



UNIVERSITY *of the*
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Gated communities for the working class: A Cape Flats case study

by

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Abstract

Gated developments are proliferating across cities globally, in different forms and contexts. While they have emerged in cities in both the global North and South, the number of gated developments has increased recently in cities in the global South. Uniformly defined on the basis of their physical features, security artefacts and codes of conduct, gated developments have received criticism across a number of disciplines yet are seen as a rational response to increasing crime rates and considered as a safe haven for their residents. In the global South, more than simply safe havens, gated developments are typically perceived as islands of wealth and privilege in a sea of urban inequality. There is a pressing need to understand the gated development model in the context of the global South. In South Africa, the increase in gated developments situated in lower income areas has been scarcely explored. It is on this basis that this study examines an underexplored and recent category of gated development in the South African context: Gated developments in low-income residential areas. The study adopted a qualitative research methodology informed by the interpretivist approach and case study research design employing semi-structured interviews, observations, and secondary data analysis. Data collected were analysed through the use of thematic analysis. Study findings reveal that gated developments located in lower income contexts differ from their higher income counterparts which manifest in a number of ways, from the point of conceptualization to the operational phase. Findings further reveal that tenants pose a level of defiance towards the rules of the gated development. Ultimately, working class gated developments do not necessarily result in easing of housing backlogs for the working class, but the managing bodies of these developments make noteworthy attempts to assist in housing backlogs by adapting the housing model to local conditions.

Keywords: Gated developments; working class gated developments; global South; South Africa; Cape Flats; Mitchells Plain; social housing

Declaration:

I declare that ‘Gated communities for the people: A Cape Flats case study’ is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or assessment in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Musfiqah Majiet
September 2023

Dedication

To my past, present and future self

Allahuma Barik Laha

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First and foremost, I thank the almighty for granting me the strength, wisdom and courage for being able to see this research come to fruition.

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Onwards and upwards!

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Gated developments have become a popular housing model, proliferating worldwide over recent decades. The establishment of these communities is meant to alleviate fear for their residents and is often considered as a rational and effective response to rising crime rates. As Landman (2002) puts it, the construction of gated developments is synonymous with security. Thus, the desire for safety and alleviating incidences of crime is considered as a major driving force behind the phenomenon of gated developments (Low 2003; Lemanski 2006; Durlington 2006; Landman 2006). Several factors such as identity, increased privacy and control, status, lifestyle and an increasing lack of confidence in municipalities and local services further contribute to the growth of gated developments (Landman, 2006).

There are several definitions used to conceptualize gated developments. Although the moniker 'gated development' encompasses a range of typologies, Lemanski et al. (2008) categorise them across a variety of spatial forms, including: 1) total security estates [residential or commercial] with impenetrable boundaries, 24-hour security guards, monitoring access and patrolling; 2) sectional title developments and blocks of apartments with perimeter fencing; and 3) the 'booming-off' of existing streets" (Lemanski et al., 2008, p.134). From a broader perspective Gülümser (2005) contends that gated developments around the world differ in terms of their offerings and characteristics. Some gated developments focus on luxury and exclusivity, others function as a safe haven for prospective residents, with a focus on safety and security. However, gated developments in South Africa are typically criticized for housing a homogenous group of people while offering a type of voluntary 'semigration' (Ballard, 2005) based on class instead of race. Consequently, this retreat from the perceived chaos of city life exacerbates patterns of spatial divides and exclusion in South Africa by preserving segregation, unequal spatial geographies and strengthening inequalities in an already unequal landscape (Ballard, 2005; Rink, 2020).

According to Lemanski et al. (2008) gated developments first became a feature of the South African landscape in Durban and Johannesburg in the early 1990s but only appeared in Cape Town in the early 2000s albeit mainly in higher income areas along the Southern and Northern parts of Cape Town. As Landman (2006) puts it, gated developments were commonly constructed for those who could afford these types of developments and thus mainly targeted

at higher income individuals. However, this trend is being undermined in Cape Town through the recent proliferation of gated developments in lower income areas for working-class individuals. Working-class gated developments function as a modified version of the traditional gated development. Scholars acknowledged that gated developments are no longer a phenomenon restricted only to wealthy contexts (Blakely & Snyder, 1997b; Landman, 2004; Coy & Pohler, 2002; Boonjubun, 2019). In spite of this acknowledgement, among scholars, empirical evidence on gated developments in low-income contexts remains scarce. This gap in the literature focusing on gated developments in low-income areas deserves attention. Scholars such as Ruiz-Carvajal (2021), Boonjubun (2019) and Kostenwein (2021) fail to provide an encompassing examination of gated developments in low-income contexts. For example, the study by Ruiz-Carvajal (2021), the most in-depth study into working class gated developments to-date, fails to explore the motivation of residents, reasons for constructing gated developments in an atypical context and access to this typology of gated development. Similarly, Kostenwein (2021) takes an urban planning perspective by looking at how low-income gated development impacts upon surrounding streets. This shift in research is in line with Boonjubun (2019) and Ajudhiya (2017) who point to the fact that there are few studies that take into account gated developments for low-income residents. As Ajudhiya (2017) posits, previous and current scholarship on gated developments only considers the working class through their role as labour: as security guards, refuse collectors, and domestic workers. Moreover, Boonjubun (2019) also notes that scholars fail to consider the complexities of housing projects (and private developers) which have been modified in response to local contexts. Furthermore, to the researchers knowledge, the study is the first of its kind to not only fully acknowledge this new typology of gated development in the South African context, but also to attempt to explore and carve out features of this typology of gated development which is crucial to ongoing literature on gated developments and urban housing studies.

Given the unique characteristics of South Africa, it becomes important to understand this modified version of gated development in the context of economic and social diversity of Cape Town. The traditional perspective on gated developments is that they are a marker of social, spatial and economic inequality (Ajudhiya, 2017) which deepen social and spatial divides (Ballard, 2018). Similarly, Wilson-Doenges (2000) argues that gated developments challenge and defy the post-apartheid vision of an integrated spatial landscape. However, the recent proliferation of gated developments in lower income areas, for working-class residents, provides us with a different lens as to how gated developments should be explored and

understood. This new form of gated development also signifies the willingness of private developers to include the working class. There is a lack of scholarship focusing on working class residents of gated developments. This significant gap in knowledge contributes to an inadequate understanding of gated developments and how they function, something this study hopes to address. Over and above inadequate information exists on how this polymorphic gated development version functions and the relationship between these spaces and municipal services in Cape Town. The recent proliferation of gated developments in working class residential areas requires more attention and exploration.

1.2 Problem statement

Gated developments first emerged in the late 1990s in affluent areas of Cape Town as a response to alleviate fear in residents and to provide safe havens in the context of high rates of crime (Lemanski et al., 2008). According to Landman (2006) the earliest forms of gated developments only catered for the middle-to upper-income individuals. Recently, however, there is evidence of gated developments attracting working-class individuals by offering affordable housing units for rent. This modified version of gated developments is said to be an imitation of higher income gated developments with contrastingly different features and services. Considering the lack of research on such gated developments, this study seeks: to explore what distinguishes this new typology of gated development from its higher income counterparts; to understand the inner working of this type of gated development; and to determine how—if at all—working-class gated developments contribute toward access to formal housing for low-income individuals and their families. To date, no studies have been carried out which attempt to comprehensively explore gated developments in low income areas. The majority of literature on gated developments is contextualised in higher income contexts and tends to problematize the gated phenomenon, and how they act to deepen social and spatial divides (Ballard, 2005), house homogenous groups of people (Harrison & Mabin, 2006), and preserve segregation (Landman, 2002). Consequently, Durlington (2006) argues that gated developments pose similarities to apartheid. Furthermore, few studies consider gated developments as a means to provide housing to the working class. As a result, most of these studies and previous scholarship on gated developments fail to adequately explore and understand gated developments in different socio-economic contexts. It can then be said that current literature on gated developments is not all encompassing as it is only those situated in higher income contexts that remains in the forefront. This makes research on lower income gated developments an under-researched phenomenon in South Africa. It is within this

conceptualization that the study explores the purpose and function of lower income gated developments in an atypical context in Cape Town. By considering that gated developments are developing in low-income areas, this study provides a new lens through which gated developments can be understood. Accordingly, this research provides an important foundation for municipalities and developers pertaining to the provision of housing and addressing of housing backlogs by offering insights as to how and what could make low income gated developments successful from a social housing perspective.

1.3 Rationale

Despite a vast literature on gated developments, most of empirical evidence emerges from the global North, including the United States of America (USA) and other higher income contexts (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a; Grant & Mittelsteadt, 2004; Blandy, 2006). Shifting the focus to Cape Town, there is no study that investigates gated developments in low-income areas. An exception is Spocter (2013) who conducted research on gated developments in small towns in the Western Cape, yet no research to-date has examined gated developments in low-income areas such as the Cape Flats. This study, therefore, addresses this gap in literature by exploring the function, purpose and inner workings of gated developments in low income areas. Focusing on gated developments in low-income areas is a significant and a novel contribution to literature on gated developments. This study strives to make a novel contribution to scholarly works on gated developments and more so to see if, in this way and by adopting a gated model, the local government can leverage the private sector to adopt this model and to provide housing to an exhaustive list of housing demand and backlog. The study provides insights into the purpose and function of low-income gated communities in Cape Town while articulating how these communities are similar (or not) to their middle- and upper-income equivalents. It therefore contributes to current scholarship on gated communities and sheds light on the agency of private developers to adapt their product offering to appeal to a larger populace. Finally, the findings of this research can highlight the leveraging of the private sector in providing social 'gated' housing for the working-class populations.

1.4 Aim and Objectives

The aim of this research is to understand and explore the purpose and function of gated communities in low income areas in Cape Town using the example of Regent Villas in Mitchells Plain. Related to this central aim, the following objectives guide this study:

- To understand the rationale for constructing a gated development in an atypical context;

- To investigate the intended target market for the lower income gated development;
- To understand the motivations of residents in a low-income area of Cape Town for retreating into a gated development in an atypical context;
- To investigate what distinguishes the higher income gated development from a gated development in an atypical context;
- To investigate the architectural, infrastructural and service-related aspects of lower income gated communities; and
- To investigate if gated communities in an atypical context are contributing to easing access for lower income to formal housing

1.5 Study Area

The study was carried out in Regent Villas, a newly built low-income gated development. Regent Villas is situated in Mitchells Plain, a large township in Cape Town initially designed as a dormitory suburb for the ‘coloured’ population group during the Apartheid era in accordance with the Group Areas Act (CoCT, 2016). Mitchells Plain was initially built for the purpose of alleviating housing shortages in Cape Town in the 1970s. By the late 1990s, urban decay and the growth of informal settlements characterised the area. More recently, a housing shortage has been exemplified by a further increase in informal settlements and backyard dwellers (CoCT, 2016). It is in this context that Regent Villas was developed. The low-income residential development is characterised by double storey units, security features, amenities, and tenure rules, similar to that of other gated developments. Regent Villas has been chosen as the study site based upon these criteria. Regent Villas was also selected due to proximity and accessibility of the site to the researcher. Moreover, focusing on one case study site within one context, the Cape Flats, allowed for the study to be more contextualised in the setting, as well as understanding low-income gated developments in more detail in atypical contexts, thus leading to a more effective study and gaining a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon under study.



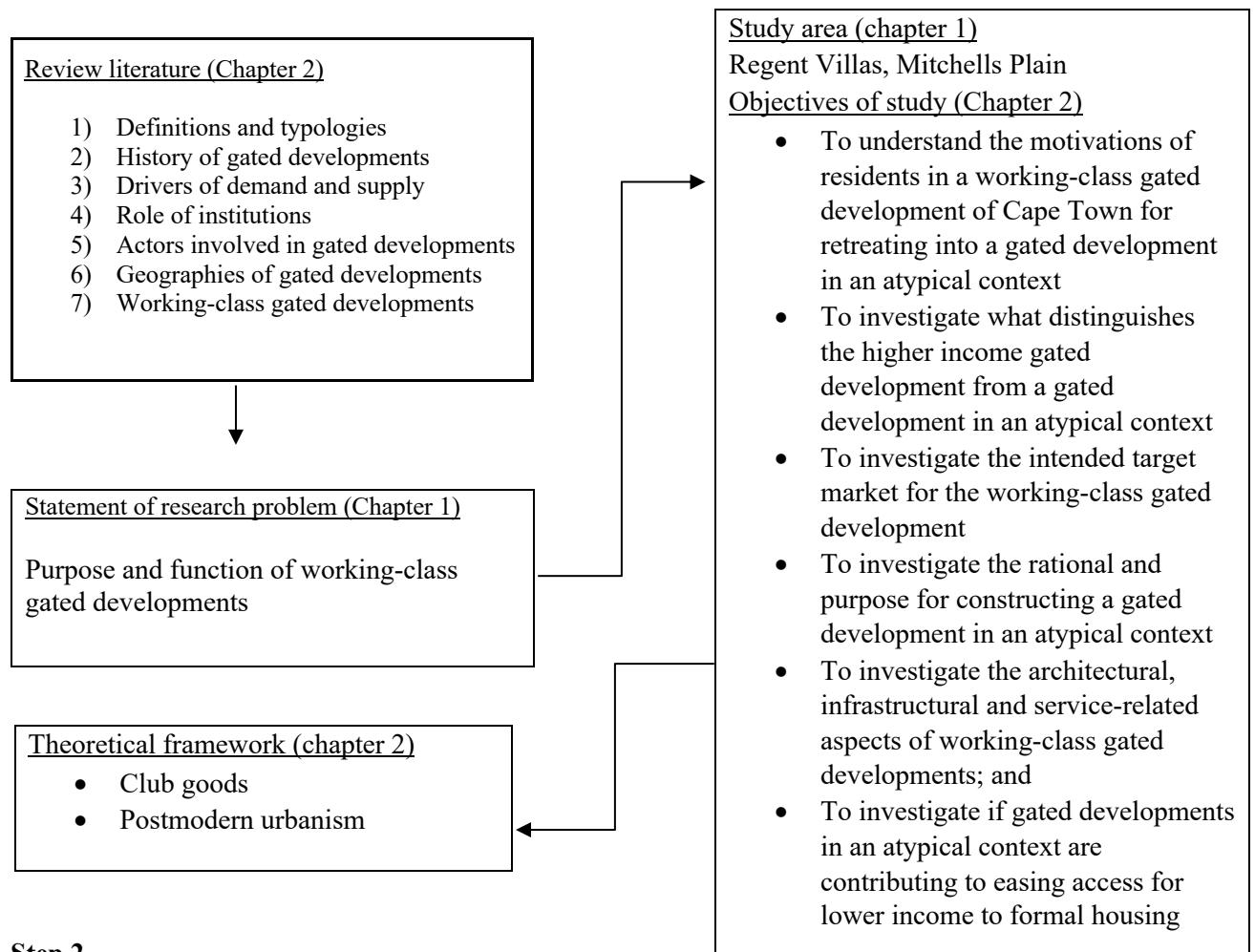
Source: Author

Figure 1.1 Map of study area

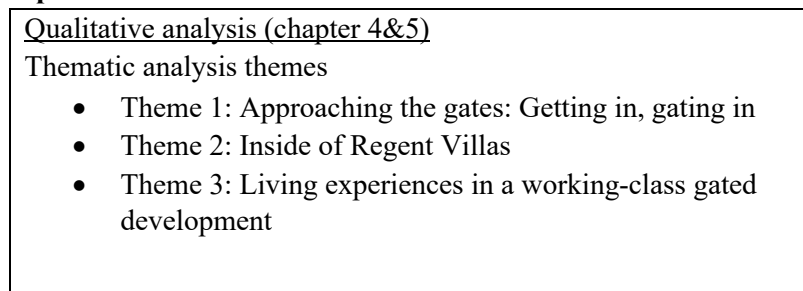
1.6 Research Plan

Figure 1.2 below outlines the research plan followed for this research study. Step one involved reviewing literature on gated developments which in turn, informed the research problem, identified gaps in the literature and the objectives for the study. Followed by step two which dovetailed the methodological approach and the themes that were formulated. The final step, informed by the previous steps, presents the conclusion and recommendations for future research.

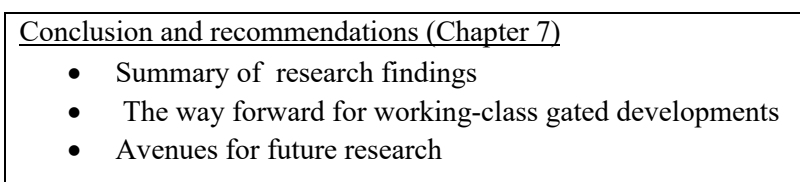
Step 1



Step 2



Step 3



Source: Author

Figure 1.2 Research plan for exploring working-class gated developments

1.7 Structure of thesis

This research comprises seven main chapters. The structure of the research is as follows:

Chapter 1- Introduction: This chapter introduces the research by presenting the background and rationale while also presenting the aim and objectives of the study. The chapter further includes a brief introduction of the study area.

Chapter 2- Literature review: This chapter presents a review of the relevant literature pertaining to the research by firstly differentiating between conceptual and typological differences of gated developments, and then by exploring different definitions and typologies presented in literature. This is followed by an exploration into gated developments by looking at their history, social influences that lead to the growth of gated developments, the institutional and infrastructural aspects and finally, the actors in the development chain of gated developments. This chapter also reviews literature on gated developments in the context of the global North and the global South and then in greater depth within the South African context. The gap in the literature is then presented, followed by the introduction of the new typology of gated development. Theoretical and conceptual theories underpinning this study are also discussed.

Chapter 3- Research setting: Chapter 3 provides a brief overview of the case study site, Regent Villas.

Chapter 4- Research methodology: The research philosophy, research design and research approach adopted for the study are explained in this chapter. This is followed by the data collection methods that were employed and their suitability. The chapter further details the data analysis approach adopted in this study.

Chapter 5- Findings: Findings of the sampled working-class gated development are presented in this chapter, according to themes that align with the research objectives.

Chapter 6- Discussion: In this chapter, the findings are put into conversation with the literature and discussion is provided as per the objectives of the study

Chapter 7- Conclusion: This chapter will sum up the research by providing a brief overview of the study followed by a summary of the research findings.

1.8 Key research findings

The research findings revealed unique aspects of this typology of gated development and makes a novel contribution to literature. As a working class gated development, Regent villas is unique in that it attracts tenants from a smaller and closely located catchment area as opposed to their higher income counterparts. This does not intend to impart the idea that higher income gated developments only attract from a larger catchment area. However, the findings revealed that as a working class gated development that has specific criteria for the type of tenants that can apply for a rental apartment, it appeals to a specific and much more localised catchment area and group of prospective tenants. The criteria and objective of Regent Villas specifically pinpoints that tenants come from areas within Mitchells Plain or else it would defeat the construction of Regent Villas. Furthermore, the location of Regent Villas was purposefully chosen for two reasons: firstly, to help alleviate the shortage of supply to people of Mitchells Plain; and secondly, to be located in Weltevreden Valley which is considered by the founder as an area that faces less developmental challenges as opposed to other areas in Mitchells Plain. Based on the foregrounding, it also explains the unique location of Regent Villas located adjacent to an informal settlement and bordered by a private enclosed neighbourhood with mortgaged homes.

The advertisement methods of Regent Villas also revealed interesting findings. Unlike higher income counterparts, the advertisement of Regent Villas do not place much emphasis on security, green spaces for children to play and a wide range of amenities. The fulcrum of the advertisement is that of providing a safe and decent accommodation for prospective tenants. Further, this study also highlights the role of the application process for prospective tenants, providing a unique contribution to literature on gated residential development. Regent Villas as a working class gated development carries out a strict and strenuous application process that consists of four phases. During these phases prospective tenants are required to undergo a screening process, attend workshops and write a compulsory test pertaining to the rules of Regent Villas. The range of criteria that tenants have to undergo in order to secure a lease on a flat, exemplified a different kind of gate-keeping—one of knowledge and decency. The amenities on offer in Regent Villas further distinguish this typology of gated development from

its higher income counterparts. The findings showed that the amenities were carefully crafted to suit the tenant populace and in some instances, where applicable, served as a form of employment for tenants.

The governance of Regent Villas further revealed the novelty of this working class gated development. Regent Villas is governed on site by the tenant liaison officer and the founder continues to play a pivotal role in its management. This finding further differentiated this type of gated development from its higher income counterparts where developers commonly retreat post construction phase, leaving the managing of the gated development to homeowner associations (HOAs). The findings revealed that tenants pose a level of defiance towards the managing body and the rules. Moreover, the research makes another novel contribution to literature in that the working class gated development is more heterogenous in nature as their mainly homogenous higher income counterparts. This further led to a 'politics' amongst tenants, those who seek a quiet lifestyle and those who sought a "crazy" lifestyle and revealed the challenges tenants face with having to adapt to this regulated way of living.

Interestingly, it was also found that some tenants do not consider such a working class gated development to be affordable. As a result, they reported experiencing financial difficulties. This not only challenges the assumption of affordability of working class gated developments, but also questions the suitability of working class gated development for its intended target market and the role of working class gated developments in housing provision in South Africa. However, it must be noted that the managing body of Regent Villas makes a noteworthy attempt to provide affordable housing to those who have limited access to affordable housing opportunities.

CHAPTER 2: BUILDING BLOCKS AND GAPS IN THE WALL: THE LITERATURE OF GATED DEVELOPMENTS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Gated developments have received intense scholarly attention since the end of the 20th century. The gated phenomenon attracted the attention from a range of disciplines (geographers, urban planners, sociologists), which kickstarted major multidisciplinary interest into gated developments. However, studies conducted on gated developments to-date have focused mainly on those located in higher income contexts, therefore gated communities have been commonly conceived as a unitary phenomenon, appearing the same across contexts. With the exception of a few later studies (Coy & Pohler, 2002; Boonjubun, 2019; Kostwenwein, 2021; Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021) who conducted research on gated developments in lower income contexts. These authors highlight and contextualise gated developments as non-unitary models, occurring in different forms and contexts and for different reasons.

This chapter delves into literature from various sources such as books, journals, scholarly articles, academic dissertations and electronic sources relevant to the topic under study in the dissertation. The chapter begins with an extensive conceptual exploration of literature pertaining to the different definitions and typologies of gated developments, as postulated and arrived at in different contexts. The exploration of conceptual definitions of the phenomenon also aids in showing how gating has changed across time and contexts. Secondly, the chapter reviews gated developments by considering the historical background foregrounding the gated development phenomenon. Followed by the social influences (the driving forces), this frames the study because the gated development under scrutiny in this study differs in their social influences from gated developments previously developed and studied. Following that, the institutional and infrastructural aspects of the gated development are unpacked and finally, the actors and institutions involved in the ‘putting together’ of the gated development. This section aids in exploring how gated developments differ across geographical and socio-economic contexts and how the phenomenon has evolved over time. In the subsequent section, gated developments are explored globally in its different contexts. The regions explored were purposefully chosen by reviewing gated developments in the global North and global South, which is of particular relevance to the study and leads to the final section of the literature

review. Lastly, gaps in the literature are identified by reviewing scholarly work on the latest thematic foci of working-class gated developments. The section provides an extensive exploration of a new (and burgeoning) typology. The chapter then concludes by introducing the theoretical frameworks that were applied to the study in order to analyse the findings.

2.2 Definitions, characteristics and typologies

2.2.1 Gated community versus gated development

In the literature the terms ‘gated community’ and ‘gated development’ are often used interchangeably, alongside a range of other terms referring to the gated phenomenon (Spocter, 2013). Therefore, before defining terms, it is important to draw distinctions and provide a rationale for this study’s use of the term ‘gated development’ as opposed to ‘gated community’. By definition the term ‘community’ commonly refers to a group of people living in a particular area, in close proximity, who share similar interests (yourdictionary.com, n.d). In academic scholarship on the gated phenomenon, the term gated community emphasizes mainly on the communal aspects and social connections (Spocter, 2013). As Bowers & Manzi (2006) put it, the term ‘gated community’ has its roots in sociology. Adding to this insight, Atkinson (2008) argues that the term ‘community’ is coined by developers as a selling and marketing tool as prospective buyers are drawn to communal living in a gated development. Coming from a different persuasion, in her paper, Morales (2019) contends that her study adopted the moniker ‘gatedness’ rather than ‘gated communities’, as she wanted to investigate the gated development in an encompassing nature. She defines ‘gatedness’ as the complex and dispersed set of practices associated with the gating experience, such as the policies that encourage their development and their physical elements. Simply put, ‘gatedness’ considers the whole gating process from the policies to the physical features.

Meanwhile, the term ‘development’ has the following dictionary definition; “*use an area of land for building houses, shops, factories*’ (Oxford, 2004). The moniker gated development does not only focus on the physical and social characteristics, but it is all-encompassing and includes the natural and human aspects of gating (Spocter (2013). Similarly, Grant & Mittelsteadt (2004) notes that the term ‘gated development’ is encompassing as it includes most, if not all, elements of ‘gatedness’; the physical elements, social aspects, and resident’s socio-economic status and location. Which is similar to ‘gatedness’ as adopted by Morales (2019). Thus, it is within this conceptualisation and carefully carved out differences that this

study adopted the term ‘gated development’ as opposed to ‘gated community’. This research focuses not only on the people residing in working-class gated developments but also seeks to investigate working-class gated developments as an emerging phenomenon and typology. Thus, the moniker gated development will be used throughout the research.

2.2.2 Gated developments defined

Gated developments are uniformly defined on the basis of their physical form, structure and security features. Yet a range of definitions are proposed to differentiate gated developments from their urban surroundings. These differences in definitions are also linked to the context within which the phenomenon is studied, the reasons for the study and preference of the scholar.

Originating in the United States (US) context and described as the ‘American dream’ (Boonjubun, 2019), gated developments have since infiltrated other parts of the world. Over the past few decades gated developments have become a worldwide phenomenon and has gained academic attention, as a discipline of study, from a range of multidisciplinary standpoints. Landman (2007) puts this into context by noting that it was only in the 1990s that inquiry into gated developments began attracting academic attention. In support, Webster et al. (2002) note that since the late 1990s and early 2000s there has been an increase in scholarly interest and debate into the gated development phenomenon. This resurgence of interest in gated development studies began in the US as residing in such developments became increasingly popular. In 2001 the US census survey concluded that seven million households totalling approximately 16 million people resided in gated developments and walled residential communities (Sanchez et al., 2005). Gated developments has been investigated from different viewpoints and in different contexts (Blakely & Snyder, 1997b; Landman, 2002; Caldeira, 2000; Grant & Mittelsteadt, 2004; Atkinson & Blandy, 2005; McKenzie, 2005; Le Goix, 2007; Roitman, 2010; Blandy, 2018). Thus, there were many definitions put forward in an attempt to define and redefine the term gated development, some characteristics/tenets of the definition remains static across definitions but as the gated development phenomenon were reworked in different times and contexts, in turn the definition(s) have also been adapted and reworked. The following paragraphs will present different definitions as put forward by scholars.

The seminal contribution and investigation into gated developments by Blakely & Snyder (1997a) defines gated developments as follows;

‘Gated communities are residential areas with restricted access that usually makes public spaces private. They are security developments with designated perimeters,

usually walls or fences and controlled entrances that are intended to prevent penetration by non-residents. They include new developments and older areas retrofitted with gates and fences, found from the inner cities to the exurbs and from the richest neighbourhoods to the poorest' (1997, p.2)

The definition by Blakely & Snyder (1997a) encapsulates most of the physical elements of gated developments and places emphasis on restricted access to non-residents. A notable aspect highlighted by Blakely & Snyder (1997a) recognises that gated developments does not only occur in higher-income contexts, but the phenomenon have extended and penetrated fewer wealthy contexts, which further casts doubt on the widely held view that gated developments are only products of wealthy locations. Furthermore, Blakely & Snyder (1997a) contends that the purpose of walls in gated developments is to determine membership; who belongs inside and who is not granted entry to enter.

Following the definition put forward by Blakely & Snyder (1997a), Caldeira (2002) points to the homogenous nature of gated development spaces and defines gated developments as "physically demarcated and isolated by walls, fences, empty spaces and design devices. They are turned inward and controlled by armed guards and security systems, which enforce rules of inclusion and exclusion and tend to be socially homogeneous spaces" (2002, p. 258). The definition by Caldeira (2002) heralded that gated developments are mainly occupied by a homogenous group of people and includes the amenities and collective uses by residents in gated spaces. A secured stand-alone building should not be described as a gated development if it does not comprise common areas or club goods (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a). Thus Caldeira (2002) concludes her definition by mentioning the club goods that form part of the gated phenomenon. Furthermore, both definition places emphasis on the security aspects (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a; Caldeira, 2002). In their definition, Atkinson & Blandy (2005) takes into account the legal frameworks and condominium culture of gating and defines gated developments as follows; 'walled or fenced housing developments to which public access is restricted, characterised by legal agreements which tie residents to a shared code of conduct and usually collective responsibility'. Likewise, the definition pays attention to restricted access to outsiders; however, an important aspect put forth by their definition is the legal discourse that residents must abide by in the gated development (Atkinson & Blandy, 2005).

Meanwhile, the definition proposed by Landman (2006) considers that gated developments not only refer to residential spaces but also extends to commercial purposes such as business parks. Gated developments can be defined as 'areas' that are fenced off from its surroundings with prohibited access. It should be noted that the definition mooted by Landman (2006) is based

on gating in the South African context where there has been a surge in gating in commercial spaces, citizens have also resorted to gating their own neighbourhoods. Following Landman (2006), the definition by Lemanski et al. (2008) similarly consider different types of gating:

Gated developments cover a range of different fortified and territorial behaviours and strategies ranging from residential areas with high impenetrable fencing and boundaries with security guards patrolling the area, in other areas the closing off of existing streets by boom gates and apartment blocks surrounded by fencing or gates. (2008, p.134).

The definition provided by Lemanski et al. (2008) is overarching and suggests that the term 'gated community' is all-embracing and can include several types and forms of gating and housing. However, the definition sheds no light on the intricacies of gated developments such as the legal agreements, amenities for residents and does not consider that gated developments occur in different contexts. Roitman (2010) defines gated developments as residential settlements voluntarily occupied by a homogeneous group of residents which are governed by a private governing body and where open space has been privatised by restricting access through the implementation of security devices and offers a range of services that can only be used by residents who pay a monthly fee. This definition by Roitman (2010), similar to that of Caldeira (2002) conceives of gated developments to be homogenous implying that residents of these developments are alike and share similar traits. Similarly, Kenna & Stevenson (2013) also conceives of gated developments as homogenous spaces in terms of the attributes shared among tenants such as educational attainments, income bracket and lifestyle choices. Interestingly, the author makes mention of the governing bodies who formulate and implement rules and assume the role of the local municipality.

A more recent contribution by Salah & Ayad (2018) defines gated developments as follows, gated developments are socio-spatially restricted spaces which divides large developments and areas into small-inward looking single housing units which are self-reliant on a finite amount of resources and incompatible surrounding urban areas. This definition conceives of gated developments to be a 'community' that cuts off from surrounding urban space and mainly conceives of gated developments to be socially and physically separated but fails to take into account its dynamic and polymorphic nature. Furthermore, Salah & Ayad (2018) define gated developments as being self-contained which is true yet the degree to which gated developments are self-contained is questionable especially in lower income contexts. The authors conceive of gated developments to be very small, in nature, which is in rebuttal to those who contend that gated developments are constructed on large plots of land. Furthermore, this definition has limitations for gated developments developed (and based) in the global South whereby they

are still dependent on the municipal services and compatible with the functions of urban space and life.

A newer definition postulated by Ehwi (2020) in the global South, defines gated developments as “residential development schemes that employ walls, gates and security systems to restrict public access to an enclave where public spaces like streets and sidewalks are privatised” (2019, p.1). A key feature in the definition proposed by Ehwi (2020) is the physical aspects of gated developments. However, the definition appears to be context driven which is similar to Kostenwein (2021) who puts forward the following definition based on working-class gated developments in Bogotá. According to Kostenwein (2021), gated developments are defined as a built project that fulfils four conditions; first, gated developments are comprised of mainly residential uses, second, housing units that share common space and services, third, limited interaction between gated development and surrounding urban space and lastly, limited accessibility due to a range of enclosures. The contribution appears to be all-encompassing for gated developments in working-class environments, the author pays particular attention to central tenants of gating such as mainly residential use, amenities, the relationship between insiders and outsiders and the physical characteristics. The crux of the definition is that it has been reworked to suit gated developments in working-class contexts. Thus, this definition can be applied to other gated developments located in the global South. A noteworthy conclusion of the definition by Kostenwein (2021) is that it takes a different approach, instead of trying to differentiate gated developments from its primarily urban surroundings, the author situates gated developments as part of the urban landscape and not separated thereof.

There are a variety of uniform features that appear across definitions and contexts as summarised above. Despite being reworked and redefined across the literature, some common features that emerged include:

- Security and privatisation (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a; Calderia, 2002; Atkinson & Blandy, 2005; Roitman, 2010; Landman, 2006; Lemanski et al., 2008; Salah & Ayad, 2018; Ehwi, 2020)
- Recreational facilities and amenities (Caldeira, 2002; Roitman, 2010; Kostenwein, 2021)
- Internal governance (Atkinson & Blandy, 2005; Landman, 2006)

- Restricted access (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a; Lemanski et al., 2008; Ehwi, 2020; Salah & Ayad, 2018; Atkinson & Blandy, 2005; Roitman, 2010; Landman, 2006; Kostenwein, 2021)
- Homogeneity (Caldeira, 2002; Roitman, 2010)

The quest to arrive at a suitable definition that encapsulates the aspects of gated developments and is suited to the research, has highlighted the varying nature of the definitions of gated developments and that defining the phenomenon is largely dependent on the particular country or region where the gated development is located (Salah & Ayad, 2018; Spoceter, 2013; Gülümser, 2005; Kostenwein, 2021) and the liberty of scholars to formulate and postulate a definition (Spoceter, 2013). It is evident that there is no single acceptable and all-encompassing definition for gated developments although there are some enduring definitional tenets across definitions, but the degree to which they feature in definitions remains questionable (Spoceter, 2013). As a result of this diversity, an examination of typologies of gated developments is turned to, to find a suitable definition and typology in the subsequent section.

2.2.3 Typologies of gated developments

Based on the foregrounding it is evident that gated developments are defined differently across contexts and reasons for their development, the gated phenomenon represents an evolving concept and model that appears to change form and function over time and space (Landman, 2020). As a result of this diversity, gated developments occur in different forms and models. Thus, scholars have attempted to explain, explore and conceptualise gated developments across different contexts and models. The following review of typologies of gated developments is not an exhaustive list but only provides a review of a few typologies postulated across time and space. The review does however attempt to provide a ‘mix’ of typologies, by looking at country based and built form typologies coupled with a succinct summary of each typology.

