

**Assessing the role of gated communities in
reproducing the existing patterns of urban
segregation: a case study of Mount Edgecombe
Country Estates, Durban, South Africa.**

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DECLARATION

I Phila Sosibo declare that the work on this dissertation is my original work (except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise) and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other university.

Signature.....

Date.....

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DEDICATION

Prisca and Liborius Sosibo

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ACRONYMS

IDP	Integrated Development Plan
CPTED	Crime Prevention through Environmental Design
LUMS	Land Use Management Systems
NDP	National Development Plan

ABSTRACT

There are increasing levels of inequality in the new democratic South Africa. Inequality continues to rise even when the Apartheid policies have been abolished. Crime levels are amongst the socioeconomic issues that is increasing drastically in the country. Gated communities are growing all over the world especially in developing countries where crime levels and other socioeconomic issues pose serious challenges to the development and growth of South Africa. The gated communities in South Africa are deemed as a response to the high crime levels however; there has been much criticism of them contributing to the increasing levels of inequality and segregation in South Africa. There are different types of gated communities and in the South African context, security villages and enclosed neighbourhoods are the most common. Mount Edgecombe Country Estate the case study of the dissertation is categorised as a security village and much of the concept of gated communities in this dissertation refers to the security village type of gated community. Gated communities in South Africa and around the world have come under much scrutiny because of the division it brings amongst different communities. Gated communities are criticised for privatising public space, limiting public movement, privatising, and not sharing resources and goods and they are classified as being racist which all contributes to segregation in urban areas.

This dissertation focuses on assessing the role of gated communities in reproducing the existing patterns of urban segregation. Policies and violence over the years have orchestrated South Africa's history of segregation and racism. The democratic status of the country prohibits policies to segregate people, with the inequality levels increasing there must be institutions and structures, which continue to reproduce the existing patterns of segregation. Gated communities are one of the institutions that continue to reproduce the existing patterns of urban segregation. The study finds that the segregation is positively not in view of race as much as it was in the past in any case; there is class segregation. Cost and affordability determines who stays where and in gated communities, the high-class people are the only ones who can afford. The middle and low class have no place in gated communities in South Africa.

CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

1.1 Introduction

The apartheid period made social orders in South Africa segregate based on race, non-white individuals had their own communities and white individuals had their own communities. After 1994, black and white people could live in the same communities since race no longer bind them not to live together. The post-apartheid era brought many socioeconomic challenges; the most prominent socioeconomic challenge was crime in urban areas. The white and high-class people then required a new system to separate themselves from the socioeconomic challenges that were growing in the urban area.

Landman (2008) notes the main factors behind the separation and segregation of different classes particularly between the rich and the poor is rising levels of crime, clashing of conflicts, reasoning and opinions between rich and poor and decreasing state provision of security. Due to these factors, there is a rise in communities with electric fences, tall and impenetrable walls, security guards at the entrance of communities. Gated communities are also known as gated estates or walled communities depending on the country. The design of gated communities are to provide security for the residents and keep outsiders out of their communities. However, the establishment of gated communities did not just provide security for the residents. Gated communities in South Africa managed to reproduce the existing patterns of racial segregation.

This dissertation seeks to unpack and discuss the role of gated communities in aggravating the already existing patterns of socio-spatial segregation created by the apartheid and colonial system. The research framework will firstly discuss the background of racial segregation and gated communities in South Africa, a brief account on the case study area that is Mount Edgecombe Country Estates. There are several problems

and issues revolving segregation and gated communities in South Africa, a problem statement will be included discussing the role of gated communities in reproducing segregation in South Africa.

The research framework chapter will further outline the aim, research objectives, and research questions of the study followed by the importance of this research in the rationale of the research. The hypothesis and chapter outline will conclude the research framework chapter by giving it direction and a clear context of the study.

1.2 Background of the Research

Racial segregation is prominent feature or topic in South Africa's past, from colonialism to the apartheid era, racial segregation has always been part of South African societies. The racial segregation of the past still prevail in South Africans communities even after more than twenty-one years of democracy. The reasons for the distinct contrast in South Africa's communities between black and white is that even though the apartheid policies which segregated people ended more than twenty-one years ago, there are still factors and institutions such as gated communities which continue to reproduce the existing racial segregation in South Africa. So even after twenty-one years of democracy, the South African government is still unable to untangle the separation of white and black communities. It so happens that there are still communities categorised as white and those categorised as black.

Policies and legislation that implemented segregation acts were only present during the apartheid era; however, segregation in the country started way before the apartheid era. The beginning of the apartheid legitimised the segregation and discrimination of black people but according to van Schoor (1986) during the colonial era, there was segregation based on free persons and slaves not on white and black persons. However, the slaves were black and free persons were white. Documentation as to what race the slaves or free persons were was not done but it was still a racial issue since the slaves were black people. Van Schoor (1986) notes Van Rhee passed the first racial segregation law in 1686, these laws based on race were meant to prohibit Europeans from marrying or having sexual relations with freed slaves.

Segregation can happen in several ways, over the many decades the most prominent segregation in South Africa has been residential segregation in the form of race. Segregation in South Africa constantly focuses on allocating and forcing the non-white population into certain neighbourhoods where they will not mix socially, economically, or physically with white people. Van Schoor (1986) discovers that the real and most stringent residential segregation in South Africa started when Cecil John Rhodes wanted to have a constant supply of cheap labour for the mines in Kimberly, created locations for African mineworkers closer to the mines so the mineworkers could live and work in one place.

The apartheid regime seemed to be worse than colonialism in segregating the people of South Africa. The implementation of several policies and legislation were necessary to enforce segregation between the whites and non-whites in South Africa. Apartheid aimed at separating the people of South Africa and even though racial segregation had been used for centuries, the introduction of apartheid laws and policies made racial segregation stricter and more systematic.

Several apartheid policies enhanced segregation in South Africa such as the prohibition of mixed marriages act, immorality amendment act, population registration act, group areas act, separation of amenities act, and Bantu education act. The prohibition of mixed marriages act prohibited marriages between white people and other races, the immorality act prohibited any sexual relations between white people and other races in South Africa, to enforce this act, the police went far as to break into people's bedroom to check if black and white people were not involved in any sexual relations. White people who violated this act were given fines and given warnings while black people had to serve time in jail.

The population registration act classified people of South Africa according to their racial group, this registration determined where people were allowed to live and what type of work they were allowed to do. Like all other apartheid laws, this law placed black people at a disadvantage in terms of their location and job perspectives. The group areas act was one of the most effective apartheid laws that enforced segregation, under the group areas act, towns and cities were divided into areas, each area was reserved for only one race, therefore Blacks, Coloureds, Whites, and Indians lived separately. There were areas classified as

‘white’ or ‘black’ areas. Non-whites who occupied residency in white areas they had to be forcefully removed and relocated to another area according to race. All apartheid laws were to ensure racial segregation in all aspects of life.

The use of space was vital in racial segregation in South Africa, the aim was not for blacks and whites to meet and associate socially, economically, and physically with one another. The best way to ensure segregation was to separate different races according to their residential areas. That would effectively make different race groups work, live and play at one place thus limiting interaction and movement of different races. A good method to evaluate and assess racial segregation in a country is to evaluate the level of racial homogeneousness in a community and in South Africa; one race group dominates the communities.

In Blakely and Snyder (1997) study, in America, there are efforts put forward as a nation to outlaw any forms of discrimination and racial segregation, however gated communities have introduced a new form of discrimination. Gated communities are residential areas with restricted access with security guards, fences, and walls. The primary establishment of gated communities is to provide security and protection for the residents.

1.3 Problem Statement

Racial segregation is a serious problem for the development and growth of South Africa, inequality and uneven development is a result of segregation. Harmse (2013) argues South Africa has one of the highest Gini coefficient rates in the world, Gini coefficient is a globally used measure of income inequality in a country. The high rate of the Gini coefficient in South Africa is a result of the racial segregation because the common trend between inequality and segregation is that the black communities are poor and the white communities are rich, this is a result of the segregation and economic and social opportunities created by the segregation of the apartheid system.

According to Cazessus *et al.* (2007), many authors and writes agree that gated communities contribute to the segregation of communities. Residential segregation is the most prominent form of urban inequality and at the forefront of residential segregation, there are gated communities that are increasing and driving urban segregation. There is a strong and recurrent relationship between urban segregation and gated communities, gated communities are growing in numbers and that inevitably leads to increased spatial inequality.

Social exclusion and segregation is no stranger to South Africa, during the apartheid era white communities did not require gates, walls, or fences to segregate communities. Gnad and Jurgens (2002) note that apartheid policies ensured ethnic and racial segregation was achieved, the segregation of residential areas was accomplished through laws and policies such as the Group Areas Act that prevented black people from being around and in white neighbourhoods so gates and fences were not required to segregate people back then.

Cazessus *et al.* (2007) argues that gated communities are no longer just for the rich or higher-class people, gated communities are turning into a more preferred residential place for different ethnic groups, higher class, and even middle class people. Even with the growth of gated communities, there is no guarantee that there will be a growth in diversity in the gated communities. White people and the higher-class people dominate living in gated communities. Cazessus *et al.* (2007) puts forward that in America, renter gated communities are increasing in popularity than homeowner-gated communities. This is to prove that even the middle class who cannot necessarily afford buying houses in gated communities choose to live there based-on class and race. Gated communities are no longer just responsible for racial segregation but it has introduced discrimination and segregation based on class.

There are reasons for the growth of gated communities in both developed and developing countries. A study by Gnad and Jurgens (2002) give reason to the growth of gated communities. Gated communities grow because they are attractive communities and residents are offered a variety of leisure activities and other aspects of personal comfort, gated communities are very prestigious and are dominated by the elite which

enhances their public image and gated communities are safe, they are security zones in which people feel safe. The design for safety and protection of gated communities has a negative impact on society; gated communities reproduce patterns of racial segregation. Governments are trying to dismantle the doings of the past by creating sustainable and integrated communities but gated communities are making it quite difficult as they grow in numbers and popularity.

It is obvious in South Africa why people would choose to live in gated communities, Demombynes and Ozler (2005) conducted a study showing that one of the biggest issues that are affecting the growth and development of South Africa is crime. Crime is one of the many challenges and issues facing the development of South Africa in the post-apartheid era. The countries crime rates are amongst the highest in the world, crime is not a problem only in South Africa, and crime issues affect most developing countries.

There is a high growth rate of gated communities in developing countries; the high growth rate of gated communities is a response to crime in South Africa particularly housebreaking and home robbery crimes. The high crime rate in South Africa has promoted and favoured the growth and development of gated communities for those who can afford living in gated communities. The problem with gated communities is that they do not deal with the problem of crime in South Africa but only ensures safety for those who live in these gated communities, rather it tends to create another form of discrimination and social exclusion between the high and low class people and different races.

The influence of gated communities has influenced other open communities to restrict and close public roads by having securities and neighbourhood watch agencies to close the roads. This is a clear violation of the right and freedom to public movement as they gate and fence public roads. Normal neighbourhoods are turning into gated communities that increases social exclusion and segregation.

1.4 Research Objectives

The research objectives of this study are to assess the role of gated communities in reproducing the existing patterns of urban segregation. The objectives will be used as a guide and ensure what to include and exclude in the dissertation.

1. Determine how gated communities contribute to the fragmentation and segregation of South African communities.
2. Determine how Mount Edgecombe Country Estates limits and prohibits public movement due to its location and network of public roads.
3. Analyse and assess the population of Mount Edgecombe Country Estates to determine the race and class of the residents in relation to past regressions.
4. Establish if there are any relations or shared resources between Mount Edgecombe Estates and surrounding townships.
5. Assess public resources and goods that have been absorbed by the establishment of Mount Edgecombe Country Estates.
6. Determine the similarities between Mount Edgecombe Country Estates and other gated communities in South Africa in terms of reproducing existing urban segregation.

1.5 Research Questions

The research questions of this dissertation should be able to give answers that will respond to the objectives of the research.

1. Do gated communities contribute to the existing socio-spatial segregation and fragmentation of South African communities?
2. Is public movement prohibited by the location and network of public roads in Mount Edgecombe Country Estates?

3. Are the effects of past regressions still prominent in the demographic figures of Mount Edgecombe Country Estates?
4. Are resources between Mount Edgecombe Estates and other townships equally and consumed?
5. Is there a common relationship between the similarities of Mount Edgecombe Estates and other gated communities to prove that gated communities aggravate existing socio-spatial fragmentations?
6. Does Mount Edgecombe absorb any public resources and goods?

1.6 Rationale

Mount Edgecombe Country Estate in Durban, South Africa is the case study area for the study on gated communities and existing patterns of urban segregation. The reason for this particular gated community is that it is one of the largest gated communities in Durban; it represents an identity and culture of a gated community around South Africa. The motivation for this research stems from the realisation that instead of South Africa dealing with the issues of crime, the government has allowed the higher-class people to build gated communities and isolate themselves from the middle and low class people and that has had serious implications for social solidarity amongst South African communities. Gated communities are a tool to separate different races and different classes in society.

Using gated communities to address the issue of crime is treating the symptom of crime and not working towards eliminating crime in South Africa and thus gated communities have introduced a different form of discrimination. Class segregation is a new form discrimination that restricts the movement of people. It also clearly divides the rich from the poor. The growth of gated communities has had social, economic, and environmental concerns but this research is concerned with segregation and fragmentation of communities.

Researching and understanding sustainable development and the social sustainability of gated communities will be influential for the development of many countries because people will understand whether gated communities will be conducive for the future. Policy makers, property developers, planners, local

governments, various governments departments and South African citizens will benefit from this research, as they will be able to approach gated communities knowing exactly whether they are good or not for the communities of South Africa.

1.7 Hypothesis

Gated communities are somewhat responsible for the growing segregation of urban communities.

1.8 Chapter outline

The Dissertation has been structured and constructed through different chapters, all the different chapters seek to unpack and discuss different objectives of the Dissertation. The Chapters are:

Chapter One: Research Framework

The research framework chapter introduces the purpose of the Dissertation to the reader. It incorporates the problem statement, research objectives, research question, rationale of the study, the hypothesis and introduces the case study area.

Chapter Two: Research Methodology

The research methodology chapter explains the approaches to fulfil the research objectives and to answer the research question of the Dissertation. There are many steps involved in this process and this chapter provides a description of these steps that are necessary to complete and fulfil the expectations of the research.

Chapter Three: Literature Review and National and International Precedents

This chapter outlines the literature and national and international precedents of gated communities. This chapter discusses the literature and precedents of gated communities and segregation. The literature and precedents will be vital in unpacking and gaining valuable knowledge on the study of gated communities and urban segregation.

Chapter Four: Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

This chapter will discuss the concepts and theories that are relevant to the study of gated communities and urban segregation. The conceptual framework will define all relevant concepts to the study and the theoretical framework will put together the theories that are relevant to the study of gated communities and urban segregation.

Chapter Four: Findings and Data Analysis

This chapter will present and analyse the findings from interviews, questionnaires, and observations from Mount Edgecombe. The data analysis will help with the coming up with recommendations chapter. The responses from the residents of Mount Edgecombe and non-residents of Mount Edgecombe will be included in this chapter.

Chapter Five: Recommendations and Conclusions

The recommendations and conclusions chapter is the last chapter of the Dissertation; this chapter draws information from the literature, theories, concepts, international and national precedents, and the data analysis chapter. This chapter also provides recommendations on gated communities and on issues of crime. Each recommendation produces a conclusion for the research, testing the hypothesis and research questions of the research. Concluding comments will be part of this chapter.

1.9 Conclusion

In conclusion, racially segregated and fragmented societies in South Africa are a result of the apartheid and colonial systems. The South African communities are continuing to be segregated even without the apartheid laws that compelled segregation. South African societies are no longer segregated based on race but class has turned into another form of discrimination in the country. Gated communities play a role in the segregation of South African societies based on race and class. There are theories that relate to the topic of socio-spatial segregation and in the research, gated communities are deemed to play a role in the segregation of South African societies. It is not just in South Africa where gated communities are

responsible for the segregation of communities, in most developing and developed countries, gated communities are growing in numbers and influencing segregation.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

The research methodology section provides information on how the research was conducted and it will discuss how the research that was conducted responds to the research questions and objectives. The methodology section will discuss the qualitative approach that is used to complete the research.

Kallet (2004) states that research is based on scientific writing which should be direct and orderly, therefore the methodology section in this research describes the data collection methods followed by the data analysis and sampling methods. The last section of the methodology will discuss the challenges experienced when collecting the data and ethical considerations when collecting data and conducting this research.

2.2 Qualitative Approach

The approach to this research is a qualitative approach, Corbin and Strauss (1998) define qualitative research as any type of research that produces findings that do not arrive at or use statistical procedures or any other means of quantification. Qualitative research can research about person's lives, lived experiences, behaviours, emotions, and feelings as well as social movements, cultural phenomena, and social interactions between groups to nations. Some of the methods of collecting data using qualitative research is interviews and observations. The fact that qualitative data is not based on statistics, does not mean the qualitative data collected cannot be quantified. When qualitative data is being coded, it can be coded statistically so it can be analysed effectively this process is referred to as quantifying qualitative data.

According to Corbin and Strauss (1998) there are three major components of qualitative research, firstly there is the data, which is collected using the various sources of collecting data such as interviews, observations, documents, reports and journals. Secondly, there are procedures, procedures are those that can be used by the researcher to interpret and organise the data. Coding and sampling are part of the procedures. Written and verbal reports make up the third component of qualitative research. All the three major components are used in this research. The first component, that is data; the interviews with the estate manager and real estate agent are methods of qualitative research that were used in this research. The second component, procedures is expressed in the research through the sampling of the participants of Mount

Edgecombe Country Estate. The third component is the written report of the research, from the literature to the findings and conclusions make up the third component of qualitative research in this study.

2.3 Data collection sources

There are several data collection sources that are used in research, in this research there are two forms of data sources that are used namely: primary data sources and secondary data sources. Primary data sources have different tools such as interviews, observations, and questionnaires. Secondary data sources also have different tools such as books, journals, and internet and government documents. These primary and secondary data sources and tools will be discussed briefly below in terms of how they were used to collect data for this research.

2.3.1 Primary Data Sources

The primary data tools that were used to complete this research on assessing the role of gated communities in reproducing the existing patterns of urban segregation are interviews, observations, and questionnaires that form part as qualitative research. Interviews were held with two key informants; key informants are individuals who have a great deal of knowledge about a certain topic. The first key informant was the estate manager of Mount Edgecombe Country Estates. The second key informant was a Pam Goldings real estate agent from Mount Edgecombe. The interviews that were conducted with the key informants were open-ended interviews. They will be open-ended so that a platform will be given for the key informants to share unexpected and in-depth information on the topic.

The second type of primary data tool that was used in this research was questionnaires, questionnaires were prepared for twenty residents of the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate and another questionnaire was prepared for twenty people who either work within the estate or is not a resident or who live or work nearby the gated community of Mount Edgecombe Estates. The study used observations as the third type of primary data tool.

Kallet (2004) conceptualises observation as a research tool whereby the researcher engages with the study area. The time in which the researcher spends engaging with the study area will depend on the objectives. While the researcher is observing he/she assesses the local behaviours and cultural activities of the study area, the patterns, trends, and norms of the area. Observations were held in and around the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate, while observing several discussions and conversations were held with people who volunteered to share information and on sight on the study. Signs of segregation in Mount Edgecombe Estate were observed, the levels of diversity in and around Mount Edgecombe were observed, and the level of homogeneity in Mount Edgecombe Country Estates was also observed. Observations were done for three

weeks, there were three days a week of observation and each day had a morning, day, and afternoon observation

2.3.2 Secondary Data Sources

The secondary data tools that were used in this research of assessing the role of gated communities in reproducing the existing patterns of urban segregation were books, journals, government documents and the internet. A lot of literature on gated communities and segregation is developed in America however; there has been growing literature on other developing countries such as Brazil, China and particularly South Africa.

Many journals were used to gain more knowledge and literature on gated communities. Many scholars, academics and media agencies write on gated communities using scientific approved journals, much of the literature based on gated communities is found in journals so journals were vital in collecting data for this research. The South African government is very much involved in policy regarding the development of gated communities in South Africa and government is fighting crime in South Africa that is the primary role of gated communities so government documents were also very useful in researching about gated communities. With regards to segregation, South Africa is structured by segregation so all books, journals and government documents relate to segregation in South Africa. The internet is the fastest and most effective research tool, books, journals, and government documents were accessed through the internet if not found in hard copy.

