GUARDING THE NEIGHBOURHOODS: THE NEW LANDSCAPE OF CONTROL IN MALAYSIA

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ABSTRACT

Since enclosures emerged as a topic of scholarly interest in the 1990s, international studies have proliferated. While some may argue that securitised enclosures are a global phenomenon, case studies of particular regions reveal enclosures take different forms in different nations as housing producers respond to local values, beliefs, and practices. In Malaysia, this study identified two types of enclosures being produced in sub/urban residential areas. In new development projects private developers are building gated communities surrounded by walls containing attractive shared amenities. In older areas, residents' associations organise to create guarded neighbourhoods by erecting physical barriers across public roads, hiring security guards and impose makeshift boundaries to limit outsiders' access. Therefore, through a political-economy approach based on neoliberalism, this study aimed to investigate the proliferation of guarded neighbourhoods in the Selangor state, Malaysia. In particular, this study examined the factors producing them, the role of governance and multiple key actors and the social spatial implications of this kind of community. This study developed these insights from a qualitative research that included in-depth interviews with multiple key actors in the government and communities, reviews of documentation and statistics, and direct-observations assessing guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state, Malaysia. In-depth interviews revealed that safety and security – that is, fear of crime/other has motivated sub/urban residents to live in guarded neighbourhood. As the middle class has grown, the desire for private and exclusive living and to enhance property values also drives the creation of guarded neighbourhoods. In the context role of the state, research findings revealed that the Malaysian government, corporations, and citizen group's work within a complex governance system to (re)produce guarded neighbourhoods and creating conditions that support enclosure and securitisation of space. A neoliberal government practices provide a regulatory context within which residents organise associations, levy fees, erect barricades, and hire guards to control formerly public streets and spaces. This study also revealed that guarded neighbourhood simultaneously reflect social exclusion—of non-residents and foreigners—and cohesive social action of the politically powerful to produce neighbourhood identity and community coherence. Citizen action to create guarded neighbourhoods reveals emerging class boundaries and reinforces social segregation and urban fragmentation in urban Malaysia. In sum, this study showed that neoliberal market principles fuse with ethnic politics, cultural predilections, and economic imperatives to generate a socially and spatially fragmented urban landscape where security concerns dominate and where citizens culturally, physically, and symbolically segregate themselves from others. As the power of urban practitioners working with the Malaysian government proved limited, this study also recommended some improvements on the existing roles and rules in governing and reproducing guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia.

ABSTRAK

Komuniti berpagar merupakan fenomena global dan turut berkembang di bandar-bandar utama di Malaysia. Walaupun sesetengah pihak mengatakan fenomena ini merupakan kejadian global, kajian terhadap sesebuah negara akan menyediakan ruang untuk mengkaji fenomena ini dari segi aspek politik dan budaya tempatan. Kajian ini telah mengenalpasti dua jenis pembangunan komuniti berpagar di Malaysia. Jenis yang pertama ialah *"gated communities"* yang secara umunya dibina oleh pemaju perumahan bagi menarik golongan kelas atasan di kawasan bandar utama di Malaysia. Jenis yang kedua ialah *"guarded neighbourhoods"* yang dibuat oleh persatuan penduduk dengan meletakkan halangan-halangan seperti palang dan tong drum di atas jalan awam. Oleh itu, melalui perspektif politik-ekonomi, kajian ini akan mengkaji punca-punca yang menyebakan kewujudan *"guarded neighbourhoods"* dengan mengambil kira peranan kerajan dan pelbagai pihak dalam mengurus tadbir komuniti ini. Kajian ini dilakukan secara kualitatif. Data utama yang digunakan dalam kajian ini adalah temubual dengan pelbagai pihak kerajaan dan masyarakat, menganalisa dokument yang berkaitan dan pemerhatian secara terus di dalam kawasan *"guarded neighbourhoods"* yang berada di negeri Selangor, Malaysia. Hasil penyelidikan menunjukkan bahawa pihak kerajaan (kerajaan persekutuan, kerajaan negeri dan pihak berkuasa tempatan), syarikat swasta (syarikat pengurusan, dan syarikat keselamatan), dan penduduk selangor (persatuan penduduk) bekerjasama dalam sistem pengurusan bandar bagi menghasilkan *"guarded neighbourhoods"*. Pihak kerajaan menyokong secara tidak langsung pembangunan *"guarded neighbourhoods"* dengan menyediakan kemudahan sokongan seperti bantuan kewangan dan garis panduan. Tindakan penduduk *"guarded neighbourhoods"* yang mengasingkan komuniti mereka dengan meletakkan sempadan di jalan-jalan awam telah menyebabkan pengasingan sosial dan perubahan landskap perumahan di negeri Selangor. Kajian ini mendapati bahawa *"guarded neighbourhoods"* di negeri Selangor bukan saja melambangkan pengasingan sosial tetapi turut menyebakan pengasingan antara golongan miskin dan kaya. Walaupun faktor keselamatan dan perasaan takut terhadap individu lain menyebabkan kewujudan *"guarded neighbourhoods"*, terdapat faktor-faktor lain yang menyumbang kepada fenomena ini. Dasar kerajaan yang menyokong neoliberal turut dilihat menyumbang kepada kewujudan guarded neighbourhoods. Secara keseluruhannya kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa prinsip-prinsip neoliberal telah bekerjasama dengan politik etnik dan budaya dan menyebabkan pengasingan sosial dan spatial dalam bandar di negeri Selangor. *Guarded neighbourhood* merupakan simbolik pengasingan di dalam kawasan perumahan di negeri Selangor. Kajian ini mendapati bahawa perancang bandar yang bekerja dengan kerajaan mempunyai kuasa yang terhad. Oleh itu kajian mencadangkan penambahbaikan ke atas peraturan dan kaedah yang sedia ada untuk menyelia pembangunan *"guarded neighbourhood"*.

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"Hutang emas boleh dibayar
Hutang budi dibawa mati"

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BN   Barisan Nasional (National Coalition)

BCPA   Building and Common Property Act

DTCP   Department of Town and Country Planning

DLC   Driving License Card

EPU   Economic Planning Unit

GACOS   Gated Communities and Guarded Neighbourhoods

GPI   Global Peace Index

GNBSD   Guarded Neighbourhood Bandar Sri Damansara

GNPI   Guarded Neighbourhood Pandan Indah

HPBS   Housing and Property Board of Selangor

LA   Local Authority

MPAJ   Majlis Perbandaran Ampang Jaya (Ampang Jaya Municipal Council)

MBPJ   Majlis Bandaraya Petaling Jaya (Petaling Jaya City Council)

MBSA   Majlis Bandaraya Shah Alam (Shah Alam City Council)

MCA   Malaysian Chinese Association

MPKj   Majlis Perbandaran Kajang (Kajang Municipal Council)

MPSJ   Majlis Perbandaran Subang Jaya (Subang Jaya Municipal Council)

NEM   New Economic Model

NKRA   National Key Result Area

NEP   New Economic Policy

NIC   National Identification Card

NLC   National Land Code

NPC   National Physical Council

NPP   National Physical Plan

RA   Resident Association

RELA   Ikatan Relawan Rakyat Malaysia (Volunteers of Malaysian People)

RGN   Resident of Guarded Neighbourhood

RON   Resident of Open Neighbourhood

RTA   Road Transport Act

SDBA   Street, Drainage and Building Act

SOP   Standard Operation Procedure

STA   Strata Title Act

SPC   State Planning Committee

TCPA	Town and Country Planning Act
UMNO	United Malays National Organisation
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar

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CHAPTER 1

Gated Communities and Guarded Neighbourhoods

1.1 Introduction

In the 1990s urban scholars wrote extensively about the widespread appearance of gated communities (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Marcuse, 1997), the privatisation of space (McKenzie, 1994; Kohn, 2004), and the influence of fear on urban form and pattern (Davis, 1992; Ellin, 1997). Although much of the early discussion reported on experiences in the United States of America (USA), by the 2000s gated communities were well documented on most continents and in diverse contexts. Efforts to explain the proliferation of enclosure often focused on the effects of globalisation (Marcuse, 1997) or on fears of crime and violence generated by increasing social polarisation (Flusty, 1997; 2004; Caldeira, 1996; 2000; Low, 2001; 2003). Some authors see such processes as reflecting growing social segregations and exclusion (Marcuse, 1993; Marcuse and Van Kempen, 2000; 2002) while others describe enclosure as a by-product of neoliberal urbanisation, in a time when states have reduced their regulatory role (Genis, 2007; Hackworth, 2007; Harvey, 2005). Whatever the factors producing them, enclosed residential environments universally generate social and spatial implications for the cities that have them.

Grant and Rosen (2009, p. 575) cautioned, however, that focusing on global factors and processes may miss relevant local conditions necessary to explain particular enclosure practices. "Although academics often interpret gated communities in reference to the

postulated influence of international politico-philosophical dispositions vaguely generalised as "globalisation" and "neoliberalism," it remains for students of urban practice to demonstrate through empirical analysis that substantial links indeed exist" (Grant and Rosen, 2009, p. 575).The systems producing enclosure vary by location and history, and require explication (Low, 2003; Stoyanov and Frantz, 2006).

Since gated communities emerged as a topic of scholarly interest in the 1990s (Blakely and Snyder, 1997), international studies have proliferated. Definitions of gated communities vary, but most sources describe them as residential areas enclosed by walls or fences, or with access limited by security controls (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). Such enclosures generally constitute private neighbourhoods (Kohn, 2004; McKenzie, 1994): in some cases that means they own and manage their own services, infrastructure and amenities; in other cases it may simply imply that they regulate access to public streets or services by non-residents. In some nations, gated communities have come to dominate the new housing market, especially for affluent households. For instance, in the USA most new development creates private neighbourhoods (McKenzie, 2011; Nelson, 2005).

Although fortified settlements appeared commonly in urban history in many parts of the world, contemporary gated communities began to proliferate as rates of urbanisation increased, new forms of social polarisation emerged, and neoliberal policies influenced government decisions in recent decades. Pow (2009) noted that gated communities are seen as the product of a wider trend towards urban restructuring and the liberalisation of urban spaces. Brenner and Theodore (2002, p. 375) pointed out "cities have become strategically crucial arenas for neoliberal forms of policy experimentation and

institutional restructuring", with enclosures one among several urban forms arising from globalisation processes (Glasze, 2005; Van Kampen and Van Naerssen, 2008).

In the production of gated communities global processes interact with transnational ideologies, discourses, and networks at the local level (Genis, 2007; Grant and Rosen, 2009). Rising insecurities in recent decades inspired public demands for state actions that led to financial reforms, deregulated markets, and privatisation of services (Kurtz and Brooks, 2008). Neoliberal economic restructuring expanded the role of real estate actors in market systems, privatised public services, and created a new—often enclosed—urban landscape in residential areas (Genis, 2007). The challenge in practise, as time proved, was to understand the role of the state in producing enclosures in neoliberal era. Therefore, the theoretical framework of this study will use a political economic approach by trying to understand the way that neoliberal forces interact with local cultural values and processes.

Enclosures are one aspect of the neoliberal restructuring of local governance that has been underway since the 1970s (Brenner and Theodore 2003; Hackworth, 2006; Harvey, 2007) and it take different forms in different nations as housing producers respond to local values, beliefs, and practices. Studies of enclosures in particular contexts illuminate the interaction between global processes and local conditions. For instance, large gated projects are common in urban areas of Latin America where crime rates are high and social polarisation significant (Caldeira, 2000; Janoschka and Borsdorf, 2006). They appear widely in parts of urban China where community security mechanisms help ensure public order and social control (Huang, 2006; Pow, 2007a; Yao and Wei, 2012). In countries where security conditions are generally peaceful, gated developments typically represent small niche markets providing privacy and

exclusivity: this is true in countries such as Canada (Grant et al., 2004), Russia, (Lentz, 2006), England and New Zealand (Blandy, 2006).

Enclosures began appearing in Southeast Asia—in the Philippines –as early as the late 1960s (Dick and Rimmer,1998). Condominium living—that is, housing where residents own shared elements such as open spaces or recreational amenities in common—is increasingly popular in many parts of south-east Asia where land pressures force intensification, and is a key process producing enclosed private residential areas. Property companies typically manage private and gated communities in Taiwan (Chen and Webster, 2005) and Singapore (Pow, 2009), leaving residents relatively passive and powerless to influence conditions. In Singapore, the state has played an active role in producing gated communities because of its housing policies: while it provided good quality, mixed-income public housing for the majority of the population, it also sold land parcels to development companies to build exclusive enclaves for affluent households (Pow, 2009).

In Vientiane, the capital of Laos, an enclave which had housed American military advisors before 1976 became an enclosure for senior administrators of the subsequent regime (Rafiqui and Gentile, 2009). Shatkin (2008) indicated that the privatisation of public space resulted from social inequity along with perpetual economic and fiscal crisis in Manila. Leisch (2002) argued that in Indonesia, enclosures reflected growing socio-economic disparity and represented a strategy to manage the risk of ethnic conflicts while emulating modern trends. Hishiyama (2010) suggested that the failure of the state to keep people feeling secure led residents to hire private guards to ensure security in Indonesia and Thailand. Some minority populations feel especially insecure in contemporary conditions, as Leisch (2002, p. 349) explained,

"[...]since the wealth has not been spread equally, a further socio–economic polarisation is taking place, resulting in a growing income gap with growing jealousy and a growing need for security. In Indonesia, the jealousy [...] is mainly directed against the Chinese, who thus request the best possible security".

Fear is a significant motivating factor for enclosure in many parts of the world (Csefalvay and Webster, 2012; Wilson-Doenges, 2000). "In post-independence south-east Asia, the street is typically perceived as a source of danger […] Open suburban living thus becomes very insecure" (Dick and Rimmer, 1998, p. 2313). A growing literature has documented the proliferation of private neighbourhoods in South-East Asia, often linking the trend with an expanding middle class and their fears. As Dick and Rimmer (1998, p. 2317) explained,

"[...] rising real household incomes and the emergence of an identifiable middle class have been accompanied by a growing differentiation from, and fear of, the rest of the inchoate urban mass. In countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines, where the middle class is disproportionately ethnic Chinese, that fear has a palpable racial edge. Gated residential communities, condominiums, air-conditioned cars, patrolled shopping malls and entertainment complexes, and multi-storeyed offices are the present and future world of the insecure middle class in south-east Asia".

With the development of new affluent groups has come a desire for distance or separation from others. In Thailand, for instance, Johnson (2013, p. 235) noted that

"gated communities as well as high-rise residences […] often advertise themselves as being homogenous, in opposition to the messy heterogeneous city". Similarly, in Vietnam large tracts of private new towns and gated communities facilitate economic and socio-cultural differentiation (Huong and Sajor, 2010; Spencer, 2010). Hishiyama (2010) reported that residents in parts of Thailand and in Bali Indonesia hired guards and imposed barriers in their neighbourhoods to increase security as terrorism threats loomed in the 2000s. Enclosure has become increasingly common in south-east Asia. Gating, enclosing, or privatising residential areas has become increasingly common throughout the world (Atkinson and Blandy, 2005; Atkinson et al., 2005) and also in Malaysia. In Malaysia, gated communities have been reported as early as 1980s and being built by the private developers in suburban and urban areas. These early gated communities were built for affluent buyers as seen by the marketing strategies adopted by private developers. In early 2000s a new residential landscape had emerged in the cities of Malaysia known as guarded neighbourhoods which is the main focus of this study.

1.2 Background of the Study

Urban Malaysia is experiencing a rapid rise in the development of enclosure of middle and upper class residential areas. Enclosed residential areas are not a traditional urban form in Malaysia, although the British did create fenced compounds during the late colonial era to try to control the population in regions where they feared the spread of communism (Kheng, 2009; Tajuddin, 2012). The contemporary pattern of enclosure produces two types of fortified communities in Malaysia. In new development projects private developers are building gated communities: that is, original market production surrounded by walls containing attractive shared amenities. In older areas of major

cities residents' associations formed by residents organise to create guarded neighbourhoods: that is, post market production by erecting barriers across public roads and hiring security guards to limit outsiders' access. Therefore, it is clarified here, which term is used within this study: gated communities referring to an original market production and guarded neighbourhood referring to the post-market production in older residential areas. Enclosures will refer to both gated communities and guarded neighbourhoods. For the purpose of this study, these terms will be used interchangeably depending on the context of use.

The exercise of private collective right –as in the case of gated communities – differs in some respects, however, from the administration to governance. By virtue of their private status, gated communities offer an extreme method to privatise urban spaces through various regulations and mechanism. Compared with guarded neighbourhoods, this community have, among other features, different voting rules, own governance system and monthly fee taxation methods. On the other hand, the rise of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia demonstrates that, given public and private alternatives, many Malaysians prefer the private route through the collective action of urban residents supported by the government neoliberal policy. Guarded neighbourhoods operate within a basic legal framework established by Malaysian government, but had taken place without much government planning or foresight.

This study finds less written about situations in which residents of established neighbourhoods take action to enclose or barricade their areas. For example, residents of high-end neighbourhoods in Los Angeles convinced local officials to allow them to close streets to create what Blakely and Snyder (1997) defined as security zones. Neighbourhood actions to enclose older districts are common in places such as South

Africa as the security situation deteriorated following the end of apartheid (Jurgens and Gnad, 2002; Landman, 2000; 2004; 2006; Lemanski, 2004), but rare elsewhere. Malaysia thus offers an uncommon example where resident agency produces enclosure. Similar processes of resident-initiated enclosures are underway throughout urban Malaysia at the same time as development corporations are building gated communities in new suburban regions. However, not much research has been undertaken regarding citizen actions to enclose space –guarded neighbourhoods –in Malaysia. This study will investigate the rise of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia where gating—once limited to new developments—has achieved considerable popularity amongst middle class residents of older neighbourhoods. Therefore, in order to understand the guarded neighbourhood phenomenon in Malaysia, this study will considers residents motivations for living in and in many cases generating this type of enclosures.

Although neoliberalism may be a necessary condition for enclosure in contemporary metropolitan areas, it is not sufficient to account for variations in the forms enclosures take and the processes generating them: as Glaze et al. (2006, p. 3) noted, "private neighbourhoods are emerging in the cities of the world under different sets of influences in different forms and with different effects". What first appears yet another manifestation of a global phenomenon turns out to equally reflect local dynamics and concerns. Understanding the nature and prevalence of enclosed residential areas in Malaysia requires insights into the cultural context in which housing is produced and consumed, and the governance processes whereby decisions are made.

While studies have considered the international scope of enclosure (Atkinson and Blandy, 2006; Glaze et al., 2006), the implications of particular practices (e.g., Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000; Low, 2003), the historical origins of enclosure

(Bagaeen and Uduku, 2010), and factors producing and shaping enclosure (e.g., Grant and Middlesteadt, 2004; Pow, 2009), governance conditions influencing enclosure have received little scholarly attention. Although detailed work has described citizen action to enclose space in South Africa (Landman, 2004; 2006; Paasche et al., 2013), wider governance processes producing enclosures –especially self-organised ones—remain under-documented. Addressing governance practices and processes in Malaysia offers insights into the ways that a range of actors co-produce spatial enclosure to facilitate social separation. Therefore, this study will examine urban governance mechanisms and the role of various key actors facilitating guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia to help understand the diverse ways that local cultural and political processes interact with globalising, modernising, and neoliberalising forces to produce guarded neighbourhood and consequences arising from that kind of community.

Spatial planning and urban development in many regions address the needs of those benefiting from the "neoliberal turn" (Tasan-Kok, 2012). In Southeast Asia, enclosures provide privacy and exclusivity for emerging elites (Leisch, 2002; Huong and Sajor, 2010). Like other nations in the region, Malaysia revealed the influence of neoliberal urbanism and globalisation, and has seen the rise of the new elites (Bunnell and Nah, 2004; Bunnell and Coe, 2005). Facilitated by the liberalising policies of the state, guarded neighbourhood is creating a new landscape of control in contemporary Malaysia. Guarded neighbourhoods—with enclosure produced by residents on public streets—illustrate the political efforts of urban middle classes to wrest control of spaces in the city. Therefore, assessing the nature of restrictions provides insight into the extent to which enclosure fragments the city. Thus this study will consider some of the social and spatial implications of guarded neighbourhoods in the urban areas of Selangor state,

Malaysia as the nature of social spatial implications—who is inside and who outside—varies from context to context.

1.3   Research Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to investigate on how guarded neighbourhoods are governed and (re)produced in older residential areas in Selangor state. As a result, residential landscape in Malaysia buffeted by unpredictable political and economic forces transformed open neighbourhoods into "private army communities". Certainly, the fortunes of cities had begun to change, with many residential areas showing clear signs of community fragmentations and social decay. Public spaces are threatened by destruction and became sites of private and exclusive domain through the development of guarded neighbourhoods.

In Malaysia, despite an extensive widespread number of guarded neighbourhoods – illegal/legal status –, there have been few attempts to confront the mechanism in (re)producing and governing enclosures in older areas. This study finds that guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia have become so deeply intertwined with the strategies to keep community's safety in an era of neoliberalism and globalisation, that at some points state agents play significant roles. Yet, some critics might challenge the suitability of developing enclosures. Therefore this study attempts to fill the gap in the literature regarding enclosure by examining the relationship between neoliberalism and guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia through four main research questions as below:

i. Why guarded neighbourhood came into existence in older areas in Selangor state?

ii. How the state and other key actors intervene in the (re)production and governing guarded neighbourhood in Malaysia neoliberal turn?

iii. To what extend are the socio and spatial implications expressed in the discourse of guarded neighbourhoods in contemporary urban development in Malaysia?

iv. How can the state and other key actors improve their practises in governing and (re)producing guarded neighbourhoods in older residential areas in Malaysia?

1.4   Research Objectives

As this study attempts to investigate the community action to enclose space in Malaysia, four research objectives are formulated as follows:

i. To identify the motivations for guarded neighbourhoods in older residential areas

ii. To explore the role of governance and multiple key actors in (re)producing and governing guarded neighbourhoods

iii. To examine the socio and spatial implications of guarded neighbourhoods towards the wider society.

iv. To recommend measures to improve governance of guarded neighbourhoods.

1.5   Research Methodology

Little research has been undertaken to study the interaction between private and public actors in (re)producing and governing guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia. This study offer useful insights about an area not previously studied in detail and provide

opportunities to generalise to theory (Yin, 2003) about the factors that shaped the development of guarded neighbourhoods and their impacts toward the wider society. Based on a qualitative inquiry guided by case studies (Stake, 1995;Yin, 2011), this study will consider the role of the state and other key actors in (re)producing guarded neighbourhoods, the reason for proliferation of guarded neighbourhoods and the socio and spatial implications of this development.

This study will develop insights from a semi-structured in-depth interview with multiple key actors that includes face-to-face interviews of residents (both in and out), interviews with key actors in government and the communities, reviews of documentation and statistics, and field visits assessing selected guarded neighbourhoods. Thematic analysis will describe the phenomenon, analysing it through levels of abstraction and provide some interpretation of theme related with the conceptual framework of this study.

This study will focus on how older urban neighbourhoods occupied by middle-class residents are actively transforming their community into a more elegant, private and secured communities. The discussion especially draws on investigation of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state (surrounding Kuala Lumpur, Putrajaya and Cyberjaya). Selangor state provides unique characteristics to study guarded neighbourhood phenomenon because it is one of the most developed and urbanised states in Malaysia and has the highest concentration number of guarded neighbourhoods in the country. Although systematic search strategies for locating guarded neighbourhoods were employed, this study recognise the limitations of trying to evaluate communities since they are generally inaccessible to outsiders due to physical boundaries and surveillance technologies. Access to the guarded neighbourhoods was often determined by security guards.

1.6   Structure of the Study

This study is divided into 9 Chapters and covering five (5) parts as below:

Part 1: The opening part, covering Chapters 1 and 2, addresses the introduction of the study and the conceptual and theoretical framework. The introductory of Chapter 1, presents the focus and the context of the study: aim and research objectives; research questions; research methods; and structure of the study. Chapter 2 consists of the conceptual framework and its related manifestations that guide the analysis of the empirical data. The conceptual framework is structured according to two mainstreams, which can broadly be described as: first, the concepts of neighbourhoods and territory and secondly, the neoliberalism philosophies link with the neoliberal urbanism, private and public spaces and government and govermentality.

Part 2: The second part comprises two descriptive chapters – Chapters 3 and 4 – that offer analysis of previous scholarly research in the international and local context. Chapter 3 draws from three main areas of literature. Firstly, interdisciplinary literature about the proliferation of gated communities in the world. Secondly, political economy literature which comprises debates about the production of gated communities: who produced and lobbied them. Thirdly, social psychology literature aimed at understanding the consequences of privatisation/restricted access of public space and the implications of the private residential developments. In Chapter 4, the study further describes the Malaysian experience in gated communities and guarded neighbourhoods. The study then describes the urban dynamics and changes in Malaysia before identifying the roles of multiple key actors in (re)producing and governing housing development.

Part 3: The third part comprises the empirical chapter – Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 – that brings together research strategies, design and research context. Specifically, Chapter 5 describes the research design employed, which is the qualitative approach that involved semi-structured in-depth interviews with various key actors in the governance and (re)production of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state. Subsequently, the approach that was chosen for the analysis of the empirical data is described, and the validity of the research and its limitations are discussed. In order to understand the characteristics and nature of secured communities, Chapter 6 will briefly discuss the research context of the study and examines two selected guarded neighbourhood in Selangor state.

Part 4: This part which comprises of Chapters 7 and 8 will present findings and how these findings achieved the research objectives and research questions. In Chapter 7, this study discusses the dominant types and characteristics of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state before discussing the motivations that drive residents to live in enclosed communities. The role of multiple key actors and socio-spatial implications of guarded neighbourhoods will be discussed. Chapter 8 summarises the main findings of this research and analyses the answers to the research questions and objectives. Chapter 8 also recommends planning strategies to improve the governance and (re)producing guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia. Ultimately the study contributes to the existing knowledge about the necessary conditions for enclosure and the complex process that help to explain its growing popularity in Malaysia.

Part 5: In Chapter 9, this study offers a conclusion based on the empirical evidence in Chapters 7 and 8. Chapter 9 also suggests the direction for future research followed by the conclusion of this study.

CHAPTER 2

Mapping the Study: Theorisation and Conceptualisation

2.1   Introduction

In the field of urban planning and development, housing areas are often associated with diversity, integration and spontaneous interaction. However, they have also often been portrayed as places of social segregation, fear and security. Thus the contemporary patterns of urban development have witnessed the emerging trend of secured and fortified neighbourhoods in new and older residential areas. These secured and fortified neighbourhoods or also known as gated communities were produced by various key actors in competitive real estate market facilitated by the state policy or established by the citizen association. Engaging with this debate, an analytical framework − that is, neoliberalism will be used to examine the links between gated communities and global economic process in terms of social, political and economic.

This study begins by offering a brief literature review on the concept of neighbourhood and territory literature. The purpose of this is to conceptualise the themes and issues that are pertinent for this study. This is followed by the discussion of the emergence of neoliberalism in urban development and planning. Neoliberalism provides an illuminating analytical window through which to understand the complexity of (re)production and governing of gated communities in neoliberal era. This discussion serves to further justify the case for adopting a theoretical- qualitative approach as an appropriate means to examine the emergence of the guarded neighbourhood in the context of Malaysia.

2.2   Conceptualisation of the Study: Neighbourhood and Territory

Urbanists have long held the view that neighbourhoods play a central role in the formation of social interactions and integration. However, contemporary neighbourhood developments become more fragmented and segregated. As enclosure developments manifested by the (re)construction of residential areas, this section provides an overview of the concepts in this study by conceptualising the meaning of neighbourhood and territory.

Neighbourhoods are invariably recognised as having a social as well as a spatial character. Many authors argued that the neighbourhood is an important element for social interaction and spatial integration (Engwicht, 1999; Perren, et al., 2004; Pilch, 2006). Hallman (1984, p. 13) sees neighbourhoods as "a limited territory within a larger urban area, where people inhabit dwellings and interact socially". Somerville (2011, p. 91) explained that "neighbourhood is a kind of place or territory" and used as a site or space for urban and social activity. Explaining the spatial attributes, Galster (2001) claimed that neighbourhood can be linked with clusters of residences, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses.

Other researchers such as Keller (1968, p. 89) explained neighbourhood as a "place with physical and symbolic boundaries" while Morris and Hess (1975, p. 6) defined it "place and people, with the common sense limit as the area one can easily walk over". In spatial and social terms, neighbourhoods can be understood as "the basic building blocks of cities" that provides opportunities for social interaction (Wheeler 2004, p. 181). Departing from previous researchers, Glasze (2005, p.223) conceptualised the meaning of an open neighbourhood and private neighbourhood as below:

"In traditional neighbourhoods the open spaces such as streets or parks, as well as many common facilities such as public libraries or swimming pools, are owned by public authorities and governed by local government. In the private neighbourhoods, the open spaces and the common services are managed and regulated by a self-governing organisation".

In the urban context, the neighbourhood is often considered as one of the primary unit of actual and potential urban unity and social cohesion (Hallman, 1984; Chaskin, 1997; Liepa-Zemesa, 2011). Individuals residing in the same neighbourhood normally share the same social characteristics and experiences (Kato, 2011). Schoenberg (1979) explained that neighbourhoods allowed urban residents to share public spaces or social network. However, the social ties between urban residents were declining due to the increasing proportion of urban space being privately developed and managed and becoming an exclusive commodity (Haworth, 1963; Grant and Bohdanow, 2008; Kazmierczak, 2013).

In considering the multifaceted of socio-spatial integrations and segregations, it is helpful to set the context of contemporary good neighbourhood principles. Some scholars have given the matter considerable thought. Haworth (1963, p. 22) said that "a good neighbourhood in which, by providing members with a wide variety of opportunities for significant activity, encourages their growth, the development of whatever potentialities they possess". Healey, (2005) noted that good neighbourhoods emphasised on the interconnection of people and places, activities and territories. For philosopher, the good city allows self-actualisation (Mumford, 1961; Lynch, 1981). Good neighbourhoods also generally promote an integrated urban realm, a mix of uses

and people, open and connected street and pedestrian networks, and compact form (Grant, 2006).

In practice, however, the principles are more complex as Gaffikin and Morrissey (2011, p.13) pointed out that "urbanity is changing markedly, reflecting shifts in economy, polity, diversity and demography, while its divisive and fractal character is putatively accentuated by related social and ethnic polarities". The process of urbanisation in the city led to the weakening connection between urban residents and bonds of kinship, declining social cohesion and family unity and disappearance of neighbourhood (Wirtii, 1938). Describing the failures of city-planning and rebuilding in the USA, Jacobs (1961) showed how the destruction of streets and neighbourhoods led to the disappearance of many acquired characteristics of city life such as security, social contact, facility of childrearing, diversity of relationships, and so on. Marcuse (1993) suggested that real urbanisation involves dirt, disorder, congestion and even poverty.

These conceptualisations suggest the potential for multiple and intersecting neighbourhood territory (Campbell et al., 2009) in a given physical space as what Chaskin (1997, p. 522) called a "spatial construction". Territoriality as Sack (1986) contends, refers to the primary geographical expression of social power, and the means by which space and society are interrelated. One sees a territory as a bounded space, a container, under the control of a group of people, nowadays usually a state. The other sees a territory as an outcome of territoriality, a human behaviour or strategy (Agnew, 2012). These two definitions are, of course, not mutually exclusive

In a lay man term, territoriality might be seen as an act to securing the social power through the control space. Thus, neighbourhood territory may be defined by physical

landmarks and features of a neighbourhood (Downs and Stea, 1973; Coulton and Korbin, 2001; Campbell et al., 2009). According to Sack (1986, p. 21-23), neighbourhood territory combines three elements: first, classification by area; second, marking territory boundaries; and third, enforcement of access. These three elements were in turn bolstered by the tendency to limit access and movement through various spatial interventions (Pow, 2007).

A special place in the literature devoted to neighbourhood territory clearly manifested by the physical barriers, human surveillances and the appearance of fortified neighbourhoods. These characteristics are in parallel with the gated communities' development (Blakely and Snyder 1997; Caldeira, 2000; Landman, 2000) as Kotus (2009, p. 553) explained that neighbourhood territory involved the appearance of "isolate (gated) communities" as well as guarded and monitored modern housing development. Townshend (2006) explained that neighbourhood territory in the form of private neighbourhood represents an underlying process of urban space privatisation. Therefore, the next section will discuss the impact of neoliberalism in the contemporary urban planning and development.

2.3   Mapping the Study: Political Economy Approach

In the course of globalisation and modernisation, developing countries such as Malaysia has systematically handling the economic development as well as urban developments, down to the local authorities. Under the label of "neoliberalising city" (Peck and Tickell, 2002), political-economic theorisation will refine the extension role of state in producing guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia rather than viewing it as a collective action by urban residents. It is important to note that the guarded neighbourhoods of

Malaysia might be describing as a re-allocation of ownership of urban common: they are privately established, voluntarily chosen individual by individual, and limited to a small geographic scale.

Although collective property theory might be useful to understand the guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia, this study noted that the political-economic approach will provide a robust understanding of competitive forms of governance in producing this kind of community. Some scholars might look at it from the urban critical theorists approach, while others frame it from a neoclassical perspectives and many others (McKenzie, 2011).

This section provides an overview of the relationship between neoliberalism, state power and urban governance in the neoliberal era.The first section will briefly look into the overview of neoliberalism and how this ideology relates to gated communities development. The second will discuss how neoliberal urbanism interacts with the city encapsulated by the urban development and narrowly define the role of planners in the neoliberal era. As this study ground the analysis to a theoretical understanding of the mutually constitutive relationship between neoliberal processes and the (re)production of public/private space in older housing areas, the third section focuses on the discussion of private and public spaces in urban areas. The last section demonstrates the degree to which neoliberalism intersect within the globalisation and urban governance focusing on the gated communities, in particular the complex relationships between multiple key actors.

2.3.1 Neoliberalism: Conflict and Interest in Urban Development

Neoliberalism has gained widespread research in social science as explanatory of political economic reform. Considerable efforts have been made to theorise the neoliberal thinking into different local practise and policies through exploration of the "actually existing neoliberalism" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p. 349). Some researchers defined neoliberalism as a philosophy that privileges market over government intervention (Harvey, 2005; Hackworth, 2007). While others explained that neoliberalism allow deregulating markets through public-private partnerships in an effort to reduce cost to government (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Hackworth, 2007). This study provides an opportunity to explore 'actually existing neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002) in urban development in Malaysia.

Although neoliberalism around the world shares an underlying logic, the form of neoliberalisation never replicates, reflecting the struggles and contradictions embedded in specific local contexts within its evolving trajectory (He and Wu, 2009 p. 291). Grant and Rosen (2009) showed the way how neoliberalism and globalisation interact with local and regional cultural practices and histories. Therefore, this study attempts to conceptualise the ideology of neoliberalism ideology in the Malaysian context that will help to operationalise neoliberal thinking as it relates to this study on the governance and (re)producing of guarded neighbourhoods.

Historically, the ideology of neoliberalism took its roots in the West with the liberalisation of the financial system and economy of these nations. In the USA neoliberalism was thought to flourish under the Reagan administration in the mid-

1970s, while in the United Kingdom (UK) it started under the tutelage of its first women Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher in 1979. From this western economy, neoliberalism spread to China in late 1978, followed by India in 1980s and Sweden in the early 1990s (Harvey 2005, p. 9). For instance in the USA and UK, Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan sought to roll back the frontiers of the state through policies of privatisation, market liberalisation and deregulation, and to maximise the opportunities for entrepreneurship, competition and profit (Harvey, 2007; Lauermann and Davidson, 2013). Mayer and Kunkel (2012, p. 4) further explained that:

"Political-economic accounts of urban neoliberalism have stressed the move away from the retributive policies characteristics of the post-war era (as for example, the provision of local services and public housing) towards more competitive forms of governance and an extension of market rule into formerly nonmonetarized aspects of social life, as well as more repressive approaches towards urban poor (cf. Brenner and Theodore, 2002)"

Therefore, political-economic approach as adapted in this study can contribute to our understanding of the ways in which neoliberal policy in urban development interact with older forms of regulation and the ways in which they are contested and reshaped in the search of more stable regulatory measures. Thus, guarded neighbourhoods – that is still relatively under research area in Malaysia – can be explained through this approach as explained by Nelson (2005, p.195) that "the classics of modern political economic thought have had little to say about neighbourhoods".

Characteristically, neoliberalism has been closely associated with the belief of openness, competitiveness and an unregulated markets which saw less state intervention and

represent the optimal mechanism for economic development (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Harvey 2005; Hackworth, 2007; Lee and McBridge, 2007; Davies, 2010). Harvey (2005) referred neoliberalism as a political-economic ideology that favour free markets, free trade, solid property rights, and short-term contract-based employment. Hayek (1944) emphasised that neo-liberalism is the notion of a spontaneous order of social life, which was further argued to be always better than any kind of artificially created order, especially when it comes down to securing of individual liberty and well-being. Hence, the neoliberal discourse of free trade and individual autonomy coexists with changing forms of social control and management of the government institutional structure.

In describing the meaning of neoliberalism, Brenner and Theodore (2002, p. 351) have coined the term of "actually existing neoliberalism". This term is used to "understand the complex and contested ways in which neoliberal restructuring strategies interact with pre-existing uses of space, institutional configurations, and constellations of socio-political power" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p. 361). Follow this line of thought, this study acknowledged that the process of neoliberalism is neither uniform nor unchallenged; instead they occurred and continue to occur in many regions in the world with different characteristics and trajectories. Thus, this study offers an opportunity to explore the "actually existing neoliberalism" in the Southeast Asia region –to be precise, in Malaysia – through the study of guarded neighbourhood in Selangor state.

Explaining the elements of neoliberalism, Peck and Tickell (2002) emphasised the terms of "neutralised market", "deregulations" and "individual freedom". Some scholars explained that neoliberalism means the reduction of expenditure on social welfare, privatisation, and the decline of trade barriers (Attoh, 2008; Theodore et al., 201; Peck

et al., 2013). In the USA, McKenzie (2005) has provided a convincing case that neoliberal ideology of the state played a role in changing the urban context to facilitate the interest of capital; he argues that planning policy in Las Vegas creates conditions within which suburban development necessarily occurs as private communities. Therefore, neoliberalism is fundamentally tied to market deregulation, state decentralisation, and reduced state intervention into economic affairs as contended by Harvey (2007, p. 22-23):

> "[…] human well-being can best be advanced by the maximisation of entrepreneurial freedoms […] characterised by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to secure private property rights and to support freely functioning markets.[…] if markets do not exist […] must be created […] State interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum […]"

Neoliberalism involved a complex process of institutional change, which depends on not only the rational, but also the cognitive and normative factors and differs from country to country and the kind of institutions involved (Lebaron, 2002). For Peck and Tickell (2002, p. 400), neoliberalism "shapes the environments, contexts, and frameworks within which political-economic and socio-institutional takes places. Its effects involved a significant shift in social relations and everyday lives of diverse social groups". Davis (2010, p. 6) claimed "neo-liberalism sought to refashion state, society and economy according to the market principle of competition and identified markets as the guarantor of individual and political freedom". Brenner and Theodore, (2002) highlighted the utopian characteristic of a free market liberated from all forms of state interventions.

In the contemporary world, neoliberalism is conceptualised as a set of national state policies skewed to privatisation and unconstrained free market capitalism that functions as a mechanism for regulating social, political and economic life of its citizens. Emphasis was placed on the downsizing of various state apparatus towards a greater institutional and economic efficiency (Newman, 2013). Harvey (2005) argued that neo-liberalism has been associated with a class project, masked by a lot of neo-liberal rhetoric about individual freedom, liberty, personal responsibility, privatisation and the free market towards the restoration and consolidation of class power. More recently Watkins (2010, p, 8) explained that the "genius of neo-liberalism has laid the destruction and expropriation of existing structures and goods: privatisation of utilities, de-unionisation of labour, mean-testing of universal benefits, removal of tariffs and capital controls".

Harvey (2007) initially offered four main elements of neoliberalism: privatisation, financialisation, management and manipulation crises and state distribution. These elements allowed market to be self-regulating without or less state intervention. Privatisation involves the corporatisation, commodification, and privatisation of public assets such as public utilities, social welfare provision, public institutions, and even warfare. While financialisation can be seen from the aspect of free trade as McCarthy (2008) argued that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has connected Canada, Mexico, and the USA in a regional trading region, which was based on neoliberal principles of free market.

In terms of management and manipulation crises, many nations in the world especially in Southeast Asia region are trapped in the principles of neoliberalism as Harvey (2007) argued neoliberalism allowed the redistribution of wealth from poor countries to the

rich. Last but not least is state distribution when the state becomes a primary body of redistributive policies, through privatisation schemes and cutbacks in government expenditures, and revisions in the tax code to benefit returns on investment rather than incomes and wages (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Hackworth, 2007; Walks, 2009). As such, neoliberalism allowed the private interests to control as much as possible of social life in order to maximise their personal profit (McChesney, 1998).

Some scholars highlighting the social aspects of neoliberalism and described it as a social process through the actions of multiple civil society actors from elites to low class groups (Mayer, 2007; Castree, 2010). In addition, Keil (2002) saw the multifaceted neoliberal appearances that came in many different historical trajectories. Analysis of any particular examples of urban transformation may reveal that 'the role of the state now consists in sustaining the social and civic framework upon which markets actually depend' (Goonewardena, 2003, p. 195). As Peck et al. (2013, p. 1093) succinctly described,

> "even as it organises the leading fronts of market-driven regulatory transformation —consistent with its character as a paradigm of restructuring, rather than as a condition or end-state — neoliberalisation is never found alone. There is always more going on than neoliberalism; there are always other active sources and forces of regulatory change; there are always countervailing interests, pressures and visions".

Keil (2002) pointed out that neoliberal thinking becomes a major reference for social theory in modern era. Walks (2009, p. 346) explained that neoliberalism as a "reliance on market solutions to public policy problems, privileging the actions of the wealthy

and the 'talented', the privatisation of state assets and functions, and an attack on welfare state provisions." Hence, the central argument for neoliberalism is the rise of political "utopia" development that seeks to restructure welfare states through privatisation, restore class power between poor and rich, and market-led state due to the withdrawal of the state intervention (Harvey 2005; 2007; Hackworth 2007; Peck et al., 2010). One example of such neoliberal globalisation in the urban development is the proliferation of gated communities (Genis, 2007; Rosen and Razin, 2009).

Neoliberalism forms a part of globalisation where there is an aversion to significant government intervention in a market. Neoliberalism ideology not only serves as an economic and social affair of a society, but it is also a political though that applicable to all aspects of urban governance (Mayer, 2007; Skelton and Mains, 2009; Tasan-Kok, 2012). This doctrine is accompanied by political rationalities, preferring less intervention by the state due to the inefficiency of market. Drawing on the discourse on market failure, Hackworth (2007) suggested that its failure was instigated by the inefficiency of the state regulations, inequity, and corruption within the state that attempts to control the market. This failure requires the state to revert to its traditional role and let the market prosper (Swyngedouw, 2005; Larner, 2005).

While there is little doubt that the economic philosophy and political practices of neoliberalism affected major cities around the globe, neoliberalism is not monolithic in its effects (Keil, 2002). Its practices are historically and geographically contingent (Peck and Tickell, 2002, p. 383). In describing the historical geographies of neoliberalism in North American cities, Peck and Tickell (2002) proposed the use of "roll-back" and "roll-out" neoliberalism illustrating the withdrawal of state in the early 1980s. For instance, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government roll back the Canadian welfare

state sharply, but without suffering a corresponding loss of legitimacy related to an immediate decline in the provision of services (Mitchell, 2001, p. 167). Hackworth (2007), however, explained that the roll-back and roll-out neoliberalism were highly contingent, incremental, uneven and largely incomplete. The resultant policy landscape is highly segmented: geographically and socially.

A group of critical scholars discussing "roll-out" and "roll-back" neoliberalism argued that it lies toward destruction and creation. Hackworth (2007) explained that neoliberal destruction can be linked with the removal of public services (public housing, public space), policies, institutions and agreements. Neoliberal creation involves the establishment of new, institutions and practises to reproduce neoliberalism practise in the future (Harvey, 2007; Hackworth, 2007). Swyngedouw (1997) considered this as larger process of "glocalisation", as it involved concurrent upward and downward propulsion of regulatory power previously exercised by the state.

Given its geographically and temporally contingent nature (Hackworth, 2007), neoliberalism has in effect swept across the world. Although plenty of evidence showed neoliberalism is an uneven geographical development, no place can claim total immunity (Harvey, 2007). For instance, Peck and Tickell, (2002) claimed that globalisation, state restructuring and market oriented approaches of neoliberalism is not only applicable to North America and Western Europe but also intensively affects urban policies and planning in developing countries.

A study of Cyberjaya Malaysia, Bae-Gyoon and Lepawsky (2012) explained that Malaysia neoliberal turn began with the privatisation and transnational flows into the country. Moore (2004) on the other hand explained that developing countries have

entered the second age within the Post-Cold War era of neoliberal globalisation. He and Wu (2009) explained that different countries have experienced their own path of political economic changes. For instance, in China and Korea, the emergence of neoliberal philosophies were influenced by the state policies that favour privatisation, financial deregulation and deregulation (Pow, 2007; Wu, 2009).

Understanding the progression of neoliberalism in Malaysia entails a discussion of the country's developmental history. The state seems to favour the ideology of privatisations, free market and provides institutional arrangements of "roll-out" and "roll-back" neoliberalism. Neoliberal ideologies through privatisation, financial liberalisation, deregulation and withdrawal of the state signifies the reduced role of the state in (re)producing and governing enclosures development in Malaysia. Neoliberal ideologies, in turn, provide the framework of emerging forms of urban residential landscape – that is, gated communities and guarded neighbourhoods. These residential developments are generally speaking produced by the market and established by the resident associations in Malaysia's neoliberal turn. Thus drawing on the discourse of neoliberalism, it is necessary to examine the roles of neoliberal urbanism in urban developments, as discussed in the next section.

2.3.2 Neoliberal Urbanism

The urban impact of emergence of neoliberalism (Harvey, 2007; Hackworth, 2007), the restructuring of the state (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Peck et al., 2013), global spread of globalisation and inequality in the city (Swyngedouw, 1997; Walks, 2009), are emerging as key issues enlightening contemporary urban planning research. As a major arena for market competition, cities have become increasingly important for various

neoliberal experiments: place making, private-public partnership, urban regeneration (Harvey, 2005:2007; Walks, 2009). These process at play become important reasons for the emergence of neoliberal urbanism that involving drastic changes in urban development as Brenner and Theodore (2002, p. 375), argued that "cities have become strategically crucial arenas for neoliberal forms of policy experimentation and institutional restructuring". Thus this section will attempt to explore the role of neoliberal urbanism in contemporary urban development.

Although neoliberal thinking is related with post-war writing of Hayek and Friedman and has been documented as a doctrine of free market at national level (Keil, 2002), some scholars began to examine the 'urbanisation of neoliberalism' and 'neoliberalisation of spaces' at the city level (Swyngedouw et al., 2002). Neoliberal urbanism as defined by Lipman (2011, p. 220) is "a shift from government to governance: leadership as efficient management, weak forms of democracy and public participation in civic life, decision making by public private partnerships, and valorisation of the interest of capital as synonymous with public welfare".

Recently, Peck (2013 et al., p. 1091) lamented that "neoliberal urbanism closely associated with the ideology of urban restructuring that shape the ideological and operational parameters of urbanisation". These process at work illustrate the global reach of neoliberal restructuring in neoliberal city (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Hackworth, 2007). In other words, neoliberal urbanism refers to the contradictory (re)regulation of everyday life in the city (Keil, 2002).

Brenner and Theodore (2002) claimed that cities have become increasingly central to the reproduction, mutation, and continuous reconstitution of neoliberalism during the

last two decades. While neoliberal philosophies imply that state withdraw from the market (Harvey, 2005; Hackworth, 2007), neoliberal urbanism practice has produced universal market failures (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). Neoliberal urbanism revealed new patterns of use and social segregation (Swyngedouw, 1997; Swyngedouw et al., 2002) following the ascendance of free market doctrines among decision makers and other development agents since the 1980s (Hackworth, 2007; Harvey, 2005; Keil, 2002).

Increasing isolation, boundaries, and separation between social groups characterised neoliberalism in the urban environment (Walks, 2006). Hodkinson (2012, p. 505) described urban enclosure as one of the "modus operandi of neoliberal urbanism" as it privatises spaces, destroys use values, and seeks to displace and exclude the urban poor from parts of the city. Wood et al. (2012) argued that neoliberal urbanism increased inequality in cities and created new forms of exclusion. The results produced uneven geographies of development, along with economic and policy restructuring and remain a powerful strategic precondition for urban resistance through class struggle and collective action (Walks, 2009; Keil, 2002).

The urban process that accompanied neoliberal economic restructuring during and since the 1980s expanded the role of market forces in the housing and real estate sectors, privatised urban and social services, and increased the role of elites in shaping urban landscapes (Genis, 2007; Harvey, 2005). Partnerships between the state and private sector privatised and commercialised public spaces and institutions in many nations (Hackworth, 2007), undermining access to the public realm. Walks (2006;2009) claimed that neoliberal urbanism is related with an inclination for social polarisation as Peck (2013 et al., p. 1092) argued that cities looks depressingly familiar such as:

"more social-state retrenchment and paternalist-penal state expansion, more privatisation and deregulation, more subjection of urban development decisions to market logics, a continued delinking of land-use systems from relays of popular-democratic control and public accountability, more courting of mobile events, investment and elite consumers, and a further subordination of place and territory to speculative strategies of profit-making at the expense of use values, social needs and public goods"

Spatial disjuncture that arose from the actual implementation of neoliberal are often invisible but interconnect with questions related to social justice, citizenship and rights (Mayer, 2007). Herbert and Brown (2006) suggested that neoliberal urbanism will deepen social inequality in term of socio and spatial expression in urban areas. Keil (2002, p. 587) explained that "neoliberal urbanism is grounded upon a restructuring of political economy as well as on changing of technologies power". Harvey (2007) argued some neoliberal cities have seen the massive restructuring of class structures such as in Mexico, in 1992 the movement of privatisation in the city has unprecedented concentrations of wealth a for particular group of people.

Neoliberal urbanism focused on power, exploitation and inequality in the cities, thus, cities become machines of differentiation fuelled by contradictory processes of social struggle and conflict (Keil, 2002; Hackworth, 2007). Social-spatial polarisation and income inequalities as suggested by Van Kempen and Murie (2009) were associated with globalisation and decentralisation in the neoliberal city. For instance, Mele (2013) investigated the roles of neoliberal in urban redevelopment in Pennsylvania and found that neoliberal urbanism and racial segregation were interrelated.

The visible manifestation of social (re)construction and class restoration in city become stronger as Brener and Theodore (2002, p. 367) said that "cities have become strategically crucial arenas in which neoliberal forms of creative destruction have been unfolding". In term of urban exclusion and community segregation, Isin (1998) argued that groups or citizens will define their own moral and geographic boundaries that do not match the fixed boundaries of municipal governments. Admittedly, in the last two decades municipal government such as in the UK, the USA and New Zealand moved towards reducing public expenditures, decentralising services via privatisation, abolished local control and forcing local government to abandon services such as housing in an effort to implement municipal restructuring.

Being narrowly focused on the role of planner in neoliberal city, Goonewardena (2003, p. 183), strongly stated that "neoliberalism now poses a fundamental challenge to planners worldwide". The task of planner is to establish markets for all feasible products and services and ensuring that the rules of market exchange are properly observed. As mentioned by Tasan-Kok (2012, p. 1) "the neoliberalisation of social, economic and political processes pervades urban development, planning and governance discourses and practices, and pushes them in a market-oriented direction". For instance in China, He and Wu (2009) explained that the power of market rather than the once omnipotent state is significantly reshaping China's urban landscape and radical urban-socio-spatial transformation.