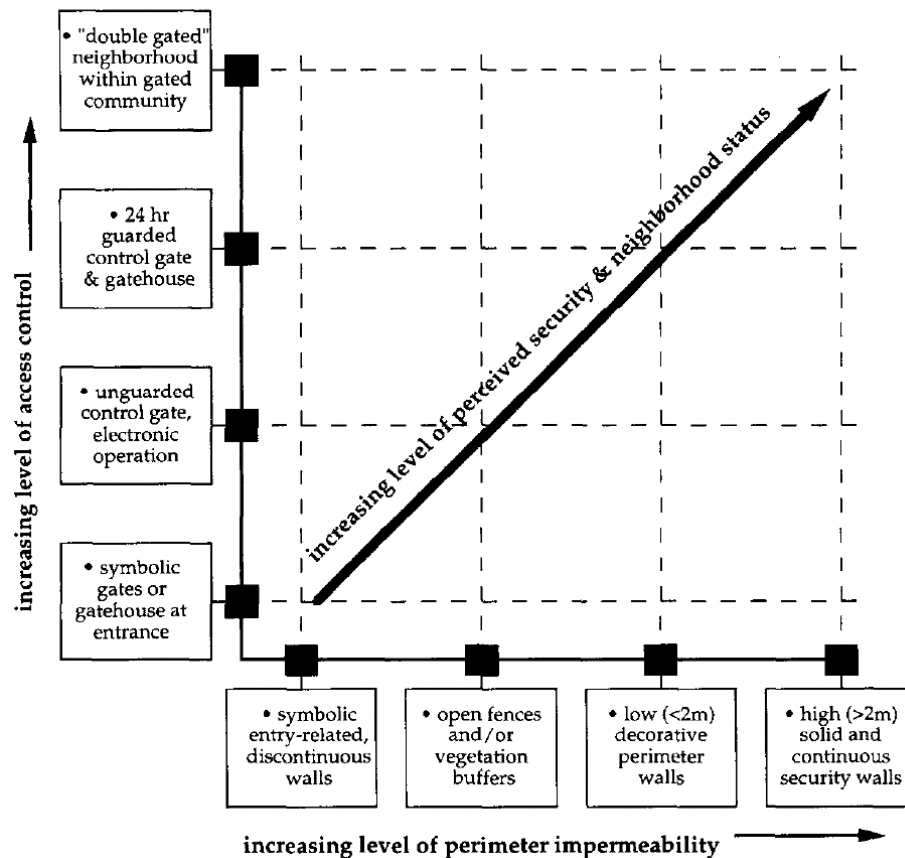
The foremost theorists on gated developments, Blakely & Snyder (1997a), were the first to categorize gated developments into typologies. The authors identified the following three types in the US: 1) prestige gated communities; 2) lifestyle gated communities; and 3) security zone gated communities. First, prestige gated communities can be defined as secure and exclusive, with state-of-the-art technology and security intended to keep the ‘chaotic’ out and is located close to the city. Whereas, leisure gated communities are located further away from the city, the gates in this gated development are intended to provide security and make amenities

exclusive to residents. This typology places emphasis on the provision of leisure and recreational activities such as golf and country-clubs. Security zone gated communities are not developed by developers instead residents take it upon themselves to install security features into communities located in inner cities and/or suburban areas. Security zones as identified by Blakely & Snyder (1997a) resemble enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa. Enclosed neighbourhoods can be defined as “existing neighbourhoods that have been fenced or walled in and where access is controlled or prohibited by means of gates or booms erected across existing roads” (Landman & Badenhorst, 2012, p.20). The categorisations by Blakely & Snyder (1997a) appear to contain some limitations, and it might be not enduring across contexts as it was developed in a stereotypically wealthy context. However, their contribution has served as predecessors to formulating newer typologies. Building on this categorisation, Burke (2001) contextualised in US, British and Australian settings considers the locational, physical and social characteristics in his classification of gated developments. Burke (2001) identified five types of gated communities namely; 1) urban security zones which are existing communities whereby small urban pathways and alleyways are gated to reduce and/or prevent pedestrian and vehicular traffic; 2) secure apartment complex, similar to urban security zone typology which also prohibits pedestrian and vehicular traffic and does not comprise of private open space; 3) secure suburban estates are commonly located in suburbs as in-fill or greenfield developments, the housing form such as the style, architecture, layout is predominantly the same and they tend to have little to no amenities; 4) secure resort communities are characterised by at least one lifestyle feature such as a golf course or lagoon and include elements that aims to imitate resort living; and finally, 5) secure-rural residential estates are located on the edge of the rural fringe and impersonates gated-secure living alongside rural-residential living. The aim here is to create a rural living feeling enhanced by vineyards or grazing land.

Based on a study on gated developments in Lebanon and Saudi Arabia, Glasze & Alkhayyal (2002) identified and postulated country-based typologies which are suited to the Lebanon and Saudi Arabian contexts. The authors divided gated developments in Saudi Arabia into two types; 1) extended family compounds which is described as a ‘renewal’ (revival) of traditional urban housing and also comprises of shared space for amenities. 2) cultural enclaves were developed as a means of providing shelter for western workers who worked in the oil industry. Expounding on the typologies, although it is context specific however some aspects thereof can be applied to other contexts. On the other hand, based on a study conducted in Britain, Blandy (2006) proposed a typology by categorising gated developments according to their built

form; 1) infill gated communities are developed after the demolition of older housing, it is then marketed to younger prospective homeowners and tenants as ‘urban lifestyle developments’ 2) heritage conservation gated communities are renewed older buildings that were refurbished and are located in rural and urban areas. These buildings were previously prisons and asylums which were then refurbished into gated communities. 3) village gated communities are located in rural areas and provide prospective residents with a maximum of one recreational amenity. In an analysis of gated developments in Turkey, Genis (2007) developed and put forward a country-based typology, similar to Blandy (2006), Burke (2001); Glasze & Alkhayyal (2002). Genis (2007) posited three types of gated developments. First, high rise condominiums which are located in prestige areas such as the city centre. Second, private towns located on the edge of the city in close proximity to natural features. Third, exclusive villas predominantly located along the coast and close to forest areas. Taking a different approach, Dupuis & Dixon (2010), in their study based in New Zealand, postulated a typology conceptualised within the concept of ‘gatedness’. They used the following aspects to ascertain the degree of gatedness in gated developments, physical barriers, guarded surveillance (manned surveillance), technological barriers, signs, natural surveillance, design features and retro-gating which are gating that is erected post construction phase. A study undertaken by Landman (2004) in the South African context proposed two typologies of gated developments. First, security villages are purpose built with security being the main motivation by developers and aim to provide this to prospective residents. The second type of gated development is enclosed neighbourhoods, which are existing neighbourhoods that have been ‘closed off’ through fencing or the installation of boom gates and the closing off of public gates.

The previous typologies were country specific and based on built form, the next part of the section turns attention to continuum-type typologies. Classifying gated developments according to its physical features is an alternative approach to the categorization of gated developments. The continuum-type typology is based on level of security [control] and permeability, the first one presented here is by Luymes (1997). An examination of gated developments in the USA by Luymes (1997) proposed enclave neighbourhoods. Luymes (1997) used a matrix as shown in Figure 2.1 and reasoned that the higher a gated development plots on both variables in the matrix, the higher its degree of gatedness.



Source: Luymes (1997, p. 198)

Figure 2.1 Gated development typology matrix

Thus, Luymes (1997) concludes that affluent gated developments score higher up on the matrix implying that they contain (and offer) a higher degree of gatedness as opposed to working-class gated developments which scored a spot further down the matrix, implying lower levels of gatedness. Interestingly, the typology acknowledges that gated developments occur in lower income and developing contexts by doing so he does not conceive of gated developments to only be a product of higher income contexts as many scholars perceive, and study gated developments to be a product for only the higher income (Luymes, 1997). Kostenwein (2021) proposed typologies for gated developments in lower income contexts in Bogotá. The contribution by Kostenwein (2021) is two-fold; they are context-specific and continuum type;

- 1) Imagined: This typology of gated development are those models featured in real estate brochures and exhibit suburban imaginaries.
- 2) Integrated: This model of gated development is not 'separated' from public space but instead contributes to public life and surrounding space.

- 3) Blockbuster: The type of gated development that assists in shaping inactive and insecure streets, surrounding the gated development. Furthermore, the blockbuster is dense in nature and comprises three storey flats, with perimeters that are in contact with public space and is usually surrounded by other gated developments or open spaces and is characterized by having only one guarded entrance.
- 4) Miniature: The smallest possible version of a gated development with little to no amenities present

Expounding on this typology by Kostenwein (2021) and Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) observe that the blockbuster typology is unique in a sense that it houses and is catered to all socio-economic strata. Moreover, it is widespread and can be found in many parts of Bogotá. Furthermore, it is evident that the blockbuster typology is one that can be applied to different contexts and is accommodating of the polymorphic nature of gated development. This typology further appears to be a physical representation and illustration of the changing nature of the gated development phenomenon.

Coming from a different persuasion, Le Grange (2018) aimed to classify elements in a typology of gated developments and proposed the four main elements that make up a typology, 1) supply, 2) demand, 3) features of gated estates and 4) characteristics of built form. The main aim is to show the variation, and similarities, of different typologies of gated developments as opposed to developing a new typology (Le Grange, 2018). She goes further and points to the differences which appear to be their physical features as they differ according to contexts. In agreement, Blakely & Snyder (1997b) notes that gated developments do not look alike or serve the market in the same way. They differ in terms of the functions of enclosed space, the security features, the amenities, social composition, house type and size, tenure and location (Otchere, 2022).

2.2.4. Definitions and typologies applicable to this study

Most definitions and typologies reviewed above do not pay particular attention to working-class gated developments. A notable exception is that of Kostenwein (2021) who developed and proposed the definition and typology for working-class gated developments in Bogotá, which corresponds to, for the most part, and align with the niche focus of this research. Thus, this research will adopt the following definition for gated developments:

‘.. built project that fulfils four conditions; first, gated developments are comprised of mainly residential uses, second, housing units that share common space and services, third, limited interaction between gated development and surrounding urban space and lastly, limited accessibility due to a range of enclosures ‘ (2021, p.3)

Although the typologies proposed by a number of scholars can be generalisable to gated developments in other contexts, majority of the typologies presented here cannot be adapted to the gated development under study in this paper as they greatly differ in their reasons for development, their target market and physical features. However, the one that appears to be fitting and encompassing for the study on working-class gated developments is the typology postulated by Kostenwein (2021);

‘Blockbuster’, this type of gated development assists in shaping inactive and insecure streets, surrounding the gated development. Furthermore, the blockbuster is dense in nature and comprises three storey flats. With perimeters in contact with public space and is usually surrounded by other gated developments or open spaces and it is characterised by having only one guarded entrance’ (2021, p.323)

2.3 Gated developments explored

As mentioned in the previous section, gated developments differ from country to country and as a result so do their causes for development thus the following section provides an exploration into the history of gated developments, what gave rise to gated developments, in different contexts, which is then followed by the social influences that lead to the growth of gated developments. Furthermore, the section analyses how different institutional and social entities fuel the growth of the gated phenomenon and lastly, the different actors involved in the operational phase of gated developments are explored and the role each of them play in the upkeep of these developments. This is a particularly pertinent section, as the role that developers play also differ between different gated developments and the context within which they occur. The different sections each play a role in the research and will aid the researcher in later sections to explore how the working-class gated development differs from their higher income counterparts.

2.3.1 History of gated developments

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. Simply put, the history of most countries has an influence on the progression of modern day gated developments occurring in countries today. Thus, these histories and mandates of keeping people apart, previously by law, has given impetus to the development of modern gated developments. Before the construction of modern-day gated developments, other forms of fortification strategies were adopted. Bowers & Manzi (2006) makes the

following examples. First, the great wall of China, which was constructed as a means of separation, second, the picket fence used during colonialism in India, third, Hadrian's wall which was used as a form of fortification between the Roman province and Britannia. These fortification strategies as illustrated by Bowers & Manzi (2006) influenced the rise and 'formal' examples of gated developments. Similarly, in Italy, in an attempt to protect themselves from their enemies, the Romans built defensive barriers around their settlements and land they had invaded (Spocter, 2013). Whereas, in New Zealand enclosures and barriers were constructed during a fierce battle for land amongst the traditional Māori people (Spocter, 2013). Thus, barriers and walls have a longstanding purpose for protection of and protection from others.

From a different perspective, Morales (2019) reflects on the changes in housing planning and policies in the 1990s and the role it played in the proliferation of fortified enclaves in Mexico. Similar to India and Africa, Mexico experienced a period of colonialism which led to an influence in housing planning and policies. The foregrounding is also used to explain the modern gated developments which are built to meet the needs of the affluent classes in Mexico city.

In the South African context, gated developments have their roots in colonialist urban histories and apartheid. South Africa has a long history of keeping people 'apart' previously through colonial strategies followed by a mandate that called for the separation and 'divide' of different race groups during the apartheid regime and the latest is modern gated developments. Before sophisticated modern gated developments, gating as a form of fortification was implemented by the KhoeKhoen inhabitants although for different reasons that gating occur today, the KhoeKhoen inhabitants erected an enclosed area/settlement for protection of the cattle from predators (Spocter, 2013). Thus, a range of fortification structures and strategies has been erected throughout South Africa. It was only in the late 1990s when the first modern gated development was developed in South Africa, following the demise of apartheid and some citizens still longed to be separated from other race groups. Ballard (2005) termed this semi-migration of mainly white South African citizens. He argues that after the demise of apartheid policies, some citizens still wanted to be separated from other race groups and gated developments aided for this separation to take place.

The history of gated developments are different to modern gated developments, and this can be unpacked by considering the social aspects/factors that led to and influenced the growth of gated developments.

2.3.2 Drivers of demand and supply of gated developments

Social factors that influence the growth of gated developments, although appear to be similar (Spocter, 2013), differ from country to country and context to context therefore the social factors contributing to the growth of gated developments have been explored and investigated by different scholars and contextualised within different disciplines. This subsection will review the social influences that serve as precursors to the growth of gated developments.

Social factors that influence the growth of gated developments are a myriad of contextual and dynamic factors which are commonly postulated as motivations; however, the motivations in turn influence the growth of gated developments. Landman (2006) acknowledges several factors that contribute to the growth of gated developments such as, identity, fear of crime, increased privacy and control, status, lifestyle and an increasing lack of confidence in municipalities and local services. More commonly cited in the literature are security, prestige, privacy and lifestyle (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a; Le Grange, 2018). With fear of crime and high crime rates being one of the foremost reasons for citizens' retreat into gated developments as they are commonly perceived as a response to crime and social 'disorder' (Atkinson & Flint, 2004; Landman & Schonteich, 2002). Besides the fear of crime, prospective residents are drawn to gated developments due to their nature of housing people from similar social classes, in some instances. Therefore, gated developments are typically conceived of as homogeneous environments, providing a homogenous space in terms of social class and status (Danielsen, 2007; Alvarez-Rivadulla, 2007; Kenna & Stevenson, 2013). Spocter (2013) supports the view that gated developments represent and house a homogenous group of people however, he goes further and argues that the degree of community in these enclosed spaces remain questionable. In this vein, gated developments are also perceived to be 'spaces of order', due to its homogenous nature and residents seeking a similar lifestyle, in cities and spaces that are considered chaotic and fraught with social disorder. Gated developments are also appealing for the role they serve as spaces of leisure. Salah & Ayad (2018) explains this by using an example of gated developments in Egypt and Latin America where their growth is influenced by the role they play as holiday and seasonal homes. Whereas, in Russia gated developments are popular for the role they play in differentiating between different social classes, providing the means of a 'border' between the 'haves' and 'have nots'. However, from a slightly different perspective, reflecting on gated developments in Indonesia, Roitman & Recio (2020) attributes the growth of gated developments to rising income-inequality and an increase in upper-middle class groups who prefers this type of gated and guarded living, expounding on this Roitman &

Recio (2020) postulate that there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between income inequality and growth of gated developments; the higher income inequality, the more gated developments are developed.

When people buy into gated developments, management's accountability to a common 'citizenry' is underwritten by their status as customers (Arese, 2018). In other words, people living in the gated development needs to be 'protected' from chaotic urban space thus the management of Haram City argues that it is necessary for people to have a unified set of moral behaviour in order to ensure that gated developments keeps undesirable behaviour out of the gates. To ensure this, the managing body of Haram City, argues that the 'hackers'¹, a term used to refer to the poor living inside of the gated development, must be upgraded in terms of behaviour (Arese, 2018). In Haram City, the poor living inside of the gated development are considered as those who gained unauthorized access and the author metaphorically liken the poor living in the gated development to plumbing infrastructure in a city that needs to be fixed to ensure that a city runs efficiently, thus they contend that in Haram City there is a need for 'people's infrastructure' to ensure sound management of the gated development. Similarly, in the US, Americans want to live in privatised and securitised developments to prohibit access to outsiders, privacy and security appears to be the main social influence on the growth of gated developments (Blakely & Snyder, 1997). Landman (2012) argues that gated developments foster a false sense of security and contribute to insecurity in the surrounding urban space. Thus, an important question to be asked is whether gated developments indeed provide safe havens and foster a sense of community for those living in gated developments? In response, writing from Malaysia, Sakip et al. (2018) contends that gated developments aids in reducing crime in residential areas which essentially led to its popularity in Malaysia. However, Breetzke et al. (2013) found burglaries to be common in gated developments in South Africa. With Wilson-Doenges (2000) reporting similar findings in a study conducted in California, they found that there was no significant difference in crime levels between gated developments and their non-gated counterparts. Whereas Low (2008) attributes the growth of gated developments to the transformation of the political economy of the late 20th century in urban America. Similar to countries such as Mexico and South Africa which also witnessed a spike in gated developments due to political influences.

¹ Hackers refers to, 'a person who uses computers to gain unauthorized access'

Scholars argue that a sense of community is contingent on superficial reasons such as shared interests and income levels and not based on actual bonds. According to Landman (2004) the gated development forms the physical foundation for living, it also becomes a stage for specific social behaviour. Landman (2004) metaphorically likens the physical space of the gated development to a performance stage because residents adopt and conform to a set of social and behavioural rules. In this vein, Wilson-Doenges (2000) reported that residents living in lower-income neighbourhoods reported a greater sense of community as opposed to residents of higher income gated developments. Arguably this could be due to the lower income gated community not being able to fully detach from the surrounding community and its services (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021), thus they rely on fellow residents for services.

The majority of the preceding literature focused on the relationship between gated development growth and social factors in higher income contexts. However, there exists a burning need to understand the social factors that lead to gated development growth in global South contexts as of late, gated development has been a dominant form of housing development and model in urban spaces in countries in the global South for working-class populations. Few studies were conducted on social influences on gated developments in the global South with the contribution by Kostenwein, (2021); Ruiz-Carvajal, (2021); Boonjubun, (2019) and Otchere, (2022) being an exception. The scholars provide some factors that lead to growth of gated developments in global South contexts. In the global South, gated developments are mainly developed to meet the demand and needs of those who cannot access formal housing and whereby the supply of housing does not meet the demand.

Therefore, from these varying social influences on the growth factors contributing to the growth of gated developments, it is evident that the social influences are fuelled by different reasons in different contexts; growth differs for different reasons across different contexts.

2.3.3 Role of institutions in gated developments

Gated developments involve more than supplying the housing needs of their residents. The location of gated developments within the broader conurbation is contingent upon the nexus between institutional, political, infrastructural, economic and social factors. The previous subsections dealt with the history of gating and the social influences that fuel gated developments in different contexts, this subsection explores institutional and infrastructural aspects such as municipalities, economic and social, locational and political factors that influence the growth of gated developments and the role they play in its proliferation. The

aspects explored in this subsection are namely, 1) local government and municipal authorities, 2) areas within which they occur, 3) economic and social factors and 4) political factors and the role they play in the proliferation of gated developments worldwide.

Many scholars have posed the question as to why gated developments have infiltrated many landscapes so rapidly across time and space. Le Grange (2018) has reasoned that institutional and infrastructural entities together she termed 'gating coalition'. Simply put, an alliance between entities involved in the institutional and infrastructural aspects of gated developments which facilitate and influence the growth of gated development. Further expounding on this, a 'gating coalition' comprises local municipalities, developers, property managers, real estate agents and consumers. The growth of gated developments thrives if there exists a powerful alliance between the aforementioned entities (Le Grange, 2018).

Gated developments do not develop as isolated entities hence various stakeholders are involved right from the point of conceptualization through to operationalization, however the foremost entity is the local government or municipality within whose confines the gated development is constructed in. Local municipalities play a crucial role at different stages of gating, from the point of allowing for the land to be developed through to when the development is completed and post completion. According to Spocter (2013) the development of gated developments allows local municipalities to either benefit or lose from its construction. The prospective benefits to local municipalities are two-fold: 1) benefit from higher tax and increase in property values surrounding the gated development (Le Goix, 2005) and 2) revenue from a plot that was once vacant, and the responsibility to maintain the plot leaves the hands of the local municipality and is transferred to the owner. Likewise, Grant (2005) notes that gated developments are considered as valuable sources for local municipalities because development costs and infrastructure maintenance becomes the responsibility of the developers and homebuyers. For example, in Hong Kong, municipalities generate large sums of revenue due to land being a scarce resource and the willingness (and ability) of developers to pay for the land (Le Grange 2018).

However, Morales (2019) argues that the construction of gated developments and their role in housing provision, in Mexico, has led to large state-funded housing projects to be neglected. Since the early 2000s the interests of private developers have overpowered that of the state which resulted in their interests put above that of local planning objectives (Morales, 2019). This has led to what Vidal et al. (2011) terms, 'privatization of urban development', with

private developers' interests at the forefront and a laissez faire approach towards municipal planning policies. For example, In Bangkok, the demand for gated developments has led to unbridled developments and planning regulations are being revoked and reworked in favour of private developers (Boonjubun, 2019).

Le Goix (2005) argued that gated developments are located and developed in 'homogenous buffer zones' to divert crime and increase personal property values. Morales (2019) found that private developers mainly developed gated developments in suburban areas in Mexico as they are considered to provide security, better quality urban spaces and a sense of community. To develop gated developments in areas where crime and chaotic urban space would be diverted benefits residents and increases revenue for local municipalities and for developers. Thus, in this situation there are benefits for both, developer and the local municipality. In Bangkok, the local government has developed and implemented urban policies to promote the upgrading of slum settlements and in an attempt to deal with concentration of poverty in informal settlements (Boonjubun, 2019). Furthermore, the implementation of these policies is putatively considered to allow private developers to develop gated developments with limited restrictions.

In a related finding, in Buenos Aires, De Duren (2006, 2007) has found that developing gated developments adjacent or located in poorer municipalities, leads to overflow of benefits to surrounding poorer municipalities. For example, there are countries where residents from surrounding communities are employed during the construction phase of gated developments (Spocter, 2013). Thus, there is a possibility of job creation which benefits the surrounding poorer areas. Contrary to the findings of De Duren (2006, 2007) a case study conducted in Cape Town by Lemanski (2006) found that there were no benefits to the adjacent lower income community. Instead residents of the adjacent community reported feeling 'excluded'. Similarly, in Bangkok, the municipality is also at a loss as the influx of private developers drives small local developers out of business (Boonjubun, 2019), with the effect being felt by both local businesses and the municipality. As a result, some countries have put certain policies, particularly planning policies, in place in an attempt to facilitate and regulate the growth of gated developments by private developers. Reflecting on gated developments in China the government wants older gated developments to be reopened to allow new tenants to take tenancy in existing gated developments to prevent the development of new gated developments (Wu et al., 2021). The unbridled development of gated developments coupled with lack of planning control [and policies] have also resulted in some gated developments being constructed in agricultural and natural areas (Spocter, 2013). The growth of gated

developments can be regulated through appropriate by-laws, legal structures, policies and tools (Spocter, 2013). Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004) provides a starting point for developing planning responses and tools to regulate the growth of gated developments. Beijing adopted the following approach in dealing with the growth of gated developments, 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 are clustered in specific parts of the city (Wu, 2010).

The growth of gated developments is also contingent upon the marriage between public-private partnerships. While lots of emphasis is placed on developing policies and tools for facilitating the growth of gated developments, it can then also be argued that there lingers a need to facilitate the partnership between public-private developers.

From a slightly different perspective, focused more on the demand side. There exists a relationship between the location of gated developments; where they are developed and located, and the motivations provided by residents for retreating and buying into gated developments. Thus, it can be said that the supply market and the prospective buyers, also have an influence as to where developers construct gated developments. Demonstrated by Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) working-class gated developments in Bogotá are located in and along lower income areas as the demand is there and housing supply of the local municipality and government initiatives does not meet the demand. The same can be observed in Cape Town whereby higher-income gated developments are located along the Northern and Southern routes as opposed to lower income areas. Baycan-Levent & Gülümser (2004) further postulates that gated developments cluster along linear routes in higher income contexts and peri urban fringes with lower class gated developments.

Prior to the construction of gated developments, a number of stakeholders are involved in giving authorisation (or not) for the construction of gated developments. These key actors are; groups, individuals and entities with an interest in guiding gated developments. According to Spocter (2013) the growth and development of gated developments requires the assistance from different institutions and organisations. Expounding on this, the author notes that in the development phase of gated developments, actors are found on both sides of the development; developing and managing of gated developments; entities and institutions setting up the gated developments and those, on the other side, are involved in the operational phase of gated

developments. The following sub-section provides an in-depth exploration of the different actors involved in the gated development, from the point of conceptualization to operation.

2.3.4 Actors involved in gated developments

The growth and construction of gated developments would not be possible without certain actors. This section reviews the nexus between developers, planning authorities and homeowners, or renters, and how each of them form part of the construction, planning and management of gated developments. Firstly, there needs to be a demand for gated developments, and this is typically by the prospective residents due to a number of reasons rehearsed in previous sections, followed by the supply who are the developers supplying gated developments to meet the demand and local authorities who are involved in the regulation and planning. A study by Le Grange (2018) highlights the role of institutions in the growth of gated developments. There are the actors that ensure the development of gated developments and on the other hand those that are involved in setting up of the gated development, inside of the gates (Spocter, 2013). This involves both local and international actors as they form part of the facilitation and the growth of gated developments (Spocter, 2013). However, this does come with challenges and discrepancies. Leisch (2002) points out that in some cases gated developments are constructed before applying for authorisation from local municipalities. This is arguably the result of well-established connections and relationships between foreign investors and local authorities (Spocter, 2013).

Reflecting on the growth of gated developments in Mexico, Morales (2019) decries that changes in housing policies has led to an increase of foreign actors, who have since paid little attention to (and almost eroded) existing planning systems and policies. Hence, there exists the risk that current planning policies and practices will be impacted upon and in some cases revoked. However, Morales (2019) argues that the role of the state is two-fold, it can either regulate developments or work in the interests of private developers. The latter was found to be present in Mexico as private developers override and revoke official planning policies (Morales, 2019).

Local municipalities alongside national and international developers are involved in the authorisation and construction phase of gated developments, but once the development is complete, the developers are typically not involved in the day-to-day function and management. At this stage, the operational phase of gated developments, another actor comes

to light; Homeowner associations (HOAs)² and estate managers³. HOAs and estate managers assume the role of the local municipality and as a result local authority rules are relinquished at the gates and a new form of self-governance is introduced and implemented (Spoceter, 2013). Morales (2019) terms this ‘withdrawal from the state’. Unpacking this, residents physically ‘withdraw’ from the broader urban space and into gated developments, by doing so they also adopt and abide by new regulations that are introduced and implemented by private developers. HOAs are involved in aspects such as security, service provision and rule enforcement (Spoceter, 2013). Thus, McKenzie (2005) views HOAs to ensure that better governance and sound management is carried out. They also administer flats, and provision of services (Othere, 2022). However, in some cases these duties are undertaken directly by the developer or estate manager (Burke, 2001). Arguably, where developers and estate managers carry out the duties of HOAs are more commonly found in working-class gated developments where there are only renters and no homeowners to assume this role. Similarly, a study conducted by Majiet (2020) in Cape Town found that homeowners are more likely to abide by the rules and regulations implemented by HOAs as opposed to renters. This could arguably be due to the tenancy conditions alternatively it could be due to the permeability of the rental conditions thus the renters see no need to abide by the rules or belong to HOAs. It is important to note that minority groups dominate in rented gated developments. Danielsen (2007) explored the characteristics of renters in gated developments and established that they tend to be more heterogeneous as opposed to homeowners who tend to display a homogenous group. Consequently, the common postulation that gated developments are homogenous (Caldeira, 2002; Lemanski, 2006; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002) is now questionable as there is an increase in rental gated developments that appears to attract a diverse group of tenants (Danielson, 2007; Spoceter, 2013). This increase in rental gated developments could be as a result of an increase in public housing projects, constructed for lower-income groups but adopting the gated model that are used in higher income projects (Spoceter (2013).

² Homeowner Associations are defined as... ‘An organization in a subdivision, planned community, or condominium building that makes and enforces rules for the properties and residents’ Homeowner association is a group of residents, elected and facilitated by the managing body of the estate, elected to formulate and manage legal codes and enforce regulation.

³ ‘Estate managers supervise and manage the day-to-day operations of private estates’

2.4 Geographies of gated developments

Gated developments commonly conceived of in the literature as an American phenomenon (Blakely & Snyder, 1997b; Grant, 2008) as gated developments first appeared and originated in the American context. According to Blandy et al., (2003) since their emergence in the US the gated phenomenon have since burgeoned in many other countries across the world and is now a global phenomenon (Grant & Mittelsteadt, 2004). According to Boonjubun (2019) gated developments as enclaves of residential space have been in the spotlight of urban studies and housing and neighbourhood studies since the 1970s. Gated developments in the US became a popular object of study in the 1980s and 1990s (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Davis 1990; Low 1997). Later studies extended the reach of inquiry to cities in the global North (Atkinson & Flint 2004; Grant 2005) and the global South (Coy & Pohler, 2002; Falzon, 2004; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Leisch, 2002; Boonjubun, 2019; Kostenwein, 2021; Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021).

The following section provides an overview of research conducted on gated developments, globally. The section begins by exploring gated developments in the US where it originated followed by gating in other regions. The final section focuses on gated developments in the global South which aids in laying the foundation for the following section in the review. The countries where gated developments are explored here was purposefully chosen as it aims to provide and show the diversity of contexts and the different research themes embedded in the study of gated developments. Furthermore, a discussion follows each table to further expand on and show how studies relate and differ between countries and the shifts that take place in scholarly works.

2.4.1 Gated developments in the ‘Americas’

Gated developments in American contexts are explored first as this lays the foundation for the studies to follow, in other countries, as it was the first to manifest modern archetypes of gated developments. Thus, many other scholarly works, following the American example, pigeonholed their studies through the American context. One of the first enquiries into gated developments in the American context, conducted by Kennedy (1995), investigated the impacts that gated developments have on non-residents in surrounding neighbourhoods and found that there is a strong sense between “us versus them” between residents of gated development and those in surrounding neighbourhoods. Later on, in their seminal paper Blakely & Snyder (1997a) aimed to define and put forward a range of typologies for gated developments. Their seminal paper remains a forerunner in conceptualising gated developments in the American

context and their findings have since been applied globally. On the other hand, whilst gated developments began burgeoning as a popular form of housing in the US, Low (2001) investigated the effect of fear on the residents living in gated developments and in his study conducted in New York and Santiago, Low (2001) found that physical security artefacts of gated developments in the study area led to residents feeling unsafe and they experienced increased fear as opposed to them feeling safer. Thus, there is no consensus as to whether gated developments are actually a deterrent to crime. In regard to increased segregation and fragmentation, Le Goix (2005); Vesselinov et al. (2007) and Blakely & Snyder (1997b) found that gated developments indeed lead to increased fragmentation and it is likely to continue to contribute to fragmentation and contribute to urban inequality in the 'Americas'.

Interestingly, Salcedo & Torres (2004) investigated the relationship between a higher income gated development and lower income surrounding areas and found that in Santiago, there surprisingly exists a relationship between residents of gated developments and those in surrounding poorer communities thus, in this context, the surrounding community does not conceive of the gated development as a tool of segregation but instead, they conceive of the gated development as a source of opportunity. Moving away from the investigation into higher income gated developments, Kostenwein (2021) investigated typologies of low-income gated developments in Bogotá. Following that, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) explored how a gated development in Bogotá has been adapted for the people in a lower income context. He found that gated development still adopts tools based on Western examples.

2.4.2 Gated developments in Asia

Moving away from gated developments located in the American context, this section explores gated developments located in Asia. The previous section focusing on gated developments located in the West, and here, turning the focus to gated developments located in the South also makes clear the evident shift in scholarship on gated developments. This section is of particular relevance to this research as it highlights although not an exhaustive list of scholarly work conducted in the global South which paves the way for the following and final section of reviewing the geographies of gated developments.

Whilst there is a wide range of scholarly contributions, it seemed fitting to begin with the motivations for residing in a gated development situated in an atypical context. In his study conducted in Jakarta, Leisch (2002) concluded that security remains a motivating factor for

retreating into a gated development even in a poorer socio-economic context. This is in line with Morange et al. (2012) who noted that people from lower socioeconomic strata also seek to live behind the gates and want security. Similarly, residents of gated developments in China moved into gated developments to be separated from ‘outsiders’, they furthermore sought security, a good living environment and a sense of belonging (Breitung, 2012). He furthermore found that residents from surrounding communities are accepting of gated developments, which challenges the widely accepted view that surrounding communities feel excluded, and that gating exacerbates exclusion. Similarly, in Bangkok, Boonjubun (2019) found that there are stronger social relations between residents of gated developments and outsiders, as opposed to social relations with other tenants, and there was also a sharing of amenities with outsiders. Boonjubun (2019) further concluded that residents of low-income gated developments do not seek to separate themselves from outsiders thus he further calls for the western concept of gated developments to be reconceptualised in the global South.

The studies conducted by Aulia & Suryani (2021) and Wu et al. (2021) dealt with the morphology and spatial planning aspects of gated developments. Interestingly, Wu et al. (2021) found that in China, there is a huge influx of gated developments thus, governments have called on developers and owners of these developments to open their existing gated developments to halt the construction of new developments. In terms of morphology and planning in Indonesia, Aulia & Suryani (2021) concluded that gated developments in the study area led to changes in public spaces and as a result led to different morphologies.

2.4.3 Gated developments in South Africa

South Africa, in particular, experienced a period of gating and fortification during the colonial period and inter alia political transitions however it was only in the late 1980s that modern day gated developments, as we know it today, began burgeoning in the South African context. Although gated developments made an appearance in the late 1980s, it was in the 1990s that South Africa saw an intense growth of gated developments and became a main source of housing (Landman, 2002). Collins (2007) enunciates that there are approximately 7000 gated developments in South Africa, and it is evident since then gated developments have grown substantially. At current, the Western Cape Government Geographical Information Systems (GIS) database estimates this figure be around 12 000 gated developments in the Western Cape, which includes residential and other types of gating.

Durban and Johannesburg (JHB) were the first cities in South Africa to manifest gated developments in the early 1990s and it only became a popular form of housing in Cape Town thereafter. The reason for this could be due to crime experiences, arguably it was in Durban and JHB where citizens first expressed fear of crime (Landman, 2002). Furthermore, Cape Town inner cities transitioned differently as opposed to JHB and Durban. In both cities gated developments tend to be constructed in cities or towns with high crime rates and the pattern of their development differs according to people, groups and areas (Landman, 2013). A similar pattern can be observed in Cape Town whereby gated developments are predominantly located in former white areas and those areas are typically considered to be safer as opposed to areas located on the socio-economic periphery which are generally characterised by more crime. Consequently, the continuous construction of gated developments in previously 'white areas', continue to receive criticism for entrenching and perpetuating an already unequal society (Ballard, 2004; Durning, 2006; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Jurgens & Gnad, 2002; Landman, 2000a, 2000b; Lemanski, 2004, 2006a, 2006b). The current burgeoning pattern of gated developments in atypical contexts in Cape Town, within which this study is conceptualised, challenges older patterns and assumptions of gated developments and it furthermore provides a different lens through which gated developments should be pigeonholed. It is not only atypical contexts that are seeing an influx of gated developments but also provincial cities such as Bloemfontein and smaller towns, Bela Bela in Mpumalanga and Newcastle in KwaZulu Natal (Ferreira & Visser, 2015), and Non-Metropolitan cities in the Western Cape (Spocter, 2013).

There are several factors that contribute to the growth of gated developments in South Africa; crime, the fear of crime (real and perceived), search for sense of community, privacy and control over surrounding space, homogeneity in terms of status, financial ability and class and a growing lack of trust in local municipalities and governments (Landman, 2006). Landman (2012) heralded that many South African citizens consider gated developments as an option towards safer living space. From a socio-economic perspective, it was not only those of higher income socio-economic strata that wanted security and had the desire for the gates and fences but also those living in social housing projects (Landman, 2012). Coming from a different perspective, Ballard (2004) has argued that the increase in gating could be resultant of white people's desire to be separated from other race groups, he termed this 'white flight', shifting the focus from race. Thus, gated developments are criticized for perpetuating separation

whereby mainly wealthy whites occupy these spaces alongside a handful of blacks who can afford to buy into this elite and privatized way of living.