2.4 Data analysis

The data collected was analysed using thematic analysis; thematic analysis is the most common form of data analysis in qualitative research. Braun (2006) defines thematic analysis as a method of analysing, identifying and reporting data; thematic analysis organises and describes data in detail. Braun (2006) argues that the thematic analysis is widely used but there is no clear agreement as to what thematic analysis and how does one approach it. It is so widely used but not given the recognition and the credit it deserves. When thematic analysis is not clearly classified, it becomes a problem because when other researchers are not aware of which analysis was used in analysing the data, it becomes difficult to evaluate, compare or synthesize data. There is much importance in clearly identifying and clarifying the data analysis type in a research or study.

In Braun (2006) study, thematic analysis is flexible and ensures that different themes in data analysis are unpacked. Thematic analysis was particularly useful and effective for this research since it will be able to explain, compare and discuss the different themes. Qualitative research uses thematic analysis and this

study on assessing the role of gated communities in reproducing the existing patterns of urban segregation has used a qualitative approach.

2.5 Sampling

A sample is a smaller collection of the whole population that represents the whole population, the sample selected from the whole population is expected to give truths about the whole population. The reason this research used a sample is simply because of the time and money factor that will be required if the research had to be done on the whole population. The second component of qualitative research is procedures, coding and sampling are part of the procedures; the sampling for this research is qualitative research.

The type of sampling that was used for the interviews with key informants and questionnaires for the residents and people who both work within the estate and do not reside within the estate or who live or work nearby the gated community of Mount Edgecombe Estates will be non-probability sampling. The reason for non-probability sampling is that the population that the research will be conducted on has been carefully selected, from the key informants to the residents and the workers, all questionnaires and interviews were done with participants who have been identified and selected.

The type of non-probability sampling is expert sampling and purposive sampling. Expert sampling was used to identify and interview the key informants this is because from the interviews the research is seeking an expert opinion. Purposive sampling was adopted in this research for the questionnaires, participants shall be selected for a reason, the reason will be the position and role the participants play in the field of the research.

The third primary research tool used in this research is observation; the sampling method for the observation tool differed from the other research tools. Observation used a probability sampling method; a probability sampling method; everyone in the area demarcated has an equal chance of being selected in the sample. The type of probability sampling used is random sampling.

2.6 Ethical Considerations

In conducting this research, several ethical considerations guided the completion of the research. There are several ethical considerations that should be considered when doing qualitative research, in this research the following ethical considerations were considered: do no harm, privacy, anonymity and confidentiality, informed consent, intrusiveness, data interpretation, data ownership, gate keepers letter.

The first ethical consideration was to **do no harm** when conducting this research, the research conducted did no harm to the participants; there was no physical or emotional abuse that done to the participants. Participants volunteered to participate and they could withdraw at any moment when they no longer wanted to participate. If there was a sense of adverse reactions amongst the participants, the researcher did not continue with the interview.

The second ethical consideration is **privacy, anonymity and confidentiality**, the research conducted guarantees and acknowledges the privacy of all individuals that participated in the study. The identities of individuals were kept private and that applies to any other organisation and institution that participated in this research. All the information collected was kept in a computer folder with a secure password and the supervisor kept the data before publication. The research revealed all participants who wanted their identities to be revealed and given acknowledgement. The information given to the researcher was treated in a confidential manner and was not given to anyone else. In case of any publications that will be made which might reveal the participant's identity, permission was asked from the participant before publication.

The third ethical consideration was **informed consent** the participants were informed of the nature, focus of the research, and had an option to not continue with the study if they do not want to. Participants were assured that they are not be forced to participate and were handed an informed consent form to agree to participate. The fourth ethical consideration is **intrusiveness**; the participants involved with the study were guaranteed that the researcher would not be overly intrusive. The researcher did not intrude on the participant's time, space, and personal lives, when preparing the questionnaires and interviews all the factors not to intrude on were considered.

Data interpretation was the fifth ethical consideration in this research; the participant was assured that the data was interpreted in a way that avoids misstatements and misinterpretations. **Data ownership and rewards** is the sixth ethical consideration, there was no financial rewards for the research produced so there are no royalties which can be shared with participants however the participants are to be acknowledge for their contributions while the researcher still owns the study. The last ethical consideration is a **gate keeper's letter**, the nature of the study extended to private property and therefore required permission to enter and conduct the research. The estate manager of the Mount Edgecombe Estates signed a gate keeper's letter that allowed the researcher to conduct a research on the Mount Edgecombe Estate.

2.7 Challenges experienced during data collection

There were many challenges encountered and experienced during the data collection process. The main problem was with the study area being a gated community, access to Mount Edgecombe Country Estate was a problem and getting hold of the respondents was even more difficult. Some of the respondents also had a problem with the researcher moving around the estate collecting data, thus the estate manager had to redistribute the remaining questionnaire that delayed the data collection process.

The questionnaires that were given to non-resident respondents were also a problem, as the non-residents seem to be not honest so the residents or employers will not judge them. One of the non-resident respondents refused to participate on the study even given consent by the employer; the reason for refusing was that she did not want to be deemed as racist because the study involved segregation.

The unavailability of the residents of Mount Edgecombe caused major delays to the data collection process, the estate manager struggled to get back the questionnaires that were distributed to the residents despite numerous attempts to get hold of the residents. The last major challenge that the researcher faced, is that there is not much literature and data on gated communities particularly on South Africa and developing countries. Much of the data on gated communities has a Eurocentric approach.

The limitations on the study of gated communities and urban segregation using the case study of Mount Edgecombe Country Estates was the sample size, even though the sample size of the respondents fit the general population of Mount Edgecombe but a larger sample size could probably give different results. It is certainly hard to prove otherwise the motives and intentions of people who choose to live in gated communities if they claim it is mainly for security.

Another limitation of the study is that it is too focused on the fact that gated communities in South Africa are a response to the crime levels, ignoring other factors that could possibly influence the growth of gated communities in South Africa. Spinks (2001) speaks of a new Apartheid where people are segregated because of prejudices and a general fear of the other. They then opt for gated community not because of crime but so they can have their own communities, ignoring government plans for integration and social mix of neighbourhoods.

2.8 Conclusion

To conclude, the research methodology chapter explains how the researcher has gone about to conduct and complete the study on gated communities and urban segregation. The qualitative approach, data collection

sources, data analysis method and challenges experienced during the data collection are part of the research methodology chapter. The research methodology chapter serves as a directory and indication as to how this dissertation was conducted.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PRECEDENTS

3.1 Introduction

Increasing socio-spatial segregation has become a major issue for South Africa. There are growing levels of segregation in South Africa, despite the efforts of the government to reduce levels of segregation and inequality there is still much growing segregation and inequality in the country. The apartheid era is responsible for much of the segregation and inequality amongst South Africans today, however the end of the apartheid era gave hopes to the end of segregation and inequality, yet even after twenty years of democracy segregation and inequality still prevails in South African communities. It is with no doubt that; there are institutions, attitudes, and policies that still reproduce segregation in South Africa. In this chapter, literature from international and national sources will conducted the assessment and analysis of the role of gated communities in reproducing the existing patterns of urban segregation.

This chapter will review the literature informing the study of gated communities and segregation. The literature review section will contain the background of gated communities and the relationship between gated communities and segregation. The international and national precedents will discuss and provide cases that support and relate to the study of gated communities and urban segregation, the precedents bring out a practical side to the study of gated communities and segregation. Reports on international and national precedents will strengthen the argument and provide examples of gated communities. The international precedents will look at gated communities in America and national precedents will look at gated communities in Johannesburg.

3.2 Background to Gated Communities

South Africa has a long-standing history of racism and racial segregation, which has structured the form, history, context, and shape of South Africans communities. From colonialism to the apartheid era, racism and racial segregation has always been a part of South African societies. The big debate is that racial segregations of the past still prevail in South Africans communities, twenty years after democracy.

The reasons for the distinct contrast in South Africa's communities between black and white is that even though the apartheid policies which segregated people ended twenty-one years ago, there are still institutions such as gated communities which segregate the people of South Africa. The South African

government is still unable to untangle the separation of white and black communities. It so happens that there are still communities categorised as white and those categorised as black, in this instance, gated communities are perceived as communities for white people. Without proper assessment of institutions such as gated communities, patterns of existing segregation will continue to grow.

One of South Africa's biggest problems is the level of inequality. Harmse (2013) identifies South Africa as having one of the highest Gini coefficient rates in the world, a Gini coefficient is a globally used measure of income inequality in a country. The high rate of the Gini coefficient in South Africa is a result of the racial segregation because the common trend between inequality and segregation is that the black communities are poor and the white communities are rich, this is a result of the segregation and economic and social opportunities created by the segregation of the apartheid system.

Cazessus *et al.* (2007) argues that many authors and writers agree that gated communities contribute to the segregation of communities. Residential segregation is the most prominent form of urban inequality and at the forefront of residential segregation, there are gated communities that are increasing and driving urban segregation. There is a strong and recurrent relationship between urban segregation and gated communities, gated communities are growing in numbers and that inevitably leads to increased spatial inequality and segregation.

Social exclusion and segregation is no stranger to South Africa, during the apartheid era white communities did not require gates, walls, or fences to segregate communities. Gnad and Jurgens (2002) notes that apartheid policies ensured ethnic and racial segregation was achieved, the segregation of residential areas was accomplished through laws and policies such as the Group Areas Act which prevented black people from being around and in white neighbourhoods so really gates and fences were not required to segregate people.

Cazessus *et al.* (2007) observes that gated communities are no longer just for the rich or higher-class people, gated communities are turning into a more preferred residential place for different ethnic groups, higher class, and even middle class people. Even with the growth of gated communities, there is no guarantee that there will be a growth in diversity in the gated communities. Gated communities are still dominated by white people and the wealthy and gated communities are no longer just responsible for racial segregation but it has introduced discrimination and segregation based on class. This is the trend in post-apartheid South Africa.

There are several reasons for the growth of gated communities in the world. Gnad and Jurgens (2002) argue that gated communities grow because they are attractive communities and residents enjoy a variety

of leisure activities, other aspects of personal comfort and security. Gated communities are very prestigious and the elite class who enhance their public image by living in these luxurious communities are the dominant people who live in gated communities. Gated communities are safe; they are security zones and people choose to live there mainly because of security reasons. Blacker and Synder (1997) refer to gated communities as a new form of discrimination because as much as gated communities are designed for safety and protection, there is a negative impact gated communities have of reproducing patterns of racial segregation, when governments are trying to dismantle the doings of the past in creating segregated communities.

Breetzke *et al.* (2014) explains it is no surprise that there is a high growth rate of gated communities in South Africa, the high growth rate of gated communities is a response to crime in South Africa particularly housebreaking and home robbery crimes. The high crime rate in South Africa has promoted and favoured the growth and development of gated communities for those who can afford living in gated communities. The problem with gated communities is that they do not solve the problem of crime in South Africa but only ensures safety for those who live in these gated communities, rather it tends to create another form of discrimination and social exclusion between the high and low class people and different races. Breetzke *et al.* (2014) argues that inequality amongst the whole population of South Africa has not decreased over the past two decades. Rather inequality has remained very high and unchanged.

3.3 Gated Communities and Segregation

There are many invisible or symbolic forms policies, structures and institutions that segregate people, gated communities are one of those invisible or symbolic forms of segregation. The concept of community emphasises the integration and interacting of individuals into a social network, gated communities are not pursuant to promoting integration and interaction between different communities and members of society.

According to Landman and Schönteich (2002) there is no doubt that socio-economic issue especially crime in urban areas urban are the main reason for the growing industry of gated communities. The change in urban form and demography in most metropolitan areas with large numbers of gated communities has led to the drive for exclusion and separation in urban areas. High levels of immigration, a growing underclass, high levels of inequality and a restricted economy are changing the structure and face of urban areas like Johannesburg, Los Angeles and New York at a very fast pace. The historical context for each urban area that has grown with gated communities has a role in influencing the changing of the face of urban areas.

The apartheid era in South Africa played a vital role in creating inequality and restricting black people from coming to urban areas and when post-1994 when the apartheid era ended, there was a huge influx of people into the urban areas of South Africa seeking economic opportunities. With limited opportunities for the huge influx, many resorted to criminal activities that created many social ills for the city. Thus, the developments and growth of gated communities became favourable for the new form of urban structure. Gated communities keep outsiders out of the gated community member's community, helping limit crime in gated communities.

Turok (2012) notes that previously South African cities were separated by race, income and economic opportunity. Urbanisation has forced and brought about redistribution of urban patterns of discrimination. It is not to say that gated communities have created this segregation but has reproduced the already existing patterns of segregation. With urbanisation and redistribution of economic opportunities, that has changed the face of many cities. Laws and policies are unable to hold the structure of segregation. An invisible form of institution (gated communities) has been the growing factor to segregate people in urban areas.

The main issue concerning gated communities is that there are many views on gated communities and these often related to the different implications of the various types of gated communities. The important thing in the study is to bring out the different views on gated communities particularly the type of gated community that is linked to the case study gated community. The following chapters will define gated communities and there forth a common understanding on gated communities and the type that the study will continue to focus on will be the integral part of the study.

3.4 International and National Precedents of Gated Communities and Segregation

3.4.1 Introduction

According to Le Goix (2005), the literature on gated communities focuses on three general types of arguments, which have a relationship between gated communities and segregation. First argument, gated communities represent the post-industrial societal changes such as individualism, segregation, and fragmentation by the commoditising of urban public spaces. Secondly, gated communities are symptoms of urban pathologies, among them social exclusion and segregation are the most prominent. The gating of neighbourhoods and decline of public spaces in neighbourhoods has a negative impact on the poor. Third argument is that the growing gated communities are an act of secession by the upper class, certain race, and ethnic groups from society. It is a direct rejection of social mix in urban areas and redistribution of the welfare system.

The debate about gated communities and urban segregation is growing and many policies, debates and discussions are touching into gated communities and segregation despite very limited empirical arguments to support the arguments. This is largely because gated communities are private institutions and information on them is held privately and not easily accessible to the public like everything else that concerns gated communities and the public interest. The following examples of gated communities (security villages) in international and national cases are to help understand and explain how they reproduce the existing patterns of segregation in their respective countries or cities. The international and national precedent will firstly discuss the debate and arguments surrounding security villages and then give examples of gated communities in different cities both internationally and nationally.

3.4.2 International Precedents

In the United States of America, gated communities are creating new forms of social exclusion and residential segregation, exacerbating already existing social cleavages in America. Low (2001) argues that previously gated communities were built in the United States of America to protect estates and the elderly who had retired. Nowadays gated communities target much more than just the retirees, gated communities include families with children of those who can afford meaning the high and medium class people. The preference of living in gated communities amongst American citizens contradicts with the values and ethos of America, gated communities threatens public access to open space and creates barriers and boundaries. Map 3.1 shows an image of the United States where a great deal of gated communities is located.

Map 3.1 Most gated communities in the United States of America



Source: Google maps (2016)

Blakely and Snyder (1997) state the changes in demography of towns and cities in America has pushed for the separation, exclusion and protection in metropolitan areas. Increase of foreign immigrants, growth of the underclass and a free market economy are changing metropolitan areas normally increasing social and economic issues and changing the structuring of urban areas, gating responds to this trend by ensuring all the changes that affect the metropolitan at large do not affect the upper-class people who choose to gate themselves. The United States of America is separated by race and income and security villages ensure that this trend continues by providing communities for the whites and the upper class.

The limitation to the claim that gated communities reproduce the existing patterns of segregation in urban areas is that the primary reason for the establishment of gated communities is to protect residents from crime and the question to whether it limits crime or not is another debate but residents do feel safer in gated communities. For this reason, it is understandable why the rich would choose to fence and gate themselves into their own community whereby the poor would not have access. When the rich choose to live in gated communities they go against not just the American values but against the principles of urban sustainability that seeks to promote communities of social mix, integration and interaction. Having different races and mixing high, medium, and low class people is promoting the principles of urban sustainability so community members can assist and develop one another.

There are no policies in South Africa or the United States of America, which can prevent the rich people from segregating themselves from the poor by living in gated communities. The amendment of policies to limit the growth and increase of gated communities and private ownership of land is necessary though to do away with the increase of gated communities.

South Africa can learn from the United States of America that even though gated communities are important for safety and security they are not so good with the solidarity and unity of the citizens of a country. Before the situation of the increase of gated communities gets out of control in South Africa. Government, developers, and the private sector should take drastic measures and interventions to limit the growth of gated communities and address the issue of crime that gives a platform for people to move into gated communities. The following two security villages are examples of gated communities in the United States of America that reproduce existing patterns of segregation.

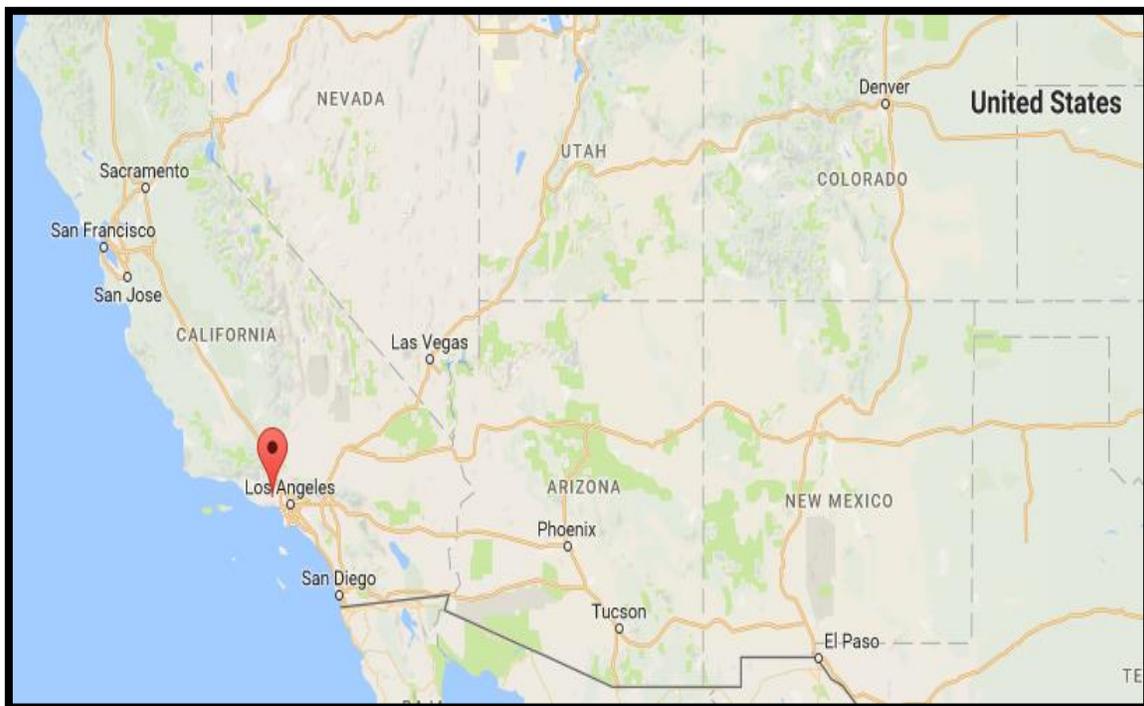
3.4.2.1 Hidden Hills Estate, California

Hidden Hills Estate is a gated residential community of just under seven hundred homes. It is a lifestyle or elite gated community. Hidden Hills has exclusive equestrian trails and a laid-back lifestyle, complete with white three-rail fences, and no sidewalks or streetlights. It is completely different from the surrounding neighbourhoods, it has its own sense of community and according to Dana Olmes an estate

agent, Hidden Hills Estate is so different that once you in the estate, you have no idea that you are in Los Angeles. That statement by the estate agent makes it clear how the Hidden Hills gated community has fenced out “the others”. Hidden hills limit all forms of interaction with neighbouring communities and to some extent even amongst the community members, as there are no sidewalks for the Hidden Hills gated community members. Map 3.2 shows the location of Hidden Hills Estate in the United States of America.

Hidden Hills Estate as mentioned is an elite gated community; several famous people live on the estate including pop singer Jennifer Lopez. It is a lifestyle gated community since there are amenities such as riding arenas, a large swimming pool and performing arts centre. However, these amenities are only available for the Hidden Hills Estate members only. The Hidden Hills Estate began to develop in the mid-1950s, looking at the historical timeline of the United States of America, around the 1950s and 1960s there was unrest political activity between blacks and whites, and government had passed the Civil Rights Act of 1957. The development of Hidden Hills Estate began around the time were laws and policies could no longer segregate white and black people, therefore it can be asserted that the walls and fences that enclose Hidden Hills were a response to the urbanisation of Los Angeles.

