities to determine their extent and location (see Landman 2003 for more details). The survey was conducted through questionnaires mailed to all the local and metropolitan municipalities (237) in South Africa. The case study research was conducted through semi-structured interviews, spatial analysis of the four neighbourhoods, direct observation in the neighbourhoods and documentation review Landman 2004).

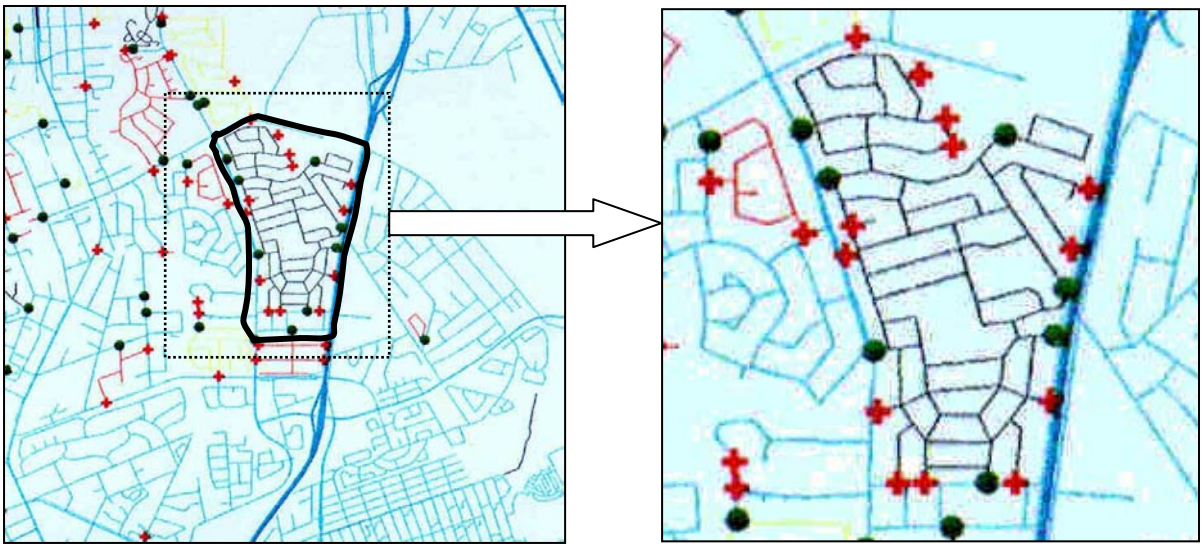

Figure 1: Distinguishing between road closures and an enclosed neighbourhood. The thick black line on the left indicates the enclosed neighbourhood (example from Johannesburg) and the enlargement on the right indicates the actual road closures (total of 23 in this case) constituting the enclosed neighbourhood. The black dots indicate accessible road closures (i.e. through gates or booms that can be opened to allow traffic to pass) and the red crosses indicate inaccessible road closures (through fences and gates that are locked).

There are different approaches to, or models for, enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa within different municipalities. These include a public approach, a private approach, a 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 choose. The implications of these two approaches are very different and are summarised in the diagram to the right.

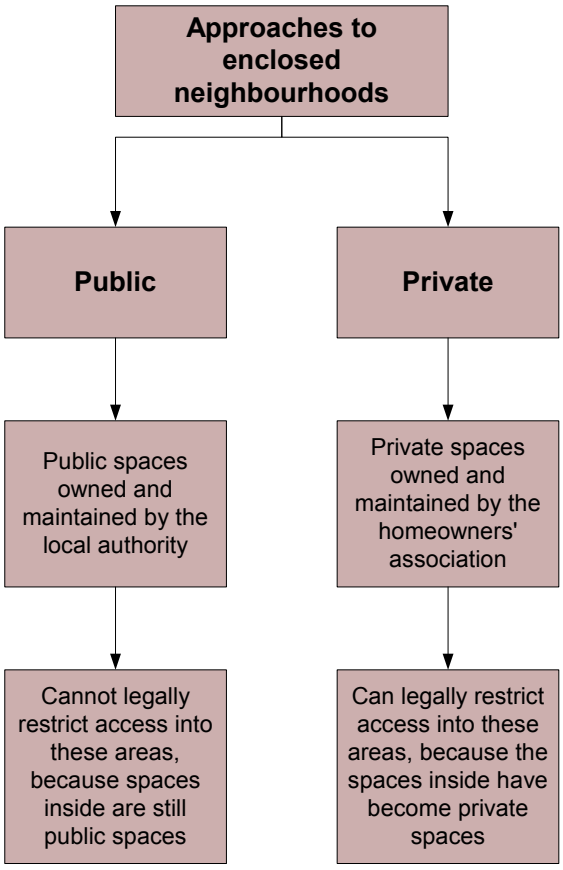

Figure 2: Public and private approaches to enclosed neighbourhoods

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 been taken over by the residents' association, these areas become private space and the residents are responsible for the 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 to and free movement within all public space. [4] The important issue is whether the enclosed area remains under public control or is taken over

[4] Section 21 (1) and (3) of the Constitution of the RSA, 1996 (Act 108 0f 1996) reads as follows:
(1) "Everyone has the right of freedom of movement…"
(3) "Every citizen has the right to enter, to remain in and to reside anywhere in the Republic".

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.

b) Security Villages

Security villages in South Africa comprise a number of different types of development with different uses that range from smaller townhouse complexes to larger office parks and luxury security estates. By definition, these areas are purpose-built by private developers, where security is the uppermost requirement, although lifestyle offerings are also important, especially in large security estates. These estates are generally located on the urban periphery where bigger portions of land are available, together with numerous natural elements such as rivers, dams, clumps of trees, etc., that remain important features of these types of development. They offer an entire lifestyle package where the features to be enjoyed in a secure environment include a range of services (garden services, refuse removal etc.), as well as a variety of facilities and amenities (golf courses, squash courts, cycle routes, hiking routes, equestrian routes, water activities, etc.). Most of the luxury security estates occupy between 10 and 50 hectares, while two of the more ambitious estates occupy larger areas, namely Heritage Park in the City of Cape Town (200 ha) and Dainfern in the City of Johannesburg (350 ha).

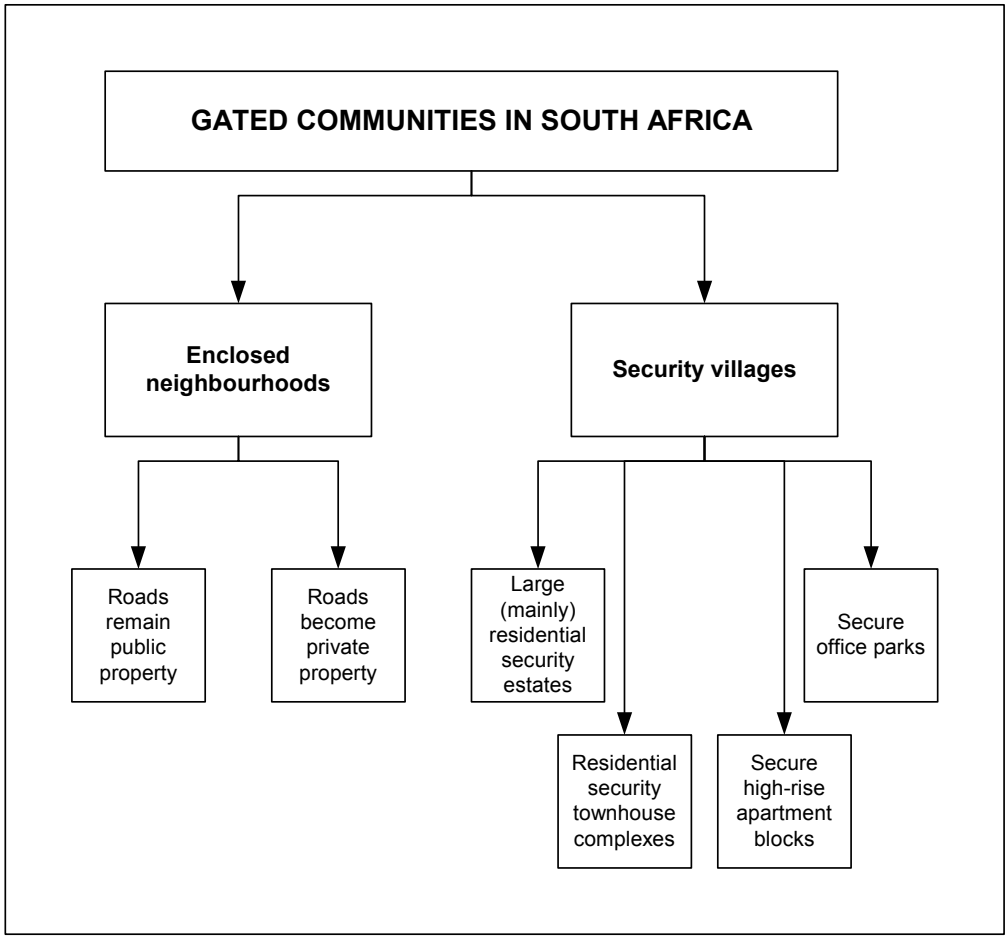

Figure 3: Definition and hierarchy of different types of gated communities in South Africa

1.3 Structure of document

This document is broadly divided into two parts: Part One (sections 2-5) and Part Two (sections 6-7). Part One gives an overview of the main policies relevant to the debate on gated communities, including broad national policies, urban development policies, housing policies and policies related to crime prevention. Part Two assesses the implications of these policies for gated communities, as well as the implications of gated communities for the implementation of these policies, with a specific focus on integrated, sustainable and safer settlements in South Africa.

