

**NON-METROPOLITAN GATED DEVELOPMENTS IN THE
WESTERN CAPE: PATTERNS, PROCESSES AND PURPOSE**

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Gated developments, also known as gated communities, have become a feature of urban living throughout the world and have been the subject of intensive research. Gated developments in South African cities are a ubiquitous feature of the post-apartheid urban landscape with many new housing developments in the form of secure estates or fortified townhouse complexes. Almost all the international literature on gated developments has focused on them as a metropolitan phenomenon. Very few international studies have investigated gated developments in non-metropolitan locales and this topic is unexplored in the South African context. This dissertation addresses this research gap.

The study area is the entire non-metropolitan area of the Western Cape province. The politico-administrative concept of non-metropolitan is used rather than the descriptor rural because the latter implies an area of primary production with no diversification of productive activities. The study area excludes the metropolitan area of Cape Town but includes the rest of the province within which there are settlements of varying sizes having a diverse range of economic activities. It is in these places that gated developments were investigated to cover and discover particular aspects of the hitherto unexplored non-metropolitan gated developments of South Africa.

The specific objectives were to place the research in the theoretical and conceptual debates of gated developments; map the occurrence of the phenomenon; and spatially analyse the location and security aspects of the developments at a macro scale. Two towns, Swellendam and Ceres, were selected as case studies as their gated developments present a host of significant features warranting further micro-scale analysis. The spatial and locational analyses yielded other researchable themes specific to certain types of developments, namely retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam and gated developments outside the urban edge. A comprehensive spatially-linked database of gated developments in the study area was compiled from numerous sources, culminating in a process of groundtruthing that resulted in the collection of data on the physical features of each development. Qualitative data was collected from respondents through interviews, electronic communications and a questionnaire survey. Distribution patterns of gated developments were determined from spatial data and data on physical features was used to calculate security level index values for the gated developments. These data sets enabled spatial and typological comparisons to be made. Qualitative

data added a ‘voice’ to the quantitative data and provided insights into social, economic and planning aspects of gated developments.

The location of gated developments in the province is largely determined by proximity to metropolitan Cape Town and areas with high occurrences of amenities. The spatio-temporal patterns and typological distinctions of gated developments are influenced by location-specific factors. In some towns the gated developments typify a living space and in others a living *and* lifestyle space. The security features of gated developments also vary typologically and spatially. Crime data was used to show that the distribution of non-metropolitan gated developments is not necessarily associated with towns with high levels of criminal activity. Security in these developments is not a response to rampant crime, rather a strategy brought into play in case something happens – preparedness in the unlikely event of a breach of security. The gated developments in the two case-study towns are strongly influenced by location-specific needs, the purposes of residents and the processes of municipalities. Niche market gated developments, as represented in the thematic case studies of retirement gated developments and gated developments outside the urban edge are promoted by pull factors within towns and by the allure of an exclusive rural residential lifestyle of living in areas with high amenity offerings. The latter is linked to the transformation of agricultural land into gated developments, which signals a shift to post-productivist change in the study area.

The results of this seminal investigation into non-metropolitan gated developments suggest avenues for further research endeavour. These include the need for greater understanding of the changing nature of social relations between gated and the non-gated inhabitants of non-metropolitan locales; investigation of the potential for increased topophobia within towns; and examinations of the functions of the various stakeholders and role players in establishing non-metropolitan gated developments.

Keywords and phrases: Ceres, exclusive gated living, land use change, non-metropolitan, Oudtshoorn, post-productivism, residential gated developments, retirement developments, rural, safety and security, second homes, Swellendam, urban edge, Western Cape

OPSOMMING

Geslote woonbuurte, ook bekend as geslote gemeenskappe, 'n kenmerk van baie stede regoor die wêreld, het die onderwerp van intensiewe navorsing geword. Geslote woonbuurte in Suid-Afrikaanse stede is 'n alomteenwoordige kenmerk van die post-apartheid stedelike landskap met baie nuwe behuisingsontwikkelings wat as beveiligde landgoede en meenthuiskomplekse gebou word. Die meerderheid van die internasionale literatuur oor geslote woonbuurte beskou hulle as 'n metropolitaanse verskynsel. Baie min internasionale studies het geslote gemeenskappe in nie-metropolitaanse lokaliteite ondersoek en dié onderwerp is onverken in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks. Hierdie proefskrif vul dié navorsingsleemte.

Die studiegebied is die hele nie-metropolitaanse gebied van die Wes-Kaap provinsie. Die polities-administriewêre konsep 'nie-metropolitaans' word gebruik in plaas van die benaming 'landelik' omdat laasgenoemde 'n gebied van primêre produksie met geen diversifisering van ekonomiese aktiwiteite impliseer. Dus, sluit die studiegebied die metropolitaanse gebied van Kaapstad uit, maar sluit die res van die provinsie in waar nedersettings van verskeie grootte en met 'n diverse reeks ekonomiese aktiwiteite voorkom. Dit is in hierdie gebiedens dat geslote woonbuurte ondersoek word met die doel om besondere aspekte van hierdie tot nou toe onverkende nie-metropolitaanse geslote woonbuurte in Suid-Afrika, na vore te bring.

Die spesifieke doelwitte is om die navorsing binne die breër teoretiese en konseptuele debatte rondom geslote woonbuurte te plaas; die verspreiding van die verskynsel te karteer; die ligging en die sekuriteitsaspekte van die woonbuurte op makro skaal ruimtelik te ontleed. Ceres en Swellendam word as gevallestudies behandel. Die twee dorpe se geslote woonbuurte 'n menigte beduidende kenmerke van hul geslote woonbuurte vertoon, wat verdere mikro skaalanalise regverdig. Die ruimtelike en liggingsanalises het navorsingwaardige temas oor spesifieke tipes geslote woonbuurte onthul. Die temas sluit geslote aftreewoonbuurte in Oudtshoorn en Swellendam en geslote woonbuurte buitekant dorpsgrense in. 'n Omvattende ruimtelike databasis van geslote woonbuurte binne die studiegebied is uit verskeie bronne saamgestel en 'n proses van terreinverifiëring het vir die inwin van data oor fisiese kenmerke van elke woonbuurt gesorg. Kwalitatiewe data is by respondente verkry deur middel van onderhoude, elektroniese kommunikasie en 'n vraelys opname. Verspreidingspatrone van die geslote woonbuurte is aan die hand van die ruimtelike data vasgestel en die data oor die fisiese verskynsels is

gebruik om 'n sekuriteitsindekswaardes van die geslote woonbuurte te bereken. Die datastelle het ruimtelike en tipologiese vergelykings moontlik gemaak. Kwalitatiewe data het 'n 'stem' aan die kwantitiewe data verleen en insig in die sosiale, ekonomiese en beplanningsaspekte van geslote woonbuurte verskaf.

Die ligging van geslote woonbuurte in die provinsie is grootliks deur nabyheid aan die Kaapse metropool en gebiede met 'n hoë voorkoms van geriewe beïnvloed. Die ruimtelike- en tydspatrone en tipologiese kenmerke van geslote woonbuurte is deur liggingspesifieke faktore beïnvloed. In sommige dorpe is die geslote woonbuurte as 'n 'leefruimte' gekenmerk, terwyl ander geslote woonbuurte as 'leefruimte *en* leefstylruimte' getipeer word. Die sekuriteitsverskynsels van geslote woonbuurte het ook tipologiese en ruimtelike verskeidenheid getoon. Misdadaata is gebruik om te toon dat die verspreiding van nie-metropolitaanse geslote woonbuurte nie noodwendig ooreenstem met dorpe met hoë misdaadsyfers nie. Sekuriteit is nie 'n reaksie op buitensporige misdaadsyfers nie, eerder 'n strategie wat in werking tree in geval iets gebeur – paraatheid vir die onwaarskynlike gebeurtenis van 'n sekuriteitskending. Die ontwikkeling van geslote woonbuurte in die gevallestudiedorpe is sterk deur liggingspesifieke behoeftes, die doelstellings van inwoners en prosesse van munisipaliteite beïnvloed. Geslote woonbuurte wat nismarkte bedien, soos dié wat deur die tematiese gevallestudies verteenwoordig is, word bevorder deur sekere aantrekkingsfaktore wat dorpe bied en die bekoring van 'n eksklusiewe landelike residensiële lewensstyl in gebiede met 'n hoë voorkoms van geriewe vir lewensgenieting. Laasgenoemde is gekoppel aan die omskepping van landbougrond vir die bou van geslote woonbuurte wat 'n aanduiding van post-produktivistiese verandering in die studiegebied is.

Dié eerste en gedagteprikkelende ondersoek oor nie-metropolitaanse geslote woonbuurte opper temas vir verdere navorsing. Dit sluit in 'n verstaan van die moontlike veranderings in sosiale verhoudings tussen die inwoners van geslote en ongeslote nie-metropolitaanse lokaliteite, die moontlikheid van verhoogde topofobie in dorpe; en ondersoek oor die rol van verskillende inethouers en rolspelers in die ontwikkeling van nie-metropolitaanse geslote woonbuurte.

Trefwoorde en -frases: aftree-ontwikkelings, Ceres, eksklusiewe geslote leefwyse, grondgebruikverandering, landelik, nie-metropolitaans, Oudtshoorn, post-produktivisme, residensiële geslote ontwikkelinge, stedelike rand, Swellendam, tweede-wonings, veiligheid en sekuriteit, Wes-Kaap

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CBD	central business district
CCTV	closed-circuit television
CIPRO	Companies and Intellectual Property Registration Office
CPF	community policing forum
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DEA&DP	Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning
DM	District Municipality
DMA	District Management Area
EIA	environmental impact assessment
ESRI	Environmental Systems Research Institute
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GD	gated development
GDP	gross domestic product
GGP	gross geographic product
GIS	geographic information system
GPS	global positioning systems
GVA	gross value add
HOA	homeowners' association
IDP	integrated development plan
KKNK	Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees
LM	Local Municipality
RoD	record of decision
RV	retirement village
SANPAD	South Africa Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development
SDF	spatial development framework
SUV	sport utility vehicle
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
USA	United States of America

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Urban places have, more than ever in human history, become the focal point of human population and human activity. By the end of 2008 the world had reached a milestone and turning point when for the first time in history more than 50% of the world's population was classified as urban (United Nations News Centre 2008). The urban share of the world's population has grown from 29% in 1950 to 54% in 2011. There are continental disparities of urbanisation rates with North America being 82% urbanised, Oceania 71% and Africa 40% in 2011 (United Nations 2012). Although Africa has a low average rate, one finds that South Africa had an urbanisation rate of 62% in 2010 (United Nations Population Fund 2011). Urban populations increase through natural population growth and by immigration of people, mainly from rural areas. A host of factors is responsible for the depopulation of the rural areas as many people tend to seek a better life in cities. The populations of metropolitan areas in South Africa have grown significantly, especially after the removal of apartheid restrictions on the movement of people (South Africa 2009). As more people migrate to cities the requirements regarding housing and services increase accordingly.

In the South African settlement landscape increased urbanisation has not been confined to the metropolitan areas as smaller settlements have grown apace. In the Karoo a general increase in the absolute population growth of small towns, with a racially-differentiated migration to and from small towns, has been observed (Nel et al. 2011). Much of this migration is farm dwellers moving to small towns with resulting pressure on the need for municipal services (Nel et al. 2011). This immigration, from various sources, into non-metropolitan¹ settlements in the Western Cape has produced an average population growth rate of 24% between 2001 and 2007 for these settlements (Appendix A). In addition, there is an outmigration, from urban areas to rural areas – the process of counterurbanisation (Ingle 2010).

Counterurbanisation is facilitated by the interconnectedness of global communication systems and the penetration of the global village into rural locales (McCarthy 2008). Managers and inhabitants of rural

¹ The meaning of the concepts metropolitan and non-metropolitan as used in this research is treated later.

places have recognised that there are urbanites who wish to escape the city to enjoy a more relaxed rural atmosphere (O'Reilly 2007). Consumptive urban lifestyles brought by immigrating urbanites are transforming rural landscapes into sites of consumption, driven by tourism and leisure activities (Hoogendoorn, Visser & Marais 2008).

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The contemporary South African urban and rural spatial form has moved away from a legally enforced race-based segregation to one displaying elements of class-based segregation driven by forces of neo-liberalism and globalisation (Donaldson 2009). City landscapes are changing. Gated developments are mushrooming in cities around the world and they are altering the way cities are administratively, socially, politically and economically organised. Residential gated developments have become a ubiquitous feature of the contemporary South African urbanscape. Driven by various actors in the private and public domains, these gated developments have expanded their spatial manifestation beyond the borders of South Africa's metropolitan areas. Forces of commodification and consumption have resulted in the transplantation of the essentially metropolitan phenomenon of residential gated developments, onto the non-metropolitan landscape of the Western Cape.

This research investigates residential gated developments in the non-metropolitan Western Cape. Attention is focused on diverse theoretical contexts as well as the international and South African literature on gated developments. The research locates, identifies and analyses these developments in the study area; analyses their security aspects; investigates aspects that are unique to specific towns; and examines particular themes that occur in various regions of the province. A deeper understanding of the patterns, processes and reasons for the manifestation of non-metropolitan residential gated developments in the Western Cape is pursued. Clear research objectives were stipulated to achieve the research outcomes.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This research aims to:

- Review the international and South African literature on gated developments, with a focus on conceptual debates, and international and local experiences of gated developments;

- Position gated developments theoretically and place the occurrence of the phenomenon in the study area into the broader theoretical debates;
- Catalogue and map the spatial occurrence of this residential phenomenon in and around settlements in non-metropolitan Western Cape;
- Analyse the security features of residential gated developments in various locales in non-metropolitan Western Cape;
- Investigate the location-specific characteristics of residential gated developments in Swellendam and Ceres; and
- Examine two thematic manifestations of residential gated developments, namely retirement residential gated developments and residential gated developments outside the urban edge.

These objectives are woven into the fabric of the report and are revisited in the summary of results in the final chapter.

1.4 THE STUDY AREA

The Western Cape province (Figure 1.1) of South Africa consists of one metropolitan municipality (the City of Cape Town), five district municipalities (DMs), 24 local municipalities (LMs) and six District Management Areas (DMAs). The study area is the entire province excluding the City of Cape Town – in essence, non-metropolitan Western Cape. This vast study area covers 98% of the land area of the province, but it housed only 36% of the population in 2001 (Groenewald 2008). The study area includes 131 settlements identified in a provincial growth potential study (Van der Merwe et al. 2004).²

² See Appendix A for the entire list of 131 settlements in non-metropolitan Western Cape.

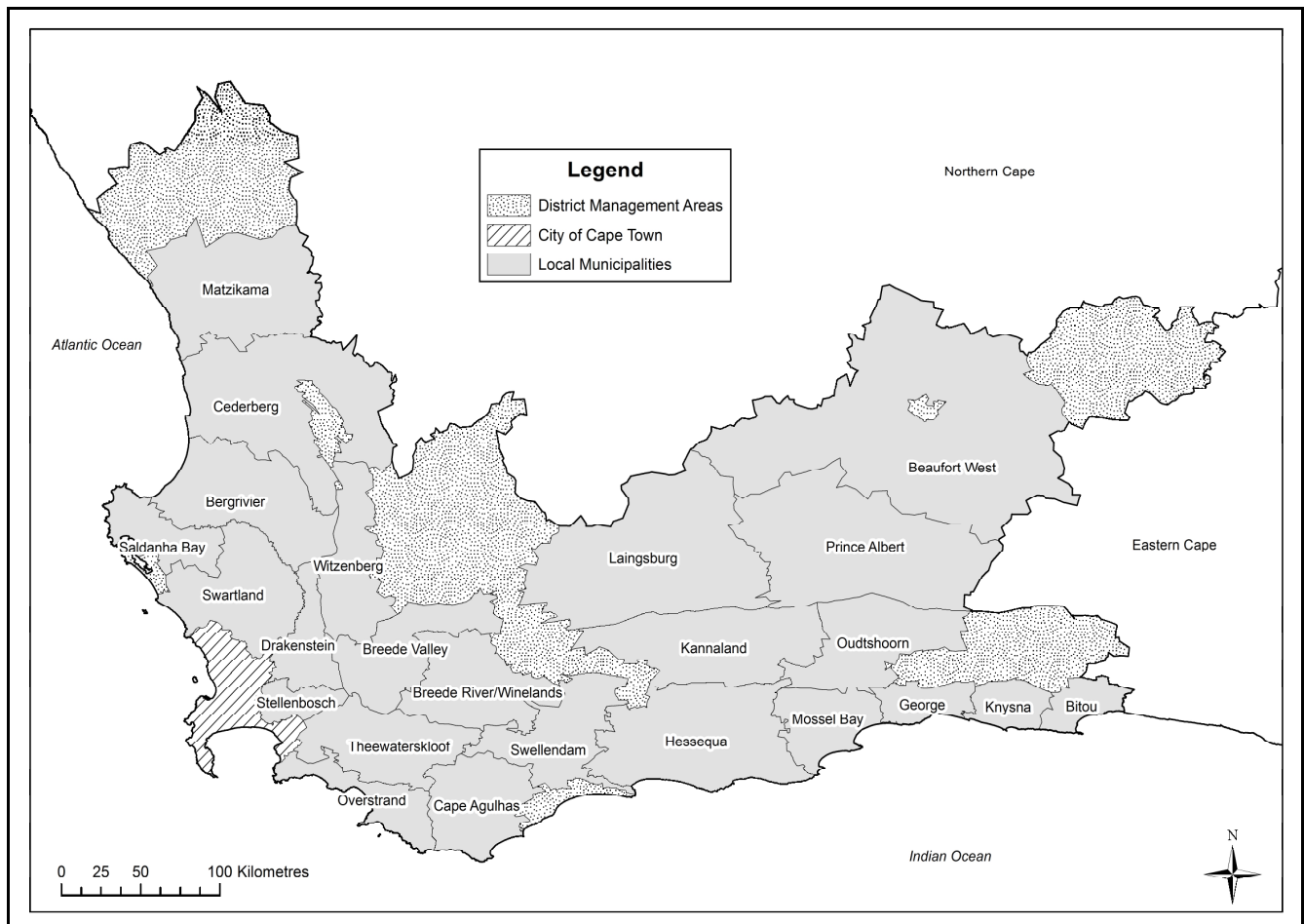


Figure 1.1 The Western Cape study area

Non-metropolitan Western Cape comprises two levels of politico-administrative areas, namely district municipalities and local municipalities, the former being the larger units. There are 24 local municipalities located within the five district municipalities (Table 1.1). District municipalities also used to consist of areas known as DMAs but these were amalgamated with their closest local municipalities in May 2011. This research retains references to DMAs as they were part of the politico-administrative system of the province when the survey component was undertaken. DMAs were areas such as state-owned national parks or areas of very low population density (Human Sciences Research Council 2005). They were managed by district municipalities but did not fall within local municipality jurisdiction until amalgamation.

Table 1.1 District and local municipalities in the Western Cape

District municipalities	Local municipalities	Leader towns (2004 growth potential study)	Leader settlements (2010 growth potential study)
Cape Winelands	Breede River/Winelands		
	Breede Valley		Worcester
	Drakenstein	Paarl, Wellington	Paarl
	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch
	Witzenberg		
Central Karoo	Beaufort West	Beaufort West	
	Laingsburg		
	Prince Albert		
Eden	Bitou		
	George	George	George
	Hessequa		
	Kannaland		
	Knysna	Knysna	
	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	
	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn
Overberg	Cape Agulhas		
	Overstrand	Hermanus	
	Swellendam	Swellendam	
	Theewaterskloof		
West Coast	Bergrivier		
	Cederberg		
	Matzikama	Vredendal	
	Saldanha Bay	Saldanha, Vredenburg	Vredenburg
	Swartland	Malmesbury	

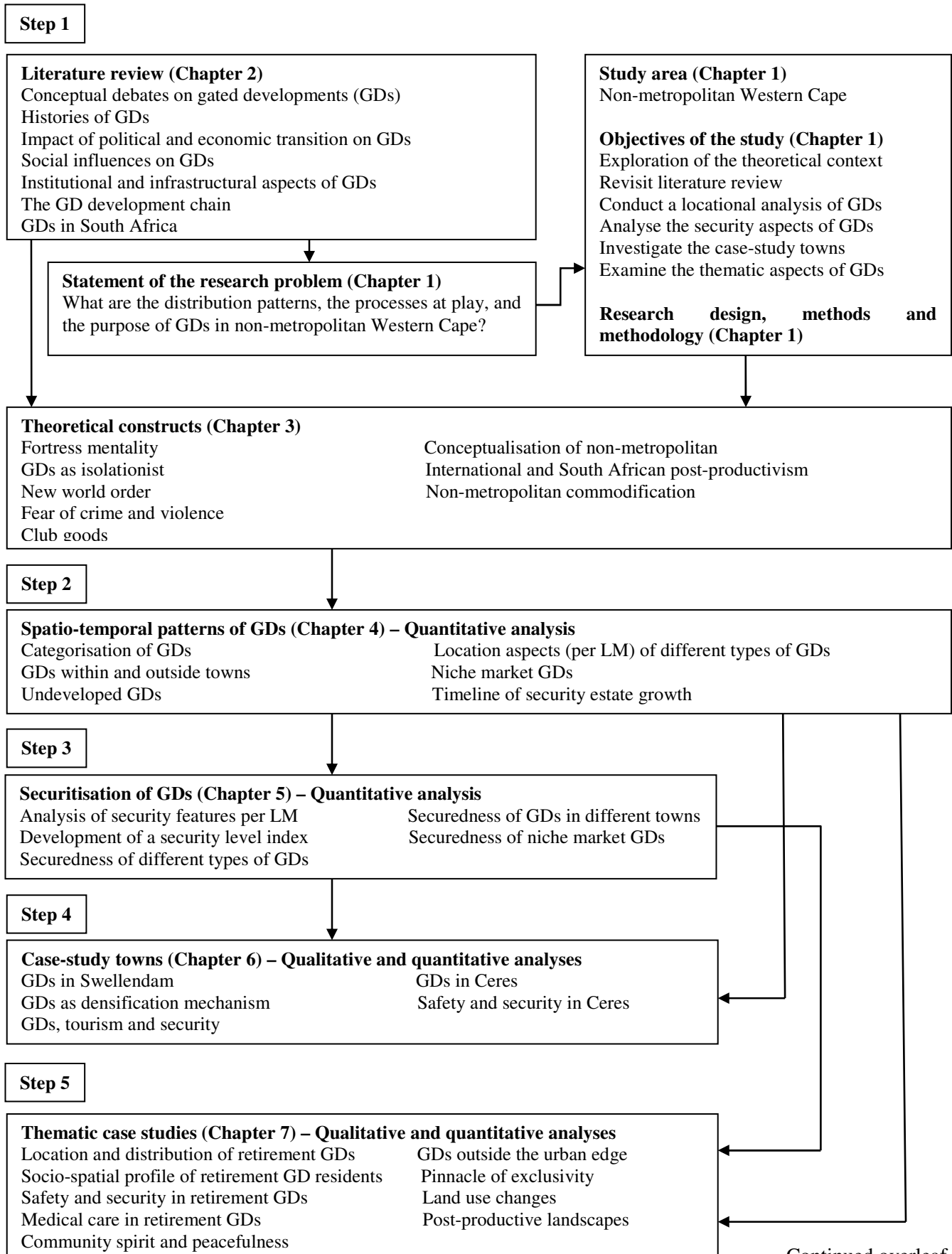
Source: Van der Merwe et al. (2004) and Van Niekerk et al. (2010)

Table 1.1 shows which settlements in the respective local municipalities have been identified as leader towns in the 2004 growth potential study (Van der Merwe et al. 2004) and as leader settlements in the 2010 revision of the growth potential study (Van Niekerk et al. 2010). The significance of the settlements with high growth potential is that most residential gated developments would be expected to be in or close to these settlements.

1.5 THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The larger study area is the entire non-metropolitan area of the Western Cape in which research into theme-specific characteristics found in specific regions or areas were undertaken. A micro-level study was conducted of residential gated developments in two selected towns, namely Swellendam and Ceres. All gated developments that met the requirements of the definition of the concept specified for this research were investigated.

Figure 1.2 outlines the steps that were followed in the research process. Step one involves the literature review, which refined the formulation of the research problem and informed the theoretical constructs, followed by identification of the study area, the objectives of the research as well as its design, methods and methodology. The second step focuses on the mapping of gated developments and the creation of a timeline of the growth of security estates (a type of gated development) across the study area. The data collected as part of the second step is used to create a security level index that informed the analysis in step three. Step four involved the identification of case-study towns based on the analyses conducted in steps two and three, resulting in an investigation of gated developments in these towns. Similarly, the thematic case studies explored in step five are influenced by steps two and three. Finally, step six concludes and synthesises the previous steps in a concluding chapter.



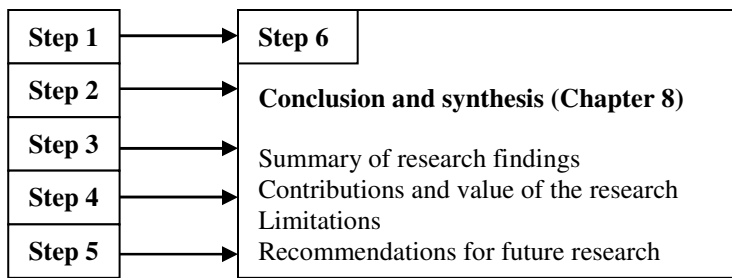


Figure 1.2 Research design for the study of non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape

The study relied on the collection of quantitative data which informed the direction of the type of qualitative information needed to explain various occurrences and phenomena associated with non-metropolitan gated developments. Documentary research provided further evidence and support for arguments and explanations. The following section concentrates on the methods used in this research.

1.5.1 Data collection

No central database exists for gated developments in the Western Cape. Neither any government department in any of the three spheres of government, nor any private company or individual has a central repository of gated development information necessitating the creation of a database of all non-metropolitan residential gated developments in the Western Cape. The database created is a count of existing gated developments on 10 January 2010 – 449 residential non-metropolitan gated developments. This includes approved but unoccupied residential gated developments where visible evidence of construction was present. Unfinished developments are included because most of the legal and administrative processes would have quite likely been completed and the units available to prospective buyers.

The creation of the database was an ongoing process using a range of sources over a period of approximately 18 months. In an attempt to obtain information from as many sources as possible to create the residential gated development database, a diverse range of information sources was tapped: information was compiled from print and electronic media; by data mining a provincial environmental impact assessment (EIA) database; through a municipal questionnaire survey; the inspection of Google Earth™ satellite imagery; and a fieldwork survey of existing gated developments.

An initial database was created by scanning newspapers, property guides, magazines, estate agency websites and EIA notices between July 2008 and September 2009. Once a prospective residential gated development was recognised, an intensive Internet search for information about the specific development was performed to verify it being a residential gated development. Developers of prospective residential gated developments were telephoned or emailed to verify whether the project was a residential gated development. These search procedures yielded 136 residential gated developments.

The provincial Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning (DEA&DP) was contacted for permission to access their comprehensive EIA database (see Appendix B). Should a residential gated development trigger any of the environmental regulations, an EIA is mandatory before construction activities can commence. The details of the EIA are subsequently entered in the DEA&DP database. EIAs are done in terms of the Environmental Conservation Act (Act 73 of 1989), and from 3 July 2006, in terms of Chapter 5 of the National Environmental Management Act (Act 107 of 1998). Gated developments per se do not require an EIA but if the development triggers any one or a combination of listed activities, completion of an EIA is required by law. The listed activities most likely to be triggered by a gated development are set out in Appendix C.

Permission was granted to access the DEA&DP database so that data mining for information spanning the period 1 September 1997 to 28 April 2009 was undertaken.³ The keywords ‘gated’, ‘security’, ‘land use’, ‘residential’, ‘retirement’, ‘estate’, ‘community’, ‘golf’, ‘polo’ and ‘lifestyle’ were used to identify probable and definite residential gated developments for which EIAs were conducted. The resultant spreadsheet was catalogued per local municipality and each of the extracted EIA applications was followed up by an Internet search on its erf or farm number, farm name and development description. From the 507 EIAs that appeared to involve residential gated developments, 168 EIAs of highly probable residential gated developments were identified. It must be noted that the submission to DEA&DP for an EIA authorisation does not necessarily mean that construction of the development takes place. Many of the identified EIA application authorisations were not acted upon and the developments were not constructed as confirmed during the fieldwork survey.

³ The onus is on the applicant to identify all listed activities that may be triggered by the development.

A survey questionnaire was sent to the planning departments of each of the 24 local municipalities in May 2009. The questionnaire requested specific information about the name of the development; the type of residential gated development (security estate or townhouse complex); the erf, plot or farm number; date of planning application; and date of granting of the planning authorisation. In some instances the municipalities included the name of the street in which the gated development was situated. A senior planner was identified in each local municipality's planning department and with whom telephonic contact was made to introduce the research and ask whether the questionnaire survey forms could be sent by email. The email (see Appendix D) was sent to each municipal contact with an attached information request letter in English (see Appendix E) and Afrikaans (see Appendix F), as well as the survey form (see Appendix G). The initial response to the request for information was very low and follow-up emails were sent in June 2009. A second follow-up email was sent in July 2009 to non-responding local municipalities. A third request was emailed to the managers of the planning departments of non-responding local municipalities in August/September 2009. The last response was received in mid-September giving a response rate of 58%.

The boundaries of residential gated developments are distinguishable by certain features. The colour of roofs within developments is recognisable from surrounding structures on aerial photographs or satellite imagery. Many developments have strict building prescriptions which dictate that roofs and houses should only be painted in prescribed colours, thus providing a highly distinguishable feature from dwellings in surrounding areas. The internal road patterns of developments display a particular configuration compared to the streets surrounding the development. The road patterns are characterised by a single entry and exit point, numerous cul-de-sacs and dwellings positioned in a particular manner on either side of the road(s). The patterned positioning of dwellings within residential gated developments is also limited to a few prescribed layouts from which homeowners can choose. The perimeter of a residential gated development is pronounced by these features. By using these visual clues an intensive desktop search with Google Earth™ satellite imagery was conducted for each of the 131 towns in the Western Cape. Screenshots of areas in towns displaying potential residential gated developments were printed on A3 paper. The street name function in Google Earth™ was activated for ease of navigation during the field survey. Figure 1.3 shows identifiable residential gated developments in a screenshot of a Google Earth™ map.



Source: Google Earth™

Figure 1.3 Possible residential gated developments (circled in red) in Swellendam

The field survey was conducted with the aid of the Google Earth™ maps, the data from the electronic and print media sources, the DEA&DP database and the municipal survey. Predetermined vehicular routes, for cost-effective and efficient data collection, were followed from one town to the next to gather the necessary information from 7 November 2009 to 10 January 2010 (see Appendix H). This groundtruthing exercise had a threefold purpose: verification of residential gated developments from information gleaned from the aforementioned sources; a visual search for previously unidentified residential gated developments; and the collection of global positioning system (GPS) co-ordinates of each residential gated development. Where entry to a development was barred, the GPS co-ordinates of the gated development were collected as close to the main entrance as possible. In those residential gated developments where entry was allowed, the GPS co-ordinates were taken inside the

development. The GPS co-ordinates were used to create a geographic information system (GIS) database of residential gated developments in the Western Cape.

The choice of survey dates was influenced by the cessation of construction activities as a result of the traditional builders' year-end holidays. Thus, there would be a better chance that the construction of new developments would only start during mid-January 2010. The builders' holiday afforded the opportunity to collect accurate data of residential gated developments at a specific time period. There was thus little chance that the construction of a new development would commence in a town in which the survey was completed, which could have resulted in undercounting.

Fieldwork was mostly conducted over weekends and no fieldwork was done in the 77 towns in which no residential gated developments had been identified through the print and electronic media, the DEA&DP database, by municipal authorities or the Google Earth™ desktop survey. Fieldwork helped to identify gating elements in each gated development, namely walls, fences, gates, booms, guards, security cameras or intercom systems. The number of post boxes, if observable, was recorded as it indicated the number of units in each residential gated development. Photographs were taken of entrances to developments, the interior of guardhouses and advertising signage (of the development). The groundtruthing exercise aimed to visually inspect and place each residential gated development within its broader surroundings or townscape. Data collected through the groundtruthing process was entered into an Excel spreadsheet for subsequent analysis.

1.5.2 Quantitative data

Two databases were constructed: a locational information database and a gating features database which assisted the classification of common sets of data for extraction, analysis and presentation through charts and tables. The locational database recorded the number of residential gated developments in a town or local municipality; enabled the compilation of maps at various spatial levels; promoted the identification of commonalities and differences of developments in different towns and local municipalities; and aided the selection of towns for case study.

The locational database contains the following attribute data:

- Development name (if any)
- Number of units
- Type of gated development
- Development status (developed or undeveloped)
- Town (or nearest town)
- Local municipality
- District municipality
- Longitude and latitude co-ordinates
- Date of survey.

The gating features database provided a platform for analysing the central physical feature of gated developments, namely security. The gating features database was populated according to the presence of the following security features at each residential gated development as identified during fieldwork:

- Gate
- Wall
- Fence
- Electrified wires atop wall or fence
- Razor wire
- Guards
- Guardhouse
- Booms
- Swipe card entry
- Intercoms
- Cameras.

Whereas the quantitative data provides an indication of location of gated developments and the features they contain, it is the qualitative data that provides insights into the reasons for the location and the features of the developments and it expresses the ideas of various actors in the gated development arena.

1.5.3 Qualitative data

Qualitative data adds a ‘human voice and opinion’ to the quantitative data. Surveys are administered to a specific target population to gather information for explanatory and exploratory purposes (Babbie & Mouton 2008). The target population is individuals, in this case the residents of residential gated developments, who are under examination in the study (Secor 2010). The boards of trustees or HOAs were telephonically approached with a request to conduct structured interviews with the residents. Permission was granted to interview residents in three of the four retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam. The HOA of one retirement gated development refused permission, but the office bearers of the HOA availed themselves for a meeting with the researcher during which aspects of the gated development were discussed.

Whereas the granting of permission to conduct interviews was obtained at the first request to two gated developments, the third one followed a more convoluted process before granting permission four months after the initial request. That development’s management deemed the rigorous process necessary to protect the residents of the development against outside scrutiny. Furthermore, they identified respondents and did not allow the researcher to conduct the interviews with the respondents. The necessary steps were taken at the two consenting developments not to interview residents who were identified as too frail, sick or in a period of bereavement. Table 1.2 summarises the population, sample and coverage of households in the retirement gated developments that were surveyed. The availability of residents, their health and welfare, respondents’ refusals, and refusals by management determined the number of households that were interviewed.

Table 1.2 Interviews per retirement gated development in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam

Name of development	Town	Number of households	Number of interviews	Percentage representation
Rotary Park	Swellendam	100	54	54
Caves Retirement Village	Oudtshoorn	50	24	48
Oudtshoorn Retirement Village		135	18	13
Total		285	96	34

Source: Author’s survey, 2011

The survey information was gathered by means of a questionnaire administered to respondents by fieldworkers so allowing for clarification of questions and observations to be made while administering the questionnaire (Babbie & Mouton 2008). The questionnaire was not administered to a random sample of respondents in a residential gated development, but to all who assented to being surveyed. The questionnaire was bilingual – English and Afrikaans – for a number of reasons: the main language spoken in the Western Cape is Afrikaans (South Africa 2010); respondents feel more comfortable responding to questions in their mother tongue; and foreign-born respondents would most probably be conversant with English.

Qualitative data was also sourced through interviews with various role players who have facilitative functions in the establishment of non-metropolitan residential gated developments. Such flexible verbal engagement with participants tapped into their knowledge to get insights into various aspects of residential gated developments. The interviewed role players were municipal town planners, provincial town planners, real estate agents, marketing managers, board trustees, and members of residential gated development homeowners' associations (HOAs)⁴; and persons who have or do not have vested interests in residential gated developments. Some interviewees were selected beforehand and others by a snowball technique. The in-depth interviews assisted in understanding various aspects, for example the importance of safety and security of residential gated developments, and they helped to clarify the researcher's observations. The research objectives are underpinned by good quantitative and qualitative data and as such are able to make a contribution to broader debates on gated developments.

1.5.4 Validity and reliability of data

The concepts of data validity and reliability are key issues in social research with the level of each impacting on the veracity of the data, and subsequent findings. Validity is defined as “the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration” (Babbie & Mouton 2008: 122). Is the collected data relevant and appropriate to the research questions posed? Reliability of data is defined as “whether a particular technique, applied repeatedly to the same object, would yield the same result each time (Babbie and Mouton 2008: 119). Would the same question posed to different respondents have a consistent result? This study uses quantitative data

⁴ HOAs are the legal representatives of residents in gated communities and are thus the official mouthpieces of the residents. In cases where the HOAs allow individual access to residents, assenting residents were interviewed.

collected through a field survey and qualitative data obtained through the use of questionnaires and structured interviews.

Question B4 in the questionnaire administered to respondents in retirement gated developments in Swellendam and Oudtshoorn respectively, requests them to explain why they liked living there. The anticipated data was to establish the pull factors responsible for attracting respondents to the respective towns. The question should have been asked directly – what were the pull factors that attracted you to Swellendam or Oudtshoorn? The question posed to respondents of gated developments in Swellendam and Ceres regarding their opinion on the housing situation in each town should have been more focused. Housing is a wide topic and the question should have been specifically aimed at eliciting opinions on housing affordability.

Structured interviews were conducted with individuals who are various actors in the gated development arena. The opinions raised in the interviews were those of individuals and care must be taken in interpreting their views as they can be tinged with self-interest and own agendas. Furthermore, the interviewees will seldom be critical of the organization they present and they could have been questioned directly to critically analyse their role in the gated development domain and how they could improve or do things differently. Much of the data that was collected in the structured interviews and questionnaire survey represent respondents' attitudes, which can be prone to misunderstanding on the part of the researcher (Babbie & Mouton 2008).

Little could be done about informants who refused to partake in the questionnaire survey. However, it could be expected that non-responsive informants would have provided not too dissimilar responses to respondents to whom the questionnaire was administered. The limited number of interviews conducted with retirement gated development respondents at one development was due to the refusal of the management to allow questionnaires to be administered directly. They chose to allow respondents to complete the questionnaires themselves. The refusals were not by respondents, but by the management of the development.

The prestige of the researcher's institution (Stellenbosch University) was recognised by respondents. They reacted favourably to the administering of the questionnaires and their participation in the study, especially as interviewers were fluent in Afrikaans; respondents were afforded the opportunity to express their opinions in their home language – for which respondents expressed their gratitude. In

addition, respondents in retirement gated developments viewed the interview as an occasion akin to a visit by an acquaintance and they valued the company and time spent with them by the interviewer. This allows one to conclude that there were no untruthful respondents in the questionnaire survey and that the responses were accurate representations of the subject matter.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study intends to contribute to the worldwide debate on gated developments. The research is set apart from previous research on the subject because very few studies have investigated residential gated developments in the non-metropolitan setting and, as far as can be established, no research has been done on South Africa's non-metropolitan residential gated developments. The research aims to contribute to new debates on residential gated developments, migration, small-town growth and development, safety and security and attitudes towards gated developments in non-metropolitan South Africa.

1.7 ORGANISATION OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation is structured as eight chapters. Chapter 1 introduced the research in statements of the problem and objectives of the study. The study area was delimited and the compilation of comprehensive quantitative and qualitative residential gated development databases described. The significance of the study was also recorded. Chapter 2 discusses conceptual, definitional and typological aspects of gated developments. Global experiences of gated developments are reviewed and related to the South African situation. Chapter 3 considers the debates on the phenomenon of gated developments from an urban theory perspective as well as from a rural theory perspective. Attention is given to placing the study area, non-metropolitan Western Cape, in rural theory. Chapter 4 details the spatial location patterns of residential gated developments according to a chosen categorisation of such developments. The results of analyses of the locational, typological and temporal characteristics of residential gated developments are presented. In Chapter 5 the security features of the residential gated developments are analysed, including an analysis of gated developments and crime statistics. Chapter 6 case studies residential gated developments in Swellendam and Ceres with investigations of the developments, and the opinions of the residents and other respondents in the towns. Chapter 7 reports

on an analysis of retiree residential gated developments and residential gated developments located outside the urban edge to determine the reasons for the concentration of these two niche market residential gated developments in particular areas or regions. Chapter 8 synthesises and concludes the dissertation.

CHAPTER 2: ALL AROUND THE WORLD: THE GLOBALISATION OF GATED DEVELOPMENTS – LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Gated developments are a signature feature of a globalised 21st century. Whereas the core themes of gated living such as security, lifestyle and prestige are universally present, differences between gated developments do occur. These differences relate to planning and building as well as the social, historical, economic and political environments of each gated development. Thus, differences can exist between the types of developments in a city, region, country or continent. A particular municipal district within a city may vie for infrastructural investment and thus have more relaxed planning and building codes than a neighbouring district. This can lead to a clustering of gated developments in the former district which remains part of the wider cityscape. Similarly, gated developments may thrive along the newly-developed urban periphery of a city and not in its older parts. Furthermore, one city may have certain regulations for gated developments, another city may not. In South Africa, for example, one city may allow citizen-driven street closures, while other cities not (Van Zilla 2003).

This chapter explores the conceptualisation of the phenomenon because gated developments in various locales may have different meanings to different scholars at different times. Investigation of the term gated development in its various conceptualisations and a review of global scholarship serve to explain the terms for the purposes of this research and to gauge how the phenomenon has evolved over the course of scholarly interrogation. The aim is not to fit gated developments in South Africa into international definitions of the concept, but to investigate international definitions so as to arrive at an appropriate definition for gated developments outside metropolitan areas in South Africa. Furthermore, the chapter investigates the differences between and commonalities of gated developments throughout the world to tease out common themes that may be applicable to the South African scenario.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL DEBATES ON GATED DEVELOPMENTS

There are a number of other names for gated development, all essentially referring to the same phenomenon, but the use of a name is influenced by location, description and application. Various definitions and conceptualisations of gated developments should be rigorously investigated with a

view to exploring the degree to which they are applicable to specific research locales and foci. This research focuses on the gated development rather than the gated community for the reasons articulated below. The definitional and typological conceptualisations of the phenomenon assist in focusing this research on a neglected area of gated development research: the non-metropolitan gated development. The following section explores the definitional and typological debates.

2.2.1 Gated development versus gated community

A distinction needs to be made between the term ‘gated development’ – as will be used in this research – and the more commonly used term ‘gated community’. The former term is preferred for three reasons. First, the noun community signifies a sociological connotation that deals with human relations and social activity between those on either side of the perimeter walls of a gated development. Researchers in various disciplines, including sociology and anthropology, have investigated gated developments with the community construct central to their endeavours. Smith-Bowers & Manzi (2006: 3) prefer gated development over gated community because the former “... does not carry the same weight of sociological baggage.” In defining the community concept, Blakely & Snyder (1997) point out that the term received academic attention in the early 20th century by the Chicago School of Sociology. They contend that the tenets of a community are shared territory, shared values, shared public realm, shared support structures and shared destiny. The degree to which these tenets are shared is questionable.

The definition of community has changed since the advent of the Internet and the development of virtual communities (Forrest & Kearns 2001; Low 2003). Virtual meeting spaces allow non-physical, non-tactile communal interaction. Gated developments are seen to reduce the potential for social interaction (Atkinson & Flint 2004; Asiedu & Arku 2009). In fact, Atkinson (2008) observes that gated community is a corporatised concept through which developers want to sell a ‘residential oxymoron’ as many people are not interested in communal living with others in a development. This research investigates more than the human relations aspect – the relations between residents and the relations between residents and those not living in the development – by looking at the relationship between gated developments and their physical surroundings as well as the impact of self-imposed administrative machinations and those imposed by the authorities.

The second reason of the preference for the noun development is closely linked to the first reason. Development denotes a town planning construct which is more closely aligned to the context of this research. Development refers to the entire entity being investigated – the physical, the natural and the human aspects of these developments. The descriptor community concentrates on the human side of the phenomenon whereas gated development provides meaning and understanding beyond the human aspect of the phenomenon.

Third, it can be argued that a gated community is one of a number of urban planning entities contained by the umbrella term gated development. Other entities that can be classified as gated developments include planned housing estates, business parks, private community residential estates, security villages, industrial parks, private housing developments, and enclosed neighbourhoods. This view has been echoed by Lang & Danielsen (1997) who maintain that gated communities are a subset of ‘community association developments’. By using the umbrella term gated developments in this research, residential entities that would be otherwise named, are not excluded. Gated developments thus include all residential gated developments even when named by another description.

The preference for the term gated development should not detract from the attempt to arrive at a suitable definition of gated development for this research. Furthermore, the terms gated development and gated community are used interchangeably when citing published work on the subject.

2.2.2 Defining gated developments

Gates and walls have been used as a means of protection and boundary-marking since time immemorial. Developments that could today be construed as gated were constructed long before contemporary gated developments were popularised. However, scholarly definition of these developments was only attempted once gated developments become a recognised feature of human settlements. One of the first comprehensive academic examinations of gated developments was by Edward Blakely and Mary Snyder in the United States of America (USA) in a two-year study done in 1994 and 1995. Blakely & Snyder (1997: 2) defined gated developments as:

Residential areas with restricted access that makes normally public spaces private. Access is controlled by physical barriers, walled or fenced perimeters, and guarded or gated

entrances. Gated communities include both new housing developments and older residential areas retrofitted with barricades or fences.

In unpacking the definition, Blakely & Snyder (1997) view gated developments as residential entities. Recall though that gated developments may also comprise business parks, techno-hubs, industrial parks and mixed-use developments. Admittedly, they focused on suburban USA, but it must be emphasised here that gated developments are not restricted to suburbia. Blakely & Snyder (1997) make the important point that not only new developments are gated, but older areas can be retrofitted to incorporate access control and perimeter hardening. Also, they do not define the concepts 'public' and 'private' in their research. Private and public space is not a dichotomy but part of a continuum with the two concepts at opposite ends of that continuum (Akkar 2005).

In a review of gated developments in England, Blandy et al. (2003) define the phenomenon as housing developments that are walled or fenced, have restricted public access, are guarded by security personnel or closed-circuit television (CCTV) and are controlled by legal agreements binding residents to a common set of rules. This definition adds rules of tenancy and ownership to the physical description of gated developments and this addition of a legal context in defining gated developments emphasises that rules and regulations binding owners and/or renters are an integral feature of these developments.

While the number of residential gated developments increased substantially in the USA during the 1960s and 1970s (Low 2008), over time they have become part of the human settlement morphology of countries with high degrees of material and social inequalities. The rise of gated developments in South America has resulted in definitions emanating from Third World contexts. Borsdorf & Hidalgo (2008) refer to a general term used in Latin America, namely *barrio cerrado* or closed residential quarter defined as a minimum of two residential units that are surrounded by a wall or fence with a separate security system. The term is used to describe high-rise apartment blocks as well as single-storey housing estates. This definition refers to the morphology of the development and does not consider any legal issues of management or control. In addition, this definition seems to include a wider range of types of residential gated developments that are morphologically unique. Borsdorf & Hidalgo's (2008) definition is closely tied to Blakely & Snyder's (1997) definition where the residential sphere is prominent and emphasis is placed on security. Although Borsdorf & Hidalgo (2008) do define the phenomenon, they concede that in Latin America no standard definition exists. The different terms

describing gated developments there are linked to varying legal definitions and the terms for gated developments include *condominios* (condominiums), *urbanizaciones cerradas* (closed urbanisations), *conjuntos cerrados* (closed sets), *fraccionamientos cerrados* (closed divisions), *barrio privado* (private district), *ciudad vallada* (fenced-in town), *colonia privada* (private colony) and *urbanizaciones privadas* (private urbanisations) (Escarria 2007; Borsdorf & Hidalgo 2008).⁵

The difficulty of establishing a Latin American definition of gated developments gives an inkling of the challenges faced in arriving at a universal definition. Thus, in spite of the many local and international studies on gated developments, there is either a lack of consensus on or an absence of an all-encompassing definition that captures all forms of the gated development phenomena (Grant & Mittelsteadt 2004; Coy 2006; Milián & Guenet 2007). While one may question the necessity for a standard definition, one must bear in mind that the phenomenon being explored is a global one and the uncertainties in definitions impact on how comparative data is analysed. This reaffirms the importance of arriving at a definition suitable for the particular emphasis and scope of this study. Research done on gated developments in New Zealand demonstrates that universal definitions do not effectively fit local contexts; hence the importance of suitable definitions that facilitate country- or area-specific research on gated developments (Dixon & Dupuis 2003). For research done in Tanzania, Nuottaniemi (2007) expressed the similar need for a definition of gated developments in that local context (but he eventually resorted to using a British definition).

South Africa has a relatively high prevalence of gated developments which have been subjected to extensive research, especially after the transition to a democratic government in 1994 (Jürgens & Gnad 2002). Hook & Vrdoljak (2002), in investigating gated developments in Gauteng, refer to the phenomenon as ‘security parks’ which they view as a particular type of gated development. These security parks are said to be peculiar to South Africa, so highlighting the regional variation of the global phenomenon of gated developments. Quoting from a previous publication of theirs, Hook & Vrdoljak (2002: 196) expand elements of Blakely & Snyder’s definition and apply it to the South African context by defining gated developments as:

... walled-in ‘community’ living space that accommodates the homes of a typically elite and homogenous group ... combining the luxury amenities of a high-class hotel with

⁵ Spanish to English translation done using <http://babelfish.yahoo.com/>.

paramilitary surveillance and protection technology in an effort to separate off exclusive and desirable living areas from the city at large.

In an investigation of the privatisation of public space by enclosed neighbourhoods in Gauteng, Landman (2006) reports specifically on the physical manifestations of gated developments. Landman (2006: 136-7) views gated developments not solely as a residential phenomenon so that enclosed spaces with non-residential land uses also fall inside the former's ambit. Thus she defines gated developments as:

... referring to a physical area that is fenced or walled off from its surroundings, either prohibiting or controlling access to these areas by means of gates or booms. ... the concept can refer to a residential area with restricted access so that normal public spaces are privatised or use is restricted. It does not only refer to residential areas, but may also include controlled access villages for work (office parks) and/or recreational purposes.

Although much of the South African research on gated developments has Gauteng province as its territorial focus, the phenomenon is found throughout South Africa (Landman 2002; 2003a). Various aspects of research on gated developments have been researched in Durban (Taleb 2005; Durrington 2006) and in Cape Town (Lemanski 2006; Welgemoed 2009). The City of Cape Town has instituted a policy on gated developments and the policy document contains arguably the most comprehensive definition of a gated development for the South African context; that is:

A physical area or development (whether specifically planned and designed or not) that is walled or fenced off from its surroundings and where general public access is monitored, controlled, restricted or prevented in any way, often by means of gates or booms at specific point(s). A common feature of such a development is usually its internalised layout and limited access points, which facilitates easier gating and access control. The size of such gated developments can differ dramatically, from a small group housing complex or closed cul-de-sac to large security estates. Similarly, so may the actual form of the physical barrier and the access control (manned by security staff or automated). By reason of its nature, gated settlements are usually controlled by a Body Corporate or Home/Property Owners' Association, which, amongst others, would manage all common assets and amenities and takes responsibility for common security. Although residential in nature, it can involve

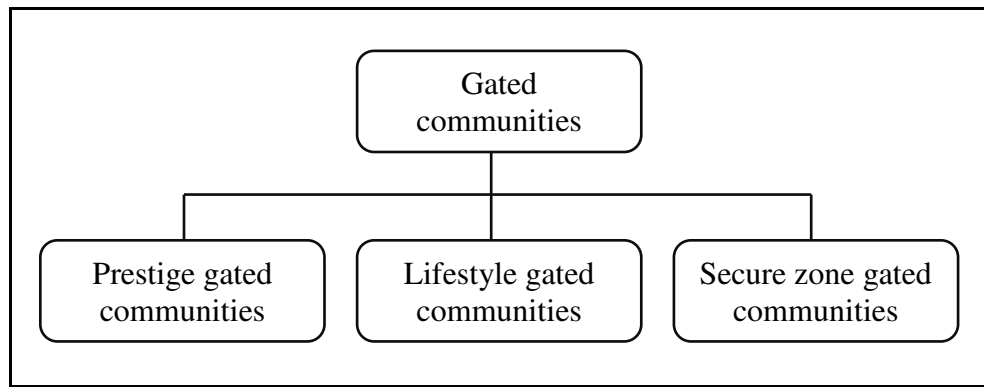
industrial or commercial developments (industrial or business parks) or contain a mix of land uses (City of Cape Town 2007: 26).

This definition incorporates aspects of gated developments such as security, control, access, monitoring, layout, size, management and land use. Interestingly, the heading under which this definition appears is entitled: 'Gated community/settlement/development'. This calls to mind the point made earlier about the phenomenon being referred to as development rather than community: endorsement of the definition allowing multiple naming conventions for gated developments.

The quest to advance a suitable definition of gated developments has highlighted that the range of definitions of the phenomenon is largely dependent on the particular country, region and focus of completed or envisaged research. Clearly, a global all-encompassing definition for all gated developments does not exist and definitions should be tempered to meet the local or regional specificities of the phenomenon. The definitional tenets of gated developments are universal, but the degree to which each tenet features in a definition varies. For example, where gated developments are seen in a residential context in one country or region, in others provisions can be made for inclusion of other land uses in their definitions. An examination of typologies of gated developments is now turned to aid finding a suitable definition for this research.

2.2.3 Typologies of gated developments

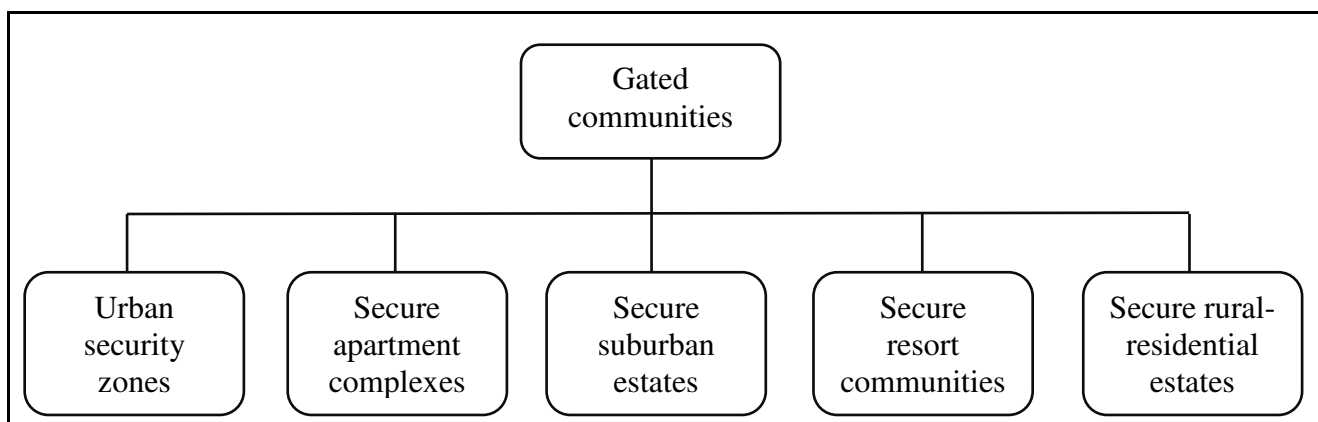
The notion of a typology of gated developments was mooted by Blakely & Snyder (1997) who identified three different types in the USA (Figure 2.1). Prestige gated communities are secure, exclusive, hi-technology communities located close to a city. The gatedness is intended to block out the less desirable elements of city life. Lifestyle gated communities are situated farther away from a city to provide exclusive access to recreational activities such as golf. Security zone gated communities are inner-city or suburban areas that have been retrofitted with barriers and security features by residents.



Source: Adapted from Blakely & Snyder (1997)

Figure 2.1 Typology of gated developments in the USA

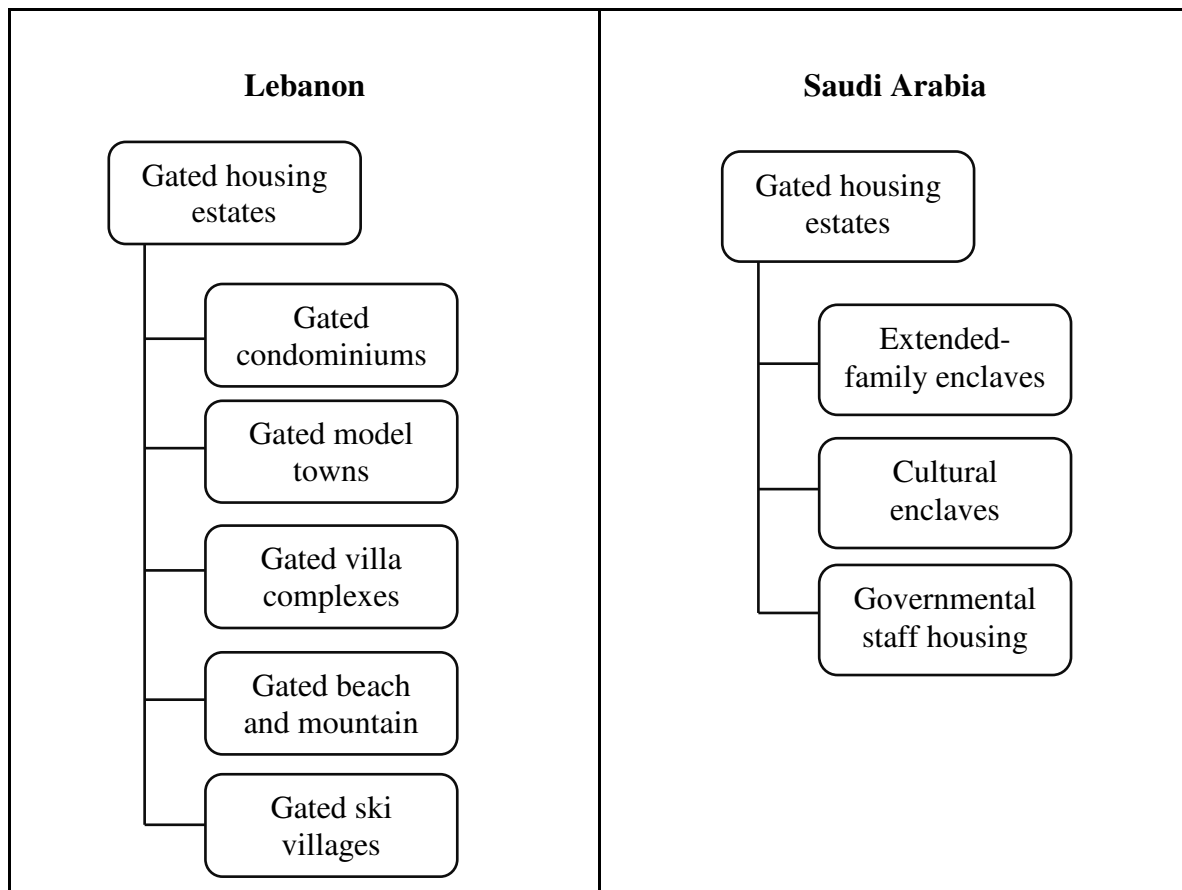
Burke (2001) proposed a typology of gated developments that incorporates physical, social and locational characteristics of the phenomenon in the USA, the United Kingdom (UK) and Australia (Figure 2.2). Urban security zones are existing areas where small urban spaces such as alleyways are gated to remove pedestrian and/or vehicular traffic (Landman 2006; Spocster 2007). Secure apartment complexes are apartments or flats that are gated to restrict pedestrian entry. Secure suburban estates are infill or greenfield developments in suburbs usually providing no amenities and the houses in such developments tend to have similar architecture. Secure resort communities have lifestyle features such as a lake, golf course or landscaped gardens. Secure rural-residential estates are located on the rural-urban fringe and incorporate secure living with so-called rural-residential living. Plots per unit in these developments are large thereby maintaining an idyllic rural feel which is enhanced by grazing land, orchards or vineyards.



Source: Adapted from Burke (2001)

Figure 2.2 Proposed typology of gated developments

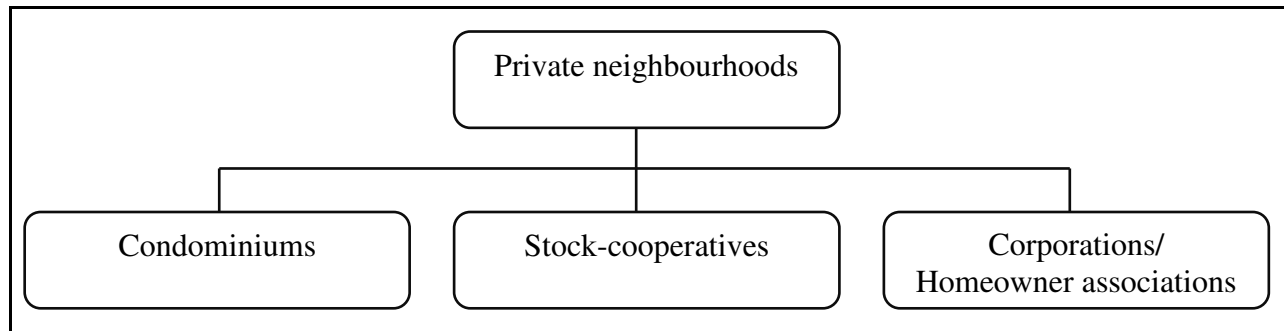
Glasze & Alkhayyal (2002) have proposed a country-specific typology of gated housing estates in their study of the phenomenon in Lebanon and Saudi Arabia (Figure 2.3). In Lebanon, a distinction was made between apartments (gated condominiums) and single-family homes/attached homes/apartments (gated model towns and gated model complexes) – these are for use as main residences. Glasze & Alkhayyal (2002) make the important distinction between homes used as main residences and those used as secondary residences or second homes (gated beach and mountain resorts, and ski villages). The latter type of gated development is important for amenity and tourism provision. Gated developments in Riyadh were also divided into three types: extended-family compounds, cultural enclaves and governmental staff housing. Extended-family compounds suggest a revival of traditional urban housing form with shared space for social activities within an extended family. Cultural enclaves were built for Western workers employed in the oil industry, and their families. These enclaves permitted them to enjoy Western lifestyles to which they were accustomed and “... allowed them to escape the strict cultural restrictions outside the gates” (Glasze & Alkhayyal 2002: 326).



Source: Adapted from Glasze & Alkhayyal (2002)

Figure 2.3 Typologies of private developments in Lebanon and Saudi Arabia

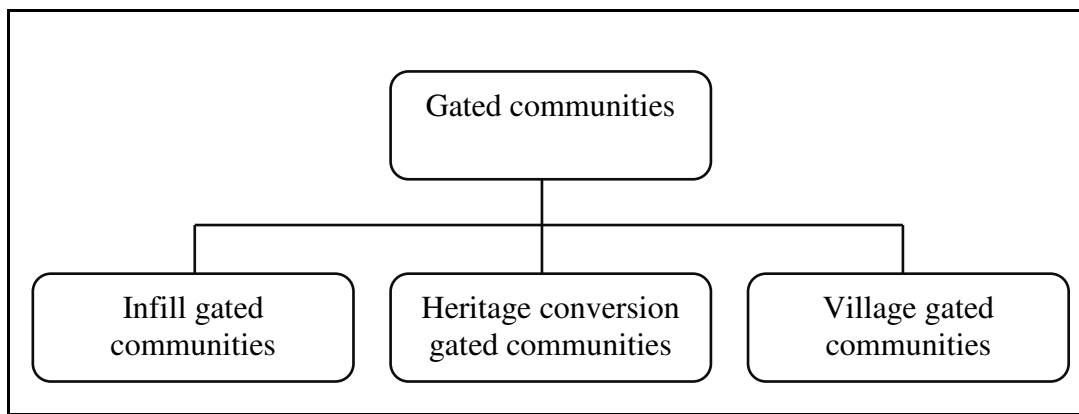
In assessing the economic attractiveness and the organisational characteristics of what he terms private neighbourhoods, Glasze (2003) identified three organisational types of such neighbourhoods, namely condominiums, stock-cooperatives and corporations/homeowner associations (Figure 2.4). Condominiums and stock-cooperatives are defined as private apartment complexes whereas corporations/homeowner associations consist of a number of single-dwelling family homes. There is thus a parallel between the type of organisation and the morphology of the private neighbourhood.



Source: Adapted from Glasze (2003)

Figure 2.4 Typology of private developments

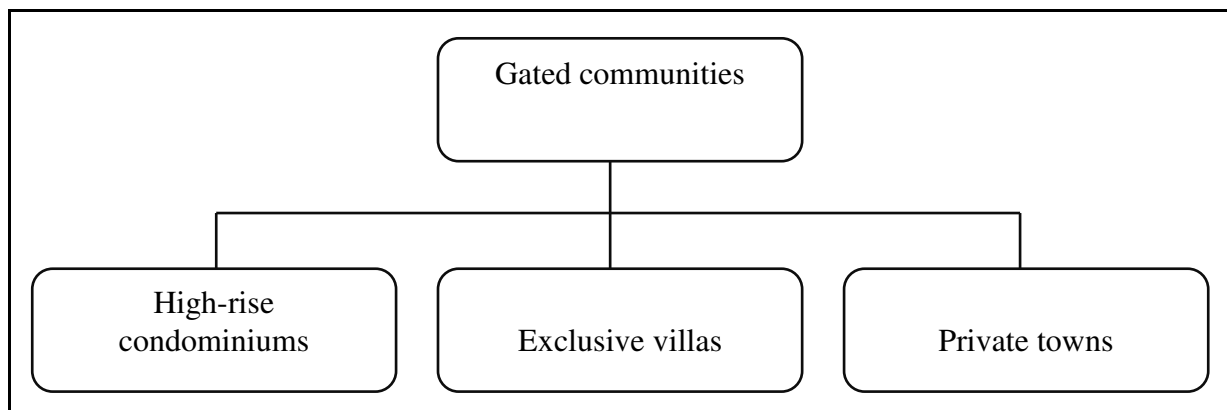
In her analysis of gated developments in England, Blandy (2006) proposed a somewhat different typology categorising three types according to their built form (Figure 2.5). Infill gated communities in towns and cities are the most common type. They are usually built on land made available by the demolition of older housing stock and marketed as urban lifestyle developments to younger homebuyers or renters. Heritage conversion gated communities are situated on converted brownfield sites and are essentially refurbished existing buildings. Before refurbishment the buildings were former prisons, lunatic asylums, factories, hospitals or large single private residences located in rural and urban areas. Village gated communities are rare, found in rural locales and have a recreational aspect, such as golf, attached to them. Some have a second-home function.



Source: Adapted from Blandy (2006)

Figure 2.5 Typology of gated developments in England

An examination of gated communities in Turkey completed by Geniş (2007) produced a location-based typology specific to Turkey (Figure 2.6). The gated communities in Istanbul comprise three types, namely securitised high-rise condominiums in prestige areas in the city centre; exclusive villas along the coast and in forested areas; and private towns on the fringes of the city near lakes and forests.



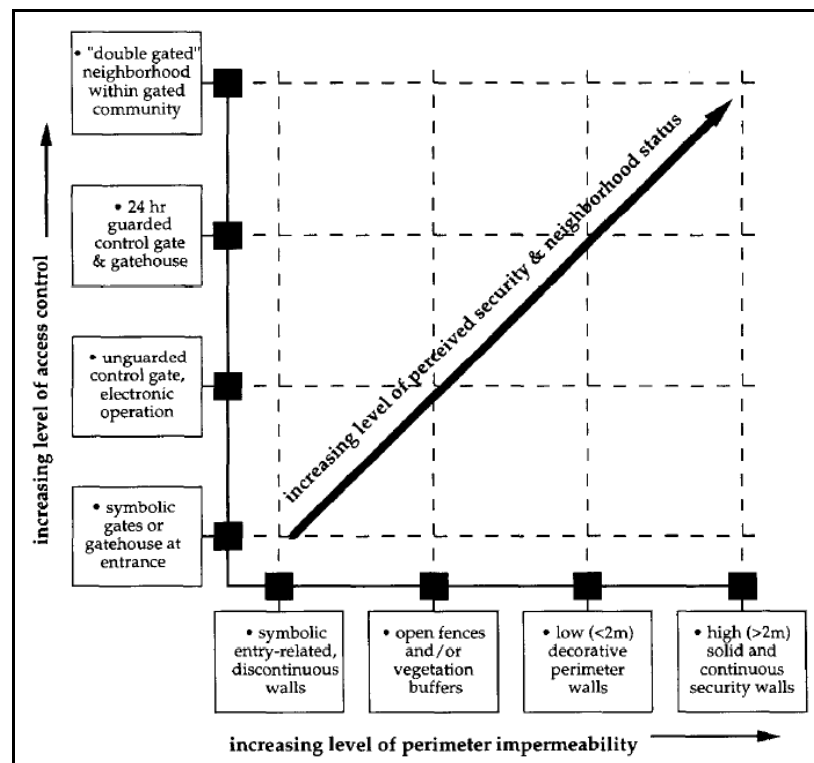
Source: Adapted from Geniş (2007)

Figure 2.6 Typology of gated developments in Turkey

Each of the six foregoing typologies proposed by various researchers in different countries at different times is based on either, location, morphology, social group utilisation, organisational aspects or a combination of morphology and location. An alternative approach to classifying gated developments is

to propose broader typological organograms or typological continua. Two continuum-type typologies are presented below.

Luymes (1997) proposed a typology of 'enclave neighborhoods' in the USA based on the levels of access control and impermeability of the walls surrounding these developments (Figure 2.7). The typology illustrates the relationship between control system design and permeability in determining the perceived level of perceived and neighbourhood status. The higher a development plots on both variables in the matrix, the higher its degree of gatedness. Luymes (1997) notes that affluent communities locate higher up in the matrix and less expensive housing farther down. Here the typology takes the form of a continuum, with location (based on two variables) on the continuum related to social class.



Source: Luymes (1997: 198)

Figure 2.7 Continuum-based typology of enclave neighbourhoods in the USA

Grant & Mittelsteadt (2004) express surprise at the lack of typological refinement by scholars since the documentation of the initial typology of gated developments by Blakely & Snyder (1997). The formers' research in Canada proposed a typological continuum of gated communities in response to a

lack of agreement on what constituent parts were needed for a development to be gated. Even though they used a specific definition of a gated community in their study, a survey of Canadian planners revealed differing opinions on its meaning. Hence, a fieldwork-based typology of Canadian gated developments categorised them into eight types arranged on a continuum of enclosure (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Continuum-based typology of gated developments in Canada

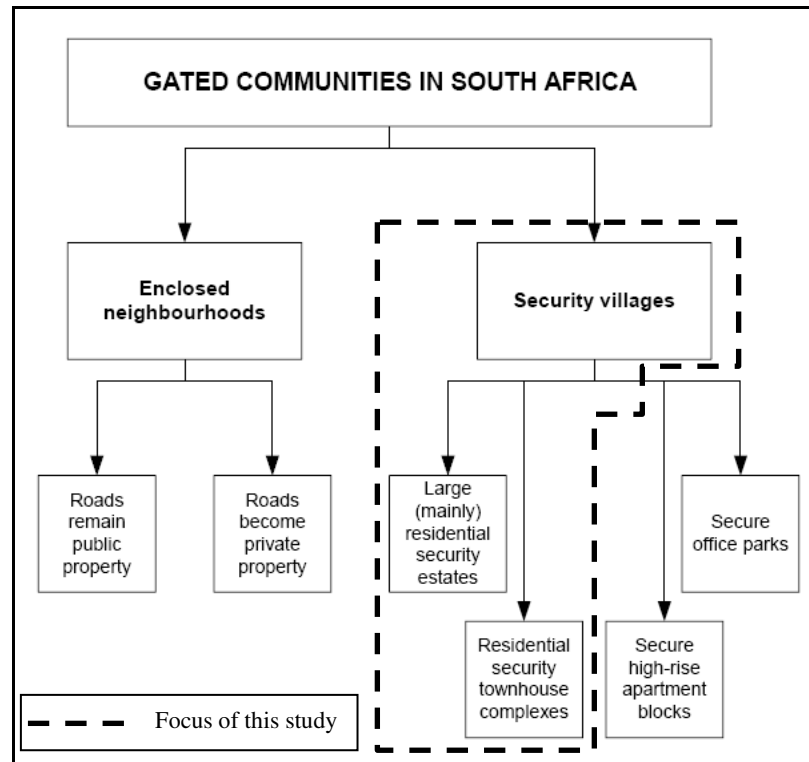
Types of enclosure	Boundary	Road access
Ornamental gating	No marked boundary	Landmark gates at entry
Walled subdivisions	Opaque fence or wall	Open
Faux-gated entries	Opaque fence or wall	Narrowed entry, removable chains or bollards, guardhouse
Barricaded streets	No marked boundary	Public streets closed by fences, planters or concrete barriers
Partially-gated roads	No marked boundary	Lift or swing arm
Fully-gated roads	Natural features like water or ravines	Lift or swing arm
Restricted entry, bounded areas	Fence or wall, and/or natural features that limit access	Gate with limited control access
Restricted entry, guarded areas	Fence or wall, and/or natural features that limit access	Gate with limited control access; security guards, police or army

Source: Grant & Mittelsteadt (2004: 922)

The eight typologies treated above underline the improbability of categorising gated developments into neat typological pigeonholes that enable comparative analysis. There are just too many typological variations that are specific to cities, regions and countries. Rather than adopting a ready-made international typology for application to South African gated developments, relevant aspects of international typologies can be married with South African characteristics to produce a country-specific typology.

Landman (2003a) has achieved this by focusing on the morphological characteristics of gated developments to derive two broad types and six subtypes (Figure 2.8). Further subtyping is possible,

but this runs the risk of the typology becoming too large and unwieldy. Landman (2003a) makes allowance for broad types of gated developments in the typology: new security village-type development and retrofitted enclosed neighbourhoods. In addition, securitised non-residential land use areas are catered for, representing a shift from traditional approaches to gated developments. The dashed box on Figure 2.8 indicates the typological focus of this research.



Source: Adapted from Landman (2003a)

Figure 2.8 Typology of gated developments in South Africa

Various researchers have attempted to categorise gated developments. However, typological and definitional differences make universal classification unlikely. Researchers have realised that categorisation is best placed within a specific area or region and that is why this study has to be placed within its own definitional and typological realms.

2.2.4 Definition and typology applicable for this study

The chosen study area, the City of Cape Town's (2007) definition of gated developments and the typology proposed by Landman (2003a) have, to a large degree, informed the specific types of gated developments on which this research will focus. Not only do these two sources focus on South Africa and the Western Cape, they also provide a comprehensive definition and typology. Thus, this research focuses on:

Gated developments as physical areas of specifically planned residential developments that are walled or fenced off or use natural environment boundaries to set them apart from their surroundings. Public access is selective, controlled, monitored, restricted and prevented by means of walls, fences and/or natural boundaries. Gates and/or booms, which may be automated and/or manned by dedicated security staff, control entry and egress. The layout of roads is internalised and there may be one or more access points in or out of the developments. The size of the developments may range from two or more simplex or duplex housing units within a complex, to security estates containing a two or more free-standing houses, or a combination of unit/house types. The developments may have a management body such as a homeowners' association or a body corporate which controls all common assets within the development, including maintenance, amenities and security. These developments must be located in non-metropolitan areas of the Western Cape.

This definition and the selection criteria for the study encompass aspects present in the literature on gated developments. These include perimeter hardening, restricted access, controlled access, security, residential housing developments, location, legal agreements and representative bodies. The following section examines global aspects of gated developments and investigates the degree to which South Africa have encountered similar experiences.

2.3 GLOBAL EXPERIENCES OF GATED DEVELOPMENTS⁶

Gated developments are a global phenomenon researched by geographers, sociologists, economists, anthropologists, urban theorists, political scientists and others. The phenomenon has manifested in

⁶ Large portions of Sections 2.3 and 2.4 have been published in Spocter (2012).

settlement morphologies the world over, resulting in what Álvarez-Rivadulla (2007: 48) terms a “... global trend of privatized urbanization” that has even reached far-flung Nepal (Blakely 2009). Gated developments are the preferred type of new housing development in many places (Kirby et al. 2006; Cséfalvay 2007; Miliàn & Guenet 2007), with research suggesting that the global manifestation of gated developments has been strongly influenced by their proliferation in the USA (Webster, Glasze & Frantz 2002). A wide-ranging search for literature on gated developments has uncovered a substantial body of work covering numerous aspects of the phenomenon. This section reviews a selection of this production. Although there are big challenges to pinning down a global definition, some common themes emerge from the international gated development literature (Roitman 2010). The applicability of main themes in global gated development research to the South African context is explored to elicit and identify commonalities, differences and gaps in the South African body of work on gated developments to inform this research. Five broad thematic areas of gated development research are: historical roots of the phenomenon; political and economic transitions as drivers of gated developments; social issues allied to gated developments; institutional and infrastructural matters; and the role of various actors in the growth of gated developments. These are discussed in turn in the following subsections.

2.3.1 Historical roots of gated developments

Walls have been used since time immemorial to create physical divides between people, and between people and animals. Walls play an important role in shaping contemporary urban spaces and they influence identity formation within those spaces (Mattar 2008). The English word wall is derived from the Latin *vallum* which was a type of palisade fortification. A wall denotes a structure of fortification, a barrier of protection. The Romans built walls of protection around their settlements in Italy and in lands they invaded. This defensive barrier served to protect the Romans from attack by their enemies such as Hannibal and Germanic tribes. Along their length walls had one or more gates through which they controlled entry and egress. Legions of soldiers defended the space inside the walls (Museo del Mura 2006). Medieval fortified towns and castles are regarded as precursors to modern-day gated developments. Although forts and castles had walls for defensive purposes, such places were more self-sufficient then, and did not display the social homogeneity of contemporary gated developments (Blandy 2006). Similarly, in New Zealand traditional Maori enclosures developed as competition for land intensified. The *pa* were constructed to protect and defend areas in which people lived and stored

their food (Walker 2005). Thus, in many divergent communities there has been the historical tendency to use walls as a measure of protection and with which to exclude undesirable animals or people.