Gated developments marked by its genesis as being a response to crime and the fear of citizens due to crime-ridden societies further fuel the development of gating, in different societies around the world. In his study in Durban, Durlington (2009) ponders if gated developments are a rational response to crime in a democratic society. In response Lemanski et al. (2018) conducted a study in three major cities, JHB, CT and Durban and concluded that gated developments are rationalized as being a response to crime. It was discovered that in Tshwane burglaries were found to be more common in gated developments than in surrounding areas (Breetzke et al., 2013). Furthermore, Spoceter (2013) in his study on non-metropolitan cities found that criminal activity is not a cause for the growth of gated developments but rather a preventative strategy in the unlikely event of a criminal activity taking place. Similarly, a study conducted by Ramsawmy et al. (2020) also examined gated developments in an atypical context, rural contexts and concluded that a search for a particular and desired lifestyle was the main motivation for residents to retreat into gated developments situated in these contexts. The studies conducted by Landman (2002) and Jurgens & Gnad (2002) examined the effects of gated developments on the urban landscape and planning policies, this is especially relevant in a democratic South Africa. Many scholarly works have contended that gated developments challenge the idea of a democratic society and perpetuate an already unequal society. However, a more recent study concluded that gated developments in South Africa represents an evolving concept which evolves over time in form, function and meaning which essentially leads to differing interpretations and implications of gated developments (Landman, 2020). Therefore, this finding supports the view that gated developments are not a unitary phenomenon.

2.5 Knowledge gap

This section attempted to provide a review into scholarship on gated developments, it is clear that there is a paucity of studies which explicitly explore the gated phenomenon in the global South. Scholars, Boonjubun (2019), Kostenwein (2021) and Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) conducted studies on low-income gated developments particularly in Latin America and Bangkok. The studies take different approaches, with Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) and Kostenwein (2021) taking an urban planning approach and Boonjubun (2019) studying the income class of residents and the social interaction between residents and outsiders. The study does not focus only on lower-income gated developments, it includes higher-income gated development. Therefore, as an

emerging typology of gated development, these studies lack crucial aspects of gated living such as residents' motivations, service-related aspects and tenants' living experience. Furthermore, we know little about the application process, in the case where these type of gated developments are marketed and subsidised by local governments as 'social housing' projects, who this typology is suited to, how tenants adapt to this type of living environment and finally, how, if at all, the gated development model is suited and reworked to the global South context. These studies also lack in terms of methodological approaches, with less focus on the tenants' experiences and voices living in this type of gated development. As a result, currently, there is inadequate information on working-class gated developments from the point of conceptualization to operationalization.

2.6 Towards working-class gated developments

*'If gated communities are supposed to be devices for segregation and exclusion then who, and what is, being excluded by the fences of low-income projects?'*⁴ (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021, p. 96)

A new typology of gated development is emerging globally as 'archipelagos' in atypical contexts and conditions. Scholars such as Sanchez et al. (2005), Peralta & Hofer (2006), Hurtado-Tarazona (2018), Boonjubun (2019), Alvarez-Rivadulla & Fleischer (2020), Kostenwein (2021) and Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) have acknowledged this new typology although not explicitly. Similarly, in the South African context few studies have taken into account that gated developments for the working class exist.

This section aims to explore the working-class gated development. First the section briefly discusses the conceptual differences in the terms used to refer to this typology of gated development, the relevance of this is to reach a consensus as to which term is best suited to the typology, and research, before moving onto the following section which explores the fulcrum of working-class gated developments, which also applies the framework by Brunn and Frantz (2006) in an attempt to contextualise working-class gated developments. Finally, the section unpacks the new typology and what the typology is constituted of. This section is relevant as it will aid the researcher in unpacking the findings in chapter 5 and 6.

⁴ In this quote by Ruiz-Carvajal (2021), it refers to how gated developments are commonly perceived to keep the "chaotic" and developmental challenges outside of the gates. Thus, the author asks; who and what then does lower income gated developments exclude? As it does not attempt to exclude the same which it's higher income counterparts aims to exclude.

2.6.1 Conceptual differences: low income gated developments versus social housing projects

This typology of gated development is often referred to as either lower income gated developments (Kostenwein, 2021) and less commonly, social gated housing (Hurtado-Tarazona, 2018; Alvarez-Rivadulla & Fleischer, 2020; Ruiz-Carvajal 2021). There are few conceptual differences between the three proposed terms however it remains paramount to the study to unpack the terms. The term lower income gated development is defined by Kostenwein (2021) as projects that meets four criteria, 1) comprises of mainly residential uses, 2) housing units that share spaces and services of private property and collective use, 3) little to no social relations between private space and surrounding public spaces and 4) limited accessibility with walls or fences and controlled entrances. In this definition Kostenwein (2021) mainly places emphasis on the physical characteristics. In the same vein, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) defines social gated housing, based on a definition postulated by Hurtado-Tarazona (2018). Social gated housing is mainly described as partnerships between private investors and local municipalities whereby private investors supply social housing to assist local municipalities in meeting the demand for housing and the model of housing provided bears similarities to that of gated developments. In the South African context, this type of gated development is simply referred to as social housing. Social housing can be defined as government subsidised rental housing catered to low income citizens, providing rental apartments below market costs with the goal of providing them with safe and decent accommodation (Scheba and Turok, 2023). In order to qualify for social housing programmes in South Africa, prospective tenants are required to satisfy a range of criteria such as: having a monthly household income between R1500 to R15 000; being 21 years of age or older; having a clean credit record; being a South African citizen or permanent resident; and married or single (Social Rental Regulatory Authority, 2022). According to Wakely (2014), social housing is becoming increasingly common in the housing arena due to a shortage of affordable housing and the benefits that social housing has to offer. In the South African context, social housing fits into governments broader urban sector housing policy objectives by functioning as a temporary stepping-stone to home ownership for middle-to-low income citizens aspiring towards upward mobility (Scheba and Turok, 2023). In a comprehensive book on housing policies by Angel (1999), he noted that subsidies for social rental housing from local governments are provided as a result of failure in supply of adequate housing for those in need. In South Africa, social housing providers are offered a once-off subsidy to develop social rental housing. The subsidy only covers part of the construction costs and social housing providers are then required to seek additional financial

support from financial institutions for the short fall in construction costs and post construction maintenance costs (Scheba and Turok, 2023).

In Bogotá, for example, gated social housing models became the predominant type of housing development and private investors take preference in developing and supplying this type of housing, they adopted the gated model and the tools used in the gated phenomenon to replicate social housing in the form of a gated development (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021). Interestingly, the conceptual boundaries between ‘gated development’ and ‘social housing’ are slightly blurred due to gated developments being referred to as ‘social housing’ for applications to be made for government subsidies and to align with municipal frameworks and housing policy, however the physical features and tools used are those of gated developments.

In this study, instead of ‘lower income’ or ‘social housing’, the term working-class gated development will be adopted although having most of the facets of lower income gated developments. However, in some cases people of varying incomes live in these spaces and the term ‘lower income’ could possibly indicate a sense of stereotyping. Moreover, the term ‘lower income’ seemingly indicates that it is mainly focused on the income of the tenants whereas the latter, working-class gated developments appears to be more encompassing of the gated phenomenon as a whole which is what this study aims to capture. Thus the term working-class is best suited to the research.

2.6.2 Working-class gated developments explored

A gated development is a model which fulfils the needs of different stakeholders. The seminal work of Blakely & Snyder (1997b) posited that gated developments exist for the rich and the poor, essentially for different social classes in society, however their assertion was rebutted by scholars who argued that the poor cannot afford to live in gated models and all that it had to offer. A few studies served as the exception to the enduring homogenous conceptualization of gated developments, Blakely & Snyder (1997a); Beal et al., (2003); Sanchez & Lang (2005); Le Goix (2005) and Vesselinov et al., (2007) who agreed that gated development is no longer a phenomenon that is limited to higher income areas and the wealthier groups, and this is evident in the surge of gated developments in lower income contexts under rental tenure. Beal et al. (2003) make an example of gated affordable complexes referred to as “gated ghettos” for the poor and hostels in Soweto, South Africa. Following these assertions, scholars such as Ehwi (2020); Boonjubun (2019); Kostenwein (2021) and Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) have conducted studies on gated developments in the global South.

The reasons for developing gated developments in the global South cannot be considered the same for Western contexts. According to Boonjubun (2019) gated developments in the global south differ in terms of their demand, historical, traditional and socio-spatial conditions. Reasons for the development of working-class gated developments, although not clear cut, were put forward by Morales (2019) as 1) lack of housing and 2) failure of housing policy. Advancing on this, inadequacies and lack of supply by government and local municipalities to provide adequate housing for the poor (Peralta & Hofer, 2006) and increased urbanization and urban sprawl. Most of the attributing factors appear to be rooted in the failure of the state and a shortage of housing supply for the poor. Thus, local municipalities, in partnership with developers are considered as ‘enablers’ in gated social housing developments. In Bangkok, the laissez Faire approach of local governments has allowed for unbridled developments by private developers (Boonjubun, 2019). Coming from a different persuasion, Morange et al. (2012) and Caldeira (2000) contend that even the poor want protection behind gates and high barrier walls. In this conceptualization, Morange et al. (2012) does not only consider the supply [private developers and local municipalities] as enablers of working-class gated developments but also the demand side, the prospective tenants who want this type of housing.

Kostenwein (2021) provides seven analytical dimensions to distinguish gated developments in the south, these include: 1) permeability; 2) plot structure; 3) visual isolation; 4) density; 5) amenities; 6) plot size and 7) urban context. Similarly, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) provides three distinctive criteria as a starting point; poverty, minimum wage and access to social housing and socio-economic strata.

On the other hand, Boonjubun (2019) argues that this typology of gated development cannot simply be understood based on unitary physical features such as fences, walls, gates and security nor can they be explained based on an overemphasis on safety, lifestyle or prestige living. Brunn and Frantz (2006) similar to that of Kostenwein (2021), proposes five aspects, that can be used to pinpoint differences between different typologies of gated developments, in an attempt to explore and to contextualise working-class gated developments; 1) origins, 2) functions, 3) morphology, 4) urban planning and 5) the role of local government such as the legal or regulatory framework and the residents [who are the residents]. Using the aforementioned framework by Brunn & Frantz (2006), the framework will be applied to contextualise working-class gated developments and serve as a lens to zoom into the fulcrum of this typology.

- 1. Origins – An agreement between developers and the state:** While the reasons for the proliferation of the gated phenomenon were rehearsed in the first section of the literature review, the origins of working-class gated developments are rooted in higher income gated developments. Therefore, working-class gated developments is not a new phenomenon, but it was only recently documented and explored in the academic arena. In Cape Town, the working-class gated development functions as a modified version of traditional gated developments and has recently become a feature of the housing market. Landman (2004) uses examples of Brickfields and Carr Gardens in Johannesburg to show that gated developments are adapting their offering to suit the lower income context. Similarly, in Bogotá, gated developments for the working class originated in the early 2000s, as developers started to adapt their product offering to include the working class (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021). In Mexico, the origins of the working-class gated developments can be attributed to the failure of governments to provide affordable social housing (Morales, 2019).

- 2. Functions:** There have been attempts from different authors to pinpoint the motivations of people to retreat into gated developments (Blakely & Snyder, 1997b; Low, 2003; Baycan-Levent & Gülümser, 2007). However, in this typology the motivations are not clear cut. Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) found that low-income residents' motivation is contradictory to that of status and security as they mainly desire to form part of, and have access to, the formal housing market. More concretely, contrary to higher income gated developments, working class gated developments are not constructed to particularly meet security, status and lifestyle preferences. In this regard, Caldeira (2000) postulated that the advertisements are closely aligned to the people they appeal to, "... if the Ads fail to articulate images people can understand and recognize as their own, they fail to seduce" (Caldeira, 2000, p. 263). For example, if the advertisements place great emphasis on security, they will appeal to people who have a fear of crime and seek to be securitized from urban space.

- 3. Morphology:** This aspect refers to the shape and form of the gated development and hence will unpack the working class gated development by looking at the physical characteristics of its higher income counterparts, to make the distinction. Gated developments are lamented as being either houses and/or condominiums, with large open spaces for leisure and public access restricted by high walls, gates, booms and

security guard boxes. Higher income gated developments tend to be an agglomeration of natural features, high end amenities and commercial businesses. However, working class gated developments are typically characterised by dense three-storey buildings, with little to no amenities, with street facing windows and commonly has one entrance gate, for both visitors and residents, and less advanced security features (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021). The physical lay-out of working class gated developments is possibly due to the small plots that it is built on. As Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) puts it, developers and designers of these spaces typically try to fit in as many housing units as permitted, leaving little room for open space and amenities. In terms of amenities, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) postulates that working class gated developments do not feature any commercial uses however institutional uses are more common such as local schools and community services. Similarly, Caldeira (2000) also notes that higher income projects have the ability to create opulent spaces which portray the image of exclusivity and isolation. Unlike higher income gated developments, working class gated developments do not have complimentary services which arguably impede on the ability of this typology, and its residents, to detach from public life and services (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021). Therefore, Caldeira (2002) argues that the ability to detach from public life is a privilege limited to the rich.

4. **Role of local government:** Contrary to higher income gated developments who have little to no relationship with local municipalities as they make their own rules and enforce it with the assistance of HOA's and estate managers who essentially take on the role of the local municipality. Working class gated developments are still dependent on infrastructure and services provided by local municipalities (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021). Thus, to a certain degree the rules of local municipalities are still applicable inside of the gates (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021). In some instances, higher income gating also has the ability not to utilize basic services as offered by local municipalities which aids residents to fully separate themselves from the surrounding urban space.
5. **Regulations:** When buying into, or leasing, a gated development one is immediately contractually tied to a set of rules and regulations which tenants are expected to abide by. Rules and regulations are commonly stipulated in a 'condominium regulations document' (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021, p. 93) or interestingly, a 'manual of coexistence' (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021, p. 93). Both of these documents imply that there is a prescribed

way of 'being' in the gated development, a manual for using the space. According to Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) these documents commonly document the role of HOA's, what is allowed and what is not and how HOA's are expected to handle and manage undesirable behaviour. As posited by Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) the rules imposed by HOA's and estate managers, are often stricter than rules of local municipalities. Regulations in both high and working class gated developments range from noise, children, pets, strangers, staff, aesthetics and the use of physical space. In an analysis of working class gated developments in Bogotá, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) surprisingly found that there were no real differences between restrictions of higher income and working class gated developments. This poses a pertinent question of how the regulation tool, which appears to be homogenous, is adapted and if it is suited to contexts in the global South. However, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) found that there lingers a difference between how low-income residents and their higher-income counterparts perceive and view these regulations. For example, in high income projects, it appears to be challenging to maintain order inside of the gates as residents challenge the rules and regulations. Opposingly, residents in low income projects abide by the regulations and perceive it as 'a culture of the condominium' (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021, p. 94). This is because tenants of working class gated developments tend to view the space as where they can overcome the inconveniences of their 'previous life' and the regulations ensure this (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021). Moreover, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) found that prohibiting certain activities in a working class gated development is not the same as prohibiting the activity in a higher income gated development. To provide an illustration, prohibiting informal trading where most people are informal workers is not similar to prohibiting informal activities in a higher income gated development. Thus, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) argues that applying the same regulations of a higher income gated development and adopting it identically without modification to the working class gated development leads to overregulation. Coming from a different perspective, Hurtado-Tarazona (2018) contends that low income residents accept some regulations, but they try to negotiate with others. Thus, it remains important to understand who the residents are and what their needs are. The diversity of residents and their needs asks for a careful observation. Thus, scholarly works by Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) and Arese (2018) reasons that regulation is a requirement in working class gated developments, which takes us to the next and final feature.

6. **Tenants of the working class gated development:** Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) singles out the type of tenants to be the most protruding difference between higher income and working class gated developments. Higher income gated developments are targeted to higher income citizens and there is a strong census among higher income gated developments and homogeneity. Whereas, working class gated developments are mainly characterized by lower income strata of society and coincides with Boonjubun (2019) who postulated that a lower income gated development in Bangkok houses mainly workers from the informal sector such as shop assistants or labourers.

While the above focused on what distinguishes the working class gated development from their higher income counterparts, conceptualised within the framework of Brunn and Frantz (2006). Several differences can be observed between the higher income and working-class typology which is contrary to the assumption that working-class gated developments are epiphenomenal products to higher income gated developments. Thus, the following section focuses on the typological characteristics of working class gated developments.

2.6.3 A new typology?

Due to the abundance of studies on gated developments constructed in Western contexts there is little research that documents and explores how the gated development model has been adapted and modified to the working-class contexts. It is important to understand how developers adapted the gated product to suit the different contexts (Boonjubun, 2019). Thus, the following sub-section provides an attempt to explore and unpack the working class gated development as a new typology of gated developments.

In the early 2000s, gated developments began agglomerating and became a popular type of housing and accompanying this, private developers took the liberty to start adapting their product offering and constructing gated developments in the form of social housing (Hurtado-Tarazona, 2008; Alvarez-Rivadulla & Fleischer, 2020). In this vein Boonjubun (2019) argues that previously studies solely conceived of gated developments as products for the higher income with the poor portrayed as being outsiders living in informal settlements. This assumption by Boonjubun (2019) argues that other scholars fail to acknowledge the willingness of private developers to develop housing for the working class and their ability to modify their products. Furthermore, the assumption that gated developments are only catered to the higher income residents is 'misleading' and one-sided (Boonjubun, 2019). In this conceptualization, this archetype of gated developments (working class) has scarcely been seen through this lens

as it is often pigeonholed through the former, higher income model. Thus, Boonjubun (2019) notes that it is important to develop typologies for gated developments in atypical contexts as they are primarily developed based on American examples. Ruiz-Carvajal (2021), Kostenwein (2021) and Boonjubun (2019) are among the few that propose typologies for the working-class gated development.

The typology postulated by Kostenwein (2021) is based on gated developments in Bogotá and mainly focuses on the spatial dimension of gated developments. The author put forward five typologies for gated developments in Bogotá; however only the blockbuster and the interactive typologies will be reviewed below;

- 1. The blockbuster** – Usually large in size with high density, multi-storey buildings which are organised according to a modernist spatial layout. The blockbuster consists of little amenities and security artefacts thus comprise of only one entrance. Interestingly, this type houses and caters to an array of socio-economic strata, especially standing in as a substitute for social housing. Therefore, Kostenwein (2021) found this type to be the most popular typology of gated development in Bogotá.
- 2. The interactive** – Kostenwein (2021) makes a link between the interactive and blockbuster, as it comprises similar features to the blockbuster phenomenon. The interactive typology exhibits high-density buildings, little amenities with open space available and located in close proximity to enter gated developments. This typology, however, caters to high and low socio-economic strata.

The typologies put forward by Kostenwein (2021) seems to suggest that although there are physical differences between the higher- and working-class gated development model, there are some aspects in the working class that appear to be tantamount to their higher income counterparts. In this regard, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) explains that there are shared characteristics between the higher- and working-class gated development. Drawing on the typology mooted by Kostenwein (2021), Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) builds on the typology, also in Bogotá, by using an example of a gated development to draw out the characteristics of this typology. In his exploratory study, he builds upon one typology, the blockbuster as this is best suited to the working-class gated development. Instead of focusing solely on the physical characteristics, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) includes the social characteristics that differentiate and embody this typology. Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) propounded four features that describe the working-class gated

development; 1) low-income residents, 2) dependence on public infrastructure, 3) entanglement of formality and informality and 4) over-regulation.

Additionally, Boonjubun (2019) also contributed to this budding typology of gated development, the findings proposed by Boonjubun (2019) will now be turned to. Similar to Ruiz-Carvajal (2021), Boonjubun (2019) also expressed interest in who the residents are and their social encounters. His study was based in working class gated development located in the Bangkok metropolitan area named, Khin I-Home. Khin-I-Home gated development is referred to as a working class development due to the following features; prospective residents need to earn below 100 000 baht annually and they have a similar physical structure to other gated models, a high rise building comprised of twelve floors with studio units. Khin I-Home is surrounded by old settlements turned and reconstructed into gated developments and traditional marketplaces. In regard to security, the gated development is boarded by walls and gates and there are two security guards, and tenants are required to use a key card to gain entry. The gated development is constructed on two floors, on the first floor there are parking spots, a water vending machine and extra amenities such as the management office, a convenience store, laundromat and a social gathering point. Interestingly, the amenities can be used by both residents and outsiders.

Based on the foregoing contributions to scholarly works on working class gated developments by Kostenwein (2021), Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) and Boonjubun (2019) one can easily identify and notice how the different features of working-class gated developments are weaved across the different contributions. All three scholarly contributions are cognizant of the lower income people occupying this new typology which sets it apart from higher income counterparts. Most noteworthy, in the Khin I-home, Boonjubun's (2019) findings concluded that most residents are informal workers which is supported by Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) who also concluded similar findings from his study in Bogotá. Moreover in terms of physical structure, the studies by Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) and Boonjubun (2019) demonstrates the typologies propounded by Kostenwein (2021). However, interestingly in Bangkok, Khin I-Home, amenities are used by both residents and outsiders which challenges the assumptions by other scholars. These features of working class gated developments, what appears to set them apart from the genesis features of gated developments, is what call our attention to a new typology of gated developments and also, informs us that a new typology is indeed on the rise in different contexts across the world.

2.7 Theoretical framework

In the study on gated developments, there is no one single theory or framework that can be applied as a stand-alone to conduct research on the intricacies of gated developments due to its multidisciplinary nature and being studied for a variety of reasons and from a range of different standpoints. Moreover, most frameworks applied to contextualise, analyse and theorize gated developments were developed and applied to studies conducted in Western contexts, there is especially a scarcity of frameworks to be applied to gated developments situated in the global South contexts. Thus Spocter (2013) asserts that many conclusions and debates are grounded in higher income contexts. As a result, reaching an all-encompassing and suitable theory posed as a challenge. Arguably, the theoretical perspectives used here were not yet applied to gated developments located in lower income areas thus, this research extracts elements from two theoretical perspectives to understand and position working class gated developments. Similarly, Spocter (2013) in his study on gated developments in non-metropolitan settings contends that theories which originated in Western contexts need to be engaged with to extract elements thereof that can be applied to studies in niche settings on gated developments located in atypical contexts. This research undergoes a similar experience. Thus, this research adopted two theoretical frameworks that best suited the study and aligned with the objectives namely **club goods theory** and **postmodern urbanism**. This section will unpack the frameworks which will then be applied to the research in the data analysis and discussion chapters.

Gated developments as an object of study has attracted scholarly attention from an assortment of disciplines over the past two decades and has been analysed from sociological, psychological, geographical and economical standpoints. From the diverse attention received, a number of theories such as club goods theory (Manzi & Bowers, 2005; Glasze, 2005; Webster & Wu, 2001), postmodern urbanism (Landman, 2002a; Rehder, 2002a), middle-range theory (Vesselinov et al., 2007) and the driver-pressure-state-impact-response (DPSIR) model (Landman, 2002) amongst other theories and viewpoints have been postulated as a starting point to study gated developments. Furthermore, scholars posited different lenses through which gated developments can be theorized. Bowers & Manzi (2006) positioned gated developments through securitisation. Whereas Low (2003) contextualised gated developments in the culture of fear, the impacts of globalisation and social exclusion. Marcuse & Van Kempen (2000) expertly positioned gated developments in global cities theory and the undemocratic urban governance. Thus, there are different theories in which scholars' position and theorize their work on gated developments. Bowers & Manzi (2006) sheds more light on

this and conclude that there are limited perspectives available to study gated developments therefore theoretical positioning of gated developments requires a more complex analysis.

2.7.1 Club goods theory

Some scholars have widely applied the club-goods theory to the study on gated developments (Welgemoed, 2009; Manzi & Bowers, 2005; Glasze, 2005). Later, Webster and Lai (2003) further reconceptualised the theory in its application to the study of gated developments. From a different standpoint, Glasze (2005) applied the club goods theory to understand the economic attractiveness of gated developments for developers, housing seekers and local governments.

The club-goods theory was first postulated within an economic conceptualisation by Buchanan (1965). He defined club-goods as the following, ‘.... *A general theory of consumption ownership-member arrangements*’ (1965, p.1). Simply put, club goods theory revolves around the idea of consumption of goods and the arrangement of usage thereof. The theory was formulated within the conceptualization of material goods, both private and public, on opposite ends. Buchanan (1965) further determined membership margin in the theory which is ‘the midpoint of the most desirable cost and the most viable consumption-sharing arrangement’, the greater the cost one pays for an item; the greater access to the good. Expounding on this Buchanan (1965) made the argument that the more people involved in the consumption-sharing and having access to an item, the personal benefit that an individual has access to the good declines as more people become involved in the arrangement and sharing of the good which leads to congestion and saturation of the arrangement. However, if the shared goods are grounded in the private sector, such as private neighbourhoods (Glasze, 2005), whereby mechanisms are put in place to facilitate and manage access to the goods and only a select few have access, it increases personal usage and satisfaction. In this regard, Tiebout (1956) pointed to the link between public and collective goods; collective goods generally referred to as public goods for everybody, are essentially local public goods as they primarily benefit people living in the specific locale. Further expounding on this, local public goods still indicates that any person in the local locale have access to the good thus, Foldvary (1994) conceived of gated developments and enclosures to be a solution to the overuse of a public good(s) as the privatization of private neighbourhoods allows for the exclusion of goods. Therefore, it was Glasze (2005) who asserts that gated developments can be analysed and interpreted as club economies.

According to Glasze (2005) the self-administration of gated developments provides residents with collective goods such as open space, natural features, water supply, secure car parking, security features and recreational facilities. By providing these features to those living inside of gated developments, the developer creates a market by making what would normally be public (non-excludable goods) such as parking spots and public roads, into private (excludable) goods. Manzi & Bowers (2005) further asserts that in gated developments, goods are considered as private goods which are allocated through the residents and providing them with executive membership and benefits. Likewise, Spocter (2013) posits that residents of gated developments have access to goods located on private property.

Residents in gated developments who collectively (amongst residents) but exclusively (only exclusive to the residents part of membership arrangement) have access to goods are called 'clubs' but the collective goods such as water systems and open space are referred to as 'club goods' (Buchanan, 1965). Thus, Foldvary (1994) amongst other scholars have conceptualised gated developments, exclusion and privatisation, as an 'institutional innovation' which allows for an efficient and market-driven supply of goods for residents. Adding to that, it further ensures that those who paid the access fee for the local public goods (Glasze, 2005) have sufficient access to supplied goods. Spocter (2013) notes that it is HOAs that ensure those who signed up and paid for a particular good have access to it. For example, parking space in gated developments can only be occupied by those who paid for a parking space. Adding to this, households in gated developments buy into different contractual tie-ins within the gated development which grants them access to different amenities and services. However, Spocter (2013) contends that the private goods on offer and used in the marketing of gated developments serves as a pulling factor for potential residents, as residents appear to be attracted to the private consumption of goods with little congestion. Adding to this insight, Glasze (2005) suggests that the concept of 'club economies' appears to be an appealing factor for developers and local government. Therefore, developers and private bodies conceive of gated developments as a means to make a profit as they 'physically' exclude who did not buy into the good, by doing so they possess the ability to enforce rules and regulations and as a result reduce the chance of the neighbourhood going into economic decline. Arguably, the idea that the goods will be shared amongst a seemingly homogenous group could also be a part of this pulling factor. Thus, there exists also an exclusivity of rights within the gated development. It is evident that by applying the club goods theory to the gated development, it enhances the self-administration.

Glasze (2005) pays attention to the prospective benefits from gated developments for municipalities. Whereby the residents benefit from the supply of ‘club goods’ and private consumption. Alluding back to the benefits for developers, McKenzie (1994) contends that in the US, local municipalities and local government demand and seek the development of gated development, as McKenzie (1994) metaphorically puts it, gated developments in this regard are seen as ‘cash cows’. The paper by Glasze (2005) concludes that by applying the club goods theory to the study of gated developments highlight the potential attractiveness of gated developments for developers and local governments. However, it is Csefalvay (2011) who points out that club goods theory does not reflect the latest scholarly work on gated developments, which are conducted in lower income areas and other parts of the world. Nevertheless, this study will apply club goods theory to aid in analysing the ‘economies’ in a working-class gated development. Furthermore, it will be applied to analyse how the tenants make use of amenities and the differing ‘market’ in this typology of gated development.

2.7.2 Postmodern urbanism

According to Landman (2002) postmodern urbanism is a counter-act towards modernism and its idea of perfection and utopia. Modernist buildings, for example, displayed similar architectural styles and elements. In response, with postmodern urbanism the physical appearance of buildings has changed, consisting of different architectural aspects and elements.

Landman (2002) posits that in modern design form follows function, conversely in postmodern urbanism ‘form follows fiction, fear, finesse and finance’. According to Landman (2002) the phenomenon of gated developments are a good example of postmodern urbanism, evidenced by two key points: Firstly, Gated developments create and recreate secure and peaceful spaces. This, form follows fear. Ellin (1997) underscores this argument, noting that in the contemporary city where there is a high risk for criminal activity, residents construct and implement physical defence measures to protect themselves. In the new typology of working-class gated developments, it is not only form following fear but also lack of housing that is leading to the development of gated developments in atypical contexts. Secondly, growing from examples in the global North, gated developments in other contexts have developed with their own distinctive identities and styles. According to Jaimini (2021), India looked for and followed Western planning principles for both architecture and urban planning to ‘recreate’ cities when they moved to the post-independence period. And even more so, in the global South

where original models of gated development from the West are adopted and reworked to suit the global South context. According to Landman (2002) form follows fiction and finesse to ensure a specific lifestyle and thus providing social and economic control. Form follows finance; Landman (2002) posits that this is achieved through privatization of public space, services and governance. Therefore, Landman (2002) contends that postmodern urbanism provides a useful description and lens to analyse the underlying causes for the proliferation of gated developments.

The working-class gated development displays a different set of physical and social characteristics and reasons for development as opposed to higher-income counterparts. Therefore, the working-class gated development can be theorised through this lens as it is a 'reaction' to the contemporary and utopian gated development. While working-class gated developments do not feature the same physical features as evidenced in higher-income gated development, the emerging typology of working-class gated developments display different elements to their higher income counterparts. Thus, this framework will be used to conceptualize the gated development and explore the physical tenets of the working-class gated development.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter began by presenting various definitions and typologies of gated developments for clarity and suitability to the research. Followed by providing a glimpse into the different aspects and actors involved in the gated development phenomenon and looking at gated developments in different country contexts. The literature review revealed the gap in the literature and thus the need to focus on this new typology of gated development. The working class gated development was then introduced, providing conceptual differences typological uniqueness. Finally, the theoretical framework was presented. There is no one suitable framework for the study on gated development, and even less so for working class gated developments. Nonetheless, club goods theory and postmodern urbanism have been used to frame this study. The following chapter will turn its focus to the research methodology.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH SETTING

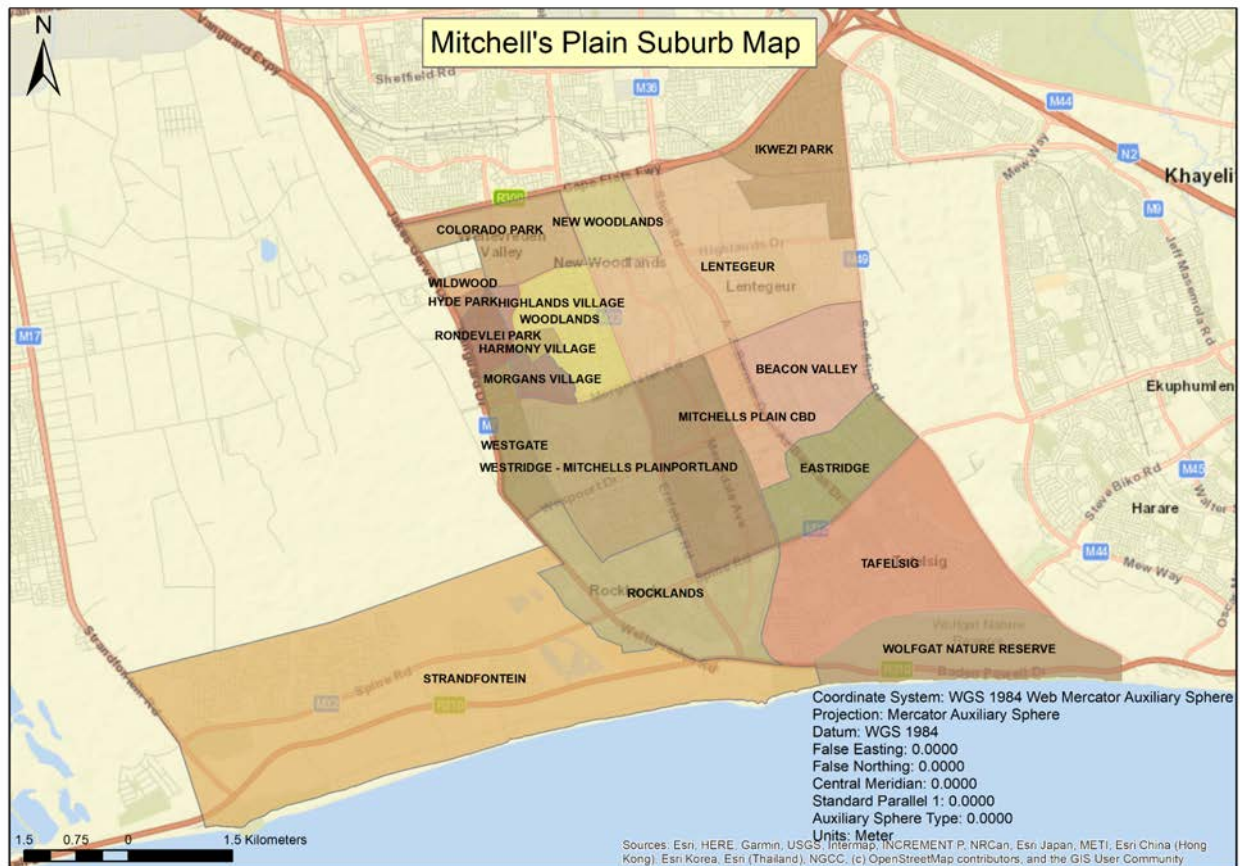
3.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces Regent Villas, the case study site, which will be used as an example of a working class gated development with the following to be discussed, a short description of Mitchells Plain the broader area wherein which Regent Villas is located. Followed by what the land was used for prior to the development of the gated development therewith the focus is turned to entering the gated development looking at its physical and architectural aspects. The aim of this chapter is to provide a contextual and physical description of different aspects of the gated development and the surrounding area which will enable the reader to engage and be able to conceptualise the working class gated development and themes explored which are pertinent to this dissertation.

3.2. Regent Villas: Setting and context

Regent Villas is a newly built, working class gated development situated in Weltevreden Valley, Mitchells Plain. The gated development is surrounded by sub-areas including Colorado, Rondevlei and Vanguard Villas and more interestingly, Isiqalo informal settlement. Regent Villas is the first of its typology to be developed in Mitchells Plain, a township located on the Cape Flats. The suburb is one of the largest townships in Cape Town with an approximate population of 310 485 (StatsSA, 2013). It is located on the False Bay Coast between Muizenberg and Khayelitsha and located approximately 28 km from the city centre. Conceived of as a model suburb for middle-income coloured people by the apartheid government, it was built during the 1970's to provide housing for coloured victims of forced removals due to the implementation of the Group Areas Act (Rono & Cottle, 2014). Today, Mitchells Plain is home to mainly lower income residents and faces a dire housing shortage, with many resorting to back yarding, informal settlements and informal rental. Mitchells Plain is often documented and under scrutiny for its range of developmental challenges such as substance abuse, gangsterism, unemployment and most importantly, and of particular relevance to this study, lack of decent and affordable housing. According to a report by Development Action Group (DAG) (2021), Mitchells Plain experiences a severe housing shortage and has led to the rise of informality in two forms: back yarding and informal settlements. The rise in back yarding is largely due to rising property prices. DAG (2021) illustrates this, they make the point that property prices in Eastridge, a lower income area in Mitchells Plain, increased from R250 000

in 2009 to R400 – R700 000 in 2020, due to this increase in formal property costs there has been a direct increase in back yarding and informal settlements. Mitchells further has a shortage of affordable housing opportunities. Thus Regent Villas intend to fill this gap as a housing project in Mitchells Plain.