2. Setting the trend

2.1 The RDP (1994)

The RDP was developed in 1994 as the first attempt to provide a revised policy framework on development for a new democratic country. The RDP is directed at meeting the basic needs of the people of South Africa through six basic principles:

- Integration and sustainability.
- People-driven processes.
- Assuring peace and security for all.
- Nation-building.
- Linking reconstruction and development.
- Democratisation.

The concept of integrated, sustainable development already started to feature in government policy as far back as 1994. The RDP identifies integration and sustainability as one of its principles and, therefore, opened the door for further development of the concept in future policies. The RDP encapsulates a people-centred approach and starts from the premise that it is necessary to provide equal opportunities to all and ensure the growth of all people for long-term sustainability in human settlements. The RDP also highlights the need for safety and security for all, as well as continuous democratisation.

2.2 GEAR Strategy (1996)

The government developed the GEAR strategy subsequent to the RDP in 1994. This macro-economic strategy aims to strengthen economic growth in South Africa with broadening employment opportunities and redistribution of economic opportunities and income in favour of the poor. Central to this strategy is achieving a competitive fast-growing economy in South Africa. However, it is not clear whether increased competitiveness between countries and cities within South Africa will always support the idea of the redistribution of economic opportunities.

Some would also argue that there are underlying contradictions between the RDP and GEAR in terms of economic growth and development versus provision of basic rights, but suffice to say here is that they both, to a greater or lesser extent, plot the direction of current South African policy. GEAR may also be questioned in terms of its implications for long term or strong sustainability. While economic sustainability is an important prerequisite for sustainable development and human settlements, it cannot be viable over

the long term without a balance in terms of environmental sustainability and quality of life.

3. Relevant Planning and Development Policies

The political transition in 1994 paved the way for the development of a range of new planning and development policies to address the imbalances of the past and pave the way for integration and socio-economic upliftment in South African cities. Integration and development became key concepts in the new policies, and set out a new role for the different spheres of government (Watson 2003).

Post apartheid planning and design faces two major challenges concerning spatial transformation of South African cities:

- integration of and within cities, and
- developing previously disadvantaged areas to the same extent as previously white areas, from infrastructure investment, housing delivery and development of well-functioning public facilities to providing effective service delivery.

3.1 The Development Facilitation Act (1995)

The DFA is the only post-1994 planning law enacted by parliament. The main purpose of the DFA is to facilitate development facilitation in the new democracy and act as interim measure to bridge the gap between the old apartheid planning laws and a new planning system reflecting the needs and priorities of a democratic South Africa.

The key features on the DFA are:

- *General principles for land development:*

These normative principles reject low-density, segregated, fragmented and mono-functional development and advocate compact, integrated and mixed-use settlements.

- *Land Development Objectives (LDOs)*

The DFA requires that every municipality establishes LDOs, effectively local land-use plans, to allow integrated and strategic land use planning.

- *Development tribunals*

The DFA provides for a development tribunal to be established in each province to provide a speedy route for the consideration of land use change and land development applications.

In is envisioned that the DFA will be replaced by a Land Use Act, that also builds on the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001).

The DFA paved the way for integrated development based on normative planning principles. This introduced a huge shift from previous planning policies and legislation based on specific standards and advocating a very technocratic and master-planned approach.

The DFA introduced a new paradigm for planning and development by providing the basis for a coherent framework for land development according to a set of binding principles. The act provides extraordinary measures to facilitate reconstruction and development in South Africa. The DFA highlights a number of planning principles to guide planning and development. According to the DFA the term "planning" is concerned with the following objectives:

- Promoting equity.
- Promoting efficiency.
- Protecting the public good.
- Ensuring the good use of scarce resources.
- Protecting the environment (p. 5).

The document also explains the concepts in the following way:

> *Settlements that arise through uncontrolled individual self-interest are usually not equitable or efficient. In more equitable settlements, more advantaged individuals and groups do not benefit from development at the expense of less advantaged ones. Conflicts may arise between the activities in a settlement. Efficient planning requires that any such conflicts are resolved.*
>
> *The primary focus and responsibility of planning is the issues affecting the public good (such as health, safety and amenities), rather than the good of any one individual…* (p. 5).

In terms of the principles identified in the DFA, one of the main intentions is "to positively accommodate the needs of all people, not just those of the wealthier minority" (p. 6). As part of this intention, integrated settlements for rich and poor are advocated.

Further in the DFA the central concerns of the principles are highlighted. The first concern refers to "a need to create new forms and structures for South African settlements to improve their performance' (p. 11). One way to achieve this is through "Positively Performing Settlements" and one of the aspects of positively performing settlements refers to "the central significance of integration" (p. 12). In this regard the DFA explains:

> The term 'integration' is one of considerable importance in the principles. It calls for a rejection of past practices of fragmentation and separation. The term evokes the principle of reinforcement. All parts and elements of a settlement should reinforce and compliment each other. A number of forms of integration are inherent in the term:
>
> - Integration between rural, urban and primeaval landscapes.
> - Integration between elements of spatial structure.
> - Integration between land uses.
> - Integration of new development with old.
> - Integration of different classes (p. 14).

The DFA strongly emphasises the need for integration and advocates equity, efficiency and planning for the public good.

3.2 The Urban Development Strategy (1995)

In 1995, the government of national unity released a discussion document, namely the Urban Development Strategy, to invite comment from various role-players in terms of an urban development strategy for South Africa. This document was developed to ensure the future sustainable development of both urban and rural areas in the country.

The document highlighted major challenges for urban development and proposed an urban vision and strategic goals to guide urban development in a new direction. The government's vision was that, by 2020, cities and towns in South Africa should be:

- based on integrated urban and rural development strategies;
- leaders of a globally competitive national economy;
- centres of social and economic opportunity for all;
- free of racial segregation and gender discrimination;
- managed by accountable, democratic local governments;
- planned in highly participative fashion;
- marketed by good infrastructure and services for all;
- integrated centres which provide access to many physical and social resources; and
- environmentally sustainable.

In order to achieve this, the strategy outlined seven strategic goals:

- To create efficient and productive cities with less poverty and sustained by dynamic economies.
- To reduce existing infrastructure and service disparities.
- To provide better housing and shelter and greater security of tenure for urban residents.
- To encourage affordable growth of local economies.
- To tackle spatial inefficiencies, especially the mismatch between where people live and work to improve the quality of the urban environment.
- To transform local authorities into effective and accountable local government institutions.
- To establish safe and secure living environments.

As such, it highlights the necessity for urban reconstruction, development and upliftment, as well as safer living environments. The document also considered urban and rural development in an integrated way. Despite this initial intention, it was redrafted in 1997 into two separate frameworks by the Department of Housing, namely the Urban Development Framework and the Rural Development Framework.

3.3 The Urban Development Framework (1997)

This document was the result of a redrafting of the Urban Development Strategy, while incorporating comments as far as possible. The Urban Development Framework incorporates the government's vision for more sustainable urban settlements. It also outlines guidelines and programmes for the achievement of this vision. This document was released by the Department of Housing in 1997 as the main policy guideline for the implementation of the Habitat Agenda in South Africa.

The Urban Vision framed in the Urban Development Framework incorporates an holistic understanding of sustainable human settlements as outlined in the Habitat Agenda and this is reflected in the way its vision has evolved from the vision outlined two years earlier,

both in understanding and elaboration. The Urban Vision entails that by 2020 all cities and towns in South Africa should be:

- spatially and socio-economically integrated, free of racial and gender discrimination and segregation, enabling people to make residential and employment choices to pursue their ideals;
- centers of economic and social opportunity where people can live and work in a safe, healthy and peaceful environment;
- centers of vibrant urban governance, managed by democratic, efficient, sustainable and accountable metropolitan and local governments in close co-operation with civil society and geared towards innovative community-led development;
- environmentally sustainable, marked by a balance between a quality-built environment and open space; as well as a balance between consumption needs and renewable and non-renewable resources (sustainable development, therefore, meets the needs of the present while not compromising the needs of future generations);
- planned in a highly participatory fashion that promotes the integration and sustainability of urban environments;
- marked by adequate housing and infrastructure and effective services that provide households and business a basis for equitable standards of living;
- integrated industrial, commercial, residential, information and health, educational and recreational centers, which provide easy access to a range of urban resources; and
- financed by government subsidies and by mobilizing additional resources through partnerships, by more forcefully tapping capital markets, and by employing innovative off-budget methods.

In order to implement this vision, the Urban Development Framework outlines four key programmes:

- *Integrating the city,* which aims to negate apartheid-induced segregation, fragmentation and inequality. The focus is on integrated planning, rebuilding and upgrading the townships and informal settlements, planning for higher density land-use and developments, reforming the urban land and planning system, urban transportation and environmental management.
- *Improving housing and infrastructure* involves the upgrading and construction of housing, restoring and extending infrastructure, alleviating environmental health hazards, encouraging investment and increasing access to finance, social development, building habitable and safe communities, maintaining safety and security and designing habitable urban communities.
- *Promoting urban economic development* aims to enhance the capacity of urban areas to build on local strengths to generate greater local economic activity, to achieve sustainability, to alleviate urban poverty, to increase access to informal economic opportunities and to maximise the direct employment opportunities and the multiplier effect from implementing development programmes.
- *Creating institutions for delivery* requires significant transformation and capacity-building of government at all levels and clarity on the roles and responsibilities of the different government spheres. This will also encompass a range of institutions, including civil society and the private sector, and require significant co-operation and co-ordination among all of them.