It has been observed that the historical legacies of most countries, regions and cities have had a bearing on the scale and degree to which gated developments have taken root in specific locations. The potential of the divisive impact of gated developments builds on the foundations of social partitioning in locations where class and other divisions already exist. Falzon's (2004) study of gated developments in Bombay (now Mumbai) is prefaced by an acknowledgement that the city has always been divided along ethnolinguistic and religious lines. Mumbai has vast numbers of urban poor, a small historically elite group of wealthy locals and a fast-growing middle class. The growth of socially homogenous gated developments has the potential for dividing Mumbai into classist territories.

In some cities gated developments are viewed as a natural progression of urban division stemming from their specific colonialist urban histories. Large rubber estates in Malaysia were guarded by security detachments during British colonial rule. Not only the crop, but all those within the borders of the estate had to be secured – a type of feudalistic arrangement where everything and everyone within the borders of the estate were subjected to the secure confines of the estate. Thus, contemporary gated developments in Malaysia are seen as a progression from the colonial days with the gated developments being built with the main purpose of providing safer and secure living areas (Sufian 2005). Similarly, Mexico City has a colonial legacy of urban spatial inequality which has resulted in poorly planned contemporary urban space (Sheinbaum 2008). This legacy is also used to explain the modern gated developments built to meet the needs of the affluent classes in Mexico City. The development of areas of fortification, as represented by gated developments, mirrors the development of fortified spaces for the affluent during the colonial period.

Although gated developments are found all over the world, their development is tied and can be traced to specific historical contexts. Even though the broad themes of safety and security of gated developments are universal and the phenomenon represents a new way of residential living, the historical context of most cities, regions and countries does provide some explanation for the pace, size and proliferation of gated developments in each location. These partial explanations can be augmented by considering the effects of political and economic transitions.

2.3.2 Political and economic transitions as drivers of gated developments

Gated developments, as a means of exclusive living in privatised space away from those perceived as other, imply the existence of a measure of social and economic differences within a population. One could pose the question: If societies were egalitarian, would there be gated developments? The answer: probably not. The political climate of a country, region or city needs to be conducive to the establishment and construction of gated developments. Although gated developments operate as privatised space (and in many cases governed by HOAs), they still operate within larger-scale political and socio-economic milieux.

Countries in the former communist bloc did not have residential gated developments under communist rule, although countries such as Russia and the Ukraine (in the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) had had a long tradition of the wealthy elite having secluded retreats away from the masses. The communist elites in Bulgaria also had private dachas and leisure homes in resort areas. Gated developments in former communist countries have emerged as a way of residential living in the years after the break-up of the communist bloc and the move to free market economies.

During this period of political, economic and social transition a new elite monied class became established and they wanted to sample the trappings of Western lifestyle, including exclusive gated development living. Blinnikov et al. (2006) cites the politico-economic transition period as crucial in the production of elite space in the core and suburban areas of Moscow. In addition, the increased use of private vehicles facilitated suburban gated living. However, the difference between the secluded retreats of yesteryear and contemporary suburban gated developments is that the gated developments are being continuously occupied by families, not only at weekends or during hunting seasons as before.

There are other examples of the increased penetration of gated development living in former communist countries. Stoyanov & Frantz (2006) have noted the rise in contemporary gated developments that may guide future residential living in Bulgaria, especially on the urban periphery of the capital city, Sofia. Hirt (2006) has recorded that 80% of new developments in a particular part of Sofia are walled off. In Hungary, the pace of the construction of gated developments has also increased with approximately 70 gated residential parks, comprising some 14 000 dwellings being constructed in Budapest between 2002 and 2007 (Cséfalvay 2007). There are instances where gated developments

started under communist rule and these have expanded dramatically after the adoption of free market principles and as a response to the increasingly globalising world. Miao (2003) reported that almost all the housing projects built after the Cultural Revolution in China ended in 1978 were gated developments. In Shanghai during the decade after 1991, 83% of residential communities were gated and in the Guangdong province 80% of the population live in gated developments. It is noteworthy that most previously communist countries witnessed the establishment of gated developments after politico-economic change.

The rise of gated developments in Sofia is linked to an increase in post-communist social polarisation, increased acquisition of motor vehicles allowing residence farther from the city centre, and a decline in the tradition of buying houses close to the city centre. Gated development living in Sofia is also favoured by the foreign diplomatic corps and expatriate Western company executives. Whereas the morphological structure of gated developments in Sofia may be similar to that in other parts of the world, the processes which have created the demand and development are different. These processes of demand in a liberalised Bulgaria are linked to the transition that the country has experienced.

In post-communist Hungary, gated developments are marketed as the modern alternative to high-rise communist-era living. This is an attempt to juxtapose the old and the improved new way of residential living and to use the difference as a marketing pitch. This method of marketing gated developments in former communist countries appears to be successful as residents speak of the importance of displaying the prestige of gated development living, especially after not being able to do so under communist rule. Similarly, gated developments are viewed as symbols of prestige and elitism in the Czech Republic (Kolarikova 2010). In post-communist Poland the proliferation of gated developments has more to do with increased social polarisation (Polanska 2010) and in Serbia, in addition to post-communist social change, there has always been a local tradition of 'block homes' prior to communism (Hirt & Petrović 2011).

It is noteworthy that the growth of gated developments due to politico-economic change has not been the sole preserve of countries that experienced communist rule. The growth of gated developments in Turkey, particularly in Istanbul, was facilitated in the 1980s by the advent of new legislation for mass housing coupled with political and economic change (Baycan-Levent & Gülümser 2004). Similarly, Raposo (2006) has traced the rise of gated developments in Lisbon from 1985 where a particularly strong growth phase from 1998 targeted the middle- and upper-class housing market. The economic

growth of Portugal, its inclusion in the European Union and the subsequent rise of the affluent classes are mirrored in the growth of gated developments. Not only politico-economic change at country level influences the rise of gated developments: the correct political and economic conditions at city level also facilitate growth in gated developments. Pérez (2002) ascribes the growth of gated developments in Buenos Aires to conditions prevailing in the 1990s in the form of changes in political structures in the city and economic changes brought about by the penetration of global capital. Parts of Buenos Aires that were traditionally better-off than other areas have been enhanced by globalised capital. Global capital invests where the political climate is ripe for such investment, so influencing local development patterns.

Political change usually drives the growth of gated developments. However, economic transition, but not specifically political transition, within countries also spurs the growth of gated developments. The discovery and exploitation of oil in Saudi Arabia in the 1930s has had a profound impact on Saudi society. The growth of the capital city, Riyadh, led to an unprecedented demand for housing. Glasze & Alkhayyal (2002) report on a 1980s phenomenon of plots of land being amalgamated to form extended-family compounds which were walled off from the surrounding areas. The influx of foreign oil industry workers created a further demand for housing in the form of guarded gated residential areas in which Saudi nationals are not permitted to reside. The gated developments create a space for the foreign workers and their families to lead a Westernised lifestyle away from the cultural restrictions outside the gates (Glasze 2006). The privatised world of the gated developments has, in this instance, created spaces meant to separate residents from the traditional Saudi cultural and social milieu.

While there are countries, regions or cities that have witnessed an increase in the number of gated developments due to economic booms, there is evidence that economic decline can do the same. Mycoo (2006) points to slow economic growth in the 1990s as having a profound effect on the growth of gated developments in the Caribbean. The lack of economic growth fuelled increasing social divisions which led to a boom in the number of gated developments in Kingston (Jamaica), Puerto Rico, Port-au-Prince (Haiti) and Port of Spain (Trinidad and Tobago), especially between 2002 and 2004, on the back of marketing campaigns by real estate developers.

Political and economic changes clearly act as catalysts for the establishment of gated developments. The penetration of global capital into local arenas, the growth of the middle class, and marketing strategies in countries encourage the growth of gated developments. However, while political and

economic changes do drive the process, social factors also account for the proliferation of gated developments.

2.3.3 Social influences on the growth of gated developments

In this study the term gated developments is preferred to the more commonly used gated communities. The reason why the gated communities moniker enjoys such popularity is that the enclosed space is seen to represent a homogenous group of people sharing the same space. However, one can question the level of 'community' within such developments and how the 'community' relates to those beyond the walls. This subsection reviews how gated developments create spaces of order for their residents (most often middle- and upper class families) in cities that are perceived to be socially chaotic and crime-ridden, fraught with undesirable social pathologies. Social influences on the growth of gated developments are subtly different throughout the world and while the reasons may seem repetitive it does focus attention on the diversity of social influences.

Blakely & Snyder's (1997) comprehensive analysis of gated developments in the USA estimated that approximately three million people in the USA were living in gated communities found in every major metropolitan area. The fundamental question posed by Blakely & Snyder (1997) was how gated developments could be an indication of community and citizenship in the USA when increasing numbers of people felt that they needed gates and walls for security and protection. In documenting a panel discussion on gated developments, Lang & Danielsen (1997) noted that gated communities in the USA were becoming popular as a tool to solve perceived social problems. In addition, Lang & Danielsen (1997) exposed a number of paradoxes of gated developments which were seen as an evolution of suburbia from single-use spaces to mixed land use spaces that included business and retail zones, surrounded by walls and set back from the perceived chaos in cities. This impacts on social relationships as there is much more civic engagement and participation within the walls and much less of it with those persons and institutions outside the walls. There is also the contradiction that communities impose regulations on themselves, but do not want regulations to be imposed on them by government institutions. Thus, closing of the community ranks seems to facilitate integration on the community level, but simultaneously increases segregation on a broader scale as the gated developments tend to exclude on the basis of social class. This stoked the fires of fear for what was

outside the walls. Secure control of one's environment was found to be more important than the sense of community implied by gated developments (Lang & Danielsen 1997).

Gated developments are seen to be islands of private community control in a sea of public decay and disorder. From a slightly different perspective, gated developments are viewed as bastions in providing security and privacy from undesirables in a chaotic urban environment (Miliàn & Guenet 2007; Pow 2007a). Apprehension about increasing public disorder has been fuelled by the perception of police forces' inability to control crime and social disobedience, and that gates and walls offer a private security solution without dependence on a public police force. In the UK the idea of an ineffective police force, coupled with a perceived increase in crime levels and the need for security, has led to the an increasing demand for gated living (Atkinson & Flint 2004). Similarly, in Trinidad and Tobago, it is the upper- and middle classes who reside in multi-ethnic gated developments in response to the government's inability to maintain law and order in the face of increasing crime (Mycoo 2006). In other parts of the world, problems with urban governance and service delivery have led to increased urban violence which has spawned a demand for secure living environments (Coy 2006).

However, it appears that secure living environments do not completely address the issue of safety and security. Parents in Istanbul remain concerned about the safety of their children, even inside gated developments, although the intention of the walls and gates is to protect children from strangers and traffic (Tezel 2011). Blandy (2007) has concluded that gated developments do not effectively deal with issues of crime and social disorder. A related finding was that social disorder in retrofitted social housing estates was not reduced by gating and that social problems emanated from within the estates rather than from outside. Crime *within* gated developments has become a concern, one study reporting that a quarter of its respondents reporting thefts within their developments (Miliàn & Guenet 2007). Residents of gated developments have also expressed the need to closely monitor the activities of workers and non-residents inside gated complexes because the quest to wall away the criminal threat has not taken into account the possibility of the threat coming from within the developments (Falzon 2004; Atkinson & Smith 2012).

Most of the international literature pins the emergence of gated developments on social problems, crime and public disorder. However, the opinion exists that these aforementioned factors do not apply globally as a reason for the proliferation of gated developments. In Australia, Ghana and Hungary, for example, crime and public disorder have not been found to be factors determining choice of residence

in a gated development (Billard & Madoré 2005; Grant 2005; Cséfalvay 2007). The quest for increased social status, enhanced prestige and individual lifestyle choices are the common drivers of gated development living (Glasze & Alkhayyal 2002; Leisch 2002; Wu 2005; Álvarez-Rivadulla 2007; Güzey 2007; Giglia 2008). Depending on where in the world a gated development is located, its presence is driven by one or more of the following groups of reasons: safety, security and privacy; prestige and lifestyle, and social status.

Safety and security is the one combination of reasons that commands the most attention – from researchers and marketers. The link between existing social divisions, crime and gated developments has been studied. Blandy (2001) found that the foremost reason for privatised housing development was the increasing economic distance between the wealthy and the poorest segment of the population. Even in countries where low socio-ethnic segregation levels occur, such as in Portugal, the specific targeting, based on class, of potential residents for gated developments seems to increase patterns of low segregation (Raposo 2006). Gated developments are also seen to be one of a number of ways in which segregation manifests in the built form. Alaily-Mattar (2008) sees evidence of this in Beirut. While Beirut may not have many gated developments, the increasing affluence of the middle class after the civil war has led to a segregated spatiality of which gated developments are but one component. Thus, the segregated lifestyle of the affluent has resulted in Beirut being an expanded gated development with several gated developments located cheek by jowl. Although the extrapolation of the gated development concept to the whole city may seem severe, the idea is that the lifestyle choices of the affluent have created a segregated spatiality prevalent in Beirut. Similarly, a trend toward increased privatisation and gating has been identified in Calgary, Canada with the older parts of the city dominated by public neighbourhoods surrounded by newer private neighbourhoods not overtly gated, but implicitly segregated (Townshend 2006). In these instances it is not visual walls, booms and security that signal separation, rather the type of lifestyle or living that is portrayed gives the impression of exclusivity.

A body of literature characterised by differences of opinion concerning the broader social effects of gated developments exists on the Latin American arena. Escarria (2007) has highlighted the shift in Latin America from the importance of using public spaces such as plazas to emphasis on enclosed and protected residential spaces that form part of the collective known as gated developments. A decline in public space use has been paralleled by a societal tendency toward division, fragmentation and privatisation. These tendencies have been born from a widening socio-economic gap in Mexico where

those with the means to do so are combining household security features together with residence in gated developments. In seeming contradiction to the use of plazas, Escarria (2007) points out that isolating measures have strong roots in the local culture of the *hacienda* model in which the family lives apart from the community.

Roitman (2005) has reported that a municipal decision to locate gated developments in poorer parts of Mendoza, an intermediate city in Argentina, had the social effect of deepening fragmentation of classes within the local sphere because those inside the development were better off than those outside. In Barbados, it is contended that gated developments located in high-amenity affluent areas found in low- and middle-income communities, may facilitate the gentrification of those communities with inevitable profound social change (Clement & Grant 2012). Borsdorf, Hidalgo & Sánchez (2007) found that the number of gated developments occupied by the wealthy in Santiago had increased dramatically over the previous decade. Such gated developments, as residential areas or as part of larger retail development precincts located next to poor neighbourhoods, have increased social fragmentation. The growth of gated developments has further polarised Chilean society. Mega gated developments housing up to 30 000 people are planned in Santiago's peri-urban areas. These areas will be served by new highways and private roads will facilitate the transportation of the vehicle-owning public. Santiago is becoming more fragmented than ever as new cities for the rich are built on the periphery (Borsdorf & Hidalgo 2008). China has experienced rapid economic growth with a concomitant growth of its middle class, leading to greater separation from the working class. Consequently, the economic and social fragmentation of Chinese society is leading to a new urban experience of insecurity as the divisions between people grow more pronounced (Pow 2007a). This has led to an increasing demand for gated development living.

However, the view that gated developments increase social fragmentation has been opposed. Concerning Montevideo, Álvarez-Rivadulla (2007) has challenged the position that gated developments cause increased social and class segregation. He contends that families residing in gated developments were already segregated from poorer class before moving to such developments. Sabatini & Salcedo (2007) have recorded that rather than facilitating social fragmentation, the location of gated developments close to poor neighbourhoods actually fosters a functional integration between rich and poor in Santiago. People in the poor communities welcomed the arrival of the gated developments for the employment, municipal service delivery and small business opportunities they present. However, social and communal integration has not occurred as social contact is limited to public spaces *outside*

the gated developments – there is a lack of complete integration. A functional, rather than social integration occurs between gated developments and the world beyond the walls and the gates. The social divisions remain.

While it is true that gated developments deepen existing social divisions, the divisions fuel gated living. To cater for an increasingly affluent and insecure middle class, gated developments appeared in Jakarta and Surabaya in the late 1970s and early 1980s respectively. The demand in Jakarta for gated development living, especially by wealthy Chinese, was increased by the racial tensions between Chinese and Indonesians/Malays which came to the fore during riots in Jakarta during 1998 (Dick & Rimmer 1998).

In conclusion, evidently there is not only one set of social circumstances that is the precursor of the establishment of gated developments. Rather, a range of social specificities unique to a particular location engenders the establishment of gated developments. Plainly, in most cases a set of social triggers drives gated development living so that the issue of social and class divisions cannot be divorced from gated developments. Social and class divisions spur growth of gated developments which leads to further social and class division: a vicious cycle indeed. This does not mean that gated developments are only for the rich because the poor also live in gated developments, but in this there is a discrepancy based on class. Gooblar's (2002) case study has shown that people in wealthy areas who oppose the developments have a greater chance of successfully preventing their development than people in poorer areas do. Consequently, the impacts of gated developments spread unevenly across cities. Social and class division is undeniably a common denominator in the proliferation and persistence of gated developments. That said, there are institutional and infrastructural facets that impact on the growth of gated developments which are explored in the following subsection.

2.3.4 Institutional and infrastructural aspects of gated developments

Gated developments involve more than supplying the housing needs of their residents. The location of gated developments within the broader urban milieu is determined by a number of institutional, political, infrastructural, economic and social factors, or combinations thereof. This subsection reviews the literature which deals with these factors as important reasons for the proliferation of gated developments in cities around the globe. Various entities come into play along the gated development

supply and demand chain from its conception, design, financing, inception, sale and resale, through to daily management, operations and linkages with the world beyond the walls and the gates. As the custodian of municipal affairs within its boundaries, the local authority in whose constituency a gated development is located stands to benefit, or lose, from such developments.

Gated developments were initially thought of as being secessionist in nature because they did not want regulatory instruments to be imposed on them by local governments, but that has changed. Local authorities view gated developments as valuable sources of revenue because the costs of new suburb development and infrastructure maintenance are borne by the developers and the homebuyers (Grant 2005a). Gated developments also increase property values within their confines and so municipalities' property tax base. In California for example, the positive financial gain for local authorities is facilitated by specific statutes in Californian law where the "... developer substitutes the public government in planning and building roads, access and utility lines" (Le Goix 2005: 329). While a monetary benefit obtains for local authorities, Le Goix (2005) argues that gated developments are located in homogenous ethnic buffer zones which by design are exclusionary in nature, divert crime and increase personal property values. Furthermore, these buffer zones often fit snugly along municipal boundaries. Local authorities can effectively exclude people, divert crime out of their jurisdiction and increase revenue by allowing gated developments within their boundaries.

Investors with capital to construct gated developments naturally want the best return on their investment and because of the development's advantages to local authorities they vie with each other to attract this capital. De Duren (2006; 2007a) has established that gated developments in Buenos Aires tend to be located in poorer municipalities which welcome the municipal revenue gated developments generate in their areas. Also, employment opportunities are created during the construction phase as well as after completion of construction. Conversely, there are countries where local authorities do not benefit from the construction of gated developments. The growth of gated developments in Budapest for example has had little financial benefit for the local authorities because city finances in Hungary come from central government and local land taxes play a minor role. Property developers are the strong role players as it is they who derive maximum financial benefit from the construction and sale of gated developments because they do not pay property taxes (Cséfalvay 2009). The financial benefits that accrue to the various actors in the gated development supply and demand chain are, in many cases, linked to the planning processes and procedures of local authorities.

The increasing number of gated developments in local authority areas has created a need for the establishment and application of planning policies and regulations to the phenomenon. Grant (2005a) has indicated the need for planning control of gated developments in Canada. This is achievable by the promulgation and development of appropriate laws, policies and tools to regulate the growth of gated developments. There are inconsistencies in gated development regulation as some planning authorities have regulatory policies while most do not. Public debate on the pros and cons of gated developments would be the desirable catalyst to start appropriate planning responses (Grant, Greene & Maxwell 2004).

Some local authorities have limited or no planning regulations, especially after neo-liberal policies during the 1990s saw an increasing move to privatise many of the urban service functions previously the responsibility of metropolitan governments (Coy 2006; Borsdorf & Hidalgo 2008; Fahmi & Sutton 2008). In South America, the private sector has become an important player in shaping the built environment of cities and this has impacted on urban morphology as residents attempt to wall themselves off from crime. This was largely due to the absence or lack of national planning regulations and controls that could be applied to guide gated development growth in cities (Thuillier 2005; De Souza e Silva 2007). The absence of planning regulations, coupled with a lack of democratic municipal governance, meant that each private development was seen to be a 'city' in its own right as different norms and standards were applicable to each (Pérez 2002). This lack of democratic governance, together with the absence of planning regulations, further eroded the conditions of trust and security of the citizenry (Escarria 2007). In the absence of land use guidelines, local authorities have tended to accede to the requests of the private developers from whom they derive the most financial and political benefit. In Argentine cities having regulations, local planning regulations were tailored to developers' requests in a successful attempt to lure them to invest in the poorer municipalities (De Duren 2006; 2007a). This led to a situation of land use manipulation in which the populace was comfortable with the local municipal authorities' liberal attitude regarding the location and construction of gated developments (De Duren 2007b). The lack of planning controls has meant that some gated developments have been constructed in agricultural and natural areas, with no intervention by government (Glasze & Alkhayyal 2002). The lack of planning controls and poor governance structures were overlooked because gated developments were seen as sites of employment and a way of increasing the land values around each development.

It is imperative for local authorities to have policies and processes in place to prevent the unregulated proliferation of gated developments. Even in countries with a low occurrence of gated developments, but with the potential of becoming increasingly popular, it has been recognised that planning policies should be instituted to regulate the spread of gated developments (Gooblar 2002). Dixon & Dupuis (2003) report that policymaking regarding gated development in Auckland has lagged behind the growth of the phenomenon. The risk exists that developers of gated developments will apply new forms of private governance upon which New Zealand law cannot rule, so undermining private property rights and the state's attempts to manage the urban sphere (Blandy, Dixon & Dupuis 2006). This is especially significant against the backdrop of an urban intensification plan being pursued by the local authorities. The challenge facing planners is to promote and preserve social integration while maintaining the planning principles of compact urban morphology (Atkinson et al. 2004; Grant 2005a).

In Singapore there is a strong state involvement in the growth of gated developments. In spite of a successful public housing programme, approximately 15% of Singapore's population resides in gated developments. Pow (2007b) has highlighted the growing demand by the middle class for gated living and the government's facilitation and promotion of gated developments. The involvement of the state in gated developments in Singapore allows it to control private development in that land-scarce country. Recognition by the state of the need and demand for gated living has followed a path of involvement to control possible low-density urban sprawl that may result from the unregulated spread of gated developments. The government's facilitation of gated developments, alongside its provision of public housing, seems to have impacted social segregation less than in other parts of the world. This does not rule out gated developments being viewed more favourably by the middle class than the public housing flats that are available. The potential for the divisiveness of gated developments is mitigated by their small size in comparison to the public housing estates. Furthermore, envy that may arise among those not being able to afford living in a gated development is tempered with the provision of good quality public housing (Pow 2007b). Thus, the role of the state is crucial in providing direction and guidance on the growth of gated developments in a specific area.

Researchers have voiced the need to learn from other countries' experiences of gated developments so as to develop appropriate local planning regulations and controls (Dixon & Dupuis 2003; Walker 2005). Giglia (2008: 82) maintains that "... in these places new forms of living and thinking the city are already being born." These could be clarion calls for local authorities to accept gated developments as inevitable and put policies in place to govern their continued establishment and existence. The

alternative is unsustainable patterns of gated developments in local authority areas that impact negatively on the broader social, economic and morphological urban landscapes.

Gated developments portray various distribution patterns, depending on the existing settlement morphology. In some cities they tend to cluster along linear routes in sought-after parts of the city, but gated development growth on peri-urban fringes is becoming a common feature which contributes to increased urban sprawl (Baycan-Levent & Gülümser 2004; 2007; Dowling & McGuirk 2005; McGuirk & Dowling 2007). Local authorities' policies have important roles to play in these instances as they guide gated development growth. For example, in Beijing land for gated developments is obtained through a land-leasing system managed by the city government. The plots are delineated by the city government with the result that many gated developments in Chinese cities are clustered in specific parts of the cities (Wu 2005). Not all the gated developments are located in cities as some are located on or beyond their urban fringes.

There is a relationship between the location of gated developments and the reasons given by residents for living there. The desire to be out of the city in an area that has tracts of natural vegetation and beautiful surroundings is the foremost reason for living in non-metropolitan gated developments. Residents of gated developments cite the need to escape from overcrowded and environmentally unfavourable urban areas (Falzon 2004). However, the environmental impacts of gated development construction activities in non-metropolitan areas often negate the environmental benefits residents sought in the first place. In Moscow it has been demonstrated that the environmental impacts of gated development construction between 1991 and 2001 caused the loss of approximately 22% of forested land in a 30-km radius around the city. As a result, the quality of the city's air and water has been affected – this against the background of marketing strategies advertising these developments as clean and green. The negative impact on the environment is exacerbated by the lack of environmental controls at the local authority level in Moscow as well as the dubious practices by officials. Moreover, the developments do not have environmental management plans to mitigate environmental impacts while the development is in operation (Blinnikov et al. 2006).

There are countries where the growth of non-metropolitan gated developments can be traced to development in coastal and mountainous areas where there is a need to protect amenities because they were not used for large parts of the year (Glasze & Alkhayyal 2002; Güzey 2007). However, safety and security is not the foremost reason given by owners for the preference for non-metropolitan gated

development locations for it is true that no area can be totally protected and secured, and only the probability of undesirables entering the property is decreased (Miliàn & Guenet 2007; Giglia 2008). On the other hand, Charmes (2003) established that the main reason for the growth of barricaded streets and enclosed areas along the urban periphery was residents' concerns about safety and security. Also, residents in wealthy estates wanted private access to amenities such as tennis courts and swimming pools. Unfortunately, the growth of non-metropolitan gated developments as well as those along urban peripheries has resulted in the loss of vast tracts of agricultural land being converted to residential use and the concomitant spoiling of areas of natural vegetation (Leisch 2002; Irazábal 2006). A number of studies have reported that small towns and coastal tourist towns beyond metropolitan areas have been the sites of gated development growth (Baycan-Levent & Gülümser 2004; Billard & Madoré 2005; Touman 2005; Raposo 2006) but very little research has been conducted on the dynamics of gated developments in these locations. Exclusive non-metropolitan gated developments also introduce a new and unfamiliar social dimension to these areas. Rofe (2006) has investigated the subtle methods of displaying wealth and prestige in gated resort developments to exclude people without having walls and security guards around the perimeter. The mere exclusionary look and feel of the exclusive resorts entrenches the barrier between those in the resorts and those on the outside. Mittelsteadt's (2003) research on gated developments in rural Canadian locales found that the price of land, the desire to be close to nature and the need to secure unoccupied second homes were the reasons for such developments. She confirmed that research on urban and peri-urban gated developments abounds, but gated developments located in non-metropolitan small towns and villages have not received any attention.

The local institutional framework under which gated developments are governed does much in determining the form and impacts of gated developments. While gated developments are a source of municipal revenue, the social and environmental impacts must be considered before authorisation is given for construction. Key to guiding such development is the groups, individuals and entities with an interest in such developments which is the focus of the next section.

2.3.5 Actors in the development chain of gated developments

This section reviews the global experiences of how developers, planning authorities and homeowners form part of the construction, planning and management of gated developments. The growth of gated

developments would not be possible without a number of actors in the development chain, that is people, institutions and organisations. These actors are found on both sides of the development: there are various persons or institutions on the outside responsible for setting up gated developments and those on the inside who set rules and regulations for the administration of gated developments.

There are local and international actors due to the internationalisation of gated developments. International investors are ready to invest in developments that promise a good rate of return. Such investment is facilitated by local policies that create the best climate for gated development investment (Borsdorf & Hidalgo 2008). Not only is international finance capital, but also international expertise, companies and architectural designs are part of this globalisation of gated developments.

Gated developments assist in positioning cities in the transnational global arena of attracting urban investment – a sort of must-have to establish one's city as progressive and forward-looking. But there are cases where such attempts at urban renaissance fail dismally (Fahmi & Sutton 2008). The quest for gated prestige is directed by multi-industry companies offering gated development living products as a new way of life. Large developers often have good connections with local authorities. There are instances where they shape the urban morphology by first developing an area and only then applying for local authority approval (Leisch 2002). The close relationships between real estate agents, financial institutions, construction companies and architects have led to the integrated development of new architectural and residential living ideas, including gated developments. This has allowed the unique regional and national characteristics of South-East Asian cities to be penetrated by First World city elements (Dick & Rimmer 1998). Elite locales were produced using the services of planners from the USA as drawcards for the lifestyle. Geniş (2007) speaks of the global-local connections and the manifestation of transnational ideologies as important factors in producing gated developments in Turkey. Raposo (2006) found that in Portugal approximately 23% of the gated developments surveyed were developed by companies with Brazilian stakeholder components. It would appear that the influences for the growth of gated developments in Portugal have not come from the USA, but from Brazil. Not only is Brazil a former colony of Portugal, but the growth of gated developments in the latter country is significant. Brazilian companies have the knowledge, expertise and experience of building gated developments – a New World export to the Old World. Brazilian marketing techniques, which have been imported from the USA (Coy 2006), have assisted the Portuguese real estate industry to commodify, package and market gated development living aimed at a specific target group.

Whereas local authority policy and planning regulations may be significant during the construction phase, there are instances where local authority rules are relinquished to gated development self-governance once residents are established. Once the development has been constructed the day-to-day management (assuming that units within the developments have been sold) becomes the responsibility of a resident collective – which becomes an important actor in the gated development chain. HOAs are formed according to legal codes that manage and control all aspects of living in a gated development. Developers facilitate the formation of HOAs, the governing bodies elected by homeowners, who control and manage various communal aspects of the development such as security, service provision and rule enforcement. HOAs have the elected mandate to act against those homeowners and renters who do not conform to rules and regulations previously agreed to.

It is held that HOAs symbolise the collapse of community values in the USA by imposing a mechanistic structure of community that embeds strict conformity to rules (Low 2003). However, Kirby et al.'s (2006) research in Phoenix, Arizona, found that HOAs are not as bad as stereotypically portrayed. Nearly all new home construction in Phoenix is gated developments, which confirms the importance of researching the governance of gated developments as it seems to have become the development of choice. Although overall residential satisfaction with the HOAs of gated developments is high, it masks dissatisfaction with certain aspects of development management. The Phoenix study showed that satisfaction was increased by meticulous management of daily services, but dissatisfaction arose when residents were unfriendly in their social relationships. By enforcing codes of conduct, HOAs could lower the anxieties among residents of different ethnic, religious or linguistic backgrounds. However, it has been found that in many cases commitment by homeowners to governance and administration was lacking (Glasze 2005).

Ten years after Blakely & Snyder's (1997) seminal publication on gated developments in the USA, new material is being produced and new fields of research on gated developments are being tilled. Danielsen (2007) has explored the characteristics of renters in gated developments and established that where homeowners in gated developments tend to belong to a homogenous group, renters display a wider range of income and ethnicity. Minority groups predominate in rented gated developments. The common belief that equates homogeneity with gated developments may have to change as the number of rental gated developments is increasing and the number of homeowner gated developments is decreasing. This could be due to the increased number of public housing projects – subsidised for lower-income groups – being constructed as gated developments. Instead of management by a HOA,

rental gated developments are mostly managed by a property management company, a housing agency or the renters report directly to the owners. However, it must be noted that units in gated developments are sometimes purposely bought to be rented, as in Ghana where a large proportion of gated development units are rented, implying absentee owners who live and work abroad (Grant 2005).

Furthermore, apparently the issue of security is more important to low-income renters than to affluent homeowners, thus the formers' satisfaction with living in a gated development is higher than the latter's (Sanchez & Lang 2002). Investigation has shown that homeowner satisfaction with a gated development is commensurate with increased age of the homeowner. This could be because as people get older, they acquire the necessary capital to purchase in a gated development neighbourhood that they find desirable (Chapman & Lombard 2006). In fact, niche marketing to an economically strong seniors' market has led to sustained growth in gated retirement villages (Townshend 2002; Grant 2005b). Capital is central to the gated development chain: from its inception through to its occupation. In many cases it is the willingness and ability to pay that determines the type, location and social structure of each gated development. To a large degree the various role players in gated developments determine the social, morphological, environmental, political and economic look and feel of each development. It is not one entity or individual that establishes an identity for a gated development, rather a collection of such entities and individuals. It is this collection of actors that lends a specific identity to a gated development.

The global overview of the five thematic areas of gated development research: historical roots of the phenomenon; political and economic transitions as drivers of gated developments; social issues allied to gated developments; institutional and infrastructural matters; and the role of various actors in the growth of gated developments can be applied to the examination of South African gated developments. This is the focus of the following section.

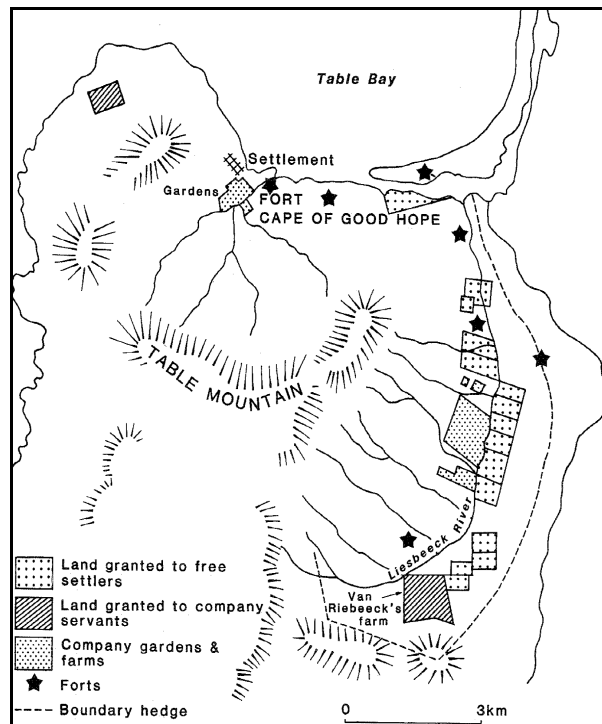
2.4 GATED DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The five traceable general themes in the international literature on gated developments are present in South African gated developments. The writings on gated developments in South Africa are highly critical of the phenomenon's emergence in the urban sphere as it impacts on urban sustainability issues including, inter alia, social fragmentation, exclusion, privatisation of public service delivery functions,

displacement of crime and transport re-routing. Research on South Africa's gated developments mainly concentrates on spatial fragmentation, social exclusion, economic segregation and the inability of authorities to render proper services (Hook & Vrdoljak 2002; Jürgens & Gnad 2002; Durlington 2006; Lemanski 2006; Landman 2007a). A notable feature of gated developments in South Africa is that resident composition is not exclusively race-based, rather it is mainly determined by class and economic position in society (Jürgens & Gnad 2002; Taleb 2005). Contemporary gated developments in South Africa are rooted in the country's historical trajectory.

As in other parts of the world, South Africa can also trace an historical root of walls and barricades. The Khoekhoen⁷ inhabitants did not build permanent walls and barricades, largely because they were a nomadic people. However, as cattle-owning peoples migrated into present-day South Africa, establishing more permanent settlements, the need arose to have a measure of protection. The *kraal* is an enclosed area within the homestead area of Nguni-speaking people to protect livestock from predators. A clay and timber fort for defensive purposes, named *Redout Duijnhoop*, was constructed by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 after the arrival of Dutch settlers (Flintham, no date). In 1659 a garrison was set up with a wooden fence and watch towers. A hedge and the Liesbeeck River formed part of this barrier (Figure 2.9), created to protect the settlement (Mountain 2003; South African National Biodiversity Institute 2009). After the near collapse of the *Redout Duijnhoop*, a masonry structure, the Castle of Good Hope, was constructed between 1664 and 1679. A gated entry to the castle was constructed three years after completion of the castle (Castle of Good Hope no date). Numerous other fortified structures were built through the course of South Africa's history following the construction of the Castle of Good Hope. The first modern gated development in South Africa was constructed in 1987 in northern Johannesburg with a 2.4-m-high walled perimeter topped with electric fencing which encircled 913 plots (Jürgens & Gnad 2002).

⁷ Collective name for different groups of Khoi pastoralists.



Source: Christopher (2001: 14)

Figure 2.9 Security measures at the first Dutch settlement in South Africa

Contemporary South Africa has extremes between rich and poor. According to the United Nations (2008), South Africa is the 10th most unequal country in the world. This inequality is spatially manifested, inter alia, in the morphology of the country's cities which were subject to artificial, unnatural urban growth patterns brought about by apartheid urban planning that legitimated exclusionary practices (Harrison & Williamson 2001). The economic disparity between people in apartheid South Africa was exacerbated by legislated racial divisions that also determined where people could reside. Although no physical walls divided race-based residential areas, buffer zones comprising highways, railways, open spaces, industrial areas and servitudes separated race group areas (Davies 1981). The repeal of the Group Areas Act (Act 41 of 1950) in 1991 led to greater freedom and mobility for all South Africans regarding residential location choice. In post-apartheid South Africa, residential choice is largely determined by one's income. With income an indicator of class, it is the class divisions in post-apartheid South Africa that largely inform personal residential location choice. Suburbs and neighbourhoods become associated with a certain level of income and social class (Donaldson 2001).

Although apartheid policies have been abolished, processes of fortification, barricading, securitisation and various modern panopticon surveillance methods are manifested in contemporary post-apartheid South African urban space (Spocster 2012). These processes reflect new manifestations of growing class and social differences among the population. The gated development phenomenon and the privatisation of urban public space have taken root in South African cities, particularly following the repeal of race laws and the transition to a new political dispensation in 1994 (Jürgens & Gnad 2002 – but see Spocster 2007). The dismantling of apartheid and the placement of a majority-elected government started an era of political, social and economic change in South Africa. Politically, the government was democratically elected; economically, South Africa saw the end of an international disinvestment campaign; and socially, racial legislation that segregated everyday life according to specific race groups, was repealed. The political, social and economic change increased the level of fear among people who were kept apart for many years. Many whites emigrated after 1994, suggesting that white people withdrew from the obligations of citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa on the back of the perception that they are second-class citizens (Barrell 2000; Landman 2002). A manifestation of this citizen withdrawal has been residential relocation or semigration from Johannesburg to Cape Town and the retreat to gated developments (Ballard 2004).⁸ Semigration is a portmanteau word from emigration and segregation – people emigrate to gated developments to be self-contained or segregated from others (Ballard 2004). The desire for self-containment is driven by the fear of others. The fear existed that the ordered apartheid South African city that whites knew would degenerate into a Third World city, fuelling what Ballard (2005) calls the privatised fear. Gated developments would function as bastions against the crime-ridden, informal, uncontrolled and chaotic city that was allowing:

- unregulated access to all public amenities for everyone;
- street trading in central business districts (CBDs);
- black residence in inner city areas;
- black middle-class residents in formerly white residential areas; and
- squatter settlements throughout the urban area (Rule, in Ballard 2002).

⁸ While the importance of race in gated developments has been identified, this researcher has made a decision not to investigate the issue of race in this study. Whites are not the only residents of gated developments (see Jürgens & Gnad 2002; Taleb 2005; Durlington 2006) – the criterion is capital, not race.

Although gated developments are pronounced in Gauteng province, surveys have reflected their dispersion throughout South Africa, with an overwhelming concentration in large urban centres (Landman 2003a). This is symptomatic of post-apartheid urban space being privatised and not only reflects the growing disparity between the classes (Maharaj & Narsiah 2002), but also the increasing fear of crime throughout South Africa (Dirsuweit 2002). Societies in political transition do display a tendency for increasing violence and crime (Landman 2003b). An increasing crime rate and racial tensions do little to allay peoples' fears about what the South African future holds. As recorded in Tables 2.2 and 2.3, South Africa has unacceptably high crime rates.

Table 2.2 Murders per annum in South Africa: 2003/04-2010/11

Reported Cases								
	2003/2004	2004/2005	2005/2006	2006/2007	2007/2008	2008/2009	2009/2010	2010/2011
Eastern Cape	3 360	3 352	3 669	3 626	3 526	3 260	3 218	3 187
Free State	904	902	872	953	879	910	910	963
Gauteng	4 433	3 818	3 621	3 884	3 766	3 963	3 444	3 257
Kwazulu-Natal	5 247	5 001	4 910	5 002	4 702	4 747	4 224	3 749
Limpopo	690	733	688	747	696	751	762	665
Mpumalanga	1 056	1 099	882	869	835	902	878	722
North West	864	800	760	823	825	858	743	744
Northern Cape	431	408	393	417	422	411	381	342
Western Cape	2 839	2 680	2 750	2 881	2 836	2 346	2 274	2 311
RSA	19 824	18 793	18 545	19 202	18 487	18 148	16 834	15 940

Source: <http://www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2011/categories/murder.pdf>

Table 2.3 Sexual offences per annum in South Africa: 2003/04-2010/11

Reported Cases								
	2003/2004	2004/2005	2005/2006	2006/2007	2007/2008	2008/2009	2009/2010	2010/2011
Eastern Cape	8 238	8 626	10 312	9 117	9 087	9 456	9 047	9 380
Free State	4 734	4 972	4 559	4 386	4 396	4 523	4 581	4 838
Gauteng	16 402	16 333	15 676	15 124	15 398	18 176	15 645	13 987
Kwazulu-Natal	11 378	12 122	11 932	11 649	11 355	13 279	13 269	12 793
Limpopo	4 491	5 070	4 671	4 780	4 528	4 675	4 905	4 883
Mpumalanga	4 375	4 674	4 756	4 631	4 169	4 695	4 603	4 442
North West	4 519	4 610	4 546	4 588	4 513	5 021	4 759	4 706
Northern Cape	2 191	2 212	1 993	1 957	1 749	1 917	1 845	1 868
Western Cape	9 751	10 498	9 631	8 969	8 623	8 772	9 678	9 299
RSA	66 079	69 117	68 076	65 201	63 818	70 514	68 332	66 196

Source: http://www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2011/categories/total_sexual_offences.pdf

Overall crime rates increased annually from 1997 until 2000, with a decrease thereafter (Schönteich 2002). However, despite the government-reported decrease peoples' perceptions are that crime levels are increasing and showing no signs of abating (Mistry 2004). It could be that better crime reporting and analysis mechanisms are capturing previously undercounted crime and/or there are more crime events being reported to the police services than previously. Nevertheless, the perception of increasing crime is creating a climate of fear.

This fear of crime, together with a perception that the government cannot protect its citizens has contributed to the rise of gated development living in South Africa (Jürgens & Gnad 2002; Landman 2003b; 2007b). South Africans believe that a way to protect themselves against crime and violence is to live in gated developments, or to enclose neighbourhoods, thereby controlling access and thus increasing personal and property safety (Landman 2000a). Residents want as much control over their personal safety as they can, rather than relying on the public police service. Gated development living becomes part of a range of strategies citizens employ to protect themselves. These strategies include the hiring of private armed response companies, closed-circuit television (CCTV) surveillance, fortification of living space and the privatisation of public space. Private developers have recognised this human need for secure space and they have delivered a product to meet this need: gated developments. In response to peoples' insecurity, private developers have stepped in to fill the security void caused by ineffective policing by the state. People do not reside in gated developments to enjoy a communal atmosphere, but as a mechanism of defence to protect themselves from the city that is seen to be unsafe and chaotic (Ballard 2005).

Citizenry's lack of trust is not only directed at the failure of the police services to combat crime, but also at local government's perceived failure in effective urban governance. Not only is government blamed for inadequate security, but its lack of adequate service delivery to the poor does not help to narrow the gap between rich and poor – poverty and unemployment persist. The perception by both the rich and poor is that inadequate service delivery of various needs, constrains opportunity for the poor and safety for the rich. As the gap between rich and poor widens, gated developments become the visual manifestations of this gap. People living in gated developments retreat behind the walls and gates for their daily living spaces and the city becomes a vast landscape of microcities, each controlled by its own governance structures, so fragmenting urban governance structures beyond local government level. The fragmentation of the city impacts on the broader social relations between those behind the walls and those beyond them (Hook & Vrdoljak 2002).

Instances in South Africa where gated developments are located alongside poorer developments (Hook & Vrdoljak 2002; Lemanski 2006) allow for investigations of fragmentary relations. Lemanski (2006) has explored this in her study of the proximity of a gated development in Cape Town, named Silvertree, to the poorer Westlake neighbourhood. The poorer section has become the hidden part of the broader landscape while the status of Silvertree has grown dramatically. Westlake has been built at a higher density than Silvertree and the land set aside for Westlake is minute compared to the size of Silvertree. This adds to the fragmentary effect of the gated development, something seen in other parts of Cape Town (Nicks 2003). Fragmentation between the two areas has been a source of ill-feeling towards the Silvertree development by the Westlake residents as the latter experience problems regarding access, an indication that the planners have sought to keep spaces separate for the two communities. There is nothing neighbourly between the two communities who continue to live separate lives based on class and facilitated by walls, guards and access control. The linkage between the two is one of patronage with Silvertree residents providing some employment opportunities in the form of domestic work to Westlake residents. Durlington's (2006) ethnological study in Durban mentions how domestic workers and gardeners employed in a gated development had to swipe access cards each day to enter the development. Moreover, if the employees are not out of the development by a certain time in the evening security personnel enquire why they have not yet departed from the complex. This process is eerily similar to the pass laws of apartheid South Africa. The research by Lemanski (2006) and Durlington (2006) confirms the viewpoint that gated developments strengthen boundaries between neighbourhoods and this can lead to increased social polarisation.

However, not all gated developments are located next to poor neighbourhoods. A clustering of gated developments in a specific part of a city creates a network of gated developments separate from each other, but together in their goal to protect and secure. Thus, in Johannesburg, the northern suburbs are viewed as the progressive, globally connected part of the city, different than the poorer southern part. At the time of the 2001 census, 66% of the city's white population and 70% of the city's shopping malls were concentrated in three municipal administrative regions in the northern part of the city (Beavon 2005). This area employs social and economic exclusion practices of which gated developments are one component. The control and defence of public space came to the fore with the emergence of road closures in wealthy suburbs as their municipalities were amalgamated with poorer municipalities (Landman 2006). The City of Johannesburg even encouraged neighbourhood action against crime, so that secure gated developments were viewed as an acceptable form of action against crime (Dirsuweit & Wafer 2006). Admittedly, the City has tried to mitigate access and mobility issues

by cautioning that the developments should not be too large, but the implicit sanctioning of gated developments remains.

Beall (2002) insists that the neo-liberal policies adopted by local authorities in an attempt to position Johannesburg as a competitive global city have facilitated exclusionary practices. Similarly, Robins (2002) has noted that the poorer parts of Cape Town are becoming increasingly disconnected from the affluent areas as city management pitches Cape Town as a globally competitive city. Cape Town's drive to become globally competitive has seen historically affluent areas become increasingly securitised through surveillance, policing strategies and gated developments. Although Cape Town has initiated public strategies to desegregate the city, private initiatives exist through which the affluent seek to spatially exclude the poorer city (Robins 2002). Experiences in Johannesburg reveal that urban design strategies do influence socio-spatial processes (Murray 2004).

In Cape Town gated developments took root sometime after their manifestation in Gauteng but with a preponderance of residential security estates (recall Figure 2.8). Residents of gated developments in Cape Town cite the need for an idyllic environment (although crime issues are also mentioned) as the most important reason for living in a gated development (Lemanski, Landman & Durlington 2008). A large number of new developments, especially along Cape Town's urban edge, have been gated developments with 80% of the high-income developments and 30% of the middle- to lower-income groups being gated (Lemanski & Oldfield 2009). Each of these developments either has a HOA or a specific management company responsible for daily management. Strict management of these developments assures owners that a structured and ordered environment is guaranteed in which everyone abides by the rules, but a sense of community is not necessarily fostered (Landman 2000b). Incidents have occurred in Johannesburg where HOAs and residents have been involved in court proceedings concerning the application of estate rules (Laganparsad 2012).

Due in part to the existence or not of policies for gated developments, diverse experiences and manifestations of gated developments prevail in different parts of South Africa. There is no national policy for gated developments in South Africa. Municipal policy responses to gated developments have lagged behind the growth of the phenomenon. The absence of gated development policies in all three tiers of governance complicates a broader understanding of the phenomenon by the authorities (Jürgens & Landman 2006). The City of Johannesburg has a policy on the erection of boom gates and road closures and the City of Cape Town has developed a specific policy for gated developments (City of

Cape Town 2007). At a provincial level the Western Cape government has recognised that although gated developments, especially in the guise of golf estates and polo estates, have positive economic, environmental and infrastructural effects, they also contribute a host of negative effects. The latter effects include the depletion of natural and agricultural resources, increased division between communities, and hindered public access to amenities and resources (Western Cape Provincial Government 2005a).

A national survey of gated developments conducted in 2002 established that the phenomenon was prevalent almost exclusively in the metropolitan areas of South Africa (Landman 2003a). Most of the municipalities that did not respond to the survey were non-metropolitan municipalities with small towns. Landman (2003a) held that these municipalities either had no gated developments or that the phenomenon was not a major concern for them. Gated developments in metropolitan areas often have design and architectural styles reminiscent of the rural idyll (low crime and rolling greenfields) – the countryside brought to the city in an attempt to reproduce rurality (Hook & Vrdoljak 2002). Small-town, non-metropolitan South Africa has witnessed the establishment of residential security estates and secure townhouse complexes, presumably an attempt to establish private exclusive spaces as far as possible from the imagined chaotic post-apartheid city as described by Rule (in Ballard 2002). This small-town, non-metropolitan gated development scene is unexplored. The 2002 national gated development survey attempted to capture information on non-metropolitan gated developments, but the response rate from the relevant municipalities was low. Landman (2003a) has identified the existence of many non-metropolitan gated developments, but the reasons why they are located in these areas and in small towns need to be determined.

2.5 CONCLUSION

Gated developments have a diverse range of morphological manifestations which poses the challenge of categorising them into a manageable number of different subgroups. The distinction between gated developments and gated communities has been examined in this chapter because it is especially relevant to this research. The term gated development is preferred because it captures the human, physical and administrative components of the phenomenon. The multitude of definitions of gated developments was recounted as testament to the latter's worldwide occurrence. The tenets privatisation, boundary hardening and private governance feature in most definitions of gated developments, but the

term does display considerable regional variation – mostly related to the morphology and use of gated developments. The definition of gated development adopted for this study is an amalgam of definitions and typologies found in academic and other writings and its formulation is pertinent to the study's aims and specific non-metropolitan study area.

While the diffusion of the idea of gated developments from the USA to the rest of the world has been dealt with in the literature, the importance of specific local conditions in tracing the growth trajectory of gated developments within a particular city, region or country must be emphasised. The country-specific social, cultural, economic and policy factors impact on the development, morphology, governance and size of gated developments, although broad global themes like historical background, politico-economic transition, social influences, institutional and infrastructural determinants and the roles of actors require attention. These themes are all evident in the literature on South African gated developments. Importantly, in South Africa there are various municipal responses to gated developments. Even the nature of gated developments is area-specific in South Africa – road closures abound in Johannesburg but are absent in Cape Town. The review of existing literature confirmed a lacuna regarding gated developments in non-metropolitan areas in South Africa and globally too. This research aims to explore non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape. Such an investigation must be underpinned by a sound theoretical base. The next chapter provides this underpinning.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS FOR NON-METROPOLITAN GATED DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

There is a global dearth of studies on the impact of gated developments on non-metropolitan locales. One cannot assume that the reasons for and impacts of gated communities in non-metropolitan locales are similar to those of gated developments in metropolitan areas. In essence, a hitherto essentially urban phenomenon has been transplanted into the non-metropolitan residential domain. The non-metropolitan setting presents a different set of values and characteristics to those of the metropolitan sphere. Amenity migration (McCarthy 2008), seasonal migration (Pacione 1984), exurbanisation, counterurbanisation and rural gentrification (Phillips 2002; 2004) are not new concepts to the rural geography discourse. The restructuring of rural areas, including small towns, is of late associated with the process of counterurbanisation where a new service class or self-employed professionals are increasingly migrating to small towns (Paniagua 2002). Most non-metropolitan small towns use the prospect of safety, security, peace and tranquillity as a marketing strategy to lure affluent urbanites from the hustle, bustle and ‘dangers’ of the city (Donaldson 2009). The non-metropolitan becomes the relaxed alternative to the urban sphere.

Debates on the theory of gated developments are typically set within the context of the metropolitan/urban arena. These debates are grounded in theorising gated developments as a manifestation of a fortress mentality; as isolationist; as a consequence of the new world order; as a reaction to the fear of crime and violence; and as examples of economic club goods theory. Contrarily, non-metropolitan gated residential developments are viewed through a rural-change lens; from the perspective of post-productivism; and as the commodification of the non-metropolitan landscape. Gated developments in non-metropolitan Western Cape may be viewed from metropolitan or non-metropolitan theoretical perspectives except that the latter has not yet been applied to the theoretical understanding of gated developments. This chapter explores both perspectives to determine a theoretical base to better understand non-metropolitan residential gated developments; investigate the conceptualisation of terms used in this study; and trace a growth and development history to contextualise contemporary transformations in non-metropolitan Western Cape.

3.2 THEORETICAL POSITIONING OF GATED DEVELOPMENTS

The theoretical positioning of gated developments has evolved over a number of years and in a number of locales throughout the world. It is fundamentally important to place this research in the ambit of a particular theoretical position by drawing on global experiences of gated developments. This research is unusual in that it draws on elements of urban residential gated developments in order to position it, or at least position elements of it, in the non-metropolitan settlement arena. Global urban theories on gated developments need to be engaged to single out elements that can be applied to the non-metropolitan. This transplantation and engagement with urban theory is beneficial to theorising about non-metropolitan locales (Woods 2007).

Smith-Bowers & Manzi (2006) have reviewed a number of discourses on the rise of gated developments and they conclude that there are limited theoretical perspectives on the phenomenon and that the theoretical positioning of gated developments requires a more complex analysis. Smith-Bowers & Manzi (2006) maintain that gated developments should be positioned within the broader theoretical perspective of securitisation. However, in reviewing the various theoretical arguments for the emergence of gated developments, Smith-Bowers & Manzi (2006) do not pigeonhole the views of particular authors' specific perspectives because a particular author may have two or more viewpoints on the emergence of gated developments. For example, the work of Low (2003) can be placed in the theoretical understanding of the culture of fear, the realm of the impacts of globalisation and in the ambit of social exclusion. Similarly, Marcuse & Van Kempen (2000) position their work in the growth of global cities theory and in the domain of undemocratic urban governance.

The challenges faced by Smith-Bowers & Manzi (2006) to analyse the theoretical underpinnings of the emergence of gated developments illustrates the difficulties of positioning the gated development phenomenon within broader theoretical debates. Nevertheless, it provides a starting point from which to analyse these debates with a view to positioning this research on a broader theoretical base because all the debates on gated developments concentrate on the urban metropolitan context whereas the focus of this research is the non-metropolitan locale. The theoretical stances mentioned by Smith-Bowers & Manzi (2006), namely gated developments as symbols of a fortress mentality; gated developments as isolationist; as an outcome of a new world order; as a manifestation stemming from the fear of crime

and violence; and gated developments as club goods are examined in the following five subsections. The applicability of the theories to non-metropolitan locales is an essential part of the examinations.

3.2.1 Gated developments indicative of a fortress mentality

In his seminal postmodernist work on Los Angeles, Davis (1990) criticises gated developments as being symptomatic of a fortress mentality. Guards, walls, controlled access, electronic surveillance technology and armed response services are typical of a fortress aimed at protecting inhabitants from onslaughts by those beyond the walls and the gates. The fortress city is a type of social control technique to regulate and patrol the urban Black and Latino poor. This social control technique is based on what Davis (1990: 227) describes as the militarisation of the city which is a reaction to "... the middle class demand for increased spatial and social insulation." Davis (1990) relates the social control techniques to separatist apartheid policies of South Africa and the divisive effect of the Berlin Wall.

The fortress militarisation of the city and city life as manifested in gated developments is but one way in which social ordering takes place. The purpose is to regulate and displace the activities of others, rather than merely eliminating them. A normally wealthy, protected group is accommodated away from the mostly legitimate behaviours of other groups in the city through policing and gated developments. The protected group live in safe residential gated developments that have various architectural styles, access controls, surveillance techniques and technologies to give the development the look and feel of an urban fortress. The affluent residents of a gated development band together to form HOAs and Davis (1990: 153) describes them as "the most powerful 'social movement' in ... Southern California ... [and] ... engaged in the defense of home values and neighbourhood exclusivity." The notion of the defence of gated developments evokes images of the fortress walls and gates being manned to repel the seen and unseen invaders – invaders that would reduce the property values and jeopardise the exclusivity of the developments.

Davis (1990: 224) quotes a 1969 National Commission that charged that "we live in 'fortress cities' brutally divided between 'fortified cells' of affluent society and 'places of terror' where the police battle the criminalized poor." The fortress city has two sets of troops protecting its many gated development walls at various distances: the private army within, on and around the gated development perimeter; and the public police force battling the poor and the ungated who live farther away from the

walls. The fortress lifestyle permeates into other areas in the lives of residents of gated developments, for example all-terrain vehicles and sport utility vehicles (SUVs) protect the occupants should they venture out of the gated development. The fortress city and fortress lifestyles represent a fortress mentality where a group's actions, movements and life in the city are governed by an awareness to remain fortified or protected from other people.

Davis (1990) noted that the fortress mentality has taken root in Third World cities with the rich moving to the periphery of these cities where they retreated behind walled, exclusive and closed estates and suburbs. The search for the security of the urban fortress has a worldwide manifestation with "... a global extreme in large urban societies with the greatest socio-economic inequalities: South Africa, Brazil, Venezuela ..." (Davis 1990: 116). In South Africa the size of these urban fortresses varies from small compact developments of a few dwelling units to large subdivisions or security villages.

3.2.2 Gated developments as isolationist

Blakely & Snyder's (1997) comprehensive work on gated developments in the USA characterised them as a dramatic form of residential boundary demarcation. They described gated developments as separate, fenced-off exclusive residential spaces previously part of a larger civic space, but since withdrawn from that civic space. The larger civic space is a manifestation of shared broader societal values and culture imprinted on urban space, but as the civic space becomes more demographically and socially heterogeneous certain groups feel vulnerable to social problems and react by retreating into gated developments. Within these gated developments, prescribed rules and regulations are implemented to maintain a particular type of homogenous social order that is acceptable to its residents. The rules and regulations in gated developments create a uniformity that endeavours to mitigate the social problems found beyond the gates.

In their pursuit of an accepted homogenous social order, the residents of gated developments withdraw and isolate themselves from the broader processes of civic life. Residents elect their HOAs whose task, inter alia, is to enforce rules and regulations. HOAs and those employed by them deal with issues that involve contact with the world beyond the walls and gates. It can thus be argued that residents of gated developments do not have to partake in the civic life beyond the gated development. Consequently, the voluntary isolation of people in gated developments who seek a homogenous community lifestyle,

increases social segregation as “the new developments can create a private world that ... [shares] little with its neighbours or with the larger political system” (Blakely & Snyder 1997: 8). They use this isolationist argument to position gated developments in the broad discourse on residential communities and urban governance systems.⁹ Beuka (2003: 161) picks up on the isolationist argument by asserting that gated developments are culturally distinct from the surrounding cityscape and that the HOAs of gated developments “... reserve the right to divorce themselves entirely from the denizens of the world outside the gates” by retreating into what is perceived as safe havens. Similarly, Hook & Vrdoljak (2002: 202, 204) refer to an “... agenda of separatism ...” and a “... withering notion of mutual social responsibility ...” that is enforced in gated developments to maintain the reproduction of an isolationist social order as expressed by Blakely & Snyder (1997).

More than 15 years ago, Blakely & Snyder (1997: 5) asserted that gated developments “... are primarily a phenomenon of metropolitan agglomerations ... [and] ... are rare in largely rural states” This suggests that gated developments are not a non-metropolitan phenomenon and thus one has to question whether the isolationist argument is applicable to non-metropolitan gated developments.

3.2.3 The new world order as an instrument for gated development proliferation

Marcuse & Van Kempen (2000) see the new world order manifested in the contemporary partitioning of the city, of which gated developments are one example. Marcuse & Van Kempen (2000) position the growth of metropolitan gated developments in the USA in the concept of the quartered city, a notion that Marcuse has been exploring since the 1980s. Marcuse (1989) investigated the long-standing image of the dual city as a partitioning between, inter alia, the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots or the formal and informal sectors. The concept of a dual city highlights the growing inequalities within cities which could lead to increasing polarisation between classes within the same urban space. The polarisation of classes in the urban sphere was traditionally seen as a feature of cities in developed countries, but subsequently there has been an increasing realisation that the cities of less-developed countries are displaying tendencies of increasing urban polarisation (De Queiroz Ribeiro & Telles

⁹ Blakely & Snyder (1997) do view security, crime and the fear of crime as the reasons for people retreating into secure residential laagers, but this is also part of the isolationist argument. Residents seek control of their surroundings and this can only be optimally achieved when they isolate themselves from broader civic life.

2000). Marcuse (1989) posited that the dual city concept is too general for describing contemporary urban space and proposed the 'quartered city' as a substitute.

The quartered city is not necessarily divided into a *specific* number of quarters, rather it acknowledges that the city is divided into *different* quarters. One of the five quarters Marcuse (1989) names is the luxury city which is used by the wealthy for mainly residential and leisure purposes and these spaces of existence and zones of activity are exclusive, secure and private. These zones may include areas of work and socialisation, thus creating a 'totalised' life within each zone (Marcuse & Van Kempen 2000). The residential and leisure spaces of the luxury city are specifically located where the real property values are the highest. In addition, these expensive locations are insulated against use by the non-wealthy, thus enhancing the tag of exclusivity. A number of mechanisms, such as the construction of walls, are used in the luxury city to maintain exclusivity, security and privacy.

Marcuse (1995) noted that walls have a physical purpose of delineating boundaries, but they also have a social purpose of setting and maintaining the divisions between classes. Walls occur in all quarters of the city where they have the dual purpose of walling in and walling out – of inclusion and exclusion. Walls delineate space within and between quarters and the delineated areas are defended, through various mechanisms, by those living in those spaces (Marcuse 1993). No matter in which quarter the walls are located, they have the ability to control what happens inside and/or outside that walled space. It is in the luxury city that the use of walls as a controlling mechanism is most apt and "where 'defence of turf' was once a phrase used to describe only the conduct of street gangs, today it describes the conduct of the majority of the city's residents, *the rich perhaps in even more extreme form than the poor*" [own emphasis] (Marcuse 1993: 361).

Walls are used as barriers to control and secure entry into the luxury city. The physical purpose of walls surrounding gated developments in the luxury city is to be a tool of exclusion for "... status and social control [and] protecting privilege and wealth from the threat of physical intrusion ... [and is] ... coupled with other forms of selection and control ..." (Marcuse 1995: 248). The social purpose of walls surrounding gated developments is to designate the different status of those residing inside the walled areas compared to those residing on the outside. However, although the walls may give people of similar status a sense of community identity or of belonging within a particular gated development, they may also heighten the feelings of insecurity about the world beyond the walls. Just as the walls may sensitise people living outside the walls to the higher social standing of those inside the walls, so

the walls may increase the feelings of angst of those on the inside toward the world beyond the walls. Decreased and controlled social interaction between people on either side of the wall may increase the trepidation on both sides of the fence.

The fortification and control within the luxury city facilitates the exclusion from these spaces of those perceived to be of a lower status, undesirable and poor. Before using the term 'fortification' to describe the process of ingraining and maintaining exclusive, secure and private power and prestige, Marcuse referred to the luxury city as citadels where the needs of the transnational elites are catered for and the measure of similarity of those inhabiting the space is class and not so much ethnicity (Marcuse 1997a; Schiffer 2002). The citadel is an area in or close to the central city where powerful and wealthy people are concentrated to specifically maintain and enhance their position of superiority. To maintain the functioning of the citadel, those seen to be of a lower status must be allowed into the citadel to clean, maintain and secure the space for the rich. Marcuse (2002) describes the aggressive fortification of business and residential precincts as the citadelisation of urban space. While the rich and powerful live in citadels which protect their interests, those – like retirement communities – who seek a measure of protection that gated developments can offer, tend to reside in exclusionary enclaves. Exclusionary enclaves, such as gated developments, protect residents who feel economically, politically and socially insecure from people outside the enclave (Marcuse 1997b). Gated developments allow inhabitants to create and control their micro living space. Thus, one finds that the securing of living space is not only practiced by the upper- and middle classes, but that working-class neighbourhoods also display tendencies of barricading and fortification.

While cities have always displayed spatial divisions, the impact of globalisation has led to these distinctions becoming more accelerated, pronounced and visible in the urban landscape in the form of walls (Marcuse & Van Kempen 2000). The development of citadels and exclusionary enclaves continues unchecked and fortification of urban space is increasing in all quarters of cities. Marcuse (1997b) opines that citadels and the different types of exclusionary enclaves are not entities that espouse the democratic principles of a just society. Walling, practiced by all quarters of cities, further deepens and enhances the differentiation between the quarters. Voluntary exclusion and separation in urban space undermines urban social justice so that there is a need for public policy to address the proliferation and impact of zones of exclusivity in cities. Marcuse (2002) foresees the citadels of the future situated in more dispersed locations, such as in smaller edge cities, outside urban CBDs. The

concepts of quartered city and the citadelisation of space are positioned solely within the boundaries of urban space and have not been extrapolated to non-metropolitan locales.

3.2.4 Gated developments and the fear of crime and violence

Low's (2003) ethnographic study of why people buy into gated developments in the USA concluded that the fear of crime and violence in society is the foremost reason why people live in gated developments. This fear of crime has been heightened by USA media coverage of criminal activity to the extent of national hysteria about crime. USA urban crime statistics indicate a drop in crime rates since the mid-1980s, but this has not quelled or alleviated the fear of crime by its inhabitants. Even though crime levels are low in suburban USA compared to the inner city, it is suburbanites who display a heightened fear of crime (Low 2003). In South America an increase in crime rates has led to a boom in the private security industry as suburbanites have sought to protect themselves against rampant crime (Ungar 2007). South Africa is also experiencing high levels of fear of crime (Roberts 2010) and a concomitant boom in the private security industry since the 1980s (Philip 1989). South Africa is a world leader in private security services (De Waard 1999), with the industry expanding by as much as 30% per annum (Van Steden & Sarre 2010). It is noteworthy that the level of fear of crime is also determined by one's social and physical characteristics. The urban sphere is seen to be permeated with criminal activity and those who have the finances to retreat into secure developments, do exercise this option.

Gated developments are regarded as an answer to dealing with crime, although they do not entirely address the fear of crime because it is the private governance structure of a gated development, namely its HOA, that bears the responsibility, inter alia, for providing and maintaining adequate security arrangements in a gated development. Low, Donovan & Giesecking (2007) has noted that a review of studies done on gated developments in the USA shows that 70% to 80% of respondents cited crime as the reason for their residence in a gated development. However, Atlas (1999, cited in Low 2003) concluded that gates and security measures employed in gated developments in the USA do not deter criminals or make a significant impact on crime rates, but they do have the effect of allaying residents' fears about crime – a soothing ointment rather than a cure.

A cross-cultural analysis of residential gating techniques in the USA, Latin America and China by Low (2005) concluded that the fear of crime and of others is the only common denominator in all three regions. However, she acknowledges that the meaning of ‘fear of crime’ varies between cultures and it is not linked to actual crime rates – again through the influence of the media. Low (2001) submits that gated developments are the result of societal and social changes stemming from rapid globalisation. Low (2001) describes residents moving out of neighbourhoods that were becoming ethnically diverse and that displayed an increase in petty crime. Residents in gated developments spoke about the need to protect their families and possessions against criminal dangers. The gated development landscape is created by fear and the physical design of such developments entrenches, reproduces and reinforces the fear. The type of fear is essentially a fear of others, which, in many cases, is accompanied by differences in social class. Unfortunately, the social isolating or insulating effects of gates and walls result in the inhabitants of gated developments not knowing or being familiar with those who live outside the developments. Low (2003: 151) writes that:

residents are using walls, entry gates, and guards in an effort to keep perceived dangers outside of their homes, neighbourhoods, *and social world*. *Contact incites fear and concern*, [own emphasis] and in response they are moving to exclusive, private, residential developments where they can keep other people out with guards and gates.

The vicious cycle of fear that drives the gating phenomenon may lead to the reinforcement of differences between those inside and those outside the gates. The act of locating one’s home in a gated, locked, guarded and secured development ultimately snowballs to create a greater awareness of differences and increased suspicion between social classes and “... contributes to a geography of social relations that produces fear and anxiety” (Low 2003: 231). Curiously, developments surrounded by high walls with secure, controlled access seemingly act as invitations to criminals as the very security measures advertise that those living behind the walls are wealthy and that more loot is very likely available.

Low (2003) briefly touches on gated developments described as pseudo-gated communities. A pseudo-gated community is architecturally designed in a manner that looks like a gated development, but in reality it is not. These pseudo-gated communities have high walls, unlocked gates and unguarded guardhouses. To the outsider the gated development must imply privacy and secure space for residents only, whereas actually it is neither private and nor secure. For pseudo-gated communities to exist, there

have to be real gated developments nearby to maintain the illusion of a pseudo-gated community. Such developments speak of the psycho-social imprint that gated developments have had on the psyche of the people. The mere sight of the physical structures of guardhouses, walls and gates conjures up a gated development. Pseudo-gated communities do not improve safety and security by reducing crime, but they do create the pretence of safety and security. Low (2003: 229) maintains that the creation of the illusion of safety and security is important for homeowners as it helps "... them to feel better about their social status and place in the world in a period of social and economic transition."

While Low (2005) asserts, incorrectly it would seem, that gating is an urban and suburban phenomenon, her observations of gated developments in Kenya, Ghana, Senegal, Mexico and Venezuela, acknowledge that while "... the cross-cultural examples of gating appear similar, their histories and attributed causation vary tremendously ..." (Low 2001: 46). This statement allows one to place a theoretical framework for the manifestation of gated developments within the specific historiography of a country, region or local environment which presumably includes gated developments in non-metropolitan areas.

Post-1994 South Africa has witnessed a booming security industry which has expanded to non-metropolitan locales – 31% of the towns (40 in total) in non-metropolitan Western Cape have security or burglar alarm company offices in them (Trudon 2010a; 2010b). Crime rates are high in South Africa and a comparison of crime levels per capita in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas shows that crime rates, except for stock theft, are higher in metropolitan areas (Blackmore 2003). Consequently if people move to non-metropolitan areas to escape crime, one must question the need to live behind walls and gates there. So, gated living in non-metropolitan areas is apparently motivated by psychologically-entrenched fear of crime or by the marketing strategies of developers to sell gated development living in non-metropolitan locales seemingly free of crime. The fear of strangers, others and the different could be transplanted to the non-metropolitan sphere and could affect social polarisation between town residents and residents of gated developments.

3.2.5 Gated developments as club goods

There have been attempts to explain the emergence and proliferation of private neighbourhoods, such as gated developments, in terms of the economic theory of club goods. In his seminal paper on club

goods, Buchanan (1965: 1) developed, what he termed, "... a general theory of consumption ownership-member arrangements." With reference to material goods, with private and public on opposite ends of a continuum, the central issue for Buchanan (1965) was the determination of the membership margin; in effect the midpoint of the most desirable cost and the most viable consumption-sharing arrangement. He argued that, as more people partake in a consumption-sharing arrangement of an item of a particular size, a point is reached where the personal benefit that an individual would reap from that item declines as more people become part of the arrangement. The consumption-sharing arrangement then becomes congested. The closer the goods are to the private end of the continuum, the more mechanisms of exclusion are used to manage congestion, so increasing personal consumption satisfaction.

Webster (2002) explains that it is the characteristics of consumption that classify goods and services in a city as either public or private or anything along the continuum between the two. He contends that the city contains numerous particular publics which are served by a public realm and that these realms could be conceived as club realms. The shared use of attributes of goods within publics is defined by the spatial reach of the attributes. Although a particular good is public, distance excludes those residing far from the good from using it, thus it forms a spatially-determined realm. In effect, it is the local population around the specific goods that enjoy the benefit of the goods. For example, a public library may exclude those living beyond a certain administrative boundary so as to curb the overuse of the library. With many public goods in a city, there are many publics in the city that use it. Webster (2005) reasons that gated developments represent a different type of public within a city which is fragmented into different publics. Thus, gated developments are another type of fragmentary public in an already fragmented city.

Club member groups such as gated development residents, shopping mall customers and leisure-centre members consume on private property. The consumption of land by the property market, according to various sets of legal, social and administrative rules, activates various levels of private property rights. This, in turn, determines who is able to use the goods found on that particular property. In this way property rights of a plot of land can be assigned to an individual who may, as occurs in gated developments, merge with other individuals to form a particular public that uses a club good that is the common property of the gated development.

The self-governing organisation of gated developments refers to an organisational body that manages a specific gated development, such as a HOA. The HOA ensures that the club goods within the gated development are maintained at an optimal level for the enjoyment of those residing in the gated development and who pay for the privilege of using it. The club goods in a gated development could be its recreational space, solid waste control and security – services enjoyed by the members of the club, namely the residents of the gated development. On this basis Glasze (2003: s.p.) construes gated developments “... with their self-governing organisation as a creation of club economies with territorial boundaries.” The club goods within the gated development may be used as a drawcard for potential owners attracted by the prospect of owning their ‘private’ piece of the club. While the gated development may be construed as private, the shared space within it is public because the residents in the gated development all pay for the private privilege of sharing the common space. Furthermore, the privilege is governed by laws drafted and enforced by the HOA. The laws, rules and regulations create a private social contract among residents (Webster & Le Goix 2005).

As with many other types of clubs, a constitution is required as a governance tool. The constitution of a gated development is agreed to by members of the HOA (Webster 2005). Urban governance responsibilities are shifted from the public authority to the private club, the gated development. However, Warner (2011) cautions that while club goods theory explains service delivery by private investors translating into reduced costs for city management, it also highlights the negative issue of decreased equity and redistribution in cities, and the need for urban integration rather than private associations. When one compares private and public urban governance models, one finds that they are different in that voting rights in private governance structures are based on the ownership of property within the club (Chen & Webster 2005). One property, one vote; the landless (renters) cannot vote.

Glasze (2003) agrees that the analysis of gated developments in terms of territorial club goods economies explains why they are such an attractive form of housing development for a number of the role players and stakeholders in such developments. However, he contends that club goods theory does not explain the social construction of gated developments, different societal interests in gated developments and the impact of the unequal distribution of power in such developments. In addition, club goods theory, being economic in origin, does convey a preoccupation with the dichotomy of public and private realms and the material transformation of space. In doing so, important historical, area-specific social and political underpinnings of gated developments are not analysed as contributory factors in the proliferation of such developments in different parts of the world (Glasze 2005).

Similar criticism has been levelled at club goods theory by Giroir (2003) who views the theory as restrictive because it portrays gated developments as abstract, isolated and self-sufficient entities. In reality gated developments are not abstract, but real; they are not isolated, but form part of a wider place network; and they are not self-sufficient, but dependent on the inflow of goods, services and capital from beyond their boundaries. In addressing the application of club goods theory to a single gated development, Giroir (2003) argues, in a study of gated developments in Beijing, that one could apply club goods theory to gated developments as part of a wider closed territorial system or network of gated developments. Thus, rather than applying the theory to individual developments, he proposes that it should be applied to a number of gated developments that together form a system or network. Each gated development forms one club of a wider territorial club system. In this way, he argues, the micro and local scales of analysis are transcended, allowing for a broader analysis on a larger, comparative scale. He concludes that the club aspect of gated developments largely depends on the specific social, political and cultural conditions in which the development is situated. He contends that club goods theory does not offer sufficient explanation for the proliferation of gated developments. Each gated development is mired in its particular condition and thus club goods theory cannot be applied universally to explain the gated development phenomenon.

Most scholars who have sought to espouse club goods theory place their case studies in the urban environment of various countries. While criticism of the theory challenges its neglect of place-specific realities in the growth of gated developments, no mention is made of gated developments in the non-metropolitan sphere. The club goods argument where a select group of people enjoyed particular places and spaces, is applicable to the non-metropolitan sphere as these locales consists of different 'publics' – different groups of people using facilities within their spatial reach. Non-metropolitan gated developments are one of many publics in the non-metropolitan sphere.

3.3 THEORISING GATED DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NON-METROPOLITAN SPHERE

Each of the above five theoretical explanations of the rise of gated developments proposed by Smith-Bowers & Manzi (2006) deals with the phenomenon from a city perspective. Gated developments in non-metropolitan locales also use guards, controlled access and electronic surveillance technology. It can hence be argued that living in non-metropolitan gated developments is, as in metropolitan environments, indicative of a fortress mentality. It is unclear whether the level of fortification is less in

non-metropolitan areas than in the metropolitan locales. In the metropolitan areas one finds zones of fortification; namely fortification of the development, fortification of the dwelling and fortification of individual rooms. Fortress mentalities certainly exist in metropolitan areas and quite likely to a lesser degree in non-metropolitan locales.

It is possible that traditional non-metropolitan values of neighbourliness and community recognition negate the quest for isolation by people residing in non-metropolitan gated developments. Everyday lifestyles in towns can be such that people cannot isolate themselves behind the walls, divorced from the broader community of townspeople. On the other hand, residents of gated developments may be unfamiliar with or disapprove of town community values and so choose to isolate themselves. They would prefer to socialise with persons of similar social and cultural standing in a gated development rather than socialising with those beyond the walls.

Few non-metropolitan gated developments are totalised life spaces – areas of employment and of residence. There are however, areas of residence together with areas of recreation. Gated developments in non-metropolitan towns are viewed as the new luxury part of towns. One might postulate that residents of a gated development in a particular town are not drawn from the local populace, but from outside the town, most probably from a city. A luxury quarter in a town entrenches the perception of difference or otherness of those living in a gated development from those not living there. It is unclear to what degree the transnational elite has bought into non-metropolitan gated developments and whether these developments are zones of concentration of the elite borne by globalised capital in a globalised world.

The application of rural (or non-metropolitan) change theory to explain gated developments is explored in this section. The problematic aspects of using the word rural in this study have been exposed, hence non-metropolitan is defined to explain and justify the preference for non-metropolitan over rural. The applicability of post-productivist theory to South Africa and the Western Cape is explored, together with a short review of how non-metropolitan locales are becoming increasingly commodified. A growth and development history is provided to contextualise contemporary non-metropolitan change in the Western Cape.