Some scholars considered neoliberal urbanism as a project of class restructuring interacting with other, non-class form of power, often resulting in ambivalent outcomes that redraw the lines of inclusion and exclusion (Harvey, 2005; Mayer, 2012). Underlying the neoliberalism urbanism into gated communities' development, Candan

and Kolluoglu (2008,) argued that the city of Istanbul had undergone major urban restructuring since the mid-1980s through the neoliberal philosophies and has resulted in the implementation and planning of mega projects.

What follows immediately from the observation of urbanisation in Malaysia is the failure of the state to guarantee public safety (Hanif et al., 2012) which has been keenly observed as a major contributing factor to the rise of gated communities in many nations (Coy and Pohler, 2002; Hirt and Petrovic, 2011). While the privatisation policy and legal measures influenced the creation of enclosure developments, "the strategic role of cities in the contemporary remaking political-economic space" was connected primarily to neoliberal thinking (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p. 349). The transition role of the state from state-dominated-market to market-dominated-state coupled with active public-private partnership has indirectly set a new urban planning practice in Malaysia. Thus, the demand for enclosure development has gradually been increasing in urban and suburban areas

2.3.3   Public/Private Spaces and Neoliberalism

The discourse on the nature of the public and private spaces has been the subject of intense debates in recent decades due in part to the political and economic effects of neoliberal policies (Giroux, 2005; Walks, 2006). He and Wu (2009, p. 283) explained that neoliberalism "offers a useful framework to interpret how global and national political-economic transformation affects the production and reproduction of urban space". Thus, this section will discuss the meaning of "public" and "private space" and how they have changed and evolved in neoliberal cities. More importantly, how urban

residents actively change the urban space from public to private spaces facilitated by the neoliberal policy of the state.

In contemporary urban planning literature, public spaces are defined as a place that is accessible to everybody and where difference is encountered and negotiated in face to face interaction (Young, 1990; Amin, 2008). Siebel and Wehrheim (2003) contended that the main importance of public space lies in its inherent nature of being accessible to the wider society and thus, allowing for differences in experience. This encounter with differences will always lead to the feeling of insecurity, which according to Siebel and Wehrheim (2003), is the reason why public space is very productive.

Henry Lefebvre's classic, *The production of space* (1991), served as a powerful work that has influenced the way space is theorised beyond its stagnant and taboo rendition. Lefebvre's (1991, p. 73) contention that:

> "(Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity — their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder."

Although interpretation of these concepts has changed over time, the Lefebvre's idea present an understanding of space as both products, producers and outcomes and interplay of living and everyday lives of people as Jacob and Hellstrom (2010) argued that the argument of public spaces lies between the production and construction of space. Hauser (1998, p. 21) lamented "public spaces as a discursive space in which individuals and groups associate to discuss matters of mutual interest and, where

possible, to reach a common judgment about them". Explaining the importance of public space, Low (2006, p. 47) explained that:

> "make sure that our urban public spaces where we all come together, remain public in the sense providing a place for everyone to relax, learn and recreate and open so that we have places where interpersonal and intergroup cooperation and conflict can be worked out in safe and public forum"

In public space, sub/urban residents learn to deal with the differences and can be considered as a prerequisite for civilised coexistence in urban spaces (Siebel and Wehrheim, 2003). Mitchell (1995, p. 116) claimed that public spaces "represents the material location where the social interactions and political activities of all members of the public occur". Public space thus created a sense of community and an opportunity to experience the spectacle environment of the city. Public places are expected to be accessible to everyone, where strangers and citizens alike can enter with few restrictions (Low, 1997; Makagon, 2003). In order to produce a pleasant living in the city, Mitchell (1995) suggested two ideas: public space a domain for political powers and public space is planned, orderly, and safe.

Although previous researchers explained that public spaces should be accessible to everyone, however, Webster (2002) argued that public space is never truly public – only few public goods are shared equally and thus the urban is better seen as an interlocking and overlapping set of consumption realms. The changes in demand for public spaces such as public parks, public streets and amenities may turn it into controlled spaces (Kirby, 2008) and thus, restricted the wider society to enter an area that was once as public space. Siebel and Wehrheim (2003) explained that the attempt to make these

public spaces, secure places, will make them less accessible to public as what Madanipour (1999) explained that a private place refer to a place where strangers cannot enter without permission or negotiation.

In his edited work, Manadipour (2003, p.40-41) defines private space as "a part of life that is under the control of an individual in a personal capacity, outside public observation and knowledge and official state or control". In general ways, Drummond (2000, p. 2379) differentiated the meaning of private spaces and public spaces and lamented that:

> "Private space […] is the domestic space where social reproduction occurs more or less free from outright control by outside forces such as the state. Public space is the space 'out there' which belongs to the whole community, although regulated by prevailing social and legal norms".

The production of public spaces in urban areas has definitely declined in recent years as urban public space is threatened by privatisation and commercialisation in the neoliberal era (Mitchell, 2003; Hackworth, 2007; Genis, 2007). Privatisation of urban areas began rigorously after the post-industrial society: the state deregulate land policy and allowed active involvement of the private sectors (Sennett, 1974; Hirt, 2012). For instance, in the USA, Kohn (2004) documented how privatisations of public spaces through legislative action are norm in contemporary American cities and theorises their implications for the future of democracy. Explaining the changing status of public space to the private identities is complex and may be explained by a number of factors including footloose capital investment, decentralising governance, the rearrangement of welfare, fears of others and socio-economic inequalities (Atkinson, 2003).

The multifarious factors as explained by Atkinson can be seen as a possible reason for public urban space changing status to private space. Atkinson (2003) clarified that the privatisations of public spaces coincided with ideas such as "policing without police" and "neighbourhood wardens" to forefront plans to safeguard the public at large. Townshend (2006) contended that insecurity and feeling vulnerable in the city were on the rise and people increasingly withdrawing from public responsibility. Lefebvre (1991, p. 147) explained how privatisation took place in the city as:

"space has been comminute into 'iconological' figures and values, each such fragment being invested with individuality or worth simply by means of a particular colour or a particular material (brick, marble, etc.)"

The deterioration of public space is closely related with determination towards privatisation (Sorkin, 1992), the withdrawal of public realm (Sennett, 1974), growing inequality between poor and rich (Caldeira 2000; Landman, 2000) and the most prevalent is neighbourhood fragmentation known as gated communities (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Webster, 2002; Nelson, 2005; Le-Goix, 2005). In Istanbul, Bodnar and Molnar (2009) linked the gated communities and private urban spaces and called this as "privatisation of urban spaces". Bottomley and Moore (2007) saw privatisation of urban spaces as the fortress city in which city rulers use both physical and human surveillances to block movement. Low (2006, p. 47) warned, for example,

"if this trend continues, it will eradicate the last remaining spaces for democratic practises, places where a wide variety of people from different gender, class, culture, nationality and ethnicity intermingle peacefully".

Privatisations of public spaces using physical barriers – as in the case of gated communities – were expressions of spatial construction in the city (Kohn, 2004; Hackworth, 2007). Therefore, the privatisation of public space not only resulted in privatisation but also in destroying potential sites in which urban residents can be nurtured and solidified (Crossa, 2012). Amin (2008) explained the erosion of public space worldwide was due to massive privatisation in neoliberal era, the fight of middle class into gated communities and rising incidence of crime in the city. Mayer (2007, p. 95) explained further that the privatisation of public spaces has been a central mechanism of "neoliberal localism": the privatisation of public services and urban infrastructures.

In an attempt to link the privatisation of public space to the real estate actors, some scholars found that the private sectors were responsible in diminishing character of public spaces and therefore, making it less accessible to the wider society (Van Melik et al., 2009; Nemeth and Schmidt, 2011). They argued that some of private developers owned and developed private spaces in urban areas. As the role of private sector actors started to emulate in the privatisation of public spaces, Cybriwsky (1999) explained that the twentieth century is the beginning of "private public spaces" where developers took control of public spaces and set rules about how they are to be used. Evidently, gated communities are the most prominent form of privatisation of urban spaces as explained by Mayer, (2009, p. 367)

> "Cities have transformed into gated communities and privatised public spaces, where wealthy and poor districts are increasingly separated if by invisible barriers, and access of the poor to the amenities and infrastructure that cities once held for all have become more and more restricted"

Realising the fact that the privatisation of public spaces become increasing in housing areas through gated communities, one question emerging in this study: have we reached, the "end of public space?" (Sorkin, 1992). The study would offer some debates in Chapter 8 to answer this question by focusing on guarded neighbourhood developments in Malaysia.

2.3.4 Governance and Neoliberalism

In the past thirty years, the boundaries of urban governance have changed intensely (Hackworth, 2007), partially because of institutional restrictions to government in capitalists world (Harvey, 1989) but also associated with philosophical change toward neoliberal governing practices (Goonewardena, 2003). The relationship between neoliberalism, urban transformation, and city governance become more complex (Kuyucu and Unsal, 2010; Hackworth, 2007) as many authors (Hackworth, 2007; Genis, 2007; Rosen and Razin, 2009) consider gated communities as an emerging form of urban and landscape transformation in the neoliberal city. Brenner and Theodore (2005, p. 153) claimed that neoliberalism can served as a powerful framework to understand the parameters for the governance of contemporary urban planning. Thus this section attempts to conceptualise the interaction between urban governance and gated communities.

The concept of governance in neoliberal city is highly complex as Jessop (1998, p. 29) claimed that that governance refers to any mode of co-ordination of interdependent activities, the anarchy of exchange, organisational hierarchy and self-organising. Jessop (1998) linking the real world with governance found that many activities are subsumed under governance such as public-private partnership, industrial districts, trade

associations, policies on communities and safety and security. Explaining the growing popularity of governance, Blakeley (2010, p. 131) said that:

> "governance focuses attention on changes in the processes and ways of governing, different ways of doing politics, new informal and formal relationships between actors drawn into increasingly complex patterns of decision making and distinctive articulations of the relationship between the state, civil society and the market".

Rhodes (1996) defined governance as self-organising and linked governance with new public management policy, managerialism and the new institutional economics. In addition, Swyngedouw (2005, p. 1992) used the term of "governance-beyond-the-state" that emphasised on the greater role in policy-making, administration and implementation to private economic actors and the role of civil society in self-managing what until recently was provided or organised by the national or local state. Schmitter (2002, p. 52) explained that

> "Governance is a method/mechanism for dealing with a broad range of problems/ conflicts in which actors regularly arrive at mutually satisfactory and binding decisions by negotiating with each other and co-operating in the implementation of these decisions".

Following the definition by Schmitter (2002), this study attempts to explain the governance on enclosure development in neoliberal Malaysia as explained by Blakeley (2010) good governance is often a synonym for efficiency in neoliberal era. Studies of the practices of new and good urban governance have highlighted shifts in the modes of

urban regulations and private public partnership in the distribution of power between the state and private actors (Rhodes, 1996; Peters and Pierre, 1998). However, the interplay between state and private actors is not simple as Hysing (2009, p. 649) lamented:

> "The state is not a unitary, rational actor but a complex multitude of public actors operating at different levels and in different organisational settings […] the state is an arena, an institutional context of rules, principles, and procedures that directly or indirectly structure the workings of actors […] the state is intimately connected to certain types of steering techniques, exercising sovereign rule through command-and-control instruments".

Contemporary governance often transcends beyond the state to give private actors and civil society a greater role in managing urban processes (Swyngedouw, 2005). The concept of governance implies a broader understanding that the coordination of activities that affect a system may involve many other actors and processes (Jessop, 1998). Within the urban contexts, for instance, governance might involve public-private partnerships, industrial agents, trade associations, policy on communities, and policing agents. Rhodes (1996) noted that governance is self-organising and linked to a new public management approach that involved actors beyond the government. For example, in North American cities, urban governance has significantly shifted toward more neoliberal practise (Hackworth, 2007; Walks, 2009)

The concept of urban governance refers to the broad constellation of social, political and economic forces that mould the process of urban development within modern capitalism (Brenner, 2005). Urban governance occurs at a range of geographical scales insofar as

the process of capitalist urbanisation encompasses individual cities, metropolitan regions, cross-border agglomerations, national city-systems and supranational urban hierarchies (Lefebvre, 1991). Brenner and Theodore (2002) offered the term "destructive creation" and linked it with the neoliberalisation of urban space in which the old local governance is replaced by new forms of local governance such as public-private partnerships, new public management strategies and privatisation.

The changing nature of the state's power and the public sector reforms were associated with the new urban governance (Rhodes, 1997; Pierre and Peters, 2000; Bevir and Rhodes, 2010). Bevir (2011) saw this reform as a shift from a hierarchic bureaucracy towards a greater use of the concept of free market especially in the delivery of public provision. Although the new urban governance favoured with a free market many scholars claimed that the state remains an important, powerful and often dominant player within the policy makers (Williamson, 1994; Johnson, 1999). Jordan et al. (2005, p. 480) strongly stated that previous studies of governance "are not precise enough to differentiate new modes of governance from traditional forms of government". Thus, this study examines to the notion of govermentality to understand the relation between the state, market and public in urban governance.

One relevant theoretical discussion of govermentality lies in the work of Michael Foucault's notion of government as "conduct of conduct", which aims to shape and direct human conduct (Gordon, 1991). Explaining the Foucault's ideology, Blakeley (2010, p. 132) contended that:

> "Foucault's concept of government is best understood therefore as denoting a spectrum activities and practises ranging from "governing the self" to

"governing others" from "technologies of the self" to "technologies of domination", and from the micro to macro politic".

Linking neoliberal thinking with govermentality, Bevir (2011) explained that govermentality theorist believe that neoliberalism constructs and enforces responsibility. Gordon (1991, p. 7) stated that govermentality is about how to govern. For example, new rationality of government is a shift of responsibility of public services to other organisations such as private sectors, communities, and individuals (Isin, 2000). The shift, however, does not signify a loss power on the part of the state and a gain power on the part of other organisations, as a zero-sum conception of power imply (Blakeley, 2010). Describing the govermentality's conceptualisation of power, Blakeley (2010) argued further that the shift of responsibility cannot be viewed as a transfer of power but as a transformation of power, which the state through various regulatory measures still continues to exercise control but at a certain distance.

Based on the discussion of neoliberalism, this study revealed some evidence that, at least, in the USA, neoliberal policies implicate local urban form and increase the prevalence of new types of enclaves. Scholars have documented, though, invoking neoliberalism as a generalised explanation of complex phenomenon may be tenuous (Larner, 2000) or even dangerous (Peck, 2007). As argued in the previous section neoliberalism is not monolithic, rather as noted by Peck (2007) neoliberalism is a complex process, involving the restless remaking of the socio institutional landscape of the city. Advancing our knowledge about how "actually existing neoliberalism" in developing countries, guarded neighbourhood phenomenon in Malaysia provide a comprehensive platform to explore this issue which will be discussed in the Chapter 4.

2.4   Summary

The conceptual framework described in this chapter will be used as a guide for data analysis and serving as a starting point to establish themes on gated communities' literatures in Chapter 3. The theoretical structure of this thesis; therefore, dealt with the rise of neoliberal philosophies on urban development whereby the production of gated communities, in general can be linked to political-economic forces. As such, neoliberalism ideology serves as a powerful framework to study the urban changes and social movements in a free market era. In studying "actually existing neoliberalism", scholars have attempted to analyse the relationship between the role of the state and the market. Others explained on the urban governance that moves toward more neoliberal governing practices in neoliberal city.

Neoliberalism – that is, a free market philosophy are not simply uniform but diverse in term of practices in different local context, cultural, and histories. Although neoliberalism philosophies is not simply interrelated with the production of guarded neighbourhoods, they are complementary each other. This study will point to the need to further understand the production of guarded neighbourhoods in older areas and the power of globalisation of the "American Dream" in Malaysia's neoliberal turn.

CHAPTER 3

Secured and Enclosed Neighbourhoods

3.1   Introduction

As described in previous chapters, this study is guided by a political economy ideology and situated within the academic debate on gated communities. This debate is an international interdisciplinary discussion about gated communities which focus on: origin and development (historical perspectives); motivations behind the proliferation of gated communities throughout the world (demand side); the role of producing actors in neoliberal era (supply side); and but not limited to the socio-spatial implications of gated communities.

In this chapter, the debates on gated communities are grouped thematically into four sections. The first section gives an overview of the historical perspectives of gated communities. This section will review the origin and development of gated communities, types and typologies, and various definitions that are commonly used within the international debate of enclosures. This will explain how the term "guarded neighbourhoods" is embedded within the literatures on gated communities.

The second section will explain the broader interpretation of the proliferation of gated communities throughout the world. This section will focus on the demand side which are linked to the development and distribution of the gated communities. The third section discusses the role of the state in producing gated communities in a neoliberal era.

Following the description of the diverse aspects linked to the spread of gated communities, the fourth section then explores the current debate on the consequences and impacts of this development. This section will examine in detail on the social and spatial implications of gated communities towards the wider society. Finally, this chapter summarises the debate and explain why enclosures in Malaysia can be explained through international literatures of gated communities. Subsequently, Chapter four reviews the Malaysian experience of gated communities from the political economy perspectives.

3.2   Contextualisation of Gated Communities

The increased prevalence of gated communities has drawn attention from researchers and commentators worldwide from as early as 1970s. Gated communities or also known as fortified, enclave and but not limited to enclosure developments have become a prominent feature of contemporary residential developments. New residential developments embraced securing and guarding neighbourhoods, while older residential areas borrow this practice to enhance local security by gating and fencing the neighbourhood. Some scholars explained that gated communities challenge the spatial, organisational, and institutional order that has shaped modern cities (Le Goix, 2005; Nelson, 2005; Genis, 2007; McKenzie, 2011). Therefore, this section attempts to conceptualise the gated communities phenomenon by focusing on the origin, development, definitions, types and typologies of these communities.

3.2.1 Origin and Development

In discussing the phenomenon of gated communities, first there is a need to explore on the origin and development of this development. Despite the recent outpouring of literature and research on the subject of gated communities (Leish, 2002; Landman and SchÖNteich, 2002; Atkinson and Blandy, 2005; Glasze, 2005; Landman, 2006; Blakely, 2007; Lemanski et al., 2008; LeGoix and Webster, 2008; Csefalvay, 2011; Tezel, 2011; Ajibola et al., 2011; Charmes, 2012; Vesselinov, 2012), there is an ample evidence to suggest that the phenomenon of the development of gated communities can actually be linked to historic patterns, where human dwellings found globally more often than not tend to develop in types of "enclosures" (Bagaeen and Uduku 2010). Closer to modern times, gated community has been observed to have appeared in many countries and inevitable generated much interest and concern in the communities, particularly on the issues of security and safety (Blakely and Snyder 1997; Low 2001; Le Goix 2005; Vesselinov et al., 2007).

It has been argued and well documented that the rise of gated communities was started in USA (Blakely and Synder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000), where at one point it was observed that gated communities form the fastest growing type of housing development in the USA (Low 2003; Nelson, 2005; McKenzie, 2011). Beginning in the 1960s, master-planned developments involving restricted access communities first took shape in the form of retirement communities. A majority of these communities were built in the province of Florida, California, Texas, and Arizona (Low 2003). These early gated communities were however primarily designed for and aimed at wealthy senior citizens and retirees (Blakely and Synder, 1997; Low, 2003).

Later in early 1970s, the development of gated communities started to attract those from the upper-middle class. Since then it has been estimated that the number of people living in gated communities in the USA has increased from four million in 1995, to eight million in 1997 and to sixteen million in 1998 (Low, 2003, p. 15) and that the number of self-managed neighbourhoods in that country has increased significantly within a span of 50 years (Nelson, 2005; Glasze, 2006). Recently, McKenzie (2011) estimated that 60 million of the population in the USA are living in privately governed neighbourhoods.

Despite the abundance of literature discussing the development of gated communities in the USA, the rise of gated communities can also be found in other regions in the world. Among these regions in the world, it has been documented that gated communities have been appeared in Latin America (Coy and Pohler, 2002; Borsdorf and Hidalgo 2010), parts of the Middle East (Glasze, 2006; Guze and Ozkan, 2010), North America, (Rosen and Grant, 2011; Walks, 2009), and Europe (Raposo, 2006; Blandy, 2006; Candan and Kolluoglu, 2009). As this research focuses on the Southeast Asia region, it was found that some real estate markets started showing an increase in gated communities, for example in Singapore (Pow, 2011), Indonesia (Leisch, 2002; Hishiyama, 2020), Vietnam, (Huong and Sajor, 2009) and Thailand (Dick and Rimmer, 2000).

Describing Asian Cities, Miao (2003) and Pow (2007) documented the rise of gated communities in China. However, less evidence were found in Malaysia. Some researchers have attempted to examine the motivation factors living in gated communities (Misnan et al., 2010; Hanif et al., 2012) while others review the legality to enclose public spaces (Xavier, 2008; Tahir et al., 2009). As to date, there is no research exploring the role of governance and multiple key actors in governing and (re)producing

guarded neighbourhood in Malaysia. Thus, this research will lessen the gap by offering an explanation of the complexity in governing and reproducing guarded neighbourhoods.

Historically, it can be summarised that the development of gated communities is a worldwide phenomenon, affecting the civilization in the western countries as well as the eastern countries. This however, has resulted in various definitions of gated communities being suggested in the literature. In the next section, this study will attempt to conceptualise the definition of gated communities as suggested by prominent academic literature and later establish working definition to better suit the purpose of this study.

3.2.2   Defining the Gated Communities

As discussed above, the rise of the development of gated communities is a global phenomenon. Such developments occur in various forms in a number of countries and vary compared those in developed countries and in developing countries. Hence, this study acknowledged that there is a multitude of interpretations of these developments: they are rich in term of vocabulary and terminology and used differently in different local settings and contexts. Thus, this section looks at various definitions of gated communities within the literature, and thereafter, it will be explained how the term of "guarded neighbourhoods" will be used within this study.

One landmark definition of gated communities was given by Blakely and Synder (1997, p. 2) which had particularly referred to the USA and defined gated communities as:

"Gated communities are residential areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatised. They are security developments with designated perimeters, usually walls or fences and controlled entrances that are intended to prevent penetration by non-residents. They include new developments and older areas retrofitted with gates and fences, and they are found from the inner cities to the exurbs and from richest neighbourhoods to the poorest neighbourhoods".

In general ways, Carvalho et al. (1997) agreed with this definition and defined gated communities as a residential neighbourhood regardless of size that has chosen to surround itself with walls or fences and use security gates to control access. Similarly Carvalho et al. (1997) considered gated communities as a group of houses surrounded by fences or walls, by which the adjacent streets are closed off, and which may be either electronic or manual gates. Low (2003) added that the gated communities' development would in essence exclude non-residents from having access to all interior amenities of the development project such as the residential buildings, the open spaces, and the activities being held in the gated communities' vicinity.

Describing the North American cities, Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004) suggested a definition which agreed with the previous researchers on the perimeters of gated communities (such as CCTV, wall, gate, security personnel etc), but added several extra characteristics such as the gated communities having private roads which are closed to general traffic and the implementation of restricted access of the primary residential area. While in Latin America, Caldeira (2000) defined gated communities as "fortified enclaves". According to Caldeira (2000) fortified enclaves include office complexes,

shopping centres and other spaces that are physically demarcated and isolated by walls, fences, empty spaces and designated spaces.

Looking into Europe region, Blandy (2006) defined gated communities as a residential neighbourhood with a fence or wall around the residential area restricting or controlling the access to non-residents (whether via electronic means or with physical monitoring and implementation by security staff), having its own private internal roads, subjects residents to a common code of conduct and able to manage itself independently from any external form of authority such as the municipal council or any other type of local authority. Roitman (2008) further explained that gated communities can be understood as closed urban residential schemes where a homogeneous social group voluntarily choose to live in an area where public space has been privatised, restricting access on non-residents through the implementation of security devices

Bodnar and Molnar (2010) in principle agreed with previous researchers and defined gated communities as a subset of planned development which forms a part of a broader category of common interest development plan. It therefore follows that gated communities involve an inevitable form of parameters that allowed residents to privately enjoy the goods (amenities and facilities) within their residential neighbourhood to the exclusion of others, namely non-residents of the gated communities. Vesselinov (2009) put forth the idea that gated communities has changed the residential pattern by restricting access, not only to the residential buildings, but also to the streets, sidewalks and neighbourhood amenities in that area.

From the various definition of gated communities as discussed above, it can be summarised that the term gated communities is generally used to refer to residential

developments that have all or a combination of few of the following characteristics: first, they consist physical barrier through the erection of gates or fences and/or the implementation of manned surveillances through CCTV or similar devices; second, gated communities restricted access to the area to non-residents by enclosures, closed/privatised public roads, or sidewalks with secured entrances; and three, they characterised by the existence of homeowner associations/private administration carrying out specific roles and responsibilities.

For the purpose of this study, the definition given by the Blakely and Snyder (1997) will be used where gated communities are defined as secure housing estates in new developments or in older areas with specific security measures. This definition is broad enough to conceptualise the "guarded neighbourhoods" in Malaysia. In order to differentiate the types of gated communities in Malaysia, the typologies of gated communities will be examined in the following section.

3.2.3   Types and Typologies

Despite a variety of definitions offered by previous researchers, the gated communities as a type of private neighbourhood can be said to share almost similar characteristics. Following the Townshend's work (2006, p. 105) this study acknowledged that the "importance of local, regional, and national situation factors in the evolution of private communities makes a universal typology unattainable if not undesirable". For the purpose of this study the typology developed by some of the prominent typologies will be further examined and used as the framework to identify the types of gated communities in Malaysia.

One famous typology was introduced by Blakely and Snyder (1977) which was based on the gated communities of the USA. In their study, Blakely and Snyder suggested that gated communities can be classified into three main categories: lifestyle communities, prestige communities and the security zones. This typology is summarised as Figure 3.1.
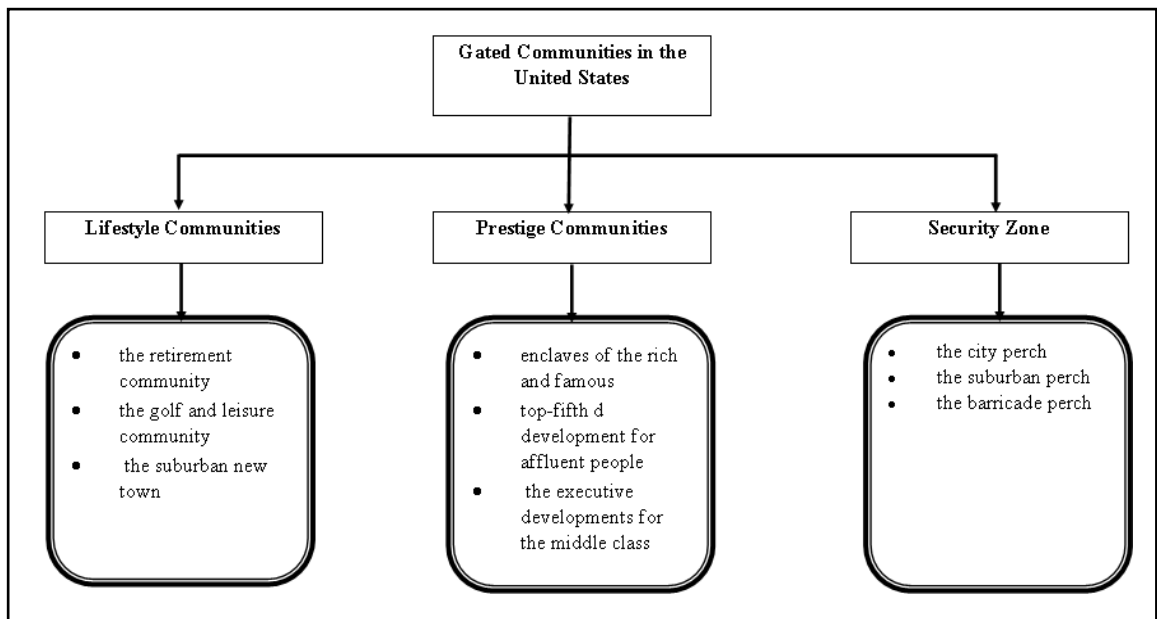
Figure 3.1: Typology of Gated Communities in the United States of America
Source: Adapted from Blakely and Snyder (1997)

In the United States, there seem to be three distinct types of life-style communities: the retirement community, the golf and leisure community, and the suburban new town. These communities were the first type of gated community to appear in many areas and they were the first to spread and proliferate. Development of life-style communities fed exclusively on aspirations of affluent class and their desire to separate themselves from the rest of their neighbouring community. When opting for lifestyle communities, the primary motivation for residents to choose to live in such a development is usually the attraction of the amenities provided, although security is also observed as a strong secondary motivation (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p. 46-73).

For prestige communities the emphasis is on luxurious, prestigious lifestyle rather than availability of various recreational amenities and services. The gates of these communities are built by the developers. However, these communities lack the recreational amenities and services of the lifestyle communities. Prestige communities divided into three types: enclaves of the rich and famous (celebrity), top-fifth development for affluent people and the executive developments for the middle class groups. Image is of primary importance with their gates denoting a barrier status (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p. 74-98).

The third type of gated communities is the security zone. These are the fastest growing type of gated communities and they are characterised by the closing of streets and the gating of complexes of the low income, working class, and middle class residents. In the security zone, the fear of crime and apprehension of unknown and unauthorised outsiders are the foremost motivation for the residents to establish a more defensive fortification of their residential area. There are three types of security zone communities which are the city perch, the suburban perch, and the barricade perch. The term "perch" used in discussing security zone communities as the gates, fences and other security measures that were not originally built by the developers but were implemented later by the residents. When observing the development of security zone communities, residents can be seen trying to retrofit their neighbourhoods with gates or barricades, establishing street closures to restrict access and attempting to fortify the security of their neighbourhood in order to regain control or to fend off from outsiders. (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p. 99-124)

Explaining the purpose built gated communities – lifestyle and prestige communities – and those were originally open neighbourhoods as in the case of security zone,

Landman (2002) distinguish between security villages and enclosed neighbourhoods in the context of South Africa. Landman and Schönteich (2002) explained further that enclosed neighbourhoods were originally designed as open neighbourhoods and being closed off using gate or boom gate extending across the road and in some cases fences that extend around entire neighbourhoods. While security villages are different types of private developments which are physically walled or fenced off and usually have a controlled access point with security guards.

These two communities were different in term of nature of gating and practise. For instance, roads in security villages are privately owned while the roads within enclosed neighbourhoods generally remain public property. However, in her edited works Landman (2004) explained that the roads within enclosed neighbourhoods will become private if the area has been taken over by the residents association and the residents responsible for their maintenance. Figure 3.2 shows the typology of gated communities in South Africa
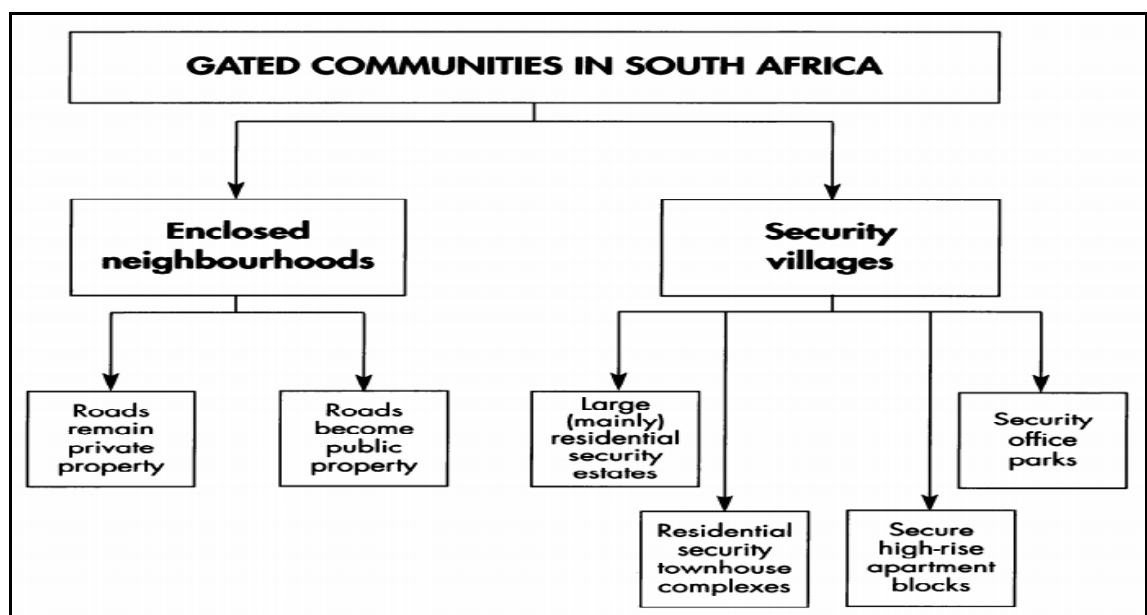
Figure 3.2: Definition and Hierarchy of gated communities in South Africa
Source: Landman (2004, p. 71)

While in the North American cities, Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004) suggested at least eight factors that categorised the physical form of gated communities: the functions of enclosure, the security features and barriers employed, the amenities and facilities, the types of residents accommodated, tenure type, location, size and policy context. Based on these eight factors, Grant and Mittelsdtead (2004) propose eight types of gated communities through a continuum of enclosure: ornamental gating, walled subdivisions, faux-gated entries, barricaded streets, partially gated roads, fully gated roads, restricted entry bounded areas and restricted entry guarded areas (see Table 3 in Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004, p. 922)

In a more general level, some researchers tend to divide gated communities according to their image and type of developments. For instance, Glasze (2005) distinguished between closed condominiums and closed neighbourhoods. Closed condominiums consist of a small set of apartment buildings, whereas closed neighbourhoods comprise hundreds of housing units. Caldeira (2000) in her study in Sao Paulo also conceptualised gated communities into closed condominiums and enclosed neighbourhoods. In Israel, Rosen and Razin (2009) identified three types of gated communities: ethno-cultural communities; frontier settlements; and neo-liberal enclaves. These three types of enclosures reflect similar market preferences for exclusive consumer residential club amenities and represent the influence of the social-historical process. While in the Southeast Asia region particularly in the Republic of Singapore, Pow (2007) noted that closed condominiums were overwhelming in the country.

Despite various types and typologies of gated communities throughout the world, they share a similar purpose: to increase territoriality and improve security measures in order

to prevent crime or perceived crime in residential areas. This study suggests that enclosure development in Malaysia is comparable in some ways with the South African concept and partly with the typology of Blakely and Snyder. As seen in Chapter one, this study has identified two types of gated communities in Malaysia: first, gated communities (an original market production) and second, guarded neighbourhoods (post-market production). The characteristics and nature of these two types of gated communities will be explained in Chapter four.

3.3   The Proliferations of Fortified Neighbourhoods

Research on gated communities has drawn considerable attention over the last three decades as researchers identify why certain social group of people choose to live in fortified neighbourhood. Many scholars ranging from urban geographers, urban planning, anthropologist, urban economic, sociologists to urban politics have attempted to explore the reasons behind the proliferation of gated communities throughout the world. Some argued from the psychological aspects (safety and security, fear of crime and better quality of life), while other researchers began to conceptualise the emergence of gated communities with the local political conditions and the role of the state. Therefore, this section will review the international debates on gated communities focusing on the diverse factors that might lead to the proliferation of this development.

Many studies on gated communities have focus on the safety and security issue as one of the important reasons for the rise of gated communities in the world. Blakely and Synder (1997) pointed out that the desire to strengthen security measures has resulted in the rise of fortified neighbourhoods in the United States. Grant and Mittlesteadt (2004) stated that there are five main reasons for residents choosing to live in a gated

communities: first is the promise of increased security and safety, second is the element of surveillance and social control, third is the separation from others, fourth is the assumed status and identity and last but not least is the availability of additional services and amenities.

In almost all of the literature discussing the increasing trends of gated communities, it is empirically well established that safety and security is one of the most important factors for residents choosing to live in a gated community (Low, 1997; 2008; Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000). Some researchers argued that the demand for increased residential security is a reflection of the failure of the government to accommodate the level of security expected by residents (Landman, 2000; Genis; 2007). This in turn lead to the establishment of gated communities where the need for safety and security drive the citizens to take on the burden of crime control from the government to become a responsibility borne by the citizens themselves.

Reviewing the increasing trend of gated communities, Csefalvay and Webster (2012) explained that the rise of gated communities can be observed as reflecting the rising rate of crime in residential area. Evidence of safety and security as a major motivation factors for residents choosing to live in gated communities can be gleaned from studies done by previous researchers (Carvalho et al., 1997; Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 2001; Blandy and Lister, 2005; Csefalvay, 2009). In a major number of studies, it was found that safety and security concern were the overriding motivational factors identified by residents for moving into gated communities irrespective of the location, size or type of the gated communities. For instance, Blandy and Lister (2005) found that safety and security has motivated residents to live in gated communities. In Sao Paulo

Brazil, Caldeira (2000) found that high crime rates and violence crime has contributed to the rise of gated communities.

In further discussing the issue of crime and safety concerns, Glasze (2005) and Nelson (2005) saw that the rise of gated communities can be seen as part of the on-going shift of crime prevention away from the central and local government to the neighbourhood associations and residents. This is made possible through the creation of physical barriers, manual and technological surveillances. In post-apartheid state of South Africa, Hook and Vrdoljak (2002, p. 202) found that crime was a significant factor for residents to live in gated communities development and said that "the retreat into luxury is the best escape from the threat of crime"

In developing countries, Huong and Sajor (2010) found that the feeling of insecurity in residential areas has contributed to the rise of gated communities. For example, in Bali, Indonesia, Hishiyama (2010) confirmed the need for security and safety was the main reason for residents to choose to live in a gated communities. The findings from empirical research in the Republic of Israel (Rosen and Razin, 2009; Grant and Rosen, 2009; Rosen and Grant, 2011) showed that developers employ gates as a design tool to enhance the image of security.

However, there were also some researchers who did not agree that the safety and security concern is the actual main reason for residents choosing to live in gated communities. According to Naudé (2003) and Tanulku (2012), the mere acts of establishing gated communities do not always reduce crime. Instead, they claimed that very few crimes were reduced by the closure of existing suburbs and public roads. Other researchers also illustrated how enclosures would be able to reduce opportunistic or

impulsive crimes such as theft, burglary and street crimes, but at the same time they felt that gated communities were not an effective mechanism to combat crimes in residential areas.

Other researchers also pointed out how an increased fear of crime has led people to seek increased security and prefer the homogeneous environment of gated residences (Csefalvay, 2009; 2011; Kenna, 2010; Csizmady, 2011; Suarez, 2011). One of the early studies of gated communities have attempted to link the idea of "ecology of fear" (Davis, 1998), where gated communities were seen as a response to fear of crime due to the inefficiency of the state in providing adequate security to the residents. For instance, Low (2001) found that the residents who moved from open neighbourhoods to gated communities expressed increased fear of crime due to the new pattern of immigration and increasing multiculturalism in their former residential areas.

In some cases, the increase in crime is due to the combined effects of urbanisation, lack of economic opportunities, and social polarisation (Lewis and Salem, 1986). In regions such as Latin America and South Africa property crimes and acts of violence constitute real threats (Breetzke et al., 2013; Caldeira, 2000; Csefalvay and Webster, 2012). Yet even in the absence of these significant risk, people still fear the possibility of crime occurring. For instance, while some cities in the USA have problems with crime, many studies argue that fear of crime is a more significant driving force for enclosure than the actual crime (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 2001; 2003). As (Johnston, 2001, p. 963) noted, "the relationship between crime, fear and citizen behaviour is mediated by a vast complex of factors external to the actor". These factors may include cultural beliefs (Grant and Rosen, 2009), policies and organisations of the state (Pow, 2009), mass media (Ellin, 1997), and popular technologies of security (Vilalta, 2011).

Other than the safety and security aspects, there are also other important factors that may influence residents to choose to live in gated communities. Some scholars have documented that the desire for gated communities reflects the phenomenon of the rising demand for prestige and exclusive living (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 1997; 2003; Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004; Atkinson and Flint, 2004). This desire and demand for privacy is not new but has long been a motivating factor in the flight of the middle class to the suburbs, seeking to preserve their preferred way of life and in line with their belief in private property rights. Manzi and Bowers (2005) pointed out that desire for privacy and exclusive living are often mentioned by the residents as one of the reasons to live in fortified communities. Residents of gated communities seek to preserve anonymity through internal social communication rules which in most cases require less interaction between residents compared to the open neighbourhoods.

The erection of gating and fencing infrastructure to keep strangers out gives the residents of gated communities an increased sense of privacy and exclusive living. Cizmeci and Ercan (2010) pointed out how the high quality of life in gated communities can be achieved through the offering of privileged living spaces to individuals of the upper class who can afford them. Webster (2002) illustrates how the establishment of gated communities allow residents to manage and restrict access and only those who pay for amenities can utilise the amenities and facilities.

Webster (2002) claimed that gated communities were becoming a fashionable trend and the choice to live in a development underlying a statement of exclusivity, high class living style and privacy. For instance, where crime incidents were relatively low in the North American cities, gated communities became a marketing strategy for private developers: they advertised the exclusivity and privacy living in such development

(Grant, 2005; Walks, 2009). In post-socialist cities, Hirt (2012) also documented how gated communities are used by the producing actors as a marketing tool aimed for middle-upper class groups. While in the Middle East, Almatarneh and Mansour (2013) found that the developers used gated communities as a marketing strategy: they offer a privileged exclusive lifestyle in the residential environment.

In the Asian region, enclosure provides privacy and exclusivity for emerging elites (Leisch, 2002; Huong and Sajor, 2010). Leisch (2002) argued that taste and prestige have a preponderant role in the continued relevance of gated communities in Indonesia. The residents believed that by staying behind the gates, their quality of life will increase significantly. In China, gated communities also create and offer a comparatively more desirable landscape compared to the traditional neighbourhood of open communities (Wu, 2010). For example, luxurious gated communities in Beijing utilises a wide use of exotic landscape to make suburban residential development look more appealing. In neighbouring country of the Singapore, Pow (2009) revealed that the security guards helped to increase the prestigious image, privacy and exclusive living in condominium developments.

The scholarly literature clearly documents that gated developments have become a significant marketing strategy in attracting consumers to buy new homes in urban fringe or infill projects in nations where disparity of income is increasing and the need of security are common. The perception that gating increases property values appears to be validated by a number of studies (Townshend, 2002; LeGoix, 2005; LaCour-Litte and Malpezzi, 2009). Gates and walls are intended to create and maintain the stability of property value as Blakely and Snyder (1997, p. 155) explained:

"the growing fear the loss of housing value is recasting land use planning tools and giving rise to a new surge of land management efforts aimed at retarding population growth and maintaining high land and housing price"

Greater control over neighbourhood was presumed to mean greater stability in property value (Ajibola et al., 2012). Private developers and landlords see gated communities as a type of property investment (Manzi and Bowers, 2005; Csizmady, 2011). The perception that gated communities can increase or help maintain property value was strong, and many residents and realtors believe they do have a positive impact (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Within such a broad interpretation of economic benefits, gated communities becomes a mechanism to protect values from being affected by changes in the city and a way to market a property as more exclusive (Gooblar, 2002; Levent and Gulumser, 2007). The aspect of better amenities and facilities were also reflected in the higher value of property in gated communities.

Gated communities are an efficient way to protect the value of real property over a period of time. For example, in the California, there was a clear difference between the properties within gated communities compared to properties in open neighbourhoods (Le Goix and Vesselinov 2012). LaCour-Little and Malpezzi (2001) showed how over a 20-year period from 1979 to 1998, in the area of St. Louis, Missouri in the USA houses in gated areas command a 26% price premium as compared to houses on completely unrestricted streets. Gated communities were linked to the ideology of privatisation – that is, private/corporate governance is more effective than public administration with residents willing to pay the "subscription fee" for the service provisions provided by the private actors (McKenzie, 2006; Raposo, 2006). Residents perceived that services

provided by the private actors could help maintain the property value in the development of gated communities.

The economic benefits of gated communities have been documented in several countries. Clement and Grant (2012) in their study illustrated how in Barbados, gated communities permit developers to safeguard their investment from vandalism and other liability issues. In a case study of China, Wu (2010) documented how the developer use gated communities as a marketing tool, promoting gated communities as a vibrant community. Among the most common marketing techniques used is the developers' use of the term "luxury homes" as well as touting a number of "services and amenities" provided to suit the needs of the customer.

Developers saw gated communities as an important marketing strategy in the competitive real estate market. Since gated communities provide beautiful amenities and facilities and secured communities, gating may increase the value of property (Grant and Mitelsteadt, 2004). Blakely and Snyder (1997) explained that in the USA market demand for enclosure results in a large demand for new gated communities throughout the country. Cizmeci and Ercan (2010) gave evidence on how developers in Istanbul also use gated communities as a marketing tool to sell its housing development by promoting a privileged lifestyle for its residents.

Although safety and security, prestige and lifestyle living, and economic benefits of gated communities are the dominating factors for enclosures, this study acknowledged that these factors might be different in different local contexts and settings as Genis (2007, p. 772) explained "gated enclaves serves different purposes in communities and localities with different social, cultural and economic characteristics". Thus, this study

will lessen the gap in the literature of gated communities by offering the Malaysian experience on the development of gated communities. The next section will examine the role of the producing actors that lead to the proliferation of fortified communities throughout the world.

3.4   The Production of Gated Communities: The Role of State in Neoliberal Era

Although enclosed and fortified settlements have a storied history (Bagaeen and Uduku, 2010), contemporary gated communities began to emerge in large numbers as states adopted the political philosophy of neoliberalism—that is, the notion that the state should reduce its role to allow the market to operate more efficiently and effectively (see Chapter 2). Gated communities belong to what Brenner and Theodore (2002) defined as "spaces of neoliberalism": they are the result of the fear of urban crime and in some cases the state encouraged enclosure developments. Thus this section tries to examine the supply-side factors (the role of the state) in understanding the widespread of expansion of gated communities in a neoliberal era.

The development of gated communities has often been cited as an end result of the impact of globalisation and more particularly as a part of the process of neoliberalism. Some scholars have suggested that the rise of the neoliberalism ideology has had a major impact on the development of gated communities (McKenzie 2006; Genis, 2007; Rosen and Razin, 2009; Pow, 2009) as Tasan-Kok, (2012, p. 2) contended that spatial planning and urban development in many regions address the needs of those benefiting from the neoliberal turn.

McKenzie (2006, p. 90) pointed out that "there is also compelling evidence that the phenomenon (gated communities) is driven in large part by economic and political incentives operating on the supply side, where cities and real estate developers find common interest housing mutually advantageous". However, Grant and Rosen (2009, p. 577) noted that "local ideologies, historical circumstances, and experiences of integration or segregation may generate varied ways of expressing, rationalising, and producing gated forms" in a neoliberal era. Using a comparative case study between Canada and Israel, Grant and Rosen (2009) claimed that the interaction of international and local cultural process helps to explain in which ways gated communities were produced. They suggested a model to explain how gated communities interact with global and local processes (see Figure 3.3).
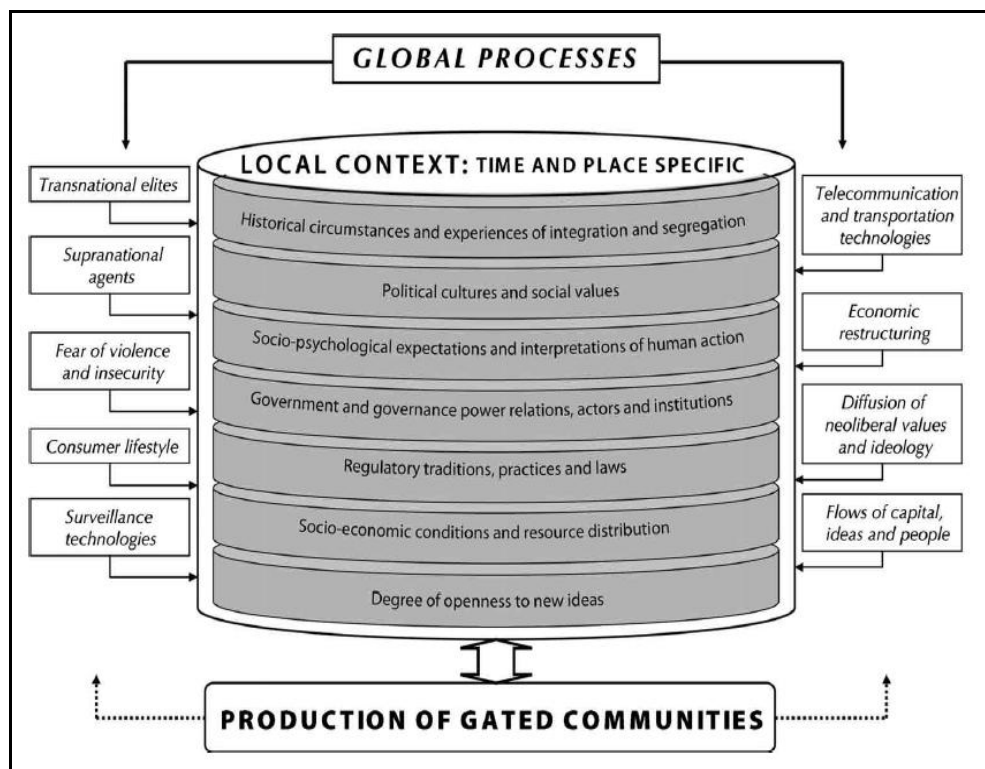
Figure 3.3: A model the interaction of global and local processes in producing
gated communities.
Source: Grant and Rosen (2009, p. 577)

The global process can be explained by linking the supply side (the role of state) and demand side (the wider society preferences) in specific local settings. Vesselinov et al. (2007) theorised that both sides in coining the term "gating machine" that implies a constellation of interest between public sector that demand for better quality of life and private sector seeking higher profit and stability of investment. The coalition was abetted by consumer demand for gating, which was shaped by globalisation and neoliberalisation. Linking the discourse of globalisation and gated communities, Low (2003, p. 17) lamented that:

"Globalisation and economic restructuring also weaken the existing of social relations and contributed to the breakdown of traditional ways of maintaining social order. Social control mechanisms and their associated institutions, such as the police and schools, are no longer seen effective. This breakdown in local control threatens some neighbourhood residents, and the gated residential community becomes a viable and socially acceptable notion"

Despite the idea of global process, the role of regulation in the production of gated communities should not be underestimated. Rosen and Razin (2009, p. 1704) explained that gated communities "are not only product of markets interacting with local governments, in the context of weakened top-down hierarchical systems, but represent new institutional arrangements of urban governance and regulation". For example, in Vietnam, Huong and Sajor (2010) observed that major policy shifts toward housing privatisation and micro-governance in condominium development served as a mechanism in producing enclave developments.

Over the last two decades, critics of gated communities have often pointed to the role of globalisation and neoliberal agendas in driving the development of enclosure (Marcuse, 1997). Yet urban development occurs within a particular local and regional context shaped by cultural practices, expectations, and fears (Grant, 2005; Rosen and Grant, 2011; Smigiel, 2013). Urban spaces inevitably reflect local histories and practices: the guarded neighborhoods of South Africa respond to the legacy of Apartheid (Landman, 2006) while the frontier settlements of Israel dot highly contested landscapes (Rosen and Grant, 2011). In Barbados (Clement and Grant, 2012) and parts of Latin America (Caldeira, 2000) the proximity of exclusive enclaves to impoverished neighbourhoods generates consumer expectations about the need for enclosure that authorities facilitate and the market meets.

Several agents can generate urban enclosure. In some situations governments have adopted policies that encourage or require enclosure. For instance, in China (Miao, 2003; Pow, 2007) and Singapore (Pow, 2009) the state has used enclosure as a strategy for compliant management and social control. In Shanghai, Pow (2009, p. 386) said that "the enactment of an aesthetic spatial regime actively constructs and shapes gated communities" to reinforce neoliberal agendas of creating pristine, private middle-class retreats. Similarly, in Israel changing urban governance reflecting neoliberal policies associated with the post-welfare state contributed to the emergence of suburban gated neighbourhoods (Rosen and Razin, 2009).

