

AN OVERVIEW OF ENCLOSED
NEIGHBOURHOODS IN SOUTH
AFRICA

An overview of enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa

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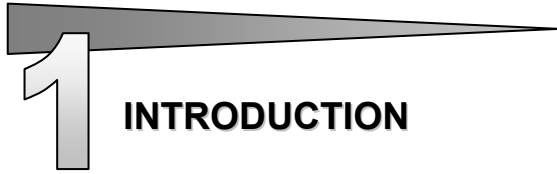
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1 INTRODUCTION

High crime rates are a reality in South Africa. People are afraid and the fear of crime is a constant reality. Within this context, people will do almost anything to protect themselves from crime. One of the results is an increased number of enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa.

Gated communities and enclosed neighbourhoods are currently a very topical and contentious issue in the country. Newspapers write about the topic, police talk about it, residents fight about it and local authorities worry about it. Many questions are asked and few answers are given. In the context of the high crime rates in South Africa, enclosed roads and neighbourhoods are seen by many people as the only option to crime prevention. But is this really the case? And how are local authorities supposed to deal with this issue?

Enclosed neighbourhoods do not only affect those residents who wish to enclose their areas. They directly influence the local authorities and their traditional public functions. While several municipalities across the country are receiving requests for neighbourhood enclosures, few have any policies in place to address this situation.

Limited research has been done on enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa. Consequently, there is very little or no information available to assist local authorities with decision-making regarding enclosed neighbourhoods.

For the past three years the CSIR has been conducting research on the concept of Crime Prevention through

Environmental Design (CPTED). This has involved a study of the relationship between crime and the physical environment, as well as the identification of design and management principles to address crime.

This particular study on enclosed neighbourhoods forms part of a broader study of crime prevention through design and the links between crime and the built environment. The aim was to get a broad understanding of the concept and its manifestation in South Africa.

The project culminated in two reports, this being the second. The first focused on an international review of the concept and the main issues that are part of the global debate, whilst this looks at the over-arching idea of gated communities, which includes enclosed neighbourhoods. The first report indicates that gated communities have increased tremendously over the past ten years, and especially in the USA. There are different types of gated communities and different reasons why people choose to live in such an environment. It was also evident that gated communities have become a significant urban feature and will be playing an important role in the urban future.

South Africa is, however, unique and hosts a different set of characteristics to those of many other countries in the world and therefore requires a contextual approach to gated communities, as well as a clear understanding of the local dynamics.

This report attempts to give a broad overview of enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa and points the way forward for future research on the subject. Section two focuses on the general concept of gated communities, including enclosed neighbourhoods. The next section (three) contextualises this idea. Section four then focuses on

the current situation regarding enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa. Following this, the current South African debate and main issues regarding this phenomenon are distilled (Section five). Finally, the report draws some conclusions and points the way forward (Section six).

2

DEFINING GATED COMMUNITIES AND ENCLOSED NEIGHBOURHOODS

2.1 The concept of gated communities

There have not been many attempts to define gated communities in international literature. Blakely and Snyder define gated communities as “residential areas with restricted access such that normally public spaces have been privatised” (1998:62). They go on to explain that access is controlled by physical barriers in the form of walled or fenced perimeters and gated or guarded entrances. These can include both new housing developments and older residential areas retrofitted with barricades and fences. In addition, gated communities preclude public access to roads, sidewalks, parks, open space, playgrounds – resources that previously would have been accessible to all citizens (ibid).

According to Blakely and Snyder (1998) gated communities can be divided into three major types: lifestyle communities such as country club and retirement developments, where extensive recreational amenities are key; prestige communities, which are otherwise standard subdivisions except for their gates; and security zone communities, where the

residents themselves, rather than developers, have added gates and fences to their neighbourhoods to try to control crime and traffic. They go on to say that in each of these general categories elitism and exclusionary motivations are often active, although they are most prominent in the first two. Not all gates mark elitist space; some are only attempts to control or ward off serious problems with crime. In others, intentions are mixed (ibid).

2.2 A definition of enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa

No definitions have been applied in South Africa. The following is an attempt to start formalising such a definition and to act as a working definition for present and future studies.

A definition of gated communities

Gated communities refer to a physical area that is fenced or walled off from its surroundings, either prohibiting or controlling access to these areas by means of gates or booms. In many cases the concept can refer to a residential area with restricted access so that normally public spaces are privatised or use is restricted. It does not, however, only refer to residential areas, but may also include controlled access villages for work (office blocks), commercial and/or recreational purposes. Gated communities can include both *enclosed neighbourhoods* and *security villages* (see Figure 1).

In South African, one can broadly distinguish between two types of gated communities at this stage, namely enclosed neighbourhoods and security villages. The following are working definitions of these types:

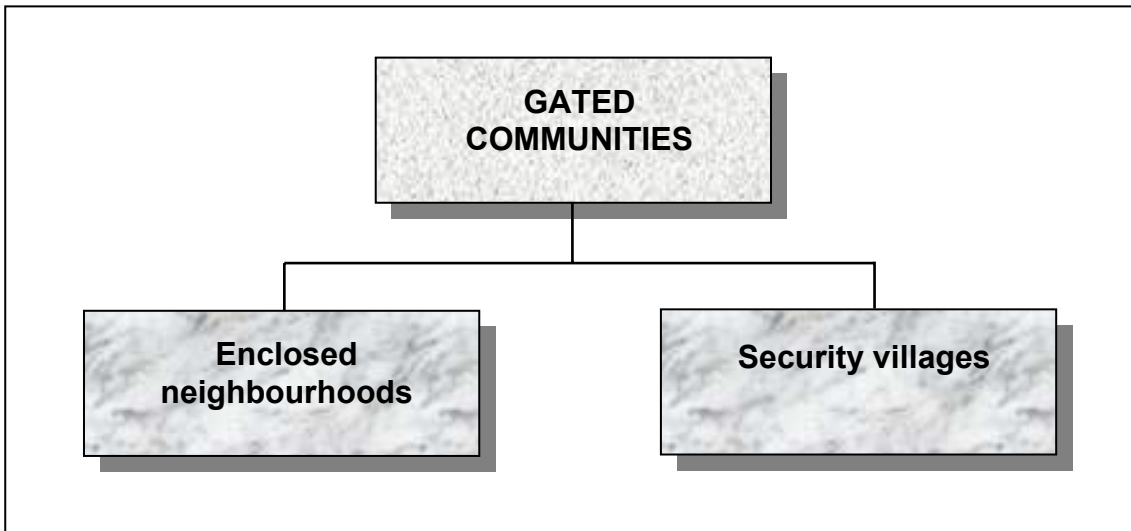


Figure 1: Flow-chart of gated communities

A definition of enclosed neighbourhoods

Enclosed neighbourhoods refer to existing neighbourhoods that have controlled access through gates or booms across existing roads. Many are fenced or walled off as well, with a limited number of controlled entrances/exits and security guards at these points in some cases. The roads within these neighbourhoods were previously, or still is public property and in many cases the local council is still responsible for public services to the community within.



Figure 3: Two booms across a road, marking the entrance to an exclusive neighbourhood enclosure in Johannesburg.



Figure 2: A road closure by means of a palisade gate.

A definition of security villages

Security villages refer to private developments where the entire area is developed by a (private) developer. These areas are physically walled or fenced off and usually have a security gate or controlled access point with/without a security guard. The roads in these developments are private, and in most of the cases, the management and maintenance is done by a private management body.



Figure 4: A typical secured office park in the Johannesburg area.



Figure 5: A typical security village (residential) in Pretoria.

The CSIR is currently conducting research that will assist in refining these typologies.

3

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

3.1 South African urban dynamics

An understanding of the South African situation is necessary to comprehend the occurrence and impact of enclosed neighbourhoods in this country. In many respects South Africa is unique and offers a very particular combination of factors that has the potential to influence neighbourhood enclosures. The following short background will attempt to sketch the

South African situation and place observations regarding neighbourhood enclosures in context.

South Africa is classified as a middle-income country with a population of 40,6 million people. The country has one of the highest per capita incomes in Africa, but the second highest inequality coefficient in the world after Brazil. The poorest 40% of households (equivalent to 50% of the population) receive only 11% of the income. In turn, the richest 10% of households (equivalent to 7% of the population) receive over 40% of the total income. The national unemployment rate is 37,6% (Napier et al. 1999:2)

This highlights the extremes of rich and poor in South Africa. This pattern is also manifested in most South African cities. Apart from the spatial manifestation, the social implications are also having a considerable effect on people's perceptions and lifestyle patterns in these cities.

3.2 The apartheid city

Town planning approaches and political ideologies can be very powerful. This has also been the case in South Africa. Not only did they shape the country's cities, but it also had a major influence on the lifestyles and urban use patterns of the residents of these cities.