The UDF, therefore, promotes greater integration and upliftment of under developed urban areas through housing and infrastructure provision, greater economic opportunities and well performing local institutions.

3.4 The White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001)

This White Paper on Spatial and Land Use Management follows the development of a *Green Paper for Planning and Development* (1998). The White Paper aims to rationalise and integrate an existing plethora of planning laws and policies into one national system that will be applicable in every province. The White Paper is fundamentally based on a long term vision and a set of principles and norms to achieve a vision which calls for *integrated planning for sustainable management of land resources* (p.2). This new system of planning and land use management consists of five essential elements, as described in the table below.

***Table 1: Five elements of White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management** (2001: 2-3)*

Elements	Description
Principles	The new system will be based on principles and norms aimed at achieving sustainability, equity, fairness and good governance in spatial planning and land use management and all future developments will have to be consistent with these principles and norms.
Land use regulators	The White Paper introduces the notion of a –'land use regulator'. This refers to a body that can be an organ of any one of the three spheres of government and will have the power to act as land use regulators.
IDP-based local spatial planning	The Municipal Systems Act requires that each municipality must develop a spatial development framework (SDF) as part of their IDP, consisting of a minimum number of elements that must be included. The aim of this framework will be to inform local spatial planning.
A uniform set of procedures for land development approvals	The White Paper identifies one set of planning procedures for the whole country. Where proposed developments are not in line with this, permission will have to be obtained from the appropriate land regulator.
National spatial framework	In order to achieve integrated and coordinated spending of public funds the White Paper lays the foundation for the development of a national spatial framework concerning particular programmes and regions. This will be a policy framework for sustainable and equitable spatial planning around national priorities.

These elements have specific implications for the interpretation of urban / rural space, planning and management over time. Firstly, it suggests a spatial planning approach that focuses on place-making and the achievement of normative principles. This has specific implications for the urban governance in municipalities, which raise a time dimension, namely that of forward planning and development control. Both of these components are encompassed in the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), which is a mandatory requirement for all local governments.

Spatial Planning (IDP-based) is concerned with understanding local contexts and formulating guiding frameworks that inform land development and management. This is to be achieved through the formulation of Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs) that should align with the IDP and the National Spatial Framework. The aim of the SDFs is to act as an indicative plan to show desired patterns of land use, directions of growth, urban edges, special development areas and conservation worthy areas within the municipal

areas, in other words to spatialise desired development patterns (forward planning). Land Use Management (development control), on the other hand, is concerned with the regulation of land development in municipal areas through the use of a scheme that records the land use and development rights and restrictions that are applicable to each erf in the municipal area. This scheme has a binding effect on land development and management and should be informed by the indicative plan (SDF).

Another important aspect of the White Paper is its focus on cooperative governance to maximise spatial planning and land use efforts and ensure integration across various spheres of government. In this regard, the White Paper very specifically identifies the role of all three government spheres and also points to the role that each will play as land use regulators.

The intended outcome of the White Paper is a new national law for spatial planning, land use and land development; namely a land use bill, culminating in a *Land Use Act*. This law will replace the Physical Planning Act and Development Facilitation Act, with the aim to assist government in the formulation of policies, plans and strategies for land use and development that address, confront and resolve spatial, economic, social and environmental problems of the country.

The White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management shows significant progression from previous planning policies. Some of these positive aspects include:
?
A much more holistic focus on urban sustainability and integrated development through:

- a reduction in the number of planning policies.
- significant improvements towards integrated planning through both an integration of planning processes (remarkable cross-references to other legislation influencing planning and land use management, such as the Municipal Systems Act, including IDPs and the Environment Conservation Act, including EIAs), as well as an integration between different spheres of government and their respective roles. It therefore starts to show the linkages between various policies and laws that are crucial to ensure departmental cooperation and ultimately sustainable and integrated development.
- streamlining the principles set out in the DFA
- aiming to absorb LDOs, as was required by the DFA, into the IDP process to avoid duplication of work and various planning processes, which will enhance institutional sustainability.
- emphasising the need for continuous training, especially with regard to a normative planning system, as well as the importance of monitoring and review to ensure that programmes and projects continue to reflect the norms and principles. This will assist with the development of more appropriate IDPs.

Apart from this, there is also a general focus on achieving equity through planning. *Equity* refers to fairness, impartiality and justice, in other words, to ensure fair and just planning and development (also echoed in the Housing White Paper and Act).

2.4 White Paper on National Transport and Moving South Africa (1998)

Transport is seen in South African policy as having a key role, not only in promoting access for citizens but also in integrating South Africa's cities and regions, which are spatially, as well as socially, racially and economically divided and disjointed. Accessibility is one of the key aspects of a sustainable and integrated human settlement.

One of the key policy initiatives being employed by the Department of Transport is that of development corridors, i.e. focussing development (provision of facilities, transport nodes and other opportunities along intensified transport routes). This vision is set out in the White Paper on National Transport Policy and is developed further in the Department's 1998 "Moving South Africa" document that identifies three strategic actions:

- Densify corridors.
- Optimise modal economics and service mix.
- Improve performance of private firms.

Transport policy is closely linked with that of the *Department of Trade and Industry* and its Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs), which aim to unlock inherent economic potential in specific spatial locations in Southern Africa, thereby also promoting regional integration and trade relations. The philosophy behind SDI's is to combine regional private and public investment projects to maximise economic and social benefit.

2.4 The Urban Corridor Programme

The Urban Corridor Programme is currently advocating for the densification of land-use along identified corridors in order to optimise investment in public transport infrastructure. The most advanced planning in respect of the implementation of such a corridor is the Wetton-Lansdowne Road Corridor Project in Cape Town, which integrates a formally isolated area (Khayalitsha/ Mitchells Plain) with the Cape Town urban centre. There has been an increase of residential density along the route, a greater mix of employment generation activities and the development of a secondary node (Phillipi) as a commercial and employment centre.

Development corridors have also been proposed for other large cities such as Johannesburg, Durban (for example between Durban inner city and KwaMashu/Inanda) and in Buffalo City (between East London and Mdantsane).

While densification is one way of achieving more compact cities and, thus, more sustainable human settlements, it should be born in mind what exactly is meant by densification in terms of practical implementation. Densification *per se* is not always conducive to the creation of sustainable settlements due to specific local conditions or needs or type of urban form and secondary development that encompass a particular outcome of densification. It is necessary that policies elaborate on the implications of a particular term or principle and qualify how and where to implement it.

2.5 Human settlement planning and design guidelines (Redbook)

The Redbook (2000) was developed to guide settlement planning and design in South Africa and to serve as a tool for a variety of professionals, including planners and engineers. This document was contracted and endorsed by the National Department of Housing. The Redbook promotes efforts towards greater quality built environments in the country, as well as appropriate and respectful use of natural resources. It recognises the role that human settlement planning and provision of engineering services can play in enhancing or destroying environments. It does this through a focus on three broad categories:

- What to achieve (general vision, aim and performance qualities).
- How to achieve this (approach and guidelines).
- Where to achieve this (different contexts within South Africa).

The general vision is promoting the establishment and continuation of sustainable human settlements. This is to be achieved through eight performance qualities that such settlements should promote and make possible:

- *Efficiency*:
  - to effectively develop settlements and draw on a wide range of resources, e.g. land, money, building materials etc., as well as provide a basis to attract private investment.
- *Opportunity*:
  - to provide opportunities to improve personal welfare through access to economic, social, cultural and recreational opportunities.
- *Convenience*:
  - to allow citizens to conduct daily activities quickly and easily.
- *Choice*:
  - to ensure multifaceted settlements that offer diversity or choice of places, lifestyles and interaction opportunities.
- *Equality of access*:
  - all people should have reasonable access to opportunities and facilities to support living in settlements.
- *Quality of place*:
  - to embrace uniqueness opposed to standardisation, through the celebration of the natural and cultural characteristics of a place.
- *Sensory qualities*:
  - to work towards settlements that are aesthetically pleasing in order to add quality and allow for an improved quality of life.
- *Timelessness*:
  - to reflect timeless qualities through flexibility on the one hand (through spaces that can be used for different purposes) and continuity on the other (memorable or historic places).

The Redbook promotes a holistic, integrated and human centred approach to achieve this vision and offers a set of principles (both structural and spatial) and guidelines (planning and engineering) to achieve this. The principles are noted in the table below:

Table : Principles for well-performing settlements as promoted by the Redbook (2000)

Structural principles	*Spatial principles*
■ Reinforcement ■ Continuity (integration) ■ Discontinuity (places of celebration/ pause in between) ■ Externalisation (facilities not embedded in neighbourhoods) ■ Concentration (through development nodes and corridors) ■ Diversity and sameness (to allow for different areas, e.g. mainly residential, mixed use, etc.)	■ Definition (spaces defined by buildings, street furniture, landscaping etc.) ■ Scale (to promote human scale) ■ Flexibility (to allow for change of use) ■ Intensity (to promote densification where relevant and possible)

3. Relevant housing policies

Housing is another government priority. The housing policy focusses on a subsidy scheme that empowers individuals and communities to build homes for the first time. It has been reported that more than a million housing opportunities have been created in this way. However, many challenges remain. The current backlog is estimated to be around 3 million houses. In addition, critiques claim that the housing policy has created a very large number of poor quality homes in areas distant from potential job opportunities. In this way, it entrenches apartheid's spatial patterns, rather than challenges them (Butler 2004).