Gated communities come to signify important aspects of neo-liberal change and the associated social injustices in cities (Marcuse, 1997; Smith et al., 1997; Kohn, 2004; Genis, 2007). Changes in legislation to permit condominium or strata ownership facilitated the rise of private communities in the 1980s in the USA, Canada, and Europe

(McKenzie, 1994; Kohn, 2004; Rosen and Walks, 2013). Homeowners, residents, and condominium associations have provided the mechanism for residents on their own initiatives to enclose and control space (Nelson, 2005). McKenzie (2011) noted that some USA jurisdictions require active participation of the private communities by insisting on self-management of quasi-public elements such as streets and landscape. Government deregulation often allows private development markets greater opportunities in producing housing.

Neighbourhood enclosures in older districts are proved rare in many countries, but common in places such as South Africa where fear of crime is high and authorities accept such community action (Landman, 2006). Dick and Rimmer (1998), showed that in Southeast Asian cities, private sector-dominated planning regimes coupled with American-style globalisation and promoted the development of secure and prestigious suburbs for expatriates and local elites. Dick and Rimmer's work documented the emerging trend of private residential developments in Thailand, Vietnam, Philippines and Malaysia.

Zooming into the local level, some local government support enclosure developments due to the positive contributions to the local tax base. Le Goix (2005) pointed out how local governments tend to favour the land use in the form of gated communities development to pay for the cost of urban sprawl. Similarly, McKenzie (2006) emphasised the role of local governments in promoting gated communities. He explained that local government's desire to seek growth and increase tax revenues with minimal public spending. In Maputo, South Africa, the local authorities rely on private actors to rapidly provide world class modern infrastructure and services through the development of gated communities (Morange et al., 2012)

Sabatini and Salcedo (2007) argued that gated communities have positive economic consequences for the municipalities in which they are located. This is due to the fact that they can improve local economy, particularly in the creation of more jobs and increase in tax revenues for the local government. McKenzie (2006) and Libertun (2006) claimed that the rise of gated communities can result in a significant growth of urban economy and bring new investment to the surrounding sub-urban municipalities. Morange et al. (2012) and Damstra (2001) also noted how the state and local government favour gated communities because the cost of urban development is borne by the developers who pay for the construction of the housing infrastructure, which the cost is then passed on further to the homebuyers.

With the increase of these private developments, some local governments produced specific guidelines to facilitate gated communities (Nelson, 2005). For example in South Africa, the state has introduced the gated communities guidelines to govern this development (Landman, 2002; Morange et al., 2012). Morange et al. (2012) explained that gated communities were built by public authorities and public companies during the civil war, with a view to accommodating the workforce of international development and aid programmes.

Considering previous studies across the world, this study found that the proliferation of gated communities become visible in a neoliberal era and strongly marketed and borrowed by private developers from one region to another. The supply and demand side, to a certain extent, can be linked with the globalisation and neoliberal ideology: gated communities are one of the manifestations of privatisation, deregulation, weakening of the state and free market ideology. In Malaysia, this study will provide a new perspectives of how enclosures being produced in a post-colonial state and by who.

The next section therefore, considers the impact of gated communities toward the wider society.

3.5   Impacts of Gated Communities

As discussed in the previous sections, cities throughout the world have been always marked by divisions, walls and gates; only the types and reason for gating have varied (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Landman, 2002; Marcuse, 2009). Without delving into the complex history of gating in many nations, this study recognised that gated communities emerged from the west to the east and exacerbates the socio and spatial problems in the city. This study recognises that there is an ongoing discussion in academic literature about the relationship and impact between of "spatial" and "social" due to the development of gated communities towards the wider society. This section will explore social and spatial segregation and the implications of gated communities towards traffic flow and accessibility within the cities.

A much wider range of the impact of gated communities can be considered in terms of social interaction and segregation concomitant to the privatisation of public spaces. A number of literature discussing gated communities found them to be linked with social and spatial segregation (Atkinson and Blandy, 2005; Roitman, 2005; Lemanski et. al., 2008). Atkinson (2008) pointed out how the concentration of affluence in a particular location such as a gated community is implicated in a broader socio-spatial contract. This socio-spatial contract is located between the poorer and more affluent neighbourhoods and mediated though local and central states. Minton (2002) emphasised that gating of a neighbourhood can be seen as a type of voluntary exclusion of elites which in turn promote the involuntary exclusion of the non-elites.

The development of gated communities privatised what was public space and enhances social segregation, leading to the severe urban fragmentation in the cities (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000; Low, 2003; LeGoix, 2005). These empirical works related to the broader literature on neoliberal urbanism as explained in Chapter two (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Hackworth, 2007; Walks, 2006) which portrayed them as citadels (Marcuse, 1997), iron curtains (Hirt, 2012) or urban fortress (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Some gated communities reflect the growing range of choices available to consumer in the contemporary city. The affluent choose to live in sophisticated, elegant and secured neighbourhoods (Low, 2001: 2003; Marcuse, 1997; Genis, 2007), excluding themselves from the poorer.

Gated communities differentiated space for those inside and from those outside. Security guards become a manifestation of class markers in residential areas (Pow, 2009). By definition, barriers imply a level of social segregation and spatial fragmentation. In the neoliberal city, those inside the walls are usually more affluent than those outside: they use the enclosure to exclude others as explained by Blakely and Snyder (1997, p. 153):

"Gated communalities create yet another barrier to interaction among people of different races, cultures, and classes and may add to the problem of building the social networks that from the base for economic and social opportunity […] With gates and walls, they can exclude not only undesirable new residents but even casual passerby and the people from the neighbourhood next door. Gates are a visible sign of exclusion, an even stronger signal to those who already see themselves as excluded from the larger mainstream social milieu".

Fortified communities were often blamed for exacerbating residential and social segregation (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000; Low, 2003; LeGoix, 2005; Roitman, 2005), although they may enable mix by providing security for higher income residents living near lower income neighbours (Clement and Grant, 2012; LeGoix, 2005; Manzi and Smith-Bowers, 2005). For example, in Phoenix, Vesselinov (2012) found that gated communities contributed to both racial and economic segregation of the residents where the upper and affluent classes are largely presented in gated communities when compared to open neighbourhoods.

Gated communities deepen the social segregation and break the social fabric through the use of visible barriers that do not allow strangers to go inside the borders of the gated communities (Roitman, 2005; Roitman and Phelps, 2011) or to congregate with others who share similar socio-economic status. This has resulted social differences and social divisions due to the lack of contact and communication between the different classes of the population (Vesselinov, 2009). In many cases, gated communities reflect privileged middle-class lifestyles and conspicuous consumption (Pow, 2009). Gated communities confer status and their presence in the city space presents a clear statement of social differentiation as what Caldeira (2000, p. 259) said:

> "They (gated communities) offer a new way of establishing boundaries between social groups and establishing new hierarchy among them, and therefore of explicitly organising differences as inequality"

Walls and physical barriers create new forms of exclusion and segregation. Access to public spaces beyond the gate is restricted for a common citizen due to privatisation or restriction of use (Low, 2001: 2003; Coy, 2006; Raposo, 2006). By nature, gated

communities tend to physically isolate a specific area from its surroundings and create zones of restricted access within the urban existence. These characteristics –physical barriers – have led to the spatial fragmentation and separation in cities (Ajibola et al., 2011; Hirt, 2012). Ellin (1997) referred to the physical characteristics of the gated communities as defensive urbanism and illustrated how in extreme cases, gated communities can turn into a "militarisation of the urban landscape".

Kohn (2004) argued that urban spaces began to represent socio-economic status in a new way when informal settlements, the central city, and new suburban development started to differentiate the wealthier and poorer population of the city. Urban space started to shrink, and walls and gates became the mechanism to separate the conjoining areas through the development of gated communities (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000; Janoscha and Borsdoft, 2006). In this respect, urban fragmentation is the unavoidable result to the process of closure of the urban space and the rise of gated communities which are driven by aspects of security and exclusiveness (Roitman, 2005).

Residents of gated communities – middle-upper class – often cordon themselves off as a class by building fences, cutting off relationships with neighbours, and moving into enclosed communities in response to urban problems and conflicts (Low, 2003). These people searching for homogenous neighbourhood that reinforced class segregation and in some extreme cases gated communities induced race/ethnic separation. Some researchers see this as a symbol of metropolitan fragmentation and associated with social injustices in cities (Marcuse, 1997; Le Goix, 2005; Bodnar and Molnar, 2009). In South Africa, residents of older district were rushing to fence themselves off (Landman, 2003), thus limit access to the city.

Although contemporary planning dogma celebrating mixed use and promoting diversity, mixing were rarely occurs in gated communities (Grant, 2007; Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). Gated communities reinforced the existing differences between insiders and outsiders or between the poor and rich people (Low, 2003; Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Gating has an impact on the social construction and has limited contact within their direct and surrounding neighbourhoods (Vesselinov, 2007). Linking the gated communities and the increasing trend of urban polarisation and fragmentation, Marcuse (1997) explained that physical barriers in these developments does not only reflect existing social relations and divisions, but also reinforces them. This claim is similar with this study that attempts to discuss the social and spatial segregation during the colonial administration to the polarisation and fragmentation in the post-colonial period through enclosed and secured communities.

As the development of gated communities is inextricably involved with physical and social construction, there is also an issue of social mobility within the city (McKenzie, 1994; Webster et al., 2002; Low, 2003). The implication of enclosure on mobility and accessibility in the city varies depending on the scale of enclosure and management policies around entry. Large gated areas and robust mechanisms of enclosure and policing limit access, fragment space, and disrupt urban mobility (Grant and Curran, 2007). Enclosures that reduce access to public goods and amenities, such as beaches or parks, are likely to prove socially as well as spatially disruptive (Clement and Grant, 2012; Grant and Rosen, 2009). Caldeira (2000) illustrated how gated communities can turn into a type of "fortress" city as one of the key characteristics of gated communities is the physical barrier surrounding the community's area and prohibiting entry and access of outsiders into the protected area.

Landman (2006) argued that in terms of physical barrier, the gated communities have a major impact on urban traffic and movement patterns, especially where there is a large concentration of enclosed neighbourhoods in a sub-metropolitan area. Landman further showed how in Johannesburg and Tshwane, South Africa, the current urban traffic situation does not only increase the vulnerability of the road users, but also affect the levels of discomfort and travelling time as they often have to use much longer routes due to road closures implemented by gated communities and neighbourhoods.

3.6   Summary

This chapter discussed the limitations of current debate on gated communities in relation to the research questions that guide this study. As seen above, many authors have discussed the proliferation of gated communities that built by private developers. However, little attention has been paid to the enclosed neighbourhoods in older areas. Therefore, this study attempts to fill in some gaps identified within the gated communities' literature by studying enclosed neighbourhoods in older areas.

Using a political economy perspective this study shed light on the diverse factors – supply and demand side – that might lead people to enclosed spaces and try to understand the reason for the increase in this urban trend. Understanding the gated communities from global perspectives helps to understand the uniqueness and peculiarities of enclosure in different local contexts and settings. Though security is a main factor in many gated communities, several studies have identifies the complex driving forces in the production of enclosure developments. As in the case of this study, guarded neighbourhoods may be understood as a new mechanism of state to govern spaces in neoliberal era. The next chapter will describe the Malaysian experience in

dealing with enclosure developments and links it with the social changes, political forces and economic transformation.

CHAPTER 4

Malaysia Neoliberal Turn: Social Change, Economic Transformation and Neighbourhood Development

4.1   Introduction

Interest in the relationship between secured communities and social changes has grown in recent years. This was encouraged by several different scholars that attempted to theorise the neighbourhood developments with the notion of "good neighbourhood principles" and other related concepts such as sustainability, liveability and socio-spatial integration. Thus this chapter attempts to review the historical development economic growth and structural changes of Malaysia, over the last half century.

The first part of this chapter reviews the history of Malaysia, focusing on British colonialism and post-colonial administration. This section provides the background of the Malaya(sia). In particular, the geographical context of the country's regional and global status is described. There is also a discussion of government and governance structure followed by the planning development and hierarchy in Malaysia.

The second part of this chapter will review major changes in the Malaysia political economy – that is, neoliberalism and neoliberal urbanism. The discussion focused on the immigrant policy introduced by the British that created a multi-ethnic society in Malaysia. This includes the influx of foreign and domestic migrations in the country. The impacts of economic development and transformations on the country are also described. In particular, the shift from public-dominated-market to private-dominated-

market is highlighted and how the government interventions in housing production are given particular attention.

The last part of this chapter considers the proliferation of enclosure developments in Malaysia. It reviews types and characteristics of enclosure developments followed by a discussion of the guidelines and laws related to gated communities and guarded neighbourhoods.

4.2   Brief History of Malaysia

This section provides an overview of the historical development of Malaysia with different timelines: first, during pre-independence and second, after British colonialism and the formation of Federation of Malaya. Contemporary Malaysia consists of two parts – West Malaysia (formerly known as Malaya and referred as Peninsular Malaysia) and East Malaysia which comprises of Sabah and Sarawak coastal fringe of Borneo (see Figure 4.1). Given the different colonial histories of East and West Malaysia, this chapter is focused only with the historical developments of Peninsular Malaya. The next discussion will explore the brief history of the country.
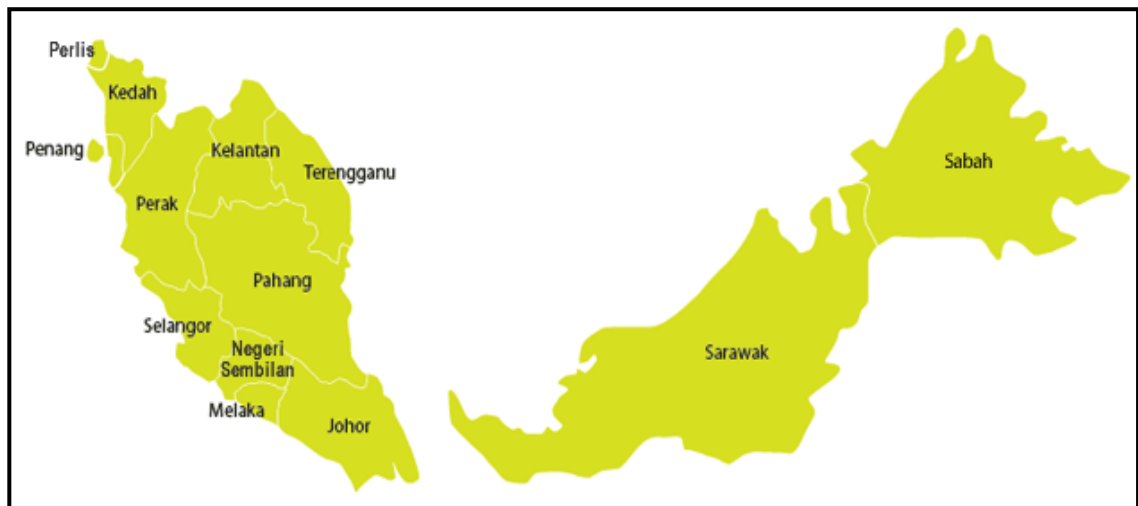
Figure 4.1: Map of Malaysia
Source: Department of Metrology Malaysia: Available at http://www.met.gov.my

4.2.1 Pre-Independence

Prior to British colonisation in Malaya, the Portuguese (1511-1641) and the Dutch had executed their powers in Malacca. The British officially colonised Malaya in January 1874 after the signing of Pangkor Treaty (Wong and Jomo, 2008). During the British colonialisation, Peninsular Malaya was organised into three administrative area: the Straits Settlements (Malacca, Singapore and Penang); the Federated Malays States (Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang); and the Unfederated Malay States (Johor, Kelantan, Terengganu and Kedah). These states later became the Federation of Malaya in 1948, which achieved independence from the British colony in 1957.

Before independence, the Japanese attacked Malaya from the north in December 1941. The Japanese occupied Malaya until the British military returned in September 1944. The Japanese occupation was devastating: Japanese destroyed economic activities in Malaya and accentuated ethnic divisions in the Malayan society (Bruton, 2007). By 1948 a state of emergency was declared to counter a communist-led insurgency and anti-terrorist policies which were supported by the majority of population. During the

emergency period, "New village" was introduced to relocate the rural Chinese into new communities (Chitose, 2003; Tajuddin, 2012): Chinese were perceived as a main supporter of the communist. By the early 1950s, more than 500 of new villages had been established (Leete, 2007).

In some ways, the Malaysia's history of gating can be said closely related with the nation historical development. In the 1950s, British colonial powers forced hundreds of thousands Malayan peasants –largely of Chinese descent –to relocate to "new villages": enclosed security communities intended to limit the spread of communism by preventing fraternisation and material support (Hack 2009; Shuib et al., 2009; Tajuddin 2012). Kheng (2009, p. 144) noted that with barbed wire fences and police guards at the entrances, the settlements were like "concentration camps" containing perceived security risks and enforcing ethnic segregation. Enclosure communities thus not new in Malaysia although the patterns and characteristics changing over time.

An emergency was proclaimed until 1960s and the British attempted to quell the revolt by military action as well as by removing its political cause. The British was encouraged the spirit of *Merdeka* (independence) through the political co-operation of the two political parties that represented the two major races: United Malay National Organisation (UMNO) and Malayan Chinese Association (MCA). Under the leadership of *Tunku* Abdul Rahman, UMNO joined with MCA led by Tan Cheng Lock to form UMNO-MCA Alliances in 1952 to contest 1955 national election. The Alliance, which was strongly anti-communist and anti-colonial won the general election and secured *Merdeka* on August 31, 1957 (Cho, 1990).

4.2.2   Post-Independence: From Federation of Malaya to Federation of Malaysia

In 1961, the first Malayan Prime Minister endorsed the British Plan to form Malaysia which includes Peninsular Malaya, Singapore, Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei. Brunei withdrew before the new federation was established. The Federation of Malaya became the Federation of Malaysia in 1963 with the addition of Singapore, Sabah, and Sarawak: Singapore subsequently left Malaysia through mutual agreement to become an independent state in 1965 (Drabble, 2000; Wong and Jomo, 2008). Unless otherwise stated, prior to 1963 the historical data used in this chapter refers to Peninsular Malaya (Malaysia), while the data for the post 1963 period refers to Malaysia which included Sabah and Sarawak.

The Federation of Malaysia with a total land area about 300,000 square kilometres is occupied by an ethnically plural society: 65 percent Malays and other indigenous people (together referred to as Bumiputera), 26 percent Chinese, 8 percent Indians and 1 percent others (Wong and Jomo, 2008). The Malays were considered to be indigenous, while the Chinese and Indians were regarded as immigrants (Leete, 2007).

Ruled by the same ruling coalition since the mid-1950s, Malaysia becomes one of the successful nations in the Southeast Asia region (Cho, 1990; Tajuddin, 2012; Jomo and Wee, 2014). After the formation of the Federation of Malaysia, the government policy emphasised on the economic growth with considerable infrastructure development. The government pursued economic diversification in an effort to reduce relying on the two major exports, tin and rubber. The strategy adopted was to encourage the agriculture and manufacturing sector by offering incentives and providing services (Jomo and Wee, 2014)

In terms of population growth, the population has doubled twice from 6.8 million in 1957 (Wong and Jomo, 2008) to 13.3 million and 27.0 million by 1980 and 2008 respectively (Tajuddin, 2011). With regards to urbanisation, the population of urban residents has been observed to increase from 51% of the total population of Malaysia in 1991 to 55.1 % in 1995. By 2000, this proportion has risen to 61.8 % and further 67 % in 2005. This increase in ratio of urban to total population kept increasing in 2008 where the urban population made up 70.36% of the total population of Malaysia and 71.28% in 2009. The latest total urban population was recorded in 2010 where the urban population is 72.20% of the total population of Malaysia (Tajuddin, 2012).

In a nationwide census held in 2000, it was found that states with very high proportions of urban population were the Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur (100%), Selangor (87.6%) and Pulau Pinang (80.1%) In 2012, more than 67% of the Malaysian population are living in urban areas. Bruton (2007) documented that rapid urbanisation and political stability in the metropolitan areas had heavily contributed to the urbanisation process. In 2006, the rate of urbanisation in Malaysia was high at an urban population of 63% from the total Malaysian population and is projected to be 75% by the year 2020 (Economic Planning Unit, 2006).

4.2.3 Government and Governance

Malaysia practices parliamentary democracy and comprises a federation of states governed by a constitutional monarchy: the *Yang di-Pertua Agong* is the head of the Malaysian government. The *Yang di-Pertua Agong* serves a five-year term, performing government ceremonial duties and has certain vested power governed by the Malaysia Federal Constitution (Bruton, 2007). However, as the head of state, *Yang di-Pertua*

Agong plays no effective role in the making of the law, but his signature and seal is needed for laws to be implemented (Milne, 1967).

In terms of administrative system, the Malaysian government is divided into three tiers: the federal government, the state government and the local (city, municipal or district councils) government. In this three-tiered administration system, the powers of each level of government are provided for in the Federal Constitution[1] and other Parliamentary Acts (Dasimah and Oliver, 2009). The Federal Constitution created a strong central government responsible for most of the country's internal and external affairs (Leetee, 2007)

4.2.4   Structure of Development planning

Contemporary planning system in Malaysia falls under the jurisdiction of the Town and Country Planning Act (TCPA), 1976. Planning development in Malaysia generally follows a three tiered of hierarchy as below figure 4.2:

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[1] When Malaysia was formed in 1963, the constitution of the Federation of Malaya, which had been adopted in 1957, was retained but amended so as to permit the admission of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak.
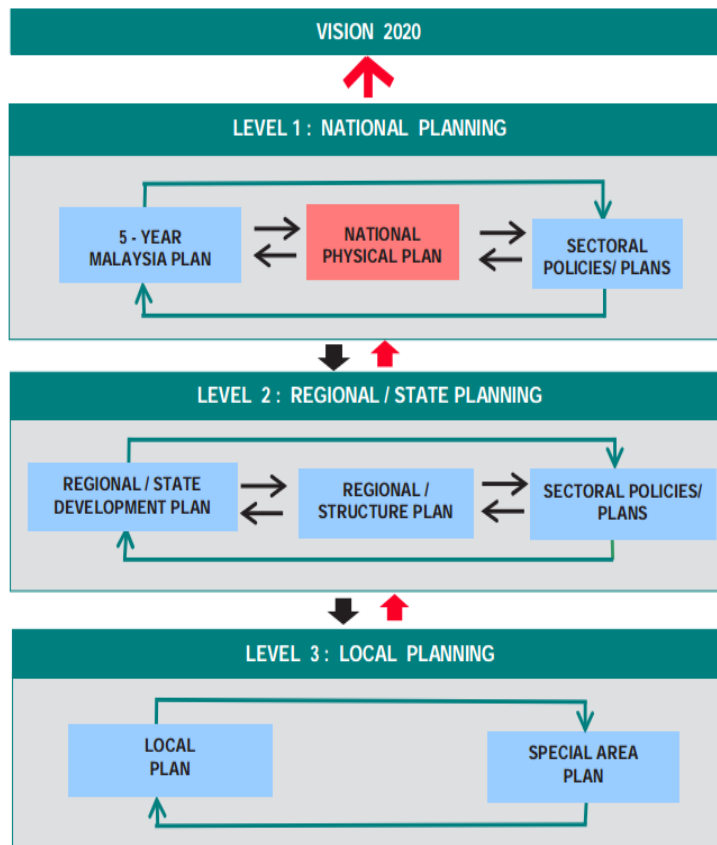
Figure 4.2: National Development Planning Framework
Source: DTCP (2010, p. 1)

As planning matters are in the concurrent list, it falls under the responsibility of both the federal and state governments. At the federal level, the Federal Department of Town and Country Planning (DTCP) under the Ministry of Urban Wellbeing, Housing and Local Government is responsible for formulating and administering all national policies relating to town and country planning and is the highest advisory body to the Federal Government in planning matters (Goh, 2008). Bruton (2007) pointed out the duties of federal government include to support the state government and provides technical support to the local authorities in the implementation of the various plans such as local plan and development plan.

At the State level, the State DTCP serves as an advisory body of the State Government. Under the TCPA 1976, the state government is responsible to determine and control the

general land use and urban planning. A state planning committee was established in every state to supervise the planning activities within the state (Bruton, 2007; Leetee, 2007). At the local tier, a local authority has the power to execute town and country planning functions as directed in local plans (Dasimah and Oliver, 2009). Section 5(1) of TCPA 1976 stipulated that each local authority is the local planning authority for its territory.

By virtue of development process, the national development planning is implemented within the framework provided under the TCPA 1976. The national development planning framework comprises of three levels of planning (see Figure 4.2): the National Physical Council (NPC) at the Federal level, the State Planning Committee (SPC) at the state level and the local council at the local authorities level. The planning development adopted a "top-down" approach starting at the federal level down to the state level and finally to the local authorities, with the objective of achieving a national development vision to become a developed country by the year 2020 (Abdul et al., 2011). This approach is favoured by government.

As shown in the Figure 4.2 the physical planning development is guided by the National Physical Plan (NPP). The Federal Department of Town and Country Planning is responsible for drafting the NPP and is given the power to do so under the TCPA 1976. The first NPP was approved in 2005 and was formulated in accordance with the objectives of urbanisation and other relevant policies. This NPP covers the period from 2006 to 2020 but must be reviewed every five years in conjunction with the five year Malaysia Plan.

Each five-yearly review of the NPP involves a collaborative process between the federal government and the state government. At present, NPPs apply only to Peninsular Malaysia as Sabah and Sarawak fall under the authority of separate planning systems. The most recent revised NPP is the NPP 2 which was approved on August 2010. Some notable items included in the NPP 2 are the outline measures to achieve goals of the National Key Result Areas (NKRA) such as reducing crime, fighting corruption, improving the quality of graduates, raising living standards of low income households, improving basic infrastructure in rural areas and improving urban public transport.

In the context reducing crime NKRA has introduced to solve the urban-safety problem in major cities in Malaysia. NKRA typically sets out a process that gives responsible authority the tools to assist with implementation and reducing crimes in Malaysia. In some ways, the rise of enclosure developments in Malaysia can be linked with government's policy such as NKRA to reduce the crime rate in urban residential environment.

In terms of socio economic development, the strategies adopted by Malaysia are mostly guided by the Vision 2020 and Malaysia Plan. Vision 2020 was launched in 1991 by *Tun* Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, who is known as the "father of modern Malaysia" as a long term development aspiration of the nation and to provide focus for national development efforts. The Vision 2020 is a thirty year vision statement that aims for Malaysia to achieve the status of a fully developed nation by the year 2020. The Malaysia Plan on the other hand is more focused with specific five year plan.

Recently, under the premiership *Dato Seri* Najib Tun Razak the government has introduced the tagline "*1Malaysia: People First, Performance Now*", with the aim to

achieve an economy marked by high income and high productivity without compromising social justice. At the same time, economic development is guided by the New Economic Model (NEM) replacing the New Economic Policy (NEP) which aims to "transform Malaysia into a high-income economy by 2020 (Shafie, 2011). As guarded neighbourhoods involve restriction to urban spaces, the next section will examine the land use planning and development in Malaysia.

4.2.5   Land Use Planning and Process in Malaysia

Malaysia operates a three tiered government: federal, state/territorial, and local government with each having some role in regulating urban development. The state government owns all land in the nation. The federal government prepares five-year plans that set housing and land development policies, and creates laws and guidelines to govern ownership and use of land. Through funding programs it influences options for the private sector and the public.

Although the federal government has jurisdiction over education, health, and security, state governments control land matters including housing (Shuid, 2008, p. 2). State authorities manage approval processes including land conversion for housing, and building and structure plans; many government agencies, both at federal and local levels, also play roles in the approval process (Tan, 2011, p. 64). Local authorities develop and administer plans and process development permits under the TCPA 1976.

The authority to deal with and decide on land matters, natural resources, Muslim Law and Malays/Native custom is vested in the state government. These elements are being listed in the State list in the Ninth Schedule of the Federal Constitution. However, the

Federal Constitution by virtue of Article 91 (5) confers powers to the National Land council to formulate a national policy for the promotion and control of the utilisation of land in the country for mining, agriculture, forestry and other purpose in consultation with the Federal and State governments and the National Finance Council (Dasimah and Oliver, 2009). This means while the state have control over the land matters the Federal Constitution allows the Federal government to intervene on matters relating to land and its administration. This complex relationship of land development and process in Malaysia can be seen in Figure 4.3.
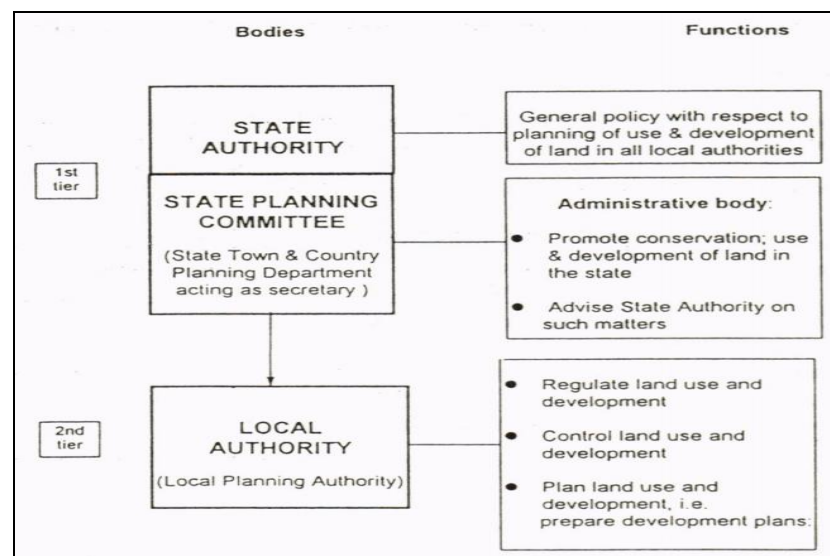
Figure 4.3: Land Development Administration in Malaysia
Source: Azizi and Haruo (1997, p. 1910)

Significantly, planning matters for land are in the "concurrent list" where both the federal and state governments are responsible for the items listed under the list. Noor (2007, p. 135) explained that the federal government "exercise an indirect influence over local government which is based upon the financial provisions and the specific arrangement with the state government, usually related to the land development matters". However, this is only applicable for states in Peninsular Malaysia. The demarcation of power and responsibility for land matters in the states of Sabah and

Sarawak is different as both states are subject to a land statute with fundamentally different principles than the NLC 1965. Therefore land use planning is an issue of the state government with the federal government taking on only a supervisory role with the overall land use planning development.

As can be concluded from above, the period from the year 1957 to the year 2012 was a period of great urban change in Malaysia. Within this period of 55 years of independence for Malaysia, the Malaysian institutional structure has been greatly influenced by the globalisation and the British policy legacy. In term of planning policies and guidelines, Malaysian government has provided a platform for enclosure development to be developed in new and older residential areas in Malaysia. The planning responses and regulations mechanism will be explained in the subsequent section in this chapter. The next section will discuss on the social changes in Malaysia.

4.3   Malaysia Neoliberal Urbanism

This section will discuss the context-specific forms that neoliberal urbanism has taken place in Malaysia, with a specific emphasis on the changing urban patterns and the role of immigrants in Malaysia's society. The discussion begins by showing how changes in Malaysia's demography over the past 50 years have been profoundly influenced by the British's immigrations policy. Next, this section describes the domestic migrations in the country.

4.3.1 Malaysia Neoliberal Urbanism: Changing Urban Patterns

Until 1957 Malaya was a British colony. The unequal geographical distribution of indigenous and migrant groups characterises Malaysian urbanism. The colonial experience generated an ethnically-polarised society. Malaya society was highly segregated during British colonial rule: ethnic communities of Malays, Chinese, Indians, and Europeans were physically and socially segregated (Hirschman, 1976; 1994; Segawa, 2013). Bruton (2007) called this as a "divide and rule" policy to reinforce the cultural division between Chinese, Malays and Indians.

Colonialism produced a demographically distinct and socially unequal landscape. Ethnic segregation was the norm: Europeans, Chinese, and Indians lived in urban areas, while impoverished Malays occupied rural regions (Selvaratnam, 1988; Guan, 2000; Haque, 2003; Verkuyten and Khan, 2013). In 1957-1970, almost 90% of Malays lived in rural areas, compared to about 55% of the Chinese and 70% of the Indians (Roslan, 2001). There were, however, signs of greater percentage of Malay living in urban areas. The average annual growth rate of urban Malays between 1970 and 1980 was 6.3%, about twice that of the other groups (Roslan, 2006).

In the socioeconomic structure of Malaysia before independence, colonial practices produced ethnic and racial divisions (Hirschman, 1986; Masron et al., 2012). Even in towns where inter-ethnic contact was possible, residential areas, market places, and recreational spaces were typically segregated along ethnic lines (Hirschman, 1986). Colonial education policy secured the segregation of ethnic communities: English schools for the children of Malay and European elites, and vernacular schools for the Malay peasantry and migrant communities (Chin, 2000).

The colonial socio-spatial ethnic divide continues to have significant impacts on the postcolonial development of the Malaysian state (Bae-Gyoon and Lepawsky, 2012). While in some sense Malaysia was a multi-ethnic society, in practice patterns of inequality and ethnic difference were stark (Bunnell and Coe, 2005; Haque, 2003). At independence, the state inherited deeply entrenched inequality across ethnic groups and regions (Jomo, 1986; Jomo and Tan, 2008). By virtue of an economic structure that linked occupation to racial origins, ethnic groups lived apart and had limited social interaction. By the time of independence ethnic Chinese dominated cities such as Kuala Lumpur where many had become successful entrepreneurs and professionals (King, 2007;2008; Tan, 2001). Tamil Indians worked as rural plantation labourers at low wages (Lian, 2002). Malays and other indigenous people relied on agriculture and felt marginalized in a nation where migrants outnumbered them while a small group of Malay aristocracy expected deference. Socio-spatial fragmentation thus is not new in Malaysia, although its character changed in the neoliberal era.

Tajuddin (2012) suggested, in Malaysia the free market began to reproduce social segregation and enclosure once forced by colonial powers. Independence changed the ethnic dynamics, with the constitution giving privileged rights to Malays. After independence, the income gap between ethnic groups widened. Wealthier groups grew amongst the Chinese business classes but jobs were generally distributed according to ethnicity (Roslan, 2001). Rising tensions followed ethnic and class segregation between ethnic groups in urban areas (Goh, 2008).

Whereas Malays considered post-independence policy changes insufficient to address their poor status, non-Malays took them as discriminatory measures (Haque, 2003). Mounting tensions developed into ethnic riots between Malays and Non-Malays in

1969, with many residents of Chinese descent killed (Crouch, 1999) and extensive destruction of property, most of which were Chinese-owned (Bruton, 2007). Chinese squatter settlements in the capital region thereafter became the target of government policy to clear and return private land to its owners (Johnstone, 1984; Kahn and Wah, 1992). Inequality and ethnic tensions remain a major challenge in contemporary Malaysia (Hill et al., 2012; Neo, 2012), and provide the context within which neoliberalism shaped the urban environments.

In the aftermath of the ethnic riots, the government introduced NEP in 1970 and the Second Malaysia Plan (1971-1975), to alleviate poverty, reduce political discontent, and restructure the country into a viable multi-ethnic society: reducing social polarisation among Malay, Chinese, and Indians became a focus (Salfarina et al., 2010). The NEP legitimised government intervention for interethnic redistribution, eradication of property and rapid urbanisation (Jomo and Wong, 2008). Shari (2000) explained that the NEP policy favoured ethnic Malays. Promoting the interests of Malays became a government priority.

After the implementation of the NEP, the average income of the Malays grew rapidly, reducing the gap from the national average (Economic Planning Unit, 1981-1985). In the same period, Malays and indigenous ethnic populations increasingly became urban residents living in mixed neighbourhoods. Enabling low-income Malay and indigenous households to gain urban employment and buy homes was part of a strategy for promoting social integration and mobility (Salfarina et al., 2011). The next section will examine the role of foreign workers and in-out migrations in Malaysia due to the rapid urbanisation and labour shortage in many economic sectors.

4.3.2   (Re)structuring of the Society: Foreign Workers and Domestic Migrations

The rubber and tin industries, which thrived from the late 1800s to the early 1920s, responded to labour shortages by importing migrant labour from India and China (Chin, 2000; Tajuddin, 2012). By 1931, migrant groups outnumbered indigenous Malays (Hirschman, 2004), and inter-ethnic social interactions proved rare (Tajuddin, 2012). Shortly after independence in 1957, Malaysia began an economic transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy: it became extremely successful in socio-economic development (Yeoh and Hirschman, 1990). This has resulted in a shortage of labour in many economic activities especially the manufacturing sector[2]. With pressing labour shortage in the 1970s, the Malaysian government had turned to recruiting foreign labour (Kaur, 2008), especially for low-to-medium skilled work (Kanapathy, 2006).

Despite the lack of legal guidelines on immigration, foreign workers began arriving in large numbers in the 1970s. It was only in the 1980s immigration was normalised (Abdul-Rahman et al., 2012). In 2010, Malaysia had about 2.3 million registered foreigners (Immigration Department of Malaysia, 2010). Chin (2008) estimated that a further two to four million undocumented foreigners lived in the country. Immigrants constitute approximately 8 per cent of Malaysia's resident population. In 2000, foreign workers constitute about 9.4 percent of the country's labour force (Leete, 2007).

Although Malaysia successfully integrated previously marginalised Malays and native groups through policy interventions over the last few decades, Malaysians have not as readily accepted foreign immigrants. They perceive foreigners as presenting threats

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[2] Export-oriented manufacturing in Malaysia in 1970s was largely limited to relatively low-skill workers, e.g. electronic component assembly

ranging from social problems (Liow, 2004) and criminal activities (Kanapathy, 2006) to dilution of the gene pool (Chin, 2008).

Foreign residents brought new challenges for urban planning in Malaysia society (Kaur, 2008). For Malaysians, foreign workers triggered concerns about safety and security. As a result, in 1972, the government created the People's Volunteer Corps known as RELA: these local action groups focussed attention on security matters (SUARAM, 2008). The People's Volunteer Corps (RELA) was introduced in 1972 under the Emergency (Essential Powers) Act 1964 (Security Force) in order to help the country in time of emergency and security matters. Under the Fourth Malaysia Plan, RELA groups were empowered to assist authorities to control undesirable elements threatening the security and stability of residential neighbourhoods. RELA groups are often sought to manage crime and scrutinise the activities of immigrants in cities (Kaur, 2008).

Although foreign workers have had a long history in the urban development of Malaysia, domestic migration also played an important role in urban restructuring in a pluralistic society. With sustained economic growth and development, the centre domestic migrations from rural to urban area had taken place. By 1980s, almost 1.6 billion of domestic migrations were recorded: 87% of these domestic migrations were in Peninsular Malaya (Hirschman, 1986). Some scholars theorised that the greater the growth of employment in a city, the higher would be the in-migration rate and the higher its unemployment level (Bruton, 2007; Leetee, 2007; Tajuddin, 2012). As a result many of urban problems were arises due to lack of employment opportunities.

4.4   Economic Transformation in Malaysia Neoliberal Turn

Malaysia has seen a dramatic structural transformation of its economy activities. The structural changes have been very much reflected in the role of government, particularly in the policy, planning and the involvement of the private sector. During the 1997 Asian financial crisis, Malaysia rejected International Monetary Fund advice, turning instead to capital controls (Kotz, 2002) that ultimately stabilised the economy (Robison and Hewison, 2005) with pro-market reforms (Teik, 2010). The National Economy Recovery Plan of 1998 sought to stabilise the local currency, restore market confidence, maintain financial stability, recapitalise and restructure the banking sector, and revitalise the economy (Wee, 1999; Mah-Hui and Khoon, 2012). Through effective policy decisions, Malaysia began its economic recovery earlier and more robustly than many nations in the region.

By the late 1990s, urban growth paralleled the structural shift in the Malaysian economy towards manufacturing and modern services centralised in the Klang Valley area (Masron et al., 2012). The dominance of the private sector in building housing coincided with the National Development Plan (1991-2000), the Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991-1995), and the Seventh Malaysia Plan (1996-2000) that emphasised sustainable development and decent housing (Sufian and Mohammad, 2009).

However, Jomo and Hui (2014) documented that during 1997 financial crisis that Malaysia's decade-long economic boom was built on some shaky and unstable foundation. With full employment and slower investment and productivity growth, private investment as share of gross national product has been lower since the 1997-1998 crisis. Post 1997 financial crisis has therefore been influenced the Malaysian's

economic development, with some significant influence towards the neighbourhoods development in sub/urban areas. Options and choices to plan new communities were not limited, but feeling insecurity and perceived crimes lead to the development of gated communities and guarded neighbourhoods.

Thus, this section will discuss how the Malaysia government has undergone through major economic transformation since the mid-1970s, through various government policies and regulations wrapped in neoliberal language. These processes, which can also be observed in other cities around the world, have been conceptualised as neoliberalisation of urban development and economic transformation.

4.4.1 The Political Economy of Post-Colonial Era: Housing and Economic Transformation

In recent decades Malaysia emerged as a neoliberal developmental state. Immediately after the 1969 riots, Malaysia's political economy approach began to reflect *laissez faire* policies, with some import-substituting industrialisation, agricultural diversification, and rural development (Gomez and Jomo, 1997; Jomo and Chang, 2008). Economic growth in Malaysia before the 1980s reflected a series of complex structural changes from agriculture to industrial development in an open market arena (Tajuddin, 2012). In the 1960s and 1970s, Malaysia became the world's largest producer of palm oil (Drabble, 2000) and a net exporter of oil and natural gas (Young et al., 1980). In the 1970s manufacturing played a role in modernising the Malaysian economy with the establishment of many export processing zones – electrical and electronic – in which multinational corporations stimulated economic growth (Ariff, 1998). In the early l980s,

the Malaysian government began liberalised regulations on social and economic activities (Bae-Gyoon and Lepawsky, 2012).

Under the leadership of Prime Minister Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad[3], neoliberalism began to shift policy and practice in Malaysia. Mahathir sought to limit government intervention and spending (Siddiquee, 2002), encourage privatisation, and deregulate markets (Lee, 2004). Influenced by a neoliberal discourse, Prime Minister Mahathir's regime (1981-2003) shifted from interethnic redistribution to industrial modernisation and export promotion (Jomo and Chang, 2008; Lee, 2004) .The state was then encouraging privatisation, and introducing tariff reductions and financial liberalisation to attract new flows of transnational capital (Chin, 2000). The government thus employed a regional development approach as a catalyst to create a post-industrial and post-racial society (Bae-Gyoon and Lepawsky, 2012).

Alongside the economic transformation and rapid social changes in the late 1970s, the Malaysian government enacted new housing policy. Before the 1980s the federal government played a major role in producing affordable rental housing and low-cost housing for purchase. In the 1980s it rolled back that policy to provide greater room for the private market in housing production. It also revised laws to facilitate new ownership forms that ultimately privatised larger segments of the urban landscape. In 1957, the Malaysian housing development can be observed to be influenced by some colonial elements, such as the government making it its responsibility to provide public housing for the poor and quarters for its civil servants (Salfarina, 2010). It was observed that the housing development during early post-Independence was still mostly confined to the town centre where most economic activities such as retailing, restaurants, legal

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[3] Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad took over as a third Prime Minister of Malaysia and as president of UMNO. Mahathir leadership coincided with the unfolding various developments, most notably global economic recession and declining prices of primary commodities.

services and health clinics were carried out (Tajuddin, 2012). During this period, the typical commercial buildings were mainly two storey shop houses with the ground level being used for business and the upper level being used as residential accommodation.

Starting with the First Malaysia Plan (Economic Planning Unit, 1965) the state doubled public expenditures for low-cost housing from USD14 million to USD31 million. In the Second and Third Malaysia Plans the public sector involvement in low-cost housing was clear: the state took responsibility because "housing for low-income groups [does] not appeal to private developers" (Economic Planning Unit, 1971, p. 257). The private sector became more involved in providing housing during the Third Malaysia Plan (1976-1980).

Private investment in urban development grew rapidly with expanding demand for housing, and was further stimulated by fiscal and monetary incentive packages in the Fourth Malaysia Plan (1981-1985) (Shuid, 2010). Funding for programs such as housing diminished as government focussed on repaying foreign debts (Teik, 2010). As high growth resumed in the late 1980s, the state liberalised, deregulated, and privatised social services (Roslan and Mustafa, 2006; Tan, 2008). As the Malaysian government moved towards pro-market ideology, the privatization exercise was able to privatize profitable enterprises or activities and reduce the financial and administration burden of the government (Jomo and Hui, 2014). In doing so, the privatization policy is expected to promote competition improve efficiency by stimulating private entrepreneurship and accelerate the rate of economy growth. Therefore, by the 1980s, Malaysian institutional structure reflected the influence of globalisation and the spread of neo-liberal ideology.

By the time of the Fourth Malaysia Plan in 1981, however, government shifted responsibility to the private sector: the plan required that at least 30 percent of all new housing units had to be low-cost, and 30 to 40 percent of units within a development had to be reserved for Malays (Malpezzi and Mayo, 1997). State intervention, then, directed private sector developers to build lower cost units as part of their overall projects: the government controlled price, design, and size for low-cost units (Sufian and Ibrahim, 2011). Private developers built the small low-cost units, but in some cases had difficulties selling them; they preferred to build middle and high-cost units which provided better returns with fewer risks (Tan, 2012). Tan (2011, p. 65) noted that private developers were "not keen in building low-cost houses due to a low level of profitability".

Malpezzi and Mayo (1997, p. 375) explained that most public low-cost housing in Malaysia has been produced for sale, but in some government programs units were initially leased to tenants, with an option to own after 10 years. In sum, what might appear to be social housing policy intended to secure public welfare for low-income earners eventually permitted the privatisation of housing units produced with public subsidies. Such programs provided "public subsidy to both well paid employees and to the building industry" (Johnstone, 1984, p. 522). Financial regulations forced banks to provide low-cost financing and tax incentives made real estate development an attractive proposition, while policies to encourage Malay-owned businesses helped create strong new players in the market (Johnstone, 1984). As consumer expectations for housing size and quality increased, the market for small low-cost units changed.

The involvement of the private sector in housing markets in Malaysia coincided with the rise in the international ideology of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism typically implied

deregulation, privatisation, and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision, such as low-cost housing (Harvey, 2005). Reflecting international experience (see Osborne, 2006; Dunleavy et al., 2005) Mahathir introduced "New Public Management", which incorporated practices such as devolving authority, privatisation, free market policies, and financial liberalisation (Swee-Hock and Kesavapany, 2006).

The country initiated a transition from a state-dominated developmentalist approach to the free-market model of economic development (Siddiquee, 2007). During Mahathir administration privatization was become an increasingly important means for collaboration between private and public sector. The Fifth Malaysia Plan devoted additional opportunities for private sector participation in privatisation projects (Economic Planning Unit, 1986). Under the Fifth Malaysia Plan (1986-1990), the government launched the Special Low-Cost Housing Programme which aimed to deliver 80,000 units a year for three years to boost economic growth by 2% annually. The private sector was expected to undertake the programme while the government provided land and many other incentives (Abdul-Aziz, 2010). The plan recognised that, with the resource problems faced by public sector, the private sector could better provide the dynamism needed in promoting development as the following quotation shows:

> "The private sector is best placed to meet the challenges of wealth creation. It is with the growth of industry that domestic value-added can be raised, the number of better paid jobs multiplied, and new export opportunities created" (p. 22)

In 1989, 649 projects worth USD 5.61 billion were privatised; government allowed financial liberalisation through domestic financial reforms, capital flows, exchange rate

regimes, foreign direct investment, and domestic investments (Yusoff et al., 2000). These changes permitted private developers to play a more significant role in residential development (see Table 4.1). The achievements of private sector developers proved impressive: they completed more than 1.5 million units between 1991 and 2000. From 1981 to 1985, the private sector built 85,630 high-cost housing units, and completed 350,000 units in 1996 – 2000. Since 1985, the private sector contributed almost 80% of the housing stock in Malaysia.

Table 4.1: Dwelling units completed by the private and public sectors

Malaysia Plan	Units Completed by Private Sector	Units Completed by Public Sector	Completed Units by Private and Public Sector	Contribution of private sector as a percentage of new housing stock (%)
Fourth (1981-1985)	204,200	201,900	406,100	50
Fifth (1986-1990)	203,800	97,130	300,930	68
Sixth (1991-1995)	562,918	84,542	647,460	87
Seventh (1996-2000)	737,856	121,624	859,480	86
Eighth (2001-2005)	655,374	188,669	844,043	77
TOTAL	2,364,148	693,865	3,058,013	77

Source: Malaysia Plans (Economic Planning Unit, 1981; 1986; 1991; 1996; 2001)

Once the Fifth Malaysia Plan came into effect in 1986, the state effectively withdrew from housing development. Instead it turned its attention to altering financial regulations through policies on liberalisation, treasury loans, and directed credit (Malpezzi and Mayo, 1997). The state's intervention through financial regulations effectively boosted housing production by the private sector in the real estate market: this study see this as local evidence of what Smith (2002) called a global strategy of urban restructuring. Neoliberalisation became a dominant feature of "urban restructuring" in Malaysia (Bae-Gyoon and Lepawsky, 2012).

The transition to a free market in real estate required active involvement from government to give the private sector room to operate within a system previously dominated by the state. A series of policies passed that privileged neoliberal practices. For instance, a Privatisation Policy was launched in 1983 to make the private sector responsible for designing, constructing, and financing the internal infrastructure, amenities, and houses for various income groups (Abdul-Aziz and Kasim, 2011). Such policies conformed to the neoliberal agenda in developing countries as explained by Arnott (2008, p. 21):

> […] in developing countries legal housing produced by the private sector was not affordable for most urban residents; that [sic] mass production of enough high-standard housing to meet urban needs required massive subsidies that most governments in market-oriented economies were either unwilling or unable to afford.

In 1993 the government introduced the Malaysia Incorporated Policy to improve cooperation and collaboration with the private sector to accelerate economic development. The private sector continued to dominate housing production, contributing nine times the value of public sector development in 2010: RM17.6 billion of total value of work done in residential development was contributed by the private sector, while only RM2.6 billion was contributed by public sector (Economic Planning Unit, 2001). In 2010, 61.1 % of residential development projects were constructed in Selangor state.

The Private Finance Initiative was a cornerstone of privatisation projects under the recent five-year plan (Tan, 2008). Privatisation provided a sense of unstoppable wealth

creation that encouraged the Malaysian middle classes to consume high-end goods to differentiate themselves from the working classes (Agus, 2002). Changes over the 20-year period after the NEP showed that Malays becoming increasingly involved in business and were employed in middle-class occupations; wealth among those of Chinese descent also increased, although at a slower rate than the Malays (Crouch, 1999). The NEP'S goal of eliminating the nexus between economic function and race was not entirely achieved, however; Embong (1996) noted that income inequalities and class stratification were still increasing in urban areas during the Seventh Malaysia Plan. Moreover, new forms of spatial and social polarisation were emerging.

This study may suggest that reduced government intervention in the housing market privileged certain class groups. The real estate market currently satisfies the demand for high-cost housing for the affluent people while ignoring the need for low-cost housing. By the late 1980s, western design models were beginning to influence new suburban developments in Malaysia. Gated communities borrowed from practices seen in other nations to provide exclusive new options to affluent purchasers. Private amenities located within secure compounds provided a privileged retreat for those with the means to buy homes (Hanif et al., 2012). Not to be left behind in a changing urban environment, residents groups in older urban areas began to organise to enclose their own neighbourhoods as the discourse of fear around crime accelerated in the 2000s. Lower-income districts may be the only areas left open and unbounded in major urban centres.

In some ways, gating in Malaysia can be seen as a logical product of an economic environment dominated by a fast-growing of real estate market. Enclosures in Malaysia are also the outcome of the actions of weakened public institutions that have neither the

fund nor the power to implement comprehensive urban-safety strategies and often tolerate with the barricades in public spaces. Government at many level collaborate to producing enclosures through some legal framework mechanism that has been used throughout the Peninsula Malaysia. The partnership between three tier government systems in co-producing enclosures in Malaysia has become visible through the introduction of guarded neighbourhood guideline at the federal and state level. At neighbourhood level, resident associations perform many off the functions of local government and the nature of local governance began change as well. The next section will discuss the proliferation of gated communities and guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia.