Map 3.2 Location of Hidden Hills Estate in relation to the USA and the state of California.



Source: Google maps (2016)

The Hidden Hills Estate has preserved a country way of lifestyle that has vanished from the surrounding communities due to urbanisation. Community members of Hidden Hills Estate use horses to move around and even pick up their kids from around the estate with horses. If other people who are not community members were allowed into the Hidden Hills community, then the country way of lifestyle would not be available for the Hidden Hills residents. To ensure this lifestyle was preserved, gates were required and average homes in Hidden Hills Estate are about \$3.5 million and can cost up to \$13 million.

Plate 3.1 A home in Hidden Hills Estate.



Source: Google images (2016)

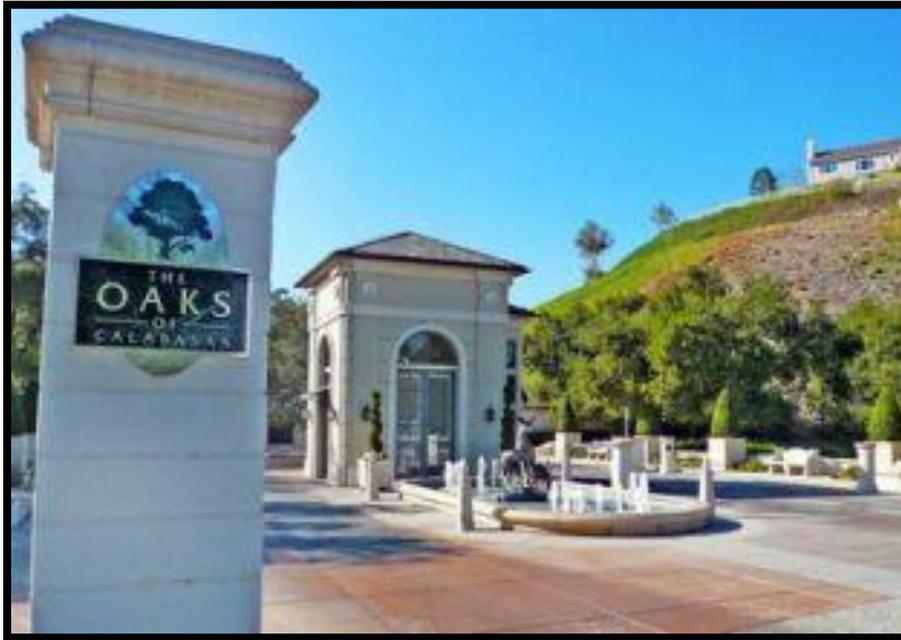
3.4.2.2 The Oaks, Calabasas, California

The Oaks in Calabasas is a relatively new-gated community in the Los Angeles area; it was developed around the early 2000s. The Oaks in Calabasas like all other gated communities (security villages) it has luxurious homes, like Hidden Hills it has beautiful homes which cost millions but The Oaks in Calabasas gated community is more planned with several facilities and amenities featuring community centres, large swimming pool and tennis courts.

The Oaks in Calabasas gated community is an ultra-exclusive community, a combination of lifestyle, elite and security gated community. It has about fifty-five homes and it is home to several celebrities including Justin Bieber, Kourtney Kardashian and several members of Michael Jackson's family. The

prices of the homes in the Oaks in Calabasas gated community are so high that only the elite, famous and high class people can afford to live there so besides the gates and fences, the cost of the homes make it very impossible others to live there. Security is a vital aspect of gated communities; plate 3.2 is an image of the security entrance at The Oaks in Calabasas.

Plate 3.2 Security entrance at The Oaks Gated Community in Calabasas.



Source: Google images (2016)

The Oaks gated community is considered a gated luxury community, it has top of the range security features amongst many great social facilities and amenities. These features include hiking trails, fitness, and gym centre, Olympic size swimming pool and tennis courts. It is in an excellent location, with proximity to highly rated schools, great restaurants, and shopping, and offers a relaxing slower paced lifestyle than what you might find closer to the centre of Los Angeles. Again, the type of lifestyle offered at the Oaks gated community is one that will escape the urbanising and changing Los Angeles urban area.

3.4.3 National Precedents

In South Africa, the increase of gated communities is higher closer to metropolitan areas especially in Gauteng. The high rate of crime and racial discrimination in South Africa has made gated communities favourable for security and protection however; a few people agree that gated communities are a solution to the crime problem in South Africa.

Landman (2003) adds that South Africa's gated communities are being criticised for entrenching the already existing patterns of socio-spatial segregation and protecting the upper class at the expense of the lower class. Landman (2004) states that socio-spatial integration or segregation can be measured by assessing the accessibility of a community of which gated communities are not accessible at all to the urban residents except those who live in them. The residents can only enjoy the facilities and opportunities that are offered by gated communities; the benefits of a neighbourhood or city are its capacity to share economic, social, cultural, and recreational facilities and opportunities. Sharing of facilities and opportunities are signs of integration and the not sharing of facilities and opportunities by gated communities is a sign of segregation.

Gated communities are a global phenomenon and they increasing all over the world, developing countries in Africa such as Nigeria, Kenya and South Africa have a remarkable number of gated communities. In South Africa, the increase of gated communities is higher closer to metropolitan areas especially in Gauteng. The high rate of crime and racial discrimination in South Africa has made gated communities favourable for security and protection however; a few people agree that gated communities are a solution to the crime problem in South Africa.

According to Landman (2003) South Africa's gated communities are being criticised for entrenching the already existing patterns of socio-spatial segregation and protecting the upper class at the expense of the lower class. Not only have the whites favoured gated communities, but also the black upper class; this leaves the struggling middle class and low class population to face the social and economic challenges of South Africa. Again, South African communities are segregated but this time it is not just race, it is also based on class. South Africa has been trying to reconstruct the apartheid city; even with those attempts to reconstruct South African communities, the footprints of the past are still reflecting on South African societies.

Landman (2004) argues socio-spatial integration or segregation is measured by assessing the accessibility of a community of which gated communities are not accessible at all to the urban residents except those who live in them. The residents can only enjoy the facilities and opportunities that are offered by gated communities; the benefits of a neighbourhood or city are its capacity to share economic, social, cultural, and recreational facilities and opportunities. Sharing of facilities and opportunities are signs of integration and not sharing facilities and opportunities is a sign of segregation that is what is being experienced in gated communities.

Having facilities, resources and opportunities in a neighbourhood that are not accessible or limited to a very few people is of little use or importance to the development and growth of communities in a country. South Africa's history is ravaged by inequality, discrimination, and segregation, so the previously disadvantaged

people of South Africa need assistance and opportunities from the wealthy through integration to develop but living in inaccessible communities such as gated communities limits the integration between rich and poor. Gated communities contribute to the privatisation of public space and opportunities and facilities within them.

Gated communities are criticised for reproducing segregation in South Africa, but the critics do not consider that the safety and protection of the white people merely depend on these gated communities since they are targets for the poor black people. The policies and constitution in South Africa embraces equality amongst all race and social class groups therefore gated communities do not adhere and embrace to the values of the constitution. The South African government is aware of the implication and challenges posed by the increase of gated communities.

Gated communities are a global phenomenon; they have an impact on societies at a global, national, and local level. In South Africa, the increased and drastic growth of gated communities has been witnessed in Gauteng. Durban at a local level has also witnessed a great deal of increased gated communities. The increase of gated communities in Durban is occurring around previously 'white' neighbourhoods, in areas such as Umhlanga, Ballito, and Hillcrest.

Mount Edgecombe Country Estates is the case study of this research, Mount Edgecombe Country Estates is a very big gated community, and it is divided into two estates. The association for residents pointed out that, gated communities in South Africa, this includes Mount Edgecombe Estate, are faced with negative legislative changes from the South African parliament, several government departments are targeting gated communities such as department of transport, human settlements, tourism, and local government. Gated communities are targeted for not upholding and adhering to the values of the South African constitution.

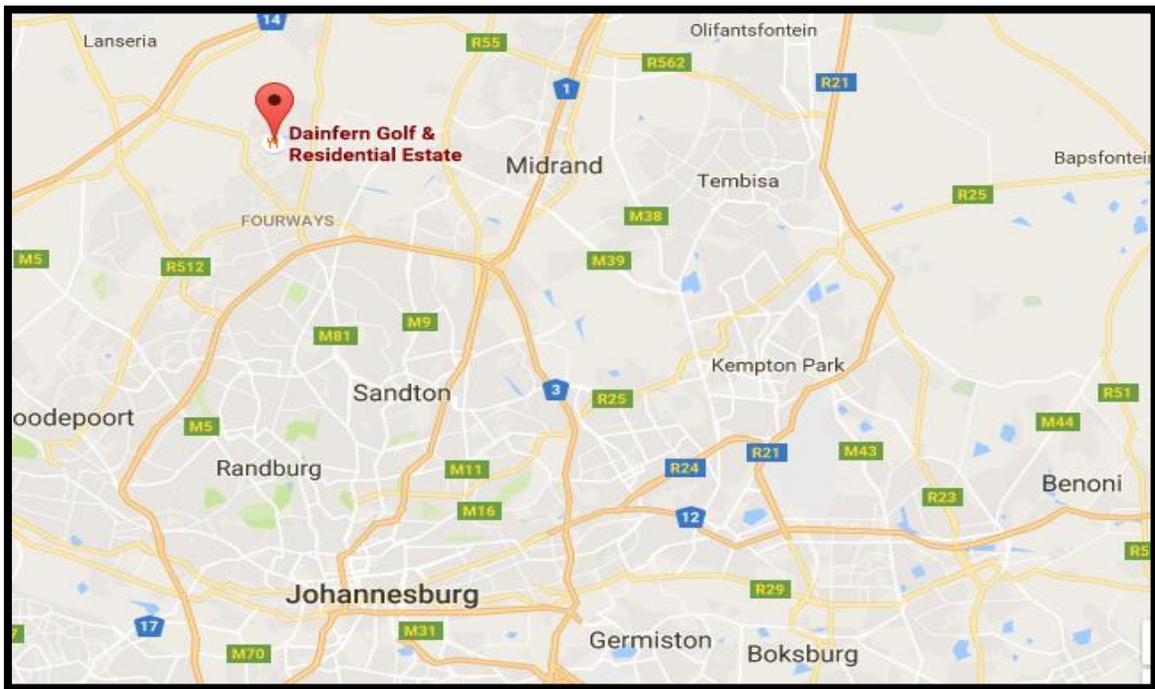
Mount Edgecombe Country Estates is a typical gated community with fencing and an electric gate system guarded by security guards. Access is limited only to residents and visitors are allowed in by permission and confirmation from the resident to the security guards. There are only three gates in estate two which has almost 900 households, which limits accessibility for non-residents, there is no entry allowed for the general public unless if arrangements are made for a particular reason. In the case of Mount Edgecombe access to non-residents would be given if arrangements are made to use the golf course.

A limitation to the negative claims is that the gated community of Mount Edgecombe and other gated communities around South Africa employ many people from townships and villages who come from a previously disadvantaged background. The gated community industry is diverse, multi-disciplinary and sustainable. It protects residents from crime and increases quality of life for residents.

3.5.3.1 Gauteng, Midrand, Dainfern Residential and Lifestyle Estate

Dainfern Residential and Lifestyle Estate is a security village in the province of Gauteng in the city of Midrand. Dainfern Residential and Lifestyle Estate offers secure living with houses built around the Gary Player designed golf course, parks, nature trails and sports facilities for the member/residents of the Dainfern Residential and Lifestyle Estate. Dainfern Residential and Lifestyle Estate has become its own suburb covering about 320 hectares of pristine land and over 1200 houses.

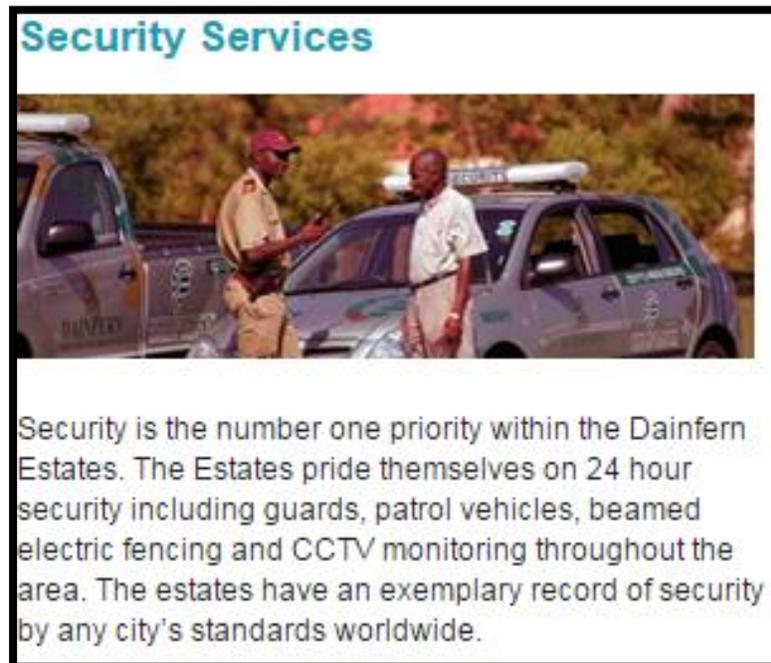
Map 3.3 Location of Dainfern Residential, Lifestyle Estate and the neighbouring towns of Gauteng



Source: Google maps (2016)

The Dainfern Residential and Lifestyle Estate prioritises security over any other service or facility offered by the estate. An outsourced security company manages the security system and includes upgraded electrical boundary fencing and micro phonic sensors. Strict access control procedures are in place and the estate has a biometric system for easy in and out access for the residents. Armed securities patrol the estate with vehicles. Cameras are installed and are viewed by the Control Room twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. Plate 3.3 below is an image of the security services at the Dainfern Estate.

Plate 3.3 Security services on the Dainfern Estate



Source: www.dainfern.co.za (2016)

The Dainfern Residential and Lifestyle Estate has stunning luxurious houses, the architectural style of the houses is monitored by the Architectural Committee, the residents are required to adhere to strict building standards so that the high quality of houses can be met. The estate has a river flowing through it and a natural Highveld environment that attracts about 200 bird species. The estate also accommodates porcupines, hedgehogs, bush babies, and other species. There is a nature trust, which protects the wildlife within the estate.

The residents or homeowners of the Dainfern Residential and Lifestyle Estate have automatic membership to the country club on the golf course, residents of the estate have their own facilities and resources such as restaurants, natural views, swimming pools, bar, and tennis courts. Residents also have access to the Dainfern College (an academic school), shopping centres are located on both entrances into the estate, a gym, doctor's rooms, and the Lanseria Airport that serves both domestic and international flights is only 10 minutes away from the estate. Residents can live, work and play in this security village without disturbance or interaction with the neighbouring communities.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

The conceptual framework chapter discusses the different concepts that inform the study of gated communities and urban segregation in South Africa. The conceptual framework provides a foundation that the study will be based on. The conceptual framework will give a distinctive understanding of gated communities and urban segregation by explaining the various terminology that will be used in the study, in the theories and in the precedents. One of the objectives of the conceptual framework is to identify which type of gated community the case study is, which form of segregation is linked with gated communities and how apartheid is tied to segregation.

4.2 Concepts Informing the Study

The following concepts are discussed to clearly understand and clarify the terminology that will be used in this study of gated communities and urban segregation. The concepts are as follows: Gated Community, Segregation, Apartheid, and Inequality.

4.2.1 Gated Community

Gnad and Jurgens (2002) define gated communities as residential areas with restricted access; it is a community where public spaces are privatised. Physical barriers control access, such as walled or fenced perimeters and gated or guarded entrances. Gated communities are not simply apartments with a security or door attendant controlling access. Gated communities preclude public access to roads, sidewalks, parks, open space, playgrounds, and resources that are normally accessible to all citizens. Gated communities are both new suburban developments and older inner city development areas that have been established and retrofitted to provide security and protect residents from crime. Gated communities are those gated communities that places security and protection as its primary function.

Blakely and Snyder (1997) add gated communities privatise civic responsibilities, such as police protection, and communal services, such as education, recreation, and entertainment. The new developments create a private society that shares little or nothing with the surrounding neighbourhoods. This fragmentation and exclusion undermines the values of integration, unity and organised community life.

Cazessus *et al.* (2007) argues that “a very important aspect of gated communities is that they are characterised by self-governing homeowner associations, where elected boards oversee the common property and establish covenants, conditions, and restrictions as part of the deed. Scholars argue that many times these contracts are tacitly used to exclude potential buyers based on income, race, and ethnic origin”. The concept of gated community is very broad and there are different types of gated communities and they have different terminologies in different areas but the characteristics are still the same. Gated communities have restricted access, privatisation of public amenities and resources and exclusion of non-members of the community.

4.2.1.1 Types of gated communities International Context

Blakely and Snyder (1997) argue that gated communities can be classified into three main types or categories based on the motivation of the residents to live in gated communities. The following are the three types of gated communities: lifestyle gated communities, elite gated communities and security zone gated communities. The explanation of the types of gated communities will categorise which type of gated community Mount Edgecombe Country Estate is on a national context.

a) Lifestyle Gated Communities

Lifestyle gated communities are gated community largely based on leisure activities, resources, and amenities within the community. The gates and walls in this community provide security and separation for the leisure activities and amenities within. Lifestyle communities include retirement communities, golf estates and country club leisure estates.

b) Elite Gated Communities

Elite gated communities are communities for the upper class and the gates, walls are a symbol of distinction, and prestige, the gates and walls create and protect the community for it to keep its place on the social ladder. Elite communities include those for the rich and famous, communities for the affluent and executive home developments for the middle class.

c) Security zone Gated Communities

Security zone gated communities are those motivated and created for the fear of crime, the gates and walls are to protect the residents from crime and be a defensive mechanism especially for outsiders who try to enter the community. Existing or established neighbourhoods are barricaded with gates and walls. Security zones include neighbourhoods where the gates attempt to protect property and property values, neighbourhoods who try to wall out nearby crime, neighbourhoods who gate and wall to restore a once quiet suburb that is prone to urbanisation, neighbourhoods who barricade streets to block non-residents and

reduce unauthorised access to outsiders. Security zone gated communities aim at gaining control over their neighbourhood and not be changed by urbanisation and increasing socio-economic issues.

From the above definitions of the types of gated communities, Mount Edgecombe Estate seems to be falling under security zone gated communities even though Mount Edgecombe Estate does have features of being an elite and lifestyle gated community but the most prominent feature is security therefore it can be categorised essentially as a security zone gated community. Perhaps a national perspective on the types of gated communities can clearly categorise and define which type of gated community Mount Edgecombe Country Estate is.

4.2.1.2 Gated Communities in a South African context

Landman (2004) argues there are broadly two types of gated communities in South Africa, namely enclosed neighbourhoods and security villages. A national survey confirmed these two types of gated communities described by Landman.

a) Enclosed Neighbourhoods

The first type of major gated community in South Africa is enclosed neighbourhoods. Enclosed neighbourhoods are neighbourhoods that have designs of open neighbourhoods but have closed up for security reasons. These open neighbourhoods closed and limited access through gates or booms extending across the road. In some cases, fences extend around the whole neighbourhood to limit access and close the community.

Access into enclosed neighbourhoods is restricted and controlled through a few access points, these access points can be remote controlled gates or security operated gates or booms. Ownership of the roads belong to the public depending on the policies and arrangements made prior to establishment of the enclosed neighbourhood. The size of the enclosed neighbourhoods varies from small cul-de-sacs with less than ten houses to large neighbourhoods with over a thousand houses. Local municipality needs to give permission to enclosed neighbourhoods to restrict access into their neighbourhoods for only security reasons.

The applications and approvals for enclosed neighbourhoods are submitted and approved per neighbourhood and not on the number of roads that will be closed. Applications and approvals for enclosed neighbourhoods can be temporary or permanent. It is therefore important to know the conditions that apply to enclosed neighbourhoods. There are two types of enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa, public and private enclosed neighbourhoods.

In Landman (2004) study, the public approach to enclosed neighbourhoods is that when the local authority owns the roads, parks, amenities, sidewalks and resources it is still the responsibility of the local authority to maintain these areas. This means that with the public approach to enclosed neighbourhoods, the enclosed neighbourhood cannot legally restrict access into these areas since the spaces, roads and resources are under local authority ownership. The enclosed neighbourhood needs to make provision for the public to attain access into these enclosed neighbourhoods when required.