Modern town planning ideas were used very effectively to create the "apartheid city" in South Africa. The origins of the planning constructs used in South Africa developed from the ideas used in England in the 1920s and 1930s (Mabin 1993). As a consequence of the massive changes that have occurred in England during the Industrial Revolution, the *Garden City concept*¹ developed. This, along

¹ The Garden City concept was formulated by Ebenezer Howard in England and described in his book, "Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Social Reform" (1898).

Table 1: Comparison of the years 1994 – 1999 Jan – Dec increase/decrease in the crime ratios (per 100 000 of the population) related to specific crime categories*.

	Ratio per 100 000 of the population						
	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	
Murder	69.5	67.5	63.9	59.6	59.0	55.3	↓
Robbery	219.8	202.8	166.7	169.0	209.6	226.3	↑
Rape	109.8	120.3	125.1	126.5	117.0	119.1	↔
Assault GBH (serious)	544.3	559.8	571.2	568.9	555.6	595.1	↑
Housebreaking – Residential	590.3	618.2	610.9	604.9	633.3	663.4	↑
Housebreaking - Business	230.5	218.8	217.8	214.9	223.4	216.4	↔
Theft – Motor vehicles	270.0	256.0	239.7	244.1	255.2	240.4	↔
Theft – out of/from vehicles	472.7	480.8	446.7	427.5	447.3	447.7	↔
Carjacking	-	-	31.9	31.6	35.9	35.9	↔

*Crime statistics from the Crime Information Analysis Centre – SAPS.

with the *neighbourhood unit*² model from the United States, had a profound influence on planning and development in South Africa.

The “Garden City concept”, combined with and “enriched” by the “neighbourhood unit” model, provided the paradigm for South African cities. Its aims were: community convenience, achieved through the careful balancing of internally exclusive community facilities; the separation of uses, particularly through green space; and low densities, with each dwelling unit surrounded by open space, to ensure adequate light and air (Dewar et al. 1990).

However, protagonists of apartheid also saw in it an opportunity to implement their own ideology. Numerous townships were built on the peripheries of almost every South African city and town, with informal settlements growing around them. These areas were separated from the

well-developed, traditionally white neighbourhoods (through buffer-strips in the form of green belts and rapid transport routes) around the CBD areas, where most of the facilities were located. It is this city form that became known as the “apartheid city”: a product of separation policies and government control that dominated the country for almost forty years.

3.3 Crime in South Africa

Crime statistics

Another important factor influencing the occurrence of enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa is the crime rate in this country.

Today, despite a slight decrease or stabilisation in most serious crimes (for example, murder), the crime rates remain unacceptably high. As can be seen in Table 1, some violent crime types have even increased in the last year. Note that robbery, assault (GBH) and residential housebreaking have increased.

Reaction to the high crime rate is unavoidable. The way in which it occurs, however, varies. Many communities have little faith in the police to protect them. Perceptions that the criminal justice system and the

² The neighbourhood unit concept initially emerged in the USA in response to the rapid urbanisation. It was based on the following principles: 1) separation of residential land-use; 2) self-contained and “inwardly orientated” residential areas; 3) “buffer strips” around these areas; 4) limitations on the number of people living in each area and 5) access to green space (Dewar et al. 1990).

police are failing in their protective duty result in an increased use of private security by the more affluent, and the establishment of vigilante groups by the poor (Napier et al. 1999).

People are continuously looking for better ways to protect themselves against crime. One is private "paid-for" protection.

Growth of the security sector

Security has become an important element of life in South Africa. It has also become big business. The private security industry is employing over 200 000 security guards throughout South Africa. The guarding industry is the largest with 125 000 guards working for some 3 200 security companies (Irish 1999:1).

Another form of reaction is the formalisation of vigilante groups. For those who cannot afford private security, this in many cases, is perceived as the only option.

Crime patterns and the fear of crime

The fear of crime is a reality in South Africa. Matloff (1995) states that "many suburban whites live in jail-like homes guarded by vicious dogs, razor wire, and armed security guards summoned by panic buttons". Similarly, "when they leave home, even to work in their yards, they take mobile panic buttons" (Builta 1996).

Fear of crime is not only experienced by the rich, but also by the very poor, who seldom have any resources to address the impacts of crime. Surveys have indicated that all South Africans generally display high levels of fear of victimisation (Shaw and Louw 1998).

Surveys have also shown that South Africans feel more unsafe in their neighbourhoods than in any other

country where similar studies have been carried out. Not all South Africans, however, are affected to the same extent (Bollen et al 1999).

A recent survey conducted by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), has found that women's sense of security in their neighbourhoods is low and many feel unsafe within their own homes. In addition, the following also became evident:

- woman requested better security and the removal of abusers to make them feel safer;
- 79% of woman felt most unsafe in public areas and 21% felt most unsafe in private areas; and
- 33% felt most unsafe on public transport facilities and at bus, train or taxi ranks (Bollen et al. 1999:73).

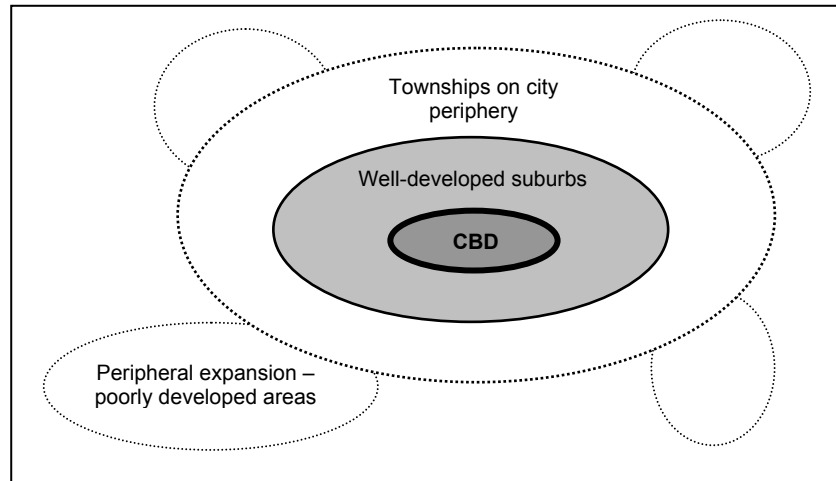
Certain types of crime create different levels of fear. For example the fear of hijacking and robbery has been found to be higher in many cases than the fear of theft out of motor vehicles.

The fear of crime, however, does not necessarily match the patterns of victimisation. Many citizens perceive themselves to be threatened by a chance of being victimised, whether or not they have been a victim of crime in the past (Napier et al. 1998). The reality is that crime affects people and their perceptions; it influences their use patterns and lifestyles.

The impact of crime in South Africa

In the light of the above, it is likely that many parts of South African cities and towns will remain unsafe, or be perceived to be unsafe, for some time to come. This is reflected in the form and character of buildings, neighbourhoods and entire settlements. High levels of crime cause major changes in the built environment, the spatial form and structure of cities and public spaces.

Figure 6:
A development pattern focusing on well-developed suburban and CBD areas, serve to strengthen the pattern of exclusion, leaving residents of poorly developed areas with no/limited access to facilities and job opportunities.



Increasingly, the higher income groups are taking refuge in fortified villages, secure office complexes and protected shopping centres. This is effectively widening the gap between the rich and the poor and creating social exclusion (Napier et al. 1999). In this sense the built environment becomes a medium of expression of the underlying social dynamics, a powerful text of disparity and fear.

3.4 Spatial trends

Development patterns

The settlement patterns during the apartheid era were characterised by the following:

- well-developed central business districts (CBDs);
- well-developed traditionally white suburbs surrounding these CBDs;
- poorly developed townships on the city periphery; and
- informal settlements on the outskirts of many cities (see Figure 6).

Township areas on the city periphery were mainly designed for low densities, with single, unattached houses on separate plots. The settlement layouts were designed to enable authorities to control access to

these areas, and residential zoning was rigidly applied and enforced. Few commercial and recreational facilities were allowed, with the consequence that township areas became purely places to sleep (thus commonly described as “dormitory areas”). (Napier et al. 1999:3). This was carried out in the tradition of the suburban ideal of the twentieth-century planning paradigm. All of this has implications on the effective functioning of cities and the potential for the occurrence of crime in the built environment.

Today South Africans are faced with a grim reality. Our cities reflect a sad picture: an inherited footprint of the past. South African cities are characterised by fragmentation and spatial dislocation, separation and mono-functional zoning and by low-density sprawl. The result is a city of inequity and in many cases an environment of fear.

Reaction through fortification

High crime rates and the fear of crime in South Africa are leading to the fortification of many buildings and parts of the city. Modern urban families are trying to keep themselves safe by turning their houses into fortified bastions and their neighbourhoods into walled towns.



Figure 7: An enclosed neighbourhood in Johannesburg protected by a security guard controlling access to the area. Cars are stopped and the details of persons in the cars are requested and kept on record.

Many attempts at target hardening³ are taking place. People try to secure their homes and businesses with walls and fences, razor wire, security gates, intercoms, cameras and armed guards. The public realm is considered dangerous and safer havens are sought after. In suburbs, walls, booms and security personnel are transforming the urban environment into an assembly of “protected” enclaves and scattered fortified villages.

Many neighbourhoods are turning to neighbourhood or street enclosures in an attempt to reduce or prevent crime in their areas. Neighbourhoods are closed off through booms across the street or security gates. In some cases these entry and access points are manned by 24-hour security personnel. Through controlled access (see Figure 6), these neighbourhoods are attempting to address crime problems in their areas.

These security measures create fortified enclosures that imprison the inhabitants themselves. The need for security without this sense of being

³ “Target-hardening” is the physical strengthening of building facades or boundary walls to reduce the attractiveness or vulnerability of potential targets. Walls around houses or properties and burglar bars on windows are the most common examples (Napier et al. 1998:43)

imprisoned, combined with a search for a village or country feeling, has also given rise to luxury security villages on the urban periphery. Many of these small ‘villages’ even include shops, schools and other recreation amenities such as golf courses, hiking trails, etc. These “villages” have the potential to become self-governing cities such as already is the case in the USA where entire cities are enclosed with controlled and guarded entrances. In addition, these “villages” on the periphery are also contributing to suburban sprawl.

A vision of urban integration

Since South Africa’s transformation to a democracy in 1994, Government policy as described in the Urban Development Framework, the Development Facilitation Act and the Green Paper on Planning and Development (1999), calls for integrated planning and development.

Urban sprawl is not only a South African problem, but a worldwide phenomenon that causes many problems. In response, the *Habitat Agenda* and most international thinkers on urban sustainability have advocated the so-called “compact city”. This can be achieved through measures such as delimiting growth boundaries and increasing residential

densities. However, despite this vision of compaction, South African cities are increasingly sprawling, with the poor continuing to locate on the periphery. This leads to many arguments that apartheid urban patterns still exists regardless of the new dispensation, and to a questioning of the viability of a compact city for South African cities in the near future (Napier et al. 1999).

In many cases in South Africa integration is a more practical approach than compaction. Integration acknowledges the principles of compaction, but simultaneously accepts the reality of urban sprawl. The current state in South Africa, however, is that there is still fragmentation and separation in our cities, despite the aim of integration.

4 ENCLOSED NEIGHBOURHOODS IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 An overview of enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa

Neighbourhood and road closures are a growing phenomenon in South Africa, especially in the Johannesburg area. One Local Authority in the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Area has recorded 360 road closures⁴ (see Figure 13), some of which are illegal ("Roads Feature", *Imiesa*, 2000:31). Applications for new road closures are increasing daily.

⁴ A "road closure" refers to the physical closure across a road, i.e. a boom or a gate, and not to an enclosed neighbourhood, which could have several road closures.

A survey of enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa

Towards the end of 1999 and the beginning of 2000, the CSIR conducted a broad-brush study on enclosed neighbourhoods in SA. As part of this study, questionnaires (see Appendix B) were sent to a sample of 100 local authorities across the country. There was a 43%.

Almost half of the respondents received requests for enclosures. This means that they have been put into a position where they were forced to deal with the issue of enclosed neighbourhoods.

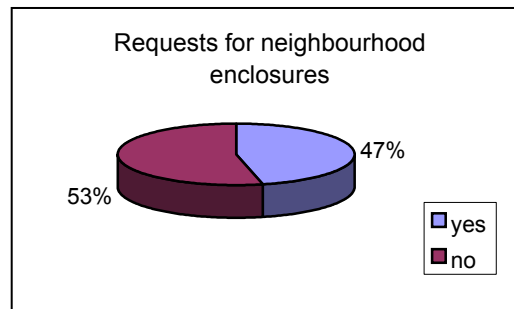


Figure 8: Requests for neighbourhood enclosures

Forty-five per cent of these requests (taking into account only the local authorities who received requests) for neighbourhood enclosures were approved.

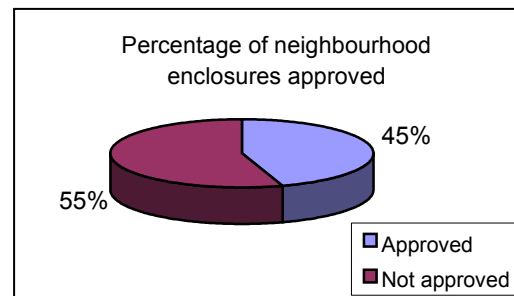


Figure 9: Percentage of neighbourhood enclosures approved by Local authorities

Several reasons were given why requests had been approved or

denied. These are cited in the following table.

Table 2: Reasons why requests were denied or accepted.	
Accepted	Denied
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For crime prevention • If all residents agree • If the street is a cul-de-sac • If area is not used for pedestrian through-traffic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roads should allow public access • No policy in place • Roads are public property • Access to cables, water meters & substations would be problematic • Services cannot be installed • Fire-fighting would be problematic • Waste removal & reading of electricity would be problematic • Pedestrian through-traffic would be restricted • Public areas need to be maintained • Layout of town cannot justify it

Generally, requests were denied either because the local authority did not support the idea of enclosed neighbourhoods or because they foresaw problems in terms of urban management and maintenance. Another reason for not approving requests was because no formal policy was in place. On the other hand, neighbourhood enclosures were generally approved for security reasons and if there were no objections received to such an enclosure.

Only one third of those areas that received requests for neighbourhood enclosures had any formal policy in place regarding gated communities.

Many local authorities are, however, developing policies in this regard.

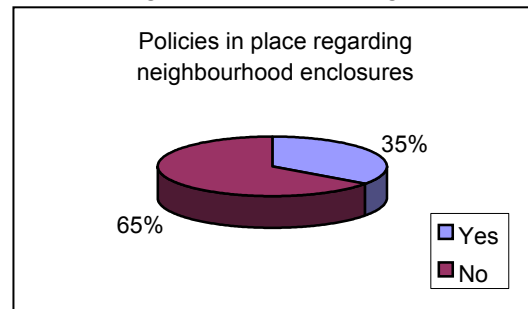


Figure 10: Percentage of Local Authority areas with policies in place regarding neighbourhood enclosures.

In South Africa, different local authorities experience diverse problems. Some of these problems include:

- Not all of the residents in the proposed areas support the enclosures. This causes conflict between the residents in the community.
- In some cases areas have been enclosed prior to approval. This includes the erection of gates and fences to close off areas.
- Some neighbourhoods have deviated from their initial proposals.
- Many property owners are maintaining areas as their own, without council approval, and refusing public access to, for example, the beachfront or parks within the area.
- In some cases neighbourhood objections lead to major conflict in areas ending in court cases and fierce legal battles.
- Many neighbourhoods experience political problems and pressures regarding the enclosure of neighbourhoods.
- Complaints have been received from people using the enclosed routes as "rat-running" routes, i.e. using lower hierarchy roads within the neighbourhood to avoid the traffic congestion on the main routes.

- Many security companies operate unconstitutionally within the enclosed areas, by prohibiting access to public areas.
- Inconvenience caused by enclosed neighbourhoods.
- Claims result from damage to vehicles caused by the construction of enclosures.
- Incorrect and insufficient road traffic signs are erected around and inside enclosed areas.
- Objections are received from residents situated directly outside the enclosure, due to their exclusion.
- Complaints are voiced about problems from traffic congestion and changes in traffic patterns caused by road closures.

These problems include both physical and management problems and involve local authorities, residents within the enclosed areas and residents from surrounding areas. Other role-players are also affected, for example the South African Police Service (SAPS) and emergency personnel and vehicles. Aspects causing them problems include rapid access into areas and a lack of knowledge regarding closed roads. This will be discussed in more detail in Section four.

Summary

Although larger cities and towns received more requests for neighbourhood enclosures, requests were also received from smaller cities and towns, such as Bethlehem and Port Shepstone who each received 10 requests. Also see Table 3 for other examples of the number of requests received by a particular city or town.

The majority of requests received, requests approved, policies in place and problems encounter where experienced by larger cities (with a population of over 500 000 (see Figure 11).

It therefore seems that most enclosed neighbourhoods can be found in larger cities and because of this, local authorities in larger cities have been forced to address the issue as a matter of urgency.

According to the information received, most of the areas with the highest number of requests are located in Gauteng. This could be because crime rates for certain types of crime, including house-breaking residential, other robbery and theft of motor vehicles, is the highest in Gauteng (CIAC Statistics for February 2000). It could therefore be that other factors, such as the fear of crime in Gauteng

Table 3: An example of the number of requests that a few cities and towns received (December 1999 – January 2000).

Larger cities (> 500 000)	Medium cities/towns (< 500 000 - > 100 000)	Smaller towns (< 100 000)
Northern metropolitan Local Council of Greater Johannesburg 35	Bethlehem 10	Port Shepstone 10
Germiston 23	Krugersdorp 4	Stellenbosch 2
Benoni 16	Potchefstroom 3	Bloemhof 1

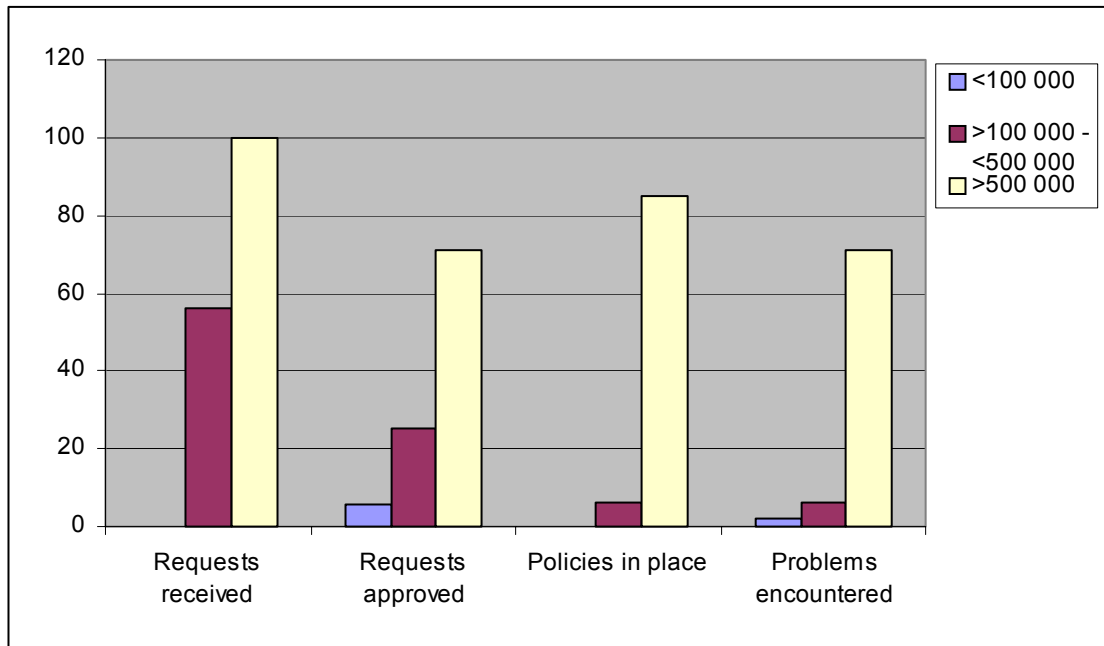


Figure 11: Comparative percentages of requests, problems and policies received by different sizes of towns and cities.

and increased media publicity, are causing people to take more drastic crime prevention measures.

According to a study carried out by the

Institute for Security Studies (ISS), the feeling of “unsafety” is the highest in the two largest cities in Gauteng, when compared to Durban and Cape Town (see Figure 12). It could be that it is

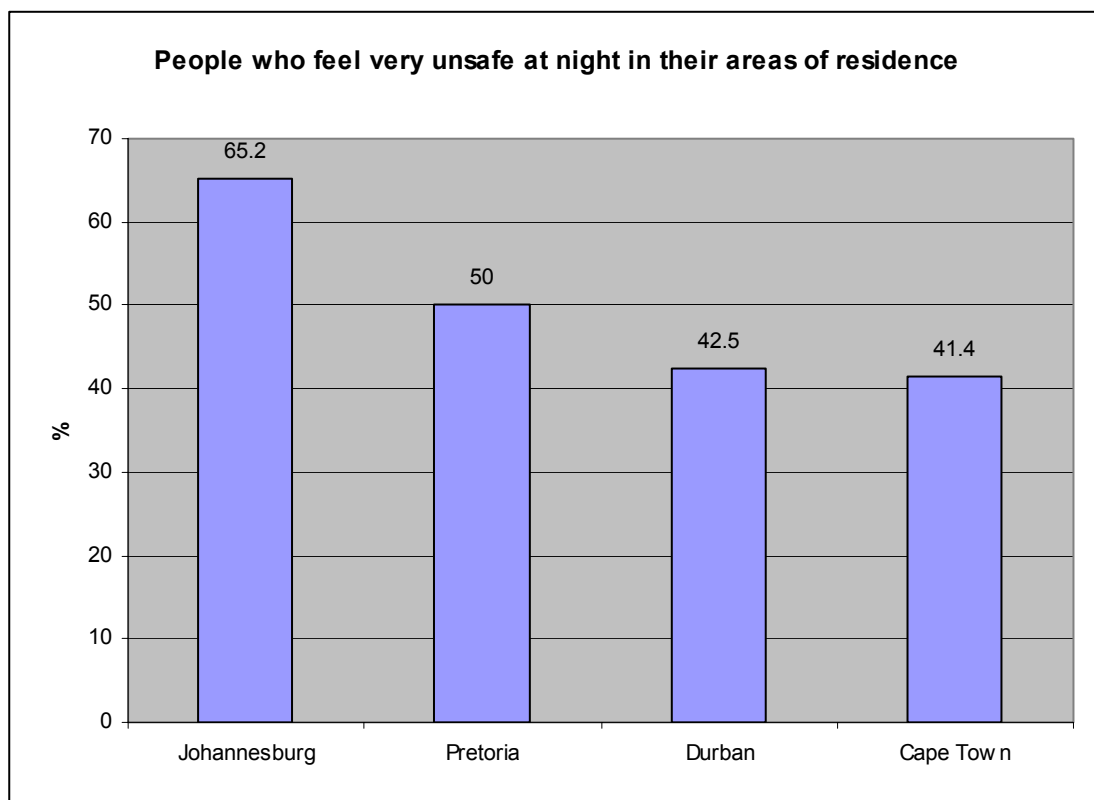


Figure 12: People who feel very unsafe at night in their areas of residence (Antoinette Louw – Institute for Security Studies)

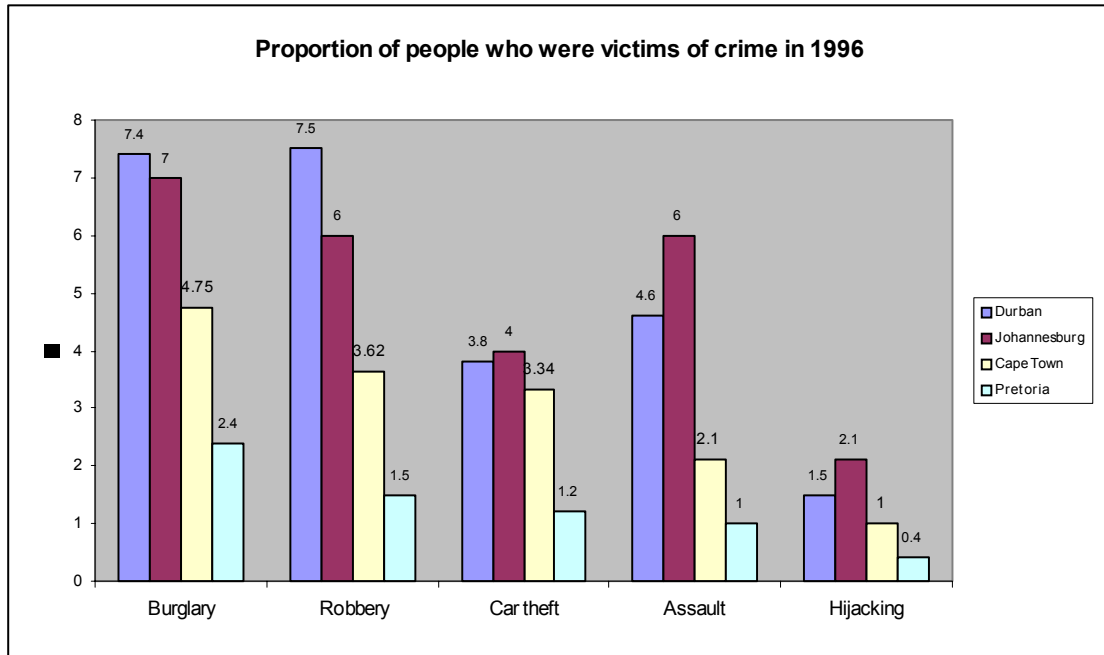


Figure 13: Proportion of people who were victims of crime in 1996 (Antionette Louw – Institute for Security Studies)

increased levels of fear of crime that are giving rise to more road and neighbourhood enclosures. However, when these feelings of unsafe are compared to the percentage of people who were actual victims of crime in 1996, it becomes clear that the patterns of crime do not necessarily match the levels of fear of crime (see Figure 13).

Another factor that needs to be taken into consideration is local authorities' position regarding neighbourhood enclosures. It seems that local authorities in Gauteng tend to be much more amenable to this idea than those in other areas in the country. Again, there might be several external factors that influence their positions, including increased pressure from local residents, councillors, etc.

4.2 Policies and legislation

Existing policies and approaches

There is no general policy in place regarding neighbourhood enclosures in South Africa. A few local authorities

have developed their own policies or are in the process of formulating a policy. For those who are pressured into decision-making regarding enclosures, the general trend is to either put some form of policy in place to allow temporary road or neighbourhood closure, or to deny it in terms of existing local authority policies.

In general, the content of the limited number of policies in place more or less covers the same issues, ranging from the application procedures to the period these enclosures would be valid if approved. There is a considerable difference in the approach to "ownership" of enclosed neighbourhoods, as well as the responsibility of management and maintenance of these areas.

The *Eastern Metropolitan Local Council* (EMLC) of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC) is one of the few local authorities in South Africa that has a comprehensive policy regarding road or neighbourhood closures for security

purposes in place. In this policy the council describes the application procedure for road and/or neighbourhood enclosures, the process of approving or denying these applications and the legal implications of enclosures.

This policy also clearly states that, "all road closures will be temporary closures... and shall only be approved for a period not exceeding 12 months" (Eastern MSS: Procedures and Conditions: Road Closures for Security Purposes 1999:2). The implementation of road closures is, therefore, seen as a temporary measure only and the council will continue to be responsible for the maintenance of all roads and services. In essence, the public spaces within the enclosed areas will therefore, still remain public property and be controlled and managed as such.

The *Pretoria City Council* also has a policy regarding controlled access areas for security purposes in place. It allows two options for neighbourhood or road closures: an option to apply for a "restriction" on access to a portion of a street or streets to allow for the erection of a security gate(s) and another option where the residents' association will take possession of the street that will accommodate the access control point structures. To accommodate the latter, a part of the street will be closed as public street and be transferred to the council as a erf or erven (Robinson 1999). This action necessarily involves the rezoning of the particular piece of land. The second option starts incorporating aspects of privatisation to accommodate neighbourhood and road closures and indicates a move towards a more permanent situation.

The policy highlights the need for greater permanence to be given to the access control systems, since substantial costs will be incurred to putting in the security systems. These expenses will have to be redeemed

over a longer period of time (Robinson 1999). The local authority does, however, have the power in terms of Section 46 (1) of the Rationalisation Act to determine the period for which the authorisation will be valid. However, some "temporary" matters, such as the construction on Council property and leases, could cause problems in the longer term (ibid).

The *Greater Benoni City Council* has adopted a slightly different approach. It has a policy in place that considers the closing of public streets and the alienation of the streets. This policy holds residents responsible for the maintenance of the relevant roads. This condition reads as follows: "Applicants are to submit an undertaking that they accept responsibility for all costs concerned, including the closure, maintenance of road, registration of servitudes, legal costs, etc." (Greater Benoni City Council: Conditions for road closures). This policy requires that residents take responsibility for the enclosed area, or at least for part of it, if they wish to enclose and "control" this area.

In the case of the *Port Elizabeth City Council*, the trend towards privatisation has been taken a step further. The council only reviews and approves requests for enclosures in terms of the "hybrid" subdivision concept⁵. The "hybrid" subdivision concept, although relatively new in Port Elizabeth, is becoming an increasingly popular

⁵ A hybrid scheme is a combination of a group housing development and a sectional title development. In a group housing development the erven are individually owned (freehold title); the local authority is responsible for maintaining the essential services and the roads are built to full municipal standards by the developer and then vest in the local authority. The open space in a group housing development is zoned "Private Open Space" and is maintained by the homeowners' association. In a sectional title development essential engineering services are supplied up to the common property boundary only: the roads within the complex and the open space are owned and maintained by the body corporate.

development for certain parts of the city.

In hybrid schemes the parent erf is subdivided with freehold title and currently the access erf (which includes the roads and the open space) is zoned "Private Open Space". The access erf and the open spaces (which are both "Private Open Space") are owned and maintained by a homeowners' association. Municipal services are provided to the common property boundary with only one water-meter and sewer connection. Electricity, roads and storm-water are dealt with in the same way as sectional title developments. This policy also proposes that the access erf (which includes the roads only) be zoned "Special Purposes".

This approach involves the privatisation of the access and other public spaces, and transfer of ownership of these spaces to the local residents' association, which will be responsible for the management and maintenance of these spaces. The long-term feasibility and sustainability of this approach, however, remain to be seen.

Key management issues

- Private or public control and management.
- Responsibility for enclosed areas – local authorities or homeowners' associations.

Legal issues

The following legal issues will be discussed in greater detail:

- Related laws or appropriate legislation
- The application process
- Objections
- The managing body

- The role of, and obligations to, the SAPS
- Public liability
- The role of local authorities.

• Related laws or appropriate legislation

In Gauteng, the "Rationalisation Act" (1999) makes provision for road/neighbourhood enclosures. This Act is, however, provincial and therefore only applicable in Gauteng. Local authorities in other provinces have made use of different laws to either deny or approve enclosed neighbourhoods in their areas. These have been different for each particular case and no specific law or Act stands out as being used in general regarding road or neighbourhood closures in other provinces.

There have been many discussions on the suitability of existing legislation to enable local authorities to allow enclosure of roads. In Gauteng many councils have adopted the approach that road closure will be temporarily allowed in terms of Section 66 of the Local Governance Ordinance, No. 17 of 1939. Although the opinion was expressed that Section 66 could accommodate the closure of roads, the actual legislative intention of Section 66 of the 1939 legislation could never have been to cater for the security problems experienced in the 1990s. The legality of using Section 66 for such purposes has therefore always been somewhat doubtful and problematic (Landman PP 1999).

In view hereof, the Provincial Government of Gauteng incorporated a chapter in the *Rationalisation of Local Government Affairs Act, No. 10 of 1998* dealing with access restrictions for security purposes.

This Act came into operation on 19 March 1999. Its Chapter Seven in particular, makes provision for a local authority to restrict access for purposes of enhancing safety and security. The local authority may restrict access on its own initiative or authorise any person, body or institution to do so (Landman PP 1999:7).

The existence of these Acts do not, however, solve all the legal questions regarding the application process for road or neighbourhood closures and in many cases residents that received permission to close off an area under the old Act, are now required to re-apply in terms of the new Rationalisation Act. In other cases, where the particular local council has no policy in place, confusion regarding the application process and relevant legislation are leading to increased frustration among residents.

In some cases, residents' associations are also using, or attempting to use, the Act on *City Improvement Districts* (CIDs) to allow for the collection of fees to pay for the closure of roads or neighbourhoods (this issue is further discussed under "Urban Planning and Management" in Section 5.1.).

- **Application procedure**

Different local authorities have different legal procedures to follow in terms of the application process. Generally, it broadly involves the following process:

- Submitting a formal application from a group of residents or a residents' association to the local authority. This application should include all the necessary documents requested by the local authority, including a traffic impact study if so required.

- Advertising the intention to close the street or streets (neighbourhood) in the local newspapers.
- Reviewing the application and possible objections to the application.
- Consulting with the SAPS regarding the proposed closure (either at the start of the process or when considering the application)
- Approval or denial of the particular application by the local authority
- Resubmitting, in the case of some of the local authorities' policies, the application after a period of two years and completing the same process again.

Application for neighbourhood enclosures could be a lengthy process and could take several months to be processed.

- **Objections**

One of the main requirements for the approval of neighbourhood enclosures is that a certain percentage of the residents within the relevant area should be in favour of this enclosure. The specific percentage required differs from local authority to local authority. In South Africa, the required percentage ranges from 90% to 66,6%, with the latter applicable in most cases.

In addition, the intention to enclose an area should be advertised beforehand and, should there be any reasonable objections, these should be carefully reviewed and considered by the relevant local authority. Taking the example of the EMLC's process for application for neighbourhood enclosures, in the case of no objection, an official of the local authority may approve the temporary closure of the area for the period stipulated. However, should there be any objection, the

application will be referred to a planning tribunal for consideration.

- **The managing body**

In many cases homeowners' associations establish a Section 21 Company to manage the process and collection of fees. Many policy documents also make this a formal requirement or recommendation, for example the EMLC Policy on Road Closures, as well as that of Pretoria City Council.

The residents' association or Section 21 Company is responsible for all costs and matters relating to the proposed road or neighbourhood enclosure. In some cases these associations manage and control the affairs of their enclosed areas themselves, but in other cases they involve an outside party to do this, for example a security company or a non-profit organisation.

The powers and functions of the managing body differ from case to case. In some cases the residents' associations also take responsibility for added functions such as neighbourhood clean-up campaigns, patrols, etc. In other cases they only manage and control the collection and payment of fees for the application and implementation of the specific neighbourhood enclosure. In some cases the enclosure of neighbourhoods goes hand-in-hand with the appointment of private security firms to patrol and secure the enclosed areas and man the controlled access points. Residents' fees then include the fees for the security company as well, which in some areas can amount to R40 000 per month per area.

- **The role of and obligations to the SAPS**

In all of the existing policies, including Section 44 of the Rationalisation Act, it is stated clearly that the South African Police Service (SAPS) has to approve the application for any type of closure before such a closure can be approved by the local authority. The police are expected to play an important role in process and ongoing management of the enclosed area. The residents of an enclosed area are also expected to inform the police of the following:

- The date on which road closures are to be implemented.
- The exact location of all road closures concerned.
- If applicable, the particulars of any security company or security staff to be deployed in the area or neighbourhood, including their emergency number as well as full details of the responsibilities and functions of such personnel.

Problems occur when the police are not informed in time, as well as when residents add additional physical structures not indicated in the original application (also see the problem of response times under "Safety and Security" in Section 5.1).

- **Public liability**

A number of questions also arise around the issue of public liability. In this regard, many local authorities request applicants for neighbourhood enclosures to submit proof to the council that public liability insurance have been taken out. It is also added that, should the public liability insurance not be sufficient, the controlling body or group of people shall jointly be held responsible for the additional costs.

The EMLC goes even further, requiring that the relevant controlling body applying for an enclosure signs an indemnity form. This protects the council against claims in respect to loss or damage which the Council may sustain and all actions of whatever nature which may result from or by reason of the Council having granted approval for the road or neighbourhood enclosures (EMLC Procedures and Conditions: Road Closures for Security Purposes 1999:5).

In another case, the particular local authority requests an indemnification of liability against any claims that may arise from the fact that the access-control point could deny emergency staff free access to the area, unless all the entrances are manned 24 hours.

- **The role of Local Authorities**

Road/neighbourhood enclosures raise questions around the role of local authorities. By allowing closures, they could neglect some of their traditional roles or functions. These include the following:

- the needs of all the residents of the city;
- the implementation of a long-term urban strategy;
- the general public good;
- to provision and development as well as maintenance of public open space for the use of all urban residents; and
- to assurance that all residents will be able to use public space.

The constitutional implications

A key factor to consider relates to a person's constitutional right of access to any public space or the freedom of movement in a public area. The South African Constitution states that it is the

human right of all people to have access and free movement to all public space⁶.

In Gauteng, the Rationalisation Act allows local authorities to "restrict" access or to allow others to "restrict" access where applicable. It does not, however, allow "prohibiting" access. This is where the closure of roads or neighbourhoods can become very contentious and technical. How does one ensure that access can be obtained at all times and what about people prohibiting access or intimidating potential users?

The important issue, then, becomes one of whether the enclosed area remains under public control or is taken over as "private space" by the homeowners' association. If, however, the enclosed areas stay under public control, provision should be made for people to still have access to all the public spaces within the area. In this regard one of the councils has set the following condition: "Council furthermore determined in accordance with acquired opinion, that at least one entrance to the area/neighbourhood concerned at all times remains open to allow full, free and unhindered access to the general public" (Landman PP 1999:1).

In another case, the Council stipulates that, "permission will be on the condition that the controls are conducted in a manner that upholds the constitutional rights of the people of South Africa, with particular regard to privacy, dignity and freedom of movement. If at any time the council is of the opinion that these rights are being or have been infringed it can revoke the consent" (Robinson 1999).

⁶ Section 21 (1) and (3) of the Constitution of the RSA, 1996 (Act 108 Of 1996) reads as follows:

(1) "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement..."

(3) Every citizen has the right to enter, to remain in and to reside anywhere in the Republic."

The issue of people's constitutional rights also brings up further questions regarding free and unhindered access. These will be discussed in more detail in Section 5 under the heading "Social Exclusion".

Standards or technical guidelines

It is important to consider introducing standards or guidelines for the erection of booms, gates, security guard houses and fences or walls.

The City Council of Pretoria stipulates that, "the access control point must be designed in such a way that heavy vehicles, for example a fire engine, will be able to pass through it. One lane must have a minimum width of 4.5 m. There must also be no cover overhead" (Section 1.3, 'Proposed conditions with which a security development must comply to obtain approval').

The Eastern Local Metropolitan Council has drawn up a set of standards for the erection of booms and gates across the roads. These include the minimum width of these closing structures, provision for the removal of stormwater and sand that gathers under gates, etc.

Enclosed neighbourhoods have become a phenomenon to be taken seriously in South Africa; not only those who aspire to live in such an area, but also those who are concerned with city planning and management, as well as the social trends that determine human relations and dynamics within urban areas in this country. Therefore, the debate should not only be concerned with the short-term issues (technical and legal aspects, etc.), but also with the long-term impact of neighbourhood enclosures.

5.1 Important issues

Several important factors, especially relevant to the longer term impact, comes to mind.

- A sense of community
- Safety and security
- Social exclusion
- Urban fragmentation and separation
- Urban planning and management
- Financial implications.

• Community cohesion and the sense of community

International literature indicates that there are two sides to this debate. Many people hope that the closed, private streets behind gates will lead to a more open, friendly, and cohesive community. Proponents of gated communities argue that by allowing neighbourhoods to establish and protect their boundaries and control access to their territory, the residents of gated communities will develop a sense of identity and security, both of which are vital to strong communities.

Others, however, argue to the contrary. In the USA many residents of gated communities maintained that

5

THE CURRENT DEBATE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Many people, ranging from local residents and the police to local authority officials and councillors, academics, etc. are actively taking part in this debate.

their neighbourhoods were “distant and private”, despite the presence of walls and gates (Blakely and Snyder 1997). Therefore, it is not always the case that fences and gates would automatically help to establish a strong sense of community.

This duality is also evident in South Africa. A number of residents and homeowners’ associations have indicated that they believe that the establishment of an enclosed neighbourhood contributes to a stronger feeling of community in the area. Others have indicated that residents were actively involved in the application process but that there is no strong sense of community.

On the other hand, some residents complain that the drive to enclose neighbourhoods in their own area or surrounding areas is the cause of increased conflict between residents and has created an atmosphere of tension and hostility. This attitude was also reflected in a few meetings on neighbourhood enclosures and it seems that it is strongly supported by a number of newspaper articles.

A “sense of community” cannot be created, purely by putting up a gate or boom. In some cases gates and fences can discourage a sense of community and cause “in-house” fighting. This is exactly what is happening in certain cases in Johannesburg where tension and conflict has arisen between residents of the same neighbourhood. In these cases neighbourhood enclosures have caused a divide in the community and discouraged any attempt at community cohesion.

- **Safety and security**

Many residents in South Africa firmly believe that gates or booms make people safer, and security is given as the main reason for neighbourhood enclosures. At this stage it is difficult to

comment to the effectiveness of neighbourhood enclosures to reduce crime, since no specific evidence (empirical data) are available.

An international study by Blakely and Snyder in the United States found that some “security-zone communities” do report a reduction in crime after the streets has been closed. Others, however, report only temporary reductions, and some report no change at all (Blakely And Snyder 1997b). They also state that gates and fences are not impenetrable to serious criminals and that they do nothing to reduce crimes from residents.

In South Africa initial findings point to a similar situation. In some cases certain types of crime have dropped while in other instances proof could not be found that crime has reduced.

It has been reported in *Business Day* that burglaries and hijackings decreased significantly in suburbs such as Gallo Manor and Wendywood since certain roads has been closed (Fine 1998:3). However, some police stations in areas with neighbourhood enclosures are still regularly requested to attend to reports of crime occurrences within these enclosed areas. Therefore, neighbourhood enclosures do not always eradicate crime completely.

Enclosed areas could create a false sense of security and consequently residents become negligent, leaving cars unlocked and front doors wide open.

In some cases, closures can lead only to the temporary reduction of crime. While opportunistic criminals might be deterred, professional criminals and syndicates might not be that easily deterred.

Enclosed neighbourhoods can also lead to **crime displacement** or the **fear of displacement**. In many cases in Johannesburg, the displacement of

crime has been of such a nature that residents of neighbouring communities have also been forced to consider “gating” to protect themselves. Even the fear of crime being displaced, have prompted people to enclose existing areas.

The rapid response times of police and other emergency vehicles, such as fire-trucks and ambulances, could also be compromised by a large number of road closures. For instance, in many cases the shortest route to a specific point in need of attention is closed and this forces police and other emergency vehicles to take a more circuitous route. In addition, residents close routes without informing the police and emergency services, which causes them to end up in dead-ends. Both of these aspects have major implications for response times in cases of emergency and could mean the difference between life and death.

- **Social exclusion through physical barriers**

From an international review it became evident that security is not the only reason why people opt to live in a gated community. For many, gated communities also provide an illusion of **stability and control**. It allows those who can afford it to opt out of shared public services and places. This is also the case in South Africa. Many residents are concerned about taking care only of themselves and their immediate neighbours. This is leading to social segregation and exclusion.

Neighbourhoods have always been able to exclude certain classes of resident through discrimination and housing costs. But now, as Blakely and Snyder (1998) point out, with gates and walls they can exclude undesirable new residents, as well as casual passers-by and those people from their surrounding neighbourhood.

This practice also seems to be a reflection of a broader tendency towards fragmentation, and the resulting loss of connection and social contact. The concern for the city as a whole is no longer of major importance. Rather the advantage to be gained by a small selected group is important. As gated enclaves spread throughout the city, its implications to society become a valid subject of enquiry, as Tijerino (1998) points out, since walled communities result in increased social fragmentation.

In a country like South Africa the long-term implications of increased social fragmentation could prove harmful to the overall vision of unity and peace among different groups of the population. For instance, walling neighbourhoods has been labelled as “racist” and compared to “apartheid influx control”. Gated communities could create another **barrier to interaction** and may add to the problem of building social networks that provide an opportunity for social and economic activities.

This also touches on the very issue of **individual rights** to public space and the fundamental **principle of democracy**. Many urban residents feel very strongly about their human right to free and unhindered access to public space, and the right to free movement.

Proponents of gated communities argue that they too have a right to protect themselves from crime in the urban environment. However, such attempts at protection could have a significant impact on the city as a whole. They have the potential to impair the rights of fellow residents and to be detrimental to long-term sustainability of cities. It could be that the very measure that is implemented to address crime and instability in time becomes a major source of conflict.

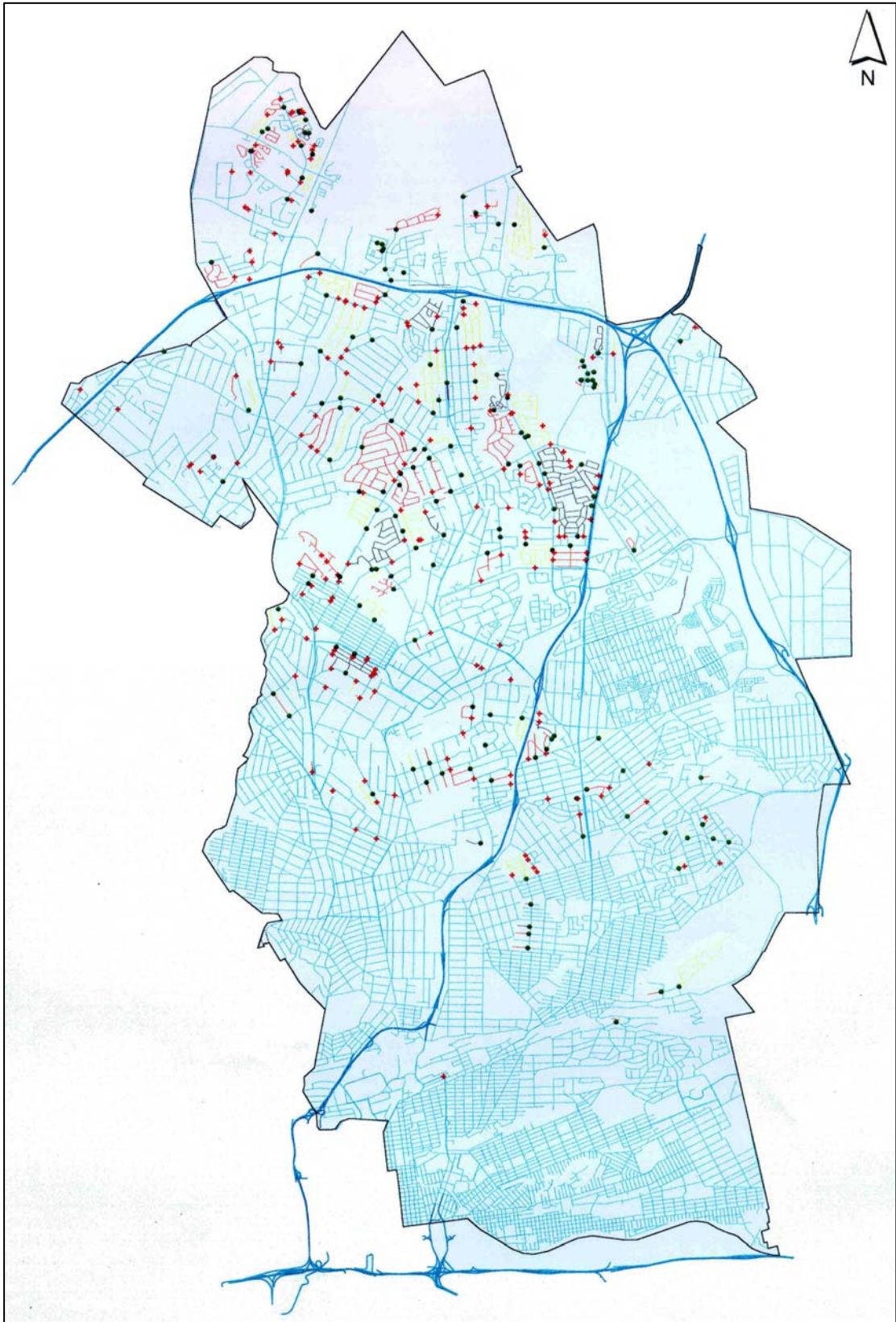


Figure 14: Map indicating existing road closures (March 2000) in the EMLC area. This map was produced by MBS Consulting Engineers, Johannesburg.

Gated communities may address some crime problems and offer an enhanced quality of life to residents. Ultimately, however, these communities form part of the larger urban context and it is the impact of the broader urban environment that require not only looking at the needs of the individual or one smaller community, but to also consider the needs and management of the city as a whole.

- **Urban fragmentation and segregation**

By its nature an enclosed neighbourhood physically separates a specific area from its environment and creates zones or pockets of restricted access within the urban fabric. This forces motorists and pedestrians to take alternative routes, which can often be longer. Gated communities, therefore, have an impact not only on the daily activity patterns of people, but also on the urban form and its functioning. In many cases this is one of the main reasons why applications for road closures are denied by some local authorities.

In the EMLC of Johannesburg, the potential impact of neighbourhoods is already becoming evident. Figure 15 indicates a number of closures that are scattered across the area, particularly in the northern area. A diagram of this map (see Figure 15) shows an ensemble of separated and fragmented cells that are spread across the area. An increased number of enclosures, as well as the long-term snow-ball effect of this type of development, could have a negative impact on the spatial arrangement, as well as the effective management and functioning of urban environments in this country.

Neighbourhood enclosures also have the potential to influence residents' life-styles and use-patterns. There have been cases where public

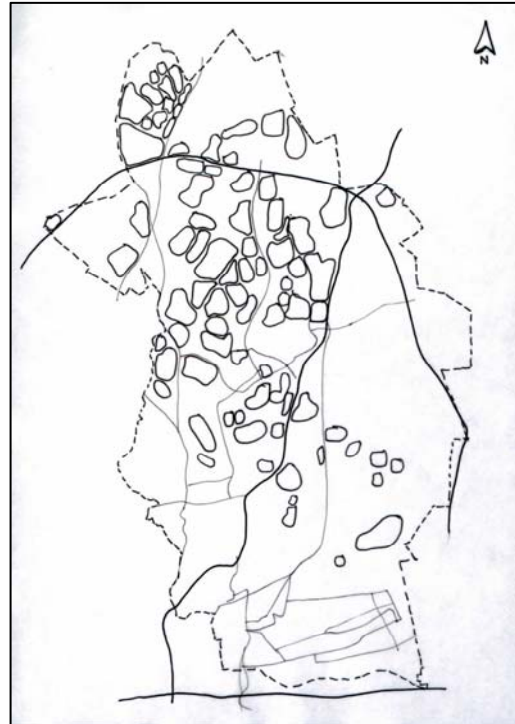


Figure 15: Diagram of gated communities (enclosed neighbourhoods and security villages) in the EMLC area.

facilities have been enclosed, forcing non-residents to negotiate controlled access points when they wish to make use of these facilities as part of their daily activities. Such facilities, for example include local schools, libraries, parks, postal facilities, etc.

- **Urban planning and management**

Urban planning and management issues, such as the nature of roads and traffic congestion, urban maintenance and the traditional role of local authorities, are also affected by the closing of streets and neighbourhoods.

As mentioned earlier, road closures cause problems for the functioning of the emergency services. Many of the road and neighbourhood closures do not allow sufficient turning space for large cleansing and maintenance vehicles. Local authorities expressed concern about damage to service

vehicles, problems with fire-fighting, waste removal and the reading of water and electricity meters. These were also cited as reasons why some local authorities had not approved applications for neighbourhood enclosures.

The closure of roads leads to definite changes in traffic patterns, which has two major consequences. Firstly, this results in longer routes and traffic congestion, and secondly, many of the roads that are left "open" were not designed to accommodate a greater number of vehicles. Maintenance and long-term planning are therefore problematic.

In addition to the technical aspects, concerns about the management and control of the neighbourhood enclosure have been raised with regards to the powers allocated to the residents' association and/or private security firm managing areas on behalf the residents. It also touches on the structure of the controlling body, whether this is a Section 21 company or not, as well as the different laws that are used to legalise specific actions. In some cases residents attempt to use current legislation on CIDs (City-Improvement-Districts) either as a vehicle to collect fees due to the managing body or to force all the residents in a given area to pay for the "improvement" of the area. Residential areas may not misuse the legislation to create security areas. (Fraser 2000). The intention of the legislation is to facilitate the "improvement" or "upgrading" of a deteriorating area and not to establish or manage security areas.