4.5   The rise of Gated Communities and Guarded Neighbourhoods in Malaysia

While in neighbouring Singapore the land-scarce state created conditions to encourage enclosure (Pow, 2009), in Malaysia enclosure started from the "bottom up", without explicit encouragement from the government in the early stages. Thus, this section examines the rise of gated communities and guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia. Malaysia's experience on these developments is first described. Second, this section identifies the types and characteristics of enclosure developments in Malaysia and followed by a discussion on the notion of fear of crime.

4.5.1   Malaysia Experience on Fortified Communities

In a societal context where a repressive state, a docile press, and the public culture reinforce fear of others of different ethnic groups or different class position (Gomez and Jomo, 1997), enclosed residential compounds offered perceived security and comfort. Not to be left behind in a changing urban landscape, residents' groups in older middle-

class urban areas began to organise to enclose their own neighbourhoods. The rise of neoliberal ideology set the stage for new neighbourhood planning practices that transformed the neighbourhood.

With the government stepping back from regulating the residential real estate market, private neighbourhoods mushroomed. Financial liberalisation and privatisation, faster development approvals, and relaxed planning and infrastructure standards (Abdulahi and Abdul-Aziz, 2011) enabled private developers in Malaysia to become more productive and innovative in producing new development areas. As seen in the previous section, the number of construction of residential building was tremendously high during the NEP period as the government sought to cater to the need of the population. This had resulted with the housing in Malaysia evolving from the traditional types of houses to the modern types of houses.

At the same time, perceptions that the state was not effectively dealing with rising crime rates in cities bolstered a growing fear of crime (Zumkehr and Andriesse, 2008). Mohit and Abdulla (2011) argued that feelings of insecurity contributed to the move to enclosures. Some studies suggested that the desire to enhance safety and security (Xavier, 2008) and concerns related to fears of crime (Sakip et al., 2013) motivated middle income groups in Selangor to create enclosed developments. Hanif et al. (2012) acknowledged the role of secondary factors such as enhanced property values, desire for exclusive living, and the search for privacy. Given the generally low crime rates in Malaysia, however, it appears that fear certainly outweighs risk and may be a significant though unacknowledged trigger for enclosure. Fear in this study is defined as the fear of crimes, fear of others and fear of illegal foreigners.

Sakip et al. (2012) discovered that respondents from gated residential exhibit a higher level of fear of crime compared to respondents living in a non-gated residential area. In addition, Hanif et al. (2012) in a detailed study of the safety and security features of gated communities found that although security system helps reduce crime within the residential area, it does not absolutely guarantee the safety of residents and their properties. In other words, crime incidents may still occur in gated communities' development. For example, a study by Narayanasamy and Tahir (2010) found that crime had occurred in Johor Bahru due to failure of the guards on duty to properly carry out their duties. They argued further that the desire of house buyers in Malaysia for safety and security features when opting for homes in gated communities is not as effective as one would presume.

The term "better quality of life" in the context of private neighbourhood development in Malaysia would typically entail elements such as beautiful landscaping, good amenities and facilities. Tan (2012) argued that it is typical in Malaysia for features such as beautiful landscaping and extensive greenery to have a substantive influence on the decision of residents to live in a private neighbourhood development. Interestingly Tan (2011) further examined how private neighbourhood developments in which facilities and amenities are provided and coupled with good property maintenance practice tended to have higher prices

In Malaysia, gating may not have signalled the state's surrender of its monopoly on policing, but rather reflects growing demands from the upper and middle classes in urban and suburban areas to strengthen safety and visible security (Goold et al., 2010; Hanif et al., 2012) while separating themselves from others. The next section examines the types and natures of enclosed communities in Malaysia.

4.5.2 Types and Characteristics of Enclosures in Malaysia

The practice of enclosing residential areas has received scant research attention in Malaysia, despite its increasing scale and significance in the real estate market. While Malaysia has some history of bounded settlements, contemporary practices are divorced from traditional settlement patterns. Contemporary Malaysia has two distinct categories of enclosed communities. As described in Chapter 1, this study identified two types of enclosure in Malaysia: market-produced gated communities and post-market-generated guarded neighbourhoods. Development companies produce gated communities featuring attractive amenities often aimed at affluent households in urban areas. Guarded neighbourhoods are older middle-class suburban districts which are enclosed after-market through resident actions to barricade public streets, restrict access, hire guards, and establish surveillance mechanisms.

While both types of communities appear in other countries, the configuration and practices in Malaysia prove distinct. The South African experience with private neighbourhood practise is comparable in some ways. Landman (2000) found that South Africa had two types of gated communities: what she called the enclosed neighbourhood roughly parallels the Malaysian guarded neighbourhood, although the enclosure and security infrastructure in South Africa is more robust. While the South African security village has some similarities to the Malaysian gated community, its scale is larger and it contains a greater range of uses. In Malaysia, the gated community only includes residential uses and private recreational facilities.

i. Gated communities

According to the DTCP (2010), a gated community is defined as a group of residents or community that live in a guarded fenced area, whether in a high-rise property such as apartment, condominium and town-house or in a landed property such as a bungalow, terrace or detached house. Despite this definition, the general public's understanding of 'gated community' in Malaysia is usually more focused on groups of residents or community who live in landed property. Any development of a gated community in Malaysia will have to be subject to the provisions of Section 6 (1A) of the Strata Titles Act (STA) 1985 as well as the Building and Common Property Act (BCPA) 2007[4].

Based on the definition given by the federal government, the practise of gated communities in Malaysia is look similar to those seen elsewhere. However, as mentioned in Chapter 1, the working definition of Gated communities in this study is as below:

> "Gated communities—that is, enclosed residential enclaves with private recreational amenities produced by the market became a preferred option aimed at wealthier purchasers in sub/urban areas"

Gated communities took place in a real estate market, mostly motivated by lifestyle considerations that offered private amenities and facilities in private property boundaries. This can be evident in the developers' advertisements: Glenmarie Cove developed by Glenmarie Properties Sdn Bhd offers a gated and guarded riverfront residential enclave with resort lifestyle; Mansion Park Villas developed by Country Heights Holding, offers gated communities developments in 7 acres land surrounded by

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[4] Strata Management Act 2013 gazetted on 8th February 2013 has replaced the Building and Common Property Act 2007

luxury living and landscaping; Raflesia Damansara developed by Mk Land Holding known as an enclave that provide a high class living and landscaped environment surrounded by the natural setting of hills and a lake (Group, 2012). These marketing strategies were selling prestigious and exclusive membership and at the same time promoting a high quality of living experience in enclosed development to urban residents.

Gated communities involve exclusive developments surrounded by fences or masonry walls employed to limit entry access with 24-hours security control. Early developments appeared in Kuala Lumpur and later in other cities (Misnan et al., 2010). The first gated community, Country Heights Kajang, transformed a rubber estate into what its developer called the "Beverly Hills of Malaysia" in 1987. Developers rely on gated communities as a primary marketing strategy for attracting affluent urban consumers who want privacy and exclusivity (Misnan et al., 2010). Later in 1993, Kumpulan Sierramas (M) Sdn Bhd, a subsidiary of Tan & Tan Development Sdn Bhd came out with Sierramas, which was considered as a more proper gated community as the development had given emphasis on security and green streets concept.

Gated community enclosures reveal a high standard of facilities, amenities, and design used by real estate actors as marketing devices. The interior style and arrangement of common areas reflect luxurious, exclusive, and private living. These communities form a club realm, with shared collective goods (Webster, 2002). Some are high-rise condominium or strata ownership while others are landed property. Residents pay monthly fees to cover the costs of maintenance and security. Rather than a niche strategy as seen in some parts of the world, gated developments are the most common

form of new residential neighbourhood in urban Malaysia. Developers create gated communities governed by management corporations and regulated by the BCPA 2007.

State policies facilitate enclosure: Malaysian planning system acknowledges, defines, and seeks to regulate gated communities (Department of Town and Country Planning of Malaysia, 2010). Official guidelines adopted in 2010 permit only residential and related uses for gated communities and further stipulated that these communities will be between one and 10 hectares in urban and suburban areas. This study identified 515 gated communities and they are mostly located in Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur: Kuala Lumpur recorded the highest concentration of gated communities with 359 projects followed by Selangor state 46 projects (see Figure 4.4 for the distribution of gated communities).
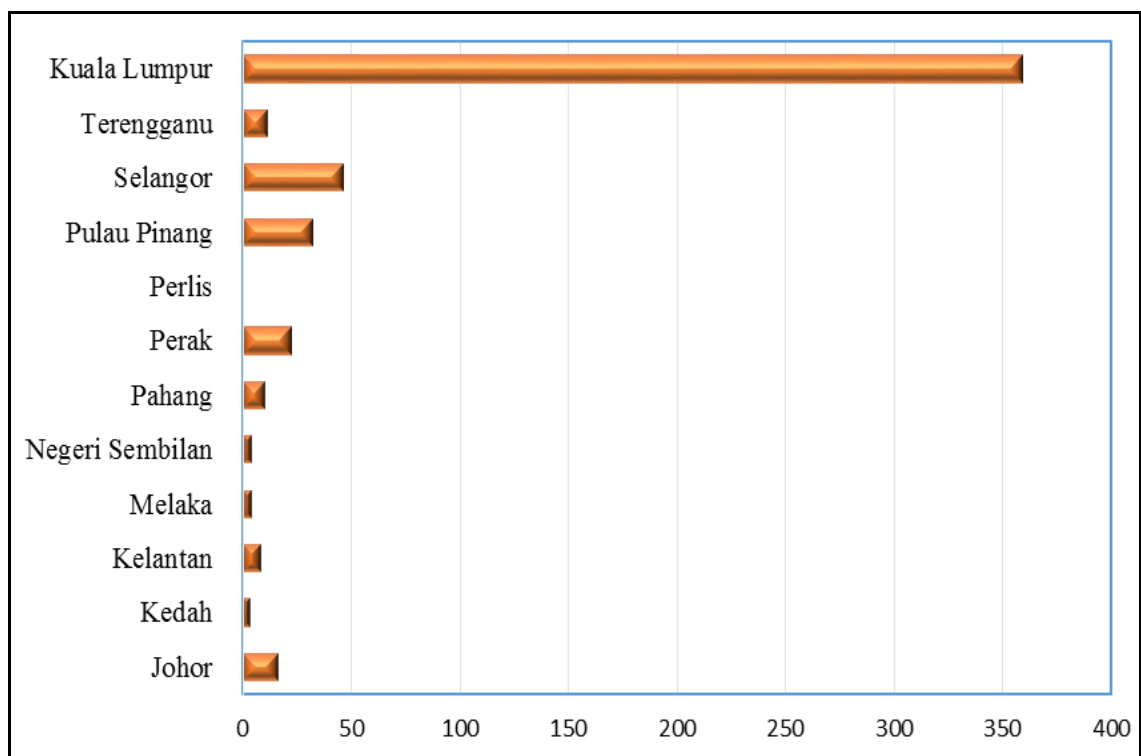
Figure 4.4: Distribution of gated communities in Peninsular Malaysia
Source: Adapted from Dahlia (2011)

ii.   Guarded neighbourhoods

As gated communities became more common, however, the Malaysian government began to regulate land development and facilitate corporate and citizen action in new ways that ultimately encouraged enclosure. The proliferation of community-initiated guarded neighbourhoods may be understood as a result of processes governing urban space. Older open traditional residential areas began to adopt an informal enclosure model that Malaysians call guarded neighbourhood. Federal government defined guarded neighbourhood as a residential area controlled in whole or in part in the scheme of the existing housing or new land holdings with individual land title. Therefore, guarded neighbourhoods in this study are defined as a:

> "Post-market production of enclosure in older residential areas: that is, associations of residents organise to limit access to their residential streets with barricades, guards and marked territory".

As explained in Chapter 2, the territory refers to a group of people who share a sense of collective identity and belonging – thus, restricting outsiders to enjoy the public goods within the community compound that are normally occupied by middle income group. In practice, guarded neighbourhood can either be with or without the provision of a guard security services. The rise of guarded neighbourhoods coincided with the Eight Malaysian Plan (2001-2005), which emphasised safety, health, convenience, and liveability. Government policies encouraged neighbourhood watch committees to reduce crime and provided grants to over 4000 resident associations to support their work (Malaysia Budget, 2013).

While several articles (Narayanasamy and Mohammad, 2011; Osman et al., 2011; Tahir and Hussin, 2011) discussed gated communities in Malaysia few systematic scholarly (Hanif et al., 2012; Mohit and Abdulla, 2011) have explored the factors producing enclosure or differentiating types of enclosure. Given the prevalence of gated communities in Malaysian cities and the increasing incidence of post-market production of enclosure in older neighbourhoods, this study embarked on a detailed investigation to document and understand contemporary practices of guarded neighbourhood in Selangor State.

Throughout urban Malaysia, residents' associations are organising themselves to enclose their neighbourhoods. A guarded neighbourhood is formerly an open neighbourhood where middle-class suburban residents establish barriers and employ unarmed private guards to provide security services to an area that includes public spaces and streets. These neighbourhoods typically were not planned for gated communities, thus some of the does not have formal approval from the local authority. Malaysian law does not permit the enclosure of public streets, but authorities generally tolerate the barricades.

In 2010, the federal government introduced a 'guarded neighbourhoods' guideline to control and monitor enclosure (DTCP, 2010). The federal guideline restricted enclosure to limited locations in urban areas where associations could demonstrate they had the consent of at least 51% of the residents. Detailed investigations revealed that there are 636 guarded neighbourhoods in Peninsular Malaya: 407 of them located in Selangor state (see Figure 4.5, for the distribution of guarded neighbourhoods)
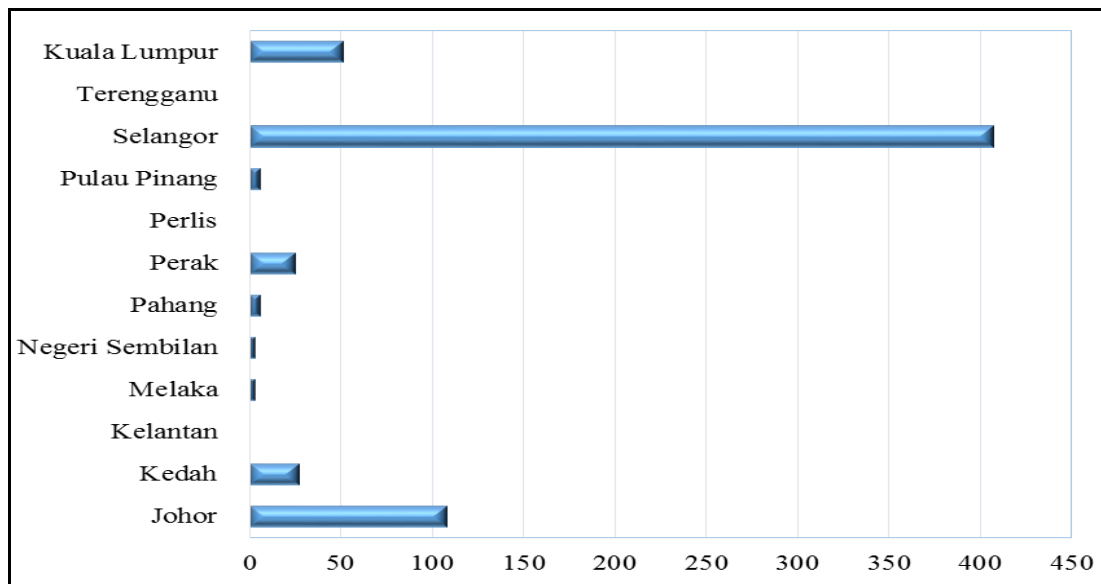
Figure 4.5: Distribution of Guarded Neighbourhoods in Peninsular Malaysia
Source: Adapted from Dahlia (2011)

Guarded neighbourhoods generally include populations that are relatively similar in income and tenure, and that occupy a single type of home (normally terrace houses). A residents' association typically engages a security company to provide guards, construct guardhouses, set a boom-gate to restrict and monitor access, and locate cameras around the neighbourhood. In order to maintain these services residents' associations imposed modest monthly maintenance fees. Residents' associations sometimes seek permission from local authorities to erect temporary physical barriers such as manual boom gates, cones, and security signs. Residents' actions modify the open neighbourhood into a type of a private neighbourhood, albeit without the legal status the state affords to gated communities.

4.5.3   Real Crime vs Perceived Crime

The rise of enclosed communities in Malaysia has always been suggested to be associated with the problem of crime rate in a particular residential area (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000; Landman, 2000; Low, 2003; Grant, 2007). However,

previous research on gated communities and guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia discussed the element of safety and security without looking into the actual crime rates but rather relied on the total number of reported crimes.

A discourse of fear may induce a kind of moral panic based not in evidence but in socially reproduced understandings of current urban conditions. Sakip et al. (2013) noted a higher fear of crime among private neighbourhood residents than among others. In one comparative survey of 50 residents from gated communities and 50 residents of non-gated areas, Mohit and Abdulla (2011) found that inhabitants of enclosed areas reported more incidents of crime and felt no safer than did residents of open neighbourhoods. The discourse of fear around crime linked to particular ethnic communities, such as Indians (Bunnell et al., 2010) and illegal migrants (Kassim, 1997), had accelerated by the 2000s. Malaysians perceive foreigners as presenting threats ranging from social problems (Liow, 2004) and criminal activities (Kanapathy, 2006) to dilution of the gene pool (Chin, 2008). Some studies suggested that the desire to enhance safety and security (Xavier, 2008) and concerns related to fears of crime (Sakip et al., 2013) motivated middle-income groups in Selangor to create enclosed developments.

Some researchers highlighted that murder, robbery, assault, rape, burglary and theft are common criminal offences in Malaysia (Misnan et al., 2010; Hanif et al., 2012). Sindhu (2005) found that about 90% of crimes reported in Malaysia are property crimes whose occurrences are mainly in the housing areas. Tan (2012) argued that over the past decades, crime rates in Malaysia have increased. The Malaysian Crime Prevention Foundation reported that the crime index has rose at a rate of almost 5% between 2002 and 2003. According to Malaysian Quality of Life Index (MQLI) (2008), the total

number of reported crime in Malaysia had worsened: 45% rise over the past four years from 156,315 cases in 2003 to 224,298 cases in 2007. The MQLI also reported that crimes per 1000 population have doubled from 3.8 to 7.1 between 1990 and 2000. The total number of reported crime (1977-2012) in Malaysia is represented in Figure 4.6.
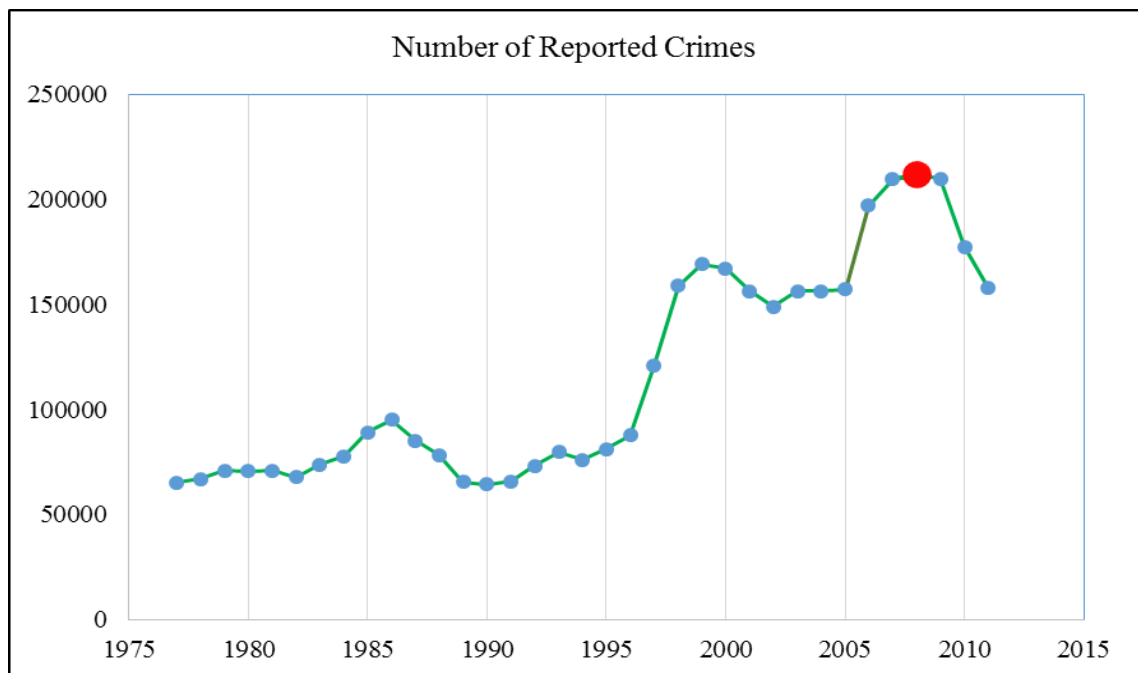
Figure 4.6: Reported crimes in Malaysia (1970-2012)
Source: Author
Note: Raw data was provided by the Malaysian Royal Police

Figure 4.6 shows that the higher number of reported crime was recorded at 211, 645 cases in 2007. The number of reported crimes in Malaysia increased tremendously from 121, 124 cases in 1997 to 169, 063 cases in 1999 and decreased to 167, 130 reported cases in 2000. While in early 1970s the average number of reported crime is between 50,000 to 60,000 cases. However, this data cannot be used to generalise the real situation of crime incidents in Malaysia due to the total population of Malaysia also increasing over time. Thus, Figure 4.7 shows the actual crime rate in Malaysia
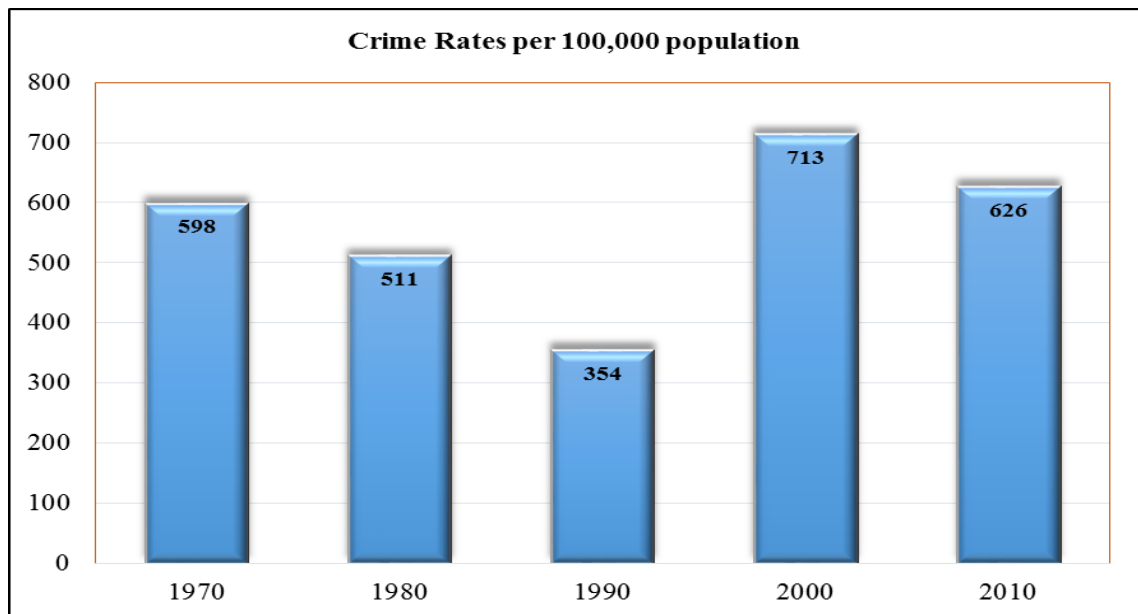
Figure 4.7: Crime Rates in Malaysia
Source: Author
Note: Crime rate was calculated based on census data conducted by the Malaysian government together with the raw data provided by the Malaysian Royal Police.[5]

While the trend of crime rate is increasing in Malaysia society, evidence shows that Malaysia is still relatively safe compared with neighbouring countries. The Global Peace Index (GPI) (2012) ranked Malaysia as the most peaceful country in the Association of South East Asian Nations and among the top 20 most peaceful countries in the world. By global standards, Malaysia has a low crime rate. The GPI had also placed Malaysia as the fourth safest country in the Asia Pacific region after New Zealand, Japan and Australia. For instance in 1970 Malaysia recorded 598 crimes per 100,000 populations and this decreased to 511 and 354 per 100,000 populations in 1980 and 1990 respectively. The crime rates increased tremendously to 713 crimes per 100,000 in 2000 and decreased to 626 per 100,000 populations in 2010. Evidence in Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7 proved that Malaysia is remarkably safe compared to other region in this world.

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[5] Since the introduction of the Census Act 1960, the Department of Statistics has conducted the Population and Housing Censuses of Malaysia for the years 1970, 1980, 1991 and 2000. The 2000 Population and Housing Census is the fourth nation-wide census conducted by the Government since the formation of Malaysia

For example, in 1999, while South Africa recorded 2599 crimes per 100,000 population (Landman, 2004), Malaysia recorded only 626/100,000 in 2010 (Leng, 2011). In 2009, the United States had 439.7 violent crimes per 100,000 people and 3071.5 property crimes per 100 000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012), while Malaysia had only 148 violent crimes recorded per 100,000 and 592 property crimes per 100,000 (Royal Malaysian Police, 2012). The current murder rate in South Africa is 37.3 murders per 100,000 people, nearly five times the global murder rate of 7.6 murders per 100,000 (Breetzke et al., 2013); by contrast, Malaysia's recorded murder rate was 1.9 per 100,000 in 2010 (Royal Malaysian Police, 2012). Although residents in South African or American neighbourhoods might reasonably claim they have grounds for guarding their boundaries, in Malaysia fear far exceeds risk.

In one recent survey done by TNS Research International found that for the period of January to December 2011, revealed that the public's "fear of being a victim of crime" have increased marginally from 52% in January 2011 to 52.9% in December 2011 (TNS Research International 2012). This slight increase could be attributed to crimes which had generated public interest due to media attention, especially when it would seem to involve a "series" or "pattern" of specific crime such as fatal snatch-theft cases. The consistent reports of such crimes in the media would then in turn result in the public forming opinions on the "state of crime in the country", hence registering an increase in the fear of becoming a victim in the residents (Yoosuf, 2012).

4.6   Planning Response: Enclosures Guidelines

As there are no specific laws or policies that can monitor and regulate the development of guarded neighbourhoods, questions regarding the implications guarded neighbourhoods have become a critical issue (Xavier, 2008; Tahir et al., 2009; Hanif et al., 2012). Thus, responsible authorities face a dilemma when residents of these guarded neighbourhoods apply for formal approval or when faced with complaints from other people affected by the establishment of a new guarded neighbourhood. Fernandez (1997) explained that the current and existing laws in Malaysia seem to be not in favour with the enclosed communities especially on the guarded neighbourhood development. Xavier (2007) highlighted how even after the amendment of several acts in 2007, the issue on the legality of enclosed communities particularly the guarded neighbourhood development in Malaysia is still not properly addressed.

Although the existing guidelines and laws seems to be inadequate, one prominent guideline was introduced by the Housing and Property Board of Selangor (HPBS) in 2007 which attempted to incorporate relevant planning requirements for such developments known as Gated and Guarded Communities Guidelines (GACOS)[6]. The revised guidelines came into effect in December 2007 immediately after the amendment of Strata Title Act 1974 (amendment) Act 2007, which came into force on April 12, 2007. In this guideline, an applicant must clearly state that the planning application is for gated communities developments as stipulated under Section 6 (1A) Strata Title Act 1985. The maximum development area for gated communities is 10 acres except for Detached/Semi and/or Detached/Cluster it is 20 acres. Table 4.2 summarised the guidelines for gated communities produced by the HPBS.

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[6] The term of GACOS was used by the HPBS that refers to the "gated communities" and "guarded neighbourhoods".

Table 4.2: Guideline for Gated Communities by HPBS

Requirement	Detail
Application	Applicants must state clearly that the planning approval applications are for 'gated community developments' under Section 6 (1A) Strata Title Act 1985 (Act 318).
Size of Development	<table><tr><td>Type of Housing</td><td>Number of Unit</td><td>Land Area</td></tr><tr><td>Detached/ Semi Detached/ Cluster</td><td>24-160</td><td>3 acres – 20 acres</td></tr><tr><td>Terrace</td><td>48 – 240</td><td>3 acres – 10 acres</td></tr><tr><td>Mixed Housing</td><td>48- 240</td><td>3 acres - 10 acres</td></tr><tr><td>Town House</td><td>48 -480</td><td>3 acres – 10 acres</td></tr></table>
Public amenities	Developers must indicate the public amenities inside GACOS development (to be surrendered to the government) in each of layout plan. However, local authority has the right to determine the size of development depending on circumstances.
Density	In accordance with requirements of the Selangor Planning Standards and Guidelines Manual.
Building Setback	Minimum access road width is 40ft. Front building setback maybe waived subject to provision of centralised parking area.
Drainage / Irrigation System	Areas with rivers or streams in proposed plan are not allowed for GACOS development.
Parking Area	<table><tr><td>Type of Housing</td><td>Parking Area</td></tr><tr><td>Bungalow / Semi – Detached / Cluster / Zero Lot</td><td>10 % for visitor</td></tr><tr><td>Terrace / Town House</td><td>10 % for visitor</td></tr><tr><td>Mixed Housing Type : • Low Cost • Low Medium • Medium and High</td><td> 1 : 1 + 10% 1 : 1 + 10% 1 : 2 + 10%</td></tr></table>
Roads	A Gated Community must not have through road (jalan penyambungan). Collector road (jalan pengumpul) has to be in loop design, connected to the main access road (one access for ingress and egress).
Number of Storey and Height	The allowable maximum number of storeys for bungalow/semidetached/ cluster/zero lot/terrace/town house is 4 levels from basement with maximum height of 18.5m (without lift).
Fencing/Wall	The maximum height allowed is 9ft with 33% opening/visibility from outside.

Source: Rehda, (2008, p. 1-5)

The pre-requisites for the development of a Guarded Neighbourhood in Selangor are summarised in Table 4.3. Under the HPBS's guideline the resident association must get at least 85% consent of the residents before the application can be processed. The physical barriers are only allowed to operate on public roads from 12.00pm to 6.00pm.

Table 4.3: Guarded Neighbourhood Guideline by HPBS

Requirement	Detail
Application for development	• Application to be made by residents' association • Existing housing scheme requires consent from at least 85% of the residents
Guard house	• Only guard house allowed • The sized allowed is 6ft x 8ft or other sizes deemed suitable by the local authority • The guard house should not obstruct traffic and is to be constructed on road shoulder • Written approval from the local authority
Barrier	• Operation time allowed is from 12.00pm to 6.00am • Should not block vehicles from entering that particular area • Authorities have the right to enter at any time
Fencing	• Perimeter fencing is strictly prohibited

Source: Rehda, (2008, p. 1)

Following the wake of the Guideline introduced by Selangor state, the Ministry of Urban Wellbeing, Housing and Local Government on 2nd September 2010, under the Town and Country Planning Department announced federal level guidelines for gated community and guarded neighbourhood. This federal guideline has been approved by the *Jemaah Menteri* on 28th July 2010 and the *"Mesyuarat Majlis Negara for Kerajaan Tempatan"* on 2nd September 2010.

The main objective of this federal guideline is to monitor the development of gated communities and guarded neighbourhood development in Peninsular Malaysia. This is a major step in an effort to effectively regulate and monitor the gated communities and guarded neighbourhood development. Under this new guideline, there are specific

requirements for these developments, including a Social Impact Analysis and the allowance of perimeter fencing of specific height and visibility from the outside. With regards to application for guarded neighbourhoods, the residents' association should apply for the temporary planning approval from the local authority and supported by majority of the residents. The guideline also restricts the application to urban areas. In general, the guideline for Gated Communities and Guarded Neighbourhoods that was introduced by the DTCP in 2010 and can be summarised as Table 4.3:

Table 4.3: Summary of Gated Communities and Guarded Neighbourhood Guideline

Guidelines for Gated Communities	Guideline for Guarded Neighbourhoods
- Minimum area under the scheme is 1 hectare and maximum is 10 hectare (200-500 house units) - The roads and shared amenities inside the GC belong to the community, and managed by Management Corporation elected by the residents - Building of wall to separate the community from its neighbourhood is not allowed - Social Impact Analysis needs to be carried out before the establishment of GC be considered - Need to have 2 entrances/exits (one for main use, another for emergency) - Perimeter fencing of height not more than 9 feet and at least 50% visibility from outside is allowed - Boom gate is not allowed - Guard house of 1.8m x 2.4m - The houses cannot be more than 4 levels (18.5 meters) from basement - Visitors' parking must be allocated	- Only allowed in urban area - Establishment of GN needs to be proposed by Residents Association and supported by majority of the residents - Guard house of 1.8m x 2.4m or smaller - Manual boom gate with 24 hours security control can be considered - Guards need to registered with Home Ministry Applications made through the Resident Association (RA) only; - Consent by majority of the residents; - Agreement must be made between RA and local authority; - Guardhouse without a barrier are allowed and the location should not obstruct traffic (situated at road shoulder only); - A written consent from Local Authority and Land Administrator (LA) for the construction of guardhouse on reserved/vacant land must first be obtained; - Appointed security guards must be registered with Ministry of Home Affairs or with other relevant agencies. - Residents should also take note that it is important to consult the local authority and police before hiring any private security patrol for their housing scheme areas.

(Source: Adapted from Department of Town and Country Planning Malaysia, 2010)

4.7 The Conflict between Guidelines and Existing Laws

The dilemma faced by the development of enclosure communities in Malaysia, particularly those of the guarded neighbourhood development, is mainly due to the existence of several laws which are not compatible with the current concept situation of the guarded neighbourhood. Fernandez (2007) explained that the existing laws are not adequate and should be amended. In this section, four main laws will be discussed in order to understand the dilemma of the residents as well as the local authority in development of enclosures: Street Drainage and Building Act (SDBA) 1974, National Land Code 1965, Town and Country Planning Act 1976 and Road Transport (RTA) Act 1987.

Under section 46 (1) of SDBA 1974 clearly stated that nobody are allowed to obstruct traffic flows on public roads or public spaces. According to the section 48 of Street, Drainage and Building Act 1974, "public space" can be defined as any street, park, garden, promenade, fountain, traffic island or circus, playground, river bank, whether above or below high water mark, place of a public resort or any place to which the public has access. If a person or group of peoples purposely breach section 46 (1) then under the clause (3) of section 46, the local authority has a power to remove the obstruction: the local authority may cause any such obstruction to be removed or may itself through its servants remove the same to a suitable place

In the case of guarded neighbourhood, the residents will not face any problem if they want to hire private security services under the employment of the residents' associations to patrol the public roads in the housing scheme. However as Section 46 (1) of the SDBA 1974 prohibits a person to build, erect, maintain or issue permit to

maintain any wall or fencing in a public place, the guarded neighbourhood will face a problem when they want to build a boom gate or a perimeter fencing. Further under this Act, guarded neighbourhood which have surrendered the roads and open spaces to the authorities cannot later deny the general public from using these facilities. As such, it would be illegal for a guarded neighbourhood to attempt to put any barrier across a public road and prevent public use of what are originally public facilities.

By virtue of Section 65 of NLC 1965, there is a proposal for a building to be erected at the shoulder of a road and is intended to be a permanent structure, the applicant is required to apply for approval of Temporary Occupation Licence (TOL) from the District Land Office concerned. In the case of an application for a guarded neighbourhood, the resident association will be required under this Section 65 to apply for the TOL approval for the purpose of erecting a guard house. For this application, the proposed location of the guard house will be required to be marked on the appropriate plan and to be produced to the District Land Office when submitting for the application of TOL. The same application will also be required to be submitted to the Land Administrator for provisional planning permission and the permit or approval for a temporary building.

The TCPA 1976 clearly mentioned that any development is not allowed without planning approval from the local authority. Section 19 of the Act prohibits any development without a proper planning permission. In practice, in lieu of the approval under the TCPA 1976, residents of guarded neighbourhood may apply for a temporary planning permission from the local authority before they can establish the guarded neighbourhood. The planning permission should fulfil all the requirements under the gated communities of that particular authority

The RTA 1987 clearly stated that no person can place any physical barriers – speed bumps, wire, chain and so on – on public roads and will be guilty of an offence. It would seem that this provision under the RTA 1987 would be a hindrance to a guarded neighbourhood development attempting to build a guard house and boom gate on parts of public land or public road. This is because the physical barriers created by the guarded neighbourhood residents are not legal and in contradiction with Section 80 of the RTA 1987.

This study acknowledged that, as to date, there are no specific laws to govern guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia. The existing laws were mainly related with gated communities developments. As such, guarded neighbourhood governance features mostly follow many of the standard arrangements of existing guidelines based on ad-hoc decision of local authority. It is important to note that this study will propose a better practise (in term of SOP and guideline) to govern guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia, however, to a certain extent a comprehensive discussion on the new laws related with guarded neighbourhoods will leave to other scholars especially those who from legal background.

4.8   Summary

The development of Malaysia is inextricably linked with the colonial policy. Like most developing countries, Malaysia manifested high inequality of income. Even in the 1980s after the introduction of NEP, income inequalities between rural and urban areas were augmented. The rise of income inequality has often been explained as a result of colonial policy. This study, however, suggests that an increase of class-based

segregation has replaced the ethnic-based segregation as a result of neoliberal policies characterising the 1980s.

The greatly increased role of the state during the 1970s succeeded in inducing greater economic growth in Malaysia. However, in early 1980s the state started to redeuce their role through various strategies such as privatisation, deregulation and financial liberalisation. Looking on the role of the state in housing production, the state tends to pass the responsibilities to the private sectors. Interventions by the state through various policies and guidelines have strengthened the capabilities of the private sectors in housing productions and other economies activities.

The growth of fortified neighbourhoods in early 1980s coincided with neoliberalism ideology: private sectors introduced elegant and private residential developments. In early 2000s, residential landscape in Malaysia witnessed a new phenomenon as what Malaysian called "guarded neighbourhoods". Although Malaysia is remarkable safe in Southeast Asia, many local scholars attempted to theorise that safety and security were the main reasons for residents to live in enclosed communities. This study offered some debate regarding this issue focusing on the total number of reported crimes and actual crime rates in the country. To surmise, this chapter reviewed the Malaysian experience in terms of social development and economic transformation. This chapter provided an understanding of the progress of the Malaysia during and after the British colonialism.

CHAPTER 5

Research Methodology

5.1   Introduction

The aim of this study is to investigate the proliferation of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state. Specifically, the focus is on exploring the role of multiple key actors in governing and (re)producing guarded neighbourhoods in older residential areas. In particular, this study will investigate the motivation factors living in guarded neighbourhoods, the role of governance and multiple key actors in governing and (re)producing guarded neighbourhoods and socio spatial implications of this kind of community toward the wider society. For this rationale, this study depicts on a case study of Malaysia, with particular focus on the guarded neighbourhoods located in Selangor state. This chapter then will be divided into nine sections.

Following this introduction, the second section will explain the methodology employed to undertake this research. The methodology is explained based on the aim and objectives of the study and guided by the conceptual framework as described in Chapters 1 and 2. The third section, explains the design of the study. The sampling strategy and sampling criteria are explained in section four. Section five outlines the research instruments that were used in this study such as direct observation, in-depth interviews and assessing of relevant documents. Section six then explains the data analysis procedure followed by the validity of this study in section seven. Ethical considerations are explained in section eight followed by summary of this chapter in section nine.

5.2 Qualitative Inquiry

The philosophical assumption in this study lies on an ontological assumption. Creswell (2007; 2009) explained that ontological research relates to the nature of reality and its characteristics and the researcher will conduct a study with an intention of understanding this reality. Thus, this study adopted the qualitative research in order to explore the everyday life of residents and resident associations and the perspectives of the local authority on their approach to govern the guarded neighbourhood developments. Given that qualitative research provides thickly descriptive report of individual's opinions, as well as their understanding on the specific phenomenon, qualitative method was considered to be the appropriate method in this study. Therefore, to a certain extent quantitative is deemed to be not appropriate in this study due to the research objectives of this study that tries to explore and describe the multiple realities and perceptions of different groups of participants and their experiences in guarded neighbourhood phenomenon.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this study explores the emerging trend of guarded neighbourhood phenomenon in Selangor state based on the literature written about gated communities. In the international arena, many researchers have employed qualitative research as the methodology to study the gated communities' phenomenon (see Chapter 2). Qualitative research in gated communities had focused upon but not limited to: the role of the state in neoliberal era (Genis, 2007; Pow, 2009; Hirt and Petrovic, 2011); the impacts of gated communities towards wider society (Caldeira, 2000; Low, 2003; Grant, 2007); and motivation factors to live in gated communities (Blakely and Synder, 1997; Hirt, 2012). For instance, Low (2003) conducted eight years of ethnography research on gated communities in the United States, Mexico, New York

and Texas. In Asia region, Pow (2006) conducted a community ethnography research in Shanghai focusing on moral-geographies exclusion in gated communities development. In a comparative study Grant and Rosen (2009) adopted a qualitative research to explore the motivations for gating and role of the state in producing gated communities in Israel and Canada.

Hence, a qualitative research was selected for the purpose of this study because it enables the researcher to attain in-depth knowledge as Alasuutari (2009) explained that qualitative used in the exploration of meanings of social phenomena as experienced by individuals themselves, in their natural environment. Bryman, (2004; 2007) explained that qualitative research emphasised words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data. Hence, the qualitative method was adopted for this study as the research questions and objectives of this study contradicts with the aim of quantitative approach that is mostly based on counting of opinion or people (Flick et al., 2004; Howitt and Creamer, 2008). This study would also allow participants to talk for themselves with their own words, explanations and experiences as Silverman (2005, p. 9) explained that "qualitative research is interested in peoples' understandings and interactions".

Many researchers explained that the purpose of qualitative research is to understand the central theme of the phenomenon and the subject's experience of the specific situation (Fossey et al., 2002; Yin, 2003; 2011). In particular, Yin (2011, p. 7-8) offered five features of qualitative research: studying the meaning of people's lives under real-world conditions; representing the views and from the perspectives of the people; covering the contextual conditions within which people live; contributing insights into existing or emerging concepts that may help to explain human social behaviour; and striving to use

multiple sources of evidence rather than relying on a single source. Armed with these definitions, this study adopted the qualitative approach guided by a case study design.

Applying these ideologies, some researchers (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Flick et al., 2004) have demonstrated that qualitative research is effective in empirical studies of complex human attitudes and opinion as in the context of guarded neighbourhood phenomenon. Chesebro and Borisoff (2007) elaborated further that qualitative approach such as observation, interviews, ethnography and focus group discussion are used to explore the organisation and human behaviour, perspectives, feelings and experiences of people. As one of the tools to study human experiences, qualitative research as explained by Creswell (2007) is based on the assumptions that subjectivity is inherent in research that arises from direct contact with the studied phenomenon or individual. Therefore, the qualitative approach guided by a case study is more suitable not only due to the research questions but more importantly, due to the difficulty of studying guarded neighbourhoods because of difficulties accessing the selected site. Furthermore, this study aims to understand the guarded neighbourhood phenomena rather than a testable answer to a hypothesis.

5.3 The Case Studies Approach

As pointed out in the in Chapter 2, there was a lack of empirical evidence of guarded neighbourhood phenomenon. This is due to the lack of evidence examining the (re)production and governing guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia. In order to gain further in-depth knowledge about enclosed communities, it is important to explore the role of governance and multiple key actors that involved in governing and reproducing guarded neighbourhood. The complexities of involving the multiple key actors in

governing guarded neighbourhoods means that it is necessary to explore the phenomenon in detail rather than obtain the views of a large number of these actors. Consequently, case studies research is deemed suitable to address the aim, objectives and questions of this research in terms of providing a detailed study. This research therefore aims at obtaining this empirical evidence through a detailed exploration of selected guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state.

According to Bromley (1990), case studies research is a "systematic inquiry into an event or a set of related events which aims to describe and explain the phenomenon of interest" (p. 302). Case studies will allow the exploration and understanding of complex issues and can be considered as a robust research method particularly when a holistic, in-depth investigation is required (Yin, 2003:2011; Creswell, 2009; Howitt, 2010). Baxter and Jack (2008) explained that case studies approach is a holistic inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its natural setting and specifically to study the phenomenon. Creswell (2007, p. 73) explained that:

> "Case studies research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports) and reports a case description and case-based themes".

Despite various definition argued by previous researcher, Bonoma (1985, p. 203) suggested that the goal of case study design is to fully understand the phenomenon being studied through "perceptual triangulation". The main purpose for case studies research is to explore or describe a phenomenon by using a variety of data sources

(Merriam, 1988; Yin, 2003; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Creswell, 2007; Baxter and Jack, 2008). As suggested by Yin (2003) and Thomas (2011), there are several approach to case studies design based research such as explanatory, exploratory, descriptive, multiple-case studies, intrinsic, instrumental and collective.

Therefore, this study adopted the exploratory case studies research to understand the rise of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state. This study also acknowledged the limitation of single case study design. Yin (2003; 2011) explained that single and multiple case research to be variants within the same methodological framework and no broad distinction is made between the so called classic(single) case study and multiple case studies. Hence, to improve the incredibility of data, two guarded neighbourhoods were selected in Selangor state as Yin (2011) explained that multiple cases – as is the case for this study– is often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust. The unique strength of multiple cases is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence-documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations-beyond what might be available in a conventional historical study.

Critics of case studies research have argued that findings are not externally valid and therefore cannot be generalised (Thomas, 2011; Yin, 2011). However, generalisation is not the key purpose of case studies research (Bryman, 2004), that is to say, the degree to which data supports the theory generated (Thomas, 2011). Yin (2011) explained that analytical generalisations from case studies can be made whereby the results may be generalised and applied to a broader theoretical perspectives. Therefore, findings of this study may not allow be able to generalise to other places, but it warrants hypotheses about relationships and engenders useful questions for further research.

5.4   Selection of Participants: Sampling and Recruitment

Qualitative sampling is concerned with the quality of information, for which two key considerations should guide the sampling methods: appropriateness and adequacy. In other words, qualitative sampling requires identification of appropriate participants, being those who have the best and latest information for this study. Creswell (2007) explained that there is no specific number to select the participant in a qualitative research. Fossey et al. (2002, p. 726) explained that:

> Qualitative sampling may involve small numbers of participants, while the amount of data gathered can be large, with many hours of participant interviews, or multiple data sources related to one setting including interviews, observation-based field notes and written documents. No fixed minimum number of participants is necessary to conduct sound qualitative research, however, sufficient depth of information needs to be gathered to fully describe the phenomena being studied.

This study was not focused on testing a fixed hypothesis formulated prior to fieldwork, and therefore the number of participants was not determined by the statistical requirements of designing an experiment (Yin, 2003; Flick et al., 2004; Silverman, 2005; Howitt, 2010. Patton (2001) argued that in-depth information from a small number of people can be very valuable, especially if the cases are rich in information.

In qualitative research, the researcher chooses subject who in their opinion are relevant to the project. The judgement of the researcher (judgemental sampling) and there are no particular procedures involved in the actual choice of subjects (Sarantakos, 2005). In

such cases the important criterion of choice is the knowledge and expertise of the participants and hence their suitability for the study. In dealing with how many respondents to select Patton (2002, p 244-245) argued that:

"There are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what's at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time resources […] The validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the case selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with sample size".

Based on Patton (2002) and Fossey (2002) this study will interview 29 participants that constitutes stakeholders, residents and resident association groups. The selections of these participants were based on the argument made by the Creswell (2007) and all of them are people in positions of power who can offer adequate and useful information that will give an insight into this study.

5.4.1   Selection of Stakeholders Group: Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is a form of non-probability sampling in which the decisions concerning the individuals to be included in the sample are based upon a variety of criteria which include the participants' knowledge of the issues involved or capacity and willingness of participants to participate in the research (Teddli and Yu, 2007). According to Tongco (2007) purposive sampling can be used when the research involves the stakeholder or the expert in the related issues. Patton, (2001) and Howitt

(2010) argued that purposive sampling intentionally select individuals who understand the central phenomenon. Tongco (2007) elaborated further that the purposive sampling technique is most effective when one needs to study a certain cultural domain with knowledgeable experts.

Hence, the sampling population for this study constitutes stakeholders in guarded neighbourhoods' development who are people in the position of authority who can offer adequate, comprehensive and useful information that will help to build the qualitative phase. Therefore, it is important at this stage to make sure that all the selected participants are able to comment and give their opinion on the guarded neighbourhoods' development.

The main criteria for selecting the stakeholders participating in this study are as below:

i.   Able to comment on the guarded neighbourhood development based on their position, or,

ii.   Involved with the guarded neighbourhood development for the past one year, or

iii.   Officer Gred 41[7] above or,

iv.   For those who below Gred 41 must have at least 2 years experiences in guarded neighbourhood development

Table 5.1 summarises the main criteria for selecting the stakeholders in this study.

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[7] Bachelor degree holder and above

Table 5.1: Profile of Participants

Participants	Working experience	Education Background	Current Position/ Gred	Involvement with guarded neighbourhood
FD1	More than 20 years	PhD	Director	Responsible in the formulation of guarded neighbourhood guidelines at the federal level
ST1	More than 10 years	Bachelor Degree	Assistant Director	Involving in the formulation of guarded neighbourhood guidelines at the state level
LA1	More than 20 years	Master Degree	Officer	Processing, Approving and Monitoring the guarded neighbourhood development
LA2	More than 20 years	Master Degree	Assistant Director	Processing, Approving and Monitoring the guarded neighbourhood development
LA3	4 years	Bachelor Degree	Officer	Processing, Approving and Monitoring the guarded neighbourhood development
LA4	12 years	Bachelor Degree	Officer	Processing, Approving and Monitoring the guarded neighbourhood development
LA5	More than 10 years	Bachelor Degree	Officer	Processing, Approving and Monitoring the guarded neighbourhood development
LA6	More than 10 years	Master Degree	Officer	Processing, Approving and Monitoring the guarded neighbourhood development
LA7	8 years	Bachelor Degree	Officer	Processing, Approving and Monitoring the guarded neighbourhood development

Source: Author

Although only one (1) each participant was selected from federal and state government, this study noted that these participants are in the excellent position to give comprehensive view and feedbacks regarding guarded neighbourhood development in Selangor State. Both of them were involved in the formulation of guarded neighbourhood guideline and actively monitoring and governing this kind of community. The selection of these participants was also in line with the sample size rule that was made by Patton (2004).

5.4.2 Selection of Residents and Residents' Associations: Snowball

This study used the chain referral, or snowball technique to recruit the residents of open neighbourhoods (RON), residents of guarded neighbourhoods (RGN) and resident associations (RA). The snowball technique helps to find interested informants without spending too much time in persuading them, since the referring person helps in carrying out part of this task (Morgan, 2008). Referrals also help the researcher appear trustworthy to potential interviewees. Noy (2008) explained that initial participants will nominate other participants who meet the eligibility criteria for a study. In this study the process of snowballing sometimes was successful: participants introduced friends or relatives.

Through personal contacts from friends and former participants of the previous completed projects[8], the researcher was able to use snowballing technique. Throughout the data collection period, the researcher selectively chose the potential participants in this study. The participants were selected based on the following criteria:

i. 18 years or older ("adult")

ii. staying at their current residence not less than 3 years

iii. able to comment on guarded neighbourhood phenomenon based on their daily life experiences

Based on the above criteria, Table 5.2 summarise the selection for residents of guarded neighbourhoods.

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[8] The researcher of this study was working as a Research Assistant at the Centre of Studies of Urban and Regional Research (SURE). His experiences are extremely useful in the data collection of this study.

Table 5.2: Table 5.1: Profile of Participants

Participants	Years of living in Current Home	Education Background
RGN 1	15 years	Bachelor Degree
RGN 2	More than 10 years	Bachelor Degree
RGN 3	More than 20 years	Master Degree
RGN 4	More than 20 years	SPM [High School]
RGN 5	More than 10 years	Bachelor Degree
RGN 6	8 years	Master Degree
RGN 7	More than 10 years	Bachelor Degree
RGN 8	12 years	Bachelor Degree

Source: Author

In this study, the researcher also interviewed the residents from open neighbourhoods. The main reason was to understand whether there are any significant differences of motivations living in their current residence compared with residents of guarded neighbourhoods. By doing this the researcher could theorise the reason for emerging trend of guarded neighbourhood in Malaysia and linked it with the opinion of residents of open neighbourhoods. Table 5.3 summarises the selection criteria for residents of open neighbourhoods.