When the resident's association or homeowners association take over the enclosed neighbourhood, the private approach to enclosed neighbourhoods apply in that context. These areas then become private space and the residents are responsible for the maintenance of the roads, sidewalks, and amenities. This inevitably means that the enclosed neighbourhood can legally restrict access into these areas since the spaces inside them have become private.

b) Security villages

The second type of major gated community in South Africa is security villages, according to Landman (2004) in South Africa there are a number of different types of security villages. Security villages range from smaller townhouse complexes to large office parks and luxury security estates. Security villages are areas purposely built by private developers and building these areas is to provide security for the residents. Lifestyle offerings are also part of the features of a security village especially the larger estates. These security villages are generally located on the outskirts of the urban centres, as they require big plots and portions of land and natural resources such as rivers, dams, and trees. The natural elements are very important features of security villages, security villages offer a lifestyle package including a safe environment where residents have access to a wide variety of services, facilities, and amenities such as golf courses, water activities and cycling routes.

These large security estates occupy between ten to fifty hectares. An example of these large security villages in South Africa is the Heritage Park Residential Estate in the city of Cape Town that is about two hundred hectares and Dainfern Residential and Lifestyle Estate that is about three hundred and fifty hectares. According to Landman and Schonteich (2002) security villages are physically walled or fenced off and have controlled access points with security guards, the roads, sidewalks, amenities, rivers and dams are privately owned and it is the responsibility of the management to maintain the facilities and services.

c) Comparison between Blakely and Snyder (1997) types of gated communities and Landman (2004) South African types of gated communities

The three types of gated communities defined by Blakely and Snyder (1997) are very much like those South African types of gated communities defined by Landman (2004). Leisure, elite and security gated communities all fit in the category of enclosed neighbourhoods and security villages of South Africa. Enclosed neighbourhoods and security villages offer leisure activities and the rich and upper class generally occupy them. The walls and fences make up the security component of gated communities. The term gated community is indeed very broad however it depends much on the region in which it is referred to. For the case of the study, the South African types of gated communities will be used when referring to gated communities. The case study of the study Mount Edgecombe Country Club would then be categorised as a Security Village, a large residential security village.

4.2.1.3 Segregation

Bogus (2013) quotes “segregation has to do with the idea of the separation of certain social groups within the space of societies. It can be considered as a manifestation of social relations that are established and based on social structure, stratification, rules and conduct codes in place then”. Spatial segregation can be expressed in a society by a larger concentration of a social group in an area.

Bogus (2013) puts forward that segregation is the specific location of a certain social group relative to others. With segregation, individuals live and group based on racial, ethnic affinities and social position to protect themselves from the fragmenting effects of the individualisation brought about by living in cities. In this sense, residential segregation is believed to be the product of individual logics, that is, the effect of individual choices. A clear indication in a society that there is a high degree of segregation would be homogeneity in societies. In security villages, such as Mount Edgecombe there are clear patterns of it being a homogenous community. One dominant race and the elite group who can afford to live there.

The main issue with segregation between social groups is that it results in massive inequalities in wealth, income, health, and access to opportunities in education and employment. In South Africa, there are massive inequalities that have been caused by segregation implemented by the apartheid laws and policies. The level of inequality in South Africa can be measure or described by the housing context of South Africa where there is a clear contrast between housing in gated communities and low cost housing for the general population.

Types of segregation

There are different types of segregation, the types of segregation that are relevant to gated communities particularly security villages are residential, economic, and social, spatial, and racial segregation.

a) Residential Segregation

Residential segregation is the concentration of ethnic, national, racial, or socioeconomic group's neighbourhoods of an area or city. Residential segregation is the separation of different groups whether ethnic, racial, or socioeconomic groups into different neighbourhoods. It is a form of segregation which sorts different groups into various neighbourhood contexts, it has been associated with racial segregation but it differs because it refers to any kind of sorting of the population not just racial into different neighbourhoods. Gated communities are a type of neighbourhood in which a certain type of group is concentrated. In South Africa before the year 1994, gated communities were occupied by the white race and post-apartheid, the higher-class group occupies gated communities whether white or black.

b) Socioeconomic Segregation

Socioeconomic segregation refers to the separation of people based on their social and economic class. People of a different social or economic class coexist with other people of different social and economic classes to the degree. Socioeconomic segregation refers to the level in which social and economic factors may cause people to segregate. In this case, gated communities and informal settlements are settlements that segregate people based on their social and economic status. Land capital is the determinant here where the rich can afford to purchase prime and arable land and the poor is left to take over land that is not suitable for developments. This inevitably will lead to people of same socioeconomic class living together.

c) Spatial Segregation

Spatial segregation is the act of restricting or separating certain groups of individuals and the spatial component refers to the physical area or geographical area in which certain groups of individuals are being separated into.

d) Racial Segregation

Racial segregation is the act of restricting and separating people based on their race. Racial segregation separates people into different institutions such as schools and churches and facilities such as parks, beaches, restaurants, and playgrounds based on their race. People use racial segregation to maintain their economic, political, and social advantages and superiority over other races. The white race in South Africa has used racial segregation during the Apartheid era to rule and maintain their advantages over all other races in South Africa.

4.2.1.4 Inequality

Jorge (2011) refers to inequality as a relatively difficult concept to define especially considering the context in which it is being used. The general understanding of inequality refers to a negative undertone for an

appropriation of whatever meeting important to a characterised gathering of beneficiary units (regularly people, family units, nations or some other mix of units who can be characterised as identifiable elements). This negative meaning is ordinarily related to contemplations of equity, seeing the alluded nonattendance as an indication of shamefulfulness, at the end of the day, implicitly lifting the idea of fairness to the rank of a positive moral esteem.

Jorge (2011) adds keeping in mind the end goal to be a subject of examination, the nonattendance alluded by the etymological meaning of imbalance should fundamentally be related to another quantifiable component, which is regularly the unit we will quantify and attempt to unbiasedly assess in connection to different circulations of similar components. The most well-known cases being salary, riches, utilisation, and other standardising components, for example, welfare and utility. Along these lines, the goal of any study on disparity should perpetually be centred around on the picked component of reference, as imbalance speaks to just the esteem judgment of the nonappearance of a homogeneous conveyance of such component.

4.2.1.5 Apartheid era

The Apartheid was a period when apartheid laws in 1948 saw racial discrimination laws institutionalised. Race laws touched every aspect of social life, including a prohibition of marriage between non-whites and whites, and the sanctioning of white-only jobs. In 1950, the Population Registration Act required that all South Africans be racially classified into one of three categories: white, black (African), or coloured (of mixed decent). The coloured category included major subgroups of Indians and Asians. Classification into these categories was based on appearance, social acceptance, and descent

Seekings (2010) states that non-compliance with the race laws resulted in arrest, beatings and sometimes, death. All blacks were required to carry passbooks containing fingerprints, photo, and information on access to non-black areas. Apartheid era was a time when blacks and whites were not allowed to mix in any way, black people only went to white areas when they carried a *dompas* and it had to be at a certain time.

In 1951, the Bantu Authorities Act established a basis for ethnic government in African reserves, known as homelands. These homelands were independent states to which the government assigned each African according to the record of origin. All political rights, including voting, held by an African were restricted to the designated homeland. The idea was that they would be citizens of the homeland, losing their citizenship in South Africa and any right of involvement with the South African Parliament, which held complete hegemony over the homelands. From 1976 to 1981, four of these homelands were created, denationalising nine million South Africans. The homeland administrations refused the nominal

independence, maintaining pressure for political rights within the country at large. Nevertheless, Africans living in the homelands needed passports to enter South Africa: aliens in their own country.

4.3 Theoretical Framework

4.3.1 Introduction

In this study, there are two theories to explain and discuss the research topic; the two theories will be the capitalism theory and the spatialised sociology of inequality theory. Each theory will be discussed briefly bringing up the relevance of the theory to the study, the principles and main arguments of the theory will be discussed followed by the applicability of the theory in a South African context. The apartheid city model will be used as a model or framework to discuss urban segregation in South Africa and how it relates to gated communities reproducing the existing patterns of urban segregation.

4.3.2 Spatialised sociology of inequality theory

The spatialised sociology of inequality theory will be used to examine gated communities in the context of urban inequality. Tickamyer (2000) argues that the spatialised sociology of inequality theory is based on incorporating space into the study of inequality and on the political economy of space. The theory is useful in bringing gated communities into the study of urban inequality through spatial analysis and it brings out an understanding of why gated communities contribute to the increase of urban inequality.

According to Cazessus *et al.* (2007) there are three modes in which space should be applied to the study of inequality, first mode is the issue of scale and measurement of inequality. There are two interrelated issues to scale and measurement of inequality, first the definition of the chosen spatial units under investigation and their impact on the rest of the space, secondly the link between the social systems of inequality and the chosen spatial units. In relation to gated communities, the focus is on the existing patterns of inequality and the gated communities.

The two key social structures for understanding inequality are households and labour markets. Several characteristics stratify households along the social continuum such as race, class, income, age and education. The spatialised sociology of inequality theory will evaluate the trend of how does inequality and social stratification manifest itself in gated communities.

Tickamyer (2000) adds the second mode of incorporating space into the analysis of inequality is to assess the sources of advantage and disadvantage from a spatial perspective. Assessing these sources will help with determining how the existing differences will most likely develop further. This is of importance as the

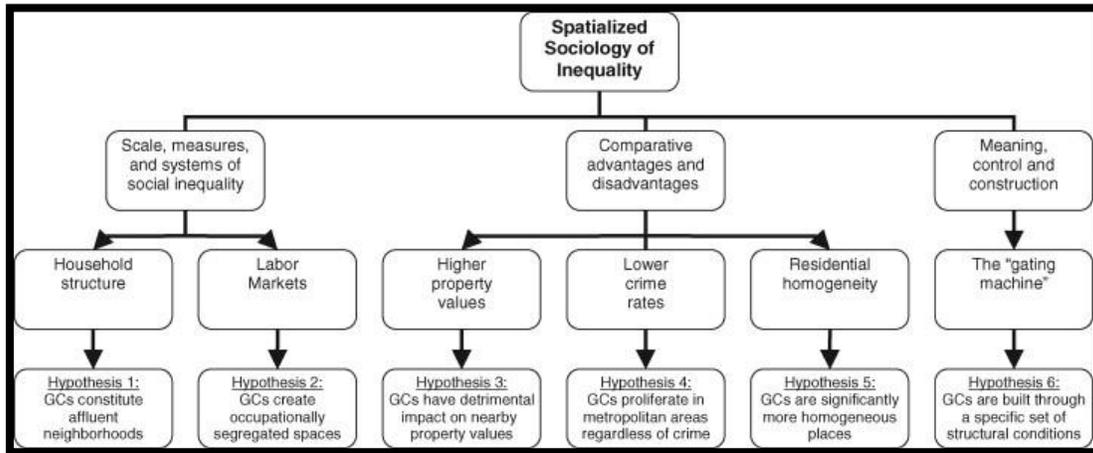
built environment is among the most enduring features of cities. Once produced the built environment is inherently static and requires extensive effort to change. The proliferation of gated communities means that they already have and will continue to have lasting effects on the spatial organisation of cities.

The third mode of incorporating space into the analysis of inequality is meaning, construction and control aspect. The issues surrounding who controls the natural and built environment and the political economy of place approach needs to be studied to assess the incorporating of space into inequality. The political economy of place approach focuses on the underlying current of urban economic growth, achieved through the interplay of interests and institutions.

Gated community developers are driven towards making a profit; thus, successful developers are intensely focused on locating the right place to build homes to ensure the maximum return on their investment. Nelson (2002) argues that one of the methods gated community developers use to decide on a location for their community is to seek out places where they can establish exclusive control of natural resources for their residents. Most private developers have used their influence and power to obtain permission to privatise some part of the natural environment that was previously enjoyed by the public such as beaches and nature preserves.

Cazessus *et al.* (2007) notes gated communities have an influence over local government when it comes to urban planning, gated community associations have certain control over the development of land nearby and around their communities. Gated communities and their administrative boards are generally higher to median income and well educated residents who are better prepared and able to organise social action to resist the construction of devalued infrastructure or developments. Thus, gated communities receive less than their fair share of undesirable infrastructure and developments; this directs and forces less favourable developments onto poorer communities.

Figure 4.1 Diagram showing the Spatialised Sociology of Inequality of gated communities



Source: Google images (2016)

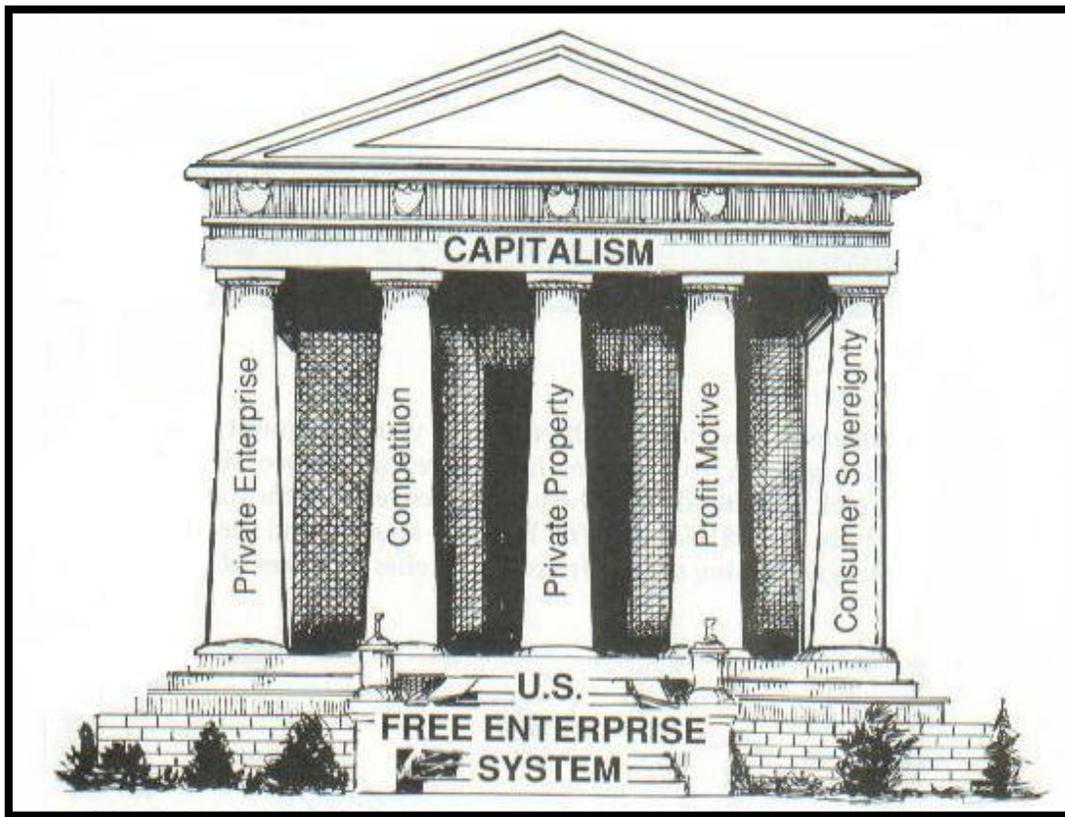
4.3.3 Capitalism Theory

Jahan and Mahmud (2015) define capitalism as often thought of as an economic system in which private actors own and control property and the markets in accord with their interests, and demand and supply freely set prices in markets in a way that can serve the best interests of society. The essential feature of capitalism is the motive to make a profit. In a capitalist economy, capital assets such as factories, mines, and railroads can be privately owned and controlled, labour is purchased for wages, capital gains accrue to private owners, and prices allocate capital and labour between competing uses

Capitalism is a system of largely private ownership that is open to new ideas, new firms, and new owners. Capitalism has a tendency to generate instability in an economy or society, often associated with the existence of financial crises, job insecurity and failures to include the disadvantaged. In a capitalist society, the rich exploit the poor; the poor only offer their services for a minimal wage.

The capitalism pillars that relate to gated communities and segregation are private ownership, exclusion of the poor and limited role of government. Gated communities are developed and establishment by private owners, establishment, institutions, and developers. All ownership is private and has no investment from governments so this means government cannot control and enforce certain regulations on gated communities. Gated communities have managed to privatise resources and facilities such as dams and public roads by fencing and barricading it in the estate. Figure 4.2 is an image of some of the pillars of gated communities that is the basis for the growth and development of gated communities.

Figure 4.2 Capitalism pillars that drive the capitalism system that favours gated communities



Source: Google images (2016)

According to Kloppers and Pienaar (2014) land is a major issue in South Africa; unfortunately, a willing buyer willing seller policy is used to distribute land in South Africa. The South African government is still challenged with the unequal distribution of land in South Africa; however, there are efforts of eradicating the injustices of the past through policies such as the willing buyer willing seller policy that is not working since people who were previously disadvantaged do not have the financial means to purchase land. The rich have access to land within these gated communities since they can afford. Some houses in gated communities are holiday homes and they use up so much land because of the sizes of the houses and plots, yet the poor still have no access to land because they cannot afford it.

Kloppers and Pienaar (2014) state that in the attempts of the post-Apartheid South African government to redistribute 30% of white-owned land by the year 2014 to black South Africans has failed dismally. The targets set by the government have not been met and less than 10% of the redistribution target has been achieved. This supports the argument that the willing buyer willing seller policy on land is not working and

the white people still privately own much of South Africa's land. The financial power and land ownership of the white people support the growth of gated communities.

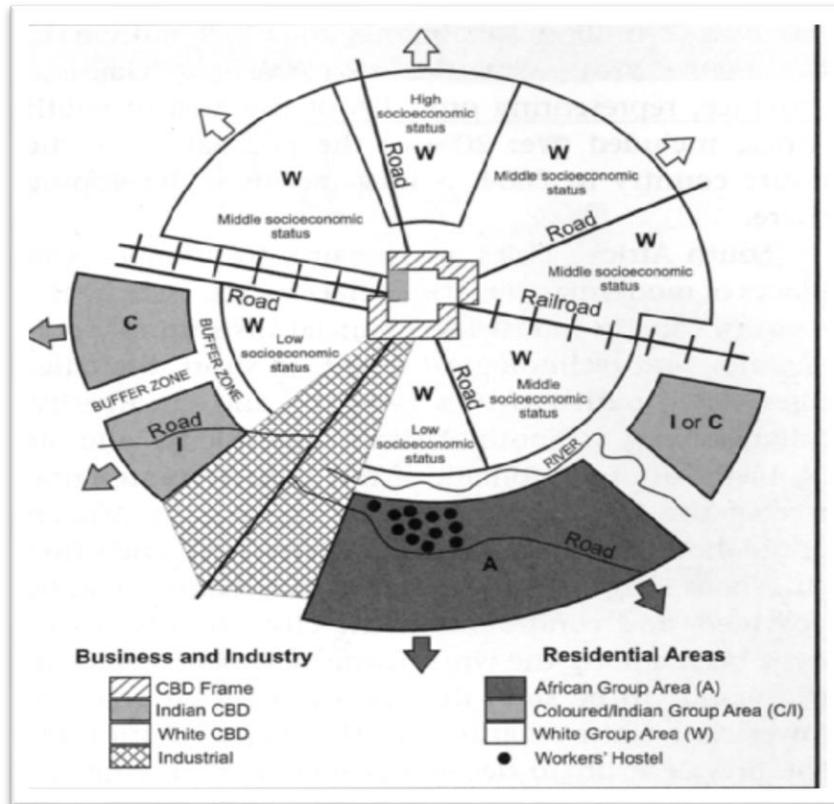
The high standard of living in these gated communities is a result of the capitalist system. Only the rich can afford to live in gated communities, poor people are excluded and only enter these gated communities to offer their labour for a minimal wage that sounds much like the capitalist system. The sharing of ideas, activities, facilities, and resources is limited to those who live within the gated communities. The poor are excluded from everything within the gated communities. Gated communities have entrenched the capitalist system by allowing the rich to also exclude the poor from their environment. The limited role of government in gated communities encourages private owners to operate at their freewill within these gated communities.

4.3.4 Apartheid City Model

South Africa has a long history of racial segregation and discrimination, which started in the colonial era. The apartheid era however began in 1948 and ended in 1994, the apartheid era was merely a struggle for the control of urban space between whites and non-whites. The apartheid created an ideology and set of policies and laws that racially segregated societies. Segregation and discrimination based on race was legal in South Africa during the apartheid era. The apartheid government used many unjust laws to segregate South African societies; spatial separation and influx control were amongst the methods used to limit the involvement of white municipalities in providing services for the blacks, coloureds and Indians.