3.1 The Constitution of South Africa and the Habitat Agenda

The right to adequate housing is enshrined in the South African constitution, phrased as "the right of access to adequate housing" (Article 26 of the Bill of Rights). In addition, South Africa is also a signatory to the *Habitat Agenda* (1996). This includes a commitment to:

> *improve living and working conditions on an equitable and sustainable basis, so that everyone will have adequate shelter that is healthy, safe, secure, accessible, affordable and that includes basic services, facilities and amenities and will enjoy freedom from discrimination in housing and legal security of tenure* (Habitat Agenda 1996).

Implicit in this is the promotion of "safe" and "secure" housing for all who live in South Africa - from the poorest of the poor to the very wealthy.

3.2 The Housing White Paper (1994)

The South African housing policy was developed by the National Housing Forum (NHF) during 1992 to 1994 and culminated in the White Paper on Housing (1994). The NHF consisted of a wide range of roleplayers, including NGOs, political parties, business, etc. This paper sets out the government's broad housing policy and strategy.

The *Housing White Paper* sets out the framework for the housing policy and defines the key elements of the National Housing Policy. It identifies seven main strategies:

- *Stabilising the housing environment* in order to ensure maximum benefit of state housing expenditure and facilitate the mobilisation of private sector investment.
- *Mobilising housing credit* and private savings (by individuals/collectively) at scale, on a sustainable basis and simultaneously ensuring adequate protection for consumers.
- *Providing subsidy assistance* to disadvantaged households to assist them to gain access to housing.
- *Supporting the people's housing process* – entailing a support programme to assist people who wish to build or organise the building of their homes themselves.
- *Rationalising institutional capacities* in the housing sector within a sustainable long term institutional framework.
- *Facilitating speedy release and servicing of land.*
- *Co-ordinating* and integrating *public sector investment* and intervention *in development* on a multi-functional basis.

Yet, despite some positive spin-offs, Bond (2002) argued that instead of becoming more actively involved to help the poor, the government is standing back. The Housing White Paper adopts a market-centred approach, which had several unfortunate outcomes for low-income housing, including:

- an inequitable allocation of funding between different low-income groups;
- a low rate of delivery;
- the deconstruction of existing housing construction capacity;
- communities being displaced;
- a reluctance on the part of the private sector developers to be involved in conflict-ridden areas; and
- the reproduction of apartheid-style ghettos.

3.3 The Housing Code and the Housing Act (1997)

According to the *National Housing Code* (2000), "All current policy exists within the context of the Housing White Paper". The Code, therefore, builds on the Housing White Paper and provides a vision and the principles that define the parameters of South Africa's housing policy. While these policy statements do not offer measurable indicators, they set benchmarks of intention and guidelines for development. The housing vision, therefore, comprises the overall goal towards which all implementers of housing policy should work.

The vision is outlined in the definition of 'housing development", that is contained within the Housing Act (no. 107 of 1997):

1 (vi) …the establishment and maintenance of habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments to ensure viable households and communities, in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities and to health, educational and social amenities, in which all citizens and permanent residents of the Republic will, on a progressive basis have access to –

a) permanent residential structures with secure tenure, ensuring internal and external privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements and
b) *potable water, adequate sanitary facilities and domestic energy supply* (National Housing Code 2000:4UF)

In line with this vision, the Code outlines eight broad principles for housing activity:

- People centred development and partnerships.
- Skills transfer and economic empowerment.
- Fairness and equity.
- Choice.
- Quality and affordability.
- Innovation.
- Transparency, accountability and monitoring.
- Sustainability and fiscal affordability.

The *Housing Act* sets out the institutional framework for housing. It builds on the Housing White Paper and summarises some of it's thinking. There have subsequently been several amendments, most notably the Housing Amendment Act of 2001. Apart from being addressed in the vision, as noted above, the Act also addresses the issue of safety and

security under the general principles applicable for housing development for national, provincial and local governments and prescribes that development must promote:

> *(iii) the establishment, development and maintenance of socially and economically viable and safe and healthy living environments to ensure the elimination and prevention of slums and slum conditions; (Housing Act, 1997:6).*

In this context, "safe" living environments refer to both safe from environmental hazards, such as flooding, fires, etc., as well as safe from human hazards such as crime, including the types of crime like assault, rape, house-breaking, etc.

Housing development should achieve integration (integrated development planning and urban-rural integration) as well as "the elimination of slums and slum conditions". Government commits itself to intervene to promote the "effective functioning of the housing market while levelling the playing fields and taking steps to achieve equitable access for all to that market" (Housing Act, 1997).

These principles demonstrate that government has taken on an enablement role, rather than being the provider of housing or, at the other extreme, leaving provision solely to the market, thus strengthening it's market-centred approach to housing delivery as started in the Housing White Paper. In the process of performing this enablement role towards adequate housing for all, government commits itself to establishing and maintaining "socially and economically viable communities and of safe and healthy living conditions" in which there can be "the expression of cultural identity and diversity". Attaining higher densities of housing and the provision of community and recreational facilities would also be priorities (Napier 2002).

A number of regulations and guidelines exist to assist with the implementation of the housing vision and principles incorporate in the Code and Housing Act. These include the *National Norms and Standards for Permanent Residential Structures, National Building Regulations, Environmentally Sound Low-Cost Housing Guidelines* and *Guidelines for Human Settlement Planning and Design* (Red Book). The Red Book also encompasses a sub-section on Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (section 5) that acknowledges the link between crime and the physical environment and the role that planners and designers could play to contribute to crime prevention.

The housing vision is also reinforced by both the *Urban* and *Rural Development Frameworks* (1997). These frameworks extend the vision to focus on improving the standard of living for all South Africans, with a particular emphasis on the poor and those who have been previously disadvantaged. They also fundamentally influence how the National Housing Policy is implemented, focusing on ensuring security of tenure, broad based support and involvement of communities and beneficiaries and social, economic and physical integration of areas (National Housing Code). As the rural housing subsidy is still in its early stages, the Urban Development Framework (UDF) has been of the more relevant to housing to date.

The apartheid legacy resulted in the juxtaposition of both areas that were highly developed and extremely underdeveloped sections. The physical development plans proposed by the Department of Housing are, therefore, designed to re-dress this imbalance of the past. Alongside with the aim of integrated development, improving the housing and infrastructure in order to create habitable and safe communities is aimed at restructuring the urban past. The Housing Act provides the basis for this (Donaldson and Marais 2002).

4. Relevant Crime Prevention Policies

Levels of crime increased since the transition to democracy in 1994, especially between 1994 and 1999 (Shönteich and Louw 2001)[5]. Government responded with two main policy documents, the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) and the White Paper on Safety and Security, as well as a number of guideline documents.

4.1 National Crime Prevention Strategy (1996)

The NCPS introduced a focus on crime prevention as opposed to a hard approach to crime through law enforcement only. The NCPS addressed four key focus areas:

- re-engineering of the criminal justice system,
- reducing crime through environmental design,
- community values and education and
- trans-national crime.

The NCPS also outlined a multi-departmental approach to crime prevention, which focussed on increased and necessary cooperation between different government departments and different spheres of government, and coordination of their respective activities.

The second key focus area relates to what is internationally known as Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED). CPTED is aimed at reducing the causes of, and the opportunities for, criminal events, as well as addressing the fear of crime, through the application of sound design and management principles to the built environment. In other words, it is based on the idea that certain design and management interventions in the built environment can make a difference in terms of crime prevention by reducing the opportunities for crime and improving the opportunities for policing. CPTED has been successfully implemented in many countries across the world, including the UK, the Netherlands, the USA, Canada and Australia.

4.2 White Paper on Safety and Security (1998)

The White Paper on Safety and Security encompasses the government's vision and strategy for safety and security during 1999 to 2004 and builds on the Green Paper for Safety and Security (1994) and the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) (1996). The White Paper sets out to achieve the vision of greatly improved levels of safety through real reductions in crime, through efficient policing, an effective justice system and greater ability to prevent crime.

The White Paper emphasises two pillars of intervention: law enforcement and social crime prevention (which includes crime prevention through environmental design). Law enforcement is concerned with reducing the opportunity for crime by making it more difficult, more risky and less rewarding to commit crime. Social crime prevention is aimed at reducing the socio-economic and environmental factors that influence people to commit crimes and become persistent offenders; thus to reduce the opportunities for crime through a pro-active approach.

[5] This is in line with many other countries that have experienced a political transition, including Brazil, Argentina, and many of the Eastern European countries (Shaw 2000; 2002).

The White Paper focuses on three key areas to meet delivery requirements, namely law enforcement, crime prevention and institutional reform. It also highlights the importance of community involvement (especially through the establishment of Community Policing Forums) and the interaction of different roleplayers and spheres of government to achieve reduce levels of crime.

4.3 Additional guideline documents

A number of guideline documents were developed to assist crime prevention. Two of these are "Making South Africa Safe" to encourage local crime prevention by assisting the leading roleplayers (the local authority, SAPS and the community) to develop their own local crime prevention strategies, and "Designing Safer Places" to assist professionals concerned with the built environment to reduce opportunities for crime through appropriate intervention in the built environment.

"Designing Safer Places" identified five principles for safer design in South Africa, namely:

- surveillance and visibility;
- territoriality;
- access and escape routes;
- image and aesthetics; and
- target-hardening.

Employing these principles in combination can increase the possibility of reducing crime. Each principle should not be viewed in isolation and the context within which it is to be applied should be taken into account. When applying any one of the principles, the implications it has on any of the others must always be considered. For example, when building a high wall around a property (target hardening), the consequences of violating the principle of surveillance and visibility must be considered (Kruger *et. al*. 2001).

