GATED GUANGZHOU

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Preface

What you see before you is the result of six months of research in Guangzhou, the capitol of the Guangdong province in Southern China. From April 1st to October 1st, 2010, I enjoyed a six-month internship at the Guangzhou Urban Planning & Design Survey Research Institute (GZPI), during which I did research on the reasons for the development of gated communities in Guangzhou.

The subject of this research is based on my personal interest in gated communities and the call from (Chinese) researchers to pay attention to the local context. Although gated communities seem like a paradise, they always remind me of the phrase: "*If it seems to good to be true, it probably is*". The Chinese situation proved to be a major challenge for me, because the context proved to be very different from the well-known Western situation. It took me a while to adjust to the new surroundings and settings, but in the end, living in a multimillion inhabitant city such as Guangzhou (as compared to the 60.000 inhabitants of my hometown) and the contact with the fantastic Chinese people proved to be a great experience. The perspective and the scope on urban planning in China is so different from Holland, that several months of Chinese urban planning are an enrichment to any Dutch planner. It is always good to get out of your comfort zone for a while and experience new and fresh ideas and perspectives, and I feel both countries can learn from the other.

There are a few people without whom this research and my experience in China would not have been possible and I want to extend special thanks to them.

First of all, I want to thank Tejo Spit for patiently guiding me through the process of writing this master thesis, which was of course the final goal of the whole project. You have taught me much in the past months, mainly to be more critical and to find true science in the depth of a subject, not in the shallow waters of 'general information'. Although I am also "one of those students" who took way too long to finish it, I hope we can both be pleased with the final result.

Second, I want to thank Bart Wissink. You were taking a sabbatical, but still took the time to assist me in finding an internship in Guangzhou. Your contacts in Guangzhou were invaluable in setting up my internship and without your assistance, I would not have experienced living in this great city for six months. I wish you all the best in Hong Kong.

Third, I want to thank miss Su Hong and mister Yi Xiaofeng of the GZPI. You have both helped me in finding a place in the institute and you have added much to my experience of living in Guangzhou. I had a great time in Guangzhou and at the GZPI and this was made possible by you. Thank you again for giving me the opportunity to work at the GZPI; I will carry the experiences with me for the rest of my career as an urban planner.

I also want to thank Shi Zhaohui, Li Junjun, Wu Jie, and all other colleagues who have aided me with my research. Finally, I want to thank Pieter Krediet. I'm glad you were as keen as me to find an international internship. I do not think I would have gone to China alone, so thanks again for coming as well and making this whole trip possible. An experience I will never forget!

Bram Bos
Veenendaal
August 1st, 2011

Summary

Since the economic reforms at the end of the 1980's, Guangzhou, the capitol of the Guangdong province in Southern China, has been growing at an unprecedented pace. The city is expanding rapidly and to accommodate the new population, housing is created at a fast pace. This city growth is showing signs of splintering urbanism in the city: gated communities are visible all across the city and even seem to be the favoured type of residential development. In urban planning literature, gated communities are seen as a negative phenomenon, because they are said to increase segregation and lead to a breakdown of society in cities. Earlier research has shown fear of crime to be the main reason for the development of gated communities. However, most of this research has been based on the Western situation and Chinese researchers have called for attention to the Chinese context in research. In an attempt to lay a basis for further research on gated communities in Chinese cities, this research has chosen to examine the influence of fear of crime on the development of gated communities in Guangzhou.

The influence of fear of crime and the call for attention on the Chinese context has led this research to attempt to answer the following research question: *To what extent has fear of crime influenced the urban form of Guangzhou, leading to the development of gated communities?* This research stated that fear of crime causes a wish for security and separation amongst citizens and urban planners, which in combination leads to the development of gated communities. In order to pay attention to the Chinese context, the influence of the Chinese situation was researched at every step.

In order to prepare for the empirical analysis, this research has started out with a literature research, which focused on fear of crime, gated communities and the Chinese context. It was shown that fear of crime has four causes, each of which has been rising in China since the 1980's. Planners can choose to react to fear of crime through planning solutions such as enclave development. Citizens can respond with protective behaviour to increase the safety of their residence, for example by choosing to live in a walled community. Gated communities find their roots in suburbanization and are mainly created as a reaction to fear of crime. Residents choose to live in a gated community to fight their fear of crime, but can also base their choice on a wish to show prestige or a search for stability or community feeling.

Several important factors were found in the Chinese context. The main influences found were the city growth, the influx of rural migrant workers in Guangzhou city and the Chinese city history. The city growth, caused by population growth and rural-to-urban migration, has led to urban sprawl and suburbanization, which in theory can lead to the development of gated communities. The migrant workers have a very negative image and are often linked to criminal activity, which causes their presence to lead to fear of crime amongst the citizens. The Chinese city history shows that walls surrounding residential zones have been present in Chinese urban planning for centuries: they are the norm, rather than the exception. The idea that walls are normal may influence Chinese urban planners in their choice of how to deal with the growing fear of crime.

As a conclusion of the literature research, this research stated that fear of crime in Guangzhou causes citizens to wish for security and separation, and planners to react to the fear of crime through a planning solution. The combination of the citizens' wish for security and separation and the planners' choice for a planning solution, influenced by Chinese city history in which walls have been present for many years, lead to the development of gated communities in Guangzhou.

The data collection was divided in four parts. First, four urban planners were interviewed about gated community development in Guangzhou. Second, thirty-six inhabitants, divided over three gated communities in the city, were interviewed in order to find out which factors were most important in their choice to move into a gated community. Third, three urban planners who lived in the same gated communities were interviewed, in order to further explain the citizen's reasons. Finally, the first four urban planners were interviewed again, in order to revisit the previous subjects, discuss the results of the inhabitant interviews and conclude the data collection. Because of a limited amount of time, this research has chosen for a more descriptive approach, without gaining representative data.

The empirical analysis has taught that since the 1980's all residential development in Guangzhou has been commodity housing. This commodity housing is created in large estates which can house several thousand inhabitants and which are (nearly) always walled. The urban planners in Guangzhou choose to plan walls around the estates to fight fear of crime: the walls can help to prevent outsiders from entering the estate uncontrolled and to keep out criminals. Through Chinese history, the creation of walls has been seen as the solution to the problem of fear of crime. In contemporary Guangzhou, the main problems are social issues, caused by the appearance of the large amount of migrant workers and a growing inequality in income. Planners state that the walls have to be created around the residential developments in order to give citizens a feeling of safety: without walls, safety can not be guaranteed.

The citizens did not include their wish for security and separation in their choice for a certain residence. They chose a residence mainly because of the quality of the environment, the location or the prestige of the estate. The reason is that if they want to buy a house, they must move into a commodity housing estate. Since all these estates are walled and gated, the 'choice' of moving into a gated community is not a conscious choice for citizens in Guangzhou; it is the only available option. However, during their years of living in a gated community, the safety and separation are very important to the citizens. Security must be guaranteed and outsiders must be kept out, although this only counts towards the poor and the migrant workers. Prestige was found as an influential factor in the choice for a community, but only for the (very) rich. Because all housing is walled and gated, most gated communities are seen as "average communities for average people" and thus do not add social status. Community feeling was not found to be important.

Chinese gated communities differ from their Western counterparts in an important aspect: in Chinese urban planning the area inside the outer wall of a gated community is seen as semi-public area. This allows non-residents to enter this area and make use of the facilities and shops located there, albeit often for a price. Those who can not pay the necessary fees or who seem suspicious, i.e. the migrant workers, will still be kept out by the guards. Inside this semi-public area, the *zutuan* areas are located: smaller zones, walled and gated, in which the apartment buildings are located. The whole estate can house several thousand inhabitants, while each zutuan houses a part of the estate's inhabitants, divided by e.g. house price. Because these zutuans are walled and gated and the resident's homes are thus protected, the Chinese citizens do not object to non-residents entering their estate, as long as these people are not poor or seem dangerous and as long as the inside environment is protected.

In conclusion, fear of crime is the main reason for the development of gated communities in Guangzhou. Urban planners in Guangzhou choose to develop gated communities as a way to fight fear of crime, although the expected residents' influence was not found. However, because urban planners have been creating of walls around residential developments for centuries, the situation is not very similar to the Western notion of gated communities. Therefore, future research is advised to start out with a proper view of the Chinese situation and the context of the research subject.

Contents

List of Figures

View over Sijihuacheng estate
with Guangzhou City on the horizon

Chapter 1   Gated communities in sprawling Guangzhou

Guangzhou, formerly known as Canton, has changed immensely in the last thirty years. The Chinese city, which used to be the only port for European traders until Hong Kong took its place, has reaped the benefits of Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms in the late 1970's and has become one of the most important cities in China. However, this change has come at a price. The city has grown so rapidly that urban planners seem to have a hard time grasping control. The population nearly doubled in the last thirty years, from around 6 million to around 11,5 million inhabitants (Guangzhou Municipality, 2010). This includes a massive wave of migrants that has decided to leave the rural areas, in hope of finding a better life in the city. The city inhabitants are not pleased about sharing 'their' city with the uneducated and uncivilized villagers, which are often associated with crime and drug abuse (Pow, 2006). In order to separate themselves from the growing fear of crime, they choose to live in walled residential estates, while the migrants are left behind in the space between these estates (Douglass et al, 2011). These migrants are the main cause of the largest urbanisation rate in the history and seem to be one of the reasons why Guangzhou is filled with gated communities: nearly all residential estates seem to be walled and gated.

This chapter will introduce the important subjects which will lead to the research subject. It will continue from here with urbanisation and urban sprawl, after which splintering urbanism and gated communities will be introduced. At the end of the chapter, the main research question will be formulated and the setup for the research will be explicated.

Urbanisation and urban sprawl
A wave of urbanisation is taking place not only in China, but all over the globe. The world population is moving to urban areas en masse and, in the last decades, cities across the world have been growing at a never before seen pace. This shows up when looking at for example the amount of people living in urban areas, or the amount of mega-cities worldwide. The amount of people living in cities has grown rapidly: while thirty percent of the world population resided in urban areas in 1950, this has now increased to over fifty percent, breaching the magical fifty percent in 2007 (UN, 2007). The amount of mega-cities, described as agglomerations with over 10 million inhabitants, has also increased. In 1975, there were only five of such agglomerations, while in 2005 there were already twenty mega-cities, growing up to twenty-six at January 1st, 2010. Of these twenty-six cities, fourteen are located in Asia (Brinkhoff, 2010).

When looking at urbanization rates of recent years, it can be seen that people are leaving the rural areas and moving to the city, especially in developing countries in Africa and Asia, most likely in search of better employment and opportunities (CIA, 2011a). Increased urban population leads to an increase in size well beyond the limits of the city (Menon, 2001). For decades, cities have been expanding upward and outward. Technological innovation like structural steel and elevators made high-rise buildings possible, fuelling a proliferation of skylines and concentrated settlements across urban communities. However, the outward expansion of cities and metropolitan areas has been more dramatic (Squires, 2002). Large-scale outward expansion of cities is called *urban sprawl* and can be defined as "***...**the excessive spatial growth of cities*" (Brueckner, 2000, p.161). Urban sprawl mainly constitutes of horizontal growth of cities, through the creation of new neighbourhoods on the edge of city. In the United States, urban sprawl and suburbanisation were seen as the solution to city growth, but seem to have grown out of control.

According to Mieszkowski & Mills (1993), there are three underlying forces which can be seen as causes for urban sprawl: population growth, rising household incomes, and transportation improvements. Population growth leads to an increase in housing demand. In addition, rising incomes affects urban growth because residents of the city demand more living space as they become richer over time. By itself, the greater demand for space causes the city to expand spatially as dwelling sizes increase. This effect is reinforced by the residents' desire to carry out their greater housing consumption in a location where housing is cheap, which is often in the suburbs. Improvements in transportation allow easy access from the suburbs to the city centre and back, allowing commuters to move to the suburbs while still working in the city centre. So the spatial expansion due to rising incomes and transportation improvements leads to sprawling cities (Mieszkowski & Mills, 1993). Also, suburbs can be seen as a preferable place to live for families with children, because housing density is often lower than in the city centre, and suburbs are meant to feel safer than inner city areas (Blakely & Snyder, 1997).

This city growth and urban sprawl has brought with it some interesting characteristics, one of which is attracting more and more attention amongst urban planning authors, e.g. Castells (1996) and Graham & Marvin (2001). The main focus of these authors is the idea that the outcome of physical space in contemporary society is that certain spaces and places are becoming disconnected from desirable places, and that people living in cities are divided from each other. Douglass et al (2011) have described their observation as such: "*a staggering urban growth causes individual cities to melt into urban fields. The internal structure of these urban fields changes as new 'enclaves' start to displace old segments like neighbourhoods, cities and states.*" (Douglass et al, 2011, p.5). They state that the old city is falling apart into small segments or 'enclaves', each of which is separated from the other. This falling apart of the old city is said to be noted in many sprawling cities and causes splintering and fragmenting cities, which creates a new urban form, defined as: "*…an urban structure of spatially distinct areas of mono-cultural, mono-functional, and mono-economic social groups or activities*" (Douglass et al, 2011). Although more researchers have observed similar tendencies in cities all over the world, this research has chosen to use the observations of Douglass et al (2011). They have observed this tendency in Chinese cities, which seems to be a suitable basis for a research in one of the largest Chinese cities, namely Guangzhou. What Douglass et al (2011) have observed is part of a known phenomenon in urban planning literature which some call *splintering urbanism* (e.g. Graham & Marvin, 2001).

Splintering Urbanism
Although the theory is normative and highly debated, this research has chosen to take splintering urbanism as a basic explanation for the creation of walls in modern cities. First, the theory will be explained, after which the choice for splintering urbanism will be justified.
    According to well-quoted authors such as Davis (1990), Castells (1996) and Graham & Marvin (2001), the rich have separated themselves spatially from the poor in these cities; they abandoned public space and retreated into the pseudo public spaces of shopping malls, golf clubs and gated communities (Wissink et al, 2009). The coherence of the authentic city, which was held together by face-to-face interaction, is gone, which even causes some authors to believe that society and even democracy are in danger (e.g. Amin & Thrift, 2002). The public sphere is linked to the sharing of physical spaces, such as parks of coffee houses, where political ideas can be discussed and expressed (Habermas, 1989). The existence of such a public sphere is seen as a precondition for any democracy and this is said to be threatened by splintering urbanism.

With such problems in mind, the current spatial restructuring is posing serious dangers for the future. The current city is described as a dual-city, a fragmented city, or a partitioned city (Sassen, 2000). In this city, the rich elite, the so-called 'haves', have separated themselves from the poor, the 'have-nots', by moving into their enclaves. As Wissink et al (2009) state, the global elite feels more connected to their fellows in other world cities than to the people driving their taxis or filling their shopping bags. They separate themselves from the rest by means of money and culture. However, this differentiation seems to take more and more physical form: splintering urbanism (or as they state: *enclave urbanism*) is creating an urban form, in which the elite constructs barriers around former public spaces. They work in exclusive office towers, eat in fancy restaurants, spend their limited leisure time at their private country club, shop at exclusive shopping malls and live in their gated communities and guarded condominiums (Wissink et al, 2009). These enclaves include not only residential spaces like gated communities, immigrant communities, informal settlements, and mixed neighbourhoods, but also collective spaces like shopping malls, prime office towers, and public squares. Essential to enclave urbanism is the increased introduction of boundaries – social, legal, governmental and physical – in city-regions, demarcating growing differences – of groups or activities – between inside and outside (Douglass et al, 2011). Since access to enclaves can be limited by various means, splintering urbanism also relates to new forms of in- and exclusion (Graham and Marvin, 2001).

As stated before, the notion of splintering urbanism is still debated. Graham and Marvin introduced the idea in 2001 and even though the main idea has caught on to some, there is still much comment on the idea and the actual facts of splintering urbanism. An example can be found in Coutard (2008), who reflected on Graham and Marvin's book with several negative comments. He states that there is no real historical analysis of splintering, that Graham and Marvin have a universalist vision and that they do not give proper arguments or proof for many of their statements. In conclusion he states that the book is more of a pre-figurative social theory than a proven hypothesis (Coutard, 2008, p. 1819-1820). Also, there appear to be differences between splintering urbanism in lower income countries, where cities are not splintering, but have long been splintered along ethnic or socio-economic lines (Macfarlane & Rutherford, 2008). Another comment is made on the idea that splintering urbanism is a threat to society, because it increases the segregation and spatial segmentation of the population, which may result in a loss of community (e.g. Habermas, 1989; Crawford, 1999). However, economic and social segregation are not new. In fact, zoning and city planning were designed, in part, to preserve the position of the privileged with subtle variances in building and density codes (Blakely & Snyder, 1997). Also, Park and the Chicago School of Sociology already noted the decline of community arising from urbanisation and modernization in 1925. Increasing mobility, industrialization, the separation of home from work, and the rise of mass culture were seen as attenuating kinship, undermining social solidarity. Secondary social contacts, those based on economic and contractual ties, had become more important than primary social contacts based on kinship, culture and community (Park et al, 1925).

As a conclusion, it can be stated that splintering urbanism is still a debated subject in the urban planning literature and that it is by no means an generalised theory for all sprawling cities. However, this research has accepted splintering urbanism as a partial explanation for the increasing segregation in contemporary cities and the creation of walls to further denote the boundaries in these segregating cities. Although there may be more influences, such as fear of crime or local culture and history, the current network society and the increasing differences between haves and have-nots gives a possible explanation for the creation of walls in contemporary cities.

Gated communities

It is important to note that the spatial separation which comes along with enclave urbanism does not occur naturally. Van Kempen states that cities are not naturally divided, but they are actively partitioned (Van Kempen, 2002). The most physical expression of enclave urbanism and this active partitioning can be found in *gated communities*. These gated communities can be defined as *"…residential areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatized"* (Blakely & Snyder, 1997, p.2). Gated communities are seen as an expression of segregation and separation, in which people willingly separate themselves from the community (Blakely & Snyder, 1997).

According to Blakely & Snyder (1997), gated and walled cities are as old as city-building itself. They state that the earliest so-called 'gated communities' were built by Romans and they can be found all through history in places where fear played a large part in planning, which is mostly in areas in war. There may be earlier examples, However, these places were different from contemporary gated developments. The old preserves were *"uncommon places for uncommon people"* (Blakely & Snyder, 1997, p.4), while today's gated communities seem to be more and more common. The appearance of gated communities is noted in many countries, mostly in America and Asia, but nowadays they are also appearing in European countries (e.g. Davis, 2000; Caldeira, 2008). Gated communities are a good example of active separation, where one party (the inhabitants) is allowed to enjoy the amenities and the feeling safety, while other parties (non-inhabitants) are excluded. According to Low (1997), gating can be seen as a response to late-twentieth-century changes in urban North America, in which a two-class system of "haves" and "have-nots" appeared in society.

Even though class separation may be one goal of gating, the main reason for the creation of gated communities is preventing fear of crime (Blakely & Snyder, 1997). It must be noted that preventing (fear of) crime through urban design is not a new phenomenon. The idea of fighting the fear of crime through environmental design has started with Jacobs (1961) and was elaborated by Newman (1972, 1979) into the defensible space theory, which states that public space should be segmented into small, controllable areas, because this would encourage residents to exercise territorial control over these locations and this in turn would result in less crime (Taylor, 1984). The choice to actually separate oneself from society by living behind walls with guards in a gated community, in which usually no one but the residents are allowed inside, is a popular choice of fighting fear of crime in contemporary society.

Gated communities are appearing in cities all over the world and the main reason for their development is fear of crime (Davis, 1990 & 1992; Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 1998). However, there are differences between gated communities in different countries. More and more researchers have been aware of and paid attention to the local forces involved, which are regarded as substantially mediating the final outcomes of adapted gated communities in specific loci (e.g. Frantz, 2001; Wu, 2005; Huang and Low, 2007). This research has chosen to focus on China, for several reasons. First of all, the Chinese population has reached approximately 1,3 billion in 2009, which makes it the largest population in the world (CIA, 2011b). Next to that, Chinese city growth has skyrocketed in the last twenty years, in which nearly all population growth has taken place within urban areas. This urban population growth, combined with a massive wave of migrants who leave the rural area to find a better living in the cities, has made the Chinese cities grow in a non-precedented fashion. The country's urban population has grown from 72 million in 1952 to over 607 million in 2009 (Thaindain, 2009), which leads up to an urban population of around 45 percent and growing. The fast paced growth of Chinese cities has led to sprawling cities with characteristics of splintering urbanism (e.g. Douglass et al, 2011). In these cities, people seem

to choose to live behind walls, in gated communities. In the Western literature, gated communities are mainly developed because people want to protect themselves from fear of crime (Blakely & Snyder, 1997). This research aims to find out whether or not a similar tendency can be found in China.

Research subject
There has been little research on enclave urbanism and its consequences in Chinese cities, and most of it has focused on comparing the to other countries. Among others, Douglass et al (2011) have concluded that the Chinese situation is different from the Western countries and that more research on the Chinese situation is required. This research aims to find out why walls are being built around residential developments in Guangzhou. There are many possible reasons and it would be impossible to research all. Therefore, the choice has been made to focus on the influence of fear of crime on the development of gated communities. The unstable economic situation, the immense changes China has seen in the past thirty years and the massive flow of migrants have created a very unstable society in Chinese cities. People are living in a volatile environment of migration, demolition and construction, which can lead to an increase of fear of crime (Skogan, 1986). In other countries, fear of crime is the main reason for the creation of gated communities (e.g. Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 1998) and might be equally important in China. Therefore, the influence of fear of crime in the development of walled residential developments will be the main focus of this research.

Just like their colleagues in other countries all over the world, Chinese planners choose to create walls around residential areas in order to give the inhabitants the feeling of safety and separation from the migrants. Even though they think creating these walled residential estates might solve the migrant influx problem, it they might actually be increasing the urbanites' fear for the migrants, thus creating a vicious circle of fear and exclusion. By looking at the influences which lead to the development of these walled residential areas, this research hopes to find valuable information regarding the planner's choice for walls and the inhabitant's preference for living in walled residential estates. With this information, it might be possible to gain a better understanding of the Chinese situation. Spinks (2001) has stated that walls lead to an increase of crime and conflict and that separation might not be the right answer.

The Chinese society might benefit from more integration instead of separation and this research hopes to find information that may help to create a healthier future for the Chinese cities and society.

This chapter started with stating that cities are growing all over the world and that dealing with urbanisation is an important part of urban planning today. The cities are growing outwards, leading to urban sprawl. This type of city growth is leading to an urban form in which cities are said to be falling apart into 'islands of enclaves', some of which are connected to desirable places while others are left behind. This urban form is called enclave urbanism and is seen as a negative phenomenon, because it leads to a breakdown in society. Fear of crime in society leads people to choose for walled and gated communities, within which they feel safe. These gated communities are showing up all over the world and are perceived very negatively, because they severely increase social division and lead to new forms of exclusion.

This research has a limited time for data collection and a large-scale research on the reasons for the development of gated communities in China is impossible. Therefore, the choice is made for this research to focus on the influence of fear of crime on the development of gated commodity housing in Guangzhou, China. The gated communities literature states fear of

crime as the main reason for the creation of the gates and walls and this research aims to find out if it plays an equally large role in the Chinese urban planning. The main research question which will guide this research is:

To what extent has fear of crime influenced the urban form of Guangzhou, leading to the development of gated communities?

In order to answer this question, this research will consist of seven chapters. This first chapter has introduced the research subject and explained why this research is focusing on the influence of fear on the development of gated commodity housing estates. The following three chapters will examine the theoretical background and will be guided along the following conceptual model.

Figure 1.1 *Conceptual model*
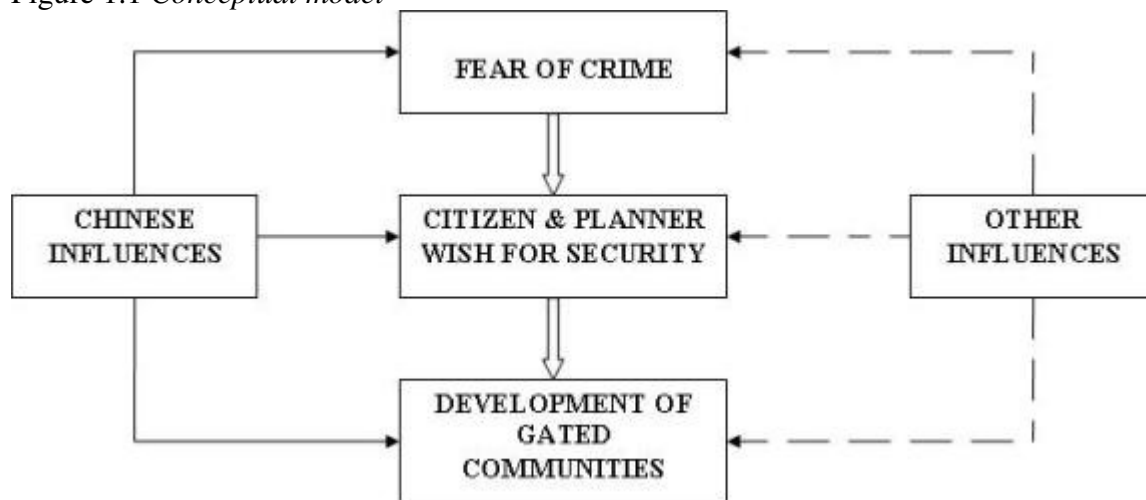
The main focus of this research is the central line: fear of crime leads to a wish for security amongst citizens as well as urban planners, which combined then leads to the development of gated communities. The Chinese situation may have influences on each of these three factors, changing or strengthening the links or adding currently unknown factors. This conceptual model must be seen as a basic guideline for the literature research in the next three chapters. Once this literature research is completed, a more extensive version of the conceptual model will be presented (§5.1).

The theoretical perspective in this conceptual model is one of behavioural theory, where human action influences the urban form: the wish of the planner and citizen leads to the development of a certain type of residential development. This will be further explicated in the second chapter.

This research is built up out of seven chapters, including this first introductory chapter. The remainder of this research is set up as follows.

The second chapter of this research will focus on fear of crime and will explicate the link between fear of crime and the citizen and planner wish for security. Two questions are posed to guide this chapter:

1. *What are the main causes of fear of crime?*
2. *How do citizens and planners respond to and try to fight fear of crime?*

The chapter will start with a theoretical background in which the socio-spatial debate and behavioural theories will be explicated in order to facilitate the subsequent analysis. After this, the causes of fear of crime will be analysed and the responses to fear of crime from both a citizen and planner perspective will be examined This chapter aims to find out the causes for fear of crime and how it creates a wish for security amongst citizens and urban planners.

The third chapter will examine the underlying reasons which can explain the development of gated communities and will explicate the link between the citizen and planner wish for security and the development of gated communities. Two questions are created to guide this chapter:

3. *Which urban growth changes in the past decades can explain why gated communities are being developed?*
4. *Which factors are important for residents when they choose for a gated community?*

According to this research, gated communities are developed through a combination of two reasons: residents have a desire to live in a gated community, and planners choose to develop gated communities. Both sides will be examined in this chapter, in order to find the reasons for the creation of gated communities and the influence of fear of crime.

The fourth chapter will focus on China and Guangzhou and will explicate the links between the Chinese influences and the other factors. The location choice of this research is important, because the Chinese situation is different from the West, which means there might be differences in the causes of fear of crime or development of gated communities. For this chapter, there are also two questions posed to guide the search for necessary information:

5. *Which factors influence the fear of crime in China, leading to a wish for security?*
6. *Which factors influence the decisions of planners and citizens in China, leading to the development of gated communities in China?*

First, this chapter aims to find out whether the theoretical causes of fear of crime can be found in contemporary Chinese cities. After this, the Chinese influences on the citizen and planner wish for security will be analysed, in order to find the factors that influence their decisions which eventually lead to the development of gated communities.

The fifth chapter will explicate the methodological part of this research. The chapter will start with a review of the conceptual model, in which the information obtained in the literature research will be used to expand and complete the model, after which it can be used to guide the empirical analysis.

Second, the research locations, actors and methods will be presented. First, the Guangzhou Urban Planning & Design Survey Research Institute (GZPI) will be introduced. This is the workplace of the urban planners which will be interviewed in order to gain more insight into the Chinese planning system and situation. Next, the three gated communities which are chosen for the data collection will be introduced. After this, certain theoretical terms will be made operational and the interviews will be created.

The sixth chapter will be the empirical part of this research, in which the data collection will be examined. Data will be collected in four series of interviews, three series with Chinese urban planners and one with the inhabitants of three gated communities in Guangzhou. The combination of these interviews will give the information necessary to find the last information necessary to answer the main research question.

The seventh chapter will give a conclusion, in which the information obtained in this research will be used to answer the main research question. This will be followed by a discussion, in which the methods, data collection and conclusion of this research will be critically reviewed.

防偷防盗有必要，

Gates behind gates to ensure the safety
at Sijihuacheng estate in Guangzhou

Chapter 2   Fear of crime and urban planning

2.1 Introduction
This chapter will focus on fear of crime, a phenomenon which has not been actively linked to urban design until the second half of the twentieth century. Nowadays, fear of crime is no longer seen as a purely sociological issue, but also geographical: place and community have to be considered together (Pain, 2000). It has gained importance in contemporary society and is recognized as an important subject in planning for cities, because it has a negative impact on society. Skogan (1986) sums up the negative influence of fear of crime and states that *"…[f]ear stimulates withdrawal from the community, weakens informal social control mechanisms, contributes to the declining mobilization capacity of the neighbourhood, speeds changes in local business conditions, and stimulates further delinquency and disorder"* (Skogan, 1986, p.2).