For a city to function and operate effectively under apartheid policies, a well-designed and complex governing system along with its policies needed careful urban planning and management. Town planners played a vital role in the creation of apartheid cities across South Africa. The apartheid city was designed to segregate different races; the layout of apartheid city was as follows: the well-developed white urban areas developed around the central business districts, where there were proper infrastructure and job opportunities. Townships developed on the peripheral areas of the cities alongside informal settlements. Townships were separated from the white urban areas through buffers in the form of green belts, industrial zones, and transport routes.

Figure 4.3 The Apartheid city model, showing residential, industrial areas and CBDs relative to race.



Source: *Google images (2016)*

The effects of the apartheid city were terrible, South African cities were characterised by inequality, discrimination, and segregation. This made the apartheid city difficult to manage and sustain, the apartheid city made living conditions for the white race favorable and very difficult and harsh for non-whites. Other black people lived in homelands that were far away and isolated from the city. Blacks were only allowed into the city as temporary migrant workers; they were not allowed into the city under any other circumstance. Policies such as the Group Areas Act enforced and entrenched residential segregation that makes it even harder now to integrate South African communities.

The relevance of the model to the study of gated communities and urban segregation is that just like the apartheid city, gated communities only accommodate the white race and high class, and the majorities of black people are unable to access and get the facilities and opportunities provided by gated communities. The increase of gated communities is a result of the high levels of crime that were caused by the major

influx of people into the city after the apartheid period. The apartheid city will be used as a model to discuss and relate to gated communities.

4.4 Policies Governing Gated Communities

There are a few public policies governing gated communities because of their private ownership status and privatisation of all facilities and resources within the gated community. Many gated communities have their own policies that govern the estate, the national, provincial, or local municipality policies would govern gated communities since there are no policies or laws that strictly apply to gated communities in South Africa. Gated communities are a relatively new phenomenon thus laws and policies do not address clearly rising issues and grievances surrounding gated communities.

Residential associations have been influential in regulating gated communities; residential associations have taken the role of state actors in governing gated communities. The main issue surrounding residential associations governing gated communities is that the contract is between members of the gated communities and the residential association, non-members affected by the gated communities are not represented or protected in the contract between the residential association and members of the gated community. According to Kennedy (2005) residential associations and gated community's limits non-members' freedom of speech, non-member's freedom of movement and engage in racial discrimination against non-members.

Based on the issues and problems surrounding residential associations and gated communities, there is no appropriate legal framework, which is governing gated communities. The legal framework is residential associations that polices gated communities, residential associations are a form of agreement of ownership that require membership in the association to fund the services of the residential association and set the conditions, restrictions and covenants governing the members of the gated community. The main role of residential associations is to administer the territory of gated communities and its functions.

There are many more issues involving gated communities that have not received consideration or attention by a legal framework or policy. The developments of gated communities differently affect non-members of gated communities as compared to those who are members of gated communities. The legal framework which adheres to conflicts between residential associations and the members cannot simply apply to conflicts and disputes between residential associations and non-members. Non-members have conflicts

over the use of public space and public resources by gated communities which requires a legal framework which is impartial and not affiliated with any of the parties

4.4.1 Policies in South Africa governing gated communities

Gated communities in South Africa are no different to those in America and England that are governed mainly by residential associations or homeowners' associations. Since there is no legal policy framework directed specifically at gated communities South Africa has had to rely on other policies that guide development and planning of South Africa. These policies can be used to assess and determine whether gated communities are in line with the development and planning goals of South Africa. The main policies that are relevant to the debate on gated communities include national policies on development, urban development policies, housing policies and policies related to crime prevention.

Table 4.1 Table on Policies guiding development in South Africa.

Policies Guiding Development in South Africa	Main Objectives	Landman (2004) discuss the policies that have relevance to furthering or addressing gated communities.
SPLUMA (2013)	Provides a framework for spatial planning and land use management in South Africa.	No , does not adhere to the principles of sustainability when developing.
DFA (1996)	To facilitate development facilitation in new democracy and bridge gap between old and new planning laws.	No , gated communities do not the embrace the principles of democracy and do not reduce levels of inequality.
Urban Development Strategy (1995)	To ensure future sustainable development of both urban and rural areas.	No , in no way do gated communities contribute to rural development even by housing the people from rural areas who come to urban areas.
White Paper on spatial planning and land use management (2001)	Integrated planning for sustainable management of land resources.	No , land resources of gated community are managed privately and there is no integrated planning as they plan and develop separately.
Housing White Paper (1994)	Improving living and working conditions on an equitable and sustainable basis.	Yes , housing in gated communities is adequate and meets the people needs and demands who are in the community.
National Crime Prevention strategy (1996)	To prevent / reduce crime.	Yes , gated communities reduces crime levels for the community through the security features in the communities.
Safer by Design (2001)	Safer settlements and reduction in opportunities for crime.	Yes , the design of gated communities reduces crime levels for the community through the design of walls and fences.

White Paper on National Transport and Moving South Africa (1998)	Transport in South African policy has a key role, not only in promoting access for citizens but also in integrating South Africa's cities and regions. Accessibility is one of the key aspects of a sustainable and integrated human settlement.	No , gated communities are not accessible to all citizens of South Africa.
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Source: Landman (2004)

4.5 Limitations to the Gated communities and Segregation Study

The literature on gated communities is subjected to how much the private entities are willing to share with the public. The private status of these institutions really makes it difficult for the public and non-members of the gated communities to get information on the functions and structures of the institutions of gated communities.

Another limitation to the study of gated communities and segregation are the homeowners’ association board and residential association, these homeowner’s association who govern and control the gated communities determine the home buyers and the criteria used to determine the home owners in these gated communities is unknown. Lack of public policies and funds governing gated communities gives residential associations the power to formulate their own rules and regulations on the governing of gated communities which government has little or no control over.

4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, gated communities are not a recent phenomenon; they have been developing over many years. The urbanisation and redistribution of economic opportunities has been the catalyst for the fast growth in the types of gated communities. Gated communities are being used as an invisible institution for segregating people. It is evident with the patterns of growth and urbanisation in different countries and cities. This literature review is informed by several concepts that also inform the study of gated communities and segregation. Along with the concepts, there are also theories that seek to explain and inform the study of gated communities and segregation.

There are many gated communities both in developing and developed countries, depending on the type of gated community, the gated communities both in developing and developed countries are quite similar and the patterns and processes of gated communities that reproduce segregation are the same. The literature review chapter serves as the base for the rest of the chapters that are to follow which will assess the role of gated communities in reproducing the existing patterns of urban segregation. The conceptual and theoretical

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will present and analyse the findings of the research. The findings and analysis of the data was collected from in-depth interviews with key informants, questionnaires from residents and non-residents of Mount Edgecombe Country Estate, observations done at the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate and surrounding areas and finally the literature and desktop review on the study. A brief background on the case study area being Mount Edgecombe Country Estate will be discussing. The data collected and literature of the study seeks to respond to the objectives and questions of the research.

5.2 Presentation on Mount Edgecombe Country Estate

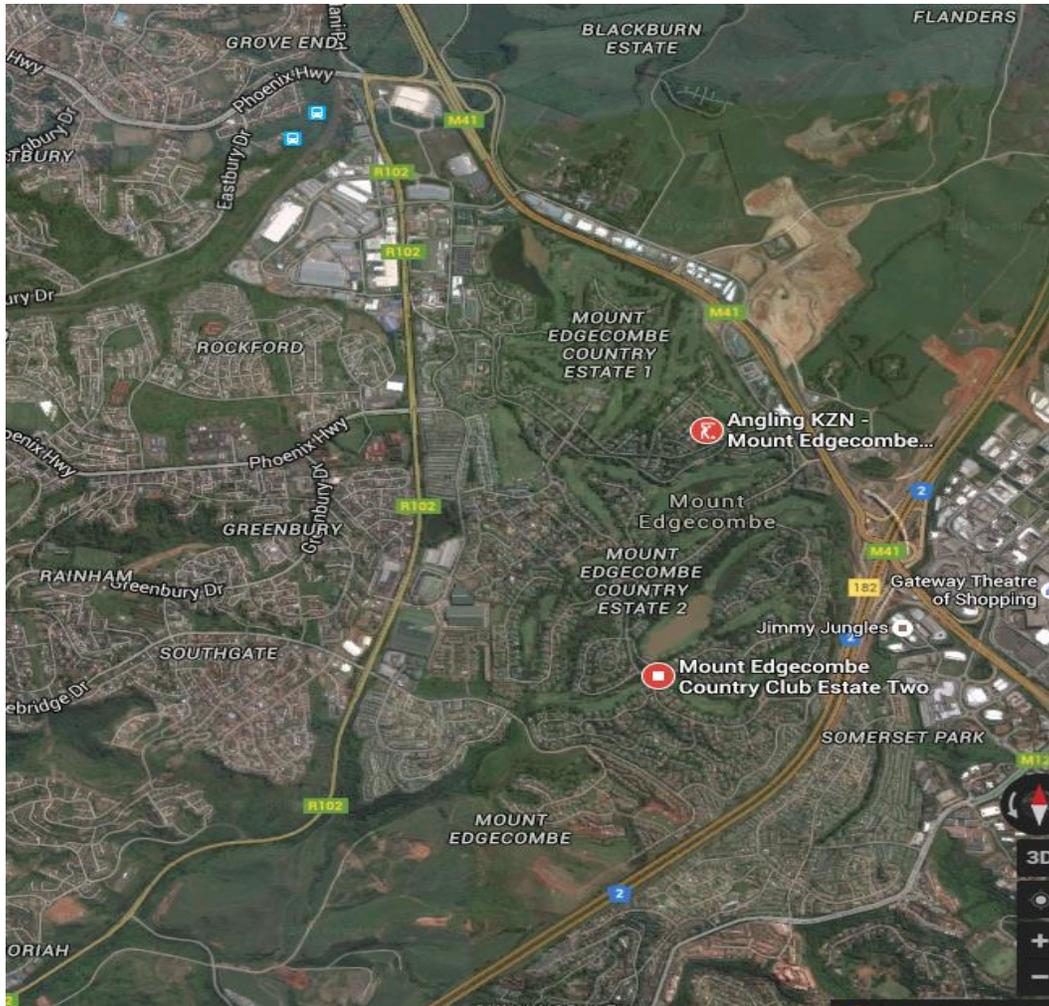
The geographical location of the study is in Mount Edgecombe Country Estates, Durban, South Africa. Mount Edgecombe Country Estate is situated north of Durban, close to the Gateway shopping centre, as well as the suburbs of Umhlanga and La Lucia and the township of Phoenix. Mount Edgecombe Country Estate is an example of a residential estate that attracts residents with lifestyle aspects and security provision for the residents.

Mount Edgecombe was previously a sugarcane suburb of Umhlanga that is just north of Durban that forms part of the eThekweni metropolitan area. Mount Edgecombe is well-known for its resorts and golf courses; gated communities that originated as retirement homes dominate the residential area of Mount Edgecombe. According to Stats SA (2011) the population of Mount Edgecombe increased by 89% between 2001 and 2011 from 3874 to 7323. The black African population decreased in the area while the white and Indian population increased substantially.

Mount Edgecombe Country Estate is located a few minutes away from King Shaka Airport, a few minutes away from the Central Business District of eThekweni and to the beautiful beaches of eThekweni. The Mount Edgecombe Country Estate has good access to the N2 Freeway and M4 highway that are major transport routes in Durban. The Mount Edgecombe Country Estate has luxurious homes that offer secure living with a lifestyle element that is unmatched in the northern Durban area. Mount Edgecombe Country Club Estate comprises three entities: The Country Club, Estate 1 and Estate 2. Each estate has its own 18-

hole golf course amidst the pristine residences in a highly secure gated complex. The map 5.4 is an aerial photo that shows the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate and surrounding areas.

Map 5.4 Aerial photo of Mount Edgecombe Country Estate and surrounding areas

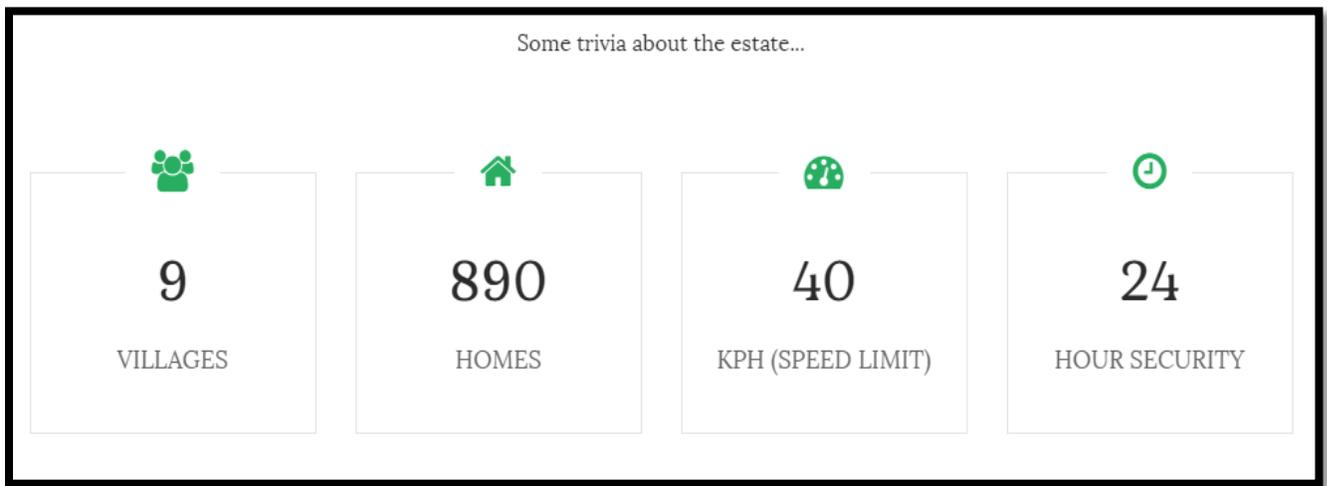


Source: Google images (2016).

Much of the research was conducted on estate two, estate two supported the study and there was little to none involvement from estate one. There are nine villages on estate two; estate two is the new and bigger estate established in 1996. Each village is named after a famous golf course from the United States of America. Bellerive, Merion, Greenbrier, Quail Valley, Cherry Hills, Pinehurst, Crystal Downs, Southern Hills, and Kingwood. Southern Hills Village is the largest; this village has seven roads, nineteen sectional titles and one hundred and twenty-four houses.

Kingwood Village is the smallest with five large beautiful homes and only one road. There are three Community Centres, one in Greenbrier Village, one in Southern Hills Village, and one in Crystal Downs Village. There are several dams on the Estate, Pani Dam being the largest. The Club manages it. Mount Edgecombe Estate Two is a registered conservancy and is home to the Blue Duiker, Impala, Bushbuck, Mongoose, several bird species, Nile Monitors and all kinds of other critters and creatures. One of the many reasons there is a 40km/hr speed limit. Mount Edgecombe Country Estate boasts a highly advanced security system with guards on duty 24 hours, electrified fences and alarm system, security patrols around the perimeter fence with guard dogs, a control room that is on 24-hour alert, and high-tech cameras that pan the Estate fence.

Figure 5.4 Showing trivia about the Mount Edgecombe Estate 2



Source: <http://www.meccematwo.co.za/>

The green roof houses and face brick built houses of Mount Edgecombe Country Estates are its trademark. The houses are all uniform; there are strict building regulations that need to be compiled with by the residents. There are many rules and regulations in general which govern gated communities, the sense of belonging and culture is lost in the community because of these rules and regulations. Mount Edgecombe was first a retirement village but the growing demand of these security villages lead to the retirement village being a community for the white and higher-class people. Plate 5.4 is an image of the type of houses found in Mount Edgecombe Estate.

Plate 5.4 Traditional houses of Mount Edgecombe

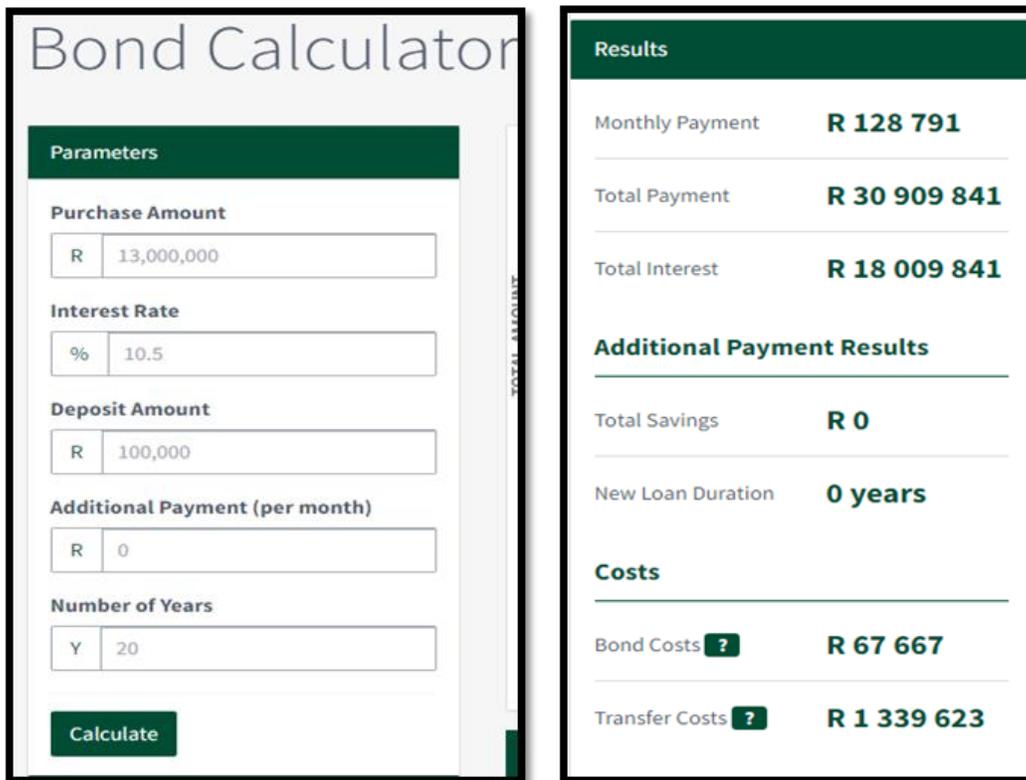


Source: Author (2016)

The cost of the houses in Mount Edgecombe Country estates are extremely expensive, only a few people in South Africa would afford to pay for a house in Mount Edgecombe Country Estate. Property 24 (2016) states the average cost for a simple 4 bedroom house with 4 bathrooms and 2 garages ranges from about R9 000 000.00 to R13 000 000.00 houses in the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate. According to the bond calculator offered by nedbank on the property 24 website, a house which costs R13 000 000.00 charged at the current interest rate of 10.5% with a deposit amount of R100 000.00 and no additional monthly payment with a number of 20 years, it would take a monthly payment of R128 791.00 to purchase that particular house.

Houses in gated communities are extremely expensive, in chapter three of this dissertation part of the international precedents. It discusses the high costs associated with houses in gated communities, average homes in Hidden Hills Estate are about \$3.5 million and can cost up to \$13 million. In Mount Edgecombe Country Estate houses average from about R3 million to R13 million. Figure 5.5 depicts the bond calculator parameters and results of a simple four-bedroom house in Mount Edgecombe Country Estate.

Figure 5.5 The bond calculator parameters and of the results



Source: <https://www.property24.com>

StatsSA (2015) notes the annual household income for middle income earners is R19 201–R307 200 and for high income earners is R307 201 and above. According to the statistics on the annual household income of middle income earners, it is impossible for any of the middle income earners to afford to purchase a house in Mount Edgecombe Country Estate with their income. StatsSA (2015) the middle income earners make up 48.7% of the population in 2011 and the low income and no income earners make up 44.4%.

That leaves 7.3% of the population who are high income earners and who could possibly afford a house in Mount Edgecombe. There has been much said on the cost and affordability or class factor as means of segregation in the new democratic South Africa, however it must still be considered that the high class is predominately white because of the apartheid era. So it can be argued to some extent that in the context of South Africa, segregation based on class and on race is almost the same.

Mount Edgecombe is a residential golf estate, Muller (2015) states that Mount Edgecombe Country Estate are top in the R3 million category residents. Muller (2015) argues that purchasing a house in a residential estate is not just simply buying a house but it is seen as a massive financial investment. It is also quite the

ideal environment for any family to raise their kids, gated communities are located in close proximity to major transport routes, good schools and a variety of amenity shops. The plate 5.5 below is an image showing the environment of the residential golf estate of Mount Edgecombe Country Estate.