Source: Author

Figure 3.1 Mitchells Plain area map

Regent Villas, shown in Figure 3.2, is a public-private partnership social housing project that was developed in 2018 under the social housing institution, Povicom. The actors in the public-private partnership are Povicom, a non-profit organisation (NPO), and Department of Human Settlements both on local and national levels. The plot where Regent Villas is located was previously an agricultural site which formed part of the Phillipi Horticultural area (PHA). The plot, which is approximately 1648m², is located within an urban area and was re-zoned from agricultural to residential in accordance with the rezoning process of the CoCT. According to Ballard & Butcher (2020), Affordable developers do not usually acquire zoned land or serviced plots from land developers instead they attain land and carry out the re-zoning and town planning processes.



Source: Povicom (2021)

Figure 3.2 Regent Villas and surroundings

Regent Villas sits in the heart of a residential area with a great deal of economic activity. The area features standard residential developments, privately developed gated developments, and informal settlement, as shown in Figure 3.3. The gated development is also closely located to a wholesale store and smaller informal businesses at Isiqalo informal settlement. Regent Villas is located close to Jakes Gerwel drive where buses and taxis pass and is a major roadway.

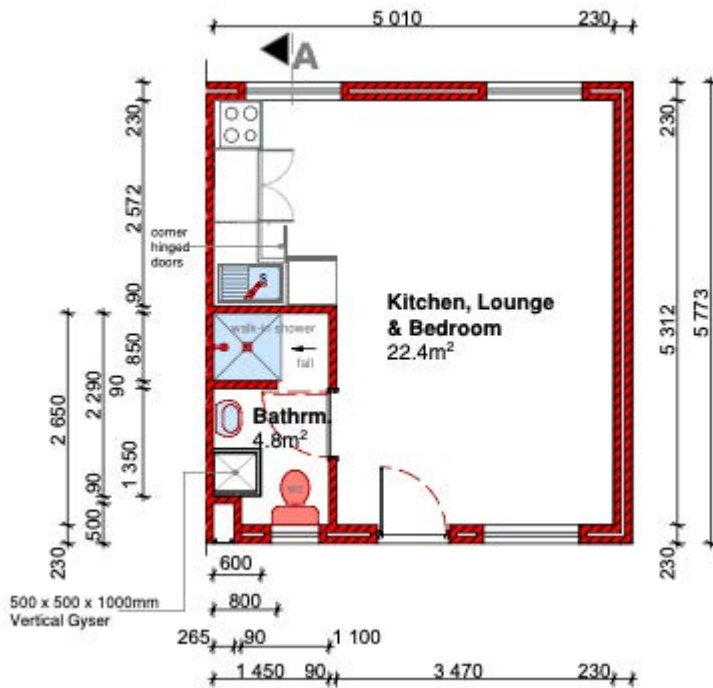
Outside, the gated development is in close proximity to two community centres, and a primary school. Within walking distance, there is a community park and a privately owned animal farm. Regent Villas features amenities such as a creche a garage turned into a conference centre for events, and a tuckshop. The services and amenities available in Regent Villas are only available to tenants.



Source: Author

Figure 3.3 Housing types surrounding Regent Villas

Regent Villas comprises 104 units. It is characterised by triple-storey units and features a dense building structure with little space between flats and corridors. Moreover, Regent Villas is enclosed with a boundary wall and one main entrance for both visitors and tenants which includes a security booth to control access at the entrance. The flat sizes in Regent Villas are typically small, as shown in Figure 3.4, with the bachelor flat having a combined kitchen, lounge and bedroom area which clearly differentiate this model of gated development from higher income counterparts. Furthermore, flat sizes tend to be small to accommodate for more flats to be built in the gated development.



Source: Povicom (2021)

Figure 3.4 Floor plan of a bachelor flat in Regent Villas

3.3. Conclusion

Regent Villas serves as an appropriate study site for an exploration of the unique typology of a working-class gated development. It was chosen based upon the following criteria: 1) it was developed for working-class residents within a low-income contexts; 2) it is located in an atypical context; and 3) it has similar features to that of its higher income gated development counterparts. Regent Villas was not only selected due to the foregrounding criteria, but was also selected due to proximity, accessibility and familiarity of the site to the researcher. Moreover focusing on one case study within one context, the Cape flats, allowed for the study to be more contextualised in the setting as a well as understanding low-income gated community in more detail in atypical contexts, thus leading to a more effective study and gaining a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon under study.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

'I think metaphorically of qualitative research as an intricate fabric composed of minute threads, many colours, different textures, and various blends of material. This fabric is not explained easily or simply. Like on the loom on which fabric is woven, general frameworks hold qualitative research together' (Creswell, 1998, p.13)

4.1. Introduction

This chapter comprises seven sections which together present a detailed description of the methodological approach employed in the study of a working class gated development. The first section briefly reiterates the research aims and objectives followed by the research philosophy that was adopted for the study. The chapter proceeds to describe the research design, the approach and methods of data collection, while shedding light on the limitations and how it was addressed. Furthermore, the section proceeds to discuss the data analysis approach and an additional framework that was used to analyse the data.

4.2. Research aim

The aim of this research is to understand and explore the purpose and function of gated developments in lower income areas in Cape Town using the example of Regent Villas in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town

4.2. Research philosophy

Research is not conducted in a vacuum and as a single act. The approaches, philosophical frameworks and methods of data collection are all intertwined and make up the research process. Thus, research is contingent upon philosophical assumptions which influence the methods and approaches in obtaining the data and generating knowledge (Rolfe, 2013) There are two philosophical approaches; positivism and interpretivism (Mkansi & Acheampong, 2012) other approaches have since emerged following these two. Guba & Lincoln (1994) contend that no consensus exists amongst scholars on which philosophical approach is more suited to conducting research as opposed to the other. Thus, a researcher will choose the one best suited to his/her study, the two approaches can also be used simultaneously. In providing explanations for the approaches, Gill & Johnson (1997) notes that positivism takes a more objective approach to research (and reality) and is commonly associated with scientific research. Whereas the interpretivist approach takes a more subjective approach and examines people within their socially constructed worlds. Thanh & Thanh (2015) explains, an interpretivist approach allows the researcher to study and explore participants' subjective and

lived experiences. Thus, within the interpretivist paradigm reality is discovered and understood through participants' views and backgrounds. This approach hinges on studying small samples in depth and the corpus of data usually consists of observations, documentation, open-ended and semi-structured interviews (Altinay et al., 2015).

As previously stated, between the two approaches no one approach is superior to the other however one may be best suited to the research being conducted. For this research, interpretivist better complimented the research aims and objectives, as the researcher set out to understand and explore the working-class gated development. The researcher further wanted to understand and examine the lived realities of tenants occupying working-class gated developments and how they adapt to this new way of living. Thirdly, the research took a qualitative approach as interpretivist proponents do and the sample consisted of interviewing residents and the developers to gain an understanding from multiple perspectives as interpretivist approach recommends. Furthermore, the interpretivist approach aided the researcher to study Regent Villas in its real-life context to understand and analyse this typology which aided to understand the infrastructural, architectural and service-related aspects of working class gated developments. Following this section, the research design and methodology is discussed to detail how the interpretivist approach informed the research.

4.3. Research design

Researchers who adopt the interpretivist paradigm tend to adopt either case studies or an ethnographic approach (Willis, 2007). Therefore, this research employed a case study research design. Robson (2002) defines case studies as a strategic way of an encompassing investigation into particular phenomena in its real-life context. Case studies allow for in-depth investigations of a single person, group, event or community (Mcleod & Elliot, 2011). Moreover, Otley & Barry (1994) asserts that case studies are helpful in generating new knowledge especially in cases where phenomena is under-researched. Hence, it was envisioned that the case study approach would be the most appropriate in exploring and understanding working class gated developments as an understudied phenomenon. Case studies allow for rich data collection which involves multiple sources of information (Creswell, 1998). Multiple sources of information are unpacked as, observations, interviews, audio-visual material, documents and reports. Hence the data collected for this research aided for a much richer corpus of data ensuring that data analysis and findings went beyond mere description and allowed for this scantily researched phenomena to be explored in depth, and to gain a deeper understanding of

the working class gated development. The selection of the case study design also follows the postulation by Morales (2019) who conducted research on gated developments in Mexico. Whilst there is the concern about generalisation from single case studies in the gating phenomenon (Morales, 2019), the working class gated development similarly had elements and features about the gating process that could be applied to other working class gated developments. Morales (2019) posits that the case study design also aids in the researcher understanding and uncovering additional information. In this case, the case study of Regent Villas simultaneously reflects the complexity of the process of gating up lower income people, while providing a rich collection of experiences and theories due to its distinctive nature. The case study approach espouses both qualitative and quantitative approaches to be used in the case development.

In line with the interpretivist viewpoint, the researcher was prompted to employ a qualitative approach to meet the objectives of the study. Although, any methodological approach, qualitative or quantitative, can be used, the use of qualitative methodology is best suited to the study and the interpretivist approach.

4.4. Qualitative research approach

This research adopted a qualitative approach to the study and thus employed qualitative methodological tools. According to McQuirk & O'Neil (2016) qualitative research can be defined as an approach that seeks to understand the different ways that people make sense of and experience events, places and processes. In adopting a qualitative approach reality is socially constructed and is more concerned with 'words'; the feelings, understandings and ideas. Qualitative research aims to understand phenomena in their natural settings thus this approach employs a range of methodological tools such as interviews, observations, oral histories, visual texts and so forth. Moreover, Babbie & Mouton (2001) notes that a qualitative approach allows the researcher to understand and study phenomena from an insider perspective.

4.5. Methods of data collection

According to Crotty (1998) research methodology can be defined as providing the blueprint and action plan for seeking and using certain methods. Simply put, research methodology deals with issues of 'why, what, when, from where, when and how' data is collected and analysed. This research employed a solely qualitative approach and methods which included semi-structured interviews, non-participant observations and secondary data analysis. Creswell

(1998) contends that researchers should consider the appropriateness and relativeness of data collection methods to the research aims and objectives. Following Creswell (1998), below, the data collection methods will be outlined and their motivation for why each method was selected and considered most suitable.

4.5.1 Semi-structured interviews

Oakley (1974) defines semi-structured interviews as in-depth discussions between the interviewer and interviewee. Semi-structured interviews are also best suited to the interpretivist paradigm as it helps to gain an understanding of the lived experiences of individuals. Thus, by adopting this technique it allowed the researcher to solicit an in-depth understanding of the living experiences of tenants living in a working class gated development and the daily functioning thereof. Therefore, semi-structured interviews were conducted with all participants: Regent Villas tenants; founder⁵ and the tenant liaison officer as depicted in Table 4.1 below. This technique allows for in-depth discussions and meaningful conversations which provides the researcher with a range of situations, experiences and viewpoints (Altinay et al., 2015). Thus, in-depth conversations were held with participants which allowed for rich and comprehensive information to be acquired from the different participants on the experiences of the working-class gated development. For example, it was central to the research to interview the founder of Regent Villas to gain an understanding of the marriage between the public and private sector in this typology of gating.

The interview was designed and contained questions that helped to uncover major themes, pertinent to the research aims and objectives (See Appendix D for a list of interview questions). Creswell (1998) notes that the interview questions should be relevant to your research purpose. Prior to conducting interviews, appointments were made with the tenant liaison officer; however, the tenants that were interviewed had no prior knowledge of the interview and were approached at random. Three rounds of interviews were conducted with tenants, security personnel and the tenant liaison officer. This was done to ensure that the researcher interviewed different groups of tenants thus, the researcher went to the study site on different days and times. By conducting interviews at different times of the day and on different occasions allowed for rich findings and an in-depth investigation of the lived experiences of tenants and

⁵ The term founder as opposed to developer is used throughout the study. Throughout the researchers interaction with the founder, he referred to himself as the “CEO” (Chief executive officer) and executive director of Povicom and one that is passionate about assisting government with producing and managing housing, not solely after profit gain. He does not refer to himself as a “developer”.

security personnel. It must be noted that during the first round of interviews, tenants revealed interesting information pertaining to their lived experiences. These responses were subsequently used to inform the next round of interviews. The interviews with all participants were held at Regent Villas, in familiar settings as it is advantageous to conduct interviews in a place that participants are familiar and comfortable with (Creswell, 1998). Moreover, this also allowed for the researcher to observe the gated development and the living space of the tenants. The two-way interaction of semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher and the participant to let the interview flow in a conversational manner and after interviews, the researcher went back to the guiding questionnaire to include pertinent information that were revealed during the previous round of interviews (Yin, 2011). For instance, during the second round of interviews a participant revealed the compulsory test that forms part of the application process and prospective tenants are required to partake in the test, this was then added to the final round of interviews questionnaire guide. Moreover, the semi structured technique allowed for an in-depth and richer information (Oakley, 1974), and dovetailed with the case study research design.

More importantly, Adams & Cox (2008) highlight the importance of general introductions and building rapport at the beginning of interviews which aids in putting participants at ease. Moreover, at this point, the researcher should also request permission to record the interview. This study followed Adams & Cox (2008) by providing an introduction of the researcher and the study, what will be requested of tenants as participants, this helped to build rapport and put the tenants at ease. Some tenants remarked that they have never been partaken in a formal interview and thus, appeared anxious and excited. However, the researcher assured them that the interviewer will be asking questions regarding their experiences as tenants. Once respondents were at ease and signed the consent form, the researcher sought permission for interviews to be recorded. Adams & Cox (2008) suggests that in the case of respondents refusing to be recorded, notes can be made throughout the interview. Although all the respondents gave permission to be recorded, the researcher still made notes during interviews. However, respondents were made aware of this. The researcher reiterated that they would remain anonymous, and pseudonyms will be provided in the writing up

Interviewee	Reasons for interview
Founder	To obtain information about the pre-development phase, the operational phase and the inner workings of Regent Villas and the reasons for constructing a housing development of its nature.
Tenant liaison officer	To explore the gated development, the physical aspects, the daily experiences and functioning and the role he plays in the upkeep and functioning of the gated development
Tenants	To gather information about their lived experiences and the application process.

Source: Author

Table 4.1 Interviewees and reasons for interview

4.5.2. Non-participant observations

Altinay et al. (2015) defines observations as a rich and detailed technique which provides context-specific descriptions of the phenomena under study. According to Creswell (1998), there are two types of observations namely, participant and non-participant observations. Participant observations refers to when the researcher ‘partake’ in the setting or event being observed whereas non-participant the researcher remains ‘detached’ and simply observes the setting, context or event. For this research, non-participant observations were more suited to the study and still provided the researcher with contextually rich findings. This technique is also complementary to other research methods applied here as it helps to validate information obtained and revealed during interviews (Schein, 1992). In this study, observations took place in the selected study site where the researcher took notes and photographs with permission. Creswell (1998) notes that the researcher should identify who or what to observe, when and for how long as it is imperative to the research aims and objectives. In this regard, the working class gated development is where observations took place whilst the researcher moved through interviews and waited for interviews to take place. Observations were conducted inside and outside of the gates. Furthermore, tenants, visitors and security personnel were observed, how they move through the space and the interactions amongst the different actors in the space. This was important and relevant to the research aims and objectives. Observations were carried out over a few months and strategically, at different times and days of the week, which produced first-hand experience of different behaviours of different actors.

4.5.3. Secondary data analysis

Secondary data analysis can be defined as the review of existing literature and can be utilised as a complementary tool of data collection (Crotty, 1998). The technique can be further used as a data analysis method or a means to support or refute findings and determine validity (Yin, 1992). Secondary data may consist of newspaper articles, commercial publications, press releases, company documents, government gazettes and policy documents. For this study, secondary data were obtained from social media platforms and the Povicom website. The data included relevant social housing policy documents obtained from the City of Cape Town website, lease agreements, brochures of Regent Villas and application documents which were retrieved from the Povicom website. Likewise, the Regent Villas social media page was visited to gain insight of prospective tenants and the application process. The use of secondary research aided the researcher to better understand the application process and criteria for being a tenant of Regent Villas. Moreover, the use of policy documents was useful in understanding social housing, its criteria, relationship with the private sector and to provide insight in the discussion and findings of the research.

4.6. Research population

According to Creswell (1998), sampling is the process whereby the researcher selects and recruits a representative example, for their research, from the broader population. The author argues that the population needs to be representative as it prevents the findings from being myopic. Therefore, what follows is who the population was, and the recruitment process carried out in the research. The broader population were tenants in Regent Villas, majority of them previously living as backyard dwellers and under informal rental tenure conditions in areas in and around the Cape Flats. The sample for this study included 16 tenants that agreed to partake in the study. The population was suitable for the following reasons, firstly, they were tenants of Regent Villas, secondly, they formed part of the working-class social group, and this was not determined by enquiring about tenants job occupation or salary bracket during interviews but instead through their role as tenants of Regent Villas as the requirements have classified tenants as forming part of the lower-income category. Furthermore, the population solicited rich information which met the aims and objectives of the study and provided good insight into their experiences as tenants of Regent Villas.

4.6.1. Participant selection

Altinay et al. (2015) defines the inclusion criteria as the specified criteria on which participants will be selected to partake in the study. The inclusion criteria was simplistic, participants had to be a tenant of Regent Villas, their duration of stay was not of importance, and at an ethically appropriate age to partake in the study.

4.6.2. Recruitment

Conducting interviews may present some challenges as the researcher might have to pass through a number of gatekeepers and therefore face difficulties reaching study sites and participants (Altinay et al., 2015). This is especially relevant when studying gated developments thus the researcher was cognizant of this when choosing the study site and embarked on gaining permission from the owner (and founder) of Regent Villas. The recruitment of participants to partake in the study began by making contact with the owner of Regent Villas. Contact was made with the founder via telephone which ensued in a face to face meeting. During the meeting between the owner and the researcher, the researcher provided an overview of the research, and what would be expected from the founder and the tenants if they were to partake in the research and he was presented with a consent form and information sheet (Appendix B and C) which the founder signed and later returned. The founder was the initial gatekeeper that the researcher needed to 'pass' to conduct research in Regent Villas. After the founder gave the researcher permission to conduct the data collection process at Regent Villas, the researcher was put in contact with the onsite tenant liaison officer, who would then facilitate the process of data collection at the study site. The researcher visited the gated development to meet with the tenant liaison officer, to conduct the first set of interviews, upon arrival the researcher gained entry and provided the tenant liaison officer with a detailed description of the research and an information sheet. This was followed by a tour of the gated development and introduction to tenants who were willing to partake in the research. Respondents were selected and approached at random based on who was available to partake in an interview and who was at home at the time when interviews were being conducted. However, the researcher was accompanied by the tenant liaison officer whilst conducting interviews, due to the privacy regulations and the rules of the gated development.

4.7. Data analysis

Interviews with participants lasted between 30 to 45 minutes and were all tape recorded, with permission, and transcribed verbatim. The researcher then proceeded to identify and pull out

threads of emerging patterns and themes from the data, this process is known as thematic analysis. Thematic analysis was the data analysis tool that was used to make sense of and conceptualise the data and to present the findings. The tool was considered most suitable to the research questions, aims and objectives. Moreover, thematic analysis allowed the researcher to delve deeper into under-explored territory and to uncover themes related to working class gate developments. In addition to that, thematic analysis goes hand in hand with the qualitative and interpretivist approach employed in this research. Thematic analysis as put forward by Braun & Clarke (2006) can be defined as a type of analysis that aids the researcher in identifying, analysing and arranging the data into themes. Braun & Clarke (2006) propounded that thematic analysis comprises six steps; 1) familiarisation, 2) coding 3) generating themes, 4) reviewing themes, 5) defining and naming themes and 6) writing up. The six steps do not need to be conducted in chronological order, and one can go back and forth between steps.

1. Familiarisation: Firstly, the researcher needs to carefully study the data to gain an encompassing overview of the collected data. Familiarisation generally involves transcribing audio, reading through the data and making initial notes to become familiar with the data. In this research, the data was recorded and transcribed verbatim, after every interview session the researcher made initial notes and during observations. The initial notes and transcribed scripts were read through a number of times, and initial themes and homogenous patterns were identified.
2. Coding: Once the researcher is familiar with the data, the process of coding can begin which refers to highlighting and identifying relevant sections of the text. During this step, it is usually phrases, sentences, terms and labels that were prominent and relevant from collected data and that which describes the research best. In this research, coding was conducted after the researcher was familiar with the data and identified recurring terms and phrases. The identified terms and phrases were coded with highlighters.
3. Themes: A theme consists of several codes. In this step, the researcher formulated initial themes based on the codes in the previous step.
4. Reviewing themes: In this step, Braun & Clarke (2006) asks that the researcher review themes for usefulness and accuracy, as they need to be accurate representations of the data. At this stage, the researcher needs to check that the themes mirror the data thus they need to ask themselves three important questions, 1) Are the themes missing any important threads of data?, 2) Are the themes present in the data? and 3) How can we improve our themes to better represent the data and suit the research? At this step, the

researcher reviewed the themes and data thoroughly and combined some themes, instead of making it a sub-theme, and some were combined to form one theme as they dovetailed more appropriately. The changes made resulted in the themes being a more accurate representation of the data.

5. Defining and naming the themes: This stage involves defining the themes and what each theme means. Moreover, also how the theme helps us make sense of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Here, the researcher labelled and defined the themes. This was conducted through consultation with the data and research aims and objectives to ensure that it suited the research.
6. Writing up: Whilst the discussion chapter often includes the research findings, the findings chapter provides a succinct description by using examples from the data as evidence.

Secondly, Kostenwein's (2021) seven analytical dimensions were used to differentiate the working class gated development from its higher income counterparts. The seven analytical dimensions are; permeability, plot structure, visual isolation, density, amenities, plot size and urban context. Firstly, permeability allows us to understand the spatial relationship and interaction between public and private spaces (Hanson, 2000; Hillier, 2004) thus the permeability dimension by Kostenwein (2021) measures the openings of a gated development that faces public spaces and that allows for spatial interactions. Visual isolation, this dimension measures the type of facades/building (walls or fences) a gated development has and to what extent an outsider (public) can see into the gated development (private) and vice versa. The density dimension looks at the height of the gated development by looking at the number of floors whilst amenities was used to analyse the services and amenities provided in Regent Villas. According to Kostenwein (2021), when gated developments are built on large plots, the surrounding streets are less active and typically favours automobiles thus plot size looks at the size of the land that the gated development is situated on. The urban context dimension was used to determine how many gated developments are closely located to Regent Villas and the relationship between Regent Villas and surrounding urban space.

4.8. Validity and Reliability

Validity is a way of ensuring credibility in your research (Yin, 2011). A study is only considered valid when the conclusions and interpretations made reflect the actual study site and accurately reflect the people or phenomena under study. Although Yin (2011) argues that

no study will achieve and attain complete validity, the researcher should take the necessary steps to attain almost complete validity. Maxwell (2013) defines validity as ‘the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation or other sort of account’ (2013, p. 122). Maxwell (2013) identifies ‘rich data’ as one of the ways to ensure validity in one's study.

On the other hand, Leung (2015) defines reliability as the process where the research process can be repeated and yield the same results. Simply put, research is only deemed reliable if the research process can be repeated and the same results can be reached. To attain reliability, there are steps and procedures to be undertaken. For example, in this research all the materials and data collection tools employed were recorded. In addition, according to Leininger (1992) trust needs to be gained from research respondents to maintain validity and reliability. Therefore, the researcher made contact with the founder prior to conducting data collection at the site. The researcher provided research respondents with consent forms and ensured anonymity in the writing up of the findings. However, their anonymity during the interviews and to prevent biased responses could not be assured due to the presence of the tenant liaison officer during interviews. To circumvent potential biased responses, the researcher initially followed up with respondents after interviews via social media platforms such as Facebook. However, during the second session of interviews respondents were more transparent and honest, thereby improving the validity of the study. This, in turn, improved the reliability as it yielded rich data. The researcher ensured to be well-versed on social housing and was familiar with Mitchells Plain; this resulted in building rapport and the facilitation of informal discussions with respondents. Furthermore, taking notes and transcribing the recordings enabled the researcher to go back and forth between theme formation and whether they were representative of the lived experiences of respondents.

4.9. Limitations

The overall aim and research questions dovetailed perfectly and suited the methodological approaches, however, as is the case in academic studies and investigations, the study still posed a few limitations. First, the research focused on one case study instead of using examples of other working class gated developments or situating it within a higher income gated development to draw out similarities and differences which would essentially mean a comparative study. Certainly, including and examining other working class gated developments would generate a more robust and generalisable study. However, at current there

is only one working class gated development of its kind in Mitchells Plain and the area, Mitchells Plain, is very similar to other communities in and around the Cape Flats. Thus, the findings of this study can be used to conceptualise working class gated developments in other parts of the Cape Flats. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see if tenants living in other working class gated developments experience similar lived experiences to those living in Regent Villas. Moreover, it would be useful to explore the process of gating in other lower income contexts in the Cape Flats and if there are any similarities with that of Regent Villas. Second, although the sample size used in the study gained rich and in-depth findings, a larger sample size would have been beneficial to examine and gain a broader understanding of lived experiences in Regent Villas. Towards the end of the data collection activity, the tenant liaison officer discontinued communication with the researcher and the discovery of a crucial piece of information could have led to this discontinued communication and avoidance. Nevertheless, the researcher gathered enough data to produce rich and succinct findings and conclusions. Future studies could aim for at least half of the number of tenants, for instance, if there are 100 tenants, 50 could be interviewed.

A further limitation was the accompanying and presence of the tenant liaison officer during the interviews. Initially, the tenant liaison officer played a facilitating role by securing interviews and introducing the researcher to tenants which made the tenants feel at ease. However, during the first round of interviews, the researcher received biased responses from participants due to the presence of the tenant liaison officer. This not only resulted in some biased responses but also challenged the autonomy of the researcher. Therefore, the researcher requested to do interviews without the tenant liaison officer being present; however this request was met with the following response from the tenant liaison officer, *“Hi there, Mr A has said that it is a gated community, and our rules are no unexpected visitors. Therefore, you have to be supervised by me while you are on the premises”* To work around this and gain autonomy during the data collection process, the researcher took a firm stance during interviews and gained respondents' trust which ensured very honest responses of their living experiences. In addition to this, the tenant liaison officer also started to consider the interview, and research essentially, as a means to gain an understanding of living experiences and to implement improvements, if any were revealed during interviews. Thus, Creswell (1998) notes that gatekeepers should not be viewed as barriers but instead as facilitators as they can identify and point out pertinent issues which could be useful to the researcher. Furthermore, during interviews some tenants confronted the tenant liaison officer about issues they were

experiencing. Consequently, this served as an advantage to the researcher as it provided insight into challenges experienced by tenants in the estate which would not have come to light if the tenant liaison officer was not present.

4.10 Researcher reflexivity

The researcher's positionality as a young 'coloured' Muslim female from the Cape Flats affected the research in a few ways. Being an insider on the Cape Flats, Mitchells Plain, yet an outsider in Regent Villas initially brought upon some minor issues. Firstly, accessing the gated development posed a challenge due to the rules of the gated development and the researcher being considered an 'outsider'. Despite having permission from the founder to conduct research in Regent Villas, the security personnel were initially reluctant in allowing the researcher to enter the gated development and initially, there was a strong feeling of being an outsider in Regent Villas, as made clear by the security personnel, which was further fuelled by younger tenants who were not friendly towards the researcher on her initial visit. It was eventually revealed that their hostility towards the researcher was based on their assumption that the researcher was going to be the new manager of Regent Villas. This assumption was possibly made based on the researcher carrying her little notebook to make fieldnotes, as the researcher purposefully dressed in casual attire to blend in with the gated development and the tenant population. Following this, building rapport with the participants and gaining trust to share their, sometimes, personal stories was important. This was made easier with the researcher also being a resident in Mitchells Plain which helped with small talk with the security personnel and with tenants, as she was familiar with the area and the challenges it faced. As previously mentioned, the tenant liaison officer accompanied the researcher during interviews with tenants, as per the rules of the gated development. Initially the presence of the tenant liaison officer threatened the researcher's autonomy during interviews and affected tenants trust and opinions provided during the interviews. The researcher regained her autonomy during the second round of interviews, and this was evident in the honest opinions of tenants.

During the second round of interviews, both the security guards and tenants expressed a sense of trust towards the researcher. The security guards also started sharing experiences as personnel of Regent Villas. The tenants were friendly towards the researcher, and some were very excited to speak to the researcher as they have mentioned, "I've never been interviewed before". For the researcher, this statement extended beyond that of excitement but also

indicated how eager they were to share their living experiences and for somebody to listen to their stories which they once might have felt was not important. In some instances, tenants felt as if the researcher was able to solve the challenges they experience as tenants. Interestingly, in one case the researcher felt “god sent” for one of the participants as she had many complaints as a tenant of Regent Villas. During this particular interview the tenant liaison officer attempted to ‘brush off’ the complaints of the said participant, this further showed how the tenant liaison officer presented to tenants with an authoritative style and in many instances, the researcher could sense that there was not a good relationship between the tenant liaison officer and tenants.

4.11 Ethical considerations

Considering the qualitative nature of this research and its involvement with human subjects, ethical considerations are at the heart of the research methodology. Therefore, before the data collection process commenced, the researcher obtained ethical clearance from the University of the Western Cape (HSSREC Reference number HS21/8/10, See Appendix A). Once in the research site, participants were briefed on what the intention of the research was and what would be expected from them during interviews and the researcher assured them of anonymity, although their names were known to the researcher, they were given pseudonyms during the writing up. Furthermore, they were made aware that they could withdraw from the research at any time during the research process. During interviews, the researcher requested permission to voice record the interviews. Due to the respondents previous living conditions, some being backyard dwellers and others living in places with high crime rates and both could cause post psychological distress, the researcher was cautioned in asking too sensitive questions and was cognizant of this during interviews and interactions with tenants. All the collected data were stored and only the researcher and the supervisor had access to the data.

4.12 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the research process and the methodological tools employed in the research and dovetailed how it suited the research aims and objectives of the study, followed by the data analysis method used to make sense of the data. Thus, the following chapter presents an exploration into Regent Villas/the working class gated development.

CHAPTER 5: EXPLORING REGENT VILLAS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings gathered by the researcher as it narrates the story of a working class gated development in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town. The findings are presented according to themes. The chapter begins by setting the scene by approaching Regent Villas, as an example of a working class gated development. The subsequent theme then takes the reader into the gated development by discussing the architectural features, amenities, how the gated development functions in terms of governance and the ‘openness’ of this typology. Whilst this theme comprises mainly the opinions of the founder and tenant liaison officer. The final theme presents the living experiences of the tenants. Essentially, the chapter begins ‘outside’ of the gates, followed by entering Regent Villas and ends off with what it feels like to be a tenant of this kind of gated development. Most of the findings will be analysed through the lens of Kostenwein’s (2021) seven analytical dimensions. The main goal of this chapter is to elucidate the operations of a working class gated development and the living experiences of its tenants.

5.2 Approaching the gates: Getting in, Gating in..

Prior to entering the gates of a gated development, prospective tenants come from different communities and backgrounds, they express interest in the gated development, based on motivations, which is then followed by an application. The theme *approaching the gates: getting in, gating in* focuses on prospective tenants approaching the gates of Regent Villas. Firstly, the theme sheds light on the different areas that tenants come from and how they came to know about the gated development. The theme then gets expanded by looking at the process that tenants partake in to gain entry into the gated development including the criteria that prospective tenants need to meet in order to qualify for a rental flat and the motivations for retreating into a working class gated development. The aim here is to lay the foundation for “getting in” to Regent Villas. This theme is important to understand the target market and if indeed the working class gated development is accessible to the intended target market which will be determined through the application process. The aim of Regent Villas is to provide adequate housing to people from Mitchells Plain and to provide them with a decent and safe living environment.

5.2.1 The catchment areas

The point of departure for potential tenants of Regent Villas has as much to do with geographic location as it does with socio-economic status. However, unlike typical high-income gated developments, the catchment area for a working class gated development such as Regent Villas is much more localised. The criteria of working class gated developments is very specific as to where prospective tenants depart from to retreat into the gated development and thus, specifically pinpoints locations qualifying tenants should depart from. The managing body of Regent Villas, Povicom⁶, website states; *“Povicom has identified the Western Cape and Mitchells Plain specifically, as an area of demand”* (Povicom, 2022). Thus, Mitchells Plain has been identified as a catchment area for potential tenants. A few tenants noted to have come from sub-areas in and around Mitchells Plain such as Portlands, Lentegeur, Rocklands and Beacon Valley. These sub-areas are collectively known for having a housing shortage and consequently, a high demand for social housing lingers in these sub-areas.

A few kilometres away from the intended catchment area, some participants departed from Manenberg, Strandfontein, Pelican Park and Bayview, albeit further away but still within the intended catchment area for the working class gated development. These areas are assumed to house a range of middle to higher income individuals, however these participants were living under informal rental conditions and searching for an affordable rental home which will be unpacked later on in the theme.

Despite some tenants coming from areas located further away from the gated development and slightly out of the catchment area, the majority of tenants came from surrounding areas. Departing from the same catchment area, not only meant that potential tenants came from similar spatial and social backgrounds, but the majority of tenants reported to have known each other from their departing areas either through interaction in previous living environments or rooted in deeper connections such as previously attending the same school which resulted in a sense of familiarity amongst tenants. As underscored by one participant who noted that majority of tenants are from Mitchells Plain.

Moreover, it was not only the catchment areas that were of importance to the research but also, where and how the tenants came to know about Regent Villas. The marketing techniques used in the advertising of the working class gated development differed from those of their higher

income counterparts, as reflected in the responses. For Regent Villas, being a first of its kind in Mitchells Plain, the advertising and marketing techniques were a fundamental part of its success and to attract the intended target market. As described by tenants, the marketing techniques used were intended for the target market of Mitchells Plain, as the local community newspaper, the Plainsman was one of the major advertisement methods. Five tenants reported to have seen the Regent Villas advertisement in the Plainsman that circulates on a Wednesday across Mitchells Plain;

We saw the advertisement in the Plainsman, We saw the advertisement in the Plainsman, and I came across this place in the plainsman, there was a newspaper AD

Rameez and his family were drawn to the advertisement of Regent Villas due to affordability, which further encouraged them to apply. Shameemah reverberated that the advertisement in the Plainsman was not clear in terms of the location of the development. Furthermore, as reverberated by Nadine, initially she was under the impression that her application was for a housing project located a few kilometres away from Regent Villas, which comprises semi-detached houses, however to her surprise and somewhat dismay to accommodate her large family, the application was for Regent Villas. Thus, it is appropriate to make the argument that the advertisement of Regent Villas did not fully encapsulate fundamental aspects such as location and type of development;

It's actually my wife, my wife came to me and her like showed me this AD and she was like.. look at what's the rental at that place [Rameez]

Well, the application was in the plainsman, and they didn't say specifically that it's here, but they did say that it's on Jakes Gerwel, so that is not obviously where they built it [Shameemah]

I actually thought this was applications for Morgan Village, here at the back and then we heard that it was actually for the complex that they building [Nadine]

Similar to Rameez and family, Gladdys, a domestic worker who works in the City Bowl was specifically looking to rent an affordable home in Mitchells Plain thus she consulted the local newspaper as remarked below. The local newspaper is free and accessible to the target market, which was a strategic advertising technique on the part of the developer. Moreover, Gladdys and tenants above were also strategic in their search for an affordable home.

