

# Spatial Paradigms of Exclusion: Gated Communities and Post-Apartheid Inequality

Valery Moekela, Thulisile Ncamsile Mphambukeli, Eric Nyembezi Makoni

(Valery Moekela, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Johannesburg, Cnr Siemert & Beit Streets, Doornfontein 0184 Johannesburg, South Africa, vmoekela@gmail.com)  
(Prof Thulisile Ncamsile Mphambukeli, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Johannesburg, Cnr Siemert & Beit Streets, Doornfontein 0184 Johannesburg, South Africa, tmphambukeli@uj.ac.za)  
(Dr Eric Makoni, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Johannesburg, Cnr Siemert & Beit Streets, Doornfontein 0184 Johannesburg, South Africa, emakoni@uj.ac.za)

## 1 ABSTRACT

Land ownership continues to be a potent symbol of social stratification and inequality in South Africa as it continued to be used as a tool of segregation, even in the post-apartheid era. This paper explores the impact that gated communities have on spatial transformation in the new democratic era separating the haves and the have-nots. In South Africa, the advent of democracy brought with it a new spatial paradigm in the field of urban planning known as gated communities. This paper argues that gated communities are not founded on racial discrimination, but do restrict and monitor the movement of individuals who are not allowed within these communities. This spatial paradigm emerges based on the preferences of a specific socioeconomic group and is seen by this study as a segregation instrument manifesting as economic apartheid that strengthens pre-existing prejudices. This study adopted a qualitative method using an exploratory design approach to highlight the spatial disintegration phenomenon promoted by gated communities. This approach enabled the study to identify the shortcomings of spatial planning policies and their limitations in terms of integrated planning, sustainability and inclusivity of our cities. The findings suggest that there is a form of continuous disintegration of settlements within the city of Johannesburg through constructed spatiality that may be an intended form of segregation. The study concludes that the constructed spatiality within Johannesburg continues to promote segregation, revealing a persistent and potentially deliberate form of urban disintegration.

Keywords: spatial transformation, gated communities, sustainability, spatial segregation, apartheid economy

## 2 INTRODUCTION

South Africa has been in democracy for almost three decades and still faces urban challenges that are critical in shaping its cities. The country's landscape is constantly burdened by spatial shortcomings and broader societal pressures (Landman 2004). In a similar vein, the apartheid landscape structure was left unchanged despite many interventions by the democratic government since 1994, including global conditions of economic transition, urban expansion, technological shift and general insecurities that continue to challenge spatial planning efforts. Whether cities have changed for better or worse does not stop these processes from occurring, which necessitates the government to make urban areas more equitable, resilient, and productive (Duminy, Parnell, and Brown-Luthango 2020).

Among other critical shifts, urban growth caused by urbanisation, migration and natural population growth has led our cities to grow at an alarming rate and, as a result, there are demands to accommodate this surge. Service delivery, including housing, is given top priority. Urban growth came with many challenges such as urban insecurity and urban growth, including housing shortages, resulting in a backlog.

Gated communities came as a solution to mitigate the housing challenges. However, they have become more widespread across the globe since the 20th century (Blakely and Synder 1997) and became a key aspect of the development trajectory both in developed and developing countries (Jürgens and Landman 2006). Evidence indicates that gated communities gained momentum in the late 1990s. Today, gated communities in South Africa have become popular, especially in cities and their suburban areas (Webster, Glasze, and Frantz 2002). Landman (2012) believes it is caused by real-world processes that are linked to numerous heated discussions on sociopolitical issues among scholars since 1999.

Although gated communities provide a sense of belonging and safety (Landman and Du Plessis 2007), they equally promote consequences of segregation (economic, political or otherwise), resulting in a fragmented and uncoordinated spatial landscape. These consequences are a result of economic standing attributed since the 19th century (Harrison and Todes 2013). City transformation, or how landscapes are unfolding, has caused wide interest, particularly in urban sustainability for future cities.

Planners see gated communities as problematic or not problematic. This phenomenon should not depend on what kind of references are used to define their consequences (Landman 2012). Although Blakely and Synder (1997) indicated that gated communities are not a new concept, they began with the emergence of cities to secure the urban landscape as a defence mechanism that came at a time of double-digit economic development in many rapidly urbanising countries (Webster, Glasze, and Frantz 2002; Landman 2004). Are they continuing to be viewed in the same light in this modern day?

The study sought to gain a broader understanding of the inconsistencies influencing how our cities morph. Torres-Gutiérrez et al. (2019) further allude that cities are the drivers of growth and the agglomeration of economies and other externalities characterised by urbanisation processes. It can be further deduced that cities are distribution centres for risks that are strengthened and supported by the market mechanism found in production factors (Ahmad 1996). Therefore, guided by institutional settings of shared goods and services, this rationale guides these gated developments (Palm, Södergren, and Bocken 2019; Palgan, Mont, and Sulkakoski 2021).