3.3.1 Defining non-metropolitan¹⁰

This study investigates aspects of the gated developments located elsewhere than in their traditional city or metropolitan settings. The dialectical opposite of urban is rural, but in reality this dualism is not that simplistic. The preference for the use of the term ‘non-metropolitan gated developments’ rather than ‘rural gated developments’ necessitates exploration and explanation.

The rub with defining rural lies in the intermingling of urban and rural functions across space. Static borders of designated space are not viable given the cross-cutting and integrated nature of rural and urban functions, further complicating the quest for a suitable definition. All settlements undergo temporal changes in size, extent and nature and this has blurred the urban-rural difference with one-dimensional classifications of settlements being brought into question (Champion & Hugo 2005). In the UK, the concept of rural is largely viewed as land-based production or extraction, be it animal, vegetable or mineral, and where the lives of people are intertwined with these activities (Halfacree 2006). However, these activities are present in urban areas too. One can argue that metropolitan areas receive the bulk of their resources from outside their borders, while the bulk of non-metropolitan resources tend to be sourced locally. However, with all-reaching modern resource distribution systems, the same products are available in both metropolitan areas and non-metropolitan areas. Moreover, Brown & Cromartie (2005) believe that a multidimensional concept of rurality should include social, economic and demographic variables.

A number of South African studies tie the concept of rural to population-based definitions. The Centre for Development and Enterprise (1996) recognises small towns (in rural areas) as those having a population of fewer than 50 000 persons. The CSIR (1999) recognised six settlement types between the broad categories of urban and rural. This typology, based on population size and location, classifies small towns as rural settlements with a population of less than 50 000 inhabitants. Statistics South Africa (2003), in its ongoing discussion on the definition of urban and rural, cites the Municipal Demarcation Board which notes that neither the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) nor the Municipal Structures Act (Act 117 of 1998) define these two concepts. Consequently, there is no South African agreed, robust and clear definition of rural and this situation results in “the term [being] used loosely for different purposes and this causes confusion” (Rural Doctors Association of Southern Africa 2006: 4).

¹⁰ This subsection has been published in Spocter (2011).

Given the conundrum concerning what constitutes a rural place in South Africa, and considering the focus of this research on gated developments outside the city, a clear distinction is required for delineating the study area. Although the Municipal Structures Act (Act 117 of 1998) does not define urban and rural, it does contain a politico-administrative definition based on a particular tier of government. The Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) does make provision for the establishment of metropolitan areas in South Africa. This process is facilitated by the Municipal Demarcation Act (Act 28 of 1998) which gives criteria and procedures for the determination of municipal boundaries by an independent authority, namely the Municipal Demarcation Board. Eight metropolitan municipalities have been determined by the Municipal Demarcation Board, of which only the City of Cape Town is located in the Western Cape. The rest of the Western Cape is governed by district and local municipalities which are called non-metropolitan municipalities. Hence, rather than employing the term rural to describe the area of investigation, the politico-administrative term of non-metropolitan is preferred for this study. This politico-administrative term labelling includes all the towns in the Western Cape irrespective of population size and density, level of urban function and level of main economic sector. However, there are differences between the various district and local municipalities regarding population size, population density, main economic sectors and geophysical factors. While population size is not a sole determinant of rurality or urbanity, the towns of the study area have populations of between 50 and 142 570 (see Appendix A). Table 3.1 lists the number of towns in arbitrary population size ranges.

Table 3.1 Number of towns in the study area according to population size

Population size	No. of towns
1 – 1000 persons	22
1001 – 5000 persons	47
5001 – 10 000 persons	30
10 001 – 50 000 persons	24
50 001+ persons	8
Total	131

Source: Adapted from Van Niekerk et al. (2010)

The average population size of towns in non-metropolitan Western Cape is 11 270, but this masks a difference of more than 142 500 people between the smallest and largest town. Differences in the population size of the settlements are less important in this study because population size is not a determinant of the presence or absence of gated developments.

3.3.2 Post-productivism in the non-metropolitan landscape

The boundaries between metropolitan and non-metropolitan are becoming blurred with the two concepts being little more than dialectical definitional constructs (Davis 2004). Activities and functions that were (in certain cases, exclusively) part of the metropolitan domain can also be found in the non-metropolitan sphere. An example of such a transfer is the growth of the middle class in small towns due to immigration by such residents. No longer is the suburban dream the only point of call for the middle class, but the latter have expanded their preferences and reach to small towns that are mostly close to metropolitan areas. As such, the non-metropolitan sphere has transformed from being exclusively areas of production for the consumptive metropolitan areas. New activities and consumptive practices are occurring in non-metropolitan areas, largely to cater for the new immigrants. This represents a shift from conventional non-metropolitan spatial practices. To explain this non-metropolitan consumptive shift and production focus, agricultural and rural geographers, *inter alia*, have recognised that the theoretical underpinnings are moving from a productivist non-metropolitan landscape to a post-productivist non-metropolitan landscape.

Morris & Evans (1999) have traced the changing theoretical focus of agricultural geography in the UK since the late 1980s, resulting in an engagement during the 1990s with the term 'post-productivism'. Post-productivism derives from agricultural policy shifts in the UK from strictly the production of food to the incorporation of broader rural development, environmental objectives and a diversified non-metropolitan landscape. The focus on the economic, social, cultural, development and environmental aspects of agricultural change does not make post-productivism the preserve of geographers, but has brought sociologists and economists on board to work on expanding post-productivist theory (Wilson 2001; Bergstrom 2002).

Post-productivism has its roots in the UK as British geographers have endeavoured to explain change in the UK countryside. Its applicability to circumstances in other countries has been questioned as the

theory leans towards explaining agricultural and non-metropolitan landscape change in the UK, with its specific historical influences. However, it is true that certain aspects of post-productivism are present in the non-metropolitan areas of countries other than the UK, including Australia and Denmark (Kristensen 2001; Wilson 2001; Argent 2002). But countries like Spain and Greece have not portrayed much evidence of a notable impact due to post-productivist non-metropolitan activity (Hoggart & Paniagua 2001; Zomeni, Tzanopoulos & Pantis 2008). There has been little debate on whether post-productivism is applicable to developing world contexts, where different socio-economic, cultural and political factors pertain to those in developed world contexts. Wilson & Rigg (2003) call for combined contributions from debates on post-productivism in the developed world to deagrarianisation in the developing world to establish a universal theory that explains global structural change in agriculture. They acknowledge that implementation of the developed world notion of post-productivism in developing world contexts relies on the degree to which meanings, definitions and concepts are shared by the developing world. Interestingly, post-productivist theory has been applied in examinations of second-home ownership in South Africa (Hoogendoorn, Visser & Marais 2008).

Some fundamentals of post-productivism, as recognised by various scholars, are a shift in focus from the quantity of food production to the quality of food production; the emergence of non-food producing farm jobs and activities for income (known as pluriactivity); a return to traditional, environmentally sound and sustainable farming techniques; increasing environmental awareness and regulation of agriculture; the gradual removal of state support for agriculture; counterurbanisation, leading to social and economic restructuring; the creation of a consumptionist countryside; the demand for amenity value from rural landscapes; agriculture no longer occupying a central role in the countryside; and a widening of the agricultural community to include emerging farmers, organic farmers and hobby farmers (Morris & Evans 1999; Argent 2002; Bergstrom 2002; Wilson & Rigg 2003; Wilson 2004). Other features of a post-productive landscape are presented by Wilson (2001) who gives a comprehensive listing and broader compartmentalisation of post-productivist conceptualisations by focusing on the ideology and attitude towards agriculture; the inclusion of previously excluded or non-involved actors in the social, economic and political conditions of rural spaces; new food regimes stemming from the globalisation of the market; the move away from agricultural production to a more diverse agricultural reality; change in agricultural policies and governance; changes in farming techniques; and an awareness of environmental impacts.

The features of post-productivism listed above may give the impression that non-metropolitan areas have been denuded of all primary sector economic activities, not only agriculture. But the shift to a post-productive landscape does not mean that agriculture has disappeared or been largely substituted by other land uses. Rather, while agricultural activity is still the foremost land use, its dominant position in the rural economy, social and political sphere has been reduced (Burnley & Murphy 2002; Holmes 2002). The role of agriculture in non-metropolitan areas has also been reassessed in the face of increased diversity of land uses in these spaces (Banks & Marsden 2000). Regarding this study, two important aspects of post-productivist theory are applicable namely counterurbanisation and housing development, and the pursuit of leisure and amenity activities.

Counterurbanisation has caused an increase in housing development which has produced a new demand for land in non-metropolitan areas (Banks & Marsden 2000). The demand for housing in non-metropolitan spaces is an important facet of non-metropolitan development as other retail, leisure, social, cultural and economic activities congregate around housing developments. Wilson (2001: 82) quotes Halfacree & Boyle's (1998) statement that the counterurbanisation phenomenon could be the "... central dynamic of the creation of any post-productivist countryside." The immigrants who are creating this demand for housing in non-metropolitan spaces tend to be middle- and upper-class urbanites, the key driving forces being the quest for improved lifestyle aspirations in exclusive housing units; the need to be close to nature and unspoilt natural areas; and for a higher degree of personal and property security compared to metropolitan areas. The non-metropolitan domain is then slowly transformed into an image of an urbanised rurality that may be embedded in the minds of the immigrants and their vision of the services needed to cater for their lifestyle. It is also significant that the development of residential sites in non-metropolitan areas is followed by the concomitant development of commercial and retail services which further change the character of towns in these areas (Phillips 2005). In addition, the non-metropolitan spaces are also targeted by hi-tech industries for space for their offices and operations. It is noteworthy that in the UK during the 1980s the development of golf courses on previously agricultural land was viewed as an intervention strategy to stop declining farm incomes and to curb agricultural overproduction. The local planning authorities saw a shift in the character of their countryside due to the proliferation of golf courses (Lowe et al. 1993).

In Australia, attractive but agriculturally marginal areas are more likely to adopt a post-productivist approach (Wilson 2001; Holmes 2002), an example of which is the wide variety of amenity-orientated land uses making inroads into pastoral and agricultural areas. This change in land use is being driven

by urban actors whose involvement increased land values. The leisure pursuits of urbanites in spaces outside the metropolitan areas have added a new dimension of land use pressure in non-metropolitan areas (Banks & Marsden 2000). The enjoyment of the idyllic settings beyond the metropolitan borders has become a magnet for people wishing to escape the hustle and bustle of the city. This influx has been magnified through tourism marketing campaigns launched by municipalities to attract revenue to specific areas. Bergstrom's (2002) economist perspective is that the more developed a non-metropolitan area, the higher the demand for amenity usage. Albrecht (2010) has established that non-metropolitan population increases in the USA are most pronounced in high-quality amenity areas. Immigrants are attracted to an area they perceive will provide the necessary comforts and trappings of their accustomed urban lifestyle they do not want to sacrifice. However, land values are not increasing in a blanket fashion, but the value is linked to the amenity value-add that is possible within a small town or other non-metropolitan setting. Thus, only selected locales which are economically attractive become sites of consumption. These sites are usually close to metropolitan areas or along coastal areas (Holmes 2002) where they impact on the surrounding towns which do not have the same level of natural and economic attraction for visitors and investors, resulting in what Panelli (2001: 162) terms a "...narrative of decline and fear ..." for the local populace. Resistance to change seems to come from planning institutions for fear of increasing home building and land subdivision leading to inevitable losses of agricultural land and harm to local economies (Burnley & Murphy 2002). However, experience of this varies by country so that McCarthy (2005) attests that in the USA housing development and land subdivision are the main threats to the non-metropolitan landscape because of the decentralisation of land regulation by authorities. The result is increasing amounts of agricultural land being lost to housing developments.

3.3.3 South African post-productivism

Hoogendoorn, Visser & Marais (2008) have observed that in South Africa post-productivism has developed through the application of post-apartheid agricultural policies. They explored the emergence of a South African post-productivist countryside by examining second-home development in the small town Rhodes in the Eastern Cape. They contended that landscape change that occurred in Rhodes showed a tendency to post-productivist evolution, specifically regarding the impact of second homes in the area. The growth of second homes is seen as a merging of housing development and consumptive leisure practices and a shift away from an exclusively agricultural production base. The urbanised

owners of the second homes are lifestyle seekers searching for a consumptive leisure environment in the non-metropolitan sphere. This impacts on the economic environment of the town, though not significantly. Their presence does, however, create employment opportunities in the tourism and allied sectors, opportunities that agricultural production is not able to generate.

Unfortunately, there is no known research on post-productivism in the Western Cape. It is important that a historical socio-economic overview of the study area be presented to contextualise the importance of the agricultural underpinning of settlements in non-metropolitan Western Cape. Such a topic requires a separate treatise to cover it comprehensively so that only an overview is given next of how the agricultural sector in the Western Cape has evolved and changed.

3.3.3.1 A growth-and-development history of the Western Cape

Early Stone Age tools excavated from sites in Stellenbosch were dated at around 500 000 years old, while the earliest fossilised footprints in South Africa, believed to be 200 000 years old, were discovered near Langebaan. Excavations at the Blombos Cave along the South Coast have yielded artefacts of approximately 77 000 years old. Various Stone Age sites, shell middens and intertidal fishtraps in the Western Cape, especially along the coast where water and food resources were plentiful, point to the region having been inhabited by hunter-gatherers for thousands of years (Mountain 2003). Around 2000 years ago, Khoekhoen pastoralists moved into the south-western Cape and the San¹¹ found themselves having to compete for game and water resources with the new arrivals. Nevertheless, the low population numbers of both societies did not place undue pressure on the natural resources and there was a peaceful co-existence (Mountain 2003).

The arrival of the Dutch in present-day Cape Town in 1652 was the beginning of a permanent European settlement in the Western Cape. Initially, there were few forays into the hinterland but escaped slaves were among the first to venture into the interior of the Cape. By the 1700s, farmers had settled on land near present-day Stellenbosch and this opened up the interior for further colonisation as the need for farming and grazing land increased (Mountain 2003).

¹¹ There are conflicting views on whether the term 'San' is appropriate for a collective name for the various groups of hunter-gatherers (see Raper 2010).

The aim of the refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope was to supply passing ships with fresh provisions of meat and vegetables. The hunter-gatherer San and the pastoral Khoekhoen were assimilated into the colony's economic value system through trade or barter for livestock and the provision of labour. While economic activity concentrated on livestock, the arrival of the French and Belgian Huguenots in 1688 brought skills related to the cultivation of vines and the making of wine. By this time, Stellenbosch had been established with the intention of increasing agricultural production at the Cape (Omer-Cooper 1987).

The ever-increasing labour requirements of the Colony were addressed by the importation of slaves from the Dutch East Indies, Angola, Mozambique and Madagascar. The use of slave labour in the Cape reduced the degree to which a settler labouring class was developed. Various hideous methods of subjugation were applied and a mostly quiescent slave labour force kept the economic wheels of the Colony turning. The use of slave labour in the Cape continued until the abolition of the external slave trade in 1808 and the emancipation of all slaves in 1834, after which slaves had to serve four years of being indentured as apprentices to their masters (Worden 1989). The historical condemnation of the San, the Khoekhoen and the slaves to the lowest stratum of society after the arrival of Europeans cannot be dismissed as this had a fundamental effect on the socio-economic growth and development of towns in the Western Cape.

By the 1700s the wine and wheat-growing areas of the Cape Colony enjoyed massive capital investment and led to the rise of very wealthy families with large manor houses on their estates. However, the economic opportunities provided by these agricultural activities were limited and did not improve the economic position of a growing settler population. The expansion of agricultural activity, specifically vineyards and wheat farming, away from the Cape of Good Hope led to the establishment and growth of towns in crop-producing areas. Omer-Cooper (1987: 23) emphasises that "the economic welfare and very survival of the settlers in the ever-expanding areas in the interior depended on the market provided by ... Cape Town, the garrison, [and] the ships calling at the port" Inevitably, the Cape Town market was too small to absorb the hinterland's production, resulting in frequent oversupplies of agricultural produce. In addition, it was extremely difficult for someone without the necessary capital to enter wheat and vineyard farming (Omer-Cooper 1987).

The Dutch East India Company promoted stock farming in the interior as the Cape agricultural market became saturated. Large numbers of settlers moved along the south coast of the Cape Colony into high

rainfall areas. Missionaries came to the Cape during the 18th century with idea of not only converting the indigenous population to Christianity, but to convert subsistence cultivators to commercial producers, thereby establishing a market for European goods. Thus, it was no surprise that the commercial class in Europe supported these missionary activities. However, the settlers were fearful of indigenous people becoming commercially competitive (Omer-Cooper 1987).

At the time of the slave emancipation in 1834, the districts with the largest number of slaves were Stellenbosch, Worcester, Swellendam, George, Clanwilliam and Beaufort. The number of slaves in Stellenbosch outnumbered those in Cape Town, an indication of the importance of slave labour in the agricultural sector. A number of mission stations were established in the 1840s which provided ex-slaves and Khoekhoen a means of subsistence on the mission lands. The mission stations were the only places where freed slaves could farm, but the shortage of land meant that everyone could not be accommodated and most mission station inhabitants worked on a casual basis for surrounding farmers. Cape Town consequently underwent a rapid influx of migrants from the rural areas (Worden 1989).

The number of villages and towns in the Cape Colony increased tenfold between 1806 and 1860 which created a larger market for the Colony's agricultural produce, resulting in increased agricultural production. The gradual removal of protectionist tariffs in the Cape wine industry by the 1860s did not allow this industry to sustain its economic growth and development. It was the wool industry and its exports that transformed the Cape economy from the 1840s onwards. The growth of the wool industry was a key factor in the development of villages and towns, and it hastened the development of ports along the Cape coast (Tamarkin 1996). The wheat industry showed considerable expansion after 1870 (Giliomee 1989).

The discovery of diamonds and gold in the latter half of the 19th century led to the development and expansion of railways from Cape Town and concomitant increased economic activity. Feinstein (2005: 2) remarked that before the discovery of vast mineral reserves, South Africa "... was a relatively backward economy, almost entirely dependent on agriculture." The British imperial connection was vital to the economic development during the 19th century. The British government promoted new agricultural techniques which improved crop and pastoral production on larger farming units. The agricultural economy grew rapidly and this engendered social change in the ranks of farmowners eventually leading to greater social stratification between successful farmers and marginal farmers (Tamarkin 1996).

The agricultural sector of the Cape Province was but a blip in the South African economic landscape which was dominated by the mining sector. In addition, the 1913 Natives Land Act (Act 27 of 1913) reserved 87% of the land for a minority group of people designated white. Thus, in the Western Cape, the landowning class was further entrenched by a law that prohibited the majority of people from land ownership. Later legislation removed most of the people classified as Black from the land (see Donaldson 2009). Moreover, the majority of the descendants of the indigenous peoples and slaves were in a position of economic servitude and they formed the bulk of the Western Cape's working class. Farmworkers were coaxed into fighting in World War II with promises of land upon their return, but this never materialised (Hamman 1996).

Feinstein (2005) gives insight into the economic history of South Africa during the 20th century. The output of commercial farms in South Africa rose by 2.2% per annum between 1910 and 1945 compared to the relatively small manufacturing industry which grew by 7.5% per annum over the same period. The start of Great Depression in the late 1920s saw a worldwide drop in agricultural markets and prices, placing farmers and rural areas under severe economic strain. The government implemented measures designed to artificially inflate the prices of domestic agricultural products and protect them from low global prices. Marketing Boards were established to protect agricultural prices for the benefit of farmers by restricting output rather than improving efficiencies.

Agriculture's contribution to the gross domestic product (GDP) of South Africa declined from 16.4% in 1948 to 7.9% in 1970, yet commercial farmers continued to receive state subsidies. Western Cape agriculture was still largely based on wine, wheat, fruit and stock farming (Feinstein 2005). A period of economic downturn in South Africa followed after 1970 which, together with a peoples' uprising against the apartheid state, is viewed as a key factor in the collapse of minority rule and the transition to a democratically elected government in 1994. The dismantling of apartheid legislation increased the freedom and mobility of people. The Cape Province was divided into three separate provinces in 1994, with the Western Cape one of them.

3.3.3.2 The post-apartheid agricultural sector in the Western Cape

The Western Cape is the only region in South Africa that experienced the machinations of a slave society and the emancipation of slaves. This has had a profound impact on Western Cape society as the

descendants of slaves still form the bulk of those trapped in poverty today. Class divisions in contemporary Western Cape society are largely based on race and heritage. Agricultural activities in the province can be traced back hundreds of years. The impact of globalisation has diminished the prominence of agriculture in the province as many farmers face high input costs, competition from cheaper imported foodstuffs and staple foods, and declining government assistance. Farmers are being urged to diversify in the face of declining agricultural profits (Biyase 2010). Farmers apply vertical diversification¹² in their on-farm activities as a strategy to minimise and spread their economic risk.

Agritourism in South Africa started on the Oudtshoorn ostrich farms and the wine routes in Stellenbosch and does not interfere with the business of farming (Baxter 1992; Viljoen & Tlabela 2007; Nowers 2011, pers com). Farming has diversified to include farm guest houses and wine boutiques to generate income from non-farming activities (Nowers, De Villiers & Myburgh 2002; Steyn 2002; Speirs 2003; Nowers 2007). It supplements farming income to the tune of 5% to 30%, depending on the region (Nowers 2011, pers com). Towns, such as Greyton, have undergone far-reaching changes to their agricultural bases and character (Donaldson 2009) in line with a transformation process that has been documented in other parts of the world (Diamond 2005).

The decline of the economic importance of agriculture in the Western Cape is confirmed in Table 3.2 which records that the percentage contribution to the gross geographic product (GGP) of the agriculture sector declined in all 24 local municipalities between 1995 and 2009. Regarding sectoral importance it is only Laingsburg LM where agriculture gained in rank and in the Witzenberg and Cederberg LMs agriculture maintained the top spot between 1995 and 2009. The decline in the percentage contribution by agriculture in some local municipalities over the period was dramatic: Swellendam LM (-18%), Bergrivier LM (-15%), Theewaterskloof LM (-14%) and Prince Albert LM (-13%).

Although the agricultural sector's contribution to GGP has declined, agriculture remains important in the Western Cape. Agricultural yield per hectare has actually increased due to better cultivar selection, technological improvements and improved production practices, compared to 10 to 20 years ago. However, other sectors of the economy have grown faster than the agricultural sector (De Lange 2011,

¹² Horizontal diversification refers to growing of different types of crops on farms to minimise risk should one or more crops not deliver the expected income. Vertical diversification is when the farmer adds value to the produce by using it in the restaurant, or the wine farmer bottles, brands and sells his/her own wine or has a wine tasting facility (Nowers 2011, pers com).

pers com). Agricultural income can fluctuate because farmers sell their produce on the open market following the demise of agricultural marketing boards that previously guaranteed favourable and stable prices for farmers (Nowers 2011, pers com).

Table 3.2 Contribution of agriculture to the GGP of LMs in the Western Cape, 1995-2009

District municipality	Local municipality	Ranking of agricultural sector ¹		% contribution to GGP	
		1995	2009	1995	2009
Cape Winelands	Breede River/Winelands	2	2	24	14
	Breede Valley	2	3	17	14
	Drakenstein	5	5	9	8
	Stellenbosch	5	7	9	5
	Witzenberg	1	1	35	32
Central Karoo	Beaufort West	5	8	8	4
	Laingsburg	2	1	20	18
	Prince Albert	1	4	26	13
Eden	Bitou	3	5	11	5
	George	8	8	4	3
	Hessequa	2	5	19	10
	Kannaland	1	2	32	20
	Knysna	5	6	10	7
	Mossel Bay	6	8	6	4
	Oudtshoorn	5	8	8	6
Overberg	Cape Agulhas	5	6	13	6
	Overstrand	3	8	13	4
	Swellendam	1	7	25	7
	Theewaterskloof	1	2	33	19
West Coast	Bergrivier	1	4	30	15
	Cederberg	1	1	34	22
	Matzikama	1	3	19	15

Continued overleaf

Table 3.3 continued

District municipality	Local municipality	Ranking of agricultural sector ¹		% contribution to GGP	
		1995	2009	1995	2009
West Coast	Saldanha Bay	3	5	13	8
	Swartland	2	4	15	9

Note: ¹ Ranking out of 10 standard industrial classification sectors.

Source: Adapted from Quantec (2010)

Various factors such as the demise of the railways in non-metropolitan Western Cape, diminishing agricultural employment opportunities and growing numbers of unemployed, have led to increasing levels of poverty in the province (Burger et al. 2004). While agriculture has been the mainstay of the rural Western Cape economy for centuries, the economic landscape is diversifying to increased levels of non-farm activity, mainly through tourism (Thomas 1996). Towns face a diminishing tax base as people migrate to the cities (Nel & Humphrys 1999). Non-metropolitan towns have informal settlements as people cannot afford formal housing or local authorities are not able to provide for the housing needs of the rural poor. Fifteen out of the 131 towns in the Western Cape have more than a third of their populations dependent on social grants (see Appendix I).

Contemporary Western Cape towns mirror the realities of South African settlements: a wide gap between rich and poor; an economically better-off landed class; and a large number of poor who are dependent on social grants, are seasonally employed, and/or are active in the informal economy. It is against this socio-economic background of the Western Cape that the growth of gated developments is to be investigated.

3.3.3.3 Post-productivism in the Western Cape context

This section posits that the creation of new living spaces in non-metropolitan Western Cape due to increased immigration is a manifestation of two post-productivist tenets: counterurbanisation and housing development, and the pursuit of leisure and amenity activities. Hoogendoorn, Visser & Marais (2008) have illustrated that post-productivist theory can be applied to the South African non-metropolitan landscape, albeit in a process of evolution. Many gated developments in non-metropolitan Western Cape are allied to leisure pursuits, be it golf, equestrian activities or hiking and those who buy

into non-metropolitan gated developments are people from metropolitan areas (Spocter 2011). This ties into the post-productivist tendencies of the development of housing and the provision of leisure pursuits in non-metropolitan areas.

As the income margins from farming have decreased, farmers have sold portions of their agricultural land to developers for the building of gated developments. This has brought non-farming income to those farmers. Farmers have identified niche markets such as cityfolk paying for the experience of milking cows or renting portions of vineyard to produce grapes from which they make and bottle their own wine. Even off-road adventure seekers are diversified: some want to camp in the mountain with indigenous vegetation around them, while others do not care if it is alien vegetation as long as they can drive – further diversifications of non-farming activities to cater for specific preferences (Spiers 2003; De Lange 2011, pers com). The shift to a post-productive landscape does not mean that agricultural output has declined; on the contrary it has increased significantly in the Western Cape (De Lange 2011, pers com).

3.3.4 Commodification of the non-metropolitan

Some studies have endeavoured to position gated developments within the theoretical realm of commodification. Post-productivism is linked to commodification in that asset commodification of the non-metropolitan sphere and the declining importance of primary resource-based activities are essential to post-productive theory. Raposo (2006) established a framework for the social reproduction of gated developments in Lisbon, Portugal. She viewed commodification as being more omnipresent than capitalism as it has the capacity to redefine reality to create new areas of commodification. These new areas of commodification in the Western Cape are witnessed in the commercialisation and commodification of individual wine farms in the Stellenbosch Wine Region through the promotion on wine tourism products (Scott 2004).

Commoditisation is an expression of a concept fundamental to Marxist understanding of the way capitalism develops. Marx and Engels wrote that “the need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie *over the entire surface of the globe*. It must nestle everywhere, *settle everywhere*, establish connections everywhere” [emphases added] (Encyclopedia of Marxism 2008). There is a link between the privatisation of space as it occurs in gated developments and the

commodification of such developments because commodification transforms relationships into relationships of buying and selling. Non-metropolitan gated development space is privatised and traded as a commodity. An example of commodification is fee-demanding services replacing voluntary collaboration and association (Encyclopedia of Marxism 2008), such as in gated developments where residents pay a fee for services provided to a community of people.

Non-metropolitan gated developments are packaged as idyllic, secure lifestyle commodities to be bought into by those who can afford them. Secure housing is sold on a platform of rural tranquility and fresh country air. This has allowed the non-metropolitan sphere to experience a new form of capital accumulation with considerable profit to be made – facilitated through the advertising and marketing of a simulated, imagined rurality (Halfacree 2005) and assisted by the movement of urban migrants to non-metropolitan spaces (Wilson 2001). Commodification of non-metropolitan areas has turned these spaces into exclusive spaces to be lived in; metropolitan lifestyles have been thrust upon the non-metropolitan sphere; icons of non-metropolitan culture are packaged and sold; and new organic food networks have arisen (Cloeke 1993) – all of which impact on economic, social, environmental and political relations in the non-metropolitan sphere. Small communities facing decline in their traditional resource-based economy have commodified their special cultural identities and sold them under the guise of cultural tourism to kickstart tourism as an alternative income base. This commodification ultimately leads to changes in the particular identity of such communities (George & Reid 2005).

Raposo (2006) advances that commodities are made more attractive through a process of aestheticisation to create greater consumer desire for a product. She contends that the rapid growth of gated developments can be explained by the way they are marketed as aesthetic commodities but with a clear commercial purpose. Aesthetic commodification is evident in the marketing mechanisms used to sell homes in gated developments. Gated developments are sold as packages and themes which conjure up images of nature, old-world charm, community, security and order. The individual homes inside the gated development are aesthetically commodified as part of a larger whole of similar homes that are marketed to appeal to consumers who are buying not only a home, but a broader preferred residential space. It is within this residential space that social relations are produced and reproduced and it is these social relations that may set the inhabitants of gated developments apart from those living outside the walls of the community (Raposo 2006). The gated development inhabitant will be privy to a shelter of privacy and order, away from the hostile world beyond the walls.

In a study of an assisted homeownership scheme in Hong Kong, La Grange & Pretorius (2005) envisaged housing delivery taking place along a decommodified-commodified continuum. They developed a framework for exploring shifts along this continuum and they defined commodification as the extent to which access to housing is determined by the market or the capacity to pay. Fundamental to the La Grange & Pretorius (2005) study is that in contemporary land economics theory the future value of land is determined by the physical inputs to or upgrades of the land. When this is applied to gated developments, the value of the land appreciates many times, given the infrastructural inputs made to gated developments. This is unlike agricultural land where the future surplus of the land is determined by the productivity level of the land itself. La Grange & Pretorius (2005) believe that commodification of land allows the profits from the commodification process to be released for other uses. One could argue that the commodification of land may be used as a device to increase the profit or price escalation of the land for the benefit of the seller, while simultaneously excluding buyers because of high prices. The higher price, as a result of commodification, maintains the market pitch to an elite group of buyers who can afford to buy into, for example, a commodified non-metropolitan gated development.

While Raposo (2006) attributes the rise in the growth of gated developments in Lisbon to aesthetic commodification, it is debatable whether the theoretical positioning of the emergence of gated developments in non-metropolitan Western Cape can be solely ascribed to such a process. The commodification of non-metropolitan areas has changed their nature from tranquil, agricultural rurality.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The need to look at new approaches to the theory and practice of gated developments and more complex theoretical analysis that places it within the broader process of securitisation have been addressed. It has been argued that gating can be viewed as part of a larger process of the securitisation of public space which can be applied to any institutional context. Scrutiny of five theoretical points of departure, namely the fortress mentality; isolationist argument; new world order and the partitioned city; fear of crime and violence and securitisation; and the club goods theory, has revealed that none adequately explain the proliferation of non-metropolitan gated developments. Current theories do not form theoretical points along a gated development continuum, rather they present a number of ways to contextualise gated development research. These contextualisations are useful for placing gated

development research in a city dimension, but not for understanding gated developments in a non-metropolitan sphere. The focus of this enquiry being the non-metropolitan sphere, this inapplicability to this research presents a particular challenge regarding contextualisation.

One cannot assume that the factors leading to the manifestation of gated developments in urban locales are necessarily the same in the non-metropolitan sphere because the location of non-metropolitan gated developments is essentially the introduction and penetration of an urban residential commodity into rural locales. Davis' (1990: 11) quote of anthropologist Magdalena Nock underlines this position, viz. "globalization has increased the movement of people, goods, services, information, news, products and money, and thereby the presence of urban characteristics in rural areas" So, it is argued, the transplantation of an urban residential commodity into a rural locale leads to a commodification of the rural lifestyle – the consumption of an urban residential commodity in rural space.

Amenity migration and the growth of developments in non-metropolitan areas have intensified throughout the world, leading to what McCarthy (2008) calls the urbanisation of the rural. This blurs the lines between that which has traditionally been thought of as urban and illustrates how non-metropolitan areas are undergoing fundamental societal changes. Given that traditional theories explaining metropolitan gated developments are not readily applicable to non-metropolitan locales, the scrutiny in this chapter of the theories of post-productivism and commodification has demonstrated that they hold promise for understanding the phenomenon. Historically, agriculture has been the mainstay of the Western Cape economy but its decline in sectoral importance points to the growth of a diversified agricultural economy and the evolution and growth of non-farming activities, of which gated developments are a component requiring scholarly attention.

This investigation of the penetration and distribution of non-metropolitan gated developments must consequently be positioned within the broader processes of non-metropolitan change, as an alternative to those of traditional gated development theory. Admittedly, there are elements of gated development theory which could be applied to non-metropolitan gated developments, but they are overshadowed by the tenets of non-metropolitan change theories. The next chapter categorises the existing gated developments in the study area, identifies their location and presents a timeline of the growth of one type of gated development, namely security estates.

CHAPTER 4: SPATIO-TEMPORAL PATTERNS OF NON-METROPOLITAN GATED DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE¹³

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Gated developments in non-metropolitan Western Cape display a variety of features. These characteristics relate to the type of gated development, its location within particular regions, and its temporal properties. Because no database of gated developments in the Western Cape exists, a field survey was conducted to establish where, what and how many developments there are in non-metropolitan Western Cape. The fieldwork was preceded by online, existing database and document searches for gated development information. Data on the location, type of development and its security features was collected during the fieldwork survey. The gated development data collected was used to investigate and analyse the security features and the spatio-temporal patterns of developments. This chapter focuses on the distribution of gated developments in non-metropolitan Western Cape and presents a timeline of security estate development.

4.2 CATEGORISATION OF NON-METROPOLITAN GATED DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE

A typological and definitional analysis of gated developments was presented in Chapter 2. In short, a gated development as a physical construct was defined as a single residential entity which has all, or a combination of, the following elements: perimeter hardening, restricted access, controlled access, security, legal agreements and representative bodies. Individually-owned dwellings occupy the subdivided development space. The gated developments studied in this research are categorised on two levels (Figure 4.1). The first criterion for classifying gated developments is its match to the definition used in this study. A development that meets the definitional prescripts is classified as ‘undeveloped’ or ‘developed’ – the first level of classification. The second level of classification comprises ‘security estate’ and ‘townhouse complex’.

¹³ The research on security estates, as contained in this chapter, has been published in Spoeter (2011).

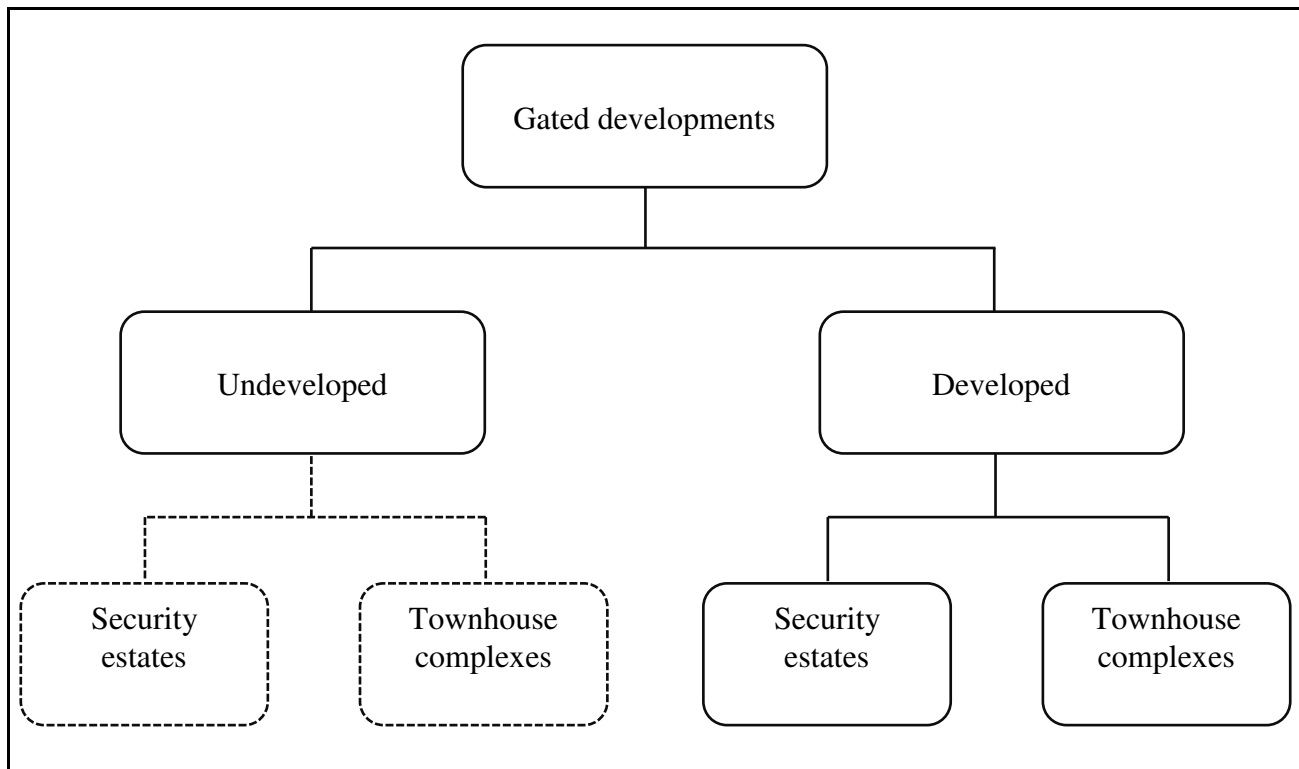


Figure 4.1 Typology of surveyed gated developments for the Western Cape

An undeveloped gated development is a development which does not have dwellings inside the gated development, where construction was in progress or where dwellings have been constructed but where no visible signs of human habitation were present on the survey date. Undeveloped gated developments would eventually, upon completion of construction, become security estates or townhouse complexes, hence the dashed lines and boxes in Figure 4.1.

At the very least, the gated development had to be entirely enclosed by a perimeter wall or fence (including a gate or similar entry/exit barrier) and had to have an internal road or roads. Figure 4.2 displays a typical undeveloped gated development – perimeter fence, motorised vehicular access gate, pedestrian gate, unoccupied guard house, outside lighting, name of the development, internal roads and vacant plots inside.



Source: Author, photograph taken on 21/09/2009

Figure 4.2 Undeveloped gated development, Olijnvenhout, in Beaufort West

Plots of land on which signage was erected to advertise a proposed gated development were not included in the survey. There had to be evidence of the finished construction of at least the perimeter security features of the gated development. However, it was not always possible to accurately determine whether an undeveloped gated development would be a security estate or townhouse complex, making further subcategorisation a challenge.

Figure 4.3 illustrates a case of an advertising board on the site of a proposed development and where no construction of any sort is visible. Although the sign does use the word estate, there is no guarantee that their definition of estate concurs with that of this research. During the field survey it was established that the term estate is also applied to developments that display the characteristics of townhouse complexes. There is clearly a difference of interpretation of the meaning of the word estate concerning gated developments; the differences in naming conventions are quite likely attributable to the perceptions of the developers, investors, architects or planners.



Source: Author, photograph taken on 13/08/2009

Figure 4.3 Signage for proposed gated development, The Eclipse lifestyle estate, in Touws River

A developed gated development is one occupied by residents on the survey date. In short, it is a functional type of gated development subdivided into two categories – security estates and townhouse complexes. Security estates are gated developments that are subdivided, resulting in separate, free-standing dwellings. Figure 4.4 shows the 18 separate dwellings in a gated development, each dwelling located on separate erf. Although the eight erven on the northern border of the estate are located next to each other, the dwellings are free-standing and not connected to each other by any above-ground built structure.



Source: <http://www.africanproperties4u.com/developments/lavenue/lavenue.htm>

Figure 4.4 Security estate layout, L' Avenue de Franschhoek, in Franschhoek

Townhouse complexes are gated developments in which dwellings are built in tandem, either as single- or double-storey dwellings. Figure 4.5 displays 14 townhouse dwellings built in seven pairs. Dwelling densities in townhouse complexes are consequently higher than in security estates.



Source: http://jonkerzicht.co.za/site_layout.htm

Figure 4.5 Townhouse complex layout, Jonkerzicht Private Estate, in Stellenbosch

Some gated developments have both free-standing dwellings and townhouse dwellings in which case if the land footprint of the security estate section of the development is larger than the footprint of the townhouse section, the development is classified as a security estate, and vice versa. The presence of amenities such as golf greens and polo fields does not necessarily mean that the development is a security estate, as a mixture of the two categorisations is common in gated developments which have an amenity component which caters for different segments of the market. Figure 4.6 illustrates six townhouse dwellings on the right of the estate entrance and eleven single-dwelling units elsewhere in the development. The density of single-dwelling units is lower than the density of the townhouse units, thus the footprint of the former is larger.



Source: http://www.group3properties.com/Forest_views/dev_plans.asp

Figure 4.6 Dual security estate and townhouse layout, Shiraz Estate, in Riebeeck-Kasteel

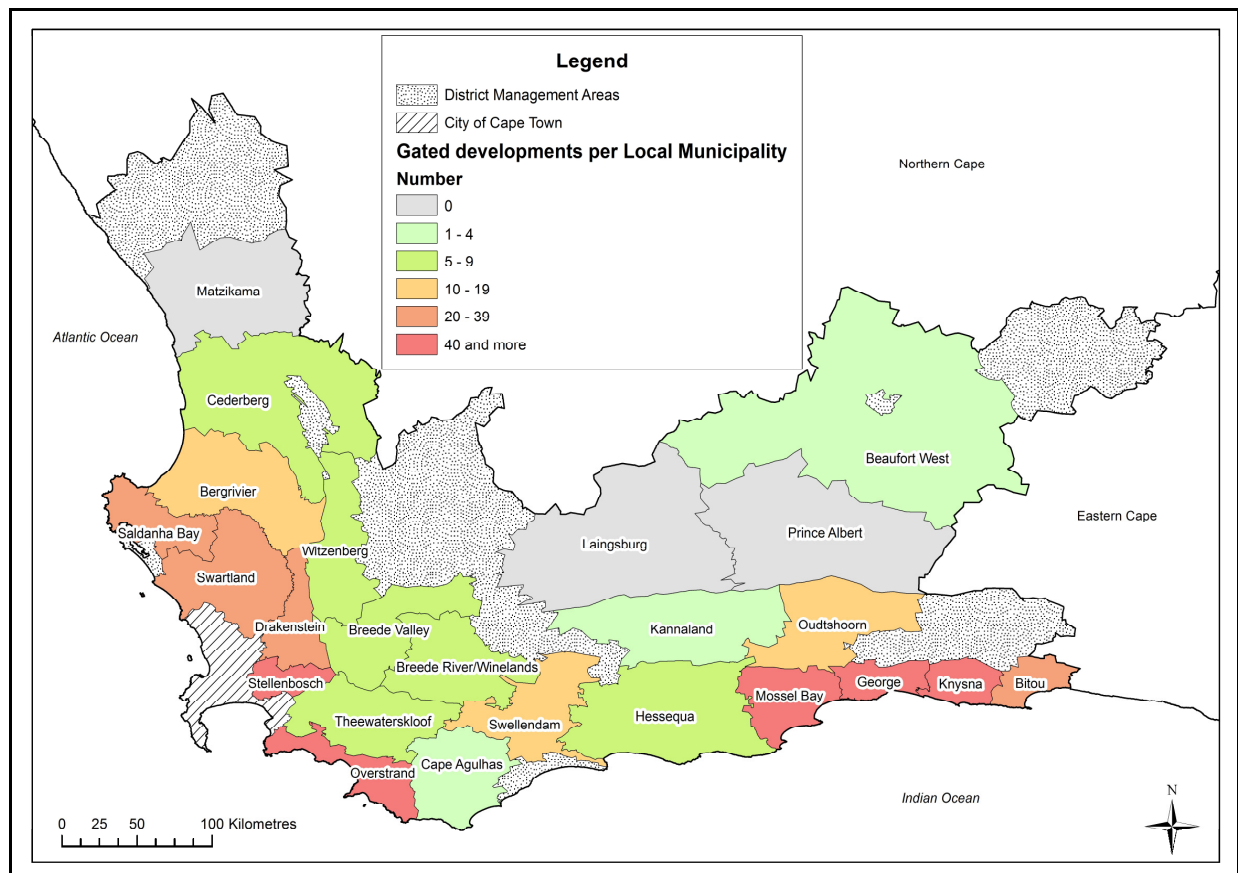
The field survey yielded undeveloped and developed gated developments, the latter being classified either as security estates or as townhouse complexes. Where a gated development had a hybrid of the two classifications it was classified according to the more prevalent dwelling type (single-erf dwelling or townhouse). A locational and temporal analysis of the gated developments in non-metropolitan Western Cape follows.

4.3 SPATIAL ASPECTS OF GATED DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE

This section reports locational analyses of gated developments in each local municipality, gated developments in towns and those outside the urban edges, and undeveloped and developed gated developments. The two types of developed gated developments, namely security estates and townhouse complexes are discussed separately. A timeline of the growth of security estates in non-metropolitan Western Cape is provided and niche market gated developments are examined. Data collected during the various surveys was collated into a single database and groundtruthing was performed to accurately map the location of each gated development.

4.3.1 Locational aspects of gated developments

The location of gated developments is important in that it relates to other features in the ruralscape such as proximity to the coast, medical facilities, natural resources, recreation areas, the metropolitan area and national roads. An understanding of non-metropolitan gated development distribution is a good basis for the investigation of the developments' presence in specific towns. A concentration of gated developments in a local municipality calls for an investigation into the reasons for the agglomeration. The survey yielded 449 non-metropolitan gated developments in the province (Appendix J). The three types¹⁴ of gated developments identified in the survey were mapped to present a provincial snapshot of the location of these non-metropolitan gated developments (Figure 4.7)¹⁵.



Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Figure 4.7 Distribution of gated developments by local municipality in the Western Cape, 2010

¹⁴ The three types are undeveloped gated developments, developed security estates and developed townhouse complexes.

¹⁵ Classification of data in the maps was decided automatically by ESRI ArcGIS 9.3 software using Jencks' natural breaks. Jencks' algorithm uses statistical analysis to find natural breaks in the data (Jencks 1967).

The municipal distribution of gated developments displays a concentration in local municipalities with coastal borders and/or in close proximity to the metropolitan region of Cape Town. The number of gated developments per local municipality tends to decrease with increasing distance from the coast. The local municipalities with the most gated developments (40 or more) are George LM (66), Overstrand LM (62), Mossel Bay LM (57), Stellenbosch LM (42) and Knysna LM (40) (Table 4.1). These five local municipalities house 60% of all the gated developments in the study area and three of the five largest towns in the province, measured by population size, are located in these local municipalities, namely George, Paarl and Worcester. Proximity to the coast and/or the City of Cape Town is a characteristic of these LMs: four are situated along the coast, and two border the City of Cape Town. The coastal LMs, and their respective towns, are well-known tourist destinations. It is also noteworthy that the population of the towns in these five LMs grew markedly between 2001 and 2007 (see Appendix A), necessitating the construction of new housing units. A study of growth potential in towns in the province identified George, Oudtshoorn, Paarl, Stellenbosch, Vredenburg and Worcester as high-growth towns (Van Niekerk et al. 2010). Thirty-two (135) per cent of all non-metropolitan gated developments within the urban edges of towns are located in these six towns; the other 68% (293) is found in 48 towns.

Table 4.1: Counts of developed gated developments by local municipality in the Western Cape, 2010

Local municipality	No. of towns with gated developments	Total number of gated developments ¹	Within the urban edge		Outside the urban edge	
			Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
George	3	66	62	94	4	6
Overstrand	6	62	61	98	1	2
Mossel Bay	4	57	56	95	1	5
Stellenbosch	3	42	37	88	5	12
Knysna	2	40	37	93	3	7
Drakenstein	2	26	25	96	1	4
Saldanha Bay	5	23	23	100	0	0
Swartland	5	21	19	90	2	10
Bitou	1	21	20	95	1	5

Continued overleaf

Table 4.1 continued

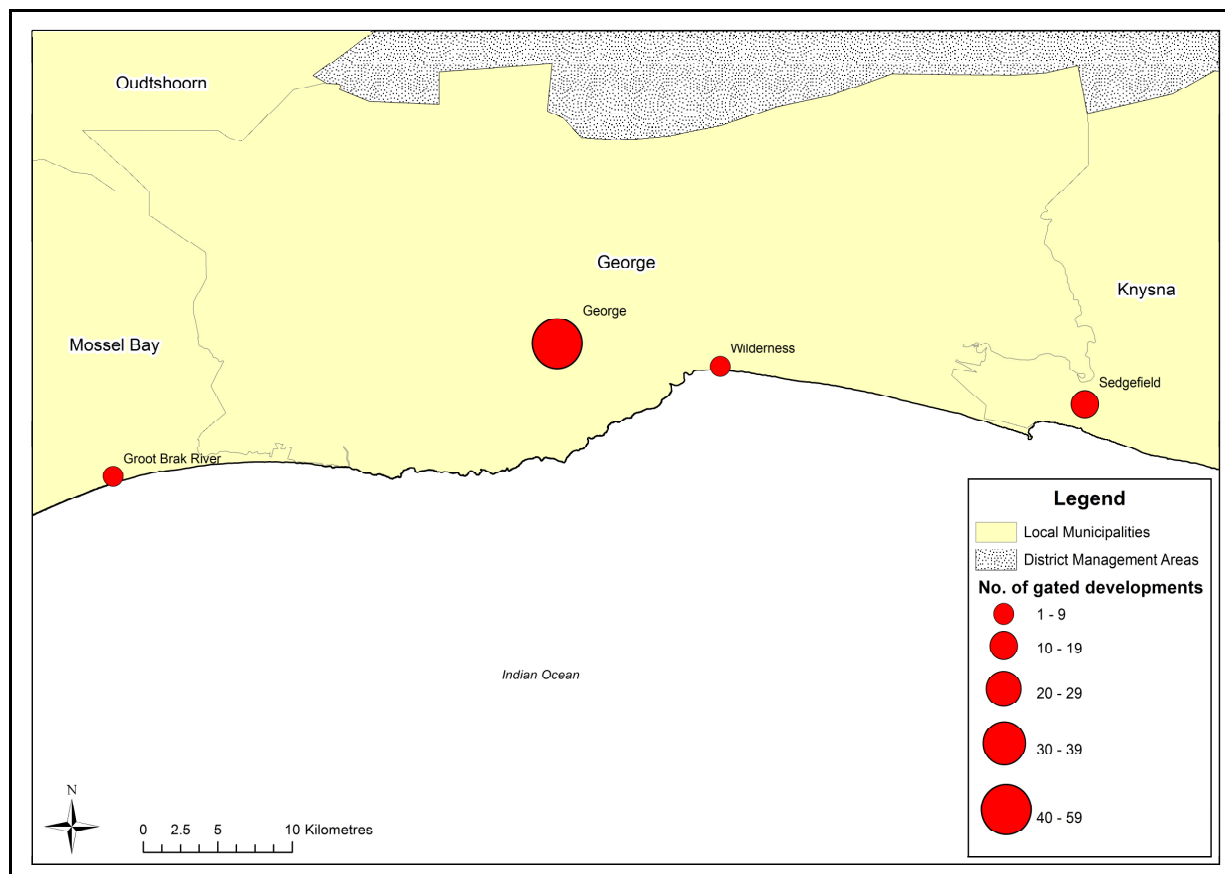
Local municipality	No. of towns with gated developments	Total number of gated developments	Within the urban edge		Outside the urban edge	
			Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Oudtshoorn	1	18	18	100	0	0
Bergrivier	4	11	11	100	0	0
Swellendam	1	10	10	100	0	0
Theewaterskloof	5	9	8	89	1	11
Cederberg	2	8	6	75	2	25
Witzenberg	1	7	7	100	0	0
Breede Valley	2	7	7	100	0	0
Breede River/Winelands	1	7	7	100	0	0
Hessequa	3	6	6	100	0	0
Beaufort West	1	4	4	100	0	0
Cape Agulhas	2	3	3	100	0	0
Kannaland	0	1	0	0	1	100
Matzikama	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laingsburg	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prince Albert	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	54	449	428	95	21	5

Note: ¹ Includes developed and undeveloped gated developments. Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Four local municipalities had substantial numbers (20-39) of gated developments, namely Drakenstein LM (26), Saldanha Bay LM (23), Swartland LM (21) and Bitou LM (21). The Oudtshoorn LM (18), Bergrivier LM (11) and Swellendam LM (10) had 10-19 gated developments within their borders. Nine of the remaining local municipalities had 1-9 gated developments, while the Matzikama, Laingsburg and Prince Albert LMs do not have any gated developments in their areas of jurisdiction.

The information in Table 4.1 masks whether gated developments are restricted to a particular area or to specific town(s) in each local municipality. From Table 4.1, one can deduce that all the gated developments in Oudtshoorn LM are concentrated in Oudtshoorn; those in the Swellendam LM, in

Swellendam; those in the Witzenberg LM, in Ceres; those in the Breede River/Winelands, in Robertson and those in the Beaufort West LM, in Beaufort West. Figure 4.8 clearly illustrates that in the George LM, George accommodates most (95%) of the gated developments with the remainder in Wilderness.¹⁶ In the Overstrand LM (Figure 4.9) there is a wider spatial distribution of gated developments among five towns, namely Hermanus (44%), Onrus River (30%), Kleinmond (20%), Franskraalstrand (3%) and Stanford (3%).¹⁷

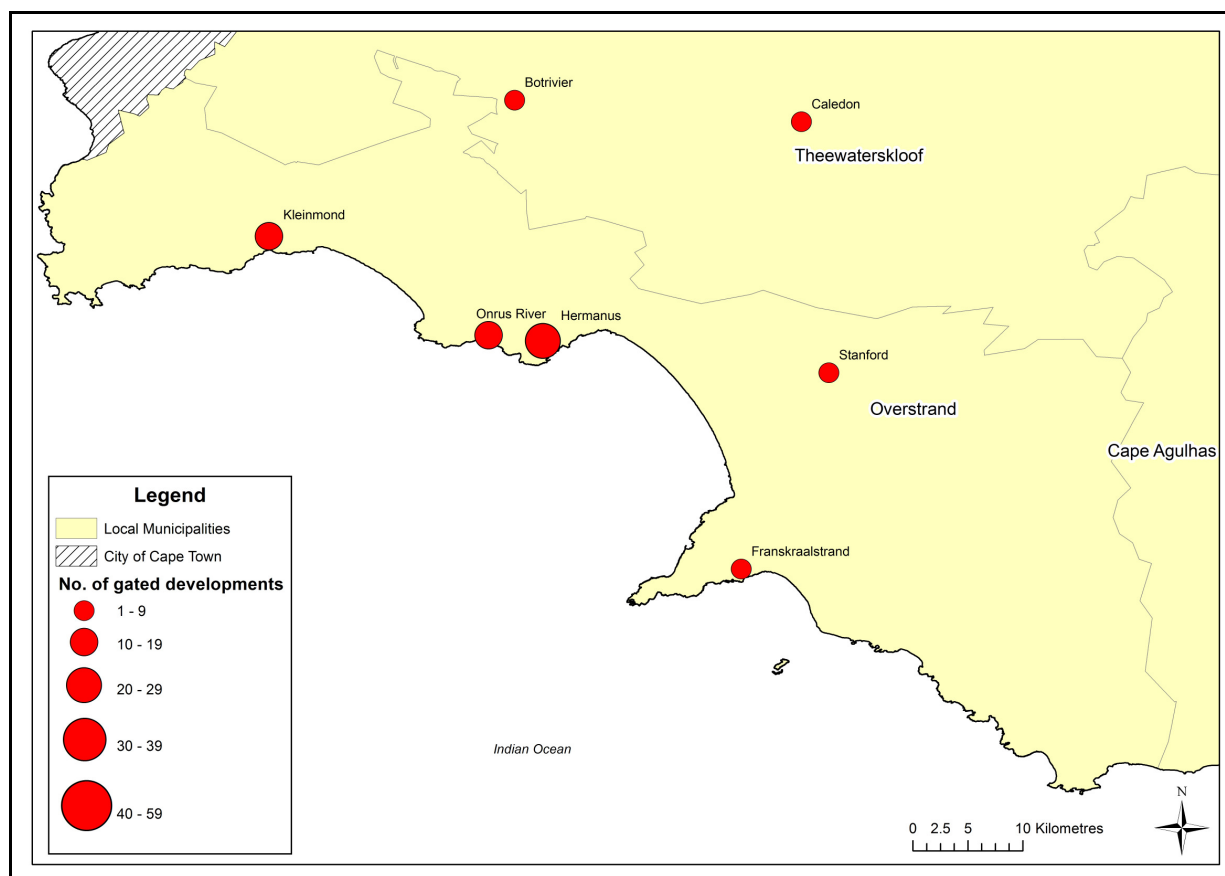


Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Figure 4.8 Distribution of gated developments in the George Local Municipality, 2010

¹⁶ The two gated developments in Herold's Bay are included with George.

¹⁷ The three gated developments in Vermont are included with Onrus River and the 15 gated developments in Sandbaai are included with Hermanus.



Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

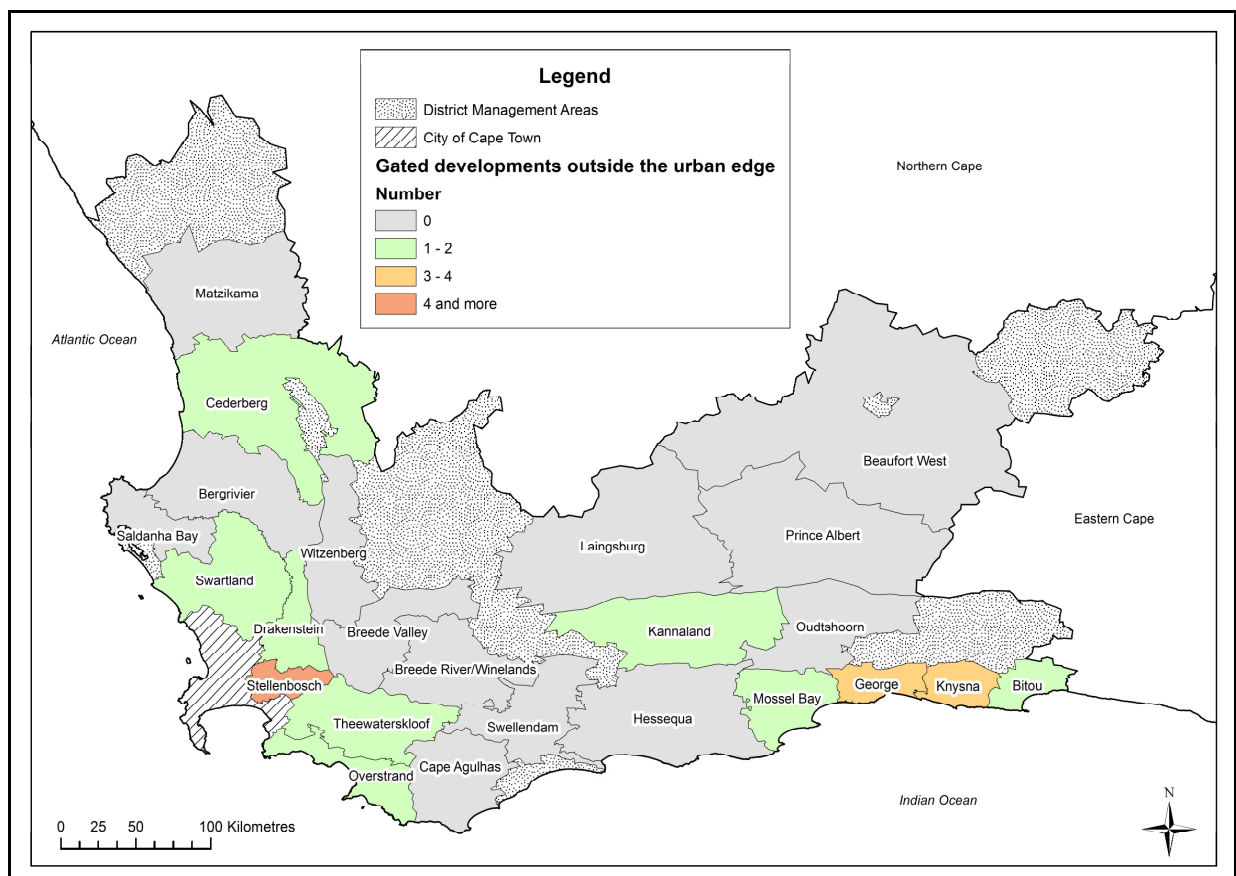
Figure 4.9 Distribution of gated developments in the Overstrand Local Municipality, 2010

Gated developments in various local municipalities are either dispersed among a number of towns or clustered in one town. There are only 54 towns in non-metropolitan Western Cape in which gated developments are present, that is 41% of the 131 towns identified by Van der Merwe et al. (2004). However, not all the non-metropolitan gated developments are located in towns. This feature is examined in the following section.

4.3.2 Gated developments within and outside the urban edge

Table 4.1 indicates that most (95% or 428 in total) of non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape are located within the urban edge of towns in the province and the remaining 5% (21 in

total) are located outside the urban edge of towns¹⁸ on land that might have had a zoning for agriculture. A specific land planning process has to be followed to transform agricultural land to a residential zoning and/or to amend the urban edge to include the development in the town. Of the 21 gated developments located outside the urban edge, four were undeveloped, that is no dwellings had been erected on the sites. All 17 developed gated developments are security estates, implying a bias toward locating space-intensive security estates outside town borders, to accommodate the amenity facilities used by development residents, such as golf courses and open water areas for watersport.



Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Figure 4.10 Distribution of gated developments located outside the urban edge by local municipality, 2010

¹⁸ Location beyond the urban edge was established by overlaying the locations of gated development on a GIS layer of town boundaries sourced from the CSIR.

Kannaland LM has one gated development situated outside Calitzdorp. Cederberg LM (25%), Stellenbosch LM (12%), Theewaterskloof LM (11%) and Swartland LM (10%) have ten per cent or more of their gated developments outside the urban edge (see Table 4.1). Numerically, Stellenbosch LM (5 gated developments), George LM and Knysna LM (3 gated developments each) have the most gated developments outside the urban edge of towns (see Figure 4.10). The prevalence of gated developments located outside the urban edge, rather than in towns, warrants closer inspection as there are certain planning processes that govern such excursions into agricultural land and they have notable impacts on rural change in the Western Cape.

Conversely, all the gated developments in the Saldanha Bay LM (23 gated developments) and the Oudtshoorn LM (18 gated developments) are concentrated within the urban edge (see Table 4.1). Present in gated developments both within and outside the urban edge of towns were some 50 undeveloped gated developments. They are discussed next.

4.3.3 Undeveloped gated developments

Recall that the surveyed gated developments were divided into two groups, namely undeveloped and developed, the latter subdivided into security estates and townhouse complexes (Figure 4.1). The undeveloped gated developments are planned gated developments potentially subdivisible into the subtypes. Although no houses had been built in the undeveloped gated developments at the time of the survey the land use applications, rezonings and EIAs (if required) had been completed in readiness for dwelling construction.

It is pertinent to note that when gated developments undergo an EIA process and an authorisation to commence development is issued, the authorisation known as the Record of Decision (RoD), is valid for two years from date of issue. Thus, to enact the RoD some construction takes place on the site, but the development is not completed. Such construction activities are the installation of bulk services or the erection of perimeter walls. If construction activities do not commence within the RoDs two-year time limit, a new EIA has to be commissioned and the costs borne by the developer. The activities that trigger an EIA for a gated development are listed in Appendix C.

Table 4.2 indicates that 89% (399) of the 449 gated developments in the study area are classified as developed and 11% (50) as undeveloped. The presence of undeveloped gated developments is an indication of gated housing that will come onto the market in the short- to medium-term. While 23 (46%) of the undeveloped gated developments were unclassifiable by type, 21 (42%) were identifiable as security estates and 6 (12%) as townhouse complexes. The aforementioned percentages indicate that it is at least three times more likely for an undeveloped gated development to be a security estate than a townhouse complex. In addition, 46 (92%) of undeveloped gated developments are located within the urban edge and only four (8%) outside the boundaries of a town, with latter four all being classified as security estates.

Table 4.2 Developed and undeveloped gated developments by local municipality in the Western Cape, 2010

Local municipality	Total number of gated developments	Developed		Undeveloped	
		No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
George	66	64	97	2	3
Overstrand	62	55	89	7	11
Mossel Bay	57	51	89	6	11
Stellenbosch	42	38	95	4	5
Knysna	40	37	93	3	7
Drakenstein	26	23	89	3	11
Saldanha Bay	23	20	87	3	13
Swartland	21	20	95	1	5
Bitou	21	20	95	1	5
Oudtshoorn	18	16	89	2	11
Bergrivier	11	6	55	5	45
Swellendam	10	9	90	1	10
Theewaterskloof	9	8	89	1	11
Cederberg	8	6	75	2	25
Witzenberg	7	5	71	2	29

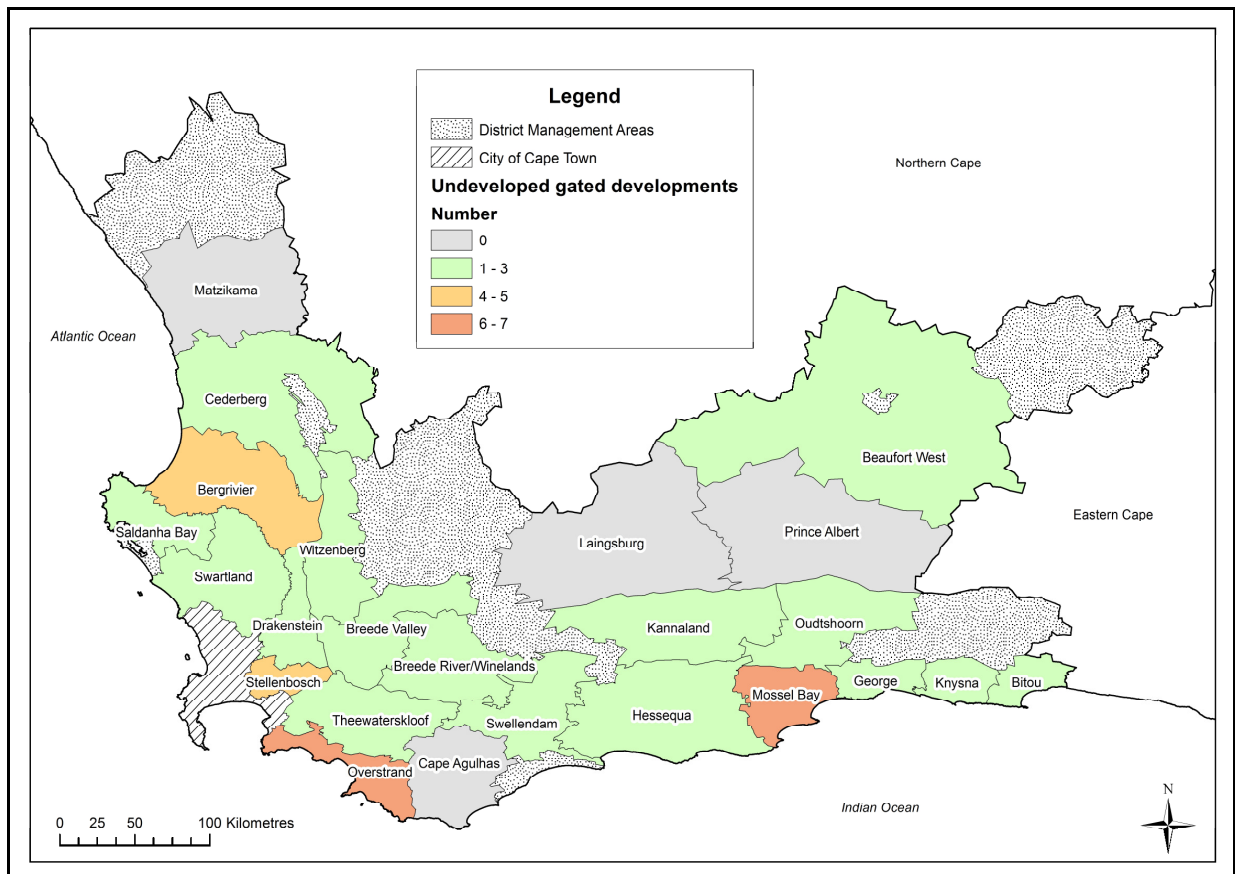
Continued overleaf

Table 4.2 continued

Local municipality	Total number of gated developments	Developed		Undeveloped	
		No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Breede Valley	7	6	86	1	14
Breede River/Winelands	7	6	86	1	14
Hessequa	6	3	50	3	50
Beaufort West	4	3	75	1	25
Cape Agulhas	3	3	100	0	0
Kannaland	1	0	0	1	100
Matzikama	0	0	0	0	0
Laingsburg	0	0	0	0	0
Prince Albert	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	449	399	89	50	11

Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

A breakdown of the local municipality figures indicates that the availability of gated developments in the short term is concentrated in Kannaland LM, Hessequa LM and Bergrivier LM where 100%, 50% and 45% respectively of gated developments were undeveloped in 2010. Numerically speaking it is in Overstrand LM (7 gated developments), Mossel Bay LM (6 gated developments), Bergrivier LM (5 gated developments) and Stellenbosch LM (4 gated developments) that future gated development growth will occur (Figure 4.11). All the local municipalities in which there are gated developments also have undeveloped gated developments, except the Cape Agulhas LM. This points to a widespread establishment of gated developments in non-metropolitan Western Cape in the near future.

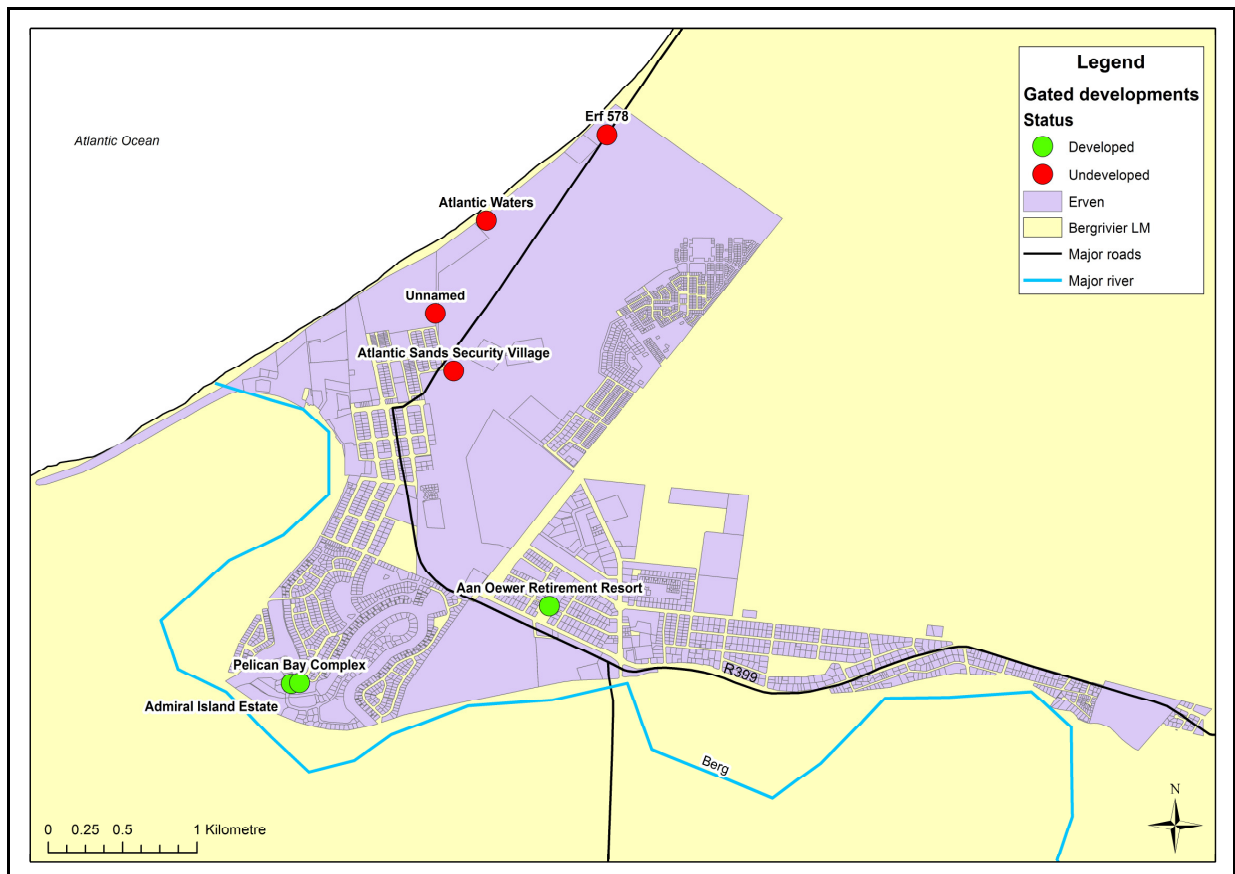


Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Figure 4.11 Distribution of undeveloped gated developments by local municipality in the Western Cape, 2010

The Bergrivier LM features quite prominently regarding both the *percentage* of undeveloped gated developments within the local municipality and the *number* of undeveloped gated developments. Thus, the Bergrivier LM may be seen as a hotspot for the expansion of gated developments, with Velddrif being the epicentre with four planned developments in close proximity to one another (Figure 4.12). The owner of a guest house in Velddrif opined that market speculation by developers is responsible for the presence of undeveloped gated developments: “Dit is die geldwolwe wie gedink het dat hulle hier vinnig geld kon maak.”¹⁹ Such a dissenting opinion should speak volumes to developers unfamiliar with local housing market conditions.

¹⁹ “It is the money wolves who thought they could come in here (town) and make a quick buck.” (Informal interview with guesthouse owner, 8 November 2009).



Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Figure 4.12 Undeveloped gated developments in Velddrif, 2010

4.3.4 Distribution of the two main types of gated developments

The developed and undeveloped gated developments have been subdivided into security estates and townhouse complexes (Figure 4.1). Of the 449 non-metropolitan gated developments verified in the survey (Table 4.3), 48% (215) were classified as security estates, 47% (211) as townhouse complexes and 5% (23) were of an unknown classification²⁰. The even division between security estates and townhouse complexes is noteworthy. Whereas there are local municipalities that reflect this even subdivision, some show a preponderance of one of the two types. The distributions of security estates and townhouse complexes are treated in the next two subdivisions respectively.

²⁰ All the unknown gated developments were undeveloped.

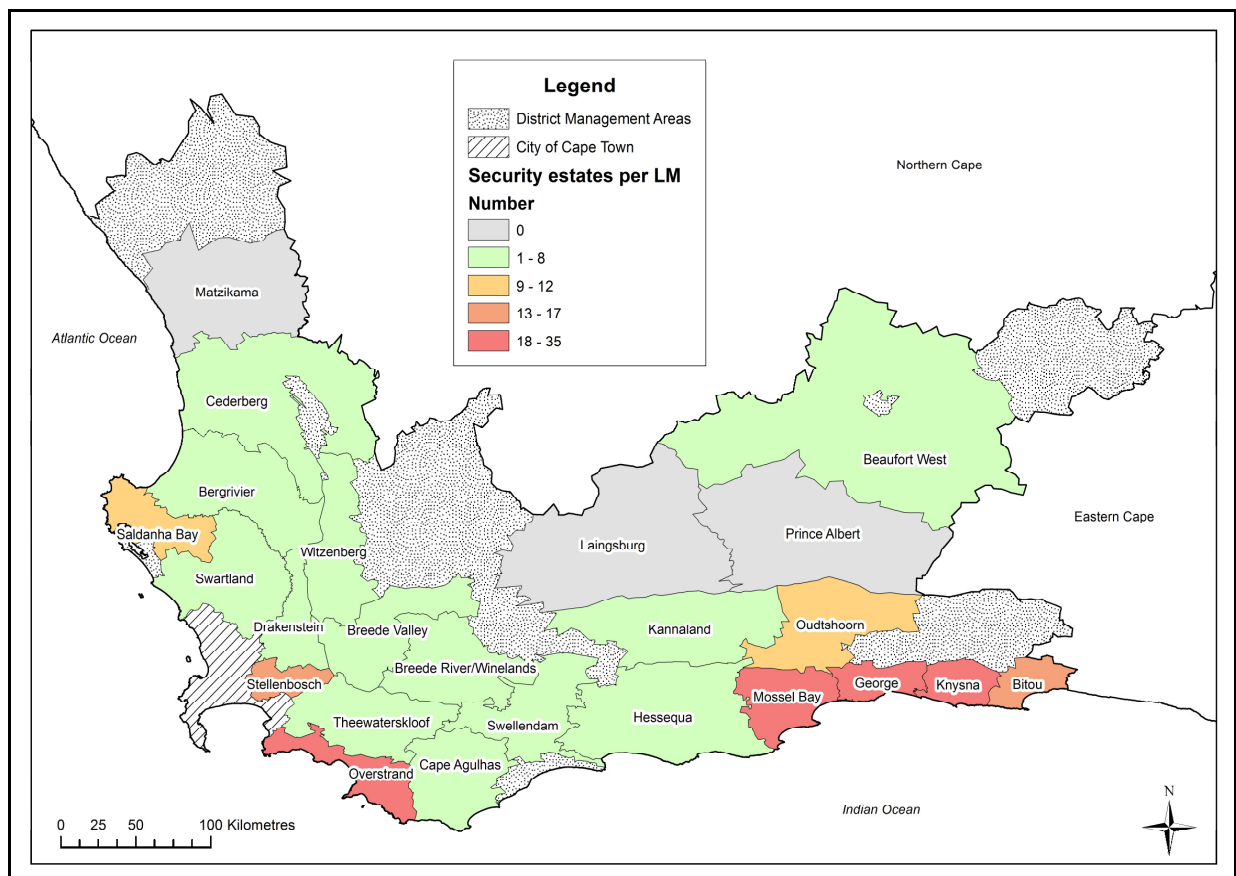
Table 4.3 Types of gated developments per local municipality in the Western Cape, 2010

Local municipality	Total number of gated developments ¹	Type of gated development					
		Security estates		Townhouse complexes		Unknown	
		No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
George	66	35	53	29	44	2	3
Overstrand	62	29	47	29	47	4	6
Mossel Bay	57	27	47	26	46	4	7
Stellenbosch	42	17	41	23	55	2	4
Knysna	40	24	60	13	33	3	7
Drakenstein	26	7	27	18	69	1	4
Saldanha Bay	23	12	52	11	48	0	0
Swartland	21	5	24	16	76	0	0
Bitou	21	15	71	5	24	1	5
Oudtshoorn	18	9	50	8	44	1	6
Bergrivier	11	8	73	3	27	0	0
Swellendam	10	6	60	3	30	1	10
Theewaterskloof	9	2	22	7	78	0	0
Cederberg	8	6	75	2	25	0	0
Witzenberg	7	1	14	6	86	0	0
Breede Valley	7	2	28	4	57	1	15
Breede River/Winelands	7	3	43	3	43	1	14
Hessequa	6	3	50	1	17	2	33
Beaufort West	4	1	25	3	75	0	0
Cape Agulhas	3	2	67	1	33	0	0
Kannaland	1	1	100	0	0	0	0
Matzikama	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laingsburg	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prince Albert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	449	215	48	211	47	23	5

Note: ¹ Includes developed and undeveloped gated developments. Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

4.3.4.1 Security estates

Security estates occur most abundantly in the George LM (35), Overstrand LM (29), Mossel Bay LM (27), Knysna LM (24), Stellenbosch LM (17), Bitou LM (15) and Saldanha Bay LM (12) which all have more than 10 security estates (Figure 4.13). All of these local municipalities are close to Cape Town or are situated along the coast. Security estates usually require larger tracts of land than townhouse complexes (Landman 2003a). Security estates may include some sort of recreational facility such as a golf course or they are positioned within a vineyard environment.



Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Figure 4.13 Distribution of security estates by local municipality in the Western Cape, 2010

Closer inspection of the percentages of security estates in local municipalities reveals that certain municipalities have greater proportions of security estates compared to townhouse complexes (Table 4.3). These local municipalities with 60% or more security estates are Cederberg LM (75%), Bergrivier

LM (73%), Bitou LM (71%), Cape Agulhas LM (67%), Swellendam LM (60%) and Knysna LM (60%). All these municipalities, except the Swellendam LM, are situated along the coast, or in the case of the Cederberg LM there is the presence of the Clanwilliam Dam with its concomitant watersport recreation activities. The relative clustering of security estates in the Swellendam LM, specifically in Swellendam, is the reason for selecting it as a case study. Swellendam is not located along the coast as other towns with significant numbers of security estates and it is not close to the Cape Town metropolitan area or other larger settlements in the Western Cape. This begs the question why security estates appear to congregate in Swellendam.

A temporal examination of gated developments determined when the phenomenon took root in non-metropolitan Western Cape. A planning authorisation timeline of security estates was compiled according to the year of authorisation by the relevant authority. Security estates were chosen for compiling the timeline because there is more searchable information available for security estates than for townhouse complexes. A total of 238 developed and undeveloped security estates were identified with all the unknown gated developments listed in Table 4.3 being identified as security estates. The year of planning authorisation was determinable for 197 (83%) of security estates, but not for the 41 (17%) remaining estates. Information on authorisation was sourced from official Provincial Government Gazettes, the Surveyor-General's general plans, the database of the Companies and Intellectual Properties Registration Office (CIPRO), the environmental applications database of DEA&DP, Internet searches, and from the municipal survey (Table 4.4).

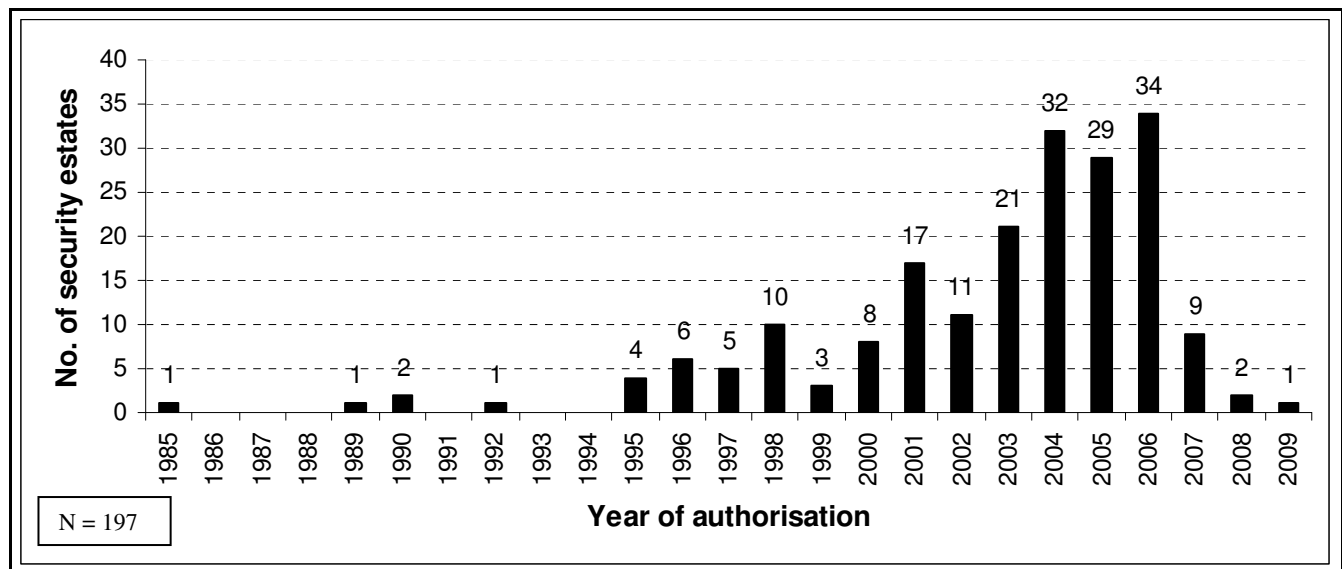
Table 4.4 Sources of planning authorisation dates for security estates in non-metropolitan Western Cape

Source	No. of cases	Percentage
Government Gazettes	123	62
General plans	53	27
Companies and Intellectual Properties Registration Office	13	7
Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning	4	2
Internet	3	1
Municipal survey	1	1
Total	197	100

Source: Author's survey, 2010

The provincial Government Gazettes, the DEA&DP database and the municipal survey are the most accurate sources as they give the precise date of granting of planning authorisation whereas the others give approximate dates of planning authorisation. Fortunately the use of this range of sources enabled the compilation of a timeline of security estate development in non-metropolitan Western Cape.

A graphical timeline allows one to visualise when peaks and troughs of non-metropolitan security estate development occurred in the province. Figure 4.14 indicates when 197 security estates were authorised over a 24-year period. A series of 21 graphical authorisation timelines of security estates within each local municipality is also provided in Appendix K (Figures K1 to K21). Figure 4.14 shows that a surge in the authorisations of security estates started in 1995 followed by an erratic pattern of increases and decreases until a maximum in 2006 after which a dramatic fall in numbers occurred.

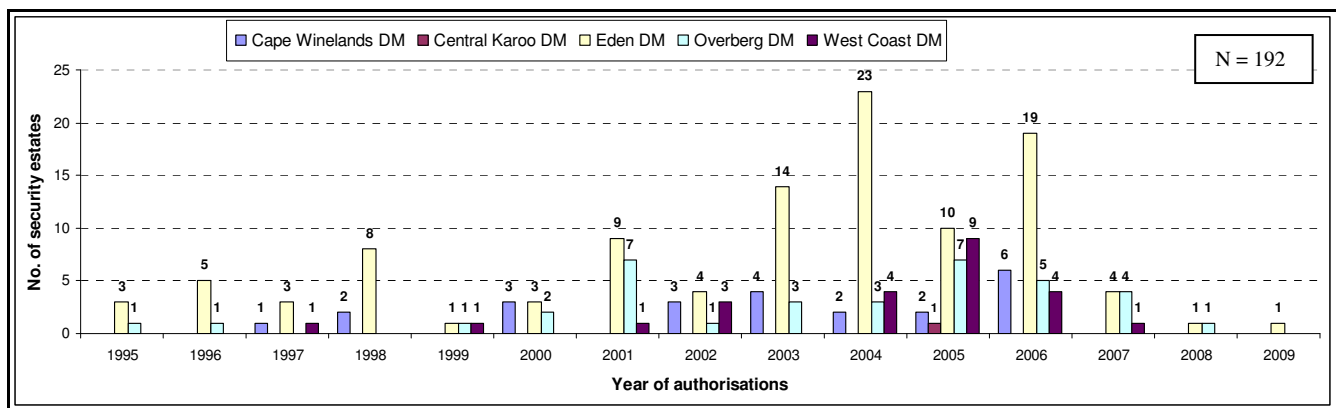


Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Figure 4.14 Timeline of security estate authorisations in non-metropolitan Western Cape, 1985 to 2009

The most discernable authorisation period was 2003 to 2006 followed by an almost fourfold decline in 2007 and again in 2008. Approximately 96% of security estates were authorised during the 13-year period 1995 to 2007. The six years from 2001 to 2006 witnessed about three quarters of planning authorisations of security estates in non-metropolitan Western Cape.

The 15-year security estate graphic authorisation timeline shows various peaks and troughs for each of the five DMs²¹ in the Western Cape (Figure 4.15). The peaks of security estate planning authorisations in the DMs were: Cape Winelands DM (2006); Central Karoo DM (2005); Eden DM (2004); Overberg (2001 and 2005); and the West Coast DM (2005). South African gated development literature posits that gated developments were a response to the political, social and economic change in South Africa during the early 1990s and the fear of crime and violence during that decade (Hook & Vrdoljak 2002; Jürgens & Gnad 2002). Non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape only started in earnest at the beginning of the 21st century. Non-metropolitan gated developments were not a response to changes occurring in the country; rather they were driven by an economic need for smaller houses for residents and more cost-effective bulk building processes by developers. These reasons were provided via email by provincial and municipal planners in response to a question, emailed to them in August 2010, on their opinion for the peaks and troughs in their areas of jurisdiction.



Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Figure 4.15 Security estate authorisations by district municipality (DM) in non-metropolitan Western Cape, 1995 to 2009

The Eden DM consistently outperformed the other district municipalities in the period 1995 to 2009 in the number of gated developments authorised. It is also the only DM to have security estate planning authorisations in each of the 15 years. The Overberg and Cape Winelands DMs also witnessed steady growth in the number of security estate authorisations over the time period under review. The authorisation of security estates in the West Coast DM only started in 1997 and peaked in 2005. The Central Karoo DM has only had one security estate authorised (2005).

²¹ The various District Municipalities contain between three and seven local municipalities (see Table 1.1).

The DEA&DP released a document to guide the development of golf courses, polo fields, golf estates, polo estates and developments of similar scale and complexity (Western Cape Provincial Government 2005a). It lists eight objectives it intends to address, including sustainable development principles and clarity on the environmental application process to be followed. The release of the document in late 2005 could be a factor in the declining number of gated residential security estate planning application approvals from 2007 onwards.

An emailed request, with Figure 4.14 and Figure 4.15 attached, to 28 local municipality and DEA&DP planners asked for their comments about trends in security estate authorisations and their explanations for the trends. Unfortunately, in spite of follow-up emails, only 25% (7) responded and the reasons they gave for the trends in security estate authorisations are:

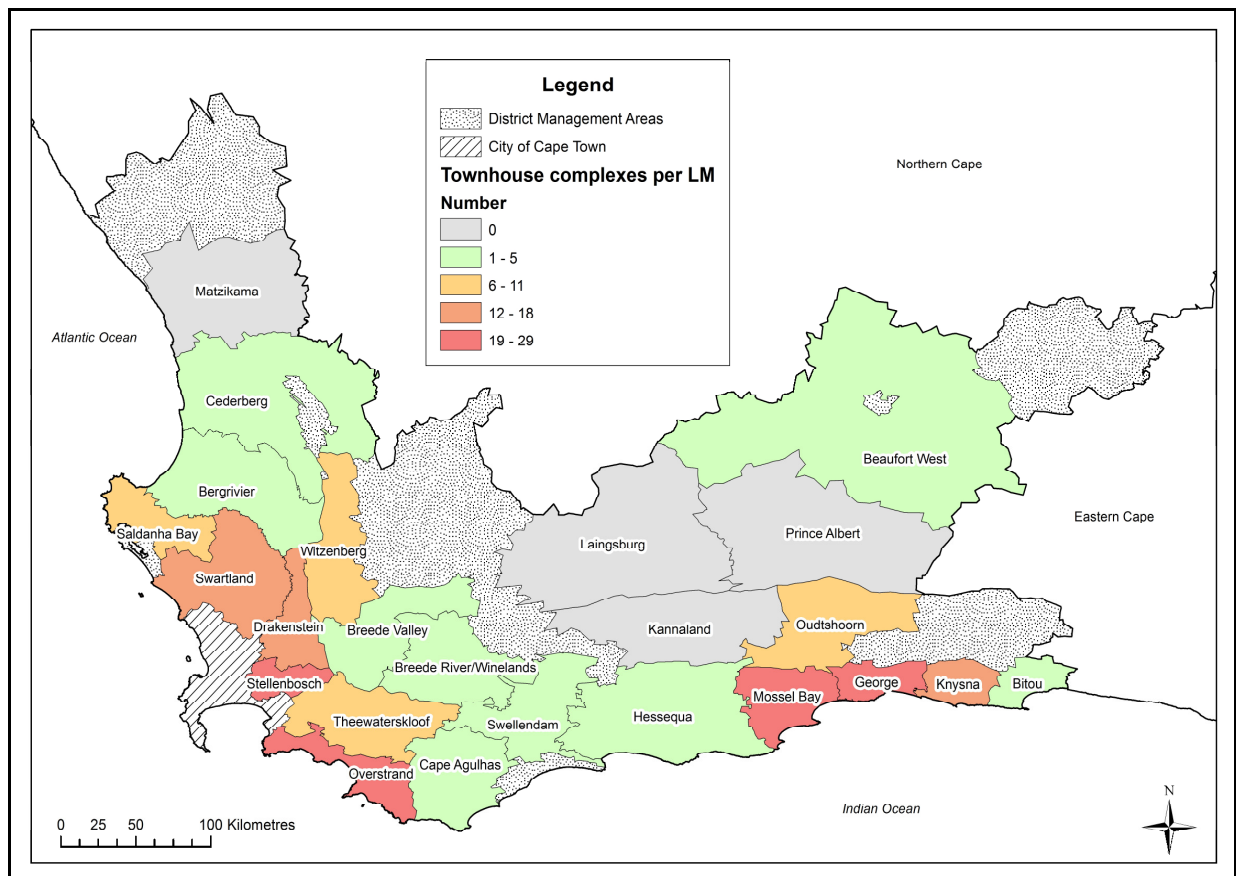
- Golf estates were enclosed to prevent damage by wild animals;
- A desire for greater security from crime;
- Residents who have migrated from Gauteng (with its perceived higher crime rates) want secure living spaces;
- Security is used as a marketing tool by developers;
- Decline in the construction of new security estates seems to be a reflection of the downturn in the economy;
- Political uncertainty after 1994;
- Growth in security estates was a result of the strong economic growth in the construction sector at the time;
- Developers realised that people wanted smaller, low-maintenance housing units and this also allowed developers to extract maximum value from high-density dwelling units; and
- Municipalities viewed the development of golf estates as being beneficial to their communities and that there was a demand for such security estates.

The planners shared some opinions about the security estate timelines. The most common reason given by local municipality planners was growth in the construction and real estate sectors coupled with a demand for security estate living. The responses mirror some of the issues mentioned in the gated development literature, namely security, crime, political uncertainty and the important topic of the

housing market dictating the need for low-maintenance housing units. An examination of the distribution of townhouse complexes in non-metropolitan Western Cape follows.

4.3.4.2 Townhouse complexes

Analysis of the spatial distribution of townhouse complexes in the province shows a different pattern to that of security estates. The local municipalities George (29), Overstrand (29), Mossel Bay (26), Stellenbosch (23), Drakenstein (18), Swartland (16), Knysna (13) and Saldanha Bay (11) each have more than ten townhouse complexes within their borders (Figure 4.16).



Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Figure 4.16 Distribution of townhouse complexes by local municipality in the Western Cape, 2010

While most of the aforementioned local municipalities have featured in previous analyses in this chapter, the Drakenstein LM and Swartland LM come to the fore regarding townhouse complexes. The

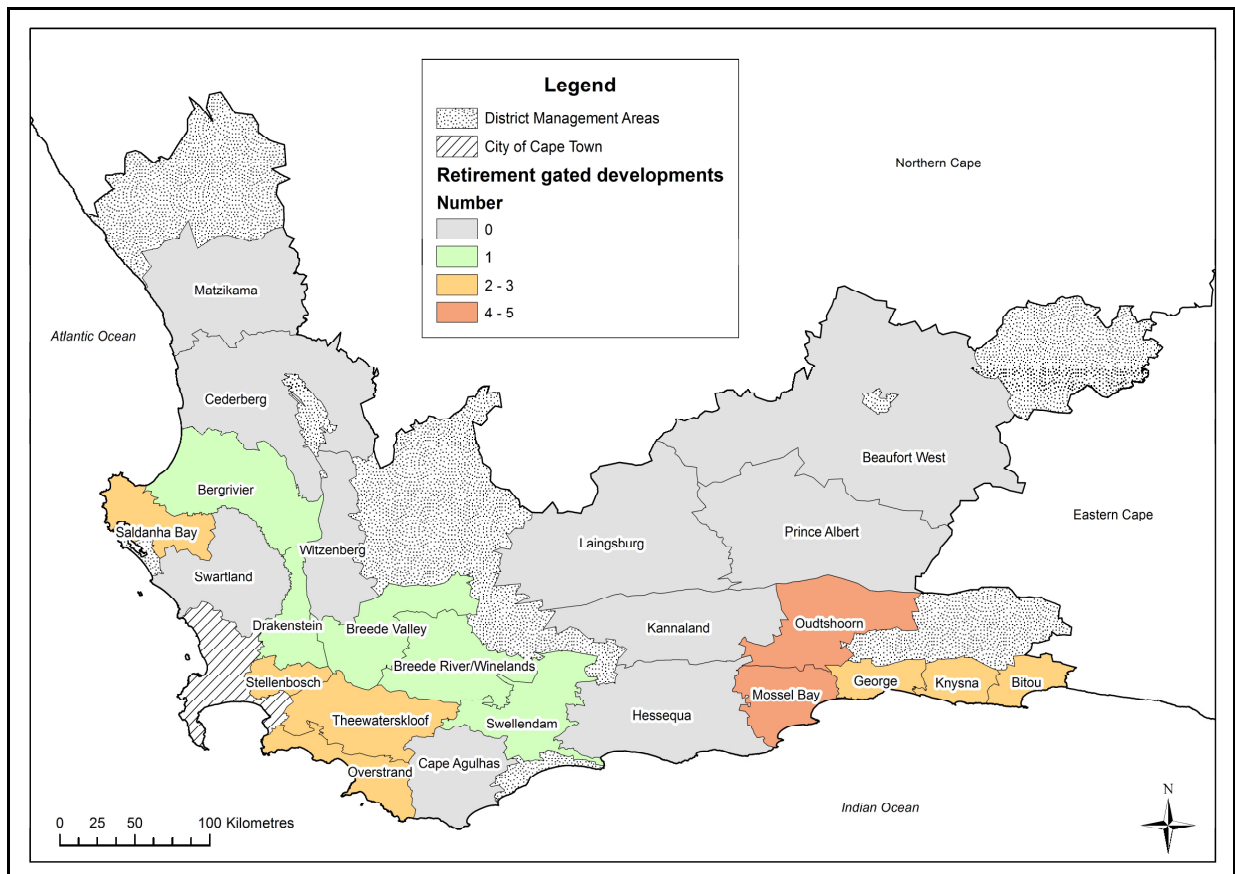
Drakenstein LM townhouse complexes are centered in Paarl (12 townhouse complexes) and Wellington (6 townhouse complexes). The townhouse complexes of Swartland LM are dispersed among five towns, with Malmesbury and Mooresburg accounting for 81% (13) of them. The Oudtshoorn, Theewaterskloof and Witzenberg LMs also feature significant numbers of townhouse complexes.

In proportional terms townhouse complexes in the Witzenberg (86%), Theewaterskloof (78%), Swartland (76%), Beaufort West (75%) and Drakenstein (69%) LMs have far greater shares than security estates. Gated developments in these areas appear to focus on living space in high-density housing complexes, rather than on space-intensive security estates for living and lifestyle space. Ceres in the Witzenberg LM with 86% of its gated developments being townhouse complexes will be case studied to determine the reasons for the preponderance for townhouse complexes there. The following section focuses on niche market gated developments.

4.3.5 Niche market gated developments

Niche market gated developments provide a residential experience together with additional feature(s) catering for specialised segments of the market. Examples of such additional features are purpose-built recreation facilities, gated developments for retirees, and gated developments set in vineyards or nature reserves. The gated developments in non-metropolitan Western Cape which cater for these three niche markets are discussed below starting with retirement gated developments (Figure 4.17), then turning to those associated with sport and recreation facilities and finally those set in vineyard or nature reserve surroundings.

Mossel Bay LM has the most (5) retirement gated developments in its area. Of interest is that seven local municipalities have no retirement gated developments possibly implying that retirement gated developments are area-specific. Proximity to the Cape Town metropolitan region and larger towns for access to medical facilities, climatic factors and proximity to certain recreational facilities are known locational drivers of retirement gated developments (Oliver 2005; Born & Goltz 2007).



Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

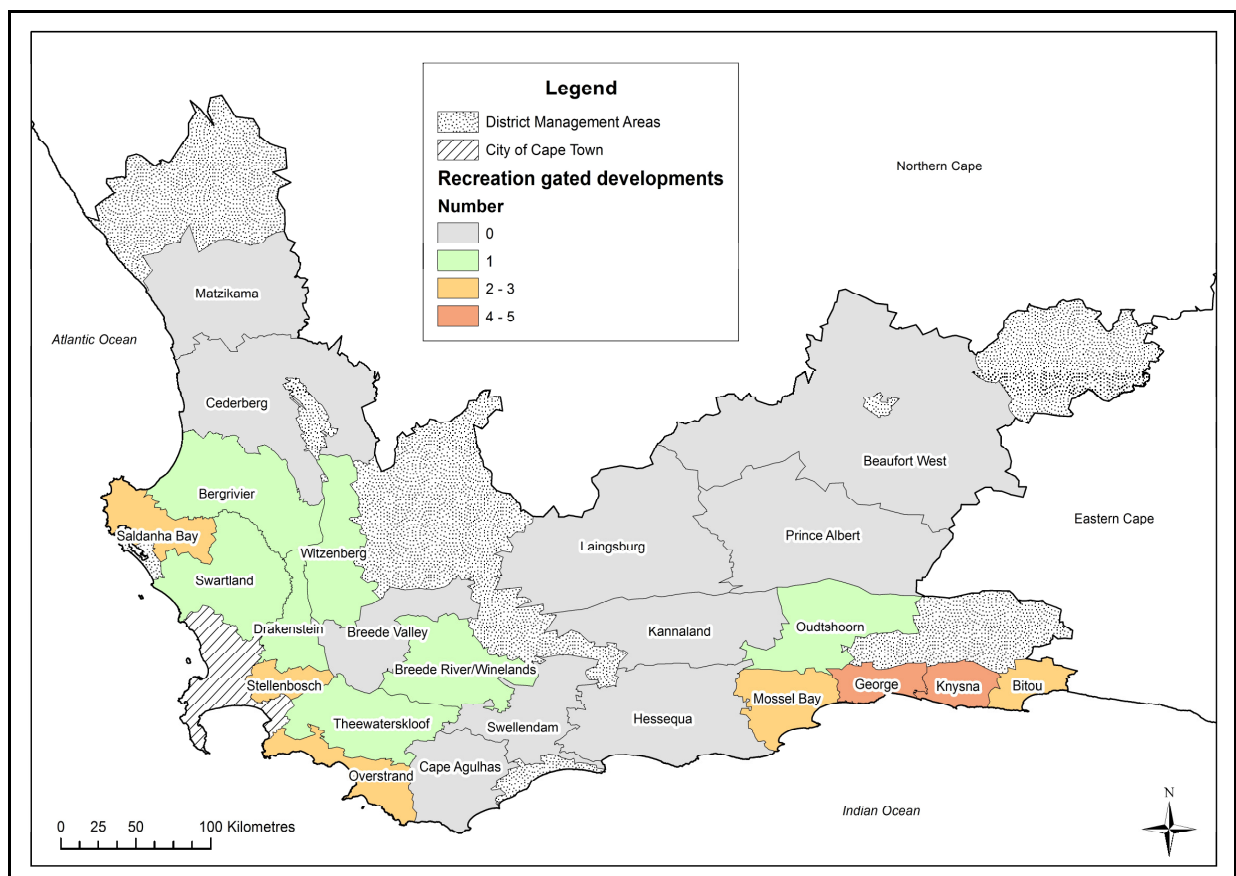
Figure 4.17 Distribution of retirement gated developments by local municipality in the Western Cape, 2010

When comparing the proportions of retirement gated developments in municipalities to all their gated developments, Oudtshoorn emerges as the epicentre of gated retirement living in non-metropolitan Western Cape with 22% of its gated developments aimed at accommodating retirees. Robertson (14%) and Mossel Bay (9%) in the Breede River/Winelands LM and Mossel Bay LM respectively, also have high percentages of retirement gated developments. Robertson has a favourable climate and relatively low water and electricity tariffs²² while Mossel Bay enjoys an exceptionally favourable climate²³. Oudtshoorn is case studied later to uncover the reasons for its high percentage of retirement gated developments.

²² Confirmed by Mr Chris Rabie, Director: Spatial Planning, DEA&DP.

²³ According to the 1992 *Guinness Book of Records*, Mossel Bay has the mildest all-year climate, second only to a town in Hawaii, with 320 sunny days per annum (Source: <http://www.visitmosselbay.co.za/information/climate/>).

Twenty-eight of the gated developments have facilities for a recreation activity attached to it, mostly for the exclusive use by residents (Figure 4.18). These recreation activities were golf or yachting and/or boating. The facilities are located within the perimeter of the gated development or the gated development constitutes one of many precincts attached to the activity. Twenty-six (93%) of the gated developments have golf as a recreation activity and two (7%) provide for yachting and/or boating. All such developments are security estates due to their land-intensive nature. Golf courses need vast quantities of water for their fairways and greens as well as large tracts of land.



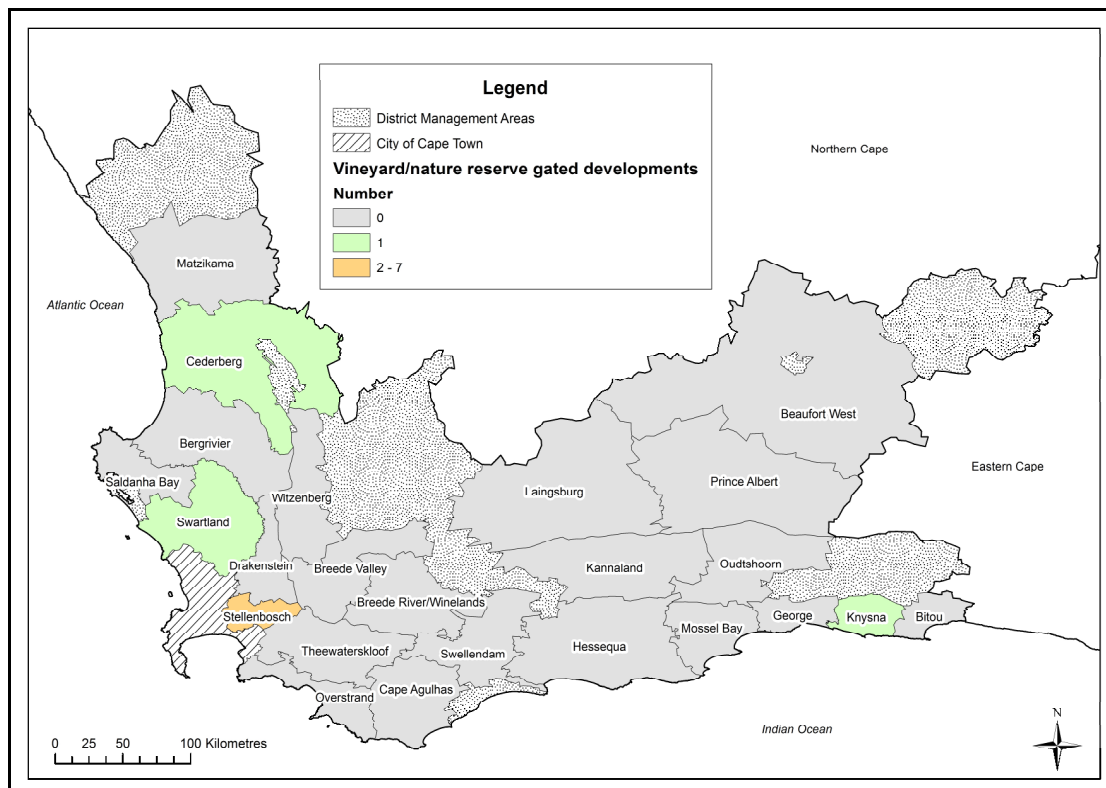
Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Figure 4.18 Distribution of recreation gated developments by local municipality in the Western Cape, 2010

According to Figure 4.18 recreation gated developments are concentrated in the George (5), Knysna (4), Mossel Bay (3) and Overstrand (3) LMs. The Garden Route (Mossel Bay, George and Knysna) is renowned for its golf courses (Van Zyl 2006). The high rainfall in this area helps to provide the necessary amounts of water required to maintain golf courses. However, during 2009 the Garden Route

faced one of the driest periods in 150 years (Jordan 2009). Gated development golf courses in Langebaan, Hermanus, Malmesbury, Robertson and Ceres are privatised golf courses once owned by the local municipality. The recreation gated developments in the Overstrand LM comprise different developments around one golf course.

Ten gated developments were set in vineyards (some together with olive groves) or nature reserves. These gated developments have low building densities to accommodate the space needed for cultivation or the area needed to allow animals to roam. For example, developments have one building unit per hectare in nature reserve eco-estates (Agripro 2008) and one unit per five hectares in vineyard estates (Slaley no date a). Given the large space requirements of these developments, it is not surprising that all gated developments in vineyards and nature reserves are security estates.



Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Figure 4.19 Distribution of vineyard/nature reserve gated developments by local municipality in the Western Cape, 2010

The Stellenbosch LM has the largest share of vineyard gated developments, quite likely because of the Stellenbosch wine region's pre-eminence in the wine industry of the Western Cape (Figure 4.19). Entire wine farms are not transformed into gated developments, just portions so that cultivation of grapes can continue on the farm. An example of such a gated development is Slaley Estate which is part of the Slaley Wine Estate. A portion of the farm was sold to raise capital when it became increasingly expensive to produce wine due to various global economic pressures. The income from the sale was used to strengthen the wine estate's position in the international wine market. The legal requirements for subdivision of agricultural land were in place before subdivision into plots less than 35 hectares were prohibited (Property 24 2006; SA Property News 2010). It is unclear why no other local municipalities in the wine-producing regions of the Western Cape have any similar gated developments. The local municipalities of Cederberg, Swartland and Knysna all have one private nature reserve gated development each.

4.4 CONCLUSION

According to the survey of non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape they were found to be present in 41% of the non-metropolitan towns in the province. Regarding the local municipalities, gated developments were either concentrated in one town or dispersed among a number of towns. At the provincial scale, there is an equal division of security estates and townhouse complexes. Most gated developments are located inside the urban edges of towns and those located outside the urban edges are all security estates. Security estates are larger than townhouse complexes and a location outside the urban edge allows for larger space for development. Conversely, high-density townhouse complexes are all located in the borders of towns. Gated developments classified as undeveloped are all security estates. The undeveloped gated developments are clustered in certain local municipalities. Towns characteristically contain security estates and townhouse complexes or they have a predisposition for one or the other. Niche market gated developments tend to locate in specific local municipalities.

The analyses have uncovered some topics about non-metropolitan gated developments that warrant further inspection:

- The clustering of gated developments, especially security estates, in Swellendam;

- The possibility that gated developments in Robertson and Swellendam are linked to increasing tourism activity in the towns;
- Gated developments outside the urban edge;
- The extent of land use change from agriculture as a result of gated developments outside urban edges;
- Why Oudtshoorn is the epicentre of retiree gated developments in the Western Cape;
- The degree to which homes in gated developments with a recreational component, or close to recreation amenities, are second homes;
- Reasons why security estates are three times more likely than townhouse complexes to be undeveloped;
- The concentration of undeveloped gated developments in Velddrif;
- Out-of-town developers versus in-town developers of gated developments;
- The preference for townhouse complex developments in the Drakenstein and Swartland LMs;
- The dynamics of the privatisation of municipal golf courses in Langebaan, Hermanus, Malmesbury, Robertson and Ceres, and the showgrounds in Bredasdorp for incorporation in gated developments; and
- The reasons why one finds vineyard gated developments in the Stellenbosch LM, but not in other wine-producing LMs of the province.

The issues concerning the distribution and character of gated developments listed above provide a basis for identifying place- and theme-specific anomalies that are investigated in forthcoming chapters. The field survey collected data on the security features of gated developments for analysis at different spatial levels and different types of gated developments. The following chapter reports on the securitisation of non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape.

CHAPTER 5: ‘NOWHERE IN SOUTH AFRICA IS ONE *REALLY* SAFE’²⁴ – SECURITISATION OF NON-METROPOLITAN GATED DEVELOPMENTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The issue of safety and security is an important topic in gated development literature. Security features are the defining and most visible components of gated developments as they comprise various methods and technologies to deter criminal or undesirable activity and to control access. The province-wide survey collected information about the security features of each of the 399 developed gated developments, which was collated in a database. No security data was collected for undeveloped gated developments because their incompleteness precluded the acquisition of information about the full array of their security features. The tendencies regarding security features were examined to provide an indication of location-specific and theme-specific characteristics. This chapter investigates the range of security features employed in non-metropolitan gated developments and presents a security index to establish the level of fortification in different types of developments and in towns, where it is compared to the levels of crime in towns.

5.2 SECURITY FEATURES OF GATED DEVELOPMENTS

Gated developments in South Africa are synonymous with security because the state of feeling or being free from danger or threat is a primary reason for their proliferation (Landman 2003a). Gated development implies that a gate and other security features and arrangements are present. Brunn, Andersson & Dahlman (2000) call the various security features of gated developments the elements of security used to express landscapes of defence. The Western Cape survey recorded that each of the gated developments had two or more of the following security features: gates, booms, walls, fences, razor wire, intercoms, access cards, cameras, guards, and guardhouses. Various permutations of these security features were observed. Gated developments in different parts of the study area show predilections for particular arrays of security features and the presence or absence of these features differed between local municipalities, towns and type of gated development. There is no standard

²⁴ Quote from a respondent in Ceres.

assemblage of security features that must be present in gated developments. The diverse arrays of security features add to the challenge of arriving at an all-encompassing definition of gated developments. Some gated developments captured in the survey did not even have a gate! The following paragraphs briefly describe each security feature which together serve to ensure security in the gated developments.

Different types of *gates* are installed at entrances/exits to gated developments: they are all electrically operated, with the gate(s) either sliding open or closed by a motor or pulled or pushed open or closed via pneumatic arm(s). The operation of the gates is done through activation by a guard if present, by a homeowner using a remote control, or by in-house activation after verification via intercom or videocom. Most gates are steel-barred or trellised allowing one to see into the development. Some gates constructed of sheet metal are continuations of one of the functions of walls – to prevent people from viewing the inside of the gated development. Gates are also the convenient place to post warning and restrictive signs about entering a gated development (Figure 5.1). When closed, the gates shut out the world beyond the perimeter of the development or, conversely, insulate the residents inside the development. In some developments the gate not only serves as a security measure but also as an indication of the exclusivity of the development – as evidenced by large, stately and grandiose gates and guardhouses (Phillips 2000).



Source: Author, photograph taken on 28/11/2009

Figure 5.1 Pneumatically-operated gates with warning signs at a gated development in Hermanus

Booms are hollow aluminium poles usually painted with red and white striped bands (Figure 5.2). They are operated electrically by a guard if present, or remotely by the person entering or leaving the development. Non-electrical booms are raised and lowered by guards. A boom crosses a single entry or exit lane and two booms cross double entry and exit lanes. Some gated developments have a single or double lane boom system on either side of a guardhouse which is located in the centre of the entrance or exit area. Guarded booms replace the function of gates in developments which do not have gates.



Source: Author, photograph taken on 13/12/2009

Figure 5.2 Booms, guardhouse and gates at a gated development in Mossel Bay

While booms and gates control the passage into or out of gated developments, perimeter securitisation is done by *walls and/or fences* with both types serving the purpose of impregnability through the type of material used (steel, stone, concrete or wood) and/or by its height. Walls are solid structures which may or may not prevent visual permeability into the gated development, depending on the design of the wall. Fences, on the other hand, provide visual access to the gated development, but still serve as perimeter barriers to entry or exit. Some gated developments combine walls and fences in their perimeter security (Figure 5.3). Whereas fences do give visual access to a gated development, this visual permeability can be mitigated by purpose-planted trees, shrubs and other foliage and/or placement of earth berms inside the perimeter fence. These mitigation measures afford residents visual privacy from passersby. Trees, shrubs or foliage are planted along perimeters to soften the transition from public space outside the perimeter to the private space inside the perimeter. An example of the softening of the visual impact of a fence is described in the RoD of the Le Grand development: “...

boundary security fence needs to be softened ... the fence must be a palisade structure in non-intrusive forest colours” (Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning 2007: 7-8).



Source: Author, photograph taken on 28/11/2009

Figure 5.3 Perimeter wall and fence around a gated development in Hermanus

Electric fencing and razor wire atop perimeter walls and fences provide additional layers of perimeter security with potential intruders being subjected to the possibility of an electric shock or being cut (Figure 5.4).



Source: Author, photograph taken on 14/12/2009

Figure 5.4 Perimeter wall with electric fencing and surveillance camera at a gated development in George

Electric fencing may include the electrification of the entire fence from the ground up, but in most cases it is used specifically atop walls and fences. Electric fencing on walls and fences consist of single or multiple strands of electrified wire along the length of the perimeter. The strands of electrified fencing may be placed horizontally or be coiled around multiple strands of support wire. Razor wires are coiled atop fences and they are fitted with razors or barbs.

Intercoms facilitate communication between the entry or exit point and residents inside the gated development (Figure 5.5)²⁵. Intercoms allow residents to identify potential entrants by voice recognition. The use of a videocom allows visual verification. Many intercoms have an *access card* scanner that has to be swiped to activate the gate or boom. Whereas any person may use the intercom or videocom, only those who have activated access cards may use the card scanner.



Source: Author, photograph taken on 13/12/2009

Figure 5.5 Intercom with residents' name list and residence location in a gated development in Mossel Bay

Security CCTV cameras which are separate from the videocom system are also used in gated developments (Figure 5.4). These security cameras are usually controlled by guards based in a guardhouse or security quarters. Cameras are set up to record various angles: one camera may record vehicles entering the premises, while another is focussed on the registration number at the front of the

²⁵ Figure 5.5 indicates the location of each resident on a site map and their initial and surnames on the intercom unit. The display of such information for all to see can defeat the purpose of being safe and secure in the development.

vehicle. The occupants of the vehicle are filmed, and when the vehicle enters the gated development another camera records the rear of the vehicle. Cameras are not only placed at entry and exit point(s), but also along the perimeter and in other areas within gated developments. Cameras record movement in developments which can be replayed if necessary – a visual record of movement.

Guards are an integral feature of certain gated developments. They are men and women who are employed by the development or the company tasked with security provision. They are identifiable by their uniforms and their duties include controlling who enters and exits the gated development, the recording of vehicle and personal details of non-residents, although they cannot verify the details of non-residents and they are unaware of the purpose of recording the information. Guards are responsible for the security of the entire gated development and perimeter patrols are done on foot or by bicycle, motorbike or vehicle according to a roster. There are fixed patrol routes which must be completed by guards at specific times of the day and night. Guards must activate magnetic information recorders at specific points along the patrol route to confirm that they have completed their route as required. Route patrolling can be optimised to provide the best security cover possible (Willemse & Joubert 2012). While the job may seem mundane, it is the guards who have the authority to deny or allow access into gated developments. They have *guardhouses* at the entry or exit point(s) of the gated developments which function as control rooms or bases from which to conduct their operations. While some guardhouses are control rooms for integrated security systems others, are bare, basic and rudimentary (Figure 5.6).



Source: Author, photograph taken on 7/11/2009

Figure 5.6 Rudimentary interior of a guardhouse at a gated development in Clanwilliam

Various security features can be employed by a gated development to securitise the inside and outside of perimeters. Together with *perimeter lighting* at night, gated developments have multiple layers of security which are integrated to provide a *cordon de sécurité*. The field survey confirmed that there are differences between security estates and townhouse complexes regarding the range and sophistication of the security measures used.

Table 5.1 summarises the frequencies and proportional distribution of the security features enumerated in the survey. The gate is the ubiquitous feature, occurring in 90% of all gated developments. *Gates* are significantly more common to townhouse complexes (98%) than security estates (82%). All the gated developments have some kind of barriers at their entrances: those which do not have gates have *booms*. Booms are more common in security estates (32%) than in townhouse complexes (5%). Twenty-eight (15%) security estates and seven (3%) townhouse complexes have combinations of gates and booms at their entrances. The function of the barriers is to facilitate a controllable entry or exit point to the gated development. These barriers are very important as security components because they control the only porous points of developments.

Table 5.1 Security features of non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape

Type		Gate	Wall	Inter-com	Fence	Guard-house	Electric fencing	Guard	Boom	Camera	Access card	Razor wire
SE ¹ 193	No.	159	99	76	98	104	49	83	62	34	5	2
	%	82	51	39	51	54	25	43	32	18	3	1
TC ² 206	No.	203	150	132	58	31	63	22	10	5	3	2
	%	98	73	64	28	15	31	11	5	2	1	1
Total 399	No.	362	249	208	156	135	112	105	72	39	8	4
	%	90	62	52	39	34	28	26	18	10	2	1

Notes: ¹ Security estate; ² Townhouse complex

Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Walls and/or fences are the equally common security features. The perimeters of the surveyed gated developments are secured by walls, fences or combination of the two. Walls are more prevalent around townhouse complexes (73%) than security estates (51%). Generally, the perimeter length of townhouse complexes is less than that of security estates. The cost of constructing a perimeter wall over a shorter length explains the townhouse preference for walls. Less costly fencing is thus the primary option for security estates. Eight (4%) security estates and four (2%) townhouse complexes have perimeter security which is a combination of walls and fences. This is a more popular option for security estates as it reduces the cost of perimeter security construction.

Intercoms are the third-most popular security feature and they are more prevalent in townhouse complexes (64%) than in security estates (39%). Intercoms are the communication conduit between those inside the gated development and those on the outside: they grant control to those inside the gated development over who they allow in. Some intercom systems have a video feature that gives residents a visual indication of potential entrants. The lower frequency of intercoms at security estates is most likely because a guard is present. The guard decides whether a potential entrant is allowed into the estate. The decision to allow or refuse entry is usually made after telephonic verification by the resident being visited. *Access card* readers are often installed in conjunction with intercoms, but can only be used by authorised cardholders. Access card readers are present at only three per cent of the security estates and one per cent of the townhouse complexes. Clearly it is the least used security feature.

Perimeter walls and fences are further secured by *electric fencing or razor wire*. Electric fencing is present in 25% of the security estates and 31% of the townhouse complexes, and 1% of both development types have razor wire. The installation of extra security features atop walls and fences indicates that some gated developments make doubly sure that perimeter security is as good as can be. The perimeter of gated developments may also be patrolled by guards.

Guards were present at 43% of the security estates and 11% of the townhouse complexes – the aforementioned percentages indicate that it is three times more likely for a security estate to have guards than a townhouse complex. Security estates, being larger than townhouse complexes, need ears, eyes and feet on the grounds in addition to inanimate surveillance and access control features. The larger security estates necessarily have a larger volume of pedestrian and vehicular traffic to manage, requiring close monitoring and control by guards. The number of guards is probably determined by the size and requirements of a gated development. Oddly, during the survey, the researcher was asked by

guards if he wanted to enter the development without any identification being requested. Guards were found asleep on duty and a survey done on a Sunday morning encountered guards at different gated developments who were reeking of alcohol. Significantly, guards at some developments enquired about the data the researcher was collecting and refused to give permission to take photographs.

Some gated developments have *guardhouses* on the property, but no guards. The survey recorded that 54% of the security estates and 15% of the townhouse complexes had guardhouses, but no guards were present when surveyed. It appeared that guards are only on duty at certain times of the day or they leave the guardhouse unattended while patrolling the rest of the gated development. Guardhouses do not only accommodate guards, but also function as the security command centres for gated developments. In some cases they house the control area for monitoring *security cameras*. Such cameras were installed at 18% of the security estates, but only 2% of the townhouse complexes. Security cameras were positioned at the entrances to gated developments, along perimeters and at strategic places within gated developments.

Because the presence or not and the functioning of security features at gated developments varied quite widely, it is a challenging task to determine how secure each development is. To facilitate a comparison of the different security features in the various types of gated developments in the study area, a security level index was created and applied to the developments. This is the focus of the next section.

5.3 SECURITY LEVEL INDEX

A security level index for developed gated developments was created from field survey data. The index was developed by analysing groups of security features rather than assigning a rating to a single security feature. The danger with assigning a rating to a security feature based on its ‘securedness’ or positive security impact is that it is subjective – one might view security cameras as being better able to negate a security threat, while another might rate electric fencing as a better deterrent. Moreover, the researcher is not qualified to pronounce judgment as to which single or combinations of security measures best deters threats to gated developments. The index gives an indication of which gated developments are the most secure, based on their security attributes. The security attributes of each gated development are ordinal measures that can be rank-ordered. The grouping of gated developments

according to their rank-order is a depiction of the ordinal measure and the “... index is constructed through the simple accumulation of scores assigned to individual attributes” (Babbie & Mouton 2008: 137). A process of ordering and sorting is used to determine the security level index.

Gated developments can have a combination of any of 11 identified security features. These features are grouped according to their function (Table 5.2), resulting in six security feature groups. Each security feature group carries the same weighting. The minimum number of security feature groups possible is two – a gated development has, at least, to have a gate or boom and a fence or wall, while the maximum number of security feature groups is six. Each gated development received a score out of six, based on the number of security feature groups present. Every gated development was scored to arrive at a composite index for varying scales of analysis.

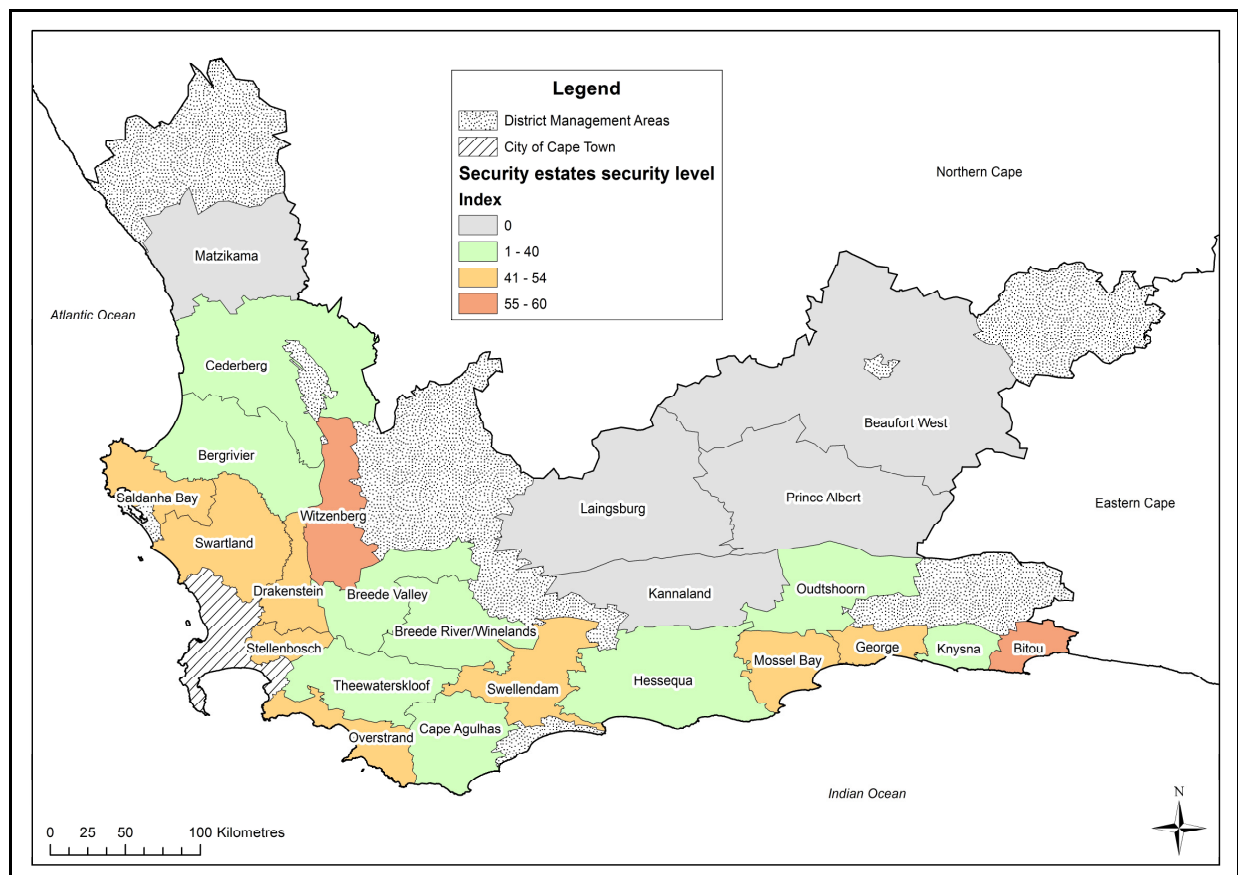
Table 5.2 Groups of security features used to create the security level index

No.	Security feature group	Function	Index value
1.	Boom and gate	Controlled barrier that allows (or not) pedestrian and vehicular access/egress.	20
2.	Fence and wall	Vertical structure along property perimeter	
3.	Electric wire and razor wire	Electrified and metal strands atop vertical perimeter structure	20
4.	Guard and guardhouse	Person authorised to decide on pedestrian and vehicular access and the control base of such person.	20
5.	Access card and intercom	Electronic and voice devices to facilitate access/egress.	20
6.	Camera	Electronic visual identification mechanism	20

The index total value is 100 and each security feature group contributes 20. The first two security groups are scored as 20 and the presence of each additional security feature group counts an additional 20. The presence of two security groups scores 20, three groups score 40, four groups score 60, five groups score 80 and six groups score 100. The security level indexes were analysed at the local municipality level, town level (Appendix L) and for the different types of gated developments.

5.3.1 Security levels of security estates by local municipality

The distribution of security level index values for security estates, per local municipality, is shown in Figure 5.7. The index values are classified into four classes (recall Footnote 15), one of which represents a value of 0 (no index value for that local municipality). Seventy-nine per cent of local municipalities do have a security level index value for security estates and the 21% have zero values. The average index value for security estates is 45.



Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Figure 5.7 Security levels of non-metropolitan security estates by local municipality in the Western Cape, 2010

The Bitou and Witzenberg LMs have the highest index values of 60 for their security estates, though Witzenberg LM has only one security estate, and Bitou LM has 15. The economic bases of the two municipalities are also different in that the Witzenberg LM is dominated by agriculture and agro-

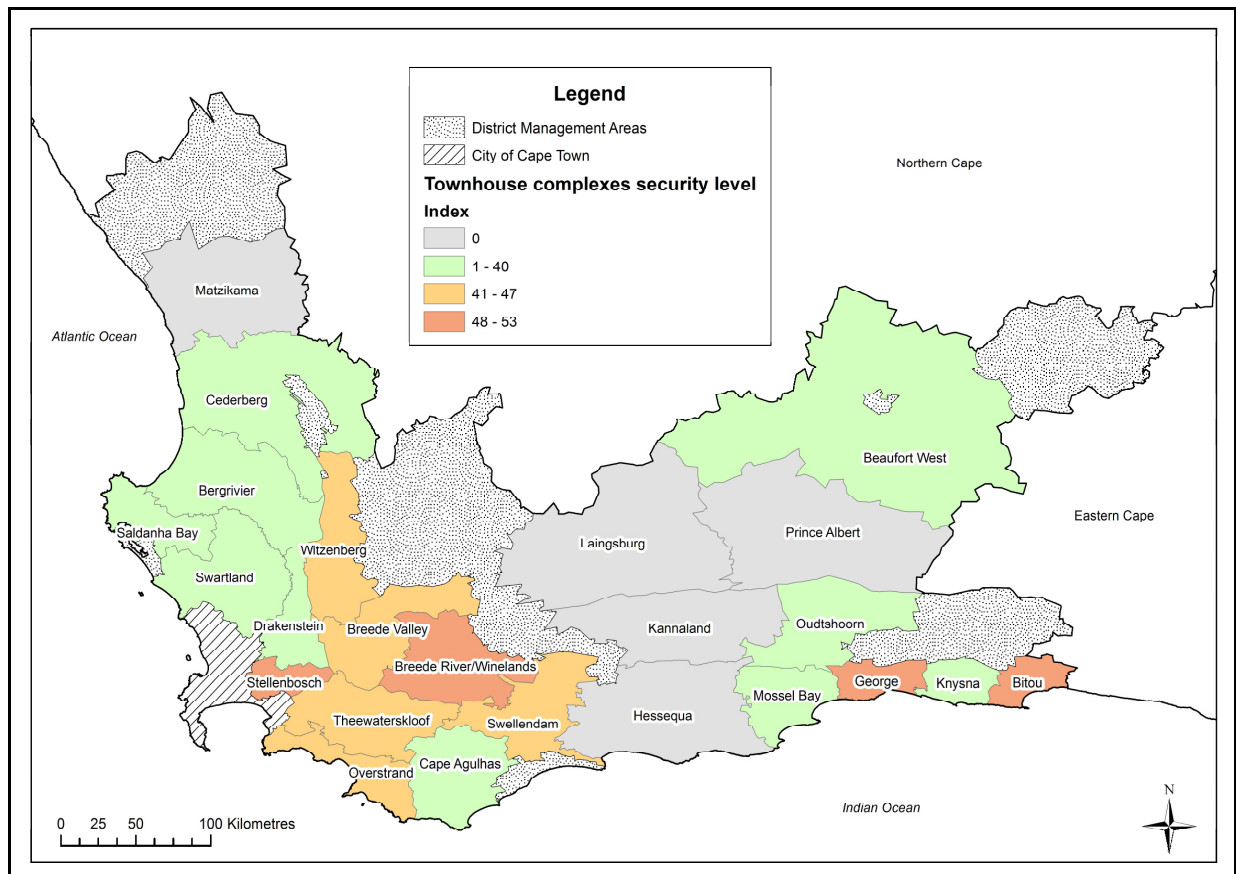
processing (Witzenberg Local Municipality 2010) while Bitou LM has tourism and construction as its main economic bases (Bitou Local Municipality 2009). One could intuitively link security estates with tourism and recreation because a tourism economic base can be identified with the leisure and amenity-driven nature of security estates. The link between security estates and agriculture and agribusiness is not very clear so that Ceres is case studied later to investigate this possible link.

A second set of local municipalities have index values between 41 and 54 for their security estates (Figure 5.7). Part of this group are the Overstrand, Stellenbosch, Drakenstein and Swartland LMs which are all contiguous with the metropolitan City of Cape Town. Analysis on 2008/09 crime statistics has shown that the Stellenbosch and Drakenstein LMs have lower crime occurrences than the Overstrand and Swartland LMs (Van Niekerk et al. 2010). It is thus unclear if perceptions and fear of crime are influenced by proximity to the city. The George and Mossel Bay LMs with their populous towns, as well as the recreation and amenity-driven Saldanha Bay LM are also in this group. Swellendam LM has a security index value of 47 for its six security estates which are all located in Swellendam, higher than the provincial average. Yet the local municipality has a smaller population than the other local municipalities in this group and it has an approximately six-kilometre coastline (along which there are no gated developments). This begs the question why there is this concentration of gated developments with a relatively high security index in a town which has a relatively small population, is not amenity and leisure driven, and is situated 60 km from the coast. A closer investigation of Swellendam as a case study should produce answers to this conundrum. The following section focuses on the security levels of townhouse complexes.

5.3.2 Security levels of townhouse complexes by local municipality

Figure 5.8 indicates the security index values per local municipality for townhouse complexes. The index values are classified into four classes (recall Footnote 15), one of which represents a value of 0 (no index value for that local municipality). Eighty-one per cent of the local municipalities have security level index values greater than zero for townhouse complexes. The average index value for townhouse complexes is 41, slightly lower than that of security estates (45). Generally speaking, security estates appear to be more secure than townhouse complexes.

The local municipalities of Breede River/Winlands (53), George (50), Stellenbosch (49), and Bitou (48) LMs have the highest index values for townhouse complexes. Whereas the Bitou, George and Stellenbosch LMs also feature prominently in the security estates' index, the Breede River/Winlands LM is the exception. The Breede River/Winlands LM has three townhouse complexes, all located in Robertson where the LM's three security estates are also located. Robertson serves an agricultural area, but its tourism sector is growing (Langeberg Municipality 2010).



Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

Figure 5.8 Security levels of non-metropolitan townhouse complexes by local municipality in the Western Cape, 2010

The second class of security levels for townhouse complexes is 41 to 47. The Swellendam (47), Overstrand (47), Witzenberg (45), Breede Valley (45) and Theewaterskloof (42) LMs constitute this category. These local municipalities form a half-moon around the Breede Valley LM. The presence of the Swellendam and Witzenberg LM in this category of townhouse complex security levels is similar to their positions in the security estates' index. Local municipalities north of the Cape Town metropolitan

area have low security levels for their townhouse complexes. It is unclear why proximity eastwards of the metropolitan area seems to be a factor in the townhouse security level index, but northwards not. A curious anomaly is that the Knysna LM has the fifth-highest occurrence (40) of gated developments in the province, but the security levels are in the lowest tier for both security estates and townhouse complexes.

The spatial analysis of security levels at municipal scale indicates some differences between security estates and townhouse complexes, but an analysis at a finer spatial scale, town level, should give a clearer picture of security levels in the provinces' towns. The next sub-section focuses on this picture.

5.3.3 Security levels in towns with gated developments

Table 5.3 marshalls information on the security levels of the 53 towns in non-metropolitan Western Cape which have developed gated developments. The table includes towns which have security estates and townhouse complexes, towns with security estates only and towns with townhouse complexes only. The population of each town; its economic base and crime ranking are also listed with the latter two variables used to group security indexes of towns.

Table 5.3 Gated development security levels, population, economic base and crime occurrences of towns in the Western Cape

Town	Population¹	Town economic base¹	Security estate index²	Townhouse complex index²	Average combined index²	Crime occurrence ranking¹
Stellenbosch	87 144	Regional centre	62	57	60	3
Onrus River	5 406	Tourism	55	53	54	5
Plettenberg Bay	29 150	Tourism	60	48	54	3
Ceres	31 138	Agricultural service centre	60	45	53	3
Hermanus	30 596	Regional centre	56	45	51	5
Malmesbury	32 945	Regional centre	60	40	50	4
Wilderness	2 394	Tourism/residential	40	60	50	3
Paarl	121 930	Regional centre	53	40	47	5

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Table 5.3 continued

Town	Population ¹	Town economic base ¹	Security estate index ²	Townhouse complex index ²	Average combined index ²	Crime occurrence ranking ¹
Swellendam	13 610	Tourism/agricultural service centre	47	47	47	2
George	142 569	Regional centre	53	39	46	3
Knysna	55 598	Tourism	42	49	45	3
Wellington	50 204	Agricultural service centre	53	37	45	3
Worcester	95 543	Regional centre	40	50	45	3
Robertson	24 845	Agricultural service centre	33	53	43	4
Franschhoek	16 478	Tourism/agricultural service centre	47	40	43	4
Langebaan	4 539	Tourism	40	44	42	2
Mossel Bay	75 185	Regional centre	43	39	41	4
Bredasdorp	14 491	Regional centre	40	40	40	4
Clanwilliam	6 541	Agricultural service centre	40	40	40	3
Stilbaai	3 598	Residential/tourism	40	40	40	4
Villiersdorp	9 880	Agricultural service centre	40	40	40	3
Oudtshoorn	56 717	Regional centre	35	33	34	4
Yzerfontein	568	Tourism	40	20	30	3
Sedgefield	5 631	Residential/tourism	25	30	28	3
Herold's Bay	376	Residential/tourism	70	No townhouse complexes	n/a	3
Dana Bay	n/a ³	n/a	60			n/a
Groot Brak River	15 463	Residential/tourism	60			5
St Helena Bay	11 507	Fishing/residential	50			5
Vermont	n/a	n/a	50			n/a
Greyton	1 291	Residential/tourism	40			4
Jakobsbaai	110	Tourism	40			4
Kylemore	6 441	Residential	40			5
Piketberg	10 699	Agricultural service centre	40			4
Riversdale	2 898	Agricultural service centre	40			1
Stanford	5 461	Tourism/residential	40			3
Struisbaai	4 256	Residential	40			5

Continued overleaf

Table 5.3 continued

Town	Population ¹	Town economic base ¹	Security estate index ²	Townhouse complex index ²	Average combined index ²	Crime occurrence ranking ¹
Velddrif	8 255	Tourism	40	No townhouse complexes	n/a	4
Klein Brak River	n/a	n/a	30			n/a
Citrusdal	5 682	Agricultural service centre	20			2
Kleinmond	10 070	Tourism	No security estates	50	n/a	4
Grabouw	27 523	Agricultural service centre		47		5
Bot River	5 173	Agricultural service centre		40		5
Caledon	11 508	Agricultural service centre		40		2
Dwarskersbos	392	Tourism		40		4
Franskraal	1 369	Tourism		40		3
Porterville	6 855	Agricultural service centre		40		2
Rawsonville	2 511	Agricultural service centre		40		1
Riebeeck-Kasteel	2 723	Residential/tourism		40		2
Riebeeck-West	2 916	Agricultural service centre/tourism		40		2
Beaufort West	33 033	Regional centre		33		3
Vredenburg	34 258	Regional centre		33		3
Moorreesburg	9 983	Agricultural service centre		28		3
Saldanha	26 767	Fishing/industrial		27		4
Average	23 284		45	41	43	3.42

Note: ³ n/a = Not applicable

Sources: ¹Van Niekerk et al. (2010) and ²author's calculations

An average security index was calculated for towns that have security estates and townhouse complexes. Three of the six leader settlements (recall Table 1.1), namely Stellenbosch, Paarl and George are in the top 10 towns with the highest security levels. This suggests that it is not necessarily the gated developments in the larger non-metropolitan towns that have the highest levels of security. Towns with an average combined security index value of 50 or higher are Stellenbosch, Onrus River, Plettenberg Bay, Ceres, Hermanus, Malmesbury and Wilderness. The economic bases of these towns

are centred on tourism and residential with three towns classified as regional service centres. Ceres has the fourth-highest security index value but is essentially an agricultural service centre. There are 24 towns which have a security index values for both types of gated developments, seven of which (29%) are agricultural service centres. They are Ceres, Swellendam, Wellington, Robertson, Franschhoek, Clanwilliam and Villiersdorp. The presence of both types of gated developments in these towns, especially those with above-average security index levels in Ceres, Swellendam, Wellington and Robertson²⁶, points to the possibility of transformation taking place in their economic bases. Further place-specific research is required to explore whether this is indeed so.

Stellenbosch, Malmesbury, Onrus River, Hermanus and Ceres, which all have an average combined index value of more than 50, lie within 150 km of the metropolitan City of Cape Town's CBD²⁷. As such these towns are within the social, economic and cultural spheres of influence of the city. It is possible that these gated developments closer to the metropolitan area have higher levels of security to mitigate the fears or perceptions about overspill of criminal activity from the city. Some residents of gated developments in these towns quite likely commute to the city regularly where their perceptions and fears of crime are heightened.

The average security level index for towns which have security estates only is 45 and those with townhouse complexes only is 41. The security estate security level for towns that have security estates and townhouse complexes is higher than for towns which only have security estates: 46 versus 44. Similarly, the townhouse complex security level for towns that have security estates and townhouse complexes is higher than for towns which only have townhouse complexes: 43 versus 38. The presence of both types of gated developments in a town creates higher indexes of security for gated developments, effectively creating a more fortified town.

The fear of crime and violence has been touted for the emergence of gated developments (Landman 2003b; 2007b; Low 2003; 2005; Low, Donovan & Giesecking 2007). One of the data sets used in the 2010 revision of the growth potential study of the Western Cape was a ranking of all the recorded crime occurrences within the towns during 2008/09 (Van Niekerk et al. 2010). Five categories of crime occurrence per person per annum were created: 1 – very low, 2 – low, 3 – medium, 4 – high, 5 – very

²⁶ The 2010 Breede River/Winelands (Langeberg) Municipality Integrated Development Plan (IDP) refers to a growing tourism sector in Robertson.

²⁷ The CBD is used as the point in Cape Town from which the distance to the various towns was measured.

high. Fifty of the 53 towns were categorised in this manner. Three towns did not have available data, namely Dana Bay (close to Mossel Bay), Vermont (close to Onrus River) and Klein Brak River (close to Groot Brak River) so that they were included in the town closest to them.

Forty-six per cent (23) of the towns with gated developments are in the very low and low crime occurrence categories (Table 5.4). The towns that only have security estates are more numerous in these two lowest crime occurrence categories than those towns with townhouse complexes. The towns with low and very low crime occurrences but which have above-average gated development security levels (in brackets) are: Groot Brak River (60), Onrus River (54), Hermanus (51), Kleinmond (50), Malmesbury (50), St Helena Bay (50), Grabouw (47) and Paarl (47). The population size of these towns ranges widely from 5 406 (Onrus River) to 121 930 (Paarl), which suggests that settlement size is not necessarily a locational determinant of high security gated developments, nor of crime occurrences. It can be argued that at town level the high security gated developments are not in accordance with the very low and low crime occurrences. It can be argued that because of high security crime occurrences are low.

Table 5.4 Type of gated development and crime occurrence ranking

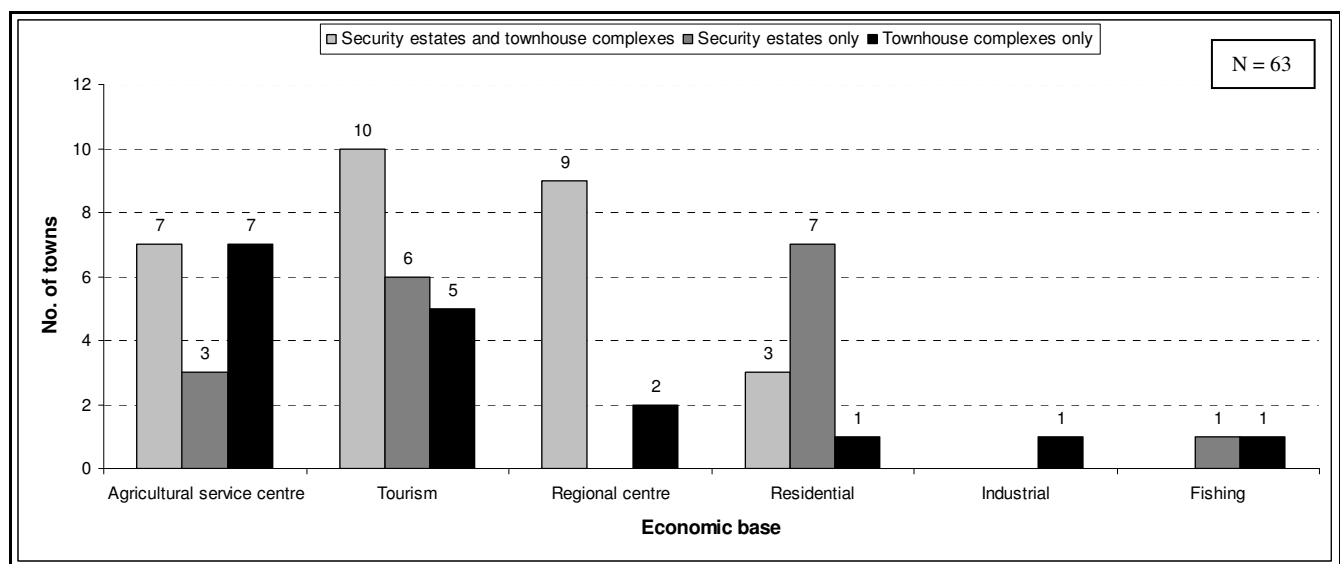
Crime occurrences ranking	Number of towns			Number of towns per ranking
	SEs and TCs ¹	SEs only	TCs only	
1 Very low	3	4	2	9
2 Low	7	4	3	14
3 Medium	12	2	4	18
4 High	2	1	4	7
5 Very high	0	1	1	2
Total	24	12	14	50

Note: ¹ SE: Security estate; TC: Townhouse complex Source: Author's survey and Van Niekerk et al. (2010)

Thirty-six per cent (18) of the towns with gated developments are classified in the medium crime occurrence category, so that 82% of the towns with gated developments have crime occurrence rankings of medium, low or very low. Importantly, only 18% (9) of the towns have high or very high crime occurrence ratings. Should crime be a factor in the establishment of gated developments in non-

metropolitan Western Cape, one could expect that these towns would have high security levels for their gated developments. Equally noteworthy is that only one of the nine towns in the high and very high crime occurrence categories has an above-average security level score, namely Swellendam (47). In towns with high and very high crime occurrence rankings townhouse complexes predominate over security estates. This is surprising because the average security index value for townhouse complexes is lower than for security estates or stated otherwise, lower levels of gated development securedness occurs in towns with high and very high crime occurrences. Gated developments seem not to be a reaction to high crime occurrences in towns. The towns with above-average crime occurrences have below-average security index levels for their gated developments and conversely, towns with below-average crime occurrences have above-average security levels.

The possibility of links between gated development securedness, crime occurrences and the economic bases of towns is worth exploring. Towns have either a single or a multiple economic base (Van Niekerk et al. 2010). Tourism is the economic base of 10 towns which have security estates and townhouse complexes (Figure 5.9).



Source: Author's survey and Van Niekerk et al. (2010)

Figure 5.9 The economic base of Western Cape towns in which gated developments are present

Tourism is also the economic base of four of the 10 highest scoring towns in the combined security index value. It is possible that many of the dwellings within gated developments are second homes that

are unoccupied by owners for periods of time. In such cases, the security levels are important to protect their property. Secure gated developments quite likely give second-home owners, and tourists that rent the dwellings, peace of mind regarding their safety and security.

A closer look at the types of gated development and the economic bases of towns gives insight into relationships between the two (Figure 5.9). Towns described as regional centres tend to have a combination of security estates and townhouse complexes. Agricultural service centre towns also have a combination of security estates and townhouse complexes but seven towns in this category only have townhouse complexes. The development of agricultural production into a scientific and mechanised activity feeding into specialised logistics chains has resulted in agribusinesses having to provide housing for footloose specialist employees (Taljaard 2011, pers com). An investigation into the demographics of people living in townhouse complexes in small towns should give an accurate picture of the people occupying these spaces, as will be done in the case study town of Ceres. Towns with a residential economic base have more security estates, which strengthens the residential function of these towns – the security estates could define these towns as residential. These residential towns may offer niche market gated developments, as explored in the next section.

5.3.4 Analysis of niche gated developments

Gated developments in the Western Cape also cater for specific niche markets, namely for retirees, gated developments with recreation activities, gated developments located in vineyard and nature estates, and gated developments located outside the urban edges of towns. The security level index values of niche market gated developments are displayed in Table 5.5. Retirement gated developments have the highest security level index values for townhouse complexes (48) and security estates (67), both indexes scoring above the provincial average (43) for gated developments (Table 5.3). The 12 security estate retirement gated developments score very high (67) on the security estate index; second only to the index value for security estates in Herold's Bay, the town with the highest security level in the province. Security is emphasised in the marketing of retirement gated developments, an example of which is found in a website where retirement gated developments are said to provide "... unit owners and inhabitants with a degree of financial security to match the *physical and psychological security* associated with retirement village living" [own emphasis] (Jacobsbaai Village no date).

Table 5.5 Niche market gated development security level values

Niche market	Number	Security estate index	Townhouse complex index	Average combined index
Retirement gated developments	SE ¹ : 12	67	48	57
	TC ¹ : 18			
Recreational gated developments	26	64	n/a	n/a
Gated developments outside the urban edge	19	46		
Vineyard/nature reserve gated developments	10	40		

Notes: ¹ SE: Security estate, TC: Townhouse complex

Source: Compiled from author's survey, 2010

The security level index value for recreational gated developments is also high at 64. There are gated developments with golf courses designed by golfing professionals and this adds to the prestige and exclusivity of the development. The security component of such developments would be expected to be of world class quality. Cock (2008) accentuates how the security features of golf estates in South Africa are highlighted in their promotional literature. An analysis of the website contents of two recreational gated developments illustrates how the components of sport, exclusivity and security combine to provide a complete residential package:

[Pezula Private Estate] ... is recognised internationally as one of the most successful luxury developments in the world. *Security and the privacy of homeowners and guests are a priority* The breathtaking, award-winning 18-hole golf course, designed by David Dale and Ronald Fream of GolfPlan USA, ... rates among the best and most scenic golf courses in the world [own emphasis] (Pezula Private Estate 2006).

Renowned golf course architect, Peter Matkovich, designed the De Zalze Golf Course ... *how intimately health, happiness and well-being are linked to a safe home*, an invigorating natural environment, and a culturally stimulating community. The tranquil atmosphere and peaceful lifestyle at De Zalze Winelands and Golf Estate is ensured and secured by an electrified perimeter fence. The two access gates have 24-hour manned security and the

estate is patrolled on an on-going basis and there is strict access control by telephonic communication between the gatehouse and each residence. Residents can therefore stroll amongst the vineyards and fruit orchards, jog or cycle along the walking paths, bird watch or fly-fish in one of the many dams to their hearts' content, without a care in the world [own emphasis] (De Zalze 2005; De Zalze Winelands Golf Estate no date).

Unlike the retirement and recreational gated developments, gated developments outside the urban edge and vineyard/nature reserve gated developments have average security level index values for their security estates, at 46 and 40 respectively (Table 5.5). The emphasis of the latter two niche market gated developments is on their location and the agricultural nature of the surroundings rather than the level of security. Such gated developments may "... offer you a rewardingly relaxed lifestyle ... buildings that resonate with the aesthetic spirit of this special place" (African Properties4U 2005).

5.4 CONCLUSION

Gated developments have various security features that combine to provide a security element for the developments. Combinations of 11 different security features are used by gated developments. To meet the challenge of quantifying the effectiveness of these security features a security level index was created to gain an understanding of the securedness of gated developments in local municipalities, individual towns, and in different types of gated developments. An analysis of the index values attained helped to ascertain where gated developments are more secure than others, especially in relation to the crime levels in towns of the Western Cape.

Differences in security levels were identified for security estates and townhouse complexes with the former having higher security levels. Towns with tourism, recreation and retirement economic bases have higher levels of security compared to towns with other economic bases. Retirement and recreation-based gated developments have higher levels of security than other niche market gated developments. Some anomalies in security levels emerged which warrant closer inspection, for example the high security level of the agroprocessing town Ceres and the high security level index for security estates in Swellendam.

The location and securitisation analyses of gated developments provide a platform for the selection of case studies based on location-specific and theme-specific aspects of gated developments. The theme-specific case studies focus on retiree gated developments and gated developments outside the urban edge. From a location-specific perspective, Swellendam and Ceres are case studied to establish whether gated developments are linked to the decrease in the importance of agricultural activity and increased tourism activity, and to investigate the reasons for the high security levels in an agriculture-based town, respectively. These case studies are treated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6: 'SECURITY WALLS DO NOT BELONG IN A TOWN LIKE SWELLENDAM': TWO CASE STUDIES²⁸

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The analysis of non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape has not only provided an understanding of their distribution and levels of security, but has given insight into the nuances of gated developments in different towns and within towns. These subtle differences involve security levels, numbers of gated developments per town, distribution of various types of gated developments, and gated developments within and outside the urban edge. This chapter delves into the reasons why certain towns are predisposed to its gated developments displaying certain characteristics more prominently than other towns.

The gated developments in Swellendam and Ceres, located in the Swellendam and Witzenberg LMs respectively (Figure 6.1), display location-specific characteristics warranting further investigation. Sixty per cent of Swellendam's residential gated developments are security estates. All the other non-metropolitan settlements in which 60% or more of the gated developments are security estates are located along the coast or alongside a dam, whereas Swellendam is not located next to any waterbody, yet it has more security estates than townhouse complexes. The reasons for this anomaly are explored in this chapter. Furthermore, the measured security level of Swellendam's security estates exceeds the provincial average; the reasons for which are investigated here. The town also has a heritage component which is part of the town's tourism experience. The investigation seeks to establish whether gated development residents are attracted by these tourism amenities and heritage aspects of the town. Ceres, an agricultural service centre town, has a very high security index value for its gated developments. The case study of this town explores the reasons for this. The research methods used in the case studies are document retrieval and analysis, formal interviews with various role players in the towns and a survey questionnaire²⁹ administered to gated development residents. The role players

²⁸ Quote transcribed from a letter dated 18 July 2005, from a Mrs Alexander to the Swellendam Local Municipality.

²⁹ Slightly different questionnaires were used for Swellendam (Appendix M) and Ceres (Appendix N) because the Swellendam questionnaire elicited information pertaining to tourism and the Ceres questionnaire focused on security.

interviewed were municipal officials, real estate agents, developers, members of HOAs and boards of trustees.