Within the South African context, designing for safer places incorporates the following:

- Physical *planning* and the planning approaches used at the strategic level.
- The detailed *design* of the different elements - for example, the movement system and the roads, the public open space system, individual buildings on their separate sites, etc.
- The *management* of either the entire urban system or the different elements and precincts that make up the urban area (Kruger *et.al*. 2001).

5. Main paradigms and directions reflected by the policies

5.1 Main paradigms and directions

The discussion of the policies revealed a number of main paradigms or themes and pointed out the general direction promoted by government policy. A detailed analysis also revealed a number of smaller similarities and differences in terms of main objectives, principles, directions, etc (Table 2). These often resulted in opposing outcomes and tensions, as will be discussed in the following sub section.

Table 2: Comparing the policies, strategies and guideline documents

	Main objectives	*Principles/ qualities to achieve*	*Key steps, actions or programmes*
RDP (1994)	To meet the basic needs of people Promoting a people-centred approach	▪ Integration & sustainability ▪ People-driven processes ▪ Peace and security for all ▪ Nation-building ▪ Linking reconstruction & development ▪ Democratisation	To ensure long-term sustainability: ▪ Equal opportunities for all ▪ Growth of all people
GEAR (1996)	Strengthening economic growth Broadening employment opportunities Competitive fast growing economy		
DFA (1995)	To facilitate development facilitation in new democracy and bridge gap between old and new planning laws	Advocates compact, integrated and mixed-use settlements. As such planning should: ▪ Promote equity ▪ Promote efficiency ▪ Protect public good ▪ Ensure the good use of scarce resources, and ▪ Protect the environment	
Urban Development Strategy (1995)	To ensure future sustainable development of both urban and rural areas	Vision for cities & towns: ▪ Integrated development ▪ Globally competitive ▪ Economic opportunity for all ▪ Free of racial segregation & gender discrimination ▪ Accountable democratic local governments ▪ Participatory planning ▪ Good infrastructure and services for all ▪ Integrated centres ▪ Environmentally sustainable	▪ Create efficient and productive cities ▪ Reduce infrastructure disparities ▪ Provide better housing ▪ Encourage affordable growth of economies ▪ Address spatial inefficiencies ▪ Transform local governments ▪ Establish safe and secure living environments

Table 2: Comparing the policies, strategies and guideline documents

	Main objectives	*Principles/ qualities to achieve*	*Key steps, actions or programmes*
UDF (1997)	Sustainable urban settlements	Vision for cities: ▪ Spatially & socio-economically integrated ▪ Vibrant urban governance ▪ Environmentally sustainable ▪ Participatory planning ▪ Adequate housing & infrastructure ▪ Integrated centres ▪ Public-private partnerships	▪ Integrating the city ▪ Improving housing & infrastructure ▪ Promoting urban economic development ▪ Creating institutions for delivery
White Paper on spatial planning and Land Use Management (2001)	Integrated planning for sustainable management of land resources	▪ Sustainability ▪ Equity ▪ Fairness ▪ Good governance	▪ Spatial planning (forward planning) ▪ Land Use Management (development control)
Moving South Africa (1998)	Promoting access and integrating cities and regions	Accessibility	▪ Densify corridors ▪ Optimise model economics and service mix ▪ Improve performance of private firms
Redbook (2000)	Sustainable human settlements through a holistic, integrated and human-centred approach to planning	▪ Efficiency ▪ Opportunity ▪ Convenience ▪ Choice ▪ Equality of access ▪ Quality of place ▪ Sensory qualities ▪ Timelessness	▪ Reinforcement ▪ Continuity ▪ Discontinuity ▪ Externalisation ▪ Concentration ▪ Diversity & sameness ▪ Spatial definition ▪ Human scale ▪ Spatial flexibility ▪ Intensity

Table 2: Comparing the policies, strategies and guideline documents

	Main objectives	*Principles/ qualities to achieve*	*Key steps, actions or programmes*
Housing White Paper (1994)	Improving living and working conditions on an equitable and sustainable basis		▪ Stabilising the housing environment ▪ Mobilising housing credit ▪ Providing subsidy assistance ▪ Supporting PHP ▪ Rationalising institutional capacities ▪ Facilitation speedy release and servicing of land ▪ Co-ordinating and integrating public sector investment
The Housing Act (1997) & The Housing Code (1997)	The establishment of socially and economically viable and safe and healthy living environments to ensure the elimination and prevention of slums and slum conditions	▪ People centred development & partnerships ▪ Skills transfer & economic empowerment ▪ Fairness & equity ▪ Choice ▪ Quality & affordability ▪ Innovation ▪ Transparency, accountability & monitoring ▪ Sustainability & fiscal affordability	
National Crime Prevention Strategy (1996)	To prevent / reduce crime		▪ Re-engineering of criminal justice system ▪ CPTED ▪ Community values & education ▪ Trans-national crime
White Paper on Safety and Security (1998)	Greatly improved levels of safety	▪ Real reduction of crime ▪ Efficient policing ▪ Effective justice system ▪ Greater ability to prevent crime	▪ Law Enforcement ▪ Social Crime prevention (including CPTED)
"Safer by Design" (2001)	Safer settlements and reduction in opportunities for crime	▪ Surveillance & visibility ▪ Territoriality ▪ Access & escape routes ▪ Image & aesthetics ▪ Target hardening	▪ Planning ▪ Design ▪ Management

Although the table reflected on many different policies (broadly speaking developmental policies and crime prevention policies), there are many overlaps and similarities. While a synthesis of principles may not be relevant in many cases, it has to functions in the context of this document: firstly it highlights the many similarities contained in the policy document, and secondly, it provides a basis or set of criteria for evaluation in the latter part of the document.

Table 3: Synthesis of principles

Principles for well-performing settlements	*Principles for crime prevention in the built environment*
■ Efficiency and effectiveness ■ Social, recreational and economic opportunity ■ Convenience and accessibility ■ Choice (of amenities, housing types, living areas, etc.) ■ Equality of access through externalisation of facilities, accessibility, location of living and working places. ■ Quality of place and improved quality of life ■ Sensory qualities and improved image of areas ■ Timelessness	■ Surveillance & visibility ■ Territoriality ■ Access & escape routes ■ Image & aesthetics ■ Target hardening

Taking a holistic view and interpreting the principles for safer design, it becomes evident that they encompass all of those for well-performing settlements and vice-versa. However, the principles have to be considered in relation to each other. An over emphasis of one, for example target-hardening, can negate some of the other, as well as many of those principles for well-performing settlements.

In addition to the similarities between these principles, there are a number of main themes emerging from these documents that are directly relevant to the debate on gated communities. These are integrated development, urban sustainability and safer settlements. These will be discussed briefly.

Integrated development

Almost all of the policies discussed referred to integrated development in one way or another. This included socio-spatial integration, economic integration and institutional integration. Spatial integration is concerned with the integration of previously disadvantaged areas with the more well-performing parts of the city, as well as areas with greater prevalence of social and economic opportunities. This can be achieved through, among other measures, integrated activity corridors and nodes and the externalisation of facilities along these. This would, in turn, promote the achievement of principles such as efficiency, greater opportunity, convenience and accessibility, and equality of access.

Social integration is concerned with the integration of different groups in various urban areas to allow for greater opportunities and vibrant communities. Economic integration encompasses greater accessibility to economic opportunities for all urban residents. While some areas are located close to a large number of economic opportunities, others are very distant from them, necessitating long journeys and reducing quality of life. It is, however, acknowledged that urban restructuring is a timeous process and that the existing structure and form cannot just be erased overnight. Institutional integration refers to integration and coordinated efforts between different spheres of government and different government departments to ensure more effective provision of services and integrated planning.

Sustainability and sustainable development

Another great priority reflected in the policies discussed, is sustainability[6] and sustainable development[7]. Although agreement as to the exact meaning of these terms does not always exist, there is a general consensus that development should aim towards more sustainable human settlements. According to Vale and Vale (1996) a sustainable city is a "series of interacting systems". This is also true in South African cities. A recent study aimed at assessing the sustainability of human settlements in South Africa, emphasised the need to look at sustainability in South African cities from a systemic point of view. It identified three main overarching systems with a wide variety of indicators falling under each broad category. These indicators did not only highlight the complexities of urban sustainability but also provided benchmarks for future development. The three categories were the quality of life (needs of the people), environmental sustainability (impact on the natural environment) and institutional sustainability (governance of the city) (du Plessis and Landman 2002). It pointed out that one can not look at any one of these in isolation, i.e. the needs of the people, environmental impact or urban governance. The sustainability of urban environments will, therefore, also depend on these major issues.

Safer settlements

A third major theme is that of creating safer and more secure environments. This is highlighted in a large number of policies as a prerequisite for sustainable human settlements.

5.2 Immediate outcome: results and tensions

This document flagged a number of different policies and focus areas. After a decade of implementation, these policies and focus areas have resulted in differing results as pertained to various aspects of the policies and their implementation in practice. It has also brought about a number of tensions, both as a result of different outcomes (intended and unintended), as well as tensions between different focus areas promoted by these policies. The following section will discuss the results and tensions in four different areas related to the broader discussion, namely planning and development, housing, crime prevention and urban sustainability.