Plate 5.5 the type of neighbourhood Mount Edgecombe Estates is with the dam.



Source: Author (2016)

5.3 Demographics and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Residents in Mount Edgecombe

The questionnaire survey conducted for the research on gated communities and segregation came up with findings from; residents of Mount Edgecombe Country Estate, non-residents who could be people who live or work nearby, two key informants being the estate manager and an estate agent working for Pam Golding Properties in Mount Edgecombe and observations done at Mount Edgecombe.

The first part of this chapter will look at the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of Mount Edgecombe from various sources including from the fieldwork data collected for the research. From the findings of the questionnaires conducted from the residents and non-residents of Mount Edgecombe, the socio-economic status along with demographics will be presented alongside the general socio-economic characteristics of Mount Edgecombe.

StatsSA (2011) finds that Mount Edgecombe is made up of four sub places namely: Kindlewood Estate, Mount Edgecombe Country Estate One, Mount Edgecombe Country Estate Two and Mount Edgecombe SP. The area is about 8.34km² and the population is 7 323 (878.44 per km²). There is almost a balance between the gender, there are 3 843 females which make up 52.48% of the population and there are 3 480 males which make up 47.52% of the population.

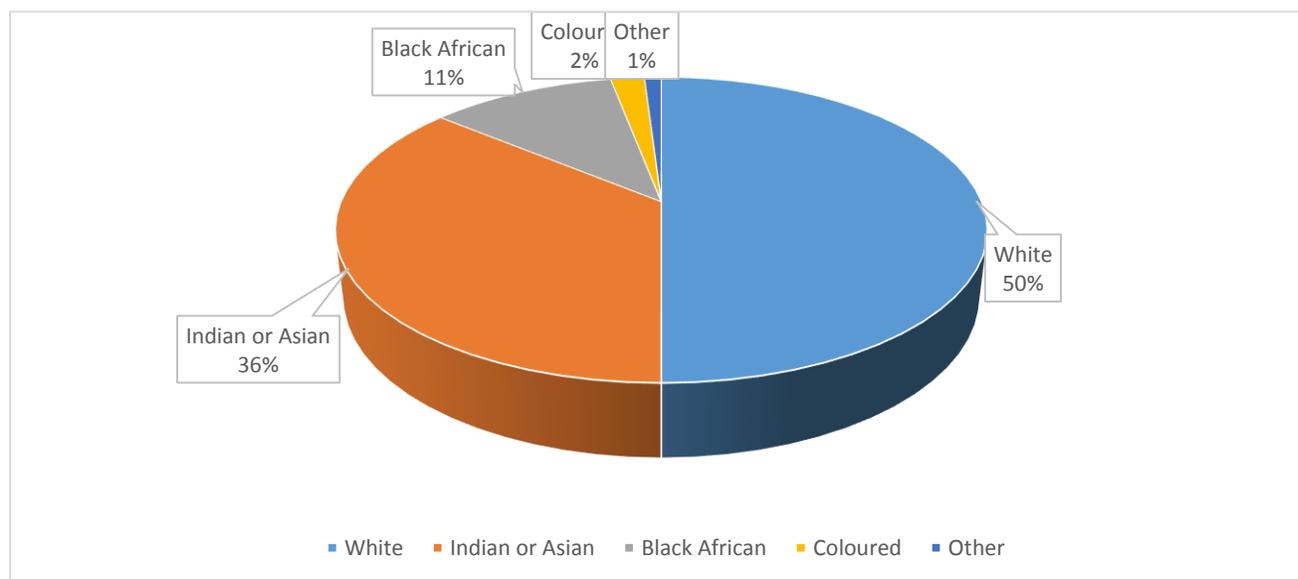
Table 5.2 Places in Mount Edgecombe with the population and area.

Name of Place	Type	Population	Area (km ²)
Kindlewood Estate	Sub Place	241	2.13
Mount Edgecombe Country Estate 1	Sub Place	715	1.11
Mount Edgecombe Country Estate 2	Sub Place	5476	3.81
Mount Edgecombe SP	Sub Place	890	1.28

Source: StatsSA (2011)

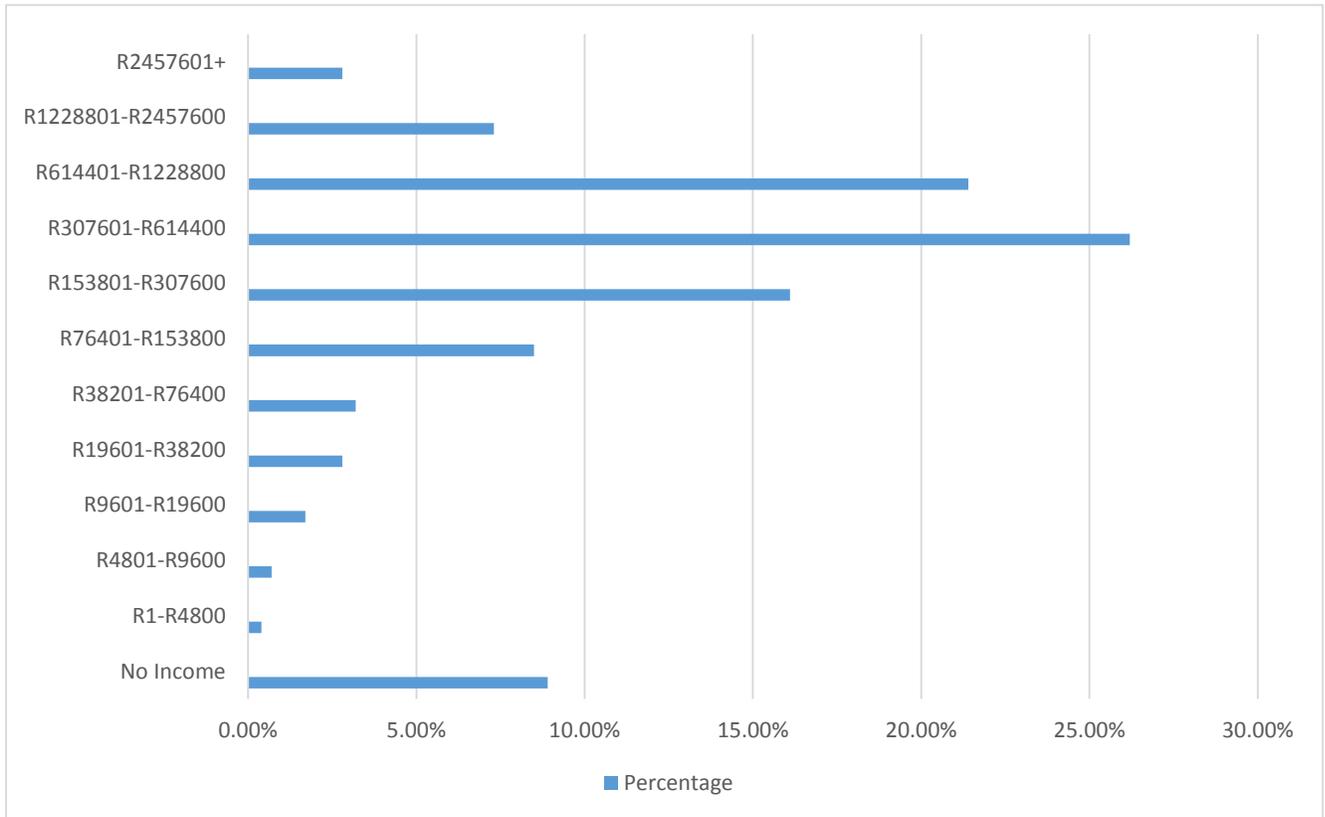
According to StatsSA (2011) the population groups of Mount Edgecombe are distinguished into five categories. The pie charts below will clearly depict the percentages of the different population groups in Mount Edgecombe.

Figure 5.6 Pie Chart showing the different population groups in Mount Edgecombe



Source: StatsSA (2011)

Figure 5.7 Graph showing the average household income of Mount Edgecombe



Source: StatsSA (2011)

5.4 Respondents Socio-Economic and Demographics Characteristics

Mount Edgecombe is a high-income area from just being a gated community so it is expected already that the residents of Mount Edgecombe should be high-income earners. The findings of the questionnaires and observations show that white people dominate the Mount Edgecombe area. There are however, a growing number of black people and Indian in Mount Edgecombe. The table below will present on the income levels of the residents of Mount Edgecombe who were part of the survey.

The following table 5.3 shows monthly income of Mount Edgecombe non-residents respondents who participated in the study. This table is to show the gap in monthly income between the residents and non-residents of Mount Edgecombe. It also substantiates the point brought up in the conceptual framework that financial/class segregation is very much apparent.

Table 5.3 Monthly income of Mount Edgecombe Estate Resident Respondents

Number of Respondents	Income Bracket (Rands per Month)	Percentage of Respondents (%)
2	R0-10000	10%
1	R10000-20000	5%
0	R20000-50000	0%
17	R50000-100000	85%
20		100%

Source: Author (2016)

Bogus (2016) notes socioeconomic segregation as the separation of people based on their social and economic class. The difference in monthly income in the case of residents and non-residents of Mount Edgecombe can be a case of socioeconomic segregation since the financial aspect really determines who the residents of Mount Edgecombe are and with the monthly income of non-residents, it places them as middle-income earners according to StatsSA. Hence, it is impossible for them to afford a house on the Mount Edgecombe Estate with their income.

Table 5.4 Monthly income of Mount Edgecombe non-residents Respondents

Number of Respondents	Income Bracket (Rands per Month)	Percentage of Respondents (%)
8	R0-10000	40%
8	R10000-20000	40%
4	R20000-50000	20%
0	R50000-100000	0%
20		100%

Source: Author (2016)

N.B. the '20' on both table 3 and 4 denote the number of respondents used for the questionnaire survey and the '100' denotes the total percentage of the respondents.

From the resident respondents 85% earn between R50 000-R100 000 a month, of the 85% some suggested they earn even more than R100000 a month and the income bracket of the survey should have gone up to R200 000 a month. The 15% of the residents that earn below R20 000 a month are children of the owners of the house. Some are students and others are young adults who just started working and still live with their parents so it is quite clear that most homeowners of Mount Edgecombe Estate are between the R50 000-R100 000-income brackets a month.

The non-resident respondents are between the income bracket per month of R0-R10 000 and R10 000-R20 000, 80% of the respondents fit in this category. The R0-10 000 respondents made up 40% and 40% came from the R10 000 -R20 000 category. The other 20% earns between R20 000-R50 000 a month. None of the non-residents of Mount Edgecombe estate earn between R50 000-R100 000 which what the residents of Mount Edgecombe all earn.

The income bracket and race is essential in unpacking and understanding the other socio-economic issues such level of education and age especially in South Africa because of the Apartheid era. Based on an individual's income and race certain assertions can be made such as that if they live below the poverty line they could be black in race and did not get higher education training, this is all because of the history of South Africa related to the Apartheid times. The South African government has made efforts to change these assertions and it has indeed change for a few individuals however majority of the people socio-economic status is determined by factors that were influenced by mostly the apartheid laws.

Using the income brackets of the respondents, the other socio-economic characteristics of the respondents will be presented. Starting with the residents of Mount Edgecombe Estate, the 85% of the residents that earn R50 000-R100 000 a month, only one person does not have tertiary education, the rest including the other 15% of the residents all have tertiary education. The non-residents are also educated since most of the respondents worked in offices and owned their own shops around Mount Edgecombe and a few were security guards on the estate. Of the twenty respondents, fifteen have tertiary qualification and the other five have secondary education.

The demographic profile has not change immensely from the establishment of the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate. Mount Edgecombe Estate 2 is certainly the more inclusive estate of the two Mount Edgecombe Estate. When one of the respondents were asked whether there has been any change in the demographic profile of the residents of Mount Edgecombe it was easy to just say no as there has been no change to reflect a democratic country.

5.5 Mount Edgecombe racial and financial background

The general perception from all respondents of the study is that everyone is welcome to live in Mount Edgecombe Estates regards of the race or any other socio-economic characteristics. The only factor that could keep anyone out of Mount Edgecombe is the financial aspect. Considering the cost and value of property in Mount Edgecombe Estate, it is certainly not possible for low or even middle-income earners of South Africa to own or rent a house in the Mount Edgecombe Estates. StatsSA (2015) notes the annual household income for middle income earners is R19 201–R307 200 that makes it clear that the middle income earners can not afford to live in Mount Edgecombe. One of the respondents pointed out that, the motive behind the purchasing of houses at Mount Edgecombe Country Estates is mainly for the security and lifestyle it offers. There are no racial connotations involved in the process of people purchasing houses at the Estate.

It is with no doubt that Mount Edgecombe is dominated by the white race, the other races who live on the Estate only started moving into the estate in the late 2000s. The resident respondents from Mount Edgecombe all moved to Mount Edgecombe after 1994 as shown by the questionnaire survey. The reason for this is that the Mount Edgecombe Estate 2 was established in 1996, it is Mount Edgecombe Estate 1 that was established before 1994. The issue was that in the survey there were no residents from Mount Edgecombe Estate 1. No respondents moved into Mount Edgecombe Estate 2 before 1994.

Louw and Schönteich (2001) argue the crime levels in South Africa have arguably increased after the end of the Apartheid in 1994; there are a number of reasons for the increase of crime levels after 1994. From the rapid urbanisation after 1994, to the culture of violence, corruption and inequality in South Africa are reasons for the increased crime levels after 1994. The moving of many residents to Mount Edgecombe after 1994 was really for safety and protection as recorded on the questionnaire survey for the residents of Mount Edgecombe. In assessing the if gated communities in this aspect reproduce the existing patterns of segregation, it can be concluded in these terms that it does because the only people at that time who could afford to move to gated communities were those who benefited from the apartheid times.

That trend of white people moving from their former communities to gated communities can be argued as increasing segregation. Louw and Schönteich (2001) the legacy of Apartheid in South Africa has made the dynamics surrounding crime in South Africa very convoluted and unique. The apartheid has affected the way in which the population navigates its demographic, socio-economic and geographical patterns. There also exist forms of crime that are distinguishable and characteristic of the transition to democracy especially crimes linked to service delivery protests and xenophobic attacks.

To assess whether security is the main reason for the residents of Mount Edgecombe Estates to be living in a gated community, the researcher asked the residents if the South African government managed to lessen crime and create better communities for all would the residents consider moving out of the Mount Edgecombe Estate. 60% of the residents were not willing to move to an open neighbourhood even if hypothetically speaking the government managed to lessen crime. Clearly, it is not only security that is moving people to gated communities.

Atkinson and Flint (2004) add that the motivations of moving to gated communities are not only security and safety reasons. It is important to consider that security is not the only reason why people choose to live on gated communities, gated communities are not solely at protecting and making residents feel safe however, security is to meet an apparent desire to avoid day-to-day incivilities and social interaction between residents and non-residents. The study conducted by Atkinson and Flint (2004) confirms that residents and non-residents of gated communities feel that distinction and a sense of exclusivity are as important for a gated community compared to security.

5.6 Relationship of Mount Edgecombe residents to non-residents

In analysing the role of gated communities in reproducing the existing patterns of urban segregation, it is vital to be aware of the attitude and feelings of the residents of the gated communities to the other people who do not live within the gated community. There is a perception that certain individuals are using gated communities to exclude themselves from the rest of society and privatise public resources. The researcher gained valuable knowledge from interviews with the estate manager of Mount Edgecombe Estate, questionnaires from the residents, non-residents, and real estate agent working in Mount Edgecombe.

The residents of Mount Edgecombe Estate reflected and commented on their feelings towards non-residents, different races and cultures entering the Mount Edgecombe Estate. The responses from the residents were quite fascinating; many have different and opposing views. The responses can be categorised into two categories: firstly, residents who do not want non-residents on the estate but have no issue with other races and cultures living on the estate and secondly, residents who have no issue with non-residents on the estate and has no issue with other races and cultures living on the estate.

5.6.1 Residents who don't want non-residents on the estate

From the twenty resident only four respondents who certainly do not want non-residents on the estate. One of the respondents shared the following comments, "I believe the estate should be closed to non-residents, we have paid a premium for our safety. The race or culture of residents does not matter to me". It is quite clear that this respondent does not want non-residents onto the estate. Another resident commented and

said, “I have no problem with integration of all races and cultures into the estate if they observe the rules and protocol and the conservancy status, rules and guidelines. On the issue of entrance of non-residents into the estate, it is already allowed subject to strict security controls. One must consider that I like others, paid a high price to live in this estate for security reasons. This security cannot even be provided for by the countries police force”. South Africa’s context is unique; it is certainly hard to establish the motives of residents living in gated communities in South Africa. Firstly, the history of segregation could be a reason for people living in gated communities and secondly, the high crime levels are another reason for people to move to gated communities.

From the two responses of the residents, the reasons for residents not wanting any non-residents on the estate, it is a financial issue and security concern. The other two respondents made it clear that the gates and fences are up for a reason and there is no need for non-residents to come onto the estate if they are not even visitors. One respondent argued that the roads of Mount Edgecombe do not lead to another place. However, with the issue of different races and cultures living on the estate, the respondents certainly have no problem if they can afford. The conceptual framework chapter speaks of socioeconomic/financial segregation; the resident’s attitude of costs and finances to exclude other people perpetuates the idea of searching for exclusivity in gated communities.

An analysis on the above, it needs to be clear when certain individuals or neighbourhoods are excluding themselves and using excuses such as crime and affordability. The country has a history of segregation and during the apartheid times, it was made clear that there was segregation on the grounds of race but know that the apartheid era has ended, it seems as if safety concerns and affordability are justifying segregation. Atkinson and Flint (2004) speak of the motives behind living in gated communities and conclude that there are residents who search for exclusivity and elitism in gated communities rather than safety and security.

5.6.2 Residents who have no issue with non-residents on the estate

From the twenty respondents, sixteen have no problem with non-residents on the estate. The following are some of the responses from the residents: “no issue with different races moving into the estate but non-residents should be restricted to either friends of residents or service providers”, “I welcome the opportunity to engage and socialise with members of others races and cultures. I have no problem with non-residents entry onto the estate, provided the rules to which the owners are subjected be applied, where appropriate to the non-residents”. “Indifferent if they follow the rules of the estate”.

The residents who claim that they have no problem with non-residents still have restrictions and conditions on non-residents coming into the estate, many claiming that if the non-residents do come into the estate they should obey the rules and regulations of the estate that restricts the facilities and resources to residents.

The following responses are from residents of Mount Edgecombe, allowing non-residents onto the estate but having strict regulations on them. “I certainly do not have a problem with different cultures increasing in the estate and with regards to non-residents coming into the estate I have no problem with that either if they obey the rules of the estate and the resident of the visitor should be responsible for their visitors”. “I have no problem with the entrance of non-residents into the estate, it is all up to the resident of the visitor to ensure the non-resident obeys the rules and regulations of the estate”. “I have no issue with non-residents if they obey the rules of the estate. Having more people of my race would certainly be nice, I don’t have any friends on the estate”.

The residents have no problem with other races and cultures living on the estate which is clearly express in their responses, here are some of the resident’s responses with regards to non-residents and different races and cultures living on the estate. “I have no issue with non-residents into the estate if they are visiting someone other than that there is no reason for non-residents to be on the estate. Anyone who can afford can live on the estate no matter the culture or race, I also have friends that are not white on the estate”. “Non-residents on the estate need to comply with the rules of the estate and I do not mind which race or culture lives on the estate if the rules of the estate are complied with”. “There has been a growing number of all races on the estate from black people to Indian people. I certainly have no issue with the races and cultures on the estate in fact the diversity of the estate is a good indication of the development of other races besides white. Non-residents of the estate are welcome as visitors”. “Not an issue provided all are compliant with estate rules and procedures”.

Then there are residents who seem to have no problem with non-residents on the estate, different races and cultures living on the estate and sharing resources and facilities with the non-residents. Here are some of the responses that give the above impression when asked to share their thoughts on non-residents and different races and cultures on the estate. “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, so I really don’t mind non-residents coming into the estate. It is refreshing to see new faces now and then”, “not an issue – totally relaxed”, “I have no issues with different races and cultures living in or visiting the estate. I do recognise though that some residents have problems with the increase of African residents on the estate based on personal experience”. “I encourage the increase of different races and cultures into the estate, the estate is dominated by white people and the increase of other races would create a balance and possibly increase integration”.