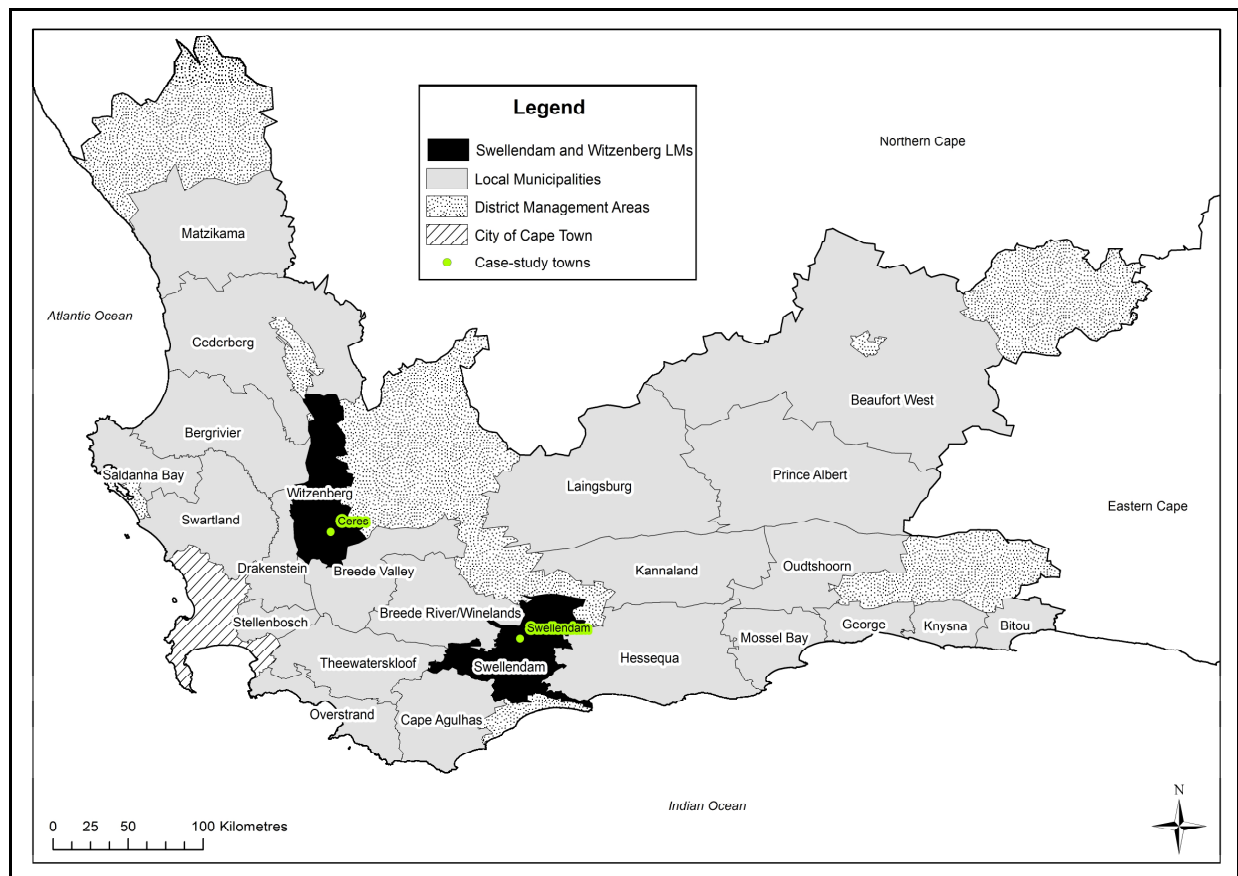


Figure 6.1 Location of the Swellendam and Witzenberg Local Municipalities

The enquiries into the location-specific aspects of non-metropolitan gated developments focus on two towns that exhibit unusual characteristics regarding their gated developments. Although a number of towns in the study area have gated developments set against a backdrop of tourism amenities, a preponderance of security estates and above-average security levels (as in Swellendam) and high security levels in agricultural towns (as in Ceres), these two towns display more exceptional characteristics than the other towns. The selection of these two towns for case study stems from and is supported by findings of the two previous chapters.

6.2 CASE STUDY: SWELLENDAM

The following subsections provide a backdrop of the geographical, historical and economic background to Swellendam against which gated developments are examined. The use of gated developments as a densification mechanism, the attraction of tourism for development residents and the importance of security for them is explored.

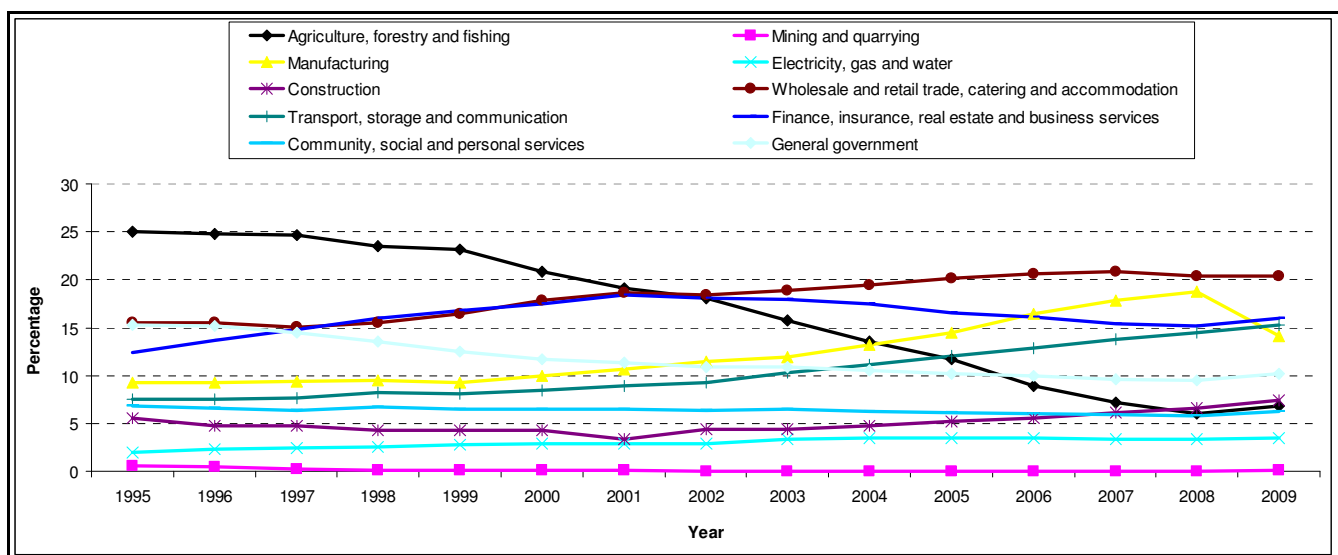
6.2.1 Introduction

Swellendam had a population of approximately 13 600 in 2007 and is situated at the foot of the Langeberg Mountains along the Koorlands River in the Swellendam LM, which in turn is located in the Overberg DM (Pam Golding Properties 2009; Van Niekerk et al. 2010). Although the Swellendam LM is the second-largest municipality, it has the second lowest population size of the four LMs which comprise the district municipality (Swellendam Municipality 2007). Swellendam is the third-oldest settlement in South Africa after Cape Town and Stellenbosch, the magisterial district of Swellendam being declared in 1747. Consequently, there are a considerable number of architectural heritage sites in the town, with more than 50 dwellings being declared national monuments (Pam Golding Properties 2009).

Swellendam is located on the N2 (national road), 218 km from Cape Town and 206 km from George, the second-most populous settlement in the Western Cape. The almost equidistant location from the two largest settlements in the province places Swellendam at an approximate two-hours' drive from each. Historically, this location was suitable for the town to be a refreshment station on the long, arduous journey along the coast (Burrows 1994). In addition to the agricultural hinterland of the town, there are also two nature reserves close to the town and many hiking trails in the Langeberg Mountains. The Breede River, the largest river in the Western Cape, flows close by.

Swellendam is an agricultural service centre with a strong tourism base (Van Niekerk et al. 2010). The growth potential of the town declined from medium in 2004 to low in 2010 and its human needs index has been downgraded from medium to low in the same period (Van Niekerk et al. 2010). The First Peoples of the area, the Hessequas, had cattle as an integral part of their society (Van Rensburg 1975). Contemporary Swellendam is surrounded by farms that historically produced grains and fruit on fertile soils, and carried livestock (Naudé 1944). However, as depicted in Figure 6.2, the relative importance

of agriculture, forestry and fishing in the Swellendam LM has declined dramatically since the mid 1990s. This has been attributed to drought, inflexible labour laws and farms being used as lifestyle farms (Hattingh 2011, pers com; Whittle 2011, pers com). The percentage gross value add (GVA) contribution to the economy of the Swellendam LM by the agriculture, forestry and fishing sector was 25% in 1995, with the wholesale and retail trade, catering and accommodation sector second at 15.5%. However, by 2009 the latter had risen to first place with a contribution of 20.4% to the Swellendam LM economy whereas agriculture, forestry and fishing had dropped to seventh place with a contribution of only 6.9%, that is a decline of 18.2% in 14 years. Although the relative importance of the agricultural sector has declined, the historical and cultural importance of the town has assisted in growing the tourism industry and minimised the adverse effects of the declining agricultural sector (De Lange 2011, pers com). The growing wholesale and retail trade, catering and accommodation sector includes revenue from tourism with Swellendam as the core.



Source: Quantec (2010)

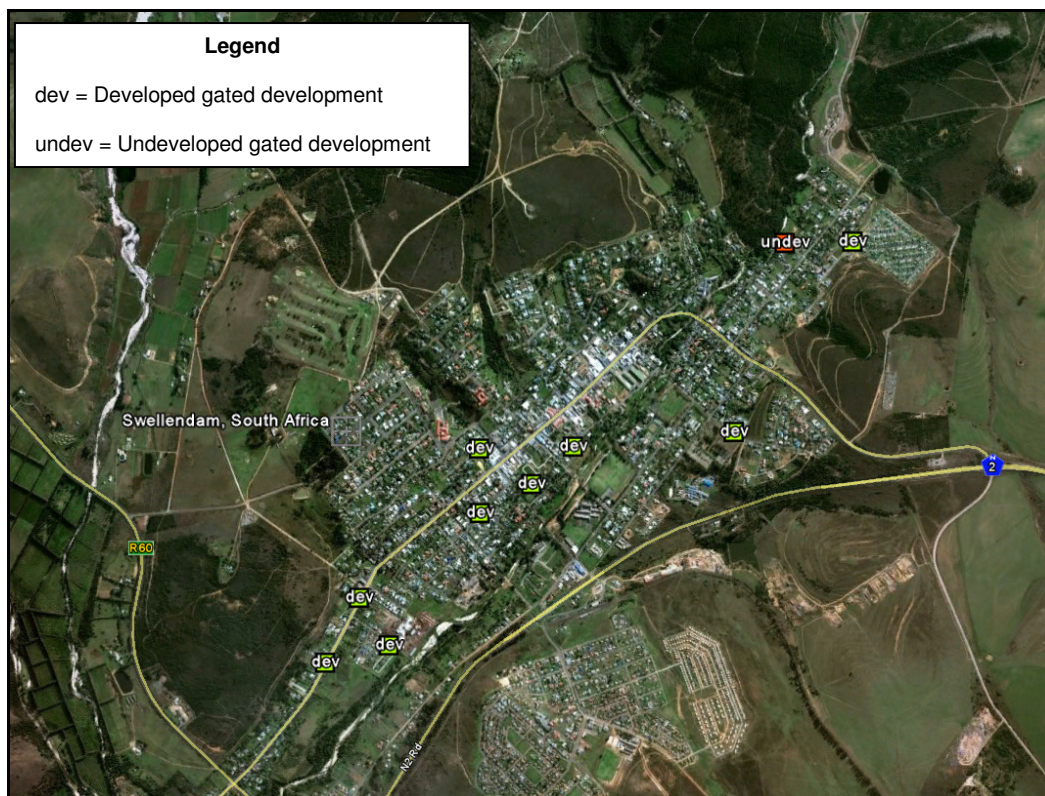
Figure 6.2 Percentage economic sector contributions to the gross value add of the Swellendam Local Municipality, 1995 to 2009

The economic impact of the upgrading of houses in Swellendam increased the contribution of the construction sector to the economy from 3.4% in 2001 to 7.4% in 2009 (Figure 6.2). The estimated cost of completed building activities in Swellendam grew from R12.3 million in 2003 to R113.3 million in 2005 (Octagonal Development 2008). This is further evidenced by the finance, insurance, real estate and business service sector contributing consistently above 15% to the economy of the LM since 1998

(Figure 6.2). The gated developments in Swellendam are investigated against this economic background of growth and decline.

6.2.2 Gated developments in Swellendam

There are 10 gated developments in the Swellendam LM, all of which are in Swellendam, in spite of eight other settlements in the local municipality. No gated developments are located on farms in the LM. The first gated development in Swellendam was constructed in 1995 since when all developers, bar one, of gated developments in Swellendam were not from Swellendam (Badenhorst 2011, pers com). Seven of the gated developments are situated close to the main economic spine, Voortrek Street, and the others in the northeastern and eastern parts of the town (Figure 6.3). Sixty per cent of the gated developments in Swellendam were security estates, 30% townhouse complexes and 10% were undeveloped in 2010.



Source: Backdrop image: Google Earth™ 2009

Figure 6.3 Location of gated developments in Swellendam

Swellendam was re-discovered in the late 1990s by immigrants from the Netherlands, Belgium, England and Germany, and by South Africans from outside of Swellendam, especially from Gauteng and Cape Town (Hattingh 2011, pers com). Swellendam is a prime example of a settlement influenced by contemporary international residential mobility, globalisation, improved communications technologies and transport links, earlier retirement age and increased personal wealth. These factors are associated with international migrants moving to locations they previously visited as tourists (Torkington 2010). The international North to South residential mobility of individuals is influenced by smaller capital outlays on residences compared to their countries of origin and lower living costs, with a segment of the migrants specifically seeking the enjoyment of an idyllic rural atmosphere (O'Reilly 2007).

According to Whittle (2011, pers com), the typical course of events that unfolds is that people visit Swellendam as tourists, where they admire the historical and natural attractions in and around the town, then do research about available properties and thereafter contact estate agents for a suitable property to purchase. O'Reilly (2007) has reported similar behaviour by UK lifestyle migrants to Spain. Respondents in the case study survey mentioned that people from Gauteng who have been exposed to gated development living, would be interested in gated development living in Swellendam (Hattingh 2011, pers com; Steyn & Meyer 2011, pers com). Peoples' decision to relocate from Gauteng to gated developments in Cape has been referred to as 'semigration' by Ballard (2004), that is migration from Gauteng to segregated living in Cape Town. However, in Swellendam only 6% of the respondents had lived in gated developments before migrating to Swellendam and only a minority of these were from Gauteng. Semigration does not seem to apply to the Swellendam case.

Immigrants to Swellendam, especially retirees, prefer small plots which require low maintenance. In Swellendam such plots, together with a garden service, are only found in gated developments where dwellings are also more affordable than freestanding houses in Swellendam (Badenhorst 2011, pers com). Immigrants who have bought properties outside gated developments in the town have repaired, restored and improved their houses and gardens in a manner that reminded them of their places of origin. Swellendam has become a popular town³⁰ for investing in property so that a great demand has resulted. The demand has pushed up real estate prices, and put a strain on affordability. However, the

³⁰ An estate agency website reference refers to Swellendam as a village, which may conjure images of an idyllic rural setting.

economic downturn has impacted on property demand unfavourably (Badenhorst 2011, pers com; Whittle 2011, pers com).

In 2010 there was one undeveloped gated development in Swellendam and one with only about 20% of its dwellings constructed. This has been attributed to the downturn in the economy and a glut of real estate options on the Swellendam property market. The property boom of the late 1990s and early to mid-2000s is over and it is not financially prudent to construct more houses in gated developments in Swellendam given so few buyers (Badenhorst 2011, pers com; Whittle 2011, pers com). Furthermore, less desirable locations have resulted in some gated developments being unsuccessful in selling their dwellings. For example, the Bergzicht development is situated opposite a sawmill and does not offer good views of the mountain, resulting in low property sales. The original developer has consequently sold the development; confirmation of the dictum that location is everything (Badenhorst 2011, pers com; Whittle 2011, pers com). Occupied dwellings in gated developments in Swellendam are 76% owner-occupied and 24% renter-occupied. Gated development homeowners who rent out their gated dwellings buy into gated developments for investment purposes. Many of these homeowners are unable to sell their properties due to the slump in real estate and thus have no option but to continue renting out their houses. One third of the gated development homeowners who rent their dwelling to others have returned to Cape Town or Gauteng and two thirds live elsewhere in Swellendam.

The downturn in the residential property market is further evidenced by the lack of interest by developers in a "... pristine portion of real estate ... adjacent to the Swellendam golf course ... [which] ... includes the existing 9-hole golf course ... [with] ... panoramic views of the Langeberg Mountains and the surrounding landscape" (Swellendam Municipality 2008a: s.p.) and "... an opportunity to establish an upmarket residential/signature golf course development ... [with] ... unparalleled views of the mountains and Hermitage valley" (Swellendam Municipality 2008b: 117). A proposed golf course development on the site of the current municipal golf course was put out on tender by the Swellendam LM in 2008, but no development materialised. The provincial guideline document on the development of golf and polo estates is silent on the issue of the sale of public land, in this instance the municipal golf course, for the development of gated golf estates. The guideline document does mention the importance of conducting social and economic impact assessments on such proposed developments. Other towns in the study area which have had their municipal golf courses incorporated into gated developments are Langebaan and Robertson. The development potential of transforming municipal golf courses into residential golf estates has been recognised by property developers, especially in towns

that are a few hours' drive from major metropolitan areas which have major airports (Property 24 2009). The desirability for municipal golf courses to be close to a major airport implies that accessibility for the global elite is important. It also highlights the increasing recreation and amenity value that non-metropolitan locales can offer an international market. Gated developments must cater for the needs of the transnational elite, in luxury citadels not only in cities, but also in locations outside of cities (Marcuse 1997a; 2002).

The Swellendam LM has recognised the advantage of using municipal land to generate capital for infrastructure investment. The municipality benefits from the construction of gated developments because municipal bulk service infrastructure provision stops at the boundary of gated developments. The costs of all above-ground and below-ground services inside the gated development boundary are borne by the developers (Hattingh 2011, pers com). This allows municipal funding that would have been spent on bulk service infrastructure for erven inside the gated development to be channelled to other municipal priorities. In essence, private developers deliver private services to gated development residents, and the costs are embedded in the selling price and/or in the monthly or annual levies that gated development homeowners pay.

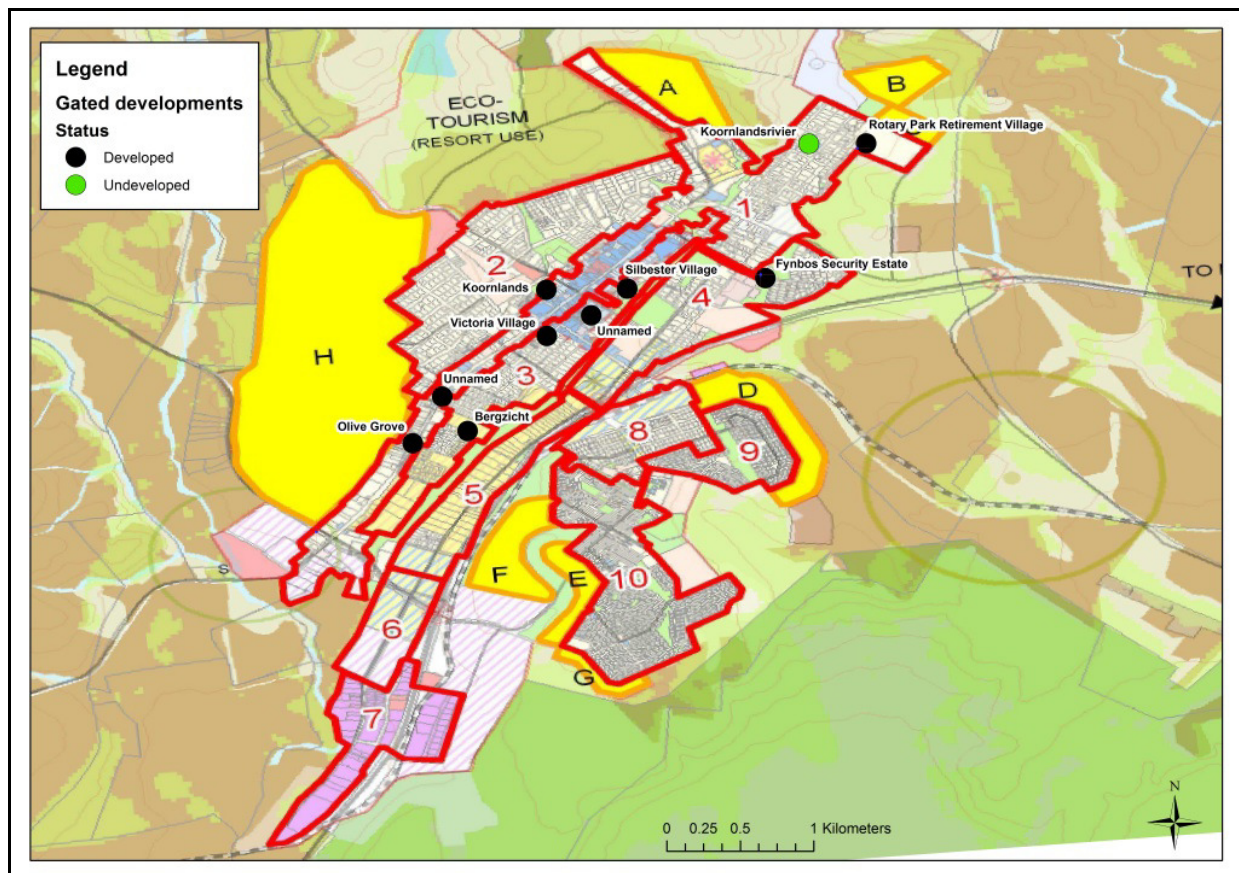
The municipal revenue, which includes the proceeds of the administrative process of land transfer for gated developments, is used for the provision of public services. One could argue that those who have the financial means to maintain their living space pay for it themselves, while the municipality provides infrastructure for the less privileged. Furthermore, the developer pays a once-off development levy per rezoned property that amounts to R23 650 for developments that have one to four erven, R23 950 for developments with 5 to 50 erven, and R31 900 for developments with more than 50 erven (Swellendam Municipality 2011). The revenue secured by this development levy is used for upgrading and maintaining municipal bulk infrastructure such as water and sewerage (Hattingh 2011, pers com). In addition to receiving this income from gated developments, the Swellendam Local Municipality uses gated developments to increase dwelling densities in the town. This is treated in the next section.

6.2.3 Gated developments as a densification mechanism

The IDP of Swellendam LM records that there are opportunities for the subdivision of land in the town, with a view to increased densification and spatial integration (Swellendam Municipality 2010) and that

the individual plots within gated developments are a means of achieving increased density through subdivision (Hattingh 2011, pers com). A similar process of increasing densities through the construction of gated developments in spaces in an older town core has been documented in Tijuana, Mexico (Gallegos 2009).

An overlay of the location of gated developments in Swellendam on the Swellendam density plan was done to determine any link between the proliferation of gated developments and densification in the town (Figure 6.4). Zone 1 (red 1 on the map) indicates the historical zone, tourism use, CDB and residential areas. The spatial development framework (SDF) proposes “[l]imited densification ... due to the sensitive historical nature and streetscape of the area” (Swellendam Municipality 2008b: 122) in zone 1. However, three developed gated developments and one undeveloped gated development are located in zone 1 which conflicts with the historical features in the zone, particularly the Olive Grove and unnamed developments which are situated along the historical spine of the town.



Source: Data overlay on Swellendam Municipality (2008b: 117)

Figure 6.4 Gated developments in Swellendam overlaid on the Swellendam density plan

The undeveloped Koornlandsrivier development located in zone 1 was an issue of contestation, albeit from one person, during its subdivision process. In a letter (dated 15 February 1996) to the municipality in response to the proposed development, Mr S. Gaugler states that the site is located in a part of the town that has a rural character and that the proposed subdivision (increased densification) would destroy that character. The developer responded via his surveyor, in a letter dated 28 February 1996, declaring that the rural character was being maintained by the river flowing past the property. The subdivision was approved by Council on 1 April 1996 (Swellendam Municipality no date a). The site was subsequently purchased by another developer circa 2005 and the first dwellings were constructed during 2011. The downturn in the South African real estate market since around 2006 has probably delayed further development on the site.

Although some perturbed citizens in the community insist that inappropriate subdivision and densification is harmful to the town's character, the densification practices of the municipality have not attracted much angry citizen response. The objectors to the practices are citizens who live close to the properties in question and they are concerned that their immediate surroundings will be aesthetically or otherwise harmed by subdivision, densification and gating. This is typical Nimbyism.

The Rotary Park Retirement Village, a security estate, is located on the north-eastern corner of zone 1, somewhat detached from the core of the zone. The two other gated developments in zone 1, the security estates of Olive Grove and an unnamed development, are in a transitional area of large residential erven being subdivided and houses being converted to guest houses, restaurants, home industry/art shops, and lifestyle uses combined with residential use. The unnamed gated development is located on a so-called 'underused' property and the town is said to benefit by its use for housing. No objections were received against the rezoning and subdivision so that the Planning and Implementation Management Support System unit of the district municipality concluded that the development would not have any significant detrimental impact on the environment (Swellendam Municipality no date b). The Olive Grove development was given similar approval and the developers requested permission from the municipality to construct the dwellings in two phases to spread their financial risk in the uncertain economic climate (Swellendam Municipality no date c).

Zones 2 and 4 (red 2 and 4 on the map) each have one gated development, a townhouse complex and a security estate respectively, and in these zones densification is proposed by subdivision and second dwelling units (Swellendam Municipality 2008b). Zone 3 (red 3 on the map) contains four gated

developments of which three are classified as infill developments. Two of these developments are security estates and two are townhouse complexes with the latter two located closer to the CBD than the security estates. The SDF states that this zone has "... several infill development opportunities ... [and] ... can be developed at higher densities (Swellendam Municipality 2008b: 122). The Bergzicht development application to the municipality refers to the development as espousing the principles of privacy, individuality and graceful living. In addition, the development would use the land economically and discourage urban sprawl and better economies of scale would be achieved regarding the use of services and infrastructure. The development must also contribute to alleviating the housing shortage in Swellendam (Swellendam Municipality no date d). The unnamed development in zone 3 elicited objections from two individuals. A Mr Erskine, in a letter to the municipality dated 17 July 2005, objected to the security walls and fences as he felt that they should blend in with the neighbouring properties. Similarly, a Mrs Alexander opined, in a letter dated 18 July 2005 to the developer via the municipality, that security walls and security do not belong in a town such as Swellendam. The developer's response via their town planner was that security was a marketing tool that aided the selling of the houses within the development. The council approved the development on 17 November 2005 (Swellendam Municipality no date e). By December 2011 only five houses, out of the 17 planned, had been constructed in this development. A further example of the slump in the real estate market concerned the proposed Rothman Estate in zone 5 (red 5 on the map) for which the entire EIA process had been completed as well as the necessary municipal planning processes, but it was never constructed. The various municipal and provincial planning and environmental processes to construct the Rothman Estate had started in 2005 (Province of the Western Cape 2005a). By the time the RoD was issued in March 2007³¹ indications were that the global and South African economic crisis was in full swing. The global economic crisis, coupled with strict lending criteria for home loans, must have been too economically risky for the developers, hence the development never made it to the construction phase.

The Swellendam SDF formulated that the town advocate densification as a means to promote social integration, mixed land use, and contain urban sprawl (Swellendam Municipality 2008b) based on the densification and urban integration objectives contained in the provincial SDF (Western Cape Provincial Government 2005b). Gated developments in Swellendam are used to densify and contain the growth of the town (Hattingh 2011, pers com). Importantly, higher densities can be achieved by

³¹ Indicated in the DEA&DP environmental applications database.

constructing townhouse complexes rather than security estates. But in Swellendam a contradictory situation exists that instead of higher-density townhouse complexes, it is mostly security estates that have been developed to increase dwellings units per hectare. An answer to this conundrum is found elsewhere in the comments of estate agents in Ceres: residents in small towns do not want to live in small, high-density townhouses – they want a bit of space to move in, not like in the city where everyone lives cheek by jowl (Kotze & Smit 2011, pers com). It appears that developers have made the correct choice by developing security estates in Swellendam with a measure of open space as this is what residents want, rather than townhouse complexes. Furthermore, the security estates in Swellendam do not have vast expanses of open space in them, so increasing the dwelling densities of the security estates. The more houses a developer can build in the development, the lower the costs per unit, which in turn makes it more affordable for potential homebuyers, hence higher dwelling unit densities (Erasmus 20011, pers com). While developers are instrumental in the process of providing the housing market with houses in gated developments, it is the homeowners who decide to purchase or not. Their decision to purchase is based on a number of factors which include safety and security, and in the case of Swellendam, the tourist attractions and heritage component. The next subsection examines the degree to which tourist attractions and activities, the heritage aspects of the town, and the degree that safety and security features in gated development living in Swellendam.

6.2.4 Gated developments, tourism and security

The wholesale and retail trade, catering and accommodation sector recorded the second-highest growth rate (4.9%) of the Swellendam LM's economic sectors between 1995 and 2009. This sector includes tourism which is a strong contributor to the economy of Swellendam. Swellendam had approximately 60 accommodation establishments in 2008 (Octagonal Development 2008) and 32 restaurants and eating establishments (Greater Swellendam Tourism Organisation 2011). The town's tourism sector is seen to add to the laid-back, relaxed atmosphere in the town, especially its heritage component: "... die ou geboue skep 'n rustigheid ..."³² (Steyn & Meyer 2011, pers com). In addition to the historical buildings, restaurants and eating establishments, the town also has a number of antiques shops, specialist shops such as delicatessens and bakeries, and two nature reserves close by. These businesses and establishments in Swellendam add to the touristy feel in the town.

³² "... the historic buildings add to the tranquility ...".

Because of the importance of tourism to the town, respondents were asked to indicate how important various tourist-related features of Swellendam were to them (Table 6.1). The historical buildings and the nature reserves are most important to the residents of the towns' gated developments, with tourist attractions such as museums and monuments also viewed as important, but to a lesser degree. One of the residents of a gated development has written a book about the Bontebok National Park. The Langeberg Mountains are deemed to add to the tranquil nature of the town and respondents mentioned that they go for regular walks in the mountains. Specialist shops, restaurants and antiques shops were not viewed as being important to the respondents in Swellendam. Seventy-five per cent of respondents lived elsewhere before coming to live in Swellendam. Their reasons for moving to Swellendam are the scenic beauty, heritage and tranquillity of the town.

Table 6.1 Responses concerning the importance of Swellendam's tourist-related features

Feature	Important (%)	Neutral (%)	Not important (%)
Historical buildings	78	10	12
Nature reserves	72	21	7
Tourist attractions	57	22	21
Climate	54	46	0
Restaurants	33	42	25
Antiques shops	30	27	43

(N = 67)

Source: Author's survey, 2011

Two thirds of respondents are of the opinion that housing in Swellendam is expensive. An estate agent is of the opinion that the only affordable houses, on smaller erven, are those in the gated developments (Whittle 2011, pers com). Houses on the Swellendam property market have large erven with large gardens and concomitant high maintenance costs. Houses in gated developments in Swellendam are said to be an affordable housing option when compared to large free-standing houses and while the scenic beauty and heritage of the town are important, it is affordability that drives people to buy into gated developments in Swellendam (Whittle 2011, pers com).

The issue of the safety and security of gated developments features strongly in local and international literature (see Chapter 3). Gated development residents' perceptions of safety and security in Swellendam were investigated further because the town registered higher crime levels compared to other non-metropolitan towns in the Western Cape. The average security level index value for all non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape is 45 and the figure for Swellendam's security estates and townhouse complexes is 47. Could the above-average security level attained for Swellendam be a response to a high crime rate?

An analysis of crime in 131 towns in the Western Cape by Van Niekerk et al. (2010) revealed that Swellendam ranked 23rd in reducing crime rates between 2004/06 and 2008/09. However, Swellendam placed 119th out of the 131 towns regarding crime occurrences per capita in 2008/09. Although Swellendam's crime rates were reduced between 2004/06 and 2008/09, they were still high in 2008/09 compared to other non-metropolitan settlements in the province.

Swellendam has comparatively high crime rates with an above-average security level index value for its gated developments. A study of nine local municipalities in the Overberg and Cape Winelands DMs found that homicide without a firearm was most prevalent in the Swellendam LM (Groenewald et al. 2006). However, in Swellendam crime activities are confined to particular parts of the town. Despite the indication given by the statistics this study's respondents describe Swellendam as a peaceful town which does not have a problem with crime in the CBD, most crime taking place in the mixed-race suburb of Railton. Seventy-nine per cent of the respondents said that Swellendam experiences low levels of crime and 84% feel safe in the town. Almost all (99%) of the respondents feel safe inside their gated developments (Table 6.2). Respondents mentioned that they feel at ease when walking in the streets of the town, even at night, and that they are able to identify strangers in the developments. Crime in Swellendam was described as petty crime with no crime syndicates present or organised crime activities taking place. Ninety per cent of the population in Swellendam is Afrikaans-speaking (Swellendam Municipality 2010) and they have a similar value system so that townsfolk get along well with one another and this contributes to the peacefulness in the town (Steyn & Meyer 2011, pers com).

Table 6.2 Responses to safety and crime issues in Swellendam

Question	Crime levels and feelings toward crime		
	High	Medium	Low
What is the level of crime in Swellendam?	3%	18%	79%
	Yes	Neutral	No
Do you feel safe in Swellendam?	84%	13%	3%
	Yes	Neutral	No
Do you feel safe in the gated development?	99%	0	1%

(N = 67)

Source: Author's survey, 2011

Respondents describe Swellendam as a peaceful town. However, violent crime does occur (Steyn 2010). The one respondent who felt unsafe in the gated development attributed this to her experiences of a number of burglaries in the development. The management of the particular gated development confirmed that the perimeter fence had been cut and dwellings were burgled. Respondents maintained that the security measures at gated developments are used as a marketing tool, especially for targeting prospective buyers who have previously experienced gated development living. A developer in Swellendam confirmed that security features are used as a marketing tool as well as assuring peace of mind to prospective buyers regarding the security aspect of the development, but security features can create the impression that crime is a problem in the town (Erasmus 2011, pers com).

It has been suggested that it is not the gated developments that have attracted the buyers per se, rather that the affordable lock-up-and-go dwellings in Swellendam are only available in gated developments (Whittle 2011, pers com). The main reason for people buying into gated developments is not for security purposes, but because there are no other small-sized houses available in the town (Whittle 2011, pers com). According to the respondents gated developments in Swellendam are not necessarily responses to a security or crime problem, rather to the need to have peace of mind regarding safety, with developers using security as a marketing tool. The next section case studies Ceres where gated developments display features that require further consideration.

6.3 CASE STUDY: CERES

The following subsections present a geographical, historical and socio-economic context to Ceres and an examination of the locations, socio-demographic profile and safety and security issues of gated developments in Ceres is advanced.

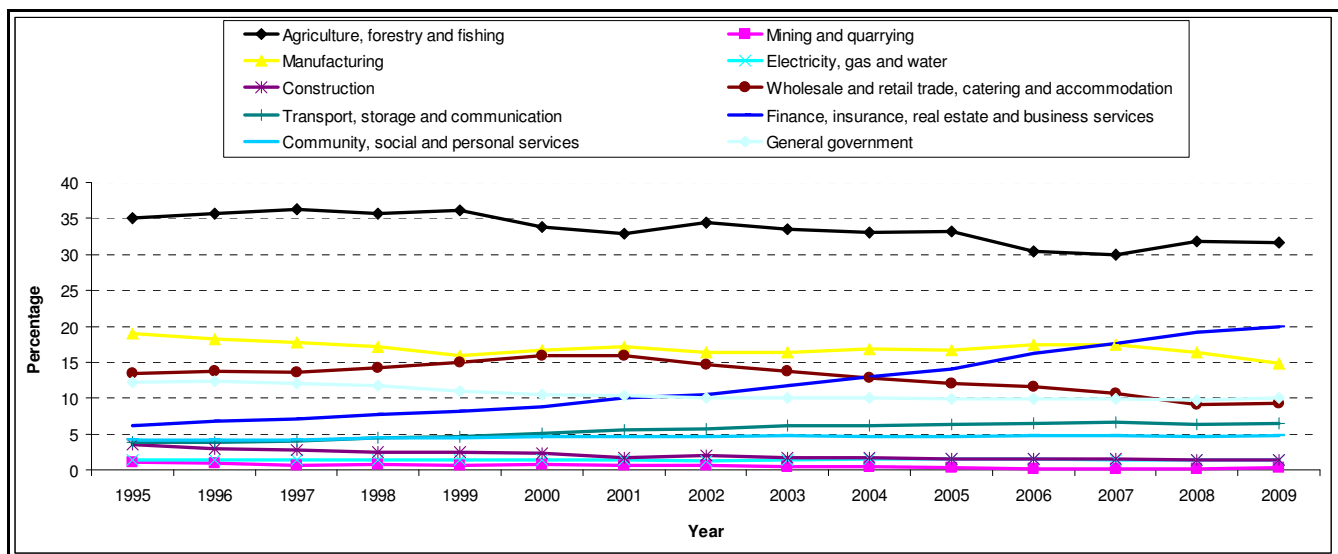
6.3.1 Introduction

Ceres had a population of approximately 31 100 in 2007 and is situated at the foot of the Skurweberg Mountains along the Dwars River in the Witzenberg LM which is part of the Cape Winelands DM (Figure 6.1). The town, located approximately 150 km from Cape Town, is in the heartland of a fertile valley that produces a variety of fruits. The naming of the town after the Roman goddess of agriculture, grain, fertility and motherly relationships is testament to the quantity and quality of agricultural produce grown in the valley. The area was inhabited by the Khoekhoen for thousands of years and there is evidence of this in the rock paintings in the area (Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). The first plots in Ceres were sold to farmers in 1849 and a route through the town became important after the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley. The area surrounding Ceres has a rich history with some of the oldest farms in South Africa (Ceres Tourism 2009).

From a socio-economic development perspective, the town has declined from having a high growth potential in 2004 to medium growth potential in 2010 with a human needs index set at medium (Van Niekerk et al. 2010). Ceres is rated as average on a continuum of economic development potential and human needs among 131 towns in the province.

The importance of agriculture in the Ceres district is witnessed by the dominance of the agriculture, forestry and fishing sector's contribution to the economy of the Witzenberg LM (Figure 6.5). The sector consistently contributed more than 30% of the GVA of the Witzenberg LM in the period 1995 to 2009. The Witzenberg LM is one of only two local municipalities in the Western Cape where agriculture has improved or maintained its importance in the economy between 1995 and 2009 (recall Table 3.3). Conradie, Piesse & Thirtle (2009) have identified Ceres as one of four high-growth agricultural productivity areas in the Western Cape for the period 1952 to 2002, further underlining the stability and importance of this sector. In addition, agricultural production has increased dramatically as evidenced by increased land use applications to the municipality for workers' housing, refrigeration

facilities, packing sheds, new dams and the clearing of unused land for agricultural purposes (Taljaard 2011, pers com). The finance, insurance, real estate and business services sector has increased its share of the GVA from 6% in 1995 to 20% in 2009. Because the sector includes real estate activities it gives an indication of the vibrancy of the real estate market in the local municipality. The selling of farms to buyers from outside Ceres is regarded as the main driver of the real estate sector in the local municipality (Taljaard 2011, pers com). However, unlike the situation in Swellendam, agriculture has maintained its importance in the local economy. The importance of the wholesale and retail trade, catering and accommodation sector, which includes tourism, has declined from a high of 15.9% in 2000 to a low of 9.2% in 2009, despite the presence of scenic areas, snowfalls and skiing in winter, outdoor recreation activities and a number of accommodation establishments.



Source: Quantec (2010)

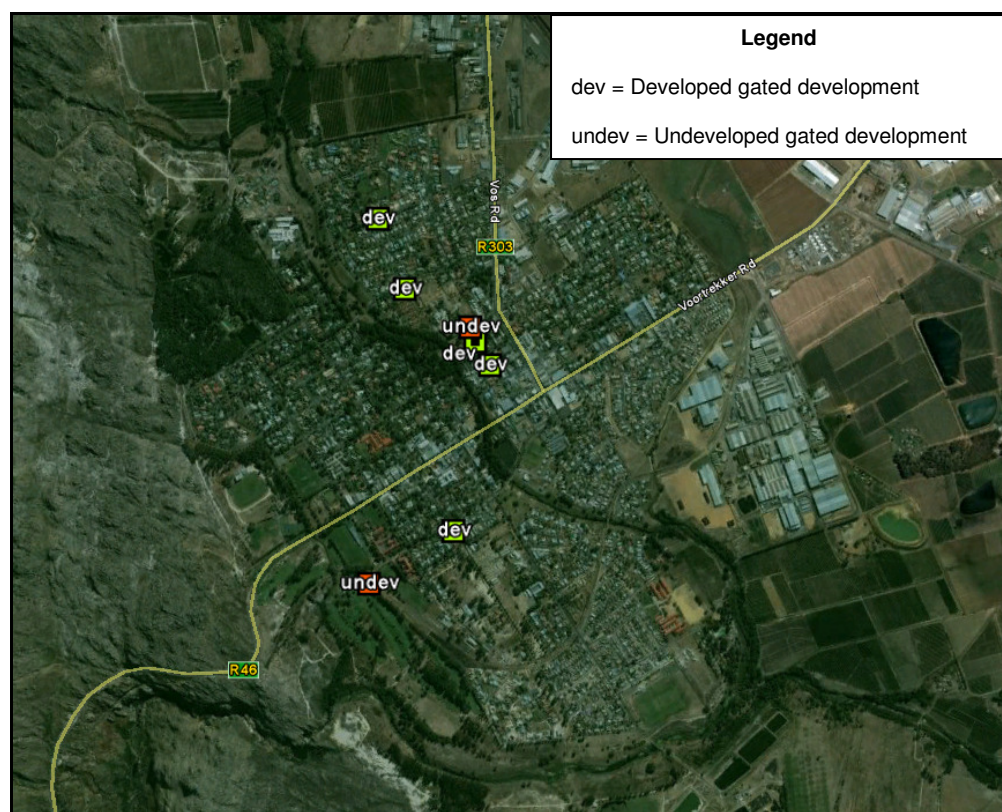
Figure 6.5 Percentage economic sector contributions to the gross value add of the Witzenberg Local Municipality, 1995 to 2009

Although agriculture is the mainstay of the economy, most of the employment opportunities occur during the harvesting season (Ally-Schmidt 2005). Out-of-season employment for women is mainly domestic work. Ceres is characterised as a site of chronic poverty with employment being scarce and low-paid with significant shifting labour trends (Ally-Schmidt 2005). Du Toit & Ally (2003) noted that 35% of the temporary labour in the Ceres district was sourced from the Eastern Cape. Ownership of the Ceres economy is in the hands of a small number of landed elite who are bound by kinship ties,

economic alliances and political affiliation (Coetzee 2006). Areas of poverty in suburbs on the outskirts of the town can be juxtaposed with the areas of economic certainty closer to the centre of the town. The gated developments of Ceres are located in the latter space.

6.3.2 Gated developments in Ceres

Surprisingly, all the gated developments in the Witzenberg LM are in Ceres with none in the other towns in the local municipality, namely Tulbagh, Wolseley, Prince Alfred Hamlet and Op-die-Berg. The five developed and two undeveloped gated developments (Figure 6.6) in Ceres present some noteworthy characteristics given that the town is an agricultural service centre for the surrounding farming areas and it is not classified as a high-growth town in the province (Van Niekerk et al. 2010). The location of highly secure gated developments in an agricultural service centre town is worthy of closer inspection.



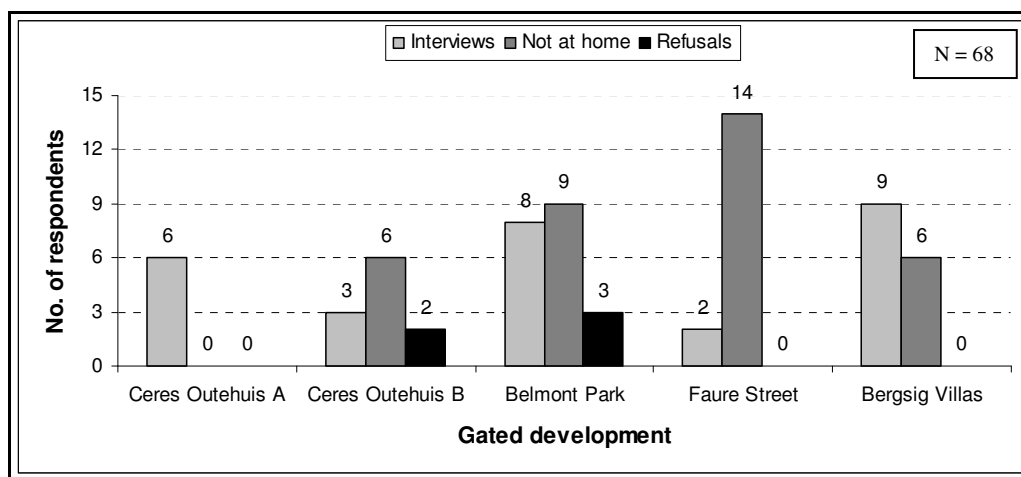
Source: Backdrop image: Google Earth™ 2006

Figure 6.6 Location of gated developments in Ceres

Six of the seven gated developments are townhouse complexes and one is a security estate. This points to gated developments in Ceres being living spaces rather than living and lifestyle spaces. The Witzenberg LM has the highest percentage of gated townhouse complexes per LM in the province, and they are all located in Ceres. Five of the gated developments are situated in the north-east quadrant of the town and the others are in the south-east quadrant. The gated developments are concentrated in the older part of the town where the erven are large. The subdivision of the larger older erven allows for the inclusion of a number of dwellings in a gated development. The newer parts of Ceres do not have large erven and are thus unsuitable for subdivision to accommodate gated developments (Taljaard 2011, pers com).

6.3.3 Socio-demographic profile of gated development respondents in Ceres

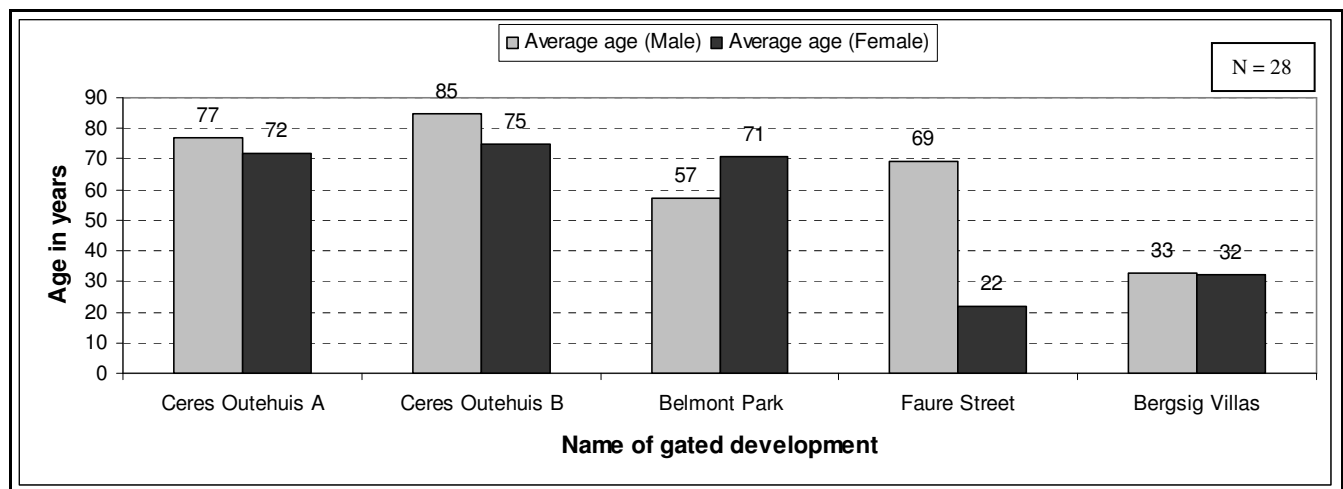
A questionnaire survey at the five developed gated developments in Ceres elicited information about the gated developments and crime in Ceres. Twenty-eight (41%) households out of a total of 68 responded, the refusal rate was only 7% because 52% of the households were not home at the time of the survey. The high absentee rate is attributable to the confidence households have to leave their homes unattended thanks to the security which the gated developments offer. The most absentees were at Faure Street (Figure 6.7), a gated development for single and childless persons through a screening process by the developer. The younger residents of Faure Street are probably more mobile and spend less time at home than older respondents.



Source: Author's survey, 2011

Figure 6.7 Survey response rates of gated development residents in Ceres

A snapshot of the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents is provided here. As expected, residents of the two the retirement gated developments (Outehuis A and B) have the highest male and female average ages, with Belmont Park having the third highest average age (Figure 6.8). Six respondents from Belmont Park are retired or close to retirement and they report that they do not want to reside in a retirement development yet. Seventy-six per cent of the residents of the two retirement gated developments and Belmont Park are homeowners. In contrast, in the Faure Street and Bergsig Villas developments, the average age of residents is lower.³³ All the respondents of Faure Street and Bergsig Villas (in fact all their residents) are renters. Younger people tend to be renters in the gated developments and older residents are homeowners. This can be ascribed to the high cost of buying a house in Ceres which is beyond the financial reach of younger people (Kotze & Smit 2011, pers com; Taljaard 2011, pers com).



Source: Author's survey

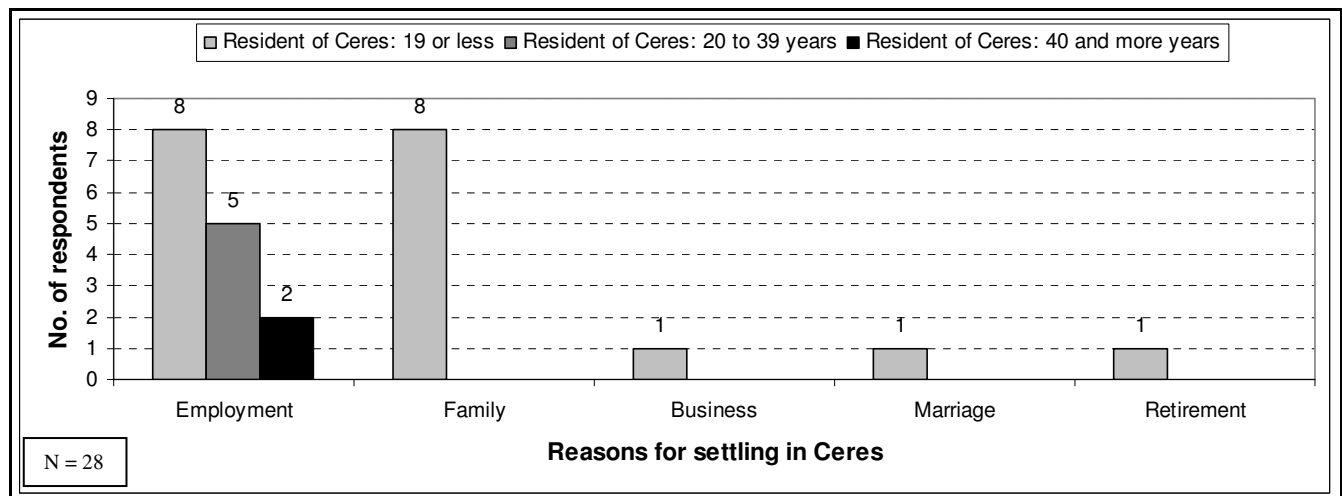
Figure 6.8 Average age of adult residents of gated developments in Ceres

Other characteristics of the residents are that 37% of the male respondents and 50% of female respondents lived alone; female respondents remarked that the security features of the developments made them feel safer; only three interviewed households had children living in the gated developments; and the developments were almost devoid of children and pets. The Faure Street developer did not select adults with children to live in the development because the law makes it difficult to deal with

³³ The 69-year old male respondent was in the process of moving to his daughter's residence and was the only retired person living there at the time of the survey. The developer confirmed that all the residents are younger people.

them should they default on rental payments (Smit 2011, pers com). All the children of the residents of the retirement villages and six of those of the Belmont Park respondents, were grown-up and residing elsewhere on their own. Ten of the eleven respondents of Faure Street and Bergsig Villas were in full-time employment. In addition, 75% of all the respondents had a post-matric qualification. One surmises that renters have higher-paid jobs which enable them to afford the rent and retirees have made provision for a comfortable retirement. This point is further substantiated by 41% of retired respondents of the two retirement villages and Belmont Park having second homes, of which 57% were seaside holiday homes.

Ninety per cent of respondents lived in another town before settling in Ceres. Figure 6.9 indicates that the foremost reason for settling in Ceres is employment. Respondents settled in Ceres to take up employment in professional private and public sector positions, the municipality, the now-defunct Regional Services Councils, various governments departments, and in the local fruit industry. This also highlights the importance of the municipality and fruit industry in the provision of jobs filled by people from outside Ceres. Younger people from outside Ceres come to the town to take up positions with companies such as Ceres Fruit Growers (Kotze & Smit, 2011, pers com).



Source: Author's survey, 2011

Figure 6.9 Reasons for settling in Ceres by length of time living there

Settling in Ceres to be close to family was an important consideration by 75% of the respondents residing in the two retirement developments and Belmont Park. Retirement was only mentioned once

as a reason, suggesting that Ceres is not a retirement destination per se, rather a town where gated development residents take up work opportunities or wish to be close to other family members.

6.3.4 Issues of safety and security in Ceres

Because of the high security index value of gated developments in Ceres the survey questioned respondents about safety and crime. The one security estate in Ceres has a high security index score of 60, comparable to those of security estates in the Bitou LM, specifically Plettenberg Bay. The townhouse complexes in Ceres are categorised in the second tier of the security index scores of between 41 and 47. The security estate in Ceres is evidently more secure than the townhouse complexes. The combined security index value for Ceres places it 4th out of 53 towns and it is the highest placed town with an agricultural economic base – the next town on the list with an agricultural economic base is Robertson in 14th position. The central question about Ceres is: Why does such a high security level obtain in a town with an agricultural economic base?

The provincial average of security index scores for all non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape is 45. Compared to the security index score for Ceres' security estates and townhouse complexes of 53 – the fourth highest of all towns surveyed. Van Niekerk et al. (2010) analysed crime rates in 131 Western Cape towns and their results show that Ceres ranked 44th in reducing crime rates between 2004/06 and 2008/09. Ceres placed 85th out of the 131 towns regarding crime occurrences per capita in 2008/09. There has been moderate success in Ceres in reducing crime rates when compared to other non-metropolitan towns in the Western Cape. Is it possible that crime contributes to people's decision to live in gated developments in Ceres? With this in mind respondents were questioned about safety and crime in Ceres.

Table 6.3 shows that half of the respondents felt that the crime level in Ceres is high, while less than one quarter was of the opinion that it is low. Sixty per cent of female respondents indicated that crime levels were high in Ceres, compared to 44% of males. The fear of crime in Ceres appears to have a gender dimension. Although the gendered fear of crime is a multi-component concept, it is a consistent aspect in who is fearful of crime (Whitzman 2007).

Table 6.3 Responses to safety and crime issues in Ceres

Question	Crime levels and feelings toward crime		
	High	Medium	Low
What is the level of crime in Ceres?	50%	29%	21%
	Yes	Neutral	No
Do you feel safe in Ceres?	89%	0%	11%
	Yes	Neutral	No
Do you feel safe in the gated development?	100%	0%	0%
	Yes	Neutral	No

(N = 28)

Source: Author's survey, 2011

Respondents affirmed that the level of crime in Ceres had worsened over the years. Housebreaking and theft were mentioned as the most common form of criminal activity the residents of Ceres were exposed to. Conversely, one respondent said that in the seven years she had lived in Ceres, she had never experienced crime of any sort. Petty crime does occur, but houses in Ceres do not even have burglar bars installed (Kotze & Smit 2011, pers com). Taljaard (2011, pers com) believes that housebreaking and theft are not problems in Ceres, but acknowledges that crimes were committed due to alcohol abuse. This point to domestic abuses and social problems in the suburbs surrounding the CBD, with the CBD experiencing minimal crime. Reports of housebreakings or theft seldom appear in the local newspaper (Taljaard 2011, pers com).

Even though half of the respondents felt that the town's crime rate was high, respondents felt safe in Ceres. This suggests that while respondents agree that crime levels are high, their not having been exposed to criminal acts leaves them feeling safe. Two of the three respondents who did not feel safe in Ceres contended that crime everywhere was out of control and that no place was safe. The third respondent who felt unsafe specified that undertones of racial hostility between Black and mixed-race residents in Ceres made him, as a white person, feel unsafe.

The security measures at the gated developments certainly made respondents feel safe as they all felt safe behind the walls, fences, gates and electric wires, fitted with cameras and intercoms. Yet, robberies had occurred in Bergsig Villas, in the two retirement developments and in Belmont Park. A murder had even been committed in one retirement development years ago. Respondents commented that living in

a complex makes them feel safe, but that vigilance of any unusual movements or strangers in the developments is recommended. Respondents reported that a sense of community in a complex allows one to recognise and know fellow residents, and as such to watch over one another: this in spite of only 64% of the respondents saying that they felt a sense of community in their gated development.

Sixty-one per cent of the respondents replied in the affirmative when asked if it was their specific choice to live in a gated development (Table 6.4). Further analysis established that 85% of respondents who wilfully decided to live in a gated development were owners of the dwellings in which they resided, but only 40% of the renters responded that they specifically sought to reside in a gated development. The priority of 78% of the renters was to have a place to stay. It is noteworthy though that all the respondents felt safe in the developments and all the respondents who said that it was not their specific choice to live in a gated development, except one, cited security as an advantage of the gated developments in which they lived.

Table 6.4 Respondents' choice to reside in a gated development in Ceres

Response	Owners	Renters	Total
Yes	11	6	17
No	2	9	11

(N = 28)

Source: Author's survey, 2011

All the respondents who owned their dwellings, most of whom took the decision to live in a gated development, are residents of the two retirement developments and Belmont Park – the older respondents in the survey. Kotze & Smit (2011, pers com) believe that older people in Ceres want to reside in gated developments as they feel safer there and that gated developments offer peace of mind regarding crime. In addition, they note that older residents want the convenience of having a smaller residence that requires less maintenance.

Young professionals residing at the Faure Street gated development have moved to Ceres from other towns. The parents of these young professionals do enquire about the security measures at the development, especially the parents of female residents whose first question is how safe their daughters will be (Smit 2011, pers com). The developer of Faure Street emphasised that renters are happy with the security measures. In addition to the wall, electric wire above the wall and remotely-controlled gate,

the developer intends fitting safety gates to the front door of each living unit on the property to increase security. Oddly, for all the current security features and the impending security upgrade, the developer still opines that Ceres has no crime problem. What is important is that the gates give residents, and parents, peace of mind (Smit 2011, pers com).

The location in Ceres of each gated development influences residents' opinions about how safe and secure they perceive themselves to be. Residents of Ceres Ouetehuis A mentioned that the presence of an alley and the river on two sides of the development is a cause for concern. Respondents recounted stories of fights, stabbings, unruliness and drunkenness in the alley, and the river was considered to be a weak point in the perimeter as access from there was easy and the dense undergrowth added to the insecurity. One respondent was adding motion-activated alarm beams around his house in the gated development. Ceres Ouetehuis B is said to be subjected to nuisances such as noisy, drunk and disorderly behaviour, especially on Saturdays (Taljaard 2011, pers com) due to a liquor store and tavern located approximately 120 metres from the main gate of Ceres Ouetehuis B. The gates prevent inebriated people from entering the development, but do not prevent them from buzzing the residents per intercom. Taljaard (2011, pers com) reiterated that residents of gated developments want privacy and do not want to be bothered by people seeking work or begging for food, money or clothes. Mendicinity is perceived to be more prevalent in Ceres than in other towns, no doubt due to the chronic out-of-season unemployment when many residents eke out an existence by begging (Taljaard 2011, pers com). Anecdotal evidence suggest that seasonal workers from the Eastern Cape do not contribute to any criminal activity (Kotze & Smit 2011, pers com; Taljaard 2011, pers com), but respondents mentioned that the influx of foreign nationals into Ceres is worrying. A respondent residing in Bergsig Villas declared that the development's proximity to the suburb of Rooikamp was the reason for the high crime rates and consequently for their high insurance premiums.

Housing in Ceres is expensive, especially for younger buyers so that they are forced to seek rental accommodation or move away from the town to find affordable accommodation elsewhere – similar to the experiences of young homeseekers in rural England (Lowe & Ward 2009). Thus the rental market is extremely popular in Ceres, resulting in a severe shortage of rental housing stock (Kotze & Smit 2011, pers com) and long waiting lists for rental accommodation in the town (Taljaard 2011, pers com). Respondents noted that the presence of waiting lists for rental accommodation has a twofold purpose. First, it allows prospective renters to be screened according to criteria such as employment status, income, marital status and whether they have children. One respondent even mentioned that the tone of

one's voice and one's accent when enquiring about accommodation is the initial determinant to entry on the waiting list or being offered rental accommodation. Second, any transgression of the development rules could lead one to forfeit one's rental accommodation, with the concomitant struggle to obtain alternative rental accommodation in Ceres. Rules are strictly enforced regarding no loud music and no drinking of alcoholic beverages outside the dwellings, but residents are free to do as they please outside the perimeter of the development – "Uit, uit by die hek!"³⁴ (Smit 2011, pers com). The gate is the barrier to be crossed to be free of a development's rules.³⁵ This may explain why many renters were not at home during surveys done on a Saturday morning and on a public holiday – the development becomes restrictive and fun is to be had beyond the perimeter.

Taljaard (2011, pers com) said that the reason why Ceres has many townhouse complexes is that is cheaper for the developer to build such complexes than freestanding houses. More dwellings can be built on an erf and the developer makes a bigger profit. Developers know that there is a definite demand for rental housing in Ceres and intend constructing more such developments aimed at different income-bracket earners (Smit 2011, pers com). Buyers in Ceres do not want an erf that is too small so should development densities be too high, prospective buyers may be discouraged by too cramped living spaces (Smit 2011, pers com). Due to the demand for rental housing in Ceres townhouse complexes are aimed at the rental market. However, buyers are fickle and the undeveloped Belmont Park has not been developed even though there is a housing shortage. The dwellings in the development are too expensive for younger buyers. Also, the developers intend building double-storey dwellings, but the buyers in Ceres are not looking for that type of dwelling. Because the developers are from outside Ceres they do not understand the Ceres housing market and this contributes to the lack of interest in the high-density dwellings. Moreover, potential buyers want to see a finished product such as a showhouse before they buy (Kotze & Smit 2011, pers com). Thus, the gated developments that cater for the rental market in Ceres are there in response to the demand for housing in the town. It is not lifestyle-driven: "Ceres is 'n mooi dorp maar ons het nie coffee shops hier nie ... hier is dit landbou"³⁶ (Taljaard 2011, pers com). The security components of gated developments in Ceres are used as a marketing tool as this strategy fits well into peoples' perceptions that it is more secure to reside in a

³⁴ Out, out through the gate!

³⁵ Redeveloped inner city apartment blocks in Johannesburg have the same rules regarding noise levels: "... tenants are working people, and if they want to party, they don't do it there" (Weavind 2011).

³⁶ Ceres is a beautiful town, but we do not have coffee shops here ... agriculture is here.

gated development. However, there is such an acute shortage of rental housing in Ceres that even if developments were not gated they would be snapped up by prospective renters.

6.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter case-studied Swellendam and Ceres for the particular characteristics of gated developments within their respective historical, geographic and socio-economic settings. Security estates in Swellendam are used as a densification mechanism by municipal planning authorities. The scenic beauty and heritage of Swellendam are important, but not the reason for living in a gated development. Gated developments in both towns were in response to a real (Ceres) and perceived (Swellendam) housing need. While rental accommodation in gated developments in Ceres was doing well, there was a lack of interest from homebuyers in gated developments in Swellendam. While developers in both towns concede that they use security features as marketing tools the residents viewed them as important for peace of mind. People want affordable accommodation and these are found in gated developments, for rental and for purchase.

The theoretical underpinning of the proliferation of gated developments in Swellendam and Ceres presents a divergent view from what Smith-Bowers & Manzi (2006) proposes. There is no fortress mentality present in Swellendam and Ceres – gated development residents do not hesitate to walk around their towns, they do not conduct their affairs exclusively behind the walls and gates, they do not retreat from public life and they do not travel from one securitised location to the next. Rather, residents of both towns view their towns as safe enough to warrant activity patterns that include movement in non-gated, non-fortified areas. The concept of gated development as a fortress was not extended to other fortification, exclusion and surveillance practices in the towns. Similarly, there is no evidence of isolationist rhetoric (Blakely & Snyder 1997) from residents as they do not see themselves as separate from town affairs and the broader civic life. For example, rather than a declining social responsibility (Hook & Vrdoljak 2002), a development in Swellendam is active in a number of community projects. The application of the dual city and quartered city concepts as espoused by Marcuse (1989) to Swellendam and Ceres is problematic due to the unnatural separation of peoples within towns due to the apartheid-era separationist policies. Towns were polarised along racial lines long before gated developments were ever constructed. Swellendam and Ceres do not have a luxury quarter that exclude undesirables and the poor through various mechanisms of exclusion.

The club goods theory application to gated developments as proposed by Webster (2002; 2005) can be applied to developments in Swellendam and Ceres as each development is a club – where the public space within the development is the common, shared communal possession of all residents. However, the club goods theory application to gated developments has been criticised, for not taking social aspects and linkages of gated developments to phenomenon outside its walls into account (Girior 2003; Glasze 2003). The development of gated developments in the case-study towns has followed a place-specific trajectory embedded in town-specific requirements and conditions, something that the club goods theory ignores. The fear of crime and violence as being the reason for gated developments (Low 2003) does somewhat explain the phenomenon in Swellendam and Ceres. Residents are aware of national crime rates being high and the media attention given to it, which instil a measure of caution. However, residents do not view the towns as so unsafe that one has to barricade oneself from criminal activity. While criminal activity is higher in Swellendam than Ceres (Van Niekerk et al. 2010) it was the latter's respondents who perceived their crime rates as high. In spite of perceptions, few respondents in both towns stated that they specifically sought out a gated development to live in. It is not a fear of crime but a precautionary approach that was adopted by residents; which is different to Low's theorisation.

The accepted theoretical approaches for the explanation of gated developments do not adequately explain their proliferation in the two towns. The propagation of gated developments in Swellendam and Ceres is driven by the demand for cheaper, compact housing to which the developers accede; the need to apply densification principles to the current low dwelling unit densities and by the shortage of accommodation for the rental market. Developers have fulfilled these needs and requirements as demanded by homebuyers, renters and the municipality while simultaneously attempting to lower costs through bulk construction. It is the developers in Swellendam and Ceres who have recognised a gap in the property market and have applied their business acumen and invested their capital. Timing the market is crucial for developers, as evidenced by unsold and unfinished houses in certain developments. Nevertheless, it is the developers more than any other actor on the gated development stage who have identified the market in Swellendam and Ceres. They have acted upon the need and provided housing for property buyers and renters based on the accommodation requirements of the specific town.

The role of developers in shaping settlement growth has been researched (for example Jonas 1998), but their role in gated developments needs to be examined closely. Cséfalvay (2007) has identified the

strength of the role of property developers in the construction of gated developments in Budapest, and although conditions differ, the time has arrived to specifically investigate the role of developers in the proliferation of gated developments in South Africa. After all, the consumers buy what is offered on the market. Would consumers clamour for gated developments if no one built them to start with? While the gated developments in individual towns display extraordinary characteristics worthy of research, there are types of gated developments that are not town-specific but display thematic characteristics which require closer scrutiny. It is the purpose of the next chapter to report on theme-specific case studies of gated developments in non-metropolitan Western Cape.

CHAPTER 7: 'WE ARE A LOVELY COMMUNITY HERE'³⁷: THEME-SPECIFIC CASE STUDIES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Some gated developments cater for niche markets. Such niche gated developments are found in various towns, but may be more prevalent in specific regions of the province where favourable conditions exist. Examples of niche gated developments are golf course gated developments, vineyard gated developments, lakeside gated developments and retirement gated developments. There is even a planned gated aviation estate near Malmesbury (De Wet 2009) which has drawn criticism from various quarters (Sproutingforth 2008). Rather than developing gated developments for the open market, developers identify a specific target group who have particular requirements for residential living and to whom marketing is directed. Developers add value to the gated development product by providing facilities for a niche market of prospective homebuyers who are willing to pay a premium for the distinctive type of residential living. Niche market gated developments display a particular set of characteristics regarding the residential package they offer potential residents. Residents may share a common affinity for playing golf or pressing olives or speedboating, and in addition to residing in the development, the residents have the opportunity to enjoy these activities. The residential package can be aimed at residents of the same age group, as in retirement gated developments, with concomitant care and other facilities for residents.

The thematic presentation of niche market gated developments has been alluded to in Chapter 4 where the location of non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape was analysed. This chapter pays attention to two types of niche market gated developments, namely retirement gated developments and gated developments outside the urban edge. All of these niche market developments are security estates and exemplify what Blakely & Snyder (1997) identifies as lifestyle communities. The lifestyle is represented by the specialised activities or age groupings in these developments.

³⁷ Respondent's comment at the Caves Retirement Village in Oudtshoorn.

7.2 NON-METROPOLITAN RETIREMENT GATED DEVELOPMENTS

Studies have specifically investigated the phenomenon of retirement gated developments (Graham & Tuffin 2004; McHugh & Larson-Keagy 2005). Retirement gated developments have endured similar criticism as levelled at non-retirement gated developments in that they are seen to promote class segregation and they are accused of being geriatric ghettos (Smith-Bowers 2004). A study by Goldhaber & Donaldson (forthcoming) delves into the theoretical framework of retirement gated developments and mentions that research of the phenomenon in South Africa is scant. The importance of retirement gated developments relates to them being sites of age clustering; their impacts on the economy, social relations, town morphology and migration; and their ability to provide the dual service of security and care. Retirement gated developments cater specifically for the housing needs of retired or semi-retired persons above a certain age, although some may still be working full-time. Thirty-one non-metropolitan gated developments (approximately 7% of all non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape) are retirement gated developments. Figure 4.17 illustrates the spatial distribution by LM of retirement gated developments in the study area. Oudtshoorn is the epicentre of such developments in the province, closely followed by Mossel Bay: a classic case of what McHugh (2000) refers to as the spatiality of aging where retirement gated developments have a tendency to be located in a specific area.

First there is a need to understand the socio-demographic dynamics of retirement gated developments and, second, to ascertain whether towns have specific factors that stimulate the development of this niche market. To this end, formal interviews with various role players allied to retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam were conducted. The role players interviewed were municipal officials, real estate agents, developers, HOA and board of trustee members, and residents of retirement gated developments³⁸. Although Oudtshoorn is the epicentre of retirement gated developments in the province, a retirement gated development was also selected in because it is one of the largest such developments in the province and the town is a popular destination for retirement (Pam Golding Properties no date). A contextual background for Oudtshoorn sketched next. A similar contextualisation of Swellendam was presented in the previous chapter. A summary of gated developments in Oudtshoorn is also presented.

³⁸ A copy of the survey questionnaire administered to residents is attached as Appendix O. The town names Oudtshoorn or Swellendam were substituted in the questionnaire depending on the town in which the survey was conducted.

7.2.1 Contextual background to the Oudtshoorn case study

The town Oudtshoorn in the Oudtshoorn LM had a population of 56 717 in 2007. It is the largest town in an area known as the Little Karoo, on the westernmost side of the province (Figure 7.1). The area was originally inhabited by the Khoekhoen, evidence of which is the many rock paintings in the surrounding Swartberg Mountains. These mountains are part of the UNESCO Swartberg World Heritage site. A settlement grew around a church erected in 1839 near the Grobbelaars River. The town went through a period of great poverty in the 1860s as the country was gripped by drought. However, when the drought was broken, Oudtshoorn became a prosperous town (Seligman 2007).

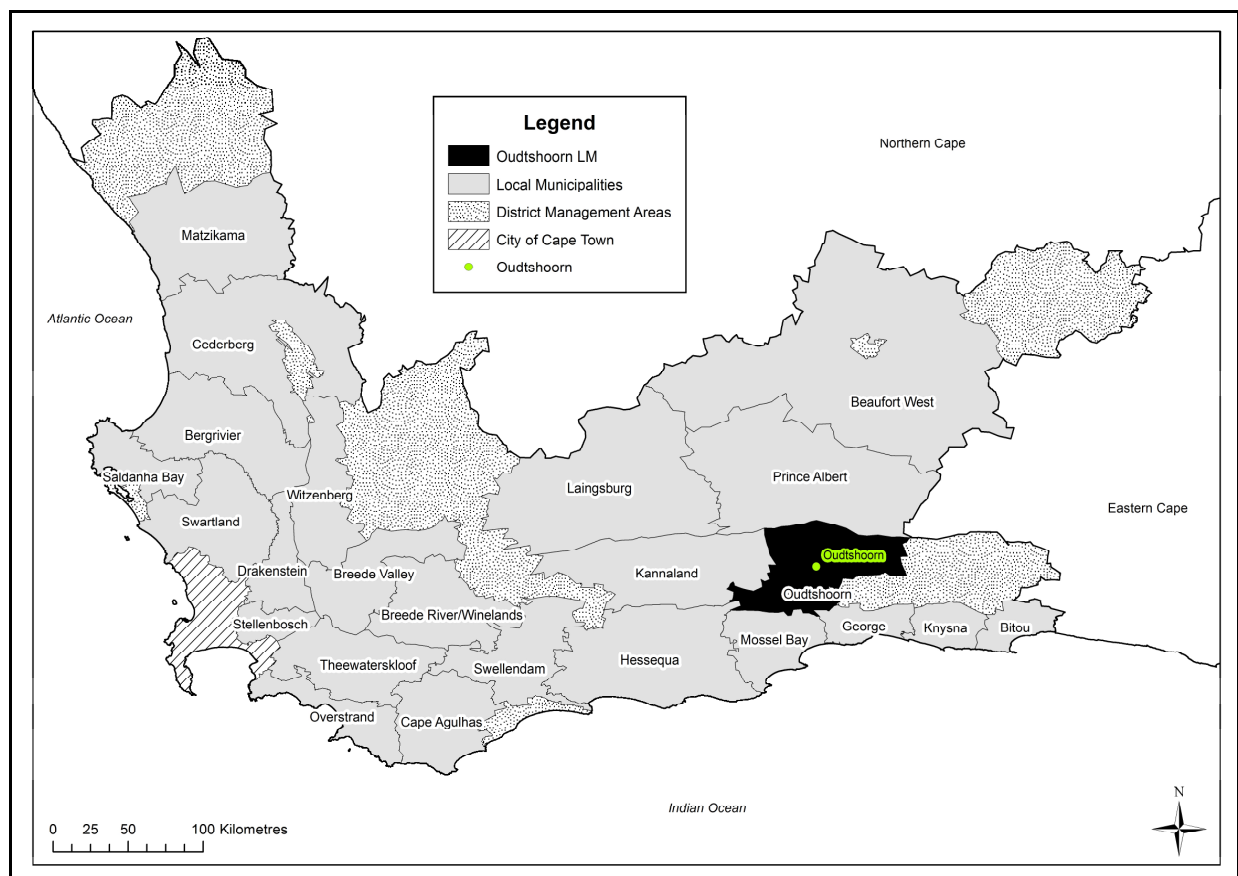


Figure 7.1 Location of the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality in the Western Cape

An interest facet of the early 20th-century Oudtshoorn community was the large immigrant Jewish population, mostly from Lithuania, and the town was referred to as the Jerusalem of Africa. The Jewish population was "... one of the largest rural Jewish communities in Anglophone Africa" (Coetzee 2005: 143). The Jews in Oudtshoorn had to contend with displays of distrust and suspicion from the broader

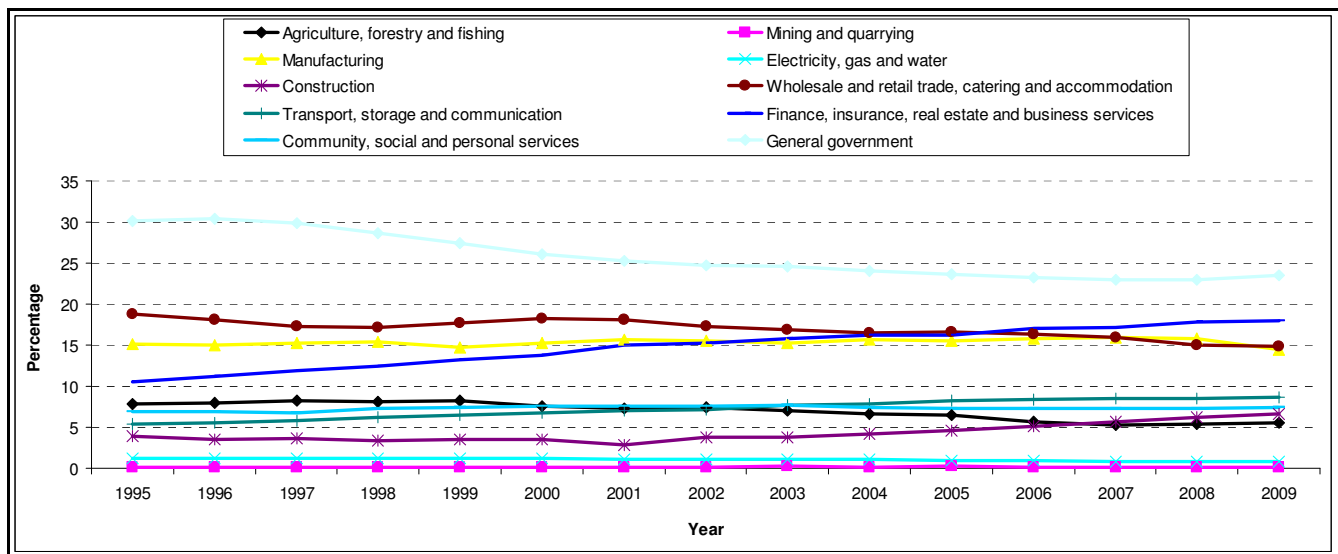
Oudtshoorn community. At times they were viewed as undesirables and by the 1940s “[t]he stage was set for Jews to leave Oudtshoorn for what was-then-the greater security of South Africa’s cities” (Coetzee 2005: 168). This portrays Oudtshoorn as a settlement where otherness was despised; so much so that people left the town.