We were browsing through the newspaper, but she was also looking for a place in Mitchells Plain, so we looked in the newspaper

The managing body of Regent Villas also posted advertisements on a social media platform Facebook community group of the surrounding community, Colorado Park, as shown in Figure 5.1. Unlike higher income counterparts, the advertisement of Regent Villas does not place much emphasis on security, green spaces for children to play and a wide range of amenities. The fulcrum of the advertisement is that of providing decent and affordable homes to potential tenants. The advertisement methods of Regent Villas is unique to this typology and different methods were used to advertise the working class gated development and to ensure that it reached the intended target market.



Colorado Park Residence · [Join](#)

Povicom Suha · 12 Aug 2021 · 🌐

Final three 2 bedroom units available for rental at Regent Villas in Weltevreden Valley (Colorado/London Village), Mitchells Plain

These large 2 bedroom flats consist of bedrooms with built-in cupboards, a family bathroom, open-plan fitted kitchen and lounge. This 24-hour security complex also has wifi available and more facilities coming soon.

To apply for this unit, your salary or combined salary must be between R11 301-R15 000pm and you must meet our basic criteria.

For more information, visit our website: www.povicom.co.za where we have easy-to-complete online applications or call a consultant at 021-761 0707



Source: Facebook

Figure 5.1 Facebook advertisement of Regent Villas

On the other hand, tenants came to know about Regent Villas through additional sources such as, word-of-mouth from friends and family which was one of the most popular methods. Word-of-mouth as an advertisement method can also be linked to the familiarity amongst tenants as mentioned above. Interestingly, Mel made an application based on a friend who did not qualify, although they both worked in the same industry and grouped into the same income group:

I heard from a friend, who didn't qualify, and she told me to apply

The response by Mel further encapsulates the experience of Mogammat who noted that he heard about Regent Villas through his wife who is currently an employee of Povicom. As will be unpacked in the following category, employees are not allowed to rent in Regent Villas as per the application guidelines and potential tenant criteria thus it was interesting for the researcher that an employee and her mother who is a pensioner were allowed to lease a rental flat in the gated development.

My wife is an employee and that's how we knew about the houses

The response by Mogammat not only details the advertisement methods of Regent Villas but also turns our attention to the application process. The application phase for potential tenants of Regent Villas was another important aspect and formed part of their process of 'gating into' the working class gated development.

5.2.2. Application process

Unlike their higher income counterparts, in a working class gated development such as Regent Villas, potential tenants must satisfy a range of criteria in order to secure a lease on a flat. Beyond the physical gating of gated developments, the case of Regent Villas exemplifies gatekeeping of another kind, undertaken during the application process of prospective tenants. The application process is carried out by the vetting department⁷ of Povicom. In order for prospective tenants to successfully acquire a flat in Regent Villas, there are specific

⁷ The vetting department of Regent Villas is responsible for the pre and post application phases. They ensure tenants meet the criteria for a lease agreement from the point of application through the entire lease agreement period.

requirements that should be met as per the rules of Povicom. One such requirement is one of citizenship, due to the social housing nature of the gated development. In order to qualify for a lease one needs to be of South African nationality. The founder makes a rather clear distinction between the qualifying nationality and those who do not qualify. The response of the founder further alludes back to the purpose of Regent Villas, targeted to people of Mitchells Plain and it would defeat the purpose if flats were leased to foreign tenants;

one of our own and No, not foreigners because the goal is to provide housing for people of Mitchells Plain and not somebody who comes here because hard in their country, government must look after them – it will defeat the whole purpose if we provide housing to them

Besides nationality, potential tenants should have a form of employment with a stable source of income and not have been a previous homeowner. In this regard, the findings showed that some of the tenants adopted ‘street smart’ techniques and made an application by using the details of family members in order to qualify for a lease. Rameez points out that his son made the application on his behalf as he is currently unemployed. Whilst this was not perceived as an issue by the managing body, it is questionable as to how legal and transparent this is and if this should be allowed considering the social housing nature of the working class gated development;

South African citizen employed and not have owned a property before [Founder]

So my son had to go for the interview, and he had to get the clearance, so it wasn't long... [Rameez]

Financial circumstance is also important in Regent Villas. The financial bracket that tenants fall into determines the type of flat, bachelor flat or two-bedroom flat that tenants are allowed to lease. Financial criterion comprises both, primary and secondary target. Potential tenants who fall under the primary target, earning between R1500 and R5500 per month, are given first preference followed by the secondary target, earning between R5500 and R15 000 per month, is given second preference.

Paraphrasing the founder, the financial criterion and essentially rental amounts are low and in accordance with the government criteria for social housing. He further reiterated that rental amounts are affordable as this would benefit people that do not earn enough to rent elsewhere or to enter the home ownership market. He further denotes that the low rental amount allows

for lower income people to have access to safe and decent housing, which they otherwise would not have access to, thus Regent Villas is not targeted to people who earn more than R15 000 as it is assumed that they can afford to and qualify to rent elsewhere;

You cannot earn R15 000 and pay R800 rent, it defeats the purpose for social housing and the criteria by government

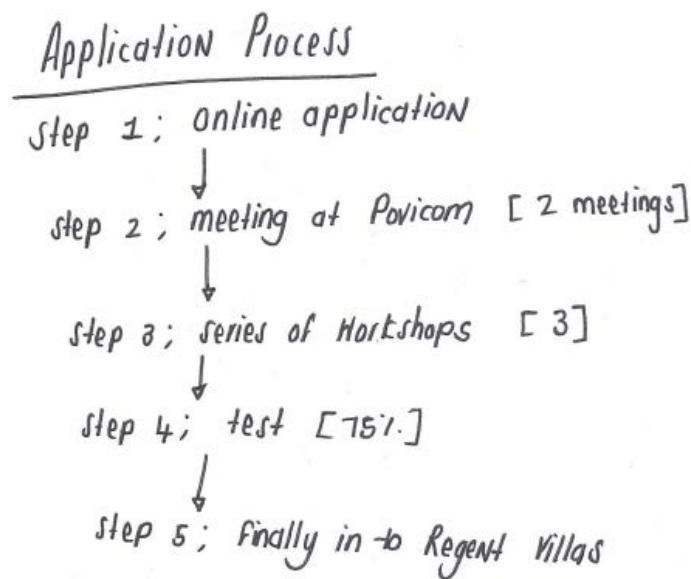
At the time of writing, the new phase of Regent Villas was still in its construction phase, as shown in Figure 5.2 thus it is not included in the analysis and findings of this research. However, the financial criterion for Regent Villas Phase 2 has been increased with the bracket ranging from R1850, 00 to R22 000, which is not according to the criteria set out for social housing by the local government as reiterated by the founder and the information booklet of Regent Villas. It is also unclear and questionable as to whether the broadening of the financial criterion bracket will be suited to the intended target market. With this new financial criteria, it allows for potential tenants who could afford to rent elsewhere and enter the home ownership market to qualify for a lease in Regent Villas.



Source: Povicom (2022)

Figure 5.2 Phase 2 of Regent Villas during construction phase

Potential tenants are also required to undergo a criminal checks by the South African Police Service (SAPS) to meet the application criteria. For this tenants, this caused a delay in their application as one tenant noted that that her criminal check was a lengthy process [reword] and as a result, she almost forfeited her application. On the other hand, the founder reported that this is a necessary process to ensure that no lease be granted to previous, and current, criminals and to ensure that they are, “hardworking and decent citizens” and to ensure that, “tenants feel safe”. It can be said that the founder deems of criminal checks to be compulsory to ensure that ‘decent’ citizens are accepted to reside in Regent Villas, and he believes this way, the gated development will be a safe and sanitized environment. Once application criteria are met by potential tenants, they are prompted to make an online application on the Povicom website and undergo a range of ‘application phases’ as illustrated in Figure 5.3, including a screening process as noted by the founder.



Source: Author

Figure 5.3 Regent Villas application process

The screening process that tenants undergo is multifaceted and two-fold as revealed during interviews with respondents. Firstly, tenants make an online application on the Povicom

website⁸, which served as an initial hurdle and gatekeeper for some tenants who did not have access to the required resources such as a computer. In this quote, Tyrone revealed how his application was almost not received by Povicom due to not having access to the required resources. The tenant made the application via his cell phone, but the managing body and vetting department reported to not have received his documents as the application site is not compatible with cell phones. The tenant was only aware of this after he phoned the vetting department to query, if he failed to make the query, his application would not have been received by the vetting department. Thus it can be argued that the online application site and application method is not suited to the target market.

Like I applied on my phone and then I called in to find out if they received my application and then it wasn't received and the lady at the office said that I need to do it via laptop or computer then they will receive the application

Following Tyrone, during interviews fellow tenants further encapsulated the difficulties experienced when making their online applications. Besides a lack of access to the required resources to make an application some tenants did not understand how to undertake the online application as noted by Shameema and Gail;

I saw the application thing and then I called the offices, they explained how it worked
[Shameema]

I phoned first a few times and asked how the process works [Gail]

Gladdys sought the help of her employer to assist her with the application. It became apparent during the interview that her home language is Afrikaans which could possibly be the reason why she experienced difficulty making the online application, due to the language barrier;

My boss did it [the application] for me...

The online application process further requires tenants to submit documents that would complete their application such as bank statements, proof of income and identity documents.

⁸ [Applications - Povicom](#)

Once prospective tenants have successfully gone through the initial screening process of meeting the specified criteria and successfully completed the online application, they are then required to attend interviews, which are followed by a series of workshops. The second phase of the application is when potential tenants undergo interviews, during the interviews potential tenants meet with a representative of Povicom to discuss their financial circumstances and this will determine whether or not the potential tenant will be granted a lease and the type of flat the potential tenant will be able to lease, based on financial circumstance.

Mel provided insight into her interview with Povicom and remarked that during the second part of the application process, the prospective tenant from Mitchells Plain, dependent on public transport, had to travel to Wetton, where the head office of Povicom is situated, to attend meetings where salary, income, employment and alike are discussed. The meeting is conducted to ascertain the prospects [or not] of tenants being able to lease a flat in Regent Villas.

I am accepted and then the following week we did the whole process, up and down to Wetton and then the week after that we come here for the workshop, so everything goes quick... quick

Fatiema, an older tenant, also successfully completed her online application and underwent the interview process. However, Fatiema expressed interest in being a tenant of Regent Villas, but initially she did not want to get her hopes up about her application status possibly due to her age and being on a social housing waiting list⁹ for three decades with no answer to date, thus she expressed uncertainty as to whether she would be able to qualify for a lease as she explains;

I was eager to go, and I went to the first interview and Ja – they took all the details, everything and so on but my mind wasn't set there on because I didn't.... Do I qualify or don't I qualify..

Over 30 years ago [on a waiting list] and until today we never got any information

Contrary to higher income counterparts, Regent Villas also have a waiting list, similar to what the tenant described above, where potential tenants are listed on and contacted if a flat becomes available. Gail reiterated that she was on a waiting list for two years before she was contacted and a flat became available to lease. Thus, there are some observable similarities between

⁹ Waiting lists also referred to as 'Housing Demand Database' by the Western Cape Government (2023) are utilised by housing offices, and officials, to list people who are waiting to be provided a house as part of government housing projects.

social housing projects and working class gated developments and it could be assumed that the term ‘working class gated developments’ are based on the infrastructure and governance of the gated model yet the inner workings pertaining to lease agreements and flat allocation still operates in accordance with that of social housing policy.

I was on the waiting list and after two years they contacted me and my husband. He did the workshops and all that

Other tenants more eagerly explained their application process, this quote highlights that workshop attendance only takes place after the application is approved, and the interview phase is completed.

So we were called and had to attend first.. where they told us exactly what’s going to happen and all those and from there, we accepted

Interestingly, before the lease agreements are signed, rules are laid out by workshop facilitators and the managing body of Regent Villas. Thus, it can be said that the purpose of the workshop is to educate tenants about the rules of Regent Villas. It can further be said that the workshop functions as ‘training’ sessions for potential tenants. Interestingly, the founder revealed that 1155 people were invited to attend the workshop, but only 720 people attended. Among the attendees, 66 people earned between R1500 and R3500; 126 people earned between R3500 and R5500; 125 people earned between R5501 and R7700; 228 people earned between R7701 and R11 300 and 189 people earned between R11 301 and R15 000. Based on those figures, majority of people who attended the workshop are those that fall into the higher income category. Potential tenants who successfully attend the scheduled workshops, are required to write a compulsory test before they are allowed to sign their lease agreements, which paints the picture that signing lease agreements into the gates also binds tenants to the rules of the gated development and a compulsory test. Mel sheds more light on the process and purpose of the workshop and the test that follows, as she notes it was a simple process;

Then after we signed our contracts and there was like a session where they put down rules and a mini test that we did but it was a fairly simple and easy process

The test is a method of testing prospective tenants' knowledge on the rules ‘taught’ to them at the workshop. Prior to entering the gates, potential tenants need to demonstrate that they fully understand the rules of Regent Villas, and this is indicated by the compulsory test and the required test score, and entry is not granted until the test is passed. The test needs to be passed

with the minimum and required score of 75%. This is unheard of in other gated developments and more so, low-income housing projects. The writing of a test indicates another form of gatekeeping, one of knowledge and understanding. The managing body of Regent Villas failed to provide alternatives to a test in the event of learning disabilities. The potential tenants eventual entry into the gated development is contingent on the test score. The tenant liaison officer explained;

The test is to prove that the tenant knows the information and rules presented to them. They must obtain 70% or higher. If they fail, they have to repeat the test

However, interviews with tenants revealed that prior to moving into the gated development they were not aware of the compulsory test that needs to be written, nor were they expecting to write a test, but Gail provide justifications therefore against the backdrop of ‘condominium culture’;

The test was not expected but I think it was to ensure that everyone understood what is expected of them when moving into Regent Villas

Once tenants have passed the test, they are granted access into the gates. Their lease agreements and financial circumstances are revisited and renewed annually to ensure that they are still within the tenant criteria of the gated development. Moreover, tenants are reviewed annually by the vetting department of Povicom in the event of their salary increasing, which would default their lease and it will not be renewed;

The lease is renewed and still checks that people are within the lease requirements, it happens annually. For example, a couple who earned R23 000 combined income and we had to terminate their lease, they had to seek alternative accommodation that’s why we ask them when they make their application if they have alternative accommodation incase this happens, we won’t just throw them out, but their lease won’t be renewed, and tenants are also expected to inform us if they had an increase in their salary

The application process is a strenuous process for tenants of Regent Villas but after passing the different stages of the process, they eventually make their way inside and this is accompanied by various motivations. Thus, the motivations of tenants are unpacked in the following category.

5.2.3 Motivations

Residents of typical gated developments are motivated by privacy, safety, prestige and lifestyle. In the case of Regent Villas, motivations are mainly that of independence, privacy, improved living conditions and affordability. Motivations in the working class gated development exhibit differences but also similarities with higher-income counterparts. Thus, this theme focuses on the motivations which includes four categories including; *Nobody pla me here: Privacy and independence; Improved living conditions; Affordability; and Safety.* Residents of higher income gated developments tend to retreat into such communities as a “safety bubble” sanitized from the challenges of urban life (Ballard, 2004; Rink, 2022) making safety a primary motivating factor for residents of higher income gated developments. In Regent Villas, by contrast, safety was a less-explicit motivation by tenants. Tenants mainly sought privacy and independence and improved living conditions.

5.2.3.1 *Nobody pla me here: Privacy and independence*

When asked about her reason for moving to Regent villas, Fatiema exclaimed: “*Nobody pla me here*”, which loosely translates to “*Nobody bothers me here*”. This comment underscores one of the primary motivations for tenants of Regent Villas and highlights the feelings of freedom, privacy and independence of individuals now living here compared to where they lived previously in a backyarding and ‘sharing’ situation. Furthermore, other tenants sought a sense of independence, living on their own, which motivated them to retreat into Regent Villas. Thus the privacy that tenants seek by living in Regent Villas is not one where they are ‘cut off’ from friends and neighbours, but instead privacy in the sense of independence and privacy given that many residents formerly lived in dense and crowded living arrangements.

One of the requirements to living in Regent Villas is not having been a previous homeowner. Therefore, many tenants were previously either living with family members or under informal rental agreements. Some were backyard dwellers or renting rooms in the homes of homeowners under harsh and precarious conditions. The desire for a more independent living situation is encapsulated in the quote below by Gladdy’s daughter¹⁰, who was previously living with her mother, in her mother’s friend’s home.

¹⁰ Gladdys daughter was not a selected research participant, due to her age, she mainly served as a translator and provided responses on behalf of her mother, in the presence of her mother, as her mother did not fully understand the interview questions due to a language barrier.

It wasn't my mommy's house. My mommy always wanted her own house. So it was me that was trying to motivate her to get her own house because it wasn't our house, it was my mom's friend's house, we lived there for 15 years because I am now 16....My mommy never had her own house and when Regent Villas opened, my mommy saw it in the newspaper, and she wanted to come live here because it's your own type of thing [own house]" "It wasn't a good environment for me in Lentegeur because there was a guy who lived there who stole our stuff and in and out of jail, so I motivated my mommy to come live here.

Consequently, they were living in cramped up conditions, sharing the house with other families. This served as a motivation for them to move into Regent Villas, as they lived under those conditions for fifteen years, and they wanted a space of their own, albeit under rental conditions. Moreover the participant was living in Lentegeur, approximately 3,8km from Regent Villas, which was not a safe environment for the participant as the area is ploughed with developmental challenges and besides the surroundings social challenges, the home of the participant raised concerns for her pertaining to safety and violence as their valuables were being stolen in the house by a substance abuser. These conditions made it unbearable for them and provided enough motivation to move.

Similar to the living conditions experienced by Gladdys and her daughter, in the quote below, Fatiema was living in a separate entrance under informal rental conditions, she constantly had to keep a watchful eye on the space she occupied as the homeowners operated a mechanical workshop from their house and consequently it was a particularly busy environment with people constantly entering the premises to make use of the mechanical services. As a result, she felt it was not a safe and conducive environment for her and her family. Furthermore, Fatiema could not have peace of mind and desperately wanted her own house, after failing to be successful with a social housing application. She further mentioned that living in Regent Villas is more expensive as opposed to where she rented previously; however, it is much safer and peaceful, she has the desired freedom in Regent Villas.

It was a separate entrance which isn't really your own freedom because you always still share with people, so I didn't like that part so that's why I wanted to be on my own.... There it was like, you have to constantly watch who comes there and danger and because they were dealing with cars – their own business and things like that and it wasn't safe for me there because my children didn't like that, here it is more safe. I can sleep and nobody pla me. Ja, it is a bit more but it's much better – it's safer also

Similar to Fatiema, Mel had a similar experience in the home she previously rented. Mel also reported to be inconvenienced by the landlord which resulted in her moving to Regent Villas. In this quote, she highlights the uncomfortable conditions of the space she previously rented,

it was a dense living space, and the landlord would constantly invade her space as she was renting a garage, converted into a ‘separate entrance’¹¹;

... So this is the front house, the garage door opens, and the separate entrance is at the back. She was somebody who drank on a weekend, so the garage door makes a noise when it opens and closes, so it makes a noise in the middle of the night while I’m trying to sleep.

While this category focused on tenants wanting to gain independence and seeking a sense of privacy, after living with landlords under precarious living conditions. The next category sheds light on tenants being motivated by improved living conditions.

5.2.3.2. Improved living conditions

Aside from seeking privacy and gaining a sense of independence, some participants were motivated by poor living conditions. Consequently, they were seeking a better living environment and improved living conditions. Many tenants coming from areas in and around Mitchells Plain reported to have poor and almost unbearable living conditions in their previous homes such as cramped up living conditions, poor infrastructure and a lack of access to essential sanitation services. As Nicole reflects, she was living in a one-bedroom, in a family member's home in Lentegour. She shared the room with three people, including her husband and children, as her family expanded the room they occupied got too small for her family and it led to cramped up and uncomfortable conditions. Thus, her motivation was rooted in uncomfortable living conditions and seeking a more suitable home for her family;

There was no space and I had two children, but my baby came afterwards so we stayed there when he was like 1 years old, Ja. So, we moved here but it was cramped, no space for all of us, 4 people in one room

Nadine reiterated similar sentiments to Nicole above, however Nadine originally from Manenberg was forced to move to Mitchells Plain after she lost her home. She moved in with family in Mitchells Plain where she lived in a one-bedroom with her three children thus her living conditions were cramped up which motivated her to search for a more suitable living space for her and her family.

Firstly, we stayed in a cramped-up place, not cramped up, but my own house in Manenberg and then my husband passed away and we were forced, me and my three children, were forced to move to my parents in Mitchells Plain. We lived in one bedroom, the four of us. but only my two boys are with me here. So yes, I was obviously

¹¹ Separate entrance can be defined as a separate ‘piece’ of the house that is converted into a living space; this could previously have been a garage or extra ‘wasted’ piece of the house.

looking for better, a place that we could call our own and that is not so cramped up with three children and myself, it's hectic to be in one room so I think I came across this place in the plainsman, there was a newspaper AD and then I applied and then I got it. I was at every workshop

An older tenant, Faeza, opened up about the poor living conditions she experienced before moving into Regent Villas. Faeza and her elderly husband experienced a range of infrastructural challenges, such as a leaking roof, and having to share a very small space as a backyard dweller thus they had limited access to basic services. She demonstrates that they relied on their agency and 'street smart' ways, as the space they occupied did not provide a conducive living environment;

Yes, we had very poor conditions – our roof was leaking, and we didn't have a space to bath... we had to wash in a bucket, we just had a toilet pot and a hand basin, no bath or a shower.. nothing like that, we just had to improvise in that little space we had... The place we were staying at wasn't liveable, so our best option was just to get something better for ourselves

While many tenants were motivated by the physical environment in their space; for some, they were motivated by high levels of crime and violence in the surrounding environment. Many of the tenants living in Regent Villas depart from the sub-areas in Mitchells Plain, as alluded to in the first category, and as a result they experienced high levels of violence (indirectly or directly) which had adverse effects on their daily lives and activities. During interviews, Gladdys opened up about violence that she experienced in her previous community, however, the violence was not only in the community but also in their home which served as enough motivation to move to Regent Villas. Thus, she was not safe inside nor outside of her home and as a result, they lived in constant fear. Similarly, below, Mel notes not being able to go to the shop at any time of the day out of fear and she had to constantly be on the look-out for gang violence which had an impact on her daily mobility. Furthermore, her children were not able to play outside thus violence did not only limit their daily mobility but also prevented them from engaging in certain activities which served as the main motivating factor to move to Regent Villas;

So our main reason was besides the gun violence, was the road that we were staying in, shooting daily so you couldn't really walk to the shop because you had to worry, are they going to shoot or not.. the gang violence in the area that made us more.... And made us apply for something where the environment is better, and the kids can play outside...

While improved living conditions was a motivating factor for many tenants, it was also the affordability of a working-class gated development such as Regent Villas that motivated tenants to move into Regent Villas.

5.2.3.3. Affordability

Affordability is one of the defining aspects of the working class gated development and in turn a motivation for potential tenants to retreat into Regent Villas. Therefore, as expected, tenants of Regent Villas, were motivated by low rental costs of the working class gated development. For Tyrone, Regent Villas suited his financial circumstances, and what he was able to afford, as opposed to rental homes he applied for previously that he could not afford. Previous housing applications he made were either out of his price range or he could simply not afford due to his income. The affordability of the working class gated development did not only grant him access to a safe and decent home, but he also makes reference to a normal complex, in other words, a higher income gated development. Thus, it is evident that the tenant did not expect much of Regent Villas as a working-class gated community prior to moving in. He conceptualised Regent Villas as merely a social housing project with little to no amenities, but he concluded that it has all the things that a “normal” gated development would have.

Firstly, it was affordable in terms of my financial position and also, I thought it's like secure and complete... it has all the things that a normal private complex have, and it is affordable so that's basically why

Carly remarked that she was living in her parents' home before moving to Regent Villas. She was not intentionally looking to move out of her parents' home due to her low income as a call centre agent in Cape Town. Hence, she could not afford to rent a place on her own. However, Regent Villas provided her with the low-cost opportunity to lease a flat and for her to gain a sense of independence;

It's going to give me an opportunity to be independent and I didn't expect that with the income that I earn

Rameez reiterated a similar response as expressed by participants above, but a key part of his response is the location of Regent Villas, as he reflects on the shortage of affordable housing in Mitchells Plain. He noted that Regent Villas was the only rental option available in Mitchells Plain that was suited to his income which further encapsulates the lack of affordable homes in Mitchells Plain;

This is the only one available, practically. I was looking for places in the... the rent was a bietjie [bit] too expensive and that man... but this was fine rent is not so a lot

In line with Rameez, the founder mentioned that the intention, and driving force he had for developing Regent Villas in Mitchells Plain, was to provide decent and safe housing to the low-income populace who cannot afford to rent elsewhere due to high rental amounts, and who furthermore cannot afford to enter the homeowners market, and as a result they are subjected to being backyard dwellers and living under informal conditions. Thus, the founder aimed to reduce this gap between income and access to housing;

The goal was to take people out of their current bad situation such as wendy houses etc because cannot afford due to low salary and provide affordable and decent housing in Mitchells Plain

Having looked at the foremost motivations as mentioned during interviews with tenants, safety was also highlighted as a motivation by some tenants. While some tenants were motivated by violence in surrounding environments and previous communities, the following category of safety is whereby tenants were in search of, and motivated by, a safer environment.

5.2.3.4 Safety

Higher income gated developments are commonly known and attractive to potential tenants due to their ability to provide a safer living environment. This is commonly achieved due to the location of higher income gated developments, located in higher income areas. The main motivation of tenants living in Regent Villas was not rooted in seeking for a safe haven. Moreover, the location of Regent Villas makes it unlikely to be a barrier against undesirable urban challenges, however, for some tenants the working-class gated development provided them with the required safety especially when compared to their previous living experiences and environments. While most tenants were not looking to live in a gated development, this tenant was motivated by the gated development model of Regent Villas. Gail packages Regent Villas as providing a range of activities and amenities that can be carried out in a safe space. Similarly, Shihaam, was also motivated by the safe ‘packaged’ environment offered by the gated development.

Because it's a gated community, it's safe for my children to play, it's got facilities, it's got a creche, a park and also because it's safe [Gail]

I heard about the place, always wanted to apply and I thought about the environment and it's more safer for my son and it's a complex so that's the reason I applied [Shihaam]

In this quote, Mogammat coming from a neighbouring area in Mitchells Plain, was motivated by the safety provided by the gated development. Notwithstanding, he previously lived in a physically secured home with security artefacts however the surroundings still made it unsafe

for him and his family and thus, they retreated into Regent Villas to achieve the desired level of safety;

Well to be honest with you, it's much safer, to me it was the safety where I was staying before, it was secure and everything but still the area wasn't so... and it wasn't that safe I would say

For Chante, she was motivated by the safety advertised and offered and it appeared to be a safer environment for her daughter. Moreover, it is the first time she is living on her own thus the infrastructure and security artefacts of the gated development also puts her at ease to be a female living alone;

I would say yes and no because I have a daughter and it's safer for it to be gated and for me also, because it's the first time living on my own, I've never been renting before so...

While the previous theme unpacked the catchment areas, application process and motivation of tenants for wanting to retreat into a working-class gated development such as Regent Villas, the following theme; inside of the gated development, explores the inner workings of Regent Villas mainly from the developer's perspective.

5.3 Inside Regent Villas

The 'inner workings' of the working class gated development also differentiates this type of gated development from its higher-income counterparts. While a number of the findings emerge from the perspectives of the developer and tenant liaison officer which helps to demonstrate some of the unique day-to-day aspects of a working class gated development. Therefore, the data unpacked in this theme are mainly those from the developer and tenant liaison officer's perspective, with the exception of relevant data gathered from interviews with tenants. The final theme will then explore the living experiences from the tenants perspective. This theme consists of four categories and begins by unpacking the architectural features of the working class gated development. The subsequent category explores the amenities and services in Regent Villas which also unpacks the varying consumption patterns of this typology of gated development which appears to differ vastly from its higher income counterparts as it caters to a different audience. The theme also sheds light on the governance of Regent Villas, the rules used to govern the tenants and finally, the permeability of the gated development.

5.3.1. Architectural dimensions

This category begins by discussing the spatial location of Regent Villas, the architectural aspects such as the physical features and the infrastructural aspects such as the windows, flats size and dimensions of the space are also unpacked. Followed by a discussion of the service-related aspects such as the water, electricity and refuse.

The spatial location of Regent Villas, where it was developed, was very intentional on the part of the developer, as previously stated. The founder of Regent Villas has been working in the private property sector for more than three decades and during this time, he has managed to identify that Mitchells Plain does not have many affordable and decent rental options available for the working class. As a result, many people who does not qualify for home loans, social housing or other rental options, resort to informal and irregular rental agreements¹² such as wendy houses¹³ and backyard dwellings. This is what motivated the developer to firstly, develop Regent Villas in Mitchells Plain and secondly, the residents of Mitchells Plain being the initial target market to lease in Regent Villas.

Moreover, it was not only the development and catchment area that the founder considered and strategically chose, but he was also intentional as to what sub area in Mitchells Plain, Regent Villas will be developed in. He makes a clear distinction between Tafelsig¹⁴ taking people out of there, and Colorado, bringing people here. The two sub areas are both located in Mitchells Plain, with approximately 7km distance between the two, and is vastly different in terms of social and developmental qualities. In this quote, the founder expressed that the location of social housing needs to be intentional, as he has done with Regent Villas, he argued that one cannot put social housing in an area that has developmental challenges or else it does not improve people's circumstances and living experiences. A marked difference between Regent Villas and higher income counterparts is the formers emphasis, as demonstrated by the founder, on the location of where it will be developed as higher income gated developments are

¹² Irregular rental tenure is referred to rental 'agreements' not bound and implemented by legal documents as agreements are mainly made by word of mouth and typically between friends and/or family members as they typically cannot afford to make a rental application which require a range of documents to be submitted and criteria to be met.

¹³ wendy houses are wooden structures, commonly put together in the yards of the renter's property. In this case, the renter rents the 'land' on which the wendy house is constructed.

¹⁴ Tafelsig is an area in Mitchells Plain, located further from Regent Villas, the area is plagued with societal challenges and especially known for a lack of affordable housing and thus a large number of illegal structures are to be found in the area.

commonly developed in higher income areas, the working class gated development is developed in working class contexts for the tenant target to have access to it. Moreover, the founder targeted potential tenants from Mitchells Plain, yet he had to choose an area whereby tenants are still within the geographical borders of Mitchells Plain but in some way, sheltered from the developmental challenges that lingers in the urban space.

However, not upper-part, I wanted to take them out of Tafelsig, I want to take them out of that, and you have to be specific where you put social housing

Thus the founder contended that Regent Villas, situated in Weltevreden Valley, closely located to Colorado, was developed in a more “decent” side of Mitchells Plain with more “decent” surroundings and is thus essentially better for social housing as opposed to areas such as Lentegur and Tafelsig, despite there being an informal settlement located in close proximity to Regent Villas. In his view, this was done so that prospective tenants would be sanitized against challenges that exist or occur in most sub areas of Mitchells Plain as the current location of Regent Villas is faced with less development challenges in his view.

... to uplift social conditions. you have to put them in a better and best part of an area to integrate them where there are no violence, and no gangsterism, to crime and no drugs

However, long standing residents of the surrounding community, Colorado¹⁵, initially expressed concerns about the location and the proposed development of Regent Villas. They cautioned that the working class gated development would degrade the status and financial value of the community. Community members further expressed concerns that the project would be similar to a low-cost social housing project. Low cost housing projects are commonly stereotyped to be associated with poor infrastructure and “not decent” people. However, through advertising of Regent Villas that it will be a ‘architecturally suited’ and a “decent” housing development which will attract and house “decent” people, the residents of Colorado was said to dissolve their fears and doubts. Interestingly, the community of Colorado also voiced their opinions pertaining to an RDP housing project proposed by the City of Cape Town (CoCT)¹⁶. According to the founder, Regent Villas is unlike social housing projects on the Cape Flats which is typically associated with poor infrastructure and poor maintenance. The founder reiterated that “decent” people will be occupying the flats in Regent Villas.

¹⁵ Colorado, an area located on the further end of Mitchells Plain, is commonly perceived as being a middle-class area in Mitchells Plain.

¹⁶ [No to RDP houses in Colorado Park - Plainsman](#)

Interestingly, decency, decent housing and tenants, ensured that the development was successfully carried out. Currently, the developers of Regent Villas are building more units, albeit on a separate plot, after the first phase was a success. This is contrary to higher income gated developments which are approved and considered to bring social and economic upliftment to communities.

At first, the people in the surrounding area objected to the housing project [low cost housing project into the area], the people were afraid and Povicom had to explain to the people that it will be a nice and decent complex and not one of those Cape Flats projects... it will upgrade the area and not RDP housing as low-cost affordable housing is not plastered, just a shell and need to be fixed up again properly. It is different area with decent people staying there and very positive. Povicom is building another 60 with no challenges form surrounding community, the community is now familiar with what Povicom is doing, and it is approved and well maintained with security, garden and caretakers

Despite the developer purposefully developing Regent Villas in a presumably more decent and preferred area within Mitchells Plain, the architectural features, in terms of the design and built environment of Regent Villas, mirrors observable similarities to those of other social housing projects in and around the Cape Flats. The category now turns to the physical architecture of Regent Villas.

Prior to entering Regent Villas, looking in from the outside, there are many “eyes on the street”¹⁷, flats facing the road and have their front windows looking onto the street. As depicted in Figure 5.4, a tenant is looking onto the street through a window from above; this indicates a form of social control and shows that outsiders can see into the gated development based on entrances and street-facing windows and vice versa. This interpretation coincides with the visual isolation dimension purported by Kostenwein (2021). The gated development is boarded by boundary walls on either side. When entering Regent Villas, there are only two entrances, located next to each other, one for pedestrians and one for automobiles for tenants as visitors are not allowed to park in the private parking space allocated to tenants. Surprisingly, as per observations visitors are also not allowed to park in the parking space in front of the gated development, which remains public space. Although Regent Villas does not privatize roads,

¹⁷ The concept of “eyes on the street” was proposed by Jane Jacobs (2016) and refers to “in order for a street to be a safe place, there must be eyes upon the street, eyes belonging to those we might call the natural proprietors of the street”

however, it does tend to privatize the public surroundings even though it remains public space, located outside of the gated development.