It is very interesting how the resident claim to have no issue with non-residents entering the Mount Edgecombe Estate but they have a problem sharing facilities and resources with non-residents. It has come to an understanding that the non-residents that they do not have an issue with coming onto the estate are those with restricted access being employees or visitors however, if they go on to say they do not want to

share facilities and resources that means nobody who has no authorisation can come onto the estate. This takes the issue of exclusion and segregation back to where it began.

5.7 Racial issues at Mount Edgecombe – Integration and socialising levels

To get any indication of racial segregation in Mount Edgecombe Country Estates especially between the residents and non-residents it is important that the researcher assess the integration levels, disputes or conflicts that have occurred between residents and non-residents. Another vital aspect of assessing the racial segregation in Mount Edgecombe Country Estates is to assess the disputes and integration levels of not just the residents and non-residents but also between residents of different races as there are several different races other than white that are moving into the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate.

According to all the residents of Mount Edgecombe respondents, it is certainly easy to interact with anyone outside the Mount Edgecombe Estate. No respondent has difficulties with interacting with people outside the estate. Since all the respondents find it easy to interact and socialise with people outside the estate, it goes to the next point of identifying whether the residents interact and socialise with people who were previously disadvantaged and live in the surrounding townships. From the twenty resident respondents, only five do not interact or socialise with people who live in the surrounding townships. The fifteen respondents who interact or socialise with the people who live in the surrounding townships discussed their relationship with those people. Many of the resident's relationships with non-residents are to be employees, friends and only two had family relatives.

For those resident respondents who share a relationship of being an employer for the people who live in the surrounding townships, it is just an enhancement of the capitalist system and the nature of the relationship is one of an employer and employee whereby the employee is offering his/her labour for a wage. Those respondents who had a relationship of being friends and having relatives were the Black and Indian residents of Mount Edgecombe Estate and the respondents who had an employee and employer relationship were the white residents. Atkinson and Flint (2004) discuss how residents of gated communities fear non-residents.

It is surprising that from the non-residents questionnaire survey, none of the respondents had any disputes nonetheless even racial disputes however between the residents there have been disputes like in any other community and when asked about racial disputes none of the white residents had any racial disputes but three black respondents have had racial disputes. Once the employees finish working, the Mount Edgecombe Estate has a bus for the employees that collects them and takes them out of the Estate to the taxi ranks just across the road. Most of the employees live in Phoenix, which is a township nearby and on the map 5.4, it shows the physical location of Phoenix and Mount Edgecombe so the two places are just

divided by a highway R102. Below is the Mount Edgecombe bus that collects the employees and gets them out of the estate when they finish offering their labour.

The employees of Mount Edgecombe Country Estate are taken off the estate with a bus as soon as their done with their work. To some extent, this process between employer and employee represents the capitalist system and the apartheid laws.

Plate 5.6 Picture of Mount Edgecombe Bus for employees



Source: Author (2016)

One respondent when asked about the integration levels of the residents, he replied to say that whether the residents integrate and socialise or not it depends on the residents themselves, social and sporting facilities are provided to the residents by the Mount Edgecombe Estate and Country Club. Whether the residents use the facilities it is their choice, the Estate cannot force anybody to use the facilities. The Mount Edgecombe Estate is not involved in the social aspect of the resident's lives other than to maintain the common property facilities.

The researcher also did some observations on the level of integration in the country club between members of the country club and non-members; it was quite difficult to distinguish between the country club members and non-members. Most the people who were at the country club were residents of Mount Edgecombe

which make them members of the country club and in observing the integration there were mostly white people in fact the only black people one day were just the workers.

Plate 5.7 Employees off the bus and waiting for a taxi to go home.



Source: Author (2016)

5.8 Feelings of non-residents to Mount Edgecombe Country Club

There are two sides to every story; in this section, the researcher assesses the feelings of non-residents to the gated community (security village) of Mount Edgecombe. If there are, any claims of Mount Edgecombe Country Club segregating themselves as a neighbourhood it should affect mostly the surrounding townships. There were several questions that were asked to the non-residents around Mount Edgecombe, one of them being if the non-residents would like or do they wish to live in Mount Edgecombe. 65% of the respondents wish to live in a gated community such as Mount Edgecombe Country Club and 35% do not wish to live in a gated community such as Mount Edgecombe Country Club.

5.8.1 Reasons to wish to live in a gated community and not to live in a gated community

The main reasons the non-resident respondents of Mount Edgecombe would wish to live in a gated community is mainly for security reasons, lifestyle, and privacy. The reasons why the other respondents would not like to live in a gated community is the many restrictions on the estate. One of the respondents said “I don’t like the idea of owning a home within a place where I am restricted by rules” and another

respondent said, “I don’t like to be controlled. In my community, we are very loud people. We enjoy our loud music, braais, and drinking. Living in a gated community would spoil all of this for me”.

5.8.2 Integration levels of Mount Edgecombe residents

The residents of Mount Edgecombe Estates commented on the integration levels amongst the different races on the estate. This is to assess whether the other races other than white are being accepted into Mount Edgecombe and they are not being excluded within the estate. Out of the 20 respondents, five responded to say the integration levels are excellent and those five respondents are white. Seven respondents said the integration levels are just good and those residents were white and Indian. The other eight respondents said the integration levels are average and poor, these were Black, Chinese, and Indian residents.

The minority races do not have strong integration levels with their own neighbours, indicating there is not much interaction amongst them. The White races have positive integration levels with other races but the other races have negative integration levels with the white race, there is a conflict of interest and opinion. However, it is clearly that there are no strong social ties from observing the open spaces, common areas, and the country club there is no social mix amongst the residents. There are limitations to that statement as on other days, there might be integration and on the day of the researcher, it was a bit quiet.

From the above comments, it raises questions of social integration and interaction of Mount Edgecombe Estates and for the planners and developers of South Africa, questions of whether security is more important than social interaction is vital in determining what type of communities are required for the future. Strong social ties in communities can certainly reduce issues of crime but tight security measures can never promote social integration and interaction. In this situation when proper planning methods and principles are put into place to ensure security and deal with socio-economic issues of the past certainly better neighbourhoods that are not gated can be created.

5.9 Economic opportunities in Mount Edgecombe Country Club

The establishment of the Mount Edgecombe Country Estates has created a great deal amount of economic opportunities. One of the respondents when asked about economic opportunities provided by Mount Edgecombe, the respondent had this to say, “Like most other residential communities, Mount Edgecombe is a massive employer of “previously disadvantaged” persons. That is in the form of individual homeowners and tenants employing domestic staff, security and landscaping contracted staff, golf course staff and numerous others. Building and maintenance contractors all employ staff who are active on the estate.

It is certainly a positive aspect of gated communities that they provide economic opportunities especially for the previously disadvantaged, whether the jobs are sustainable and empowering it is another debate on its own. From the questionnaire survey of non-residents, the researcher asked whether there are any economic opportunities provided for them and out of the 20 respondents, 17 respondents said yes to getting economic opportunities for them. Most of these economic opportunities are employment on the estate, the country club, restaurants, and businesses that are supported by Mount Edgecombe Estate residents.

The Mount Edgecombe Country Estate has service providers that they give jobs to on the estate. The service providers that service, maintenance, building and construction on Mount Edgecombe range from property, architecture, construction, landscaping, and general contracting companies. The Mount Edgecombe Estate has all the details and contacts for the companies that are service providers to the estate. These service provider companies of Mount Edgecombe Estate employ many of the previously disadvantaged people who live nearby the estate in Phoenix and KwaMashu townships.

Outside the Estate there are restaurants, holiday resorts, B&B's and accessory shops which are supported mainly by the Mount Edgecombe community. From the questionnaire survey given to non-residents the response to whether they work at Mount Edgecombe Country Club Estate was yes for 10 out of the 20 respondents. The other 7 of the 10 non-resident respondents work nearby the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate which is near since it is still in Mount Edgecombe. Below is some of the businesses that are supported by the residents of Mount Edgecombe.

Plate 5.8 Marco Paulo restaurant and Flanders mall in Mount Edgecombe



Source: Author (2016)

Security is the main reason people choose to live on the Mount Edgecombe Estate, one of the respondents states that the motive behind the purchasing of houses on the Mount Edgecombe Estate is mainly security and the lifestyle factor of Mount Edgecombe Estates. To provide the required security and protection for the residents a large pool of staff should be employed as security guards that relates to economic opportunities. Furthermore, the lifestyle which is offered by the Estate should be maintained by ensuring facilities are working efficiently and are well-taken care of which requires labour which is provided by the previously disadvantaged people who live nearby.

5.10 Issues of crime and security and gated communities

Breetzke *et al.* (2014) argues the major reason for the growth of gated communities is the South African transition to democracy from 1994. Crime levels in South Africa have increased from 1996, from 1994-1996 there was a 'honeymoon' period before the realities and struggles of living in the new South Africa struck much of the people. In such incidents when countries face fear and feel threatened of crime, there are generally several responses. Some responses are to strengthen the law enforcement officials, another popular response is to secure and target hardening of individual properties or even entire communities.

The securing and target hardening of individual properties or communities can be done through the changing of physical and social attributes of entire neighbourhoods which is basically through the establishment of gated communities. On that note, it is certainly no surprise that South Africa has experienced a significant increase in different types of gated communities since democracy. Below are some of the security measures that have been adopted to Mount Edgecombe to ensure that the security is hardened.

The most protected areas of Mount Edgecombe Estates are the entrances to the estates, there are tight security measures that make it almost impossible for non-residents to enter the estate. According to the questionnaire survey, both for residents and non-residents, respondents commented on the accessibility of Mount Edgecombe Estates. From the non-residents 15 out of the 20 respondents said that it is quite difficult to get access to Mount Edgecombe Estate and 1 respondent said it is not accessible at all, the other 4 respondents said it is easily accessible. The latter 4 respondents are employees of the Mount Edgecombe Estates so they have access cards unlike the others who do not work on the estate.

Plate 5.9 electric fencing and high rising wall as security measures at Mount Edgecombe Estate 2.



Source: Author (2016)

Linking this security issue to the capitalism theory and apartheid theory. The workers of Mount Edgecombe only get access to this place when they come to offer their labour otherwise it is hard to access Mount Edgecombe and it seems much of like the apartheid system where workers only came to the Central Business District to work and had to carry their pass. In Mount Edgecombe, the workers have access cards to go in when they going to work other than that they have no access to anything else on the estate. The images below show the security at the gates of Mount Edgecombe Estates.

Plate 5.10 showing the security at the entrances/gates of Mount Edgecombe



Source: Author (2016)

Other writers in South Africa oppose the view that gated communities are simply a response to crime. Spinks (2001) states many citizens have undermined government planning and have increased socio-spatial segregation in post-apartheid South Africa. Spinks (2001) argues that this new form of socio-segregation “New-Apartheid” is not a response to crime or the fear of crime rather it is the fear and prejudice of other people who are those who were previously disadvantaged in South Africa. South Africa has a long-standing history of segregation and it is not hard for people to carry on with the past tendencies in the new democratic South Africa.

5.11 Privatisation of Public Space

As discussed in the previous section, in many South African cities, mostly in the metropolitan areas, residents have responded to the high crime levels through road closures and access controls. The road closures might be a solution or response to crime but what about the impact that these road closures have on communities. Landman (2004) argues that municipalities in South Africa are still receiving proposals and applications to close roads in their neighbourhoods and control access to their neighbourhoods. Many communities even close roads without formal permission from the local municipality.

The road closure in enclosed neighbourhoods has an impact on the integration and accessibility of a community. Landman (2004b) adds socio-spatial integration and accessibility is a measure of liveable and sustainable communities. It refers to the ease of access to facilities and opportunities presented by the community. Social, economic, cultural, and recreational opportunities and facilities are the greatest benefit

of a community. However, it is of little importance when these opportunities are limited to a very few people. Positive performing communities allow the poorer inhabitants to gain access to these facilities and opportunities that are for the rich people through integration and accessibility of communities.

Mount Edgecombe Country Estate is not accessible hence the non-residents response on the questionnaire survey on accessibility of the Mount Edgecombe Estate. From the resident's questionnaire survey, when asked about their feeling towards sharing Mount Edgecombe Estate facilities with the surrounding townships these were some of the responses from the resident respondents. "No, the residents of Mount Edgecombe have paid a premium for safety and privacy", "I am fine if it reduces our levies and adds value to the estate", "as part of a social conscience collective, I think it would be a wonderful idea to allow less privileged children from sharing the facilities on the estate". "Not something I would advocate for security reasons and affordability", "the facilities of MT Edgecombe should be strictly for the residents as they are maintained and kept in good condition by the levies paid by the residents. The golf course is open to the public but other facilities should be just for residents" and "I am against this as the facilities should be for the use of contributing members/residents only".

Some of the respondents indeed certainly do not have an issue or problem with sharing the facilities and resources of Mount Edgecombe, however, the general perception speaks to the fact that the residents are not willing to share their facilities with the surrounding townships. The main issue again with sharing the facilities and resources is that the residents pay for them so because the non-residents cannot pay they are not able to use the facilities. The theory linked to this explanation is the spatialised sociology of inequality theory, capitalism theory and to some extent the apartheid city model.

Mount Edgecombe Country Estate has several facilities and resources and due to the fences and gates, that restricts the public movement, it is this reason it can be attributed that the Mount Edgecombe Estate and other enclosed neighbourhoods and security villages privatise public space, opportunities and facilities that are contained within. In the case of Mount Edgecombe, the facilities and roads are owned privately. The Mount Edgecombe Estate established and constructed much of what is contained within the estate. The pictures below are just some of the facilities and resources that are within the estate.

Plate 5.8 showing one of the dams in the area used to water golf course and for paddling and a swimming pool for the estate.



Source: Author (2016)

The researcher asked whether the non-residents have ever had unrestricted access to the Mount Edgecombe Estate. All the respondents claim that they have never had unrestricted access to the estate. Access to the Mount Edgecombe Facilities is reserved for the residents, amongst the dams and swimming pools, Mount Edgecombe is known for its excellent golf courses, it is a popular and a top venue for hosting golf tournaments and competitions.

The restricting of other vehicles onto the Mount Edgecombe Estate and limited number of exit and entry points into or out of the estate has an impact on traffic and movement patterns. The vehicles of surrounding neighbourhoods are forced to use the main arterials routes which increases traffic congestion especially during peak hour times. Not just vehicles that are affected by the road closures of estates but also pedestrians, cyclists and motorcyclists should use these main routes, which is a safety hazard as these roads are congested.

Plate 5.9 Mount Edgecombe Country Club Golf Centre and golf course at Mount Edgecombe Estate



Source: Author (2016)

Plate 5.10 showing the traffic on R102 near Mount Edgecombe



Source: Author (2016)

The non-residents of Mount Edgecombe Estates were then asked whether they have access to the facilities and resources of Mount Edgecombe Estates, as expected the non-residents had no access to the facilities and resources of Mount Edgecombe Estates. Mount Edgecombe has other facilities besides the golf course, swimming pool and dams, it also has recreational open spaces, tennis courts and squash courts. Below are images of the other facilities.

Plate 5.11 Squash court and tennis court in Mount Edgecombe Estates



Source: Google images (2016)

5.12 Influence of Gated Communities on Open Communities

Gated communities have made it clear that the only way to deal and reduce crime is to put up gates and walls to secure neighbourhoods and restrict access to only the residents. Landman (2004) argues road closures are growing and are most likely to create enclosed neighbourhoods. Landman claims in the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Area, there has been 360 road closures of which some are illegal. The enclosed neighbourhoods are a type of gated communities.

The area of Mount Edgecombe contains many boom gates even the areas that were not designed to be gated communities have put up boom gates and has closed roads to create enclosed neighbourhoods. Not just around Mount Edgecombe but the influence on gated communities has spread all over the country particularly in metropolitan areas in road closures and privatisation of public places. Places such as Mount Edgecombe Country Club are security village's types of gated communities and they are well-designed security communities with cameras, boom gates and electric fences. Since other communities are unable to form security village's neighbourhoods, they opt for enclosed neighbourhoods that are general and influenced by security villages. Below is an image of a small neighbourhood in Mount Edgecombe that has a boom gate that is an influence of the Mount Edgecombe Country Club.

Plate 5.12 enclosed neighbourhood near Mount Edgecombe with a boom gate restricting access.



Source: Author (2016)

5.12.1 Safety of non-gated Communities

While the residents of Mount Edgecombe seem very adamant that Mount Edgecombe Country Club is safe, the non-residents who were aware of the safety being provided for by the Mount Edgecombe Country Club were asked to rate and give their opinion on the safety of their communities compared to Mount Edgecombe. Out of the 20 respondents, 4 said their communities are very safe, equally as safe as Mount Edgecombe, 12 of the respondents said their communities are less safe than Mount Edgecombe and the other 4 respondents said their communities are not safe at all compared to Mount Edgecombe. It is expected that Mount Edgecombe will be safer than other communities however there are communities that are also safe that are not gated.

One of the respondents said when asked to comment on the safety of other open neighbourhoods “so what I have seen in Durban and Johannesburg, not so sure about Cape Town is that many communities are closing their roads with boom gates to restrict access to outsiders. They hire their own security companies to actually patrol and ensure safety in the community so to answer your question, yes there are communities

which are not gated that are as safe as gated communities”. By doing that they are creating their own kind of gated community to ensure security”.

As much as there are, issues of crime in South Africa, there are many ways of dealing with crime instead of road closures and enclosed neighbours, there are recommendations in the next chapter that discuss on how to deal with crime instead of opting for gated communities.

5.13 Closing Remarks

Could gated communities be using the financial/affordability factor to segregate people not just in gated communities but in their schools and private hospitals etc. The driver of this system is capitalism which was initially enhanced and promoted by the apartheid policies. This is because the one argument all respondents should defend the segregation of Mount Edgecombe is that those who can afford can live on the estate and the market controls the prices of the houses and not the residents.

It is practically impossible for most people to live on the Mount Edgecombe Estate because of affordability. The residents refuse to share facilities and resources because they argue that most of them have paid a premium for the facilities and resources to be maintained by the estate management therefore if anyone else wants to use the facilities or resources they should also pay. They say this ignoring the fact that the people who are non-residents who live in the townships nearby Mount Edgecombe were previously disadvantaged and have no means to pay for those facilities, again it is the affordability/cost factor that is being used to marginalise those who cannot afford.

There are certainly no intentions to support surrounding townships who were previously disadvantaged and some of the respondents make the argument that they support them by giving them employment as security guards and domestic workers. Going back to the capitalist theory used to explain the phenomenon of gated communities and segregation, it speaks of how the rich exploit the poor by giving them a wage for them to offer their labour. These petty jobs are certainly not empowering those who work because many still live under poor conditions nearby the estate and there is no proper intervention by the estate to empower the people. The salaries of the workers compared to the residents of Mount Edgecombe are a clear indication of how the poor are being exploited as the theory of capitalism explains the relationship between the rich and the poor.

The only social interaction that the residents have with the surrounding townships is that the people who were previously disadvantaged offer their labour for a minimal wage because of apartheid laws that have set them back in life. The socio-economic characteristics of the residents of Mount Edgecombe compared to

those who are non-residents agree with the spatialised sociology of inequality theory that speaks about how space can be controlled by those who are in a better position in terms of race, class, and other socio-economic characteristics.

The establishment and growth of gated communities then the demographic profile of them belonging to the upper class who are mostly white and have tertiary education are all because of the historical context of South Africa. The Apartheid system was the driving force to creating the inequality amongst black people and white people in South Africa. The Apartheid era created segregation between black and white people and when the Apartheid era ended there had to be new systems and institutions that would maintain the segregation and thus we witness the growth of these gated communities. However, the change to democratic policies that see many Black, Indian and Coloured people achieving financial success, the segregation of people is not just between black and white however, it is class or economic segregation that is evident throughout the study.

Assertions can be made that it is certainly not only the fear of crime that has promoted the growth of gated communities, hence Spinks (2001) argues that residents choose to ignore government planning initiatives which promote integration and interaction and choose to devise their own private planning which segregates people. A new approach to gated communities is required which will not solely focus on crime as the main factor contributing to growing gated communities in South Africa.

5.14 Conclusion

The growing phenomenon of gated communities are linked to the past apartheid era. Gated communities have come under a lot of scrutiny in the past few years, they have been criticised for segregating neighbourhoods and people, gated communities are another barrier to integration and interaction of people in South Africa, this impacts negatively on building social networks and creating opportunities for social and economic activities. Mount Edgecombe Country Club is a gated community (security village) which is very popular for its security and golf courses, it is dominated by white and high-class people who can afford to purchase houses there.