### 3 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section reviews the literature related to the key concept and theories of gated communities and spatial planning challenges. It outlines and discusses the origins of gated communities by tracing their growth through time in both developed and developing nations, including an overview of the past and present impacts of spatial legacy that are perpetuating fragmentation, exclusion and unjust cities, as well as the gaps, challenges and limitations of spatial planning policies in post-apartheid cities.

Gated communities emerged during a period of economic expansion in many rapidly urbanising nations, but received little attention until the late 1990s (Webster, Glasze, and Frantz 2002). This housing typology is a global phenomenon that originated in Florida where a privately owned road was gated to define the boundaries between private and public spaces (Landman and Badenhorst 2012). In the United States, the origins and effects of gated communities have been most noticeable since 1985, and they are termed edge cities, which provide many of the same services that were once found only in city centres (Blakely and Synder 1997).

Today, the proliferation of gated communities is estimated to be over 20 000 with more than three million units (Blakely and Synder 1997). Although the literature suggests that this trend is also noticeable in countries such as England, Brazil, Argentina, Spain and Malaysia (Salah and Ayad 2018). It is crucial to explore the social, economic, cultural and institutional circumstances in which gated communities are forming in other parts of the world, as circumstantial evidence and research suggest that the global expansion in private communities has been impacted by the United States' experience (Webster, Glasze, and Frantz 2002). South Africa is no exception to global expansion, however, it is influenced by the past spatial legacy that is predominantly car-oriented (Jürgens and Gnad 2002).

The high rates of migration to cities during and after the first democratic elections in 1994 increased the strain on the country's already limited housing supply. Although this may be true, the growth of gated communities can be attributed to the increasing demand from various social divisions in pursuit of privacy and security, and as a response to rising levels of violence and fear of crime (Landman 2004; Franklin 2020). Crime and the associated dread of the unknown are reason enough for this kind of housing typology. However, shying away from the fact that it promotes biases of race and class in the country indicates the reluctance to share resources and the lack of integration in promoting sustainable cities.

Conceptual framework and definition of gated communities

There is no unique definition for the term gated communities. There are, however, specific elements that characterise them, such as physical barriers that restrict entry to its residents such as walls, boom gates, and closed-circuit television. Roitman (2010) indicates that these communities operate as a form of security measure to prevent external influences or unauthorised entry. Vesselinov (2008) concurs that the walls and gates of the earliest human settlements played a crucial role in protecting cities from intruders. However, in modern urban studies, gated communities are one of the most controversial issues such as being the cause of segregation and urban inequality.

Scholars view gated communities as a manifestation of past spatial legacy (Landman, 2002), while other scholars see them as a more exclusive and less inclusive type of settlement leading to a rise in privatism and

a decrease in the local community's cohesiveness (Todes, Weakley, and Harrison 2018). To unpack these dichotomic views of the phenomenon, this study first explored the modelling concept of gated communities based on recurring literature trends as crime seems to be at the centre of scholarly debate and as the rationale of gated community proliferation.

Crime as the gated community concept. Gated communities are increasingly used to shape the city's landscape, with both positive and negative consequences (Webster, Glasze, and Frantz 2002). They are influenced by physical and social factors, such as safety and security, and can create a sense of community and belonging (Salah and Ayad 2018).

Production of space and the right to the city. The production of space and the right to the city is largely defined by a person's position in society and their position in the geographical landscape. This indicates the concept of creating space, which has three components for a space to be successful, namely physical, mental and social, such that users of the space ultimately influence its function to a large degree (Williams 2007). However, Lefebvre's concept of space emphasises that users become producers of the space or place where life transpires with a symbolic meaning. Molotch (1993) emphasises Foucault's theory that a place is also a means of power, control and dominance as far as economics and politics are concerned.

This is evident in gated communities; however, their influence is also shaped by culture, social relations, common interests and the use of space. These highlights a critical aspect in how "spaces or even places" are "created or create themselves" (Butterworth 2000). Urban spaces are highly conflicted and contested as far as power is concerned, leading to a rise in social inequality and conflicting urban ideas that are influencing social behaviours (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986). As previously mentioned, safety and security are often cited as compelling reasons to leave the inner city in pursuit of a better quality of life and to create a sense of community and belonging.

Foucault's theory on space production and power is prominent in gated communities and the concept of power is to assert control (Wiedmann and Salama 2019). Lefebvre's theory has planners question how modern urbanisation resulted in a rise in social inequality and conflicting urban areas that are influencing social behaviours (Kuymulu 2014). While Harrison et al. (2014) point to Lefebvre's notions that space is assumed to be in harmony with its surroundings (Purcell 2002). This affects the way people utilise and access space or place significantly by either restricting or allowing movement.

Accordingly, the right to the city concept, coined by Henri Lefebvre in the 20th century, aligns with the concept of excluding urban society in cities from participation (Williams 2006). Even today, these forms of exclusion come in different forms, such as urban renewal, gentrification, citizenship, and socioeconomic discourse, which to a large extent, limit movement (Fuchs 2019). These processes are all formed based on globalisation, competitiveness, good quality living environment, privatisation of public space, high security and amenities. These are all the aspirations of gated communities and ensure this is facilitated independently without government involvement (Johannes 2012). It is done in a way that benefits both users and consumers and depicts the right to access resources. One thing the gated community emphasises is to ensure that everyone's rights are not violated in accessing material well-being and fulfilment (Harvey 2008).

However, the new type of development known as gated communities does not seem to share these values. In large cities like the City of Johannesburg, gated communities have a huge impact on spatial transformation and their impact on the socioeconomic aspect of the city. In general, investing in people and the growth of the city is a key component of social development and inclusivity. This can largely contribute to the progression towards development in any country and can well represent social and economic inclusion (Purvis, Mao, and Robinson 2019). Thus the success of a society is inextricably tied to the well-being of each individual within the society, although the proliferation of gated communities has been widely noted.

Literature on gated communities, particularly on their preserving economic segregation, has not yet been widely explored. Despite various policy efforts, the apartheid spatial legacy still remains largely intact and more social ills develop due to how our cities grow (Strauss 2019). The apartheid rigidity is seemingly forcing the city to expand outwardly. These newly developed communities are expanding on the fringes of the cities, thus impacting how our landscape integrates and perpetuating segregation through class or income barriers. For these reasons, this study explored the impact of gated communities on spatial transformation, and the disintegrating continuity perpetuating segregation through the apartheid economy as a new form of exclusion.

## 4 METHODS

In outlining the gaps concerning the phenomenon studied, the aim was to find meaningful responses toward transforming our cities in a sustainable manner in the City of Johannesburg (i.e., integrated cities). The study adopted a qualitative method to establish the contributing factors that led to the proliferation of gated communities in the northern part of Johannesburg – Waterfall City – to establish the socioeconomic profile of Polofields residents as well as to establish the factors that led the residents to purchase the properties in Waterfall City in the City of Johannesburg.

The qualitative method was the preferred approach for this study for dealing with unexpected phenomena that are subjective and cannot be quantified (Aspers and Corte 2019). This research approach was undertaken with the aim of better understanding the real-life situation that contributes to shaping the city to become user-friendly. Moreover, an exploratory and descriptive design approach was used to further explore the problem identified by the study to contribute to a similar real-life phenomenon.

The primary and secondary collecting methods were used to assist the study to realise its objectives. The importance of data collection is to keep the integrity and sincerity of the research to determine the true course of action to be taken without being biased (Paradis et al. 2016). This research understood both the strengths and weaknesses of the method chosen to answer the research questions in relation to time and cost. To help the study draw the analysis, recommendation and conclusion, semi-structured interviews and observations were used as the basis for primary data collection to establish the objectives of the study.

### Overview of Waterfall City in Johannesburg

Johannesburg and Midrand make up a part of the Gauteng city region, which is considered the economic engine of South Africa. Despite this fact, Johannesburg inherited South Africa's geography and history's geographical distribution (Cheruiyot 2019). Statistics South Africa (2020) shows that around 15,5 million people account for 26 percent living in Gauteng, making it the most densely populated region and by far the smallest when compared to their neighbouring regions. The City of Johannesburg, on the other hand, is home to an estimated 4 434 827 million people with a population density of 1 963 people per square kilometre (Hofer et al. 2020). Midrand was established in 1981 and merged into Johannesburg Region 2 from late 1990 to 2006, and the regions in Johannesburg were later reduced to seven (Rogerson 2003). Midrand was amalgamated to form part of Region A (refer to Figure 1).

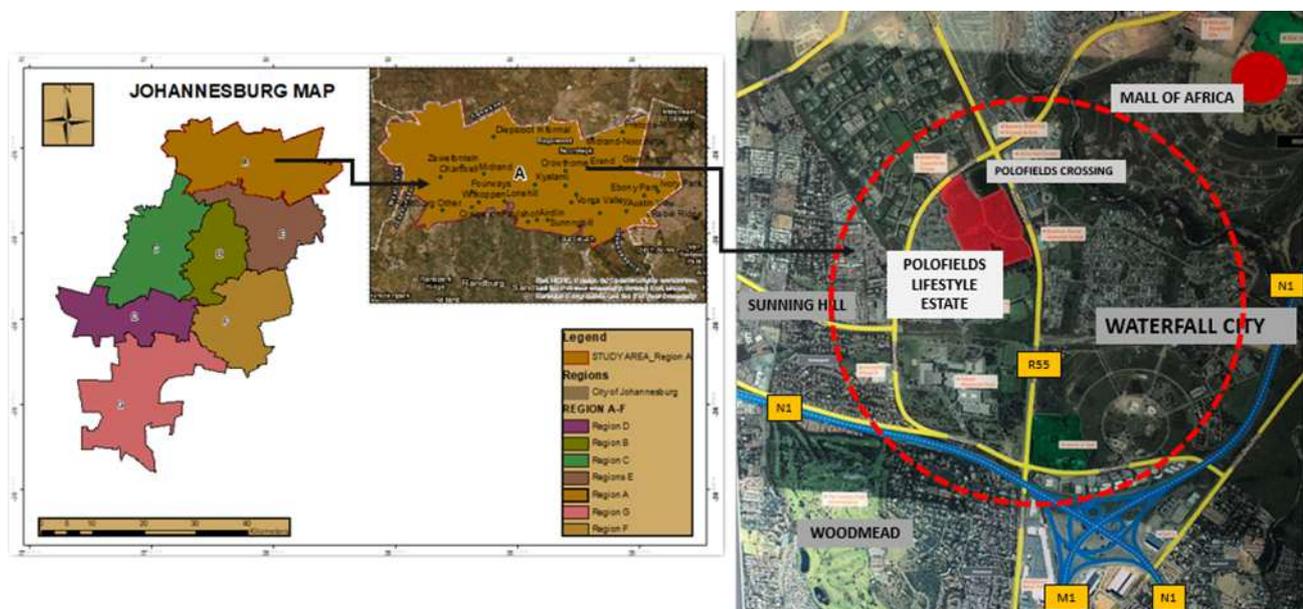


Figure 1: Johannesburg, Region A and Polofields Lifestyle Estate locality map (Source: Created from Google Maps by Author 2025).

The study randomly selected 20 participants from the gated community of Polofields, 10 of whom are residents as well as those employed within the gated communities (domestic workers, gardeners and restaurant workers), and five of whom were randomly selected from the management of Polofields (homeowner association, real estate agent and developers). For the consideration of time, space and resources, this study aimed at a random selection of five municipal officials in order to assess how

socioeconomic profile influences the residence preferences, behaviour and location of Polofields from a spatial planning viewpoint. The sample size was influenced by the aspect of the income principle, which Darin-Mattsson, Fors, and Kåreholt (2017) indicated as often linked to processes that create different social groups as it looks at the aspect of socioeconomic segregation. With this in mind, the researcher was sensitive to the views in reference to the belief systems, norms and values of the diverse nature of the population (Austin and Sutton 2014).

## 5 RESULTS

The research results are presented and analysed in this section through in-depth interviews with key respondents using semi-structured questions. Observations were made in and around Waterfall City and Polofields. Also, the literature and desktop evaluation of the research all contributed to the study's key findings and analysis, which the research data and literature focused on in answering the study's objectives.

Using semi-structured questionnaires, the study was able to gain a perspective from the professionals who had experience in spatial transformation and land use management processes. Thoughts and perspectives on the topic were analysed to find probable connections between the new proliferating paradigm of gated communities in the urban planning landscape and the new socioeconomic agenda manifesting as a new form of apartheid, namely economic apartheid.

The findings in this section helped to answer the objectives of the study, namely to (1) establish the contributing factors that led to the proliferation of gated communities in the northern part of Johannesburg, Waterfall City; (2) to establish the socioeconomic profile of Polofields residents; as well as (3) to establish the factors that led the residents of Polofields to purchase properties in Waterfall City in the City of Johannesburg.

The results indicated that although hundreds of the population live within gated communities, there are different types among them. What makes them distinct in their character and their physical aspects is the location lifestyle and amenities. Location is what generally attracts many to explore this type of residential environment, particularly in the north of Johannesburg – Waterfall City – for the reasons of the lifestyle and perception associated with it. As indicated by the data, many residents were quite satisfied living in gated communities because of the safety and security it offers as it gives them peace of mind.

Moreover, it has a return on their investment and also on their well-being. The results indicated that there is a correlation between the apartheid spatial planning system and the gated community, taking the role of strategic control of space and the engineering of spatial patterns. The difference is that apartheid emphasised how race influenced space in terms of distribution, as opposed to gated development where the qualifying criteria is class stratification classified by income brackets. This data was found in the apartment price variation per unit ranging between R2,2 million to R100 million. This analysis supports Foucault's theory, the capitalist's theory and Lefebvre's theory with regard to the production of space. This data suggest that gated communities tend to be characterised by a high degree of social segregation.

The extent to which various social and physical elements contributed to the proliferation of gated communities is seen by this study as the key influence. Thus, one's level of contentment in one's dwelling is affected by the nature of the surrounding community. For instance, the ability of gated community settings to foster a sense of community and belonging as well as safety and security is often stated as an attractive reason to move to such residential types. To establish these factors, professional perspectives on spatial transformation, exacerbated by gated communities, were outlined in the responses, and the description offered by scholars in the literature review was an important component of this, which was also shared by the respondents.

Results on gated community lifestyles and amenities offered as a contributing factor to their proliferation

Among safety and security is the sense of belonging and lifestyle offered by gated communities which is the major aspect leading to the growth of these types of developments. Some of the respondents shared that the physical and social aspects that gated communities offer are a key attraction to these types of residential development. To feel safe and have a sense of belonging within the walls, one of the respondents remarked:

In my view and from the sectional title view, gated communities offer one a sense of belonging and “neighbourliness”. It offers safety, security and peace of mind. The amenities that are shared within the estate enhance that sense of community.

The meaning of neighbourliness according to one of the respondents:

Over and above crime issues in South Africa, people want to move to gated communities as a transition from chaotic city life, so they could get away from the noise and pollution of urban areas. People are now becoming increasingly concerned about physical and mental health which has become a more widely discussed topic of discussion.

The concept of a sense of belonging, neighbourliness and safety, as well as the drive for the new globalisation lifestyle, is a broadly investigated topic by existing literature on the reason for gated communities. This study collected data by observing the Polofields amenities and infrastructure in terms of ensuring the extent to which a sense of belonging (neighbourliness), safety and security are provided, as reasons these types of housing are in demand. Table 2 outlines the observed findings of the infrastructure provided by Polofields.

Observation of the infrastructure at the Polofields Lifestyle Estate		
Amenities facilitating social interaction	Pool area Kids play area Coffee shop Restaurant Convenient store Play area Gym Sports fields Garden	
Communion among those that share similar values	Schools Religious centre	
Taking part in neighbourhood events (organisation)	School events	
Recreational time shared	Residents have a limited number of user access	
Proximity to the shopping centre	500 m approximately 2 minutes	
Proximity to the mall	3.1 km approximately 7 minutes	
Roads	Adequately provided	
Transportation	Those residing inside the Polofields Lifestyle Estate	Vehicles
	Those residing outside the Polofields Estate	Taxis

Table 1: Infrastructure observed at the Polofields Lifestyle Estate. Source: Author (2025)

Smets (2005) indicates that countries such as the United States, where the government does not adequately provide amenities, cause a higher occurrence of gated communities. This by virtue creates opportunities for the ones who have the means and resources to produce safe and liveable spaces for themselves, while it creates the perception that income disparities typically increase social tensions and high crime rates in conventional communities. The satisfaction scale measurement that supports the link between access to amenities, safety, and neighbourliness. The resulting measure indicates that 90 percent of the population is extremely satisfied, accounting for only 10 percent of the residents that are measured as not satisfied, with zero percent of residents indicating any dissatisfaction.

Results of the establishment of the socioeconomic class of Waterfall City and Polofields Lifestyle Estate

The starting point of this discussion is based on the guidelines of the settlement with regard to its physical layouts. As discussed in the literature review, the ability of a community to produce opportunities is dependent not only on the number of people living there but also on the planning and construction processes that went into its development. The findings highlighted the disintegrating continuity of spatial transformation in this particular development, Waterfall City. The factors of providing a choice mode of public transportation were not visible in the data collected, particularly for those commuting to work. The following respondent profiled the kind of residents that typically reside in Waterfall City at large including Polofields:

Public infrastructure provision

Lack of transportation system that integrates with residential development. Gated communities like Polofields do not integrate with the public transportation infrastructure and contribute to significant implications for socioeconomic development. The lack of an integrated transport system and proper public transportation infrastructure creates a significant physical barrier for commuters, especially those without access to a vehicle. Figure 7 illustrates the reinforcement of fragmented spatiality through gated

developments that are typical in urban areas, resulting in marginalisation and social inequities. Additionally, gated communities promote exclusivity, which has the potential to add to social inequities and marginalise communities in low-income areas that are forced to serve these types of developments.

The lack of taxi or minibus infrastructure provision in the area indicates this socioeconomic disparity, where communities in low-income areas are the ones serving the gated communities without real spatial, economic, and social integration. The development still embraces the same apartheid spatial landscape, which continues to promote disintegrating development continuity and sprawl, until inclusionary housing is built to help cities become more compact and integrated. Therefore, transportation facilitates access and mobility, and planners need to conceptualise the movement of people more comprehensively by taking into account the strategic importance of public transportation, particularly in new developments.



Figure 2: Depiction of workers cycling to work (Source: Author 2025)

According to Raszkowski (2012), a key part of a city's socioeconomic transformation is looking at factors that might help all the development-related activities bear fruit in the form of sustainable socioeconomic growth, which is essential to enhancing the quality of life in the local community. The construction of facilities to facilitate this spatial transformation should be taken into consideration. Consequently, this also encompasses the infrastructure of public transit as a means of accessing places of employment. This is concurred by the observed active transportation system estimating that 60% of active transportation is by private vehicles, 25% by Taxis, followed by Gautrain which integrates with its Gautrain bus system at 12%, cycling is at 2% which mostly are residence who cycle to keep fit as well as the low-income workers, and lastly walking is at 1% who are mostly workers in the Waterfall City. The study suggests that there is a lack of effort towards spatial integration particularly to accommodate those living in low-income areas.