Planning and development

Harrison (2002) commented that despite a few shortcomings, integrated development planning offers real hope of a viable system of local planning. Recent extensive interviews of the second round of IDPs indicated that despite considerable unevenness in performance, these are beginning to have a real impact on the way in which local

[6] Sustainability can be interpreted as the condition that would allow the continued existence of *homo sapiens*, a dynamic balance where the earth's population will continuously have to adapt to changing conditions to achieve this (du Plessis and Landman 2002).

[7] Sustainable development is not merely development that can be sustained, but development that would allow the achievement of a sate of sustainability. Unlike sustainability, which is the goal, it is the process of maintaining a dynamic balance between the demands of people and what is ecological possible (du Plessis and Landman 2002).

government conducts its business (including Mabin and Todes, cited in Harrison 2002 and Oranje 2003). Some of the positive outcomes include:

- budgetary processes are better informed by and linked to strategic objectives,
- infrastructural and housing backlogs are being seriously addressed,
- local governments are more participatory,
- issues such as local economic development are now firmly on the agenda, and
- formal and informal linkages are being forced across sectors, allowing for more coordinated approaches to planning and development (Harrison 2002:3).

However, despite these efforts towards a more integrated and sustainable urban environment, there still seems to be some disappointment and even a sense of failure. In terms of planning, these disappointments include an inability to deal effectively with spatial fragmentation, the continued creation of poor quality living environments since 1994, the slow and bureaucratic process of land reform and the long delays in setting in place a new system of land-use management (Harrison 2002:2). In some cases, the interpretation and implementation of the IDP has also led to the marginalisation of spatial planning. Watson (2003) used the City of Cape Town to illustrate this point. Contrary to previous plans that focused on spatial planning to integrate separated communities (including a greater mix of land uses, higher densities and the accommodation of the poor on well-located sites rather than on the urban edge), the mechanism for integration is the budget. This has resulted in increased institutional fragmentation and a marginalisation of spatial planners in Cape Town. As such, Watson maintained that "urban restructuring efforts in this period of transition have been largely ineffective, and many South African cities are almost as divided, spatially and economically, as they were in the days of apartheid" (2003:141).

Planners, therefore, often have to operate within a context of rather limiting constraints. In addition, they have to face a range of competing pressures within cities, such as the demand for safety and security, the provision of effective services, maintenance of infrastructure, institutional fragmentation and well-performing environments. They are also expected to promote and facilitate the principles of the National White Paper, namely sustainability, equity, fairness and good governance through, among other plans, a spatial development framework. This often resulted in growing tensions between the need to develop under-developed urban areas and integrate them with the rest of the city and the provision of efficient services and safety to all urban areas.

Housing

However, despite a well-developed policy framework related to housing in South Africa, several issues have been identified that appear to increase tensions between the different roleplayers and stakeholders who are involved in housing delivery and the transformation of predominant residential areas, both within the lower and higher income groups. Donaldson and Marais identified two main reasons for the tensions that accompanied the development of South African Housing Policy that still feature strongly in the current debate. The first tension concerns whether the policy should focus on state rental housing or follow the ownership route. The NHF opted for a major focus on the second option, which gave rise to the targeted subsidy becoming the most important element of the housing policy. The second major issue revolved around the size of the subsidy, which basically concerns the conflict between breadth (more subsidies for more people – resulting in smaller houses and subsidy amounts) or depth (fewer subsidies but better quality and bigger houses) (Marais and Donaldson 2002:187). Other tensions included [bullets?] resources versus the size of the final product (which is related to quality), the

need for compact cities versus urban sprawl, reduction of environmental impact versus the delivery of an affordable product, property rights versus land for urban restructuring, targeting the poorest versus cost recovery, developer-driven versus people-driven, community participation versus quick delivery, the regional location of subsidised housing, etc. (Napier et.al. 1999; Marais, Barnes and Schoeman 2002).

Unfortunately, the housing trends of the 1990s resulted in housing schemes that were "largely mono-functional … low density … [areas where] social facilities and other vibrant urban facilities are notable mainly by their absence. Buildings are isolated events in a sea of space" (Dewar in Donaldson and Marais 2002:192). Dewar added that "it is usually impossible to discern any social, economic or environmental concerns in the making of these schemes, which seem to have been ordered simply by questions of engineering efficiency" (Dewar in Donaldson and Marais 2002:192). In addition, factors such as crime and grime (urban decay) also gave rise to the trend of urban fortification in numerous forms in different parts of the city, ranging from target hardening of high-rise apartments in inner cities to the development of secure estates on the urban periphery.

Crime Prevention through planning and design

Despite a general stabilisation in crime trends, the fear of crime remains high. Residents are responding to crime and the fear thereof in various ways. Extensive target-hardening measures are applied, including fencing around properties, building high walls, burglar bars on windows, security gates in front of doors. Electronic measures such as alarm systems and the use of CCTV cameras are also used in many cases. An Institute for Security (ISS) survey indicated that the types of protection measures used by people in Johannesburg in their homes vary according to affordability, the type of dwelling in which they live, and as the types of crime that are the most prevalent. The survey allowed for more than one option in terms of responses to crime, and the results indicated that door locks (19%), high fences (16%) and burglar bars (14%) were the most common. One in 10 victims reported making use of a burglar-alarm system and a guard for protection (Louw, Shaw, Camerer and Robertshaw 1998:14). However, for many residents these types of responses are not enough. They want to live in a secure area as well. This has given rise to the rapid growth of enclosed neighbourhoods and security villages in Johannesburg, especially in the past five years.

CPTED approaches can, however, have negative consequences if taken too far or used in isolation. Despite its many successes internationally, a growing number of commentators have expressed concerns that are related to the impact of certain CPTED measures. Ekblom (1995:122) pointed out that design against crime can lead to extensive fortification: "Beyond the technical and economic aspects, common anxieties about situational crime prevention have focussed on the creation of a 'fortress society' in which ugly and fear-inducing security shutters and bars spoil the environment and reduce social interaction even further". Although advocating the benefits of crime prevention through urban design, Shaftoe (1996: 182) expressed similar concerns: "Creating fortified environments (such as high boundary walls and solid metal shutters) may reduce the opportunities for crime but may raise levels of fear." He continues to caution designers: "Planners and designers should resist the creation of a divided society wherein the better-off (and allegedly law-abiding) exclude the less privileged (and so-called 'criminal classes') from large tracts of the environment by privatising what were formally public spaces. Quite apart from the social ethics of such an approach this polarisation of space can raise levels of fear and mutual suspicion" (1997:187).

Sustainable Human Settlements

In some aspects, South Africa has achieved significant results in towards more sustainable human settlements. Some of the positive measures include an increased awareness between the relationship between human settlements and their biophysical environment, a greater understanding of sustainable development and how policies can contribute, greater institutional integration and improvements in the quality of life of many people through infrastructure development and the provision of housing. In some instances there are examples of greater socio-spatial integration (Du Plessis and Landman 2002:79).
.

Despite these, there are still a number of challenges. These include the scarcity of water, cities of fear, the AIDS pandemic, growing poverty and unemployment, a tendency to not consider the long term implications of actions taken by the government at present, institutional complexity and underperformance and inefficiency (Du Plessis and Landman 2002:78-80).

One of the greatest pressures on achieving sustainable settlements in South Africa at present is crime and associated aspects such as high levels of violent and property crime, fear of crime and extensive urban fortification (du Plessis and Landman 2002).

6. Assessing the relevance of gated communities

6.1 Policies on gated communities in South Africa

As mentioned in Section 1, security estates are private developments, while enclosed neighbourhoods are concerned with restriction of access to existing public roads. The legal and policy implications of these two types are, therefore, different. While large security estates need large greenfield or brownfield sites, and zoning permission to be developed (usually by a large developer), residents from enclosed neighbourhoods only need to obtain permission from the local municipality to restrict/prohibit access into existing neighbourhoods. As discussed previously, this can take the form of a public approach, private approach or combination of the two.

Currently, there is no national policy on enclosed neighbourhoods or road closures for security purposes in South Africa.[8] Planning and development in the country are guided by the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land use Management (2001) and the Development Facilitation Act (1995), which will be replaced by the Land Use Act in the near future. Neither of these mention, or make any reference to, “gated communities”, “road closures” or “neighbourhood enclosures”, or “security estates”. There is also a whole range of other national policies and legislation that has an impact on planning and development to a greater or lesser degree.

Only one province makes provision for road closures for security purposes at a provincial level. The provincial Government of Gauteng incorporated a chapter (Chapter 7) in the Rationalisation of Local Government Affairs Act, No. 10 of 1998, to deal with access

[8] Since the term “gated communities” is not yet well established in South Africa and since there is not always agreement on what the term encompasses (both in South Africa and internationally), few government agencies consider security developments as a collective at this stage. Consequently there are almost no policies on “gated communities” as such or security developments, although a number of local SDFs refer to the growth of these types of development in the spatial analysis of their local areas.

restrictions for security purposes. The Act came into being on 19 March 1999. Chapter 7 makes provision for a local authority to restrict access into an area for purposes of enhancing safety and security.[9] The local authority may restrict access on its own initiative, or may authorise any legal body or institution to do so, as in the case of neighbourhood closures. The existence of this Act does not, however, solve all the legal questions regarding the application process for road or neighbourhood enclosures, or technical details of what is required or allowed. This depends on the local municipality to define and describe.

6.2 Gated communities in practice

The national survey has confirmed the presence of all types in South Africa and showed that townhouse complexes are occurring in most of those municipalities (35%) that responded.