Source: Povicom (2022)

Figure 5.4 Eyes on the street in Regent Villas and the front entrance

Once inside, Regent Villas comprises a three-storey building with 104 units ranging from bachelor, one-bedroom, to three-bedroom units; flats range from 30m² to 47m² as depicted in Figure 5.5. Tenants' salary determines the flat they will be allowed to lease. The layout and the size of the flats in Regent Villas was met with surprise by some tenants, many of them expected the physical layout to be different and expected bigger flats. One such tenant is Shameema, she did not expect Regent Villas to be built in this way, with three storey flats, the assumption she held was that it was going to be free standing apartments, within a gated development. A model of the tenants assumption is mainly of those found in higher income projects;

I didn't know it's going to be a complex like this, I thought a complex but with separate apartments not like a triple storey

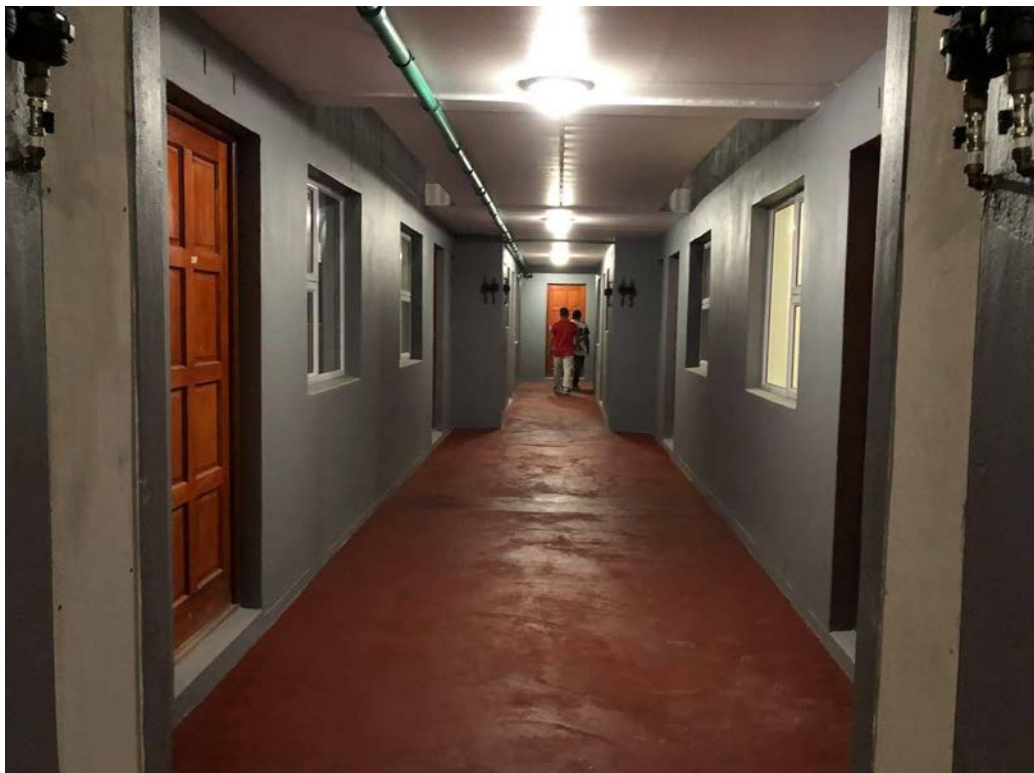
Contextualised in the density dimension of Kostenwein's (2021) seven analytical dimensions, the physical space of Regent Villas comprises corridors and densely packed flats and outdoor space. As lamented by Rameez the physical space outside of the flats are quite small and does not allow tenants with the required space as they step out of the flats (see Figure 5.5 below) without seeing fellow tenants. Rameez enjoys his privacy but due to the architectural style of the gated development, he does not feel like he have the desired privacy. Therefore, he makes the suggestion that balconies as he assumes that this would have granted tenants with the desired privacy and a small space of their 'own';

I think it would've been even better if we had balconies it would allow us to have a little space for ourselves instead of going in front of the house, here of the flat, in the corridors to get some fresh air...



Source: Povicom (2022)

Figure 5.5 Triple storey building of Regent Villas, Povicom (2022)



Source: Author

Figure 5.6 The corridor and 'walking' space between the flats

Taking the urban context into consideration, Kostenwein (2021) has analysed location and proximity of gated developments, questioning how spatial organisation might determine interaction between residents of gated developments and the surrounding public space. In the case of Regent Villas, a privately developed enclosed gated development, named Vanguard Villas is located at the back of Regent Villas. On account of their orientations and layouts—in addition to evidence from residents—it is clear that minimal interaction takes place between tenants of Regent Villas and Vanguard Villas, as their entrances are on opposite sides thus there is not many points for possible interaction. Interestingly, phase two of Regent Villas albeit still in construction phase, is divided by a boundary wall from Regent Villas. The entrances of Regent Villas and phase two are located on the same street, next to each other, thus there is points for interaction for the tenants of Regent Villas and phase two tenants.

Having looked at the architectural features and the urban context, the focus now turns to basic service provision in Regent Villas. In terms of service-related aspects in Regent Villas such as water and electricity, these basic services are provided by the local municipality, CoCT with no rebate on the bills. Thus, tenants are billed as per any other household in Cape Town for water and electricity is purchased by the tenant according to usage. To assist the tenants in lowering the costs, the management of Regent Villas has installed hot water pumps as shown in Figure 5.6;

Water is not prepaid, only electricity is prepaid, hot water will be metered and charged separately as per usage or... consumption. They [the tenants] get a standard water bill like any other household, excluding their rental amount



Source: Author

Figure 5.7 Hot water pumps, which operate as a geyser, installed at Regent Villa

The tenants' information booklet describes this more in detail;

You have a municipal water meter for your unit which you have arranged directly with the local authority, and you pay the local authority directly for the water consumed. Povicom is not involved

Your unit will have electricity supplied to it. The electricity is provided by the local authority. Depending on the nature of the project different methods of supply will apply. You will be advised of the method that will apply in your particular unit and project

Considering that managing body of Regent Villas forms part of a Social Housing Institution (SHI), the gated development was not granted any subsidies on essential services from the local municipality. When asked if Regent Villas gets any other subsidies, the founder revealed that Povicom made an application for a subsidy on water and electricity which would make it easier for the tenant and for Povicom as their monthly water bill, amongst other daily expenses, accumulates to large amounts. Expounding on this, besides basic services, the bond that was taken out to construct the gated development also needs to be paid. Thus, the founder further argues that institutional support from local government and local municipality ends post construction phase and does not extend to the operational phase. The founder expressed

frustration as he reveals that the management is solely left to the founders of social housing initiatives;

Povicom wants a discount, tenant pay for water, to make it easier for the tenants. Same bills as every other consumer R70 – 80 000 a month for water, that's for the tenants and there is still a big bond/debt that must be paid thus it is difficult to manage and maintain... At the moment, the city gave nothing. Povicom pay market value for everything, the government only gives funds to build but not to manage and to build and to manage are two very different things

Thus, he places emphasis on the importance of tenants earning an income and that they do not default on their monthly payments, and he makes the example of a 'squatter camp' implying that people live for free in an informal settlement and the same does not apply to tenants of Regent Villas;

But residents cannot live here with no income, it's not a squatter camp

The next category discusses the amenities on offer in the working class gated development and the differing consumption patterns as opposed to higher income counterparts.

5.3.2. Services and amenities

The amenities available to tenants in Regent Villas display a clear difference as opposed to amenities in higher income gated developments. The amenities on offer in Regent Villas consists of a tuckshop owned and managed by the managing body as shown in Figure 5.7 below, a creche which is on-site and independently owned and managed, an empty garage that was converted into a conference and events venue on offer to hire by tenants, braai spots and a soccer court (Figure 5.9). The managing body also offers on-site games for younger tenants¹⁸ and a Muslim school¹⁹, for tenants, owned and managed by a fellow tenant. The findings revealed that as tenants started occupying Regent Villas, the managing body, simultaneously, adjusted their offerings. Initially when Regent Villas was established it only had the following amenities, a creche, 'playground' as shown in Figure 5.8 and a parking lot. The founder further makes reference to employing an in-house psychologist to assist tenants with domestic problems. Expounding on this, it is evident that the services and amenities on offer are carefully crafted to suit the target market.

¹⁸ The games on offer for children consists of a range of board games and card games. These sessions are facilitated by the tenant liaison officer and held in the 'office' of the tenant liaison officer.

¹⁹ The Muslim school in Regent Villas is commonly referred to as a 'madrassah', the classes are provided to tenants where they learn about the Islamic faith thus, only suited to tenants of the Muslim faith and a small fee is required.

There is a playground, creche, parking... I am maybe in the near future wanting to bring psychological services because many people have domestic problems. ”.. “because you know, lots of people in the estate have domestic problems, couple argued, and we contacted the police



Source: Author

Figure 5.8 A tenant buying goods at the on-site shop in Regent Villas



Source: Author

Figure 5.9 A play area for children (Author, 2022)



Source: Povicom (2022)

Figure 5.10 Soccer court in the middle of the parking lot

The amenities in the working class gated development were reworked as tenants started moving into Regent Villas, the managing body of Regent Villas added new amenities based on the consumption patterns and needs of the tenants. When compared to their higher income counterparts, a wide range of amenities are on offer prior to tenants moving into the development. Meanwhile, amenities are also used, in conjunction with advertisements, to lure potential tenants to lease in the gated development. Initially, leasing out of flats in Regent Villas was slow, thus they included a range of amenities in order to attract potential tenants. On the other hand, the managing body also aims to provide a “full experience” of gated development living for tenants.

The amenities, in Regent Villas, are limited to tenants and they are required to pay a prescribed fee to access some of the services such as parking spots, creche and venue hire for events. When applying the club goods theory to the working-class gated development, there is an exclusivity of benefits and also, still, in the gated development there is a club goods between those paying and those who are not. To illustrate; for a parking spot, tenants are required to pay a certain monthly fee if they want to be allocated a parking spot *R150 for open parking and R200 for undercover parking*. Thus, there is sharing of benefits and there is also exclusivity

of benefits in Regent Villas. Alluding back to the amenities on offer which also further serve as a form of employment for tenants. To illustrate, the friendly shop, as it is called in Regent Villas, is managed by the managing body of Regent Villas and during the construction of the shop, they sought the tenant's input. From this quote, as contended by the tenant liaison officer, it is clear that the managing body of Regent Villas take their tenants into consideration when it comes to the amenities in the gated development, albeit they are only rental tenants. Moreover, the shop also appears to be some form of possible employment for tenants, as they are eligible to apply to be employed in the shop. During one of the interviews, a tenant enquired if she could provide her Curriculum Vitae for the advertised post for a shop assistant as she has some experience and is currently unemployed due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Adding to this, the managing body tries to create job creation for locals in the surrounding areas. This was an interesting and unique finding. Furthermore, it is also the Muslim school and creche that serve as a form of employment for tenants. It can be said that the managing body of Regent Villas allows for tenants to become small business owners, for example the Muslim school and creche, and this appears to be contingent on whether or not Regent Villas, as a gated development, is enhanced by these small businesses.

Mr T²⁰ sent an email to residents asking what the complex shop should stock. ask suggestions for the residents, shop will maybe open the middle of the month, towards the end of the month. Training somebody to work in the shop, emailed tenants to ask somebody to work in the shop, always alerting the tenant

Interestingly, before the shop opened tenants had to frequent a local tuckshop located a few roads away from Regent Villas which made some tenants feel uneasy as they had to leave the borders of the gated development. According to the amenities dimension put forward by Kostenwein (2021) tenants activate and make use of the surrounding space if gated developments do not contain the services required by tenants. The findings of this research coincide with that of Kostenwein (2021).

However, contrary to tenant's excitement for the opening of the shop, as expressed during interviews. Rameez, expressed a different view, as he argued that the cost of the items in the shop are too expensive and requested that the tenant liaison officer communicate his concerns to the managing body, to reduce the prices to suit the tenant populace. Based on the assertion made by Rameez, a possible reason for this could be due to the lower income populace living

²⁰ Mr. T is a pseudonym given for the tenant liaison officer of Regent Villas

here thus he feels as if the shop is not affordable for tenants of Regent Villas, however the participant also notes that the shop is still in a phase of 'building itself up' in an attempt to justify the unjustly opening prices;

The shop was recently opened so still building it up but sometimes it's a bietjie [bit] expensive the stuff, they must lower the prices a bietjie [bit]

A more recent amenity was the netball net for the younger tenants, initially there was not many amenities for children in Regent Villas and as a result they would end up playing in the corridors and utilise the parking lot a space for play and entertainment and in many cases it appeared be a nuisance for fellow tenants;

Noisy kids, that's why we have created a netball net. There weren't many activities for kids in the estate. As a result, they were bored, causing havoc with fellow tenants and had to keep them busy

Similar to the inconvenience caused by lack of amenities for the children, the same was found in tenants having to access amenities outside of the gated development. One tenant noted that tenants would like a braai area to be implemented as he has to travel to his mother, in the same area, if he wants to braai. The managing body has since added a braai area to Regent Villas as shown below in Figure 5.11. Moreover, the tenant contends that by adding these facilities it would make it more convenient for tenants as they rely on public transport to access these amenities elsewhere;

The braai thing downstairs, the could've at least had a braai there for the people and now I have to go to my mother who stays in Colorado, not too far from here, but if I want to braai I have to go there, should make things more convenient for tenants over here. A built-in braai would be a nice extra



Source: Povicom (2022)

Figure 5.11 Braai area in Regent Villas

Amidst the amenities in the gated development and how they are reworked and adapted to suit the tenant populace. Interestingly the founder of Regent Villas, using amenities as an example, deems the working-class gated development to be similar to its higher-income counterparts with the only difference being the income bracket of tenants, upmarket amenities and the rental costs.

Only difference is the income, but facilities is fairly similar to other gated communities. There is a playground, creche, parking and managing is similar to any other gated community and... Regent Villas only difference is the amount people are paying and earning, having worked all over, I can say, there is not much difference between Regent Villas and a gated community in Pinelands – maybe for a few amenities such as swimming pool but the same

A member of the security team rebuts this notion, however, making a strong distinction between Regent Villas as a working-class gated development and higher income counterparts. In doing so, the security guard makes the example of a gated development in Rondebosch, an upper-class area in the Southern suburbs of Cape Town, an economically and spatially preferred area for the development of a gated development. Gated developments in Rondebosch are commonly occupied by higher income people and boast a range of upmarket amenities. Meanwhile, Regent Villas located in a less economically and socially preferred location with less state-of-the-art-facilities. Thus, in the words of the security guard, there are clear differences between a working class gated development and higher income counterparts in terms of available amenities and services.

Here... No No... No, it's very different from a Rondebosch gated community

Based on the statement above, the working class gated development also needs to be governed and rules implemented, an argument that will be explored in the following category.

5.3.3 Governance of Regent Villas

As a semi-autonomous residential development, gated developments for middle-and-higher income residents are typically governed by HOA's and estate managers. However, in the case of Regent Villas, the governance structure and regulations imposed on residents further differentiate this typology from its higher income counterparts. The findings below unpack the rules of the gated development, while revealing regulations put in place pertaining to daily life in the gated development.

The governance of Regent Villas becomes apparent to prospective residents even before becoming an official tenant. During the application phase, potential tenants are required to write a compulsory test pertaining to the rules of the gated development. Tenants are required to pass the test with a prescribed score of 75%. The test is written to test potential tenants' knowledge on the rules of the gated development which is demonstrated and explained during the workshop. It is assumed that, by the managing body, the writing of the test will ensure that tenants will have sufficient knowledge of the rules of the gated development, and this will allow them into the gates. The test for prospective tenants of Regent Villas serves as a gatekeeping mechanism that must be passed in order to enter the gates and gain entry. This form of gatekeeping is unheard of in gated developments and more so, in working class gated developments and social housing projects. Thus, it is a unique finding of this research.

Once inside, the tenants of Regent Villas are governed and managed, on site, by the tenant liaison officer and support staff, which consists of two day guards and two night guards and a maintenance worker who ensures that everything runs smoothly, the founder explained;

We have two security guards on duty in the day. At night, we have another two security guards from a private company. We also have a maintenance guy on site and the tenant liaison officer here during the day

Contrary to higher income gated developments, Regent Villas is not managed by a body corporate or HOA's, thus tenants are not involved in the managing and rulemaking of the gated development and all queries are dealt with by the managing body. The rules of Regent Villas,

as listed in the tenant's house rules booklet range from security and safety to children, with not much notable differences from its higher income counterparts. However, for the purpose of this study and relevant to the enquiry into working class gated developments only the following will be focused on; 1) *"not allow laundry, linen, clothing or washing of any kind to be hung on the balcony or on the outside of the premises where it is visible to the public"* , 2) *washing line arrangements* and 3) *the use of refuse bins*.

In Regent Villas, the hanging of laundry from windows is not permitted by management of the gated development. However, tenants do not always abide by the rules and pose a level of defiance even though being aware of the rules. Upon moving into Regent Villas, they (tenants) are presented with a tenant rules booklet as previously alluded to thus the security guard expresses frustration as they, the security and tenant liaison officer, expect tenants to abide by the rules of the estate, as explained by the security guard.

...It's busy here... the people don't abide by the rules even though they know what they signed up for, but they hang washing out of the window

However, tenants of Regent Villas revealed during interviews that the laundry lines in the gated development often causes controversy between tenants, as some tenants do not abide by the strict laundry line schedule which often leads to other tenants not being able to do their laundry. One such tenant, Gladdys, is a domestic worker who expressed anger during the interview as she works a strict schedule, she comes home late and do not have access to a washing machine which essentially results in her having to do her laundry by hand, thus she experiences great challenges when doing her laundry;

She wakes up early and then the lines... I understand there's not a lot of lines... she has a problem with the people that hang their washing over days and stuff, but I tell her she can't go on...

Rameez had a similar experience to Gladdys. He revealed that initially tenants failed to cooperate with one another in the gated development pertaining to laundry lines, but the tenant liaison officer dealt with the issue;

In the beginning, there use to be problems with the washing lines, so you use to get some people that were quite stubborn and inconsiderate of other people, but Mr T rectified that

The tenant liaison officer rectified the issue by drawing up a weekly schedule which will ensure that every tenant (floor) gets the chance to use the laundry lines. However, despite the implementation of the schedule there remain tenants who reported to have issues with the schedule and people still not abiding by it;

We have a roster, we manage all of those things, ground floor is Mondays, Tuesdays is 1st floor, Wednesday is 2nd floor and Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday is first come, first serve. But in-between that there is some people that will hang their washing before work and forget it on the line and it goes on to Tuesday, but it is frustrating for her mom, she has to do the washing by hand so obviously if clean, starts to smell again and have to wash again and that's a lot of time out of her mom's day so that's her frustration

Similar to laundry lines, refuse bins in Regent Villas are also regulated and tenants pay a small fee for being assigned and using a bin. In this quote, the tenant liaison officer explains how the refuse bins are governed in the gated development, however, even though residents are billed a small fee for using the bin, they share the bin with fellow tenant(s);

The bin that you use, it's a monthly fee but we share a bin, with the neighbour we share a bin, but we are implementing 3 units per bin... we just let them use the bin and as they fill up, we take it out

In addition to regulating service-related aspects in Regent Villas, security aspects are also carefully regulated by the managing body, this includes visitors of tenants, visitors who spend an extended time at Regent Villas, access into the gates and in the case of tenants contravening the rules. In this quote, Nicole explained, as stipulated in the rules, that when her mother comes to sleep over for the weekend, she needs to email the tenant liaison officer and request permission. During the interview, Nicole lamented that it is important for tenants to inform, and request permission, prior to having guests over as this would avoid getting in trouble with the managing body and in the case of an emergency, the visitation will be on record. When probing further, she made the example of a guest engaging in an argument with a fellow tenant of Regent Villas thus, in her view, it is important to inform the managing body if 'outsiders' will be entering the gated development space for an extended period of time. A privately-owned gated development, closely located to Regent Villas follows a similar form of governance pertaining to visitors²¹;

My mommy stay alone in Botrivier, now she like to come here and sleep over like on a Saturday then she goes home on Monday obviously I must send that email, anything can happen then I didn't send that email in

The tenant liaison officer sheds more light on this. In accordance with the rules of the gated development, tenants are required to make a formal application via email if they intend on

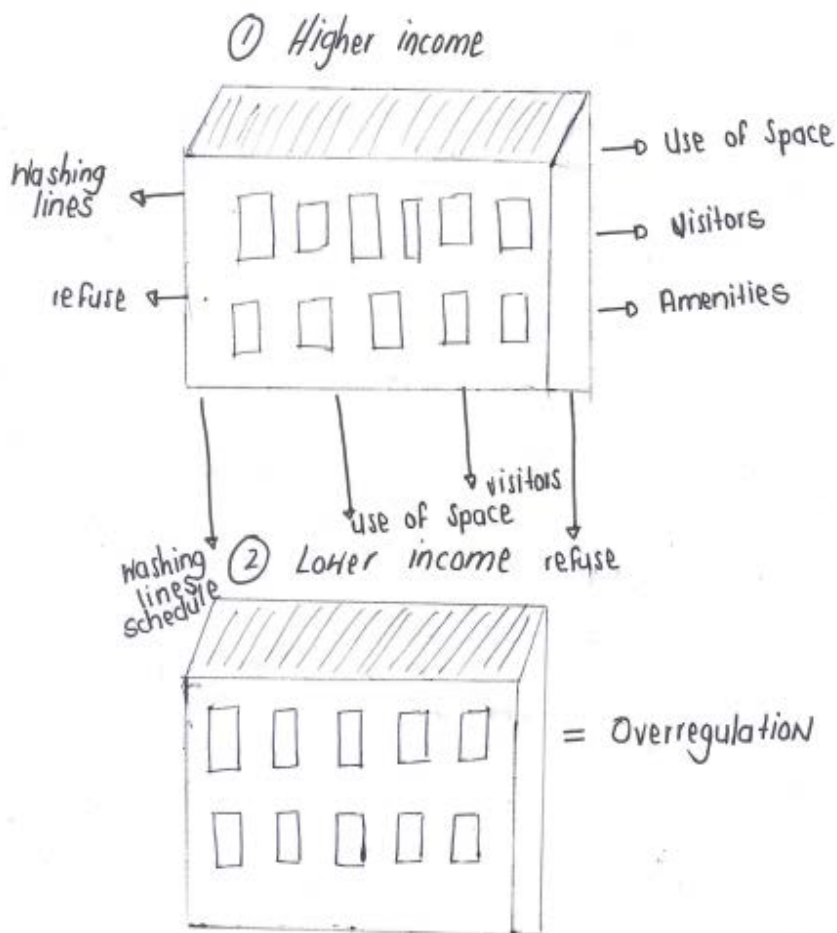
²¹ [House that right? Manager 'harasses' tenants \(dailyvoice.co.za\)](http://dailyvoice.co.za)

having guests over for an extended period of time, which will then be approved (or not) by the managing body of Regent Villas, visitors are not allowed to stay over for more than ten days;

Tenants need to make an application for someone to sleep over if longer than ten nights it will be a problem

When asked what procedure is followed if tenants do not abide by this rule. The tenant liaison officer reiterated that tenants will be issued with a warning, and in the event that a visitor sleeps over for more than ten days, the visitor will then be required to make a lease application.

Based on the governance rehearsed in the previous paragraphs, it can be said that the adopting of the rules from higher income counterparts leads to overregulation in Regent Villas thus, tenants are in a constant state of negotiating the rules and governance with the managing body, an illustration of this is provided below in Figure 5.12.



Source: Author

Figure 5.12 An illustration of overregulation in a working-class gated development

Despite the managing body being strict, practicing sound management, in terms of regulating the gated development, interviews also revealed that the gated development experiences a certain level of permeability which will be unpacked in the following category.

5.3.4. Variable openness in a working class gated development

Although higher income gated developments typically rely on strict rules and procedures for admission and daily management, the case of Regent Villas demonstrates degrees of permeability which makes it easier for visitors and strangers to penetrate the gates and in turn

allows for permeable movement of visitors, non-visitors and workers through the gates. Thus, this category discusses the permeability of the working-class gated development, how it is neither closed nor open and tenants and visitors alike move through the gated development in a permeable way. An initial observation of permeability²² as observed by the researcher is turned to.

On the first day of data collection, a group of people gathered in front of the gates, all dressed in casual attire. It was unclear who were tenants, who were members of the security staff, and who might have been visitors or prospective tenants. They all gathered in a small group having a conversation, and it was unclear as to where the gated development and its rules started and where the space for outsiders started which caused confusion for the researcher as she attempted to enter into the gated development, and it was only at this point where the access point for tenants and visitors became apparent;

The first visit today, it was very awkward, upon arrival a few people who turned out to be tenants of Regent Villas were standing outside [in front] of the gate and I wasn't sure as to who the security was as they were casual clothes thus it was difficult to make the distinction between "outsiders", "tenants" and "security guards. I was unsure as to where I should enter the gated community, I sat in the car for 10 mins and still not having figured anything out.. decided to drive into the gates as I saw no gate for pedestrians...and this is where I was stopped by the security, it makes a little sense now

Applying the notion of permeability as posited by Kostenwein (2021), the entrance of Regent Villas allows for increased interaction between public and private space. Tenants reported similar experiences pertaining to permeability of the gates and who then have access to the gated development. One tenant recalled seeing unfamiliar men wandering around the premises of Regent Villas interacting with younger children. The tenants are familiar with each other thus it is easy for her to pinpoint the men as 'outsiders', this caused concern for her and she reported the incident to the management of Regent Villas which indicates that the unfamiliar men was not allowed entry into the into the gates development by security guards, they were not wrongfully allowed onto the premises. The experience is two-fold, it highlights the familiarity amongst tenants which seemingly indicates a sense of community to some extent and secondly indicates the willingness of tenants to look out for one another and protect their space. Using Kostenwein's (2021) analysis, there was a point of possible interaction between

²² Permeability; In the case of gated developments, "the interfaces between indoor and outdoor, neither completely belonging to the two extreme situations forming it" (Can and Heath, 2016: 33)

the tenant living inside of the gated development and the unfamiliar men, considered as outsiders in the gated development.

Okay, so there was a group of guys that came to visit and they seemed suspicious to me because they were speaking to young children and then I sent an email because I wasn't comfortable with that because I believe that your child is my child and If I see that your child is in harm's way, I will take your child out of harm's way so I wasn't comfortable with that so I sent an email because I didn't want to physically get involved and then Sa-edh replied to me immediately to say; "No, it's fine the security will see to it" and then they saw to it and I've never seen those guys again

Similar to unfamiliar people entering Regent Villas in a permeable manner, upon observations the researcher witnessed a family member of a tenant, known as Aunty Asa, trying to enter the gated development the visitor was familiar with the security guards, and they appeared to be familiar with him, thus the visitor was not required to fill out his details in the visitor entry booklet, as every visitor is expected to do upon entering Regent Villas. The visitor was allowed to enter freely based on familiarity this was illustrated in him mentioning "ek is hier vir Aunty Asa" (I am here for Aunty Asa);

A few moments later, as I waited to leave, an older man wanted to enter and at the gate, he just said; ek is hier vir Aunty Asa" [I am here for Aunty Asa] and they opened the gate and this made me question, to myself, how secure and also how they are in contrast of the "collecting at the gate" security rule because Aunty Asa did not fetch the older guy at the gate as the rules suggest, he was just allowed in based on... "Ek is hier vir Aunty Asa

Besides people entering the gated development in a fluid manner, that is neither closed nor open, the tenants of Regent Villas exploit the permeability of the space given the entrance of Regent Villas which allows tenants easy access to the surrounding public spaces such as shops, transport nodes and amenities. This is justified by the need to access services that are located outside of the gated development, the tenants make use of the park located outside of the gated development as there is not much recreational space inside of the gates, the shop across the main road prior to the opening of the shop in Regent Villas and public transport as many of them do not have access to private transport .

After delving into the gated development, by mainly looking at the perspectives from the developer and managing body of Regent Villas. The following theme focuses on tenants' living experiences in Regent Villas.

5.4. Living experiences in a working-class gated development

This theme presents the findings of the living experiences within Regent Villas, rooted in the perspectives, and experiences, of the tenants. The theme begins by unpacking tenants' experiences with fear and safety in a working class gated model. The theme is further expanded by looking at elements of homogeneity and heterogeneity revealed and the politics of the lived experiences that play out between tenants and the managing body. Finally, expectations versus lived experiences of tenants in this model of gated development.

5.4.1 Experiences of fear and safety in a working-class gated development

Issues around fear and safety are common in the study of gated developments and some tenants of Regent Villas were also in search of safety, to be cocooned behind the gates and have a safe place for their families. Thus, by moving into the gated development albeit situated in a lower income area, some tenants reported to have felt sanitized against developmental challenges as experienced in their previous communities. For Rameez, Regent Villas gave him the advantage of not having to worry about his house being broken into as he can just lock his door, behind the safety gate, and leave the premises. Moreover, a further advantage is that he does not need any other security add-on whereby he makes reference to the dog, as a form of protection, one which he does need in Regent Villas;

I would say so uhm... in terms of lock up and go, 24-hour security. It's very nice to have that, I don't need a dog

For Shihaam and her husband, an older couple living in Regent Villas, she reported to have felt safer living in Regent Villas because her husband can travel safely to work from here:

Oh yes, yes... very much and my husband can travel to work from here safely, it's close to his work

Before moving to Regent Villas, Gail had her doubts and concerns about the security and safety. She raised concerns because of the informal settlement, Isiqalo, located right across the road from the gated development. She expressed worry and concern that the informal settlement would affect the safety of tenants. Worth noting, the informal settlement of Isiqalo is a heavily contested space and controversy has played out between the residents of Isiqalo and the surrounding area of Mitchells Plain. Thus, the type of security that will be employed in Regent Villas was also an issue of concern for her in the case of any incident between the residents of the informal settlement and gated development. Moreover, she expressed concern as to how firm and strict the security will be to avoid any other urban challenges from entering

the gates. Furthermore, the tenant was also unsure of what to expect from a gated development situated in an atypical context;

I phoned in and asked a lot of questions about the safety because of the squatter camp across the road here uhm what kind of security it is

Rooted in spatial area, tenants also reported to have felt safer in Regent Villas as opposed to areas they previously lived in. Some tenants highlighted that they felt safer compared to areas where they came from such as Manenberg and Lentegour. Fahiemma, previously from Manenberg, felt unsafe living there, as their lives were heavily affected by crime in the area and consequently affected their daily mobility; they could not move around freely as they were constantly fearing for their lives but in Regent Villas they feel safer and express a deep sense of freedom, freedom to move around freely without fearing for their lives;

Because it's safe, where if you know Manenberg Yoh that place, you can't even walk outside so here I have all my freedom, I have everything. They love it here, my children... I can be a normal human being not fearing for my life

Nicole reiterated similar sentiments as the tenant who previously resided in Manenberg. Coming from Lentegour, a short few kilometres from Regent Villas, she experienced lots of violence in the area and surroundings. The area is plagued with gangsterism and crime, so much so that she could not walk freely to attend matric classes, to enhance her life chances, without the possibility of getting caught in a gang crossfire. Thus, she places Lentegour on a continuum and states it is *deurmekaar*;

Yes! There was a lot of violence, then at night when I go to night school then I must soema run into someone else's door or whatever is open because the army was there operating and shooting and then the next night then I don't go so Ja... that was in Lentegour, here's it... by Cornflower, deurmekaar [rough] daar [there]

Mel who previously resided in Beacon Valley also reported to have felt safer living in Regent Villas, she emphasizes that despite not hearing gunshots anymore, she does not have to walk to the shop in fear and she highlights her reliance on the security of Regent Villas even if she is outside of the gates. Previously, it was not as simple as just stepping out of her home and walking to the shop as he had to question how safe the short journey would be but in Regent Villas it is simple;

... I don't hear fighting, I use to constantly hear fighting, I don't hear shootings, it's like a whole x10 better than the environment we were in... here I can walk to the shop, I'm fine, I know security is outside if anybody try their luck, I can just shout for security but there [in Beacon Valley] you have to constantly be aware; "Are they shooting?" "Can I go to the shop?" "Can't I go to the shop?"

While most tenants felt safer living in Regent Villas compared to where they previously lived. Some respondents did not experience a substantial difference between Regent Villas and where they previously lived. As explained by Shihaam, she rationalised this through her familiarity with Rocklands, the area she comes from, she lived there all her life and she felt safe in the area due to familiarity. Moreover, she was a bit frightened coming from Rocklands, the familiar, to Regent Villas, the unknown. She also expressed fears around travelling as she is reliant on public transport;

Uhm.. it's the same because I've lived there even though it was a house... it wasn't a secure complex, I've lived in that area for like 28 years and I knew everyone around me so it's not like anybody would come break in or something or rob you or whatever the case may be... it was a bit scary coming from an area that I knew so well to this area because I don't know this place at all and also with me not having a car. It's very difficult to travel from here because I don't like to stand on this road so yes...

Shameema revealed an interesting aspect pertaining to security and fear in Regent Villas, initially when tenants moved in many of their keys fitted into each other's doors which made the tenant feel unsafe and at the time the flats had no security gates. Interestingly, she was not concerned about outsiders being able to access her flat but rather she expressed a serious concern that her neighbours had access to her flat, she reported to have felt safer following the installation of security gates, it is unclear as to whether the keys of the tenants were changed;

Now that the security gate is up. I am more relaxed. First, we never had gates and it was difficult, everybody's keys fitted in one another's doors but now because of the gate, they can't enter

Furthermore, there were also open spaces surrounding the gated development which led to some tenants feeling unsafe. Open spaces are typically associated with unsafeness, and this manifested in the form of an adjacent open field. Mogammat lives on the far end of the gated development and the door to his flat is parallel to the wall with an open field behind it. Thus, the open field left Mogammat and his mother feeling unsafe and as a result he keeps a watchful eye over the open field as suspicion sometimes arises as Mogammat explained;

Yes, the only thing... sometimes the wall [open field] I watch but I know a unit is going up but vacant land next to it... because the other night a cat was jumping over, my mother was sitting here she's 78 years old and I said; "No, it can't be" and she insisted but we called security and so it was a cat

Tenants were also asked about their experiences related to affordability in the working class gated development. This is one of the foremost differences between this typology of gated development and higher income counterparts thus this was pertinent to the exploration into working class gated developments.

5.4.2. Affordable?

Contrary to their higher income counterparts, Regent Villas operating as social housing project, charges rental costs that are similar to that of social housing, which is one of the most remarkable differences that separates working-class gated development from their higher income counterparts. Regent Villas was developed to provide affordable and decent housing to lower income people, specifically people from Mitchells Plain. Therefore, tenants of Regent Villas were asked to share their experiences of affordability (or not). Thus, this category aims to explore whether Regent Villas is indeed affordable for the intended target market. Importantly, the measure of affordability is also one aspect that differentiates gated developments for the working-class from their higher income counterparts where affordability is often based upon the ability to purchase a property rather than simply rent one.

A few tenants expressed that the rent was affordable for them, the rental amount depends on the type of flat that is occupied. For example, a two-bedroom flat would be more expensive as opposed to a bachelor flat, thus rental amounts vary for different tenants. In this quote, Shihaam found her rent to be affordable but predicted it to increase based on increased usage of utilities, as she now shares with a flatmate. Similarly, Gretchen sharing a bachelor flat with her son also finds the rent to be affordable.

Yes, its' affordable for me" and "well, with me and my daughter alone it was roundabout R3500 but now with my roommate here, she just moved in recently, it's probably going to be a bit more for the water usage but when me and my daughter was alone, it was about R3500, so it was definitely affordable for me [Shihaam]

Say about... R1200, including extra costs [Gretchen]

Contrary to the tenants above, Gail lamented that living in Regent Villas was more expensive as opposed to where she previously lived, in a rental separate entrance however, the participant considers living in Regent Villas as a 'package' thus she justifies the extra cost. For her, Regent Villas provides her with security, her children attend the in-house creche and all is in one hub for her thus she perceives of Regent Villas to be 'worth it';

It's more expensive, as to where I lived previously, now but I do take into consideration why I'm paying that money because as I said, the security, my kids have freedom, they don't need transport anymore to creche, they go to creche here, so I take all of that into consideration and if you add all of these things, then it's worth it to pay that

Coming from a slightly different perspective, Nadine expressed that living in Regent Villas is affordable and likewise as a result enhances her financial circumstances and contributes to

upward social mobility, as she is able to save money and partake in various activities, which she could not do before moving to Regent Villas;

... so this is very affordable, and you can do things like say for instance there was this one place I could've rented... It was like R6500 for one bedroom, and you can't do anything else like there's so much more you want to do, want to see to the kids and everything also, so this for me is very much affordable.. I can save where I previously couldn't. I can do things with my kids

While Regent Villas is affordable for some tenants. Meanwhile, for other tenants, affordability is contingent on the costs of additional services such as water, electricity and landlord fees as these fees fluctuate monthly;

it is... it depends, sometimes R5600, sometimes R5700, depends how much water we use.. so, it depends either or... ” and “Okay, the water comes with the electricity that is all the fees, landlord fees and all that – that is less than R400, but my electricity say for the month I give like say... R350

Contrary to previous remarks, other tenants shared a different view. Turning to an experience of one such participant, Shameema, living in a one-bedroom flat faces financial challenges, and she barely makes it through the month with the salary she earns, which is further exacerbated by all the extra costs that comes with being a tenant of Regent Villas. She remarked, besides rental fees and service costs, she spends approximately R300 on electricity per week. Living in Regent Villas has not only increased her rental and electricity expenses but also her transport costs due to the location. Similar to the majority of tenants, she does not have access to a private automobile, thus she takes public transport to work, she requires a total of three taxis to get to her place of employment whereby previously she only took two taxis and thus her travelling costs has since increased. Consequently, she relies on extra financial support from her family in order to pay her monthly rental and to sustain herself financially throughout the month. Shameema reflects back and mentions that where she previously lived, under an informal rental agreement with her mother, she could give any amount for electricity and only paid a small monthly rental fee but in Regent Villas she is bound to a formal agreement and paying arrangement;

Yoh.. to be honest.. it's very month different... I paid this month almost R2000 something, almost R3000 that's besides my R30 electricity every week... so you can see my box is going to go off, so I get paid this afternoon so my electricity... a R300 last from Thursday to Thursday. Yoh the struggle is real, when I leave her, I go straight to my mommy and pack things in because I am not surviving, travelling is more, petrol went up and travelling fare will increase where I used to give my mommy x amount, she didn't ask for more but here I can't say.. I'm only buying R20 electricity, I must buy R300

She further requested if her monthly rental can be reduced, even if by a small amount and her above sentiments is a possible reason for her request. Shameema is not the only tenant who struggles financially and rely on extra support. As another participant reported that he rely on financial support from his son to pay the monthly rental fees and extra costs.