To establish the factors that led the residents of the Polofields Lifestyle Estate to purchase properties in Waterfall City in the City of Johannesburg. Polofields Lifestyle Estate is a gated community in Waterfall City, Johannesburg, where many people have decided to settle down because of the neighbourhood's reputation for peace and quiet. The estate is protected by a state-of-the-art security system, which includes digital pass systems, guards on duty around the clock, security patrols along the perimeter, fingerprint systems, and high-tech pan-and-tilt cameras at the guardhouse and on each street. Gated communities attract those who value safety, community, and neighbourliness.

People that have the means, such as celebrities and successful businesspeople, are the estate's primary clientele. Ninety percent of the estate residents are Black Africans, suggesting that economic rather than ethnic factors contribute to the segregation. The people who live in gated communities know all about the benefits of living there, including the privacy, security, and ease it provides. One of the respondents indicated that gated communities are good for the economy as a whole, a great place to live, and a promising way to reduce unemployment. However, the uneven distribution of people by occupation or income within residential neighbourhoods in a city or metropolitan region, known as socioeconomic segregation, leads to increased segregation.

Even though security is the case in most gated communities, including Polofields, the concept of creating space as discussed in the literature section (Foucault's theory) must have three components for a space to be successful: the physical, mental and social. More often, space corresponds to the user of such space. Hence this development was intentionally developed with these factors in mind. Furthermore, another important aspect is that creating space is often associated with power, control and dominance as far as economics and politics are concerned by those who produce it. By definition of these aspects, gated communities are influenced by power, control and dominance. This suggests that residents of gated communities are well-informed about what kind of spaces they are occupying, that is, spaces that offer safety and security, convenience and exclusivity. In view of this research, could this be just another capitalist strategy to get wealthier or another kind of economic revolution? The following is the view shared by the respondent: "People are buying or renting in gated communities for status reasons. Also to invest in these types of dwellings for capital appreciation". The respondent views it as an investment opportunity and an important part of the city's economy, seen as a potential solution to curb unemployment. In general, whether one sells or buys in South Africa, real estate investment is a capital-intensive and highly leveraged industry.

## 6 DISCUSSION

This section serves as a conclusion and summary of the key findings of the research, as well as a perspective on the study as a whole. It includes an examination of the obstacles and limits of the study and a set of suggestions for future studies based on the shortcomings. What led to the interest of this study was the observation of disintegrating continuity of urban settlements in Waterfall City in the City of Johannesburg, manifesting in the proliferation of gated communities and perpetuating segregation. This section discusses the overall results that address the research objectives.

The aim of the study was to establish the contributing factors that led to the proliferation of gated communities in Waterfall City in the northern part of Johannesburg. The results indicate that although there are hundreds of the population living within gated communities there are different types among them. What makes them distinct in their character and their physical aspect is the location, the lifestyle and the amenities. Location is what generally attracts many to explore this type of residential environment, particularly in Waterfall City in the north of Johannesburg, for the reasons of lifestyle and the created perception associated with them. As indicated by the data, many residents are quite satisfied living in gated communities because of the safety and security it offers as it gives them peace of mind and well-being, as well as the ability to give a good return on their investments.

### Crime as a factor

The study investigated the extent to which the City of Johannesburg takes spatial integration into account when approving plans. The data indicate that gated communities in Waterfall City were not part of the city's spatial development framework, which indicates that the growth of urban enclosures and gated communities is influenced by a wide range of physical and social factors such as crime as a major aspect of gated community's proliferation. They are developed to fit the people's demands who are searching for safety and security, a high quality of life and a better lifestyle. It can be interpreted as a cry for help in response to the urban struggle suggested by the right-to-the-city concept coined by Henry Lefebvre in 1968.

The data found that there are many desirable aspects of a well-managed and governed neighbourhood that contribute to residents' sense of pride and belonging, whether it be a feeling of safety and security, a sense of community and identity, shared social values, a sense of economic stability, a preferred way of life or a high social status indicating major factors in determining the social makeup of gated communities. While the researcher's perception of gated communities was that they provided neighbourliness, encouraged by the nature of these types of developments. However, the result indicated that people are more interested in the safety aspects of gated communities as well as to isolate themselves.

This also gives an indication of why gated communities thrive in "close walls or high walls". This depiction indicates why amenities are such an important feature in these types of residential spaces as the motivation for neighbourliness. Although, this study argued that relationships are intentionally forged, whether one stays in a gated community or not, although encouraged by the environment. Through investigations, the study found that this depiction contradicts the scholarly knowledge that gated communities promote a sense of community. As a result of the demand for safety and security, the urban structure suffers as it does not align

with spatial planning policies in achieving the spatial integration mandate, as it alters public spaces and farm holdings and further creates cities within the city in an effort to pursue these demands.

## 7 CONCLUSION

One of the primary motivating factors for the growth of gated communities in South Africa is the need for its citizens to feel safe and secure within their own neighbourhoods. Technologies such as video cameras and permanent security guards are used to keeping residents safe in gated communities, but we must keep in mind that no matter how many safeguards are installed, criminal activity will persist. In this respect, the claimed safety of a gated community is speculative. Overall, residents of gated communities enjoy the benefits of safety and security which may not solve South Africa's economic and social issues. Despite this, people continue to invest in gated communities for reasons such as increasing their wealth and social standing. Making it obvious that this is a highly capital and debt-intensive move for the prestigious to classify the population, although this study found that gated communities are widening the gap between the already distinct socioeconomic group and strong perpetrators of segregation. It equally suggests that planners and stakeholders allow these disparities to persist, which significantly compromises policy progression and implementation, but at whose expense? In the view of this study, this can be achieved by having planners and stakeholders account by critically analysing the growth with respect to diversity and equality such as adopting a polycentric, transit-oriented approach to lessen the likelihood of the wounds of the past being relived. The prosperity of the economy as a whole depends on the ease with which people of varying financial means can have access to dignity that comes in the form of decent neighbourhoods. This study suggests that planners look intensely into policies that advocate for integration and the processes of implementation if we are to make an impact to transform our cities' landscapes.

## 8 REFERENCES

- Ahmad, Junaid K. 1996. "The Structure of Urban Governance in South African cities." *International Tax and Public Finance* 3, 193–213. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00399910>
- Antonio, Robert J., and Alessandro Bonanno. 2000. "A New Global Capitalism? From 'Americanism and Fordism' to 'Americanization-Globalization'." *American Studies* 41, no. 2/3: 33–77. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40643230>
- Aspers, Patrik, and Ugo Corte, U. 2019. "What is Qualitative in Qualitative Research." *Qualitative Sociology* 42: 139–60. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-019-9413-7>
- Aulia, Dwira Nirfalini, and Kenny Chrisen. 2020. "Housing Preference of Small Scale Gated Community Residents in Medan City, Indonesia." *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* 452, 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/452/1/012075>
- Austin, Zubin, and Sutton, Jane. 2014. "Qualitative Research: Getting Started." *Canadian Journal of Hospital Pharmacy* 67, no. 6 (Nov-Dec): 436–40. <https://doi.org/10.4212%2Fcyjhp.v67i6.1406>
- Blakely, Edward J., and Mary Gail Snyder. 1997. *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Brill, Francis, and Ricardo Reboredo. 2019. "Failed Fantasies in a South African context: The Case of Modderfontein, Johannesburg." In *Urban Forum* 30, no. 2: 171–89. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12132-018-9348-1>
- Cheruiyot, Koech. 2019. "Heterogeneous Relationships Between Income Levels and Associated Correlates in Gauteng Province, South Africa: Quantile Regression Approach." *Development Southern Africa* 37: 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2019.1701415>
- Du Plessis, Daniel J. 2014. "A Critical Reflection on Urban Spatial Planning Practices and Outcomes in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *Urban Forum* 25, no. 1, 69–88. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12132-013-9201-5>
- Duminy, James, Susan Parnell, and Mercy Brown-Luthango. 2020. *Supporting City Futures: The Cities Support Programme and the Urban Challenge in South Africa*. Cape Town: African Centre for Cities.
- Foucault, Michel, and Jay Miskowiec. 1986. "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics* 16, no. 1: 22–7. <https://doi.org/10.2307/464648>
- Fuchs, Christian. 2019. "Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space and the Critical Theory of Communication." *Communication Theory* 29, no. 2: 129–50. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ct/qty025>
- Franklin, Simon 2020. "Enabled to Work: The Impact of Government Housing on Slum Dwellers in South Africa." *Journal of Urban Economics* 118, 103265. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2020.103265>
- Grant, J. and Mittelsteadt, L., 2004. Types of gated communities. *Environment and planning B: Planning and Design*, 31(6), pp.913-930.
- Jürgens, Ulrich, and Martin Gnad. 2002. "Gated Communities in South Africa – Experiences from Johannesburg." *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 29, no. 3: 337–53. <https://doi.org/10.1068/b2756>
- Harvey, D. 2008. "The Right to the City." In *The City Reader* edited by Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, 6th ed., 23–40. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315748504>
- Hofer, E., Musakwa, W., van Lanen, S., Gumbo, T., Netsch, S. and Gugerell, K., 2021. Inclusion insights: two urban development projects in Johannesburg. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, pp.1-24.
- Johannes, Liezmarie. 2012. "Gated Communities in South Africa: The Case of Featherbrooke." M. diss., University of the Witwatersrand. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/39670863.pdf>
- Jürgens, Ulrich, and Karina Landman. 2006. "Gated Communities in South Africa." In *Private Cities – Global and Local Perspectives* edited by Georg Glasze, Chris Webster, and Klaus Frantz, 109–26. London: Routledge.