This chapter has analysed data on the role of Mount Edgecombe in reproducing the existing patterns of urban segregation. Racial issues were explored in Mount Edgecombe from many perspectives including but not limited to the residents and non-residents of Mount Edgecombe. The relationships of Mount Edgecombe residents and non-residents were used as an indication in determining the segregation issues and other issues such as privatisation of space, security and crime and economic and social opportunities presented by Mount Edgecombe Country Club. The apartheid legacy has contributed much to the

phenomenon of growing gated communities and certainly the influence and attitude of the capitalist system has driven and maintained the inequality levels between the Black and White people of South African.

CHAPTER SIX

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

The public certainly has not had a positive reaction to gated communities, many people object to restriction of access to neighbourhoods. This chapter aims at providing recommendations as to how the segregation created by gated communities can be minimised and how better communities can be created to reduce the levels of crime. It also aims at proposing policies that will address the growing phenomenon of gated communities. The recommendations will be formulated from the research conducted by the researcher and proposals from the researcher.

This chapter will firstly give a brief of the key findings from the data analysis chapter then give conclusions on each of the key findings, it must be noted that each key finding will be linked to the research objectives and research questions. Once the conclusions have been done on each key finding, the recommendations will be provided for each conclusion and key finding for the research.

6.2 Major findings

Data analysis and literature of the research have met the objectives of this study. These objectives have come up with very interesting findings to the study of gated communities and segregation. There were major findings for each objective of the study. The major findings will be presented and discussed by the objective. To refresh and recap on the objectives of the study, the first objective was to determine how gated communities contribute to the fragmentation and segregation of communities, second objective was to determine how Mount Edgecombe Country Estates limits and prohibits public movement.

The third objective is to analyse and assess the population of Mount Edgecombe Country Estates to determine the race and class of the residents in relation to past regressions, the fourth objective was to establish if there are any relations or shared resources between Mount Edgecombe Estates and surrounding townships. The fifth objective was to assess public resources and goods that have been absorbed by the establishment of Mount Edgecombe Country Estates and the last objective was to determine the similarities between Mount Edgecombe Country Estates and other gated communities in South Africa in terms of reproducing existing urban segregation.

The major findings relating to the first objective can confirm that gated communities do contribute to the segregation of communities, race was previously the main factor used to segregate people and communities especially during the apartheid era. In the context of South Africa with high inequality levels, race and class are the main drivers in segregating people and communities. Affordability to live in gated communities is the determinant of who has access to Mount Edgecombe Estate; this affordability factor is truly an indication of the classist attitudes involved with gated communities.

The gates and fences that restrict and limit access to gated communities is certainly another way of segregating and fragmenting communities, the physical and artificial features such as roads and golf courses are barriers which segregate and fragment communities close by to Mount Edgecombe Estate. One of the key findings from the analysis is that there is no evidence of racial segregation or discrimination from the Mount Edgecombe Country Estates. The Mount Edgecombe Country Estates segregates or excludes others on the account of affordability and cost. Privatisation of public space and road closures are one of the key findings of gated communities, gated communities limit and prohibit access to some areas.

According to Landman (2004b) one of the determinants of segregation in community is the accessibility of the area. Mount Edgecombe Country Estate is certainly not accessible, fences, securities, road closures and gates are amongst the barriers that limit and prohibit public movement in gated communities. The roads in Mount Edgecombe do not lead to any other people; roads on the estate are for the use of the residents, as they do not extend to other communities. This limits public movement and causes many challenges for communities seeking opportunities. Landman (2004b) sustainable and liveable communities are measured by socio-spatial integration and accessibility, the factors that limit and prohibit public movement in gated communities creates segregation and fragmentation on communities.

The factors that limit and prohibit public movement decrease social and economic opportunities for other communities nearby Mount Edgecombe. Social mix is an important concept that forms part of creating sustainable and liveable communities. Mount Edgecombe Estates and gated communities in general have one type of race and class that decreases social mix in the community going against vital sustainable development principles of creating better liveable and sustainable communities.

The Mount Edgecombe area and Mount Edgecombe Country Estates have not changed demographically. Most of the population is white as it was previously before 1994. The Black and Indian race is increasing on the Mount Edgecombe Estate but that is only the high-class people, racial segregation is decreasing because the country is democratic but socio-economic segregation is the result of the current demographic

trend. Gated communities do limit and prohibit public movement through the closure of the neighbourhoods.

The issue of gated communities as a response to crime is one of the key findings as many of the Mount Edgecombe residents moved to Mount Edgecombe Country Estates for security. The transition from an apartheid era to a democratic country has promoted crime in South. Migration, inequality, poverty, lack of opportunities and unemployment are socio-economic issues that resulted from the apartheid era and increased crime levels in the post-apartheid era.

The Apartheid era of South Africa has influenced and resulted in opportunities for crime not just through the policies that highly favoured the white race but also through the Apartheid planning of communities that spatially dislocated the poor, resulting in long and costly commuting patterns that makes the commuters vulnerable to crime. The separation of communities through buffer strips provide opportunities for criminal activity and the exclusion of residents from social and economic opportunities and amenities offered by a community increases criminal activity.

It has been established in the study that gated communities are not just a response to crime both in national and international context. It seeks to offer an exclusive lifestyle for its residents that limits interaction between the residents of the gated communities and other neighbouring communities. Sharing facilities and resources of gated communities with other communities in Mount Edgecombe Estate and in other gated communities is not a favourable by the gated communities. The capitalism theory, exclusivity of gated communities and the affordability cost factor can explain this.

The national and international precedents look at the similarities between gated communities (security villages) such as Mount Edgecombe to establish whether the type of gated communities such as Mount Edgecombe have the same influence on society. From the findings, security villages are similar in character, form, and much of their operations, rules and regulations are the same. Security villages have the same type of security, facilities and resources and the road closures these characterises are typical security village's characteristics. Due to limited time and resources, the similarities between Mount Edgecombe Estate and other gated communities was not explored. The conclusion and key findings of the last objective are drawn from the literature surrounding gated communities. When researching, and discussing gated communities, the context of the researching involves all gated communities not a gated community. Therefore, the conclusions made on Mount Edgecombe Country Estate can be directed to other similar gated communities particularly security villages.

6.3 Recommendations

This chapter presents the recommendations for ensuring gated communities do not reproduce the existing patterns of urban segregation and are well integrated into South African communities. The aim of this study was to assess whether gated communities reproduce the existing patterns of urban segregation, using the case study of Mount Edgecombe Country Estate. The study explored the concepts, theories, literature, national and international precedents, and findings from the fieldwork to assess and analyse whether gated communities reproduce the existing patterns of urban segregation. The key findings and major discussions on gated communities and segregation will be used to develop conclusion and provide recommendations for the study.

6.3.1 Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

In South Africa crime has sparked and endured the increasing gated communities, therefore one would assume that if crime were dealt with in South Africa, gated communities would stop increasing. The research of this study exposes that crime is not only the main reason for the increase of gated communities; therefore, it is not guarantee that decreasing crime levels will decrease gated communities. However, if decreasing crime levels would decrease gated communities, government should plan against crime in communities. Landman and Liebermann (2005) state instead of creating security villages and enclosed neighbourhoods to prevent crime, planning against crime is as effective and does not come with issues of segregation and exclusion.

Landman and Liebermann (2005) insist that planning against crime should involve people and not physical barriers. The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) emphasises the importance of public participation in planning, and the IDP is closely linked to the municipal budget so the budget should reflect the local people's ideas and views on how to deal with issues such as crime and poverty. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles are amongst the crime prevention strategies that involve people to reduce crime. Natural surveillance and visibility in communities is important in preventing criminal activity and local people are at the forefront of ensuring that they are there to survey the community. CPTED should give a sense of ownership and belonging to the residents of a community, people should get working opportunities in their communities making it more difficult to commit crime.

CPTED should involve people and not just be about target hardening, target hardening is using burglar guards or high walls to prevent crime. CPTED should go far as encouraging mixed-use development and integrated development approach to areas that rely on target hardening. Landman and Liebermann (2005) developed a model to plan against crime with people; this model can be used to reduce crime in South

Africa. Much of the models theory is using CPTED principles however putting people at the forefront. Local people know their communities better than anyone else, the CPTED model to prevent crime in communities consisted of workshops based on the understanding of people knowing the problems in their area and most prone areas to criminal activities. One of the objectives of these areas is to understand what makes certain areas prone to criminal activities

To reflect a democratic and rainbow nation of South Africa diversity is required in our neighbourhoods, our communities should not be the same as there were in the apartheid times, and black neighbourhoods should have amenities, resources, and facilities. Neighbourhoods should integrate and interaction socially and economically to create better sustainable communities.

There are open communities that are not gated and fenced that are as safe as gated communities are. Instead of creating gated communities to reduce crime in an area, communities can form stronger social ties, establish neighbourhood watch or private security companies to patrol, and ensure safety in a community. One of the respondents agreed that there are communities that are as safe as gated communities are. When proper planning principles such as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) strategies are implemented crime can be reduced in a neighbourhood and there will not be a need for gated communities.

For Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) to minimise crime in all communities especially those that are not well resourced, a community based approach which relies on participation is required to make a difference. Other community stakeholders such as municipal officials, councillors, private security companies and police officers are needed to participate and fight against crime. Mapping crime hot spot areas and assessing environments that promote crime by the community can help target these environments and put in place measures to prevent crime.

6.3.2 Planning Principles

To create better sustainable, vibrant and liveable communities planning has a vital role to play in creating these communities. The Spatial Development Framework (SDF) and IDP need to carefully address and plan for communities, creating social and economic opportunities, safe and accessible communities and communities with resources, amenities, and facilities. Spatially integrated communities through mixed-use streets and public spaces, social mix with higher densities through a well-planned and coordinated built form. Planning should uphold the principle of democracy by involving the community in planning for communities. Land Use Management Systems (LUMS) need to establish which land development

applications do not seek to create sustainable, vibrant, and integrated communities such as gated communities.

6.3.3 Policies

National, provincial, and local policies need to have one motive and these motives should seek to address the social-economic issues and challenges in South Africa that have influenced the growth of gated communities. The policies addressing inequality and crime levels should take priority to reduce the socio-economic challenges in South Africa. These two issues are responsible for many of the other issues that affect South Africa especially in the context of gated communities and segregation.

Economic policies should aim at redistributing the wealth and resources of the country, empowering the poor and those who were previously disadvantaged is important for the country to reduce inequality. The government has a vital role to play in enforcing and strengthening security forces to tackle crime and bring back peace and order to South African communities. The implementation of the already existing policies such as the National Development Plan (NDP) that focuses on reducing inequality will help South Africa deal with much of its socio-economic issues that proliferate to issues and establishments such as segregation and gated communities.

6.4 Final Conclusion

The high crime rate in South Africa has influenced the increase and favourable development of gated communities in South Africa. The history of South Africa is filled with segregation from the colonial era to the apartheid era. Segregation has led to the inequality that to some extent is responsible for the socio-economic issues faced by the country. There might be doubt as to whether the segregation in South Africa is responsible for the socio-economic challenges faced by the country but it is with utmost certainty that the segregation and inequality has influenced the increase of gated communities in South Africa. This study assessed whether gated communities are reproducing the existing patterns of urban segregation: a case study of Mount Edgecombe Country Estate.

Gated communities are heavily criticised for fragmenting and segregating communities not only in South Africa but also around the world. The rise of gated communities is attributed with two dominant factors, inequality and crime no matter the context or country in which the gated communities are increasing. The end of the apartheid in South Africa witnessed a significant rise in crime and inequality that also saw an increase in gated communities. It is no coincidence that inequality and crime are always with the increase and development of gated communities. The gated community concept varies from region to region, there

are different types of gated communities and the type of gated community that was mostly being referred to is security villages and enclosed neighbourhoods in the context of South Africa.

The findings of the study of assessing whether gated communities reproduce the existing patterns of urban segregation reveal that gated communities segregate people using the cost and affordability factor into gated communities. The capitalism theory explains the financial segregation that is being used by gated communities to segregate people and communities. The claim that the increase of gated communities is a response to the crime levels has been put under scrutiny in this research, there is literature that proves that residents of gated communities choose to stay in gated communities not just, for safety but exclusivity and prestige are important in the desire to live in gated communities. The fear of non-residents from the residents of gated communities is high and raises concerns as to whether crime is the real issue.

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APPENDIX SECTION

Appendix 1: Questionnaire Survey (Residents)

NO:

Questionnaire for the residents of Mount Edgecombe Country Estates

Questionnaire survey conducted by: Mr P. Sosibo (University of KwaZulu-Natal, Town and Regional Planning Masters Student)

SECTION A: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE RESPONDENTS

1. What is your age?

< 20	20-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+

2. What is your marital status?

Married	Single	Divorced	Widowed/ widower	Other

3. What is your gender?

Male	
Female	

4. What is your level of Education?

No schooling		Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	

5. What is your race?

Black	White	Coloured	Indian	Other (Specify)

6. What is your monthly income?

Before 1994			
After 1994			
R 0 - 10000	R 10000 - 20000	R 20000 – 50 000	R 50 000 – 100 000

7. What is your nationality?

South African	
Other	

SECTION B: Assessment of feelings towards Mount Edgecombe Country Estates and other open Neighbourhoods.

8. Was Mount Edgecombe Country Estate once an open neighbourhood?

Yes	
No	

9. Have you lived in an open or unenclosed neighbourhood?

Yes	
No	

10. Arrival at Mount Edgecombe Country Estates?

11. Reason for moving to Mount Edgecombe Country Estates?

Safety and protection	
Leisure and recreation	
Move away from urbanizing neighbourhoods which were being highly integrated racially and socially.	
Other (specify)	

12. Feelings towards entrance of non-residents into the estate and increase of different races and cultures into the estate?

.....

.....

.....

.....

13. Have you faced any disputes in the estate? If yes, have any of them been racial?

.....

.....

.....

14. Feelings towards sharing Mount Edgecombe facilities with surrounding townships?

.....

.....

.....

15. Besides safety and protection that Mount Edgecombe Country Estates offers, is there any other reason you prefer to live in a gated community?

.....

.....

.....

16. What negative impacts would not be living in a gated community have on you?

.....

.....

.....
.....
17. How accessible is the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate to non-residents?

Easily accessible	Difficult to access	Not accessible

18. Do you interact and socialize with people outside Mount Edgecombe Estates?

Yes	
No	

19. If yes, how easy is it to interact with people outside of Mount Edgecombe Estates?

.....
.....
.....

20. Do any of those people that you interact with live in the surrounding previously disadvantaged communities?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

21. If yes, please discuss the relationship with the people that you interact with who live in previously disadvantaged?

.....
.....
.....
.....

22. If the South African government managed to lessen crime in open communities, would you consider moving to communities which are not gated?

Yes	
No	

23. If No, why not?

.....
.....
.....
.....

24. How would you rate the integration levels between different races within the Mount Edgecombe Estate?

Excellent		Good		Average		Poor	
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Appendix 2: Interview Schedule for Estate Manager of Mount Edgecombe Estate

Date:

Time:

Venue:

1. Has Mount Edgecombe Country Estate ever been an open community?
2. What is the general perception from several government departments concerning gated communities?
3. What are the regulations and requirements of living and owning a house in the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate?
4. Has there been any drastic changes in the demographic profile of the residents of Mount Edgecombe Country Estates?
5. How does the Mount Edgecombe Country Estates adhere and uphold the principles of social integration and social justice?
6. Does Mount Edgecombe Country Estates help or provide opportunities for the black people who were previously disadvantaged?
7. Does Mount Edgecombe Country Estate share resources and facilities with neighbouring communities?
8. What is the level and extent to which the residents of Mount Edgecombe Country Estate socialize and integrate amongst themselves?
9. What are the major issues and challenges facing the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate?
10. Are there any public facilities and resources that have been absorbed by the establishment of the gated community of Mount Edgecombe Country Estates?
11. Does the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate have any relationships or share ideas and methods with other gated communities around Durban?
12. Have you had to resolve any racial disputes in the estate?
13. Any other Comments?

Appendix 3: Interview Schedule for Property Real Estate Agent

Date:

Time:

Venue:

1. What is the motive behind the purchase of houses in gated communities?
2. Are there racial differences in the purchase of homes in gated communities?
3. Is there a racial or class relationship between the purchasing of houses in gated communities and non-gated communities?
4. Can the middle and low class people possibly afford houses in the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate?
5. Do property real estate agencies find it easier to sell houses in open communities than in gated communities?
6. Have you sold a house in a gated community to a race other than white? If yes! Were there any challenges faced with selling of the house?
7. Have you sold a house in a gated community to a middle-income person? If yes! Were there any challenges faced with selling of the house?
8. Are the adverts for houses in gated communities open to the public or is there a specific target market for the houses ion gated communities?
9. Are there any other types of communities that are as safe as gated communities which people can live in?
10. Any other comment?

Questionnaire for the non-residents who work within the estate or live in the surrounding areas of the estate.

Questionnaire survey conducted by: Mr P. Sosibo (University of KwaZulu-Natal, Town and Regional Planning Masters Student)

SECTION A: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE RESPONDENTS

1. What is your age?

< 20	20-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+

2. What is your marital status?

Married	Single	Divorced	Widowed/ widower	Other

3. What is your gender?

Male	
Female	

4. What is your level of Education?

No schooling	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary

5. What is your race?

Black	White	Coloured	Indian	Other (Specify)

6. What is your monthly income?

R 0 - 10000	R 10000 - 20000	R 20000 – 50 000	R 50 000 – 100 000

7. What is your nationality?

South African	
Other	

SECTION B: Assessment of feelings towards Mount Edgecombe Country Estates.

8. Have you ever had unrestricted access to Mount Edgecombe Country Estates?

Yes	
No	

9. Do you wish to live in a gated community such as Mount Edgecombe Country Estates and why?

Yes	
No	

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10. Do you work in the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate?

Yes	
No	

11. If not, what is your relation to the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate?

Live nearby	
Work nearby	
Commute occasionally around the area	
Other (specify)	

12. How accessible is Mount Edgecombe Country Estate?

Easily accessible	
Difficult to access	
Not accessible at all	

13. Do you have any form of social interaction with the residents of Mount Edgecombe?

Yes	
No	

14. If yes, specify what kind of social interaction you have with the residents of Mount Edgecombe Country Estates.

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15. Do you have access to the resources and facilities that are provided by the Mount Edgecombe Country Club?

Yes	
No	

16. Are there any economic opportunities that have been provided for you by the establishment of Mount Edgecombe Country Estate?

Yes	
No	

17. If Yes, what are those economic opportunities?

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18. How safe would you rate the community you live in which is not gated?

Not safe at all	Less Safe	More Safe	Very Safe

19. Are there any other race groups besides your own in your community?

Yes	
No	

20. If yes, which other racial group is amongst yours in your community?

Black	
White	
Coloured	
Indian	
Other (Specify)	

21. Have you faced any disputes in the estate? If yes, have any of them been racially provoked?

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22. If you had the money to live in a gated community, would you live in Mount Edgecombe?

Yes		No	
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23. Why?

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24. Any other concluding comments?

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Appendix 5: Observation Schedule

Observation for segregation in Mount Edgecombe Country Estate.

Observation conducted by: Mr P. Sosibo (University of KwaZulu-Natal, Town and Regional Planning Masters Student)

Observation Checklist:

1. Visit the Mount Edgecombe Country Club and assess the level of integration in the country club between members of the country club and non-members.
2. Assess the race homogeneity levels of the Estate and the diversity in the Mount Edgecombe Country Estate.
3. Observe who uses the social facilities, recreational facilities and open spaces in Mount Edgecombe Country Estate.
4. Assess the socio-economic context of neighbouring places in relation to Mount Edgecombe Country Estate.

Observation Schedule:

For three weeks, observations of segregation patterns in Mount Edgecombe Country Estate will be conducted. Signs and patterns of segregation in Mount Edgecombe Estate will be observed, the levels of diversity in and around Mount Edgecombe will be observed, and the level of homogeneity in gated communities will be observed to assess if there are any patterns of segregation.

There will be three days a week of observation and each day will have a morning, day and afternoon observation session, the observation sessions will be for a period of thirty minutes.

Morning sessions will be from 9am, day sessions will be from 1pm and afternoon sessions will be from 5pm.

Week 1: Monday, Wednesday and Friday. (30 minutes per session)

Week 2: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. (30 minutes per session)

Week 3: Friday, Saturday and Sunday. (30 minutes per session)