Yoh.. Can't they lower my fee even by a R100

It may therefore be appropriate to argue that the rental fees, inclusive of extra costs, in Regent Villas is not entirely suited to the intended target market. Gladdys makes reference to people from Lentegeur, a surrounding community, and how they would not be able to afford to live in a working class gated development such as Regent Villas. In her case, she, working as a domestic worker, had to seek financial assistance from her employer in order to meet the rental and financial requirements;

Yes, most of the people don't work and this place is quite pricey like in the newspaper the one opening on the side, you need to earn like R15 000 so most of the people don't work in Mitchells Plain so maybe if they could lower their prices or something but they also trying to make money, but it is very expensive, I would say. Because the people I know from Lentegeur, they won't come live here, it's too much... I got help from her boss to come live here

While the managing body of Regent Villas deems the gated development to be affordable for the intended target market, the findings reflected varied responses and one potential reason for this could be due to the heterogeneous nature of the working-class gated development which will be explored in the following category.

5.4.3. Heterogeneous versus homogeneous

Contrary to higher income counterparts, findings of Regent Villas reveals that this typology of gated development is more heterogeneous as opposed to homogenous (Calderia, 2000; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002). The heterogeneous profile of its residents is evident in the type of employment, lifestyle and income bracket amongst tenants. Therefore, this category reveals the diverse group of tenants in the working class gated development. Firstly, tenants of Regent Villas occupy jobs in the following sectors: creche teacher, call centre consultant, factory worker, maintenance worker and domestic worker. Interestingly, in higher income gated developments, a domestic worker is considered solely as those passing through the gated development to access job opportunities. They are known and depicted for the role as providing a service for tenants and not as tenants. However, in the working-class gated development, domestic workers form part of the tenant population. Furthermore, it was interesting to see that

an employee of Regent Villas was also a tenant of the gated development, whilst this is against the rules of the gated development. In addition, it questions the legitimacy of her tenancy in the gated development and probes into the lawfulness of her application and being able to lease in Regent Villas. It was further revealed during the interview that her mother, who is a pensioner, also leases a rental flat which evokes suspicion as a pensioner is not allowed to occupy a rental flat and more so, in a social housing project of its nature. Therefore, it shows a lack of transparency in the application process and the managing body of Regent Villas.

creche teacher” “call centre” “factory worker” “maintenance worker” and a “domestic worker”

In terms of education levels, two respondents reported to be doing matric classes, to complete their schooling and increase their chances of finding employment. Thus it appears as if tertiary educational attainments amongst tenants of Regent Villas are minimal.

Furthermore, during observations, it was revealed by the security guard that Regent Villas houses a diverse group of tenants in terms of age and marital status, with the majority of tenants being single and young adults;

Here is mostly younger people and single ones

In a related finding, Shameema mentioned that a diverse group of tenants lives in Regent Villas by making a particular distinction between “crazy noisy people” and those who are “quiet”. This assertion further shows that not all the tenants desire the same lifestyle that gated developments promise to provide through advertising. She views the rules implemented to govern Regent Villas and its tenants as necessary due to the diversity of tenants and their lifestyle aspirations. She reasons that without rules implemented, the gated development would have a ‘crazy vibe’, possibly, suited to the ‘crazy noisy people’ and their lifestyle aspirations;

Yoh, you have different elements here... I’m speaking of people.... Different characters here. Noooo... very diverse. You’ll get quiet people and then crazy noisy people, so you have to find a balance between all that so that’s why the rules are important to get more of a peace vibe than a crazy vibe

In this quote, Gail enquired about the type of people that will be living in Regent Villas. She noted to do this as a precautionary measure prior to moving in and was most likely looking for the type of people that she prefers to live with, as neighbours, and share physical space with. Secondly, it is perceived that due to the social housing nature of Regent Villas and provided to people that have been on a waiting list; that any type of people will live in housing projects such as Regent Villas. However the managing body does criminal checks as part of the

application process in an attempt to provide a better and sought after environment for its tenants and to further ensure ‘decency’;

I checked on FB and read the reviews on FB, checked the pictures of the people that moved in here and then after that I went into their website...” and she goes on to say “Okay.. So I was looking... basically my question to them was; what type of people are going to be living here? Like.... Because I work in property so.. and this is Mitchells Plain and it’s a block of flats and I don’t want to bring them into an environment like that, so I was very... uhm.. that’s why I researched, did my research first and because I heard it’s social housing so that also made me kind of... because It’s social housing then it’s going to be people of any calibre that’s going to stay there and yes, I don’t own my own house, but I do decide where my children go.. so uhm... when I asked them what type of people it is, they explained to me that there’s a criminal check that has to be done, they do a credit check.. all of those things so kind of made me feel at ease

Based on the heterogeneous nature of Regent Villas, the working class gated development experiences a range of ‘politics’ exhibited between the different actors forming part of the gated development. Thus, the following category will unpack the politics at play in Regent Villas as experienced by tenants.

5.4.4. Politics of the lived experiences

Due to the heterogeneous nature of Regent Villas, the managing body and some tenants alike consider it pivotal to closely govern the space and implement rules. The rules imposed upon tenants appears to be the fulcrum of managing the gated development. This category begins by exploring how tenants feel about the rules in Regent Villas and then proceeds to unpack the politics at play between the tenant liaison officer and tenants, and between tenants with fellow tenants.

During fieldwork observations, a controversy played out between older and younger tenants—including children—and the tenant liaison officer. The controversy was sparked by tenants who contravened the rules by playing loud music and by children who played amongst the cars, despite the security guards being present. It was only upon the arrival of the tenant liaison officer that the music was turned down. It appeared as if, when the tenant liaison officer is not present, as he only frequents Regent Villas at certain times of the day, tenants feel as if they are in control and contravenes the rules, despite the security guards being present, he made mention of this in a previous interview;

The younger guys living here, they constantly have run in with the security for playing music too late [Tenant liaison officer]

Upon entering the gated development, children were playing, cars are parked out in the parking lot and loud music blasting with a couple of young people out on the

balcony enjoying the music but as I started walking to conduct interviews, with the tenant liaison officer, the music was turned down [Researcher reflection notes]

The security guard sheds more light on this and explains why the managing body of Regent Villas does not adopt a laissez-faire approach to governing of the gated development. The security guard expressed that this is the reason as to why rules are required in Regent Villas, due to the location that it is situated in and because tenants do not abide by the rules. Another security guard expands on this response by, metaphorically, referring to Regent Villas as a “box” that is regulated. He further conceptualises this against the background of where tenants comes from, Mitchells Plain; a place he considers having no rules and unregulated space thus tenants find it hard to adapt to the regulated space and rules of Regent Villas;

This is Mitchells Plain, the people here comes from areas in Mitchells Plain, so they have no rules and don't want to abide by the rules, they want to do what they want... it's like putting them in a box hence they don't comply

However, during interviews, tenants also revealed a few grievances about living in Regent Villas and most reported on were noisy children, struggles over laundry lines and the overall use and sharing of public space in Regent Villas and the politics at play from both sides, the tenants and management staff. In this quote, Rameez initially (and still have) had problems with fellow tenants regarding laundry lines and the children who play in shared space in the gated development, even in places that are not demarcated for playing;

Yes, there is kids and kids will always be kids and chastise them but only verbally and yes, everybody seems to be communicating much better to each other since... you know, in the beginning, there use to be problems with washing lines, so you use to get some people that were quite stubborn and inconsiderate of other people, but Mr T rectified that, and I am happy... so there's a little things to be ironed out maybe sometimes but it gets ironed out

Shameema's comments below make reference to noisy children and delves into the complications involved in requesting the children to play in a demarcated space. She further expresses frustration as the parents of the children do not want to reprimand them which is likely to lead to controversy between the adult tenants.

It's difficult, Yoh... You ask the children to please not run by the door and they say, "You're not my mommy" so now you speak to the parents and the parents is like; "where must my child play?" so it's difficult, you have different elements here

Moreover, some tenants assented to the rules of Regent Villas. In this quote, Mogammat is satisfied with the rules in the estate, he assumes that rules are needed in a living arrangement such as the one in the gated development. Furthermore, the participant deems the rules as

necessary otherwise without rules, Regent Villas, as a housing model of its nature, will be uncontrollable and he makes this assumption by using the word “deurmekaar”;

Like me, I am fine with the rules... I like the rules because if you don't have rules in a complex like this everybody will do their own thing man... it will go deurmekaar you understand? No, I'm fine with the rules, if there's no rules people will do their own nonsense, they will drink and do whatever they want to do...

Similarly, Nicole is satisfied with the rules and abides by the rules however she states that there some tenants who feel as if there are too many rules in the estate, against this backdrop, the participant makes reference to rules that are implemented at home to justify the rules in Regent Villas;

There are rules, same here and I will abide by every rule, yes. I like the rules here because I even told the security... that here are certain people that said, here's too many rules but for me, I know what is rules

On the other hand, some tenants are not satisfied with the rules in Regent Villas. One such participant, Shameema, who is displeased with the rules, equates Regent Villas to Pollsmoor²³ prison because she feels that she is not free in her own home and living space and as a result she constantly feels governed and guarded, similar to a prisoner, as a tenant in Regent Villas. During the interview, the tenant expressed lots of grievances that she experiences as a tenant of Regent Villas;

This is Pollsmoor [displeased], I promise you, it's terrible. The rules are terrible. You feel like you're a prisoner in your own home

The governance and politics at play in Regent Villas manifest in a number of ways, and in some cases try to sanction the rules and governance imposed upon them. Findings show that in some instances, tenants expectations versus the reality of being a tenant also lead to some grievances in Regent Villas.

5.4.5 Expectations versus reality

Regent Villas is the first gated development of its kind in Mitchells Plain and one of the burgeoning housing projects that exemplifies this new typology of working class gated development. Thus when tenants initially moved in they were unsure of what to expect from

²³ Pollsmoor is a prison facility located in a Cape Town suburb, Tokai and is known for housing some of South Africa's most dangerous criminals thus very strict security measures are adopted to manage the prison facility and its inmates.

this kind of housing project. During interviews with tenants, a few expectations versus actual experiences were pointed out namely regarding transport, architecture and rental costs. This category further reveals how tenants adapted to this new 'way' of living and demonstrated agency.

Regent Villas is marketed and advertised as being central in terms of accessing major transport routes which was (is) suited to the target market as majority of tenants rely on public transport, however, during interviews two tenants revealed the difficulty they experience with travelling and accessing public transport due to the "hidden" location of Regent Villas. Regent Villas is tucked away in Weltevreden Valley, in a cul-de-sac, it can be seen from the main road however no road from the main road leads directly to Regent Villas; it only connects to the sidewalk of the main road through a man-made path which is meant for pedestrians. As observed by Rameez, it is not easy to travel with public transport. In his view, it is not easily accessible and there are no taxis, which is a cheaper alternative and affordable for tenants that commute past Regent Villas. Therefore, he reiterates that it is easier for him as he have access to a private automobile;

The travelling is not so lekker but because of the road, you must go right around to get out here... I have my own car but for the people that work, like to travel and taxi and stuff they get a taxi outside here, there's no taxis that comes in here

Most noteworthy, Fatiema who relies on public transport for work reiterates this, she mentions that it is difficult for her to travel to work however, the developers of the estate said that a road will be constructed whereby residents can gain easy access to the gated development but to date there has still not been a road built and it seemed unlikely that the proposed road will be built or could be built as per the context of the area. Reflecting on this, this is perhaps another similar feature to that of higher income gated developments because they are both built around car access.

For Gladys, the inaccessibility of Regent Villas further poses a security risk for her daughter. She explains, that her daughter travels to school and her journey to school requires one taxi, a taxi that she needs to board in the main road, however, to reach the main road, her daughter has to pass through a man-made path which is unsafe and often times her daughter has to rely on the security of Regent Villas to keep an eye out as she waits to board the taxi, the corridor is notorious for robbing people and criminal activities thus she fears for her daughter's safety as she embarks on her daily journey;

Yes, you only take one taxi that she need to take but it's just maybe if she walk in the gang [corridor] by the road to go to the main road, it's a bit dangerous because there's always men standing there so she's a bit scared so she will ask a security guard to walk with her or just stand and watch her till she get into a taxi because a lady got robbed recently by that spot...Sy is bang [she is scared]

Due to Regent Villas being built around car access and lack of suitable and easily accessible transport routes to and from Regent Villas. Consequently, Nicole had to make alternative transport arrangements for her daughter with another tenant. The two tenants have since formed a lift club to make transport more accessible;

I did phone Golden Arrow for Jamie but unfortunately there's no travelling for her in the morning or when she come home that is why I asked... he is also a guy that live here.. his two sons is attending Rocklands so I asked can't Jamie drive him and then I just sort him out every week with petrol money... yes, a lift club

Moreover, it is not only transport that has not met tenants expectations but also utilities. Shameema reported to have endless issues with her prepaid electricity box. She expressed frustration because of a high and an unaccounted for electricity bill and argued that she does not have many appliances and despite her reduced usage, she still experiences a surge in her monthly bill. She supports her argument by making reference to fellow tenants who use more electrical appliances as opposed her but have a receive a lower bill;

Yoh Mr T, I only use my stove once a week.. It's only my fridge that is on. How can my fridge take so much electricity? I know tenants that have far more appliances than me and they are more in the flat.. I live alone... but their electricity bill is less than mine

Another primary concern expressed by Shameema is that her access to electricity in Regent Villas is unstable. While there are some days when she has access to electricity, on other days she has none:

[pulls face].. okay. So.. how do I put it in words.. You have your ups and downs and that's all I'm going to say..Uhm, today you have electricity and tomorrow you don't...

On the other hand, some tenants had certain expectations pertaining to the architecture and infrastructure of the gated development. Gladys provides an interesting response, she expected that the flat would be bigger in size however she makes a distinction between Constantia and Mitchells Plain, with Mitchells Plain having smaller plots, she does not expect much from Mitchells Plain nor Regent Villas per se.

No expectations, I just thought that I was going to get my own room but that's mos now different but it's nice. I don't expect anything better because it's Mitchells Plain, you can't expect something big that's like constantia vibes.. like this is in Mitchells Plain, you see

As pointed out by Gladys above, Rameez also points out that he expected the flat to be bigger in size. Due to the compact nature of the gated model of Regent Villas, he since had to seek alternative storage for his belongings. However, this response revealed a deeper issue of the application process whereby he was not shown the flat beforehand, he notes that if he had seen it beforehand he might not have agreed to sign the lease agreement thus he makes the suggestion that the managing body of Regent Villas should be more transparent and upfront with prospective tenants. This seems to suggest that he feels as if his interview process was not as transparent as he expected it to be;

I didn't have any expectations... but I probably thought that the flats would've been bigger... I wish they had shown us the flat before they had interviewed us and let us pay the deposit and so on because then maybe we probably wouldn't have taken it in terms of size because half of our furniture is laying at two different places so yes, that would've been better if they had been transparent in that regard. So I would say that the transparency in the interviews should be more prevalent

The information booklet of Regent Villas further confirms that viewing can only take place once tenants have signed a lease application. It would be useful if tenants were able to view the flat beforehand as they would be able to make an informed decision as to whether they want to sign a lease agreement or not. Furthermore, it appears as if tenants are 'stuck' with the flat as they have already signed the lease agreement and possibly, this could be a strategy by the managing body to ensure that the units get filled but results in a disadvantage for tenants as demonstrated by Rameez who had to seek alternative storage for his belongings;

Once you have signed a lease agreement, our Tenant Liaisons Officer will contact you regarding viewing of the unit

Analogous to the experiences expressed above, some tenants did not have any expectations prior to moving in, they just wanted access to better living conditions. Gail also had minimal expectations, but she paid particular attention to the service that she would receive as a tenant of Regent Villas. She expected the managing body of Regent Villas to provide her with efficient service in the case of any problems arising, thus far Regent Villas has provided efficient service in her view;

No, the only thing is if I address something, I want it to be done but at this moment, nothing is wrong, so I have no expectations because everything is working well and I think when I do email, I do get a response which is fine for me

Conversely, this tenant initially had her doubts about Regent Villas as she makes reference to her experience with marketing however, Regent Villas has surpassed her expectations and she has not had any bad experiences yet as a tenant.

My expectations.. they've exceeded my expectations actually because I did think that maybe...you know when they selling something to you because I do marketing and they sell something to you... they sell it to you... uhm, it's going to be this great, amazing place and then when you live there, you start to see the cracks and stuff like that, but I haven't had any bad experience yet

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has narrated a story of Regent Villas as an example of a working class gated development which started with potential tenants approaching the gates, entering the gates and their eventual living experiences after becoming tenants with a view from inside the gates. These stories demonstrate that the majority of interviewed tenants came from sub-areas in Mitchells Plain and were motivated by factors such as independence, improved living conditions, affordability and—less explicitly—safety. The chapter further reflected on the strenuous application process that tenants have to partake in to form part of the gated ‘community’, simultaneously; this revealed the different types of gatekeeping at play in Regent Villas. The chapter further shed light on the services and amenities on offer in Regent Villas whilst revealing the differing consumption patterns of the tenants of working class gated developments which led to a discussion on the rules implemented by the managing body. Both of these revealed examples of how the gated development was adapted to the local conditions and in cases, where it was not adapted, and it led to overregulation. The final glimpse into Regent Vilas narrated the tenants living experiences and demonstrated that most tenants felt safer living in Regent Villas. An unexpected finding was the financial struggles amongst tenants which revealed that the gated development was not financially suitable for many tenants. Furthermore, the findings brought to light the heterogeneity amongst tenants in Regent Villas which could be assumed to lead to a politics amongst tenants. The following chapter provides a discussion based on the findings.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of the discussion chapter is to synthesize literature with the findings and relate it to the objectives of the study. This discussion will be structured according to the objectives of the research; rationale for constructing Regent Villas, the tenant's motivations for retreating into a working class gated development, what distinguishes this typology from its higher-income counterparts, tenants experiences and finally, how, and if it does, this typology of housing contribute to easing of access to formal housing for the working class. This study endeavours to bridge the gap in the literature concerning working class gated developments in the South African context. For the discussion, the researcher draws links between the western concept of gated developments and those in the global South to meet the objectives, and support arguments made. This discussion here challenges some established assumptions.

6.2 Gated development in an atypical context

6.2.1 Rationale for constructing Regent Villas

One of the objectives of the study sought to explore the rationale for constructing a working class gated development such as Regent Villas in an atypical context. As Boonjubun (2019) states gated developments in the global South are developed for different reasons and in response to different urban conditions as opposed to the West. In agreement, the research findings established that the rationale for constructing a working class gated development is unique to this typology, which differs from the homogenous literature which grounds the rationale and purpose in providing security, lifestyle and prestige (Blakely & Snyder, 1997b; Leisch, 2002; Low, 2001; Le Grange, 2018). The findings indicate that the rationale for developing Regent Villas as a working class gated development was grounded in two things; firstly, the experience, of the founder, as a property developer and estate agent working on the Cape Flats and secondly, the lack of social and affordable housing on the Cape Flats for the lower income populace, specifically Mitchells Plain. It can be said that the supply of affordable housing by relevant government housing bodies does not meet the demand. Therefore this finding supports the view that the origins of working class gated developments is rooted in the shortage of supply of affordable housing (Morales, 2019). This further coincides with the findings of DAG (2021) who noted that there is a dire need for affordable housing in Mitchells Plain. The lack of affordable housing in Mitchells Plain has far-reaching consequences such as backyarding and an increase in informal settlements (DAG, 2021). Furthermore, the research

findings established that this typology of gated development challenges the homogenous view that gated developments are developed for the wealthy and to serve as a form of sanitization against undesirable urban environments and its challenges. It can be said that the fulcrum of working class gated developments is not necessarily to provide a safety haven or create a homogenous environment for tenants, these 'qualities' can instead be referred to as a by-product of this gated model. This finding further proves the willingness of the private sector to adapt and extend their products to working class contexts.

6.2.2 *Tenant motivations*

One of the objectives of the research was to uncover the motivations of tenants to retreat into a gated development situated in an atypical context. This was crucial in determining who leases into this type of gated development and the reasons for doing so. However before turning to the motivations, it is of equal importance to ascertain where tenants come from as this relates to the target market and furthermore, the application process tenants partook in as this revealed unanticipated findings.

The working class gated development is suited to a particular target market and in the case of Regent Villas, the founder mentioned that the gated development, developed as a social housing initiative, is developed and targeted towards people from Mitchells Plain who are either backyard dwellers or have limited access to formal housing. Based on where tenants came from, they would be categorized into the low income category as required for lease agreements and to meet the criteria of Regent Villas. Thus, the majority of tenants come from areas around the Cape Flats, which not only suited the intended target market and intentions of the developer but also is in agreement with the findings of Ruiz-Carvajal (2021). The author identified that the type of people in working class gated developments is the most visible difference between working class gated developments and higher income counterparts, as working class gated developments are characterized by lower-income people.

In addition, the findings also revealed the differing advertisement methods used in this typology such as the local community newspaper and Facebook advertisements. Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) draws the link between advertisements and motivations, as the advertisements of gated developments are parallel to who they appeal to, and this was the case in Regent Villas. Regent Villas was advertised in sources that potential and targeted tenants are likely to have access to such as the local community newspaper and Facebook posts. Moreover, it was not only the advertisement mediums utilized, but also the way in which the gated development was

advertised. Caldeira (2002) makes this clear, she contends that if the advertisements fail to articulate images people can understand and recognise as their own, they fail to appeal to potential tenants. Whilst higher income gated developments are commonly advertised by creating the ideal living image with depictions of children playing in green spaces, large open space, secure living environment and a particular 'condominium' lifestyle suited to potential tenants (Caldeira, 2002). Using this conceptualisation, Regent Villas was advertised as a social housing project, with less emphasis on amenities and architectural features and more attention paid to providing a safe and decent home. . Simply put, working class gated developments are not advertised as a 'packaged lifestyle' but mainly that of providing housing for potential tenants. Worth noting, the advertisement methods of Regent Villas as a working class gated development differs from higher-income counterparts. Therefore, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) following Caldeira (2002) maintained that the advertising of gated developments are parallel to their popularity and people buying into them.

The application process for tenants of Regent Villas further revealed interesting and novel findings. The process was lengthy as it consisted of different phases and presented with challenges for many tenants. Challenges were experienced during the making of an online application whereby most potential tenants did not have access to the necessary resources therefore majority of tenants had to contact Povicom consultants for either assistance with the application or to enquire whether their application was received. It may therefore be appropriate to argue that the initial phase of making the application lacked compatibility with potential tenants. Moreover, it leads us to pose a fundamental question as to how many other applications of potential tenants were 'lost' due to lack of compatibility to the target market? Besides the online application process which forms part of the first part of the application, tenants further experienced difficulty during the second part of the application, when having to travel back and forth between the head office of Povicom, based in Wetton, and Mitchells Plain. Tenants are required to meet with the managing body of Regent Villas to discuss their financial capabilities as a prospective tenant and they undergo an interview to determine suitability. This further showed the lack of compatibility of the application process with the target market. Noteworthy, in higher income counterparts potential tenants are not required to attend interviews that would determine their suitability to the criteria, and their financial circumstances. Therefore, it can be said that managing bodies of working class gated developments ensures that potential tenants would be able to pay the rental fees and the extra fees of the lease agreement and information for this is gathered during interviews and meetings

held at Povicom offices. Whilst this appears to be two-fold, both positive and negative, it appears to be advantageous to the managing body because it ensures that tenants are able to pay their rental amounts, as the managing body has expenses and to ensure the upkeep of Regent Villas. On the other hand, it serves as a barrier for tenants as they have to access public transport to travel between the main offices and Mitchells Plain, which is a costly and strenuous journey for most of them. In the event of potential tenants not making it to the next phase of the application, it could also seem like a waste of time and money. Moreover, the meetings cause confusion as there are many people involved from the point of application to the time of signing the lease agreement.

The filtering process during the application process pertaining to the amount of people who attended the workshop, the amount of people who took the forms and the amount of people who returned the forms is a possible indication of the incompatibility of the application process with the target market. The workshop was attended by 681 potential tenants however, only 146 (21%) of them returned the forms and this could be due to a range of reasons however one can make the argument that this was due to the strenuous application process and possibly the rental amounts as the majority of people who returned the forms were those in the higher earning bracket, between R7701, 00 and R15 000, 00 thus this speaks to the affordability of Regent Villas; affordable for who? Furthermore it raises pertinent questions as to why there is such a huge decrease in the amount of potential applicants who return the forms; Is this due to the information provided in the workshops and if so, what is shared during the workshops that are making potential tenants reluctant to continue with their application? Potentially, it could be the 'condominium culture'.

Whilst the application process of working class gated developments is scantily documented in the literature, it is evident that this type of application process is contrary to that of higher income gated developments where they are allowed entry based on whether they can afford or not, they are not required to undergo various stages as part of the application phase. A further unanticipated finding to demonstrate the polymorphic nature of this model of gated development and to distinguish it from their higher income counterparts was the taking of a written test for potential tenants which serves as the final step to 'gating' into Regent Villas. Arese (2018) found that in Haram City, Egypt, a gated development inclusive of low-income tenants, it requires a set of unified moral behaviour which could possibly explain the writing of a compulsory test in Regent Villas, to ensure a set of unified behaviour based on the rules they were tested on. It should be mentioned that the test is not as per requirement from social

housing policies or government entities but solely that of the managing body of Regent Villas, where it is referred to as a 'quiz'. Arese (2018) further refers to the 'behaviour infrastructure' in working-class gated developments besides, his reasoning is based on tenants already living in the gated development conversely in Regent Villas this takes place prior to entering the gates, a form of 'behaviour infrastructure' before they are allowed entry. Thus this typology simultaneously bases entry on knowledge, knowledge on the rules pertaining to being a tenant of a gated model. Meanwhile, studies by Kostenwein (2021), Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) and Boonjubun (2019) found no differences in application processes between higher-income and working-class gated developments thus this remains a novel finding, and contribution to literature on gated developments. Furthermore, it begs the following questions: Are these workshops and tests executed in this typology because of the stigma attached to the low-income population?, Does the test serve as a means to include and exclude, include those with knowledge and who are 'decent' and exclude those who are not? [say what excludes you in a higher income gated development] Moreover, from information gathered during interviews, there exists no alternative in the event of a tenant not being able to take the test thus this brings to light another form of gatekeeping in this typology of gated development, one of knowledge.

Turning to the motivations of tenants to move into a gated development of its nature. The findings show that the motivations differ to that of tenants of higher income gated developments. Scholarship on gated developments highlight safety, fear of crime and uncontrollable urban space as foremost reasons for retreating into gated developments (Blakely & Snyder, 1997b; Ballard, 2004; Durlington, 2008; Harrison & Mabin, 2006). Conversely, for this typology the motivations differ slightly. The findings showed that tenants sought independence and privacy, better and improved living conditions, affordability and less explicitly, safety. Expanding on this, for some tenants their previous living conditions did not allow them a peace of mind as they constantly had to be on guard in their surroundings, this not only caused invasion of privacy but also distress. Whilst many tenants reported to have gained a sense of privacy in Regent Villas, some tenants still felt as if, due to the low-cost model and compact physical layout, that their sense of privacy was invaded, and their flats were "too close" to their neighbours. Findings show that a better environment and improved living conditions were also a motivating factor as many tenants were backyard dwellers and consequently some of them reported to not have access to basic infrastructure. The first two motivations go hand in hand, thus contrary to literature on gated developments, tenants of this typology does not necessarily seek to be cut off or secede due to 'segregation' (Ballard, 2005)

but instead for improved living conditions and independence. Affordability was another motivating factor for low income tenants to move into Regent Villas. Due to high rental costs, financial constraints and poor access to housing finance and lack of affordable housing, many tenants could not afford to rent elsewhere or enter the home-ownership market. So much so, that some tenants never expected to be living on their own as they were not successful with rental applications elsewhere. In support, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) contends that gated developments in lower income contexts is often the first step in acquiring a formal house and serves as an allegory of their (low income people) leap towards middle-class citizenship and investment, this was the case for many tenants of Regent Villas. In this regard, Morales (2019) in her study in Mexico attributed the growth of working-class gated developments to the lack of affordable housing and the same was found in this study. Therefore, this motivating factor is two-fold, it serves as a motivation for tenants and for developers and local municipalities to continue developing housing projects of this nature.

Whilst Regent Villas is an affordable housing project aimed at the low income populace who cannot afford to pay high rental amounts nor to buy a house in the formal market, however the latest phase of Regent Villas brings to light the paradox of Regent Villas; affordable for low income but simultaneously opening the gates to potential tenants who can afford to lease in the private sector. The broadening of the financial criterion bracket can be said to include and exclude people from the intended target market, include people earning up to R22 000 and possibly excluding people who earn less than R1850, 00. Consequently, with the new phase, it is quite difficult to ascertain how low income, potential tenants, access to Regent Villas will be affected. This is evident in potential tenants already being added to a waiting list for the latest phase. The findings further revealed that for some current tenants, Regent Villas is too costly for them and as a result they struggle financially. This led to some tenants questioning how affordable the working class gated development actually is, in reality.

The final motivation was that of fear and safety, whilst it was not the main motivation of many tenants for moving into Regent Villas, safety appeared to be a by-product for leasing in the gated development model. Tenants reported to have felt safer as there was no need for additional safety measures and others felt safer due to the accessibility of the gated development. This is in alignment with longstanding literature on gated developments based on safety and fear of crime (Landman, 2004; Ballard, 2005; Atkinson & Blandy, 2005; Harrison & Mabin, 2006). Similarly, Salah & Ayad (2018) found that safety in gated developments is a common desire for wanting to retreat into a gated development. However,

this research aligns the need for safety with the previous living conditions of tenants. Furthermore, it was Morange et al. (2012) and Caldeira (2000) who mentioned that low income populations also seek protection and safe living environments, and this study supported those assertions. On the other hand, a few tenants expressed concern due to the location of Regent Villas being located close to an informal settlement. They felt as if there is not much difference as opposed to where they resided previously. To the researcher's surprise, upon moving into the gated development a few tenants' keys fitted each other's doors and many were left feeling unsafe thus the managing body put security gates up for the tenants as there were concerns that fellow tenants might enter their flats. This seems to suggest that tenants would not feel safe, albeit inside of the gated development, if it were not for burglar bars and security features. Simply put, they did not necessarily perceive the gated development to be a safe space and expressed worry towards fellow tenants, not outsiders or the 'fear of others' (Low, 2003). This is a particularly opposing finding to that of higher-income counterparts whereby residents feel entirely safe in the space (Sakip et al., 2018). A possible reason for this could be the homogenous nature of higher income gated developments and homogenous lifestyle traits thus, they find it unlikely to experience a 'safety barrier' within the gated development. The following section turns the focus to the differences between higher income and working class gated developments, and sheds light on the way Regent Villas has been adapted and reworked in response to the local conditions.

6.3. Distinguishing the working class typology

The location of Regent Villas also highlights the polymorphic nature of this model of gated development. Regent Villas is located in an area where social challenges still lingers and more interestingly, it is located parallel to an informal settlement thus the location of Regent Villas and tenants are neither 'away' from nor 'inside of' challenges as the gated development does not allow them to fully secede from the physical surroundings, but at the same time the security artefacts sanitizes them from challenges that linger outside. However, the presence of an informal settlement located close by still invoked feelings of 'fear' and 'worry' in tenants. In a similar way, the residents of the surrounding community (Colorado) expressed concern over the development of a working class gated development and for the tenants of Regent Villas the informal settlement posed as undesirable urban challenges that two 'communities' did not want to interact with; the community of Colorado rejected the initial proposal of the gated development and took a stance of not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY) towards the housing project. The tenants of the gated development rejected those living in the informal settlement. This can

be explained in the conceptualization of Ruiz-Carvajal (2021). Interestingly, the author points out that for the low-income tenants, the working class gated development is not a place for the poor (people from informal settlement) which is behind them, but neither is it one of the middle class (residents of Colorado) which lies ahead of them. Hence, they locate themselves somewhere in between, in this case the in-between being Regent Villas. Tenants also further separated themselves from surrounding communities of Isiqalo informal settlement and Colorado, physically and socially. Thus there still exists a measure of ‘outsiders’ versus ‘insiders’ despite being located in an atypical context inclusive of those of the lower income populace, there is still exclusion. This is in agreement with Blakely & Snyder (1997a) who posited that the gates and barriers of gated developments allows for those inside, despite the income or context, to separate themselves from those outside of the gates despite positioning themselves on the same socio-economic status.

Turning to the focus to the architecture of Regent Villas. The architecture mirrors that of low-cost models of housing developments while higher-income counterparts have large open space, green spaces and playgrounds. Caldeira (2000) noted that higher income projects have the ability, due to large plots, to create opulent spaces which portray the image of exclusivity and isolation. Conversely, Regent Villas is quite densely packed with the space mainly utilized for flat units. In Bogotá, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) supports this and contends that developers try to fit as many housing units as permitted, hence leaving little room for open space and amenities. The research further found that the flats were smaller in size than expected and did not have some features as initially assumed by, then, potential tenants. In this regard, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) also found that some flats in low-income projects, in Bogotá, are sold or rented without tiled floors, painted walls and basic features. Alluding back to Regent Villas, tenants felt as if this was a lack of transparency on part of developers and managing body as potential, paying, tenants should be given the option to view flats (and flat sizes) beforehand. Despite the flat sizes of Regent Villas being smaller than expected, tenants remained exuberant in having to make their “own” space feel like a ‘home’ and ‘make do’ with what they were given. This is what Hurtado-Tarazona (2018) refers to as agency and noted this as an indication of low-income residents agency in the space. Worth noting, agency can be unpacked as tenants adjusting to what they have and exhibit a certain type of independence, this was demonstrated in other living experiences of tenants in Regent Villas which will be explored in subsequent sections. The agency of low-income tenants takes us to the next category, amenities in Regent Villas. Interestingly, the amenities in Regent Villas were crafted towards the requirements of

the tenants. The amenities on offer in Regent Villas were also constructed based on tenants' request upon moving in and was an indication of one of the ways in which developers adapted their product offering.. As a case in point, Regent Villas has an on-site tuckshop, selling household necessities at fairly affordable prices which is contrary to higher income gated developments who, in most cases, comprise of high end retail stores and supermarkets. Another interesting finding was the garage converted into a conference centre available for tenants to hire for events. This finding demonstrates two things, firstly, the willingness to adapt their product offering and secondly, the managing body of Regent Villas strong attempt to provide these services which essentially aids tenants to retreat from the surrounding space. Findings further showed that tenants are able to open small businesses, such as the creche and Muslim school, which not only added to the amenities on offer in Regent Villas but also financially supported tenants. In Bogotá, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) noted that tenants are also allowed to open an informal business in the gated development.