The numbers of enclosed neighbourhoods and security villages within municipalities differ substantially. This is true both for the number of one type in different municipalities, and for the distribution of both types in municipal areas. The survey[10] indicated the highest number of enclosed neighbourhoods in Gauteng, with two municipalities reporting seven to nine neighbourhood closures, two from 16 to 25, one from 25 to 100 and one with more than a hundred enclosed neighbourhoods. Two of the three metropolitan municipalities reported the highest numbers of enclosed neighbourhoods at the time of the response – namely Tshwane with 36 and Johannesburg with 300. Two municipalities in the Western Cape reported higher numbers, namely those that included Cape Town and Mossel Bay. The City of Cape Town metropolitan municipality recorded 25 neighbourhood closures at the time of response, and the Mossel Bay municipality 20. There are also a number of illegal closures in many municipalities. Five municipalities were aware of illegal neighbourhood closures in their areas. There were reported to be more than 200 illegal road closures in the City of Johannesburg in January 2003 (Landman 2003).

The distribution of security estates differs to some extent. While some of the municipalities reported high numbers of security estates, such as the cities of Johannesburg (20), Tshwane (18) and Cape Town (24), high numbers were also reported in other municipalities that recorded relatively low numbers of road closures or none at all. The highest numbers of security estates were recorded in Emfuleni (40) and Madibeng (31) municipalities. Emfuleni is located in the south of Gauteng, including cities such as Vanderbijlpark and Vereeniging, while Madibeng is located in the south-east of the North West Province on the Gauteng boundary, and includes towns such as Brits and Hartbeespoort. Other municipalities with high numbers of security estates include Plettenburg Bay (21) and Knysna (20) in the Western Cape (Landman 2003).

[9] The Department of Local Government in Gauteng is in the process of completing a new provincial policy on enclosed neighbourhoods.

[10] As mentioned before, the CSIR national survey was conducted in 2002. The numbers of gated communities have increased in some areas since then, notably Johannesburg and Tshwane.

6.3 Tensions inherent in the development of gated communities in South Africa

Equity versus efficiency

One of the key challenges facing South Africa is overcoming the inequities of the past, providing a fair and just society and creating equal opportunities for all. To this end it is important to break past patterns that disadvantaged large sectors of society. Establishing equity has, therefore, become a major driver placing pressure on all sectors of society to reform. However, this is often pressurised by a need for greater efficiency, both in terms of service delivery and maintenance, as well as well-performing settlements, with a specific concern for improved levels of safety and security.

Gated communities are generally favoured and occupied by those who can afford them. The fact that property values usually increase after an area is enclosed and becomes a gated community, shows that home owners put a positive economic value to the perceived protection such enclosures afford. Insurance companies also offer reduced premiums to those living in most types of gated communities. So far, no comprehensive empirical data exist to show conclusively whether gated communities experience a sustained reduction in crime, or whether such communities contribute to the overall reduction in crime in a city. This is an important area for future research. Especially in a country such as South Africa where the critical voices opposed to the poorly regulated growth in gated communities appear to be on the increase (Landman and Schönteich 2002). It may ultimately boil down to balancing the need for efficiency (in terms of crime reduction) with that of equity (especially focusing on integration). This also highlights the time dimension, that of immediate short term needs (safety and security) and a longer term vision (integration) promoted by the existing policies. In addition, it touches on the different levels of planning.

Neighbourhood re-design versus metropolitan planning

In response to the high levels of crime and the fear of crime, many neighbourhoods are re-designed and extensively fortified. The result is the creation of a series of isolated, fragmented neighbourhoods that restrict access and reduce socio-spatial integration. In this way the re-design of neighbourhoods for safety seriously threatens integrated spatial planning on a metropolitan level, as promoted by all the policy documents discussed. This highlights an increasing tension between efforts to integrate cities and efforts to ensure increased safety on a community/neighbourhood level.

Expectations versus what is possible

It is generally expected in South Africa that the state, including the police and justice systems, is responsible for ensuring the safety of all residents. Yet, there is also a general perception in South Africa that the police are ineffective in the maintenance of law and order, or are not providing sufficient services. A recent survey indicated that nearly half of the respondents believed that the quality of policing in their areas had deteriorated in the last four years. A third believed that there was no change at all, despite the fact that crime levels had increased. In addition, there are high levels of distrust concerning the police. These perceptions varied between different groups within the general population. Those who have never dealt with the police tended to have very negative perceptions of

the police, whereas those who have dealt directly with the police tended to have much more positive perceptions of the police (Pelser 2001:7).

This perceived normality of high crime rates, together with the widely acknowledged limitations of the criminal justice system, have begun to 'erode one of the foundational myths of modern societies: namely, the myth that the sovereign state is capable of providing security, law and order, and crime control' (Garland 1996:448). One of the consequences of the recognition that the state cannot protect the lives and property of all citizens – especially in developing high-crime societies – has been the development of private alternatives to crime prevention and control. Private security and gated communities are two popular alternatives (Landman and Schönteich 2002). Extensive private involvement in the provision of safety and security, however, can challenge democracy in the long term. The possible consequences have caused many writers, including Shearing and Kempa (2001) and Shaw (2002), to warn that the development of sophisticated private security industries in the majority of transitional countries, including South Africa, should be viewed with concern.

> In many cases the employment of private security firms is designed to protect the rich from the poor, perpetuating the old divisions or creating new ones along class lines within these societies. The growth of private security institutions in a new democracy gives rise to a number of consequences undesirable in a democracy. Primarily, private security, by its nature, is supplied only to those who can afford it" (Shaw 2002:49).

This means that: "security ends up less a democratic right than a commodity monopolised by the powerful" (Shearing and Kempa 2002:205).

As such, there is a tension between what is expected from (and delivered by) the state and what is possible, as well as between the level of state regulation and involvement in the provision of safety versus the extent and consequences of private involvement and control. It, therefore, raises issues around the limitations entrenched in the creation of a secure environment.

Freedom/democracy versus safety

One of the main objections against gated communities is that they privatise urban space and limit public interactions between different groups and individuals within the city, which is a prerequisite for social cohesion and greater tolerance in cities. In addition, some types of gated communities (notably enclosed neighbourhoods) also restrict access to what legally remains public space, as discussed in Section 1.2. Enclosed neighbourhoods that are based on the public approach, where streets and other facilities remain public, create a number of tensions in practice. As mentioned, the Constitution guarantees freedom of movement in all public space. However, it also entrenched the right to safety and security. This raises many issues around the limitations of rights of all urban residents to ensure the safety of a few within a selected geographical area. This debate remains to be challenged in the Constitutional Court and various legal opinions have been offered, arguing both sides of the debate. Meanwhile, those whose rights are limited as a result of restricted access continue to oppose the establishment of enclosed neighbourhoods in South African cities and maintain that they are creating fragmented and socially exclusive communities.

8. Conclusion

The purpose of the document was firstly, to identify the key policy issues of gated communities for planning and development in South Africa and secondly, to determine the relevance of different approaches and types in terms of national priorities and policies and highlight their implications for institutional sustainability, integrated development planning and safer settlements.

The document identified three main themes prevalent in the majority of policies relevant to the gated communities' debate in South Africa, namely:

- integrated development planning;
- safer settlements; and
- urban sustainability.

These issues should be considered against the backdrop of the South African city. The characteristics of the apartheid city (of which many are still in place today) are not conducive for crime prevention. The restructuring of the apartheid city is a prime objective that is promoted in all the planning and development policies. However, this encompasses more than just integrating different groups of people. It is also necessary that this restructuring creates opportunities for better performing urban environments. Similarly, well-performing environments that are aimed at addressing these characteristics, will also have the additional benefit of adding to crime prevention.

Integrated development planning

All the spatial policies propagate integrated development. Alongside the aim of integrated development, the improvement of housing and infrastructure to create habitable and safe communities are also aimed towards restructuring the cities of the past. This is to be achieved through, among other initiatives, a focus on integrated activity corridors and nodes to provide the support structure for housing development. The reality, however, presents a diametrically opposed view in many cases. Low income housing, due to the cost and availability of large green field sites, often occurs on the urban periphery where there are limited numbers of support facilities and job opportunities. This necessitates extensive commuting. As pointed out, these conditions can, and do, contribute to opportunities for crime.

The spatial patterns of segregation and low density sprawl are further exacerbated by the development of large security estates, which likewise mainly occur on the urban periphery, as well as the establishment of enclosed neighbourhoods that physically separate one area from another. This demonstrates how crime prevention responses in the built environment often contradict what is proposed in the development frameworks.

Extensive target hardening measures often result in the creation of fortress cities where the visual elements become a constant reminder of crime. This, in turn, contributes to an increased fear of crime. High levels of crime and increased perceptions and experiences of fear, however, create a dilemma. On the one hand, there is a desperate need for mechanisms that promote personal safety and a sense of security in South Africa. In many cases law enforcement initiatives are seen as unsuccessful to prevent crime or merely as insufficient. Consequently residents respond in their own way, by applying for street closures or opting to move to security villages. This, in turn, stimulates the market

demand for these types of developments. On the other hand it is necessary to consider the medium and long term impacts of these extreme responses to crime in the built environment. These include urban fragmentation and segregation, the privatisation of public space through access control, as well as the violation of people's constitutional / human rights when they are prohibited from entering what legally remains public space in many cases.

Safer settlements

In addition, by hardening the target (neighbourhood) one may violate other CPTED principles that are relevant for the physical spaces outside the gates and fences, thereby increasing crime opportunities in these areas. There is a need for an integrated approach to crime prevention, both in terms of safer design as well as more broadly in terms of crime prevention for entire cities. One of the ways to address this problem is by combining an integrated approach with CPTED.

Despite the limitations on what the state can do in terms of crime prevention, it still has a responsibility towards collective action where applicable. Dealing with urban spaces is one such area in need of collective action, rather than allowing a *laissez-faire* approach where all (including the private sector) are left to their own devices. Many social problems, such as social exclusion and spatial segregation, which will not be solved on their own, can be exploited powerfully by societies. Experience from Brazil suggested that a lack of intervention from local governments and the uncontrolled growth of gated communities can exacerbate existing patterns of spatial segregation and social exclusion. This, in turn, undermines democratic consolidation in a country that is still recovering from years of authoritarian rule.

Local crime prevention initiatives should aim to address all aspects of crime prevention (law enforcement, social crime prevention and situational crime prevention) and avoid interventions that are likely to contribute to severe crime displacement, resentment and exclusion. International and South African best practices indicate that the greatest impact is achieved through integrated crime prevention strategies. These should include law enforcement, social crime prevention and environmental design programmes and projects that address all the factors involved in crime. CPTED measures are more effective when they are combined with other crime prevention approaches. This would include addressing some of the contributing factors to crime in low income housing estates, such as unemployment, a culture of violence, poverty, etc. In addition, an integrated approach can also assist with reducing the fear of crime and the stereotyping of likely suspects in higher income housing areas with the consequent exclusion of many people from public or common spaces.

Such a local crime prevention strategy would also investigate a number of possible alternatives to gated communities, including CIDs (City Improvement Districts), Neighbourhood Watch groups, Visible policing, Sector (community) Policing, Domestic watch groups, etc.

Urban sustainability

The sustainability of urban environments depends on the quality of life offered to urban residents, the degree of respect for the environment and institutional sustainability. While gated communities may offer an increased quality of life to those living within secure neighbourhoods/villages, it may at the same time have a detrimental impact on the

natural environment (through for example increased pollution due to increased use of vehicles along "open" roads) and sustainable urban governance (through negation of citizenship and increased micro-urban governance).

Gated communities (especially the larger ones, such as security estates and enclosed neighbourhoods) pose a number of challenges for government in terms the general direction of spatial planning and development towards more sustainable settlements. These challenges include a threat to integrated development and involve spatial fragmentation, social exclusion (related to quality of life) and reduced citizenship or participation (related to institutional sustainability). Planners and policy formulators have an important role to play in the development of Spatial Development Frameworks and implementing national development policy. In this regard, 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.

In order to ensure urban sustainability, different spheres of governments need to acknowledge the current impact of gated communities and their relevance for the implementation of the vision and goals outlined in the policy documents discussed previously.

This requires two major actions from local governments. 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 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 included. 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 within the context of spatial planning and development policies only, but also as part of the larger debate on local crime prevention. It is also very difficult to have a strong position on a specific development issue such as gated communities if it is not considered within the context of the larger urban development frameworks and policies. This is especially true if issues only concern certain parts of the metropolitan area. It is necessary to consider the impact on the city (metro) as a whole as well.

Apart from local governments, provincial and national governments can also play an important role. A lack of consensus at provincial level or a lack of proper guidance can often lead to a very haphazard, slow response or none at all at a local council level. While it is true that local councils are not all influenced by the growth of these developments in the same way, a uniform guideline document or provincial policy could assist towards coherent responses. At a provincial level, only one of the nine provinces in South Africa addresses the issue of enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa. This act, the *Rationalisation of Local Government Affairs Act, No. 10 of 1998* in Gauteng, makes provision for road/ neighbourhood enclosures. Although it stipulates strict requirements and conditions, the question remains whether this type of development should be allowed at all. In addition, legislation on enclosed areas only takes the form of one chapter (Chapter 7), which does not deal sufficiently with the complex issues and possible consequences of gated communities, particularly enclosed neighbourhoods. Other provinces do not have any form of policy in this regard, leaving local governments open to their own interpretations and applications. In addition, provincial-level intervention can also include the development of a database with existing information on South Africa's gated communities (since many of the current types are a fairly recent phenomenon),

examples of existing policies, problems and successes experienced by local councils, as well as lessons learnt. This could go along way to help those municipalities that are suddenly faced with the issue and have no experience in this regard, or do not have the capacity to commission in-depth research on the subject.

Finally, a national policy that accords with the national planning policies could assist in establishing a common base for provinces and local councils regarding this issue. It would also ensure that these types of developments occur in accordance with the main planning and urban development policies in the country, and that the vision and goals of these documents are carried through at a local level in the development and establishment of different types of gated community in South Africa.

Way forward

Questioning the development of gated communities is not to imply that safety and security is not important. On the contrary, it is rather aimed at questioning the relevance of a specific way of addressing safety in urban neighbourhoods. Gated communities are not the sole solution to crime prevention in the built environment, and in the majority of cases, not the best or most sustainable solution. Alternative approaches, such as community policing, neighbourhood watches, "residents-against-crime" associations, crime prevention through environmental design, local crime prevention partnerships, etc., should be considered before making decisions that will require major inputs to change them in the future. Through efforts such as these, committed communities are achieving results without physical barriers.

In summary, it is not any kind of urban transformation that is required to change South African cities, but rather appropriate forms of transformation in line with the national policies on planning and development. Constructive transformation, however, also necessitates the involvement and buy-in of all urban residents. It is, therefore, essential that all relevant roleplayers carefully consider gated communities in relation to the nature of urban transformation envisaged and take appropriate action.

References

Bond, P. (2002). "The Degeneration of Urban Policy after Apartheid", Unpublished Paper.

Butler, A. (2004). *Contemporary South Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Du Plessis, C. and Landman, K. (2002). *Sustainability analysis of Human Settlements in South Africa*. Prepared for the Department of Housing. CSIR Report BOU/C368.

Donaldson, R. and Marais, L. (2002). "Urban Policy for Urban Change during Transition: an introduction" in Donaldson, R. and Marais, L. (ed.) *Transforming Rural and Urban Spaces in South Africa during the 1990s: Reform, Restitution, Restructuring*, Africa Institute of South Africa, 2002.

Ekblom, P. (1995) "Less Crime by Design" in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

D Garland, D. (1996) "The limits of the sovereign state", *The British Journal of Criminology* 36(4), Autumn.

Harrison, P. (2002) 'Subverting orthodoxy: a re-look at the 'truths' of post-apartheid planning.' Paper presented at the *Planning Africa Conference*, 18-20 Sept 2002, Durban.

Harrison, P. (2003). "Fragmentation and Globalisation as the New Meta-Narrative", in Harrison, P., Huchzermeyer, M and Mayekiso, M., *Confronting Urban Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratising Society*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town University Press.

Kruger, T., Landman, K. and Liebermann, S. 2001. *Designing Safer Places: a manual for Crime prevention through planning and design*. Pretoria, CSIR.

Landman, K. (2003). *A National Survey of gated communities in South Africa*. Pretoria, CSIR Publication. BOU/I 252.

Landman, K (2004). *Gated communities in South Africa: Comparison of four case studies in Gauteng*. Pretoria, CSIR Publication. BOU/I 347.

Landman, K., and Schönteich, M., (2002). "Urban fortresses: Gated communities as a reaction to crime", *African Security Review* 11/04/02: 1-21

Lieberman, S, K. Landman, A. Louw, and R. Robertshaw. (2000). *Making South Africa Safe: a manual for community based crime prevention*. Pretoria, CSIR.

Louw, A., Shaw, M., Camerer, L and Robertshaw, R. (1998). *Towards a crime prevention strategy for Johannesburg*, ISS Monograph No 18.

Mabin, A., and Harrison, P. (forthcoming) "Security and Space: Managing contradictions of access restriction in Johannesburg", *Environment and Planning B*.

Marais, L. Barnes, L. and Schoeman, J. "A Provincial comparison of post-apartheid housing policy and delivery: The Free State and Northern Cape as case studies", in Donaldson, R. and Marais, L. (ed.) *Transforming Rural and Urban Spaces in South Africa during the 1990s: Reform, Restitution, Restructuring*, Africa Institute of South Africa, 2002.

Napier, M (2002) Housing Policy, Programmes and Impacts". CSIR Discussion Paper, p. 44.

Napier , M., du Plessis, C., Meiklejohn, C., Vosloo, L. and Lungu-Mulenga, A. (1999). The State of Human Settlements Report: South Africa 1994-1998. Contract Report by the CSIR for the Department of Housing, South Africa

National Housing Code (2000). Developed by the National Department of Housing

Pelser E, (2001). 'A critical distance: Public perceptions and police service' in *Nedbank ISS Crime Index*, 5, 3.

Results from testing of CSD Indicators of sustainable development in South Africa. (1999). Report to the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, November 1999.

Shaftoe, H. (1996). "Planning for crime prevention" in Greed, C. and M. Roberts (eds.) *Introducing Urban Design: Interventions and Responses*. Longman Publishers, 1996, p.182.

Shaw, M. (2000). *Crime and Policing in transitions: Comparative Perspectives*. SAIIA Report 17. Johannesburg: SAIIA Publication.

Shaw, M. (2002). *Democracy's Disorder? Crime, Police and Citizen Responses in Tansitional Societies*. Johannesburg: SAIIA Publication.

Shearing, D. S. and Kempa, M. (2000). "The role of 'Private Security' in Transitional Democracies" *Crime and Policing in Transitional Societies: Comparative Perspectives Conference* hosted by SAIIA, 2000, Johannesburg.

Schönteich, M and Louw, A. (2001) *Crime in South Africa: A country and cities profile*. ISS Paper 49, (April) Pretoria: ISS Publication.