Table 5.3: Table 5.1: Profile of Participants

Participants	Years of living in Current Home	Education Background
RGN 1	More than 15 years	SPM [High School]
RGN 2	More than 10 years	Bachelor Degree
RGN 3	6 years	Master Degree
RGN 4	12 years	Master Degree
RGN 5	More than 10 years	Bachelor Degree
RGN 6	More than 15 years	Diploma
RGN 7	8 years	Bachelor Degree
RGN 8	More than 20 years	Bachelor Degree

Source: Author

The main criteria for selecting the resident representing residents' associations will be:

   i.   Must be a chairman of a resident association, or

   ii.   Member of a resident association, or

   iii.   Former chairman of a resident association from a previous term

Table 5.4 summaries the criteria to select the resident associations.

Table 5.4: Table 5.1: Profile of Participants

Participants	Position in the Organisation	Education Background	Occupation
RA 1	Chairman	Bachelor Degree	Engineer
RA 2	Committee member	Bachelor Degree	Business Owner
RA 3	Chairman	Bachelor Degree	Engineer
RA 4	Committee member	Bachelor Degree	Mass Communication

Source: Author

5.5   Data Collection Methods

Yin (2003) recommended six types of information to be collected in a case study, that is, documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation/sites visit, participant-observations, and physical artifacts. In this study, three main data were collected: direct observations/sites visit, interviews, and reviews of related documents. The reason for collecting various data is to enable the triangulation of the information and provide reliability of data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

5.5.1   Direct Observations

The general focus of direct observation is to explore the nature and characteristics of guarded neighbourhoods which helped the researcher understand this phenomenon. Direct observations began in January 2012 until April 2012 in two selected guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state. During this period, the researcher spent at least one day per two week and the average length of each direct observation took one to two hours per visit. The fieldworks during direct observations provide much insight especially on the nature of gating and the characteristics of the selected guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state.

The general focus of each direct observation was on the differences and similarity of the features in the selected guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state. The researcher also observed the behaviour of the residents and evaluated the mannerism of residents and visitors. In addition, fieldworks enabled the researcher to understand not only on the human behaviour but also on the socio-spatial implications of physical barriers towards the wider society. The relevant physical characteristics and patterns were identified subjectively. During this phase the researcher took pictures, conversed with residents, and made inventory notes to gain a better understanding of the guarded neighbourhood development. The researcher also attended special activities such as family day organised by the resident association in one of these communities.

The fieldworks provide the general information about the inhabitants of guarded neighbourhoods as Patton (2001) explained that fieldworks provides the richness and complexity of human life and gets us closer to understanding the way people experience a particular phenomenon. The data and information from the fieldworks will be used to

establish the interview questions. The researcher also took running field notes by hand during the fieldworks when feasible. Upon completion of each fieldwork the researcher typed the field notes and adding detailed notes in the margin based on the photos of the site visit.

5.5.2   In-depth Interviews

In the second phase, this study use interviews to develop an understanding of guarded neighbourhoods' phenomenon in Selangor. Interviews consist of several key questions that not only help to define the areas to be explored, but also allows the interviewer or interviewee to digress in order to pursue an idea or response in more detail (Britten, 2006). Patton (1990, p. 278) argued that the purpose of interviewing is to find out what is in and on someone else's mind and mentioned that "we interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe". Seidman (1991) further explained that interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience.

A benefit of using interviews in qualitative research is that it enables the researchers to "move back and forth in time – to reconstruct the past, interpret the present and predict the future" (Lincol and Guba 1985, p. 273). Interviews with open-ended questions provide the opportunity of gathering unexpected information, and of overcoming the handicap of staying within the limits of pre-prepared questions. Interviews could be structured, unstructured, or semi-structured. In most cases, however, these are combined for more informative data gathering (Ehigie and Ehigie, 2005). For qualitative research, interviewing is flexible and dynamic, and is therefore described as in-depth interviewing (Keightley, 2012). In-depth interviewing is thus explained as repeated face-to-face

encounters between the researcher and participants, directed towards understanding participants' perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations expressed in their own words.

In this study, there are four groups of participants that have been interviewed during the data collection. The selected participants will be remained anonymous and will be coded as in Table 5.5:

Table 5.5: Table 5.1: Profile of Participants

Participants		Total Participants	Code
Stakeholders	Federal	1	FD
	State	1	ST
	Local Authority	7	LA
Citizen group	Resident Association	4	RA
Residents of guarded neighbourhoods	Residents	8	RGN
Residents of open neighbourhoods		8	RON
Total		**29**	

Source: Author

A total of 29 in-depth interviews were conducted with 4 groups of participants in Selangor state between September 2012 and December 2012, and was completed with the saturation of data. The collection of data lasted for 4 months, due to the difficulty in accessing and persuading the participants to be involved especially the residents of guarded neighbourhoods. Often the meetings with the stakeholder groups were cancelled and rescheduled and not conducted at the appointed time.

In particular, a total of 9 interviews were conducted with stakeholders group. The participants from stakeholders group comprised representatives from federal, state and local government: 7 participants were from local government and 1 each from both state

and federal government. The second group represented the residents' association group. A total of 4 interviews were conducted with the chairman and members of the resident associations. The third group was from residents of guarded neighbourhoods. 8 interviews were conducted with residents of guarded neighbourhoods in two different communities in Selangor state. The fourth group was from resident of open neighbourhoods. 8 interviews were conducted with the residents of open neighbourhoods who live in a landed property in Selangor state. The semi-structured in-depth interview was chosen among participants from the various groups because they represent certain characteristics of the study to be scrutinised, or were prominent actors in the guarded neighbourhood development, or because they were particularly involved in the establishment of guarded neighbourhood.

Before the actual interview took places, the researcher met some of the participants to test the clarity of the interview guide and their relevance to the study. During this stage, a pilot study was executed with 4 participants from various participants groups. The data gathered through the pilot study provided related information about the guarded neighbourhood and utilised to develop the actual questionnaires for this study.

The assumptions that arose during the pilot study thus formed the actual research questions and semi-structure interview questions. Therefore, based on the pilot study and extensive literature review, five major themes were chosen in the final interview guide[9]. These themes are summarised in Table 5.6:

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[9] See Appendix 1 for semi-structured interview questions

Table 5.6: The development of semi-structure interview questions

Research Questions	Semi-Structure Interview Themes	Literature reviews
Why guarded neighbourhood came into existence in older areas in Selangor state?	Background of guarded neighbourhoods	Motivation factors (see section 3.3)
How the state and other key actors intervene in the (re)production and governing guarded neighbourhood in Malaysia neoliberal turn?	Effectiveness of the existing guidelines and laws	The production of enclosures (see section 3.4)
	Process and procedure to govern guarded neighbourhoods	
To what extend are the socio and spatial implications expressed in the discourse of guarded neighbourhoods in contemporary urban development in Malaysia?	Issues and challenges	The impacts of enclosures (see section 3.5)
How can the state and other key actors improve their practises in governing and (re)producing guarded neighbourhoods in older areas in Malaysia?	Conclusion and recommendations	Not specific – All chapters

Source: Author

In all interviews, the interview guide was prepared to ensure that similar or almost similar questions will be asked to the participants. The interview questions provided the prompt questions to explore in more detail every main question. Each participant's informed consent[10] will be obtained as well as a detailed explanation of the study will be distributed. The participants will also be informed that the study is voluntary, and can withdraw from the study at anytime without risk to the participants. Ample opportunity will be given to the participants to ask questions related to the research study.

During the interview session the researcher is free to probe any questions and explore within predetermined themes that was derived from the literature review and conceptual

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[10] See Appendix 2 for informed consent form.

framework as described in Table 5.2. This will allow for the discovery or elaboration of information that is important to the participants but have may not previously been considered as pertinent by the researcher. The conversations were spontaneous (even though guided by some questions) and natural and they provide the researcher with an insight into issues related to guarded neighbourhood. All of the participant's responses will be coded to ensure confidentiality, appropriate reporting and data analysis.

The interviews ranged from as short as 30 minutes in one instance, to almost 2 hours in others. Most were in the order of 60 to 80 minutes. All of interviews from the stakeholder groups were conducted at the participants' office. While, for the other groups most of the interviews were conducted at the participants' home and other places convenient to the participants. For instance, two interviews were conducted at Starbucks and one participant was interviewed at KFC. Some interviews took place on the spot, while in other cases the researcher exchanged contact information with the interested participants and met later time at their convenience.

For purpose of accuracy, the researcher favoured the use of a small MP3 audio tape recorder. All responses from the stakeholder groups were fully recorded. While less than 50% of participants from the other groups agreed to be recorded. In this situation, the participants were not comfortable with the audio recording and refused to be recorded despite efforts by the researcher to convince them that the study is for academic purposes only. Some of them expressed their uneasiness with the recording of the interview. When no recording was obtained the researcher use field-note-taking and writes it up as soon as the interviews was completed to ensure the accuracy of the interviews. In keeping with standard research procedure as discussed by Yin (2011) and Patton (2009), while conducting interviews the researcher made every effort to avoid

exhibiting any personal opinion either for or against guarded neighbourhood. The researcher allowed the participants to talk freely as long as it is within the parameters of the issue at hand. At the conclusion of each interview, the researcher reviews the tapes and notes immediately and transcribes the interviews.

5.5.3 Documents Analysis

In order to complement qualitative data gathered from the field, the researcher collected secondary data from various agencies. The secondary data will be evaluated through the document analysis technique. In general, document analysis is a systematic procedure reviewing or evaluating documents-both printed and electronic material that include advertisements, agendas, attendance registers, minutes of meetings, letters and memoranda, newspapers, press release, program proposal, application forms, institutional reports, survey data and various public records (Bowen, 2009). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) explained that document analysis is often used in combination with other qualitative methods as a means of triangulation in the study of the same phenomenon.

Bowen (2005, p. 30) suggested that there are five specific function of document analysis as below:

i. Documents can provide data on the context within which research participants operate—a case of text providing context, if one might turn a phrase.

ii. Information contained in documents can suggest some questions that need to be asked and situations that need to be observed as part of the research.

iii. Documents provide supplementary research data. Information and insights derived from documents can be valuable additions to the knowledge base.

iv. Documents provide a means of tracking change and development. Where various drafts of a particular document are accessible, the researcher can compare them to identify the changes.

v. Documents can be analysed as a way to verify findings or corroborate evidence from other sources.

In this study, the researcher used the document analysis to complement data collection from previous qualitative methods to generate triangulation in data analysis. The document analysis proved to be a valuable data source for the study because it enabled the researcher to get more information regarding guarded neighbourhood developments. In order to do this first the researcher requested and reviewed relevant documents related to this study. The lists of the documents are summarised in table 5.7.

Table 5.7: List of selected documents

List of Documents	Source
Guarded Neighbourhood guideline	HPBS, DTCP
Distribution of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor (legal and illegal)	HPBS
Statistics of reported crime in Malaysia (1971-2013)	Royal Malaysian Police
Application form of guarded neighbourhood development	MPKJ, MPKj, MBPJ, MPAJ, MBSA, MPSJ
Organisation structures of Resident Associations	GNBSD, GNPI
List of complaints regarding guarded neighbourhoods received by local authority	MPKJ, MPKj, MBPJ, MPAJ, MBSA, MPSJ
Distribution of guarded neighbourhoods according to the local authority jurisdiction	MPKJ, MPKj, MBPJ, MPAJ, MBSA, MPSJ

Source: Author

5.6   Approach to Data Analysis

In qualitative research, the focus of the study will develop and change as the researcher develops greater understanding of the complexity of the investigation. As this study lies on an ontological assumption, the evidence of the nature of reality included multiple quotes based on the actual words used by different individuals and presenting different perspectives from these individuals (Creswell, 2007). Moustakas (1994) elaborated further that the researchers will report how individuals participating in the study view their experiences differently. Creswell (2007) acknowledged that the qualitative analysis should allow the voices of participants, the reflex of researchers, and a complex description and interpretation of the problem.

Data analysis in qualitative research has been recognised as a procedure to produce verbal summaries of research findings with no statistical summaries or analysis (Thomas, 2011). Suter (2006, p. 3270) explained that qualitative analysis is a process to discover "patterns, coherent themes, meaningful categories, and new ideas and in general uncovers better understanding of a phenomenon or process". Fundamentally, qualitative researchers seek to preserve and analyse the form, content, and experience of social action, rather than subject it to mathematical or other formal transformations (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002) Thus, qualitative studies involve discussions of how people experience and feel about events in their lives. As in the case of this study, the aim is to understand the (re)production of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state from the perspective of various key actors.

The theoretical framework and literature review as described in Chapters 2 and 3, was used a guide for data analysis and served as a starting point to establish themes for Chapter 7. At the beginning of the interview, the researcher worked inductively by identifying recurring issues and categorising the answers into similar themes. The researcher also categorised the interview according to type of the participants groups and the type of answers towards a certain issue. This allowed the researcher to identify the similarities and differences of the interviews. Following Yin (2003), this study chooses to analyse the case studies with no separate discussion of each case but an overall cross-case analysis. This study also descriptively present the findings based on the pre-determined and emerging themes.

In particular, following the work by Braun and Clarke (2006) and Howitt and Cramer (2008), this study adopted the thematic analysis technique to analyse the interviews scripts. These researchers have formulated a more systematic and transparent approach to thematic analysis. Thematic analysis according to Howitt (2010, p. 165) allows researcher to identify several themes and these themes are laced together in a report with illustrative quotes of excerpts from the transcripts for each themes. This process is an open process, where findings were discussed from the conceptual framework perspectives as described in Chapter 2. The process of data analysis in this study is summarised as in the Table 5.8. During this process the researcher move backwards and forwards between stages with the purpose of checking one aspect of analysis against one or more of the other aspects in the analysis.

Table 5.8: Thematic Analysis

Steps in Thematic Analysis	Summarise of data analysis in this study
Data Familiarisation	• The researcher listened to the audio and read the fieldwork notes multiple times to get better understanding and familiarisation of the data. • The researcher read and coded transcribed field notes and document according to themes, issues and ideas. The researcher reviewed field notes and transcripts multiple times to identify themes and issues throughout the data.
Initial Coding Generation	• Some themes used in coding generation included "crime", "property investment", "privacy" and many others. These coding were guided by the semi-structure interview guide and derived from literature reviews. The researcher labelled themes and issues on a paragraph-by-paragraph and page-by-page basis. Coding categories were transferred to coded and categorised computer tables that included information such as source, site and quotes.
Search for themes based on initial coding	• Specific themes were identified at this stage. In this case, the coding belongs to the same theme but indicate opposing aspects of the same theme. For example, coding of "crime", "property investment" and "privacy" was categorised into "motivation". "Motivation" is pretty much what a theme is and was categorising into meaningful groups of coding
Review of the themes	• In this study the researcher has reviewed the themes based on two main circumstances: first, when there is a little data to support the themes that has been identified and second, the theme needs to be divided or subdivided. For example, the researcher has decided to split the "crime" into two, which are "safety and security" and "fear of crime".
Theme definition and labelling	• During this stage, the researcher begun theme definition and labelling. As the themes become clearer, data which were previously hard to code becomes understandable during the analysis process.
Report writing	• This study is not a comparative research. Thus findings were reported based on the themes that led to the establishment of conclusions that answer the research questions and objectives in Chapter 1. The discussion will be written in a separate chapter.

Source: Adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006)
Note: Braun and Clarke (2006) work has been cited and acknowledged by many scholars such as Howitt (2010), Thomas (2010) and recently Yin (2011)

5.7   Validity of Research

This study acknowledged that the findings can or cannot be generalised into other contexts. Therefore its validity must be defined according to some criteria. Creswell, (2007) suggested eight techniques to validate the qualitative research and recommended that at least two main techniques to be engaged in any given study. Hence, in this study three main criteria were used: triangulation by methods, peer review and member checking. Alaasuutari (1995) and Kirk and Miller (1986) explained that the reliability of qualitative research findings can be increased by methodological triangulation using multiple data-gathering methods (e.g., observation/sites visit, interviews, and diary techniques). By triangulating methods and sources of data, the study obtained a more comprehensive picture of the guarded neighbourhood phenomenon

In general, triangulation is a valid procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study (Patton, 1990; Glesne and Perkin, 1992; Miller and Huberman, 1994). Thus, the validation of this study can be achieved through "triangulation-by-methods" (Howitt, 2010): case studies, in-depth interviews and documents analysis. Consequently, the data collection and analysis are two important processes that integrate new data and theories to gain a better understanding of the study. In addition, the findings in this study were validated with the neoliberalism philosophies and subsequently provide a more comprehensive interpretation on the processes involved in producing guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state.

The validity of this research was also confirmed through the process of peer review (Merriam, 1988; Glesne and Peshkin, 1992). Lincoln and Guba (1985) explained that a

peer review is the review of the data and research process by someone who is familiar with the research or the phenomenon being explored. Some authors also explained that a peer reviewer provides support, challenges the researchers' assumptions, pushes the researchers to the next step methodologically, and asks hard questions about methods and interpretations. Applying this idea, the researcher was very fortunate to receive feedback through presenting the arguments and findings of this study to fellow academician at various events namely international and national conferences[11] during the period of study. The researcher also had an opportunity to be supervised by Professor Jill Grant[12] during the summer of 2013 at the School of Planning, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada. These presentations together with an international supervision allowed the researcher to verify the validity of this study and explain how this study can contribute to the existing pool of knowledge on enclosures.

The validation of this study was also done through the member checking technique (Lincol and Guba, 1985; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Creswell, 2007). This technique is considered by Lincol and Guba (1995, p. 314) to be "the most critical technique for establishing credibility". This approach, written extensively in most quantitative research, involves taking data, analyses, interpretations, and conclusion back to participants so that they can judge the accuracy and credibility (Creswell, 2007). Throughout the data collection and analysis process, the researcher had discussed with other PhD students and academicians (other than the researcher's supervisors) to gain more feedbacks and comments regarding this study. However, the researcher did not make raw data availabe to the "member checking" but instead provide them the preliminary with analyses consisting of description and themes. The purpose is to get their views on the written analysis to ensure nothing has been left out.

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[11] See Appendix 3 for list of conferences attended by the researcher
[12] Professor Dr. Jill Grant has published numerous articles regarding gated communities in high impact journals.

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5.8   Ethical Considerations

In ensuring that ethical standards will be maintained during the course of this study, the participants will be informed about the purpose of the study so that their informed consent can be obtained before pursuing the study. The names of all participants in this study have been withheld and they remain anonymous. Each participant should be aware that participation in this study is voluntary and confidential. The decision to use "code" was made at the beginning of the study in order to protect the participants' confidentiality

In the beginning of each interview, the researcher explained to the interviewees that their details such as address, position, and organisation would not be disclosed in order to protect confidentiality. The researcher also introduced himself by way of an authorisation letter from University of Malaya. The participants need to sign an informed consent form before the interview, which will give full assurance of the confidentiality of their responses.

Before the interview started, the researcher asked permission to record the interviews. Some of the participants refused to be recorded. The participants will be given the opportunity to obtain further information before answering questions related to the study, during, or even after the interview. The researcher will provide his phone number and email to the participants. The participants may contact the researcher for any concerns about the study.

5.9   Summary

This chapter discussed the research methodology – that is, qualitative research guided by case studies designed to answer the research questions and objectives of this study. The process of this research is summarised as Figure 5.1:

Qualitative Research: Multiple sources of data		
Literature review	Document analysis	Semi structured In-depth interviews

Research Question 1: Why guarded neighbourhood came into existence in older areas in Selangor state?

Residents of open neighbourhoods and residents of guarded neighbourhoods and citizen groups

Research Question 2: How the state and other key authors intervene in the (re)production and governing guarded neighbourhood in Malaysia neoliberal turn?

Stakeholders groups and citizen groups

Research Question 3: To what extend the socio and spatial implications are expressed in the discourse of guarded neighbourhoods in contemporary urban development in Malaysia?

Residents of open neighbourhoods, residents of guarded neighbourhoods, and citizen groups

Research question 4: How the state and other key actors can improve their practises in governing and (re)producing guarded neighbourhoods in older areas in Malaysia?
Contributions and recommendations: Roles and Rules

Note:

--------- Some questions were asked interchangeably between various groups

Figure 5.1: Summary of the research methodology
Source: Author

CHAPTER 6

Research Context: Selangor State as a Study Area

6.1 Introduction

As described in Chapter 5, this study is guided by case studies designed to explore the proliferation of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state. This chapter will provide the context of this research for the collection of data. Taking the research context into account and briefly describing the increasing trend of enclosure in older residential areas in Selangor state will allow the interpretation of findings and as a result, triangulations and conclusions can be drawn. Consequently, this will shed light on the issues analysed and the peculiarities of the case study.

This chapter will be divided into five sections. Following this introduction, the second section briefly discusses the background of Selangor state followed with the emerging trend of enclosures in section three. Section four then described the two selected guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state. A summary of this chapter is explained in section five.

6.2 Background of Selangor state

Selangor state has grown as one of the most developed state in Malaysia. As the location of Selangor state neighbouring the Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur – the capital city of Malaysia – many academic scholars from various field have chosen Selangor state as the place to be studied (see for example Bunnell, 2002; 2005; Bae-

Gyoon and Lepawsky, 2012; Brooker, 2013) and the findings could be generalised and applied to other states in Malaysia. For instance, Yeoh (2010) called Selangor state as a microcosm of Malaysia, with its multi culture, ethnics and religions. In addition, "Selangor state has the potential for setting the tone for the future character of Malaysian governance in all aspects, as it has the advantage of geography development, demographics, politics and infrastructures" (Yeoh, 2010, p. 6). Therefore, this study suggests that the Selangor state will provide a good setting for researcher to study the guarded neighbourhood phenomenon in Malaysia.

Over the last 70 years, Selangor state stood out as the most consistent and rapid rate of urbanisation with the level rising from 15.9 percent in 1911 to 60 percent in 1980 (Hirschman, 1976) to almost 100 percent recorded in 2010. The demography of the state consist of Malays 52.9 percent, Chinese 27.8 percent, Indians 13.3 percent and other ethnic groups 6 percent (Jomo and Wee, 2014): a situation that reflects national demographics, that is, multiracial and multicultural. Although Selangor state is the most urbanised state in Malaysia, but was only ranked fifth in terms of population density with 674 persons per square kilometre (Tajuddin, 2012). Between 1995 and 2000, 131, 400 people from Kuala Lumpur has migrated into Selangor state to join 213,000 other immigrants from other states (Leetee, 2007).

In the last three decades, Selangor state has undergone massive changes in term of social developments, economic transformations and political structures. With its 5.46 million inhabitants, Selangor state has become one the most developed, urbanised and industrialised state in the nation. Beng (2010) explained that Selangor state is the richest state in the nation and was recorded with the highest rate of population growth. In 2009, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Selangor RM114.3 billion out of a national GDP

of RM629 billion: contributing more than 18 percent of the national economy (Bardai, 2010). In general ways, national development is significantly influenced by the rapid modernisation and economic growth as shown in Table 6.1. For instance, in 2007 Selangor state recorded an economic growth of 6.3 percent compared to 6.0 per cent economic growth for Malaysia. Selangor state recorded 5.9 percent economic growth in the following year while the economic growth for Malaysia was only 3.5 percent.

Table 6.1: Economic Growth Rates

Year	Selangor Growth Rate (%)	Malaysia Growth Rate (%)
2007	6.3	6.0
2008	5.9	3.5
2009	-1.0	-1.5

Source: Bardai (2010, p. 139)

The ever increasing demand for suburban housing close to Kuala Lumpur has resulted in the rapid growth of Selangor state. For instance, in 1953, Petaling Jaya was one of the districts located in Selangor state that was developed as a new town to accommodate the demand for housing and to solve the problem of overcrowding in Kuala Lumpur. By 1970s, Petaling Jaya could no longer accommodate the growing demand for sub/urban housing close to Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur, and another new town was developed in Selangor state known as a Sungei-Wang Subang (Aiken and Leigh, 1975). The process of urbanisation in Selangor State continues at the rapid pace and until to date there are 32 towns in Selangor state.

The administration of Selangor state comprises of 12 local authorities. These local authorities are responsible for urban development and planning within their own jurisdiction/territory guided by a specific local plan approved by the state government. Each of these 12 local authorities are monitored by either the mayor *(Dato Bandar)* or

Yang-Dipertua appointed by the state. The Mayor or *Yang-Dipertua* are assisted by the council members *(ahli majlis)* and any decision regarding urban development and planning should approved by the council members. In general ways, the urban planning department is the most important department in each of the local authorities as they deal with urban management, urban planning and other related matters regarding urban development (Dasimah and Oliver, 2009).

Like most state in Malaysia, since 1957 Selangor state was governed by the same ruling party of the country. However, since the elections of 2008 the opposition party known as *Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR)* ruled the Selangor state (Bardai, 2010). Yeoh (2010) explained that Selangor state faced a challenge in governing the state as the federal government sometimes – or perhaps always – do not share the same ideology. This study argues that the different ideology between the ruling party at the federal government and opposition party at the state level has complicated the process of urban governance in Selangor state. As described in chapter 4 the state produced their own guideline to substitute the guarded neighbourhoods guideline produced by the federal government.

To a certain extent the process in producing guarded neighbourhood in Selangor state must surely have affected by the different ideology between the ruling government and the opposition party. Complex process in producing and governing guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state can be viewed from legal framework mechanism: both federal and state government has their own guidelines and not standardise between them. Therefore this study will reveal this complexity relationship between federal and state government in the next chapters 7 and 8.

6.3   Guarded Neighbourhoods in Selangor State

As described in chapter 4, the roots of gated communities in Malaysia can be traced in the early 1980s with the development of Kajang Heights by MkLand Holding at the urban fringe of Selangor state. In the sub/urban areas of Selangor state the urban phenomenon of residents enclosed public spaces initially appeared in the early 2000s and known as guarded neighbourhoods. Although government authorities actively promote social integrations, the development of guarded neighbourhoods continues to rise rapidly in Selangor state. As this study attempts to investigate the reason for the emerging trend of guarded neighbourhoods in older areas, Selangor state provides an opportunity to study this kind of community not only because of a higher number of guarded neighbourhoods but also due to the unique political structure of Selangor state as explained in section 6.2.

In Selangor state, the development of guarded neighbourhoods took place in early 2000s. However, documented analysis revealed the existing procedure and regulations are inadequate to govern this kind of community. This loopholes or perhaps planning guidelines stemmed from the complicated legal procedure that prohibits the public from constructing any structures that would obstruct public spaces as explained in chapter 4.

In general, the older residential areas in Selangor state produce this kind of community by barricades communities to enclose urban spaces with generally mixed ethnicity. Although guarded neighbourhoods are mushrooming in older residential areas, extensive analysis of documents revealed that there are no systematic documentation to locate them. Dahlia (2010) reported that 470 of guarded neighbourhoods were located in sub/urban areas in Selangor state. However, government authorities interviewed

believed that the number could be greater due to unsystematic documentation at the local authority level.
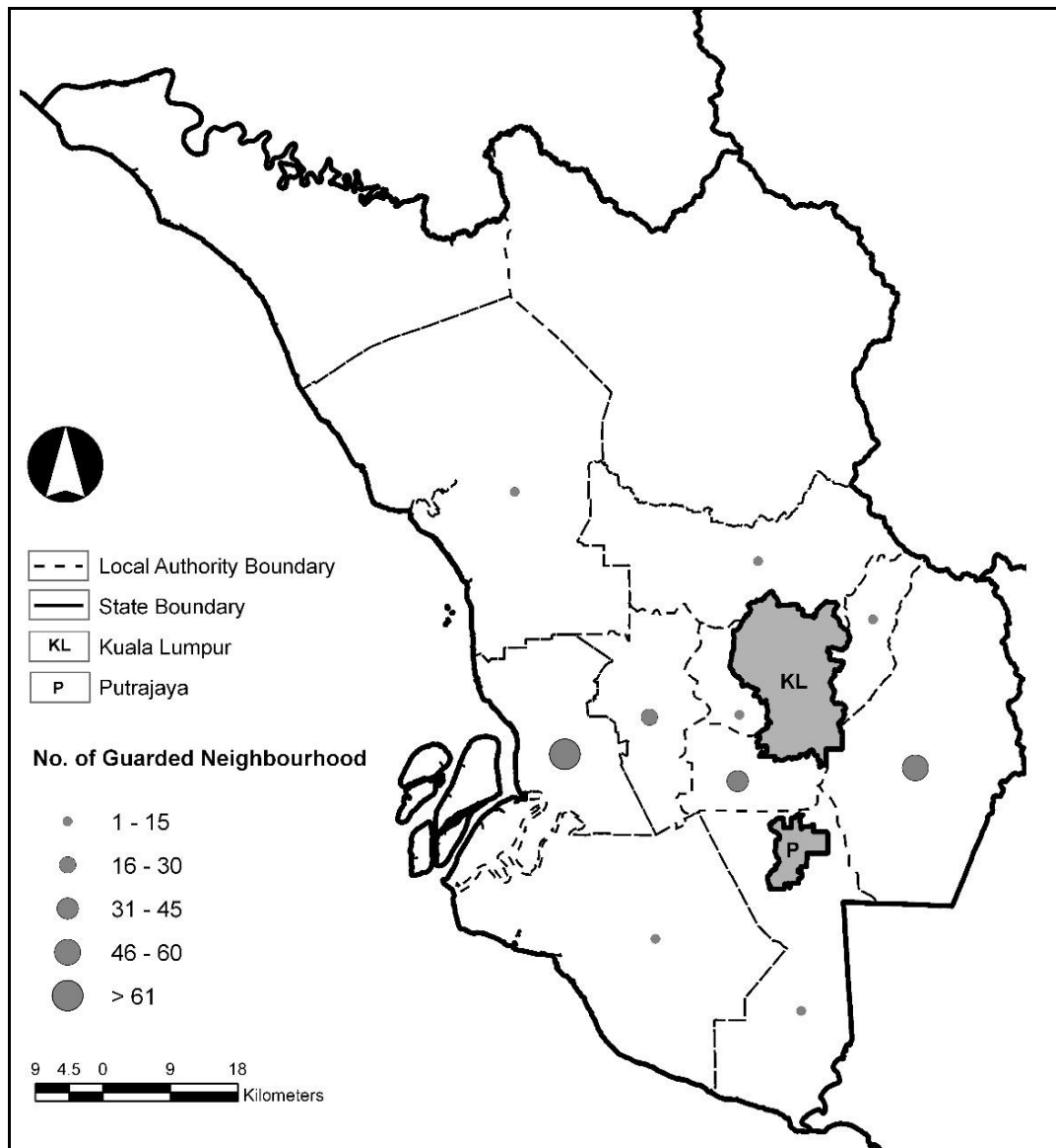
Figure 6.1: Distribution of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state
Source: Author

As shown in Figure 6.1, there is no specific pattern of distribution of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state. Although guarded neighbourhoods allowed to be developed in urban areas, these developments have developed in the suburban and urban fringe areas. For instance, the highest concentration of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state was recorded in Majlis Perbandaran Klang (MPK), which located far

from the Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur. Based on the Figure 6.1, this study argues that the rapid spread of guarded neighbourhoods in sub/urban areas to some extent, reshaped and produced a new landscape of control in Selangor state, which is characterised by the physical barriers and privatised/limited access to the urban spaces.

While the distribution of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor could be challenged, this study argues that the proliferations of guarded neighbourhoods in older areas should not be underestimated. As this study attempts to investigate the reasons for the emerging trend of guarded neighbourhoods in older areas, two guarded neighbourhood developments were selected. Consequently through the study of the selected guarded neighbourhoods it was possible to examine how multiple key actors interact within the (complex) urban governance system and how this type of community impact the wider society which are all part of the research questions.

6.3.1   Selection Procedures to Choose the Guarded Neighbourhoods

The empirical evidence which will be presented in Chapters 7 and 8 was carried out in two selected guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state. This section describes the two selected guarded neighbourhoods that were chosen for this study. There are three reasons for selecting these two guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state. First, in contrast to the previous study of gated communities, this case study has fencing and securing surveillances on public roads which are illegal in the eyes of Malaysian public laws. This kind of community proved rare in many nations but has reported in –but not limited to – the United States and South Africa (Blakely and Synder, 1997; Landman, 2000).

Secondly, the selected guarded neighbourhoods have shared similar characteristics of gated communities as defined by the literature. These characteristic can be classified into three categories as in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Criteria to choose guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state

Characteristic of Guarded Neighbourhoods	Elements to be Observed
Physical characteristics	Fence, boom gates (manual/automatic), guardhouse, speed bumps, gates
Surveillance strategies	Private security guards, CCTV, neighbourhood watch, car/house sticker
Signs	Private property, no trespassing, beware of dog, respectful of private residence, visitors please register, no entry

Source: Author

Third, this study selected the guarded neighbourhoods that were approved by the local authority in Malaysia. This study managed to get a list of distribution of guarded neighbourhoods from selected local authorities in Selangor state. However, it was found that the list was not updated and no systematic system to record this development. A federal government staff person interviewed implied the number could be greater since *"the data produced by some local authorities in Selangor does not reflect the actual distribution of guarded neighborhoods and is not up to date" (Code: FD)*. While the HPBS tracks approved guarded neighborhoods, it does not count the many illegal/ undocumented guarded neighborhoods in the region.

Based on the distributions list of guarded neighbourhoods provided by the local authorities and criteria in Table 6.1, the researcher begins direct observations in two selected guarded neighbourhood in Selangor state. The reason for this choice has been basically related to two factors. First one of these communities has been regarded as the best example of the guarded neighbourhood developments: Bandar Sri Damansara won

the best neighbourhood award in 2011. The second reason for this choice is that both of these communities have been approved by the local authority to establish guarded neighbourhood and one of them, Pandan Indah had more than 90% of the residents who are willing to set up a guarded neighbourhood. Therefore, an overview of the transformation of these two communities from an open to guarded neighbourhood would provide much valuable insight on the nature and characteristics of fencing and security.

6.4   Two Selected Guarded Neighbourhoods

As described in chapter 5, some of the empirical data of this study were obtain from interviews with the residents of guarded neighbourhoods in these two selected guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state. These two communities are briefly discussed in this section.

6.4.1   Bandar Sri Damansara (GNBSD)

Four interviews were conducted with residents of Bandar Sri Damansara *(GNBSD)* a guarded neighbourhood in Selangor state. GNBSD is a well-planned mixed housing development of single storey house and double storey house. There are 775 houses in this development. All housing units in GNBSD share similar design and size. Although every housing unit was designed with a "front-gate" the residents choose to enclose the community with fences and gates. Currently, the community is enclosed by fences and have three main entrances, each with a guard house which consists of guard houses (see Figure 6.2).
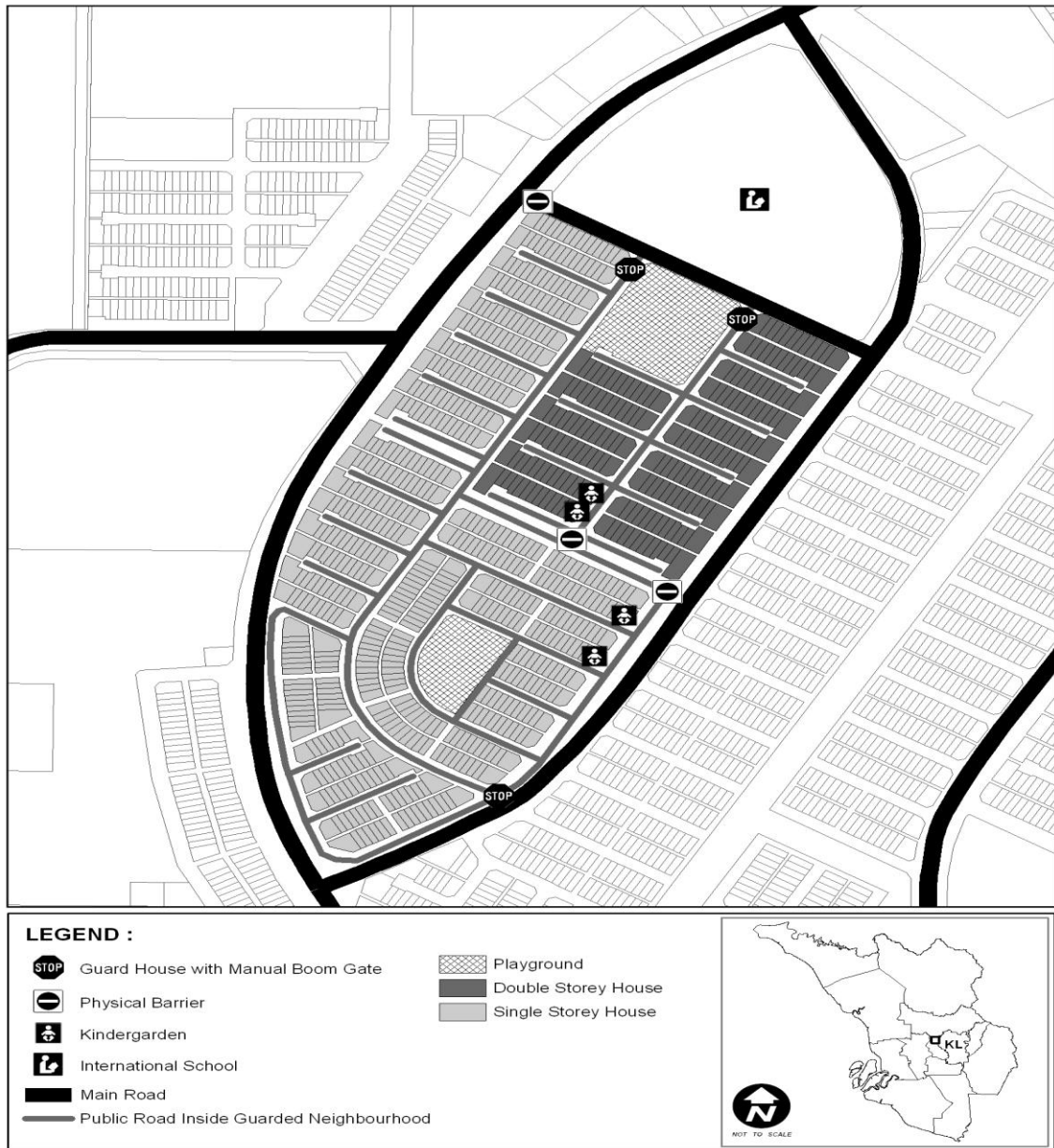
Figure 6.2: Layout Plan of Bandar Sri Damansara
Source: Author

The residents' association of this community employed a private security company to monitor access into the community. Direct-observations revealed that at least one security guard is responsible to monitor access at every main entrance in the community (see Figure 6.3). As for the maintenance fee, the residents of GNBSD who had agreed to the establishment of guarded neighbourhood pay RM50 per month.

Figure 6.3: Guard house and other security measures
Source: Author

Although GNBSD comprises of mixed housing types, it was observed that this
community had built physical separating residents of double storey houses from of
single storey houses (see Figure 6.4). In other words, the accessibility within is limited
to a particular type of housing: fragmentation of community based on types of housing
was observed in GNBSD.

Figure 6.4: Physical barriers that limits access within the community
Source: Author

Apart from the fragmentation of community based on types of housing, this community also limits access to the public/no-residents. Security guards at all entrances require National Identification Card (NIC) or Driving License Card (DLC) before non-residents can enter the community. It was further observed the security guard took a photo of NIC and DLC. The community is also not accessible due to the installation of fences (see Figure 6.5) and other security measures.

Figure 6.5: Fencing the community
Source: Author

In terms of facilities and amenities, GNBSD has two playgrounds which are not accessible to the public since this community is closed and secured. GNBSD provides an excellent example how urban residents in older residential areas enclosed public spaces on public roads by erecting physical barriers in the form of guard house, manual boom gates and oil drums were placed on public roads.

6.4.2   Pandan Indah (GNPI)

Four interviews were conducted with the residents of a guarded neighbourhood in Pandan Indah (GNPI). After 2 years operating without any legal status, GNPI finally received an approval from the Majlis Perbandaran Ampang Jaya (MPAJ) in early 2012. GNPI community contains 123 housing units. All housing units are double storey and located next to the MPAJ. GNPI is a fenced guarded neighbourhood with physical barriers built on public road. Currently, there is only one main entrance that accessible to the community (see Figure 6.6).
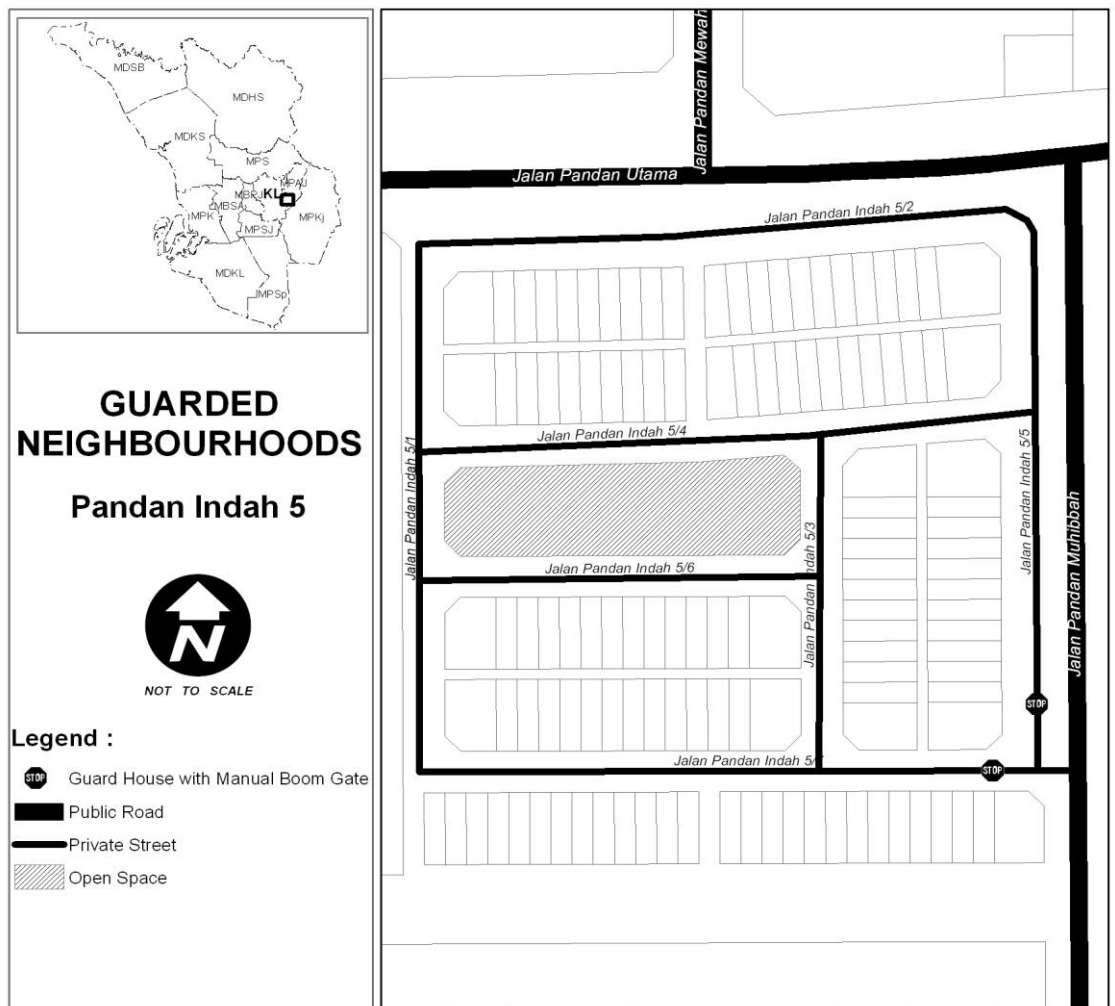
Figure 6.6: Layout Plan of Pandan Indah
Source: Author

In terms of safety and security, five security guards were hired by the GNPI residents' association to police the area. The security guards are also responsible to monitor access to the community. An in-depth interview with the chairman of GNPI residents' association revealed that security guards work on a shift basis: night shift and day shift. Although guarded neighbourhood guidelines as explained in chapter 4 prohibits the hiring of foreigners as security guards, direct observations in GNPI community found that all the security guards are foreigners.

More than 90% of the GNPI residents agreed to the establishment of guarded neighbourhood and were willing to pay the monthly fee of RM100 per month. The GNPI residents' association explained that residents were not forced to pay the monthly fee. In term of facilities and amenities, there is one soccer field is located inside the community. The security guards sometimes allow non-residents use the soccer field but they need to surrender their NIC/DLC for security purposes (see Figure 6.7)

Figure 6.7: Sign at the main entrance
Source: Author

6.5   Summary

The preceding discussion has highlighted the background of Selangor state in terms of its social, political and economic structures. This chapter also provides an overview of the case study area that is located in Selangor state. In order to get a comprehensive view of the guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state, direct observations in-depth interviews were conducted with the residents of GNBSD and GNPI. The results of these data will be presented in the Chapter 7. In particular, Chapters 7 and 8 will discuss the empirical data and how the findings relate with the research questions and objectives as described in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 7

Findings: The Proliferation of Guarded Neighbourhoods

7.1   Introduction

This chapter will be divided into three sections, which are, the reasons for the proliferation of guarded neighbourhoods, the role of the state in governing and producing guarded neighbourhoods and the socio-spatial implications of guarded neighbourhoods toward the wider society. Although the motivation factors for gated communities have been well documented in the international arena, little research has been published on the situation in Malaysia. This chapter will offer some debate and discussion of the findings and how the findings can be linked with the literature review as described in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. This study, therefore, will contribute to the existing literature on gated communities in Malaysia, which is currently considered as insufficient especially in analysing guarded neighbourhood phenomenon.

As described in Chapter 3, there are two main reasons for the proliferation of gated communities: first, demand-side from consuming actors and second, supply-side representing the producing actors. Thus, the first section will examine the proliferation of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state focusing on the consuming actors: why they want to live in secured and fortified neighbourhoods. The second section illustrates the empirical data on the role of the state followed by the socio-spatial implications in the third section. These three sections will be analysed and interpreted according to the conceptual framework and literature reviews that was introduced in Chapter 2.

7.2   The Function of Enclosures

Over the last 20 years, the effect of globalisation and rapid urbanisation in urban areas has been associated with crime. The meaning of safety and security has changed dramatically in the residential landscape of Malaysia. Instead of living in an open neighbourhood area, some residents started to build physical barriers to minimise the risk of crime. In addition to physical barriers, residents then started to demand further additional security measures to increase their safety in their respective residence by hiring security guards.

As discussed in Chapter 3, following the work of previous scholars (Blakely and Synder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000; Low, 2003; Hirt, 2012), the analysis of motivation factors for residents to live in guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia is a crucial issue, as there is an increasing trend in older residential area. One main question was asked to the participants during the in-depth interviews: Why do you/residents choose to live in guarded neighbourhood development? Thematic analysis of the interviews scripts and notes taken revealed that safety and security, privacy and exclusive living, and property investment are the main reasons for residents wanting to live in guarded neighbourhoods.

7.2.1   Safety and Security

The question of safety and security in residential areas calls attention to two interrelated elements, which this section will investigate. First, the deregulation of law enforcement to privatise residential developments or at the very least restricts access to wider society. Law enforcement measures in this study include hiring of private security company, the

formation of resident associations and in the most extreme cases, erecting physical barriers on public space. Some concerns have emerged from this situation: How effective are physical barriers and human surveillances? Why are physical barriers and manual surveillances important to residents? Second, the focus on safety and security refers to the sense of fear of crimes of fear of others.

In Malaysia, urban residential areas are considered safe, yet the current trend sees an increase in demand for enclosure. Interviews revealed that among residents of guarded neighbourhoods (RGN), in general, they are in agreement that safety and security is the first and foremost reason for them to choose to live in guarded neighbourhoods. In particular, all of participants from Bandar Sri Damasara (GNBSD) and Pandan Indah (GNPI) explained moving into a guarded neighbourhood is a personal attempt to add extra precautionary measures for the sake of safety and security. They are also willing to pay the membership fee to hire security guards and establish perimeter fencing surrounding their residential areas. One of resident of GNSBD said that,

> *"I feel safer living in guarded residential neighbourhood compared to living in development areas without any security features such as security guards, CCTV and barrier gates at its exit and entry points and I'm willing to pay for it."*
>
> *Code: GNBSD 2*

The same can be said for the residents of GNPI as one explained,

> *"The appearance of security guards and physical barriers make me feel a bit safer from criminals, what else is there to say?"*
>
> *Code: GNPI 2*

All participants of resident associations (RA) group also agreed with the above sentiments. They felt that crime is a compelling reason for them to resort to building physical barriers on public roads and hire security guards. One member of the residents' association said: *"Safety and security was a primary reason for us to apply the guarded neighbourhoods because its helps to reduce crime in residential area."* (Code: RA 4)

Describing the security measures, all respondents from RGN and RA group agreed that manual surveillances have increased the level of safety because non residents cannot enter their community area without permission from security guards. For instance, one of the resident association interviewed explained: *"I think that the security guards and boom gates had improved residents' safety from crime [...] our whole idea is that physical barriers and security guards are a big element in here"* (Code: RA 1). The Chairman of resident association of GNPI also shared a similar opinion and said that *"Physical barriers and security guards definitely increase our safety and security here. Strangers are not allowed to enter our community without permission from security guards. You need to ask the permission from security guards before you enter our community right?"* (Code: RA 3).