Moreover, the consumption patterns of low-income residents also differ from higher-income counterparts. Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) makes the example of big retailers in higher income gated developments whilst Regent Villas comprise a local tuckshop that is managed and owned by the managing body. Interestingly, the tuckshop was included to aid tenants to retreat from public space as they had to leave the perimeters of the gated development to access surrounding supermarkets. Gated developments are usually located far distances from surrounding amenities and services which was not entirely the case in Regent Villas however, the shop tenants frequented were located a few streets away and another was located across the road which less tenants frequented due to safety concerns. Thus, tenants experienced difficulty in accessing local shops. Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) explains that residents of higher income gated developments are able to overcome these distances and cope with 'being cut off' as they have access to their own automobiles to access a range of outside services, for tenants living in working class gated developments it poses a challenge, as they rely on public services and transport to access essential services. In this regard, Regent Villas is fairly centrally located to transportation routes however many tenants struggle to travel to work thus they have resorted to forming a lift club group amongst themselves which is another example of their agency and simultaneously an example of their sense of community. The lift club formed in Regent Villas due to inaccessibility can be explained by applying the club goods theory; only tenants who signed up for the lift club via verbal agreement and pay a weekly fee are able to make use of the lift club.

Of importance, due to a lack of and limited amenities, it is evident that tenants of Regent Villas experience difficulty in trying to totally secede from the outside and they find themselves still dependent on a range of services. Therefore, as Caldeira (2002) puts it, being able to secede from public life is a privilege limited to the rich, in this case, higher income gated developments. It should however be noted that the developers of Regent Villas makes a noteworthy attempt to adapt the gated model to accommodate its tenants however it remains 'limited', due to the location and the dependence on the local municipality for basic services. Furthermore, findings show that there are no overflow of amenities and services to the closely situated informal settlement instead, they keep the residents of the informal settlement separated from the gated development as much as possible. This finding is contrary to working class gated developments in Bangkok as Boonjubun (2019) found that outsiders from poorer nearby areas also make use of the amenities on offer.

It was also the governance of tenants that was found to be unique to this typology of gated development. Interestingly, in Regent Villas, contrary to higher-income counterparts and other low-income projects, a form of governance (gatekeeping) is carried out before tenants sign their lease agreements to gain entry into the gated development and this is done by the writing of a compulsory test. This challenges the assumption that governance begins once tenants sign into gated developments (Arese, 2018; Ruiz-Carvajal, 2022). Thus, in Regent Villas potential tenants are already governed and tested prior to entering the gates and this is contrary to findings of Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) and Arese (2018). Both authors found that 'people's infrastructure' takes place once inside of the gated development but in Regent Villas, 'people's infrastructure' occurs before entering, they want to set the scene of being governed prior to them gaining access. The managing body of Regent Villas furthermore wishes to ensure that tenants know the rules before they become official tenants of Regent Villas. It can be argued that the managing body presumes this to be an effective manner to bring order into the gates.

The findings further showed that there are observable similarities between the rules of Regent Villas as a working class gated development and higher income counterparts. This is in agreement with Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) who found that rules in a low income project are very similar to higher income counterparts. However, in Bogotá, tenants abide by the rules whilst in higher income counterparts they question the rules imposed upon them (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021). This is where the findings of this research challenge that of Ruiz-Carvajal (2021). In Regent Villas, the tenants question and defy the rules imposed upon them. Tenants were often questioning and trying to negotiate behaviour and rules, with the managing body and fellow

tenants and this is not necessarily a question of whether they abide by the rules or not or their defiance towards the managing body but a possible implication of this could be due to them struggling to adjust to the urban grid of desirable behaviours, which is explored in depth later on in the chapter. From the perspective of the managing body, they try to sanction this with the negotiation of behaviour by, for example, drawing up a timetable to manage issues pertaining to laundry lines however tenants also found this to be restrictive. Hence, it should be noted that in their previous living experiences there was no laundry line schedule thus it appears to be difficult for tenants to adapt to this kind of living experience and housing model. Expounding on this, the laundry lines in Regent Villas portrays a good example of club goods; the laundry line is communal however still private, for tenants use only, it was found that some tenants tried to take ownership over laundry lines causing conflict amongst tenants. Therefore, tenants try to exceed limits imposed upon them and in a related finding, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) termed this overflow and he further found that tenants resorted to hanging clothes out of the window in his study .

Another example of how the club goods theory is exercised in the gated development, in terms of governance, to ensure optimal use and regulation, the bins in Regent Villas is also governed however to ensure this, they pay a small fee to make use of the bins, and this could be the case to ensure equal use of the bins and to reduce controversy that might arise. On the other hand, three units (three families) share one bin which could also be limiting. Furthermore, tenants are also governed pertaining to them receiving visitors. In the event of their visitors wanting to stay over for an extended period of time, tenants are required to make an application via email to the managing body who will then approve or reject the request, the email also needs to stipulate the age of the prospective visitor. Whilst Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) and Boonjubun (2019) found no related finding; another low income private housing project, in Mitchells Plain, reported to have a similar rule however, in said gated development some rental tenants cannot have visitors over, visitors are allowed entry based on amount of times they have been there before and provided that they have not exceeded their visits and interestingly, in some cases an identity document needs to be shown at the gate. Therefore, it appears that the managing body of lower-income projects try to limit who enters the space as they want to limit undesirable behaviours as the visitors do not know the rules, like the tenants do.

Besides the governance in Regent Villas, there is also a degree of leeway which leads to the next aspect; variable openness in a working class gated development which discusses how this typology of gated development belongs to neither of the two situations, open or close, which

is the central tenet of gated developments. The first indication of permeability in Regent Villas was upon arrival and tenants alongside security were gathered in front of the gated development which blurred the barriers between where the gates started, for the researcher and people passing by. Soon it became apparent that the majority of the tenants have returned from the nearby shop, hence them being outside of the gates, and this can be explained within the reasoning of Hanson (2000) and Hillier (2004). The authors contended that the street-facing entrances of gated developments allows, to a certain degree, spatial interaction between private (inside) and public (outside). Therefore, in the case of Regent Villas with the street facing entrance and tenants utilizing public services, it allows for an interaction between public (outside) and private (inside) and this refers to social interaction as well. The permeable nature of Regent Villas furthermore allows for 'outsiders' to easily access the gates based on familiarity, in one instance, and in 'outsiders' entering unlawfully. Thus, it can be said the permeable nature, neither open nor closed, evokes feelings of unsafety amongst tenants. The following section provides a discussion of the living experiences of tenants in Regent Villas.

6.4. Tenant experiences

Whilst the tenant liaison officer, alongside the managing body and support staff revealed interesting findings. Tenants also revealed pertinent findings based on their living experiences. The following section will provide an in-depth discussion of the living experiences of tenants in Regent Villas.

6.4.1. Fear and safety

Whilst the key motivation of tenants was not that of seeking a safe space, some tenants still reported wanting a safe place to reside in despite the surroundings of Regent Villas, they felt that the gated model would aid in a feeling of security and safety. Some tenants reported that the safety in Regent Villas does not require them to source additional security measures whilst others are able to travel safely. Both of these responses seemed to suggest that tenants feel safe because of the security measures and short travelling distance from the gated development to their workplace. This finding concurs with that of Blakely & Snyder (1997;2007) who contend that the poor also seek safe spaces to live in. On the other hand, similar to findings of Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) there also appears to be much insecurity around safety in Regent Vilas due to the gated development being located in an atypical context and opposite an informal settlement, and more interestingly the type of security and tenants. It is worth noting that the presence of an informal settlement made prospective tenants question how safe a gated development would

be in the space and how the security will be able to divert any urban challenges to outside of the gates. In the same vein, surrounding open space also contributed to insecurity amongst tenants. Therefore, this finding supports the view that open and abandoned space often leads to insecurity and safety concerns (Jacobs, 1961). It was further revealed that potential tenants not only expressed safety concerns due to the location of Regent Villas, but the social housing nature of the project further led to uncertainty pertaining to security and the ‘type of people’ who will be residing in Regent Villas presumably ‘not decent’ people. This research finding revealed an unfounded prejudice, pertaining to housing projects of this nature and the fear of ‘others’.

6.4.2. “Affordability”

The study further sought to uncover whether Regent Villas as a working class gated development is affordable for its intended target market. Whilst each tenant's rental amount varies depending on service-related costs and the flat that they are occupying. The study established that for some tenants rental costs were affordable, and this was justified by the amenities they had access to. Due to low rental costs, some tenants were able to enhance their life circumstances which as a result led to upward social mobility in terms of saving money to enter the home-ownership market. Contrary to working class gated developments in Bogotá (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021), there is no security of tenure as housing are only available for rentals, however this still contributed to upward social mobility, as the gated development can be considered as a solid step towards eventually owning a home and put tenants in the home ownership category. Contrary to expectations, the study did not find that the working class gated development was affordable for all tenants. For some tenants, rental amounts and extra charges are too costly and they are struggling to afford their monthly payments. This has resulted in tenants relying on extra financial support from friends and family and seemed to suggest that rental costs including extra compulsory fees are not intended to that target market as most of them work informal jobs and in their previous living arrangements they only contributed what they could afford however, now they are bound by legal contracts to pay stipulated amounts. These experiences relate well with the findings of Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) whereby in Bogotá respondents noted that they only have enough money for food and bills thus to circumvent this challenge, many of the tenants resorted to starting their own small businesses such as selling pizza in the gated development however, no such evidence was found in Regent Villas. Instead in Regent Villas, tenants are allowed to open small businesses that would complement the amenities already present in the gated development such as the creche and

Muslim school. Alluding back to Regent Villas, with the target market ranging from R1850, 00 to R22 000 per month and rentals ranging from R722, 00 and R6 475, 00 prompts one to question how affordable the 'affordable' working class gated development actually is and how, then, are low income people expected to access Regent Villas. Thus, a noteworthy although not explicit conclusion is that the working class gated development is still not as accessible and affordable for the intended tenanted market.

Moreover, the affordability aspect goes both ways, from the perspective of the developer and that of the tenants. The founder requires of tenants to pay their rental fees and other compulsory costs in order to ensure that the gated development remains in a good and functional state. As in the case of Regent Villas, there is no subsidy support on basic services from the local municipality or any other support post construction phase thus, the founder reiterated the importance of paying rental costs. On the other hand, are the tenants who experience difficulty keeping up with monthly payments due to, for example, rising electricity and water prices, which are charged as per market related prices. It can be suggested, and poses a need, for the local municipality and Western Cape Government, to assist Regent Villas with a subsidy on basic utilities, it would relieve the financial pressure placed upon the founder and essentially, the tenants would pay less for electricity and water charges.

6.4.3. Homogeneous versus heterogeneous

Contrary to enduring literature on the homogenous nature of gated developments (Danielsen, 2007; Alvarez-Rivadulla, 2007; Kenna & Stevenson, 2013), it was discovered that Regent Villas is more heterogeneous in nature in terms of the tenant population, income, lifestyles and occupations. According to Boonjubun (2019), there are few studies which show that people with different incomes live in gated developments. The findings of this study fills that gap and showed that people with varying incomes live in Regent Villas. Notwithstanding, the findings further align with Boonjubun (2019) and showed that people with different occupation types live in this typology of gated development. The heterogeneity could also be due to the social housing nature of the gated development thus different people occupy space within the gates.

6.4.4. Politics of lived experiences

It can be assumed that due to the heterogeneous nature of the working class gated development, it posed particular challenges in terms of regulating and implementing rules in Regent Villas. Due to the rigid regulations of gated developments, it is difficult to enforce it in heterogeneous spaces such as Regent Villas, therefore low-income regulations are more specific and

prohibitive as opposed to their higher income counterparts. As a result, tenants resort to accepting some rules and contravening others. For example, in Regent Villas, they refrain from hanging laundry out of their windows but instead play loud music. Similarly, in Bogotá, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) notes that in low-income projects there are stark differences between tenants' desires (quiet space) and their actions (loud music), thus they constantly try to negotiate their experiences and expectations. Furthermore, Hurtado-Tarazona (2018) likens gated developments to a 'utopian urban grid' where only prescribed behaviour is accepted. In a similar way, Regent Villas was metaphorically described as a box, where only acceptable acts can be performed, however the tenants experience challenges fitting into the Regent Villas 'box' and adopting behaviours and actions that are only suited to the box. Due to this, some tenants also express frustration towards fellow tenants who do not comply with the rules, and it ensues in a 'politics' between tenants. Many of the politics pertained to how they share public space. In this regard, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) notes that low-income residents tend to view gated developments as spaces where they can overcome the inconveniences of their previous life and living experiences and the regulations in the gated development will ensure that this shift takes place. In Regent Villas some tenants wanted to overcome, for example, noisy children and inconsiderate landlords whilst other tenants, not abiding by this, were in conflict with those who did, and this is what not only caused politics but also marked a distinction between 'us', seeking to overcome urban challenges and 'them', who fails to abide by the rules. As Caldeira (2000) explains, in higher income gated developments, where tenants are homogenous, there is a clear distinction between who belongs (same aspirations and want to overcome challenges) and who does not (different aspirations and who breaks the rules) thus they manage to keep the 'other' out by means of a class control. However, contrary to that of Caldeira (2000), the 'other' also forms part of the tenant group in working class gated developments. This is what led to Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) posing the question, *what are markers of distinction and othering in low-income projects?* Findings revealed that in Regent Villas it appeared to be based on behaviour, who abides by the rules and contributes to overcoming inconveniences and who does not, consequently those who do not are singled out. This was apparent in interviews whereby derogatory comments were made against those who do not abide by the rules and also led to tenants forming cliques in the gated development. The same was found in Bogotá where the distinction is based on desired and undesired behaviour (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021). The author conceptualizes that if tenants engage in behaviour that reminds fellow tenants of their previous life such as noisy children, this will then result in the tenant being perceived as bringing the inconveniences of their previous living space into the now, regulated living space and this often

leads to conflict amongst tenants. In Regent Villas, to navigate this challenge tenants would go visit friends and family to engage in unacceptable behaviour outside of the gates and then come back to the “stage”, the gated development. Moreover, it is as if the behaviours from the past should stay there and out of the gates and if not then you are in breach of the ‘regulated space’ and ‘promised order’ (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021).

Furthermore, there appears to be a difference between how tenants perceive the rules of the gated development. On the one hand, tenants consider the rules to be necessary whilst some likens it to a prison cell. This is in agreement with Blakely & Sanchez (2007) who posited that in some instances the fences and gates of gated developments are perceived as ‘containment’ and ‘prison environments’ and not necessarily that of protection. On the other hand, Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) found differences between high and low income projects and how they perceive the rules; he found that tenants accept and embrace these new regulations as they perceive it as a ‘culture of the condominium’ (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021). Whilst this study found a difference amongst tenants, in Regent Villas tenants tried to justify the rules, and strict regulations, based on ‘culture of the condominium’ thus it appeared as if many tenants were afraid to voice their concerns in the event of overregulation whereas other tenants protested against ‘culture of the condominium’. However, in Bogotá tenants accept the regulations without question as they are satisfied with the projects and reject any criticism towards it (Ruiz-Carvajal, 2021). However, in Regent Villas some tenants criticized the managing body and the rules, and they voiced strong concerns and opinions. For most of the tenants, living in a gated development and formal living arrangement was a very novice and niche experience, one which many of them still need to adapt to, findings revealed that some tenants perceived the rules as a necessary and vital component of a housing model of this nature. Noteworthy, the western gated model presented challenges as it appears to not be suited to the tenants and their life experiences.

6.4 Expectations versus reality

Findings revealed that in some instances Regent Villas did not meet some tenants expectations which manifested in the size of the flats, the location of Regent Villas, utilities costs and overall affordability. With regards to size of the flats, in some instances, tenants have not seen the flats before signing lease agreements and they felt as if this a lack of transparency on the part of the developer. This size of the flat and especially the room sizes were much smaller than expected. This is in agreement with Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) who found that in working class gated

developments the architecture and flat sizes tend to be that of low-cost social housing models and developers try to maximise the number of flats that can be built thus building smaller flats. In the case of Regent Villas the small flat sizes resulted in a range of challenges, firstly, tenants had to seek alternative storage for their belongings, secondly, some tenants who aspired to have their own and bigger space had to return to cramped living conditions. Evidently, despite physically leaving their previous living situations, for some of them, conditions remain the same.

Furthermore, Regent Villas was marketed as being ‘very central and close to major roads’ whilst this is true to a certain extent. However, due to the location, there appears to be difficulty for those using public transport, to access it efficiently and safely. Tenants have to board public transport in an unsafe major roadway, located next to Regent Villas. In one particular case, parents struggled to get public transport for their children to attend school which led to the formation of a lift club within the gated development. While this demonstrates a sense of community, it also shows that tenants still have to rely on one another despite being in the gated development. It can also be argued that Regent Villas, similar to a higher income gated development, is better suited to those who own an automobile as reiterated by tenants during interviews. All of these realities saw how tenants relied on and exercised their agency. Ruiz-Carvajal (2021) found similar practices of agency in his study in Bogotá and contends that the previous life of low-income residents aids them in negotiating dealing with their opposing reality and the agency to carry out these practices.

6.5. Access to formal housing for the working class

The study also set out to explore whether this typology of gated development ease access of housing to the lower income populace. Undeniably, the managing body of Regent Villas makes a noteworthy attempt to adapt the gated development model to suit the working class context. The model is an evidently improved model of ‘social’ housing as opposed to substandard models of state-led housing projects. Despite the attempt by Regent Villas to adapt the model for working class contexts, the study found particular discrepancies in the plight to provide housing for the intended target market and to alleviate the demand, in general. The study found the following barriers to access; firstly, the application process and affordability. The application process is not easily accessible and suited to the target market due to the application phases, various forms of gatekeeping and criteria. In this regard, it can be suggested that the application process be less strenuous, adapted to suit the tenanted target market and the local

municipality be involved in the application process as the research further found that tenants that have not met the criteria were granted a lease and thus, it can be said that potential tenants are still kept out of these kind of housing projects. This was illustrated in the pensioner, employee and ‘single’ tenants forming part of the tenant population in Regent Villas, this is contrary to the social housing policy and thus questions the transparency of the managing body in allocating leases to suitable tenants. It would be more useful if tenants who actually meet all the requirements for social housing be granted a lease. The findings further revealed that the “affordability” of Regent Villas is questionable. This was evident in the latest increase of the financial criteria bracket, and for now living here, tenants reported that they are struggling to upkeep with their payments. This model of social housing further hinders access due to compulsory extra costs that are incumbent on tenants once a lease agreement is signed. It can thus be said that the physical model and infrastructure of the project is ideal but the way it functions and is operated is not entirely suited to the context, this calls for a better adjusted model that is suited to the working class context. More, ‘social housing’ models minus the operations.

6.6. Conclusion

The discussion provided in this chapter brought to light interesting and in some instances, unanticipated findings. The chapter also shed light on the unique aspects of working class gated developments.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1. Introduction

To understand the inner workings of the working class gated development, the overarching aim of this study was to explore the working class gated development and to present findings on this new typology. This was achieved through qualitative methods by exploring the working class gated development of Regent Villas from the perspectives of the managing body and tenants. The findings revealed the inner workings of a working class gated development including the lived experiences of tenants and how they adapt to this new typology of gated development. The aim of this final chapter is to present a summary of the major findings, draw a conclusion and provide recommendations based on the findings.

7.2. Summary of research findings

The essential purpose and reason for the development of working class gated developments exceeds that of safety and security, to escape urban challenges and fear of the other. The purpose of this typology of gated development is rooted in providing decent and affordable housing for the lower income who do not necessarily meet the requirements to enter the home ownership market and to a lesser extent cannot afford to rent in the private sector. In the case where the demand for housing exceeds the supply, this form of housing model aims to fill the gap. This was suggested by the motivations for tenants retreat into Regent Villas and the motivation within which Regent Villas was developed in. Against this backdrop, public-private partnerships also give rise to this type of gated development as they tend to function, and is advertised, as a form of social housing developed in partnership with the local government such as in the case of Regent Villas. This was one of the most noteworthy findings from this study. It can also be said that the irregular supply of social housing in low income areas has influenced the rise of working class gated developments and a similar trend has been observed in Mexico (Morales, 2019) and Bogotá (Ruiz, 2021). Expounding on this, these new models of social housing highlights two pivotal aspects; firstly the willingness of developers to adapt their housing model to suit the working class context (Boonjubun, 2019) and growing partnerships between the private and public sector to provide social housing in the form of gated models. The findings also showed that although working class gated developments differ significantly from their higher income counterparts, they also exhibit certain similarities. Firstly, it indicated clear differences between the location, for example, Regent Villas located in an atypical

context. The application process of working class gated developments was one of the most novel findings of the study. On the one hand, it indicated the lack of compatibility with potential tenants, and it also revealed the differing types of gatekeeping present in this typology; it was not one of social class (Ballard, 2005), it was one of knowledge and ‘decency’ which was manifested in the form of the ‘entry test’ and a non-negotiable required test score. According to Blakely & Snyder (1997b), “gating in an extension of the separation and distinction, acting as an additional way to define boundaries” (p, 9). This form of gatekeeping in Regent Villas brings to light another form of distinction, between those who pass the test and know the rules and those who do not. Moreover, this not only serves as a distinction but also acts as an additional barrier to include and exclude as if the gates and barriers are not enough to exclude. This finding further calls into question the unfounded prejudice on part of the managing body to ensure decency and that tenants conform to the gated model.

The low-cost physical model of this typology which left many tenants unfulfilled also brought to light differences. This finding further brought to light the lack of transparency from the managing body as tenants only saw the flat after signing lease agreements. The amenities available in Regent Villas were also unique to this typology as they are suited and were carefully crafted to the consumption of tenants and not the other way around. As a case in point, the ‘friendly tuckshop’, oftentimes in gated developments a major retailer would be on site, but in Regent Villas the shop is managed by the managing body and interestingly, it served as a potential form of employment for tenants to circumvent unemployment amongst tenants. A further noteworthy finding was the presence of small businesses opened in the gated development by tenants such as the Muslim school and creche. This resonates with the findings by Carvajal (2021) who found that in working class gated developments in Bogotá tenants resorted to selling goods as they were struggling financially. In regard to amenities and services available in Regent Villas, the research findings established that a lack of onsite services and amenities challenged the ability of both, tenants and the managing body to fully retreat from the surrounding urban space which is typically the case in and function of gated developments. As a case in point, the provision of service-related aspects, water and electricity, provided by the CoCT hinders the ability of tenants and the managing body to totally secede. Although Regent Villas position itself as being centrally located to major roadways, the findings revealed that tenants struggle to access public transport due to the ‘awkward’ position of the gated development. This, in turn, has resulted in many having to seek alternative means of transport such as the forming of lift clubs amongst tenants which was another major finding which not

only indicated a sense of community amongst tenants, which is contrary to higher income counterparts but also a demonstration of tenants agency and their resilience to adapt to a housing model of its nature. The inaccessibility of Regent Villas for tenants who do not have access to a private automobile further hinders the ability to ‘cut’ themselves off from the surrounding public space. This finding shows how the working class gated development mirrors their higher income counterparts, catered around car access.

It was discovered that Regent Villas, as a working class gated development, was more heterogeneous in nature as opposed to homogeneous. Heterogeneity in Regent Villas manifested in lifestyle aspirations, education levels and tenants occupation. The heterogeneity found in the working class gated development is in rebuttal to literature on gated developments documenting gated developments as homogeneous spaces (Kenna & Stevenson, 2013; Spocter, 2013). Based on this finding it can be assumed that this is why Regent Villas adopt strict regulations similar to higher income gated models. It can further be assumed that the adoption of strict regulations is due to the dense physical structure of the development and all tenants confined to the same and very dense space. However, the evidence from this study suggests that adopting regulations similar to higher income counterparts led to overregulation, as conceptualised in Figure 5.2, which resulted in a strong defiance towards the rules and regulations from the tenants. This study therefore makes the suggestion that working class gated developments should adopt regulations and governance that is suited to the tenant population, it is not viable to adopt the western gated model in the global South without it being ‘reworked’ and ‘adapted’ to suit the local conditions.

Whilst the core purpose of working class gated developments is to provide decent housing to low income people, it is questionable as to whether it makes it easier for the intended target market to access this type of housing. It is important to note that Regent Villas is conceptualised as a social housing project however, during the application process the managing body implements and undertakes its own application processes and selection of tenants. It would be more useful, if officials of the local municipality oversaw the application process and allocating flats to tenants. Adding to that, none of the tenants interviewed were on a waiting list which essentially, Regent Villas as a social housing project does not alleviate the housing challenge and contribute to reducing the long housing waiting list. In terms of institutional support, there appears to be poor linkages and support from the provincial government and local municipality,

post construction phase, in regard to service provision for tenants and to a greater extent in the plight to improve access to social housing.

7.3. The way forward for working class gated developments

Since the time of writing, to date, Regent Villas have since completed extension 1 (refer to Appendix E). The extension will be catered to 60 potential tenants, 40 units allocated for secondary target market, with the income bracket ranging from R6701, 00 to R22 000, 00 with 20 remaining units allocated to primary beneficiaries earning between R1850, 00 to R6700, 00. This takes us back to the conclusion initially made in the discussion chapter that Regent Villas as a working class gated development, is not financially suitable to the target market and does not contribute largely to easing of access to housing for the lower income as it allocates most of the current phase to potential tenants outside of the social housing bracket and essentially, tenants who could afford to rent elsewhere are now able to lease in Regent Villas. Going forwards, such working class gated developments would be wise to maintain their target market of potential tenants aligned with those of social housing projects, thus continuing to provide access to housing for working class individuals who can neither cannot afford to lease in the private market nor qualify for home ownership. Additionally, working class gated developments, in conjunction with the local municipality and local government, might allocate a certain portion of their housing units to qualifying individuals who are currently on the waiting list for State supported housing as this would not only assist in alleviating the major housing backlog but also provide access to people who cannot otherwise afford. Institutionally, the public and private sector should work in conjunction with applications received from potential tenants as this would circumvent any biases and improve transparency as to who is allowed to lease and ensure that the application is managed in a way that is suited to the target market.

The difference and similarities between the working class and higher income gated development reveals the need for policy intervention. Developers of working class gated developments adopt the model of their higher income counterparts with little to no adaptation to suit the low income and tenants struggle to adapt to their new living conditions as revealed in Regent Villas. Moving forward, housing projects of this nature should be adapted in terms of being pedestrian-centric; adapting the application method to suit the low income populace and adopt regulations that would be suited to the tenant population.

7.5. Conclusion

From a broader perspective, the findings of the study have implications for understanding and challenges the enduring conceptualization of gated developments and how they are pigeonholed. The study findings is a major contribution to the discourse on gated developments and challenges much of the enduring assumptions and literature. As already summarised above, the findings highlight the vast differences between working class gated developments and higher income counterparts. Additionally, the findings provides a new lens through which gated developments can be looked through. Working class gated developments developed in atypical contexts have to reflect these differences and suitability to the intended target market to ensure that the model of gated development is reworked with the needs and motivations of the tenants. This is one of the ways to ensure improved access to formal housing and to ensure that the intended target market benefits from housing projects of this nature.

7.6. Avenues for future research

The findings of this research revealed potential avenues for future research.

- The research findings revealed that there exists the need to investigate other case studies of working class gated developments in Cape Town pertaining to how they function, how the application process works, and the purpose thereof and where they are located in Cape Town.
- Future research is required on the second phase of Regent Villas pertaining to affordability, how it relates to housing in the broader Mitchells Plain context, and how, if there are any, interaction between phase 1 and phase 2 of Regent Villas. It will also be interesting to uncover why the financial criterion bracket was broadened; was this to include more potential tenants or was this to aid the managing with the daily costs of running Regent Villas to circumvent the lack of support in the post construction phase.
- This research has demonstrated the willingness of the public and private sector to provide social housing in the form of gated developments. Thus, the reason why developers and local government alike is exploring with this form of social housing needs to be explored.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethics clearance letter



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE



14 October 2021

Ms M Majiet
Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism
Faculty of Arts and Humanities

HSSREC Reference Number: HS21/8/10

Project Title: Gated communities for the people: A Cape Flats case study.

Approval Period: **14 October 2021 – 14 October 2024**

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology, and amendments to the ethics of the above mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval.

Please remember to submit a progress report by 30 November each year for the duration of the project.

For permission to conduct research using student and/or staff data or to distribute research surveys/questionnaires please apply via:

<https://sites.google.com/uwc.ac.za/permissionresearch/home>

The permission letter must then be submitted to HSSREC for record keeping purposes.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse events and/or termination of the study.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Patricia Josias'.

*Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape*

NHRBC Registration Number: HSSREC-130416-049

Director: Research Development
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FROM HOPE TO ACTION THROUGH KNOWLEDGE.

Appendix B: Research information sheet



Research Information Sheet

Project Title: Gated communities for the working class: A Cape Flats case study

Description of study:

The research project seeks to explore working class gated communities, their purpose and function in low income residential areas on the Cape Flats. The study uses Regent Villas, in Mitchells Plain as an example of a working class gated community. The study further seeks to explore to what extent are working class gated communities similar or different to higher-income gated communities in more affluent residential areas.

Role of participants:

- Residents of the gated community, Regent Villas and the developer (owners) of the site will be asked to partake in an interview with the researcher. The researcher will also request permission to conduct observations of the site.
- Residents of Regent Villas will be asked to share their thoughts on living in a gated community, including the reasons for staying there, their experiences and perspectives.

Confidentiality and protection of participants: In order to ensure and protect anonymity of the participants, the name and surname of participants will not be revealed. Pseudonyms will be used in all research findings, oral presentations, the final submitted dissertation and any subsequent publication. All data will be secured digitally in a password-protected drive and/or manually in a locked drawer.

Risks to participants: There are no foreseeable physical, psychological, social, economic, legal or loss of confidentiality risks attached to the study.

Further questions?

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact the researcher:

Ms Musfiqah Majiet

Department of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism
University of the Western Cape
Mobile no. 072 233 7084
Email: 3766814@myuwc.ac.za

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant; if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study; or wish to withdraw from the study, please contact the researcher's supervisor:

Prof Bradley Rink

Dept of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism
University of the Western Cape
Tel: 082 713 8223
Email: brink@uwc.ac.za

For further information or queries, you may contact the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, Research Development, Tel: 021 959 4111, Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

NB: This information sheet is also available in other languages upon request

Department of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism (HOD: Dr Mark Boekstein)
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Tel: 021 959 2421 / Email: lplaatjies@uwc.ac.za

Appendix C: Consent form



Consent Form

Research Project Title: Gated communities for the working class: A Cape Flats case study

Researcher: Musfiqah Majiet

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. If I wish to withdraw I may contact the lead researcher, supervisor or HOD at any time.
3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result for the research.
4. As a participant of the discussion, I will not discuss or divulge information shared by others in the group or the researcher outside of this group.
5. I give consent to audio recording.
6. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.
7. I agree for to take part in the above research project.

Name of Participant Date Signature
(or legal representative)

Name of person taking consent Date Signature
(if different from lead researcher)

Lead Researcher Date Signature
(To be signed and dated in presence of the participant)

Copies: All participants will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet for themselves. A copy of this will be filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.

Researcher: Ms Musfiqah Majiet
Student no.: 3766814
E-mail address: 3766814@myuwc.ac.za
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Supervisor:
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Appendix D: Regent Villas tenant interview questions

1. How long have you been living in Regent Villas?
2. Prior to moving here, where have you lived?
3. Did you live in a formal house?
4. What was the living conditions like there?
5. Did the living conditions there make you want to move here?
6. What was your reason for moving here? And why here in particular?
 - 6.1. Where are you looking to live in a gated community or housing complex of this nature?
 - 6.2. Why did you choose to reside at this gated community?
7. Describe your application process? (When you applied for a flat here)
 - 7.1. Was it an easy process?
8. Where did you hear about Regent Villas?
9. Describe your experiences of living in Regent Villas
 - 9.1. What do you like about living here?
 - 9.2. Is it central for travelling? (If you do not have access to transport)
 - 9.3. What do you not like about living here?
10. How can your experience as a tenant be enhanced?
11. Do you feel safer living in Regent Villas compared to where you were living before?
(If yes/no – why or why not)
12. What were your expectations of Regent Villas compared to your current lived experience
13. What amenities does the Regent Villas offer?
14. What amenities would you like to have in Regent Villas?
15. What is your opinion on the rules that comes with living in a housing model of this nature?
16. How would you say that your surroundings have changed from where you were living before compared to where you are living now?

Questions about demographics

17. What is your employment status?
18. What is your monthly rental amount? (An estimate amount including your water, electricity and other extra costs)
 - 18.1. Is the inclusive amount affordable for you?

Questions about Services

19. Do you have secure access to water and electricity in Regent Villas?
20. Are these services included into your monthly rental amount?
 - 20.1. Do you have any other extra costs?
 - 20.2. What are those extra costs?
21. What other services are offered or inclusive in your monthly rental fee?
22. Do Mitchells Plain need more housing such as Regent Villas?
23. After this, would you move into a gated community such as Regent Villas? Or would you rather opt to buy a house?
 - 23.1. Why/why not ?
24. Do you have any final comments that you would like to add?

Appendix E: Newspaper article on Regent Villas

Social housing project nears completion

STAFF REPORTER

The social housing project in Weltevreden Valley is due to be completed at the end of this month, says Ntobeko Mbingeleli, spokesperson for Infrastructure MEC Tertius Simmers.

The construction of Regent Villas Social Housing project, Extension 1, began in September 2021. The R26 million project will be home to 60 beneficiaries across various income brackets, categorised as primary and secondary beneficiaries.

Twenty of the 60 units will be allocated to the primary beneficiaries, who earn between R1 850 and R6 700 a month. The remaining 40 units are for the secondary target market; people earning between R6 701 and R22 000.

The appointed social housing

institution for this project is Povicom NPC, a newly formed emerging, black-owned non-profit company.

External features include a child-friendly and secure play park. There will also be a crèche, a shop, a five-a-side soccer court, a basketball ring and a braai area, he said.

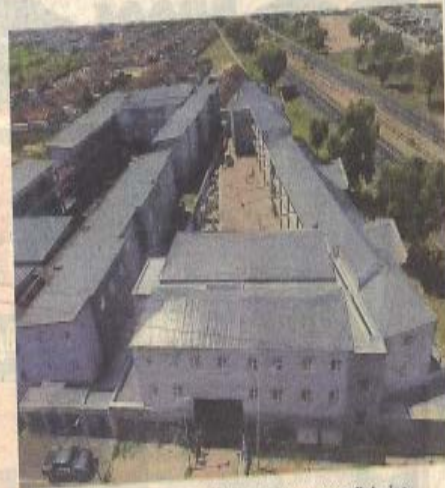
The building is energy efficient and has a centralised heat pump system. In comparison to the typical geyser, the heat pump system allows for a 60% saving on electricity. Water will be metered and thereby provide a significant saving for tenants, he said.

Mr Simmers said: "This is one of many projects through which we intend to restore the dignity of Western Cape citizens and urgently deliver affordable and sustainable housing opportunities."

"This project is conveniently located and near all amenities, within walking distance of Vanguard Drive, a public transport hub. Its location will also improve economic opportunities for these families due to its proximity to work opportunities in the Lansdowne Corridor, Philippi Horticultural Area, the industrial area along Vanguard Drive, and economic opportunities within Mitchell's Plain."

Construction of Regent Villas Extension 2 will begin in June and is expected to be completed in December next year. This project will bring the new social housing stock to 110.

"I look forward to returning to the Mitchell's Plain community to hand over yet another state-of-the-art housing project. Not so long ago, we handed over houses for New Woodlands backyards and beneficiaries from



■ The R26 million project will be home to 60 beneficiaries across various income brackets, categorised as primary and secondary beneficiaries.

the Kosovo informal settlement. With the Regent Villas project. We will ensure that more citizens

have access to affordable rental and the social housing market," said Mr Simmers.

Source: Plainsman (2023)