The foremost reason for prosperity in Oudtshoorn during the 1870s was the boom in ostrich farming which went through various stages of growth and final decline by 1914 whereafter farmers returned to traditional crops (Coetzee 2005). But the town is still renowned for ostrich farming which also caters for a tourist market. The town has a prominent place in the development of culture and the arts. C.J. Langenhoven, regarded by many as one of the fathers of the Afrikaans language, was born in Oudtshoorn. The town also plays host to South Africa’s largest Afrikaans language arts festival, the annual Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees (KKNK). The importance of the KKNK as an event is evidenced by a number of research endeavours that have analysed its entrepreneurship, cultural identity and economic impact (Saayman & Saayman 2006; Lewis 2008; Jonker, Saayman & De Klerk 2009). The world famous Cango Caves, a major tourist attraction, are situated approximately 30 km from Oudtshoorn. Although Oudtshoorn is located 418 km from the metropolitan area of Cape Town, it is only 62 km from the second-largest settlement in the Western Cape, namely George.

According to Van Niekerk et al. (2010), the town’s growth potential has moved from a high growth potential rating in 2004 to very high in 2010, with a human needs index that has dropped from high to medium. This translates to Oudtshoorn being identified as a town which has the capacity for excellent growth potential while simultaneously being successful in addressing its human needs. The growth potential in Oudtshoorn is mainly borne by the town’s many service sector businesses, its proximity to major towns and airports with scheduled flights, a drop in crime levels and the number of public sector amenities (Van Niekerk et al. 2010).

The strongest economic sector in the Oudtshoorn LM is the general government sector which, although it had a declining share in the economy in the period 1995 to 2009, has performed consistently well over the period (Figure 7.2). The second-most important economic sector in the Oudtshoorn LM in 2009 was the finance, insurance, real estate and business sector which had the highest sectoral growth rate of 7.5% in the period 1995 to 2009. This is testament to the growth of the property market in the local municipality: property that needs finance and insurance. In 2009 agriculture contributed 6% to the

GVA of the local municipality and while there are agricultural activities in the Oudtshoorn LM there are seven other economic sectors that contribute more to the GVA of the region.



Source: Quantec (2010)

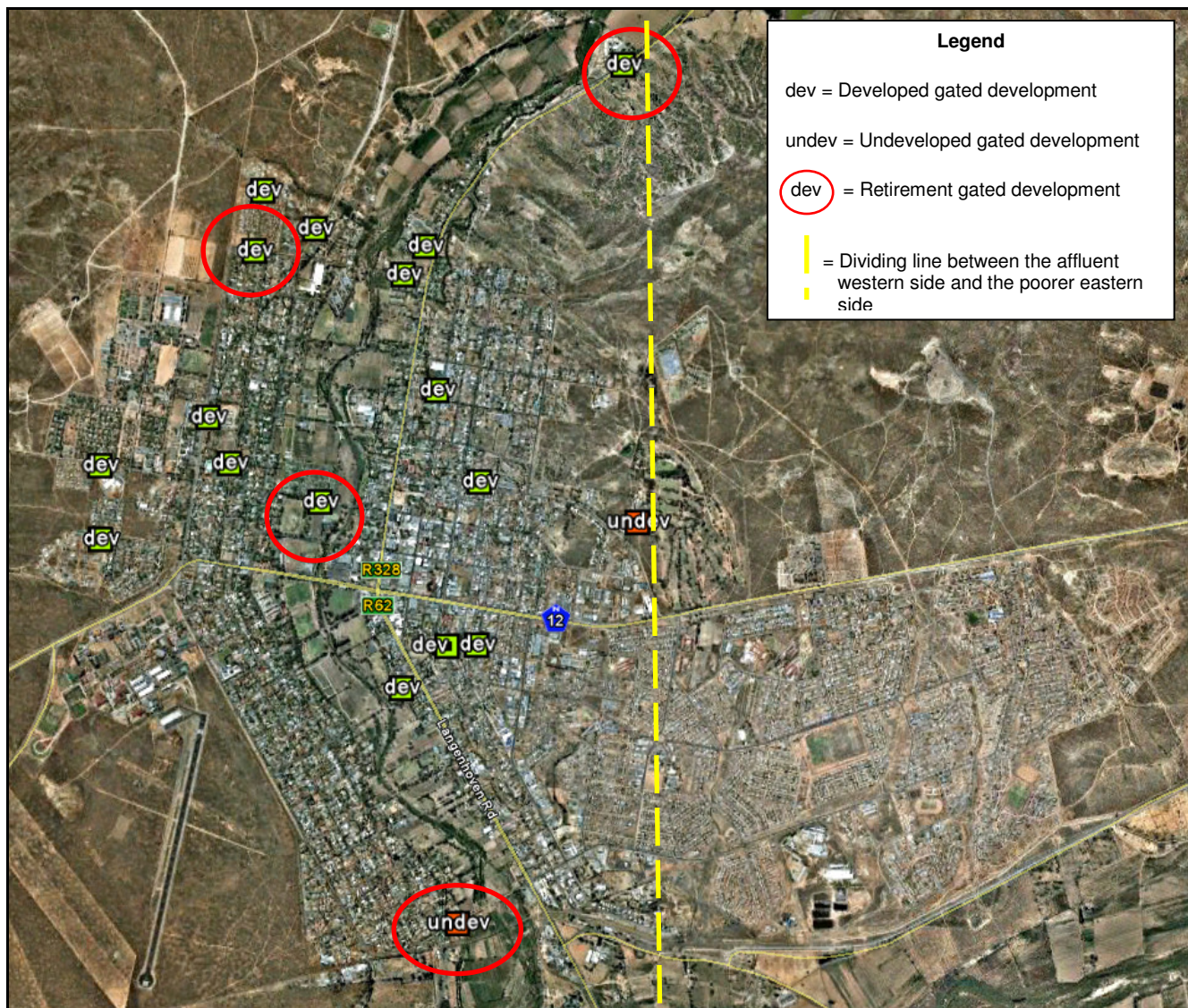
Figure 7.2 Percentage economic sector contributions to the gross value add of the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality, 1995 to 2009

An analysis of crime in 131 towns in the Western Cape revealed that there was an above-average decline in overall crime rates in Oudtshoorn between 2004 and 2009 (Van Niekerk et al. 2010). Oudtshoorn ranked as the second-best town in non-metropolitan Western Cape in reducing crime rates between 2004/06 and 2008/09. Also, Oudtshoorn was placed 44th out of the 131 towns when measuring crime occurrences per capita in 2008/09 again in a high-scoring bracket (Van Niekerk et al. 2010). Oudtshoorn has comparatively low crime levels and has successfully reduced its crime levels as well. The low security level index value for Oudtshoorn's gated developments equates with the low crime statistics for the town. The statistics suggest that crime should not be a reason for people choosing to live in secure gated developments in Oudtshoorn.

7.2.2 Gated developments in Oudtshoorn

Oudtshoorn has been described as a deeply polarised town with the affluent residing in the western side of the town and the poor residing in suburbs on the eastern side (Greater Oudtshoorn Municipality

2007). The 18 gated developments in Oudtshoorn are located in the affluent western side (Figure 7.3). Oudtshoorn is the only town in the Oudtshoorn LM that has gated developments. Sixteen gated developments are classified as developed and two as undeveloped. One half of the gated developments are security estates. The gated developments in Oudtshoorn call for attention because the town has the province's largest percentage share of retirement gated developments in relation to all gated developments – 22% of gated developments in Oudtshoorn are for retirees. The following section examines retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam.



Source: Backdrop image: Google Earth™ 2010

Figure 7.3 Location of gated developments in Oudtshoorn

7.3 RETIREMENT GATED DEVELOPMENTS IN OUDTSHOORN AND SWELLENDAM

There are four retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn³⁹ and one in Swellendam. Both towns have other retirement accommodation options, but they are not gated. Other retirement accommodation options receive a subsidy from the state or financial assistance from a specific church. Retirement gated developments receive no subsidies from the state or any other sources and deliver self-funded mandates. To compose a comprehensive portrait of retirement gated developments in the two towns, ninety-six structured interviews were conducted with retirement gated development households and twelve unstructured formal interviews were conducted with estate agents, retirement development management team members and retirement development public liaison officials. The following six subsections investigate the development structures; the residents; safety and security; importance of frail care; the peaceful environment; and the sense of community in these retirement gated developments, seriatim.

7.3.1 The developments

The five retirement gated developments in the two towns comprise four that are operational and one that is in the marketing phase. The undeveloped retirement gated development in Oudtshoorn, Karoo Park, started life as a non-niche gated development but interest from buyers never materialised. This was due to the development coming onto the market just as banks tightened their lending practices and house prices were high. In addition, respondents felt that the location of the development was not suitable. Nevertheless, the developer was in the initial stages of marketing the development as a retirement gated development – which he believes will sell (Davel 2011, pers com). No residents were on site, only a single showhouse. The four developed retirement gated developments are Oudtshoorn Retirement Village, Millennium Park Retirement Village and Caves Retirement Village in Oudtshoorn; and Rotary Park in Swellendam. All the developments are owned and managed by the local clubs of Rotary International, except Caves which is a private development. Rotary Park in Swellendam was borne from an idea by local Rotarians in 1995 and the property was bought from the municipality for R10 000 – the funds being collected at a single Rotarians meeting. A R3-million loan was secured from Boland Bank after deposits for the initial 23 houses were confirmed (Olderwagen 2011).

³⁹ There are three developed and one undeveloped retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn.

The Caves Retirement Village was established in response to a need for retirement villages in Oudtshoorn and it is owned by a group of doctors from Knysna who have formed the Knysna Investment Company. This means that the development has to deliver a financial return to the shareholders of the company (Nel 2011, pers com). The recession badly affecting the sale of dwellings at Caves so that despite the many interested enquiries about the cost of dwellings and facilities, only three dwellings were sold in 2010. Potential buyers first have to sell their own houses before they can move, but selling one's house in a recessive housing market is not easy. The public liaison official of Caves Retirement Village maintains that the development is viewed as more upmarket than the two Rotary developments because the houses are all freestanding which adds space and privacy for residents (Neethling 2011, pers com).

The Rotary developments are managed by volunteers whereas the Caves Retirement Village is managed by a professional team with experience in fields such as finance, security and management. Caves has sectional title⁴⁰ ownership whereas in the Rotary developments dwellings are sold upon the passing on of a resident (Neethling 2011, pers com). Some retirees are swayed by their sentiment towards Rotary International, while others want a professional team to manage the development, as at Caves (Neethling 2011, pers com). Retirement villages that are privately-managed have directors who are paid a fee which is embedded in the monthly fees paid by residents. Some respondents are wary of private developments which are driven by profit motive (Nel 2011, pers com).

Respondents in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam refer to the credibility, track record and international standing of Rotary International as a major factor in their choice of development. Rotary International has been in the retirement village business the world over and people trust the name. The Rotary club in Oudtshoorn has approximately 20 volunteers and Swellendam has 27 members (Nel 2011, pers com; Swellendam Rotary Club 2009). The Rotary club in Oudtshoorn view the management of the two developments as a great responsibility as they are working with people in the twilight of their lives and the small number of volunteers does not allow Rotary to manage more such developments. Once such a development is operational, it takes five to six years to 'get going'. Rotarians serving on the boards of trustees are paid a director's fee, but this fee is paid back to Rotary to fund other Rotary community

⁴⁰ Sectional title is when owners acquire ownership of their own living space and pay a monthly or annual levy for the upkeep of communal areas of the development.

projects. Rotary does not view the retirement gated developments as money-making endeavours (Nel 2011, pers com).

The success of Rotary in managing retirement gated developments has been such that Oudtshoorn's Rotary club has been requested to establish a similar venture in Calitzdorp, 50 km from Oudtshoorn. However, Nel (2011, pers com) doubts whether such a venture in Calitzdorp will be successful because Rotary volunteers in Oudtshoorn will have to make 100-km round trips to Calitzdorp to attend to the affairs of the development. Furthermore, the people buying into these developments want a modicum of sophistication, described by Bennett (1993: 467) as an "appropriate lifestyle setting", something Oudtshoorn offers more than Calitzdorp does (Nel 2011, pers com).

The two retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn managed by the Oudtshoorn Rotary club are in demand and requests have been made for more developments to be constructed and managed by Rotary in Oudtshoorn. A proposed multi-million rand exclusive retirement gated development by Rotary in Oudtshoorn, located close to the army base, drew 38 persons in one week with an upfront R1-million deposit each. Plans to construct the development did not materialise because negotiations with the municipality reached a political stalemate. But demand for the development there was: "... the demand! We had to give back people's money! I mean, they literally threw their money at us!" (Nel 2011, pers com). There is an overwhelming demand for residences in the Rotary-managed retirement gated developments, despite the stagnant housing market, with never less than 20 to 25 persons on a permanent waiting list for each of the developments in Oudtshoorn during the past 15 years. One reason for this demand is that people who want to buy in the Rotary-managed retirement developments do not want to live in other developments where frail-care facilities are not available (De Beer 2011, pers com). The demand led to expansions, the Millennium Park development adding 27 dwelling structures in 2006. The Swellendam development has vacant land in the development where it intends to construct more dwellings in a second phase expansion after the first that occurred in 2005.

Research done in the USA indicates that retirement gated developments contribute to towns' economies (Glasgow 1990, 1991; Reeder & Glasgow 1990) and the growing portion of retirees there are increasingly becoming a demographic segment that are being economically valued (Laws 1996). In addition, employment opportunities are created during the construction and operation phases, the latter requiring contractors for security, gardening, the preparation of meals for residents, and nurses and support staff for the frail-care facilities. Each development has administration personnel who attend to

various matters pertaining to the residents. Millennium Park in Oudtshoorn has an on-site hairdressing facility. Local building contractors are used for building and maintaining the dwellings. Many households also employ domestic workers.

The local municipality receives rates and taxes from each of the developments. According to Nel (2011, pers com) the two Rotary developments in Oudtshoorn each employ a staff complement of 55 people. They are the fourth-largest employers in Oudtshoorn after the municipality, various government departments and the ostrich co-operative. The operating budget of Oudtshoorn Retirement Village is approximately R5 million per annum which does not include resident spending. The municipality collects about R100 000 a month in rates, taxes and electricity fees from the Millennium Park development. The combined asset value of the two Rotary-managed developments is just over R500 million. The development of the Rotary Park project in Swellendam poured R250 million into the town and, together with the money the residents spend locally, underlines the development's economic importance to the town (Olderwagen 2011). Clearly, the retirement gated developments represent a substantial financial investment, they create employment and they are a sure source of revenue for the local municipality.

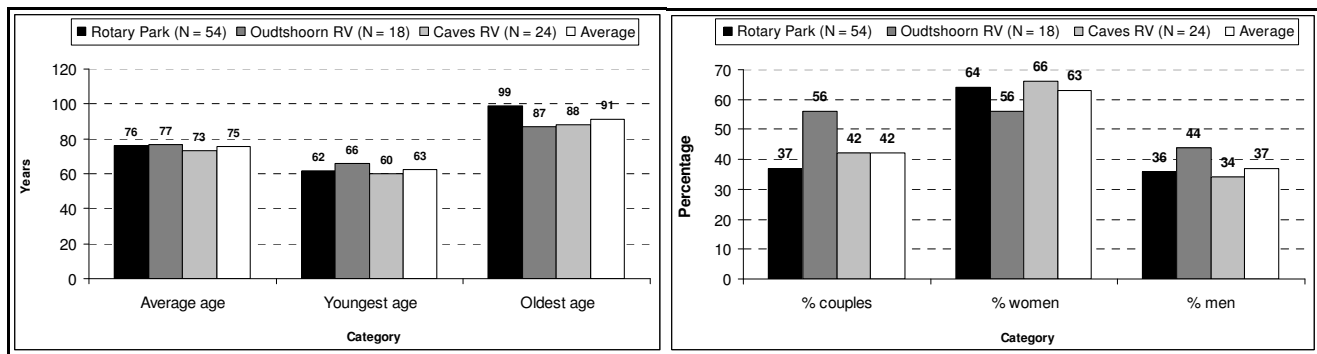
The Rotary development in Swellendam uses estate agents to market individual dwellings in the development while those in Oudtshoorn do their own marketing. The three retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn have websites which serve as marketing tools. The KKNK in Oudtshoorn is also a valued marketing tool as it showcases the developments to those who visit Oudtshoorn during the festival. The event creates an awareness of the town: "... as dit nou nie vir die Kunstefees was nie dan was dit maar 'n dorpie soos Beaufort-Wes, Victoria-Wes, wat ookal, daar is definitief 'n bewusmaking"⁴¹ (Neethling 2011, pers com). The following subsection provides information about various characteristics of the residents and their residence in the developments and the towns.

7.3.2 The residents

In South Africa an individual's retirement age is agreed upon between an employer and an employee. A number of requirements must be met to receive a grant for persons older than 60. The average age of

⁴¹ "... if it wasn't for the arts festival then it would have been a town such as Beaufort West, Victoria West, whatever, there is definitely an awareness-raising."

respondents surveyed was 75 years (Figure 7.4), or 15 years beyond the age at which persons qualify for a grant and are recognised as senior citizens. Retirees in the developments get an income from the interest earned on their investments, but this has been eroded by low interest rates. Monetary remittances from children support some retirees (Nel 2011, pers com). The youngest respondent was 62, the oldest 99, which expresses the variety of the retirees concerning their age, frailty and personal needs for which retirement gated developments must cater. On average, there are more women (63%) than men (37%) residing in retirement gated developments, with only one development having a higher proportion of couples than single-person households.



Source: Author's survey, 2011

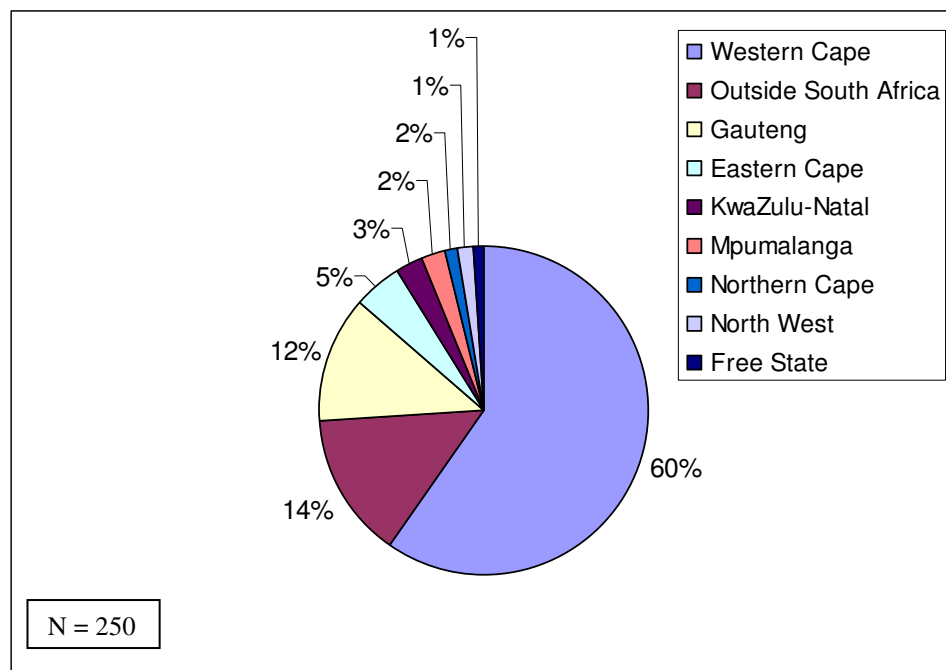
Figure 7.4 Demographic characteristics of respondents in retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam

The retirement gated developments are for the exclusive habitation of retired persons. The way of circumventing this age exclusivity regarding spouses or partners younger than 60 is to accommodate persons of minimum age 50, with the proviso that one of the partners has reached retirement age. All the respondents were South African except one of British nationality and 76% of all the respondents were Afrikaans-speaking. Seventy-eight per cent of respondents had post-matric qualifications indicating that they probably occupied higher-paying positions during their working years.⁴² A further indication that many retirees in the developments were financially strong is that 26% of respondents indicated that they owned a second home. The second homes of many of the Oudtshoorn respondents are in Mossel Bay, Hartenbos or Plettenberg Bay and the second homes of respondents in Swellendam are in Witsand, Arniston or Struisbaai. Accessibility to the coast is important to the study's

⁴² In a survey done among elderly migrants along the Atlantic coast of the USA, Bennett (1993) recorded high educational levels which reflected positively on their retirement income.

respondents, not only for those who have second homes, but also to those who enjoy day trips to the sea an hour's drive away from either town. Second homes of retirees offer an alternative, part-time residential location to the retirement development and they generate economic and social activity at the respective locations (Murakami, Gilroy & Atterton 2009; Hoogendoorn 2010; Hoogendoorn & Visser 2011; Lemmen 2011). Paris (2009) observed in his study of second homes in the UK that the process of retirement migration (as applicable to more than a third of respondents in this study's field survey), counterurbanisation and second-home ownership are interrelated processes.

No children or grandchildren lived with the retirees. Respondents bemoaned the ruling that visiting children and grandchildren were not allowed to stay overnight with them in the complex. Children visiting from other towns had to stay in paid accommodation in town. As indicated in Figure 7.5, the majority of the retirees' children live in the Western Cape (60%), 12% in Gauteng and 14% live abroad. Retirees spoke of their children having peace of mind knowing that their parent(s) were in a safe environment, more so when their children were living abroad or in Gauteng. Retirees whose children live in Gauteng said their children were concerned about the parents' safety because of their own experiences of living in fear of crime in Gauteng.

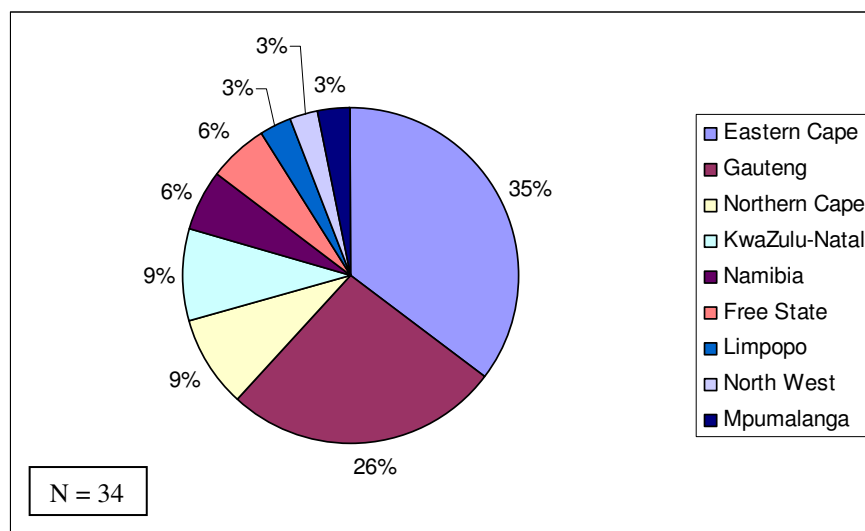


Source: Author's survey, 2011

Figure 7.5 Location of residence of children of retirees in Western Cape retirement gated developments

Thirty per cent (29) of the respondents own a personal computer and 93% (27) use it to correspond with their children via email, Facebook™ and Skype™. Of those who use their computers to keep in touch with their children, 52% (14) have children living abroad. Respondents in Oudtshoorn mentioned that George Airport is a 45-minute drive away for them to take a flight to Johannesburg or Cape Town to go for visits to their children. They can travel by air to their children and grandchildren without having to spend hours driving to the cities. Respondents in Swellendam live equidistant between the airports in Cape Town and George.

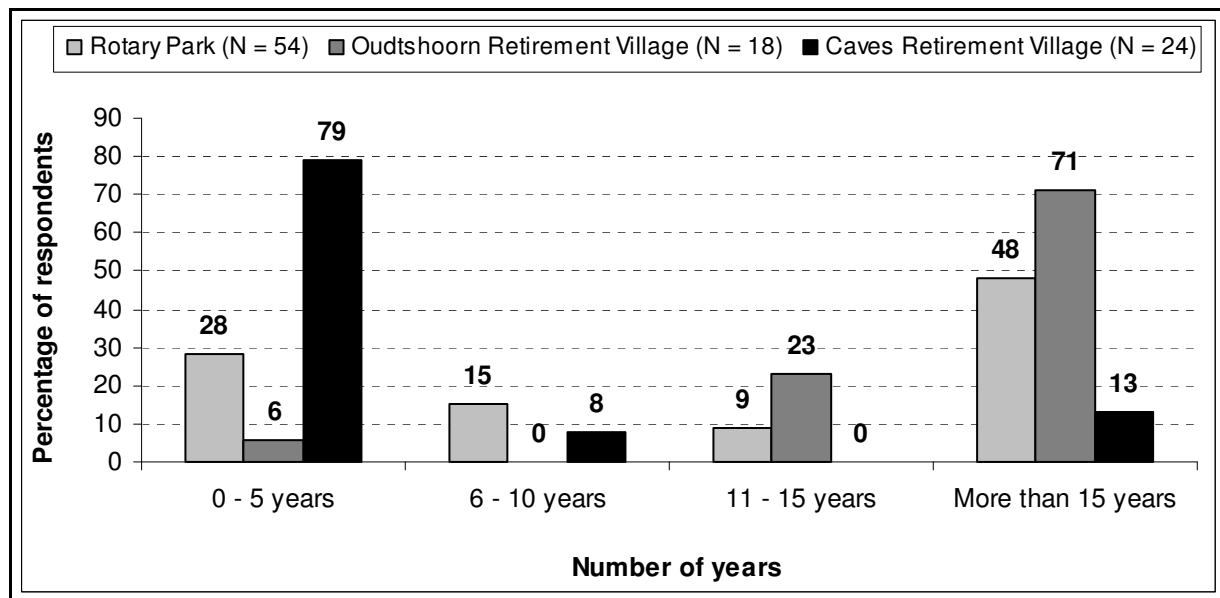
Thirty-four respondents (37%) lived in other provinces before moving to either Oudtshoorn or Swellendam (Figure 7.6). More than a third migrated from the Eastern Cape and just over a quarter came from Gauteng. Nel (2011, pers com) commented that increasing numbers of financially-able people in retirement and semi-retirement are choosing to move away from our cities, and away from the crime, to towns in search of a better quality of life. O'Reilly (2007) views this lifestyle migration as a form of counterurbanisation. Nel (2011, pers com) observed that lifestyle migration in South Africa has been on-going since 1998, but migration from South African cities to small towns has quickened since 2005. Nel (2011, pers com) also observed that retirement immigrants to the Garden Route hail mainly from Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal and settle in George, Knysna, Mossel Bay, Plettenberg Bay and other towns in the Garden Route region.



Source: Author's survey, 2011

Figure 7.6 Percentage of respondents in Western Cape retirement gated developments with previous residence outside the Western Cape

The Garden Route is a well-known area to immigrants as they would have visited the coast often before relocation and may have had a second home at a coastal town along the route. Nel (2011, pers com) reported that initially residents of the retirement gated developments came from Oudtshoorn and surroundings, but currently are immigrants implied by a growing share of English-speakers in a predominantly Afrikaans Oudtshoorn⁴³. These immigrants – all in the 50-plus age group – hail from provinces that were once the Transvaal. A socio-economic profile report on Swellendam mentions that the town is attracting retired persons mostly from Cape Town and Gauteng (Octagonal Development 2008). This survey indicates that the residents who did not migrate from the Western Cape to Oudtshoorn and Swellendam, were predominantly from the Eastern Cape and Gauteng. The number of years the respondents have been living in Oudtshoorn or Swellendam are displayed in Figure 7.7. Ninety-four per cent of the immigrant respondents in Oudtshoorn Retirement Village and 57% in Rotary Park have lived in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam for more than 10 years. Respondents residing in these two older retirement gated developments cannot thus be classified as new immigrants.



Source: Author's survey, 2011

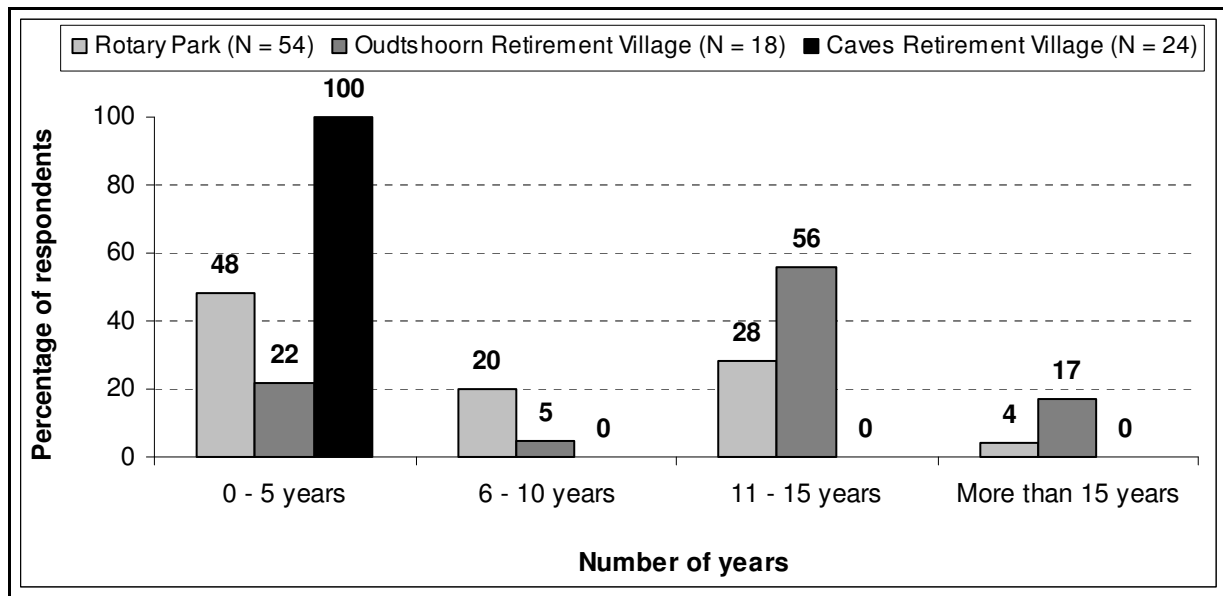
Figure 7.7 Length of residence in Oudtshoorn or Swellendam by respondents in the retirement gated developments

⁴³ Afrikaans is the home language of 76% of the respondents.

Only four of the 24 respondents in Oudtshoorn Retirement Village and Rotary Park who have been residing in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam for 10 years or less come from up-country; and all four have been living there for between six and 10 years. No up-country immigrants in these two retirement gated developments had resided in Oudtshoorn or Swellendam for five years or less. Tellingly, 78% of the respondents in Oudtshoorn Retirement Village and 52% in Rotary Park lived elsewhere in Oudtshoorn or Swellendam before settling in the respective retirement villages. These two developments appear to be popular destinations for local inhabitants.

The Caves Retirement Village in Oudtshoorn presents a slightly different picture with 87% of its respondents living in Oudtshoorn for 10 years or less and 79% for five years or less. Seventy-five per cent of respondents at Caves Retirement Village moved intentionally to Oudtshoorn to take up residence in the retirement village. Of the respondents residing at Caves for five years or less, 21% came from up-country provinces. The migration of retirees from up-country to retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn appears to be a phenomenon that started at least in 2006 and is a feature of newer retirement developments.

The life cycle of retirement developments can be divided into phases, depending on the level of service provision and personal care their residents require. Those in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam are no different. All the respondents in the newer development, Caves Retirement Village, have been living there for five years or less (Figure 7.8). Slightly less than 50% of respondents in Rotary Park in Swellendam have been residing there for five years or less but almost 30% have been there for 11 to 15 years. Oudtshoorn Retirement Village represents an older phase of the retirement village life cycle. There 73% of the respondents have lived there for more than 10 years. Oudtshoorn Retirement Village's respondents are also the oldest (77) on average (see Figure 7.4) and this quite likely implies greater demand for and use of on-site frail-care facilities by the residents. Nel (2011, pers com) reported that there were 35 beds in the frail-care centre of Oudtshoorn Retirement Village but there was an expectation that the original inhabitants who bought into the development would increasingly require frail care as they would now be 20 years older. The more older residents, the greater the demand for frail-care facilities, the greater the need for more nursing staff and larger frail-care facilities, the greater the operating costs of the development, the greater the expense of which is passed on to the residents.



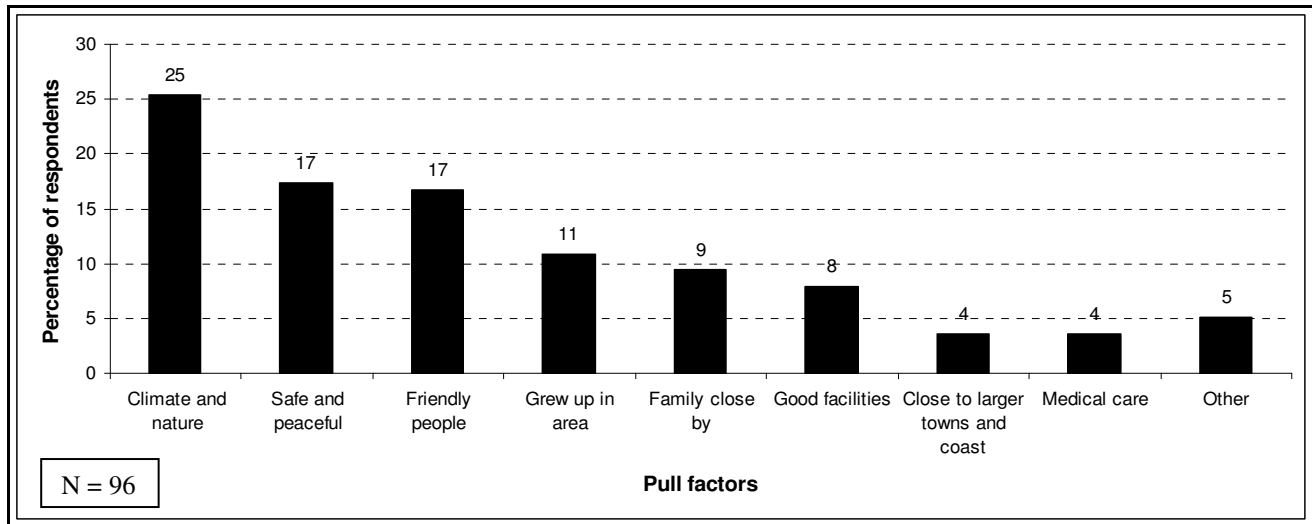
Source: Author's survey, 2011

Figure 7.8 Length of residence of respondents in retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam

A number of studies have identified pull factors that attract retirees to certain locales including sunnier climates, slower pace of life, natural amenities and the presence of family members (King, Warnes & Williams 1998; Stimson & McCrae 2004; Born & Goltz 2007; Gibler et al. 2009). Oudtshoorn and Swellendam have pull factors which have influenced retirees to reside in these towns. The respondents who liked living in the towns mentioned some factors that attracted them to the towns (Figure 7.9). The pull factor cited most (25%) is the climate and the beautiful natural surroundings. Health aspects have been recognised as a climate-related reason for retiree migration (Born & Goltz 2007). Retirement community residents in the Sunbelt of the USA believe that the warm, dry climate is good for ailments such as rheumatism and arthritis, and British retirement community residents in Spain agree (Jacobs 1974; Oliver 2005). Similarly, Oudtshoorn has an advantage over coastal towns in attracting retirees because the Karoo climate of Oudtshoorn is beneficial for sufferers of respiratory diseases such as bronchitis and asthma, and skin conditions such as psoriasis (Nel 2011, pers com). The sea air is not always good for retirees with these medical conditions. Some people avoid coastal towns because of the miserable and windy weather conditions that sometimes prevail. Mossel Bay weather, whether rainy or clear, is said to be enjoyable (see Footnote 23) but this cannot be said of all the province's coastal towns. Oudtshoorn offers pleasant, virtually wind-free weather conditions with short, not too cold winters and hot summers (Nel 2011, pers com; Wyngaardt 2011, pers com). The moderate

Mediterranean climate of Swellendam is said to suit retirees (Swellendam Municipality 2010; Steyn & Meyer 2011, pers com).

Ninety-seven per cent of the respondents said that they like living in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam and the three per cent who didn't cited the snobbishness of townsfolk, the longing for spouse and friends who resided in another town, and the difficulty for a retiree to adjust to living in a retirement village.



Source: Author's survey, 2011

Figure 7.9 Pull factors of retirees to move to Oudtshoorn and Swellendam

Respondents named the safety of Oudtshoorn and Swellendam, their peacefulness and the friendliness of the towns' residents as important drawcards (34% in total) in their decisions to retire there. Eleven per cent of respondents grew up in the towns, lived there for a substantial part of their life, or returned after long absences to retire there. The presence of friends and family was also cited as a pull factor. The tourist attractions⁴⁴ of Oudtshoorn, and the historical legacy⁴⁵ as well as the two nature reserves close to Swellendam are features the respondents rated as being important to them. Nel (2011, pers com) posits that retirees want a functional municipality which delivers quality services to its residents: Oudtshoorn collects 95% of its municipal rates and taxes each month and this income underpins good service delivery. Similarly, in Swellendam the municipal service delivery meets the demands of the

⁴⁴ These include the Cango Caves, ostrich farms and crocodile farms.

⁴⁵ Swellendam is the third-oldest town in South Africa and has more than 50 buildings that are declared national monuments.

town and “dinge werk” (things work) (Steyn & Meyer 2011, pers com). The next subsection examines safety and security in retirement gated developments.

7.3.3 Safety and security in retirement gated developments

The literature on gated developments posits that safety and security is an important component of gated developments (Dirsuweit 2002; Landman 2003b; Low 2003; Low, Donovan & Giesecking 2007). Retirement gated developments are no different. The security level index value for all Oudtshoorn’s gated developments is 34, one of the lowest among the surveyed towns, and the value for Swellendam is 46. However, the index values for retirement gated developments in the towns are 50 for Oudtshoorn and 60 for Swellendam both being higher than the respective town averages and higher than the provincial average of 45. Security is clearly an important issue for the retirement gated developments in the two towns. The entrance to the Oudtshoorn Retirement Village typifies the precautions taken to secure such a development (Figure 7.10).



Source: <http://www.oudtshoornretirementvillage.co.za/index.php?lang=en>

Figure 7.10 Security features at the entrance to Oudtshoorn Retirement Village

The Caves Retirement Village (2010) advertises “24-uur sekuriteit” (24-hour security) with the security guard at the gate boasting that there have been no incidents in the time that he has been there, only “dronk kleurlinge” (drunk coloureds). Oudtshoorn Retirement Village (2010) markets its safety and security safeguards on its website as:

The entrance gates are manned by an independent security company twenty-four hours a day. All security guards are trained in accordance with the South African security regulations and provisions and deliver a critical service to the resort. Our whole complex is encircled by security fencing, and inspection of this fence is done daily. Security measures are constantly under scrutiny to ensure maximum safety of the residents. This aspect of their lives is considered to be of prime importance.

Interviews conducted with estate agents, developers and gated development board members in Oudtshoorn about crime in the town yielded views that concur with the town's low crime rates determined by Van Niekerk et al. (2010) with seven of the eight interviewees confirming that crime rates in Oudtshoorn are low. The observations on crime by the interviewees paint a picture of a peaceful town where there is little need for gates, walls, fences and guards. Bekker (2011, pers com) sees local crime rates as low, but is adamant that nowhere in South Africa is one really safe. Burglaries, thefts from motor vehicles and assaults do take place in Oudtshoorn. There are a number of street children in Oudtshoorn and it was expressed that unscrupulous adults use these street children to burgle homes. Verlinde (2011, pers com) believes that Oudtshoorn does not have a crime problem, but acknowledges that opportunistic crime does occur. This view is shared by Neethling (2011, pers com) who classifies misdemeanours in Oudtshoorn as petty crime and Wyngaardt (2011, pers com) describes them as opportunistic: theft of items residents leave unattended. Many of the unlawful acts are related to substance abuse, but serious crime like murder is very rare in Oudtshoorn (Wyngaardt 2011, pers com). De Beer (2011, pers com) reported that the town is very safe with no crime problem and definitely no incidences of organised crime. He maintains that the security mindset of gated developments is unnecessary in Oudtshoorn and that it is not a response to crime. This view is echoed by Stander (2011, pers com) who considers the media responsible for influencing peoples' perception of high crime rates which is the main reason why retirees buy into gated developments, even in small towns.

Davel (2011, pers com) presents a contrasting viewpoint that crime levels are worsening in Oudtshoorn. He cites a personal account of trespassing by five young men with screwdrivers on a family member's property in the early hours of the morning. Davel (2011, pers com) alleges that crime may seem to be at a low level in Oudtshoorn because many incidents of criminal activities are not reported or that certain acts are not regarded as crime. For example, the theft of brass taps or the theft out of vehicles are seen as inconveniences than as crime and thus not reported to the police. Regarding

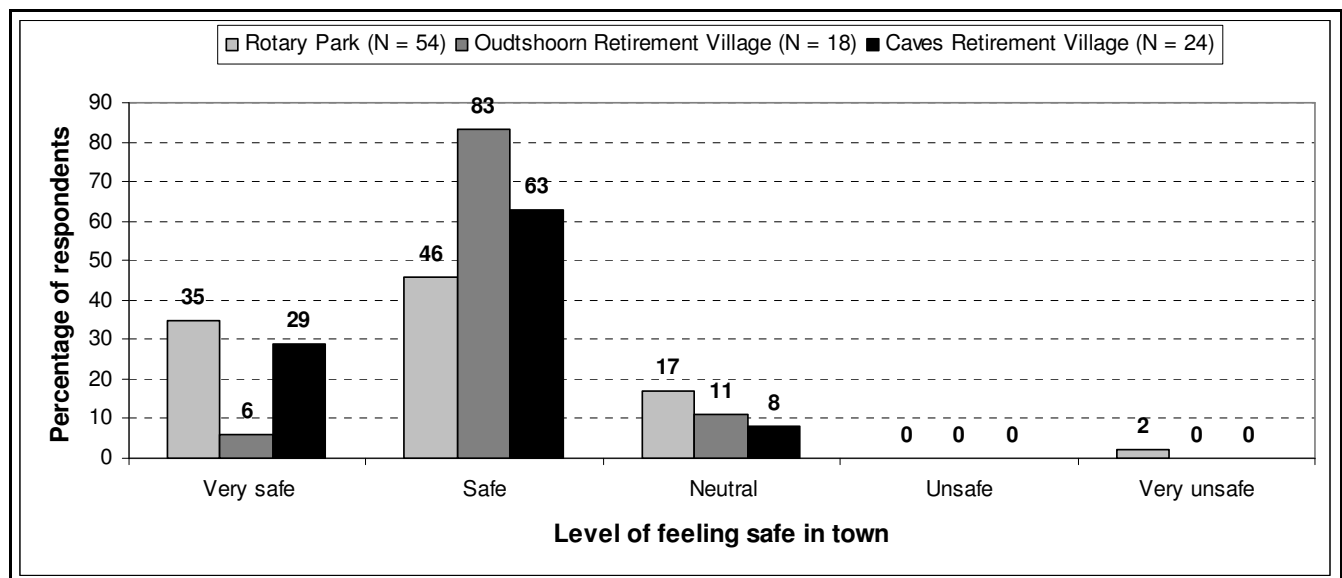
crime in gated developments Davel, who is a member of the Community Policing Forum (CPF), is not aware of any criminal acts that have been committed inside any of the gated developments in Oudtshoorn. He alleges that the quality of security in the various gated developments leaves much to be desired. Bekker (2011, pers com) agrees in that the gated developments are not 100% safe but they do offer a measure of protection: rather something than nothing.

Nel (2011, pers com) described crime in Oudtshoorn as low, with most crime related to alcohol misuse in the mixed-race and black suburbs and contrastingly very little crime in the white suburbs. Theft is socially-orientated and survivalist. As a member of the Oudtshoorn Retirement Village Board of Trustees, Nel charged the residents are concerned about safety and security in the development, but that it is not uppermost in their minds. He noted, however, that retired residents from Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal are security conscious due to their experiences of living in secured spaces in those provinces. Retirees coming from Oudtshoorn and surroundings are not overly concerned about security. Even so, the Rotarians provide a full security service as part of the retired gated development package. Private security advisors do a security risk analysis of the development and propose the installation of measures to mitigate against any security risk. These measures include the screening of gardeners and domestic workers employed by residents and the installation of lighting. The use of a reputable security company with a proven track record is important in the light of a host of security companies that have sprung up overnight. Apart from the security company, there is a board member who manages the security portfolio and the Rotarian developments are part of the CPFs. Each development is divided into sectors and drills are performed that simulate various disaster and security scenarios. In spite of a general view that Oudtshoorn is a safe town, retirement gated developments go to great lengths to ensure a visible security presence by continuous monitoring of its space, securitisation of the perimeter, a human presence at the gate and security drills and plans that involve the residents. By involving the residents in the security aspects of the developments, they are assured and have peace of mind concerning their safety and security.

Crime in Swellendam is described along the same lines as in Oudtshoorn. Criminal activity is said to occur in the mixed-race suburb, while the CBD is seen as peaceful. There are petty criminal activities but no organised crime run by criminal syndicates (Steyn & Meyer 2011, pers com). The fences and gates of Rotary Park in Swellendam are said to keep petty crime, drunks and beggars away from the residents (Steyn & Meyer 2011, pers com). While respondents speak of the peaceful town, statistical evidence points to crime rates in Swellendam being above average. The incidence of crime in

Swellendam is localised with residents of the retirement gated development not being exposed to those localities.

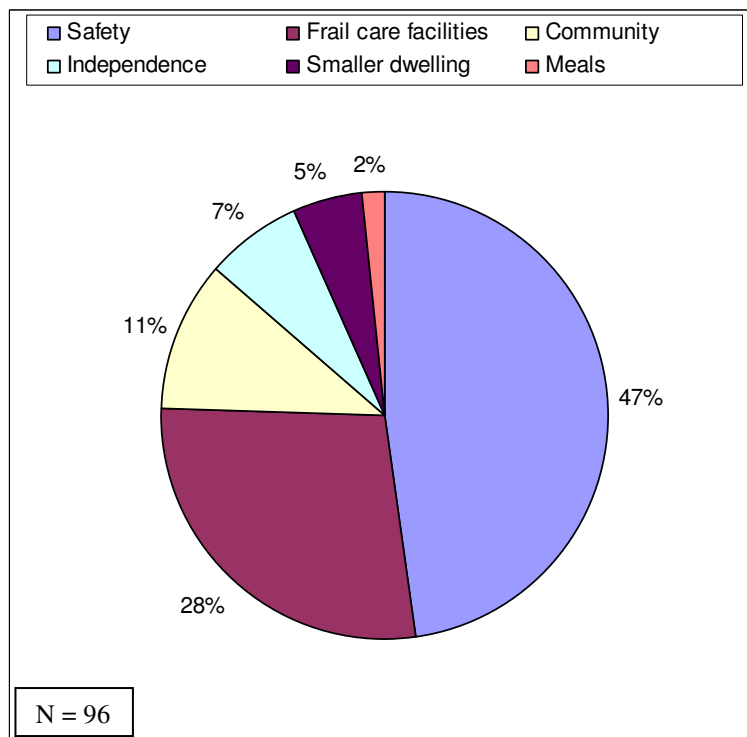
The peace of mind regarding safety in gated developments is said to offer residents a heightened level of assurance (Wyngaardt 2011, pers com). Even though retirees from up-country settle in Oudtshoorn to escape the perceived out-of-control rates of crime in those cities, they still opt for a level of safety and security in the small town: better safe than sorry. Respondents in Swellendam have not been exposed to any crime other than petty crime. Eighty-five per cent of respondents in the retirement gated developments feel safe in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam (Figure 7.11). There are respondents who have never experienced or witnessed any crime or criminal activity in the towns. The respondents in Swellendam who feel very unsafe mentioned that seniors are viewed as easy targets by criminals and that the reason for their trepidation is burglaries that have occurred in the development. It seems that these incidents at the development have influenced respondents' perceptions of crime in Swellendam as a whole. More respondents felt safe (57%) than very safe (28%), an indication that one should not be complacent when dealing with issues of personal safety as people remain cautious (Neethling 2011, pers com). Respondents ascribe the neutral answers (17%) in Swellendam to petty crime experienced in the development.



Source: Author's survey, 2011

Figure 7.11 Retirees' levels of feeling safe in Oudtshoorn or Swellendam

Most (90%) of the respondents had never resided in a gated development prior to taking up residence in one of the three retirement gated developments. For these retirees this is a novelty they have bought into and is a dramatic shift in their housing experiences. About one half of the respondents reported that they came to live in a retirement gated development because of the safety and security the developments offer (Figure 7.12). More than a quarter of the respondents mentioned that the presence of on-site frail-care facilities and about 10% that the sense of community were important in their decisions to reside in the retirement developments.



Source: Author's survey, 2011

Figure 7.12 Factors in decisions for moving to retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam

The developments offer retirees the opportunity to scale down their living spaces when the need for a large house with a large garden, and concomitant maintenance and overheads, diminishes as children leave the parental home. A smaller, affordable lock-up-and-go dwelling requires less maintenance (Bekker 2011, pers com; Neethling 2011, pers com; Wyngaardt 2011, pers com) and the more affordable the dwelling, the more capital the retiree has available for living expenses (Verlinde 2011, pers com). The gated developments offer dwellings with open-plan living areas which are viewed as a

modern way of living with no wasted space in a living room or dining room not used often (De Beer 2011, pers com). Retirees are attracted by the prospect of a lock-up-and-go lifestyle knowing that when they leave town or go to their holiday homes for extended periods⁴⁶, their property is safe and the neighbours and guards will keep an eye out for anything suspicious. The absence of walls between dwellings within developments allows for “eyes on the street”, which adds to the passive security component (Davel 2011, pers com).

Two per cent of respondents reported that the availability of daily meals in the complex was a factor in their decisions to reside in the gated developments. Besides saving respondents time on cooking, the life-right⁴⁷ model of retirement gated development management compels residents to eat at least one full meal a day because many a time after the death of a partner, the other partner does not take care of themselves and does not eat regularly (Nel 2011, pers com).

Ten per cent of respondents had resided in a gated development prior to taking up residence in the retirement gated developments. These respondents had migrated from Polokwane, Wellington, Pretoria, Durbanville, Mossel Bay and Port Elizabeth – all larger settlements than the two case-study towns. Five of the eight (63%) respondents in this group specifically wanted to reside in a gated development in a small town, which they viewed as being safe. Wyngaardt (2011, pers com) commented that often people, including retirees, come from places where they have been exposed to gated development living and when they buy in Oudtshoorn (or Swellendam), they search for a similar type of development in spite of estate agents telling them that it is far safer than in the city. While safety (47%) is important to their living choices, respondents mentioned that it is safety in conjunction with frail-care facilities within the developments which are the major drawcards. Frail-care facilities are thus an important component of retirement gated development living, a topic looked at in the next subsection.

⁴⁶ Retirees with second homes reside there for three months per annum, on average.

⁴⁷ Life-right entails that the money paid to the owner or developer secures the purchaser the right to live in a unit for as long as they wish or in perpetuity, for example until the death or departure of the husband and/or wife or partner and the surviving spouse or partner. It provides security of tenure. Ownership is retained by the development (Cape 2009; Peacock 2011).

7.3.4 The importance of frail care in retirement gated developments

Respondents highlighted how important their personal and material safety and security is to them and how the elderly are soft targets for criminals and how important it is to secure their surroundings. However, when asked to rank (1 as most important, 2 as moderately important, 3 as less important and 4 as least important) the importance of four factors concerning the retirement gated developments, namely frail care, security, community spirit, and peacefulness, a different picture emerges. While their safety and security in the towns and in the gated developments are important, more respondents rate frail care as the most important component of retirement gated developments (Table 7.1) which is different to the reasons given why they moved to a retirement gated development (Figure 7.12). As people grow older, their medical needs change and some require assistance in performing certain tasks, even more so if suffering ill health. It is important for seniors to know that their medical needs are taken care of and that their retirement development has a frail-care centre on site to provide the necessary care (Nel 2011, pers com).

Table 7.1 Index of weighted importance of four components of retirement gated developments to respondents

Component	Oudtshoorn RV¹	Caves RV¹	Rotary Park	Average
Frail care	84	75	67	76
Security	78	65	71	71
Peacefulness	57	57	69	61
Community spirit	39	53	44	45

(N = 96) Note: ¹ Retirement village

Source: Author's survey, 2011

Frail care caters for residents who cannot live independently and take care of themselves. The frail-care facilities in the developments are registered with the provincial Department of Social Development. All the retirement gated developments have 24-hour frail-care facilities. Millennium Park can accommodate up to 35 patients (Millennium Park Retirement Village 2010) and Oudtshoorn Retirement Village has 17 rooms with 26 beds, staffed by 21 qualified employees (Oudtshoorn Retirement Village 2010). Rotary Park respondents assessed security to be more important than frail care. The Rotary Park respondents also mentioned that the frail-care facilities need to be upgraded and they were not pleased with the level of frail care services.

The establishment of retirement gated developments in towns helps to grow the medical fraternity in a town (Bennett 1993). Doctors in other towns have expanded their area of operations to include the provision of services to those residents in towns which have retirement gated developments (Nel 2011, pers com). There are 13 general practitioners in Oudtshoorn. The medical facilities in Oudtshoorn have grown to such a degree that triple heart bypass operations can be performed at the private hospital. Medical professionals appear to have identified this market for their services in Oudtshoorn resulting in a spectrum of medical specialists available in the town. These specialists come from George and Mossel Bay on a weekly basis (Nel 2011, pers com).

Retirement gated developments undergo a facilities usage cycle (La Greca, Streib & Folts 1985). Very soon the original inhabitants of the Rotary-managed developments who purchased houses in the development will start requiring increased use of the frail-care centre as they will be 20 years older than when they bought. Thus, as more residents require the use of the frail-care centre, fewer outside patients will be admitted, with a concomitant decline in income which has to be addressed. The residents' fees for the frail-care centres are insufficient to cover running costs so that income from outside patients becomes important. At least 12 outside patients must use the frail-care facilities to ensure its financial viability. Frail care is popular with outside patients as the rates charged by Rotary are lower than those of other frail-care centres (Nel 2011, pers com). Commenting on retirement gated developments in the UK, Smith-Bowers (2004) expressed concern about the ability of retirement developments to provide care to residents in their later years. Similarly, respondents at the Rotary Park development in Swellendam have expressed concern about the low level of frail care available at the facility, while frail care at the Caves development has only recently become operational, a few years after the first residents moved into the development, and it provides only basic care. So, while younger retiree residents are able to enjoy an active social life and have the mobility to travel to their families and second homes, these pursuits diminish as residents age and retirement gated developments increasingly become sites where assisted living predominates – as confirmed in a study of retirement migration to Mediterranean Europe by King, Warnes & Williams (1998).

Ninety per cent of the respondents listed medical facilities or medical practitioners as important features of Oudtshoorn and Swellendam. Oudtshoorn has had the private Medi-Clinic since 1999 and the state provincial hospital is highly recommended (Nel 2011, pers com). In addition to specialists that visit Oudtshoorn once a week, other specialist medical practitioners are available in Mossel Bay and other towns along the Garden Route (Bekker 2011, pers com; Wyngaardt 2011, pers com). Likewise,

Swellendam has a good state hospital with an ambulance service and six doctors and three dentists in town. Specialist medical practitioners are 112 km away, an hour's drive from Swellendam, in Worcester (Steyn & Meyer 2011, pers com). The frail care provided by the developments, the presence of in-town medical doctors and specialist doctors in the towns further afield, together with the availability of private and public hospitals in the towns are important for the retirees and are apparently more important considerations than security. Together with the existence of frail-care facilities in a secure space and nearby medical services available, the presence of a peaceful environment is prized by retirees. This feature is considered next.

7.3.5 Peaceful environments

A peaceful, stress-free environment is rated as the third-most important component of retirement gated development living (Table 7.1). O'Reilly (2007) has pointed out that peace and quiet are indispensable factors defining idyllic rural life. Respondents described Oudtshoorn and Swellendam as peaceful towns, with natural surroundings that add to the peacefulness. Scenic beauty is a recognised characteristic of regions and settlements that are renowned retirement destinations (Glasgow 1990). In Swellendam, the allure of the Langeberg Mountains encompasses the quietude of the town, while the town's heritage adds to the tranquillity and is said to be a strong drawcard: "... die ou geboue skep 'n rustigheid ..."⁴⁸ (Steyn & Meyer 2011, pers com). Respondents enjoy having their morning coffee or watching the sun set behind the mountains which calms and soothes their hearts and souls. In Oudtshoorn the scenic beauty, abundance of birdlife and heritage of the town is appreciated by 80% of respondents.

Born & Goltz (2007) stress the importance that retiree immigrants place on the cultural environment of an area and its environmental quality of which a peaceful environment is a component. Respondents mentioned that a peaceful and a quiet atmosphere add to their quality of life. Peacefulness is important to retirees in their dwellings, in their developments and in the towns; which cumulatively assist in bringing peace to their hearts. This quietude is sought at various spatial scales. Although the respondents recognised the importance of peace and quiet in the developments, some were disappointed that they cannot continue with their woodworking hobby because the noise is disturbing.

⁴⁸ "... the historic buildings add to the tranquility ...".

7.3.6 The feeling of community

Social interaction is an important feature of a fulfilling life and retirement gated developments facilitate such interaction (Cannuscio, Block & Kawachi 2003). The marketing materials of gated developments highlight the community lifestyle in the developments and create an impression of socially vibrant living (Lucas 2004). The notion of community has become a commodity which forms part of the marketing package of retirement gated developments with these “commodity communities ... intentionally planned, designed and developed as an economic endeavour” (Fry 1977: 116). It is not only the notion of community that has been commodified, but the entire process of aging has become commodified (Seiler 1986; Lucas 2004).

Respondents ranked community spirit as the least important component of retirement gated development living. The Millennium Park Retirement Village (2010) promotes the “... wholesome company and an active community ...” as important elements of residing there. The respondents do express a degree of community spirit⁴⁹ in that they know other household members in the developments and consider them to be friends (Table 7.2). Respondents reported to know between 27% and 45% of households in their development, the figures for Oudtshoorn being substantially higher than that for Swellendam.

Table 7.2 Indications of community spirit in retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam

Name of development	Household members known %	Household members considered friends %
Rotary Park	27 (N = 47)	11 (N = 51)
Oudtshoorn Retirement Village	45 (N = 13)	18 (N = 15)
Caves Retirement Village	41 (N = 11)	23 (N = 14)

Source: Author's survey, 2011

⁴⁹ Respondents equate community spirit with their social interaction in the development.

Likewise, between 11% and 23% of households in the developments are considered to be friends, with the same disparity between Oudtshoorn and Swellendam. The physical layout of a development can impede social relations (a broader community spirit), for example the Rotary Park development in Swellendam is built on an incline and respondents report that the physical exertion to negotiate the incline as a handicap to visiting others. Residents have been seen driving their vehicles from their homes at the top of the incline to the administration block of the development and back – a total distance of approximately 500 metres.

Ninety-six per cent of respondents experience a satisfying degree of privacy in the developments (Table 7.3). This is linked to community spirit in that respondents mention that the reasons for their level of privacy are that residents respect each other's quiet time and do not visit each other excessively. So while residents form friendships in the development, the friendships are selective – not everyone is friends with everyone else. In addition, residents exercise a level of consideration when visiting others: "... mense trap nie mekaar se drumpels af nie"⁵⁰. On the other hand, those respondents who feel that the developments are not private cite the reason as everyone knows everyone else's business and indicative of the extent of gossiping in the development. Respondents link the level of privacy to the density of the houses and open communal space in the developments. Some respondents view dwelling densities as appropriate whilst others feel the densities are too high while one respondent lamented that the lack of fencing around properties contributed to the lack of privacy.

Table 7.3 Levels of privacy experienced

Name of development	Very private %	Private %	Not private %
Rotary Park (N = 54)	59	39	2
Oudtshoorn Retirement Village (N = 18)	6	89	5
Caves Retirement Village (N = 24)	54	42	4
Average	48	49	3

Source: Author's survey, 2011

While community spirit is judged to be the least important component of residing in the developments compared to frail care, security and peacefulness, it does not imply an absence of community spirit.

⁵⁰ People do not over-visit.

When asked what gives respondents a feeling of belonging in their respective developments, it was not the complex name (9%), gates (10%), guards (16%), walls (20%), or the management (32%), but their homes (73%), the neighbours (68%) and the other retirees in their complex (51%). The importance of neighbours endorses that the communal spirit is forged by friendships and social relations with neighbours, rather than with residents living farther away in the same complex.

A study of retirees in Australia shows that they are active members of the broader town community and have a vast reservoir of life experience to offer others, making them important creators of social capital in the non-metropolitan sphere (Hodgkin 2011). Respondents in Swellendam go to town, on average, five times a week and those in Oudtshoorn four times. It is notable that respondents in the Oudtshoorn Retirement Village, which of the surveyed developments is located closest to the CBD, only go to town three times a week on average. Seventy-three per cent of all the respondents take part in social activities in the towns. These activities are attending church, playing golf or bowls, eating out, meeting friends, attending shows, and going shopping.

A study of a retirement community located in the Sunbelt of the USA found that “approximately 25 percent of Fun City residents never leave their homes” (Jacobs 1974: 42). This compares well with the finding in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam where 27 out of 95 respondents (28%) revealed that they take no part in any social activities whatsoever in the towns. These are not bedridden or infirmed respondents because incapacitated residents were purposely excluded from the survey. Thus, more than one quarter of the respondents restrict their social activities to inside their development so that the development has become the confined location of all or most social activity for them.

In many respects the retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam thus typify niche market gated developments that cater for the requirements of a specific group of people, in these cases similarly aged retirees who choose to live in safe complexes inhabited by fellow retirees, who are socially compatible with the same home language, climate conscious, seekers of peaceful and friendly environments and affordable maintenance-free housing with frail care provided in a community spirited place creating a homogenous community. Another example of a niche market gated development is the gated developments located outside the urban edges of towns and, like retirement gated developments, they are not confined to a specific town, rather they occur in specific areas of the province. These gated developments outside the urban edge are treated in the next section.

7.4 GATED DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE THE URBAN EDGE

This study earlier reported that among the 449 non-metropolitan gated developments identified in the Western Cape, 21 (5%) are located outside the urban edge of towns (see Figure 4.10). Almost a quarter of these are in the Stellenbosch LM and one third in the George and Knysna LMs, that is 57% are in these three municipalities. The remainder are in eight different municipalities each with one such development. Four (19%) of the 21 developments were undeveloped in 2010 in the sense that the construction of dwellings and/or occupation had not yet occurred. The 17 operating gated developments outside the urban edge were classified as security estates which are space-intensive compared to townhouse gated developments. These security estates are characterised by a high ratio of green space to built-up space due to the large tracts of agricultural land or indigenous vegetation incorporated in these estates.

Although these gated developments outside the urban edge constitute only a fraction of all the province's gated developments, they are known to have ownership characteristics which are, in many instances, different from those of gated developments in towns. Moreover, gated developments outside the urban edge involve different approval processes from various departments in each of the three spheres of government, particularly because they locate on agricultural land. This means either that agricultural land is transformed to accommodate them or that the agricultural footprint at these locations is diminished. Either way, the land use change and amenity-driven ownership of these developments point to the forming of a post-productivist landscape in the Western Cape, of which gated developments are one component, and which distinguished what Nelson & Nelson (2011) view as a change in the rural residential landscape. This section investigates the exclusive and amenity-driven nature of these developments, their role in the second-home phenomenon, and the land use change characteristics they exhibit as part of post-productivist rural change.

7.4.1 The houses, the properties and their owners

Gated developments outside the urban edge have some notable characteristics that differ from those of many of the gated developments located in towns. These relate to high land and house prices, additional services in the developments and the property owners. Many gated developments in towns also have expensive houses and land, also provide a recreation component, and also feature high net-

worth individuals as owners, but almost all the gated developments outside the urban edge have these attributes.

In their pioneering publication on gated communities in the USA, Blakely & Snyder (1997) refer to the exclusivity of gated developments in terms of the belonging and security, especially those designed around golf courses and by implication, other amenity attractions. While not all developments which are designed around amenity attractions are located outside the urban edge, the cost of houses and vacant plots in gated developments outside the urban edge connote exclusivity where they are protected against real or perceived threats while portraying an idealised idyllic rural lifestyle (Yarwood 2001; Ghose 2004; Rofe 2006; Nelson & Nelson 2011; Kondo, Rivera & Rullman 2012).

So, the average price of a house in 14 of these developments is R8.75 million and that of 13 vacant plots is R2.99 million (Table 7.4). By comparison, the average house price in South Africa, including houses in gated developments was R973 400 in the second quarter of 2011 (Global Property Guide 2011). In an examination of non-metropolitan private communities in North Carolina, Phillips (2000) contended that the exclusive label is not merely a socially symbolic apparatus, but it is grounded in the high property prices, and other costs associated with private communal living, which puts them beyond the reach of the majority of the population.

Documentary evidence indicates that the initial capital outlay for the construction of such gated developments is enormous. Developments that do not reach the required number of sales to break even, are sold off (Auction Alliance no date). Table 7.4 shows wide ranges of prices in and between the gated developments, disparities that are explained by the different housing options, from apartments to multi-storied houses, and the size of vacant plots. In the gated developments there are zones of higher exclusivity or prestige value so that the location of a house or vacant plot determines price as a site on a ridge or close to a waterbody is more expensive than sites where there are no views or where accessibility to the amenities on offer is low.

Table 7.4 House and plot prices and amenities in gated developments outside the urban edge in non-metropolitan Western Cape

Development	Local municipality	Price of houses	Price of vacant plots	Amenities
Glen Lilly (undeveloped)	Swartland	N/A ¹	R275 000- R380 000	N/A
Jakkalsfontein Private Nature Reserve	Swartland	R3.5m- R6.02m	N/A	Nature reserve Beach
Wolfkop Mountain Heritage Retreat	Cederberg	N/A	R520 000- R1.25m	Mountain activities
Cedar Lake (undeveloped)	Cederberg	N/A	N/A	Lakeside
Deltacrest Country Estate	Stellenbosch	R5.9m- R6.85m	N/A	Equestrian centre Clubhouse Swimming pool Thatched gazebo
Longlands Country Estate (undeveloped)	Stellenbosch	N/A	R1.49m- R2.9m	Vineyards
Digteby Estate	Stellenbosch	N/A	R1.17m- R1.64m	Vineyards Olive groves
Slaley Private Estate	Stellenbosch	R11.4m	R4.85m- R7.8m	Vineyards
De Bosch Estate	Stellenbosch	R12.82m	R8m	Equestrian
Waterpoel de Windmeul	Drakenstein	R5.85m	R2.168m	Vineyards
Benguela Cove Lagoon and Wine Estate	Overstrand	R9.9m- R19.9m	R1.7m- R3.78m	Nature reserve Lagoon Vineyards
Theewaterskloof Country Estate	Theewaterskloof	R1.7m- R3.95m	N/A	Golf Lakeside
Pezula Private Estate	Knysna	R6.995m- R27.5m	R0.6m- R7.95m	Golf Spa Beach Fynbos area Indigenous forest Outdoor activities

Continued overleaf

Table 7.4 continued

Development	Local municipality	Price of houses	Price of vacant plots	Amenities
Belvidere Heights Private Estate	Knysna	R2.4m	N/A	Nature area
Hartenbos Estate	Mossel Bay	R1.39m	N/A	Nature area Beach Swimming pool Trampoline
Oubaai Golf Resort	George	R1.6m- R8.8m	R0.55m- R5.895m	Golf
Breakwater Bay Eco Estate	George	R3.95m- R27.5m	R1.25m- R5m	Sea view Eco-estate
Le Grand	George	N/A	N/A	Golf Wellness centre Sea view Nature reserve
Simola Golf and Country Estate	George	R6.2m- R22.4m	R0.99m- R5.75m	Golf Spa Gym Equestrian Outdoor activities
Twin Rivers Estate	Bitou	R5.665m- R8.8m	N/A	Nature reserve Swimming pool Tennis courts Clubhouse River/seafront
Gamka Eco and Olive Estate (undeveloped)	Kannaland	N/A	R0.75m- R1.05m	Nature area Hiking
Average price		R8.75m ²	R2.99m ³	

Note: ¹ N/A = Not available. ² 14 estates. ³ 13 estates.

Source: Author's survey of estate agent listings and development websites on 12-13 December 2011

The gated developments with the most expensive houses are Pezula Private Estate, Breakwater Bay Eco Estate, and Simola Golf and Country Estate all of which are located along the Garden Route and sited on cliff-top promontories. These developments are the residential domain of the wealthy as are most gated developments located outside the urban edge. Exclusivity is used as a key element of the marketing strategy for selling the houses and plots in the above three estates as with other gated

developments outside the urban edge which carry the exclusive tag (Table 7.5). This helps to achieve what Phillips (2000) calls social positionality: being part of an exclusive club that increases one's social status.

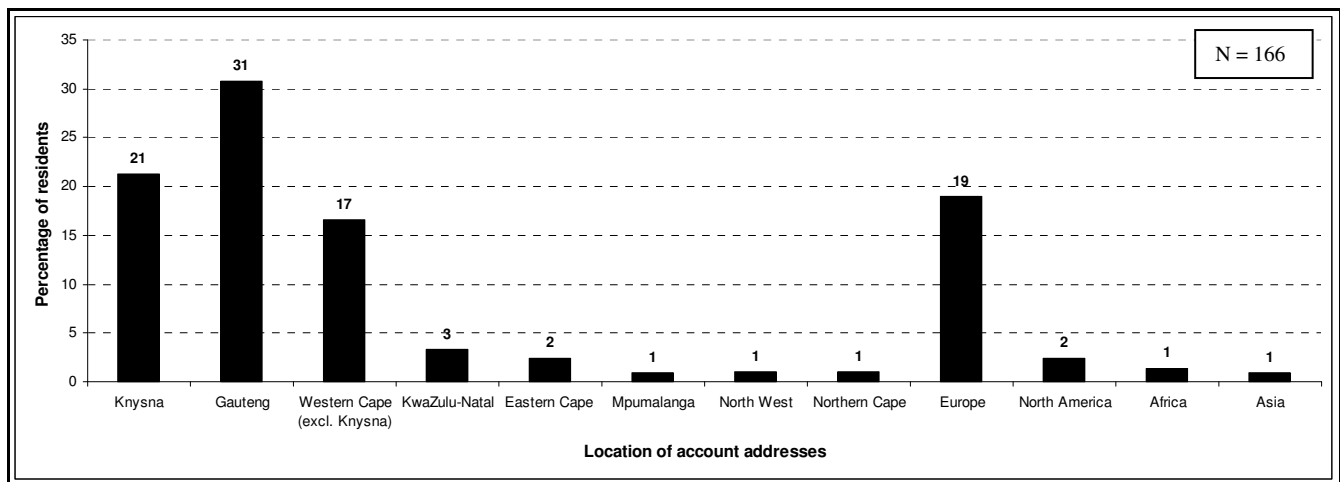
Table 7.5 Text extracts from brochures to endorse the exclusivity of selected developments

Development	Quote	Reference
Pezula Private Estate	"... South Africa's most exclusive gated community"	Estate (2011)
Breakwater Bay Eco Estate	"... this is certainly the Garden Route's most desirable Eco address"	Garden Route Investment Properties (2008)
Simola Golf and Country Estate	"... only top-class facilities ..."	Simola (2011)
Jakkalsfontein Private Nature Reserve	"Jakkalsfontein is by design exclusive, private and secure."	Jakkalsfontein Nature Reserve (n.d.)
Slaley Private Estate	"A unique 45 ha piece of the Slaley Estate is about to be developed into a new exclusive residential estate."	Slaley (n.d. b)
Oubaai Golf Resort	"...is an exclusive residential and resort development set in the heart of the spectacular Garden Route in South Africa."	Oubaai Properties (n.d.)
Twin Rivers Estate	"An exclusive paradise of only a handful of upmarket homes nestled on a pristine 22 ha peninsula."	Twin Rivers Estate (2012)

Each of the 21 developments, except one, has at least one amenity on offer for the exclusive use of its residents (see Table 7.4). The amenities include activities allied to the location, such as nearness to a mountain, proximity to a lagoon or the sea, or recreational activities such as golf, equestrian pursuits, and swimming. The provision of these amenities adds to the package of pursuits on offer with the residential component, together adding to the exclusivity of these developments (Phillips 2000). Some of this study's gated developments located in towns do offer similar products but 95% of the gated developments outside the urban edge certainly offer these products. The presence of an appealing

amenity component is attractive to homeowners from various other locales who acquire the properties as second homes.

A way to identify properties in these developments that are second homes is to use the postal codes of the addresses to which utility bills are posted (Pienaar & Visser 2009). Information was sourced from the Swartland and Knysna LM databases on the postal destinations of the ratepayers of specific properties in three gated developments, namely Pezula Private Estate and Simola Golf and Country Estate in the Knysna LM, and the Jakkalsfontein Private Nature Reserve in the Swartland LM. The information gives an indication of which homeowners live in the developments and which are second-home owners. Unfortunately, similar data is not available for the other municipalities. According to Figure 7.13 nearly one-third of the homeowners in Pezula are residents of Gauteng and just over one fifth from Knysna, that is resident in the estate. Slightly less than one fifth are resident in various European countries, three-quarters of whom are in the UK. In total, the homeowners living abroad (24%) are second only to the Gauteng group. Approximately 80% of homeowners in Pezula have their utility bill posted to an address outside Knysna which indicates a high incidence of second-home ownership.

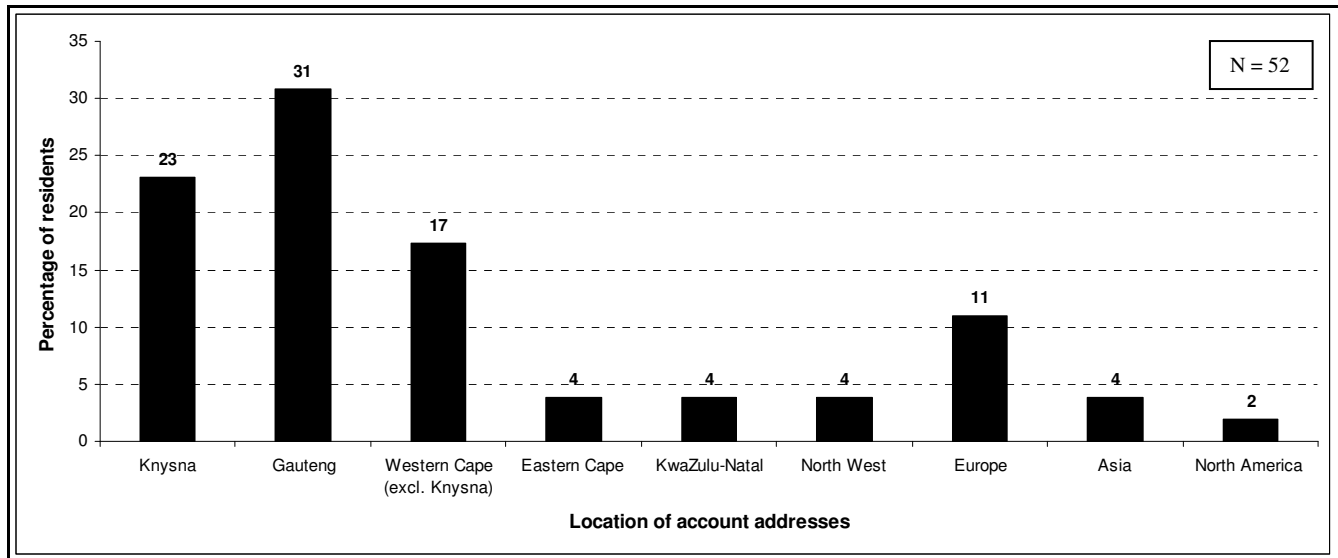


Source: Knysna Municipality (2010)

Figure 7.13 Location of account addresses of ratepayers with properties in Pezula Private Estate

Simola Golf and Country Estate has similar characteristics to Pezula. According to Figure 7.14 approximately one third of the formers' homeowners reside in Gauteng, nearly a quarter in Knysna. Both the Western Cape, excluding Knysna, and abroad contribute almost a fifth, so that with Gauteng

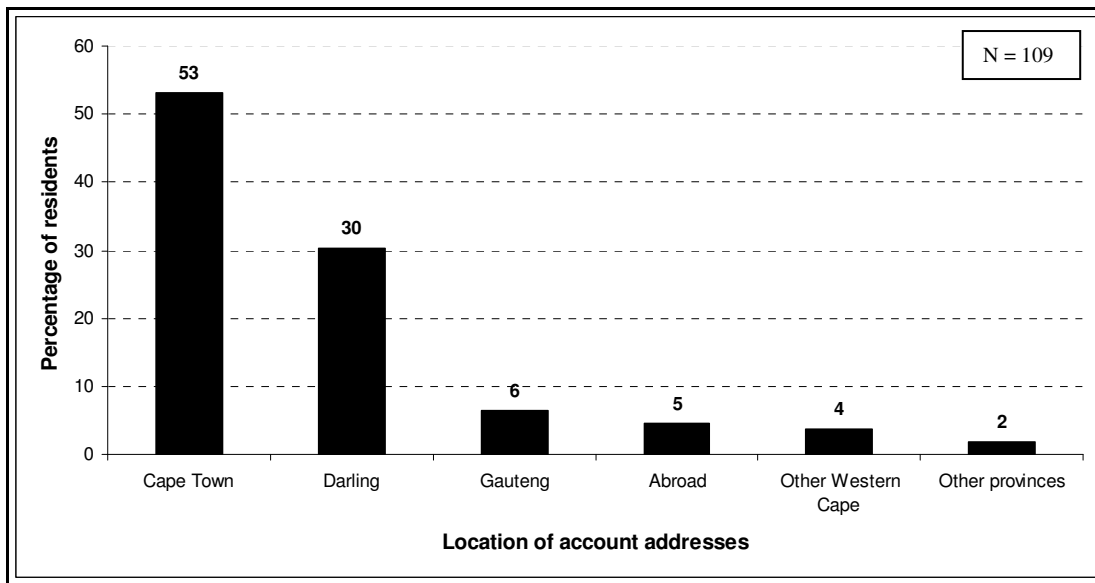
approximately 77% of Simola's homeowners have their primary residence outside the Knysna LM. Note, however that for both Pezula and Simola, a municipal account mailing post code of Knysna does not necessarily mean that the addressee resides in the estate. Twelve per cent of Simola homeowners reside in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and the North West.