In addition, all of respondents from RGN group also noted the same issue as one resident of GNBSD said: *"I believe that the physical barriers and security guards will reduce the crime incidents in our residential area such as robbery, house break-in and snatch [...] although the police constantly conduct patrols here, it is not enough to stop the crime incidents [...] We must act before any untoward incidents like death happen"* *(Code: GNBSD 3).* Simple but strong statement from one of the participants from GNPI stated that *"I want automatic boom gates instead of manual boom gates. If possible I*

want CCTV to be installed in our community too. These elements are very important to

reduce the crime incidents" (Code: GNPI 4)

This study revealed that both the residents of guarded neighbourhoods and the residents' association almost all agreed to install security guards and boom gates at all exits and entrances of the residential area. All of participants from RGN and RA groups collectively agreed that the safety and security measures provided by the state is insufficient leaving them no choice but to privately appoint security guards to strengthen their safety and security level. This sentiment was found both in GNBSD and GNPI as all of the respondents felt more secured as they have private security guards and other security measures. All residents of guarded neighbourhoods interviewed saw enclosing their neighbourhoods as a way to improve safety for their families. For instance, one respondents from GNPI argued, *"We feel safer living in guarded residential neighbourhood compared to living in development areas without any security features such as security guards, CCTV and barrier gates at its exit and entry points" (Code: GNPI 1).*

The interviews also revealed that all resident associations felt that they have the power to act as a small local authority in their community area, and are responsible to improve the security measures and increase their safety on their own initiative. For instance, one member of resident association commented on their role in promoting safe neighbourhoods and said that*: "we (resident association) can help the responsible authority to monitor our own community." (Code: RA 4)*

Interviews with the stakeholders group confirmed that safety and security plays a significant role for the urban residents to mobilise into guarded neighbourhood

developments. All the participants in the stakeholders' group agreed on the issue of safety and security as one local authorities staff person interviewed said, *"[...] high crime rates in urban areas and lack of confidence in enforcement agencies resulted in a rise in applications for private neighbourhoods, as the existence of physical barriers and presence of security guards provides residents the confidence of security and safety." (Code: LA 2).* Commenting on the types and when the crime took place, another local authority staff person interviewed revealed the main reason for resident to live in guarded neighbourhood: *"It's the issue of safety and security. There have been many cases of robberies and break-ins which have been reported, and these incidents happened at any time of the day regardless of the time. In some instances, reports have been received at 9am, which is at the time that the house owners go to work." (Code: LA 4)*

A thematic analysis from the local authorities' interview scripts revealed that the issue of safety and security were the most important consideration for the residents to apply for planning approval to form enclosed communities. Due to the concern for safety, residents and residents' associations would proceed to apply to the relevant authority for the implementation of a guarded neighbourhood development. All participants in the stakeholders' group accepted the rationale. For instance one local authority staff person interviewed explained that, *"The high crime rate in urban areas and lack of confidence in the enforcement agencies such as the police, result in the rise of the application of guarded neighbourhood, as the existence of physical barriers and presence of security guards provides them the confidence of security and safety" (Code: LA 2)*

Although security measures in guarded neighbourhoods can minimise the risk of crime, however, some participants believed that crime could still occur in the guarded

neighbourhood areas as Wilson-Doenges (2000) argues that in gated communities the actual safety is not increased. Hence, some residents of guarded neighbourhood have voiced their concern towards the effectiveness of the security measures to protect their safety in guarded neighbourhood development. One resident commented on this issue and said that: *'The authorities stated that the crime rates have decreased, but in reality crime incidents are still happening in residential areas in Malaysia, including in enclosure developments'. (Code: GNBSD 2)*

Some of respondents from RGN group felt that the physical barriers were ineffective as a deterrent for the criminals from entering a guarded neighbourhood as one explained that *"[…] the physical barriers can only slow down the criminals' movement but will not entire prevent criminals from carrying out criminal activities in guarded neighbourhoods" (Code: GNBSD 4)*. Another respondent from RGN group commented on the security measures and said that *"Even with all the money spent on security measures, homes are not completely secure." (Code: GNPI 5)*. Apparently the media have also reported the incidence of crime in guarded neighbourhood (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: Crime Incident in Guarded Neighbourhood

A couple were found murdered in a house in a guarded neighbourhood in Taman Segar Perdana, here, yesterday in a case which police believe could be linked to another murder last week. The victims in this case, businessman Leong Kian Sheong, 37, and his female companion, Vivien Wong, 20, were found dead in the reading room of their double-storey terrace house with multiple slash and stab wounds. (**Source**: New Strait Times, 15 September 2012)

With the discovery that the majority of participants shared this overwhelming desire for security, another question emerged from this study: Whether guarded neighbourhoods development has shifted crime to other areas? The majority of participants from RGN

and RA groups admitted that the incidence of crime has indeed reduced within their territories but has spread into open neighbourhoods. Local authority staff person interviewed reported the same issue and said: *"Whilst it's true that the crime rate has dropped, the actual fact is crime still happens; and the most worrying part is that the crime is now happening outside of the guarded neighbourhoods, and within the neighbourhoods that are not privately guarded."(Code: LA 7).* Interviews with residents of open neighbourhoods (RON) confirmed this issue as one explained: *"After the neighbouring neighbourhood implemented the guarded neighbourhood concept, there have been increased reports of break-ins and incidents of snatch thefts in our neighbourhood"* (Code: RON 1)

As previously described, there is a strong consensus between the local authorities and residents of open neighbourhoods in Selangor regarding the issue of *"shifting crime"* in residential areas. Both participating groups are of the opinion that the enclosed communities will cause a change in the incidence of crime causes from enclosed to open communities. In fact, it has been observed that crime have spread into the commercial areas that are located next to the guarded neighbourhoods. One of the members of the residents' association was in the opinion: *"Of late, there has been a higher crime rate occurring in the commercial area outside the guarded neighbourhood area. It maybe that the criminals are unable to enter our communities and has instead targeted other premises, such as the grocery stores next to our residential areas. Last couple weeks, a robbery was happening outside of our community"* (Code: RA 2)

Apart from the analysis of safety and security and the shift in the trend of crime, the responsibility of authorities to ensure the safety of urban residents was also examined. The majority of participants from various participants' groups explained the

responsibility to ensure public safety in residential areas, including the guarded neighbourhood area should be with the police. The opinions below indicate that participants believe security should be the responsibility of the police.

"If police is instructed to do their job as they are supposed to, we will not need to waste money to appoint the security guards"

Code: GNBSD 1

"The police should be more aggressive in ensuring the safety of the public"

Code: GNBSD 2

"[…] police should be responsible […] not the resident association"

Code: GNBSD 3

"Obviously it should be the police because we pays taxes to the state in order to have a peaceful living"

Code: GNBSD 4

"I think so, they (police) have the power and responsibility […]"

Code: GNPI 1

"[…] wish if the police took the necessary actions to try to provide maximum security for us […]"

Code: GNPI 6

These responses show that the role of the police as a public authority is still very relevant and important in providing and safety services for the whole society. However, the majority of respondents from various the participant groups believe that the state and its institution of justice and security in Malaysia particularly in Selangor is inadequate and ineffective. All participants from various groups in this study who considered the provision of security to be a police responsibility, agreed that this

responsibility was not sufficiently undertaken. One interviewee criticised the role of the police in public safety and said: *"[…] the police offers a patrol in residential areas. However, I think that is not enough, that's why we live in guarded neighbourhood"* (GNBSD 3).

7.2.2 Fear of crime and others

While the crime rate is increasing in Malaysia society, evidence indicate that Malaysia is still relatively safe compared to neighbouring countries. With a low crime rate, what then cause this widespread perception of insecurity? Statistics indicate that property crimes generally occur in urban areas (Sidhu, 2005, p. 9). Media reporting of crime sensationalises the risk and may induce what Low (2001) called a discourse of urban fear. Press coverage has suggested that perception of an increase in the incidence of crime appeared to be linked to the rising presence of foreign workers. While empirical evidence suggests that this link between crime and foreigners is weak, the fear of crime associated with foreigners especially illegal immigrants was palpable among all participants of RGN, RON and RA group. One resident of guarded neighbourhood commented about the foreign workers:

> *"I have to be vigilant in certain areas in Klang Valley. Some areas are occupied by illegal foreigners—especially those from Asia and Africa. […] I feel insecure walking alone in the area especially during public holidays".*
>
> *Code: GNBSD 3*

Throughout Malaysia, guarded neighbourhood involved defensive spatial design together with security guards. The use of security products from intelligence to manual

surveillance becomes an important feature in secured communities. Ironically, the fieldworks indicated that most of the guards manning the gates in urban Malaysia were immigrants from Indonesia and Bangladesh. Literature review revealed that in 2009, estimates showed 300,000 foreign security guards working in the country, more than the number of police (Surin, 2009). As if to reinforce the danger foreigners represent, media reports sensationalise cases where immigrant security guards have faced charges for committing violent crimes against residents they are hired to protect. Further investigation found that there were cases when foreign security guards committed crime in residential area in Malaysia (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2: Evidence of crimes committed by foreigner security guards

Pakistani security guard was arrested in connection with the rape and murder of UTAR student Tang Lai Meng, 20, who was found with her hands tied behind her back at her rented house. (**Source:** The Star, 7 August 2007)

Two Pakistani men were charged in court on Thursday with the murder of an American pastor who was found strangled in his Malaysian home last month […] who worked as a security guard, was already charged last week with murdering David James Ginter, 62. (**Source:** The Strait Times Singapore, 20 Jun 2013)

The fear of crime is widespread: a problem as serious as real crime in terms of its social and spatial effects. Nair et al. (2013) found 91% of urban residents in Malaysia exhibited a high level of fear of becoming a victim of crime in a residential area. A discourse of fear may induce a kind of moral panic based not in evidence but in socially reproduced understandings of current urban conditions of enclosed communities. The majority of participants of RGN and RON group interviewed showed the element of fear by saying *"I don't believe the strangers or direct selling person" (Code: GNPI 3)* and *"why too many African and Indonesian in our country nowadays? (Code: RON 4)".*

Government guidelines to facilitate enclosure and financial support for neighbourhood watch activities undoubtedly fuel perceptions of insecurity and fear of illegal foreigners. This study found that the cultural discourse of fear of crime encouraged post-market production of enclaves. A government-commissioned survey from April to May 2011 found that 49% of the people still feared becoming victims of crime. It was lower than the 59% in Dec 2009, but still, this account for almost half the population of Malaysia. Wah, 2011). A Federal government staff person interviewed talked about the element of fear of crime:

> *"Although the official data revealed by the police department shows a decrease in crime rate, the element of mistrust in the physical surrounding and fear of outsiders still exist. This element of fear has contributed to the increase in the application of Guarded Neighbourhoods; all in the name of personal safety and security."*
>
> *Code: FD*

While the majority of the responses received from the interviews point to the issue of safety and security such as the comment made by one of the respondents of the interview *"[…] everyone is paranoid with the issue of security of their family within the residential area" (Code: GNBSD 2),* not all participants agree that the crime rates is high in the residential areas. For example in one interview when this study tries to suggest that the increasing trend of guarded neighbourhoods were due to the rising crime rates, one of participant promptly corrected the statement and said: *"It is interesting that you get the impression that Selangor is "unsafe" is the cause for people to move into guarded neighbourhood area. This is obviously a misunderstanding. Our state is still safe but the roles of media in reporting the crime incidents seems to be*

"overboard" and has contributed to the element of "fear of crime" amongst our society" (*Code: LA 3*)

Several urban planners employed by the local authority acknowledged the existence of fear of crime within Malaysian society. One directly said: *"The fear actually grew because people are talking more about crime" (Code: LA 7).* This study suggests that the fear of crime has caused the residents to mobilise into guarded neighbourhoods' development, fuelled by their frustration with the state's deemed inaction in curtailing the crime incidents in their residential area. Regardless of whether crime has actually been increasing or decreasing, the same element of fear of crime is evident everywhere in the residential areas in Selangor. Interviews with RGN group revealed that crime incidents such as robberies, snatch thieves, and stolen vehicles could still exist in guarded neighbourhoods' development. Some of the participants in this interview justified the presence of as below:

"You never know whether there are unsavoury people among your neighbours, so it would make me uncomfortable to think that they have easy access to my house [...] there always used to be strangers wandering in our community [...] now let me ask you, do you feel safe or comfortable when strangers enter your community and starring at you?"

Code: GNBSD 4

" I feel secure live in here [guarded neighbourhood], nowadays there are too many suspicious people, [...] I mean all kinds of people, I don't know them and you cannot trust them [...] I have to tell you that I am also afraid of you [...] your letter (permission letter from university to collect data) might be fake, so if

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you hadn't showed me your student card, I have might not let you in either,

although you don't look much like a criminal (laughs)"

These explanations seem to illustrate the element of fear as Ferraro (1995, p.xiii) pointed out fear as an "emotional reaction of dread or anxiety to crime or symbols that a person associates with crime". Indeed, in terms of security measures, the majority of participants of the local authority group believed that the fear of crime has influenced the residents to establish their own territories and boundaries by putting up physical barriers such as boom gates, guards' houses and fences. This fear of crime amongst the residents has been substantially influenced by the mass media that tended to sensationalize incidents of crime in residential areas. In actual fact, there is currently no strong evidence in Malaysia that the level of crime rates between the guarded neighbourhoods and open neighbourhoods is substantially different.

The element of fear –fear or crime and others[13] – however, has had a major effect on the residents' perceptions towards the security and safety within the residential areas in Selangor. All of RGN group interviewed explained that the reason they more confident to walk alone inside the territorial boundaries because the presence of physical barriers and security guards are deemed as a crime deterrent and thus, makes them feel more secure. Interviews also revealed that majority of participants of RGN group felt that they more confident to stay at home during night time without any companions as long as it is within the guarded neighbourhood development. Residents of guarded neighbourhoods commented the issue:

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[13] Fear of crime/other will mean fear of crime and fear of foreigners and/or illegal foreigners.

"The life in guarded neighbourhood is much focused on security and safety measures, thus I believed that our neighbourhood area is safe and I can walk alone within our community compounds [...] Bottom line is, if I saw someone following me with bad intention, I'd try to run and running isn't an option, I'm going to scream to get attention from the security guards or residents

Code: GNBSD 2

"There was definitely a sense of fear in the neighbourhood [...] if someone – strangers –broke in into my house in the middle of night I would beat or knock him unconscious in an attempt to save my own life.

Code: GNPI 3

7.2.3 Privacy and Exclusive Living

In recent years, exclusive and private livings have increasingly become important aspect in the life of urban residents in Malaysia. The rapid development of guarded neighbourhoods in the society reflects the prevailing trend and desire for more privacy and exclusive living in residential areas. In the international arena, many researchers argued that it is common for residents to actively seek privacy and exclusive living in their choice of residential area and neighbourhood (Le-Goix, 2005; Hirt, 2012). Two main questions were posed to the participants: Do the physical barriers in guarded neighbourhood increase the residents' privacy? To what extend does the appearances of security guards create privacy and exclusive living in guarded neighbourhood?

A staff from the state government interviewed believed that the need for privacy to shield the residents from outside developments has also become one of the reasons for

the residents to apply to convert their neighbourhood into guarded neighbourhood.. In his view, the physical barriers not only act as an element of increased security in the guarded neighbourhood but also create more privacy living in a guarded neighbourhood. A local authority staff interviewed described a similar situation: *"we have received applications where residents living in two-storey houses try to separate their neighbourhood from one with single-storey home"*. (*Code: LA 5*)

Direct observations during the site visits suggest that it is common to see security guards dressed in official uniforms inspired by the uniforms of Royal Malaysian Police or/and Royal Malaysian Army. The perceptions of security offered by guarded neighbourhood project reflect the status and prestige of its inhabitants. The majority of residents in GNBSD and GNPI interviewed explained they choose to live in enclosed communities because of the homogenous environment and was tempted by a desire for enhanced privacy, status and exclusive living. One resident of GNPI illustrated these elements and said *"I felt more comfortable with living environment in guarded neighbourhood" (Code: GNPI 4)*. As in United States, Low (2003) found these factors as the "niceness" of such enclosure environment. Similar in Selangor State, one guarded resident explained:

> *"I wasn't keen in the beginning, but it's quite good, and the most important thing is that my life has more privacy than before [...] and yes of course I agree on the exclusive living too [...] our neighbourhood has become more prestigious."*
>
> *Code: GNBSD 1*

The existence of physical barriers represents the exclusiveness of a guarded neighbourhood development, belonging to only the "elite" class with a desire to maintain their exclusive lifestyle. Some of residents of guarded neighbourhoods interviewed felt that the presence of physical barriers made them feel more private and exclusive. When the residents of guarded neighbourhoods were asked the question "What does privacy mean to them?": most of them defined privacy in terms of their daily life and domestic activities. Representatives from local government commented about this by stating that:

"It was my understanding that the resident association decided to establish guarded neighbourhood because they want to provide something that offered maybe ease of privacy and exclusivity and a more comfortable environment […] however, safety and security still a main reason for them to live in guarded neighbourhood".

Code: LA 1

"[…] some of residents didn't want people coming and going through their residential areas […] you know why people want to put physical barriers on public roads […] sometimes it just a symbol or a way of life that they desire to live […] so these residents are doing these types of developments."

Code: LA 2

However, from the point of view of the residents' associations of the, only one respondent agreed that the element of privacy and exclusive living as an important reason to form guarded neighbourhoods while another participant from the residents' association felt that the establishment of guarded neighbourhoods only created a *"false sense of privacy"*. For instance, one participant from the RA group explained that:

"We created Guarded Neighbourhood not because of the need of privacy, but as a deterrent to the high rate of criminal incidents. However, now our residents feel that our community has an enhanced private living due to the presence of security guards; although in reality it is not quite true"

Code: RA 3

Fieldworks revealed that perimeter fencing provide a sturdy image of privacy and exclusivity, and marks class boundaries. Guarded neighbourhoods cocoon residents and their family members. Residents may separate themselves from the rest of society who they define as different: 'us' versus 'them'. The majority of residents of guarded neighbourhoods interviewed explained that they appreciated privacy and exclusivity. One said, *"No one can disturb me [...] no strangers are in my neighbourhood area"* *(Code: GNBSD 2)*. Another explained, *"My neighbours or outsiders don't know what I am doing" (Code: GNPI 2)*.

Research findings also discovered that a majority of participants, felt that the need for privacy and exclusive living were less important compared to the safety and security factors, when deciding to form a restricted-access community. When asked whether they are aware of any differences in the degree of privacy between the guarded neighbourhood and open neighbourhoods, all participants of the RGN group responded by saying that their neighbourhood offer more privacy and exclusiveness compared to open neighbourhoods. One of the participants commented:

"Personally, I would say that our community has more privacy and is more exclusive compared to open neighbourhood [...] we have security patrols, CCTV

and various other security measures – it's mark my place and property [...]

well, (peter) look around!, nice environment, isn't it?"

Based on the quotes above, the guarded neighbourhood development in the selected case studies in Selangor state revealed certain ambivalence about the privacy and exclusive living. At times they talked about the gates functioned primarily to give safety and security, they also revealed the needs of privacy and exclusive living and acknowledging the prestige enclosure conferred. Their primary justification for gates was safety and security, and the belief that they had earned the right to a degree of privacy and exclusivity.

The desire for increased privacy and limited access, exclusivity and personal safety from unwanted outsiders is one of the fundamental driving forces in the creation of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia. Fieldworks and observations found that at main entrances, "STOP" or "Visitors please register" signs remind outsiders that the security guards exert power and control access. Interviews with residents of guarded neighbourhoods revealed that only resident and their family members can enter their neighbourhood freely especially during weekends. Signage at the main entrances of private neighbourhoods reflects a demarcation of property rights, thus displaying power and status to outsiders. Signage also provide a mechanism for assigning property rights from public to private goods, thus by compartmentalising the neighbourhood areas into smaller parcels create an environment of privacy and exclusive living.

7.2.4 Property Investment

Although security dominated the discourse around the justification for enclosing older residential areas, residents acknowledged other motivations for gating. The majority of residents of guarded neighbourhood interviewed saw enclosure as enhancing property values. Khalid (2012) noted that in Malaysia properties with strong security systems fetched higher prices and had higher appreciation in value. Xavier (2008) found that gated communities increased property values. One resident of guarded neighbourhood explained about the property investment: *"Even if my property price do not increase, I believe my house rentals will be high compared with open neighbourhood properties" (Code: GNBSD 4).*

Le Goix and Vesselinov (2012, p. 18) said that, gated communities "more likely to profit from price bubble periods, and more likely to resist a sudden drop in value during downturns". This study revealed that in Selangor state, guarded neighbourhoods could increase the property value, due to the constant demand for security, lifestyle and privacy. A member of the residents' association talked about this, *"residents are prepared to pay a premium for maintenance fees so that the facilities or amenities – mostly public goods – could be maintained appropriately" (Code: RA 2).* Another RA also shared a similar opinion on the issue of property investment and said:

> *"We collect maintenance fees from the residents so that we could maintain the neighbourhood area [...] the money will be used to run the guarded neighbourhood scheme from security guards to physical barriers [...] we hope by doing this our community will be more vibrant and indirectly will increase the property value of the community" . Code: RA 4*

Residents of guarded neighbourhoods felt that the property price would increase in the future due to the added security elements, better landscaping and various other elements. One resident commented on this, *"[...] from the economic side, I hope my house price in guarded neighbourhood development will be increased in future and this is why I'm willing to participate in guarded neighbourhood development"* (Code: GNBSD 2). A resident of GNPI also shared his view on this issue and contended that: *"I intend to stay in guarded neighbourhood development because I can feel and believe that my property value will increase significantly because we have a nice surrounding area"* (Code: GNPI 3).

The function of enclosures in urban and suburban projects is to enhance property values. The splendid lifestyle, accompanied by security guards has facilitated to a better quality of live, resulting in an increase in property and rental values in private neighbourhoods in Malaysia. All residents of guarded neighbourhoods interviewed felt the features in guarded neighbourhood development such as CCTV, barrier gates, security guards, better landscaping and various other elements helped maintain or increase the property and rental value. However, it has to be pointed out that the increase in property price is only a presumption on part of the residents. Realistically, there have been no official reports issued on this matter. When posed with the scenario of the property prices not increasing, one of the participants explained that;

> *"[...]even if my property price do not increase, but I believe my rental will be high compared to non guarded neighbourhoods [...] but whatever happen I am confident I will not lose anything when I decided to participate in guarded neighbourhood development..."*

> *Code: GNBSD 3*

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Interviews revealed that the resident associations will endeavour to maintain and manage the neighbourhood area to increase the liveability inside the guarded neighbourhoods. In order to do that, the residents' association imposed a maintenance fees so that the area inside the guarded neighbourhood development can be maintained accordingly. One resident association talked about this:

"we collect maintenance fees from the residents so that we could maintain the neighbourhood area [...] The money will be used to maintain the guarded neighbourhood scheme from security guards to physical barriers [...] we hope by doing this our community will be more vibrant and indirectly will increase the property value of the community"

Code: RA 1

A further study was carried to substantiate the claim guarded neighborhood cause an increase in property value. The local authority was approached since residents' associationhave to justify their reasons for the application to form a guarded neighbourhood. In answering this question, one of the local authorities stated that:

"There is no strong evidence that can be linked between the price and the property inside the guarded neighbourhood development [...] the property market price is not influence by this kind of development but based on the current situation of the economic performance"

Code: LA 1

As such, it can be argued that in Malaysia guarded neighbourhood attempt to create an aesthetically appealing environment as a reflection of a status symbol for the residents,

with various packaging and branding to compete in the real estate market. In addition to that, the perception of buying property in a guarded neighbourhood as a secured property investment has also become one of the reasons for residents to choose to live in enclosed communities. However, one of the participants living in a guarded neighbourhood development simply said; *"I'm not so sure about the relationship between guarded neighbourhoods and property prices. Perhaps you might want to consider other factors such as the current trend of property price according to the location and current economic performances"* (*Code: GNBSD 4*).

Nevertheless, drawing from the empirical data, two conclusions can be summarised: some of respondents agreed that in an enclosed community the property price could increase in the future or at least maintained and the rental price for properties in guarded neighbourhood is higher compared to those in open neighbourhoods. These findings are very significant because guarded neighbourhoods could increase the value of property, due to the constant increase in demand for security, lifestyle and exclusive living over the years as similar observed in the American city such as California (Goix and Vesselinov, 2012).

After analysing this section, this study would like to offer some concluding remarks. In terms of safety and security, all of the participants across various groups agreed that the increasing demand for guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor is mainly due to the requirement for extra safety and precautionary measures in residential areas. A desire to prevent the occurrence of crimes (presumably committed by outsiders) has been strongly cited by all participants as a major justification for privatising public areas and establishing the guarded neighbourhood schemes in Selangor state. The desire to have a more private and exclusive living coupled with good property investment have also

been identified as secondary factors for residents to live in guarded communities. However, despite the number of factors that have been expressed by these respondents, the study found that urban residents in Selangor state want a more secure and liveable residential areas.

7.3   Producing Guarded Neighbourhood

This section attempts to examine the role of the state and multiple key actors in (re)producing and governing enclosures in older areas in Selangor, which aim to answer the second research question: How does the state and other key authors intervene in the (re)production and governing guarded neighbourhood in Malaysia? As seen in Chapter 4 there are no studies undertaken on gated communities in Malaysia which analyse the interplay between the various relevant authorities in Selangor state, and therefore, there are so far, no findings regarding the (re)producing and governance of guarded neighbourhoods in sub/urban areas in Malaysia. However, as described in Chapter 3, some researchers in the international arena have discussed the role of the state in governing enclosure and linked it with globalisation, neoliberalisation and urban governance (Genis, 2007; Grant and Rosen, 2009). This section will be divided into four sections: process and procedure in governing enclosure; post-approval stage; the effectives of current guidelines and laws; the roles of the federal, state and local government and resident associations in (re) producing enclaves.

7.3.1   Application Procedures

The perennial debate about the rise of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia had so far neglected the role of the local authority in this phenomenon. One question was posed to

the stakeholders groups: Is there any standard operation procedure (SOP) is used by them to monitor and supervise the guarded neighbourhood in Selangor state. All staff of local authorities interviewed explained that there were no standard operation procedures used by them to oversee the guarded the neighbourhood in Selangor. Some of them talked about this and their views are listed as below:

"At present, there is no specific SOP in overseeing the development of guarded neighbourhoods. What is available is merely the guidelines issued by the Selangor state and Federal government"

Code: LA1

"There has yet to be a proper procedure in overseeing the guarded neighbourhood developments [...] the applications will be evaluated based on the guarded neighbourhood guideline [...]"

Code: LA 2

"In our department, we don't have any specific procedure to approve the guarded neighbourhood applications [...] we have a checklist that has to be completed by the applying resident associations"

Code: LA 3

This study reveals that at the state government level there is also no standard operating procedure (SOP) to monitor and supervise guarded neighbourhood. The state representative strongly expressed his opinion that the responsibility to administer the guarded neighbourhood is within the purview of the local authorities in Selangor. He explained further that the role of the state government is to guide the local authority in terms of the planning approval requirement based on the guarded neighbourhood guideline that was produced by the HPBS. The state representative illustrated his

sentiment in the quotation below: *"The State only issues guidelines, and does not institute any SOPs. The State does not involve itself directly in the monitoring and implementation of guarded neighbourhood developments as it's under the purview of the local authority"* (*Code: ST*)

This finding was surprising because guarded neighbourhood is a growing phenomenon in Malaysia, yet, there are no specific practices and procedures to supervise and monitor the development. Interviews revealed that all the participants of LA group were aware of the existence of guarded neighbourhood but only some of them have a good knowledge regarding this issue. The majority of the participants of LA group explained and criticised the effects of guarded neighbourhoods while some proudly described guarded neighbourhoods as a solution to minimise the incidence of crime in residential areas.

Whilst there is no SOP at local and state level, this study further examined on the general practices adopted by the local authority to supervise and monitor guarded neighbourhood development in Selangor. This study found that there are at least three main levels of the application process and they vary according to the jurisdiction of the local authority. For example, one of the local authorities in Selangor will discuss the application during the *"infrastructure meeting"* while another local authority will bring this application into the *"one stop centre"*. Interviews revealed that all local authorities in Selangor are required to present the application to be reviewed by the technical department before a decision can be made.

In order to understand the process in further detail, this study will discuss each of this stage by looking into the opinion of the staff of the federal, state and local government.

First, in the early stage, the residents' association will submit an application form to the local authority for consideration. This application will be evaluated and must be follow the basic requirement as stated in the "Guarded Neighbourhood" guideline. For instance, the state's guideline allowed enclosure to be developed in older areas based on majority vote (at least 85% majority). Residents could vote to accept or reject the creation of enclosure development. One of local authority staff explained that:

"The local authorities allow the implementation of guarded neighbourhoods as long as the application is made through the residents associations, with the consent of at least 85% of the residents [...]We just want them to register with us as the roads are public property and movement should not be impeded nor blocked off totally"

Code: LA 1

Before the application can proceed to the next step, the residents' association is required to inform the surrounding neighbourhoods of their intention to establish a guarded neighbourhood. The surrounding neighbourhood must be aware about their intention because if the application is approved, some of the public roads and streets might be temporary closed subject to a specific condition. This is captured in the following excerpt:

"The resident association must inform the surrounding neighbouring residents regarding their intention to establish a guarded neighbourhood [....] we will specify where to put the notice or banners, normally in the main entrance. After 21 days from the notice, if there is no objection, we will bring the application to

the technical meeting and will decide whether to accept or reject the application

[…] in some cases, we will require the applicant to resubmit an application"

Code: LA 3

If there are no complaints from the surrounding neighbouring residents, the application will be sent to the technical department of the local authority. The technical department would then be tasked to critically evaluate the guarded neighbourhood application. However, a staff of the local authority interviewed explained that the technical department review of the application sometimes is not taken seriously. Admittedly, the absence of a clear SOP in guarded neighbourhood development might be a factor for the local authority to make a decision on an *"ad-hoc"* basis. One of the respondents from the local authority responded:

"We actually do not require their –Technical Department –review as the proposal paper will be prepared by our department, and will be formally presented in the meeting. In case of additional input by the Police Department or the Fire Department, we will include those in the approval letter"

Code: LA 3

However, not all local authorities felt the same way about the technical department report. For example, LA4 felt that the feedback from the technical departments is very important before they can decide whether to approve or disapprove the application for the guarded neighbourhood development. During the technical department meeting, there are some main issues being considered would be matters relating to the location and size of the proposed guard house, physical barriers, traffic flow and manual surveillance. In terms of the guard house, this issue is slightly more complex as it

involves land matters which fall under the power of the State government. Local authority staff interviewed explained that *"the resident association through the local authority needs to apply for the Temporary of Occupation License (TOL) for the purposes of constructing the guard house from the Land Office of Selangor"(Code: LA 7).* Another local authority employee described the same issue:

> *"Resident association is responsible to apply the TOL from the Land Office of Selangor through the respective local authority [...] Guard houses are only allowed to be built at road shoulder and should not obstruct traffic".*
>
> *Code: LA 1*

In terms of manual surveillance, both the technical departments and the local authority is not empowered to decide whether the security guards appointed by the residents' association fulfil the requirements under the existing guidelines. The majority of participants from LA group explained that this issue becomes more complex because monitoring of the security guards appointed by the resident association is technically under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Home Affairs. For instance, one interview commented *"we fully rely on the Ministry of Home Affair to validate the private company security" (Code: LA 4).* This situation is worse when all local authorities staff person interviewed assumed that the security guards appointed by the resident association is a legal agency and having operating approval from the Ministry of Home Affair. One said that, "*we do not monitor the appointment of security guards [...] we do not really know who are they hiring –security guards – and it is up to the resident association" (Code: LA 5).*

Another important issue during the technical department meeting is on the issue of physical barriers. The majority of participants from LA group explained that the Fire Department will be tasked to examine the proposed location of the guard house while the Engineering Department will be tasked to evaluate the traffic flow within and outside the guarded neighbourhood development. This study revealed that even though there are other departments involved but these two departments are the most important when evaluating the location of physical barriers. Feedbacks from these departments will help the local authority make a decision on the application for the guarded neighbourhood as one of local authority staff explained: *"The residents associations must also agree that the guardhouse did not put up a barrier and its location posed no obstruction to traffic, meaning it must only be sited on the road shoulder"* (*Code: LA 3*).

After obtaining feedbacks from the technical department, the local authority will decide whether to approve or reject the application for guarded neighbourhood. The decision can be a "temporary planning approval with or without condition" (if it is approved) or it can be rejected. One local authority staff interviewed said that *"the temporary planning approval will normally be valid for a two year period and the resident association need to re-apply for approval after the temporary planning approval has expired"(LA 2)*. He further explained that during this two year period, the residents' association will be responsible to inform the local authority of any decision to withdraw from the guarded neighbourhood scheme application. This approval can be withdrawn by the local authority without any notice.

Despite the agreement between the various authorities to grant temporary approvals to the guarded neighbourhood development, those interviewed mentioned that they did not support the guarded neighbourhood development. A federal government officer

interviewed explained that the future implication of this phenomenon need to be seriously considered and there should not be an over reliance on short term solutions by giving renewable planning approvals to such development.

7.3.2   Post-Application

A very interesting paradox during this interview has to do with the issue of post-approval of the guarded development. The responsible authorities failed to provide concrete evidence on their role, and seem to limit their responsibility only up to the point when the temporary approval was granted to the guarded neighbourhood development. Interviews with key actors in federal, state and local government revealed that there are no follow up action taken to check and monitor the guarded neighbourhood developments. Interestingly, all of these participants responded that there is a presumption that the guarded neighbourhood developments complies with the existing guidelines as long as there are no complaints from the public and the residents of the immediate neighbourhood. These interesting findings are demonstrated in the quotations below:

> *"We assumed that the guarded neighbourhood implementation is successful as long as there are no complaints and protests from the immediate neighbouring society and its residents".*

Code: LA 1

> *"There's simply insufficient manpower to ensure that the temporarily approved GN development complies with the guidelines provided. But, if there are no complaints and protests from the immediate neighbouring society and its*

residents, then we assumed that the GN has successfully complied to the approval requirements and checklist".

<div align="right">*Code: LA 3*</div>

"We will check only if there are complaints and protests from the immediate neighbouring society and its residents. Otherwise, we will assume that the implementation of the GN is successful and is run according to the guidelines".

<div align="right">*Code: LA 4*</div>

It was observed that the majority of guarded neighbourhood developments does not comply with the requirements that were stipulated under the guidelines for guarded neighbourhood. The state officer interviewed noted the same issue: *"we did not monitor the guarded neighbourhood developments but relied fully on the local authority to do so" (Code: ST).* This study also revealed that the government urban planners often are unaware of the total number of guarded neighbourhood. The planning department in the local authority have no (systematic) system for monitoring this development. The participants of the stakeholders' group admitted that the illegal guarded neighbourhoods are overwhelming high in older residential areas in Selangor state. Local authorities staff interviewed explained they have difficulties in monitoring the increasing number of illegal guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor. One explained *"we do not have enough staff to do an inventory of the illegal guarded neighbourhood and only based on complaints from wider society" (Code: LA 6).*

7.3.3 Assessing guidelines of guarded neighbourhoods

The guidelines produced by the federal and state government seem to that the Malaysian planning system support these development. Interviews with local authorities and other stakeholders suggest that the guidelines were responses to the increasing demand for enclosure phenomenon. The guideline allows local authorities to approve enclosure in public spaces by giving a two year renewable planning approval. However, a federal government representative appeared to feel uncomfortable with the current guidelines and said that *"[...] the guidelines only allowed 2 years renewable planning approval [...] we don't have any intention to support or legalise these developments [...] the guidelines only a guidance for local authorities to govern the enclosure developments" (Code: FD).* However, the majority of local authorities' employees interviewed agreed that the current laws are not effective and need to be amended as mentioned by an employee:

> *"[...] federal government should formulate special laws to regulate gated communities and guarded neighbourhoods [...] we only have guidelines as guidance and the guidelines should be binding by-laws."*
>
> *Code: LA 4*

Further investigation found that the existing guideline does not address the legality issue: *ad hoc* approval is still contradicting with several public laws in Malaysia. For example, as seen in Chapter 4, section 46 (1) of the SDBA prohibits a person to build, erect, maintain or issue permit to maintain any wall or fencing in a public place. Section 80 of the RTA 1987 also prohibits placing any restriction on public roads. Interviews revealed that majority of local government sometimes tolerated physical barriers on

public roads such as manual boom gates with 24 hours security control. This study suggests that guidelines such as limiting fence heights, restricting permanent structure or require 24 hours security at guard house located at the main entrances become a remedy for those who wishing to secure the neighbourhoods. Further analysis revealed that residents negotiated applications with the local authority encourage residents to form enclosure in older residential areas.

Selective enforcement of the law reflects the willingness of decision makers to facilitate the formation of enclosures. For instance, Malaysian laws such as the SDBA 1974 and the RTA 1987 specify that public streets must be kept open for access. Another guideline, the Private Agency Circular (1) 2006, prepared before the high demand for security guards grew so extensive requires that only Malaysians and Nepalese ex-army can work as security guards: fieldwork showed that in 2012 immigrants from South Asia − especially Indonesian and Bangladeshi −were usually employed as security guards. This issue becomes more complex because monitoring of the security guards appointed by the resident association is technically under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Local authorities interviewed said:

> *"We assume that the security guards appointed by the resident associations are a legal agency and has gained operating approval from the Ministry of Home Affair. We don't have any right to examine whether the appointment of security guards is in line with the requirements by the Ministry of Home Affair".*

Code: LA 5

Interviews with local authority staff and other stakeholders suggested that the guidelines should respond to the increasing trend towards enclosure. The existing guidelines

allowed local authorities to approve enclosure of public spaces by giving residents' associations a two-year renewable planning approvals to erect barriers. Some of the staff of local authorities interviewed strongly believes that the existing guidelines needed to be amended as they see a great need to regulate guarded neighbourhood developments. One common suggestion during the interviews was for the adoption of a special law or code which specifically addresses the issues revolving around the guarded neighbourhood. One of the participants in his response stated that the existing guidelines are not adequate to sufficiently monitor and supervise the guarded neighbourhood development. This participant mentioned that: *"The existing guidelines are insufficient, unless there are a set of acts and codes especially crafted to address the rapid development of guarded neighbourhoods"* (Code: LA1)

A state officer interviewed also shared a similar opinion with the representatives of the local authorities. He explained that the existing guidelines should be implemented in the form of by-laws to ensure that the processes, procedures and enforcement actions can be made more effective at the local authorities' level. The state officer explains the issue of effectiveness of the existing guidelines by stating that:

"If according to building by laws, there are no allowances for certain items under guarded neighbourhoods (such as entry and exit points), but these guidelines are provided to ensure that there are minimal misappropriate conduct by the resident association in the implementation of the guarded neighbourhoods. Should there be no guidelines at all, we are concerned that the resident association will act as they wish, irrespective of the best interest of the community and the general public"

Code: ST

While there is a strong consensus between the local authorities regarding the insufficient legislation, a representative from federal government felt that the existing guidelines are sufficient and adequate. He explained: *"The guidelines become a backbone to monitor and regulate these developments, especially guarded neighbourhood schemes"* (FD). He explains further that the tools –laws and guidelines – are available suit the purpose. He explained: *"the federal government does not intend to enact a special law relating to the guarded neighbourhood. The guidelines are seen to be sufficient to drive the State government and local authorities in governing the guarded neighbourhood"* (Code: FD)

In summary, an inadequate SOP has resulted in an inefficient set of procedure adopted by the local authority to govern enclosure communities. Even though there are guidelines regarding this phenomenon, these seemed to be insufficient as well as inefficient since there are no specific measures to guide the governance for post-approval of guarded neighbourhood. The guideline in the first place contravene with several federal laws such as the NLC and the TCPA. The study would argue that the current guidelines would not only result in making the enclosure communities illegal, but it would also reflect the failure of the responsible authorities to standardise the practise of dealing with pre and post applications for guarded neighbourhood. Thus the next section attempts to discuss the role of the state –federal, state and local government – in (re)producing and governing enclosure developments in Malaysia.

7.4   Governing Guarded Neighbourhoods: The Role of Multiple Key Actors

Malaysia operates a three tiered government: federal, state/territorial, and local. Non-state actors in the development process include a range of companies that may develop

land, build homes, manage condominiums in the case of gated communities, or provide security services. Various citizens' groups—such as neighbourhood watch groups, safety organizations, and residents' associations—also participate in the governance of enclosure urban space. Given the growing popularity of enclosures in Malaysia, stakeholders in the country face the question of how to handle these communities. What is less clear, however, is why enclosure is so popular in Malaysia? What role does the state play? This section describes the roles of each of these categories in turn.

7.4.1   Federal Government

Historically, the role of the state in (re)production of enclosure in Malaysia started in early 1980s in parallel with the neoliberalism era in the West. The government "rolled-back" from housing provision in early 1980s and aimed for market-based approach to operate. Since then, enclosures and privatisation of once "public space" in city centre and suburban became common in Malaysia. In 1985, the federal government introduced the STA to regulate a new type of housing development – condominium / high rise buildings – and most of these were developed as private residential development. As enclosures mushroomed in Malaysia, the government amended the STA in 2007 which allowed gated communities for landed property to be statutorily created and regulated more effectively (Fernandez, 2007). The federal government also introduced a new statute, BCPA 2007 to address the 'prevailing land-related problems including gated and guarded' development (Mohammad et al., 2009, p. 72).

Parallel to the recognition that enclosure is part and parcel of housing development, the vital role of the federal government in the (re)production of enclosure in older areas became universally acknowledged. Interviews and document analysed revealed that the

federal government through the DTCP has introduced the guidelines to oversee the development of "gated communities" and "guarded neighbourhood". (Re)production of enclosure in older areas however is not recognized by any public law in Malaysia. Participants from stakeholders' groups argued that the issue of legality of guarded neighbourhoods in the eyes of public laws in Malaysia has yet to be addressed. A federal government representative interviewed said that:

"In 2010, we introduced the "gated communities" and "guarded neighbourhoods" guidelines. The guidelines become a backbone to monitor and regulate these developments especially guarded neighbourhoods scheme. However, we don't have any intention to "fully" legalise this communities (guarded neighbourhoods)"

Code: FD

This might explained why enclosure developments have embedded itself within the housing legislation in Malaysia. In the context of perceived or real crime in residential areas as observed in other nations (Caldeira, 2000; Landman, 2002), interviews indicate that in Malaysia, the government plays key role in promoting enclosure communities by providing monetary incentives to residents' associations. Under the Malaysian Budget 2013, the federal government has allocate USD 56 million (see Figure 7.1) to the private sector and local communities to ensure the safety of the neighbourhood as what Nooi (2008) argued that the state and local government in Malaysia now operate within a framework of being politically, financially and economically subordinate to the federal government. Federal government staff person interviewed commented about the Malaysian Budget 2013:

"the budget of neighbourhoods' safety will be used by resident associations, neighbourhood watch committees and private developers to manage neighbourhood areas – some communities changed their status from open neighbourhoods to guarded neighbourhoods by hiring security guards or/and fencing the communities".

Code: FD

Figure 7.1: Federal Government's Incentives for Enclosures
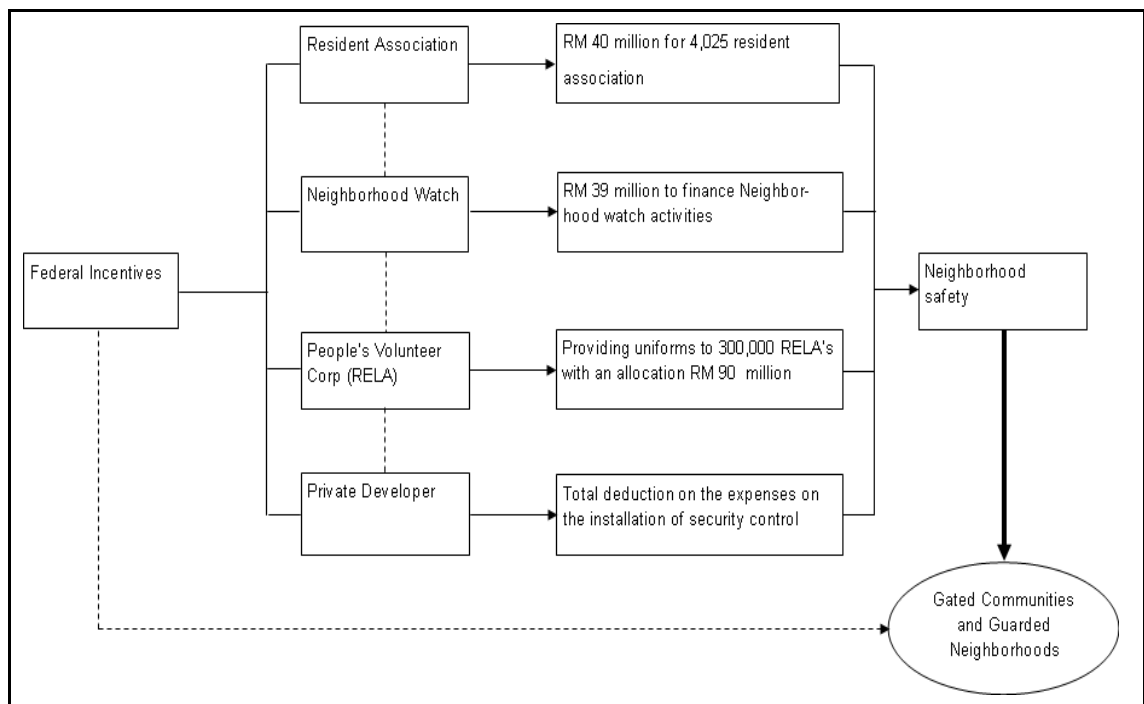Source: Author

From the outset, this study suggests that the legal mechanism and incentives by federal government induce the notion of moral panics, thus contributing to protected spaces and even being perceived as essential, to be safe from crime. A moral panic as explained by Kenna and Dunn (2009) reflects the urban 'disorder' and a fear of 'uncontrolled' environments.

7.4.2   State Government

State and local government in Malaysia are politically and economically subordinate to the federal government (Nooi, 2008). Political relationships between Selangor state and the federal government are often antagonistic, since the opposition party controlled the state since 2008. Even before then, however, state officials sometimes challenged, ignored, or contravened federal policies.

In 2007 the Housing and Property Board of Selangor introduced its own guidelines to govern the closure of public roads (a practice not officially permitted by the federal government).This guidelines are stricter than those set by the federal government, but participants of LA group explained that they have a choice either to use the guidelines by the federal or the state government. Fieldworks revealed that while the Selangor state sets standards that may make achieving local consensus for enclosure more difficult, it has limited ability to reduce demand for enclosure or to slow its spread: illegal guarded neighbourhoods mushroomed in Selangor state

 Given the division powers between federal and state government, it is inevitable that the mechanism to regulate enclosure development differs not only between the two tiers of government but also between states. A state officer interviewed said: *"There are several guidelines produced by federal and state authorities. For example, 51% support from residents is required by federal authorities to establish a guarded neighbourhood, while at least 85% concern from residents is required by the state level […] We at the local authority level will adopt both of the guidelines but favour the state guideline"* (Code: ST).

The enclosure development in Malaysia was rooted in the housing market without any regulatory control from the state until the Strata Title Act in 2007 and the introduction of enclosure guidelines in 2010. From the state's perspective, enclosure developments were seen as a way of meeting the demands of the middle class groups in urban and suburban areas without acknowledging the possible impacts of guarded neighbourhood towards the wider society. A state officer explains, *"Some of local authorities' workers seem not so sure about the impacts of these developments towards the wider society. They see these developments as a solution to the urban issues such as safety and security"* (*Code: ST*). Another state officer agreed that the local authorities faced a dilemma to approve enclosure applications amidst demand and pressure from residents in older areas.

7.4.3   Local Government

The majority of LA group interviewed explained the importance of self-urban policing such as sharing the cost of urban management with residents of guarded neighbourhood as one of the major consideration to expedite the application for enclosures. All participants of LA roup interviewed argued that they do not have enough manpower supply. Thus, enclosures become one of the 'free solutions' for local authority to engage with neighbourhood administration. Local authority staff interviewed lamented that:

> *"[…] We do not have enough man power supply to monitor every single neighbourhood […] We have other work to do […]"*

Code: LA 5

Planners working for local authorities deal with applications from residents for enclosure, and evaluate requests for local barricades. Given limited funding available to local governments, departments described themselves as short-staffed and unable to police urban space for compliance to policies in effect. Local authority staff members deal with the applications they receive and generally approve enclosures. All of the local authorities staff interviewed perceived that guarded neighbourhoods save them the costs of maintaining public amenities. One person explained *"[...] members of the residents' association become the 'eyes and ears' of local officials, thus helping us to optimize our manpower on other work" (Code: LA 4)*. Another local authority staff person interviewed said that:

"I believe enclosure developments help local authorities in term of urban management: landscaping, blocking drainage, and dealing with uncollected garbage. A residents' association will inform us if there are any issues within their communities. [...] I would say that the role of the resident association at the neighbourhood level indirectly helps us in urban management, especially on the issue of safety and security"

Code: LA 3

Interviews indicate that all local authorities in Selangor were aware of the existence of enclosures but only some recognised the scope of the illegal erection of barricades. A few local authority staff criticised enclosures, yet others proudly described recognition programs for such communities. One person interviewed said that *"we organize best neighbourhood awards every year [...] to appreciate the role of residents' associations in managing their neighbourhood area [...] Last year [2011] the winner was the guarded neighbourhood development from Bandar Sri Damansara" (Code: LA 3)*.

Further investigation on the 'Best Neighbourhood' award organised by the local authorities found that the winner was given a cash of RM50,000 (USD 18 000).

Some local authority staff interviewed explained that sometimes they are pressured by residents to approve enclosure applications. One local authority employee interviewed reported that political intervention further complicates the development process in Malaysia. One local authority staff interviewed said *"We received an application to close public roads [... that] was supported and recommended by a politician in the area" (Code: LA 6).* Recently, one member from the opposition party told a reporter that *"I believe enclosure development has to be decided on a case-by-case basis. It should be allowed if there are no objections".* Bassoli (2010, p. 487) explained that contemporary politics in Malaysia reflects a "shift from national to local levels [that] has been driven primarily by a new collaborative attitude that has arisen among politicians and been strongly supported by political institutions". Supporting residents' requests for enclosure suits political objectives.

7.4.4   Resident Associations

By the early 1980s, a new mode of communities' governance in older residential areas emerged in the Malaysian city: the role of residents' associations became more significant in neighbourhood areas. Resident action to promote neighbourhood safety played a key role in enclosure of older areas. By the early 1980s residents' associations were becoming significant local groups in urban issues. The role of residents' associations in neighbourhood safety in Malaysia has become significant with their numbers growing: for instance, the number of associations registered under the Societies Act increased 12% from 2008 to 2009 (Najib, 2012). Studies of such

associations have argued that they help create safe and harmonious communities in enclosure developments in Malaysia (Karim and Rashid, 2010).

Since the early 2000s residents' associations have increasingly organised to raise funds to erect barriers and hire guards. The creation of guarded neighbourhood was based on collective action as Webster (2002) explained the formation of shared consumption goods by urban residents. Encouraged by funding programs from government, citizens organised neighbourhood watch and safety associations to patrol areas to enhance security. Some secured official approvals for enclosure, but others self-organised and took over control of public spaces without requesting permission. One chairman of resident associations interviewed said that *"our role at neighbourhood level is a practical way devised to solve the problem regarding safety and security in Malaysia"* *(Code: LA 1).*

Documents analysed revealed that the federal guidelines governing applications for enclosing older areas require that the association garner support from 51% of its residents. The state of Selangor requires 85% consent from the residents. With that high requirement, some associations forgo the formalities and simply erect barriers: fieldworks revealed that most of the enclosures in Selangor state are illegal. Few repercussions ensue. If the 85% consent were to be adhered to, residents who voted against the formation of guarded neighbourhoods will be *free riders*. Resident associations collect fees from residents willing to pay, but they have no mechanism to enforce compliance. One resident association leader interviewed said *"we don't force them to pay the maintenance fee […] I hope someday they will realize the importance of the guarded neighbourhood concept, since crime incidents are happening every day in*

residential areas [...] We need to take extra safety and security measures" (Code: LA 2).

All participants from RA group interviewed believed that they play a vital role in protecting neighbourhood safety and security. Indeed, the system seems a cost-effective way for government to address—and to reinforce—concerns regarding safety and security. Due to the popularity of guarded neighbourhoods, the total number of private security guards in Malaysia is now greater than the number of police officers (Surin, 2009): enclosure generates extensive numbers of low-paying jobs for immigrant labor.

In exploring ways in which residents of guarded neighbourhoods deal with problems in their community area, this study found that they never or rarely contact the local authority but prefer to inform their residents' association. Some of residents of guarded neighbourhoods interviewed also criticised the local authority for not providing adequate services. For instance, one resident of guarded neighbourhoods explained:

> *"[...] I will contacting the security guards or resident association's members rather than directly complaining to the local authority [...]I would say that the public service rendered by the local authority is not up to the expectations of the general public"*

Code: GR 5

Even where there are criticisms against municipality regarding the services provided by them, the general consensus was rather positive about the way the local authorities functions. Those interviewed believe that the role of local authorities in providing general services is still significant and important. Resident association interviewed

explained that *"whatever happens in this community is still under the responsibility of the local authority and the local authority looks after everything from garbage collection to landscaping [...] we only help to expedite the process by informing them if something goes wrong in our communities"* (Code: LA 4).

The final question in the qualitative interview asked the local authority, state and federal government whether they are supportive or against the guarded neighbourhood development. A majority of them felt that the concept of open neighbourhood is much better than the concept of guarded communities. Some of them also felt that *"neighbourhood watch"* and *"Rukun tetangga"* concept can be more efficient if the residents themselves are willing to sacrifice their time to patrol their own residential area. However, some participants supported the development of guarded neighbourhoods because it will help the local authority maintain the residential area.

To surmise, it can be seen that the state indirectly promote enclosure development in Malaysia particularly in Selangor. The state tolerated enclosure communities and believed that the security and safety measures could be improved for the residents through the privatisation of urban spaces. Consequently, urban spaces in older areas become zealously protected by manual surveillances and physical barriers. The case study in Selangor state reveals a unique situation where local authorities manage and maintain the infrastructure and provide public services despite restricted access. The next section will examine the social and spatial implications of guarded neighbourhoods towards the general public at large.

7.5   The Contemporary Neighbourhood Development: Mixed and Fragmented

In the previous sections, this study found that the resident association create guarded neighbourhoods because residents demand them for various reasons such as safety and security, exclusive and private living, and property investment. Local authorities often favour guarded neighbourhoods since the cost of the safety and securities are paid by the residents. Residents and local authority believed these developments as a win-win situation for them, but what happens to residents of those communities who refuse to join and what does the future entail for communities where a large portion of urban space are privatised? This section will be a balance between who believe enclosure can enhance certain degree of integration and those who find that physical barriers will deepen the social segregation in the residential area. Two main questions were posed to the respondents: to what extent do guarded neighbourhoods result in the phenomenon of social segregations and urban fragmentation? And what are the effects of this phenomenon towards the wider society?

7.5.1   Communities fragmentations, social relations and class markers

One could argue that Selangor state was segregated and fragmented prior neoliberalisation in the early 1980s. Indeed, a large number of gated communities were built by the private developers as the state reduces their role in the housing industry. Today, enclosure is one of the most radical transformations of residential landscape in Malaysia, where gated communities and guarded neighbourhoods are extensively being built in sub/urban areas. Fieldworks revealed that physical barriers and guards limit access for outsiders who wished to use public spaces within the community areas.

Visitors must register with the guards and temporarily surrender documents to enter a guarded neighbourhood.

The (re)production of enclosure in older areas by building physical barriers on public roads and streets obviously created a fragmented community. Indeed, the enclosure guidelines (see Figure 7.2) allowed residents to create territory and private management as Webster (2002) argued that enclosures are part and parcel of a global trend towards privatization of public goods – only members are allowed to enjoy the facilities and amenities within the boundaries of their territory. Local authority staff interviewed in Selangor said that: "*[...] the guideline allowed neighbourhood areas to be divided into smaller parcel [...] this will create a neighbourhood fragmentation based on types, tenure, and social class [...] restricted outsiders to enter their neighbourhood areas*" *(Code: LA 4)*
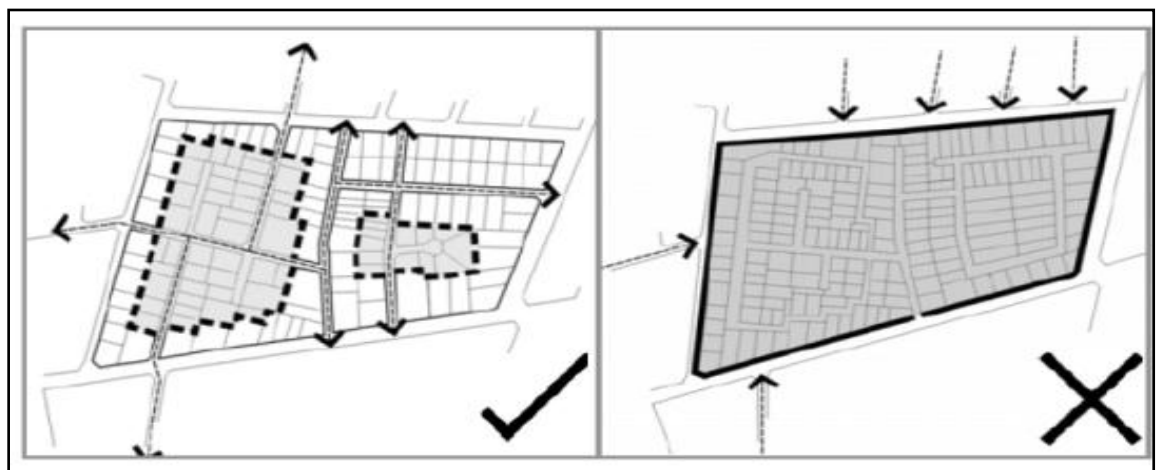
Figure 7.2: Layout Plan of Enclosure (Gated Communities)
Source: DTCP, (2010, p. 5)
Note: There is no specific layout plan for guarded neighbourhoods. Residents will decide where to put the physical barriers

The majority of local authority employees noted that although guidelines govern spatial design, traffic implications, size of development, accessories of perimeter fencing, and general planning control, they fail to consider the socio-spatial implications of enclosure

to the wider society. For instance, one said: *"The current guidelines aren't great because we don't really consider the social implications. It is obvious that the guidelines allowed neighbourhood areas to be divided into smaller parcels. This will create neighbourhood fragmentation based on types, tenure, and social class by restricting outsiders from entering"* (Code: LA 1).

Although the Malaysian government has facilitated the development of enclosure by providing guidelines, establishing approval processes, and continue to maintain services on restricted public spaces as explained in previous section (role of the state), some staff of local authorities in Selangor acknowledged negative social and spatial implications of guarded neighbourhoods. Another local authority staff person interviewed said that: *"Guarded neighbourhoods draw a line between lower, middle, and upper classes, and I am amazed nobody has condemned it yet as a serious factor of social segregation in residential areas. Even the federal and state government produced specific guidelines to – maybe—support these developments"* (Code: LA 5).

While the layout designs for enclosure developments enhance exclusion of public spaces, the idea of social-class markers are emerging in Malaysia. Like enclosure development elsewhere, guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia are designed as an urban fortress protected by manual and technology surveillance: private security guards, CCTV, manual/auto boom gates and wall/fences. The physical barriers erected by the guarded neighbourhood residents will in fact result in differentiating them from the rest of the society. As Low (2003, p. 89) argued they offer a 'psychological buffer' between the insiders and outsiders. Residents of open neighbourhood commented about the social interaction,

"Guarded neighbourhood broke the social interaction by closing the public road and promoting segregation between outsiders and the community inside. I also believe that if the economic background was taken as the measure to define social distinction, this could be mean that only middle and upper class groups can afford to live in guarded neighbourhood developments".

Code: RON 5

Enclosure developments in Malaysia tend to enclose areas according to the types of housing. Fieldwork showed that residents' associations generally enclosed residential units that were relatively homogeneous in type, tenure, and value. For instance, units in an enclosure may be a cluster of two-storey houses. One local authority staff interviewed acknowledged the pattern:

"I have received guarded neighbourhood applications from the resident associations [...] for separation between, for example, double-storey house and single-storey house or vice-versa [...] I would say that class segregation is happening in residential development in Malaysia [...] these people can be considered as an urban elite. They are willing to pay a maintenance fee to establish enclosure on public roads by putting physical barriers and hire security guards"

Code: LA 1

Boundaries contain homogeneity in housing value and form. The cost of erecting barricades and hiring guards means that enclosure primarily occur in middle-class neighbourhoods. A local authority staff explained: "*I would say that class segregation is happening in residential development in Malaysia [...] these people [within the*

enclosure] can be considered an urban elite. They are willing to pay a maintenance fee to establish enclosure on public roads by putting up physical barriers and hiring security guards". (Code: LA 6)

Participants from various groups agreed that class segregation is definitely emerging in residential development in Malaysia as Abdul-Rahman (1996) noted, income inequalities and class stratification have been increasing in urban areas in Malaysia. Enclosure spatially marks high social class. This study acknowledges that most houses in the guarded neighbourhoods are owner-occupied by middle-income households. The more affluent the area, the more robust the surveillance technologies: private security guards, CCTV, boom gates, and wall/fences. Fieldworks revealed that enclosure mechanisms offer a 'psychological buffer' between insiders and outsiders, and reinforce understandings of difference. One resident of an open neighbourhood highlighted the role of class in decisions in the development of enclosure.

> *"The guarded neighbourhood broke social interaction by closing the public road and promoting segregation between outsiders and the community inside. I also believe that if economic background was taken as the measure to define social distinction, this could be mean that only middle and upper class groups can afford to live in guarded neighbourhood developments".*
>
> *Code: RON 8*

While the product of enclosure excludes non-residents from a neighbourhood, the process of enclosing may reflect the building of social capital within an area. Establishing enclosure developments in older districts requires collective action from residents. Organising to achieve such targets is no mean feat. The residents of guarded

neighbourhoods often explained their actions by citing the risk of crime and the need to protect and differentiate themselves from dangerous outsiders. One resident explained during an interview:

> *"I have seen how our community changed in the last 15 years […] Now we have established a guarded neighbourhood by installing physical barriers –boom gates and cones – and hiring security guards. These elements are very important for us [residents] to differentiate our community from outsiders […] We created a specific boundary so that strangers will not trespass into our community".*
>
> *Code: GNBSD 1*

Contemporary enclosure developments in Malaysia control the environments: they act like a prison in reverse imposing sanctions on visitors. In the mixed city, enclosure developments provide middle-class residents with a sense of security and control even though they live near less affluent neighbours. Gates and guards offer more than just physical barriers to define neighbourhood boundaries; they constitute symbolic markers to reinforce the elite status of its inhabitants. Ubiquitous signage reminds outsiders of their secondary status: "stop for security check" and "visitors kindly register".

Access requires permission from uniformed guards and often entails temporary surrender of state-issued identity documents: Malaysian identification card or driving licence card. In controlling access to the spaces around their homes the residents of guarded neighbourhoods employ the power of private security services but also rely on the state to sanction enclosure and to provide outsiders with documents guards can demand to guarantee compliant behaviour. In particular, direct observations revealed

that the presence of security guards suggests the importance of exclusivity and reproduces social segregation in enclosure developments.

The process of collective action simultaneously expresses a growing desire for neighbourhood fragmentation in the older areas. Voting rules allowed residents to create physical boundaries by putting perimeter fencing and closing public roads. Residents of open neighbourhoods interviewed saw guarded neighbourhoods as a tool for affluent groups to exclude themselves from the wider society. Guarded neighbourhoods enable proximity between poor and rich, while at the same time limiting social mobility within the city: classes are separated by streets which reinforce neighbourhood fragmentation. Such physical barriers play a crucial role in contemporary class segregation in the Malaysian society. Residents of open neighbourhoods interviewed noted that the residents of guarded neighbourhoods have the power to isolate themselves from others by the means of physical barriers. Urban planners in the local authority explained that *"guarded neighbourhoods promote extreme communities fragmentation based on class distinction through the privatization of public space and public roads" (Code: LA 7)*. However, the residents of guarded neighbourhoods do regard the (re)production of enclosure neighbourhoods as an urban pathology, but rather as an answer to secure their residential area.

Those living in guarded neighbourhoods described generally good relationships within the enclosure. One resident of guarded neighbourhood said *"I have a fairly good relationship with residents in this community" (Code: GNBSD 2)*. This study also encountered a government staff who live in a guarded neighbourhood: an urban planner explained that she has a good network of friends among residents, but not with outsiders. The majority of local authority staff, however, worried that guarded

neighbourhoods could lead to social isolation, segregation, and fragmentation. One said, "*Guarded neighbourhoods are the result of social decay, as these developments defeat the purpose of good neighbourhood principles*" *(Code: LA 4).* Some critics of guarded neighbourhoods fretted about the development of "*private army communities*" in older residential areas of Selangor through the physical appearances of unarmed security guards.

As such, it can be said that the notion of social isolation, segregation and fragmentation are clearly related to the enclosure communities. The majority of residents of open neighbourhoods expressed their opinion that residents preferred to live in guarded neighbourhoods because they can control their environment. All residents of open neighbourhoods explained, that enclosure communities will elevate residents of guarded neighbourhoods to a social status reflecting the differences between them and others who cannot afford to pay the maintenance fee to live in enclosures. However, resident of open neighbourhoods interviewed viewed the physical barriers in guarded neighbourhood as an indication of the social distinction and anti-social sentiments. They explained further that physical barriers created by residents of guarded neighbourhoods also serve to evoke a strong symbolism that lead to social segregation. As one angry resident from open neighbourhoods further responded as below;

> "*In civilised society, people wouldn't that […] guarded neighbourhoods definitely produced a social segregation between the rich and the poor […] they (residents of guarded neighbourhood) want to live in guarded neighbourhood because of crime incidents but in reality they are fear of us, what a joke! […]*"
>
> *Code: RON 6*

The privatisation of residential areas by establishing territorial boundaries not only lead to residential segregation but also created a separation between those inside and those outside the enclosed community. The desire to maintain a quality of life by the residents of guarded neighbourhoods as well as to avoid the threat from intruders (security factors) has generated a self-protective and divisible urban landscape in enclosed residential areas. This in turn led to an active construction of an ideology of separation between "us" and "you". This process of determining who "we" are and how "our place" looks like, as opposed to "you as an individual" and "your places". As such, the guarded neighbourhoods caused neighbourhood fragmentation in residential areas. The symptom of urban pathology in terms of social segregation and distinction is supported by one of the local authority staff who strongly delivered her opinion as below:

"Guarded neighbourhood separates communities by the type of homes you live in [...] This causes a social segregation whether amongst the same class or between other communities. What is more important to us is that guarded neighbourhood has an indirect result of making the resident of open neighbourhood feel separate and differentiated"

Code: LA 2

Interestingly, in a somewhat disapproving tone, one participant from RGN group disagreed with the notion that guarded neighbourhood caused social segregation. Instead he stressed that guarded neighbourhoods help to increase a sense of community within the enclosure. He said that *"the social relationship between the residents within the guarded neighbourhood itself is stronger when compared to others" (Code: RON 3)*. However, some residents of guarded neighbourhoods do not agree that the guarded

neighbourhood itself had much to do with the sense of community, but rather on the efforts made by the resident association to unite the residents in a particular community.

Residents of guarded neighbourhoods interviewed revealed activities organised by the resident association such as family days, sports competitions and other community activities such as cleaning or tidying shared and common areas has helped create a sense of belonging in the community of a guarded neighbourhood. One chairman of residents' association interviewed explained that these types of activities organised by the residents' association are usually not compulsory for the residents but voluntary. In particular, the sense of community and close relations amongst the residents in guarded neighbourhoods is seen as a positional good that is supported by community activities organised by the resident association. Residents of guarded neighbourhoods support the development of guarded neighbourhoods in enhancing community spirit and commented as below

> *"Many activities have been organised by the RA. What is more interesting is that during festivities, the residents will pay social visits to each other, which creates a better sense of communal living within the guarded neighbourhood"*
>
> *Code: GNBSD 3*

And,

> *"We have community activities here, definitely! The recent activity organised by the resident association was a badminton competition"*
>
> *Code: GNBSD 2*

Resident from another community also commented the same issue and said that:

"the sense of community between me and other residents in this guarded neighbourhood is much better after the established of this development compared to when the community was an open neighbourhood [...] I would say that I know and recognise almost 90% of the residents who live in here and perhaps their names too (smile)"

Code: GNPI 2

Some of residents of guarded neighbourhood believed that they maintained a relationship by *"just-say-hi"* relationship with neighbours. Some of them explained that they maintained secondary social contacts with others within their community and only making social connections when they share something in common. However, one resident of guarded neighbourhood explained that he could not find time to meet or talk with his neighbours. One resident association commented this issue: *"I tell you, we meet regularly for "the tarik" session at the mamak stall [...] yesterday I met them at the "mamak", you know that place right? We have very good relations here [...] people on the outside we don't, I don't even know them"* (*Code: RA 1*).

However, contrary to the above view, another resident explained that he was not interested in the activities in their community. This respondent further explained that as a busy working person, his life is mostly spent in the office rather than in the community itself. He has in fact chosen to live in guarded neighbourhood because of the improvement of safety and security levels. He said *"I will not be keen to be extra friendly to other neighbours"* (*Code: GNBSD 3).* Another resident verifies the idea of

these respondents and explained that *"everybody is nice to you but, you know, I don't think I want to be her/his best friend" (Code: GNPI 3).*

Some of respondents interviewed also agreed that residents are friendly with one another, but tend not to build close social connections with neighbours and placed limited emphasis on befriending neighbours. Residents of guarded neighbourhoods frequently assumed people living in their communities as friendly, but said they rarely stopped to have a conversation. One resident explained: *"The neighbours that live next to us, I know their name or I recognise them, but we are not friends [...] we are respects each other (laughs) [...] but I need to tell you the truth, my neighbours are a little bit rude [...] my neighbours irresponsibly dispose their dog's poop in front of our front gate" (Code: GNBSD 3).*

While the sense of community between the residents within the guarded neighbourhood compound is good, the same cannot be said between us and the outsiders. Residents of guarded neighbourhoods interviewed described that people who are living in guarded neighbourhoods tend to isolated themselves from the outsiders and thus curtailing the sense of community between the residents of guarded neighbourhood and the outsiders. As such, it can be said that the physical barriers enhance the sense of community in guarded neighbourhood development and stimulate the feelings of hegemony within the territory, to the exclusion of others as argued by Blakey and Synder (1997) the privatisation of public space is responsible for less social mixing. Urban planners with the local authority, state officer and federal government staff interviewed collectively agree that while the residents of the guarded neighbourhood desire for a secure, private and exclusive living are valid issues, the existence of physical barriers might lead to social segregation and neighbourhood fragmentation.

7.5.2 Limiting access to Public Spaces

Manual surveillances and other security measures vividly portray the increasing fragmentation of the urban landscape such as public spaces and public roads. Resident of guarded neighbourhoods interviewed explained that they sought exclusive control over public spaces: what Hou (2010) described this as an expression of power and political control. Residents appreciated enhanced privacy, exclusivity, as Low (2003) referred these as the "niceness" created by enclosure. One resident of a guarded neighbourhood explained:

"I wasn't keen in the beginning, but it's quite good, and the most important thing is that my life has more privacy than before [...] and yes of course I agree about the exclusive living too [...] Our neighbourhood has become more prestigious [...] Outsiders are not allowed to enter our neighbourhood area without permission from security guards [...] You need to understand, I paid the service fees to the resident association to better maintain the area. Why should I allow strangers to enter our neighbourhood and enjoy the public goods inside our community?"

Code: GNBSD 2

Fieldworks found that guarded neighbourhoods fragment urban street patterns when barricades close public streets. The city has become less permeable and accessible. Residents associations that choose to enclose their areas usually erect entry points, often with make-shift barricades and guard houses. Fieldworks indicated that many guarded neighbourhoods enclose public spaces, such as parks or kindergarden, or community facilities, such as mosques. Thus they reflect the global trend that Webster (2002)

identified as privatising public goods. Not only do enclosures prevent easy access through public streets by cars, they limit access of non-residents to resources and services that are paid and maintained by the state. A resident of an open neighbourhood interviewed complained:

"We are not allowed the use of the open fields and children's park available within the area. Even if we are allowed to use them, the security guards will insist on taking down our particulars and ask me to surrender my [driver's] licence or national identification card [passport]".

Code: RON 7

Besides the issue of identification cards being requested by security guards, there seems to be another issue with the security guards requiring the non-residents to state their purposes to enter to the guarded neighbourhood. Under the fundamentals of democracy, every citizen should be allowed to enter the public area without any obstacle. However, all of RON interviewed reported that they have to surrender identification card before they could enter the guarded neighbourhood area. One said,

"The security guard has no right to ask me my business inside the guarded neighbourhood area. By all means take my car number- even if it gets written down by hand that only takes a few seconds [...] but please don't ask me why I'm entering the area and which house I'm visiting"

Code: RON 6

In line with the above comments, the majority of residents of open neighbourhoods expressed concern regarding their right to use the public good within the guarded neighbourhood enclosure. One said that "*the guarded residents' action of prohibiting the general public from entering their neighbourhood area is a strong signal of social*

prejudice" (Code: RON 8). This participant further explained that be it deliberate or otherwise, the residents of guarded neighbourhoods do not have the right to restrict the general public from entering the public area within the boundaries of the guarded neighbourhood area. Interestingly, another respondent explained from the legal terms:

> *"I am confident that the action to request for Identification card or driving licence as a condition for entry is legally wrong. In fact the guarded neighbourhood guideline only allows for taking note of vehicles' plate registration"*
>
> *Code: RON 2*

To clarify this issue, a state officer interviewed explained that under the guarded neighbourhood guideline, security guards are not allowed to take or retain a person's national identification card as it is against the law. He explained that: *"Security guards are not legally authorized to retain NRICs. They are merely to observe by perhaps taking down the car plate numbers, or to slow down vehicles by establishing speed bumps" (Code: ST)*

Local authority staff interviewed share a similar opinion. One said,

> *"The general public is allowed and cannot be denied entry to utilize the public facilities/goods that are located within GNs such as the parks, children's playground and various other public facilities that are available"*
>
> *Code: LA 2*

However, the majority of residents of guarded neighbourhoods disagreed and believe that they have a right to exclude the general public from enjoying public utilities inside their residential area. Residents of guarded neighbourhoods interviewed justified this by saying that they have paid a regular service fee to the resident association, on top of the normal tax imposed by the Malaysian government. The opinions of residents in the neighbourhood are listed below:

"You need to understand. We paid for the service fees to the resident association to better maintain the area. Why should we allow strangers to enter our neighbourhood and enjoy the public goods inside our community?

Code: GNBSD 1

"This is our community. We are lawful residents. Whether you are the owners or tenants, we are the one who occupied this community. We have the right to decide whatever we want in our community [...] You take it or you leave it"

Code: GNPI 1

"Personally, I don't invite strangers to enjoy the parks and playground inside my neighbourhood area because I have paid the maintenance fee on top of the normal tax paid to the Malaysia government"

Code: GNBSD 2

One of residents of guarded neighbourhood stressed that they are not prejudiced against the wider society. Instead, they merely do not want intruders to enter their neighbourhood area without specific purposes. This resident said: *"[...] strangers may or may not be criminals but I don't see any reasons why they should enter our*

neighbourhood area without any purposes. They didn't pay for the maintenance fees and definitely they don't have any right to use the playground inside my neighbourhood area "(Code: GNBSD 1).

These are very serious issues because residents in guarded neighbourhood area do not have any legal right to restrict the roads from the general public. Members of the public who feel very strongly about their right to free and unhindered access to public spaces and rights to free movement should lodge complaints with the relevant authorities. The main concern of residents of open neighbourhoods is their freedom to enjoy the public realm without regard to the status of the neighbourhood. One RON group commented as below:

> *"I am a dutiful tax payer, and my taxes are also used to maintain the public areas, even in GNs. Therefore, I feel that it is within my right to utilize any public goods/areas in any residential development, as long as it is not privatised […] perhaps more, to be walking anywhere and everywhere I wanted to"*
>
> *Code: RON 3*

7.5.3   Privatisation of Public Roads/Streets

Touting safety and security reason, the general public and visitors were generally denied from entering the area of a private neighbourhood unless they follow a specific safety procedure to gain entry. Typically, a visitor would be required to have a visitor's pass by registering with the guards at the gate or guardhouse before they are permitted to enter the guarded residential area. However, from a legal point of view, this restriction of entry contravenes the guarded neighbourhood guidelines 2010.

Analysis of documents revealed that under this guideline, it is illegal for security guards to deny the rights of the general public and non-residents to enjoy common or public area such as recreational parks or other similar facilities regardless if it is located within the guarded neighbourhood. In addition to that, under section 21 of the Police Act 1967, it shall be the duty of the police officers to keep order on public roads, streets, thoroughfares and landing places and other places of public resort and places to which the public have access. Restricting entry and allowing only the residents of a guarded neighbourhood contravene the Police Act as well.

The physical barriers and manual surveillances purposefully reduce accessibility and make it less accessible to the wider society and prevent the natural movement of people by excluding all strangers. Observation found that enclosure seeks to ensure the orderly flow of human and motorised traffic in and out of the guarded neighbourhood, regulating residents and visitors to produce local safety and harmony. Sometimes the closure of public roads has had tragic results, however. For instance, the '*Kepong tragedy*' of 2011 saw a woman and her daughter die in a fire that gutted their home in a gated residential area where the security barrier delayed entry for fire crews (Henry and Lim, 2011). An urban planner with the local authority acknowledged the challenge:

> *"We are dealing with an ad-hoc planning approval (two years, renewable) of older areas that intend to secure communities by enclosing public roads. If something happens in the future –such as fire – fire engines and ambulances will have a hard time getting through as public roads are closed by the residents".*
>
> *(Code: LA 1)*

Local authorities' staff contacted noted the same issues. Emergency access for fire, police and ambulance is clearly a concern. State government staff discussed the difficulty of creating connected communities when residents close public roads. The closure of public roads is transforming the morphological structure of public spaces and disturbing traffic networks. Barriers routinely force longer trips and alternative routes, concentrating traffic on open roads. Nearby residents of open neighbourhoods resented the inconvenience, as one explained: "*In order to send my children to the school situated just next to my neighbourhood, I had to detour using the main road, although by right I should be able to use a short cut through the guarded neighbourhood. Sounds stupid doesn't it?"(Code: RON 2)*

In summation, older residential areas in Selangor state are now being fragmented at the communities' level by enclosed public streets and limiting access to the wider society. Resident association appoint security guards to police their urban spaces. Thus, projecting the status of insiders and outsiders. The physical barriers and the limited access to public spaces can be argued to infringe on the right of the general public to enter public spaces. This in turn might even lead to the infringement of other fundamental principles of democracy. This is further complicated by the fact that some physical barriers may even be illegal as the guarded neighbourhood does not have the right to exclude the public from enjoying certain public goods within their neighbourhood area such as public roads or parks. In conclusion, it can be said that this study found that the guarded neighbourhood developments will have significant impacts on the urban landscape in the local context. The rise of guarded neighbourhood associated with the existence of a guard house at the point of entry can be said to create a sentiment of *"private army cities"* in Selangor.

7.6   Summary

This chapter answered the questions of how guarded neighbourhood have emerged in Malaysian cities:; who produced and lobbied them; what are the possible impacts of guarded neighbourhoods towards the wider society. It was first argued that safety and security the primary factor for residents to live in secured and fortified communities. Secondary factors are also documented such as privacy and exclusive living and property investment. This study argues that these factors have driven urban residents to live in guarded neighbourhood developments. Interestingly, this study suggests that fear of crime/other is the overwhelming factor overwhelming among the Malaysian society. Thus, inducing the element of insecurity in older and new residential areas.

From the producing actors' perspectives, this study revealed that the multiple key actors help in (re)producing and governing guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state of Malaysia. These actors work together in a complex urban governance process to produce guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state. This study suggests that the Malaysian government promotes enclosure developments by given fiscal incentives to the private actors and citizen action group. Such incentives and enclosures guidelines have succeeded in transforming an open neighbourhood to a more private and secured neighbourhood.

Although gated communities and guarded neighbourhoods differ as activities, they do not differ fundamentally in the way they are created and their physical characteristics. This study found that enforcing physical barriers and manual surveillances were considered an important pre-requisite for maintaining a civilised living environment in guarded neighbourhoods. Thus, this study revealed the ways guarded neighbourhoods

have socio and spatial implications toward the wider society. In order to substantiate these findings, the discussion from theoretical perspectives must be executed. The next chapter must now turn to the discussion of theory itself as was described in Chapters 2 and 3 and linked it with the empirical data as presented above.

CHAPTER 8

Discussions: Producing and Governing Guarded Neighbourhoods

8.1   Introduction

The aim of this study is to examine the proliferation of guarded neighbourhood communities – that is, a post market production in Selangor as parts of a new landscape of control in older residential areas in Malaysia. As showed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, although there has been a rising interest in gated communities, the guarded neighbourhood phenomenon remains somewhat under researched and under theorised area. In particular, this study attempts to explore the factors producing guarded neighbourhoods, the role of governance and multiple key actors and the social-spatial implications of this kind of community. Ultimately, this study hope to shed some light on the necessary conditions for enclosure and the complex processes that help to explain its growing popularity in Malaysia, particularly in Selangor state. Suffice to claim that, perhaps, this is the first study in Malaysia which explores the relationship of guarded neighbourhood with multiple key actors in governing and reproducing guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia – to be specific in Selangor state.

As explained in Chapter 6, although the development of guarded neighbourhoods can be explained through the various literatures reviewed on gated communities, the practise and nature of gating is different compared to the gated communities' development. Furthermore, this chapter will indicate whether the major findings of this study, support or deviate from the literature review both at international and local level and triangulate

them with the empirical findings and observations from case studies. Therefore, this chapter will be divided into seven sections which helped to answer the research questions and objectives as outlined in Chapter 1. Section 8.2 will discuss the proliferation of guarded neighbourhoods followed by the explanations on the role of governance and multiple key actors in section 8.3. Section 8.4 will discuss the socio-spatial implications of guarded neighbourhoods towards the wider society. Section 8.5 will offer suggestions to improve the governance and (re)producing of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia. This will be followed with a discussion on "actually existing neoliberalism" in section 8. 6. A summary of this chapter will be explained in section 8.7.

8.2   The Proliferation of Guarded Neighbourhoods

Literature on gated communities varies and diverse in nature (Caldeira, 2000; Low, 2003; Grant and Rosen, 2009). Specific case study investigations can deepen our understanding into the complex processes producing enclosed communities in other regions such as Malaysia. In the international arena, the theory of gated communities rightly emphasised how high crime rates and violence have contributed to the gated communities development such as in South Afirica (Landman, 2000: 2002; Breetzke et al., 2013), in the Republic of Israel (Rosen and Razin, 2009; Rosen and Grant, 2011) and many others. Therefore, the discussion of this section will offer an answer to the first research question and objective as described in Chapter 1.

Literature reviewed in Chapters 3 and 4 confirmed that safety and security has become a major concern in urban development, leading people to move to gated communities which protect residents from the dangers of urban life (Blakely and Snyder, 1997;

Genis, 2007; Hirt, 2012). While in Malaysia, this study revealed through in-depth interviews with various participant groups that increasing crime rates and feeling insecure in urban areas has become a main reason for suburban and urban residents wanting to live in secured and fenced neighbourhoods. In contrast, residents of open neighbourhoods also reported the same issue: safety and security is a main reason for them to live in their current residence. Research findings revealed that residents in open neighbourhoods and guarded neighbourhoods share the same motives in staying at their current residence. Stakeholders' group also confirmed that safety and security has motivated urban residents to live in their current residence: some of them took radical actions by enclosing public streets and restricted access to the wider society.

Although participants in this study reported the issue of safety and security, extensive analysis of crime statistics (1980-2013) revealed that crime rates in Malaysia are remarkably low compared with the USA and South Africa: the most active countries in producing gated communities in the world. This study argued that fear of crime/other drive community to enclose space in Malaysia. The analysis of the interviews with residents of guarded neighbourhoods revealed the discourse of fear of crime/other: some of them explained the element of fear towards illegal foreigners while others talked about the fear of crime. Interestingly, some of the residents of open neighbourhoods also noted the same issue. Therefore, this study suggests that the fear of crime or fear toward others are soaring in Malaysian society due to the media sensationalising crime as explained in chapter 7 (See Box 7.1). Further analysis revealed that the official report from the GPI (2012) suggested areas for safety improvement lies mainly in the category of societal safety and security, such as likelihood of violent demonstrations and level of perceived crime in Malaysia.

Research findings in Chapter 7 confirmed that fear of crimes/others are overwhelming high amongst the participants of the RGN and RON. Interviews revealed that RGN felt vulnerable in open residential areas and led them to move to guarded neighbourhood communities, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. The increases in crimes in Selangor state are concerns shared by the participants of the RGN and RON. This study, however, found that the opinions of the residents of the crime rates contradicted with the crime statistics reported by the Royal Malaysian Police as Malaysia has a relatively low crime rate. This study suggests that the "ecology of fear" as observed by Davis (1998) were successfully transformed an open neighbourhood to enclosed communities in Selangor state.

Undeniably, the mounting of fear of crime among urban residents has caused the increasing demand for guarded neighbourhood. Fear is a significant motivating factor for enclosure in many parts of the world (Wilson-Doenges, 2000). As explained in Chapter 3, this has resulted into dramatic consequences of urban landscape as urban residents moving to secure places such as gated communities (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Landman, 2000; Caldeira, 2000; Leish, 2002; Pow, 2007:2009). The analysis in this study thus suggests that the extensive rise of guarded neighbourhood in Selangor is not a response to the overwhelming high crime rates as observed in other countries such as South Africa and the USA but merely to the fear of crimes/others. Interviews with RGN and RON confirmed this issue: some of them talked about the illegal foreigners in the country.

The fear toward others especially foreigners come more clearly into evidence with the ever-increasing numbers of fortified communities in older areas. From the theoretical perspectives, a classical research by Dick and Rimmer (1998, p. 2313) has theorised this

issue and found "In post-independence south-east Asia, the street is typically perceived as a source of danger. [...] Open suburban living thus becomes very insecure". Direct-observations and in-depth interviews confirmed this statement and found that RGN felt insecure in Selangor state leading them to enclose spaces as Hogan et al., (2012) suggested that since open public streets did not feature prominently in the history of the region [Malaysia], privatisation of residential areas came easily.

What lies behind the palpable of fear towards others or/and unskilled workers as discussed in chapter 4? This study described that encouraging the migration of low-wage foreign workers to Malaysia solved the labour crisis generated by industrialisation, but altered the social dynamics of urban living. Approximately 8% of the nation's population is now foreign-born (Kaur, 2008). Rather than being described in public discourse as contributing to diversity and economic potential (Eraydin et al., 2010), as may be the case in Canada with its large immigrant population (Friesen, 2012), foreigners in Malaysia are construed as potentially dangerous and often linked with perceptions of growing problems with crime.

Selected media analysis revealed that foreigners do commit crime in urban areas in Selangor. Ironically, direct-observations and interviews revealed that majority of security guards appointed by the resident associations are foreigners. Although fear of crime was identified as one of the main reason to live in gated communities, fears towards illegal immigrants are still underplayed areas in the literature on gated communities. This study fills this gap by addressing the current scenario of illegal unskilled workers in Malaysia that successfully caused the fear of others and subsequently triggered the demand for fortified communities in older areas.

The guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state provides a unique characteristic of gating and differs from the concept practised in the world: the presence physical barriers in the case of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor are not as robust as compared to the other regions. Previous researchers have reported the element of security in enclosure developments – that is, intelligent and high technology of security measures (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Salcedo and Torres, 2004; Vilalta, 2011). However, direct-observations found that guarded neighbourhoods do not provide *ready-made* security – as in the case of gated communities – but created spontaneously by the residents' association by hiring private security guards and erecting perimeter fencing. In-depth interviews and direct-observations revealed that unarmed security guards do indeed provide are physical protection for residents in the enclosure.

Research findings of this study revealed two security measures adopted in these neighbourhoods. The first is via security systems such as fences, CCTV, manual boom gates, and car stickers. The second measure is through manual surveillances: security guards at all entrances and patrolling the enclosure. This is similar to the definition of gated communities (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000; Low, 2000; Landman, 2000) but in Malaysia the security measures are not legal in the eyes of Malaysian public laws. Despite the various security measures, this study also found that fortified communities are not completely safe. Interviews and documents analysis revealed crime could still occur in guarded neighbourhoods.

Although the issue of security dominated the discourse around the justification for enclosing residential areas, residents also acknowledged secondary motivations for gating: privacy and exclusive living and stable property value. Interviews with RGN revealed that some prefer privacy and exclusive living, while some believe that guarded

neighbourhood could protect their property value and investment. However, this study found that both RGN and RON groups want to feel less vulnerable, they want to be in control over their homes, streets and personal safety. This study revealed that RGN choose private residential area in order to live with others like themselves, as seen in other countries (see Blakely and Synder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000; Grant, 2007). The majority of RON talked about this and they felt that RGN wanted a more exclusive and private living by erecting physical barriers and hire security guards to restrict access in public domain.

In the post-colonial period, residents fleeing the city viewed enclosures as safe and comfortable places. Findings revealed that RGN in Selangor state looked for and appreciated homogeneity and similar class status. RGN understand the reason for enclosures is to be safe from crime and expect their community to insulate them from the negative aspects of urban life. Direct observations confirmed the element of privacy and exclusive living: security guards and fencing controlled environments in guarded neighbourhoods. This can be linked to the growing numbers of new middle class in urban areas as described in Chapter 4. For example, in Klang Valley almost 30% of urban households are categorised as high income (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2009). The notion of privacy and exclusive living are similar with the gated communities experience in the international arena (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Coy and Pöhler, 2002; Ajibola et al., 2011; Hirt, 2012).

In a lower-order, general way, residents may appreciate property investment, privacy and exclusive living when living in enclosures. As seen in other countries, enclosure may confer added property value (Le-Goix and Vesselinov, 2012; Ajibola et al., 2011) as Australia (Kenna, 2010), Barbados (Clement & Grant, 2012), and Bulgaria (Stoyanov

and Frantz, 2006). This study revealed the RGN believed that their property values and rental price will increase in the future.

In summary, several methods – observations, in-depth interviews, case studies – revealed the reasons for proliferation of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor. Fear of crimes/others are definitely emerging and overwhelming in Malaysia cities. Although the numbers of reported crimes are increasing every year, this study showed that Malaysia is remarkably safe compared to neighbouring countries. This study rightly emphasised that the rise of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia is influenced by the discourse on fear of crime/others in sub/urban areas. Secondary factors are also documented: private and exclusive living. However, these factors are less important due to the gating characteristics of guarded neighbourhoods that less comprehensive compared to an original market production (gated communities). Thus, through various sources of data this study claims that the first research question and objective – why residents choose to live in guarded neighbourhoods – have been successfully achieved.

8.3   "Do-it-yourself" Urbanism: The role of governance in producing and governing guarded neighbourhoods

Guarded neighbourhoods did not occur spontaneously. Its existence is due to political intervention and the developmental role of the state power. As mentioned earlier, there is a lack of – or perhaps no – research of guarded neighbourhood that explore the role of the state and multiple key actors in governing and (re)producing enclosure in older areas in Malaysia. Even if there are studies which analyse the role of the state in producing enclosures in Malaysia, the debate about the governance on guarded neighbourhood development still remain unresolved. Therefore, by answering the second research

question and objective, this section tries to theorise the roles of various key actors in governing and (re)producing guarded neighbourhood in neoliberal Malaysia. As such a proposed conceptual framework will be presented in this section.

As discussed in Chapter 4, global forces affect urban outcomes in Malaysia as they do in other countries. Literature review revealed that Malaysia has rapidly transformed into a manufacturing powerhouse moving towards a developed nation status in the last several decades. Such change promoted urbanisation and helped create a growing middle class seeking attractive housing options (Agus, 2002). Like governments in many countries, Malaysia's leaders moved to deregulate and liberalise markets, reducing the role of the state in producing housing. International experiences witnessed that the globalisation, withdrawal of the state and moves to privatisation and deregulation further drive the proliferation of enclosure developments, in particular gated communities (Genis, 2007; Hackworth, 2007; Walks, 2009; Pow, 2009). While in the case of Malaysia, previous researchers have additionally linked neoliberalism and the changing of housing provision and production (Cho, 1990; Gomez and Jomo, 1997; Chin, 2000). This study demonstrates how neoliberalism coupled with globalisation and international influences restructured the housing landscape in Malaysia to produce what Malaysian called as guarded neighbourhood.

In the early 1980s, the federal government rolled back its housing policy and rolled out legislation, regulations, and guidelines to facilitate privatisation of the housing market in particular the enclosure of neighbourhoods (See Chapter 4). This study found that the national government decisions to roll back housing programs generated a context within which residents turned increasingly to private markets to address housing needs, while rolling out guidelines to govern enclosure of urban space framed specific types of

market responses to fears of crime and urban growth. Findings also revealed that the government from various levels introduced incentives to support citizen action around safety and to assist resident associations to police space. In-depth interviews revealed that the federal government has allocated special funds to promote safety in the neighbourhood. Through this process and incentives the state indirectly induced moral panic thus generated fear of crime among Malaysian society. The elements of moral panic emerging in Malaysian society as seen in many countries in the world (Caldeira, 2000; Low, 2003).

Interviews with various key actors and extensive analysis of documents revealed that the present framework to regulate and monitor the guarded neighbourhood is far from ideal. There is no SOP in Federal, State or local government to govern this development. The links between these levels are both tenuous and missing. The monitoring and implementation of guarded neighbourhoods is haphazard. In searching for the neighbourhoods' safety that might give a greater sense of security the local authorities allowed enclosure to be developed in older areas in Selangor. Interviews revealed that the majority of urban planners working with local authorities sometimes tolerate with physical barriers in urban spaces.

The state seems to favour enclosure communities without realising that guarded neighbourhoods may produce a greater negative result as observed in other countries (Le-Goix, 2005; Le-Goix and Vesselinov, 2012; Hirt, 2013). This study also revealed that the federal and state government produced guidelines for enclosures. In-depth interviews with government authorities revealed that the existing guidelines may be sufficient in the present context to say that the guidelines successfully addressed the short term problems that will give greatly impact towards the wider society in future.

However, interviews with federal government staff revealed that guidelines are not a strategy for enclosures but as guidance for resident association to establish guarded neighbourhoods. The market may be supported these developments through the state intervention in the form of laws and guidelines, but the making and implementing of these developments entails long term impacts on urban planning and development.

In the debate about the role of local government, it is often argued that local government and political agenda in general, are fostered by private forms of urban government (Foldvary, 1994; Nelson, 2005). This study revealed that government policies encourage the public to control their spaces, while insufficient funding for enforcement often leads local authorities to tolerate street closures that are officially prohibited by law. Property rights thus dominate mobility rights in residential area. While in the international context McKenzie (2006) and Duren (2006) claimed that local authorities are often interested in the development of gated communities within their boundaries and a similar situation can be said in the case of Selangor state. Interviews revealed some of local authorities in Selangor state favour guarded neighbourhood developments since residents become eyes and ears to the local authorities. Similarly in other nations, enclosure represent a more efficient of local governance and provision of services (McKenzie, 1994; 2011; Webster, 2002; Nelson, 2005).

With the increase of these private residential areas, local authorities are thus able to maximise their manpower supply to do other jobs and without bearing the costs of an increasing residents participation in urban management that are provided by residents' associations. Therefore, the decision to grant a two-year renewable approval is often influenced by these economic and social factors. McKenzie (1994; 2011) and Nelson (2005) documented that some local authorities in USA even oblige neighbourhoods to

establish housing associations and provide themselves with civic services in order to minimise public costs. They argued that gated communities are thus often regarded as 'cash cows' for municipalities.

Guarded neighbourhood to take advantage of opportunities and differentiate products generated by gated communities to residents' associations which are charged with promoting neighbourhood safety. Where residents desire for safety and security, privacy, exclusivity, or special amenities that coincide with growing affluence then resident associations find enclosure is an attractive option. In contexts like Malaysia where gated communities becomes so dominant in the new housing development this study found that residents' associations responded to local cultural and political conditions to enclose space. This study suggests that in Selangor state guarded neighbourhoods is not one among many market options but is rapidly becoming an essential requirement for old residential areas.

Fieldworks and interviews found that the state solved the problem of the safety in neighbourhoods through enclosed communities and privatised/restricted urban spaces. Empirical evidence in Chapter 7 found that in Selangor state various players and institutions interact in the governance processes that (re)produce enclosure. In order to analyse the links between these actors and to establish if there were any causal relationships between them, a conceptual framework is required. Thus, this study suggests the conceptual framework showing how various key actors participate in the governance process (re)producing enclosure (see Figure 8.1).
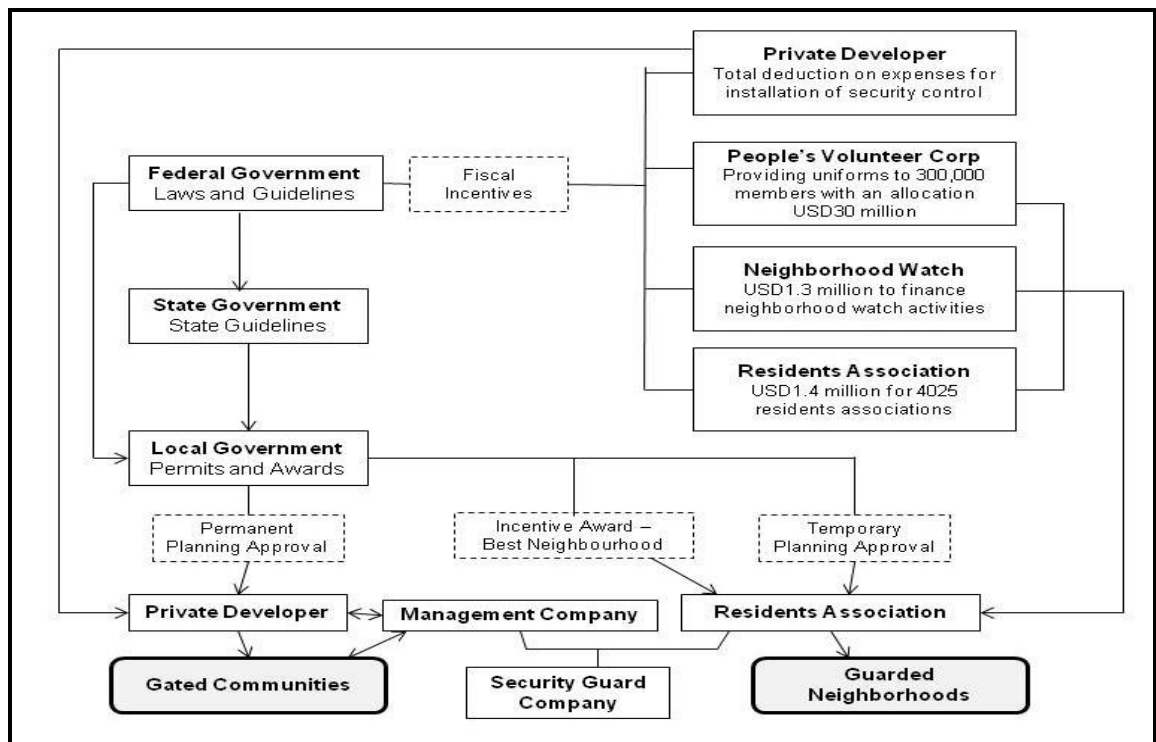
Figure 8.1: Framework showing how actors, companies, and governments participate in
the governance process (re)producing enclosure[14]
Source: Author

As mentioned earlier, this study attempts to theorise the role of governance and multiple
key actors in governing and (re)producing guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia.
Therefore, Figure 8.1 shows the collaboration of the state is a necessary condition for
enabling widespread enclosure of the kind seen in the area around Federal Territory of
Kuala Lumpur, Putrajaya and Cyberjaya. This study found that in Malaysia various
levels of government play both active and passive roles in the development of
enclosure. In-depth interviews revealed that the federal government enact laws,
guidelines, and funding incentives that together facilitated the development of enclosed
residential areas and encouraged residents to consider occupying them. The state and
local level officials participated in a land regulation process that turned a blind eye to
the closure of public streets, the alienation of public spaces, and the securitisation of
space.

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[14] The productions of gated communities are also included in the proposed conceptual framework as this type of enclosure is very
much related with the guarded neighbourhood.

What are the roles of the state in (re)production of enclosure development in Malaysia? This study suggests that the state appears to encourage enclosure development. Figure 8.1 illustrates how the inter-relation between the federal-state-local governments in (re)production of enclosure. At the federal level, the government seems to be encouraging these developments by introducing guidelines and laws to regulate and monitor the development. At the state-local level, some incentives are available to promote a neighbourhoods' safety – residents' associations are allowed to appoint private security guards and/or fencing their community subject to the requirements stipulated under the guarded neighbourhood guideline. While the federal guidance on enclosure developments could have been taken as a mechanism to legalise enclosure developments, however, this is not the case as these guidelines contradict with Malaysian public law.

This study revealed that local authorities reviewed and approved applications for enclosure while overlooking many instances of illegal street barricades. This study also found that the assumption that residents would and should accept increasing responsibility for their own safety and security appeared across all levels of government. The merits attributed to citizen action alongside the perceived failure of the state to ensure security paved the way for residents' associations acting to enclose their neighbourhoods. Therefore this study argued that in Selangor state the conditions in which a complex governance system of state actors (at all levels), market players, and citizen groups collaborate in (re)producing enclosure.

Literature reviewed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 revealed that neoliberalism had an impact on many nations in the world (Jessop, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Pow, 2009), however, Malaysia plotted a unique political trajectory under neoliberal condition. For instance, the

Malaysian government actively promote social and economic integration of indigenous ethnic groups, creating conditions that facilitate ethnic integration in growing urban centres. Interviews found that the government provided funding to support citizen groups working to promote community safety, and developed guidelines and regulations to govern enclosure of residential areas. Although the Malaysian government is not an active agent of fortification as may be the case in the district of Las Vegas (McKenzie, 2006), the Republic of Singapore (Pow, 2007) or in the state of Israel (Rosen & Grant, 2011), the state produces conditions that support and reinforce those wishing to secure their space. This study suggests that the enclosure guidelines produced by the state is a signal of deregulation of the state in the neoliberal era.

While this study rightly emphasised on the role of the state, the (re)production of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia is not solely a local phenomenon but is linked with the neoliberal discourse at the international arena. In response to the demands of enclosures, federal-state-local government in Malaysia become more assertive by introducing some mechanism through guidelines and laws to promote not only gated communities but also guarded neighbourhoods development in older residential areas. The role of regulations as a mechanism in (re)producing guarded neighbourhoods were in line with Rosen and Razin (2009, p. 1704) that suggested "the role of regulation in the producing gated communities [enclosure] should not be underestimated […] represent new institutional arrangements of urban governance and regulations".

The rise of neoliberalism and provoked by a financial stress in 1997s lead to enclosure development. The move is supported by the state through privatisation policy and deregulations in the housing industry. From the demand side, increasing crime rate, even though Malaysia is a remarkably safe compared with other countries in the region

spurred the state to promote the concept of guarded neighbourhoods. Even though the federal government issued guidelines, Selangor state produced their own guidelines for the development of enclosures throughout the state. Interviews with local authorities and residents' associations revealed that the requirements by the Selangor state are stricter compared to those produced by the federal government. However, fieldworks and document analysis revealed Selangor state has the highest number of guarded neighbourhood in the nation.

This study put forward the idea that the emergence of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia reflects the simultaneous operation of what Swyngedouw (1997) called global, local, and regional processes. Within a global context of neoliberalism and a state seeking to use its influence in the region to improve the situation for ethnic Malays, the Malaysian government created conditions that encouraged local citizen action groups to self-organise to control urban territories. The process has enabled class to be inscribed over other forms of social differentiation in the city, and has begun to make Malaysian urban space less accessible. Thus, this study strongly emphasised that the state activities at all levels inadvertently support enclosures in sub/urban areas in Selangor. Evidently, the federal government stimulated the drives towards enclosure by offering incentives, financing and deregulation of land through guarded neighbourhood guideline.

While most of the blame for enclosure development falls on the shoulders of affluent groups, urban residents felt that the state has not fulfilled its role as the protector and guarantor of rights of the wider society including public safety. Empirical data showed that guarded neighbourhoods as the outcome of an inaction/action of weakened public institutions that have neither the funds nor the power to implement comprehensive

urban strategies and often cannot enforce the basic principles of good neighbourhood. At the same time, the roles of residents' associations became a prominent feature in the residential landscape in Malaysia. Interviews revealed how the issue of security created a spatially and socially effect on guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state where the more powerful residents –residents who are willing to participate the guarded neighbourhood –exclude the less powerful minority, as a reflection of socio-political changes since the 1980s (see Jomo and Chang, 2008). This change was related with the rise of a "new middle-class" under neoliberal conditions in Malaysia an aftermath of the implementation of NEP (Gomez and Jomo, 1997, Abdul-Rahman et al., 2012).

This section offers a discourse on the role the state indirectly in promoting the development of enclosure in sub/urban areas in Malaysia through various neoliberal policies. Thus this completed the second research question and objective. The next section will summarise and discuss the possible outcomes arising from enclosed space in Malaysia.

8.4   "No go" Zone Areas: Cohesion and Fragmentation

Considering the effects of guarded neighbourhoods in the urban space, the third research question and objective will look into whether these developments increase social segregation and physical separation as observed in many nations (Caldeira, 2000; Blandy and Lister 2005; Le-Goix, 2005; Atkinson, 2008). Interviews with various participants groups and fieldworks in guarded neighbourhood developments in Selangor state had revealed this issue.

Interviews with various participants groups found that residents' associations are very powerful and play an active role in residential areas. This study found that the residents of guarded neighbourhoods responded to the changing perceptions of urban safety initiated by developers creating enclosed communities by organising to close access to public streets. In so doing, residents of guarded neighbourhoods excluded outsiders from public spaces and acted to enhance the perceived amenities and security of their communities. Spaces which were once public areas that are now enclosed are redefined as private areas and the public considered as potentially dangerous persons requiring surveillance and control. The reality that guards feel comfortable asking for state identification from potential visitors appears to confer the state's permission for enclosure's socio-spatial control.

Direct-observations and in-depth interviews with RGN and RA group found that enclosures typically marked by the manual boom gates or speed bumps to slow traffic. Signs are often use to warn the outsiders. This study found most guarded neighbourhood in Selangor state have at least one guard house at the main entrance. What does this mean to the general public? Interviews with RON group revealed that the physical barriers and security measures imposed by the residents of guarded neighbourhoods inadvertently become a symbol of "social class" markers in older residential areas. In contrast with the international arena, for example, the USA (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 2002) and South Africa (Landman, 2000:2002) have relatively high walls and robust security measures, the Malaysian guarded neighbourhoods have permeable boundaries or low fences.

Research findings in Chapter 7 revealed residents of guarded neighbourhoods try to exclude themselves from outsiders and strangers. Fieldworks, however, shows that

some of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor erecting barricades to differentiate the housing types such as "doubley storey house" and "single storey house". Further analysis revealed that enclosure communities show a fragmentation of differences in social status as in the case of GNBSD. This might create social distinction and fragmentation of the communities in Selangor state as observed in international context such as in USA, Latin America and South Africa (Caldeira, 2000; Landman, 2000:2002, Le-Goix, 2005). Interviews also found that guarded neighbourhoods become status symbols for middle to upper groups.

Direct-observations revealed that guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state maintained its territory boundary through the reinforcement of social distinction as aspired by middle to upper class groups. The Selangor state case demonstrates that physical segregation perpetuated by gating communities at residential areas creates privatisation of public spaces. The physical barriers according to Low (2003), result in an image of "symbolic barriers" in fortified communities, thus contributing to physiologically separation from outsiders whom they perceived as potentially dangerous.

Furthermore, the interviews with various participants groups revealed the possibility of guarded neighbourhoods privatising access to public spaces. Although the privatisation of public space in Selangor state might not have the appearance of radical insurgency,– at least for now – it should be noted that the increasing trends of guarded neighbourhoods in older residential areas could reduced the public spaces in future. RGN interviewed revealed the fear of crime has become the justification for fragmenting space in the city and placing security guards on public streets.

What are the histories of urban segregation in Malaysia? Literature reviews revealed that after independence the Malaysian government promoted social integration and the advancement of ethnic Malays through its New Economic Program (Chin, 2000; Jomo and Chang, 2008; Tajuddin, 2012). As a new middle class emerged in the early 1980s (Embong, 1996; Abdul-Rahman, 2012) the economic transition from a state-led market to a market-led state contributed to the production of new kinds of enclosed communities in sub/urban areas. In the latest development on the urban fringes, private developers have taken advantage of what Thibert and Osirio (2013, p. 13) called the 'internationalisation of consumer tastes' by creating upscale gated communities with wonderful amenities and luxurious lifestyles.

Within older urban neighbourhoods in Selangor state, middle and upper income residents piggybacked on government policies and urban fears to transform the open but ethnic-inflected Malaysian city into increasingly spatially fragmented and bounded class-segregated spaces. Such transformation occurred within neoliberal conditions shaped by the unique circumstances of Malaysian society, history, and politics. This study suggests that the processes producing guarded neighbourhoods simultaneously bolster neighbourhood cohesion while increasing urban fragmentation. The result is a complex, multicultural, compartmentalised city, with poor and affluent groups spatially proximate yet socially distanced.

Are guarded neighbourhoods a part of the urban development? This study found significant challenges to achieve social interaction that produces vibrant and socially dynamic environment. Interviews with RON revealed that guarded neighbourhoods may increase fragmentation and social segregation in the community. In order to understand how these status symbols are created, this study revealed that it is the security elements

of guarded neighbourhoods exclude those live inside and outside. Interviews with RON group confirmed this issue: all of them reported that they cannot enter the guarded neighbourhood area without permission from security guards. Therefore, this study argued that guarded neighbourhoods can be seen as a vehicle to exclude the wider society thus contributing to the fragmentation and social segregation of the community.

The case studies in Selangor state showed that guarded neighbourhoods are not accessible to the wider society which promotes urban spatial fragmentation and social segregation. Interviews with RGN and LA group found that there is a different relationship with the outsider compared to with those who living inside. Most of them have good relationships with those living in the enclosure compared those who living outside. RON reported the same issue as they have no intention to be friendly with residents of guarded neighbourhoods.

The withdrawal of the affluent into enclosures presents this study with a range of possibilities (Caldeira, 2000; Le Goix, 2005; McKenzie, 2005; Roitman, 2003:2008; Salcedo and Torres, 2002). Interviews with various participants groups revealed two main issues. First, in Selangor state, this study found that the loss of social diversity in the older communities lead to a social distinction, thus reinforcing tendencies towards social segregation. Second, while people once expected to build social bonds and highly integrated communities through NEP, today residents increasingly look to *"do-it-yourself"* urbanism. Consequently, at some point residents may increasingly negative towards planning principles that promoted social integration.

The emergence of a new middle class in the early 1980s and the economic transition from state-led market to market-led state has produced enclosure communities in

sub/urban areas. The analysis presented in this study suggests that the pattern of communities' fragmentation in Selangor state is likely to be self-reinforced by the middle and upper groups who have the power to protect privileged insiders. The result is a more complex: poor and affluent groups are more spatially proximate but socially distant. As a result open communities transformed into more restricted and private environment. This transformation will bolster and reinstall the neighbourhood cohesion and the fragmentation of communities in Malaysia as experienced during the colonial period.

This study suggests that at the local level, enclosure communities may exacerbate the fragmentation of communities through the privatisation of public roads, fencing and securing of public spaces. Although the state policies promote social integration through NEP: Malaysians are becoming more socially and ethnically integrated at the neighbourhood level but more spatially fragmented at the communities' level. At the national level the state produce specific guidelines to govern enclosure developments. These guidelines demonstrated how neoliberal urbanism in the context of urban restructuring enforces socio-spatial divisions through deregulations and privatisation by the state (Harvey, 2005; Hodkinson, 2012). Hence the government policy to promote social integration is unlikely to be successful.

What are the physical and social effects of the enclosure development in Malaysia? In new development areas, gating is synonymous with beautiful, well-endowed, planned residential communities for urban elites. This study revealed that in older residential areas, makeshift barricades and ramshackle guardhouses produce unsightly disruptions on public street networks and transform public spaces into private domains. Security at the neighbourhood level is rapidly becoming not merely an amenity but a perceived

necessity, linked to maintaining property values and protecting family members. In Selangor state, guarded neighbourhood contribute to an increasingly fragmented landscape segregated by class, housing type, and tenure. This study observed that contemporary class segregation has replaced the ethnic segregation of colonial times. Wide swathes of the city have become spaces of exclusion, with boundaries managed by foreigners functioning to control access to foreigners and outsiders. Investigating the characteristics of enclosed communities in Selangor illustrates some of the ways in which the structure of the city reproduces structures of in/equality in the wider society.

Research findings in Chapter 7 suggest that guarded neighbourhoods revealed the complexity of governance in privatising public spaces. Guarded neighbourhood break the urban fabric into smaller physical pieces that enable localised community control while enlarging the grain size of urban blocks in the city's transportation structure. By closing public streets and enclosing public spaces, guarded neighbourhoods change the relationship of non-residents to community spaces as well as to other residents. This study suggests that guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor simultaneously reflect social exclusion –of non-residents and foreigners—and cohesive social action of the politically powerful to produce neighbourhood identity and community coherence. They reveal the way that rising elites are empowered by cultural history and changing socio-economic circumstances in a situation of "actually existing neoliberalism".

In transitions to the free market system, neoliberal thinking allowed the privatisation of public spheres and upward distribution of wealth, thus "restoring of class power" (Harvey, 2005) to secure the privileges and benefits of the affluent and specific group of people. Previous researchers have documented how neoliberal urbanism promotes rigid exclusions from national citizenship and civic participation (Hackworth, 2007: Giroux,

2010). Research findings from Selangor state, however, lead this study to suggest that neoliberalisation has succeeded in fashioning a new urban fabric in Malaysia: a socially and spatially fragmented community due to the old neighbourhood being replaced by new fortified neighbourhood. Direct observations revealed that older neighbourhoods transform into a more elegant and exclusive environment by gating communities that subsequently leads to privatisation of public spaces. The physical barriers and other security measures of enclosure communities produce a space of exclusivity – limited access in and out of the communities. These elements are a constant reminder to the general public that entry is not possible without permission from security guards.

With its empirical focus on enclosed communities in older areas, this study illustrates neoliberal urbanism practice in Selangor state. The state and private corporations are not the only active agents transforming urban spaces. In Malaysia residents are also socially engaged in reconstituting public spaces as private as they superimpose class dynamics over efforts to encourage urban ethnic integration. This study argued that guarded neighbourhoods illustrate the efforts of urban middle classes to wrest control of their space in the city; they simultaneously demonstrate the social and spatial repercussions of a divided city. New security standards – physical barriers and security guards – make it hard to achieve good neighbourhood principles as explained by Grant (2005). In many cases, unfortunately, enclosure extremely privatised public spaces. The result is an increasingly divided city with more and more 'no go' zones each year.

8.5   Policy and Planning Implications: Role and Rule

As the fourth research question and objective attempts to suggest measures to improve the current practises in governing guarded neighbourhoods, this is only effective by

critically examining the existing regulations. First, this section suggests improving the existing legalisation such as laws and guidelines. Second, this section will recommend improvements on the existing process and procedure in governing guarded neighbourhoods.

Policies and regulations interact with other factors such as global forces and local conditions to produce secured residential spaces. If the production of enclosures is a manifestation of urban insecurity, then to legalise guarded neighbourhoods in older areas should be considered as one of the options. Faced with this knowledge, relevant authorities in Malaysia are struggling to standardise their legislation and administration for enclosures. Therefore, to improve the current practise in (re)producing and governing guarded neighbourhoods, this study suggests that the current laws and guidelines should be amended to allow citizen action groups to enclose public spaces and build physical barriers on public streets/roads. In particular, section 46(1) of SDBA 1974 and Section 80 of the RTA 1987 should be amended to allow guarded neighbourhoods to be effectively implemented in older residential areas by erecting physical barriers across public roads.

Although this study recommends legalising guarded neighbourhoods in older areas in Malaysia, the role of good neighbourhood principles in achieving smart, sustainable and liveable communities need to be considered. While government authorities are committed to promoting good neighbourhood principles, the market preferences and the demand of the sub/urban residents need to be taken into consideration. Whilst findings revealed some of government authorities disagreed with guarded neighbourhood developments, this study recommends that public actors need to understand the market dynamics altering consumer choices and the way private actors and citizen association

groups interpret and shape housing aspirations. Thus the task of government is to confront guarded neighbourhoods by providing a strong legal mechanism to legalise or ban these developments.

In an effort to standardise the governance of guarded neighbourhoods, the federal government produced guidelines to govern this development. The guideline has proved to be helpful to the various key actors in reproducing and governing guarded neighbourhood in older areas. The guideline is generally well accepted by all states in the Peninsular Malaysia. However, this study revealed that Selangor state produced their own guideline to use in governing guarded neighbourhoods by local authorities in Selangor state. As a result, local authorities in Selangor state sometimes ignored the requirements by the federal government. The guidelines produced by the state and federal governments have complicated the process in governing guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia. This study recommends that federal and state government should standardise their guidelines to avoid the confusion in governing guarded neighbourhoods.

Should government authorities forbid the development of guarded neighbourhoods in the older residential areas in Malaysia? This study proposes that this kind of community should be allowed to operate in older areas as research findings found that there are strong demands from the sub/urban residents in Selangor state to enclose space. However, the practise and nature of fencing of this community need to be reviewed. This study suggests that the current existing guideline both from state and local governments need to be revised to suit the current needs of the sub/urban residents in older residential areas in Malaysia.

As shown in Table 8.1, six main criteria of guarded neighbourhoods' guideline are selected to be reviewed and revised. For instance, this study suggests that the new operation times will be reviewed to allow 24 hours security. Foreigners should not be employed as security guards. This study also suggests that physical barriers be allowed on public roads/streets. However, on the voting rule, this study suggests that the number of voting should be increased to 90% to avoid any dispute between the residents and resident association in the future.

This study emphasise that the proposed improvement measures as listed in Table 8.1 are based on the research findings in Chapter 8, extensive literature reviews in chapters 3 and 4 and guided by theoretical framework in Chapter 2. However, it is not the intention of this study to produce a comprehensive guideline which is the responsibility of the urban policy makers. However, the proposed measures could consider as the basis for future research where other alternatives could be developed to govern guarded neighbourhoods of the future.

Table 8.1: Suggestion for improving existing guidelines

Requirements	Federal Government's Guideline	Selangor State's Guideline	Suggestion for Improvements	Justifications
Voting Rule	• Majority vote from residents	• Existing housing scheme requires consent from at least 85% of the residents	• Majority vote from residents with at least 90% of residents agree with the guarded neighbourhood development	• No specific percentage from federal government • Although Selangor state required at least 85 percent consent from residents, domestic arguments between residents have been reported.
Operation time	• Operation time allowed is from 12.00pm to 6.00am	• Operation time allowed is from 12.00pm to 6.00am	• 24 hours operational hours	• The current operation times are not effective as crime can happened during daytime.
Physical barriers	• Perimeter fencing encircling neighbouring area is not allowed	• Perimeter fencing is strictly prohibited	• Fencing and gating be allowed on public street/road. However, the layout plan for fencing or gating need to be approved by the local authority and verified by other agencies relevant agencies.	• While federal and state government has prohibited fencing and erecting physical barriers on public roads, the physical characteristics of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia are mostly involved with fencing and restricted access to outsiders.
Guard House	• Guard house is only permitted to be built on the road shoulder area	• Only guard house allowed • The sized allowed is 6ft x 8ft or other sizes deemed suitable by the local authority	• Cabin house will be prohibited. • Guard house need to comply with federal guideline's requirements	• Cabin house has disturbed the urban landscape in residential areas
Security Guards	• Appointed security guards must be registered with Ministry of	• Need to fulfil the requirements of the local authority	• Foreigners will be prohibited as security guards	• Direct observations showed most of the security guards are

			Special training need to be provided	foreigners
	Home Affairs or with other relevant agencies.		• Special training need to be provided • Uniform for security guards should be standardised throughout the country • Local authority should directly monitor the appointment of security guards by resident associations	• Local authority does not monitor the appointment of security guards
Traffic Flow	• Temporary physical barriers can be considered provided that security guards are available with 24 hours to monitor traffic flow	• Should not block vehicles from entering that particular area	• Only boom gates (automatic and/or manual) and speed bumps could be considered	• The existing guidelines prohibit automatic boom gates.

Source: Author

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In Malaysia, planning is a particular form of political practise that is responsible for urban governance. Focusing on the role of the local government in (re)producing and governing guarded neighbourhoods, this study found that there is no systematic SOP to guide local authorities in processing the application of guarded neighbourhoods. While there are no clear SOP in governing guarded neighbourhoods the current ad-hoc situation, requires a systematic framework to govern this development. Figure 8.2 below illustrates how such a framework could be structured. However, this study acknowledged the proposed framework could be improved to suit the institutional and organisational structures of any particular local authority.

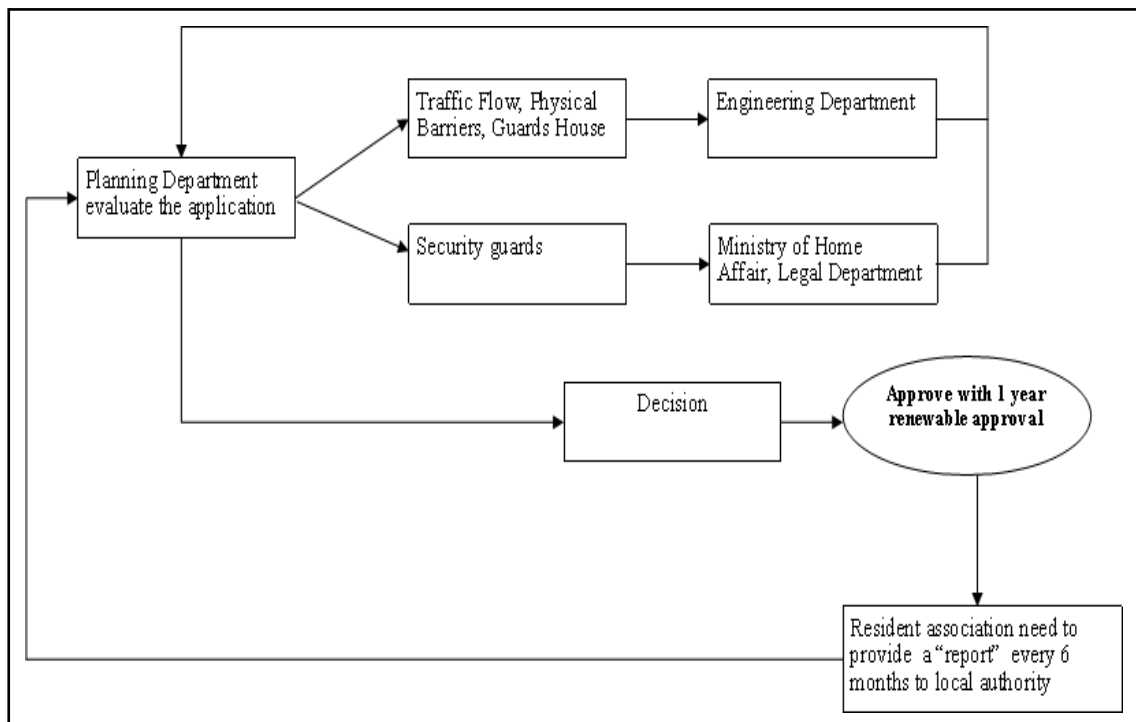Figure 8.2: Proposed procedure to process the application of guarded neighbourhoods
Source: Author

Research findings reveal that there is lack communication between various departments at local authority level. Acknowledging the roles of other departments, this study suggests the communication between Engineering Department, Legal Department and Ministry of Home Affairs should be strengthened. As shown in Figure 8.2, the

Engineering department will be dealt with the traffic flows, the location of guard houses, and physical barriers on public road. Research findings revealed that local authority fully relied on the Ministry of Home Affairs on matters relating to security guards. Therefore this study suggests that the appointment of security guards need to get an approval from the Ministry of Home Affairs and need to be verified by the local authority. Local authority will then be responsible to monitor the appointment of security guards at the local level.

For the post-application period, this study suggests that the resident association need to submit a report every six months to the local authority. Local authority and an independent third party professional[15] will review the report and verify that the guarded neighbourhoods are in accordance with the existing guidelines. This will ensure consistency and reliability for all guarded communities associations. Approval could be withdraw at any time without further notice if the guarded neighbourhoods are not in compliance with the existing guidelines and requirements as required by the local authority.

While urban residents claimed that safety and security has become a main reason for them to live in guarded neighbourhoods, this study found that crime rates are relatively low in Malaysia. It is evidence as seen in Selangor state fear of crime is overwhelming high in Malaysian cities. Based on research findings this study emphasise that the elegance of good neighbourhood principles as described in Chapter 2 are rarely survived in practise in Malaysian urban development. Therefore, government authorities should be more serious in addressing questions of diversity and integrated communities. In general ways, this can be done through the cooperation between private and public

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[15] An independent third party industry professional must be someone who not holds any position in the local authority organisation. This study suggests that this independent body could be from Urban Development Authority of Malaysia or any professional agencies relating to the urban and regional planning in Malaysia.

sectors in   designing effective strategies to tackle urban insecurity as revealed in Chapter 7.

As more people choose to live in enclosed and fortified communities, local governments find themselves facing complex issues in making a good neighbourhood. Demand for safety and security in cities, tensions around federal, state and local governments, even connecting the dots between city planning and good neighbourhood principles, are just some of the more high-profile critical issues in residential planning in Malaysia. Solutions can come in many ways, but this study suggests involving the public in the process leads to a better concept of a guarded neighbourhood. However, this study acknowledged that by promoting, legalising and supporting enclosure developments such as guarded neighbourhoods, the urban fabric will become more fragmented and segregated in the near future.

Focusing on public spaces as explained in Chapter 2, social integrations only can be achieved through open neighbourhoods such as communities without a boundary and territory. Despite a strong demand by the urban and suburban residents for secured and fortified residential areas, this study suggests that government authorities should be more creative and innovative in producing a gateless and open neighbourhood development. The efforts of *urban-space-making* could be strengthened through empowerment and engagement of multiple key actors in a neighbourhood planning to participate, understand and contribute to the good neighbourhood principles that eventually define the community.

8.6   Theories on "Actually Existing Neoliberalism": Creative class, Social and Spatial Struggles

This section will forefront the discussion on the ideology of neoliberalism and its effects on the enclosure communities in Malaysia. This study acknowledged that the enclosures in sub/urban areas in Selangor state are not entirely new but was influenced by international trends, local conditions and political forces. To a certain extent, the history of enclosed communities in Malaysia began during the British Administration and known as New Village. Such nostalgia might have influenced the contemporary residential development in Malaysia. Therefore, empirical data provided evidence that the production of enclosure in older areas reflects a complex mix of global and local processes at work in creating what Sibley (1995) called the new "geographies of exclusion".

As seen in Chapters 3, 4 and Chapter 7, guarded neighbourhoods were facilitated by the liberalising of policies by the state and creating a new landscape of control in contemporary Malaysia. The experience of guarded neighbourhood in Selangor state not only provides evidence of the effects of global economic transformations but also the unique influences generated by local conditions, cultural practices, and political choices. This study revealed that the middle class and affluent groups influenced by the discourse of globalisation and neoliberalism and self-produced enclosed space. This study further suggests that privatisation and restricted access to public spaces and amenities, and reduced or altered forms of government intervention, reveal the influenced of neoliberal thinking in Malaysia's urban development.

With this study focuses on enclosure communities in older areas, the case studies in Selangor state further validates that neoliberalism exists in various forms, diverse and vary in local context and cultures, which inevitably induce numerous conflicts between producing actors (resident associations, the state) and the wider society. At the local level, the fragmentation of communities and spatial segregation is inexorable. This study suggests that neoliberal urbanism continues moderately in Malaysian cities. As described in previous chapters, the spatial outcome of fortified communities to a certain extent reflects the influence of political economy and globalisation in the neighbourhood. This study suggests that guarded neighbourhood is a logical product of an economic environment driven by a market-dominated period coupled with rapid sub/urbanisations in major cities in Selangor state.

As neoliberalisation becomes a dominant feature of "urban restructuring" of urban development in Malaysia (Bunnell, 2002; Bae-Gyoon and Lepawsky, 2012), guarded neighbourhoods are fast emerging in older residential areas. Interviews and analysis of literature review seems to indicate that the government 'rolled back' from public provision services and encouraged resident association to self-regulate residential developments. Chapter 2 described that the neoliberalisation processes was characterised by increasing privatisation in urban spaces, as well as constant state intervention through guidelines that support these developments. This study acknowledges these processes and suggests that in Malaysia, neoliberalisation does work in a modest way, involving active state intervention and continue to evolve in various forms. In the marriage with guarded neighbourhoods, in Malaysia neoliberal urbanism works effectively at the local level: the state plays an active role and leads a steady and moderate way of neoliberalisation of urban spaces through various principles of neoliberalism. These processes at play may suggest that guarded neighbourhoods can

be read as a part of the broader process of neoliberalisation that occurred in sub/urban areas in Malaysia.

Is the proliferation of guarded neighbourhood in Selangor state an example of globalisation and neoliberalism in practice? Although international influences and philosophical shifts certainly played roles in bringing enclosure to a nation where bounding was not traditionally common, this study have also shown some of the ways in which particular cultural and political processes and circumstances in Malaysia have generated unique conditions that intensified the production of social and spatial fragmentation (see Chapters 4 and 6). This study further suggests that the ideology of neoliberal urbanism created segmented and fragmented communities in Malaysia. But while the segmented and fragmented communities has been made abundantly clear in old neighbourhood areas, their (re)production is neither inevitable nor complete.

What is the evidence of "actually existing neoliberalism"? This study suggests a more complex interpretation of the link between enclosure and neoliberalism in Malaysia. If neoliberalism means the withdrawal of the state as a set of economic practise and an ideology, then it seems that by reintroducing the various measures to support guarded neighbourhoods, neoliberal thinking serves as the launch pad for the spread of not only guarded neighbourhoods but gated communities in Malaysia. Although the international influence Malaysia's urban development, globalisation mixed up with the local cultures produced and restored the local characteristics form of gating. Analysing enclosures practise in the context of neoliberal urbanism revealed the actually existing neoliberalism. Thus, guarded neighbourhood may produce what is known as "guerrilla gardening": a new form of communities' revitalisation and dovetailing nicely with neoliberal urbanism due to the local forces such as feeling insecurity in the city. To

surmise, the mantras of free market (Gomez and Jomo, 1997), active individualism and foreign labour policy (Tajuddin, 2012) have come to shape the urban landscape in Malaysia and contribute to social transformation in the city. Citizens in older areas negotiate urban spaces as described in Chapter 7 with the state empowering them to privatise public spheres and has now become a powerful culture of urban landscape. Enclosed communities in older districts generating locally specific forms of neoliberal urbanism influenced by the state neoliberal policies. Governments have accommodated or welcomed the trend, largely by adopting neo-liberal and gate-friendly policies of the sort pioneered elsewhere. These suggest neoliberalisation and neoliberal urbanism have thus emerged in Malaysia's urban development.

8.7   Summary

This chapter has provided a discussion that linked a conceptual framework and literature reviews to answer the research questions and objectives of this study. Reviewing the debate about guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia, this study revealed that political economy has significant impacts on the increasing trend of this development. Therefore, it might be argued that as an antidote to the community's safety and other related factors as discussed above, the state seems to be promoting the (re)production of guarded neighbourhood in Selangor state. The state offered various strategies to support –or at least to guide – guarded neighbourhood developments. However, as the state is responsible to generate better communities, planners working with local authority need to recommend appropriate urban strategies. The next chapter will conclude this study.

CHAPTER 9

Conclusion

9.1   Introduction

This chapter will conclude this study by offering an explanation of how guarded neighbourhoods has taken place in older residential areas and how they can be interpreted in the context of developing and post-colonial countries such as Malaysia. This study has provided a comprehensive understanding of the guarded neighbourhood phenomenon, by looking at demand and supply factors: why urban residents (re)organised the property boundaries into a more elegant and private enclosure and who produced and governed them. As such, this study provides an opportunity to explore "actually existing neoliberalism" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p. 345) in the urban development of Malaysia and theorise the neoliberal thinking within guarded neighbourhoods.

Drawing from a political economy approach based on the ideology of neoliberalism, this final chapter will be divided into five sections to enlighten the outcomes of the study and addresses the four research objectives as outlined in Chapter 1. Following this introduction, section two will discuss the key findings of this study followed by the contributions of this study in section three. Section four then suggests the future research of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia. Last but not least, section five will briefly summarise this study.

9.2   Key Findings of the Study

The qualitative inquiry of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor offers several theoretical insights. Although enclosures are appearing in many parts of the world, they vary in their characteristics and in their pervasiveness. Detailed case study investigations offer useful insights into the complex cultural process produces and govern guarded neighbourhoods. First, this study examined why residents mobilised from an open neighbourhood into private and elegant residential area. Second, this study investigated how guarded neighbourhoods are produced amidst complex urban governance system. Third, this study explored the possible impacts of guarded neighbourhoods towards the wider society and last but not least recommended improvement measures to better practise of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia.   Therefore, the following sections bring together key findings to establish a deeper understanding on the rise of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia. It addresses the following research objectives as outlined in Chapter 1.

i.   To identify the motivations for guarded neighbourhoods in older residential areas

ii.   To explore the role of governance and multiple key actors in (re)producing and governing guarded neighbourhoods

iii.   To examine the socio and spatial implications of guarded neighbourhoods towards the wider society.

iv.   To recommend measures to improve governance of guarded neighbourhoods.

9.2.1 The Motivations for Guarded Neighbourhoods

The first objective of this study is to investigate the reason for gating in older residential areas in Selangor state. Research findings revealed that security and safety as the main reason for residents to live in secure communities. However, by global standard Malaysia is remarkably safe compared to other countries in the Southeast Asia region. While many studies have highlighted the link between high crime rates and the rise of gated communities as observed in the USA and South Africa (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000; Landman, 2000) the same situation cannot be said in Malaysia. Selangor state demonstrated that residents in older residential areas break swaths of neighbourhoods into much smaller grids by erecting physical barriers on public roads due to the fear of crime/others. This study revealed that fear of crime generated by illegal/legal foreign works drives community and development industry actions to enclose space. Hence, fortified urban spaces in Malaysia represent physical manifestations of the growing discourse of insecurity, often deeply intertwined with fear of disadvantaged others (especially immigrants).

Although this study revealed the element of fear of crimes/others, secondary factors such as private and exclusive living and property investment are also documented. However, this study revealed that privacy and exclusivity and property investments may be a lesser motivation for securing and fencing communities in Selangor state than investigators reported in other countries. Residents' associations in Selangor state appear to be highly empowered and engaged in Malaysian cities. Responding to the appearance of new gated communities promising security, the residents of older neighbourhoods organised to close access to their streets. In so doing, they excluded

outsiders and acted to enhance the perceived amenities and security of their communities. Property rights thus dominate mobility rights in residential areas.

While the issue of high crime rates were less applicable in Malaysian cities, the rise of illegal/legal low skilled foreign workers to the country creating a new urban experience of insecurity. In some ways, this study saw evidence that fear of crime/others dominated the reason for gating in new and older residential areas. Residents' associations intervene to control access and manage its enclosure. The Selangor state case also suggested that fear of others aligned with strong in-group identity may increase the likelihood that residents will seek spatial enclosure. Therefore, this study argued that that spatial product such as enclosure reveal the nature of contemporary urban cultural values, especially status marking and insecurity.

9.2.2   The Role of Governance and Multiple Key Actors

The second objective of this study is to investigate the role of governance and multiple key actors in governing and reproducing guarded neighbourhoods. Understanding the nature and prevalence of gated residential areas in Malaysia requires insights into the cultural context in which housing is produced and consumed, and the governance processes whereby decisions are made. This study revealed that in Malaysia, governments (federal, state, and local authorities), corporations (development companies, management companies, and security companies), and citizen groups (safety associations and residents' associations) work within a complex governance system to (re)produce guarded neighbourhoods. In developing theory about the ways in which guarded neighbourhood is produced this study argues that the nature and extent of social

differentiation, and the way that social polarisation is articulated in national politics, affects the dominance of enclosure as an urban development practice.

This study also found evidence of the effects of global economic transformations but also revealed the unique influence generated by local conditions, cultural practices, and political choices. Over the last several decades, Malaysia transformed into a manufacturing powerhouse rapidly moving towards a developed nation status. Such a change promoted urbanisation and helped create a growing middle class seeking attractive housing options. Like governments in many countries, Malaysia's leaders moved to deregulate and liberalise markets, reducing the role of the state in producing housing. While neo-liberalism had an impact on the nation, however, Malaysia plotted a unique political trajectory. For instance, it actively promotes social and economic integration of indigenous ethnic groups, creating conditions that facilitated ethnic integration in growing urban centres. Government provided funding to support citizen groups working to promote community safety, and developed guidelines and regulations to govern enclosure of residential areas. In Malaysia, this study found that government authorities at various levels facilitate enclosures, supported by regulatory measures that became gradually hands-off after the rise of neoliberal philosophies in the early 1980s.

Can planners working with local government create the conditions for producing good communities as explained in Chapter 2? Despite the important role of planners in shaping good communities, this study revealed that in many ways the powers of the planners are limited. The complex relationship between the three tiers of government system as explained in Chapter 4 has complicated the urban governance process in Malaysia. In general, planners working with local government are tend to be followers rather than leaders. Pressure from some politician as revealed in Chapter 6 further

complicates the urban development process. Therefore, guarded neighbourhoods revealed the complexity of the state in privatising public spaces and governance functions.

An attempt to link the guarded neighbourhoods with neoliberalism, this study found that Malaysian government seems to be promoting this kind of community through various neoliberal policies such as privatisations and deregulation of lands that have become almost as a new planning requirement for residential developments in Malaysia. Government policies encourage groups to control their spaces, while insufficient funding for enforcement often leads local authorities to tolerate street closures that are officially prohibited by law. With the existence of laws and guidelines, enclosures in new and older areas mushroomed. For instance, government authorities produced enclosures guidelines to guide private actors and citizen associations to annex communities. This practise has produced complex relationships in governing guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia. The governance system at work in Malaysia includes local conditions and political ideology framing a neoliberal agenda within which governments, corporations, and citizen associations co-produce the economic, social, and political conditions to stimulate and legitimise enclosure. This study, however, acknowledges that there is much more going on than just neoliberalisation in accounting for the neighbourhood barricades in Selangor state.

9.2.3   The Socio and Spatial Implications of Guarded Neighbourhoods

In order to answer the third research objective, this study revealed the socio-spatial implication of guarded neighbourhood development. In the wake of modernisation and globalisation, new forms of class inequality have emerged in Malaysia that produce

sub/urban areas of affluence and leave residents of older middle-class areas looking for strategies to enclose urban spaces. This study revealed that guarded neighbourhoods carve the city into pods designed to repel non-members and represents a new lifestyles of an elite group. This study found that contemporary class-segregation in Malaysian cites replaced the ethnic-segregations during colonial period. As residential groups organise to erect barricades and hire guards to protect their neighbourhoods they innovatively re-fragment an already socially and spatially divided society. Citizen action thus plays a significant role in producing enclosure in older urban districts. Consequently, the structure of the Malaysian city (re)produces structures of social inequality while physically expressing fears of difference.

This study found that "forting up" (Blakely and Snyder, 1997) communities are being expressed by the defensive spatial design and human surveillances. Some of sub/urban residents found ways to transform open communities into secured communities. This study revealed that urban residents anticipate a more interventionist roles in their search for a more liveable and safe living conditions: they building physical barriers on public road and barricades their communities. As a result they would have less contact with outsiders and strangers. This study argues that the process has inscribed class over other forms of social differentiation in the city, and has begun to make Malaysian urban space less accessible. Guarded neighbourhoods illustrate the efforts of urban middle classes to wrest control of their space in the city; they simultaneously demonstrate the social and spatial repercussions of a divided city.

In Selangor state, guarded neighbourhoods contribute to an increasingly fragmented landscape segregated by class, and housing type. Wide swaths of the city have become spaces of exclusion, with boundaries managed by foreigners functioning to control

access by foreigners and outsiders. By investigating the characteristics of guarded neighbourhoods, this study sees that the structure of the city reproduces structures of inequality in the wider society. They revealed the way that rising elites shape the city as they are influenced by cultural history and empowered by changing socio-economic circumstances in a situation of "actually existing neoliberalism". This study argues that resident actions to barricade streets increase social and spatial fragmentation. Case studies of practice, –such as in Selangor state – enhance understanding of the processes generating increasingly divided cities.

With its empirical focus on enclosed communities in older areas, this study illustrates neoliberal urban practice in fragmenting cities. This study revealed that the national government's initiatives on privatisation, deregulation, and decentralisation facilitated processes of social differentiation already being made concrete in space. However, the state and private corporations are not the only active agents transforming urban spaces. In Malaysia, residents are socially engaged in reconstituting public spaces as private as they superimpose class dynamics over efforts to manage ethnic differences. The result is an increasingly divided city with more 'no go' zones each year.

9.2.4   Recommendations and Suggestions

In efforts to find secure and safe communities, guarded neighbourhoods have found considerable appeal in older residential areas. While the existing enclosure guidelines may have been used to produce guarded neighbourhoods, contemporary practice may prove resistant to the current situation. Therefore, this study suggests that the existing guidelines, both federal and state guideline should be amended to improve governing

and reproducing guarded neighbourhoods in the future. The proposed amendments as described below may replace or augment existing elements.

    i.   90% consent from residents

    ii.   24 hours per day of operation hours

    iii.   Physical barriers should be allowed on public spaces

    iv.   Two year renewable planning approval change to one year renewable planning approval

Given the rapid spread of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state, it appears that sub/urban residents favour the enclosures. Although government planners have embraced good neighbourhoods' principles and embedded them in policies and various plans, the market for enclosures indicates that the sub/urban residents may have different preferences. Research findings demonstrated that there are strong demands by sub/urban residents in Selangor state towards the privatisation of urban spaces in the form of guarded neighbourhoods. Therefore the state should amend the existing laws such as NLC 1965, SDBA 1974 and RTA 1987 to allow the physical barriers and other security measures to be developed on public road.

Acknowledging the limited role of urban planners working with local authority and the complex process of urban governance in Selangor state, this study suggests that specific SOP should be introduced to govern guarded neighbourhoods. Communication between various departments at the local authority level has to be improved. As public expectations of what is required to create communities' safety involve much more than land use planning and control, the role of various key actors in governing guarded neighbourhoods should be enhanced through effective communication between them.

Responsible authority can set a specific regulatory mechanism such as SOP that helps to improve the current practise in governing and producing guarded neighbourhoods.

9.3   Contributions of the Study

The contributions of this study can be viewed from three different perspectives. First, this study contributes to the existing body of knowledge by introducing the guarded neighbourhood phenomenon as part and parcel of the gated communities' literature. Second, this study contributes to the theoretical discussion of how neoliberal philosophies could be theorised to understand the (re)producing of enclosures in older residential areas. Third, this study contributes to the local practise of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia by proposing some measures to improve the development of enclosures as explained in chapter 8.

While gated communities have been well documented throughout the world, the Malaysian experience in guarded neighbourhoods is still missing in the international literature. Although this kind of community has been reported in some parts of the USA and South Africa, many studies have focused on the gated communities rather than guarded neighbourhoods. Thus, this study contributes to the existing literature of gated communities by introducing the guarded neighbourhood phenomenon to the international readers: how and why guarded neighbourhoods could fit to the gated communities' literature as discussed throughout this study.

As described in Chapter 1, this study does not only examine the proliferations of guarded neighbourhoods but also explore the roles of multiple key actors in (re)producing and governing guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state under neoliberal

conditions. Based on the extensive literature reviews in Chapter 4, this study finds that the link between guarded neighbourhoods and neoliberalism are still under theorise area. By examining a governance system that includes international agents and agendas, governments at three levels, a range of corporations, and local citizen action groups this study contribute theoretical insights to current understandings of how guarded neighbourhoods are co-produced in a system of "actually existing neoliberalism" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). In the Malaysian context, growing social polarisation and a pervasive discourse of fear create robust conditions within which the governance system enables and encourages physical enclosure of residential areas.

This study proposes measures to improve the governance and production of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state, Malaysia. Although the proposed measures are based on the existing guidelines of guarded neighbourhoods, this study argues that the new elements as proposed in Chapter 8 was critically evaluated based on the research findings in Chapter 7 guided by literature reviews and theoretical framework. The proposed improvements measures could be used to improve the current practise in governing and reproducing the guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state and Malaysia. At the local authority level, the new SOP as suggested in Figure 8.2 could be considered in governing residents' action to enclose urban spaces in older residential areas.

9.4   Future Research

Despite the empirical evidence and theoretical contributions, this study shares some of limitations that provide opportunities for future research. This study acknowledged that case study research does not allow generalising to other places, but it does permit to characterise local conditions, develop hypotheses about relationships, and consider

useful questions for further research. Firstly, this study discussed the reasons for enclosures in older areas in Selangor state by focusing on the residents of guarded neighbourhoods through in-depth interviews, direct-observations and assessing relevant documents. However, since the aim of this study is to examine the proliferation of enclosures in older areas, further investigations on motives for gating in new residential areas – that is, gated communities should be explored. Follow up research could be helpful to determine the similarities and differences of gating between residents of guarded neighbourhoods and residents of gated communities.

Secondly, as this study revealed that fear of crime/other is overwhelming in the Malaysian society, further research might usefully interrogate the nexus between fear of crime and fear of foreigners and its role in producing enclosure. This further research should examine the incidence of crime committed by the foreigners and how this could induce fear of crime among the Malaysian society. Whether fear toward others or fear of crimes, future research needs to examine the role of state and media in reporting crime focusing on how these reports instigate fear of crime or/and moral panic in Malaysia.

Thirdly, this study explains the negotiations and tensions that exist within and among various stakeholder groups. Even though the findings revealed the tensions between federal and state governments due to differences in regulatory mechanism, this study found that tensions arise also within local authority. At the local authority level, producing, planning, processing and administration of guarded neighbourhoods brings together a team of people with different backgrounds, knowledge and strategies. As this study revealed there is no SOP in monitoring and governing guarded neighbourhoods, the role of local authority in producing enclosures warrant further study. In particular,

follow up research on the post-approval period of guarded neighbourhoods is worth a study.

This study highlighted some of the roles of multiple key actors in governing and (re)producing guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state, linking it with the broader agenda of neoliberalism. In light of these trends, it appears increasingly urgent to understand how different types of housing especially enclosure development produced by private sector are being repositioned within the framework of housing provision in Malaysia. This study found that citizen associations played a significant role in producing guarded neighbourhoods in older areas. They enclose public spaces and erect physical barriers on public roads. The mechanisms by which communities organise residents' associations to enclose districts are worthy of detailed investigation.

9.5   Conclusion

In summation, based on the study of guarded neighbourhoods in Selangor state and within the context of the literature on gated communities, what conditions appear necessary for enclosure? First of all, social polarisation, wherein some groups are succeeding while others are struggling to make ends meet, is commonplace in areas experiencing enclosure. In the wake of modernisation and globalisation, Malaysia new forms of class and ethnics inequality have emerged: suburban areas of affluence, and older middle-class areas looking for strategies to protect their well-being. With its robust economy Malaysia draws international migrants searching for opportunity: such migrants are simultaneously viewed as potential threats and as low-wage labour who may work as guards manning the hundreds of entry barricades being erected in the country. The new regime of social polarisation has integrated ethnic groups in cities

such as Selangor state but produced a class-inflected landscape. Those with the ability to do so wish to reduce their risks of contact with those they fear.

This study illustrates market and citizen efforts—supported by state neoliberal policies and fiscal incentives—to impose territorial control and surveillance in residential environments where cultural diversity has become an unwelcomed urban reality. A political economy that privileges some ethnic and religious groups while vilifying others, creates cultural tensions that inevitably become manifest in efforts to control the spaces of the city. The colonial legacy of forcible confinement of some ethnic groups in "new villages", casts a lingering shadow over contemporary strategies for policing space. In Malaysia, ethnic and class diversity underscores fears that residents seek to address through physical barriers and security guards of the kind that historically kept ethnic communities apart. The landscape of control in Malaysia increasingly involves walls, gates, and guards.

Rapid economic modernisation and urbanisation alongside divisive ethnic politics generated an uneasy multi-cultural mix characterised by inter-group suspicion and fear. Although the state may characterise its policies as accommodating an inclusive multi-ethnic mix, the segregated urban neighbourhoods reveal significant fears reinforced by state practices. Relatively low crime rates do little to allay suspicions reflecting historic inequality religious differences, and power imbalances. Like the grassroots activism that may produce temporary tent cities or guerrilla gardening in western nations, residents in comfortable neighbourhoods in Malaysia engage in a kind of do-it-yourself urbanism to create places they wish to inhabit. Neoliberal practices certainly influence decisions to erect neighbourhood barricades in Selangor state, but so do the complex racial history, religious politics, class dynamics, and political ambitions of Malaysia. Thus in Selangor

state the conditions in which a complex governance system of state actors (at all levels),

market players, and citizen groups collaborate in co-producing guarded

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1
Semi-Structured Interview Questions

GUARDING THE NEIGHBOURHOODS: THE NEW LANDSCAPE OF CONTROL IN MALAYSIA

THEME 1: BACKGROUND OF GUARDED NEIGHBOURHOODS

Q1:   What are the guarded neighbourhoods' developments?

Prompt/sub questions:

- Is it for residential area only?
- Is it under private or public housing?
- Does it involved a big scale of real estate development or only a parcel of neighbourhood area?
- Where do guarded neighbourhoods development is located?

Q.2   Why guarded neighbourhoods' developments have a tendency to expand in residential area?

Prompt/sub questions:

- What are the factors that contribute toward the ringe of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia?
- Is there any safety and security issue?
- If YES, what is your opinion on the safety level of the residents prior and after the establishment of guarded neighbourhoods? Can you provide some evident?
- If NO, what are the other reasons (is it due to prestige, new lifestyle, privacy etc.) for residents to live in guarded neighbourhoods? Please explain.

Q.3:   What are the main features of guarded neighbourhoods' development?

Prompt/sub questions:

- Is there any wall/fence?

- Is there any security guards/guard house?
- Who monitoring on the appointment of guards?
- Is there any CCTV?
- How about boom gates?
- How about maintenance fee?
- Do they have any specific account? If YES, who is responsible to monitor the account?

THEME 2: EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CURRENT GUIDELINES AND LAWS

Q.4. What are the existing guidelines and laws that were used to implement / monitoring / regulating the guarded neighbourhoods' development?

Prompt/sub questions:

- Are the current guidelines and laws of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia is adequate?
- If YES, can you tell me in more specific what are the guidelines and laws used by you to implement / monitoring / regulating the guarded neighbourhoods' development?
- If NO, How would you suggest to overcome this problem?

Q.5 Is guarded neighbourhoods development contradict with the current guidelines and acts for example section 46 (1) of Street, Drainage and Building Act 1974, Section 66 of National Land Code 1965, Section 19 of Town and Country Planning Act 1976 and so on?

Prompt/sub questions:

- What is your opinion on this issue?
- What are the impacts of existing acts towards guarded neighbourhoods' development?
- What can be done by the government to address these issues?
- What more do you think can be done by the government to legalize the guarded neighbourhoods' development?

THEME 3: PROCESS AND PROCEDURE OF THE GUARDED NEIGHBOURHOODS' DEVELOPMENT

Q.6   What are the main challenges faced by your organization in the establishment of guarded neighbourhoods development?

Prompt/sub questions:

- Are there any processes and procedures to control / supervise / execute guarded neighbourhoods development? If YES, please specific.
- Is there any Standard Operation Procedure (SOP) used by your organisation to control / supervise/ execute the guarded neighbourhoods' development?
- If, YES, can you explain in more details the SOP used by your organisation to control / supervise / execute guarded neighbourhoods development?
- If, NO, do you think SOP is important to control / supervise / execute guarded neighbourhoods development? Please explain.
- Who are the parties that involved in the establishment of guarded neighbourhoods development? What are their main roles?
- Who coordinate the parties that involved on guarded neighbourhoods development?

THEME 4: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

Q.7   What are the impacts of guarded neighbourhoods towards wider society in future?

Prompt/sub questions:

- Is it positive? Why?
- Is it negative? Why?
- Is there any segregation issues?
- Are there any complaints from non-gated residents?
- Will non-gated residents support guarded neighbourhoods development?

Q.8   What are the main benefits and challenges of guarded neighbourhoods' development?

Prompt/sub questions:

- Who are the parties that benefit from this development?
- How do local authority/residents benefit from this development?
- Do residents allow to "fort-up" their residential area by closing the main road and build walls or fences?
- Are the residents in guarded community allowed to prohibit outsiders to enter their residential area?

- What would be the challenge of guarded neighbourhoods' development in future?

THEME 5: CONCLUSION

Q.9   Based on your experience do you support the guarded neighbourhoods' development?

Q.10   What modification would you suggest to improve the current practice / procedure / process of guarded neighbourhoods development?

Q.11   Is there anything else you would like to say before the interview ends?

APPENDIX 2

Information Sheet and Consent Form

GUARDING THE NEIGHBOURHOODS: THE NEW LANDSCAPE OF CONTROL IN MALAYSIA

Peter Aning Tedong (BHA 110001)

Department of Estate Management
Faculty of Built Environment, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur

Brief:

This study is an investigation of the rise of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia, particularly in Selangor. This study will adopt the qualitative approach. The qualitative research will involve the semi-structured in-depth interviews with key stakeholders from different tiers of government, residents of guarded neighbourhoods, residents of open neighbourhoods and resident associations. The information gathered will be used to critically discuss the increasing trend of guarded neighbourhoods in Malaysia. As a consequence, a better understanding about the guarded neighbourhood phenomenon is expected to be produced and more effective measure to regulate and monitor the guarded neighbourhoods' development can be recommended.

Aim of the study:

The aim of this study is to investigate the rise of guarded neighbourhoods and the politics of space (re)production in older residential areas in Selangor. In doing so, the study focuses on how the post-market production governed and (re)produced and grew up close to planning practice, almost as a new requirement standard for older residential areas in Malaysia. As a result, residential landscape in Malaysia buffeted by unpredictable political and economic forces and transformed older residential areas into "private army communities". Certainly, the fortunes of cities had begun to change, with many residential areas showing clear signs of community fragmentations and social decays. Public spaces threatened by destruction and became sites of private and exclusive domain through the development of guarded neighbourhoods.

More specifically the study will:

v.   To identify the motivations for guarded neighbourhoods in older residential areas

vi.   To explore the role of governance and multiple key actors in (re)producing and governing guarded neighbourhoods

vii.   To examine the socio and spatial implications of guarded neighbourhoods towards the wider society.

viii.   To recommend measures to improve governance of guarded neighbourhoods.

The Requirements:

- Participants for this discussion will comprise of key stakeholders in various agencies who are either:
    i.   Directly involved in guarded neighbourhood development, or
    ii.   Able to comment on the guarded neighbourhood development based on their experiences
- Participation in this study is entirely voluntary.
- The discussion will involve face-to-face interviews to take place by arrangement.
- Participants may decide not to answer any of the interview questions if you wish.
- Participants may also decide to withdraw from this study at any time by advising the researcher interviewing you or by emailing *ptr_an@yahoo.com* or using the contact detail at the end of this document. If you notify the author of your withdrawal, all identifiable data will be destroyed.
- The author may ask for clarification of issues raised in the interview some time after it has taken place, but you will not be obliged in any way to clarify or participate further.
- Discussion will be recorded with participants' consent and/or will be transcribed.

Confidentiality

- The information you provide is confidential.
- Once data has been anonymous, it will be impossible to identify the origin and cannot be destroyed.
- Your name or any other personal identifying information will not appear in any publications resulting from this study;
- The information gained from this interview will only be used for the above objectives,
- Even though the study findings will be published in international conferences and journals, only the author and his supervisors will have access to the interview data.

If you have any questions regarding this study or would like additional information please ask the researcher before, during, or after the interview.

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CONSENT FORM

Issue
I have read the information presented in the information letter about the study " Producing and Governing Guarded Neighbourhoods: The New Housing Landscape in Malaysia"
I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, and received satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.
I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in publications to come from this research. Quotations will be kept anonymous.
I also understand that my identity will be abstracted in the thesis
I may withdraw this consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name:	
Participant Signature:	
Place:	
Date:	

APPENDIX 3

List of Conferences

Guarded Neighbourhood: Challenging Phenomenon of Housing Development in Malaysia, Conference on Urban Planning & Management in Malaysia, 08 Nov 2012 to 08 Nov 2012, Malaysian Institute of Planner, (National)

Gated and Guarded Community In Klang Valley: A Review on Resident Association Function, UTM-IBIMA International Real Estate Conference (INTEREC)/ISI Proceeding, 09 Jun 2012 to 10 Jun 2012, UTM, (International)

Gated and Guarded Community in Malaysia: A Study on Residents Behaviour and Satisfaction Level Living Inside the Enclosed Residential Area, 6th International Real Estate Research Symposium (IRERS), 24 Apr 2012 to 25 Apr 2012, INSPEN, (International)

Gated and guarded community in Malaysia: Role of the state and civil society, Planning Law and Property Rights Conference, 07 Feb 2012 to 10 Feb 2012, (International)

Good Fences Make Good Neighbours? Neighbourhood Securitisation and Community-driven Planning, Ireland Planning Research Conference, 11 Apr 2012 to 13 Apr 2012, (International)