- Kuymulu, Mehmet Baris. 2014. "Claiming the Right to the City: Towards the Production of Space from Below." PhD diss., City University of New York. [https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc\\_etds/439/](https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/439/)
- Landman, Karina. 2004. "Gated Communities in South Africa: The Challenge for Spatial Planning and Land Use Management." *The Town Planning Review* 75, no. 2: 151–72. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40112598>
- Landman, Karina. 2012. "Gated Communities in South Africa: Tensions Between the Planning Ideal and Practice." *Town and Regional Planning*, 610: 1–9. <https://journals.ufs.ac.za/index.php/trp/article/view/512>
- Landman, Karina, and Chrisna du Plessis. 2007. "The Impact of Gated Communities on Urban Sustainability: A Difference of Opinion or a Matter for Concern?" *South Africa Journal of Town and Regional Planning* 51: 16–25.
- Molotch, Harvey. 1993. "The Space of Lefebvre." Review Essay: The Production of Space by Henri Lefebvre, Donald Nicholson-Smith. *Theory and Society* 22, no. 6: 887–95. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/658004>
- Murray, Martin J. 2015. "Waterfall City (Johannesburg): Privatized Urbanism in Extremis." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 47, no. 3: 503–20. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a140038p>
- Ness, David A., and Ke Xing. 2017. "Toward a Resource-Efficient Built Environment: A Literature Review and Conceptual Model." *Journal of Industrial Ecology* 21, no. 3: 572–92. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jiec.12586>
- Palgan, Y.V., Mont, O. and Sulkakoski, S., 2021. Governing the sharing economy: Towards a comprehensive analytical framework of municipal governance. *Cities*, 108, p.102994.
- Palm, Jenny, Karolina Södergren, and Nancy Bocken. 2019. "The Role of Cities in the Sharing Economy: Exploring Modes of Governance in Urban Sharing Practices." *Energies* 12, no. 24, 4737. <https://doi.org/10.3390/en12244737>
- Purcell, Mark. 2002. "Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant." *GeoJournal* 58: 99–108. <https://faculty.washington.edu/mpurcell/geojournal.pdf>
- Purvis, Ben, Yong Mao, and Darren Robinson, D. 2019. "Three Pillars of Sustainability: In Search of Conceptual Origins." *Sustainability Science* 14, 681–95. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11625-018-0627-5>
- Roitman, Sonia. 2010. "Gated Communities: Definitions, Causes and Consequences." *Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers – Urban Design and Planning* 163, no. 1: 31–8. <https://doi.org/10.1680/udap.2010.163.1.31>
- Ritchie, H. & Roser, M. (2018) – "Urbanization". Published online at OurWorldInData.org. Retrieved from: <https://ourworldindata.org/urbanization> [Online Resource].
- Salah, Nesma Mohamed, and Ayad, Hany M. 2018. "Why People Choose Gated Communities: A Case Study of Alexandria Metropolitan Area." *Alexandria Engineering Journal* 57, no. 4: 2743–53. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aej.2017.10.008>
- Sivam, Alpana, Sadasivam Karuppanan, and Michael C. Davis. 2012. "Stakeholders' Perception of Residential Density: A Case Study of Adelaide, Australia." *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 27, no. 4: 473–94. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-011-9265-2>
- Smets, Peer. 2005. "Disconnected from Society? Gated Communities: Their Lifestyle versus Urban Governance." *The Urban Reinventors Online Journal*, 3/09. <http://www.urbanreinventors.net/3/snets/snets-urbanreinventors.pdf>
- Strauss, Margot. 2019. "A Historical Exposition of Spatial Injustice and Segregated Urban Settlement in South Africa." *Fundamina* 25, no. 2: 135–68. <https://doi.org/10.17159/2411-7870/2019/v25n2a6>
- Todes, Alison. 2012. "New Directions in Spatial Planning? Linking Strategic Spatial Planning and Infrastructure Development." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 32, no. 4: 400–14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X12455665>
- Todes, Alison, Dylan Weakley, and Philip Harrison. 2018. "Densifying Johannesburg: Context, Policy and Diversity." *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 33, no. 4: 281–99. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44983748>
- Vesselinov, Elena. 2008. "Members Only: Gated Communities and Residential Segregation in the Metropolitan United States." *Sociological Forum* 23, no. 3: 536–55. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20110286>
- Webster, Chris, George Glasze, and Klaus Frantz. 2002. "The Global Spread of Gated Communities." *Environment and Planning B: Urban Analytics and City Science* 29: 315–20. <https://doi.org/10.1068/b12926>
- Williams, John J. 2006. "Community Participation: Lessons from Post-apartheid South Africa." *Policy Studies* 27, no. 3: 197–217. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01442870600885982>