Source: Knysna Municipality (2010)

Figure 7.14 Location of account addresses of ratepayers with properties in Simola Golf and Country Estate

The Jakkalsfontein Private Nature Reserve displays a slightly different picture regarding the location of residents, but retains the broad outlines of the estates in the Knysna LM (Figure 7.15). This study found that more than one half of the homeowners of Jakkalsfontein have their municipal utility bills posted to Cape Town addresses, which compares favourably with a study of second-home ownership in the Swartland LM where 56% of second-home owners resided in Cape Town (Lemmen 2011). The proximity of Cape Town to Jakkalsfontein is a very likely reason for the large share of Capetonian homeowners. The very small share of homeowners from Gauteng (6%) contrasts markedly with Pezula and Simola. Slightly less than a third of homeowners have Darling post codes indicating that they live on the reserve because Darling is the closest post office. Only 5% of the Jakkalsfontein homeowners live abroad which is quite dissimilar to the Pezula and Simola contingents of overseas homeowners at 24% and 17% respectively. The utility bills of almost 70% of the Jakkalsfontein residents are posted to addresses outside of the reserve indicating a considerable degree of second-home ownership.



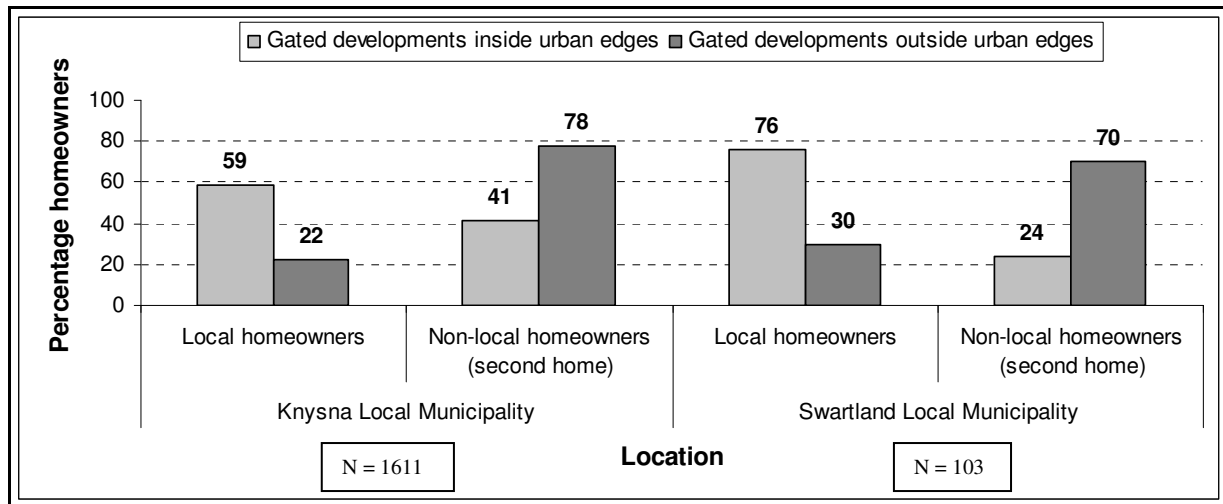
Source: Swartland Municipality (2010)

Figure 7.15 Location of account addresses of ratepayers with properties in Jakkalsfontein Private Nature Reserve

The evidence points to indicate the majority of dwellings in these three gated developments being second homes. But it is conceivable that this occurrence of second homes is a feature of gated developments in the two municipalities as a whole and not only of the gated developments outside the urban edge. A comparison was done of the incidences of second-home ownership in gated developments located in the towns in each of the two municipalities with those of gated developments outside the urban edge. Unfortunately, data for the gated developments in towns is deficient in that it only covers 42% and 51% of the gated developments in the towns of the Swartland and Knysna LMs, respectively. Even so, the available data was used to compare second-home ownership in gated developments in and outside the towns.

Local homeowners are homeowners whose municipal accounts are posted to the town in which the gated development is situated and the accounts of non-local homeowners are posted to addresses elsewhere. The latter are regarded as owners of second homes. Figure 7.16 indicates that the proportion (nearly 60%) of local homeowners in gated developments in towns in the Knysna LM is about three times higher than for gated developments in the Knysna LM that are outside the urban edge. That said, the difference between the local and non-local homeowners in developments in towns is 18%, suggesting that non-local homeowners (second-home owners) are well represented in developments in

the towns. Almost 80% of the homeowners of gated developments outside the urban edge in the Knysna LM are non-local or second-home owners. The Swartland LM displayed an even clearer situation with more than three-quarters of the homeowners in gated developments in the towns being local with about a quarter non-local. Ownership of houses in gated developments outside the urban edge record a 70% split between local and non-local (or second-home owners).



Sources: Knysna Municipality (2010) and Swartland Municipality (2010)

Figure 7.16 Second-home ownership in gated developments inside and outside the urban edge of towns in the Knysna and Swartland Local Municipalities

The very high cost of houses in gated developments outside the urban edge drew owners from farther afield than the immediate town so that second-home ownership was more pronounced in gated developments outside the urban edge, especially in the Knysna LM, than those inside. Second-home development has been recognised as a feature of Knysna since the late 1970s whence the phenomenon spread to towns like Wilderness and Sedgefield (Visser 2003). Indeed, second homes in gated developments offering golfing amenities become greatly sought after, especially in towns along the Garden Route (Visser 2003; Hoogendoorn, Mellet & Visser 2005). Significant though, the location of these gated developments has spread to spaces beyond the urban edges of towns. The trajectory of the spreading to certain towns along the Garden Route became synonymous with second homes in the 1970s and 1980s, and by the early 1990s second-home ownership in the first gated developments in the area's towns had manifested (see Appendix J) and in the new millennium their presence in gated developments beyond the urban edge had been established. The incidence of second-home owners in

the Knysna LM is higher than the Swartland LM. The gated developments in the Knysna LM's towns serve as living and lifestyle spaces which offer recreation amenities whereas the gated developments in towns in the Swartland LM offer considerably fewer amenities. Rather than offering amenities, the gated developments in the Swartland LM are used as living spaces where housing is at a premium.

Without doubt, the gated developments outside the urban edges of towns have a high proportion of second homes, they have amenity value, expensive plots and houses, and they are decidedly exclusive. The degree of second-home ownership in the gated developments, as in the Knysna LM, can lead to social tensions with the local community as in Montana, in the USA where the locals referred to the non-locals as a "... gated community of transient people ..." (Bryson & Wyckoff 2010: 63). Eighty-five per cent of the second-home owners in the Pezula, Simola and Jakkalsfontein developments are South Africa-based owners and 15% of owners are foreign-based. High-end developments, such as Pezula (24%) and Simola (17%) have sizable cohorts of foreign homeowners no doubt due to successful international marketing efforts (Paris 2009) and they are recognised as among the best in the world. These amenity-orientated developments beyond the urban edge "... are being produced through increasingly globalised forms and relationships" (McCarthy 2008: 129). The reach of these gated developments is international and the foreign homeowners are confident that their prime real estate is safe and secure during their absence. It is not implausible that the 14 other developed gated developments outside the urban edge possess similar characteristics to the three examined here, namely exclusiveness, an amenity-centred milieu, a second home concentration and significant foreign-ownership.

It is often contended that gated developments outside urban edges are established on agricultural land and that such construction impacts on the further use of the land for agricultural pursuits. The next section examines the ways and extent of land use change brought about by gated developments located beyond the urban edge.

7.4.2 Gated developments and land use change

All the gated developments located outside the urban edge are probably situated on land previously used for the primary economic activities of agriculture and/or forestry. The transformation of agricultural land in the Western Cape is a contentious issue (Niemand 2011). Three-quarters of these

gated developments are not part of larger concentrations of buildings that constitute settlements, but form distinctive islands of exclusive habitation in agricultural areas. They are exclusive standalone developments which have transformed the land and land uses where they are located. Gated developments beyond the urban edge are the epitome of the concept of gated developments in the rural idyll. Because they are so few in number only five per cent of all non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape – they represent an exclusive housing option that commands high prices and a buyers' market stretching beyond the shores of South Africa. Some of these developments are located close to town, others are farther away.

Urban edges are designed for containing development to prevent urban sprawl and leapfrog development: “urban edges are ... pro-active growth management tools ... to promote more compact contiguous urban development and to protect *agricultural* [land], biodiversity, heritage and other resources from development” (Western Cape Provincial Government 2005c: 6, emphasis added). However, research has shown that in South Africa municipal urban edges are not static delineations (Palmer et al. 2011). The negative aspects of urban sprawl include leapfrog development and the loss of farmland (Jansen van Rensburg & Campbell 2011). Provincial policy cautions that authorisation of developments outside the urban edge brings “... the province closer to irreparable harm” (Western Cape Provincial Government 2005a: 46). Examples of developments located on the urban edge are the Glen Lilly and De Bosch Estate developments in Malmesbury and Stellenbosch respectively⁵¹. The loss of farmland is one of the grounds for the further construction of such gated developments in the Western Cape (Jordan 2011). While certain gated developments outside the urban edge may be branded as leapfrog developments, it is the changes of the land use that are central in analysing the impact of these gated developments on agrarian locales. The historical uses of the land and its zoning designations provide evidence of land use change on the site of a gated development. The zoning designation is a land use planning tool used by municipal and provincial authorities to regulate and manage the use of land: “[w]ithin each zone there are provisions which set out the purposes for which land with such zoning may be used, and the manner in which it may be developed. Land can only be developed as permitted in terms of its zoning” (Western Cape Provincial Government 2004: 10).

⁵¹ The developers have applied to have the urban edge amended for the developments to be inside the urban edge. Over the years at least seven such developments have applied to be included in the urban edge.

Documentary research revealed the gated developments outside the urban edge that are located on land previously used for a primary economic purpose, such as agriculture. Information on land use was found for 18 of the 21 gated developments (Table 7.6). Whereas the formal zoning designations helped to identify the type of land use, it is the written accounts of observational evidence recorded in various documents that gives further ascertainment of the physical land use of each site. The dates of the land use change approval indicate that more than half of the developments were approved between 1995 and 2005, the period which coincides with the decade of most authorisations of security estates in the province (see Figure 4.14). The boom years of gated development establishment included the gated developments located outside the urban edge.

In 16 of the 21 (three out of four) developments the previous zoning was formally known as Agriculture I, with two cases having an additional Forestry determination (Table 7.6). The objective and use of property with an Agriculture I zoning is:

to promote and protect agriculture ... as an important economic, environmental and cultural resource. Limited provision is made for non-agricultural uses to provide rural communities in more remote areas with the opportunity to increase the economic potential of their properties, provided these uses do not present a significant negative impact on the primary agricultural resource ... [p]rimary uses are: agriculture, dwelling house ... [c]onsent uses are: additional dwelling unit, home occupation, guest-house, bed and breakfast establishment, tourist facilities, farm stall, farm shop, aqua-culture, intensive animal farming, intensive horticulture, plant nursery, riding school, 4x4 trail, commercial kennel, commercial antenna (Western Cape Provincial Government 2004: 82).

Observational evidence of previous land use exists for 12 developments (three out of five) that confirm land use for primary production. Recorded agricultural uses were cattle and/or sheep and ostrich grazing/pasturage, vineyards, vegetable farming and the cultivation of lucerne, and commercial timber plantations. One of the sites (the undeveloped Cedar Lake) was described as being covered by indigenous vegetation, but with an agricultural zoning. The various sites had a measure of indigenous vegetation on them which, in many cases, was integrated into the gated development and enticingly marketed as an attraction (Ballard & Jones 2011).

Table 7.6 Changes in land use and zoning for gated developments outside the urban edge

Development	Previous land use	Previous zoning	Current zoning	Date of zoning change/land use change approval/RoD¹	Zoning change reference
Jakkalsfontein Private Nature Reserve	N/A ²	N/A	Resort zone II	1990	Province of the Western Cape (2006)
Cedar Lake (undeveloped)	"... site is covered in indigenous vegetation" (Anel Blignaut Environmental Consultants 2006: 18)	Agriculture I	Resort zone II	7 June 1994	Anel Blignaut Environmental Consultants (2006)
Wolfkop Mountain Heritage Retreat	"... in the past the property was used periodically as winter grazing for cattle and goats and also to collect firewood and honey" (Dennis Moss Partnership 2004: 5).	Agriculture I	Resort zone II Open space III	13 March 1996	Wolfkop Landgoed Trust (2002)
Belvidere Heights Private Estate	N/A	Agriculture I	Resort zone I Resort zone II Open space III	30 June 1999	Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning (2003)
Waterpoel de Windmeul	"Die eiendom word tans ten volle vir wingerdverbouing of weidingsdoeleindes aangewend ..." (Praktiplan 2000: s.p.).	Agriculture I	Subdivisional Area	5 March 2001	Praktiplan (2000)

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Table 7.6 continued

Development	Previous land use	Previous zoning	Current zoning	Date of zoning change/land use change approval/RoD	Zoning change reference
Oubaai Golf Resort	N/A	Agriculture I	Residential I Open space II Open space III Business I	30 August 2002	Formaplan (2001)
Pezula Private Estate	“... 198ha natural vegetation and 414ha under commercial plantation.” (Hilland Associates 2002: 17)	Agriculture/ Forestry (Agriculture I) Undetermined zoning	Residential I Open space II Open space III	21 October 2002	Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning (2002)
Benguela Cove Lagoon and Wine Estate	“Land use is that of sheep farming and grazing. Large areas of the property consist of ploughed land used for a variety of crops” (EnviroAfrica 2003: 11).	Agriculture I	Agriculture I Residential I Residential V Open space II Open space III Transport I Special zone	15 December 2003	EnviroAfrica (2003: 13-17)
Breakwater Bay Eco Estate	“Site was previously a private forestry estate ... an area of commercial pine plantations ...” (CODEV 2003: s.p.).	Agriculture/ Forestry	Subdivisional area	10 February 2004	Nel & De Kock (2003)

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Table 7.6 continued

Development	Previous land use	Previous zoning	Current zoning	Date of zoning change/land use change approval/RoD	Zoning change reference
De Bosch Estate	“... site represents an old vineyard ...” (Withers Environmental Consultants 2004: ii).	Agriculture I	Subdivisional area (for residential purposes)	25 October 2004	Withers Environmental Consultants (2004: 54)
Hartenbos Estate	N/A	Agriculture I	Resort zone II	24 August 2005	Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning (2005)
Gamka Eco and Olive Estate (undeveloped)	“Lucerne is grown for stock feed and grazing of ostriches and cattle. Current agricultural activities will continue” (Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning 2004: 4).	Agriculture I	Resort zone II Open space III	7 December 2005	Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning (2004)
Longlands Country Estate (undeveloped)	“The farm is currently used for growing vineyards and vegetables” (Withers Environmental Consultants 2003: 4).	Agriculture I	Subdivisional area (for housing erven) Agriculture I	23 May 2006	Withers Environmental Consultants (2003)

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Table 7.6 continued

Development	Previous land use	Previous zoning	Current zoning	Date of zoning change/land use change approval/RoD	Zoning change reference
Le Grand	N/A	Agriculture	Residential	26 June 2007	Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning (2007)
Simola Golf and Country Estate	<p>“Sections of the estate were previously used for agricultural purposes. Areas were mainly used for pasture ...” (Avierinos & Randall 2004: 5).</p> <p>“The property is currently reserved for agriculture” (Hilland Associates 2004: 5).</p>	Agriculture I	Subdivisional area	N/A	VPM Planning (2007)
Glen Lilly (undeveloped)	“Agricultural (grazing), horse paddocks and stables ...” (Sillito Environmental Consulting 2008: 8)	Agriculture I	Residential I Residential II Residential III Business I Business II Business III Institutional I Institutional II	N/A	Sillito Environmental Consulting (2008)

Continued overleaf

Table 7.6 continued

Development	Previous land use	Previous zoning	Current zoning	Date of zoning change/land use change approval/RoD	Zoning change reference
Digteby Estate	N/A	Agriculture I	Residential I Residential II Open space II	N/A	Province of the Western Cape (2005b)
Twin Rivers Estate	“The Anath Peninsula has been used as grazing for cattle and cultivation of crops since before 1974.” (Hellström & Avierinos 2006: s.p.)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Theewaterskloof Country Estate	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Slaley Private Estate	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Deltacrest Country Estate	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Notes: ¹ Record of Decision (environmental authorisation issued by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning).

² Not available

³ “The entire property is currently used for vineyards and grazing purposes”

The documentary evidence demonstrates that two thirds of the gated development sites outside the urban edge had some sort of agricultural activity associated with them. Although three sites had no documentary evidence of agricultural activity, time-series aerial photography shows clear signs of farming activity before development of two of the sites, for example Figure 7.17 exemplifying one of these. The three sites without any documentary evidence of farming are located in farming areas and each has an erf description of 'Farm' in the Surveyor-General's records. Thus, all the gated developments located outside the urban edge were sites of farming activity or designated as farms. The change in the use of the land from primary production to a residential use testifies to a post-productive rurality, because the development of residential spaces on what was previously agricultural land is a tenet of post-productivism (Wilson 2001). All, except one, of the gated developments outside the urban edge have at least one associated amenity function (see Table 7.4), adding credence to a change to post-productivism as predicated by Wilson (2001) and Holmes (2002).



Source: Google Earth™

Figure 7.17 Slight land use change of Slaley Private Estate (shown as Slaley Estate on Google Earth™) showing dwellings circled in red and continuance of agricultural activities.

Various specialists, appointed by developers involved in the integrated environmental management process unsurprisingly provide reasons why farmland *should* be relinquished for the construction of

gated developments. The farming potential of the soil is a common explanation why farming should not (even cannot) continue on a site. Soils classified with a medium to low potential are viewed as being agriculturally uneconomic so that an alternative use is in order for economic sustainability (Praktiplan 2000; Formaplan 2001; Nel & De Kock 2003; Withers Environmental Consultants 2003). Moreover, the small size of some farms (due to continual subdivision over the years), the distance to markets and high transport costs for farmers are impediments to profitable farming (Anel Blignaut Environmental Consultants 2006; De Lange 2011, pers com; Nelson & Nelson 2011). Long periods of a farm not being used for agricultural purposes and/or the unavailability of water are justifications for requests to have the type of land use changed (OVP Associates 1992; Avierinos & Randall 2004). Farmers with agricultural land close to a town sometimes purposefully do not farm it while they wait for the urban edge to ‘catch up’, before rezoning the property and selling it at a profit (De Lange 2011, pers com). Sinclair (1967) has adapted Von Thünen’s 1826 model of agricultural land use around a town and uses the argument for explaining changing land use around an expanding city (or town) by using the concept of ‘speculative expectation’. The concept describes the mechanism where land near the urban edge will become more valuable for non-agricultural purposes and leads farmers to not invest in production or infrastructure in anticipation of a better deal from selling the land as opposed to farming it.

There are contrasting views on whether the growth of gated developments outside the urban edge leads to a loss of rural character. The RoD of one development application submits that “... it will create much needed residential space in the area while not detracting from the agricultural and rural appeal of the area” (Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning 2001: 3). Another RoD prescribes that the design, layout, fencing and lighting of developments must “... be adapted to enhance the rural residential nature, visual sense of place ...” (Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning 2007: 7). In one case environmental consultants admit that the developments “... will lead to a loss of the existing rural amenity currently enjoyed by ... properties adjacent to the site” (Withers Environmental Consultants 2004: v) and in the Pezula environmental impact report it reads: “Losers: change in the rural character of the farm (local) – change in the rural character of the stretch of coastline (regional)” (Hiland Associates 2002: 35). Finally, another development application maintains that the “... agricultural area is not a loss of good agricultural land and that the proposal is desirable as measured against this” (Formaplan 2001: 23). In spite of the recognition, or not, of the change of the rural character with the development of gated developments, the fact remains that the agricultural and farming nature of these locations have undergone a significant change.

In some developments portions of the land are retained for agricultural purposes (recall Figure 7.17) or as indigenous nature areas. Residents can get the enjoyment of the nature reserve and/or the good wine produced on the farm – all part of the exclusive living package offered to a homeowner. Slaley Private Estate, Benguela Cove Lagoon and Wine Estate, and Longlands Country Estate cultivate vineyards on the property, the benefits of which adds non-pecuniary value to their investment (Withers Environmental Consultants 2003; Benguela Cove Lagoon Wine Estate no date; Slaley no date b). A study in the USA established that many of these developments emphasise the importance of location in or close to ecologically sensitive areas to allow residents to extract maximum satisfaction from the rural idyll (Kondo, Rivera & Rullman 2012). In South Africa there are conscious efforts to promote, cultivate and maintain indigenous flora in these developments (Ballard & Jones 2011). Jakkalsfontein Private Nature Reserve, Pezula Private Estate and some others endeavour to improve the conservation-worthy indigenous vegetation by implementing environmental management plans and appointing environmental managers who work on the estates (Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning 2003; Pezula Private Estate 2011; Jakkalsfontein Nature Reserve 2012). These interventions improve conservation efforts and help to maintain agricultural practices on the farms together with their residential components. The farms become sites of agricultural and non-agricultural activities; sites of production and sites of consumption, the latter exemplifying a post-productivist rurality to which attention is paid in the next section.

7.4.3 Towards a post-productivist landscape

A change from an agricultural or other primary sector use of land to other types of land use causes change in the landscape and represents a shift from production to consumption or what this study described in Chapter 3 as a shift from a productivist non-metropolitan landscape to a post-productivist landscape. The consumptive practices refer to former agricultural land being used for non-food production purposes, in this case the construction of estates for housing purposes with an attached amenity component. There is a demand in non-metropolitan Western Cape for agricultural land for the consumptive use of housing (De Lange 2011, pers com) which is typical post-productivist activity in rural areas as described by Banks & Marsden (2000) in Wales. In addition to the change in land use, there is evidence that a sizable portion of the homeowners are second-home owners. It is buyers who can afford the high prices of these houses who are moving into the developments, or have second homes there and who impact on the social, political and economic dynamic in the non-metropolitan landscape (Wilson 2001). Allied to these changes in the non-

metropolitan sphere are the increased amenity-driven leisure practices in the gated developments that further contributes to the post-productivist setting (Hoogendoorn, Visser & Marais 2008).

It is unknown how many employment opportunities have been lost due to cessation of agricultural activities on the land now occupied by gated developments beyond the urban edge. Gated developments introduce to the agricultural landscape the issues of employment opportunities and discourses on controlled access to gated residential developments. Retirement migrants from the UK residing in Spain employ the local populace in specific service roles: “locals tended the land of the migrants, cleaned their houses, cooked and did their washing” (Oliver 2005: 53). It is expected by government planners that gated developments outside the urban edge in the Western Cape would provide employment opportunities not only during the construction phase of the developments, but also in their operational phase (Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning 2007). The exclusive enclaves of the rich are seen to contribute to employment by providing low-skilled employment opportunities to people living close to the developments: “... possible employment of domestic workers and gardeners from surrounding farms” (Praktiplan 2005, s.p.) and “... the 100[-]house estate will provide domestic and gardening jobs ...” (Withers Environmental Consultants 2004, s.p.). An example of a mutual relationship between a gated development and the surrounding community is the Longlands Country Estate which has donated a portion of its land as a quid pro quo for the development of an agricultural village alongside the estate (Withers Environmental Consultants 2004). The low-skilled workers will be drawn from the agricultural village separated from the estate by the security fence, the guarded entrance and the high potential soils between the developments on which vineyards will be planted. The location of the high potential soils necessitates that the dwellings of two developments will not share a common boundary. It is not clear if there is tension between the people earmarked for residence in the agricultural village and the developer and/or the residents of the estate.

Changing rural community relations have been researched elsewhere (Chávez 2005; Tubtim 2012). The location of an exclusive gated development with a poor community alongside serving as a pool of low-skilled labour may have social consequences. Research in Santiago, Chile revealed that a positive social relationship exists between gated estates and their bordering low-income neighbourhoods (Sabatini & Salcedo 2007), while the South African reality is different as evidenced by the research done in Cape Town into the relationships between the Westlake Village residents and the gated Silvertree Estate residents which found a lack of neighbourliness between the two groups (Lemanski 2006). This dualism requires further research in South African agrarian locales (Van der Waal 2005).

Research conducted in Japan, the USA and Australia reveal that there may be antagonism between surrounding farmers and gated development residents as the former are involved in farming activities and the latter are not (Murakami, Gilroy & Atterton 2009; Smith & Sharp 2005) which may result in increased prices of land due to the presence of the gated development and consequent pressure on the profitability of farming activities (Curry, Koczberski & Selwood 2001). This tension is heightened when the surrounding farmers and landowners oppose a development from the start with – as evidenced by the appeals lodged by surrounding landowners and others against environmental authorisations issued by the provincial authority for such developments. These appeals certainly reflect the changing social relations of on- and off-farm interactions that an exclusive, securitised, entrance-controlled estate brings to the farming milieu. It is these changes in rural spaces, due to counterurbanisation and the commodification of the rural that need further investigation, especially as scenario analyses of rural areas indicate significant social change in England, Australia and the USA (Lowe & Ward 2009; Argent 2011; Nelson & Nelson 2011) and social segregation (McCarthy 2008).

The privatisation of space in agrarian locales is often a barrier to access by people to resources such as medicinal plants and fishing spots. Environmental authorisations attempt to ensure that access is not restricted; for example “[c]ontrolled access must be provided to members of the public to harvest medicinal plants” (Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning 2007: 9) and “access to historical favourite fishing areas along the coast is assured ...” (Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning 2007: 19). Although documentary evidence shows that local fishermen in George had no objections to restricted access due to historical restrictions on private land, gated developments close to Herold’s Bay has made access to fishing spots even more inaccessible (CODEV 2003). Born & Goltz (2007) note that lifestyle migrants to non-metropolitan locales might not view these spaces as sites of agricultural production, they are rather enamoured with its environmental quality. This post-productivist viewpoint of the protection of the environmental quality of non-metropolitan locales rather than their use for agricultural production, is supported by the efforts to retain the environmental quality within gated developments outside the urban edge. Thus, while restricting human access, gated developments ensure that wildlife can move around unhindered: “[t]he ecological systems must not be hampered by fences, and wildlife should have freedom of movement ... a security ‘fence’ in the form of paling to prevent *unauthorised human access* along the northern boundary is intended” [own emphasis] (CODEV 2003: s.p.) and “... permit the movement of small wildlife through the security boundary” (Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning 2007: 8). This is especially the case where nature reserves are incorporated into a gated development:

dit word beoog om groot klem te plaas op sekuriteit en in hierdie verband is dit die voorneme om sekuriteitsheininge (met toegangsbeheer) rondom al die ‘residensiële nodusse’ op te rig. Genoegsame voorsiening sal ook gemaak word vir openinge in die sekuriteitsheininge ten einde ... [vryheid van] ... beweging van wilde diere deur die eiendom [toe te laat]⁵² (Hilland Associates 2002: s.p.).

Gated developments outside the urban edge serve the elite by creating secure living environments in amenity-based residential space. The degree to which these developments restrict access by non-residents to public spaces, although authorised otherwise, is yet to be established. The exclusive living environments restrict human access while maintaining access by plants and animals so that flora and fauna can thrive for the enjoyment of residents. The maintenance of indigenous flora and fauna and/or the cultivation of agricultural produce as part of the residential experience are central in these developments. This transformation of agricultural land may lead to the forming of leapfrog developments and it presages a diverse agricultural non-food producing environment. The social relations between people inside and outside the gates need to be investigated.

It is noteworthy that although the presence of gated developments on previously used farmland may indicate a move to a post-productivist landscape in the Western Cape, it is not the only facet or indication of post-productivism. The rise of organic farming, farm tourism, awareness of environmental impacts, the importance of biodiversity, and other aspects of agricultural change in the Western Cape are in all likelihood also symptomatic of an intensifying post-productivist non-metropolitan landscape.

7.5 CONCLUSION

Certain gated developments are aimed at capturing a specific segment of the market. Two of these niche markets, of which both are present in non-metropolitan Western Cape, are retirement gated developments in towns and gated developments located outside the urban edge. Concerning retirement gated developments this chapter has examined their socio-demographic dynamics, the reasons for living in these developments and whether the towns that promote retirement living have any special features. Regarding gated developments located outside the urban edge, the chapter has

⁵² “it is envisaged that great emphasis will be placed on security and in this regard it is the intention to erect security fencing (with access control) around all the ‘residential nodes’. Provision will be made for openings in the security fence to allow freedom of movement of wild animals across the property”.

considered their socio-residential dynamics and how these dynamics are linked to the evolution of a post-productive non-metropolitan Western Cape.

Oudtshoorn and Swellendam were selected as suitable case studies of retirement gated developments. These developments are either privately managed or by international service-based clubs, with respondents preferring the reputation and track record of the latter. Retirement gated developments play an important role in the economies of small towns through job creation, service requirements, residents' spending and contribution to municipal rates and taxes. The average age of the retiree respondents is 15 years older than the standard retirement age in South Africa, with three quarters being Afrikaans-speaking, close to 80% having a post-matric qualification, and a quarter own a second home. A little more than a third of respondents resided outside of the Western Cape before moving to either of the two towns, with the migration to the developments from northern provinces becoming a feature since 2006. The towns have certain pull factors that attract retirees, with the climate and nature, and safety and peacefulness as the most important considerations.

Criminal activity rates in the towns are considered to be low with most retirees feeling safe. The safety and security element of the gated developments together with the frail-care facilities are important for residents. The frail-care centres are viewed by residents in two of the three surveyed developments as the most important component of their development. The availability and proximity of medical facilities and practitioners in the towns are also considered to be important. The feeling of a community spirit in the developments is fostered by personal relationships rather than the physical features of the development. However, social relations wane beyond the development with almost a third of the respondents not taking part in any social activities in the towns.

Gated developments outside the urban edge present characteristics that indicate a level of exclusivity exceeding that found in other developments. The high price of vacant land and dwellings and the presence of amenity functions in these developments is testament to the exclusivity. Added to this is the marketing pitch on brochures and websites that brands these developments as exclusive. The marketing strategies are aimed at a worldwide audience with up to a quarter of homeowners based outside South Africa. The wide appeal of these developments coupled with their amenity provision, translate to a large component of second-home ownership, and call attention to their being lifestyle spaces rather than just living spaces.

All the gated developments outside the urban edge are located on land previously used for agriculture which implies significant changes in the land use characteristics of these farms. The main justification for sanctioning such land use change is that many of the agricultural sites have poor soils and/or are too small to support economically viable farming. This inevitably leads to changes in the rural character, although there are conflicting views whether this is indeed the case. Some developments retain an agricultural component for the benefit of the residents and others improve the conservation-worthiness of the land. However, farmlands are increasingly becoming sites of consumption, rather than production in an evolving post-productivist landscape.

Gated developments located on erstwhile farmland are but one component of the move to a post-productivist landscape in the Western Cape. The diversity of the farming economy, with increased consumptive practices on farms, points to post-productivism. The impacts of gated developments in these locales on the social relations between communities, neighbours and people needs to be researched, especially given the tendency for neighbouring poorer communities being touted as pools of low-skilled labour for the developments. Also, the impacts of the developments on accessibility to natural resources and public amenities must be assessed. The next chapter concludes the study of non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Non-metropolitan gated developments are an under-researched component of gated development study the world over. This research has illuminated various locational and thematic aspects of non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape. The research has brought to the fore various nuances regarding different types of gated developments in various locales. This concluding chapter revisits the objectives and approaches followed in the study, as well as the theoretical contexts and the review of the relevant literature. A summary of the results and brief discussion of the locational and securitisation aspects, town case studies and thematic case studies are presented. General conclusions are drawn, limitations recognised and recommendations for further research are made.

8.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES, APPROACHES AND LITERATURE

The core aim of the research was to investigate residential gated developments in non-metropolitan locales of the Western Cape. The vast body of knowledge that has been compiled on gated developments is almost entirely related to those located in metropolitan areas. This research is set apart by spotlighting gated developments in the non-metropolitan places with a view to understanding the patterns, processes and reasons for their proliferation outside the Western Cape's only metropolitan area, Cape Town. The core aim comprises six objectives. The first two involved a literature review and theoretical positioning of gated developments, a short overview of which follows. The other four called for quantitative and qualitative analyses of data compiled from surveys and case studies of the province's non-metropolitan gated developments. The salient findings are summarised in this chapter.

The study area was the entire Western Cape, excluding metropolitan Cape Town, and involved 131 towns which were all surveyed for the presence of gated developments. In the absence of comprehensive data for gated developments in the province, a database consisting of a multitude of variables was created from various sources for each of 449 non-metropolitan gated developments. The data was recorded spatially according to the location within specific local municipalities or towns or outside the urban edges of towns. The data was used for quantitative analyses of various

aspects of gated developments. Qualitative information acquired from role players, stakeholders and residents in the gated development arena was used to complement the quantitative enquiry.

In this research the term 'gated development' is preferred to 'gated community' as the former is broader as it denotes the physical and human aspects of the developments. Location is of paramount importance in gated development studies because of its crucial role in many of the wide variety of definitional and typological constructs of the phenomenon. Some broad thematic areas of the global manifestation and experiences of gated living are applicable to South African investigations into gated developments. These are that gated developments are historically grounded in different localities; political and economic transitions impact on the booming of gated developments; social change contributes to their proliferation; and institutional and infrastructural factors play important roles in their establishment and operation.

The theoretical positioning of gated developments has traditionally been seen through a big-city, metropolitan lens. Theoretically speaking, gated developments have been variously viewed as indicative of a fortress mentality; as a strategy of isolationism; as part of the new world order; as a fear-related response to crime and violence; and as a phenomenon explicable by the economic concept of club goods. However, the centring of this research in the non-metropolitan sphere required an examination and application of theories of rural change and post-productivism. An exploration of the agrarian history of the study area demonstrates how certain non-metropolitan areas of the Western Cape are evolving into sites which display signs of post-productivist activity. These methodological approaches and theoretical constructs underpin the locational and securitisation analyses and case studies conducted in this research.

8.3 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH RESULTS

Locational and securitisation analyses were performed following extensive data gathering and fieldwork exercises. Towns for case study and researchable themes were selected from the multitude findings of and conclusions drawn from the locational and securitisation analyses. Two case-study towns, Swellendam and Ceres, and two themes on gated developments, retirement gated developments and gated developments outside the urban edge, were subjected to further scrutiny. The following narrative highlights the salient points extracted from the locational and securitisation analyses and the case studies.

8.3.1 The locational analysis

The research primarily defined the gated developments as being located in non-metropolitan areas in addition to having a combination of the following features: perimeter hardening, controlled and restricted access, securitisation, legal agreements with homeowners, homeowner representative bodies, and the terrain subdivided to accommodate separate, individually-owned dwellings. The gated developments were classified as either developed or undeveloped, and further categorised as security estates or townhouse complexes.

On a macro scale, the 449 gated developments are concentrated in coastal local municipalities and in local municipalities which are close to the Cape Town metropolitan area. Ninety-five per cent of the gated developments are located in towns and the others lie outside the urban edge in local municipalities which have some special amenity and leisure attributes. The undeveloped gated developments were mostly security estates which missed the property boom in the first half of the first decade of the 21st century. These undeveloped security estates will probably lead to the revival of gated development growth with an upturn in the economy.

Security estates are prominent in amenity-rich areas and townhouse complexes tend to be dispersed throughout the study area. The security estates combine lifestyle space with living space, while townhouse complexes are essentially living spaces. A growth in the number of new security estates was discernible between 2001 and 2006, with some local municipalities showing earlier signs of increased activity than others. Security estates did not, however, follow their explosive growth seen in cities in the 1990s as a response to the changing political milieu in South Africa. Townhouse complexes show higher occurrences in towns of inland local municipalities, adding credence to their use as high-density housing units rather than as lifestyle spaces. Certain gated developments feature niche residential options, namely as retirement villages, as places in vineyard and/or nature reserve settings, and as exclusive domains for recreation-orientated living or second-home investment.

The locational analysis directed attention to the towns, regions and themes which warranted micro-level inspection. The foremost attribute of gated developments is their security features. The main findings of the analysis of safety and security are rehearsed next.

8.3.2 Security and crime levels seemingly unrelated

Safety and security is usually posited as a main reason for residence in gated developments. The studied developments have all or selected combinations of 11 security features. These include perimeter security, access control, voice and visual recognition devices, and a human presence. Overall, the security estates have more security features than the townhouse complexes. The security features are aimed at protecting residents from criminal activity and access by undesirable elements. Gates, walls, fences and intercoms are the most prevalent security features but, surprisingly, not all the gated developments have gates. Some developments have residents' names and a map of the complex outside the entrance which allow anyone to identify who and pinpoint where residents live. Whether this compromises security in any way was not established.

A security level index value was assigned to each security feature and this facilitated an analysis of the securedness of each gated development. It transpired that there are different levels of security between different types of gated developments, local municipalities and towns. Security estates are more secure than townhouse complexes, while gated developments in local municipalities along the coast and close to the metropolitan area are more secure than those located inland. Retirement gated developments and gated developments with an amenity component have significantly above-average security levels. Towns with a tourism economic base have higher levels of security than towns with other types of economic base. An unexpected finding is that no direct relationship appears to exist between high security levels in gated developments and high crime levels in towns, with more than 80% of the towns in which there are gated developments having very low to medium levels of crime.

The results of the analysis of security in the towns showed that Swellendam and Ceres are appropriate candidates for case study owing to the high security levels and other outstanding attributes of their gated developments.

8.3.3 Two town case studies: densification and smaller dwellings versus secure rented dwellings

Each town included in the study could have been case studied as place-specific processes and characteristics influenced the presence and growth of gated developments in all of them. Swellendam and Ceres were chosen because in the former town 60% of its gated developments are highly secure security estates in a tourist environment while the latter town has highly secure gated

developments in an agricultural town. A commonality in Swellendam and Ceres is that a significant percentage of older gated development residents owned a second home.

The history of Swellendam has profoundly affected the town's built environment. There are historic buildings and new gated developments almost side by side in the town. Furthermore, the town is close to two nature reserves, has a magnificent mountain backdrop and nearby rivers that are added natural attractions. The town is located in an area where agricultural activities traditionally contribute much to the economy of the region and the town. But this contribution has declined since 1995 and is now surpassed by, inter alia, the tourism sector.

Although they enjoy the tourism aspects of the town, the residents of gated developments were not necessarily drawn to the gated developments in Swellendam because of these attractions. The primary reason for choosing gated developments in Swellendam is the convenience of residing in a smaller dwelling with less maintenance and overheads compared to those usually associated with large houses on large erven. The only affordable smaller dwellings in Swellendam are in the gated developments. Swellendam is perceived as a safe town, yet residents spoke of the need for peace of mind regarding security. The Swellendam LM has embarked on a process of densification in Swellendam and has consequently approved the construction of more gated developments with a view to achieving densification targets. The town's many security estates are testament to the densification ideal, but not all of the estates have been successful due to their unsuitable location and the impacts of various monetary and economic pressures that have befallen potential homebuyers and developers.

Ceres is an agricultural service centre located in a high-value fruit production area. Unlike Swellendam, the agricultural sector has consistently remained the highest contributor to the economy of the Witzenberg LM. The security level index value for the town is very high even though most gated development residents report that they feel safe in Ceres. The developers are responsible for the high security level as they believe that good security features are an asset to marketing developments and most of the residents express the need for a measure of safety and security. The high proportion of renters in the developments reflects the shortage of affordable housing in Ceres. The rental accommodation is mostly sought by people moving from elsewhere to work in the agricultural, service and government sectors of the town's and wider local municipality's economies. Most of the rental accommodation is provided in the gated developments which also have long waiting lists. The oversubscription of rental accommodation allows owners to screen potential applicants when vacancies occur.

8.3.4 Thematic case studies: retirement in towns and exclusive gated living beyond the urban edge

Some of the gated developments are excellent examples of niche gated developments aimed at specific target markets. These developments were not restricted to one or two towns, but occur in different locales across the study area. The thematic case studies examined retirement gated developments in Oudtshoorn and Swellendam and all the gated developments located outside the urban edges of towns in the province.

Retirement gated developments cater for people in a specific age cohort. These developments are either privately managed or managed by an international service-based club, with respondents expressing a preference for the latter. These developments make important contributions to the local economy. Most of the retirees came from somewhere in the Western Cape, but an influx of retirees from the country's northern provinces is evident. The climate, natural beauty, historical and social factors are the main drawcards. An efficiently functioning municipality, able to meet the service delivery needs of the populace is an important requirement voiced by retirees.

As expected, safety and security are important to respondents in retirement gated developments, even though crime levels in the towns were perceived as low. The smaller dwellings in the developments which require minimal maintenance are sought after, as is proximity both to larger settlements and the respondents' second homes. When safety and security was measured against the provision of frail care in the developments, the latter was rated as more important. The failing health and advanced age of residents put a premium on the provision of appropriate frail-care services in the developments. The peaceful environment of the developments and the towns, and the friendly social relationships in the developments are prized by the residents. Devoted social relations among residents, rather than the buildings and security features are appreciated greatly. Participation in social activities outside the development is a characteristic of most of the residents although about a quarter of the residents restrict all their social activity to the confines of the development.

Gated developments outside the urban edges of towns represent the pinnacle of an exclusive non-metropolitan gated living experience. The cost of buying into these developments is extremely high and the living experience pivots heavily on the amenity component provided for residents. The amenity component comprises nature reserves, recreational activities (for example golf and water sports), agricultural pursuits (for example own-label wine production) and participation in the offerings of the amenity-rich regions in which most of these developments are located. A sample of

these gated developments revealed that many of the dwellings in these developments are very likely the second homes of a significant percentage of foreign homeowners.

All the developments outside the urban edge are located on land once used for primary economic activities. Many of the developments have combined the primary economic activity with a residential component which is offered as a product to the residential market. Transformed agricultural land is usually deemed to have low-potential soils for agriculture so that gated estates are a preferred alternative to maximise value from the land. Many of the developments have been subjected to EIAs and contestations with various people and organisations regarding the land use changes. The deconstruction and reconstruction of farmland attests to the move to a post-productivist landscape in parts of non-metropolitan Western Cape. It remains to be seen what specific social impacts the gated developments outside the urban edge will have, especially since the surrounding poor communities are viewed as a source of labour for the developments.

8.4 VALUE AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE RESEARCH

Burgeoning international and South African scholarship and research on gated developments, gated communities, private interest developments, planned master estates and the like have overwhelmingly concentrated on metropolitan or big-city arenas, the birthplaces of contemporary gated developments. This research and its findings are set apart from others in that they address the occurrence, issues and nature of gated developments in non-metropolitan locales.

The *significance of regional or place-specific emphases* in gated development literature is supported by this research as the case studies underline the importance of place in theorising on and researching gated developments. Even in towns, proximity of gated developments to what may be deemed an undesirable land use (such as a sawmill situated opposite a gated development in Swellendam) has an impact on how gated developments are accepted or not. The establishment of gated developments in various localities in the study area has followed different trajectories, a confirmation that the reasons for their proliferation are not universal. Yet, there are some common themes such as the divergent levels of the sense of community in developments and the differing degrees of importance of safety and security, which emerge.

It is not the physical components of gated developments, the walls and gates, which are recognised by residents of retired gated developments as the defining ingredient of their gated communities,

rather the *valued social relations* forged within the developments. Yet, even in developments there are differing levels of communality and socialisation. The levels attained are the prerogatives of individuals. Social relationships are built inside and outside the developments, some residents do not socialise beyond the development. This is an anomaly given that small-town ambience and friendliness are specified as reasons for taking up residence in such places.

The *fear of crime and violence* features prominently in gated development literature and it is often the foremost reason given for gated living. The respondents acknowledged the low level of crime and violence in small towns compared to cities, and the majority are not fearful of interaction in the physical and social spaces of towns. Rather than fearing crime and violence, the residents stress the importance of having peace of mind regarding safety and security, an emotional calm offered by living in gated developments. There is not the fear of places (topophobia) one may encounter in the city, rather a cautionary approach. There are differing levels of crime in the study area but gated developments are not, as a matter of course, present in towns with higher levels of crime. Instead, the majority of gated developments are located in towns with lower crime levels. This suggests that gated developments are not necessarily built in reaction to high crime levels.

Gated developments in towns are *an answer to a demand for living space*. Because it is cheaper to construct in bulk than to erect single dwellings, developers have taken up the role of deliverers of affordable housing to people in small towns who are unable to buy the customary large houses on offer. The only affordable, smaller-sized dwellings available in the case-study towns are those in gated developments. Security aspects are used as marketing tools to attract buyers, but location of the development remains key. Smaller dwelling units are also sought after by older residents wishing to renew ties with their birthplaces while living close to suppliers of medical services and to their holiday homes along the coast. The gated developments offer retirees an opportunity to occupy living space with like-minded people.

Gated developments located outside the urban edge have opened a *new perspective on land use change* in the Western Cape where they impact on the physical and social spaces where they are located and in the surrounding space. The former primary land use which focused on cultivation is transitioning to more consumptionist land uses. The value of land has increased dramatically due to the proliferation of residential estates on farmland. The change is part of a broader transformation from a purely productive activity on agricultural land to diversified land use which includes gated developments. Gated developments outside the urban edge represent a move to a post-productivist agricultural landscape in which gated developments are but one, albeit significant, component. The

development of one farm as a residential estate with financial returns far exceeding those that can accrue from continuing with agricultural pursuits, places undue economic pressures on surrounding farmland.

This research makes a contribution to the fledgling body of *South African research on post-productivism*. The non-metropolitan gated development set in its own agricultural landscape is the epitome of the enjoyment of the rural idyll. The rural residential living is enhanced by niche commodification of the harvest where residents receive a portion of the yield as part of the residential experience. The development of the post-productivist landscape extends to the diversification of agricultural activities, residential component, and the enjoyment of nature (indigenous plants and animals) in the confines of the development. A further manifestation of the post-productivist landscape in the degree of penetration of second-home ownership into these developments. This has led to absentee homeowners, people from beyond the immediate community who may or may not impact on the social relations within the agrarian setting. Those who are able to reside in these exclusive of gated developments are drawn from a worldwide base of the upper echelons of the monied classes.

Gated developments have become part of the post-productivist change in certain parts of the Western Cape. Not only are these developments impacting on the *physical and social character of rural areas* but the presence of amenity features promotes and increases their growth. Amenity-rich areas have a great attractiveness for the development of gated developments outside the urban edge. Not only are amenities provided in the confines of the development, but more leisure and consumptive pursuits are present beyond the developments' gates.

Non-metropolitan gated developments have been born less from perceived increasing crime levels than from a *range of other causative factors*, namely shortages of affordable housing; demand for rental accommodation; the allure of salubrious climates and beautiful natural surroundings; the availability of medical care; the opportunity to reside in a rural setting; the exclusivity of gated second homes; the densification policies of municipalities; the peacefulness of small towns; the enjoyment of leisure pursuits on offer in and beyond developments; and peace of mind from adequate security against threats to person or property. These have all contributed to the growth of gated developments in non-metropolitan locales.

8.5 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

From the outset of this research it was contended that it was unclear if city-focused gated development theory could adequately explain the proliferation of gated developments in non-metropolitan spaces. This led to an investigation into non-metropolitan change theories as an alternative theoretical explanation for non-metropolitan gated developments. The question remains: are metropolitan gated developments and non-metropolitan gated developments cut from the same fabric, or do they each have a style of their own? Can big-city gated development theory be applied to the non-metropolitan arena?

Blakely & Snyder (1997) contended that gated developments are essentially found in metropolitan areas and that they are uncommon in non-metropolitan areas – this study refutes that contention. Consequently, gated development theory should be tested for its applicability in non-metropolitan areas. To answer this, what follows is a summary of the applicability of global experiences and theory examined in Sections 2.3, 2.4, 3.2 and 3.3.

On the question of comparison of non-metropolitan experiences with global and metropolitan South Africa's experiences of gated developments:

- The *first modern gated development* in South Africa is said to have been built in northern Johannesburg in 1987. Documentary evidence traces the first plan for a non-metropolitan gated development in the Western Cape to those submitted to the Surveyor-General's office in 1985.
- *Political and economic transitions* are viewed as key drivers in the growth of gated developments; the transition to a democratic dispensation in 1994 is seen as the point where gated developments took root in South Africa. Non-metropolitan gated developments, specifically security estates, took hold in 1995, but it is in 2001 that such developments really took off with a flurry lasting until around 2006.
- The *semigration* phenomenon as researched among the population of retirement gated development residents is not pronounced and only became apparent from 2006. That said, it is unclear to what degree migrants from the northern provinces are living in gated developments in metropolitan Cape Town.

- While crime levels and *the fear of crime* are cited as foremost reasons for the growth of gated developments in metropolitan areas in South Africa, it is debatable if the same can be said of the growth of non-metropolitan gated developments. Non-metropolitan towns are described as safe. One of the prime reasons for residence in non-metropolitan gated developments is affordability and availability of housing. That said, there is a perception that crime is out of control and that the safety and security offered by the developments does give one peace of mind and a precautionary approach is recommended – better to be safe than sorry.
- It is unclear if *municipal land* in metropolitan areas is sold to developers for the erection of gated developments. In non-metropolitan areas there are instances where municipal land, municipal golf courses and municipal showgrounds have been sold for the establishment of gated developments. The proceeds from the sale of municipal land are used by cash-strapped municipalities to fund other municipal service-delivery requirements. A non-metropolitan municipality was also using gated developments to increase its dwelling density within its urban edge.
- As in other parts of the world and in South Africa, one finds gated developments in non-metropolitan Western Cape *located next to poorer communities*.

On the question of theoretical implications of this research:

- The very appearance of gated developments in non-metropolitan areas implies the initial vestiges of a *fortress mentality*, as seen in metropolitan areas, have taken root in these spaces. The walls, gates, security guards, surveillance equipment and other security measures employed by gated developments, and their location in wealthier parts of towns do portray elements of such a mentality. However, the fortress mentality in the towns does not extend to other arenas: there is no conscious policing of poorer groups away from wealthy areas and police do not do battle with a criminalised poor. Residents in the surveyed towns are not afraid to walk the streets and although they feel crime levels are high, they deem the towns to be safe. That said, the emergence of fortress lifestyles may emerge with increased topophobia.
- There is no evidence to support an argument for gated development *isolationism* in the surveyed towns. Contrary to experiences in metropolitan areas, residents do not isolate

themselves from civic life and they take part in community projects and the affairs of the towns.

- There is evidence of the impact of the *new world order* in non-metropolitan spaces regarding gated developments. The surveyed non-metropolitan gated developments outside urban edges of towns have a significant percentage of foreign ownership which is indicative of a transnational elite enjoying amenity-orientated lifestyles in high-end private, exclusive and secure luxury living environments. However, this practice does not apply to all non-metropolitan locales because not all of them have high-end gated developments. While Marcuse (2002) foresaw these luxury citadels manifesting in smaller edge cities, this has expanded away from urban locales, into non-metropolitan settings.
- The increasing *fear of crime and violence* has been touted as the primary reason for the proliferation of metropolitan gated developments. In the non-metropolitan towns surveyed a fear of crime and violence is not evident, rather a precautionary approach. Residents believe that the towns are safe even though they maintain that crime levels are high. Had there been fear of crime and violence, people would not walk the streets freely as they do. However, residents speak of taking security precautions just in case something happens.
- The economic *theory of club goods* has been applied to metropolitan gated developments. And yes, each gated development, regardless of its location is a club. So while the theory behind gated developments being club goods holds true for non-metropolitan gated developments, it has been criticised for not taking the social aspects of gated developments into account and does not explain the social, historical and location-specific underpinnings of gated developments. This theory, while applicable to the non-metropolitan context, has its limitations.
- The application of the rural change theories of *post-productivism* and the *commodification of the non-metropolitan locale* provides a better theoretical base for an explanation of gated developments outside the urban edges of towns than those inside towns. Both account for gated developments as part of a changing rurality where land is used for non-productive purposes as part of diversified on-farm activities, where there are high numbers of second homes, and where an amenity component is present. The incorporation of amenities in gated developments provides an extra commodity for the market and results in increased capital accumulation for the seller.

As it is problematic to arrive at an all-encompassing definition of what constitutes a gated development as examined in Section 2.2.2, likewise the applicability of theory used to explain gated developments in metropolitan settings does not adequately explain their location in non-metropolitan locales. Elements of the theories of fortress mentality, new world order and club goods can be applied to non-metropolitan settings, but they do not provide a wholly adequate general theoretical explanation. Certain locations within the non-metropolitan environment may be explained by the theories mentioned, but not for all. There does not appear to be a single theoretical base (with an urban lens) for explaining all non-metropolitan gated developments. Similarly, rural change theories are more applicable to certain locations of gated developments and while they may adequately explain out-of-town developments, they do not necessarily provide a sound theoretical base for in-town developments. The common thread that can be traced through the application of urban gated development theories and rural change theories to non-metropolitan gated developments is that the place-specific factors of each locale influence the reasons for its gated developments. So, rather than searching for a general theory for non-metropolitan gated developments there should be acceptance of how place dynamics shape the applicability of any of a number of theories: the importance of place is key.

The similarities and differences between metropolitan and non-metropolitan gated developments in South Africa expose the need for *policy direction* on the matter. The City of Cape Town is the only metropolitan municipality in South Africa that has a policy for gated developments. No national or provincial policies exist. The ideal is a provincial policy on gated developments dealing with broad aspects and impacts of such developments. Gated development policies at municipal level can be informed by the provincial policy but finer aspects, such as location and planning aspects of gated developments, must be addressed in municipal policy.

There is no known gated development policy for any non-metropolitan municipality in South Africa. The Stellenbosch Local Municipality has presented a draft gated development policy to its council in December 2011 (Stellenbosch Municipality 2011). The Western Cape government has recognised the need for a provincial policy on what they term as ‘smaller security estates’ in the current review of the provincial SDF (Western Cape Provincial Government 2012). The provincial planning authorities cannot tell local municipalities to adopt a gated development policy, but they can suggest, lead and guide municipalities (Munro 2012, pers com). Should the provincial planning authorities include non-metropolitan gated developments in the provincial SDF, the municipalities will be compelled to align their SDFs to the provincial SDF and give effect to provincial policy as stipulated in the Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000). Thus, when local municipalities have

gated development policies as contained in their SDFs, the SDF becomes part of their IDP – the document that guides integrated development planning in each municipality (Munro 2012, pers com). A gated development policy in each local municipality will provide for the differing social, historical, heritage, communal and other place-specific factors that influence the insertion of any development in its built environment.

8.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

This research was limited by a number of factors that could be attended to should similar research be conducted. Factors that constrained the research are:

- Lower than expected numbers of respondents in Ceres. Respondents in Ceres were not at home on survey days held on a Saturday morning, during a work day and on a public holiday. A greater number of respondents could have been reached should the interview survey have been held in the evenings. However, this would require multiple evenings as the length of time available for evening surveys is so much shorter than an entire work day, a Saturday or a public holiday. Nevertheless, the absence of respondents from their dwellings does paint a picture of trust in the security, restrictions on entry, and restrictions on the type of social activities residents are allowed in gated developments.
- Refusal of development authorities to allow interviews to be concluded with residents. In spite of weeks of correspondence in seeking permission to conduct interviews the board of a retirement gated development refused interviews on site, preferring to distribute the questionnaire to residents themselves. Thus, questions of clarity on responses could not be posed nor could further opinions on matters arising from the interview be obtained from respondents. This could have been overcome by meeting with the board of trustees to present an outline of the research and its importance, which may have swayed their decision.
- Due to the place-specific nature of the reasons for the proliferation of non-metropolitan gated developments, it is regrettable that surveys were not conducted in more towns. Time and cost factors prohibited such an undertaking. A larger research endeavour with the necessary funding and human resource capability could address this limitation.

- Incomplete municipal account mailing lists meant less data was available for gated developments in the Knysna and Swartland LMs to establish the level of second-home ownership. While complete data sets are desirable, the available data was sufficient to provide an exploratory picture of second-home ownership.

8.7 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The research has uncovered a number of avenues for future research endeavour. Further research is required on the *social interaction and engagement* with the larger built environment of the towns by residents of non-metropolitan gated developments to establish whether they have withdrawn from small-town interaction. Interactions between second-home owners and permanent residents in gated developments should be investigated to find out if second-home owners regard the gated developments as fortresses to shut out outsiders and whether they do so more than the permanent residents of gated developments do.

Because many towns have retiree gated developments as well as non-gated retiree developments, an *investigation of the housing options for retirees* in towns is suggested to establish whether such facilities share commonalities or not. Further work is needed to find out whether the gated and non-gated facilities are representations of class differences between seniors. Is interaction between gated and non-gated retirement developments absent or minimal as manifested in the spatial relations of the residents and other aspects of the gated and non-gated development? It will be worthwhile to establish the contribution of retirement gated developments to economic activity in towns. Can retirement gated developments provide economic and employment opportunities in small towns in the Western Cape?

The *security level index* developed for this research should be applied to metropolitan locales to compare levels of gated development security in metropolitan areas with those in the non-metropolitan places. A comparison of security levels of gated developments between different suburbs in cities holds promise. Although topophobia was not found to exist in the province's towns, research is recommended to establish whether there is a population size or unfamiliarity threshold at which gated development residents become fearful of the built environment. An investigation of how the security measures of gated developments in various localities have been compromised by criminal activity will contribute to establishing standards for efficient safety and security measures.

The growth of gated developments outside the urban edge presents a number of research challenges. The *social relations* between second-home owners, new arrivals, established farmowners and the landless proletariat should be explored to understand the dynamics and possible tensions between communities in agrarian settings.

The reasons why developers have invested in undeveloped gated developments or gated developments put up for auction should be explored. The *role of developers* in the proliferation of gated developments in non-metropolitan and metropolitan areas of South Africa needs to be investigated. The extent, reasons and impacts of *municipal sales of public land* such as golf courses and showgrounds, to private developers for gated development construction deserve further research attention.

This research has demonstrated the importance of place in understanding gated developments. While traditional theories of explaining the occurrence of gated developments in cities are in some instances applicable to non-metropolitan settings, it is the demand for smaller housing units within towns and not really security concerns that has driven the growth of these developments. Furthermore, the pursuit of non-metropolitan amenity-orientated residential living and second-home development is one of the drivers of a post-productivist change in the non-metropolitan landscape of the Western Cape.

The larger proportion of the world's population has tipped the scale to where globally more people are urbanised than ever before in history. The populations of South African cities and smaller settlements have grown substantially. The Western Cape's non-metropolitan settlements have witnessed a similar boom in population in the last decade. Part of this boom has been driven by a process of counterurbanisation and the resultant need for housing. Gated developments in non-metropolitan settlements have answered the call for this increased housing need. Ultimately, an understanding of changes in non-metropolitan areas will, let us hope, contribute to our understanding of broader societal changes in South Africa.

[Word count: 82 821]

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**APPENDIX A: POPULATION GROWTH OR DECLINE OF TOWNS IN THE WESTERN
CAPE PROVINCE (2001 TO 2007)**

Town	2001 population	2007 population (estimated)	% growth or decline 2001-2007
Albertinia	4697	5518	17
Arniston	1253	1543	23
Ashton	11 641	13 955	20
Aurora	342	320	-6
Barrydale	2441	2486	2
Beaufort West	30676	33 033	8
Betty's Bay	894	1408	58
Bitterfontein	903	1271	41
Bonnievale	6742	7806	16
Bot River	4053	5173	28
Bredasdorp	12 755	14 491	14
Brenton-on-Sea	469	516	10
Buffelsbaai	126	119	-6
Caledon	11 148	11 508	3
Calitzdorp	3184	3835	20
Ceres	28 038	31 138	11
Citrusdal	5019	5682	13
Clanwilliam	6092	6541	7
Darling	7544	9303	23
De Doorns	8678	11 015	27
De Rust	2804	3632	30
Doringbaai	1144	1202	5
Dwarskersbos	335	392	17
Dysselsdorp	11 050	12 404	12
Ebenhaesar	355	287	-19
Eendekuil	841	1109	32
Elandsbaai	1645	1878	14

Continued overleaf

Appendix A continued

Town	2001 population	2007 population (estimated)	% growth or decline 2001-2007
Elim	1297	1801	39
Franschhoek	8934	16 478	84
Franskraalstrand	869	1369	58
Friemersheim	928	1370	48
Gansbaai	7223	11 377	58
Genadendal	5450	5960	9
George	118 178	142 569	21
Goedverwacht	1407	1855	32
Gouda	2583	3659	42
Gouritsmond	459	479	4
Graaffwater	1814	1757	-3
Grabouw	21 587	27 523	27
Greyton	1099	1291	17
Groot Brak River	10 025	15 463	54
Jongensfontein	284	298	5
Haarlem	2346	2462	5
Hawston	7247	10 206	41
Heidelberg	6758	6738	0
Herbertsdale	622	963	55
Hermanus	19 424	30 596	58
Herold's Bay	452	376	-17
Hopefield	4733	5508	16
Jacobsbaai	126	110	-12
Jamestown	1449	1942	34
Kalbaskraal	1302	1660	28
Keurboomsrivier	222	215	-3
Klapmuts	3946	7278	84
Klawer	4478	4808	7
Kleinmond	6393	10 070	58

Continued overleaf

Appendix A continued

Town	2001 population	2007 population (estimated)	% growth or decline 2001-2007
Kliprand	247	319	29
Knysna	38 852	55 598	43
Koekenaap	827	1068	29
Koringberg	359	403	12
Kranshoek	2053	3222	57
Kurland Estate	2720	4142	52
Kylemore	3821	6441	69
Ladismith	5445	6371	17
Laingsburg	4383	4411	1
Lamberts Bay	5059	5098	1
Langebaan	3431	4539	32
Leeu Gamka	2131	2135	0
Lutzville	4279	5527	29
Malmesbury	27 696	32 945	19
Matjiesfontein	385	339	-12
McGregor	2365	2812	19
Merweville	1140	1257	10
Montagu	10 267	11 503	12
Moorreesburg	8571	9983	16
Mossel Bay	51 556	75 185	46
Murraysburg	4412	5658	28
Napier	3188	4192	32
Nature's Valley	135	154	14
Nuwerus	530	758	43
Onrus River	3432	5406	58
Op-die-Berg	958	1223	28
Oudtshoorn	55 144	56 717	3
Paarl	108 334	121 930	13
Paternoster	1451	1860	28

Continued overleaf

Appendix A continued

Town	2001 population	2007 population (estimated)	% growth or decline 2001-2007
Pearly Beach	786	1238	58
Piketberg	9271	10 699	15
Plettenberg Bay	18 575	29 150	57
Pniel	3762	6911	84
Porterville	5867	6855	17
Prince Albert	5220	5123	-2
Prince Alfred Hamlet	3784	4733	25
Pringle Bay	633	997	58
Rawsonville	1948	2511	29
Redelinghuys	593	782	32
Rheenendal	1907	2215	16
Riebeek-Kasteel	2523	2723	8
Riebeek-Wes	2667	2916	9
Rietpoort	678	1239	83
Riversdale	2790	2898	4
Riviersonderend	3603	4670	30
Robertson	21 596	24 845	15
Saldanha	21 645	26 767	24
Saron	6000	7850	31
Sedgefield	4333	5631	30
Slangrivier	2343	2559	9
St Helena Bay	8108	11 507	42
Stanford	3467	5461	58
Stellenbosch	58 817	87 144	48
Stilbaai	3008	3598	20
Strandfontein	66	51	-22
Struisbaai	3164	4256	35
Suurbraak	1920	2352	23
Swellendam	13 552	13 610	0

Continued overleaf

Appendix A continued

Town	2001 population	2007 population (estimated)	% growth or decline 2001-2007
Touws River	6781	7023	4
Tulbagh	7057	8374	19
Uniondale	4095	4238	3
Vanrhynsdorp	5219	5879	13
Velddrif	7327	8255	13
Villiersdorp	7623	9880	30
Volmoed	232	204	-12
Vredenburg	27 085	34 258	26
Vredendal	14 295	16 422	15
Wellington	40 593	50 204	24
Wilderness	2687	2394	-11
Witsand	202	165	-18
Wittedrift	1287	2020	57
Wolseley	8182	9527	16
Worcester	84 491	95 543	13
Yzerfontein	514	568	11
Zoar	4069	5534	36
TOTAL	1 194 040	1 476 723	24

Source: Author's calculations of data in Van Niekerk et al. (2010)

APPENDIX B: LETTER OF REQUEST TO ACCESS THE DEA&DP EIA DATABASE



Geologie, Geografie en Omgewingsstudie
Geology, Geography and Environmental Studies

17 April 2009

The Deputy Director: Integrated Environmental Management (Region B1)
Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning
Private Bag X9086
Cape Town
8000

Dear Mr Zaahir Toefy

REQUEST FOR ACCESS TO ENVIRONMENTAL AUTHORISATIONS DATABASE

Manfred Spocter is currently registered as a PhD student in the Department of Geology, Geography and Environmental Studies. The topic of his dissertation is "Non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape: Patterns, Processes and Purpose".

The letter serves as a request for Mr Spocter to access the environmental database of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning (DEA&DP) in order to verify the location of non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape. In addition, a number of case study towns will be selected, and this information request includes access to scoping reports and environmental impacts assessments of developments that have been approved.

The information sourced from DEA&DP will not be used for financial gain and its use is solely for academic research purposes. Should you require any further information please do not hesitate to contact me at the telephone number below.

Yours sincerely,

Ronnie Donaldson
Associate Professor of Geography
021-8082395

Department of Geology, Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Stellenbosch, "Kamer van Mynwese" Bldg,
Ryneveld St, Stellenbosch
Privaatsak X1, Matieland 7602, Suid-Afrika / Private Bag X1, Matieland 7602 South Africa.
Tel +27 21 8083218; Faks/Fax +27 21 8083109; E-pos/mail rdonaldson@sun.ac.za

APPENDIX C: TRIGGER ACTIVITIES FOR AN EIA OF GATED DEVELOPMENTS⁵³

SCHEDULE ONE Government Notice No. R 386 National Environmental Management Act, 1998 (Act No. 107 of 1998)		SECTION 21 ECA ACTIVITIES Government Notice No. R. 1182 Environment Conservation Act, 1989 (Act No. 73 of 1989) Amended by Government Notice (GN) R 1355 of 1997-10-17, GN R 448 of 1998-03-27, GN R 670 of 2002-05-10 and GN R 782 of 2002-06-07	
1	The construction of facilities or infrastructure, including associated structures or infrastructure, for	1	The construction, erection or upgrading of-
1 (d)	resorts, lodges, hotels or other tourism and hospitality facilities in a protected area contemplated in the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Act, 2003 (Act No. 57 of 2003);	1 (d)	roads, railways, airfields and associated structures
1 (e)	any purpose where lawns, playing fields or sports tracks covering an area of more than three hectares, but less than 10 hectares, will be established;	1 (j)	dams, levees and weirs affecting the flow of a river
1 (k)	the bulk transportation of sewage and water, including storm water, in pipelines with - (i) an internal diameter of 0,36 metres or more; or (ii) a peak throughput of 120 litres per second or more;	2	The change of land use from-

Continued overleaf

⁵³ Thanks to Adri la Meyer, Rashaad Samaai and Toinette van der Merwe for their input and compilation of the list.

Appendix C continued

SCHEDULE ONE Government Notice No. R 386 National Environmental Management Act, 1998 (Act No. 107 of 1998)		SECTION 21 ECA ACTIVITIES Government Notice No. R. 1182 Environment Conservation Act, 1989 (Act No. 73 of 1989) Amended by Government Notice (GN) R 1355 of 1997-10-17, GN R 448 of 1998-03-27, GN R 670 of 2002-05-10 and GN R 782 of 2002-06-07	
1 (m)	any purpose in the one in ten year flood line of a river or stream, or within 32 metres from the bank of a river or stream where the flood line is unknown, excluding purposes associated with existing residential use, but including - <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) canals; (ii) channels; (iii) bridges; (iv) dams; and (v) weirs; 	2 (c)	agricultural or zoned undetermined use or an equivalent zoning to any other land use;
1(s)	the treatment of effluent, wastewater or sewage with an annual throughput capacity of more than 2 000 cubic metres but less than 15 000 cubic metres;	2 (e)	use for nature conservation or zoned open space to any other land use.
12	The transformation or removal of indigenous vegetation of 3 hectares or more or of any size where the transformation or removal would occur within a critically endangered or an endangered ecosystem listed in terms of section 52 of the National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act, 2004 (Act No. 10 of 2004).		

Continued overleaf

Appendix C continued

SCHEDULE ONE Government Notice No. R 386 National Environmental Management Act, 1998 (Act No. 107 of 1998)	
15	The construction of a road that is wider than 4 metres or that has a reserve wider than 6 metres, excluding roads that fall within the ambit of another listed activity or which are access roads of less than 30 metres long.
16	The transformation of undeveloped, vacant or derelict land to – (a) establish infill development covering an area of 5 hectares or more, but less than 20 hectares; or (b) residential, mixed, retail, commercial, industrial or institutional use where such development does not constitute infill and where the total area to be transformed is bigger than 1 hectare.
18	The subdivision of portions of land 9 hectares or larger into portions of 5 hectares or less.

APPENDIX D: EMAIL SENT TO MUNICIPAL CONTACT PERSON

----- Original Message -----

From: "Manfred Spocter" <MSpocter@csir.co.za>

To: louw@beaufortwestmun.co.za

Sent: Monday, May 25, 2009 1:59:06 PM (GMT+0200) Africa/Harare

Subject: Geslote Ontwikkelinge Opname

Geagte Mnr Smit,

Dankie vir die geleentheid vir die geselsie rondom geslote ontwikkelinge.

Aaangeheg is 'n dekbriëf (in beide Afrikaans en Engels) sowel as 'n opname-dokument. Ek sluit ook my navorsingsvoorstel in, wat meer inligting oor die navorsing gee.

Bevestig asseblief dat u die epos wel ontvang het.

Groetnis
Manfred Spocter

Researcher
Built Environment: Planning Support Systems
PO Box 320
Stellenbosch
7599

Phone: 021 888 2509
Fax: 021 888 2694

APPENDIX E: INFORMATION REQUEST LETTER (ENGLISH)

UNIVERSITEIT-STELLENBOSCH-UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvenoot - your knowledge partner

Geologie, Geografie en Omgewingsstudie
Geology, Geography and Environmental Studies

24 August 2009

Bergrivier Local Municipality
P O Box 60
Piketberg
7320

Dear Me Louw,

REQUEST FOR PLANNING INFORMATION: GATED COMMUNITIES, GATED ESTATES AND GATED TOWNHOUSE COMPLEXES

I am currently registered as a PhD student within the Department of Geology, Geography and Environmental Studies. The topic of my dissertation is entitled "Non-metropolitan Residential Gated Developments in the Western Cape: Occurrence, Impact and Implications" under the guidance of Professor Ronnie Donaldson. The focus of the research is an investigation of the distribution and characteristics of gated developments in **towns and surrounding areas** throughout the Western Cape.

In order to successfully complete this geographic study on gated developments in the Western Cape, municipal planning applications data is needed. Thus, this letter is a request for planning application data, relating specifically to gated developments, from the Bergrivier Local Municipality. The accompanying form includes a description of what constitutes a residential gated development in terms of this study, photographs of gated developments and a table in which the data can be recorded.

The information that is collected for the study will not be used for financial gain, its use is solely for academic research purposes and my study is bound by the ethical research considerations of Stellenbosch University¹. Should you require any further information please do not hesitate to contact me at the contact numbers below.

Yours sincerely,

Manfred Spocter

Phone: 021 888 2509
Mobile: 083 631 2006
Fax: 021 888 2694
Email: mspocster@csir.co.za

¹ Stellenbosch Research Ethics Policy Document available at:
http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Health_Sciences/English/Centres%20and%20Institutions/Research_Development_Support/research_development_news/SU%20Research%20Ethics%20Policy_Mar09.doc

Department of Geology, Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Stellenbosch, "Kamer van Mynwese" Bldg,
Ryneveld St, Stellenbosch
Privaatsak X1, Matieland 7602, Suid-Afrika / Private Bag X1, Matieland 7602 South Africa.
Tel +27 21 8083218; Faks/Fax +27 21 8083109

APPENDIX F: INFORMATION REQUEST LETTER (AFRIKAANS)

UNIVERSITEIT-STELLENBOSCH-UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvenoot - your knowledge partner

Geologie, Geografie en Omgewingstudie
Geology, Geography and Environmental Studies

24 Augustus 2009

Bergrivier Munisipaliteit
Posbus 60
Piketberg
7320

Geagte Me Louw,

AANSOEK VIR BEPLANNINGSINFORMASIE: GESLOTE WOONBUURTE, AFGESPERDE GEMEENSKAPPE, VEILIGHEIDSONTWIKKELINGE

Ek is tans as 'n Doktorale student met die Departement van Geologie, Geografie en Omgewingstudie te Universiteit van Stellenbosch geregistreer. My tesis, met Prof Ronnie Donaldson as promotor, handel oor geslote woonbuurte in landelike dele van die Wes-Kaap. Die navorsing fokus op die omvang en aard van geslote woonbuurte **in dorpies en omliggende areas** in die Wes-Kaap.

Die sukses van hierdie geografiese studie rus op data wat van munisipale beplanningsaansoeke, op plaaslike owerheidsvlak, verkrygbaar is. Dus is die brief aan u gerig om beplanningsaansoekdata van spesifiek die Bergrivier Munisipaliteit aan te vra. Die aangehegte vorm bevat 'n verduideliking van wat 'n geslote woonbuurte behels (in die konteks van dié studie), voorbeelde van uitlegplanne van geslote woonbuurte en 'n tabel vir die inskryf van die data, word ook ingesluit.

Die inligting wat hier verkry word sal slegs vir navorsingsdoeleindes gebruik word en sal nie vir winsbejag aangewend word nie. Die studie is verbonde aan die etiese navorsingsbepaling van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch¹. My kontak besonderhede verskyn onderaan hierdie skrywe indien u graag verdere inligting sou verlang.

By voorbaat dank.

Die Uwe,
Manfred Spocter

Foon: 021 888 2509
Sel.: 083 631 2006
Faks: 021 888 2694
Epos: mspocter@csir.co.za

¹ Stellenbosch Etiese Navorsings Beileidsdokument is beskikbaar by:
http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Health_Sciences/English/Centres%20and%20Institutions/Research_Development_Support/research_development_news/SU%20Research%20Ethics%20Policy_Mar09.doc

Department of Geology, Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Stellenbosch, "Kamer van Mynwese" Bldg,
Ryneveld St, Stellenbosch
Privaatsak X1, Matieland 7602, Suid-Afrika / Private Bag X1, Matieland 7602 South Africa.
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APPENDIX G: GATED DEVELOPMENT SURVEY FORM



Geologie, Geografie en Omgewingsstudie
Geology, Geography and Environmental Studies

GATED DEVELOPMENT DATA FORM BERGRIVIER LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

A suitable all-encompassing definition of gated developments is problematic, but gated developments have the following broad characteristics:

- Walled or fenced or using natural environment boundaries
- Public access is restricted
- Gates or booms and/or security staff
- Internal roads
- Two or more separate housing units
- Presence of a body corporate or homeowners' association

Types of gated developments under investigation in this research

- Residential security estates (usually with recreation amenities such as golf).
- Secure townhouse complexes (purpose-built secure complexes, not existing complexes where security and gates/booms were added later).

Additional Information:

Person who completed the questionnaire:

.....

Contact number and email address:

.....

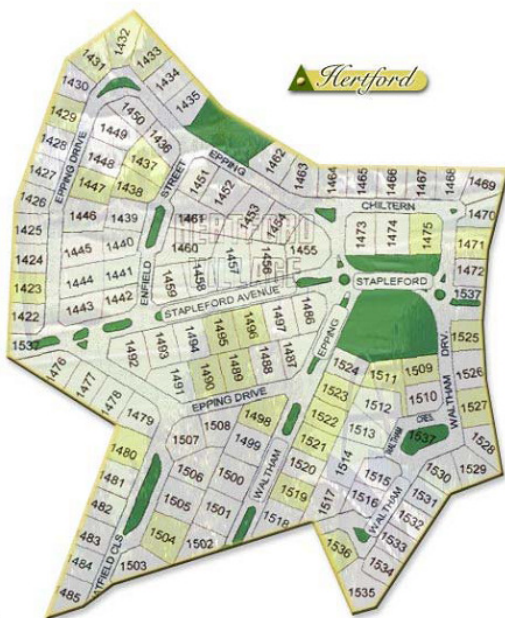
For any queries please contact **Manfred Spocter** at 021 888 2509 or 083 631 2006

Thank you for completing the table.