The conceptual model has shown the hypothesis that fear of crime leads to a wish for security/safety, which then leads to the development of gated communities. The main goal of this chapter is to find more information on the causes of fear of crime, how it leads to a wish for security and safety and which responses can be found to counter the fear of crime. In order to structure this chapter and get find a basic understanding of fear of crime, this chapter will answer the following two questions:
1. What are the main causes of fear of crime?
2. How do citizens and planners respond to and try to fight fear of crime?

In order to answer these questions, this remainder of this chapter is split into four more paragraphs. The second paragraph will introduce the theoretical background which explains the connection between urban planning and (fear of) crime. The third paragraph will examine the causes of fear of crime, in order to find out how fear of crime leads to a wish for security/safety amongst the relevant actors. The fourth paragraph will look at the ways in which inhabitants and urban planners respond to fear of crime. The fifth paragraph will conclude this chapter by answering the two research questions and reviewing how the obtained information will be used in the remainder of the research..

2.2 Theoretical background
In this paragraph, the theoretical background of this research will be introduced. As stated before, this research uses a behavioural perspective, in which human action is expected to influence the urban form. The first subject in this chapter is the socio-spatial debate, in which the relationship between social relations and urban space is explicated. The chapter will continue with the human ecology idea of the Chicago School and their concentric city model, which states that proximity of difference can be a cause of urban crime. After this, the behavioural theory of anomie will be combined with Tönnies' (1887) concepts of 'Gemeinschaft & Gesellschaft', which leads to Wirth's (1938) explanation for urban crime and the urban planning response: natural surveillance.

Socio-spatial debate
In contemporary geography and urban planning, it is a given that space and social relations are tied (e.g. Spinks, 2001). In short, it can be stated that the dynamics of urban space are a product of social interactions, for example between people or institutions. However, space also creates distinct social identities. As John Western (1981) stated: *"Human social relations may be both space forming and space contingent"* (Western, 1981, p.5).

The socio-spatial discussion can be traced back to the human ecology interpretation of the Chicago School, which counted well-known authors such as Robert E. Park, Ernest

Burgess and Louis Wirth amongst their numbers. They tried to explain human behaviour by referring to the laws of ecology and stated that dominant social groups are competitively trying to secure beneficial spatial positions, in a Darwinist type of natural selection (Park et al, 1925).

Following this idea, Ernest Burgess created the concentric city model, in which the city was partitioned into five circular zones, which could be seen as touching but not penetrating social worlds:
- from Zone I (Central Business District, which is fairly well ordered),
- outwards to Zone II (transition area: factories, poverty, criminals, with collapsed moral order),
- then Zones III, IV and V (commuter belts – increasing outwards in wealth, suburbia and 'moral strength') (Pile, 1999).
The Chicago School used the spatial proximity of difference (i.e. people living in different concentric zones) as the explanation for social relations. For example, Wirth has attributed high criminality to the transition zone, because of the spatial absence of formal and informal controls. He states that the social composition of the area is not of influence, but the spatial factors are more important: space determines social action (cited in Rock, 1997).

Figure 2.1 *Concentric Zone model*

Concentric zone model
- Commuter zone
- Residential zone
- Working class zone
- Zone of transition
- Factory zone
- CBD
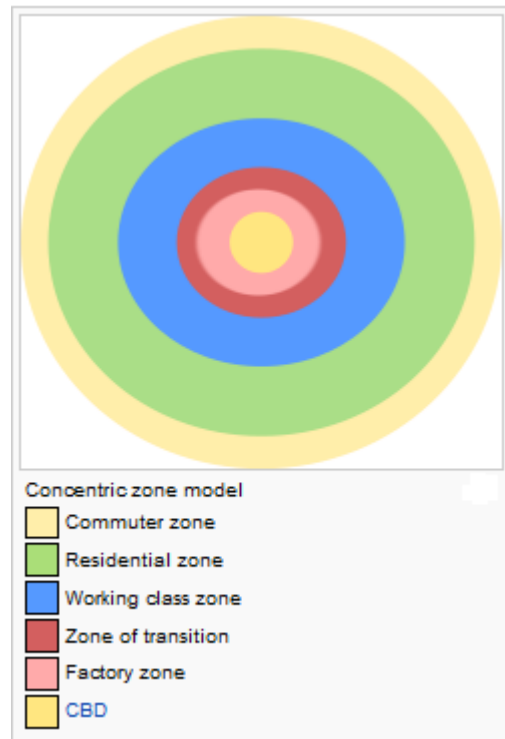
Anomie Theory

Next to the socio-spatial influence, crime also has a behavioural aspect, because it involves people and their choices. For this research, anomie theory is used as basis for theoretical explanation. In anomie theory, it is stated that alienation occurs in the context of social disruption, which then encourages citizens to aspire unachievable goals. Social disruption can be found in changes on social context, such as changes in the inhabitant composition of a neighbourhood, but also in larger changes, such as democratisation (Spinks, 2001).

Tönnies (1887) introduced the concepts *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* as an explanation for human associations. Gemeinschaft, which can be freely translated as community, is an association in which the individuals are more oriented towards the association's interest than to their own interests. Gesellschaft, which can be freely translated as society, is an association in which the individual considers his or her own interests as more important than those of the association. Individuals in a Gemeinschaft are regulated by common mores, which can be seen as appropriate ways of behaving. In Gesellschaft, these mores are missing and there is no common way of behaving. Tönnies has stated that Gemeinschaft is not necessarily favourable of Gesellschaft (Tönnies, 1887).

These concepts are important for this research, because Wirth (1938) has combined anomie with Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft to explain urban crime. He sees urban crime as a consequence of urban impersonality and anonymity (as in gesellschaft), as well as a consequence of absent traditional community units (as in gemeinschaft). Other researchers (e.g. Durkheim (1893); Lewis (1959) have also found urban isolation and anomie to be a cause of urban crime. When combining this with the Chicago School ideas, it can be stated that the foundational premise is that urban anomie and the spatial juxtaposition of extremes is a cause for excess crime potential, because in this situation the unattainable is made visible (Miles et al, 2000, p.213). It can be summed up as follows: anomie or alienation leads to a

lack of common mores (gesellschaft), which, when combined with visible differences between areas, leads to urban crime.

Natural Surveillance
Jacobs (1961) accepted anomie as a main cause of urban crime and has tried to overcome the negative consequences of the alienation in cities. Her main instrument for this was street-level diversity. She states that crowded and dense areas are preferable, because there are more "eyes on the streets", for example for bystander intervention or to witness crime. This *natural surveillance* is facilitated by almost unconscious networks of voluntary controls and standards from strangers in busy areas, which promotes feelings of safety (Jacobs, 1961, p. 41). Jacob's work inspired Oscar Newman (1972) to create his *defensible space* theory, based on the idea that spatial design can actually encourage citizens to acquire mutual responsibility. In this theory, Newman combines the "eyes on the streets"-ideal from Jacobs through residential building design and Tönnies' gemeinschaft ideal (Newman, 1972).

This paragraph has shown two theoretical explanations for urban crime, which state that crime in cities is caused by a proximity of difference and urban impersonality. Also, it has shown that in theory, urban design can reduce crime. The next paragraph will show whether the proximity of difference and urban impersonality are also causes of fear of crime for. The third paragraph will focus on the responses to fear of crime and see whether urban design is used as a method to reduce fear of crime.

2.3 Causes for fear of crime
The two research questions of this chapter focus on in the influence of fear of crime on actors and urban planners. Before these questions can be answered, the causes of fear of crime must first be examined. The roots of the problem will also show whether or not the responses of urban planners to fear of crime, such as the creation of walls, are justified or misplaced.

There is no single accepted definition of fear of crime. However, in the last decades, there has been a growing awareness that it is not a fixed trait some people have and some do not, but rather it is 'transitory and situational' (Fattah & Sacco, 1989). For this research, fear of crime will be used along the lines of Pain's (2000) definition: "*Fear of crime describes the wide range of emotional and practical responses to crime and disorder individuals and communities may make*" (Pain, 2000, p.3). In this definition, fear of crime is caused by crime and disorder, is experienced by both individuals and communities and concerns both their emotional and practical responses. This research will focus mainly on their practical responses, i.e. choosing a certain location to live.

Fear of crime is a peculiar phenomenon with a strong subjective side. People often fear crime, even when it not there (anymore). Although fear goes up as crime goes up, fear does not fall as rapidly when crime declines (DuBow et al, 1979). Over the years of research, many factors have been researched as possible causes for the fear of crime. A couple of these have passed the tests and are still held on as causes for fear of crime. These factors are victimization and vulnerability, second-hand victimization, deterioration and disorder, and social disorganization or group conflict. Each of these will be explicated in this paragraph.

1. Victimization and vulnerability
The most obvious reason for fear of crime is victimization: the fear of being victim to crime (e.g. McPherson, 1978; Maxfield, 1984). This is the general link between crime rates and fear of crime, which means that people living in areas with high rates of reported crime are more

fearful of crime (Skogan, 1986). Victimization can have differing impacts on fear, depending on the type of crime. For example, cases of break and enter while the victim was at home tends to lead to higher fear levels than vandalism or motor vehicle theft (Sprott & Doob, 1997).

Fear of crime is not equally spread amongst society, but seems to dependent on vulnerability. Hale (1996) explains vulnerability as *"people who feel unable to protect themselves, either because they cannot run fast, or lack the physical prowess to ward off attackers, or because they cannot afford to protect their homes, or because it would take them longer than average to recover from material or physical injuries might be expected to 'fear' crime more than others* (Hale, 1996, p.95). Several groups in society can be extracted from this definition. First of all, according to many researchers, women are more fearful than men (e.g. Warr, 1985; Stanko, 1988; Mirrlees-Black et al, 1996; Borooah & Carcach, 1997). Also, the elderly are seen as generally more fearful of crime (e.g. Clarke & Lewis, 1982; Mawby, 1988). Poverty is also seen as a dimension of vulnerability (e.g. Borooah & Carcach, 1997). However, more recent research has taken these results into question. The stereotype of the 'fearful woman' has been subject to critique (e.g. Hanmer & Saunders, 1993; Koskela, 1997). While it is unlikely that women's fear has been overstated, it is likely that male fear has been understated in the past (Gilchrist et al, 1998). and men might actually be just as fearful of crime as women are (Stanko 1990; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993; Gilchrist et al, 1998). The notion of the elderly as more fearful has been challenged too. The idea that older people are irrationally fearful of crime has been deconstructed by Ferraro (1995) and some researches have concluded that other factors than age are more important when it comes to the elderly and fear of crime, such as their level of deprivation (Pantazis & Gordon, 1997) or the type of crime in question (e.g. Hough, 1995). The status of older people as the group most fearful of crime is no longer taken as a certainty (Pain, 2000). The notion of poverty increasing fear of crime is also taken into question, for example by Pantazis (2000), who states that poverty alone is not enough to explain a higher fear of crime among poor people.

Whether or not age, gender or poverty makes a difference in fear of crime is thus debated. However, this is not the focus of this research. For now, it is enough to state that fear of crime is linked to actual crime through fear of victimization and that the feeling of vulnerability caused by for example age, gender or poverty, seems to have an influence on this. The link between fear of crime and actual crime is not surprising, but the relation is not as strong as might be expected (Skogan, 1986). Judd (1995) noticed that, in the United States, an ever-growing proportion of people fear that they will be victimized. This has caused an increase in the fear of crime since the mid-1960's up to 1995, even though actual crime rates have gone down since the 1980's (Judd, 1995). This means there are more influences on fear of crime than just the actual fear of victimization.

2. Indirect Victimization

One of the most influential factors on fear of crime, next to victimization, is the indirect victimization. Taylor and Hale (1986) discuss the indirect victimization perspective and state that "…*a criminal event sends out 'shock waves' that spread throughout the community via local social networks*" (Taylor & Hale, 1986, p. 156). As a consequence of this, people who hear about crime become 'indirect victims', because their levels of fear of crime increase, even though they themselves have not been victimized. Research has proven the importance of indirect victimization, for example by showing that talking with neighbours about crime and knowing local victims appears to affect levels of fear and individual estimates of the risk of victimization (e.g. Bishop & Klecka, 1978; Tyler, 1980; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981). There is evidence that individuals who hear about people like themselves being victimized rather

than about victims with a different demographic profile are even more fearful (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981).

People get their information about crime from a number of sources, but one major source for information is the media. According to MacLatchie (1987), the media play a substantial role in determining the amount of fear of crime that people hold. This comes from the fact that the media extensively and disproportionately cover crime stories. because these stories are seen as "intense, exciting, arousing or extreme" (MacLatchie, 1987, p. 340). Consistently high levels of violent crime – and the extensive media coverage of it – result in significant increase in public feelings of insecurity (Landman & Schönteich, 2002). Barry Glassner (1999) points out that people are inundated with media reports about the prevalence of crime and violence, creating a "culture of fear". But when the actual crime statistics are consulted, the reality is never as grim or devastating as the newspaper and television portrayal. He makes the point that reporters often overstate the actual threat to add drama, convince an editor, or justify more extensive media coverage. His answer to why Americans harbour so many fears is that "immense power and money await those who tap into our moral insecurities and supply us with symbolic substitutes" (Glassner, 1999, xxviii).

There is another danger which comes along with talking about crime in everyday conversation, reading it in the newspaper or hearing it on the news. According to Caldeira (1996), the proliferation of such crime reports becomes the context in which people create certain stereotypes, through which they automatically label different social groups as dangerous (Caldeira, 1996). This leads to the next source of fear of crime: social disorganization.

3. Social disorganization

In order to explain the third cause of fear of crime, a recap of Tönnies' (1887) idea of gemeinschaft can help. His gemeinschaft was an association in which the individuals are more oriented towards the association's interest than to their own interests and where individuals are regulated by common mores. These common mores are agreements on what is proper behaviour. The social disorganization theory (e.g. Bursik, 1988) states that ethnic heterogeneity and rapid population turnover prevent urban communities from organizing collectively against groups migrating into neighbourhoods, or from adequately controlling antisocial behaviour of area residents. Also, this turnover and the heterogeneity of the neighbourhoods undermines ties between neighbours, which limits their ability to agree on a common set of values (as in the mores of the gemeinschaft-ideal) or to solve problems which are experienced by the whole community. (Bursik, 1988). Community structure affects the ability of residents to informally control their streets and to fend off crime and fear (Taylor & Covington, 1993). Changes in neighbourhood structure also influence the social (dis)organization. As various racial and ethnic groups grow or shrink in size, their demand for living space follows. This threatens change, which can be translated into concern about crime when contending groups differ in class, family organization and lifestyle (Skogan, 1986). According to Taylor & Covington (1993), this happens in three steps: "*…changes in a neighbourhood's position in the urban ecology shape its structural characteristics such as racial composition; these structural characteristics then weave their own consequences, which arise from urban property relations and other structural dynamics*" (Taylor & Covington, 1993, p. 389).

Racial differences and group conflicts also play a part in social disorganization in cities. Residents of cities may be experiencing increasing cultural diversity and flee neighbourhoods because they are experiencing a "loss of place", caused by ethnic segregation. This loss of place leads them to feel unsafe and insecure (Low, 2001). Sibley (1995) stated that there is a general tendency to fear stereotypical 'others' who are marked out

by their colour, class or other impurity and whose presence threatens disorder to mainstream life and values. Social 'others' may therefore be simultaneously fearful and feared (Sibley, 1995). According to Blakely & Snyder, low income minorities are often equated with crime and their presence in the city centre is a reason for urbanites to move to the suburbs (Blakely & Snyder, 1997, p.14).

Social disorganization reduces the ability of a neighbourhood to solve their own problems through good cooperation and proper shared values. Residents who have a strong connection with their neighbourhood are less likely to be fearful of crime (Zhang et al, 2009). Ross & Jang (2000) state that informal social ties with neighbours reduce the fear- and mistrust-producing effects of disorder and can lead to an increased feeling of safety. Social ties can buffer the negative effects of living in a dangerous neighbourhood (Ross & Jang, 2000). This conclusion brings forth the last cause of fear of crime: disorder and community concern.

4. Disorder
Next to victimization, indirect victimization and social disorganization, there is a more physical influence on fear of crime: location. Smith (1987) states that: …*[m]any apparent anomalies in generalizations about the social distribution of fear occur because* where *people live is often more important than* who *they are in determining the extent of the anxiety* (Smith, 1987, p.6). People commonly report fear of personal and property crime being heightened when they are in particular environments. Typically, research has shown that these are dark, lonely, unattractive or uncared-for places (Warr, 1990, Vrij & Winkel, 1991) and the poor design of subways, housing, streets and so on is often implicated directly (Pain, 2000). Also, crime levels in metropolitan areas tend to be higher than in the rest of the country. Population density is thought to be associated with crime, in that greater concentrations of people lead to competition for limited resources, greater stress and increased conflict. Other factors which characterise urbanisation, such as overcrowding and high levels of gang activity, are mainly evident in urban areas and are known to be related to criminal activity (Glanz, 1995). This is the opposite of Jacob's (1961) idea of "eyes on the street", who said that more crowded areas would prevent crime, because of more natural surveillance.

The importance of location and the physical environment is explained in the perceived disorder approach. According to Taylor & Hale (1986), the perceived disorder approach argues that people have fear of crime because, in addition to crime, they witness signs of social and physical decay. These signs of decay signal the impotence of the power of the state, which results in an increased feeling of vulnerability. Disorder and deterioration can be caused by for example demolition, construction, or a lack of investment in the neighbourhood (Taylor & Hale, 1986). Decisions by landlords and homeowners to repair and rehabilitate their buildings are critical for maintaining the attractiveness of a neighbourhood as a place to live. "*It is a sign for all that the neighbourhood is 'going'.. Powerful and influential interest have lost faith in it, and that stands as a warning to any home-seekers or commercial investors to look elsewhere if they have the means to do so*" (Goodwin, 1979, p.60).

Building on the perceived disorder perspective is the community concern perspective. In this view, the disorder and decay cause people to become concerned about the viability of their neighbourhood and the quality of their neighbours. This heightened concern then translates into fear of crime (Taylor & Hale, 1986). Whether disorder is the cause of community concern, or whether it is the other way around, or even if it is a vicious circle, is debated. Hunter (1978) has stated that social disorganization stemming from community decline leads to physical signs of incivility, e.g. abandoned houses, litter and graffiti; and social signs of incivility, such as unsupervised and rowdy groups of teenagers. When this happens, residents conclude that the formal and informal forces maintaining public order are

increasingly powerless, which then leads to an increase in fear of victimization. Wilson & Kelling (1982) have argued that unrepaired signs of physical incivility provide 'cues' to the local youth that antisocial behaviour will be tolerated in that area. If these cues increase, they assume that residents (can) no longer supervise the public arena, which leads to problems related to unsupervised teen groups. In response to this, the residents of the area become more concerned with their personal safety, which causes them to withdraw further from the public arena, which will give the unsupervised teens more freedom and form a vicious circle. Wilson and Kelling (1982) also argue that disorder actually spawns more serious crime as well as erodes the commitment of stable, family-oriented residents to the neighbourhood.

Next to the perceived disorder perspective, it seems that changes in a neighbourhood, such as increasing deterioration, can increase fear of crime. Several theoretical models suggest that rapid neighbourhood changes result in elevated community concern and a wider incidence of physical decay and unsupervised teen groups, which, in turn, lead to higher fear levels (Hunter, 1978; Lewis & Maxfield, 1980; Skogan, 1986). Taylor & Covington (1993) examined how unexpected neighbourhood changes influence fear of crime. They found an increase in fear of crime amongst residents that live in neighbourhoods in which rapid changes in racial, youth and elderly composition have taken place in the last decade. However, they state that rapid neighbourhood change does not spawn a host of detrimental consequences such as increased physical deterioration and unsupervised teen groups, as was suggest by Skogan (1990). Instead, they conclude that fear in these places is higher, because social and physical problems have arisen not in response to the change itself, but in response to the post-change racial composition of the neighbourhood. (Taylor & Covington, 1993). Whatever the exact cause is, it can be said with certainty that people's major impressions about area crime are derived from "the highly visible signs of what they regard as disorderly and disreputable behaviour in their community" (Biderman et al, 1967). Some research suggests that visible disorderly activity by people has a greater effect than does deterioration, but that both independently are important determinants offer and some fear-related behaviours (McPherson et al, 1983).

This paragraph has shown that fear of crime is caused by a feeling of vulnerability, fear of others and a lack of community cooperation which lead to declining neighbourhoods in a vicious circle of fear. In the previous paragraph, it was noted that proximity of difference and urban impersonality can lead to urban crime. This proximity of difference can also be found as a cause of fear of crime through the 'fear of others' and social disorganization. The urban impersonality was also found as a cause of fear of crime in the lack of community cooperation and possibly the feeling of vulnerability. However, the feeling of vulnerability is mainly caused by increasing crime rates and hearing about crime. Next paragraph will show how people respond to fear of crime and how they try to avoid the proximity of difference and urban impersonality.

2.4 Responses to fear of crime
Even though fear of crime influences everyone in a city, this research chooses to divide the responses in two groups: citizens and urban planners. Citizens are the inhabitants of the city, who experience fear of crime for their person or properties and respond in different ways to protect themselves. The urban planner responses are the ways in which crime is being prevented on neighbourhood or city level, not necessarily for personal protection, but for the protection of all citizens through urban planning.

Citizen responses

Many citizens fear crime and try to fight their fears somehow. Garofalo (1981) has researched fear of crime and found that people try to reduce their risk of victimization in three ways:

- avoidance behaviours
- insurance behaviours,
- and protective behaviours.

Avoidance behaviours are based on the idea of trying to avoid the chance of being victimized. Avoidance measures include for example not travelling into or through unsafe areas at night or altogether, or reducing social interactions and movements outside of home. The idea that the home is safe and the outside is unsafe(r) stands firm here.

Insurance behaviours aim at reducing the victimization risk through the minimization of victimization costs. This is meant to give the person the feeling that they do not have anything of value to be victimized for, and therefore have a lower chance of being victimized. Also, even if they get victimized, their losses will be covered by the insurance, somewhat easing the pain of victimization.

Protective behaviours are based on reducing the chance of victimization by becoming (or feeling like) a less attractive target. There are several measures which make the people (feel) less vulnerable to crime, for example obtaining dogs or security systems, which will make it less likely for intruders to enter your premise. Protective behaviour can also be based on the idea of feeling less vulnerable, for example through joining self-defence courses or participating in security programs (JHSA, 1999).

Urban planning responses

Citizens respond in avoidance, insurance or protective behaviours. This research aims to connect fear of crime to the development of gated communities. Therefore, it is imperative to not only look at citizen response to fear of crime, but also at how planners try to fight fear of crime.

Fear has always played a role in urban form, as can be seen when looking at the purpose of for example castles and moats. Fear-based planning has always been a public matter, in which the government and planners have tried to reduce the fear of crime (Spinks, 2001). There are several notable solutions which have come forth in the last decades.

First, legal solutions have to emerged. These legal solutions are a form of community safety building, in which cooperation with others reduces the fear of crime. Examples are common interest developments or home owners associations.

Second, there are design solutions, which can be linked to the citizen's avoidance behaviours. The main element of these design solutions is Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), a phrase coined by Timothy Crowe in 1991. The intention of CPTED is to alter the physical environment to deter offenders from committing crimes, making these places safer for people to go, and reducing fear of crime. Good examples of CPTED can be found in adding lighting to dark alleyways and street, or building homes to overlook pathways susceptible to loitering and crime (JHSA, 1999).

Third, there are the behavioural solutions, which can be linked to these design solutions. The idea is based on the notion that certain areas (feel) more unsafe and are therefore being avoided by citizens. Planners want to change the citizen's behaviour by making these areas (feel) safer, not through urban design but for example by increasing police surveillance.

Fourth are the planning solutions. These solutions are not small scale changes in existing areas, such as with CPTED, but large scale plans based mainly on reducing fear of

crime and increasing the safety of the home. Examples of these are pod and enclave developments (Low, 2001).

Legal solutions are not the main interest for this research and will not be further explicated. The impact of design and behavioural solutions are still debated. There is a lack of consistency in the findings about the long-term benefits to feelings of safety when it comes to urban design. For example, brighter street lighting might improve safety feeling because the surrounding area is more visible, but it might increase fear if it makes signs of disorder more visible (e.g. Atkins et al, 1991; Herbert & Davidson, 1995). Another criticism on CPTED can be found in the idea that it only displaces crime from the rich to the poor, though this is not empirically supported (Clarke, 1997), and the idea that it leads to fortress societies, used by the powerful to exclude undesirables (Spinks, 2001). This can be found in for example America, where citizens "*terrified of crime… flock to gated enclaves*" (Ellin, 2001, p. 874).. In this way, the use of CPTED leads to the enclave and pod developments which are mentioned in the planning solutions.

The second paragraph of this chapter found that, in theory, urban design can reduce crime. This paragraph has shown that urban design is also used as a method of reducing fear of crime. Planners can choose to use a planning solution and influence urban design to make certain areas less threatening or to create safe havens for citizens to live in, away from the (fear of) crime. Citizens respond to fear of crime through several types of behaviour, but for this research, the focus will be on the protective behaviour. When citizens choose to secure their surroundings, they have the option of moving into safe neighbourhoods, which are created by the planners as a planning solution, e.g. pod- or enclave development.

As mentioned earlier, fear has always played a role in urban form. However, nowadays the *public* fear-based planning is replaced by a post-modern fear management which is mainly driven by *private* forces. These private forces often choose to fight fear of crime through planning solutions. "*Form [still]… follows fear*" (Bannister & Fyfe, 2001, p.810) but increasingly creates privatised fortress spaces ranging from suburban shopping malls to gated communities (Ellin, 2001). Research has shown that people who choose to close themselves off from the larger city do so in search of community and privacy, and in flight from fear of crime (e.g. Dillon, 1994, Low, 2001). It can thus be said that fear of crime creates a desire for separation from 'others', to which the urban planning responds by creating gated enclaves.

2.5 Conclusion
This chapter has examined the causes of fear of crime and the responses through which people try to fight it. In the first paragraph, two questions were stated to be the main guideline of this chapter. These questions will be answered here, after which the chapter will be concluded.

1. What are the main causes of fear of crime?
Paragraph 2.2 has shown that the main cause for fear of crime can be found in victimization, the feeling of vulnerability, which explains the link between crime rates and fear of crime. Other factors that cause fear of crime are indirect victimization, social disorganization and disorder, which include factors such as increased fear through extensive media attention to crime and fear of others.

2. How do citizens and planners respond to and try to fight fear of crime?
Citizens and urban planners have different methods with which trying to achieve this wish for security and separation. Citizens' responses can be divided into avoidance behaviours, insurance behaviours and protective behaviours, the last of which includes improving the security of the house and/or neighbourhood, for example by moving into a gated community and living behind walls in order to feel safer

Urban planners responses can be divided in four ways. The first three are legal, design or behavioural solutions, which increase the safety of the neighbourhood and certain areas. The fourth response are planning solutions, which contain for example the enclave developments, such as gated communities, and which are based on increasing the safety of the home.

This research has found that urban crime and fear of crime are at least partially caused by the proximity of difference and urban impersonality. Planners can choose to fight fear of crime through creating safe havens for citizens, neighbourhoods which share a similar type of building and which therefore should be inhabited by similar people. This will aid the citizens in reducing the proximity of difference and the fear of others. The citizens will choose to move into such a place to remove themselves from these 'others' and try to find a place which they share with similar people, which also might aid to reduce the impersonality and strengthen the community feeling.

To conclude this chapter, this research states that a combination of the causes of fear of crime create a wish for security and separation amongst citizens and urban planners. The citizens' protective behaviour, combined with the planners' choice for a planning solution, may then lead to the development of gated communities. With this explanation, fear of crime can be seen as one of the main reasons for the development of gated communities. Blakely & Snyder (1997) held a nationwide survey of gated communities residents in the United States and came to a similar conclusion:

"*In this era of dramatic demographic, economic and social change, there is a growing fear about the future of America. Many feel vulnerable, unsure of their place and the stability of their neighbourhoods… This is reflected in an increasing fear of crime that is unrelated to actual crime trends or locations, and in the growing numbers of methods used to control the physical environment fro physical and economic security. The phenomenon of walled cities and gated communities is a dramatic manifestation of a new fortress mentality growing in America"* (Blakely & Snyder, 1997, p. 1-2).

The main notion from this chapter is that a wish for security and separation, caused by fear of crime, leads to responses by citizens and planners which eventually lead to the development of gated communities. These gated communities are the main subject of the next chapter, in which the reasons for development and different types of gated communities will be examined.

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Chapter 3   Gated Communities

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has shown that fear of crime can help to explain why many people choose to protect their homes in physical ways. A growing number of people is choosing to live behind walls (Grant, 2003), for example in the United States, where the US Census of 2001 revealed 7 million households living in walled communities and almost 4 million households in controlled access communities (Sanchez & Lang, 2002). Developers estimate that eight out of ten residential projects in the United States involve walls, gates or guards and *"…[m]any in the homebuilding and real estate industries are predicting that … fear of crime will spur the rapid growth of gated communities* (Blakely & Snyder,1997, p.18).

As introduced in the first chapter, gated communities manifest a distinct form of territoriality that operates to keep out outsiders by securing private territory as a means of exercising social control (Sack, 1986). These walled and guarded developments are seen as negative, because they increase segregation and separation. This research aims to find information about reasons for development of gated communities in China. The research on fear of crime in the previous chapter has led to the idea that the wish for security and separation amongst citizens and planners leads to the development of gated communities. This chapter will focus on the backgrounds of the gated community and will try to explain this expected connection by answering the following two questions:
3. Which urban growth changes in the past decades can explain why gated communities are being developed?.
4. Which factors are important for residents when they choose for a gated community?

In the second paragraph of this chapter, the backgrounds of the choice for the development of gated communities will be examined. The third paragraph will look at reasons for residents to choose gated communities and will introduce different types of gated communities. The fourth paragraph will conclude the chapter by answering the two research questions and reviewing how the obtained information will be used in the remainder of the research.

3.2 The split cause of gated communities

In order to find why developers are choosing to erect walls around residential areas, the roots of gated communities must be examined. This paragraph will first recap the background of gated communities as discussed in the first chapter, after which the combination of suburbanization and fear of crime will be presented as the main cause of the development of gated communities as can be found in contemporary cities all over the world.

In the first chapter, it was explained that in the last decades, population growth, rising incomes and transportation improvements have led to a fast-paced horizontal city growth called urban sprawl. One of the characteristics of this urban sprawl is that certain places and spaces seem to become disconnected from others, because cities are splintering and fragmenting into enclaves. This splintering urbanism is seen as negative by urban planning authors, because it increases segregation and separation within cities. Gated communities are a part of this splintering of cities, where the rich are separating themselves from the rest by erecting walls around residential areas and guarding their estates from outsiders. However, this does not yet explain how the urban form has changed to accommodate the wish for gated developments. The movement of separation has been going on for a long time in the well-known form of suburbanization. As Jackson (1987) documents, the flight to the suburbs has been going on for decades, although it has sometimes been masked by aggressive annexation strategies that incorporated suburbs into city limits. According to the often-quoted research

"Fortress America", by Blakely & Snyder (1997), suburbanization can be traced back to nineteenth century England and has several goals. The suburbs are meant to fulfil a number of aspirations: they should offer close proximity to nature; they should be safe; they should have good education and good kids in the schools; they should shelter residents from social deviance of every form; they should be clean and friendly; they should keep out or limit anything that varies from their physical form and architecture.

Suburbanization is based on a wish for separation and segregation and has been going on for nearly two centuries. However, it has not always led to the gated developments that are seen so often in contemporary planning. This is where the importance of fear of crime comes into view. In contemporary society, "suburban" no longer automatically means safe, beautiful, or ideal. In these suburbs, as well as in the cities, many people believe that their neighbourhoods are under threat. The threat that so many feel also reflects the volatility of their environment – increasing diversity, mobility, and changes in family structure – as well as growing income polarization and economic uncertainty. Uncertainty and instability lead to fear. The home is of central psychological value, and it represents most families' single largest investment and their most important source of financial security for the future. For the home to be safe, a lock on the door is no longer enough. The streets of the neighbourhood around it, and the city and region of which it is part, should also be safe. The suburbs are no longer good enough to ensure the neighbourhood safety which people seek, so more extreme measures are being taken (Blakely & Snyder, 1997).

Davis (e.g. 1990, 1992) and Blakely & Snyder (1997) have shown that the main reason for creating gated communities can be found in fear of crime. Davis (1990) argues that the creation of gated communities is an integral part of the building of the "fortress city", in which urban design is used to control the urban poor minorities. Most research on the gated communities in developing countries has found fear to be the main reason for development, for example in South Africa (Western, 1981) or Latin America (Low, 1996). Caldeira (1999) did research in São Paulo, Brazil, and stated that the city's economic transformation between 1940 and 1980 resulted in increased violence, insecurity and fear, such that São Paulo became a *"city of walls"* (Caldeira, 1999, p.87). Landman & Schönteich (2002) state that security in Brazil means fences and walls, 24-hour guards, as well as a wide array of technologies such as video monitoring and sensor activated alarms: security has become a way of life in Brazil. Gated communities are an example of the private alternatives to crime prevention and control, which has emerged as a response to the state's inability to protect the life and property of all its citizens (Landman & Schönteich, 2002). Low (2001) interviewed inhabitants of gated communities in cities in the United States and her interviewees mentioned urban crime as a major reason for selecting a gated community. Also, 'fear of others' was often mentioned as a reason for moving, as well as ethnic change and the safety for children.

This paragraph has shown that the roots of gated communities can be found in a combination of the segregation and separation principles of suburbanization and an increasing fear of crime. As seen in the previous chapter, an increased fear of crime leads to protective behaviour, which causes citizens to take more extreme steps in separating themselves from the outside. The increased fear of crime and wish for separation leads to enclave development by planners, who erect walls around residential areas in order to provide the wish for safety and security which is requested by the citizens. These walls are mainly meant to keep the outsiders out and to keep the inside of the estate safe.

3.3 Reasons for choosing a gated community
The development of gated communities seems to be based on a wish for separation, caused by fear of crime and strengthened through increased class differences. However, it is too much to

state that all gated communities are created for the same reason. Glasze et al (2006) point out that security is but one aspect of gated living that residents desire in private neighbourhoods. Even though the basic wish for separation is always there, the main reason for this separation differs in some cases.

When looking at different gated communities, it is easy to notice that there are plenty of differences. Gated communities are not necessarily high class or fancy residences which are only open for the very rich (El Nasser, 2002). Landman & Schönteich (2002) made a distinction between vertical and horizontal gated communities. Vertical gated communities are apartment towers, while horizontal gated communities can be described as new towns or edge cities. Vertical gated communities usually do not have many recreational amenities, but are mainly focused on keeping out non-residents. Horizontal gated communities more often include a range of services, such as garden services and refuse removal, as well as a variety of facilities and amenities, for example golf courses, squash courts and cycling or hiking routes. (Landman & Schönteich, 2002).

Blakely & Snyder (1997) have discerned three types of gated communities, based on physical characteristics and the motivation of the residents. They state that each resident who chooses for a gated community is searching for four social values:
1. Sense of community   the preservation and strengthening of neighbourhood bonds
2. Exclusion,   separation and protection from the outside
3. Privatization   the desire to privatize and internally control public services
4. Stability   a wish for homogeneity and predictability
The three types of community reflect varying degrees of these social values (Blakely & Snyder, 1997). This paragraph will examine their three different types of gated communities: lifestyle communities, prestige communities and security zone communities.

Lifestyle communities
The base idea of a lifestyle communities is that the gates provide security and separation for the leisure activities and amenities offered within. There are three types of lifestyle communities, all built for slightly different reasons. The first type are the retirement communities, which are created to give structure, recreation and a built-in social life for middle- and upper-middle-class retirees. The second type are golf and leisure communities, in which golf courts and sport clubs are the central feature. The third type is the 'new town', which is *"a new class of suburban lifestyle community"* (Blakely & Snyder, 1997, p.40). New town developments can comprise up to several thousand housing units and incorporate both residential, commercial and retail activities within or nearby the development. Even though the idea of new towns is not new, the gating of the residential areas is a new factor.

The gates of lifestyle communities are motivated by a desire to enjoy the recreational facilities offered in the community, without having to share them with outsiders. The most important social value for these communities is privatization, followed by exclusion and stability. (Blakely & Snyder, 1997).

Prestige communities
The gates of a *prestige community* serve to symbolize distinction and prestige, and to create and protect a secure place on the social ladder. These communities lack the recreational amenities of the lifestyle communities, often differing little from a standard residential subdivision except for their gates. Prestige communities are also divided into three types. The first type are the rich and famous communities, where celebrities and very rich people create small enclaves for their privacy. The second type are the top-fifth communities, which are meant to feel as prestigious as the rich and famous enclaves, only for the slightly less-

exclusive people. These are actual communities, in which a homogeneous neighbourhood is created and where controlled access and sameness are used in an attempt to artificially create a community. The third type are executive communities, which are scaled-down versions of the top-fifth communities: sold as being "executive", but really just middle-class subdivisions.

In prestige communities, the gates are motivated by a desire to symbolize distinction and prestige, project an image, protect current investments, and control housing values. The most important social value for these communities is stability, followed by exclusion (Blakely & Snyder, 1997).

Security zone communities
The third type are the *security zone communities*, in which the fear of crime and outsiders is the foremost motivation for defensive fortification. Blakely & Snyder (1997) also divided the security zone communities into three categories: the city perch, the suburban perch and the barricade perch. The choice for the word 'perch' is based on the fact that it is often not the developers who build the gates, but the residents themselves. The city and suburban perch differ only in city location and can be seen as neighbourhoods around which the residents choose to erect gates or barricades, in order to fend off an outside threat, such as disruptions caused by crime and traffic. Barricade perches are not fully gated communities, but neighbourhoods or areas in which barricades are placed by the residents in order to close off some streets. It matters not whether or not the disruptions are be real of perceived, near or far; the important point is not whether the residents *need* to cut off access of their streets, but that they feel they *must*.

In security zone communities, the gates are motivated by fear and a desire for safety and security, which the residents feel can only be achieved through closing themselves off from the community. The most important social value for these communities is exclusion, followed by stability and a sense of community (Blakely & Snyder, 1997).

Table 3.1 *The importance of social values in residents' choice of a gated community*

Value	Lifestyle	Prestige	Security Zone
Sense of community	Tertiary	Tertiary	Secondary
Exclusion	Secondary	Secondary	*Primary*
Privatization	*Primary*	Tertiary	Tertiary
Stability	Secondary	*Primary*	Secondary

Source: Blakely & Snyder, 1997, p.44.

The importance of the four social values differs per community (Table 3.1). According to Blakely & Snyder's research, sense of community is the least important factor for the residents of gated communities. People do not seem to choose to live in a gated community in search for a strong neighbourhood. The most important factors are exclusion and stability are the most important, which means people choose to live in a gated community in order to find a stable and predictable residential area in which they can be separated from the unwanted factors outside the walls (Blakely & Snyder, 1997). These three types of gated communities are not exclusive distinctions, but based on ideal types. In reality, many real developments are found to have characteristics of more than one type of community. Regardless of the exact reasons for the creation of the gates, all three types of zones have in common that they provide privacy, protection from solicitors and strangers and relief from the fear of crime.

Jill Grant (2003) has done research on gated communities in Canada and discussed the positive and negative features of the communities (table 3.2).

Table 3.2 *Positive and negative sides of gated communities*

Positive	Negative
Represent the hope of security	Increase housing costs
Promote a sense of community or identity	Privatize elements of the public realm
Keep out the unwelcome	Enhance class and ethnic segregation
Associated with attractive amenities	May promote rather than reduce fear of crime
Increase property values	

Source: Grant, 2003, p.1

The positive sides of the gated communities are mainly focused on residents, because they are the ones who can enjoy these benefits. Once again, the focus lies on keeping the unwelcome out and keeping the inside safe, predictable, and enjoyable. The negative sides are mainly of little concern for the residents, but more of concern for urban planners. For this research, two of the negative comments are important: the enhanced class and ethnic segregation and the notice that gated communities may promote fear of crime. As seen in the previous chapter, ethnic segregation and class separation can lead to a loss of place and an increase of fear. Gated communities may promote rather than reduce the fear of crime, because living behind walls increases the fear of what it outside (Grant, 2003).

The importance of exclusion and stability in Blakely & Snyder (1997) and the wish for security and keeping out the unwelcome from Grant's (2003) research leads to the interpretation that gated communities are a very popular means of keeping unwanted factors outside, while keeping the inside area stable and predictable. Safety seems to be a main issue in a resident's choice for a gated community. However, recent research has shown that gated communities are not necessarily safer (e.g. Davis, 2002). Some research has shown that there is no decrease in actual crime rates with gates or barricades (e.g. Fowler & Mangione, 1986). On the other hand, Atlas & LeBlanc (1994) found a significant decrease in crime the first year after development, while crime rates increased in the next two years. In Atlanta, burglars chose to target gated communities in 1995. They stole around $1 million in jewellery, cash and silver from at least 90 homes before getting caught (El Nasser, 2002). The idea of safety is strongly ingrained in the idea of walled development, but may not be as strong in reality. Grant (2003) made the following observation in her research in Canada: *"The gate is advertised as a security feature, but our observations indicate that gates mostly function to keep casual visitors and sight-seers out. In some cases, fences are low (three feet or less). Guards and video surveillance are rare, except in the most exclusive projects. Some gates stand open much of the day"* (Grant, 2003, p.8). She concludes that residents are aware of the fact that they are not truly secure, but they state that they watch out for each other and thus reduce random crime. Davis (1992) found a similar result in his research and states that the safety of gated communities does not come from protection of professional criminals, but mainly from keeping out unintentional trespassers and reducing small crime and disorder (Davis, 1992).

Gated communities are a symbol of the underlying tensions in the social fabric, caused by the desire of people to separate themselves from others. When combining the physical nature of gated communities with patterns of racial and economic segregation, income polarization, and exclusionary land use practices, the symbolic impact of gated communities is even more acute (Blakely & Snyder, 1997). Calthorpe (1993) explicates the relationship between social problems, segregation and gated communities as such:

"The gated community is perhaps the most blatant and literal expression of the trend [toward increased private space and the disappearance of public space]. Physically it denotes the separation, and sadly the fear, that has become the subtext of a country once founded on

differences and tolerance. Politically it expresses the desire to privatize, cutting back the responsibilities of government to provide services for all and replacing it with private and focused institutions: private school, private recreation, private parks, private roads, even quasi-private governments. Socially, the house fortress represents a self-fulfilling prophecy. The more isolated people become and the less they share with others unlike themselves, the more they do have to fear. To this extent privatization is a powerful force in the marketplace which directs the home building industry and our land use patterns." (Calthorpe, 1993,p.37).

Fear of crime plays a large part in the choice for living in a gated community and for developing these walled residential areas. However, Calthorpe says that isolating yourself from the community will only increase fear from whatever is outside the walls. Blakely & Snyder (1997) found similar results in their research, pointing towards the importance of fear and the idea that living behind walls increased the fear of what is outside. They spoke to a woman, living in a gated community and feeling safe inside it, but who no longer dared to venture out of the building where she worked anymore, outside her gated community. Her husband does venture out of his building at lunch time; but when he is asked about coming home, he said: "*It's almost a release and relief to come back here. You're dealing with elements that are sometimes very undesirable. It's like the old moat and castle. You get back to your spot and you feel secure*" (Blakely & Snyder, 1997, p.61). Judd (1995) has also stated that *"the trappings of security that impregnate the new walled communities must [remind] the inhabitants, constantly and repetitively, that the world beyond their walls is dangerous"* (Judd, 1995, p.161). Therefore, it can be said that, even though people move into gated communities to find security and safety, this might actually be increasing their fear for the outside.

The idea that people hide away from problems instead of facing and solving them is not new. This behaviour is called NIMBYism (*Not In My Back Yard)* and it can be said that gated communities share their roots with the same issues that generate NIMBYism (Grant, 2003). They are based on concerns about property values, neighbourhood amenities and personal safety (e.g. Hornblower, 1988; Dear, 1992; Helsley & Strange, 1999). Even though personal safety is an important issue, it has been stated before that gated communities are not necessarily safer. According to Spinks (2001), defensible housing and planning can actually increase crime and conflict by deepening socio-spatial isolation and inequality. She states that *"…NIMBYism prevails, believing that removing problems from visibility (e.g. squatters, poverty), effectively removes the problem"* (Spinks, 2001, p.26).

This paragraph has shown that gated communities are created for several reasons, but mainly for exclusion and stability. In the previous chapters, fear of crime has been attributed to the proximity of difference and urban impersonality, which people try to fight through moving into a safe haven. Gated communities seem to be the safe havens these people need: a stable inside environment, without disorder, and a wall and gate to reduce the fear of proximity of difference and the fear of others. Their development is attributed mainly to fear of crime, but also to a search for community and increased class differentiation, which people want to show through living in a prestigious estate. However, the construction of gated communities may actually increase fear of what is outside and may have negative consequences on city life.

While there are many similarities between gated communities throughout the world, there are a number of important differences between gated communities in developed countries and those in developing countries (Landman & Schönteich, 2002). Even though some argue that in developed countries, class separation between haves and have-nots is the most important factor (e.g. Low, 1997), this might be different in developing countries. Differences with developing countries might be difficult to find at first. As Robinson & Rogerson (1999)

already noted in their research, previous researches on gated communities tended to blindly accept Anglo-American theories and experiences and have struggled to embrace the specific cultural, economic and political needs of developing countries (Robinson & Rogerson, 1999). Chinese researchers have called for more attention to the local forces involved, stating that these are substantially mediating the final outcomes of gated communities in specific loci (e.g. Wu, 2005; Huang & Low, 2007). Therefore, the next chapter will examine the Chinese situation, in order to find which factors are important might influence the development of gated communities in Guangzhou.

3.4 Conclusion
In the previous chapter, it was shown that fear of crime leads to a wish for separation and security amongst citizens and planners. This chapter has tried to explicate why gated communities are developed by planners and why citizens choose to live in these communities. Two questions have been stated to guide this chapter and these can now be answered.

3. *How can changes in urban form in the past decades explain the current rise in development of gated communities?*
Gated communities find their roots in suburbanization. The extensive urban sprawl of major cities has led to horizontal growth and an increase in suburbanization. The roots for the developments of gated communities lie in the wish for separation and segregation, which is also the basis for suburbanization. However, the gating of residential developments is one step further from the average suburbanization. The suburbs no longer feel safe and extra measures have to be taken in order to give people the safety they crave. In order to create a safer environment, planners have chosen for a planning solution, which has resulted in the development of gated communities.

4. *Which factors lead citizens to choose for gated communities?*
Earlier research has shown that there are two factors which are the main reasons for citizens to choose for a gated community: exclusion and stability. Together, these show a wish for security and protection from whatever is outside the walls, while the area inside the walls should remain homogenous and predictable. Other factors which may be attractive for residents are privatization or search for a sense of community, increased property values and the available amenities and facilities. Though some communities are mainly built as havens for retirees or as prestigious icons for the upper-class, all communities have in common that the walls are in place to keep out the unwelcome.

From this chapter and the previous, it seems that the extensive city growth and an increased fear of crime have led to the creation of gated communities. Citizens no longer feel safe and their wish for security and separation leads them to feel the need for an extra defence measure. As was seen in the previous chapter, the citizens can choose for protective behaviour to feel safer, which leads them to find residence behind walls. Planners have chosen to respond to this wish for security and separation by developing gated communities. This chapter has shown that gated communities are indeed developed as a response to fear of crime, but that is not all. Prestige and the search for community can also be important factors and these will also be taken along in this research. To conclude this chapter, this research sees fear of crime as the most important influence in the development of gated communities. This fear of crime will be main subject of the data collection, but prestige and the search for community will also be researched in order to gain a better understanding of the reasons for the development of gated communities in China. If prestige or the search of community would be completely ignored, the results of this research might be skewed or give an

incomplete idea of the Chinese situation. This can be prevented by adding a small part for these two factors in the data collection.

So far, fear of crime and gated communities have been researched. However, most of the literature and the earlier research on which these first chapters have been based, has been conducted in Western countries. This research focuses on Guangzhou, China, and the Chinese situation might be quite different from the Western situation. Is fear of crime a main issue in Chinese cities? Can similar forms of city growth be found in Guangzhou and do the Chinese citizens feel a need for security and separation? This will be researched in the next chapter: China and Guangzhou.

The Canton Tower along the Pearl River:
the new pride of Guangzhou

Chapter 4   China & Guangzhou

4.1 Introduction
This chapter will focus on China, which has been chosen as the location for the empirical part of this research. There have been many changes in recent decades which have influenced and changed the Chinese urban planning situation. During the transformation of centrally planned economic systems in 1978, and in line with the global trend of a new international division of labour, both the Chinese economy and society have been increasingly globalized, with respect to an unprecedented growth of international trade, a massive inflow of foreign direct investment, and an increasing influx of foreign workers. Several major cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou, have become the space of transnational flows, connecting China to the world (Zhang, 2008).

As stated before, the research that has been done on gated communities in China has shown that, even though there are similarities, the Chinese situation is different from the West and researchers have asked for the Chinese situation to be researched in its own perspective (e.g. Wu, 2009; Xu & Yang, 2009; Douglass et al, 2011). The Chinese situation is different in for example history, urban planning system, and local and cultural characteristics. As Douglass et al (2011) state: …*it seems fair to conclude that the (Western) 'gated community' perspective is insufficient for an adequate interpretation of Chinese enclave urbanism"* (Douglass et al, 2011, p.24). Thus far, this research has been based on earlier research, mainly done in Western countries. However, there may be differences between China and the Western countries which might influence the importance of fear of crime for the development of gated communities. In this chapter, the Chinese situation will be examined, in order to find factors which might influence the fear of crime and the reasons why the wish for security might lead to the development of gated communities. Two questions are posed which will be researched to guide this chapter:
5. Which factors influence the fear of crime in China, leading to a wish for security?
6. Which factors influence the decision of planners and residents in China, leading to the development of gated communities?

The second paragraph will present population statistics for China and introduce the rural-to-urban migration. The third paragraph will link the population and migration to the causes of fear of crime in China. The fourth paragraph will examine the influences on the planners' and residents' decisions which lead to the development of gated communities. The fifth paragraph will introduce Guangzhou and explicate why this city has been chosen as location for the data collection of this research. The sixth paragraph will conclude this chapter by answering the two research questions and reviewing how the obtained information will be used in the remainder of the research..

4.2 Population and migration in contemporary China
For a research on city growth and gated communities, there are several reasons for choosing to do research in China. This paragraph will examine the Chinese population growth and the rural-to-urban migration and present statistics to explain the choice for China, as well as the possible need for a China-specific view.

It is a well-known fact that China's population is the largest in the world (CIA, 2011b). The total population of China in 2011 is more than 1,3 billion, followed by India with nearly 1,2 billion. This is an important difference with Western countries (i.e. Europe and the United States of America). In 2011, the United States, where most of the gated community research has taken place, is ranked third largest country in the world for population with approximately

313 million inhabitants. China has more than four times as many inhabitants as the U.S.A., while the country is slightly smaller in area size. When comparing to Europe, no country comes close to the population of China: all the European countries combined have a population of around 857 million (UN ESA, 2010). The population of China is not only large, but it is also still growing. Even though the Chinese government has tried to slow down population growth with the infamous one-child policy, the Chinese population continues to grow, with almost 0,5% in 2011 (CIA, 2011b)

For many decades, the largest part of China has consisted of rural land. It is therefore important to note here that nearly all of China's population growth in the past twenty years has occurred in the urban areas. The country's urban population has grown from 72 million in 1952 to over 607 million in 2009 (Thaindain, 2009). With a total population of 1,3 billion, this adds up to an urban population of around 45 percent, which is steadily growing (CIA, 2010).

Table 4.1 *Urban population and annual growth rate per area in 2000-2010*

	Year	World (in%)	China (in%)	Europe (in%)	USA (in%)
Urban population	2000	46,6	35,8	71,4	79,1
	2010	50,6	44,9	72,6	82,3
Urban annual growth rate	2000-2005	2,07	3,10	0,21	1,45
	2005-2010	1,98	2,70	0,17	1,34

Source: UN ESA (2010)

Though the urban population percentage in China is still lower than the world average and much lower than the Western countries, the urban annual growth rate is much higher than in the other areas (table 1.1). The cities are growing faster than in the Western countries, because large-scale urban growth has started much more recently and the population is still growing, mainly in the urban areas.

Population growth is not the only reason why the cities are growing so rapidly. It is not just the newborns of urbanites who seek a residence in the cities, but also many rural migrants. Since the economic reform of 1978 in China, rural migrant workers have entered urban areas en masse in search for jobs and a better living. Guangdong Province became the most populous province in China in 2005, not because of the population growth, but mainly because of migration. At that time, there were already more than 30 million migrant workers in the province, next to the 79 million inhabitants the province already has (China Daily, 2005). These workers mainly live in the large cities. Pow (2006) did research in Shanghai, where it was estimated that there were well over 4 million rural migrant workers seeking out a living in the city in 2006.

The migrants are not equal to the city inhabitants, because of the Chinese *hukou* system. The hukou system is a type of household registration system, which categorises people in two groups: rural or urban workers. All migrant workers possess a rural hukou, which means they do have reduced access to most urban amenities, such as schooling or healthcare. These migrants are often also culturally different from the urbanites and tend to group together in low-rent neighbourhoods (Douglass et al, 2011). For many urbanites, migrant workers represent not only a cheap source of urban labour but also increasingly a menace to the urban way of life due to their supposed 'unruly ways' and 'uncivilised' conduct (Pow, 2006).

In the second chapter, it was shown that urban sprawl is one of the basic causes of splintering urbanism and the development of gated communities. The Chinese cities are growing rapidly

through a continuing population growth and a massive rural-to-urban migration wave and the city growth might be comparable to urban sprawl. The migrant workers which were introduced here will be a major influence in the next paragraph, which focuses on fear of crime.

4.3 Fear of crime in urban China
Fear of crime is seen as one of the main reasons for gating in Western countries (e.g. Blakely & Snyder, 1997) and might be the main reason for Chinese citizens to choose to live behind a gate. There are four main causes of fear of crime: victimization, indirect victimization, disorder and social disorganization. This paragraph will link the population growth and the migration to fear of crime and show that each of the causes of fear of crime can be found in contemporary Chinese society.

1. Victimization in China
Victimization is the fear of being victimized by crime and is directly linked to actual crime statistics: the higher the crime, the higher the risk and fear of victimization. Crime rates in China have changed drastically since Deng Xiaopeng's reforms in 1978. Pre-reform China knew very low crime rates and had the reputation of being a virtually "crime fee" society in which fear of crime was not an important social issue (Fairbank, 1987; Rojek, 1996). However, the economic reforms have changed society and resulted in rising crime rates and a growing concern about public safety and security (Liu, 2005; 2006). The official statistics show that between 1978 and 2006, homicide rate more than doubled, assault increased 7,9 times; robbery grew by 4,7 times; and larceny rose 8,7 times (China Law Yearbooks, 1989-2006). As crime rates are surging, the fear of crime and worries about personal safety have also risen in the Chinese society, especially in urban areas (Zhang et al, 2009). Government polls shown that over 80 percent of the respondent still feel safe or fairly safe when asked about concerns with their safety and security (Wang & Li, 2005), but official reports are open to question (Zhang et al, 2009). Chinese polling firms also conducted some research on the feeling of safety and concluded their survey, based on a 1 to 5 Likert-scale with 1 = very unsafe and 5 = very safe, with a mean score of 3,51 (Zen & Yuan, 2005). Even though the results show a general tendency of safe feeling, they also show that fear of crime has crept into the public consciousness to a greater extent than was the case in the pre-reform days (Zhang et al, 2009). The rise in crime and will most likely also have led to an increase in fear of crime, as the fear of victimization has increased.

2. Indirect victimization in China
Indirect victimization is based on the spread of information about crimes: even though people are not victimized personally, they are second-hand victims, because their fear of crime increases when they hear about persons around them or similar to them being victimized. The media plays a large role as provider of information, especially when it comes to exciting or arousing crime reports, which can lead to an increase in fear of crime amongst the readers or listeners. With the growing number of migrants in Chinese cities, indirect victimization is rising in China, mainly because of media attention, according to Zhang (2001). Newspaper reports and magazines are often interested in spicy, exaggerated stories about the crime, drugs and prostitution associated with the floating population in order to attract readers. Although some of these reports and stories are not without basis, many of them are highly exaggerated and distorted as they circulate among urban residents. Like a stream without a source, these images and anecdotes circulate in the city, eventually running together to become elaborate myths that shape the popular urban imagination about migrants and their communities. Through repetition, circulation, and expansion, these fantasies, desires and facts merge to

construct the 'reality' of the migrant communities. Often, the dominant representation of such coverage portrays migrant workers as potentially dangerous people, such as sexual predators, people prone to theft and violent behaviour because they are not constrained by local mores and customs. Migrant workers are seen as rowdy, uncontrollable, prone to cheating and robbery, producing fake products, trading in infected blood, etc. Interestingly, it is not only the absence of social constraints that is considered to predispose migrant workers towards criminal conduct. Many respondents also noted how the low social status and by extension the 'inferior quality' (*di suzhi*) of migrant workers in the city also make them less concerned with the propriety of their actions, as they do not face the same social disapprobation as higher-status people such as the middle-class urban residents (Zhang, 2001). The rising crime rates and the appearance of migrants, combined with their negative image, might have given rise to the indirect victimization in China.

3. Disorder & Social disorganization in China

The last two causes of fear of crime are social disorganization and disorder. The idea of social disorganization states that changes in neighbourhood structure, such as an increase in ethnic heterogeneity or rapid population turnover, can result in a loss of community. This increases fear of crime, because people sharing a neighbourhood lose their common mores and the power to solve problems together. This problem can also be found in contemporary Chinese cities. According to Douglass et al (2011), the massive migration has caused a strong growth in cultural diversity (Box 4.1) and increased socio-economic disparities within cities, which has resulted in an 'ecology of fear'. The threat of invading hordes of peasant migrant workers looms large in the consciousness of many urbanites and securing a safe and wholesome living environment away from these the fear of crime takes on paramount concern and significance (Pow, 2006). The fear of the migrants as 'others', strengthened by the negative media attention, also increases social disorganization. Wu & Webber (2004) found that, while residents often expressed fear and worry about outsiders trespassing and 'invading' their private territories and defiling the pristine environment, their concerns are invariably targeted at the hordes of migrant workers that are now flooding into the city in search of a living. Spinks (2001) did research in Cape Town and noted that in the Post-Apartheid City, the desegregation of the social space is a major issue for the government, because segregation has always existed in Cape Town. Even though integration is theoretically positive for neighbourhoods, the citizens respond differently and the indication is that *"…such sudden proximity of difference is increasing fear and private retreat, rather than promoting integration"* (Spinks, 2001, p.24). The difference between urbanites and the migrants was never as close and visible as in contemporary China and this may very well be a cause of increased fear of crime in China, similar to Spinks's findings in Cape town.

Box 4.1 *Cultural Diversity*

Many foreigners see China as one country with one people. In truth, although all inhabitants are 'Chinese' in name, the people differ greatly amongst each other. There are many different languages and cultural differences between north and south, between provinces but also within provinces. This is why Chinese people sometimes see migrants as 'foreigners' and why cultural diversity may be important here.

Disorder is based on the idea that certain areas increase fear of crime. This can be because the area is unattractive and dark, for example because it lacks street lighting, or because there are visible signs of disorder and decay, such as building sites or unsupervised gangs of teenagers. Whether or not disorder increased in China in the last decades has not been measured. However, the causes of disorder may have increased, especially when looking

at the volatility of the environment and the power of the public forces. A volatile environment of migration, demolition and construction can lead to an increase of fear of crime (Skogan, 1986). As stated before, the urban population in China has drastically increased and the cities are expanding faster than ever. The city growth is achieved partially through horizontal growth and partially through restructuring old neighbourhoods and increasing the amount of high-rise buildings in the city centre. The environment is changing so often that residents can not settle into the neighbourhood, which could be hindering the development of *Gemeinschaft* and the shared values. In this view, the pace of the Chinese city growth may lead to disorder, which in turn can be the cause for social disorganization.

The public forces of some fast-growing Chinese cities are also hard pressed to cope with city growth. The large amount of migrants, which often come to the city without registration or a place to stay, make it hard to keep control over who lives in the city. The exact number of citizens is unknown for many cities: even though the registered citizens are known, the number of migrants can often only be guessed. The increase in crime rates shows that police is losing ground to crime: the crime free society of pre-1978 China is history. When the public forces lose control, citizens will try to keep the peace themselves. However, the negative impacts on social disorganization, which are stated above, make this difficult. Guards are hired and are seated along the roads, almost every few hundred meters, but these guards do not serve the public: they serve their employer. Whether or not the presence of these guards reduces the fear of crime is not known. The lack of power of the public force might increase the fear of crime (e.g. Taylor & Covington, 1993) and this might be the case in contemporary Chinese cities.

This paragraph has shown that fear of crime in China has risen in the last decades, as all four causes of fear of crime are found to be on the rise in contemporary Chinese cities, mainly through the actual rise of crime and the migration of rural workers. The rise in (indirect) victimization leads to an increase fear for personal safety and fear of others, while more social disorganization (and disorder) to loss of community. Together, these factors all increase the wish for security and separation from Chinese citizens and might lead them to choose for

4.4 Walls in Chinese cities
In China, the fear of crime has increased in the last few decades. Fear of crime is the main reason for the development of gated communities, but not the only reason. In this paragraph, the other reasons for development of gated communities, such as prestige, will be examined in the Chinese context. Also, the history of Chinese cities will be examined to find differences with their Western counterparts. This will show an important differences with Western cities for a research on gating.

Prestige and class distinction
As seen in the previous chapter, gated communities are developed for several reasons. Even though fear of crime is usually the main reason for development, there is another relevant underlying process which can explain why Chinese gated communities are developed, namely the differentiation of social status (Wu & Webber, 2004). With the appearance of the migrant workers in cities, older residents want to separate themselves from these unwanted intruders, not only out of fear, but also to show the difference in social class. Also, economic growth in China has boomed since the 1978 reforms. The GDP growth has been between 8 and almost 12 percent in the last decade and per capita GDP has been rising steadily in the last few years (CIA, 2011b). With more money to spend, people want to live a more luxurious life. Housing in gated communities often has a much higher building standard than ordinary domestic commodity housing. This counts as a strong argument for the more affluent Chinese citizens,

or for expatriates who want to live in China and usually live in gated communities, as foreign housing often also has a higher standard than ordinary Chinese housing. The demand for services and facilities is also different between the expatriate community and local residents. For many special amenities, this is seen as a positive attribute of the gated community, because it is an efficient way of organizing services, due to the high concentration of customers (Wu & Webber, 2004). The recent income rise, which is not equal for every person in the country, combined with the perceived class difference between urbanites and migrants, might be enough reason for residents to wish for separation based on class or prestige, not necessarily safety.

According to Pow (2006), there is more to security in China than just protection from crime. Inherent in the moral order in China's gated communities are the supposed 'progressive' and 'civilised' values that promote not only the safety (*zhian*), but also the order (*cixu*) and environmental hygiene (*huanjing weisheng*) of neighbourhoods. Enforcing physical and social order is considered an important requisite for maintaining a civilised living environment in gated communities. To ensure that physical and social order in the neighbourhood is well maintained, a prime objective in gated communities is to keep unruly 'trouble-makers' from trespassing into the estate and 'messing up' the internal order and peace. Invariably, threats to the civilised order in gated communities are seen to come from the migrant workers who are often perceived to be disorderly in conduct, lacking in basic civil etiquette and ignorant of the concepts of order and civility. Environmental hygiene is often considered another hallmark of a civilised and modern living environment. Within gated communities, maintaining a sanitised and clean living environment free from pollution and diseases is of utmost importance, especially after the outbreak of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) virus in 2003 (Pow, 2006).

In the contemporary Chinese situation, it is not only fear of crime which leads to the wish for separation. Class difference and prestige must be taken into account when looking at reasons for the development of gated communities.

Chinese city history
There is one characteristic which may not be overlooked in a research on Chinese cities, namely the city history. Chinese cities have a different history than Western cities, which is important when researching gates.

Most Western cities have followed a similar history of industrialisation and the cities can be historically ordered following an industrial model. An example is given by Orum (1995), who states that Western cities evolve through five stages:
1) the pre-industrial city,
2) the industrial city,
3) the mature industrial city,
4) decline/racial tension/decay,
5) and the post-industrial city.
Gated communities in Western cities are seen as a response to the latter two stages of Orum's urban development. That response is one of disengagement from the urban polity and from policy responses aimed at removing divisions between poor and wealthier residents (Orum, 1995).

For Chinese cities, this five stage evolution has not occurred over the last centuries. Gaubatz (1998) states that there have been three Chinese city types in the 20th century. Xu & Yang (2009) describe these as "*…the lengthy pre-1949 feudal monarchy, when walled residential quarters and introspective courtyard archetypes were sustained; the socialist period from 1949 to 1978 when gated work compounds (danwei) came to dominate the urban landscape;*

and the post-socialist era after 1978 when the contemporary gated community has gradually come into being in China and gained overwhelming prevalence in the commodity housing market" (Xu & Yang, 2009, p.100). In contrary to the Western notion of 'gated community', social fragmentation and the demise of public space, they argue that China has a long history of building 'gated communities', dated back to its imperial era. By further exploring the features of these cities, it is possible to discern that walled living and gated areas have been common through Chinese city history.

First of all, there is the pre-1949 city, which has been rather similar for centuries. The fundamental character of the spatial organisation of the traditional Chinese cities was the functional differentiation and specialisation of neighbourhoods based on clan or place of origin relationships between residents and/or occupational specialisations. These neighbourhoods were components of a clearly defined urban structure: the entire street network and all major architecture was aligned with the cardinal direction to conform with Chinese geomancy; massive crenulated walls demarcated both the city from the countryside and internal status division; and the whole of the city, except the most monumental structures, was built low to the ground in one- and two-storey structures of rammed earth, brick and wood, whose height and extent of ornamentation were dictated according to their position within a complex social hierarchy (Gaubatz, 1998).

In 1949, the Maoist city became dominant. By the mid 20th century, decades of civil unrest and poverty had left China's cities ill-equipped to serve the needs of their residents, and the urban patterns had decayed into overcrowded slums, inadequate streets and crumbling monuments. The newly established government seized the opportunity to rebuild cities as models of socialist organisation and ideology. One of the primary goals of new Chinese urban planning was to create a new decentralised and self-sufficient urban form, in which cities were to become production centres. A new stress was placed on rapid industrial development, which caused major changes in the organisation of urban social life and the very form of the city. Places of employment were encouraged to become completely self-sufficient communities within the city. Although these plans were never fully realised, this generalised urban structure became common in the newly constructed or renewed districts which constituted most of the urban space in Chinese cities. The expansion of the typical Maoist city was structured around *danweis*: large, walled work-unit compounds, within whose walls people worked, lived and played within a small community centred on the workplace (Gaubatz, 1998). Lu (2006) states that almost every work unit was a walled enclosure or a cluster of several walled enclosures. The walls, in most cases made of brick, set the work unit physically apart from its surroundings. Growth was accomplished largely through the accretion of these small, independent cells. Neighbourhoods and districts of the city were relatively undifferentiated by function. Chinese cities during the Maoist period were, unlike their model Soviet cities, based on the assumption that most urban residents would rarely have any need to travel beyond the walls of their work-and-living unit (Gaubatz, 1998).

From Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms in 1978 on, the Maoist city is being abandoned with great speed. In the past 30 years, new thinking about social organisation and urban lifestyles, together with the demands of a changing economy, have resulted in the rapid development of cities which look and function very different from the Maoist vision. Also, changes such as increasing mobility and changing lifestyles, family structure and expectations are influencing the urban form of Chinese cities. The urban planning follows these economic and social changes, resulting in a new Chinese urban structure and a new morphology (Gaubatz, 1998).

According to Feng (2008), gated communities in contemporary Chinese cities tend to take on many features of the previous danwei compounds. They tend to be characterized by residents of similar social and economic backgrounds, but unlike residents in the danwei

compounds, who were previously assigned to live and often work there, residents in gated 'communities' bought their way in, albeit some at transitional government-subsidized prices. Xu & Yang (2009) state that even though walled living is deeply ingrained in Chinese housing tradition and the history of urban design, gated communities in China today are economic-sensitive and by no means a continuation of the historic enclosed low-rise courtyard houses or walled danwei compounds. Membership in the danwei was associated with one's occupation, while membership in the gated communities is often tied to one's material wealth. Residents in gated communities often do not have prior social relationships with one another; the sense of security they feel comes first, from the sense that they belong to the same social class; and second, from security guard services, often offered on a 24-hour basis (Feng, 2008).

Commodity housing
Of all the changes since the 1978 reforms, the most important difference might be the rise of commodity housing, which is mainly caused by a huge housing demand which required a change in housing provision. In the mid-1980s, the first array of property management companies following the model in Hong Kong was established in Shenzhen (Xie, 2006). They collected service fees directly from residents and provided estate management in return. According to Xu & Yang (2009), this service was well accepted by urban residents and was gradually introduced to cities throughout the country. It developed rapidly in the fast growing commodity housing market.

Why are commodity housing estates important for a research on gated communities in Guangzhou? Actually, the Chinese 'commodity housing estates' are very closely linked to the Western idea of gated communities. Xu and Yang (2009) explain that in both situations, the residents pay maintenance fees to the property management. Because they pay the fee to the management, they see the whole area as 'their' private property. They are aware of the free-rider problem and potential harm to their property rights and values, which are risked by the environmental deterioration in this contemporary era of fast urban development, especially in the Chinese situation. As a community, the inhabitants take measures to prevent this. From a property management point of view, it is very convenient to demarcate 'their' area in order to make clear where the responsibilities of management end. In order to prevent free-riders, to safeguard the area from surrounding deterioration and to demarcate the management area, walls are built around the community. As such, enclosed residential developments were soon seen in China after specialized estate management companies took over the maintenance of commodity housing. Xu & Yang (2009) state that: "…*these gated residential developments managed by specialized agencies reproduced the exclusive feature of the Chinese work units, and presented arguably the strongest echo of the global phenomenon of the 'gated community"* (Xu & Yang, 2009, p.111).

Differences with Western gated communities
There are two major differences between Western gated communities and their Chinese counterparts. First of all, Wu & Webber (2004) have noted that social division in China differs greatly from the West in the fact that sharp social spatial division is the norm rather than the exception in contemporary China. "*You have got on one side of the wall a villa compound where someone may be paying 10,000 US$ per month in rent and therefore also has a lot of valuable possessions—whether it be furniture, jewellery, whatever inside the property. On the other side of the fence, or within 5 minutes bike ride, you may have someone who's earning 800 RMB a month and living in a brick hut with a dirt floor"* (Wu & Webber, 2004, p.208). Social division is the norm, rather than the exception, which may seem very odd from a Western point of view. Because the Chinese city history has seen walls and gates for

many centuries, they are not perceived as strange by the Chinese inhabitants. While walls and gates are perceived negatively in the West, in China, they actually seem to be approached more positively, in relationship to the enactment of identities and belonging (Lu, 2006). The ideal of a 'free and accessible city in which people can mix freely' is admittedly deeply embedded in the Western urbanism and culture, but might not necessarily fit in easily with long-lasting socio-spatial practices in China (Douglass et al, 2011).

Another important difference is the actual strictness of the gates. Even though areas in China are walled and gated, this does not always prohibit outsiders from accessing them. Research indicates that gates in Chinese commodity housing estates can often be passed relatively easily (Yip, 2011). A passage from the experiences of Xu & Yang (2009) gives a good example of this: "…*[m]ore gates have been set up in the walls around work units to improve access to the outer world for the sake of residents' convenience. Generally, all the gates are open in the daytime and provide free access for outsiders by foot or bicycle, while some are required to be closed at night by the residents in the work unit for security reasons. These walls and gates by and large do not bother local people, who are familiar with all these gates and their opening hours. Nevertheless, they still function as barriers for strangers, preventing them from getting through walled areas, and therefore greatly decrease the accessibility of the area*" (Xu & Yang, 2009, p. 115). Although almost all newly built estates are walled and gated, these walls can often easily be passed. This even spreads to the collective services which are offered inside the commodity housing estates. Douglass et al (2011) found an international school inside a gated commodity housing estate in Guangzhou which was accessible for anybody that could pay the (albeit hefty) fee (Douglass et al, 2011, p. 23). It seems like the facilities of the estates are not solely for the use of residents, but open to anybody who can pay the proper amount is allowed in. This is an important difference with Western gated communities, which are built on the basis of prohibiting access to outsiders in order to separate and protect the inhabitants from the outside world.

This paragraph has shown that prestige may also play a role in the development of Chinese gated communities. Next to that, it has shown that Chinese city history differs greatly from the Western, and it can be seen that walls have been an integral part of Chinese urban planning for centuries. This may influence the planners in their choice of how to fight fear of crime with a planning solution. The commodity housing estates and the comparison with Western gated communities have shown several important differences which have to be taken along in the data collection for this research.

4.5 Guangzhou
Urbanization in China is growing and cities are becoming increasingly more important. A high urban annual growth combined with an already large population which is still growing at a high rate makes the Chinese cities a good place for a research on city growth and the accompanying features, such as enclave urbanism. However, China is a large country with more than 60 cities with a population exceeding one million (Brinkhoff, 2010) and there are many locations well suited for an urban planning research. This research has chosen to focus on Guangzhou.

Guangzhou, in most European languages known as Canton, is the capitol of the Guangdong province in Southern China. The Guangdong province has benefitted greatly from the economic reforms and the Pearl River Delta became the most popular location for migratory workers. Guangdong became the most populous province in China in 2005, at which time it counted 79 million registered inhabitants and 31 million migrants (China Daily, 2005). The migrants which are taken into account are only those who have lived in Guangdong for six

months or more. In 2011, the province is still the largest, ranking 1st in population before Shandong and Henan province.

Guangzhou is located on the Pearl River Delta, on the south-east coast of China. The city is well-connected to the rest of the country via more than 200 rivers which flow to the Delta. There are also excellent infrastructural connections with nearby Macau and Hong Kong, and the city has straight airport connections with Wuhan, Shanghai and Beijing (Wissink, 2008). The city has a known history of over 2100 years and has experienced a period of immense growth in recent decades, making it one of China's largest cities. In 1982, when market socialism was introduced in China and the rural-to-urban migration began, Guangzhou had 5,6 million registered inhabitants and a small amount of migrants. In 2007, Guangzhou was home to 7,6 million inhabitants and 3,9 million migrants and temporary residents. At the end of 2009, the Guangzhou government made a new official estimate of the population, raising the amount to 10,334,500, excluding migrants (Guangzhou Municipality, 2009). When looking at agglomerations, the Guangzhou agglomeration (including nearby Dongguan, Foshan, Jiangmen and Zhongshan) consists of 24,2 million people, making it the second largest agglomeration in the world, only exceeded in population by Tokyo (Brinkhoff, 2010).

There are two main reasons for choosing Guangzhou as research location. First of all, some research on gated communities in the city has already been done in the city. These researches have shown that Guangzhou has many walled residential estates, not only separating the rich from the poor, but also separating different ethnic groups. Earlier research has focused on for example ethnic enclaves in the city (Zhang, 2008), sustainability of gated communities in the area (Chiu, 2009), and differences between gated communities in China and other countries (Miao, 2003; Xu & Yang, 2009; Douglass et al, 2011). Even though there has already been research done on walled residential estates within the city, there has not yet been a research on the reasons for the development of gated communities, nor the influence of fear of crime. This research can add extra, possibly valuable knowledge to the China-specific researches on gated communities.

Second, this chapter has shown that the appearance of rural migrants in the cities might be the main cause of fear of crime, leading to a higher indirect victimization and social disorganization, possibly even to higher crime rates. Guangdong is the province with the highest migration in recent decades and Guangzhou the largest city of the province. With four million temporary migrants, this city is a good location for a research on fear of crime. Also, the massive city growth in recent decades has brought horizontal city growth with it, as well as restructuring, which can lead to disorder. All causes for fear of crime can, theoretically, be found in the city, which makes this a suitable location for this research.

4.6 Conclusion
This chapter has introduced the country as well as the city in which the data collection for this research will take place, respectively China and Guangzhou. In the first paragraph, two research questions were formulated and these will now be answered.

5. Which factors influence the fear of crime in China to lead to a stronger wish for security?
Each of the theoretical causes for fear of crime can be found in contemporary Chinese cities. Fear of victimization has increased as crime rates has increased. Indirect victimization has increased, partially because crime rates have risen and partially because of media coverage of crimes in the news. The media is often pointing out migrant workers as 'the cause', thus increasing the fear of 'others'. Social disorganization has increased through city growth and restructuring, as well as the influx of migrants with their own cultural identity. Disorder may

have increased with city growth as well, even though this has not been empirically researched. All in all, it can be said that the citizens in China have seen major changes in recent decades, which may have led to an increase of fear of crime and with that an increase in the wish for security.

6. Which factors influence the decision of planners and residents in China, leading to the development of gated communities?
The wish for security seems to have increased along with the fear of crime, which, according to this research's conceptual model, may lead to the development of gated communities. However, there are more influences which have to be taken into account. Another important reason for gating is prestige and class distinction. In China, the economic reforms have meant an increase in income for many. A higher income leads to higher demands and gated communities can be created to offer certain private amenities or to visualise the class distinction between rich and poor. The most important factor which has to be taken into account is the Chinese city history. Through the centuries, cities in China have always known walls and gates. Walls and gates have always been prominent in these cities and they are considered to be the norm, not the exception. Also, these gates are not necessarily very strict and gated communities may be (partially) open to non-residents. While gating is seen as a modern phenomenon and considered to be negative in Western countries, the idea of gating is ingrained in Chinese conscience and planners may not see it as negative.

In this chapter, the causes for fear of crime and the development of gated communities in China have been examined. All the theoretical causes for fear of crime can be found in contemporary Chinese cities and the combination of fear of crime, prestige and the city history might be able to explain the development of gated communities in China. The choice for China and Guangzhou as location for data collection has been explicated. At this point, all the theoretical backgrounds have been examined and the conceptual model can be completed, which will be presented in the next chapter. This chapter will consist of the methodological part of this research. The Guangzhou Urban Planning Institute, where the urban planners will be interviewed, will be introduced, as well as the three gated communities which are chosen as locations for data collection.

珠江帝景
REGAL RIVIERA

意大利别墅式庭院
Italy Villa Style Courtyard

靠海的人们，自然以水作重点，中央鱼池里，美丽活泼的鱼儿，仿如天边的彩云，祥和愉快。别墅间以特色水景相连，采用一流的微气候处理，控制阳光角度，湿气微风从小溪吹来，让人倍感舒爽清凉……

The people living beside the sea enjoy water most. In the central fish pool, the lovely fish are swimming happily. While connecting with special water scenery, the villas apply top class micro weather treatment to control the angle of sunshine. With the wet breeze blowing from the stream, you will fell comfortable and cool…

Chapter 5   From theory to practice

5.1 Reviewing the Conceptual Model
This chapter will provide the link between the theoretical and empirical part of this research. Several steps have to be made before the theory can be tested in practice and this chapter will cover each of these steps in turn. First, the literature research will be concluded by presenting the final version of the conceptual model, which is an extended version of the basic model presented in the first chapter. After this, the methodological aspects of this research will be explicated: introduction of the research locations and actors and an explication of the chosen research methods.

At the end of the first chapter, a conceptual model was posed as a guide for the theoretical part of this research. The main idea of this research was stated as follows: fear of crime leads to a wish for security amongst citizens as well as urban planners, which combined then leads to the development of gated communities. The Chinese situation was expected to influence each of these factors. The theoretical part has now been completed and the conceptual model can be reviewed and updated (figure 5.1). Each of the links in the conceptual model is based on information found in the previous chapters and will be presented here.

Fear of crime in Chinese cities
1. As was found in the paragraph 4.2 and 4.3, the urban growth and the rising crime rates in Chinese cities have caused an increase in fear of victimization amongst the Chinese people.
2. As found in paragraph 4.3, the rural-to-urban migration has caused an increase in indirect victimization, leading the urbanites to 'fear the others', mainly because the negative media attention which presents migrant workers as criminals.
3. Paragraph 4.3 has also shown that the rural-to-urban migration has caused an increase in social disorganization, because the migrants move in to the city, increasing cultural differences within neighbourhoods.

Chinese citizens' wish for security and separation
4. Paragraph 4.3 has shown that rural-to-urban migration has caused an increase in a wish for separation, because the migrants are seen as unwelcome and the citizens want to separate themselves from these newcomers.
5. As can be seen in paragraph 2.3, an increase in fear of (indirect) victimization has led to an increased wish for security, because being afraid to be victimized leads to a heightened fear of safety and the negative media attention for migrants has led to an increased fear of others.
6. Paragraph 2.3 has shown that an increase in disorder and social disorganization has led to an increased wish for security, because volatile environment and neighbourhood changes have led to a heightened loss of community and fear of others.
7. Paragraph 2.3 has also shown that an increased wish for security leads to an increased wish for separation, because security is being sought in a strong community and neighbourhood stability.

Chapter 3 and 4 have explicated how the Chinese economic growth in the past decades has also caused an increase in a wish for separation, because the richer people want to separate themselves from others, which was much less the case in pre-Reform China. However, because fear of crime is the subject of this research and prestige is taken along only to test the validity of fear of crime, this part is seen as an influence which should not be included in the trajectory from Fear of Crime to the Development of Gated Communities in Guangzhou.

Responses to fear of crime and their influences

8. Paragraph 2.4 and 3.3 has shown that an increase in fear of crime requires a response from urban planners, who choose to do so through planning solution, for example enclave development.

9. Paragraph 2.4 has also shown that an increased wish for security requires citizens to respond, who choose to do so through protective behaviour.

10. Paragraph 3.3 has shown that the wish for separation influences citizen's choice for a planning solution, which leads to a citizen's desire for the development of gated communities.

11. Paragraph 4.4 has shown that Chinese city history, which has seen walls and gates as a normality, influences the planner's choice and influence the planners' choice for a planning solution to the development of gated communities.

Reason for development of gated communities

12. The combination of the planner's choice for a planning solution, influenced by the normality of gates and walls, and the citizen's desire for the development of gated communities, leads urban planners in Guangzhou to decide for the development of gated communities.

The conceptual model shows that in China, fear of crime is rising on all levels, which leads to a wish for security amongst citizens. This wish for security creates a citizen's response in the form of protective behaviour, but at the same time leads to a wish for separation, where citizens want to get away from the dangers. This wish for separation is strengthened by the rural-to-urban migration, where citizens want to separate themselves from the migrant workers. The protective behaviour response to fear of crime can take many forms, but is in influenced by the wish for separation and leads to a citizens' choice for gated communities.

At the same time, urban planners also respond to fear of crime and they choose to do so through a planning solution. Although such solutions can take different forms, the planners in Guangzhou are influenced by the Chinese city history, where walls have been normal for many years, leads to the choice of creating gated communities.

The Chinese economic growth may also lead to an increase in the importance of prestige, which can then also strengthen the wish for separation. However, this research focuses on fear of crime and therefore does not choose to research the causes of prestige issues. Prestige is taken along in this research only in order to prevent skewed results, caused by missing a possibly important variable in the choice for gated communities.

Figure 5.1 *Reviewed Conceptual Model*
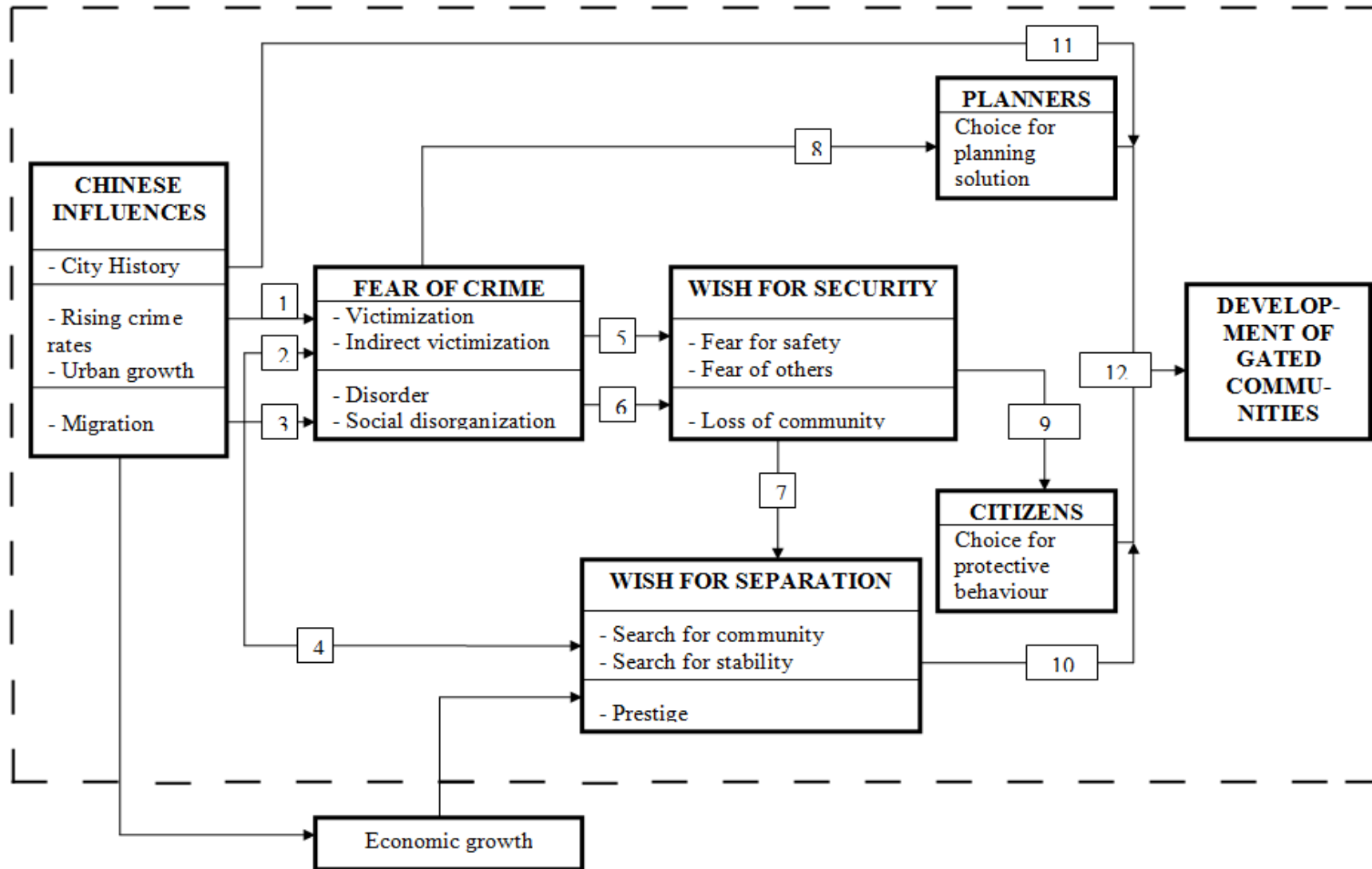
5.2 Introduction

With the finishing of the conceptual model, the literature research is finished and the empirical part of this research can begin. The empirical analysis will test the influence of far of crime on the development of gated communities in Guangzhou through series of interviews. The main question of this research is:

To what extent has fear of crime influenced the urban form of Guangzhou, leading to the development of gated communities?

The theoretical part of this research has led to the conceptual model in which fear of crime leads to a citizen's wish for security and separation and a planner's response to fear of crime. The combination of the citizen's and the planner's response then lead to the development of gated communities. As a link between the conceptual model and the empirical analysis and in order to bring focus to the empirical part of this research, three sub-questions have been created which will aid in testing this conceptual model:

1. To what extent do a wish for security and separation influence citizens in Guangzhou to choose for living in gated communities?
2. To what extent does fear of crime lead urban planners in Guangzhou to choose for the development of gated communities?
3. How can the apparent pervasiveness of Chinese gated communities be explained?

In the conceptual model, the development of gated communities is based on a citizens' wish for security and separation, as well as a planners' choice to fight fear of crime through a planning solution. The first two questions try to explain both the citizens' wish and the planners' choice. The third question is an attempt to find an explanation for the situation found by Douglass et al (2011), where a school, located within the walls of a gated community, was accessible to non-residents. The idea that non-residents can enter a community might influence the feeling of safety for the residents. This situation might be important when looking at the influence of fear of crime on the development of gated communities and is deemed worth investigating.

The remainder of this chapter will show how these three questions will be tested in the data collection of this research. In paragraph 5.3, the actors and research locations will be introduced and the choices for these locations will be explained. Paragraph 5.4 will explicate the methods of research and the choice to divide the data collection for this research into four series of interviews. Paragraph 5.5 will conclude this chapter and introduce the next chapter.

5.3 Actors and research locations

In this paragraph, the actors and research locations will be introduced. There are two groups of actors which will be interviewed and four locations in which data will be collected.

Urban planners from the Guangzhou Planning Institute

The first group of actors which will be interviewed are Chinese urban planners. As has been stated in the earlier chapters, this research believes that fear of crime leads citizens to wish for security and separation and choose for protective behaviour, while fear of crime leads planners to choose for a planning solution. The combination of these choices leads to the development of gated communities. The Chinese urban planners represent the planner's choice in the conceptual model. Interviewing them will give the possibility to test the planner's influence on the development of gated communities and to answer the second research question. Also, interviewing Chinese planning professionals gives the opportunity to gain valuable background information about the Chinese context and planning situation. Because most of the theory on gated communities is based on Western research, there may be

influences in the Chinese situation which have not been presumed in the theoretical part of this research. In order to keep all options and influences open, the context of this research is considered very important.

The research location for these planner interviews is the Guangzhou Urban Planning & Design Survey Research Institute, or GZPI. Before the importance of the Guangzhou Planning Institute can be explained, a short introduction of the actors in the Chinese urban planning system might be in order. For the development of gated communities in a city, there are four players of interest: the Ministry of Construction, the local government, the planning institutes and the developers. The regional government also plays a role in urban planners when it comes to regional developments, but is of no importance to this research.

The national government in China has a Ministry of Construction, which has three main functions. First, they set up the Planning Act, which states who is responsible and/or eligible for the creation of plans. Second, they set the National Standards, which differentiates the types of land use and which states what type of area needs a certain amount of for example services. Third, they create the regulations on how to make a plan.   Next to the Ministry of Construction, the local government plays a role in urban planning. They have the right to make the plans for their area and sometimes also to create local planning standards, for example in Beijing or Shenzhen. Also, they are responsible for the creation of the Master Plan, Control Plans and Detail Plans for a city, which are the three main types of plans. The Master Plan is a plan for the whole city, not very detailed and mainly giving general guidelines of the city's future. Control Plans are more detailed, with key indices such as Floor Area Ratio and population density, and are required for the whole city, similar to a Zoning Plan. A Detail Plan is a very detailed plan for a small part of the city and is the exact plan for the development of that area. The creation of these plans is done in cooperation with planning institutes. An example of Guangzhou might help to explain the situation.

When the Guangzhou local government wants to develop a certain area, they contact the Guangzhou Planning Institute. They will name their requirements for the development, based on the Master Plan. The GZPI will then create a Detail Plan, based on the given requirements and on their own research. Next to the creator of plans, the planning institute is also advisor to the local government on matters such as green protection and can also bring forth ideas for the development of certain areas. In the Detail plan, they will determine factors such as the landscape, density and facilities which will be placed in the development. This plan, which holds all information for the development, is then sent back to the local government for approval. If it gets approved, it will be put up for auction amongst developers. Developers can then buy the land from the government. However, the developer does not have many options on what to do with the land, because the plan is already approved and this will tell the developer exactly what has to be built in the area, e.g. the amount of people that will be housed, the type of school that has to be placed, the amount of parking lots, etc. The only freedom the developer gets can be for example the style of the buildings or the lay-out of the area. In short, the local government sets the requirements, the planning institute creates the plan, the local government approves the plan and auctions it to a developer, who then develops the plan.

In short, it can be said that the main function of a Chinese planning institute is the creation of plans, although they also have an advisory role. They serve both the government and the market, though the government has priority. The planners who will be interviewed for this research are in the employment of the GZPI. The institute was founded in 1953 and is now the largest planning institute in the south of China, employing over 1.400 people. It has 10 A-grade certifications and is ranked among the top planning institutes in the country, well

known for their plans and constructions, such as the Guangzhou Master Plan and the Guangdong Olympic Centre. The choice for the GZPI is based on the fact that it is the best place to find professional urban planners in Guangzhou, The urban planners at this company are well suited to answer questions regarding the reasons for the development of gated communities in Guangzhou.

Inhabitants of three gated communities
The second group of actors which will be interviewed are the inhabitants of gated communities, the subject of the first research question, representing the citizens in the conceptual model. By interviewing these inhabitants, this research hopes to find out whether the wish for security and separation are the main reasons for citizens to choose for protective behaviour, which then leads to the development of gated communities. By choosing respondents living in gated communities, it is made certain that they have considered the pro's and cons of living a gated community and have their own reasons for choosing to settle there.

The locations where these inhabitants will be interviewed are three gated communities in Guangzhou. The choice for three communities rules out the chance of gaining a representative sample of gated communities in Guangzhou. Due to a limited amount of time for data collection, this research has chosen to aim for a more explorative approach, in which three very different gated communities will be examined. It is possible that residents have different reasons for choosing a gated community when it is located in the suburbs or in the city centre. Researching at different locations is expected to give a better overview of the citizens reasons to choose a gated community. Each of these communities will be introduced here.

1. Zhu Jiang Di Jing (Regal Riviera)

Zhu Jiang Di Jing is located in the city centre of Guangzhou

The first gated community is Zhu Jiang Di Jing, also known as Regal Riviera. The choice for Zhu Jiang Di Jing is based on the location, fame and questionable strictness of the estate.

First, the location of this estate is in Guangzhou city centre, taking up 65 ha of prime area on the banks of the Pearl River. It is located right next to the Canton Tower, the new TV tower which reaches a height of 600 meters and is one of Guangzhou's most memorable landmarks. Within the estate, the developer has created 2300 apartments, ranging from 101 to 299 square meters. This makes Zhu Jiang Di Jing a very large and highly populated inner city gated community.

Second, the estate is very prestigious, as can be seen from the advertisements.

It is known as a high-class estate, because of two reasons. First of all, the apartments are high prices, but also because the mayor of Guangzhou and several other high-ranking officials live in the estate.

Zhu Jiang Di Jing advertisement

The estate has been planned by the GZPI, who have won several prizes for the design. Development was completed in 2003 and the first inhabitants entered in 2004.

Third, there is a high-class price-winning kindergarten inside the estate, which is known to be open for outsiders. Also, the estate does not only consist of residences, but there is also a hotel located on the edge of the community, which is part of Zhu Jiang Di Jing. It seems Zhu Jiang Di Jing is open for outsiders, at least for those who want to visit the kindergarten, possibly also for hotel guests.

Following the Western gated community theories, a high-class prestigious estate like Zhu Jiang Di Jing should be closed to non-residents. However, the kindergarten inside is open for outsiders, and a hotel inside the gates might also add unwanted trespassers. For a research which reasons that walls and gates are built to prevent fear of crime, this estate seems interesting for further investigation.

2. Si Ji Hua Cheng (Vanke's Wonderland)
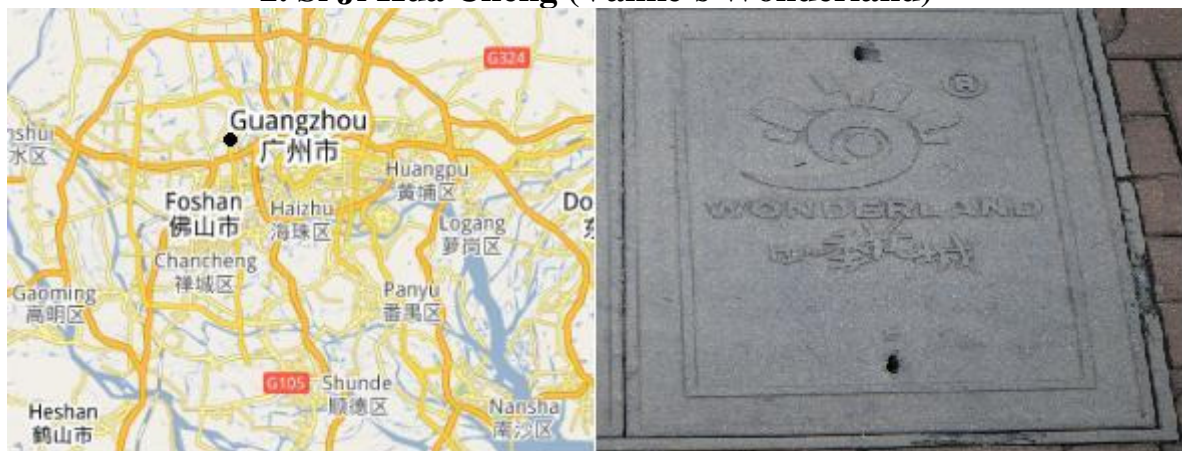
Sijihuacheng is located in the north-western suburbs of Guangzhou

The second gated community is Sijihuacheng, also known as Vanke's Wonderland. The choice for Sijihuacheng is mainly based on the size, the surrounding area and the developer of the estate.

Sijihuacheng's area size is 'only' 50ha, but the estate consists 3800 households and houses approximately 10.000 inhabitants. Such an amount of inhabitants, which is more than many Western towns, brings forth challenges for the management, such as the rules on entry for family and friends. More inhabitants means more family and friends and possible more non-residents entering the estate, which might influence the feeling of safety for the residents. The estate was completed in 2004 and the first inhabitants entered in 2005.

Sijihuacheng is located in the suburbs on the west side of Guangzhou city centre, on the border of Guangzhou and Foshan area. The location is important for this research, because a community located in the suburbs experiences large differences between the area inside the

walls and outside. The Foshan area is known to house a large amount of migrant workers, which are seen in theory as one of the main causes of fear of crime. The area surrounding Sijihuacheng is expected to have a large influence on the safety feeling of the inhabitants. Inside the walls are high income residents, enjoying a green, high quality residential zone with facilities and amenities, while outside the walls are mainly rural and migrant workers, with a very low income in a poor quality environment.

The developer of this estate is Vanke, China's largest real-estate developer. Vanke develops and manages its own estates, which is not always the case in China. Often, the management is not connected to the developer, which can lead to problems in the years after the development, when the management does not live up to the promises made by the developer. Vanke keeps control over their own developments and is known for maintaining very strictly guarded estates.

No one enters Sijihuacheng without being checked

Sijihuacheng is a highly populated estate, located in a low-quality area known for a high amount of migrant workers. This may lead to a high fear of crime for the residents, although the estate is strictly guarded. The size, location and strictness of this community make it another interesting case for this research.

3. Nan Guo Ao Yuan (Nanguo Olympic Garden)

Nanguo Ao Yuan is located in the south-eastern suburbs of Guangzhou

The third gated community is Nanguo Ao Yuan, also known as Nanguo Olympic Garden. The estate is named after the Olympic Games and the main theme is sports, which can be seen throughout the whole estate. The zutuans are named after famous cities where Olympic

Games have been held. The choice for this estate is based on the surrounding area, facilities and management.

Nanguo is located in the suburbs on the south side of Guangzhou city centre. The estate covers 66ha and has 2200 apartments, housing more than 6000 inhabitants. It is located in Panyu, a district known for its high amount of gated communities and the main residential area of expatriates in the city. Even though Nanguo is also located in the suburbs, like Sijihuacheng, the surrounding area is very different. A high amount of gated communities may seem safer, but might mean that the area between the communities is less guarded. The area around Nanguo is still in development. Recently, a metro station opened close to the estate, connecting the area to the city centre.

The choice for Nanguo is also based on the facilities in the estate. Most large horizontal gated communities offer some facilities and amenities for the enjoyment of the residents, such as a swimming pool, games rooms, or a tennis court. Nanguo offers a large amount of high quality facilities, such as three swimming pools, a kindergarten and primary school, and even a golf course. These facilities might raise the feeling of prestige for inhabitants of the estate, but also be an incentive for outsiders to see if these facilities are open to them.

Golf courses are a high-class commodity

Also, the management makes Nanguo an interesting estate, because the developer is no longer connected to the management. This might influence for example the strictness of the estate and adds another point of interest to Nanguo.

Nanguo is a large and well-facilitated estate, located in an area which is still in development. The high amount of gated communities might make the surrounding area less threatening than at Sijihuacheng, though the surrounding environment is more volatile because it is still under construction. The feeling of safety in the surrounding area can influence the reasons for residents to choose for Nanguo.

In conclusion, it can be said that the three gated communities are all different. One is city centre, prestigious and high class. Another is suburban, surrounded by migrant workers, developed and strictly managed by Vanke, which might make the inside of the community feel safe while the outside is not. The last is also suburban, with some high-class facilities and located in an area which is known for a high amount of gated communities, which make the surrounding area feel safer. Because each community has its own characteristics, the inhabitant's reasons for choosing to live there might be different as well. Zhu Jiang Di Jing might be chosen especially for prestige, Sijihuacheng for the strictness of Vanke, and Nanguo for the facilities and surrounding area. The fear of crime, which is the main reason for choosing walls and gates, is still expected to be central in each choice, but the secondary choices might differ per estate, which will add more information to this research.

5.4 Research methods

The empirical part of this research will consist of four series of interviews.

Planner interviews I	Explorative interviews with four urban planners
Inhabitant interview	Interviews with thirty-six inhabitants to find out why they chose to live in a gated community
Planner inhabitant interviews	Reviewing the inhabitant interviews with an urban planner living in the same gated community
Planner interviews II	Reviewing the results of the earlier series with the first four urban planners to conclude the data collection

Each of these series will be fully explicated in this paragraph.

Planner interviews I

The first interviews will be held with four urban planners, working at the Guangzhou Urban Planning Institute. The planners are chosen on the grounds that they are working as urban planners, have a university degree and speak English properly. The questions in this interview (Appendix 3) will give more insight into the planning of gated communities, the reasons for their development and the planners attitudes towards the gated communities. Earlier research has shown several situations which are hard to explain, such as a public school inside a community's gates (Douglass et al, 2011). The planners will be asked to explain the apparent lack of strictness of the gates and the possibility of finding public services within a community's gates. At the end of the interview, each planner will be asked about their own experience with, and their opinion of, the planning of commodity housing estates.

These interviews will be semi-structured. Semi-structured interviews involving using "*fairly specific topics to be covered…*", which means that "*…the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply*" (Bryman, 2008, p.438). Because the questions are non-standardized and more open, the interviewer can ask extra questions when this is deemed necessary or informative, which can lead to new paths which were not initially considered. In this research, the context is very important, because the theory is based on mostly Western research and there might be factors in play which have not been considered in the theoretical view of the situation. Each interview will have a number of standard questions as a guideline, which must be answered in order to be able to answer the main questions, such as why gated communities are developed and why public services can be located within the walls of such communities. During the interview, there will be room to ask extra questions whenever an interesting point comes forth.

The main goal of this first series of interviews is to gain a better understanding of the development of gated communities in Guangzhou. These interviews are meant to test the theoretical ideas of the Chinese situation, to explore the context and to serve as a basis for the following series of interviews. Also, it will give a first idea of the importance of fear of crime as a reason for planning gated communities, as well as other factors such as prestige or community feeling.

Inhabitant interviews

As soon as the planner interviews are finished, the inhabitant interviews will be created.

The interviews will be structured, which means a standard set of questions will be asked of each inhabitant. There are two reasons for choosing structured interviews for the inhabitant series. First, these interviews will be held on the streets of the community. The researcher will enter the community during day time and the questions will be asked to passers-by inside the estate, after ensuring they are residents of the estate. The chance of these inhabitants speaking English is very low, so a translator is required. The translator will

interview the inhabitants and after each question or interview, a translation will be noted down, in order to minimize the loss of information through translation. Though the translator can ask for additional information when a question does not get answered extensively (for example when there is a "yes or no" answer), it is inconvenient to try a semi-structured interview through a translator. Second, the choice for a structured interview will allow the researcher to compare the answers amongst the inhabitants, and also amongst the inhabitants of the different communities. Each question will be posed in a way that the answer can be seen as "positive" or "negative". This will enhance the value of the information obtained, because it might show unexpected similarities or differences between the inhabitants or the communities.

Interviews will be held with twelve inhabitants of each community, making a total of thirty-six inhabitant interviews. Twelve inhabitants is not a representative sample of a community, nor is thirty-six a representative sample of inhabitants of gated communities in Guangzhou. Due to limited time for data collection, the choice has been made for twelve inhabitants, also because it is unknown how difficult it may be to contact the inhabitants. With six male and six female respondents for each community, it might be possible to discern some measure of agreement amongst the residents' reasons.

The questions of this series of interviews regard the resident's reasons for choosing a gated community, such as the importance of safety, prestige or community. The opinion of the surrounding area and the facilities of the estate will also be reviewed. The main goal of these interviews is to ask residents which factors are most important in their choice for gated communities. These interviews will test the importance of fear of crime for citizens in their choice for a gated community and which others factors may be considered important.

Planner inhabitant interviews
When the inhabitant interviews are finished, the results of each community's twelve interviews will be analysed and discussed with an urban planner who lives in the same community. For each community, one urban planner resident has been found working at the GZPI. These planners are not the same as have been interviewed in the first series of interviews. The results of the inhabitant interviews will be discussed with this planner.

These interviews will be semi-structured. Some of the inhabitants might have given reasons or explanations which are based on Chinese cultural factors, or based on local characteristics of the community. These might be difficult to understand for an outsider and the urban planner might be able to explain the situation. In order to find out as much information as possible, it may be necessary to ask for more information as the interview commences, so a semi-structured interview is the appropriate choice.

The main goal of these interviews is to gain a deeper understanding of the results of the inhabitant interviews by analysing them alongside a Chinese urban planner. The planner will be able to combine to his or her resident experience with the professional view of a qualified urban planner, which might add more information. Also, these interviews might be able to link the citizen's and planner's choice for gated communities, seeing as how these planner inhabitants belong in both boxes.

Planner interviews II
At this point, the results of the inhabitant interviews are analysed and interpreted alongside a Chinese planner. What remains is to further examine the planner's reasons for developing the gated communities. In order to find out more information about this, the four urban planners who have been interviewed in the first series will be interviewed again. These interviews are again semi-structured and will exist of three parts.

First, the reasons for the creation of gated communities will be discussed again, as a check to see whether something was forgotten or has changed since the first interview. Second, if there are unexpected results of the inhabitant interviews, these may also be discussed and the opinions of the urban planners will be asked. Finally, the results of the first interviews may be revisited, if any information has been found that requires more discussion.

The main goal of these interviews is to review the earlier interview results and to gain a more complete understanding of the planner's reasons for the development of gated communities. These last interviews are the opportunity to find answers for any questions which may have arisen in the earlier interviews and to conclude the data collection.

Through these series of interviews, this research hopes to gain a better understanding of the Chinese situation and the reasons why Chinese citizens and planner choose for gated communities. Both sides of reasoning – the planner's choice as well as the citizen's choice – are present throughout the series of interviews. The importance of fear of crime will be the main subject, but attention is also paid other possible influences, such as prestige and community, and to the context, in order to find unexpected influences. When all the interviews are complete, the main question of this research can be answered.

In the first four chapters, a number of theoretical terms have been used which must be made operational before they can be used in the empirical analysis. This means the terms must be analysed and translated to parts which can be used to set up the interview questions in such a way that the whole subject is covered. The choice has been made to analyse only the first two series of interviews (appendix 1 & 2), because these are the basis for answering the research questions. The last two series of interviews are mainly used to reflect on the first two series and to try and find additional information on the answers which have already been given. Therefore, they require no additional analysis.

5.5 Conclusion
This chapter has provided the link between the theoretical part of this research and the data collection and empirical analysis. The actors and research locations have been introduced and the choices have been explained. There will be four series of interviews, making a total of eleven interviews with urban planners at the Guangzhou Planning Institute and thirty-six interviews with inhabitants of three gated communities in Guangzhou.

As has been said before, the small data sample will not give representative results when considering the choices of citizens and urban planners in China or Guangzhou. However, this is a descriptive research which has been based on several other researches. It may be possible to compare the results of this research to the researches that have been used in the first chapters. Although the results may not be representative, it might still show possible trends in gated communities in China which can be compared to e.g. Blakely & Snyder's (1997) reasons for choosing a gated community, or explain the situation found by Douglass et al (2011) where a school was found inside a gated community. In this way, this research may compare its results to earlier researches and add knowledge to the situation of gated communities in China.

At this point, the data collection will commence. In the next chapter, the data will be presented and the results will be analysed.

Zhu Jiang Di Jing
as seen from the Canton Tower

Chapter 6 Analysis of the data collection

6.1 Introduction
This chapter will analyse the results of the data collection of this research: four series of interviews which have been held in Guangzhou. In order to guide the empirical analysis, three sub-questions have been created:
1. To what extent do a wish for security and separation influence citizens in Guangzhou to choose for living in gated communities?
2. To what extent does fear of crime lead urban planners in Guangzhou to choose for the development of gated communities?
3. How can the apparent pervasiveness of Chinese gated communities be explained?

These questions will be the main focus for this chapter. Through analysing the interview results, this research hopes to find the information required to answer these questions, which in turn will aid in answering the main research question.

This chapter has five paragraphs. The second paragraph will focus on the first series of interviews: Planners I. The results of each interview will be examined individually, in order to analyse the information and find differences between the planners' answers. In the third paragraph, the results of the second and third series of interviews will be analysed. The results of the inhabitant interviews will be reviewed for each community, after which the interview with urban planner who inhabits the same community will be presented to further explain the inhabitant interviews. Once all three estates have been reviewed, the answers of all communities will be compared. This will give a general overview for each community and the differences between them. The fourth paragraph will analyse the results of the last series of interviews: Planners II. In the fifth paragraph, the information obtained in the four series of interviews will be used to answer the three sub-questions. This will serve as a conclusion of the empirical analysis.

6.2 Results of interviews: Planners I
This paragraph will review the results of the first series of interviews. These interviews have been held between August 8th and September 2nd, 2010, at the GZPI. Each interview will be presented in turn. The three main subjects of these interviews were
- reasons for the development of gated communities,
- provision of facilities inside gated communities,
- personal experience and view of the urban planner.

First, the planner will be introduced, after which results of the three subjects will be presented in a summarized version. After all four interviews have been presented, a short summary will be given in which the full results will be reviewed.

6.2.1 Interview with mister Yi
The first interview was with mister Yi, deputy director of the Centre of Urban Planning Research department of the GZPI. He has been working for the GZPI for 8 years as urban planner and was promoted to deputy director 3 years ago. Mister YI has spent considerable time in Cardiff, where he went to university.

Reasons for the development of gated communities
In order to understand gated communities in China, the importance of commodity housing must be made clear. Around 1980, the government created a policy in which they stated their desire to privatize the housing market. After this, the only source for housing was the market and thus commodity housing. The old Chinese residential types like factory housing are no

longer allowed. This policy only counts for cities, not for villages, which explains the existence of urban villages within the rapidly expanding cities. The popularity of commodity housing is fully based on the fact that it is the only type of housing that is allowed by the government. Since two or three years, there is some sort of social housing program, in which the national government can order local governments to create a certain amount of cheap houses for those who can not afford the prices of commodity housing. However, in Beijing, some of the social housing estates were created with good facilities and services, and several rich people found a way of buying houses in these estates. Therefore, this program is still very complicated and not yet perfected.

However, the policy for commodity housing does not yet explain the reason for gated communities: why are there so many walls in China? Commodity housing is often developed in large estates, which are (nearly) always walled and gated. There are three reasons for these walls is three-sided: first, there is a cultural influence. Second, it may improve social status. And third, and most important, is the need for security.

Figure 6.1 *Aerial view of the Forbidden City*

Source: Google Maps

The cultural influence is a historical one: walls have always been present in Chinese city building. In Chinese history, all houses have been walled off, no matter whether the inhabitants were rich or poor. A good example of walls being present everywhere in Chinese urban planning is the Forbidden City: not only is there a big wall around the Forbidden City, but also the different areas within the City are walled off from each other (Figure 6.1).

Another reason is social status. Living behind walls may improve a person's social status, especially when there are guards at the gates. However, this is not very important in China and there are no real prestige communities, such as can be found in the United States.

Security is the most important reason for the creation of walls in contemporary Chinese cities. This is necessary because of social imbalance and differences in income levels, where lower class people, such as new immigrants and migrant workers, are jobless and resort to criminal activities. However, migrant workers are not as bad as the media portrays them to be.

Mister YI lives in a vertical gated community which can be entered by showing a resident's card to the guards. However, there are many residents and the guards are not strict in their rules. Only when one tries to enter after midnight, or when a person does not look like a local, he or she will be asked for a resident's card. When you have a good reason to enter, you will always be allowed in.

The provision of facilities in gated communities
Mister Yi's own gated community provides certain facilities, such as a ping pong table and a basketball court. There are also communities which provide for example kindergartens and more sport facilities.

Facilities located inside a gated community can be both private and public. Most are private and created mainly for the enjoyment of the residents, such as most sport facilities. However, a school, even when located within a gated community, is a public service. Even though it is built by the developers, it is managed by the local government. When the developer wins the auction for the development of the area, the school will already be stated as one of the requirements from the local government. The reason why a school has to be located inside the walls is government regulation, i.e. a school has to be located within a radium of one kilometre. This regulation does not stop when walls are built. Another example of a public facility which can be located within an estate's walls is a hospital. The reason that these facilities are accessible for non-residents is the government's regulation.

Another important aspect lies in the location of the gate. Many shops located inside gated communities are still open to and accessible for outsiders. The reason for this is that the shops are developed to make a profit and the more people can enter, the more chance there is for profit. The premise in which these shops are located is often still open for outsiders and the actual gates are located further into the estate: the gate at the outer wall is not as strict as the gates at the building.

Personal experience and view
Mister YI has no personal experience with the planning or design of gated communities. This is mainly because this is often done by smaller institutes, not by A-grade institutes like the GZPI.

It is hard to say whether or not gated communities are positive or not. The future will show whether or not it was positive. The same goes for the private provision of services. The walls are negative in inner city areas, because the Chinese cities could use more city life. In the suburbs, they can be built if the developer wants to. Sometimes, they may be necessary, when the surrounding area has negative factors, such as migrant workers. In inner city, the gates of walls are often not very strict, but the building gates are guarded with resident card systems and guards. The areas inside the walls are often open for outsiders.

Concerning the viability of neighbourhoods without walls in China, more open space would be preferable, but the walls will probably not disappear soon. China is in transition and is constantly changing, which means there are always social issues. Many people still do not obey the law and the rules, so a wall adds to the safety of inhabitants. Also, it keeps out disturbances such as heavy traffic passing through the estate. In inner city, guards or high quality security systems can be sufficient, but in suburban areas, the whole estate area should be high quality and a wall is necessary.

In conclusion, the main reason for the creation of gated communities is the security for the inhabitants.

6.2.2 Interview with mister Shi
Mister Shi is an urban planner, working in the Centre for Urban Planning Research of the GZPI. He has been working at the company for one and a half year. Mister SHI has lived in Delft, the Netherlands, for two and a half years, while he was studying at university. While in the Netherlands, he lived in a student house for 2 years and in a city centre house along the canal for 8 months.

Reasons for the development of gated communities
The reason for the development of gated communities lies in the social gap, caused by an unequal increase of income in the Chinese society. There are two factors which play a role in this. First, people who can afford a better life tend to stick together and want to keep outsiders out, which gives them a sense of safety. Second, most of these communities are much better quality residences than their surroundings, for example with better services but also stable electricity etcetera.

The pervasiveness of walls is confusing, because having walls and guards should mean that outsiders are not be allowed in. This does not count for facilities inside the estates though, which are often private facilities and want to make as much profit as possible. The outer walls may not be very strict, but at least they lower the risk of intrusion and having a pervasive wall is still better than having no wall at all. The wall and guards still keep the people who can not pay outside.

The provision of facilities in gated communities
Many communities in China are not very high class, actually just middle-class. These communities will not have a great deal of services and facilities. Only the higher class housing estates will offer facilities such as schools, swimming pools, bars, clubs, etcetera. This is not only for large horizontal estates, but also for the higher class vertical inner city estate, which have for example restaurants at the first floor. These facilities are not exactly public or private, but can be described as *"private facilities but open to the public"*. The only reason why these facilities, located within walls, are open to outsiders is profit-making.

Personal experience and view
Some experience with planning gated communities has learned that facilities inside estates are based on the amount and class of inhabitants. The amount and type of facilities should reflect these numbers, because facilities are not created with the purpose of serving non-residents.

Gated communities and private provision of services lead to inequality. On the other hand, what to do without walls? That would lead to worries about safety, because having no walls would not be safe and might lead to problems such as burglary. Even though the cities might seem safe with so many guards on the streets, it is actually not safe, especially after midnight. The walls are necessary now, especially in inner city, because of a higher population density and a more complex composition of social groups.

Different types of residential development would be preferable. The problem with these gated communities is that they are owned by the developer, who has the right to keep people in and out. This can generate bigger social problems.

Neighbourhoods without walls in China may be possible, but first the problem of inequality in income has to be solved. Class differences and prestige will disappear along with the major income differences. As long as the income gap remains, walls will still be needed in order to achieve the necessary safety.

6.2.3 Interview with miss Wu
Miss Wu is an urban planner, working at the Centre of Urban Planning Research at the GZPI. She has been working at the GZPI for just over one year and studied Ecology at Sun-Yat-Sen University in Guangzhou, focused on Ecological Planning.

Reasons for the development of gated communities

There are several reasons which lead to the planning of the large scale Chinese gated communities, which can be explain in two parts.

First, there is rigid demand for housing, caused by population growth and urbanization. The government sells large scale land plots to respond to this demand, as well as to maximize the profit. Developers buy these large plots and develop the community as a whole, instead of small divided areas, because a large scale estate has the ability to maintain good facilities.

Second, there is a cultural aspect to the commodity housing. While Europeans or Americans can be content by renting a house all their lives, Chinese people think differently. Every family must own a house, because this is seen as the root of a new family. This is based on the agricultural backgrounds of the Chinese people. This necessity to own a house boosts the demand for housing and developers play in to this demand by developing as much houses at once as possible by creating large estates.

The reasons for the gates can be found in culture, security and intimacy. Chinese have always enjoyed walls, take for example the Great Wall. Having a wall to surround you makes you feel more secure. This also shows the security influence: a wall keeps out thieves and increases the feeling of security. A research held by Sina.com in 2005 showed that 70% of the people think walled communities feel safer and 88% of the people think walled estates feel more intimate. Most estates have walls inside the community as well: an outside wall surrounding the whole community and inside walls separating the *zutuans*. The area outside the zutuan is often accessible, so the surrounding wall mostly serves as a psychological border, increasing the perceived security.

Box 6.1 *What is a zutuan?*

Zutuan can be translated as *cluster* and represents a part of a Chinese gated community. Next to the outer wall, these communities often also have walls and gates separating different zutuans. In this way, the inhabitants of a zutuan have an extra gate protecting their buildings, often including private 'open' space. The area in between the zutuans is often open for outsiders, who are able to access the facilities located there without threatening the residential complexes. The map shows three zutuans in Sijihuacheng (yellow) and two commercial zones in the open area (red). The picture shows a zutuan gate in Sijihuacheng, preventing non-inhabitant access.

Next to commodity housing, there are also some low-rent programs started by the government in 2007. The government will buy land and find developers to develop a residential

community, after which they will set the price lower than market price and sell it to people who can not afford commodity housing. There are many people in China who can not afford a house with the current housing prices: the minimum monthly wage in Guangzhou is 400 RMB, while inner city housing prices are around 10.000 RMB per square meter. However, because there are so many people who want to make use of this project, the houses are given out through a lottery system, where each applicant has a small chance to get the house. This is only open to city hukou holders, effectively excluding migrant workers.

The provision of facilities in gated communities
Miss Wu lives in an inner city gated community, which has a wall and security guards at the door, but does not have much facilities. There is a gym room which is also open to non-residents, although this is mainly restricted to friends and family of residents. However, the guards at the door are not very strict.

The amount and type of facilities which can be found in an estate depends on the age and location. Newer communities often have more facilities and suburban (horizontal) estates often have more facilities than inner city communities. This is because inner city estates have less space available and because there are more facilities present in the surrounding area. Facilities which can be found inside estates range from gyms and clubhouses to cinemas and schools.

The accessibility of such facilities differs. For example pools and cinemas might be only for residents (and friends and family), or even for non-residents, if you can show your I.D. card and buy access to the pool. "*You think 'it is a wall, so you can not get in', but that is not the* case". Schools and kindergartens are open for outsiders. However, if you want to send your children there, you will have to pay a fee, which is often very high.

The reason why non-residents can enter the estate is profit-making. The walls are not built to divide the community from the city, so there is no reason to refuse access to those who want to use the facilities inside the estate.

Personal experience and view
Gated communities are positive, because they create a feeling of intimacy and security, which are very important for Chinese people. The walls might be preferred by high-income people, to separate themselves from the insecure influence of low-income people. However, poor people are not necessarily seen as dangerous people, but rich people want to show status and prestige by living in a walled estate. Security is possibly not as important as prestige, mainly because of the awareness that walls often are not very strict.

While small or vertical communities can have walls and guards, it would be preferable if large scale horizontal communities could do without, because the walls lead to traffic problems and harm the diversity and vitality of city life, as well as the commercial atmosphere. Different types of residential development would be preferable, because diversity is the source of happiness.

Non-walled estates would not be possible in contemporary China, but half-open residential communities might work. Walls should not surround a huge area, but only one or two buildings maximum. By removing the outer walls, surrounding the whole area, and only gating the zutuans, the connection between the residential area and city life would improve.

6.2.4 Interview with miss Li
Miss Li is junior urban designer in the Urban Design Institute department of the GZPI, where she has been working for about 5 months now. Before this, she studied at South China

University of Technology and Planning and finished her master's degree in Urban Design in Cardiff University, Wales.

Reasons for the development of gated communities
Gated communities in China are linked to commodity housing. This commodity housing is growing because of the rapid population growth and an overall increase in income. It is also popular because there is profit in buying and selling the houses. There is also cultural influence: it is a traditional idea in Chinese culture that owning a house is essential to a family. After marriage, you buy a house, because at that moment you establish a new family. Most people rent until they get married, because it is much cheaper and they have to save money with the housing prices being as high as they are now.

The walls around these commodity housing estates are placed for two reasons. The most important reason is safety. Next to that, the walls increase the feeling of privacy.

Gated communities in China are built up of four different zones, each with its own spatial concept (*note: this is explicated at the end of this paragraph*). The zutuan-area is considered semi-private, because it divides the residents from different parts of the estate. Parts of the estate are closed off from each other in China, because other zutuans may have different housing prices or facilities, or a different view. If you pay for that, you do not want to share it with people who do not pay for it. However, Chinese gated communities are one community, it just has different parts: "*Just like a family, you all have different rooms. You have private rooms, you can not just break into your parent's room as you want, but you can go around the house if you want*".

The provision of facilities in gated communities
Gated communities can offer many types of facilities, such as kindergartens, schools, swimming pools, supermarkets or even hospitals. Most of these facilities are only open to residents, because when you buy the house, you also buy entry to the facilities. However, some facilities still require extra payment when used, such as tennis courts. This can be explained as maintenance costs, next to the standard maintenance fee.

Schools inside such estates can be seen as semi-public, since they are also open for non-residents. The reason for their placement within the estate walls is Chinese policy, which states that an area of a certain size requires certain facilities, such as a school.

Facility	Requirement
High school	1000 meter area radius
Primary school	500 meter area radius
Kindergarten	Based on population

Note: these are examples given in the interview, the true numbers in Chinese policy might differ.

As a developer, the facilities created within an estate will be based on the amount of people living there. They are not created with the specific purpose to also serve outsiders, except for example shops. However, if the facilities are not used to their maximum potential, such as with schools but also with sports facilities, outsiders who can pay the fees may still be welcome.

Personal experience and view
Living in a gated community is enjoyable, because it feels safer and more private. Even though outer walls may be pervasive, outsiders still have to register when they get in, and then have to go through so many gates to get to your house, that it still increases the safety. In

Cardiff, CCTV increases the feeling of safety of all the residents. In China, this is achieved through walls, gates and guards.

It would be more ideal to live without walls, because this would improve society building. If green space and safety can be ensured, then it is much better to live without walls. However, this is not possible in contemporary China. There is a social issue now where people's privacy and security need to be protected through walls. Also, people's identity and differences between high- and low-income are shown through the houses they live in, therefore it is also a prestige issue.

6.2.5 Summary
The first series of planner interviews was guided by several questions formulated in the previous chapter, which can be summed up in three subjects. The answers given for each of these subjects will be reviewed here as a summary of the first series of interviews.

Reasons for the development of gated communities
The development of gated communities is linked to the government policy which has only allowed commodity housing from the 1980's on, effectively forcing every citizen to get their house from the market. A combination of high population growth, urbanization and the cultural necessity of owning a house, have created a rigid housing demand. The local government sells land in large areas at once, in order to maximize profit and the amount of houses. These land lots are made into one estate, which allows maximum support for facilities.

These large estates are (nearly) always walled and gated. Three of the four urban planners named security as the main reason for the walls, while the fourth planner named it as a close second. The need for security is caused by social issues and an inequality in income. The high quality estates are surrounded by poor people, such as migrant workers, which are seen as an insecure factor, though not necessarily dangerous. Also, the communities often have a higher living quality than their surroundings and this is also protected through walls and gates. Prestige and social status were named thrice as an important reason for walls. Privacy and the feeling of intimacy were also named.

The pervasiveness of the outer wall gates has been named 'not so important', because the gates inside the community are more important. As long as the *zutuan* gates, or even the apartment buildings, are well guarded, then the strictness of the outside wall does not seem to matter much to the planners. Miss LI introduced four spatial concepts in Chinese urban planning which can be used to further explain this situation (Figure 6.2)

In this lay-out, four different zones can be seen. The first zone is the area outside the community. After passing through the first gate, the outer wall, the second zone is reached: inside the community. It is possible to walk through the estate here, in order to use facilities or visit one of the several zutuans. In order to reach a house, the zutuan gate must be passed, leading to zone 3: Zutuan. Two walls and gates are now passed and before a house can be entered, the apartment building must first be entered, which is nearly always another gate. In the apartment building, the last gate awaits: the front door of the apartment. This leads to Zone 4: Apartment. In conclusion, in order to travel from outside the estate into a house, one has to pass through two walls and a total of four gates.

Each of the four zones named here is seen as a different spatial concept in Chinese urban planning (Table 6.1).

Figure 6.2 *Sketch of the general lay-out of Chinese gated communities*
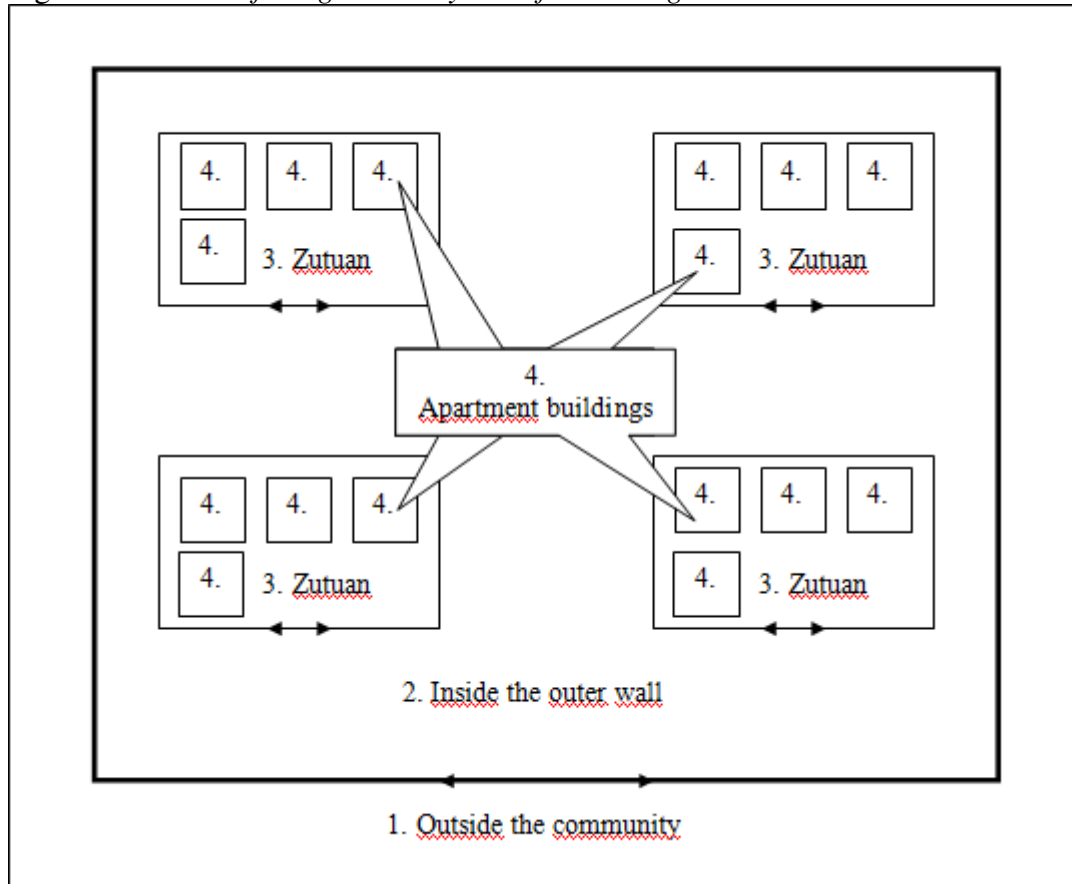
Table 6.1 *Spatial concepts in Chinese gated communities*

Zone	Spatial Concept
1. Outside the community	Fully public space
2. Inside the outer wall	Semi-public space
3. Inside the zutuan	Semi-private space
4. Inside the apartment	Fully private space

The interesting notion here is that the area within the outer wall of the gated community is still considered semi-public and thus accessible to a large part of the public. This will be further explained in the next part about the facilities.

The provision of facilities in gated communities
There are many different facilities which can be found within gated communities, ranging from a ping-pong table and a basketball court to golf courses, schools and hospitals.

As explanation to the phenomenon found by Douglass et al (2011), where a school located inside a gated community was open for outsiders, the urban planners stated that schools are a public facility, no matter where they are located. When a developer wins the auction for a lot, the local government has already written the requirements for what is to developed in the area and schools are an example of such a requirement. Although they are built by the developer, they are managed by the local government. Therefore, they are a public service and open to everyone. However, most gated communities create a school based on their own area and population size. Outsiders are welcome whenever there is place and when they can afford the (often hefty) fee.

There are also private facilities located within gated communities, such as restaurants, shops and sports facilities. These can also be open for outsiders. The explanation for this can be found in the fact that the area inside the outer wall of a gated community is still considered semi-public space in Chinese urban planning (see Table 6.1). Shops and facilities located within this area can be accessed by outsiders. Schools and kindergartens are also located in this semi-public zone. The residents do not bother about non-inhabitants accessing this area, because their homes are located within the zutuan area, which is also walled and gated. Therefore, their homes and possessions are not in danger when outsiders enter the second zone. Also, guards will keep out those who can not pay the fee for the facilities, those who have no business in the estate, or those who simply look too poor, so for example migrant workers will still be unable to enter. The pervasiveness of the gates can thus be explained by the idea that the true "gates" of the Chinese gated community seem to be the zutuan gates, not the outer wall gate.

Personal experience and view
Mister YI stated that walls and gates are negative in inner city environment, because the city life of Chinese cities needs to improve. Gates and walls are barriers to healthy city life. For the large suburban estates, walls are good, because they separate the high quality environment inside the community from the poorer surrounding area.

Mister SHI noted that, although walls and gates lead to inequality in Chinese society and are a negative asset of urban planning, he would not know what to do without walls, because that would feel unsafe. As of yet, there is no alternative to get the same feeling of safety that walls give, so there is no other way at this moment.

Miss WU said that walls are mainly necessary for prestige, security and a feeling of intimacy, which are important in the Chinese society. However, she would prefer the large horizontal estates to remove the outer walls and use only the zutuan walls. The large estates often only have one main gate, which leads to traffic problems near the gate, as well as forcing other traffic to drive around the large estate.

Miss LI stated that walls increase the feeling of safety and privacy, but that it would be better for the Chinese society to live without walls. However, at this moment she deems it necessary for safety and also as the main way to show status difference.

6.3 Results of interviews: Inhabitants & Planner inhabitants
In this paragraph, the second and third series of interviews will be examined. Thirty-six inhabitant interviews were held in three gated communities in Guangzhou and interviews have been held with urban planners who lived in the same gated communities. This paragraph will review the answers for each community: first the results of the twelve inhabitant interviews will be examined. The results will be divided between positive and negative responses and the resident's reasons will be summarized, presenting only the most important or unexpected responses. The full analysis of the three inhabitant interviews can be found in respectively Appendix 4, 5 and 6. After the inhabitant interviews of an estate are analysed, the interview with the planner inhabitant interview will be presented to explain the answers given by the inhabitants.

6.3.1a Zhu Jiang Di Jing inhabitants
As introduced in the previous chapter, Zhu Jiang Di Jing is a large scale inner city gated community, located in Guangzhou city centre, along the banks of the Pearl River. It is well known as a prestigious high class estate and caught the attention by having a price-winning kindergarten inside the estate's walls which is open for non-residents, and because a hotel is part of the gated estate. The reason for the accessibility of the kindergarten has already been

explained in the planner interviews, namely that it is located in the semi-public area inside the outer wall of the estate. However, the hotel along the walls would give hotel guests access to the estate and facilities, which may be unwanted by residents. The results of the interviews (Table 6.2) will be explicated below.

Table 6.2 *Inhabitant interview results in Zhu Jiang Di Jing*

Wish for security – safety & fear of others	Positive	Negative
4. Do you enjoy living in a walled estate?	12	0
5. Do you feel safe inside your estate?	9	3
6. Where do you go for shopping: nearby area or city centre?	0	12
7. Do you like the area just outside your estate?	2	10
8. How do you feel about the strictness of your estate?	4	8
9. Could you imagine living in a non-walled estate?	7	5
10. Do you like the estate facilities and do you use them?	8	4
11. Do your friends and family make use of the facilities in this estate?	10	2
12. How do you feel about sharing facilities with non-residents?	12	0
13. Have you ever seen unwanted people inside your estate?	0	12
Wish for separation – community & prestige		
14. Do you have many friends in the estate?	0	12
15. Do you feel connected to the other inhabitants of the estate?	3	9
16. Do you feel the estate's residents are a community?	3	9
17. Does living in this estate increase your social status?	8	4

Two interviewees have lived in the estate since the opening, but most had moved in after 2006. The reasons for buying a house in Zhu Jiang Di Jing were mostly similar among all respondents. Ten out of twelve named the environment inside the estate as their main reason for choosing Zhu Jiang Di Jing. The high price of the houses, as well as the size of the apartments, were also named three times as influential in the choice. When asked whether the residents enjoyed living in Zhu Jiang Di Jing, most were positive. The two main reasons were the environment inside the estate and the safety, both named seven times. Three people mentioned the closeness to the city centre as a positive asset of Zhu Jiang Di Jing.

All residents stated that living in a walled estate increases safety. The feeling of safety within the estate is mainly based on experience: nothing bad has happened while they lived here, so there's no reason to feel unsafe. However, the guards were judged badly as low quality employees which reduced the feeling of safety. Most inhabitants wanted the estate to be stricter, which for most residents meant they wanted stricter guards. The nearby area lacked facilities and was currently experiencing construction works, due to the development of the Canton Tower.

Friends and family can enter the estate as long as they show their I.D. card when entering the estate. The facilities are open to them, as well as to the hotel guests, for a fee. Most residents did not mind sharing the facilities, because friends, family and hotel guests are never poor people. The only 'unwanted' people mentioned were workers, for example gardeners, though these were accepted as inevitable. There were some complaints about the facilities and two inhabitants stated the maintenance is failing: ever since all apartments were sold, it seemed like the management did not care about maintenance anymore.

The respondents didn't have many friends in the estate. The reason is that most are businesspeople who have little time to spend in the estate and do not care too much about meeting new people. The estate is not considered to be a community, because there are people from many different provinces living inside, which hinders the feeling of a shared identity.

Prestige was important to most respondents, who stated living in the estate had a positive influence on their social status. The main reasons were the good reputation of the estate, the large area size and the fact that it is a very expensive estate.

6.3.1b Zhu Jiang Di Jing planner
The urban planner who was interviewed about Zhu Jiang Di Jing is mister Huang, who is inspector of survey drawing on the Construction Survey Team of the GZPI. He has lived in the estate since 2004 as one of the first inhabitants. His own main reason for choosing to live in Zhu Jiang Di Jing were the prospects of the estate: it is well situated along the north-south central axis of Guangzhou (Tian He district – Zhu Jiang Xin Cheng) and along the central Pearl River from east to west. Also, it was relatively cheap at the time.

The outcome of the twelve inhabitant interviews were presented to mister Huang, after which he was asked to further explain the inhabitant's answers.

Mister Huang's noted that the estate has changed quite much over the years, which may influence some of the residents' answers. For example the environment, which many interviewees named as their main reason to move into the estate, was not very impressive when he moved in, but has improved since 2007. The safety feeling, which some residents based on their positive experiences, is another example. Mister Huang has heard over several thefts during his time in the estate. However, he realises this happens in every estate, so he does not pay too much attention to it and still feels safe in the estate.

Other factors were dependent on the personal situation of the respondent. For example, the criticism on the construction in the surrounding area is dependent on whether the view from your apartment overlooks it or not. Also, the community feeling depends on who you ask. Businesspeople in this estate will be too busy to get to know their neighbours. However, there are also many older people in this estate who no longer work, as well as mothers with babies. These people stay inside the estate all day and have much more contact with their fellow residents.

He is personally annoyed with the facilities in the estate, because the hotel was advertised as a *hui suo* (member's only) source of resident's facilities. However, the developer decided they wanted to earn more, so they chose to make it a public hotel instead. This is the reason why the estate lacks facilities for the residents. It is even worse because most facilities are not even free for residents, even though they already pay a monthly maintenance fee. The maintenance has been degrading over the years, as two older residents had already stated in their interviews. Mister Huang states this is actually common in China. The developers want to make as much money as possible and therefore do not want to spend much on maintenance. Once all residences are sold, the maintenance often degrades swiftly.

The estate is prestigious, also in the eyes of mister Huang. It is 65 ha, which is huge for an inner city estate. The apartments have good views and the whole estate has a luxurious outlook. Also, everyone knows about Zhu Jiang Di Jing. These factors combined definitely make it a prestigious estate.

When asked about the safety of the estate, he stated that the wall is very useful and necessary for Zhu Jiang Di Jing, because there are few cameras and the guards are of questionable quality. This problem with guards is also common in China, because they are not like government officials, but just hired people who can quit their job at any time. The notion about living without a wall seemed nonsense to him: you need both a wall and guards to ensure safety.

The strictness of the estate is bad. The fact that the researcher could just walk through the hotel into the estate without being checked was a bad sign to him. He states it would

definitely be preferable to have stricter access, but this is not going to happen anymore. There are too many inhabitants in the estate to have the guards ask for identification at all time. The best solution would be an I.C.-card system, where residents obtain a card which can be used to open an automatic gate. However, this is very expensive, and as stated before, the developer wants to spend as little as possible on maintenance. Therefore this will not happen in Zhu Jiang Di Jing.

With the last question, mister Huang was asked whether the wall added physical safety to the estate, or whether it is more a perceived feeling of safety. He answered by stating that it is definitely psychological, thus perceived safety, because it just feels safer to live inside a wall. However, it is also physical safety, because it prevents non-residents from entering the estate from all angles and restricts people to the entrances. This way, the guards are able to search everyone who seems suspicious.

6.3.2a Sijihuacheng inhabitants

Sijihuacheng has been introduced in the previous chapter as a 50ha suburban estate with approximately 10.000 inhabitants. The inside environment is high quality and strictly guarded by developer Vanke, while the outside environment is known as a low quality factory area, housed by migrant workers. The closeness of such differences might lead to an increased fear of crime by the residents of the estate. Twelve residents were interviewed in this estate and the results will be presented (Table 6.3) and analysed here.

Table 6.3 *Inhabitant interview results in Sijihuacheng*

Wish for security – safety & fear of others	Positive	Negative
4. Do you enjoy living in a walled estate?	12	0
5. Do you feel safe inside your estate?	12	0
6. Where do you go for shopping: nearby area or city centre?	5	7
7. Do you like the area just outside your estate?	1	11
8. How do you feel about the strictness of your estate?	9	3
9. Could you imagine living in a non-walled estate?	2	10
10. Do you like the estate facilities and do you use them?	8	4
11. Can friends and family make use of the facilities in this estate?	5	7
12. How do you feel about sharing facilities with non-residents?	6	6
13. Do you ever see unwanted people inside your estate?	2	10
Wish for separation – community & prestige		
14. Do you have many friends in the estate?	4	8
15. Do you feel connected to the other inhabitants of the estate?	6	6
16. Do you feel the estate's residents are a community?	1	11
17. Does living in this estate increase your social status?	3	9

Most of the twelve interviewees had moved into Sijihuacheng in 2005, the others had bought their houses in later years. The main reason for choosing a house in Sijihuacheng was the good quality of the environment inside the estate, which was named twelve out of twelve times. Next to the environment, six people mentioned the low price of the houses as a reason for choosing the estate and four people chose Sijihuacheng because of Vanke's reputation for high quality strict estates. When asked whether the residents enjoyed living in Sijihuacheng, the reactions were all positive. Eleven out of twelve stated to enjoy living in the estate because of the environment and the quiet: there are no disturbances from outside. The estate was named as friendly and well-managed. The strictness was as good as Vanke promised, which also counted as very positive for some.

All twelve inhabitants stated that living in a walled estate is necessary for safety. The surrounding area was disliked for reasons such as poverty, dirtiness, and lack of safety, caused by the 'bad people' living there. The strictness of the estate was well appreciated, because of the bad image of the surrounding area and the increased feeling of safety it gave. Living non-walled would not be safe and it would be against Chinese tradition, although it might be possible when the quality of the outside environment was equal to or better quality than the inside environment.

Friends and family can enter the estate, but have to wait at the gate until a resident comes to pick them up. After the installation of the electronic gates (I.C. card system), no more unwanted people had been seen within the estate.

The four people who mentioned they had made new friends in the estate were all elderly people. They do not have to work during the day and spend much time in the estate, which allows them to make friends with the other elderly people. Sijihuacheng is judged as not prestigious, because it is not very expensive and the income of the inhabitants is too diverse.

6.3.2b Sijihuacheng planner
The urban planner who was interviewed about Sijihuacheng was mister Li, urban planner at the Centre of Urban Planning Research department of the GZPI. He has lived in the estate since early 2007, so has not experienced the time before the I.C. cards system installed. He named four reasons for choosing Sijihuacheng as a residential location: first the distance and easy connection to work, second the low price, third the green environment inside the estate, and fourth the good reputation of Vanke. Sijihuacheng is the first estate developed by Vanke in the Guangzhou area.

The outcome of the twelve inhabitant interviews were presented to mister Li, after which he was asked to further explain the inhabitant's answers.

Regarding the use of the facilities and the fee which is required for them, mister Li stated that he does not think the fee is very important in the decision for residents whether or not to use them. Nearly all Chinese gated estates require such a fee for the use of certain facilities, so this is not just the case in Sijihuacheng. Also, the facilities are good quality and still cheaper to use than similar facilities in the surrounding area. Friends and family will not often use the facilities though, because there is for example a health check which has to be passed before the swimming pool may be used. This is no problem for inhabitants, but often too much hassle for visitors.

In answer to the community questions, he explained that old people need more friends around their house than younger people, because the younger people still have contacts at for example their work. That is why the old people make friends inside the estate, while the younger ones do not feel the need for that. He recognizes that the inhabitants of Sijihuacheng differ too much to be called a community, though he adds that people are very helpful and friendly.

He argued that Sijihuacheng is not a very prestigious estate, because there are too many different types of people living there. He can see how prestige would count for the choice of living in Zhu Jiang Di Jing, but not for Sijihuacheng.

In regard to the safety issue, he noted that Sijihuacheng needs a wall, because of the large difference between the inside environment and the outside: there is a huge social gap between the people who live inside and outside. If you walk just outside the gates, you can notice the differences immediately, so it is not safe to live without a border (Figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3 *Difference between the environment inside (left) and outside (right) Sijihuacheng*

A wall can help keep the free-riders out, who would otherwise enjoy the inside environment without paying for it. This is also the reason for Vanke's strictness: a strict wall and border makes the management of the inside environment easier, as well as keep the inhabitants safe. When asked about living in a non-walled estate, mister Li said he also has an apartment in the city centre which is in a non-walled residential area. He describes this as feeling very unsafe and troubled by noise and disturbances, so he prefers to live in a walled estate. The idea of not needing a wall when the outside environment is as good as the inside seemed right to him, but he also added that this is definitely not the case for Sijihuacheng.

When asked whether the wall adds mainly psychological safety or also physical safety, he stated that a wall is definitely required for physical safety in the suburbs. There are no or not enough other safety measures, such as cameras, and a wall is required to keep outsiders out. The psychological value is mostly that you do not see the surrounding area, which eases the feeling of threat coming from the outside.

6.3.3a Nanguo Ao Yuan inhabitants
The third estate is Nanguo Ao Yuan, or Nanguo Olympic Garden. This has been introduced in the previous chapter as a large scale suburban estate, located in the Panyu district. The are two main differences with Sijihuacheng. First, Panyu district is high quality area, known for its gated communities and high amount of expatriates. Second, the estate offers some high quality facilities, such as a golf course, which might be tempting for outsiders. The results of the interviews (Table 6.4) will be explicated below.

Two of the respondents bought their house in 2001, while the other ten bought their house after 2005. There were three main reasons given for the choice of moving into Nanguo. Six people mentioned the good quality of the environment inside the estate as main reason, four people were mostly interested because the houses were cheap at the time, and two made their choice based on the good traffic connections. When asked whether they still enjoyed living in Nanguo, most residents were not very content. The facilities and the environment were good, but the management was bad, with low quality maintenance and strictness, and the estate was not improving as they had hoped.

All respondents stated the walls were required for safety, and several also noted the importance of walls in Chinese tradition. The inhabitants did not feel safe in the estate, because it was not strict enough and because they had heard of theft cases within the estate. The nearby area felt unsafe to the residents and lacked facilities, so was judged negatively.

Table 6.4 *Inhabitant interview results in Nanguo Ao Yuan*

Wish for security – safety & fear of others	Positive	Negative
4. Do you enjoy living in a walled estate?	12	0
5. Do you feel safe inside your estate?	8	4
6. Where do you go for shopping: nearby area or city centre?	5	7
7. Do you like the area just outside your estate?	2	10
8. How do you feel about the strictness of your estate?	1	11
9. Could you imagine living in a non-walled estate?	3	9
10. Do you like the estate facilities and do you use them?	11	1
11. Can friends and family make use of the facilities in this estate?	10	2
12. How do you feel about sharing facilities with non-residents?	9	3
13. Have you ever seen unwanted people inside your estate?	1	11
Wish for separation – community & prestige		
14. Do you have many friends in the estate?	7	5
15. Do you feel connected to the other inhabitants of the estate?	7	5
16. Do you feel the estate's residents are a community?	8	4
17. Does living in this estate increase your social status?	2	10

The strictness could improve, mainly because the guards were not doing their job very well and there were practically no limitations for outsiders to enter. The idea of living non-walled was deemed not safe and against tradition, although it could be possible, if the quality of the outside environment is good enough.

The inhabitants were pleased with the good quality of the facilities, but some were annoyed that it was so easy for outsiders to use them. They stated that the residents, who also pay a monthly maintenance fee, should at least get priority. One person noticed unwanted people within the estate and once again blamed the guards.

Many friends were made in the estate through an internet forum, set-up by and used by nearly all residents, even the businesspeople. This led to an increase in connection and community feeling, although some stated there were still too many differences between the inhabitants to really make a community. Living in the estate was not considered influential on social status, because it is not expensive enough to make an impression.

6.3.3b Nanguo Ao Yuan planner
The urban planner resident of Nanguo Ao Yuan was mister YU, senior urban planner at the Centre of Urban Planning Research department of the GZPI. He has lived in Nanguo since December 2005. He chose to buy a house, because he wanted to marry and needed a house to get a steady life. He says that the cultural necessity of buying a house also has an economic aspect: because the Chinese social security system is not very good, people want to buy real estate to support their life in the future. He gave three reasons to explain his choice for Nanguo specifically. First of all, he enjoyed the environment within the estate. Second, the housing price was still relatively low at the time of his purchase. Third, he expected that the Nanguo surrounding area would become a popular area in later years, mainly because of the planned traffic improvements. A metro line is being developed with a station only a few hundred meters from the gate of Nanguo, connecting the area straight to the city centre. Also, a railway station is being designed nearby and when both are finished, the area will be much more popular.

The outcome of the twelve inhabitant interviews were presented to mister Yu, after which he was asked to further explain the inhabitant's answers.

First, mister Yu was asked about the positive responses to the facilities. He agreed that facilities are good quality and very well-designed in this estate, although the maintenance could definitely be better.

Prestige is not Nanguo's strongest point, although it may have been between 2002 and 2006. At that time, the developer put out much advertisements and Nanguo was one of the ten most popular estates at the time. However, the prices of the houses are rather low and most inhabitants are middle-income people, so it is not especially prestigious.

The inhabitants mentioned differences between the residents when responding to the community questions, which can be explained by the different types of housing in the estate. There are three types of apartments in the estate: small one-floor apartments, large one-floor apartments and two-floor apartments. Each apartment building holds each type of apartments. People may feel difference in status or richness when they judge on apartment size. Most of the people who live in two-floor apartments are not first-time buyers, so there may be a difference in status. However, the majority of the inhabitants lives in the one-floor apartments, so there is very little difference between them.

Every inhabitant felt safer by the wall and mister Yu shared that opinion. The feeling of safety is a basic need of people and China's safety problems have not been settled for ages, so it seems like a cultural aspect. Mister Yu thinks that if the government would be able to settle the security situation, the walls might be gone in a few decades. When asked about the security system of the estate, he bluntly said it is quite useless. Until 2003, the estate had an I.C.-card system at the outer wall gate, like at Sijihuacheng, which means inhabitants have to use their I.C. card to gain automatic entrance. However, the system broke down and now the management refuses to repair it, because this would cost too much. Now it is only the guards who can keep outsiders out, but they are not very strict. Mister Yu fears this will only get worse in the near future when the area becomes more popular, because this means more people will move to this area, including migrant workers and poor people. He fears that if the management keeps this level of security, the safety inside the estate will decrease and the problems will get worse.

The migrant workers are also seen as a problem in the surrounding area. There are some small villages nearby where the migrants reside, because the rent is very low there. They often have no jobs and are thus dependent on crime. He states it is possible to discern them in the area surrounding the estate, where they often ride on motorcycles and try to steal women's bags. When asked about the possibility of living without a wall, he viewed the option from two sides: if one has a business, it might be preferable not to have a wall as to attract more customers. However, without a business, what is the value of not having a wall? He states that the wall adds a feeling of safety, so he sees it as only positive in a suburban area. When asked whether a wall improves mainly the physical safety or the psychological safety, he states it improves physical safety for a large part. Even though other security systems are necessary, e.g. cameras or guards, the wall works as threatening to outsiders and if all entrances are guarded, it might scare them off.

6.3.4. Comparison between inhabitant interview results

Because the inhabitants were asked structured questions, the results of the interviews can be compared between the estates. By comparing the estates and reviewing the total results of the interview questions, it may be possible to discern some similarities[1].

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[1] It is noted once more that these numbers are not representative for the estate's residents, nor for the inhabitants of Guangzhou's gated communities, let alone China's gated communities.

Table 6.5 *Inhabitant interview questions*

No.	Question
4.	Do you enjoy living in a walled estate?
5.	Do you feel safe inside your estate?
6.	Where do you go for shopping: nearby area or city centre?
7.	Do you like the area just outside your estate?
8.	How do you feel about the strictness of your estate?
9.	Could you imagine living in a non-walled estate?
10.	Do you like the estate facilities and do you use them?
11.	Do your friends and family make use of the facilities in this estate?
12.	How do you feel about sharing facilities with non-residents?
13.	Have you ever seen unwanted people inside your estate?
14.	Do you have many friends in the estate?
15.	Do you feel connected to the other inhabitants of the estate?
16.	Do you feel the estate's residents are a community?
17.	Does living in this estate increase your social status?

Table 6.6 *Inhabitant interview results*

Q	Zhu Jiang Di Jing		Sijihuacheng		Nanguo Ao Yuan		Total	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
4	12	0	12	0	12	0	36	0
5	9	3	12	0	8	4	29	7
6	0	12	5	7	5	7	10	26
7	2	10	1	11	2	10	5	31
8	4	8	9	3	1	11	14	22
9	7	5	2	10	3	9	12	24
10	8	4	8	4	11	1	27	9
11	10	2	5	7	10	2	25	11
12	12	0	6	6	9	3	27	9
13	0	12	2	10	1	11	3	33
14	0	12	4	8	7	5	11	25
15	3	9	6	6	7	5	16	20
16	3	9	1	11	8	4	12	24
17	8	4	3	9	2	10	13	23

Every citizen enjoyed living in a walled estate, because it increases safety and is a part of Chinese tradition. Although the wall increases safety, not all inhabitants felt safe in their estate. This was mainly because the strictness of the guards lacked, especially in Zhu Jiang Di Jing and Nanguo. Nearly all interviewees judged negatively on the area surrounding their estate, for lack of facilities or because it feels unsafe due to poor people residing in the area. Most people stated living without walls would be unsafe and against Chinese tradition, although some though it would be possible if the outside environment is of equal or higher quality than the inside environment.

In all estates, friends and family can gain access to the facilities, although the strictness differs. In Zhu Jiang Di Jing, non-residents have to show their I.D. card to enter, in Sijihuacheng they have to wait at the gate until a resident comes to pick them up and in Nanguo most non-residents will not even get checked by the guards, as long as they do not seem suspicious or poor. Most residents did not seem bothered by sharing the estate with

friends and family, because these people are never poor or dangerous people and are not counted as 'unwanted'. Almost none of the residents mentioned seeing unwanted people inside the estate, even in the estates where the strictness of the guards was criticised.

Almost two-thirds of the respondents did not make many friends in the estate. These were mainly young people, who commuted and worked long days and therefore had little time spare in the estate. The other respondents were young mothers with children or elderly people who spend most of their days inside the estate. They had more contact with the other residents in their daily life, for example at the kindergarten or in the games rooms for the elderly, and were thus able to make more friends in the estate. Most inhabitants did not see their estate as a community, partially based on their connection with fellow residents, but also based on the differences in for example income or place of birth.

Prestige was mainly an influence in Zhu Jiang Di Jing, as expected. The other two estates were not considered as 'high income' estates and thus did not improve the social status of the residents.

6.4 Results of interviews: Planners II
This paragraph will present and analyse the results of the final series of interviews. These interviews were held between September 27th-30th, 2010, with the same four urban planners which have been interviewed in the first series, who were asked to give general basic information on the reasons for the development of gated communities in China and their personal view on the matter. This last series will revisit the earlier results and try to gain conclusive answers to the sub-questions.

When these interviews are finished, the data collection for this research will be completed. All necessary information will have been obtained in order to answer the research questions in the next paragraph.

These interviews consist of three parts. First, the planners will be asked to once again explain the reasons for the development of gated communities in China, as well as which factors influence the accessibility of these communities. By revisiting this subject, it is possible to gain more information, as well as conclude their ideas on this subject.
Second, some of the results of the inhabitant interviews will be discussed, namely:
- Safety of inner city versus suburbs
- Living without walls
- Strictness of gates versus convenience
- Community feeling
- Prestige

The third part will review some of the interesting responses from the planner interviews and ask the urban planners to explain and give their opinion on the following subjects:
- Semi-public space within the outer wall of the community
- Zutuan-gating versus outer-wall gating
- The benefits of non-walled living
- Actual and perceived safety gained from walls

The full list of questions can be found in Appendix 7. The results of these interviews will be presented here in summarized version.

6.4.1 Planners II: Mister Yi
There are two reasons for the creation of gated communities in Guangzhou: commodity housing and walls. The creation of commodity housing estates is based on the National Housing Policy: houses have to be bought off the market, so commodity housing is the only option. The walls are created around these commodity housing estates, because walled

buildings are safer than non-walled buildings and safety is necessary, especially in Guangzhou province. Society is constantly changing and many people from other places come here, so we can not guarantee the safety of the people without building walls.

The accessibility of these communities is based on a management decision. The inhabitants may tell the management they want to change the strictness, but it is often very hard to make your voice heard in such situations.

The feeling of safety inside the estate is not necessarily dependent on inner city or suburb, but depends on the outside environment. In general, the suburban environment should feel safer. However, if your estate is located close to a bus- or train station, you will feel much less safe in the suburban environment, because there will be more people in the surrounding area, including poor people.

The argument that a wall is not necessary if the outside environment is equal to or better than the inside environment will not work in reality. A wall is necessary for the feeling of safety. As an example, there are inner city communities in Guangzhou where the inside environment is worse than the outside environment. However, the walls add to perceived safety, which is more important than the beauty of the environment.

The paradox of strictness at the gate versus the convenience of not having to pick up guests at the entrance is easy: even though it may be inconvenient, the safety is worth it. Your friends will not visit every day and the safety is more important.

Community feeling is not very important for Chinese people. A friendly environment is necessary if you want to have a family and raise a kid, but not for others.

Prestige is not so important. The price of a house may influence status, but prestige in China is mainly based on the quality of the *inside* of the house, not the surrounding environment. If you see a low quality area, there may still be high income people living there, who have decorated their houses in very rich fashion. They do not care about the surrounding area, just the inside of the house.

The notion of semi-public space inside the outer wall of a community and the typology presented by miss Li is Chinese textbook planning. A zutuan is seen as a sort of neighbourhood, not private for a family, but shared with other people. They are often more strictly gated than outer walls, because it is the inside that counts, similar to prestige. The further inside a community, the better protected it will be:

house > apartment building > zutuan > outer wall gate

This can also be seen in the quality of the gates. Often, the apartment buildings are guarded with much higher quality equipment than the outer gates.

The benefit of non-walled living would be that the area would be more open for shopping. A wall is not as important as a building gate, so it might be beneficial.

Walls add to the actual safety of gated communities in the way that they prevent outsiders from coming in and doing bad things. They add in the perceived safety, mainly because people from the current generations have all grown up in walled space and "know" it is safer. This is caused by the fact that they have always seen walls around their houses and would feel unsafe without them, even though the walls may not add that much in safety. Maybe the next generations will mainly grow up in high rise buildings, without seeing the walls around their houses at all times, and they might consider them less important. All in all, the perceived safety is more important: even when guards are not very strict, such as in Nanguo or Zhu Jiang Di Jing, the people still feel safer.

6.4.2 Planners II: Mister Shi

Gated communities in China are created because there is a growing wish for segregation and separation, based on an increasing income gap. The "haves", who see their income rising (far) above average, gain a growing ego and feeling of prestige, which they want to show the world by moving into expensive houses. The walls are built for security reasons: in the current social situation, walls in China are necessary to guarantee safety. They are also created for privacy reasons.

The accessibility of these communities is based on the level of strictness which is set by the management. However, even if the management wishes strictness, it is still dependent on the quality of the guards and how well they do their job.

Inner city locations are probably safer in general, because there is more police power and more surveillance. Living without walls is not practical in contemporary China. People in Nanguo may have stated this, because it is a suburban estate and there are not many people in the surrounding environment.

When choosing between convenience and safety, regarding the strictness of the estate, safety would win over convenience. Mister SHI noticed that in his own building, the guards are not very strict and he sees strangers walking just outside his door, which feels very uncomfortable and not safe.

Community feeling is only important for old people and not for young people, who spend 60 hours a week in office. Prestige is important, because gated communities are created to feel like luxury housing, in order to show a separation from the rest of society.

The idea that the area within the outer wall is still considered semi-public area is indeed textbook Chinese planning, but is also case-dependent. For example Sijihuacheng is not open for outsiders who do not have a clear purpose, such as visiting a resident.

Zutuan-gating might be preferable, because it would open up the shops within the outer wall to the outsiders. However, outer wall gating and zutuan-gating are both unwanted, because just having gates at the building should be enough. The benefits of non-walled living are two-sided: people would be more a part of the city and the paradox that walls, which are created for safety, in practice seem to add an unsafe feeling would be solved too. When you live behind walls, segregated from the rest of the city, you may feel safer inside your estate, but at the same time you will also become more afraid of 'what is out there'. In this way, living behind walls might also decrease the feeling of safety.

In regard to actual safety, walls do not add much, because more is needed to acquire actual safety, for example cameras and guards. They do add much to perceived safety, because it gives a feeling that it is possible to keep outsiders out. The actual safety is more important though, because being safe is more important than feeling safe.

6.4.3 Planners II: Miss Wu

The development of gated communities can not be seen separate from Chinese commodity housing. Due to National Policy, commodity housing is obligatory. The rapid economic growth and urbanization have led to a massive demand for housing, which keeps the construction flowing. Also, the plots of land are sold in large areas, in order to maximize profit for both government and developer, which leads to the creation of large estates. The walls around these estates are built because walls increase safety and add a feeling of privacy for the inhabitants, as well as separation from noise and disturbances. The wall also makes it possible to provide high quality exclusive services to residents. In some high priced estate, prestige and status may be a reason for the walls.

The accessibility of these estates is based on three factors: location, price and time. Inner city communities require more guards than suburban communities, because there is more chance of intrusion. More expensive estates are often less accessible, in order to maintain the separation of residents and non-residents. The factor time is based on how long the community has been in existence. Early on, most communities are strict, while in later years, residents may not feel the need for such strictness anymore and convince the management to lower it.

The inner city environment is safer than suburban, because the suburbs are more remote. This means that there are less people on the street, reducing social control, and some services may not be able to reach you in time, such as the police. Also, there is the idea that people who live in villages are poor and dangerous to those inside the communities, who are richer. This does not matter so much for inner city. Living without a wall would be possible if the surroundings are equal or better than the inside environment. Some walls just function to keep disturbances such as noise and free-riders outside. A guarantee of safety is more important than convenience, though it is best when it is balanced.

Community feeling matters only for children and elderly. Children need a good environment to grow up in and elderly people need to communicate, while working people, such as herself, often do not even know their neighbours. Prestige is only important for the very rich: most gated communities in China are average estates for average people, which do not add any status. However, for inhabitants of estates such as Zhu Jiang Di Jing, prestige may be important.

Naming the area inside the outer wall semi-public is often seen in inner city estates, which are less strict because the surrounding environment is not so very different from the outside environment, at least in the average estates. Most suburban estates will have a stricter outer wall.

Zutuan-gating would be equal to gated communities as seen in the Western situation and might be preferable, because the outer wall in China often surrounds a very large area, especially in the suburbs. Living without walls would be beneficial for the commercial development around the area, because it would strengthen the connection with city life and increasing possibilities to connect with neighbours etcetera. Also, if you build a wall, you will want to stay inside, because it feels safer than outside. However, living within walls is deeply ingrained in Chinese culture and may not change soon.

Walls add to actual safety because they make the community harder to access, which gives guards the possibility of guarding the (few) entrance(s), which will also threaten the thieves. It increases perceived security by keeping out disturbances and adding to stableness, steadiness and security. The actual safety is most important, because a safe feeling comes from experiencing nothing bad.

6.4.4 Planners II: Miss Li
The reason why gated communities in China are being developed is because of a rise in income, combined with demands for higher quality of life. They walls are created because living within a wall is safer and because walls are used as a way to classify different levels of people, regarding status. The accessibility is influenced by the surveillance of the guards.

Inner city may be safer because there are more people, which means more surveillance on the street, but it might be scarier when you find yourself alone in a dark corner. The suburban environment is more isolated, but people will pay more attention on the safety around their houses. People choose to live within a wall because it increases safety and safeguards the

quality of their environment. If the safety can be guaranteed in another way and the outside environment is equal to or better than the inside environment, then living without walls would be possible and preferable. When considering safety versus convenience, most residents will choose safety first. With good management, safety and convenience can easily be combined.

Community feeling is not important in contemporary Chinese cities, especially in the commodity housing, where people prefer to keep distance to strangers. Prestige is important, because a prestigious housing estate reflects high reputation, good quality of facilities, good security and well educated neighbours. All these things are very important for families in China.

Zutuan-gating would be preferable, though strict gating would be necessary then, because outsiders would be able to come closer to your house. Non-walled living would provide benefits to social life and would allow people to share larger areas of green space.

Walls add to actual safety by making it harder for criminals to access someone's house. They add to perceived safety, because people will feel safer when they stay in an isolated place. Both actual and perceived safety are important.

6.5 Conclusion

This paragraph will conclude the empirical analysis by answering the three sub-questions, which were stated in the first paragraph and have guided the data collection. Each of these questions will be answered in turn, starting with the citizens' wish for security and separation.

1. <u>To what extent do a wish for security and separation influence citizens in Guangzhou to choose for living in gated communities?</u>

As seen in chapter 2, earlier research has shown that people who choose to close themselves off from the larger city do so in search of community and privacy, and in flight from fear of crime (e.g. Dillon, 1994, Low, 2001). In this data collection, the respondents of the inhabitant interviews did not base their choice for an estate on the security, but mainly on factors such as prestige, environment or the price of the houses. This is can be explained through seeing the larger picture: citizens do not think about the wall when choosing a community, because all the viable communities in which they can buy a house are walled. All commodity housing in China is created in a large-scale estate and surrounded by a wall, so the 'choice' of the aspect security can only be found in the measure of strictness of the estate, for example at the well-known strictness of Vanke's estates. Although security may not influence the original choice of where to reside, it is important in the years after, during the citizen's time of residence in the estate: safety and security are the main points of judgement when asked whether citizens still enjoyed their residence, next to maintenance. So unlike most Western gated community researches (e.g. Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Low, 2001) security is not found to be a main concern in the choice for a community.

The aspect of separation is important to the inhabitant, not only for prestige reasons, but also because fear of others is present in contemporary China. The respondents stated they enjoyed living in a gated community, because safety is guaranteed from 'outsiders'. The areas surrounding the communities, especially in the suburban estates, are considered unsafe because of the poor people living in nearby villages. These villages are a haven for migrant workers, who do not possess a city hukou and live in the low-rent apartments just outside the city limits. As Zhang (2001) already noted, these migrant workers have a very bad image amongst the citizens: they are associated with criminal activities, such as burglary and stealing handbags, and are seen as dangerous. This fear of others makes the wall of vital importance to residents: having a wall equals safety, while living non-walled is not safe. The walls is also important to preserve the inside environment and keep out free-riders, because,

as Wu & Webber (2004) noted, the difference between the quality of the inside and outside environment is often large.

The other influences which were researched were prestige and community feeling. Wu & Webber (2004) already noted the possible importance of social class distinction as a reason for the creation of gated communities in China. However, this was not found to have a strong impact in this research. The reason is that most communities are seen as 'average communities for average people'. Only the very high-income estates are prestigious and will add to social status, as was the case in Zhu Jiang Di Jing. The search for community, which was stated as a reason for moving into gated communities by Blakely & Snyder (1997), seems to be of little importance in the gated communities in Guangzhou, where it is seen as a secondary benefit for elderly and mothers with children. Mostly, the ones buying the house are businesspeople who work 60 hours a week in an office. Once they get home, they do not want to spend their time with their fellow residents, but just with their family. Women with children and elderly people spend most of their days inside the estate and therefore experience more community building with other mothers or elderly people. All in all, prestige may be noted as an influential reason for choosing a house in a certain estate for a small part of the Chinese society, but the search for community does not seem to be very important.

2. <u>To what extent does fear of crime lead urban planners in Guangzhou to choose for the development of gated communities?</u>

In order to understand the development of gated communities in China, one must first realise the situation concerning commodity housing. National policy in China has limited all residential development to commodity housing. A high population growth and urbanization have created a rigid demand for housing, which has led the local government to auction large lots of land. Developers create large estates which can house several thousands of inhabitants and boast facilities ranging from ping pong tables to golf courses. In order to keep out free-riders and protect the quality of the inside environment, as well as the safety of the inhabitants, these estates are (nearly) always walled. Therefore, (nearly) all residential estates that were built in Guangzhou in the last twenty years could be named a gated community.

Low (2001) stated that urban planners can respond to fear of crime through planning solutions, such as pod- or enclave development. The urban planners in China seem to follow this idea and stated that walled and gated communities are necessary to guarantee safety. The reason this safety is necessary lies in social issues in the contemporary society, caused (in Guangzhou) by the massive flow of migrants to the city and a growing inequality in income. Walls restrict the entrance of the community to one or a few entrances, allowing guards or cameras to control these locations. They also increase the feeling of safety, which is partially necessary, because the current generations of citizens have all grown up in walled residential areas and are used to walls around their homes. Also, the walls hide the outside environment, creating the 'safe feeling' inside. As the planners stated: without walls, the safety in the city can not be guaranteed. Fear of crime is certainly the most important reason for the planners to choose for the development of gated communities.

The explanation for the choice of creating walls instead of other ways of fighting fear of crime lies in a combination of policy, as said before, and the Chinese history: building walls to fight fear of crime is considered 'the normal way' and has always been seen as the proper solution. Walls can be seen all through the history of Chinese urban planning, e.g. the Great Wall and the Forbidden City. When confronted with the idea of living without walls, the planners stated that this would be preferable, because it would improve city life, but also stated that it would be impossible to guarantee safety without walls.

3. <u>How can the apparent pervasiveness of the Chinese gated communities be explained?</u>

In Western theory, the walls of a gated community are strict: the inside is for residents only. The walls in Chinese gated communities do not seem to be as strict, as was found by Xu & Yang (2009) and Yip (2011). This research found that the accessibility a Chinese gated community is, depends on the wish of the management. However, an interesting finding which explains the apparent pervasiveness of the communities is that, in Chinese textbook planning, the area within the outer wall of a Chinese gated community is considered *semi-public area*.

This means that facilities located within this area can still be open to outsiders, such as the school found by Douglass et al (2011), and the local government can order developers to create kindergartens, schools or hospitals within their walls. Most facilities created within an estate are created to serve the residents, but if non-residents want entry to for example a school or a kindergarten, they are allowed, as long as they are able to pay the price for entry. Shops inside gated communities are private run and also located within this semi-public area, in order to maximize profit-making.

Does this not remove the whole function of a 'gated' community? The answer is no, because the outer wall is not where the real security of the Chinese gated communities can be found. The residential buildings in these communities are all located within another gated wall. These walled areas inside the community are named *zutuans* and are considered semi-private, because they are shared with a certain amount of residents. The residential complexes are separated between several zutuans, which can be very different in terms of price, residences or facilities. These zutuans are gated and walled and the inhabitants of the community feel safe, because their homes are not threatened by the people who enter the semi-public area.

All interviews have been presented and the empirical analysis is hereby completed. In the next chapter, the main research question can be answered and the research can be concluded.

View from one of the
apartments in
Zhu Jiang
Di Jing

Chapter 7   Conclusion & Discussion

7.1 Introduction
This is the final chapter of this research and is built up as follows. In the second paragraph, the main research question is answered and the research is concluded. In the third paragraph, the researcher posted criticism on this research, along with recommendations for future research on this subject.

7.2 Conclusion
The literature research and empirical analysis have been completed and it is now possible to answer the main research question. This question is:

To what extent has fear of crime influenced the urban form of Guangzhou, leading to the development of gated communities?

The literature on which this research was based has shown that fear of crime is the main reason for the development of gated communities (e.g. Davis, 1992; Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 1998). In short, this research has also found that fear of crime is the main reason for the development of gated communities in Guangzhou. However, as was already stated by several Chinese researchers (e.g. Wu, 2009; Xu & Yang; 2009), the Chinese local influences must be taken into account, because the context plays an important part in explaining the reasons for development and the influence of fear of crime.

Through history, urban planners in China have often chosen to respond to fear of crime by planning walls around residential developments. Since the economic reforms in 1978, fear of crime has been rising in China and gating residences is still the 'normal' solution of fighting fear of crime. Since the 1980's, national policy has stated that all newly built housing in China must be commodity housing. These commodity housing estates are all walled and gated, effectively creating a type of gated community. The gated commodity housing estates in Guangzhou are not similar to Western gated communities, but more comparable to a collection of several gated communities within one rather pervasive outer wall.

The planners have stated that the social situation in Guangzhou is not safe at this moment, because of the high amount of migrant workers and a growing inequality in income. The citizens want their safety guaranteed and seek their security through separation from the 'others': the poor people who might threaten their homes, such as migrant workers. They find this separation and security in the gated communities. All respondents stated that living without a wall would not be safe and non-walled living was only seen as possible by a few, in a hypothetical situation. However, because all housing in Chinese cities is commodity housing, and because all commodity housing estates are walled and gated, the citizens do not make a conscious choice for a gated community. Because all communities are gated, the choice to move into a certain community is based on other factors, such as the quality of the environment. However, in the long term of living a community, the strictness of the estate and the feeling of safety inside are important to the citizens in the measure of how much they enjoy living in the estate.

This research used a behavioural point of view and stated that the development of gated communities in Guangzhou is based on the citizens' wish for security and separation and the planners' choice to fight fear of crime through a planning solution. Although the behavioural aspect is important, influences from the context (e.g. policy, cultural influences etc) are too important to state that the behavioural aspect is the main reason for the development of the

gated communities. Actually, the planners are the main drive behind the creation of gated communities in Guangzhou, because they actively choose for the development of walls and gates in response to fear of crime. If the social situation might improve, or if the safety can be guaranteed in any other way, the walls might vanish over the next decades. However, as long as walls seem the only viable option, they will remain in place in the city. It must be noted that the planners' choice for walled residential developments is not based on a recent decision: this is the 'normal' solution and has been ingrained in Chinese urban planning for centuries.

Although the citizens' wish for security and safety exists, they do not consciously influence the creation of gated communities. All viable housing in the cities is walled and gated and planners have been creating walled residential developments for many years. The citizens all want to live in a gated community, or at least a walled residential estate, so it might be said that their wish influences the urban planners. However, this did not show from this research. The current generations have grown up in walled residential estates and the feeling of safety is dependent on the existence of the wall: if there is no wall, then how can it possibly be safe?

In conclusion, fear of crime is the main reason for the development of gated communities in Guangzhou. However, the planner's choice for this solution seems to have been made many years ago and is normalized now, so the Western perspective on gated communities may no longer serve in this context. From the Western point of view, gating of residential complexes is a rather new phenomenon and still subject of debate. From this research, however, it seems there is no such debate in China. As Lu (2006) already stated, walls are not perceived as negatively in China as they are in the Western countries and the idea that 'a wall equals safety, non-walled living is not safe' is strong in the Chinese mindset, both with residents and non-residents. This may be explained through the differences in walled residential developments between China and the Western countries. From a Western perspective, gated communities are havens for the rich or the frightened, who make an active choice of moving into a gated community and also have the choice to move into other types of residential developments. In China, walls seem to be a 'normal' solution to fight fear of crime and because all housing is walled, there are no possibilities of experiencing other types of living. The planners are aware of the idea that walls have a negative influence on city life and as Calthorpe (1993) and Judd (1995) stated: the creation of walls can actually increase the fear of what is outside those walls. However, the planners still state that creating walls is still the only way to ensure safety.

Maybe Chinese urban planners have already passed this discussion and have concluded that walls and gates are the only solution to the consisting problem of fear of crime. Perhaps in 200 years from now, the Western countries may have adopted a similar belief. Or maybe the discussion has not started yet, as Chinese planners may have never considered the notion that gating might not be the best solution to fight fear of crime: it is 'normal' and seems to work, so why change a winning team?

7.3 Discussion
This research has attempted to explain the development of gated communities in Guangzhou as a result of an increase in fear of crime. Part of this explanation is correct, but there are several points of debate open for this research and its methods.

The main criticism on this research is the lack of representative data. The data which has been collected for this research is a very small sample: only seven urban planners and thirty-six inhabitants in three communities have been interviewed. In a city with more than ten million

inhabitants, this sample does not provide data which is representative for all planners or citizens in Guangzhou, let alone planners or citizens in China. In order to get a representative sample, many more planners and inhabitants should have been interviewed.

Next to that, this research did not research the influence of fear of crime on different groups in society. Although the respondents of each community were divided into six women and six men, it was rather arbitrary. It seemed like prestige was more important to men, while fear was more apparent amongst women, though this can not be said from this data sample. There might also be different conclusions if a separation is made between business people and elderly, or mothers with children, whose behaviour inside the community seems to be very different. A larger sample of communities might give more representative data concerning for example inner city versus suburbs or horizontal versus vertical gated communities, while this research can only judge from the three very different estates which were researched.

Also, this research chose to find information through the use of semi-open interviews. The reason was that the context of this research was deemed very important, because the expectation was that the whole context was not yet known and there might be influential factors which were still unknown. A large scale research with closed interviews amongst citizens in Guangzhou might give much more representative and better comparable data than the few semi-open interviews which were held in this data collection. However, as long as the context remains uncertain and important, semi-open interviews may be preferable.

Another point of criticism may be the narrow point of view taken in this research. Gated communities are developed in theory for many reasons, not solely fear of crime. In order to control some of these other reasons, this research has also looked at the influence of prestige and (partially) the search for community). However, many social and economic factors which may be influential in the choice for the development of gated communities have not been taken into account. In order to find the influence of a certain factor, in this research the fear of crime, one must focus mainly on this subject and ignore the other possible influences. However, this brings along the risk that important factors might be missed and the explanations given by this research may be incomplete or skewed.

The last point of criticism is that this research started out with viewing the subject through Western glasses. From the Western perspective, gated communities are seen as a modern negative phenomenon and the consequences of creating of these communities – for cities and society as a whole – is debated in urban planning literature. In China, this debate is minimal: only a few researchers have discussed gated communities in China (e.g. Wu, Zhang). A possible reason for this, as was found in the interviews with the urban planners in Guangzhou, is that walls are the norm in China, instead of the exception, as in the Western countries. Walls have existed in Chinese residential developments for the past two thousand years and on a much larger scale than in the West. Where the Western countries knew walls around the cities and castles, the Chinese cities knew walls around each quarter and sometimes just around single residential developments. As this has hardly changed through history[2], the walls are now seen as normal and as the obvious solution to fear of crime. Combine the national policy, which states that all new created residential developments must be commodity housing, with the fact that all these large-scale estates are walled and gated, and the starting point for a research on gated communities in Guangzhou is severely different from a similar research in a Western country.

For a research which attempts to find out any reason for the development of gated communities in China, the definition of gated community should acknowledge the Chinese

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[2] For an more extensive look at walls in Chinese city history, see chapter 4, pp.48-50.

context. Although it is unwise to create a pigeonholed and isolationist approach for Chinese gated communities, which would create a non-comparable situation with other countries, the local characteristics must be taken into account from the start. Also, when looking at the development of gated communities in a city in which all residential commodity housing is walled and gated, a very strict definition of gated community is required to separate the real 'gated communities' from the average residential estate.

In conclusion, a few recommendations can be given for future research on this subject. A much larger and better divided sample might give (more) representative results, which would increase the value of the research's conclusions. More attention might be given to the other possible influences, such as economic or social factors. Finally, future research should be aware of the Chinese local situation, where commodity housing is obligatory and nearly all residential estates are walled and gated. This knowledge should be taken as a starting point for following research, which might help in creating a more locally focused definition of gated communities. The Chinese gated communities are often not as strict as Western gated communities, but contain several zutuans, which are more comparable to the Western notion of gated communities. It could be possible to for example look at the very strict estates which also strictly guard the outer wall (as was the case in Sijihuacheng), or to check the strictness of the zutuans instead of the outer wall.

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APPENDICES

Planner interviews I

The first series of planner interviews is semi-structured and meant to find information on three subjects:
- the reason for the development of gated communities
- the facilities and services inside these communities
- the planner's personal experience and attitude towards gated communities

As such, a number of terms is needed to create basic questions to guide the interviews.

Reasons for gated communities	- Why are gated communities being developed?
	- Why are gated communities such a popular type of residential development in Guangzhou?
	- Why are residential developments so often walled?

With these three questions, the reasons for the development of gated communities should become more clear. There may be many reasons for development and planners will be able to explain their reasons in answering the first question. The popularity question may give information for both the planner and citizen point of view and may lead to unexpected influences. The reasons for the creation of walls might give a first clue about the importance of fear of crime or other influences which lead to the creation of walls.

Facilities in gated communities	- What type of facilities can be found?
	- Can private services be located inside?
	- Can public services be located inside?
	- Can these services be available to outsiders?

These four questions will guide the part about the types and accessibility of facilities inside gated communities. The first question is a general question regarding the average types of facilities and services which are offered in gated communities in China. Because the size of these communities seems much larger than the average Western community, the average services and facilities inside might differ too. The second and third questions are meant to find out whether facilities and services inside gated communities are always private, always public or a combination of both. The last question is asked to get a planner's explanation for the phenomenon found by Douglass et al (2011), where a school located inside a gated community was open for outsiders.

Personal experience and view	Do you have experience planning gated communities?
	What is your view on the private provision of services and facilities inside gated communities?
	What is your view on the walls surrounding so many estates in Guangzhou?
	What is your view on the amount of gated communities in Guangzhou?
	Do you think developing neighbourhoods without walls would be viable in China?

Whereas the Western planners see walls as very negative, Chinese planners might see this different. These questions will give an idea whether Chinese planners have a more positive or negative view on walls and gated communities. The personal experience and view of the planner are asked to find additional information on the planner's attitude towards gated

communities. The first question might lead to more information on the cooperation between planner and developer. The second question focuses on the privatisation of services and how the planner feels about this. The planner's view on the walls is the third question and might tell more about the why these walls are deemed necessary in the eyes of the planner. The fourth question regards the number of gated communities in Guangzhou and how he or she feels about the possibility of other types of residential developments. The fifth question is the closing question of the interview and will take another approach. In this question, the planner will be asked whether the development of neighbourhoods without walls might be viable in China. By asking the opposite of the current situation, where nearly all residential developments are built with walls, the planner is asked to think on why walled developments are being created and whether these reasons can be changed or removed. The last question will review all the reasons for gated communities and once again give an answer on why they are created.

Inhabitant interviews

The inhabitant interviews are held to find out why citizens choose to live in a gated community. According to the conceptual model, the main reason is fear of crime, which leads to a wish for security and a wish for separation, the combination of which leads citizens to choose for gated communities. Both the wish for a security and the wish for separation will be analysed here and prepared to form the interview questions.

Each interview will start with a short introduction of three questions. First, the resident will be asked since when he or she lives in the estate. Older residents may have a different view of the estate than newer residents, based on experiences and changes through the years. After this, the next two questions will check the reasons the resident has for choosing this estate. This will give a general idea of whether fear of crime has played a role in the interviewee's choice to live in a gated community.

Introduction		1. Since when do you live in this estate?
Reasons for choosing residence	Old	2. Why did you choose to live in this estate?
	Current	3. Do you enjoy living in this estate?

The second question asks why the resident has chosen to buy a house in that specific estate. This will give an idea of which aspects of the estate are most important to that resident. The third question will present a view of the resident's opinion of the general positive and/or negative aspects of the estate. These questions will give the basis for the more detailed questions which follow.

After these three questions, the subject will change to the wish for security, which will be researched through the following questions.

	Safety	4. Do you enjoy living in a walled estate?
		5. Do you feel safe inside your estate?
		6. Where do you go shopping: nearby or city centre?
		7. Do you like the area just outside your estate?
		8. How do you feel about the strictness of your estate?
		9. Could you imagine living in a non-walled estate?
Wish for security	Fear of others	10. Do you like the estate facilities and do you use them?
		11. Do your friends and family use the facilities in this estate?
		12. How do you feel about sharing facilities with non-residents?
		13. Have you ever seen unwanted people inside the estate?

The wish for security has two sides, as can be seen in the conceptual model: there is a wish for personal safety, to avoid victimization, and there is a fear of others. The wish for personal safety is one of the main consequences of fear of crime, through victimization and indirect victimization, and questions 4-9 will test the inhabitants about their feelings on this. The first two questions ask whether or not the inhabitant enjoys living a walled estate and whether he or she feels safe inside the estate, in order to gain a basic judgement of the safety feeling inside the estate. The next three questions regard the outside area and the importance of the surroundings for the feeling of safety. By asking where the resident goes for shopping and whether he or she likes and visits the area, the resident's idea of the surrounding area will be

gained. The last two question combine the first two subjects and ask whether the strictness is adequate enough to feel safe and whether the inhabitant could imagine living in this estate without walls. These six questions combined will find out whether the estate feels safe enough and whether this is caused by the strictness and the surrounding area.

The fear of others is reviewed in the questions 10-13. In order to avoid questions which might give socially desirable answers, there will not be a direct questions regarding migrant workers. To change the subject, the inhabitant will be asked whether he or she likes the facilities in the estate and if he or so makes use of them. The second question will check the rules of the estate regarding the entrance of friends and family and their access to the facilities of the estate and ask whether or not they make use of the possibility. It is possible that the resident will respond with a no and dislike of this notion, which be asked in the third question. The fourth question will test the idea of 'others' and ask the inhabitant whether he or she has ever seen unwanted people in the estate. The definition of unwanted is left open for the inhabitant, but if the answer is positive, then he or she will be asked to define the unwanted people.

As can be seen in the conceptual model, fear for safety and fear of others increase the wish for separation, which also holds the notions of the search for community and stability, as well as separation to show prestige and class division. For the empirical part, the reasons for separation are divided in two parts: the search for community and prestige.

Wish for separation	Search for community	14. Do you have many friends in the estate?
		15. Do you feel connected to the other inhabitants of the estate?
		16. Do you feel the estate's residents are a community?
	Prestige	17. Does living in this estate increase your social status?

The search for community will be tested in three questions which will give an idea of the community feeling the inhabitant has with the estate. The first question regards the amount of friends he or she has living in the estate. The second question asks for a connection with the other inhabitants, which, when answered positively, leads to the third question regarding the feeling of whether the estate's residents are a community. Even though the inhabitant may not have a personal connection or bond with the estate, he or she might still feel the other inhabitants are a community.

The last question of the interview will check the influence of prestige for the community. The inhabitant will be asked if living in the estate increases his or her social status. This way, the feeling of prestige will be tested without literally asking for it. If it feels like a social status increase, reasons will be asked as to why this is.

The inhabitant interviews will be the basis for answering the first research question and test the citizens the influence of fear of crime through the wish for security and separation. Once the thirty-six inhabitants have been interviewed, the planner inhabitant interviews will be created.

1. Introduction
I would like to start by asking you to give a small introduction of yourself, for example with your name and function within the company.
1.1   What is your name?
1.2   What is your function within this company?
1.3   How long have you worked at the GZPI?

2. Chinese planning system
I would like to ask you some questions about the Chinese planning system and the main players in it.
2.1   In Chinese city planning, what is the exact role of the state?
2.2   What is the exact role of planning institutes such as the GZPI?
2.3   Who decides what type of residential development will be created?
2.4   Who are the main developers for city planning in Guangzhou?

3. The planning of gated communities
Now I would like to discuss the planning of gated communities in particular. There are many gated communities in Guangzhou. These are all surrounded by walls and have a certain amount of private space around the residential buildings.
3.1   What are the reasons for the popularity of gated communities in Guangzhou, or in China as a whole?
3.2   Which factors have influenced the growth of these gated communities?
3.3   Why are most of (or all of) these communities walled off?
3.4   Do you live in a gated community?
3.5   If so, which one? Do you enjoy living there? Why is that?

4. The privatization of services in contemporary China and Guangzhou
Gated communities can provide their own services within their walls, such as sport facilities or schools.
4.1   Do gated communities in China often have this private provision of services?
4.2   What type of services can be found within the community's walls?
4.3   Are these services always privately provided, or can there also be public services located within gated communities?
4.5   Are these public/private services available to non-residents? Why is this? (*An example here is the swimming pool at Jiahong Garden, Haizhu, which is located within the walls of the community. However, every paying customer is allowed into the pool, regardless of whether they are residents or not*).

5. Personal experience
You have been working as an urban planner for several years now, which means you have experienced the city planning yourself.
5.1   Have you encountered any gated community planning in your own career as an urban planner?
5.2   What is your personal view on gated communities and the private provision of services?
5.3   Do you think the walls surrounding the communities in Guangzhou are necessary?
5.4   What is your opinion on the large amount of gated communities in Guangzhou? Is it a good thing, or would you prefer to see different residential developments as well?

As our presentation has shown, residential neighbourhoods in the Netherlands usually consist of public space, open to anyone. The only private space is the house itself or sometimes a personal garden.

5.5   Do you think that there are viable possibilities for such types of residential development in China? Why do you think this?

Appendix 4   Zhu Jiang Di Jing Inhabitant Interviews results

Table 8.1 *Inhabitant interview results in Zhu Jiang Di Jing*

Question	Positive	Negative
Wish for security – safety & fear of others		
4. Do you enjoy living in a walled estate?	12	0
5. Do you feel safe inside your estate?	9	3
6. Where do you go shopping: nearby or city centre?	0	12
7. Do you like the area just outside your estate?	2	10
8. How do you feel about the strictness of your estate?	4	8
9. Could you imagine living in a non-walled estate?	7	5
10. Do you like the estate facilities and do you use them?	8	4
11. Do your friends and family use the facilities in this estate?	9	3
12. How do you feel about sharing facilities with non-residents?	10	2
13. Have you ever seen unwanted people inside your estate?	0	12
Wish for separation – community & prestige		
14. Do you have many friends in the estate?	0	12
15. Do you feel connected to the other inhabitants of the estate?	3	9
16. Do you feel the estate's residents are a community?	3	9
Does living in this estate increase your social status?	8	4

Questions 4-9 have been asked to check the feeling of safety aspect of the wish for security. All residents enjoy living in a walled estate and nine out of twelve feel safe. This is mainly through experience: nothing bad has happened in the time they live here, so they state no reason to feel unsafe. The other three were older residents who noted that nowadays, there are less guards than before, so they feel less safe. Also, the guards were mentioned as rather low quality employees. The residents said they often lacked focus and some guards had even been caught stealing. When asked whether they go shopping nearby or in the city centre, each resident stated that they would not shop nearby, mainly because the area surrounding the estate lacks the necessary facilities. This is also the reason why ten out of twelve people were unhappy with the area surrounding the estate. Although the environment is natural and clean, it lacks facilities and was at that moment in a state of degradation caused by the construction of the Canton Tower. Even though most interviewees felt safe inside the estate, eight out of twelve stated they felt the estate should be stricter. Even though the apartment buildings were named safe enough, the outer wall guards could be stricter. When asked whether the residents thought they would could imagine living in an estate without walls, five immediately mentioned this as unsafe. The other seven seemed to think that walls were not as important as good guards.

      Questions 10-13 regarded the facilities and fear of others. Eight of the residents stated they made use of the facilities themselves, while four did not think they were interesting enough. Friends and family are allowed to enter the estate with the approval of the resident and nine out of twelve interviewees stated their friends and family make use of the facilities in the estate. When asked about their feelings on this sharing of their facilities, ten out of twelve had no problems with it. Even hotel guests can use the facilities, but the residents said that friends, family and hotel guests are never poor people, so there is no risk in letting them into the estate. The two others were older residents who bought their house before the estate was opened. They felt cheated by the developer, because the building that is now the hotel was advertised to become a place of facilities for the residents only. However, when the houses were sold, the developer chose to change it into a hotel in order to make more money, or so it

was told by the resident. They felt cheated and are still unhappy about having to share their facilities with others. None of the residents has ever seen unwanted people in the estate. Some mentioned workers, but also noted that these are not unwanted, even though they are lower class.

Questions 14-17 regarded the citizens' wish for separation, divided in the search for community and the feeling of prestige. When asked whether the resident had many friends in the estate, none answered positively. Most of the people living here are businessmen or -women who have little time next to their work. When they come home, they do not want to spend much of their time on meeting new people in the estate. However, some of the residents were mothers with children who stayed at home during the day and were in contact with other mothers in the estate. Still, these residents too stated they had made no new friends in the estate, just acquaintances. This also explains why nine out of twelve inhabitants did not feel connected to the other residents of the estate. It was mentioned that the estate is inhabited by people from different provinces, which makes it much harder to bond or to feel connected to these people. Only three interviewees saw Zhu Jiang Di Jing as a community. The prestige part was expected to be very important for Zhu Jiang Di Jing, and the results show that eight out of twelve thought living in the estate had a positive influence on their social status. The main reasons were the good reputation of the estate, the size and the fact that it is a very expensive estate.

All in all, the residents regard Zhu Jiang Di Jing as a safe estate, even though the strictness could be improved, according to some. This is mainly caused by the low quality of the guards. The surrounding area was not judged as unsafe and more than half the residents seemed to think they could live without walls. Overall, the feeling of safety for the residents was good. Others can share the facilities, even non-residents and hotel guests, but these are never poor people. The hotel was also judged positively, because of a cultural aspect: if Cantonese people receive guests, they do not like to eat in their own house or have them sleep over in their house, but prefer to eat in a restaurant and let them sleep in a hotel. This is much easier with the hotel as part of the estate. The estate was not seen as a community by most, but definitely counted as an improvement in social status for most.

Appendix 5   Sijihuacheng Inhabitant Interviews results

Table 8.2 *Inhabitant interview results Sijihuacheng*

Question	Positive	Negative
Wish for security – safety & fear of others		
4. Do you enjoy living in a walled estate?	12	0
5. Do you feel safe inside your estate?	12	0
6. Where do you go shopping: nearby or city centre?	5	7
7. Do you like the area just outside your estate?	1	11
8. How do you feel about the strictness of your estate?	9	3
9. Could you imagine living in a non-walled estate?	2	10
10. Do you like the estate facilities and do you use them?	8	4
11. Can friends and family use the facilities in this estate?	5	7
12. How do you feel about sharing facilities with non-residents?	6	6
13. Do you ever see unwanted people inside your estate?	2	10
Wish for separation – community & prestige		
14. Do you have many friends in the estate?	4	8
15. Do you feel connected to the other inhabitants of the estate?	6	6
16. Do you feel the estate's residents are a community?	1	11
17. Does living in this estate increase your social status?	3	9

All twelve inhabitants stated they enjoyed living in a walled estate, each one saying this is necessary for safety. The fifth question speak strongly in favour of Vanke's reputation: all twelve inhabitants stated they felt safe within Sijihuacheng. Nine out of twelve named the strictness of the management as main reason for this and six out of twelve mentioned the wall as reason. When asked about shopping in the surrounding area or the city centre, seven out of twelve said they always went to the city centre for shopping, even though this is a one hour drive. These were all younger people, who seemed apprehensive about entering the Foshan area. The five others were mainly older people, who did not seem frightened by the poorer people, and often went to the area to buy fresh vegetables at the markets. However, when asked whether they liked the surrounding area, eleven out of twelve stated they did not, mainly because it's poor, dirty and unsafe, because there are bad people living there. The only person who did state she enjoyed the area mentioned the convenience of the nearby markets as main positive point, while she also acknowledged the low quality.

Vanke is known for strictness and nine out of twelve people were pleased with the strictness of Sijihuacheng. The three others stated that the guards were too flexible compared to other Vanke estates. The final question about the safety was whether the inhabitants could imagine living in a non-walled estate. Ten out of twelve answered straight no, because it would be unsafe and living in a walled estate is tradition. The other two stated that it could theoretically be possible, as long as the environment of area surrounding the estate is as good as the inside environment.

When asked about the facilities, eight out of twelve stated they use the facilities and were positive about the quality of them. The other four did not make use of them, because they did not want to pay the fees which are required for e.g. the swimming pool. The friends and family of the residents are allowed to enter the estate, but have to wait outside until the inhabitant comes to the gate to pick them up. The are allowed to use the facilities, but most inhabitants stated their friends and family do not use them, because they do not want to pay the fees. Sharing the facilities with these non-residents was judged negatively by six out of twelve, because they already have to pay and then sharing with non-residents was too much.

The six positive residents thought it does not matter much, because they also pay the fees. Only two out of twelve had ever seen unwanted people in Sijihuacheng and said that this was very early in the estate, before the electronic gates were installed. As soon as the gates were working properly, no unwanted people had been seen anymore.

The last four questions regard the feeling of community and prestige among the residents. Only four out of twelve interviewees said they had many friends in the estate. These were all older residents, who did not have to work daily anymore and spent much of their days inside the estate. The other eight residents were commuters to the city centre and spent little time in the estate. Six out of twelve felt connected to the inhabitants of the estate, mainly through activities organised on community level and the contact between the older people. Only one out of twelve thought that Sijihuacheng was a community. The others mentioned there is no shared identity and too much differences between the inhabitants, for example in terms of income. Living in Sijihuacheng does not feel like a step up in social status for nine out of twelve interviewees, because the estate is not that rich and is too diverse in terms of income. Three people mentioned it is still the best estate around and is somewhat expensive, so they thought it still increased their social status slightly.

All in all, Sijihuacheng is seen as a very safe estate by the inhabitants. They feel safe and even though the surrounding area is considered unsafe and inhabited by 'bad people', the strictness of the estate is sufficient, because none of the interviewees have seen unwanted people in the estate in recent years. Living in a non-walled estate is deemed unsafe and against tradition by most though. The facilities are judged positively by most and friends and family can use these, which is not judged too negatively by most.

Only the older people in the estate seem to start friendships with other residents, because the younger working people have no time. The interviewees did not feel strongly connected to the estate and do not see Sijihuacheng as one community. It is also not considered to be a prestigious estate.

Table 8.3 *Inhabitant interview results Nanguo Ao Yuan*

Question	Positive	Negative
Wish for security – safety & fear of others		
4. Do you enjoy living in a walled estate?	12	0
5. Do you feel safe inside your estate?	8	4
6. Where do you go shopping: nearby or city centre?	5	7
7. Do you like the area just outside your estate?	2	10
8. How do you feel about the strictness of your estate?	1	11
9. Could you imagine living in a non-walled estate?	3	9
10. Do you like the estate facilities and do you use them?	11	1
11. Can friends and family use the facilities in this estate?	10	2
12. How do you feel about sharing facilities with non-residents?	9	3
13. Have you ever seen unwanted people inside your estate?	1	11
Wish for separation – community & prestige		
14. Do you have many friends in the estate?	7	5
15. Do you feel connected to the other inhabitants of the estate?	7	5
16. Do you feel the estate's residents are a community?	8	4
17. Does living in this estate increase your social status?	2	10

Twelve out of twelve residents stated they enjoyed living in a walled estate. The main reason for all was that living within a walled estate means safety. Two also noted that it is tradition for Chinese to live within walls, and that this has always been so. Two others stated they also felt the walls added to the protection of the estate's environment. Though they stated that walls mean safety, only eight out of twelve said they felt safe within Nanguo. The other four stated that the guards of the estate are not strict enough. Two had heard of theft cases in the estate, which made them more fearful. Two others just felt the strictness needed to improve, because the outside area is unsafe.

Most of the interviewees chose to do their shopping in the city centre, mainly because the nearby area lacked the necessary facilities for that. The surrounding area, which was expected to be judged positively, was judged negatively by ten out of twelve. The lack of facilities in the surrounding area was named again: there is still much development, but not enough has been finished yet. Also, the residents stated the development improved the unsafe feeling of the surrounding area. The strictness of the estate was judged negatively: eleven out of twelve said the estate should be more strict. There main reason was that the guards at the entrance were not strict enough and there is practically no limit on entering the estate for outsiders. When asked whether the residents could imagine living in a non-walled estate, nine out of twelve stated no, because this would be unsafe in the current social situation. Also, the tradition of living within walls was mentioned again. Three out of twelve thought it might be possible, because safety is a feeling and it is dependent on the surrounding environment.

As expected, all of the interviewees said they made use of the facilities and commented on the good quality. They were especially pleased with the golf court and the swimming pools, though the average quality of the other facilities was also considered to be good. Ten out of twelve also stated their friends and family make use of the facilities and sometimes even visit with the use of these facilities as their main goal. Because there is no limit on entering the estate, it is easy for them to use the facilities. Only three out of twelve responded negatively on the fact that outsiders can use the facilities. They stated that residents who pay a monthly management fee should at least priority on the use of the facilities and that

there were too many non-residents using the facilities. However, only one of the respondents noted that he had seen unwanted people inside the estate's walls and commented once more on the lack of strictness of the guards.

Seven out of twelve respondents said they had many friends in the estate. The reason for this lies in an internet forum which had been created by residents of the estate and which was used by nearly all residents. Many residents, especially young mothers and older people, made use of this forum to share experiences and plan activities. This is also one of the reason why seven out of twelve residents felt connected with the other inhabitants of Nanguo. Not only do they often share recreation and activities, they also commented that they share a social level or position with many of the inhabitants. The five who answered negatively gave commuting and lack of time as their main reasons. Eight out of twelve thought that Nanguo's residents are a community, because they are mainly people with similar types of jobs and lifestyle. Four out of twelve thought they were no community, because there were still too many differences, as well as a lack of a shared identity. The estate was not considered by prestigious in general: ten out of twelve stated living in Nanguo does not influence their social status. The other two doubted, but thought the current relatively high prices might add a little status to living in the estate.

An interesting point in Nanguo Ao Yuan was the residents response to the question about strictness. They felt the estate was not strict enough and several mentioned an I.C.-card system at zutuan entrance as the solution. They did not think the outer gate had to be any safer, because safety is more important on a lower 'level'. They stated safety is most important at the apartment building: as long as your building is closed off by a code or key, safety should be guaranteed. Next to that, zutuan safety would be preferable, mainly to have some private space in which the children can play without requiring strict supervision at all time.

Appendix 7   Interview Planners II

Part 1: Two questions to discuss
1. What are the reasons behind the creation of gated communities in Guangzhou?

2. What factors influence the accessibility of gated communities in Guangzhou?

Part 2: Results of 36 inhabitant interviews in three estates.
The safety feeling inside the estate seemed to be very dependent on the surroundings of the estate. What would you say is safer: inner city environment or suburban environment?

In Zhu Jiang Di Jing, the inner city community, people seemed to think guards are more important than walls. When I asked them whether they could imagine living without walls, they said that was out of the question though. However, in the suburban communities, there were more people who thought that living without walls would be possible. The main argument stated there was that living without walls would be possible, as long as the environment outside the estate is as good or better than the environment inside. How do you feel about this?

It seemed that the safety of the estate was also quite dependent on the strictness of the management. Sijihuacheng, the Vanke estate, is located in an area which is said to be not safe, but the entrance is very strictly guarded and all residents said they felt inside. Nanguo Ao Yuan is located in a better area, but is less strictly guarded and the safety feeling of the inhabitants was also judged less positive. However, strict management was also seen as a downside, because it is inconvenient to have to pick up your guests whenever they come. How do you feel about this paradox of safety versus convenience?

Living in a gated community might also improve community feeling. However, the estates I visited seemed to be more residences than actual 'communities'. The estates seemed to be built up out of two main groups: young or middle-aged working people, and elderly people. The community feeling differed greatly between the two groups. The working people do not spend much time in the estate and did not feel strongly for it, while the elderly people made many new friends and felt more connected with the estates. Do you think community feeling in a gated community is important for Chinese people?

In literature, prestige is also named as a reason for people to choose a gated community. Even though it was mentioned as a way to improve your social status, the inhabitants I interviewed did not seem to feel this very strongly. The exception was Zhu Jiang Di Jing, where more than half of the respondents stated living there improves their social status because of the reputation of the estate. Do you think the prestige of a housing estate is important for Chinese people?

Part 3: Concluding earlier interviews
In an interview with miss Li (UDi department), I asked her about the many gates in Chinese gated communities. I mentioned that people have to pass through several gates to get from outside to their home: the main entrance of the estate, the gates of the zutuan, the gate of the apartment building and the gate of their own house. Miss Li then made the following observation: *The outside area is totally public. Within the main gate, the area is semi-public. Within the zutuan, the area is semi-private. Within the house, the area is totally private.* I

found this a very interesting observation, because it means the area within the estate, within the outer wall, is still considered semi-public area. How do you feel about this observation?

If we take this observation along, we would see that the *zutuan* area is the first private area in a Chinese gated community. In Nanguo, some of the inhabitants pleaded to get an I.C.-card system at the gate of the zutuan instead of at the main gate. Miss Wu (CUPR) also mentioned this as positive in her interview, because this would increase the connection between city life and the residential area. What is your opinion on strictly gating the zutuans instead of strictly gating the main entrance of a gated community?

I also interviewed mister Yu (CUPR) about Nanguo Olympic Garden and asked him whether he could imagine living in a non-walled estate. He then stated they he would be okay with non-walled estates, as long as there is a benefit to not having the wall. For shopkeepers an open estate is obviously preferable, but for inhabitants he could not think of any benefits of living without a wall. What do you think are benefits of non-walled living?

The benefits of walled living have been clearly stated in previous interviews: it adds to privacy, status, makes it easier to manage the environment and is necessary for safety. However, there are two sorts of safety I want to discuss: actual safety and perceived safety. Actual safety is safety in a physical way, perceived safety is the feeling of safety in a psychological way. There are three questions:
1. How do walls add to actual safety for Chinese gated communities?
2. How do walls add to the perceived safety for Chinese gated communities?
3. Which do you think is more important for inhabitants: the actual safety or the perceived safety?