Enclosed neighbourhoods could also lead to the creation of micro-government structures and this can threaten the traditional role of local governments. Private residential communities, such as homeowners' associations and retail communities are a form of private municipal governance. They supply civic goods

privately, through the levying of some form of payment.

The relationship between physical barriers and the governance that goes on within is very important. Gated communities carry with them the potential for withdrawal from large-scale public participation.

Homeowners associations are a powerful lobbying force. In many cases they resist taxation or demand tax rebates. Many also refuse to accept any major spending for citywide initiatives they may not directly benefit from. McKenzie (1994:11) states that "those paying for and receiving the private services can be expected to resent paying for duplicate public services they do not need...for this and other reasons, this 'privatisation for the few' has the potential for creating and amplifying social division and conflict between...residents and local governments". This raises concerns about the traditional role of local government and the potential impact on urban governance in the future. Private governance and control could assume such proportions that they threaten urban sustainability and more specifically community participation and cohesion.

• Financial implications

There does not seem to be consensus regarding the impact of enclosed neighbourhoods on property values. Some people believe that it would lead to increased property values and see it as one reason to enclose. Other reports indicate the opposite.

Claims that insurance companies might consider a reduction in premiums for residents of enclosed neighbourhoods have been made. However, these claims could not be substantiated.

Another key issue relates to the costs involved in the establishment and

maintenance of these areas. Apart from the initial capital costs (application fees and costs of physical infrastructure), residents are also liable for the payment of ongoing running costs such as for the management and maintenance of the area. These costs differ from situation to situation, but could become quite substantial. An example in Pretoria estimates that each household will have to contribute an amount of R8240 to initiate the project and an additional levy of R280 per month (*Pretoria News* 2000:1). This will burden those residents with lower incomes and in turn jeopardise the sustainability of such a neighbourhood.

6

CONCLUSION: TO CLOSE OR NOT TO CLOSE?

6.1 Key issues

Neighbourhood enclosures currently tend to occur in the upper-income areas. Although there seems to be an increasing trend in larger cities to enclose areas, requests for neighbourhood enclosures have also been received by smaller cities and towns. Most of the larger areas (mainly metropolitan areas) tend to have policies in place, or are in the process of compiling policies to regulate road closures. Most of the problems experienced in terms of neighbourhood enclosures also occur in the larger cities.

In Gauteng, the tendency to enclose roads and neighbourhoods seems to be much higher than in the other provinces. This can possibly be attributed to the high levels of fear of crime in this province.

Another tendency that is also becoming apparent is that of the relationship between neighbourhood enclosures and private security companies. Increasingly, residents of neighbourhood enclosures contract private security companies and independent non-profit organisations to manage and control the areas, as well as to patrol them in some cases.

Several advantages, as well as problems regarding neighbourhood enclosures have been identified. There does not seem to be consensus regarding the pros and cons, which highlights the need for further research.

Positive aspects:

- Can reduce crime permanently or temporarily
- Can reduce the fear of crime or provide psychological relief
- Can lead to an enhanced sense of community
- Can increase a sense of ownership and responsibility

Negative aspects:

- Creating a false sense of security
- Displacing crime
- Reducing response times of emergency vehicles
- Dividing communities
- Causing conflict and tension between urban residents
- Increasing the fear of crime
- Causing social exclusion
- Increasing urban fragmentation and separation
- Causing difficulties with regards to maintenance and services

6.2 Future impact

One should not only consider the short term implications of neighbourhood enclosures, but should also bear in mind that they could have their greatest impact over the long term.

Their occurrence, in the case of a few isolated neighbourhoods is not likely to

have a major impact on urban areas. However, this might not be the case in a few years when local authorities and urban planners are confronted by a large number of enclosed cells extending across the urban landscape. This could have a dramatic impact on the character of the built environment. It could create a maze of enclosed fortresses, juxtaposed on a network of dangerous connecting spaces in between, where citizens will struggle to find their way safely.

Furthermore, the management of these areas also raises questions. Neighbourhood enclosures could lead to private control and give way to the privatisation of policing through private security companies. It could also increase social conflict and tension and lead to increased alienation between urban residents.

6.3 Alternative options

Enclosed neighbourhoods can be seen as another form of target hardening (i.e. the physical strengthening boundaries). However, crime prevention through environmental design does not only involve target hardening, but makes use of many other ways to reduce the causes of, and the opportunities for, criminal events, as well as addressing the fear of crime, in the built environment.

Target hardening is therefore not the only solution to crime prevention in the built environment, and in many cases not the best solution. Alternative approaches should be investigated before making hasty decisions. A manual for local crime prevention, *"Making South Africa Safe"*, highlights the necessity for a local or community crime prevention strategy.

While attempts to enclose neighbourhoods can in some cases create a structure for the local community to work together to prevent

crime, it can however, also achieve the contrary, since physical enclosures involve many additional issues.

Some alternatives have been attempted. A neighbourhood in Johannesburg has opted not to physically enclose its area. Instead, it has established a vibrant community organisation that initiates and manages a range of projects. These include safety patrols, regular neighbourhood clean-ups, sharing information, monthly newsletters to the community, etc. The residents work closely with the local authority and police to ensure that the maximum impact is achieved through their efforts. Other communities have established neighbourhood patrols (foot patrols) and have reported success in terms of crime reduction. Through these efforts committed communities are achieving results, without physical barriers, through strong community-based organisations and local crime prevention partnerships.

6.4 The way forward

This report has pointed out that neighbourhood enclosures are in existence in South Africa, and growing daily. It has also been stated that many Local Authorities are faced with the task to make decisions around this phenomenon. However, clear-cut answers are few. In many cases this is due to a lack of information or detailed research.

Therefore, there is a need for more in-depth research into the phenomenon of enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa. CSIR Building and Construction Technology is currently embarking on such a detailed research project in order to provide factual information and assist decision-making regarding neighbourhood enclosures. In addition, CSIR is in the process of establishing a website on gated communities in South Africa. This will provide the

opportunity for continuous learning, sharing of information and creating awareness.

Neighbourhood enclosures are not likely to disappear overnight. They will remain and most likely increase in number making them an important issue in terms of their impact on urban planning and decision-making. It is therefore necessary for all the relevant urban role-players to carefully consider the impact that neighbourhood enclosures could have on the urban future.



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PPENDIX A: INTERVIEWEES

Local Authority Officials

Hennie van der Schyff, CEO, Roads and Stormwater, EMLC. 2000-01-17
Lizette Loubser, EMLC, 200-01-17
Barbara de Kok and Neil Louw, Legal Advisors, Pretoria City Council. 2000-02-03.
CL Robinson, Planning Department, Pretoria City Council. 2000-05-24.

Councillors

Councillor Eitel Kruger, Pretoria City Council, 2000-03-08.

SAPS

Inspector van Aard, Crime Prevention, Sandton Police Station. 2000-03-09.
Captain Behle, Gallow Manor Police Station. 2000-03-09.
Captain Moodley, Rosebank Police Station – telephonic interview.

NGOs

Antoinette Louw and Martin Schönteich, Institute for Security Studies. 2000-06-02.

Other

Sean Dickonson, MBS Consulting Engineers, Johannesburg. 2000-03-09
Stephan Margo, Sandton Precinct. 2000-03-09.
Lynne Harken, SAPRA. Rosebank Residents Association. 2000-03-31.



APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE TO LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Enclosed Neighbourhoods

CSIR (Division of Building and Construction Technology) Questionnaire

Date:

Name of Local Authority

Fax:

Several municipalities or Local Authorities in Gauteng are receiving proposals and requests from groups of residents to seal off their neighbourhoods or local roads and to allow access only to residents. They consider this to be an appropriate measure in their fight against crime. However, it is apparent that there is minimal understanding of either the effectiveness or impact that this type of activity has on crime patterns, types and numbers. The CSIR is currently researching this phenomenon and should be most grateful if you could answer the following questions and return the completed questionnaire to us. We trust that this research will assist local authorities to make more informed decisions regarding enclosed neighbourhoods in the future and/or alternative crime prevention measures.

Question 1: Have you had any requests for neighbourhood enclosures in your area and if so, how many?

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Question 2: Were any of these requests approved by the Local Authority?

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Questions 3: If any of these requests for neighbourhood enclosures were approved, on what grounds were they approved, or if they were denied, on what grounds were they denied?

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Question 4: Are there a specific policy or position in place in terms of enclosed neighbourhoods?

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Questions 5: Did you have any particular problems in the past regarding applications for neighbourhood enclosures or people going ahead without permission to enclose streets, etc? If so, what were these problems?

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

General comments or statements regarding enclosed neighbourhoods in your area

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.....

Estimated number of population in your TMC/TLC area:

Thank you for your time and effort

CSIR, Division of Building Construction and Technology, PO Box 395, Pretoria, 2000

Fax: (012) 841 3400 (For attention: K Landman)

Tel: (012) 841 2084