Please email to mspocter@cslr.co.za or fax to Manfred Spocter at 021 888 2694

Department of Geology, Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Stellenbosch, "Kamer van Mynwese" Bldg, Ryneveld St, Stellenbosch
Privaatsak X1, Matieland 7602, Suid-Afrika / Private Bag X1, Matieland 7602 South Africa.
Tel +27 21 808 3218; Faks/Fax +27 21 808 3109

EXAMPLES OF GATED DEVELOPMENTS



(Source: Landman, 2006)

Plot layout of security estate (with internal roads)



(Source: http://www.stonecrest.co.za/images/floorplans/site_layout.pdf)

Plot layout of secure townhouse complex (with internal road)



Geologie, Geografie en Omgewingsstudie
Geology, Geography and Environmental Studies

No.	Name of development	Security Estate (SE) or Townhouse Complex (TC)	Erf / plot / farm number
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			
11			
12			
13			
14			
15			
16			
17			
18			

Department of Geology, Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Stellenbosch, "Kamer van Mynwese" Bldg, Ryneveld St, Stellenbosch
 Privaatsak X1, Matieland 7602, Suid-Afrika / Private Bag X1, Matieland 7602 South Africa.
 Tel +27 21 808 3218; Faks/Fax +27 21 808 3109

No.	Name of development	Security Estate (SE) or Townhouse Complex (TC)	Erf / plot / farm number
19			
20			
21			
22			
23			
24			
25			
26			
27			
28			
29			
30			
31			
32			
33			
34			
35			
36			
37			
38			
39			

APPENDIX H: FIELDWORK SCHEDULE (NOVEMBER 2009 TO JANUARY 2010)

Saturday 7 November and Sunday 8 November: Malmesbury, Riebeeck-Kasteel, Riebeeck-West, Moorreesburg, Piketberg, Porterville, Citrusdal, Clanwilliam, Lamberts Bay, Velddrif, Laaipek, Port Owen, Dwarskersbos, St Helena Bay, Vredenburg, Jakobsbaai, Saldanha Bay, Langebaan

Saturday 14 November and Sunday 15 November: Stellenbosch, Kylemore, Franschhoek, Paarl, Wellington

Sunday 22 November: Malmesbury, Darling, Yzerfontein, Langebaan

Saturday 28 November and Sunday 29 November: Pringle Bay, Betty's Bay, Kleinmond, Hawston, Onrus River, Hermanus, Stanford, Gansbaai, Franskraal, Pearly Beach, Caledon, Bot River, Grabouw

Saturday 5 December and Sunday 6 December: Villiersdorp, Worcester, Robertson, Bonnievale, Riviersonderend, Bredasdorp, Struisbaai, Arniston, Napier

Saturday 12 December to Wednesday 16 December: Swellendam, Suurbraak, Heidelberg, Riversdale, Albertina, Mossel Bay, Hartenbos, Klein Brak River, Tergniet, Groot Brak River, Glentana, George, Wilderness, Sedgfield, Knysna, Kurland, Plettenberg Bay, Buffelsbaai, Herold's Bay, Gouritsmond, Stilbaai, Witsand

Saturday 19 December to Sunday 20 December: Rawsonville, Montagu, Ashton, Barrydale, Ladismith, Calitzdorp, Oudtshoorn

Saturday 9 January: Gouda, Saron, Tulbagh, Wolseley, Ceres

APPENDIX I: PERCENTAGE OF TOWN POPULATION RECEIVING SOCIAL GRANTS

Town	% of population receiving social grants ⁵⁴
Albertinia	12
Arniston	15
Ashton	15
Aurora	32
Barrydale	21
Beaufort West	16
Betty's Bay	2
Bitterfontein	19
Bonnievale	21
Bot River	11
Bredasdorp	10
Brenton-on-Sea	0
Buffelsbaai	0
Caledon	13
Calitzdorp	39
Ceres	10
Citrusdal	38
Clanwilliam	32
Darling	14
De Doorns	39
De Rust	35
Doringbaai	22
Dwarskersbos	0
Dysselsdorp	22
Ebenhaesar	100
Eendekuil	39
Elandsbaai	36

Continued overleaf

⁵⁴ Percentage of 2004 town population numbers.

Appendix I continued

Town	% of population receiving social grants
Elim	14
Franschhoek	20
Franskraalstrand	0
Friemersheim	7
Gansbaai	6
Genadendal	18
George	11
Goedverwacht	10
Gouda	18
Gouritsmond	9
Graaffwater	30
Grabouw	14
Greyton	29
Groot Brak River	9
Groot-Jongensfontein	0
Haarlem	21
Hawston	11
Heidelberg	15
Herbertsdale	31
Hermanus	5
Herold's Bay	70
Hopefield	14
Jacobsbaai	0
Jamestown	7
Kalbaskraal	19
Keurboomsrivier	0
Klapmuts	22
Klawer	32
Kleinmond	4

Continued overleaf

Appendix I continued

Town	% of population receiving social grants
Kliprand	23
Knysna	9
Koekenaap	32
Koringberg	50
Kranshoek	18
Kurland Estate	11
Kylemore	0
Ladismith	30
Laingsburg	22
Lamberts Bay	18
Langebaan	6
Leeu Gamka	30
Lutzville	17
Malmesbury	10
Matjiesfontein	32
McGregor	21
Merweville	28
Montagu	22
Moorreesburg	16
Mossel Bay	8
Murraysburg	20
Napier	13
Natures Valley	0
Nuwerus	18
Onrus River	0
Op-die-Berg	0
Oudtshoorn	16
Paarl	16
Paternoster	13

Continued overleaf

Appendix I continued

Town	% of population receiving social grants
Pearly Beach	0
Piketberg	21
Plettenberg Bay	8
Pniel	12
Porterville	24
Prince Albert	20
Prince Alfred Hamlet	35
Pringle Bay	0
Rawsonville	51
Redelinghuys	30
Rheenendal	26
Riebeek-Kasteel	17
Riebeek-Wes	23
Rietpoort	40
Riversdale	71
Riviersonderend	20
Robertson	17
Saldanha	8
Saron	22
Sedgefield	23
Slangrivier	20
St Helena Bay	10
Stanford	9
Stellenbosch	9
Stilbaai	10
Strandfontein	0
Struisbaai	10
Suurbraak	18
Swellendam	14

Continued overleaf

Appendix I continued

Town	% of population receiving social grants
Touws River	21
Tulbagh	22
Uniondale	22
Vanrhynsdorp	15
Velddrif	10
Villiersdorp	11
Volmoed	100
Vredenburg	8
Vredendal	20
Wellington	15
Wilderness	1
Witsand	0
Wittedrift	0
Wolseley	17
Worcester	13
Yzerfontein	0
Zoar	22

Source: South African Social Security Agency (2010)

APPENDIX J: LIST OF SURVEYED GATED DEVELOPMENTS

No.	Name	Type	Status	Town	Local municipality	District municipality
1	Roode Villas	SE ¹	dev ²	Robertson	Breede River/Winelands	Cape Winelands
2	Silverstrand Golf Estate	SE	dev	Robertson	Breede River/Winelands	Cape Winelands
3	Silverstrand River Estate: The Village	SE	dev	Robertson	Breede River/Winelands	Cape Winelands
4	Roelou Barry Aftreeoord	TC ³	dev	Robertson	Breede River/Winelands	Cape Winelands
5	Harmar Park	TC	dev	Robertson	Breede River/Winelands	Cape Winelands
6	Rooderivier	unk. ⁴	undev ⁵	Robertson	Breede River/Winelands	Cape Winelands
7	Cocos Plumosa	TC	dev	Robertson	Breede River/Winelands	Cape Winelands
8	Huis Lafras Moolman Retirement Home	TC	dev	Rawsonville	Breede Valley	Cape Winelands
9	La Vigne	TC	dev	Rawsonville	Breede Valley	Cape Winelands
10	Oude Muele	SE	dev	Worcester	Breede Valley	Cape Winelands
11	Hoogelegen	TC	dev	Worcester	Breede Valley	Cape Winelands
12	Uitzicht Villas	unk.	undev	Worcester	Breede Valley	Cape Winelands
13	Mountain View Estate	TC	dev	Worcester	Breede Valley	Cape Winelands
14	Van Riebeeck Garden Village	SE	dev	Worcester	Breede Valley	Cape Winelands
15	De Oude Brug	TC	dev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
16	Boschenmeer Country and Golf Estate	SE	dev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
17	Vrede	TC	undev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
18	Picardi Village	TC	dev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
19	Nooitverwacht	TC	dev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
20	Groenleegte Retirement Village	SE	dev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
21	De Oude Renbaan	TC	dev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
22	Welgevonden	TC	dev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
23	La Perla	TC	dev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
24	Zanddrift	TC	dev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
25	56 on Bosch	TC	dev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
26	La Domaine	TC	dev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
27	Nerina Court	TC	dev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands

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Appendix J continued

No.	Name	Type	Status	Town	Local municipality	District municipality
28	Unnamed	TC	dev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
29	Waterpoel de Windmeul	SE	dev	Paarl	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
30	Versailles Village Life	TC	dev	Wellington	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
31	Vredezicht Lifestyle Retirement Village	SE	undev	Wellington	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
32	Bains Valley	SE	dev	Wellington	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
33	Leeuwenrivier Complex	TC	dev	Wellington	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
34	Wellington Mews	TC	dev	Wellington	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
35	Spruitrivier Estate	SE	dev	Wellington	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
36	Die Oewer	TC	dev	Wellington	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
37	Les Hugentots	SE	dev	Wellington	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
38	Dukes Estate	TC	dev	Wellington	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
39	Val du Charon	unk.	undev	Wellington	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
40	Serenata	TC	dev	Wellington	Drakenstein	Cape Winelands
41	L Avenue de Franschhoek	SE	dev	Franschhoek	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
42	Deltacrest Country Estate	SE	dev	Franschhoek	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
43	Fransche Hoek Estate	SE	dev	Franschhoek	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
44	Domaine des Anges	SE	dev	Franschhoek	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
45	La Femme Chantelle	SE	dev	Franschhoek	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
46	Victoria Village	TC	dev	Franschhoek	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
47	Villa Franche	TC	dev	Franschhoek	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
48	Le Petite	SE	dev	Franschhoek	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
49	Capolavoro Mountain Estate	SE	dev	Kylemore	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
50	Longlands Country Estate	SE	undev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
51	Welgevonden Estate	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
52	Jonkerzicht Private Estate	TC	undev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
53	Digteby Estate	SE	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
54	Slaley Private Estate	SE	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
55	De Zalze Winelands Golf Estate	SE	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
56	Devonvale Golf and Wine Estate	SE	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
57	de Bosch estate	SE	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
58	Paradyskloof villas	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
59	Kleine Paradys complex	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
60	Liberte	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
61	Cabernet	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
62	Molenzicht complex	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
63	Die Rand	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands

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Appendix J continued

No.	Name	Type	Status	Town	Local municipality	District municipality
64	Stellenoord Retirement Village	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
65	La Clemence Retirement Village	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
66	Simonsrust complex	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
67	Jonkerspark complex	SE	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
68	Agape Aftree Oord	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
69	Berg 'n Dal	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
70	Blaauwklippen Meend	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
71	Lieberheim Complex	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
72	La Hermitage	SE	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
73	Mont Blanc	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
74	Vallee Lustree	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
75	Unnamed	unk.	undev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
76	Unnamed	unk.	undev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
77	Stellenbosch 101	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
78	Riverside	SE	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
79	De Kaapse Werf	SE	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
80	Oewertuyn	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
81	Liebenhof	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
82	Oewersig	TC	dev	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Cape Winelands
83	Unnamed	TC	dev	Ceres	Witzenberg	Cape Winelands
84	Unnamed	TC	dev	Ceres	Witzenberg	Cape Winelands
85	Unnamed	TC	dev	Ceres	Witzenberg	Cape Winelands
86	New Belmont	TC	undev	Ceres	Witzenberg	Cape Winelands
87	Belmont Park	SE	dev	Ceres	Witzenberg	Cape Winelands
88	Unnamed	TC	dev	Ceres	Witzenberg	Cape Winelands
89	Ceres Golf and Eco Estate	TC	undev	Ceres	Witzenberg	Cape Winelands
90	De Hoek	TC	dev	Beaufort West	Beaufort West	Central Karoo
91	Kambro	SE	undev	Beaufort West	Beaufort West	Central Karoo
92	Tumara	TC	dev	Beaufort West	Beaufort West	Central Karoo
93	River Olive	TC	dev	Beaufort West	Beaufort West	Central Karoo
94	Goosevalley Golf Estate	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
95	Turtle Creek Golf Estate	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
96	Brackenridge Private Residential Estate	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
97	Schoongezicht Country Estate	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
98	Whalerock Heights	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
99	Whalerock Ridge	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden

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Appendix J continued

No.	Name	Type	Status	Town	Local municipality	District municipality
100	Whalerock Hill	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
101	The Gallery	TC	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
102	Beau Rivage	TC	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
103	The River Club	TC	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
104	Bowtie Private Estate	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
105	Athena Place	TC	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
106	Glen Eden Retirement Village	TC	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
107	Thulana Hill	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
108	Waterberry Ridge	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
109	Castleton	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
110	Formosa Garden Village	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
111	The Hill	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
112	Baron's View	unk.	undev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
113	Twin Rivers Estate	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
114	Sanderlings	SE	dev	Plettenberg Bay	Bitou	Eden
115	Le Grand	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
116	Eden View	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
117	Tuiniqua Centre for Senior Citizens	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
118	Courtenayhof	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
119	Kraaibosch Country Estate	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
120	Oaklands Bridge Country Estate	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
121	Mont Fleur Mountain Estate	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
122	Earls Court Lifestyle Estate	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
123	Kingswood Golf Estate	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
124	Golf Park 3	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
125	Heather Heights	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
126	Cherry Creek Country Estate	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
127	Vierlanden	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
128	Chris Chenk	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
129	Chelsea Close	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
130	Fairview Gardens	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
131	Unnamed	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
132	Kiepersol Kruin	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
133	Somerbos	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
134	Aspelingshof	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
135	Ironsydehof	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
136	Loerie Haven	SE	dev	George	George	Eden

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Appendix J continued

No.	Name	Type	Status	Town	Local municipality	District municipality
137	Prinshof	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
138	Jadricohof	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
139	Avondrus	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
140	River View	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
141	Bishop Lea Village	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
142	Rendevouz Cottages	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
143	Unnamed	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
144	Camph	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
145	Glenview	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
146	Mount Pleasant	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
147	Bergville Retirement Village	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
148	Chanzelle	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
149	Janrihof	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
150	Unnamed	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
151	Dennerus	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
152	Hartenheim	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
153	Uber Park	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
154	Fourways	unk.	undev	George	George	Eden
155	Heatherlands Cove	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
156	Hi-Lands	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
157	Heimat	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
158	Tarlyn Mews	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
159	Sidwell Garden	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
160	Golf Park 1	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
161	Golf Park 2	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
162	De Oewer	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
163	Glen Heath	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
164	Regents Park	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
165	Oaklands Place	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
166	Oaklands at Fancourt	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
167	Fancourt Residential	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
168	Outeniqua Gardens	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
169	Soeteweide Country Estate	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
170	Kerriwood Hill	TC	dev	George	George	Eden
171	Protea Hill	unk.	undev	George	George	Eden
172	Villagio Toscana	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
173	Keyserhof	SE	dev	George	George	Eden

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Appendix J continued

No.	Name	Type	Status	Town	Local municipality	District municipality
174	Blue Mountains Village and Gardens	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
175	Kraaibosch Manor	SE	dev	George	George	Eden
176	Oubaai Golf Resort	SE	dev	Herold's Bay	George	Eden
177	Breakwater Bay Eco Estate	SE	dev	Herold's Bay	George	Eden
178	Wilderness Beach Estate	SE	dev	Wilderness	George	Eden
179	The Waves at Wilderness	TC	dev	Wilderness	George	Eden
180	Gregdale Estate	SE	dev	Wilderness	George	Eden
181	Aloe Park Security Village	unk.	undev	Albertinia	Hessequa	Eden
182	Mooiberg	SE	dev	Riversdale	Hessequa	Eden
183	Stilbaai Dunes	SE	undev	Stilbaai	Hessequa	Eden
184	Berrisford Place	SE	dev	Stilbaai	Hessequa	Eden
185	Seaview Security Village	unk.	undev	Stilbaai	Hessequa	Eden
186	Plattebosch Estate	TC	dev	Stilbaai	Hessequa	Eden
187	Gamka Eco and Olive Estate	SE	undev	Calitzdorp	Kannaland	Eden
188	Thesen Island	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
189	Pezula Private Estate	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
190	Fernwood Private Security Estate	unk.	undev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
191	Simola Golf and Country Estate	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
192	Brentonwood	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
193	Belvidere Heights Private Estate	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
194	Scarteen South Private Estate	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
195	Kurtzenhof Estate	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
196	Cobble Creek	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
197	The Glens of Antrim	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
198	Kanonkop Private Estate	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
199	Estuary Heights	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
200	Welbedacht Estate	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
201	Green Pastures	TC	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
202	Knysna Mara Wildlife Estate	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
203	Eastford Glen Vale and Cove	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
204	Eastford Country Estate	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
205	Highbury Gardens	TC	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
206	Hillcrest	TC	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
207	Tides End	TC	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
208	Waterside	TC	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
209	Ambleside Village	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden

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No.	Name	Type	Status	Town	Local municipality	District municipality
210	Candlewood Close	TC	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
211	Hunter's Estate Retirement Village	TC	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
212	Highlands Estate	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
213	Hunter's Village	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
214	Forest Gardens Estate	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
215	Unnamed	unk.	undev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
216	Sparrebosch	SE	dev	Knysna	Knysna	Eden
217	Island Village	SE	dev	Sedgefield	Knysna	Eden
218	Montage Village	TC	dev	Sedgefield	Knysna	Eden
219	Montage Mews	TC	dev	Sedgefield	Knysna	Eden
220	Sedgemeer Park Retirement Village	TC	dev	Sedgefield	Knysna	Eden
221	Landfall Garden Village	SE	dev	Sedgefield	Knysna	Eden
222	Unnamed	TC	dev	Sedgefield	Knysna	Eden
223	Zeegezicht Ridge	TC	dev	Sedgefield	Knysna	Eden
224	The Sandals	SE	dev	Sedgefield	Knysna	Eden
225	Meedings Park	TC	dev	Sedgefield	Knysna	Eden
226	Unnamed	SE	dev	Sedgefield	Knysna	Eden
227	Aviemore Security Village	unk.	undev	Sedgefield	Knysna	Eden
228	Paradise Coast	SE	undev	Dana Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
229	Fishermen's Village	unk.	undev	Dana Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
230	Unnamed	unk.	undev	Dana Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
231	Moquini	SE	dev	Dana Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
232	Blue Ridge	SE	undev	Dana Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
233	Avonddans	SE	dev	Groot Brak River	Mossel Bay	Eden
234	Ridge View	SE	dev	Groot Brak River	Mossel Bay	Eden
235	Groenkloof Retirement Village	SE	dev	Groot Brak River	Mossel Bay	Eden
236	Bottlierssig	SE	dev	Klein Brak River	Mossel Bay	Eden
237	Tuscany @ Sea	SE	dev	Klein Brak River	Mossel Bay	Eden
238	St Ellen	SE	dev	Klein Brak River	Mossel Bay	Eden
239	Dolphin's Creek Golf Estate	SE	dev	Klein Brak River	Mossel Bay	Eden

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No.	Name	Type	Status	Town	Local municipality	District municipality
240	Mar Ané Park	SE	dev	Klein Brak River	Mossel Bay	Eden
241	Nature on Sea	SE	dev	Klein Brak River	Mossel Bay	Eden
242	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
243	Pinnacle Point Beach and Golf Resort	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
244	Village-on-Sea and Ocean Ridge	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
245	Blombosch	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
246	Santos Haven Retirement Village	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
247	Linkside	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
248	Fijnbosch Park	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
249	ACVV Retirement Village	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
250	Heidepark	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
251	Rendezvous Village	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
252	De Bosse	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
253	Karveelpark	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
254	Menken Park	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
255	Die Heuwels	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
256	Heuwelsig	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
257	Hartenrus Aftreecoord	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
258	Twee Kuilen	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
259	Barbados	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
260	Aloe Ridge	unk.	undev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
261	Unnamed	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
262	Mussel Creek	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
263	Tuscany Park	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
264	Bergendal	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
265	Num Num Estate	unk.	undev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
266	Hartenzicht	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
267	Deoville Park	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
268	Fonteine Park	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
269	Hartbos Park	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
270	Tuscany Village	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
271	Seemeeu Vlug	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
272	Seemeeu Villas	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
273	Vista Océano	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden

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Appendix J continued

No.	Name	Type	Status	Town	Local municipality	District municipality
274	Gull Heights	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
275	Meeu 'n Dal	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
276	Meeuland	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
277	Seemeeu Hoogte	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
278	Villa del Mar	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
279	Aura Aesta	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
280	Villa Rhus	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
281	Palms	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
282	Lo-Frael	TC	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
283	Monte Christo Retirement Village	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
284	Hartenbos Estate	SE	dev	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay	Eden
285	Karoo Park Sekuriteitsontwikkeling	unk.	undev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
286	Langenhoven Village	SE	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
287	van Reede Hof	TC	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
288	Unnamed	TC	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
289	Oudtshoorn Retirement Village	TC	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
290	Victoria	SE	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
291	Palm Village	SE	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
292	Klapperbosrant	TC	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
293	El Dorado Security Village	TC	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
294	Millennium Park	TC	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
295	Melkbossingel	SE	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
296	Bergsig Villas	SE	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
297	Villa's Soleil	TC	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
298	Prima Vera Security Complex	TC	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
299	Caves Retirement Village	SE	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
300	Riempie Village	SE	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
301	Riempie Uitzicht	SE	dev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
302	Karoo Heritage Golf Estate	SE	undev	Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Eden
303	De Oude Arena	SE	dev	Bredasdorp	Cape Agulhas	Overberg
304	Langefontein	TC	dev	Bredasdorp	Cape Agulhas	Overberg
305	Skulphoek	SE	dev	Struisbaai	Cape Agulhas	Overberg
306	Clairvaux	TC	dev	Franskraal	Overstrand	Overberg
307	Franschekraal Villas Fynbos Estate	SE	undev	Franskraal	Overstrand	Overberg
308	Berg en See Residential Estate	SE	dev	Hermanus	Overstrand	Overberg
309	Ocean Breeze Private Estate	SE	dev	Hermanus	Overstrand	Overberg
310	Sundew Villas	SE	dev	Hermanus	Overstrand	Overberg

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No.	Name	Type	Status	Town	Local municipality	District municipality
311	The Avenues	SE	dev	Hermanus	Overstrand	Overberg
312	MacMillan House	TC	dev	Hermanus	Overstrand	Overberg
313	Mariners Village	SE	dev	Hermanus	Overstrand	Overberg
314	Whale Rock Estate	TC	dev	Hermanus	Overstrand	Overberg
315	Palm Gardens	SE	dev	Hermanus	Overstrand	Overberg
316	Prestwick Village	SE	dev	Hermanus	Overstrand	Overberg
317	Lakewood Golf Village	SE	dev	Hermanus	Overstrand	Overberg
318	Fernkloof Village	SE	dev	Hermanus	Overstrand	Overberg
319	Mussel Cove	SE	dev	Hermanus	Overstrand	Overberg
320	Sandpiper	TC	dev	Hermanus	Overstrand	Overberg
321	Sandals	TC	dev	Hermanus	Overstrand	Overberg
322	Kambro	TC	dev	Kleinmond	Overstrand	Overberg
323	Schöne Kleinmond 1	TC	dev	Kleinmond	Overstrand	Overberg
324	Schöne Kleinmond 2	TC	dev	Kleinmond	Overstrand	Overberg
325	Lobelia	TC	dev	Kleinmond	Overstrand	Overberg
326	Kogelpark Retirement Village	TC	dev	Kleinmond	Overstrand	Overberg
327	Thyme-a-Way	TC	dev	Kleinmond	Overstrand	Overberg
328	Azalea	TC	dev	Kleinmond	Overstrand	Overberg
329	Jasmyn	TC	dev	Kleinmond	Overstrand	Overberg
330	Polka	TC	dev	Kleinmond	Overstrand	Overberg
331	Paljas	TC	dev	Kleinmond	Overstrand	Overberg
332	Mondche	TC	dev	Kleinmond	Overstrand	Overberg
333	El-Shammah	TC	dev	Kleinmond	Overstrand	Overberg
334	Protea Park	SE	dev	Onrus	Overstrand	Overberg
335	Villa Anadia	TC	dev	Onrus	Overstrand	Overberg
336	Unnamed	unk.	undev	Onrus	Overstrand	Overberg
337	Leisure Park	TC	dev	Onrus	Overstrand	Overberg
338	Mountain View	SE	dev	Onrus	Overstrand	Overberg
339	Carlane	TC	dev	Onrus	Overstrand	Overberg
340	Mountain Villas	TC	dev	Onrus	Overstrand	Overberg
341	Village of Golden Harvest	TC	dev	Onrus	Overstrand	Overberg
342	Monte Mare	SE	dev	Onrus	Overstrand	Overberg
343	Bergzicht	SE	dev	Onrus	Overstrand	Overberg
344	Mooizicht Gardens	unk.	undev	Onrus	Overstrand	Overberg
345	Tambali Village	TC	dev	Onrus	Overstrand	Overberg
346	Onrus Manor Retirement Village	SE	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
347	Heron Close	SE	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg

Continued overleaf

Appendix J continued

No.	Name	Type	Status	Town	Local municipality	District municipality
348	Fernwood	TC	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
349	Silverwood Private Security Estate	unk.	undev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
350	Kranszicht	TC	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
351	Chiappini Close	TC	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
352	Kramer Close	TC	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
353	Dawson Village	SE	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
354	Tuscan Mews	TC	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
355	Tuscan Villas	TC	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
356	Berg Hof 1	SE	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
357	Berg Hof 2	SE	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
358	Berg Hof 3	SE	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
359	Kidbrooke Place Retirement Village	SE	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
360	Milkwood	SE	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
361	Hemel en Aarde Residential Estate	SE	dev	Onrus River	Overstrand	Overberg
362	Sunrise Village	SE	undev	Stanford	Overstrand	Overberg
363	Kleine Rivier Estate	SE	dev	Stanford	Overstrand	Overberg
364	Auvergne Residential Estate	unk.	undev	Vermont	Overstrand	Overberg
365	Amani Ya Juu	SE	undev	Vermont	Overstrand	Overberg
366	Milkwood Lynx	SE	dev	Vermont	Overstrand	Overberg
367	Benguela Cove Lagoon and Wine Estate	SE	dev	Vermont	Overstrand	Overberg
368	Koorlands	TC	dev	Swellendam	Swellendam	Overberg
369	Fynbos Security Estate	SE	dev	Swellendam	Swellendam	Overberg
370	Rotary Park Retirement Village	SE	dev	Swellendam	Swellendam	Overberg
371	Olive Grove	SE	dev	Swellendam	Swellendam	Overberg
372	Bergzicht	SE	dev	Swellendam	Swellendam	Overberg
373	Unnamed	SE	dev	Swellendam	Swellendam	Overberg
374	Victoria Village	TC	dev	Swellendam	Swellendam	Overberg
375	Silbester Village	TC	dev	Swellendam	Swellendam	Overberg
376	Koorlandsrivier	unk.	undev	Swellendam	Swellendam	Overberg
377	Gaikou Lodge	SE	dev	Swellendam	Swellendam	Overberg
378	Botrivier Landgoed	TC	dev	Bot River	Theewaterskloof	Overberg
379	Larenbosch	TC	undev	Bot River	Theewaterskloof	Overberg
380	De Baan	TC	dev	Caledon	Theewaterskloof	Overberg
381	The Oaks	TC	dev	Grabouw	Theewaterskloof	Overberg
382	Esmaralda Villas	TC	dev	Grabouw	Theewaterskloof	Overberg
383	Huis Groenland	TC	dev	Grabouw	Theewaterskloof	Overberg

Continued overleaf

Appendix J continued

No.	Name	Type	Status	Town	Local municipality	District municipality
384	Greyton Country Village	SE	dev	Greyton	Theewaterskloof	Overberg
385	Theewaterskloof Country Estate (Golf)	SE	dev	Villiersdorp	Theewaterskloof	Overberg
386	Olive Grove	TC	dev	Villiersdorp	Theewaterskloof	Overberg
387	Op 'n Slakkepas	TC	dev	Dwarskersbos	Bergrivier	West Coast
388	Wheatfields Executive Lifestyle Estate	SE	dev	Piketberg	Bergrivier	West Coast
389	Vergezicht Complex	TC	undev	Piketberg	Bergrivier	West Coast
390	Lemoenkloof	TC	dev	Porterville	Bergrivier	West Coast
391	Atlantic Sands Security Village	SE	undev	Velddrif	Bergrivier	West Coast
392	Admiral Island Estate	SE	dev	Velddrif	Bergrivier	West Coast
393	Aan Oewer Retirement Resort	SE	dev	Velddrif	Bergrivier	West Coast
394	Pelican Bay Complex	SE	dev	Velddrif	Bergrivier	West Coast
395	Atlantic Waters	SE	undev	Velddrif	Bergrivier	West Coast
396	Erf 578	SE	undev	Velddrif	Bergrivier	West Coast
397	Unnamed	SE	undev	Velddrif	Bergrivier	West Coast
398	Wolfkop Mountain Heritage Retreat	SE	dev	Citrusdal	Cederberg	West Coast
399	Blue Waters	SE	dev	Clanwilliam	Cederberg	West Coast
400	Clanwilliam Hills Lifestyle Resort	SE	dev	Clanwilliam	Cederberg	West Coast
401	Sederson	TC	dev	Clanwilliam	Cederberg	West Coast
402	Cedar Lake	SE	undev	Clanwilliam	Cederberg	West Coast
403	Cedar Park	SE	dev	Clanwilliam	Cederberg	West Coast
404	Cedar Rock	TC	dev	Clanwilliam	Cederberg	West Coast
405	Klein Cederberg Estate	SE	undev	Clanwilliam	Cederberg	West Coast
406	Jacobsbaai Village	SE	dev	Jacobsbaai	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
407	Blue Lagoon Secure Estate	SE	dev	Langebaan	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
408	Calypso Beach Estate	SE	dev	Langebaan	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
409	Sunset Estate	SE	dev	Langebaan	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
410	Laguna Estate	SE	dev	Langebaan	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
411	Langebaan Aftreeoord	TC	dev	Langebaan	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
412	Aegean Heights	SE	undev	Langebaan	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
413	Paradise Beach Security Estate	SE	dev	Langebaan	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
414	Hestia Village	SE	undev	Langebaan	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
415	Ellefsen Village	TC	dev	Langebaan	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
416	Langebaan Country Estate	SE	dev	Langebaan	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
417	Waterfront	TC	dev	Langebaan	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
418	Helios Place	TC	dev	Langebaan	Saldanha Bay	West Coast

Continued overleaf

Appendix J continued

No.	Name	Type	Status	Town	Local municipality	District municipality
419	Langebaan Villas	TC	dev	Langebaan	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
420	Unnamed	TC	dev	Saldanha	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
421	Arendnes	TC	dev	Saldanha	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
422	Saldanha Mews	TC	dev	Saldanha	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
423	Sandy Point Security Beach Estate	SE	dev	St Helena Bay	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
424	Shelley Point Private Security Village and Golf Estate	SE	dev	St Helena Bay	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
425	Ocean Estate Security Village	SE	undev	St Helena Bay	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
426	Helderkruiin Villas	TC	dev	Vredenburg	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
427	Unnamed	TC	dev	Vredenburg	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
428	Huis Wittekruiin	TC	dev	Vredenburg	Saldanha Bay	West Coast
429	Merino Hills	TC ¹	dev ³	Malmesbury	Swartland	West Coast
430	Glen Lilly	SE ²	undev ⁴	Malmesbury	Swartland	West Coast
431	Mount Royal Golf and Country Estate	SE	dev	Malmesbury	Swartland	West Coast
432	Unnamed	TC	dev	Malmesbury	Swartland	West Coast
433	Die Terras	TC	dev	Malmesbury	Swartland	West Coast
434	Bergzicht	TC	dev	Malmesbury	Swartland	West Coast
435	Circa Singel	TC	dev	Malmesbury	Swartland	West Coast
436	John Moller Security Estate	SE	dev	Malmesbury	Swartland	West Coast
437	Villa Lapparita	TC	dev	Malmesbury	Swartland	West Coast
438	Vergesig	TC	dev	Malmesbury	Swartland	West Coast
439	De Molen	TC	dev	Malmesbury	Swartland	West Coast
440	Unnamed	TC	dev	Moorreesburg	Swartland	West Coast
441	Moorreesburg Golf Close 2	TC	dev	Moorreesburg	Swartland	West Coast
442	Unnamed	TC	dev	Moorreesburg	Swartland	West Coast
443	Moorreesburg Mews	TC	dev	Moorreesburg	Swartland	West Coast
444	Greenfields	TC	dev	Moorreesburg	Swartland	West Coast
445	Shiraz Estate	TC	dev	Riebeeck-Kasteel	Swartland	West Coast
446	Weltevreden	TC	dev	Riebeeck-West	Swartland	West Coast
447	Mile 16	SE	dev	Yzerfontein	Swartland	West Coast
448	Unnamed	TC	dev	Yzerfontein	Swartland	West Coast
449	Jakkalsfontein Private Nature Reserve	SE	dev	Yzerfontein	Swartland	West Coast

Notes: ¹ SE = security estate ² dev = developed ³ TC = townhouse complex ⁴ unk. = unknown ⁵ undev = undeveloped

APPENDIX K: TIMELINES OF GROWTH OF SECURITY ESTATES PER LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

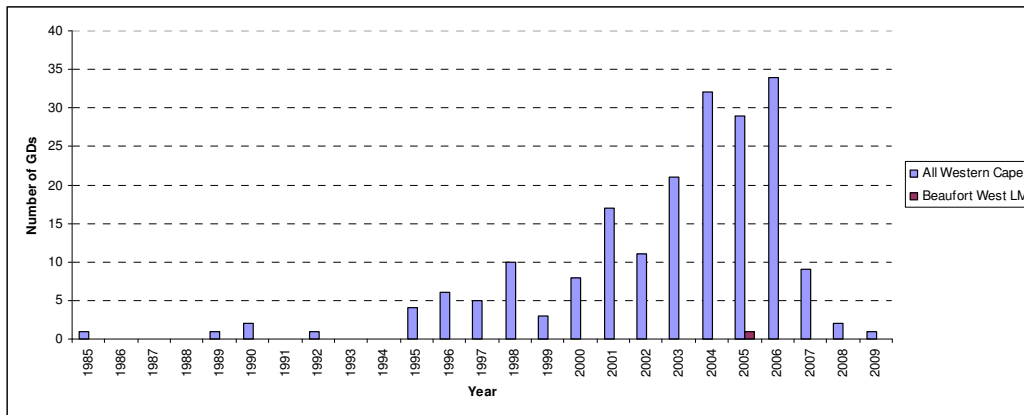


Figure K1: Beaufort West LM

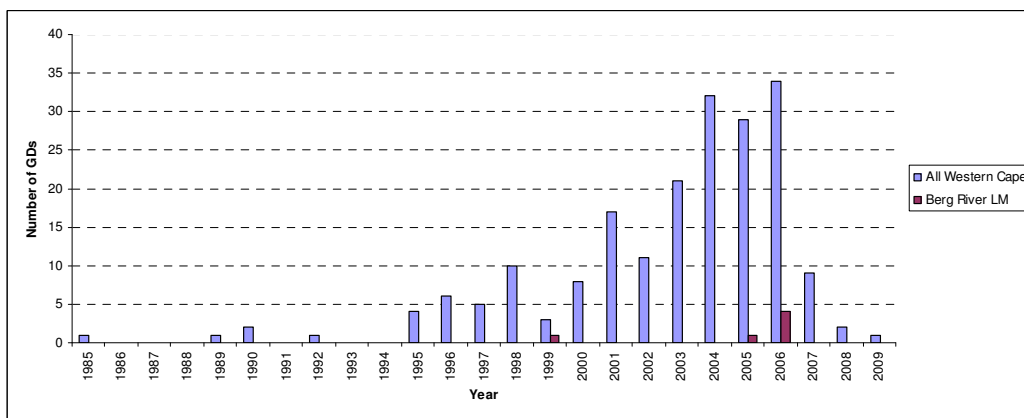


Figure K2: Bergrivier LM

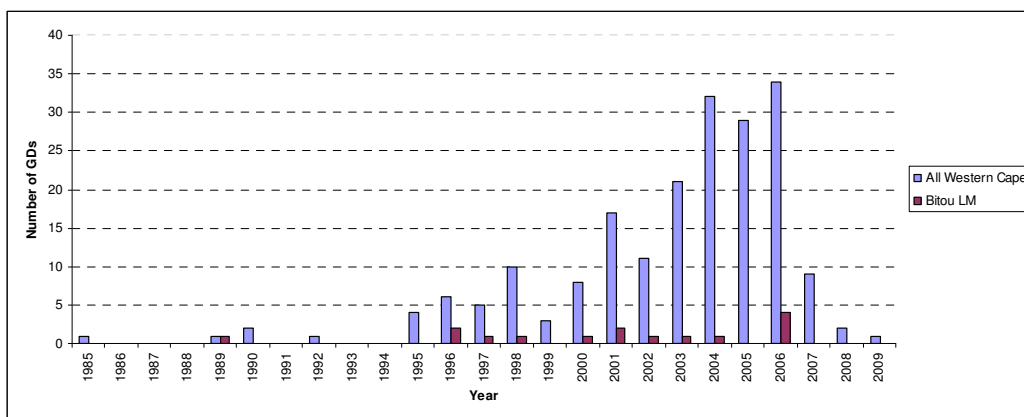


Figure K3: Bitou LM

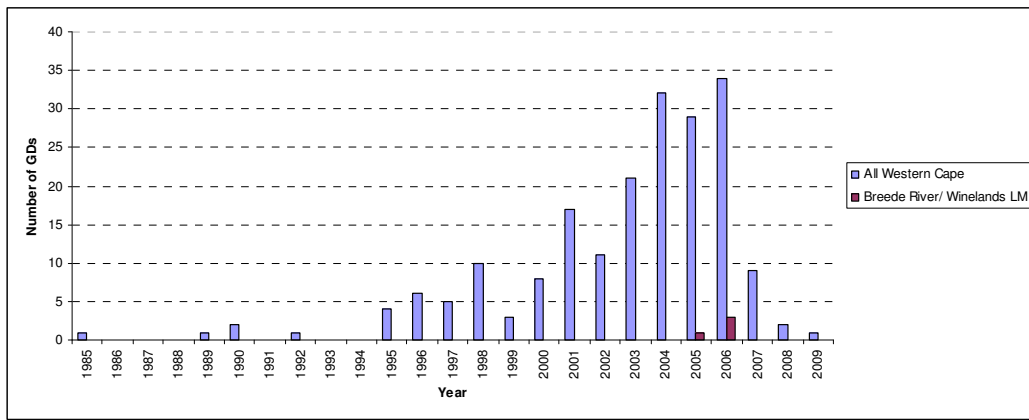


Figure K4: Breede River/Winelands LM

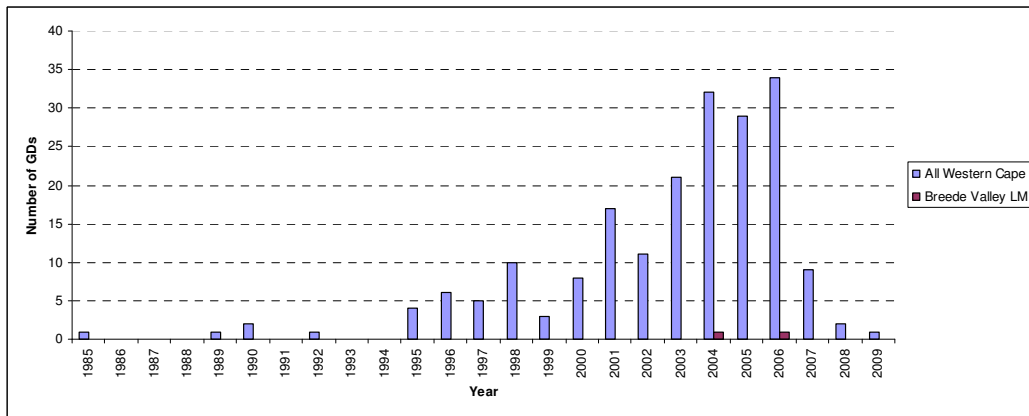


Figure K5: Breede Valley LM

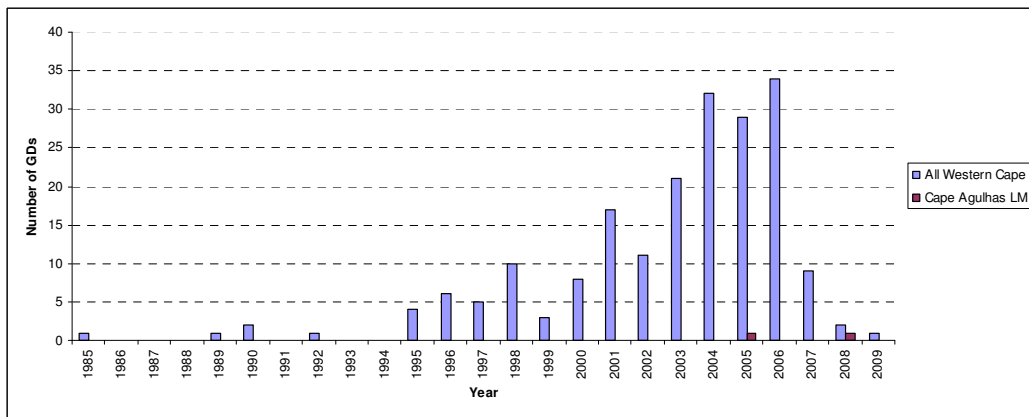


Figure K6: Cape Agulhas LM

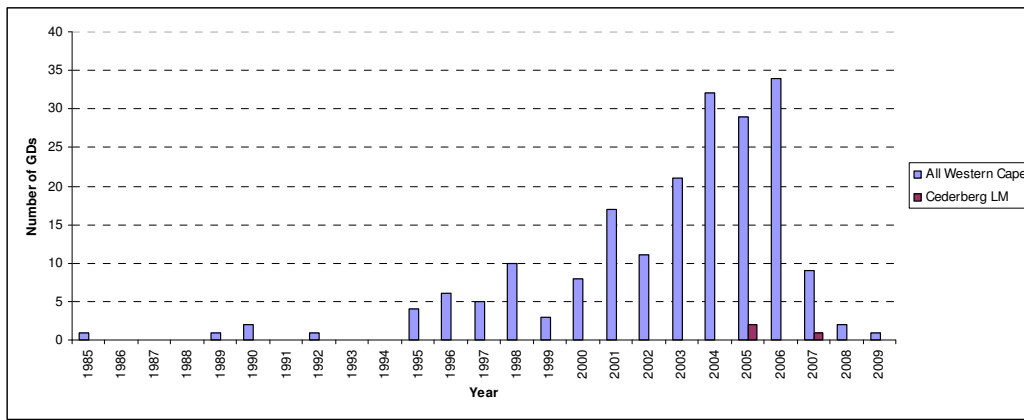


Figure K7: Cederberg LM

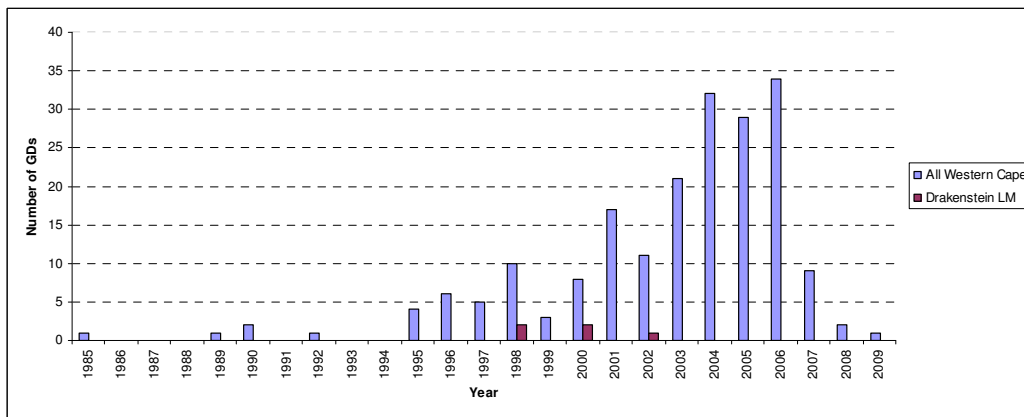


Figure K8: Drakenstein LM

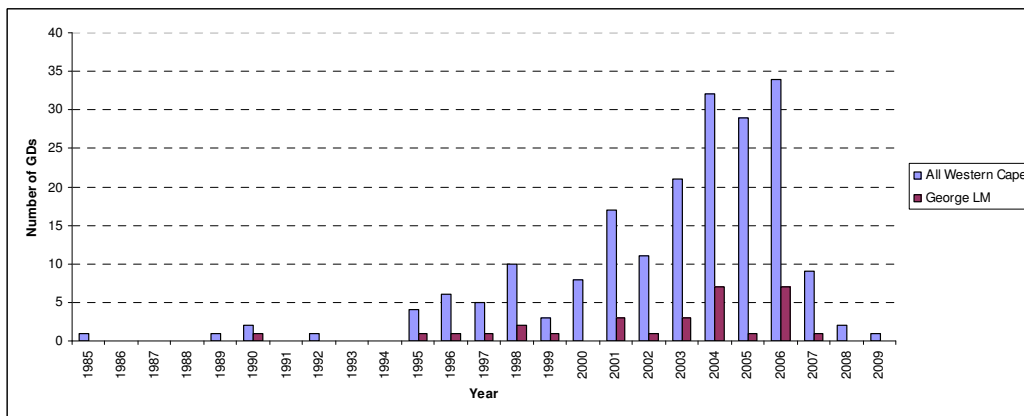


Figure K9: George LM

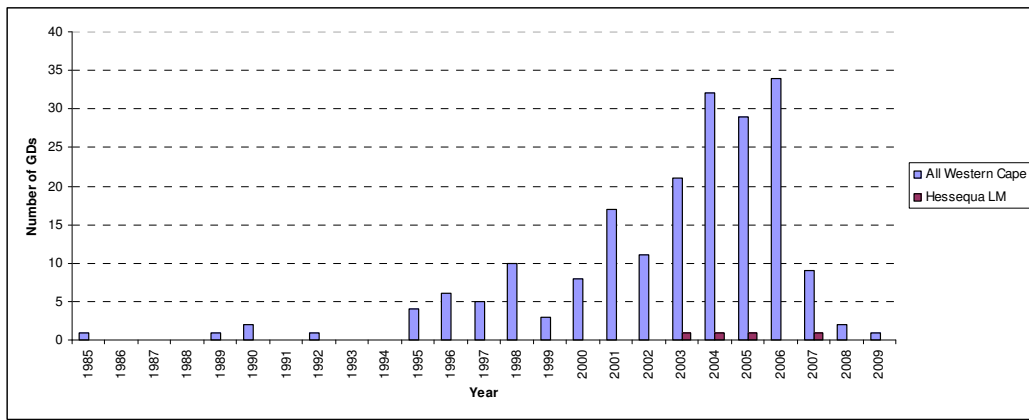


Figure K10: Hessequa LM

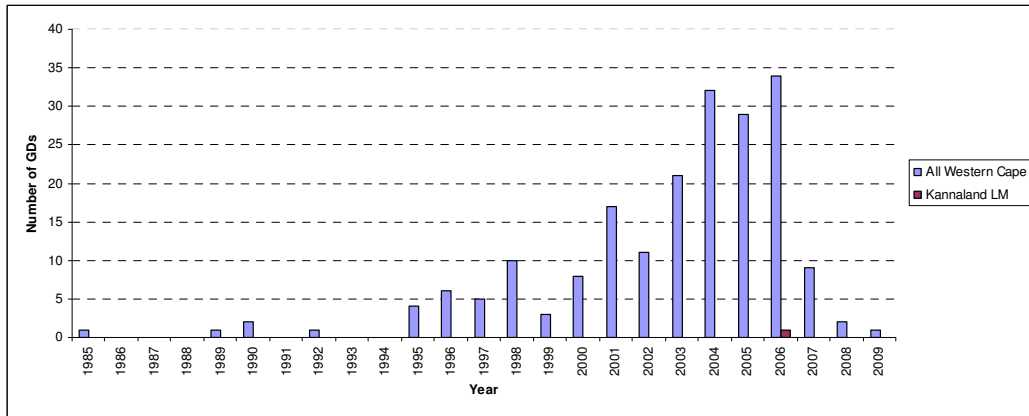


Figure K11: Kannaland LM

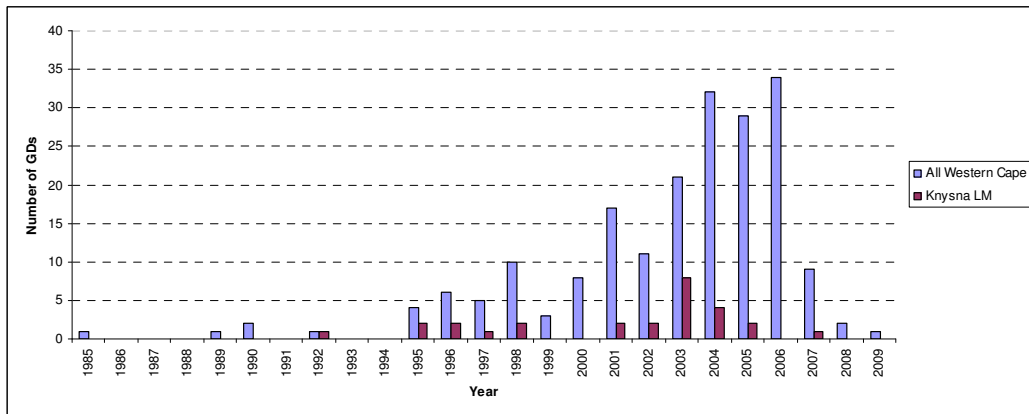


Figure K12: Knysna LM

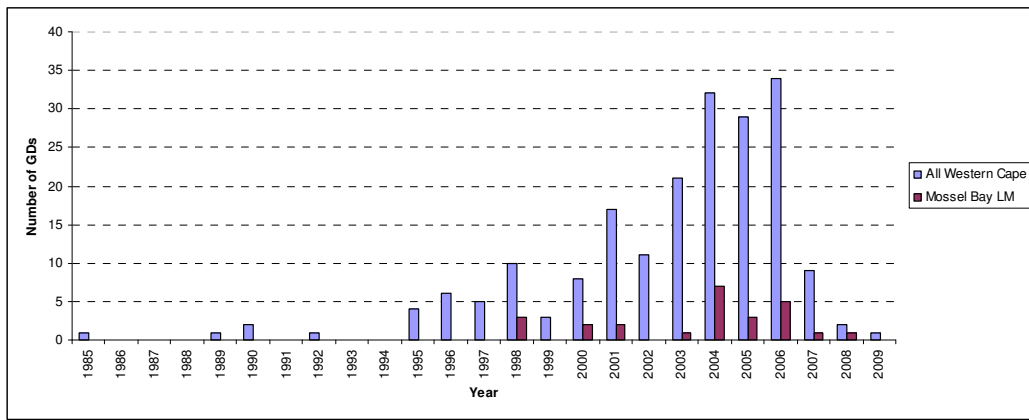


Figure K13: Mossel Bay LM

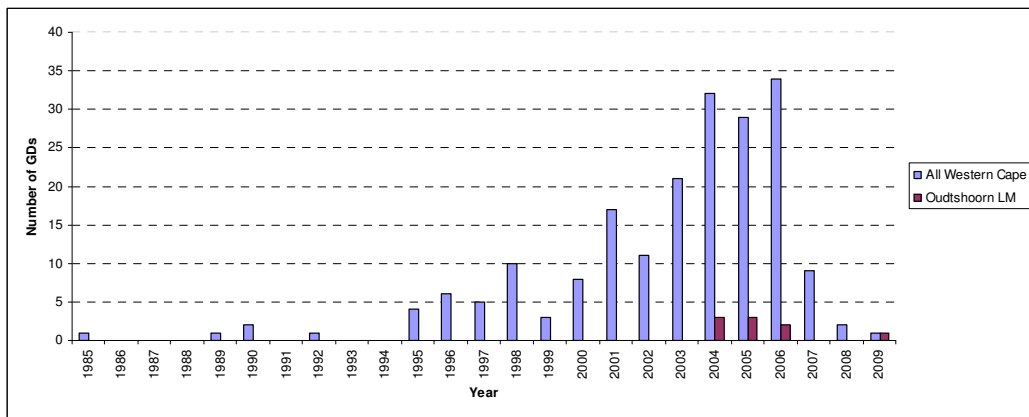


Figure K14: Oudtshoorn LM

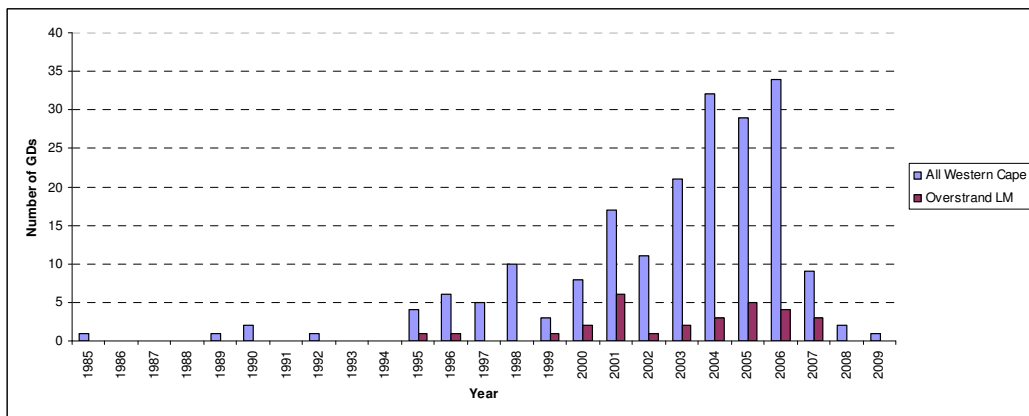


Figure K15: Overstrand LM

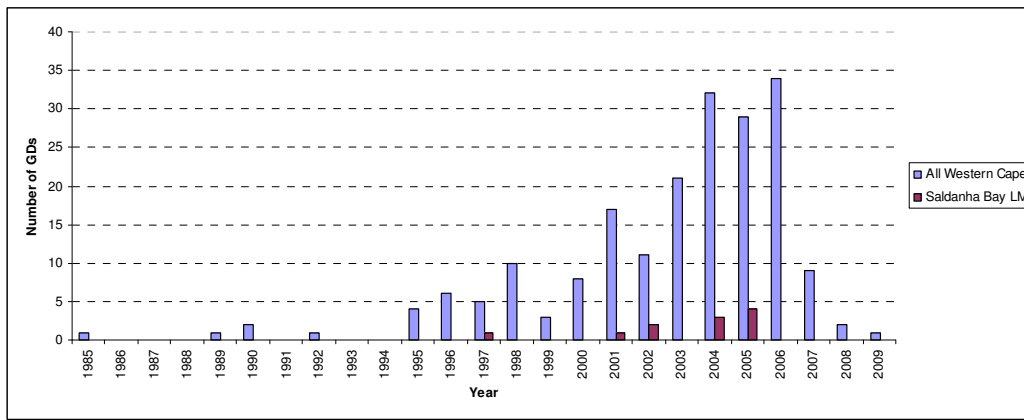


Figure K16: Saldanha Bay LM

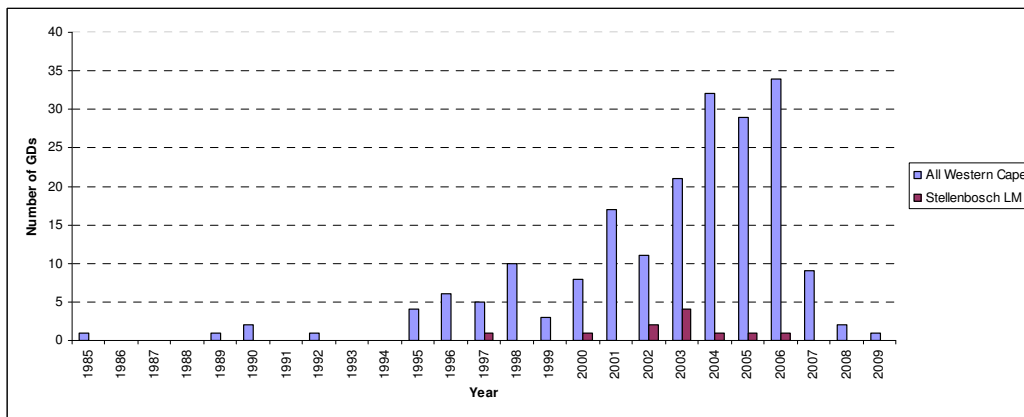


Figure K17: Stellenbosch LM

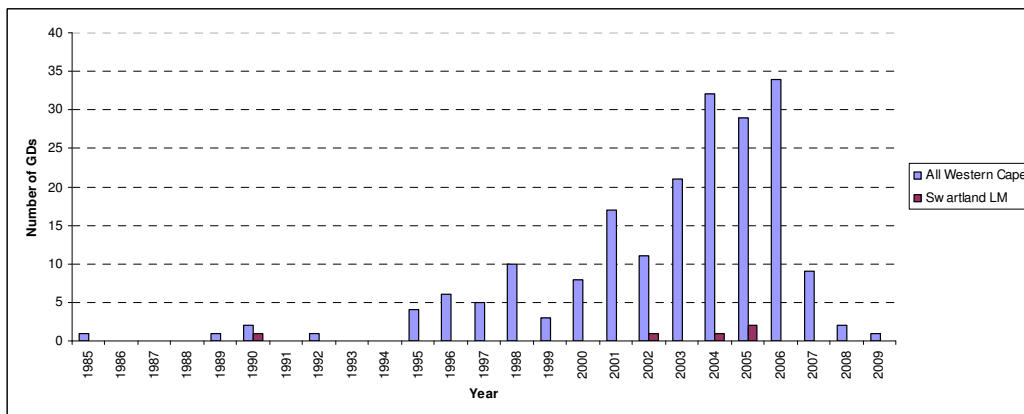


Figure K18: Swartland LM

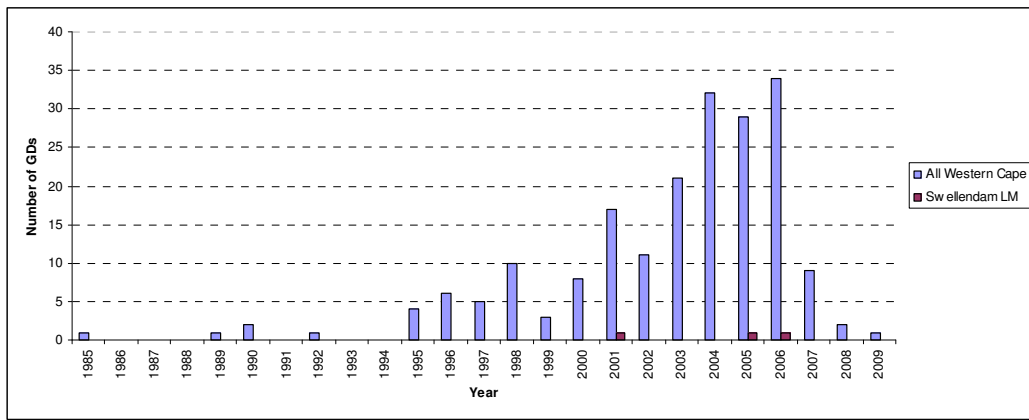


Figure K19: Swellendam LM

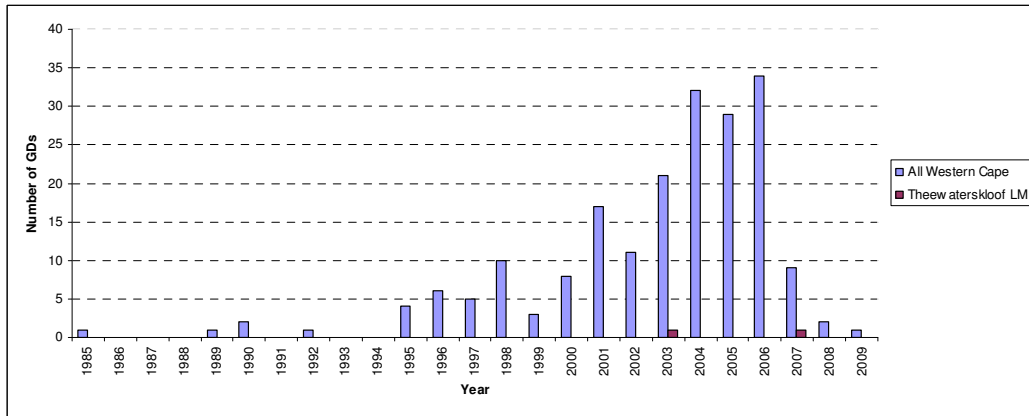


Figure K20: Theewaterskloof LM

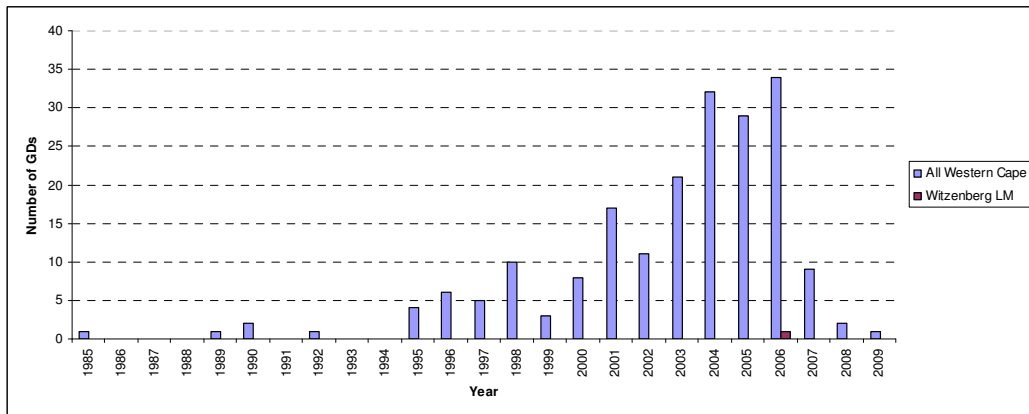


Figure K21: Witzenberg LM

APPENDIX L: SECURITY LEVEL INDEX PER TOWN

Town	No. of gated developments per town		No. of gated developments per security features level ¹					Sum of security features levels	SE ² index	TC ³ index	Average index ⁴
			2	3	4	5	6				
Beaufort West	SE										n/a ⁵
	TC	3	1	2				100		33	
Bot River	SE										n/a
	TC	1		1				40		40	
Bredasdorp	SE	1		1				40	40		40
	TC	1		1				40		40	
Caledon	SE										n/a
	TC	1		1				40		40	
Ceres	SE	1			1			60	60		53
	TC	4	1	1	2			180		45	
Citrusdal	SE	1	1					20	20		10
	TC										
Clanwilliam	SE	3		3				120	40		40
	TC	2		2				80		40	
Dana Bay	SE	1			1			60	60		n/a
	TC										
Dwarskersbos	SE										n/a
	TC	1		1				40		40	
Franschhoek	SE	6	1	2	3			280	47		43
	TC	2		2				80		40	
Franskraal	SE										n/a
	TC	1		1				40		40	
George	SE	31		17	10	2	2	1640	53		46
	TC	28	6	18	3	1		1100		39	
Grabouw	SE										n/a
	TC	3	1		2			140		47	
Greyton	SE	1		1				40	40		n/a
	TC										
Groot Brak River	SE	3		1	1	1		180	60		n/a
	TC										
Hermanus	SE	10	1	2	5	2		560	56		51
	TC	4		3	1			180		45	
Herold's Bay	SE	2			1	1		140	70		n/a
	TC										
Jakobsbaai	SE	1		1				40	40		n/a
	TC										
Klein Brak River	SE	6	3	3				180	30		n/a
	TC										
Kleinmond	SE										n/a
	TC	12		8	3		1	600		50	
Knysna	SE	20	4	12	2	2		840	42		45
	TC	7		5	1	1		340		49	

Continued overleaf

Appendix L continued

Town	No. of gated developments per town		No. of gated developments per security features level					Sum of security features levels	SE index	TC index	Average index
			2	3	4	5	6				
Kylemore	SE	1		1				40	40		n/a
	TC										
Langebaan	SE	6		6				240	40		42
	TC	5		4	1			220		44	
Malmesbury	SE	2			2			120	60		50
	TC	8	1	6	1			320		40	
Moorreesburg	SE										n/a
	TC	5	3	2				140		28	
Mossel Bay	SE	15	4	5	6			640	43		41
	TC	26	5	17	4			1020		39	
Onrus River	SE	13	3	3	2	4	1	720	55		54
	TC	12	1	3	7	1		640		53	
Oudtshoorn	SE	8	3	4	1			280	35		34
	TC	8	3	5				260		33	
Paarl	SE	3		1	2			160	53		47
	TC	11	3	5	3			440		40	
Piketberg	SE	1		1				40	40		n/a
	TC										
Plettenberg Bay	SE	15		5	5	5		900	60		54
	TC	5		3	2			240		48	
Porterville	SE										n/a
	TC	1		1				40		40	
Rawsonville	SE										n/a
	TC	2		2				80		40	
Riebeeck-Kasteel	SE										n/a
	TC	1		1				40		40	
Riebeeck-West	SE										n/a
	TC	1		1				40		40	
Riversdale	SE	1		1				40	40		n/a
	TC										
Robertson	SE	3	1	2				100	33		43
	TC	3		1	2			160		53	
Saldanha	SE										n/a
	TC	3	2	1				80		27	
Sedgefield	SE	4	3	1				100	25		28
	TC	6	3	3				180		30	
St. Helena Bay	SE	2		1	1			100	50		n/a
	TC										
Stanford	SE	1		1				40	40		n/a
	TC										
Stellenbosch	SE	9		4	1	3	1	560	62		60
	TC	20		4	15	1		1140		57	
Stilbaai	SE	1		1				40	40		40
	TC	1		1				40		40	

Continued overleaf

Appendix L continued

Town	No. of gated developments per town		No. of gated developments per security features level					Sum of security features levels	SE index	TC index	Average index
			2	3	4	5	6				
Struisbaai	SE	1		1				40	40		n/a
	TC										
Swellendam	SE	6		4	2			280	47		47
	TC	3		2	1			140		47	
Velddrif	SE	3	1	1	1			120	40		n/a
	TC										
Vermont	SE	2		1	1			100	50		n/a
	TC										
Villiersdorp	SE	1		1				40	40		40
	TC	1		1				40		40	
Vredenburg	SE										n/a
	TC	3	1	2				100		33	
Wellington	SE	3		1	2			160	53		45
	TC	6	2	3	1			220		37	
Wilderness	SE	2		2				80	40		50
	TC	1			1			60		60	
Worcester	SE	2	1		1			80	40		45
	TC	2		1	1			100		50	
Yzerfontein	SE	2		2				80	40		30
	TC	1	1					20		20	

Notes: ¹ Level 2 = 20; level 3 = 40; level 4 = 60; level 5 = 80; level 6 = 100

² SE = security estate

³ TC = townhouse complex

⁴ Average security level index value of towns with security estates and townhouse complexes

⁵ Not applicable

APPENDIX M: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SWELLENDAM

A: Personal details/ Persoonlike besonderhede																												
<p>A1 Age and gender of persons living in the house? Ouderdom en geslag van persone in hierdie huis woonagtig ?</p> <table style="width: 100%; text-align: center; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">G</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">G</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">G</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">G</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">G</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">G</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">G</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">G</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">G</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">1</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">1</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">2</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">2</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">3</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">3</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">4</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">4</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">5</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">5</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">6</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">6</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">7</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">7</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">8</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">8</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">9</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">9</td> </tr> </table>		G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	4	5	5	6	6	7	7	8	8	9	9
G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G																				
1	1	2	2	3	3	4	4	5	5	6	6	7	7	8	8	9	9											
<p>A2 Home language/Huistaal: English <input style="width: 20px;" type="text"/> Afrikaans <input style="width: 20px;" type="text"/> Other:</p>																												
<p>A3 Nationality Burgerskap</p>	<p>South African <input style="width: 20px;" type="text"/> 1</p> <p>Other:(specify/spesifiseer)</p>																											
<p>A4 Highest level of education Hoogste vlak van opvoeding</p> <p>Matric/Matriek <input style="width: 20px;" type="text"/> 1 Diploma <input style="width: 20px;" type="text"/> 2 Undergrad./Voorgraads <input style="width: 20px;" type="text"/> 3 Postgrad./Nagraads <input style="width: 20px;" type="text"/> 4</p>																												
<p>A5 Employment status Werkstand</p> <p>Employed full-time/Heeltyds werk <input style="width: 20px;" type="text"/> 1 Employed part-time/Deeltyds werk <input style="width: 20px;" type="text"/> 2</p> <p>Unemployed/Werkloos <input style="width: 20px;" type="text"/> 3 Retired/Afgetree <input style="width: 20px;" type="text"/> 4 Other/Ander:(specify/spesifiseer)</p>																												
B. Questions about Swellendam/ Vrae oor Swellendam																												
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C3 Was it your specific choice to live in a security complex? Please explain.
 Was dit u spesifieke keuse om in in a sekuriteitskompleks te woon? Verduidelik asseblief.

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<p>C4 Do you feel safe in the security complex? Voel u veilig in die sekuriteitskompleks?</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N </p>	<p>C4.1 Please explain/Verduidelik asseblief.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
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C5 What are the **advantages** of living in a secure development?
 Wat is die **voordele** om in 'n sekuriteitskompleks te woon?

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.....

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C6 What are the **disadvantages** of living in a secure development?
 Wat is die **nadele** om in 'n sekuriteitskompleks te woon?

.....

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Name of fieldworker:

APPENDIX N: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CERES

A: Personal details/ Persoonlike besonderhede																												
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B. Questions about Ceres/ Vrae oor Ceres																												
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<p>B2.2 For what reasons did you move to Ceres? Om watter redes het u na Ceres verhuis?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>																												

B8 What is your opinion on the housing situation in Ceres? Are house prices affordable?

Wat is u opinie oor behuising in Ceres? Is huispryse billik?

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B9 Is the location of Ceres in relation to other towns/cities important? Please explain.

Is die ligging van Ceres in verhouding tot ander dorpe/stede belangrik? Verduidelik asseblief.

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B10 Do you feel safe in Ceres? Please explain.

Voel u veilig in Ceres? Verduidelik asseblief.

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C. Questions about the gated development/ Vrae oor die sekuriteitskompleks

C1 Are you the: owner/eienaar 1
 renter/huurder 2



C1.1 If renter, where does the owner live?
 Indien huurder, waar woon die eienaar?

.....

C2 Is there a sense of community in the development? Please explain.
 Is daar 'n mate van gemeenskapsgees in die kompleks? Verduidelik asseblief.

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C3 Was it your specific choice to live in a security complex? Please explain.
 Was dit u spesifieke keuse om in in a sekuriteitskompleks te woon? Verduidelik asseblief.

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<p>C4 Do you feel safe in the security complex? Voel u veilig in die sekuriteitskompleks?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N</p>	<p>C4.1 Please explain/Verduidelik asseblief.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
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C5 Is personal and household security an important consideration for you in Ceres?
 Is persoonlike en huishoudelike sekuriteit belangrik vir u in Ceres?

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C6 What are the **advantages** of living in a secure development?
 Wat is die **voordele** om in 'n sekuriteitskompleks te woon?

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C7 What are the **disadvantages** of living in a secure development?
 Wat is die **nadele** om in 'n sekuriteitskompleks te woon?

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APPENDIX O: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RETIREMENT GATED DEVELOPMENTS

A: Personal details/ Persoonlike besonderhede																		
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A6 Where do your children live – in South Africa (town and province) or abroad (country)? Waar is u kinders woonagtig – in Suid Afrika (pleknaam en provinsie) of in die buiteland (land)? No children. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.																		
A7. Do you own other houses? Besit u ander huise? <input type="checkbox"/> Y <input type="checkbox"/> N	A7.1 If yes, where (town and province)? Indien ja, waar (pleknaam en provinsie)?	A7.2 How much time to you spend there per annum? Hoeveel tyd spandeer u jaarliks daar?																
B. Questions about Oudtshoorn/ Vrae oor Oudtshoorn																		
B1 Where did you live immediately before moving to Oudtshoorn (town and province)? Waar was u woonagtig onmiddellik voordat u Oudtshoorn toe verhuis het (dorp en provinsie)?																		
B2 How many years have you lived at the place mentioned in B1? Hoeveel jare was u woonagtig op die plek wat in B1 genoem is? <table style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 20px;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px;"></td> </tr> </table>																		

B3 Did you live in a security estate in the place mentioned in B1?

Het u in sekuriteitskomplex in die plek genoem in B1 gebly?

 Y

 N

B4 Do you like living in Oudtshoorn? Please explain.

Hou u daarvan om in Oudtshoorn te woon? Verduidelik asseblief.

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B5 How many years have you been living in Oudtshoorn?

Hoeveel jare is u al in Oudtshoorn woonagtig?

B6 How many years have you been living in the retirement complex?

Hoeveel jare is u al in die aftreekompleks woonagtig?

B7 How would you describe Oudtshoorn regarding crime and personal safety?

Hoe sal u Oudtshoorn met betrekking tot misdaad en persoonlike veiligheid beskryf?

Very safe

Baie veilig

Safe

Veilig

Neutral

Neutraal

Unsafe

Onveilig

Very unsafe

Baie onveilig

B8 What is the reason for your answer in B6?

Wat is die rede vir u antwoord in B6?

.....

.....

B9 Which of the following features in/of Oudtshoorn are important to you?

Watter van die volgende verskynsels in/van Oudtshoorn is vir u belangrik?

	Important	Neutral	Not important
	Belangrik	Neutraal	Nie belangrik
Historical buildings/Historiese geboue	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Restaurants/Restourante	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Antiques shops/Antieke winkels	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Quiet town/Rustige dorp	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tourist attractions/Touriste-aantreklikhede	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Medical practitioners/Mediese praktisyne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B10 Is the location of Oudtshoorn in relation to other towns/cities important? Please explain.

Is die ligging van Oudtshoorn in verhouding tot ander dorpe/stede belangrik? Verduidelik asseblief.

.....

.....

.....

.....

C. Questions about the gated development/ Vrae oor die sekuriteitskompleks

C1 Are you the: owner/eienaar

renter/huurder



C1.1 If renter, where does the owner live?

Indien huurder, waar woon die eienaar?

.....

C2 Is there a sense of community in the complex? Please explain.

Is daar 'n mate van gemeenskapsgees in die kompleks? Verduidelik asseblief.

.....

.....

.....

.....

C3 Was it your specific choice to live in a security complex? Please explain.

Was dit u spesifieke keuse om in in a sekuriteitskompleks te woon? Verduidelik asseblief.

.....

.....

.....

.....

C4 Do you feel safe in the security complex?

Voel u veilig in die sekuriteitskompleks?

Y

N



C4.1 Please explain / Verduidelik asseblief.

.....

.....

.....

C5 Please rank the following factors in the complex: (1) most important, (2) moderately important, (3) less important, and (4) least important?

Rangskik asseblief die volgende faktore in die kompleks: (1) mees belangrik, (2) taamlik belangrik, (3) minder belangrik, en (4) minste belangrik?

Frail care/Verswakte sorg

Community spirit/Gemeenskapsgees

Security/Sekuriteit

Peacefulness/Rustigheid

C6 What are the **advantages** of living in a secure development?

Wat is die **voordele** om in 'n sekuriteitskompleks te woon?

.....

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C7 What are the **disadvantages** of living in a secure development?

Wat is die **nadele** om in 'n sekuriteitskompleks te woon?

.....

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.....

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C8 With whom do you have the most social interaction? (Indicate only one please)

Met wie het u die meeste sosiale interaksie? (Kies een asb.)

Family and friends in the complex Family and friends in town Other (specify)
 Familie en vriende in die kompleks Familie en vriende in die dorp Ander (spesifiseer)

C9 How many **households do you know** in the complex?

Hoeveel **huishoudings ken u** in die kompleks?

.....

C9.1 How many **did you know before** moving here?

Hoeveel het u **geken voordat** u hiernatoe verhuis het?

.....

C9.2 How many of them lived in the **same place as you prior to** moving here?

Hoeveel het in **dieselfde plek gewoon as u** voordat u hierheen verhuis het?

.....

C9.3 How many **households** in the complex do you **consider to be friends**?

Hoeveel **huishoudings** in die kompleks **sien u as vriende**?

.....

C10 Do you have a computer at home? If yes, for what purpose do you use it?

Het u 'n rekenaar in die huis? Indien ja, vir watter doel gebruik u dit?

No computer Geen komper	Work Werk	Playing games Speletjies speel	Communication with family and friends Kommunikasie met familie en vriende	Internet Internet
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C11 How often do you go **to town** per week?

Hoe gereeld gaan u **dorp toe** per week?

C12 Which social activities **in town** do you participate in?

Aan watter sosiale aktiwiteite in **die dorp** neem u in deel?

.....

.....

.....

C13 What provides you with a feeling of belonging in the complex? (You may choose more than one)

Wat gee vir u 'n samehorigheidsgevoel in die kompleks? (U mag meer as een kies)

Gates/Hekke	Walls/Mure	Management/Bestuur	Your house/U huis
Neighbours/Bure	Guards/Wagte	Retirees/Afgetredenes	Complex name/Kompleks se naam

C14 What degree of privacy do you have in the complex and please explain why.

Watter mate van privaatheid geniet u in die kompleks en verduidelik asseblief hoekom.

Very private/Baie privaat	Private/Privaat	Not private/Nie privaat nie
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C15 List the 3 most important places for you in the complex and the 3 in town and please explain your choices.

Lys die 3 belangrikste plekke vir u in die kompleks en die 3 in die dorp, en verduidelik asseblief u keuses.

Complex/Komplex	Town/Dorp
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

C16 Indicate how you feel about the following in your complex:

Dui aan u gevoel oor die volgende aspekte van u kompleks:

	Important Belangrik	Neutral Neutraal	Not important Nie belangrik
Social opportunities to meet new friends Sosiale geleenthede om nuwe vriende te ontmoet			
Health care Gesondheidsorg			
Value of your house Waarde van u huis			
Quality of life Lewenskwaliteit			
Close to nature Naby aan die natuur			
Emotional support Emosionele ondersteuning			
Security Sekuriteit			
Leisure activities Ontspanningsaktiwiteite			
Unique lifestyle Unieke lewenstyl			
Prestige of the complex Aansien van die kompleks			
Other (specify) Ander (spesifiseer)			

Signature of respondent/ Hantekening van respondent:

Please provide a contact number of someone who can clarify any issues/Voorsien asseblief 'n kontaknommer van iemand wat kwessies kan uiklaar:

Name of fieldworker: