

**EMERGENCE OF GATED COMMUNITIES AND THEIR SOCIO-
SPATIAL IMPACTS ON URBAN AREAS: THE CASE OF KILELESHWA
NEIGHBOURHOOD IN NAIROBI, KENYA.**

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ABSTRACT

Gated communities are relatively new phenomena that have become very popular globally and in Kenya. Gated communities have been observed not only in the USA but also in other parts of the world such as Lebanon, South Africa, Saudi Arabia, and Latin America (Webster, Glasze, & Frantze, 2002). They are security developments with designated perimeters, usually walls or fences, and controlled entrances that are intended to prevent entry by non-residents. They include new developments and older areas retrofitted with gates and fences, and they are found from the inner cities to the exurbs and from the richest neighbourhoods to the poorest (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a). These new residential areas occur in both new suburban developments and older inner city areas for the purposes of security and segregation.

This thesis considers the emergence of gated communities in urban areas and discusses the reasons for their increasing numbers and popularity. Focusing on Nairobi city and in particular Kileleshwa neighborhood, the study was undertaken to determine the reasons for residents moving into gated communities and to examine the impact of spatial and social fragmentation of the same on future of urban planning and development. The study objectives were: to establish the main reasons for people moving into gated communities: to establish the extent to which gated communities contribute to a sense of community: to establish the extent to which gated communities contribute to spatial fragmentation of urban

areas and implication of gated community development on planning of urban areas in future: and finally to establish interventions which can be adopted to reduce spatial and social fragmentation of the urban areas.

Qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis methods were employed. Sources of primary data included personal observation, household surveys for the residents of gated communities and key informant interviews. Secondary data sources included journals, research materials, text books, previous studies on gated communities as well as internet sources. A sample of 60 households was selected using simple random sampling method and the data from the questionnaires was analyzed using statistical data analysis software, SPSS and consequently conclusions and recommendations were derived based on the findings.

It has been found that the reasons why people moved into gated communities are for safety and security, proximity to facilities and services, proximity to their place of work as well as the availability of facilities and services within the gated communities. The study findings will help in understanding the diverse experiences of residents and their motivations for moving to gated communities and how the same would impact the urban areas.

The study recommends that the Nairobi County Government should come up with planning policies that cater for and include gated communities so as to regulate their development in order to minimize their negative impacts on our urban areas.

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University

SIGNED _____

Admani, Naheeda Mohamed Rafiq

DATE _____

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University Supervisor

SIGNED _____

Prof E. Ndegwa

DATE _____

DEDICATION

This Research Proposal is dedicated to my dear husband Mr. Asif Noorani for his invaluable support and my late loving father without whom I would not be where I am today.

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ACRONYMS

CCTV – Closed Circuit Television

CBD – Central Business District

GC - Gated Community

GoK- Government of Kenya

CHAPTER 1-INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Gated communities are residential areas with restricted access designed to privatize public spaces. Included among the public spaces are streets, sidewalks, parks, beaches, rivers, playgrounds. These are all the resources that without gates or walls would be open and shared by all the citizens of a locality. They are security developments with designated perimeters, usually walls or fences, and controlled entrances that are intended to prevent penetration by non-residents. They include new developments and older areas retrofitted with gates and fences, and they are found from the inner cities to the exurbs and from the richest neighbourhoods to the poorest (Blakely & Snyder, 1997). These new residential areas occur in both new suburban developments and older inner city areas for the purpose of security and. The developers of gated communities brilliantly market their projects as safer, friendlier, and more economically stable traditional urban or even suburban neighbourhoods (Ajibola et al, 2011).

For quite a while, gating has been treated as an ‘American’ phenomenon, even though gated residential areas have been visible in cities around the globe (Polanska, 2010). Gated communities have been observed not only in the West but also in other parts of the world such as Lebanon, South Africa, Saudi Arabia, and Latin America (Webster et al, 2002). Several terms are used to refer to this

phenomenon. They include “gated communities”, “gated enclaves”, “enclosed neighborhoods”, “closed condominiums”, “fenced-up areas” among others (Barbadosa, 2001).

These gated communities either consist of single family or town houses, owner occupied or rented apartments among others. As far as the size is concerned, they may just consist of a handful of houses, provided the residents have the financial means to maintain the infrastructure required for a gated community or many houses depending on the capital pool of the homeowners/property developer (Frantz, 2000-1).

It has been noticed that the main reason for the emergence of gated communities is the increasing crime rate in its surrounding. Some residents decide to run away from this “risky” environment and live in a closed safely gated community, e.g. in South Africa, United States of America and Brazil among other countries. For instance in Johannesburg, South Africa, gated communities are built as safe havens from one of the world’s most crime ridden societies (Landman & Schonteich, 2002). In Nigeria today, the concept of gated communities is a fast growing one especially in response to safety and security all over the country (Ajibola et al, 2011).

Caldiera, 2002, Blakely and Snyder, 1997, Frantz, 1999, among others, highlight the potential gated communities have in contributing to spatial fragmentation in

urban areas. It is argued that gated communities reflect an increasing fragmentation and decreasing solidarity within the urban society. Gated communities can also lead to the privatisation of public space or the reservation of certain spaces for exclusive use by certain distinctive social groups. In addition, it is changing the nature of the existing public spaces. Most people living in enclosed areas no longer make use of the streets, and public spaces are no longer used and shared by all urban residents (Frantz K. , 1999). Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004) have said that availability of amenities and facilities within the enclave may affect the degree of interaction with the world outside, and so has major implications for social integration and exchange. The more self-contained a community is, the less frequently inhabitants need to venture outside both reflecting and generating greater social distance between the gated community and the society.

By its nature a gated community physically separates a specific area from its surrounding areas and creates zones of restricted access within the urban fabric. By contributing to spatial segregation, gated communities also result in social and economic segregation. These gated communities exclude other urban users from accessing the services and facilities. This can lead to social exclusion by creating a barrier to interaction among people of different races, cultures and classes, thereby inhibiting the construction of social networks that form the basis of urban life (Landman & Schonteich, 2002).

In Kenya, the phenomenon of gated communities started in Nairobi and is spreading fast to other towns and cities like Mombasa and Kisumu. This emergence could be attributed to the enhanced sense of insecurity (perceived increase in crime rate), scarcity of land necessitating maximum utilization of the expensive land and rising middle and high income persons moving and living in Nairobi further exacerbating the existing housing deficit. The fear of crime is growing in Nairobi and as the fear of insecurity increases, there is greater need to try and address this issue of insecurity and unrest in the city. People live in homes guarded by dogs, boundary walls laced with barbed wire and the employment of guards in an attempt to increase the security. As this fear of crime increases, more people look for secure neighbourhoods to move into. All these gated developments are of different scale, typology, variety of housing design and size, type and number of amenities offered among others. However one feature that is common in all such developments is that there is controlled access and a designated perimeter of non-permeable wall/fence that encloses the development (Muiga, 2013).

Inevitably, the question arises as to what the real reasons are for the increase in gated communities. Is it to deal with the rising land prices or is it primarily to enforce segregation or to privatize space, or is it just another attempt alongside so many others to try and address the current high crime rate in our country. This research study therefore focused on understanding the reasons for the emergence

of these types of developments and examining the impacts of gated communities on urban areas in terms of both spatial and social fragmentation.

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

There has been an increase in gated community developments in Kenya, especially in Nairobi. These developments have come up as a response to security challenges faced in the city. People look for secure neighbourhoods and gated communities to move into due to the enhanced sense of insecurity (Keriga & Burja, 2009).

With the land scarcity and increased land values, coupled with the increase in the middle and high income persons moving into Nairobi, gated communities have been seen as a solution to providing residential units. Property developers and housing experts see the preference for gated communities as a response to the state of insecurity and the rising cost of putting up a property. With a good road network now guaranteed in almost all suburban areas around Nairobi, the middle class has taken advantage of less expensive areas outside the capital where gated communities are springing up virtually overnight (Mwangi, 2013).

However, there are implications of gated communities on the urban environment of Nairobi and especially the integration of the social and economic urban fabric. Gated communities privatize the urban space and therefore create pockets of restricted access. This ends up contributing to the spatial fragmentation in urban

area as the urban space is not utilized by the public as a whole but instead becomes reserved for certain social groups.

Another aspect is the contribution of gated communities towards social exclusion, inhibiting the construction of social networks that form the basis of urban life. Whereas several studies have been undertaken in different countries to investigate the reasons for emergence of gated communities and the impact of the same on the urban areas, there exists a gap with regards to the emergence of gated communities in Nairobi and the impacts in terms of spatial and social fragmentation.

The aim of this study was therefore to investigate the main reasons why people are moving into gated communities and the impacts of these on the urban and social fabric that exists and whether or not they contribute to spatial fragmentation. This was done by focusing on gated communities in Kileleshwa area of Nairobi County.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research study was to be guided by the following questions

- a) What are the residents' main reasons for moving into gated communities?
- b) To what extent do gated communities contribute to a sense of community?

- c) To what extent do gated communities spatially fragment urban areas and cause loss of connection and social contact?
- d) What alternative interventions can be adopted to reduce fragmentation of the urban areas?

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This research study sought to:

- a) Establish the main reasons for people moving into gated communities.
- b) Establish the extent to which gated communities contribute to a sense of community.
- c) Establish the extent to which gated communities contribute to spatial fragmentation of urban areas and loss of social contact.
- d) Propose interventions which can be adopted to reduce spatial and social fragmentation of the urban areas

1.5 RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

In accordance with the research questions, the hypothesis is as follows:

- The emergence of gated communities has led to spatial and social fragmentation of urban areas.

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The geographical coverage of this research were the gated communities in Kileleshwa location in Nairobi city as an emerging type of urban development

and the impact that this "urban type" is likely to have on urban development in the future, particularly in terms of security and socio-spatial integration.

The theoretical scope of the study was to look into gated communities that are high-rise/ flat systems. In this research, only lifestyle and prestige types of gated communities were to be covered. These types of gated communities are the ones that have controlled access, non-permeable physical boundaries enclosing the neighborhood and deny the public access to the enclosed private space, facilities and amenities. Those neighborhoods with through roads open to the public were not captured in this study. Only residents (owners and renters) as well as the developers and property managers of these gated communities participated in the study.

The intention of this study was to focus on issues such as the physical and functional characteristics of these gated residential developments, who lives there and why, and finally, what are the impacts of these urban developments on the urban areas.

1.7 JUSTIFICATION

Gated communities are a global phenomena; an urban housing typology that is found in Qatar, Saudi Arabia, USA, Canada, Brazil, Chile, UK, Spain, Australia among others. In Africa, a number of countries including Egypt, South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya, have seen a rapid increase in gated communities. There has

been a rapid emergence of gated communities in Kenya in the past decade, especially in Nairobi. This study was therefore being carried out to investigate the main motives of movement of people into gated communities and how this urban typology has impacted the urban areas and to be able to understand its implications on the same. It would contribute to the existing literature on the concept of gated communities in Kenya thus filling a gap in information that exists as well as to complement the works of other scholars studying the same phenomena in other African countries. The study would shed light for policymakers and planners when carrying out spatial planning of neighborhoods as it will help in understanding the impacts of gated communities in urban areas.

1.8 ASSUMPTIONS

- a) Insecurity and fear of crime are some of the main reasons why people are moving into gated communities.
- b) The residents of the gated communities live together in harmony and there is a sense of community in such urban typologies
- c) Gated communities cause spatial fragmentation in urban areas by creating zones of restricted areas.
- d) Gated communities contribute to social fragmentation due to loss of interaction with those outside the gated communities.

1.9 DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

- i. Gated Communities/Gated enclaves/fortified enclaves- These are security developments such as a group of houses with designated perimeters, usually walls or fences, and controlled entrances by means of booms/gates (Landman K. , 2000a).
- ii. Sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).
- iii. Property developer- According to the oxford dictionary, the term developer refers to a person or a company that buys land or buildings in order to build new house, shops or to improve the old ones and to make a profit in doing so.
- iv. Residents- according to the oxford dictionary, this term refers to a permanent inhabitant of a town or a neighbourhood.
- v. Housing- according to the oxford dictionary, this term means provision of shelter or a dwelling.
- vi. Social integration- this is concerned with the integration of different age, ethnic and income groups in different urban areas to allow for greater social interaction and diversity; hence, towards a more inclusive city (Landman, K, 2012).

- vii. Social fragmentation- this refers to the absence or the underdevelopment of connections between the society and the groupings of some members of that society on the lines of a common culture, nationality, race, language, occupation, religion, income level, or other common interests. This gap between the concerned group and the rest might be social, indicating poor interrelationships among each other; economical based on structural inequalities; institutional in terms of formal and specific political, occupational, educative or associative organizations and/or geographic implying regional or residential concentration.
- viii. Spatial fragmentation- This is where the city is thought as a ensemble of fragments with different socio-spatial characteristics and different uses of urban spaces
- ix. Segregation- This refers to a setting apart or separation of people or things from others or from the main body or group. It is the separation or isolation of a race, class, or ethnic group by enforced or voluntary residence in a restricted area, by barriers to social intercourse, by separate educational facilities, or by other discriminatory. Fragmentation can be distinguished from segregation: On the one hand, “fragmentation classifies the breaking, the reversal, the rupture with a social and political ensemble, whereas segregation appears as a principal of hierarchical, but unitary organization”.

CHAPTER 2- LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The gated residential development is particularly intriguing, mirroring changes in social values that accompany rapid globalization. Understanding this spatial form and why residents chose to live provides an important perspective in the central city that is often overlooked. According to the architectural record 1997, the estimated number of people who lived in gated communities within the United States vary from 4 million to 8 million. One-third of all the new homes built in the United States in the recent years are in gated residential developments (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a). And in areas such as Tampa, Florida, where crime rate is a high profile problem, gated communities account for four out of five home sales (Fischler, 1998).

Systems of walls and class divisions are deeply ingrained in historic Europe as a means of wealthy people protecting themselves from the local population (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a). In the United States, the early settlements of towns were walled and defended to protect colonists from attack. At the turn of twentieth century, secure and gated estates were built to protect family estates and wealthy citizens. By late 1960s and 1970s, planned retirement communities were the first places where middle class Americans could wall themselves off. Gates then spread to resorts and country club developments and finally to the middle-class suburban developments. In 1980s, the building of gated communities had

spread around golf courses designed for exclusivity, prestige and leisure. This retreatment of the middle class people to new, walled private communities became the talk of the town. Since the late 1980s the gates have become ubiquitous and by the 1990s even more common (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a).

The literature on gated communities identifies a number of reasons for their increase in number and size. It has been argued that the economic restructuring in the United States during the 1970s and the 1980s produced a number of changes as a result of uneven development. Power, wealth and income tilted towards the richest portions of the population. This led to two different classes; the "haves" and the "have-nots" (Phillips, 1991).

Gated communities are residential areas with restricted access designed to privatize normally public spaces. They are security developments with designated perimeters, usually walls or fences, and controlled entrances that are intended to prevent entry by non-residents (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a). According to Abdelhamid (2006) a gated community is an urban settlement surrounded by walls with several entrances which are controlled by gates and security guards. Gruszczak (2010) advances that gated community in its original spatial residential meaning, is a residential development established on a dense territorial area surrounded by walls, fences or natural barriers, with restricted access through a secured entrance, guarded by professional private security personnel taking advantage of sophisticated technologies and devices of surveillance and control.

There appear to be a general consensus on some major features of the concept. It could be extracted from the above definitions that gated communities have generally tend to have walled boundaries; regulated or limited public access; privatized public spaces and sophisticated security.

2.1.1 Historical background of gated communities

The gating of a residential area is not a new phenomenon. The earliest forms of gated communities were built by the Romans around 300 B.C. in England. Roman soldiers were given land in tribal areas after their term of service, to maintain order in the countryside. Their families clustered near or within the manor, and erected walls and other defenses. The walls around these settlements, however, were seldom to protect the occupants from external invaders. They were rather, to guard against local villagers who might turn on the lord of the manor at any moment. During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, kings and other royalty provided gated enclaves for their families and loyal followers during times of siege and epidemic diseases. They were fortified with towers, moats and drawbridges (Blakely & Snyder, 1997).

Walled and gated communities were also built in the New World, with the earliest being the Spanish fortified towns in the Caribbean. However, not until the latter half of the nineteenth century did the first purely residential gated communities appear. In the same period, private gated streets were built in St Louis and other

cities for the rich (Blakely & Snyder, 1998). In general, gated communities in the United States remained rarities until the era of master-planned retirement developments of the late 1960s and 1970s. The 1980s saw the proliferation of gated communities around golf courses designed primarily for exclusivity, prestige and leisure. It also marked the emergence of gated communities built mainly out of fear, as the public became increasingly preoccupied with violent crime. Since the late 1980s, gates have become common in many areas of the country. Gated communities are also increasing in other countries, for example in Canada, Brazil (especially Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo), Chile and Russia (especially Moscow) (Landman, K, 2003b).

Since the real estate boom in the late 1980's, this rapidly growing phenomenon of gating off communities has become more prevalent in today's society. In its modern form, a gated community is a form of residential community or housing estate containing strictly controlled entrance for pedestrians, bicycles, and automobiles, and often characterized by a closed perimeter of walls and fences (Ajibola et al, 2011). Gated communities usually consist of small residential streets and include various shared amenities. For smaller communities this may be only a park or other common area. For larger communities, it may be possible for residents to stay within the community for most daily activities.

2.1.2 The nature of gated communities

By their nature gated communities are separate and enclosed areas: isolated from the broader urban environment and enclosed through physical barriers. Whether the purpose is to enable a specific lifestyle within the enclosed area or to protect the residents from possible intruders, gated communities reflect an urban entity that is physically and often socially and economically differentiated from the surrounding urban environment (Landman K. , 2000c).

2.1.3 Types of housing

Gated communities either consist of single family or town houses, owner occupied or rented apartments among others. As far as the size is concerned, these communities may just consist of a handful of houses, provided the residents have the financial means to maintain the infrastructure required for a gated community or many houses depending on the capital pool of the homeowners/property developer.

2.1.4 Location

Location is clearly tied to other variables that drive gating. For instance, fear of crime and rates of crime vary. Extreme poverty, violence, and lawlessness occur more commonly in some parts of the world than in others, thus encouraging those with means to look for residential solutions to the threats they face. Grant and Middlesteadt (2004) however found that gated enclaves are appearing both in rich

and in poor countries, in the North and South, and in developed and developing nations. The pattern of gating within countries clearly reflects local factors. For instance, in England gating is happening primarily around London and in the southeast. In Europe gating remains remarkably rare. In the USA it hits the south and the west (Blakely and Snyder, 1997).

Gating creates controversy in some places because enclosures can limit access to public spaces, or change traffic patterns on public streets. Gated communities can privatise the public realm, depriving local residents of access to community resources. Those resources most in demand may be most vulnerable to privatization (Webster, 2002). Although, societies that respect private property inevitably experience a level of exclusion, this provides venues in which those deprived of formerly shared goods may challenge perceived spatial inequities. Thus gating can create social rifts in communities.

2.1.5 Features

Many gated communities are not simply a place to reside, but places where the residents can enjoy leisure activities in an undisturbed private atmosphere, where they can follow a lifestyle that they have deliberately chosen. Some of these facilities and amenities could be swimming pools, gym facilities, tennis courts, squash courts, parks, man-made lakes, baby day care centres among others. These

amenities can be provided by the developers and can be exclusively available to the residents of such communities at a fee per month.

Amenities available in a gated community depend on a number of factors including geographical location, demographic composition, community structure, and community fees collected. Amenities also depend on the type of housing. For example, single-family-home communities may not have a common-area swimming pool, since individual home-owners have the ability to construct their own private pools. A condominium, on the other hand, may offer a community pool, since the individual units do not have the option of a private pool installation.

2.1.6 Typologies of gated communities

Gated communities are residential developments that have designated perimeters and controlled restricted entrances that are intended to prevent entry by non-residents. There are different typologies of gated communities.

Blakely and Snyder identified three types of gated community: lifestyle, prestige, and security zone communities. First are the lifestyle communities, where the gates provide security and separation for the leisure activities and amenities within. These include retirement communities and golf and country club leisure developments.

Second are the elite/prestige communities, where the gates symbolize distinction and prestige and both create and protect a secure place on the social ladder. These include enclaves of the rich and famous, for the affluent and home developments for the middle class. These two categories are examples of gating motivated by a desire to invest in and control the future through measures designed to maximize the internal life of the residents. The intention is also in part to artificially induce community in an ersatz, homogenous neighborhood, where physical security and social security are enhanced by both sameness and controlled access.

The third category is the security zone, where the fear of crime and outsiders is the foremost motivation for gating and walling. Included in this category are “Security villages” refers to private developments where the entire area is developed by a private developer. These areas/buildings are physically walled or fenced off and usually have a security gate or controlled access point, with or without a security guard. The roads within these developments are private and, in most of the cases, the management and maintenance is carried out by a private management body. Security villages not only include residential areas (such as townhouse complexes and high-rise apartment blocks), but also controlled-access villages for business purposes (office blocks) and mixed-use developments, such as large security estates (Landman, K, 2004). Also included in this category are the enclosed neighbourhoods. Here existing neighborhoods are retrofitted with gates or barricades. In this category we include the city areas where gates attempt

to protect property and property values and sometimes to wall out nearby crime and the suburbs, where gates are installed so as to reduce access and deter outsiders. Here the residents erect fortifications to regain control of their neighborhood and so that changing conditions do not overwhelm them. By marking their boundaries and restricting access, these places often try to build and strengthen the feeling and function of community (Blakely & Snyder, 1997b).

Table 2.1 General Typology of Gated Communities

Types	Features	Characteristics
Lifestyle	These projects emphasize Retirement age-related complexes with suited common amenities and activities that cater to a leisure class. They maybe luxury villages or resort villages (golf and leisure)	Shared access to amenities for an active lifestyle Master-planned project with suit of amenities and facilities
Prestige	These reflect desire for image, privacy and control. They focus on exclusivity, few shared facilities and amenities	Secured and guarded privacy to restrict access for the wealthy in attractive locations. Secured and restricted access for the middle class
Security zones	These projects involve retrofitting fences and gates on public streets; controlling access	Restricted public access to inner city areas to limit crime or traffic Closed access to some streets to limit through traffic

Source: Blakely & Snyder, 1997

Gated communities are residential developments that have designated perimeters and controlled restricted entrances that are intended to prevent entry by non-residents. There are different typologies of gated communities. In theory, the categories represent ideal types that serve particular markets. In practice, they say, communities may show a combination of features from these types.

Gated communities, as a "new" urban typology, have the power to radically transform cities in the 21st century. As a strong urban type, it has the potential to drastically influence the position of the urban poor, social and economic opportunities, long-term sustainability of cities, crime prevention through design and the decision-making process of both national and local governments (Landman, K, 2002).

2.1.7 Gated Communities in Kenya

Gated communities have become a widespread urban typology not just in Nairobi but also in towns like Naivasha, Kisumu, and Mombasa among others.

Some of these projects are Northlands City, Tatu City which will accommodate 75,000 people, Thika Greens Limited (TGL) which will have 4,000 housing units in Thika upon completion, Four Ways Junction, Migaa Golf Estate which is a project set on 774 acres of land in Kiambu to feature 2,500 homes, Jacaranda Gardens north of CBD in Nairobi Metropolitan region and Edenville Estate on the outskirts of Nairobi among many others (Madukani, 2013).

The Italian luxury court, a new gated community coming up in Nakuru County, Naivasha is meant to target the middle and upper classes. It is located five kilometres from Naivasha Town and 400 metres from the Nairobi-Nakuru highway next to Karai Village. This gated community is expected to address the housing crisis in the town. The gated community is to be located on a 40 acre parcel of land and will comprise of 200 units, 24 of which have already been constructed and sold off. The courts are fully serviced with running water, tarmac roads, electricity and security of residents fully catered for. The project will also have a club house, a playground and a swimming pool on two acres of the plot (Gitonga, October 16, 2014).

Kisumu Town, once characterised by open estates, is now warming up to gated communities. The need for privacy and optimum security has driven property developers to adopt clustered and secured housing structures as one way of attracting buyers. The latest such entrant in Kisumu County is a Kshs 2 billion housing project launched by the Home Afrika group in March. The development would comprise 300 houses, with amenities such as a hotel, a convention centre, commercial facilities, a nursery and day-care centre, as well as medical and recreational facilities. A similar project is White Gold Holding's Ruby Estate, which comprises high-end houses for the middle class. To be constructed alongside the houses are a clubhouse and swimming pool, kindergarten, shopping mall and gym. There is also Victoria Gardens at the foot of Riat Hills. The

development, which covers an 11-acre piece of land, comprises 85 residential units, made up of 39 four-bedroom maisonettes, 30 three-bedroom maisonettes and 16 two-bedroom units. Property developers say that with the changing housing trends in Kisumu, residents are set to enjoy more serene and secure homes, owing to the advantages of the gated housing system (Apollo, August 12, 2014).

Buyers' preferences for housing are changing, irrespective of whether they are from the upper, middle, or lower classes. Gated communities comprising apartments located in good areas as well as mixed-use developments incorporating maisonettes and apartments are considered major selling points in attracting middle-class buyers. Such developments are found in locations such as Madaraka, Kileleshwa, Lavington, and off Kiambu Road. These developments seek to strike a perfect balance between luxury, quality, and cost, all key concerns of the middle-class market. They feature plinth areas of between 1,650sqft and 2,100sqft, spacious lounges with a dining area, a covered swimming pool with changing rooms, lifts, stand-by generator, gym, clubhouse, electric fence with CCTV cameras, and covered parking.

In Nairobi, Ruaka is a fast-growing neighbourhood, with several modern housing developments coming up. Temus is one such property. Built on a three-quarter acre plot, Temus has the same design and layout as gated community apartments

found in areas like Kileleshwa. It has 32 units on offer, 16 of which are three-bedroom, the rest two bedrooms (Limbe, 7th November 2013).

In Thika there are several gated developments that are coming up such as Thika Greens, Flame-tree Park among others. The developers claim Thika Greens is going to be a study in sustainable development. Lying on 1,135 acres, it will be made up of two residential developments. The first 900 unit middle income residential phase and the second an 800-residential unit golf estate. Other facilities on the estate include a three-star hotel, a school and a private members clubhouse overlooking an 18-hole championship golf course (Mwongela, May 20, 2010)

2.2 REASONS FOR PEOPLE MOVING INTO GATED COMMUNITIES

2.2.1 A design of protection and fear

The general perception is that crime has become more random, that all strangers are dangerous and that no place is safe. For many, gating the residential settlement at least provides psychological relief from this fear (Blakely & Snyder, 1997).

Security is viewed as freedom not just from crime, but also from such annoyances as solicitors and canvassers, mischievous teenagers, and strangers of any kind, malicious or not. According to the survey of Blakely and Snyder (1997), among those gated community association boards that think they experience less crime

than the surrounding area, most believe that the gate is the reason (Blakely & Snyder, 1997b).

Gated communities are mostly private residential settlements whose residents cut themselves off from the outside world by using a whole series of defensive means, both of an architectural and landscaping nature. These measures include gates that are guarded day and night or gates that only open by remote control.

Sometimes these closed communities are protected by walls, fences or earth banks covered with bushes and shrubs, though this type of protection often only occurs on the outside of the parts of the community that could otherwise be seen from the road.

Protection is also either given by inaccessible and or vast expanses of land such as a nature reserve, and sometimes there are moats and guarded bridges. In addition high-tech surveillance systems (monitors, night vision aids or radar screens) are used, which resemble the equipment of military security plants.

In the immediate vicinity of gated communities one often comes across a kind of "landscaping of fear," devices of security and deterrence, which makes it rather difficult for people to approach these settlements from the outside. For example, there are very few sidewalks close to gated communities, one cannot even park one's car, neither stop for a short time, nor are there any signposts showing the

way to these communities. Inside the settlements protection is guaranteed either by a so-called neighbourhood watch or by professional security personnel that patrol all around the clock.

In communities around the world, people have used fences and walls to offer domestic security. Enclosed compounds may include only a few houses or entire settlements. The walls may safeguard domestic animals and children. They may keep natural elements at bay: flood waters, drifting sand, dangerous predators. Walls promise to protect inhabitants from crime and chaos. Fear of terrorism forces expatriate workers into compounds in Saudi Arabian cities; fear of crime leads the tenants of public housing to accept enclosure of their communities; fear of rising violence encourages white South Africans to fence their suburbs and hire armed guards to patrol the streets (Landman k. , 2003a).

An increasing crime rate and racial tensions does little to allay peoples' fears about the future prospects for South Africa. Overall crime rates showed an annual increase from 1997 until 2000, with a decrease thereafter (Landman & Schonteich, 2002). However, despite the latter, people perceive that crime levels are increasing and showing no signs of abating, thus creating a climate of fear. This fear of crime, coupled with a perception that the government cannot protect its citizens has contributed to the rise of gated development living in South Africa (Landman, K, 2003b). South Africans believe that one way to protect themselves

against crime and violence is to live in gated developments, thereby controlling access and thus increasing personal and property safety (Landman, K, 2000b). Gated development living becomes part of a range of strategies that citizens employ to protect themselves. These strategies include the hiring of private armed response companies, closed circuit television surveillance, fortification of living space and the privatisation of public space. People do not reside in gated developments in order to enjoy a communal atmosphere, but rather to protect themselves from the unsafe and chaotic city (Ballard, 2005).

Gated communities offer a physical response to deal with the residential burglaries category of crime. Therefore, even within the lower middle-income groups and within affordable housing projects, inhabitants are starting to demand gates and fences for security reasons (Landman, K, 2012).

Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004) identified eight (8) factors that differentiate gated communities from their neighbourhood to include functions of enclosure, security features and barriers, amenities and facilities included, type of residents, tenure, location, size and policy context.

According to Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004), in situations where fear is intense, residents are more likely to be interested in full-service settlements full of people like themselves. Risk increases the value of security club goods and augments the

size of the group willing to contribute the costs of membership. Alphaville, a gated community outside Sao Paulo, Brazil, has all of the facilities needed so that people can avoid venturing into the streets, where they worry about crimes such as murder and kidnapping (Faiola, 2002).

In Britain, the perception of an ineffective police force coupled with a perceived increase in crime levels and the need for security has led to an increasing demand for gated living (Atkinson & Flint, 2004). Similarly in Spain (Trinidad and Tobago), the upper- and middle-classes reside in multi-ethnic gated developments as a direct response to the government's inability to provide law and order against an increasing crime rate (Mycoo, 2006).

In Kenya, in a report on crime and insecurity, it was revealed that the highest incidences of offences reported over the five years are stealing, break-ins and robbery which contributed 25%, 17% and 15% of all offences reported to police stations. Furthermore, it was seen that the highest robbery incidences were in Nairobi at 37% followed by central province at 14%. These high incidences of crime and an impending sense of insecurity have led to an increase of private security as more organizations and individuals seek to ensure their personal safety and that of their property (Keriga & Burja, 2009). In addition, according to the study by Security Research and Information Centre in Nairobi Region, it was established that 41.1% of crimes reported are violent robberies and 34.9% theft

and residents in all parts of the city are prone to such attacks. As a result, feelings of insecurity mainly fear of loss of life and properties are high among the residents (Security Research and Informaion Centre, 2011/2012).

Insecurity, however, also transcends issues of crime and sometimes relates to financial and other broader socio-political insecurities. In South Africa, despite many attempts at reconstruction, cities still reflect the footprints of the past in the spatial leftovers of apartheid, which serve as a constant reminder of inequity and segregation. In addition, new types of developments such as gated communities recall memories of the past (Landman, K, 2004). Jürgens & Gnad (2002: 339) point out that gated communities in South Africa are a response to the paranoia of personal insecurity and political uncertainty, as well as the development of various construction measures designed to protect citizens in White areas (changes within the post-apartheid city). The reason being that with the fall of apartheid, residents of traditionally White neighbourhoods felt threatened by the new political system and uncertain about their future and what it may hold (Jurgens & Gnad, 2002).

One of the main causes for the formation of closed complexes in Russia is the desire of the prosperous people to protect “private territory” in the terms of disorganization after the collapse of the Soviet system and growth that endangered their life and property. Russian cities’ crime rates nowadays remain

rather high, although the trends change and according to official data the crime rates that were going up in 2006 have slowly begun to come down (Zotova, 2012).

2.2.2 Affordability

To find refuge from the noisy and disorderly estates, the wealthy moved to gated suburban communities and developers rushed to build houses for sale in these areas. But now, the gated communities are not only the preserve of the rich.

It is now common to see middle class estates with new apartments, six-foot brick walls and iron fences encircling the enclaves of luxury homes, electronic gates and 24-hour security guards to keep outsiders away with spotless streets and lush landscaping.

Buying a house in gated communities is considerably cheaper than a house on an individual plot. This is because there are economies of scale to be enjoyed on the cost of construction and materials when building many houses. The savings can be so huge that often prices in gated community are significantly subsidised as opposed to putting up a unit alone.

Also the increasing land prices make it almost impossible to achieve any returns for stand-alone units. Therefore to maximize on returns there is need for

maximum utilization of land and thus the concept of the high-rise gated communities.

In addition to the above, the cost of the provision of all the facilities and services is shared out among the residents of the gated communities. This makes it an attractive attribute that acts as an incentive for moving into gated communities.

2.2.3 Sharing services and facilities

Common services can be shared among residents making them far more affordable. At Greenspan for instance, features such as solar-powered panels and street lights, borehole and the community centre with a swimming pool and gym are accessible to residents affordably.

With availability of many facilities and services within the gated community, the residents do not need to venture out to access public facilities and services unless necessary. The variety of facilities and amenities offered by gated communities may affect the degree of interaction with the non-gated community, which contribute to major implications for social integration and exchange

2.2.4 Lifestyles

With today's commuter lifestyles, home owners place a premium on convenience and proximity to facilities. In a gated community, you aren't just sold a house but

a lifestyle too. By providing a nursery school, gym and swimming pool, shopping mall and medical clinic among other services at the commercial centre, convenience is brought to the resident's doorstep. Some move to such neighbourhoods as it offers social prestige, among other 'benefits': they 'provide the cachet of exclusive living' (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Walls and security devices are not just physical elements – they also provide status and distinction.

2.3 CONTRIBUTION OF GATED COMMUNITIES TO SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Socio-economic level appears to be the most important dimension to keep residents in or out. However, ethnicity and religion also play an important role in demarcating the characteristics of certain gated communities. In Argentina, some prestigious gated communities ban Jewish residents and, as a consequence, gated communities for only Jewish people have been built

McMillan and Chavis (1986) describe four factors that contribute to a sense of community. These are as discussed in the sections below.

2.3.1 Membership

This is the feeling of belonging or of sharing a sense of personal relatedness. This is about how people become members and what are the boundaries keeping others out. These are as discussed below.

2.3.1.1 Emotional safety

This is by building boundaries and including the right people, you can create trust and a feeling of safety

2.3.1.2 A sense of belonging and identification

Here the members must feel like they fit in and that this is “their community”.

This is to do with whether members contribute or make sacrifices to the community and whether it enhances their sense of community

2.3.2 Influence

This refers to a sense of mattering. For a community to have influence over its members, it simply has to become a place that they care about.

2.3.3 Integration and fulfillment of needs

This essentially means that by joining a community a member gets what they hoped to get by joining. It reinforces the idea that the community needs to solve a problem for its members in order to make it worth their time and contribution.

2.3.4 Shared emotional connection

This refers to the situation where members will have a history of experiences together and the belief that there will be more experiences together in the future.

These experiences form a long lasting emotion connection.

When the community has these four factors, then you have a definitive element for a true community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Proponents of gated communities argue that by allowing residents of neighbourhoods to establish and protect their boundaries and to control access to their territory, these residents of gated communities will develop a sense of identity and security, which is vital to strong communities (Blakely & Snyder, Fortress America, 1997a).

In a survey carried out by Blakely and Snyder across the United States, 64% reported that their developments or areas were “friendly”, while 8% indicated that the feeling in their neighbourhoods was “neighbourly” while 28% of the respondents said that their neighbourhoods were “distant and private”, despite the presence of walls and gates (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a). Blakely and Snyder also added that one of reasons why Americans are forgoing is to find neighbours who share their good sense of life.

2.3.5 Peoples’ Perceptions about gated communities

In various studies carried out in different parts of the worlds such as South Africa, US, Latin America among others, it was seen that gated communities also have a symbolic meaning. It’s about how the people perceive and interpret the concept of gated communities. In South Africa, it was found out that the perceptions were falling under the seclusion, exclusion and conflict categories.

2.3.5.1 Seclusion

This refers to “a state of being private and away from other people” or “a sheltered or private place” (Merriam-Webster.com). A Gated community does exactly that, it creates seclusion due to the physical enclosure. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines enclosure as an area that is surrounded by a wall, fence, etc (Merriam-Webster.com). The process of enclosure is aimed at privatizing public space through erection of walls, fences and gates and thus makes a normally public space private. Because of this enclosure, access is prohibited to those who do not belong inside and therefore it creates a notion of seclusion or in other words a neighborhood “away from other people”. It leads to an issue of “insiders” and “outsiders” (Landman, K, 2004).

2.3.5.2 Exclusion

This refers to the process or state of being excluded (Merriam-Webster.com). The question that comes about is who is excluded? This is linked with the term enclosure that refers to an area that is walled and fenced so as to exclude unwanted criminals. According to Landman (2004), the dilemma is to identify the potential criminal who ought to be excluded from the gated enclosure and what happens is the barriers start to randomly exclude and this includes everyone who is not part of that gated development that is who is not part of the “insiders”. She also says that perceptions play a very important role in the fear of crime. They lead to gross generalization and stereotyping. Such actions start to create resentment and eventually lead to conflict (Landman, K, 2004).

2.3.5.3 Conflict.

Research carried out in South Africa has identified several levels of conflict related to gated communities. There are conflicts between the residents and conflicts between those inside and outside these enclosures.

2.4 GATED COMMUNITIES AND THE SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION OF URBAN AREAS

Public space is important because it “expresses and also conditions our public life, civic culture and everyday discourse”. Madanipour (1996) points out that the public realm is therefore “the most important part of our towns and cities. It is where the greatest amount of human contact and interaction takes place” (Madanipour, 1996). Tensions however emerge when a focus on individual places leads to the transformation of public spaces for all to “common” spaces for only a selected few homogeneous social groupings. According to Blakely and Snyder (1997), many of the gated communities also privatize civic responsibilities, such as police protection (by organizing for private security), and communal services, such as education, recreation, and entertainment. The new developments create a private world that shares little with its neighbors or the larger political system. This fragmentation undermines the very concept of organized community life leading to spatial fragmentation.

Enclaves range from having few amenities to constituting complete towns. Full-service master-planned communities offer shopping malls, schools, industry, recreational departments, and police. The availability of amenities and facilities within the enclave may affect the degree of interaction with the world outside, and so has major implications for social integration and exchange. The more self-contained a community is, the less frequently inhabitants need to venture outside. Greater availability of facilities and services within the enclave may both reflect and generate greater social distance between the gated community and society outside (Grant & Mittelsteadt, 2004).

In a study carried out in South Africa that focused on meaning of gated communities for public space in post-apartheid South Africa, the following issues came about in terms of the physical meaning. The physical meaning relates to the direct implications of the transformation of the physical form on the daily use patterns of residents. It is discussed in terms of three issues: integration and accessibility, equity, and efficiency (Landman, K, 2004).

Borsdorf & Hidalgo (2008) found that a number of gated developments for the wealthy in Santiago, Chile are located next to poor neighbourhoods; this has led to increased social fragmentation. Santiago is said to become more fragmented than ever as new cities for the rich are being built on the periphery (Borsdorf & Hidalgo, 2008).

The discovery and exploitation of oil in Saudi Arabia in the 1930s has had a profound impact on Saudi society. The growth of the capital city, Riyadh, led to an unprecedented demand for housing. The influx of foreign oil workers created a further demand for housing in the form of guarded gated residential areas. Saudi nationals are not permitted to reside in these residential areas. The gated developments create a space for the foreign workers and their families to lead a “Westernised” lifestyle, without the cultural restrictions outside the gates (Glasze, 2006). The privatised world of the gated development has, in this instance, created a space that is meant to be separate from the traditional Saudi cultural and social milieu.

Mekawy and Yousry (2012) said that a divide leading to potential conflict between increasingly marginalized informal areas and booming lush gated communities, as well as between formal deteriorated central and inner-city areas and peripheral luxurious suburbs. The problems that arise out of this are the general lack of integration of the city, the increasing separation of functions like housing, business, recreation and shopping, and duality with regard to the distribution of basic services (Mekawy & Yousry, 2012). They add that Cairo’s spatial fragmentation produces a spatially induced social exclusion, a socio-economic duality where pockets of poverty and of wealth become more and more

alienated both symbolically and in terms of their physical and social characteristics.

However, proponents of gated communities argue that by allowing residents of neighbourhoods to establish and protect their boundaries and to control access to their territory, these residents of gated communities will develop a sense of identity and security, which is vital to strong communities (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a).

2.4.1 Integration and accessibility

It refers to the ease of access to the opportunities and facilities that exist within cities. One of the great benefits of cities is the economic, social, cultural and recreational opportunities and facilities which can be generated through the physical agglomeration of many people. However, it is of little use offering or generating opportunities if access to these is limited to a very limited number of people.

One of the great benefits of a well developed system of public spaces and spaces within cities is that it is possible for poorer inhabitants to gain access to opportunities and facilities which are generated through the resources of the more wealthy through integration (Landman, K, 2004).

Research conducted by Sabatini & Salcedo (2007) in Santaigo, indicates that rather than facilitating social fragmentation, the location of gated developments close to poor neighborhoods in fact fosters a functional integration between rich and poor. Those in the poor communities have welcomed the arrival of the gated developments from the perspective of employment, municipal service delivery and small business.

However, enclosed neighbourhoods contribute to the privatisation of public space, and often the opportunities and facilities contained within. It does so by restricting access into existing neighbourhoods through booms or gates across roads. This has a major impact on traffic and movement patterns, especially where there is a large concentration of enclosed neighbourhoods in an area. This also affects the Pedestrians and cyclists by increasing levels of discomfort and travelling time as they often have to use much longer routes due to road closures. In this way, accessibility are reduced or restricted to such an extent that is has a major impact on the daily use patterns of urban residents.

2.4.2 Equity

Cities allow all people easy access to opportunities they generate. By restricting (and prohibiting) access to large parts of urban areas, gated areas reduce and negate many urban activities and therefore constrain many aspects of urban life for a number of people. Many opportunities previously generated are lost due to

the privatization of former public spaces and amenities. Apart from the personal loss, it also often contributes to larger scale inefficiencies.

2.4.3 Efficiency

This refers to the effective performance of cities, especially with regards to its functioning and management. Gated areas have a significant impact on issues such as traffic and other movement patterns. By closing off a large number of neighbourhoods, the existing urban form and road network are severely affected and transformed. Through-traffic is also limited to a few major arterials that often lead to increased congestion and travel times.

Gating of areas also causes problems for the functioning of emergency services. Due to the closure of certain roads, the rapid response times of police and other emergency services (fire trucks, ambulances, etc) are also compromised by a large number of road closures. In addition, residents sometimes close routes (illegally) without informing the police, emergency services and local councils, which causes them to end up in dead-ends. Both these aspects have major implications for response times in cases of emergency, and could mean the difference between life and death. It also reduces the efficiency with which many daily activities and services can be performed.

2.5 GATED COMMUNITIES AND THE SOCIAL FRAGMENTATION OF URBAN AREAS

In all societies, people live in social groups stratified by ethnicity, caste, race, tribe, class, or clan. When state institutions cannot provide a secure and predictable environment, the groupings become highly polarized and in response, social groups may rally to provide security for their members. However, a strengthening of ties within individual social groups (bonding) can aggravate existing cleavages and further marginalize those who are already excluded from these groups (exclusion). If this kind of bonding is accompanied by a breakdown of social cohesion among groups, trust in both state and civil society institutions, whose role it is to mediate individual and group claims, spirals downward. A lack of trust in society's institutions tends to reinforce people's desire to seek security within groups, rather than within society, which in turn exacerbates a cycle of insecurity, social exclusion, and increased levels of conflict and violence. Social fragmentation can permeate society, erupting, for example, as domestic violence in the household, rising crime and violence in the community.

2.5.1 Residents of gated communities

Blakely and Snyder acknowledge the significance of segregation by class, age, and race in US gated communities. Those inside the walls of contemporary gated enclaves fall into two categories. Those who move into walls by choice are typically economically privileged, sometimes ethnically or age segregated for

instance in the USA they are pre-dominantly white and homeowners (Sanchez & Lang, 2002). In some contexts we may find segregation by ethnicity, religion, or ideology. For instance, in Indonesia some members of the ethnic Chinese community are clustering in gated communities (Leisch, 2002), Those living in gated public housing projects in the USA are typically renters and Hispanic (Sanchez & Lang, 2002). However this is all because of the limited options available to them.

Lang & Danielsen (1997) noted that gated communities in the US were becoming popular as a tool to solve perceived social problems. This has an impact on civic engagement as there is more civic engagement and participation within the walls and less with those persons and institutions beyond the walls. By contrast, communities impose regulations on themselves, but do not want regulations to be imposed on them by government institutions. Thus, it appears that the closing of the community ranks facilitates integration on the community level, but simultaneously increases segregation on a broader scale as the gated developments tend to exclude on the basis of social class. This, in turn, stoked the fires of fear for what was beyond the walls (Lang & Danielsen, 1997).

In Russia, one of the main causes for the emergence of gated communities is the high social stratification of the population, differentiation in incomes, and social fragmentation, which provokes the urge of the wealthy people to stand apart from

“the poor” and to live in a homogeneous environment. This is especially the case with Moscow city. Moscow, as with other early bourgeois cities, can’t provide its residents adequate conditions for living because of the rash growth of population. Practically in all megalopolises, the rich build their own mini-towns which are well-managed, quiet, well guarded, inhabited by similar people, and closed to outsiders, guaranteeing their residents comfort and safety (Zotova, 2012).

2.5.2 Provision of shared social facilities

In the United States, social segregation is not a new concept. 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. But it has been seen that gated communities go a notch higher than just exclusion; they create physical barriers to access. They also privatize community space, not merely individual space. Many gated areas also privatize civic responsibilities like security and communal services such as street maintenance, recreation, and entertainment. The new developments can create a private world that need share little with its neighbors or with the larger political system.

Gated communities reduce the number of public spaces that all can share, and thus the contacts that people from different socio-economic groups might otherwise have with each other. Hence, gated communities can be a contributing cause of loss of civic life, of reducing or threatening citizen involvement, and

disrupting the social contracts that cities and towns are built upon. Hence gates that separate people from one another reduce people's potential to understand one another and commit to any common or collective purpose (Mekawy & Yousry, 2012).

2.5.3 Interactions of “insiders” and “outsiders”

Gates and fences around our neighborhoods represent more than simple physical barriers. Gated communities manifest a number of tensions: between exclusionary aspirations rooted in fear and protection of privilege and the values of civic responsibility; between the trend toward privatization of public services and the ideals of the public good and general welfare; and between the need for personal and community control of the environment and the dangers of making outsiders of fellow citizens (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a).

Mekawy and Yousry (2012) claim gated communities as one of the visible forms of discriminatory and segregationist tendencies that lead to a loss of social diversity in neighborhoods, thus reinforcing tendencies toward social segregation. They highlight the proposition that those who voluntarily exclude themselves from the others also create excluded outsiders, and that it is not only the gating but also exclusiveness that creates a border. This can develop a ‘them and us’ tendency, both amongst residents of gated communities and of surrounding neighborhoods (Mekawy & Yousry, 2012).

2.6 POLICIES AND INTERVENTIONS ON SOCIAL AND SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION

In South Africa, government policies have favoured the proliferation of gated communities as a strategy towards crime reduction. The government committed itself to promote safety and security of its residents through the development of the Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) which developers and home owners use to justify the development of these gated communities. That is in South Africa they are regarded and justified as a way to prevent crime and relieve the fear of crime in the country.

At the same time, almost all of the urban planning and development policies and legislation post 1994 have one strong theme in common; greater integration. Spatial integration promotes the integration of previously marginalized neighbourhoods with the better-performing areas of the city, the provision of facilities in underdeveloped areas and infill development to facilitate greater access to socioeconomic opportunities. Social integration is concerned with the integration of different age, ethnic and income groups in different urban areas to allow for greater social interaction and diversity; hence, towards a more inclusive city.

Gated communities in South Africa have, however, been criticised for entrenching existing patterns of socio-spatial segregation in cities at the expense of the poor. This therefore raises many questions among planners regarding the nature, appropriateness and relevance of gated communities within the South African context and also generally.

Although the tensions between the planning ideal and practice or between normative planning guidance and practical realities have been addressed in the past, this has not been done in terms of the challenges related to the growth of gated communities. The planning and development of South African cities, in particular, raises specific moral questions that need to be considered in relation to past developments and future goals, in terms of both planning education and its implications for planning practice.

Todes (2008) suggests systematic planning and the rigorous application of development control by strict implementation of comprehensive land use zoning regulations and integrated development plans to take into account the difficulties of integration produced by different social actors including deprived groups, upper classes refusing integration, and destabilized middle-classes (Todes, 2008).

Local governments in Australia are vulnerable to the lure of gated and master planned communities, 'especially in traditionally working class sub-regions that

have come to view them as investment prizes and/or means for reducing their own planning and servicing responsibilities' (Gleeson, 2006). For local governments, it may be easier to allow developers to provide gated communities. Also gated communities can provide additional benefits for local governments as the attractive entry features, fences, and landscaping can improve land values in an area. In addition a lack of planning guidelines for gated communities in Sydney prevents local councils from controlling this type of development (Forwood, 1999). Without specific controls for gated developments, there are no agreed upon matters for consideration in the assessment of developments that propose to restrict non-resident access.

According to Grant et al (2004), concerns about segregated projects and the possible impacts of gating will not make private developers go away, nor will they reduce the demand for gated communities. As professionals, planners need to engage in a public debate about the implications of gated developments and the character of government responses to them so that they can establish appropriate policies and practices for future planning. Only then will they find themselves prepared to deal with this important issue (Grant, Greene, & Maxwell, 2005).

According to them, the next step is to encourage local and state governments to develop policy relating to gated communities. Policy for gated communities must be supplemented by government investment in the public realm of new and existing urban areas.

Gleeson (2006) suggests that planning in conjunction with investment in the public realm can play a role in shaping new development that is not exclusionary. Planning controls could be implemented to ensure that the negative features of gated communities are minimized and that the positive aspects of it are highlighted. At a local government level, statutory controls that require developers of gated communities to provide a percentage of affordable dwellings and a mix of dwelling types could be put into practice. Covenants on open space could be imposed to ensure public access to open space. Public access to open space does not necessarily confer a right to use resident recreational facilities. Private use of recreational facilities could be maintained by the use of lockable gates which can be opened only by residents using a swipe cards or pin code (Gleeson, 2006).

In America, land-use policies, development regulations, and other planning tools, are being used throughout the country to restrict or limit access to residential, commercial, and public areas. This becomes a troubling trend for land-use planning. Gates, fences, and private security guards, like exclusionary land-use policies, development regulations, and an assortment of other planning tools, are means of control, used to restrict or limit access to residential, commercial, and public spaces (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a).

Squires and Kubrin (2005) stress the importance of creating a mixed population by implementing a spatial diffusion policy aiming at an even distribution of population at both city and neighborhood levels. This could be fulfilled through housing policy; development of more expensive dwellings in deprived areas, especially in areas that already show signs of improvement, in order to attract or prevent the exodus of middle and high-income households.

There habilitation of public spaces, especially in inner-city areas, is also crucial to integrate polarized segments of society into interrelated and common activities that would help dwindle social divergence and enhance the advantages of living in a viable and livable city. Also the deteriorated conditions of the people in the poor neighborhoods can be improved by policies that emphasize the betterment of community livelihood attributes such as employment, education, safety, healthcare as well as social and recreation amenities. Both 'pro-place' policies that focus on improving neighborhoods, and 'pro- people' policies that emphasize individual development, are essential for reducing the concentration of poverty and segregation (Squires & Kubrin, 2005).

In Egypt, there has been a call for a makeover towards a more equitable society and prospects of a redeemed role of public authorities in reinstating controlling urban policies. With a society that increasingly asks for social justice and has the ability to induce change, solutions to urban disparities and conflicts can be

identified and thus Cairo can be transformed into an undivided city with a balanced socio-spatial structure. Mekawy and Yousry (2012) in their paper attempt to outline urban policy initiatives aiming to induce a much more desired state for Cairo, based on principles of socio-spatial cohesion, integration and balance and these policies are targeted to enhance positive aspects and diminish negative impacts of gated communities. They said that planning approaches which address the drivers of spatial division should be adopted in order to stimulate reintegration procedures against the nuisances of fragmentation triggering processes.

There should be interventions of public authorities by pursuing policies to control land and housing markets. Also public authorities should intervene to provide favourable economic, political, legal and financial context for urban policies. They should find a method of intervention that ensures there is synergy between the different sectors of the housing delivery systems and takes into account the diversity of social needs.

Realization of 'good' urban governance could be attained by establishing a management and governance system based on social dialogue and a re-enforcement of non-governmental structures capable of overcoming social and spatial division. This should involve participatory decision-making, co-production and co-management in which all stakeholders, such as the state, local

governments, economic and social actors, community-based organizations and the media, take part. Power balance between them should be tackled, to be able to sustain a necessary level of civic participation. Useful tools include the adoption of participatory strategies of enablement and empowerment of the civil society to play a more active role in the augmentation of problem consciousness of the current socio-spatial disintegration problems, and consequently reaching some sort of harmonization in dealing with conflicting interests.

It is equally important to adopt policies targeting to encompass gated communities into the city fabric on one hand, and slowing down the trend towards their amplification on the other. Therefore policies of good governance for land development and land use control are paramount. In addition, it is believed that interventions embarking upon the problems of deprived as well as downgraded urban areas, would contribute to decelerate the expansion of gated communities, since an integrated harmonious spatial and social fabric will encourage people to live within, rather than hide behind walls. This would alleviate the tension and help eradicating the socio-spatial barriers between adjoining distressed areas and gated communities (Mekawy & Yousry, 2012).

Another intervention that has been proposed is adoption of useful policies include housing provision and servicing for low- and middle-income groups by initiating major low-cost housing projects in appropriately located land. Also, mobilization

of resources and innovative financing systems and promotion of private and public sector investment in regularization efforts in underprivileged areas by creating incentives, especially financial ones. These efforts would include the diversification of the local economy to create sufficient employment opportunities for the growing population and try and reduce the disparities that currently exist in cities so as to try and eliminate the distance between the have and have-not groups that societies are divided in.

In South Africa, it was implied that planning should also consider the city as a whole and the public interest and, hence, the impact of specific types of urban development, such as gated communities, on the function and daily use patterns of residents. This is directly in line with planning policy which promotes planning for the public good.

In Ghana, a spatial policy gap on gated communities was identified in addition to missing legislative framework and low level of awareness on the part of planning institutions regarding the existence of some gated communities in the capital. In ensuring effective planning and management of gated communities in the urban arena as well as situating their occurrence within a broader spatial and socio-economic development of the country, the research concludes that, formulation of spatial policy and legislative framework and strengthening of planning institutions are requisite (Anokye et al, 2013).

In Nairobi, the history behind the development of the different planning zones reveals segregative policies applied during the colonial period which separated land uses on the basis of race (the whites, Asians and the native Africans). These policies which are now over a century old are still reflected to this day only that the segregation is based on income levels i.e. high, middle and low-income zones. However a municipal re-zoning policy passed in 1987 which allowed for higher density of development in three predominantly high- income and low-density zones known as zones 3, 4 and 5. Kileleshwa falls in zone 4 along with Kilimani, Lower Spring Valley, Riverside Drive, Thompson and Woodley/Ngong Road. The idea was to create opportunities for new investments and job creation; to create additional housing while conserving prime neighbourhoods, improved infrastructure and environmental conservation which entails protecting riparian reserves and conserving existing open spaces and recreational areas and promoting a green policy in the entire area (Mwaura, 2006).

The housing provision in Nairobi and other Kenyan cities is inadequate. One of the challenges the country faces in this regard is that the rate of urbanization has been much faster than the rate at which affordable quality housing has been provided (GoK, 2007). It has been estimated that out of the total of 150,000 units required annually in urban areas, only an estimated 35,000 units are produced (GoK, 2004). This indicates that demand far exceeds supply and the residential

estate sector will continue to boom to fill in the gap between the desired and the actual number of houses.

The growth of gated communities and self-contained cities (capsule cities) has led to a shift in urban planning and zoning in Kenya. For a long time, urban planning and zoning was the preserve of local authorities, but with the growing number of planned estates and capsule cities, the private sector has ventured into these areas. According to Mr. Kamau, head of Investor relations at Home Afrika, in Daily Nation newspaper:

“These capsule cities and planned gated estates are bringing about a paradigm shift in the way our cities are now planned,”

According to urban planner Gitonga (2014), urban planning laws guide construction-related matters and stipulate a number of issues to investors, including where to set up a factory, build rental apartments or a luxurious home, how high an apartment should be, the materials that should be used for a particular type of development, and how many such developments can be established in a particular area.

Kamau (2014) also adds that the demand for shelter and working space in Kenya is growing faster than the changes in legislation and it does not make economic sense to have a parcel of land that has a much higher value than the building on it. He continues by adding that Kenyan planners and legislators, both at the local

authority level and in past Parliaments, have failed citizens by not rezoning some areas as high density when, in fact, that should be the case.

Gitonga (2014) notes that privately planned areas have led to a remarkable improvement in the living standards of the people living in them as well as to the appreciation of value of the property there. Planning by private individuals provides a better opportunity for people to include their views on the type of environment they want to live in and investors are incorporating these views and higher standards in their developments compared to those employed by the government, he says.

However, with each locale having an area-specific plan, private developers are finding it difficult to come up with good designs that maximise the use of space while at the same time adhering to the principles of design as set out in the Building Code, the Physical Planning Act, and supreme law, namely the Constitution, says Kamau (2014).

Recently, gated community developments have experienced phenomenal growth in Kenya, especially in the metropolitan region of Nairobi. The real estate prices continue to rise daily as stated in Knight Frank's global Real Estate Report (2012) where Nairobi and Mombasa come first and second respectively in the world in terms of real estate growth surpassing major world cities. This indicates that with the government playing the role of a facilitator and with the private sector as the

housing development driver, various forms of housing have come up for upper and middle income groups such as stand-alone houses, rental apartments and more recently gated communities. According to Gruszezak (2010) gated community is a residential development established on a dense territorial area surrounded by walls, fences or natural barriers, with restricted access through a secured entrance, guarded by professional private security personnel taking advantage of sophisticated technologies and devices of surveillance and control. Other features that stand out are gardens, car parks, swimming pools, health club gym, playgrounds, day-care centres, nursery schools, tennis courts, communal shopping centres among others. The private sector developers are the key suppliers of housing in Kenya. However there are a number of policies and legal frameworks that dictate the scope within which the private sector can work and private developers are finding it difficult to come up with good designs that maximise the use of space while at the same time adhering to the principles of design. Some of these policies are as outlined below.

Sessional paper no 3 of 2004 on National Housing Policy

The policy has made several provisions with regard to shelter provision. National Housing Policy as articulated in Sessional Paper No. 3 of 2004 addresses the deteriorating housing conditions countrywide and aims to bridge the shortfall of housing stock arising from demand that far surpasses supply, particularly in urban areas. The policy aims to ensure that legislative and regulatory instruments

governing land-use planning, administration and management are regularly reviewed and harmonised to promote housing development and ensure development control is upheld and intensified to avoid illegal developments and construction; encourage where possible settlement patterns that minimize the cost of providing infrastructure and other services; and facilitate re-planning and re-development of existing housing estates that do not provide for maximum permissible or highest and best use of land.

Constitution of Kenya

The constitution addresses various factors on housing and development. These factors are addressed in various chapters. Chapter 42 stipulates that every person has the right to a clean and healthy environment which includes the right to have the environment protected for the benefit of present and future generations through legislative and other measures. Chapter 43 deals with economic and social rights which include the right to accessible and adequate housing, and to reasonable standards of sanitation; and clean and safe water in adequate quantities. Moreover, chapter 69 (1) directs the state to ensure sustainable exploitation, utilisation, management and conservation of the environment and natural resources, and ensure the equitable sharing of the accruing benefits.

Vision 2030

The 2020 vision for Housing and Urbanization is stated as “an adequately and decently housed nation in a sustainable environment” (GOK, 2007). The

government of Kenya through the ministry of housing recognizes that housing is a basic human need.

Some of the other key interventions for the shelter sector have been the formulation of Sessional paper No. 5 on Housing Policy of 1966/67, the National Strategy for Shelter for the year 2000 among others.

The Sectional Properties Act, 1987 No. 21 of 1987

This act came into force on 1st April 1990. The above act of parliament provides the legal framework on which gated communities are developed, sold and managed. It provides for the ownership of property horizontally and the common units in those areas being held in common by the owners. It also provides for the division of buildings into units to be owned by proprietors of the units as tenants in common and to provide for the use and management of the units, common property and connected purposes.

It is noteworthy that, to enable an effective management of the Sectional Property as well as the common areas, the Sectional Properties Act also provides for the formation of a body corporate with perpetual succession and a common seal. It is deemed that such body corporate is the equivalent of a company registered under the Companies Act, except that the process of incorporating the same does not follow the formalities provided for under the Companies Act. It stipulates how one can own one can own a unit in the in building and commonly own shared

properties. The act is clear on how the common property will be managed by the corporation through the institutional manager and duties are well defined. There are by-laws that guide the conduct of the residents and the corporation is empowered by the Act to enforce them. The corporation may make the by-laws to provide for the control, administration and management of the units, the property of the corporation and common property. The Act is clear on matters of property ownership, regulation of conduct of residents and participatory governance of gated communities (GOK, 1987)

Physical Planning Act 1996

Development planning in Kenya is guided by the Physical Planning Act 1996. It provides for the preparation, implementation and enforcement of physical development plans, and mechanisms that should guide and enforce development control by local authorities and NEMA.

The act also provides a framework for conflict resolution through liaison committees and mechanisms for community participation in planning. Section 29 directs that subject to the provisions of this Act, each local authority shall have the power to control development-

- a) to prohibit or control the use and development of land and buildings in the interests of proper and orderly development of its area;

- b) to control or prohibit the subdivision of land or existing plots into smaller areas;
- c) to consider and approve all development applications and grant all development permissions;
- d) to ensure the proper execution and implementation of approved physical development plans;
- e) to formulate by-laws to regulate zoning in respect of use and density of development; and
- f) To reserve and maintain all the land planned for open spaces, parks, urban forests and greenbelts in accordance with the approved physical development plan.

Urban Areas and Cities Act, 2011

One of the principal legislations that are going to govern the management, operations and delimitation of urban cities and urban areas under the constitution is urban Areas and Cities Act, 2011. The chief mandate of this Act is to guide classification of urban areas, governance and management of urban areas and participation of the residence in the governance of urban areas. The critical bit of this Act is on governance and management of urban areas (Section 41). Moreover, section 41 addresses the issue of integrated development planning. Under this, the board in collaboration with other entities is allowed to formulate development plans for urban areas.

Ministry of Land, Housing and Urban Development

This is the government agency responsible for providing policy direction, national standards and coordination of all matters concerning lands, housing and urban development. The agency is responsible for putting in place policies and initiating laws that ensure sustainable land management, promote sustainable housing for all and foster orderly urban development in the country. Its mission is therefore to facilitate the sustainable and orderly management of land and improve on housing conditions for socio-economic development. The mandate encompasses policy making, standard setting, national planning, regulation, coordination, inspection, monitoring and back-up technical support relating to lands, housing and urban development and to promote and foster sustainable human settlement and manage works on government buildings.

2.7 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

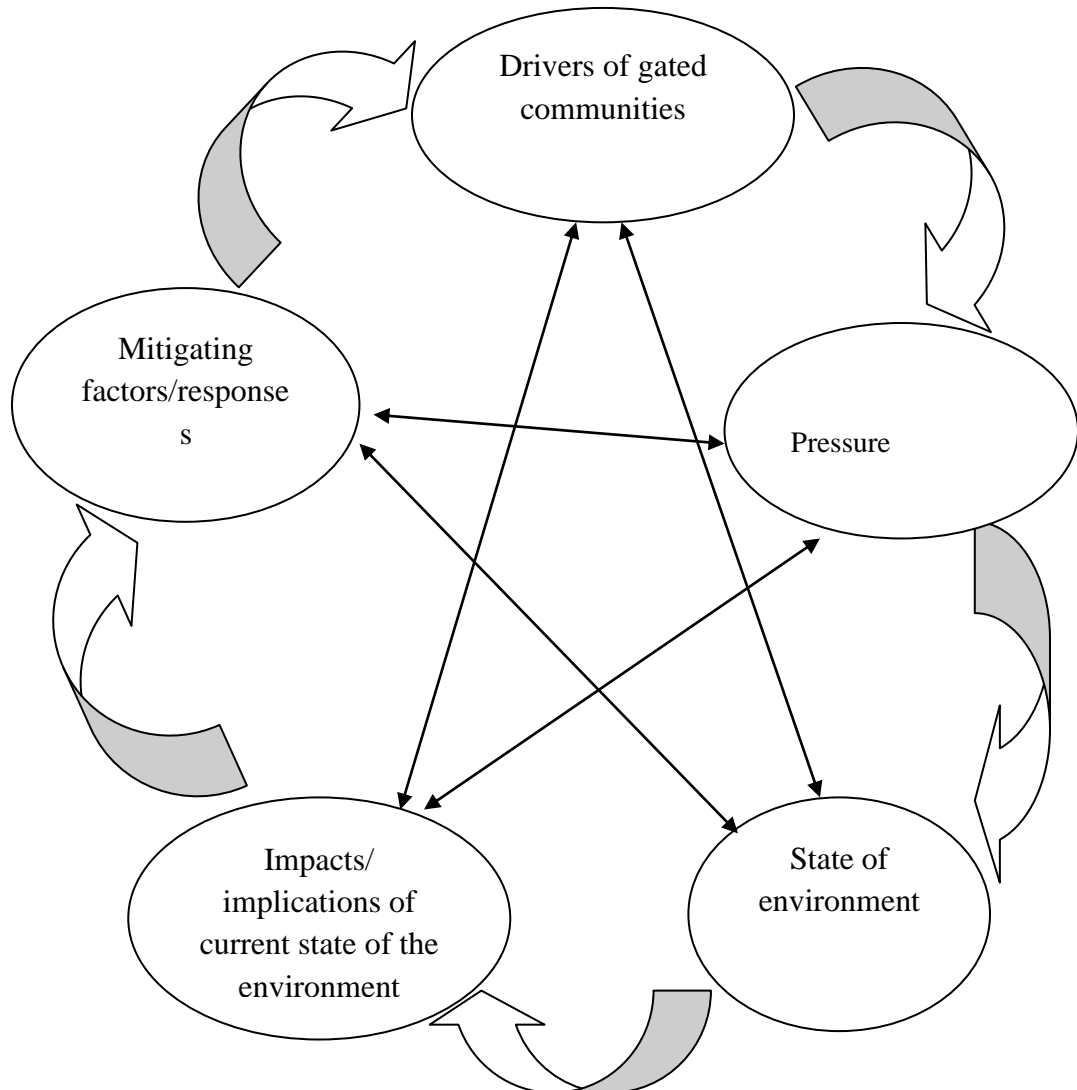


Fig 2.1 Development and Growth of Gated Communities

Source: Adapted and modified from Landman (2005)

The figure 2.1 above shows a conceptual framework that was developed to aid in understanding the issues under study.

In this model, the drivers are seen as producing pressures on the environment and development of the urban areas. These pressures can induce changes or impacts in

the state of the physical and socio-economic environments and thus on the state of human settlements. The society then responds to changes in pressure or state with policies and programmes intended to prevent, reduce or mitigate the pressures and their impacts. These responses in turn produce new pressures.

Drivers for Gated Communities

There are a number of factors driving the development of gated communities within the wider urban areas.

The main drivers producing pressures that are related to gated communities are as discussed below:

Safety and security: There is an increased sense of insecurity and as the fear of insecurity increases, there is greater need to try and address this issue of insecurity and unrest in the city. People live in homes guarded by dogs, boundary walls laced with barbed wire and the employment of guards in an attempt to increase the security. As this fear of crime increases, more people look for secure neighbourhoods and gated communities to move into.

Gated development living becomes part of a range of strategies that citizens employ to protect themselves. These strategies include the hiring of private armed response companies, closed circuit television surveillance, fortification of living space and the privatisation of public space. People do not reside in gated

developments in order to enjoy a communal atmosphere, but rather to protect themselves from the unsafe and chaotic city (Ballard, 2005).

Prestige, status and lifestyle: Gated communities have been developed as a response to the desire of the residents for a certain type of lifestyle. They may also be developed in response to the demand by residents for prestige and status.

Sense of community: They are also developed to fulfill the desire of residents to live within a familiar environment where they can feel the sense of community and bond with others from the same social groupings, where they have the same social values and can control them.

Affordability and land scarcity: The scarcity of land due to urban growth necessitating maximum utilization of the expensive land have also led to the development of gated communities where residential functions can be provided with other facilities and amenities so as to give a maximum return on the investment. They are also developed because of territoriality and ownership and personal financial gain of individuals.

Pressures

These pressures range from spatial and social pressures to economic and political pressures. These are as discussed below:

- a) The pressures that come about from fortification and privatization of urban space and bring about a tradition of separate development.
- b) The pressures that come from fear of crime, mistrust between groups and communities, increased diversity in urban areas.
- c) The economic pressures are local economic growth and personal financial gain through increased property prices. All of these issues also place enormous burdens on the political and institutional structures.
- d) The pressures that arise from the need for greater public efficiency and productivity, as well as service delivery, and a lack of trust in municipalities to deliver infrastructure and governance (together with poor service delivery)
- e) There are also direct pressures relate to the over-consumption of natural resources (water and land) and the privatisation of the space.

State of the urban environment

While the quality of life is generally good for those in well-developed enclaves, the above-mentioned drivers and pressures contribute to a bleak overall picture. Despite overall economic growth, inequity has grown and instead of greater equity, the levels of inequity increase. Those who can, retreat from public spaces to ‘common’ spaces which are privatised and consequently different types of gated communities with access control grow significantly.

Service delivery and governance are also gradually privatised. The fear of “others” outside these protected spaces grows and as such the levels of fortification and surveillance increase.

The state of the environment is characterised by the degradation of ‘open’ areas or public open spaces in cities. Environmental conservation is often restricted to secure estates or parks. There is also a disproportionate consumption of natural resources (water and land) in gated communities.

Institutionally, the current state provides many challenges. The weak criminal justice system does not deter professional criminals, while there are delays in infrastructure development and service delivery. Many retreat from public participation as they lose faith in the governance. This gives rise to micro-governments (neighbourhood associations) which have strict neighbourhood rules and regulations.

Impacts/implications of Gated community developments

It is argued that gated communities reflect an increasing fragmentation and decreasing solidarity within urban society. Gated communities can also lead to the privatisation of public space or the reservation of certain spaces for exclusive use by certain distinctive social groups. In addition, it is changing the nature of the existing public spaces. Most people living in enclosed areas no longer make use

of the streets, and public spaces are no longer used and shared by all urban residents.

By its nature a gated community physically separates a specific area from its environment and creates zones of restricted access within the urban fabric. By contributing to spatial segregation, gated communities also result in social and economic segregation. These gated communities exclude other urban users from accessing the services and facilities. This can lead to social exclusion by creating a barrier to interaction among people of different races, cultures and classes, thereby inhibiting the construction of social networks that form the basis of urban life (Landman & Schonteich, 2002).

Another impact includes an escalation of violence and conflict between neighbourhoods (even inside some) and less equity. Inside protected enclaves the quality of life generally improves; security is higher and fear is less. This however occurs at a cost. Outside, quality of life generally decreases; crime is concentrated and fear increases as well as resentment between the “haves” and the “have-nots”.

Environmentally, the impact and implications are also severe. There is over-consumption of water (especially in golf-course developments) contributes to water scarcity, raising the cost of water, and security estates on the periphery contribute to urban sprawl and the loss of valuable arable land.

Yet other impacts are the increased privatisation of governance and the rise of micro-governments, resulting in less civil participation in urban affairs (due to increased privatisation of services and governance). As a result the need for private security increases (to monitor and control protected spaces), as well as vigilantism and gangs in 'open' areas.

These impacts further affect the drivers of the gated developments leading to more developments of such a nature which impacts the urban areas.

Response/ mitigating measures

As a response to this, the government needs to develop a large number of policies and programmes to address the state of cities, aimed at changing these types of settlements and/or reducing their negative impacts.

In addition, society has also responded either in favour or against different types of gated communities. These responses in turn create new drivers or pressures or increase the intensity of existing ones continuing the process again as indicated shown in figure 2.1 above.

CHAPTER 3 – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The site of this study was Kileleshwa area in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya. This study was about the emergence of gated communities in Nairobi city; what the reasons are for people moving into gated communities, do gated communities contribute to a sense of community and what their impacts are on urban areas in terms of both social and spatial fragmentation. The study involved review of relevant literature to find how this typology has evolved in different cities around the globe and what have been its impacts. It also involved review of past studies and existing research work on urban housing in the study area and collection of primary data to identify the impacts of gated communities on urban areas.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of the research design was to ensure that the evidence that would be obtained effectively addresses the research problem. This research adopted both qualitative and quantitative research methods due to the nature of the data required and the information to be derived that is it was research designed to find out how people feel or think about a particular subject.

The research design involved non-experimental design. It involved interviewing the residents of gated communities to find out their main motives of moving to gated communities and what are the outcomes of such decisions on the social and

spatial fragmentation of urban areas. The methods that were used for sampling would be multistage sampling which involved simple random sampling.

The first stage involved carrying out a thorough literature review of the past studies on gated communities in different cities around the globe to try and understand the research problem more clearly. The second step involved carrying out reconnaissance survey to have good background knowledge of the study area, map the physical extent of the study and assist in establishing the sample design. The third stage involved exploring the perception of residents of gated communities, the developers and government officials. Thereafter it examined the impacts of gated communities on the urban areas in regard to whether or not gated communities will contribute to fragmentation or build a sense of community.

To do this, the research necessitated the use of questionnaires, in-depth interviews and observations checklists in order to explore and get significant insight on the phenomenon (these are shown in the appendices). The questionnaires were administered with a view to collecting desired data and lastly data analysis was carried out for data collected both from the field and literature review.

3.3 RESEARCH POPULATION

The study population was divided into three distinct groups:

- i. Residents of the gated communities- this refers to the permanent inhabitant of a neighborhood. They can be either home owners or renters. They are the ones using the housing typology and their perceptions about gated communities were of paramount importance in this study.
- ii. Developers of gated communities- by developer it means, the person or company that builds new houses or renovates old ones with the purpose of making a profit. Their perceptions about gated communities were also of primary importance since they are the producers of this housing typology.
- iii. Government officials (Nairobi County Government) - they are concerned with the overall city development and service delivery. Their perceptions about gated communities were also important to this research

3.4 SAMPLING PLAN

In order to select a representative sample for this research, multi-stage sampling was applied. The research used simple random sampling as well as purposive sampling. Each individual was chosen entirely by chance and each member of the population had an equal chance of being included in the sample (Saunders, Philip and Adrian, 2000). Simple random sampling method was used to identify the sample household for the survey. This entailed allocating random numbers to the households in the selected gated communities and selecting the required number for the sample size.

The unit of analysis was households. These were selected by first carrying out simple random sampling from a list of existing gated communities within the sub-location obtained from the mapping and a reconnaissance survey (this assisted in establishing the sample design). The survey gave a list of gated communities which had more or less the same basic services and amenities such as a swimming pool, community hall, gardening and lawn mowing, water provision and garbage collection. It was decided that 2 gated communities of the same category would be randomly selected from the list obtained which would adequately represent the above mentioned situation. Once the gated communities had been identified, then the management committees for those gated communities were contacted so as to convince them to get in contact with residents of the households. These households were also randomly selected for each gated community. From each gated community, 30 households were randomly selected using simple random sampling method. This ended up giving a sample size of 60 households; this number is enough for carrying out statistical analysis since a minimum of 30 elements are required for statistical analysis. Great care and tactic was needed to get access to the residents of the gated communities for the reasons discussed below.

It was anticipated that field researchers may encounter hostility and suspicion from targeted individuals. Therefore establishing the trust of respondents was essential. There were some other obvious limitations that were also anticipated; gated communities are difficult to study because of their physical boundaries and

inaccessibility to outsiders. In most cases, they are impossible to enter, and the lack of information on their numbers or their residents' characteristics does not make the task any easier. The other limitation associated with this research study was that the residents of gated communities were mostly unavailable during the day as they fall within the working class. It is also ethical that the respondents need to be assured that both the identity and the information they provide shall remain protected (assurance of confidentiality). Semi-structured questionnaires and interviews were used to collect primary qualitative data selected through different sampling techniques as shown in table below.

The property developers/managers were identified with the help of the Real estate agents (Knight Frank and HassConsult) and there after purposeful sampling was carried out to get a sample of those who were willing or in position to offer required information who were then interviewed.

For the government officials at Nairobi City Government, the selection was carried out using purposive sampling whereby those who were willing or in a position to offer the required information were selected to be interviewed.

Table 3.1: Study population, methods and sampling techniques

Study Population		Methods	Sampling Technique
government officials	NCC	interviewing	Purposeful

property developers	Gated Communities	interviewing	Purposeful
Residents	Gated Community residents	Instrument Administration	Multi-stage sampling involved here. Simple random sampling was used to get a representative sample of gated communities and then simple random sampling again was used again to get a representative sample of households from each gated community.

Source: Author, 2015

3.5 DATA NEEDS MATRIX

Table 3.2: Data needs matrix

Objective	Data Needs	Expected results
1. Establish the main reasons for people moving into gated communities.	a) Residents data <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. demographic and economic characteristics ii. Reasons for moving into gated communities iii. Residents perceptions of gated communities iv. Previous residential experiences b) Developer data <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Affordability and economy ii. Promoting health and safety iii. Provision of infrastructure and social amenities 	a) Assess whether the respondents were owner occupier or home renters b) Assess the levels of incomes of the respondents c) Educational levels of residents d) Family size and structure of respondents e) Amenities and facilities available within gated communities f) Arrangements for

		<p>payment for the shared facilities (service charges)</p> <p>g) Affordability of the units</p> <p>h) Satisfaction of performance of gated communities by respondents</p> <p>i) How long residents had lived there and how long they are planning to remain there</p> <p>j) Safety of children play areas and adult recreation</p> <p>k) Common facilities and amenities and how they are maintained and managed.</p>
<p>2. Establish the extent to which gated communities contribute to a sense of community.</p>	<p>a) Whether gated communities created a sense of community</p> <p>b) Resident perceptions of their neighbors</p> <p>c) Networking and social connection</p> <p>d) Reasons for moving into gated communities</p> <p>e) Shared facilities and amenities</p> <p>f) Presence of the differing backgrounds of residents</p>	<p>a) Shared facilities available and their utilization</p> <p>b) Mutual concern among neighbors</p> <p>c) Provision of assistance during emergencies</p> <p>d) Solving problems together</p> <p>e) Feeling of belonging by the residents</p> <p>f) Inclusivity of</p>

		gated communities in terms of persons of differing backgrounds living together
3. Establish the extent to which gated communities contribute to spatial fragmentation of urban areas and loss of social contact.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Exclusivity of the gated community b) Accessibility by non-residents c) Physical impacts <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Accessibility open space, leisure facilities, retail facilities, educational facilities ii. How has this typology affected public space? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Limited entry by outsiders (privatization of space) b) Average journey time to open space, leisure facilities. Retail facilities, medical facilities among others. c) Examine the extent to which gated communities have privatized functional public space
4. Establish interventions which can be adopted to reduce spatial and social fragmentation of the urban areas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) What are the existing policies on gated communities? b) What are the views of the county council officials on current planning issues c) What are the views of the developers on the same d) What are the government officials saying in relation to urban policy restructuring. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Assess the effectiveness of the current policies on gated communities b) The level of awareness of planning in the study area c) Come up with alternative suggestions for the policy makers which will guide on reducing the trends for gated

		<p>communities as well as adapt them into the city fabric and reduce the level of fragmentation that accompanies their presence.</p>
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Source: Author, 2015

3.6 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Qualitative approaches were used that enabled participants to have more freedom to express what they were feeling so that their underlying perceptions about gated communities could be captured and understood.

Data collection methods are the means by which information about the variables is collected. The data collection methods used in this research study were:

- i. Interviewing
- ii. Instrument administration
- iii. Observation
- iv. Examination of documents

Primary data was mainly gathered using the first three data collection methods. Data gathered was recorded using field notebook, photography using digital camera and mapping. The research instruments proposed to collect the data were questionnaires, interviews and direct observations.

- i. Questionnaires- these were administered to the sample of residents of the gated communities to generate data on demographic and economic profiles of the residents (age, sex, education, educational level, income, marital status, etc.).They were also used to gather data on their reasons for moving to the area, the relations with the neighbors, and the future residential plans. It was suggested that semi-structured questionnaires would be used to help gather more information (see appendix 5). Assuming 95% confidence level, a sample size of 60 households was selected using simple random sampling technique.
- ii. Interviews- Conducting interviews for key informants; these included key informants like the government officials such as Nairobi County Government officials (see appendix 3), the police (see appendix 4) and the property developers/managers (see appendix 2) for gated communities. The Semi-structured interviews were judged more appropriate than structured questionnaires providing the nature of data required to be collected.
- iii. Direct observations were carried out using observation forms/schedules. It was proposed that non-participant observation method be employed to capture data such as the physical conditions and social conditions within the gated communities and in the surrounding area as well. The main advantage of this method was that it gave the researcher the information that was related to what was currently happening. It was also independent

of the subjects' willingness to respond and as such was less demanding of cooperation from respondents as compared to the interview or questionnaire method. In addition to this, the method was also used by the researcher to verify the statements made by the respondents in the interview or questionnaire. An observation schedule was prepared prior to going to the field (see appendix 1).

Secondary data is data that has already been collected by someone else. This was done by examination of documents such as journals, magazines, newspapers, textbooks and other related information on gated communities. This secondary data helped in data triangulation when trying to confirm the validity and reliability of both primary and secondary data.

Reconnaissance survey was done prior to actual field survey in order to get general background knowledge that informed the design of research instruments. The research questionnaires and other tools were designed in such a way as to gather detailed information on focusing on residents' reasons for moving into gated communities and their impacts on urban areas.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS PLAN

This involved data cleaning, handling and examination of collected information and verifying facts mentioned in the literature review. Analysis involved the use of techniques such as SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences), use of

various types of charts, use of tables from where conclusions and recommendations were derived based on the study findings.

3.8 DATA PRESENTATION PLAN

The analysis of both the qualitative and quantitative data collected lead to formation of simple frequency distribution tables. All the gathered information was analyzed and presented using simple tables, pie charts, bar graphs, maps and photographs among others.

CHAPTER 4- STUDY AREA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

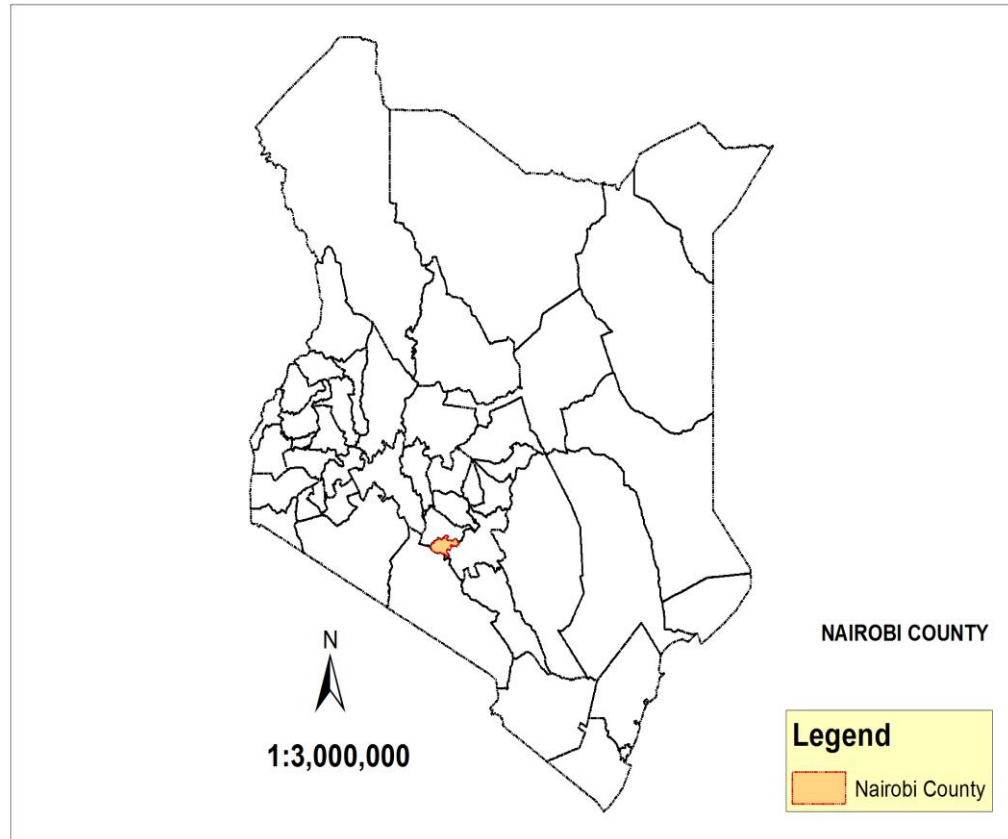
The study area is Kileleshwa sub-location in Kilimani location of Westlands constituency, Nairobi County. It covers an area of approximately 5.2 sq Km. Kileleshwa falls under Nairobi City Council's Planning Zone 4 which covers Spring Valley, Riverside Drive, Kileleshwa, Kilimani, Thompson and Woodley/Ngong road. Kileleshwa sub-location has been selected as the study area for the following reasons:

- i. Transformation of the area- densification of the area such that it has changed from low density high income to high density middle income
- ii. Representative typology of the gated communities with regards to the number of units, amenities provided, etc.
- iii. Familiarity with the area due to living experience in the area as well as proximity to the area.
- iv. Gives a good range of the high and middle income class.

4.2 GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

Below are the maps showing the location of the study area in National, regional and local context.

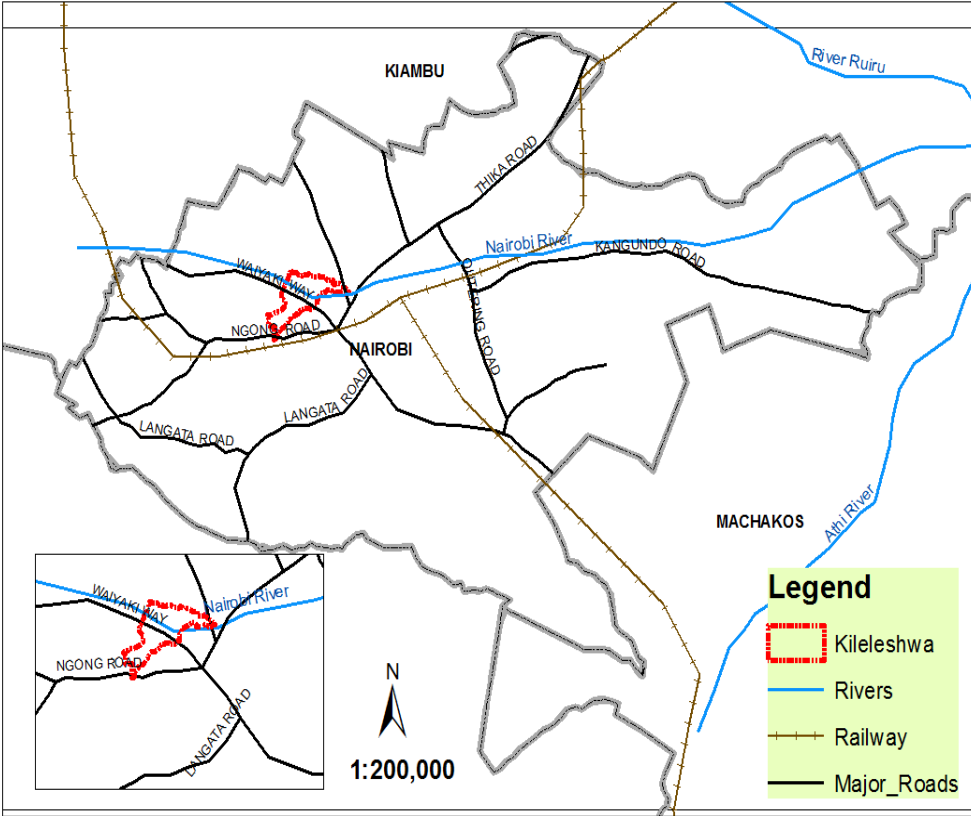
National context



Map 4.1- Map of Kenya showing location of Nairobi

Source: Author, 2015

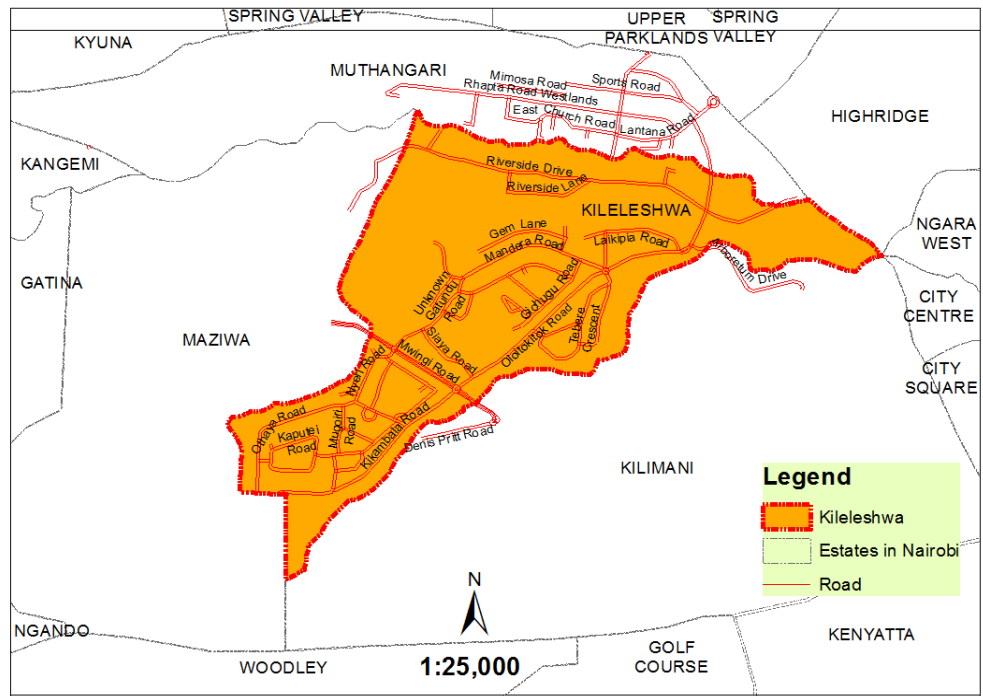
Regional context



Map 4.2- Map of Nairobi showing Kileleshwa

Source: Author, 2015

Local context



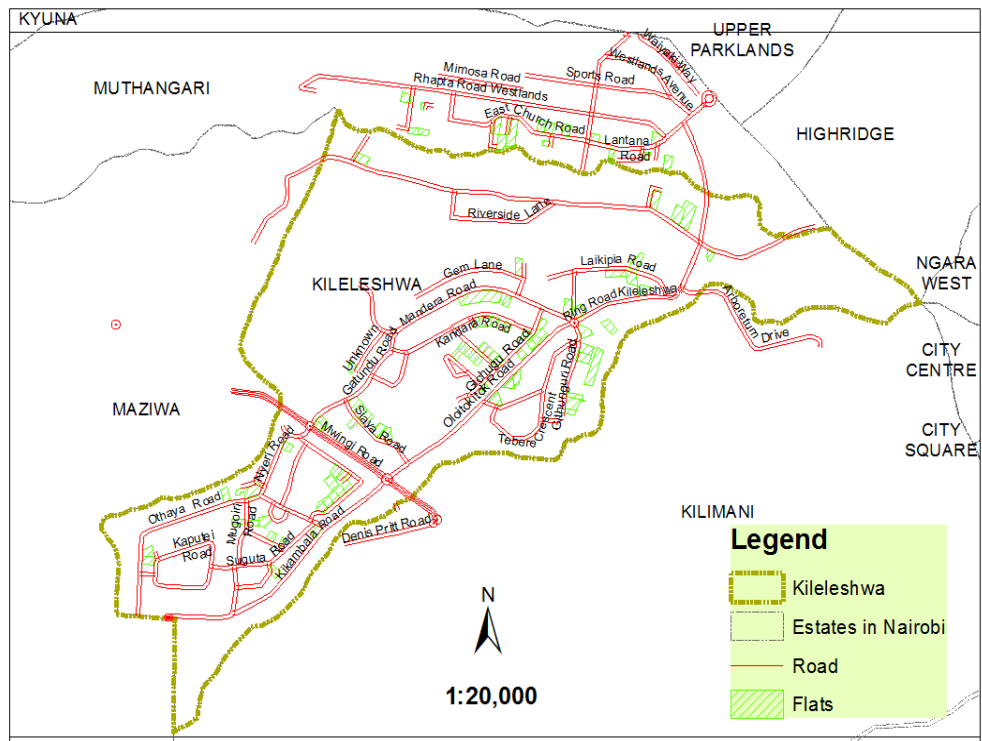
Map 4.3- Map showing Kileleshwa sub location (study area)

Source: Author, 2015



Plate 4.1 Areal image of Kileleshwa

Source: Google Earth, 2015



Map 4.4- Map showing distribution of high rise gated communities in Kileleshwa

Source: Author, 2015

4.3 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The study area (Kileleshwa sub-location) has a population of 16,802 according to 2009 population census. There are 4,592 households and a population density of 3,210 people per sq. Km. Kileleshwa has witnessed a total population growth of 40.4% for the 10 year period between 1999 and 2009, and an increase in number of households by 36.6%. The population density has also increased by 39.4% over the same period.

Table 4.1 Population distribution by sex, number of households, area and density for Kileleshwa sub-location

	Male	Female	Total	House holds	Area in Sq. km	density
Kenya	19,192,458	19,417,639	38,610,097	8,767,954	581,313.2	66
Nairobi	1,605,230	1,533,139	3,138,369	985,016	695.1	4515
Westlands	124,748	122,354	247,102	75,427	97.4	25381
Kilimani (location)	12,207	14,995	27,202	7,743	9.0	3009
Kileleshwa (sub-location)	7,389	9,413	16,802	4,592	5.2	3210

Source: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2010

4.4 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

According to a study carried out by Kinyua (2013) it was found that a higher percentage of Kileleshwa's population is involved in formal employment as opposed to self employment, however the split is marginal.

With regards to accessing and utilizing sources of energy, it was found that Kileleshwa's residents and businesses experienced frequent power blackouts. This has been due to overloaded transformers which have not been upgraded to accommodate the increased electricity demand. Unreliable power supply would inhibit economic growth in the area as electricity is a basic necessity for all industries (Kinyua, 2013).

Kinyua (2013) further established that Kileleshwa's commercial facilities which were designed for the initial low density land use have not experienced the

necessary expansion in line with the dynamics of growth happening in the area. The importance of financial institutions in the growth of an economic region cannot be undermined. In order to achieve a certain level of autonomy, it is necessary for the suburb to provide its residents and businesses with accessible financial facilities.

4.5 PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Kileleshwa area was, during the colonial era, an exclusively European housing zone. It was thus characterised by low density high income single dwelling units. However, the scenario in this area has changed in recent years with noticeable change to medium income high density housing. The cause of this change is the recent rapid urbanization that has led to urban sprawl. The plates 4.2 - 4.7 below show how Kileleshwa has spatially fragmented over time.

Further, the deterioration of security in other areas of Nairobi has triggered a sudden move to more affluent areas like Kileleshwa in the past 5 years. The resultant growth in population has not been supported by a growth in infrastructural services. The challenges that have resulted are (Kinyua, 2013):

- i. Narrow and inadequate road networks as well and increased number of vehicles on the existing roads leading to traffic congestion
- ii. Inefficient public transport system
- iii. Overwhelmed infrastructural systems, such as piped water, sewerage lines and storm water drainage

- iv. Increased water demand leading to the drilling of boreholes
- v. Illegal use and development of riparian reserves
- vi. Insufficient community services

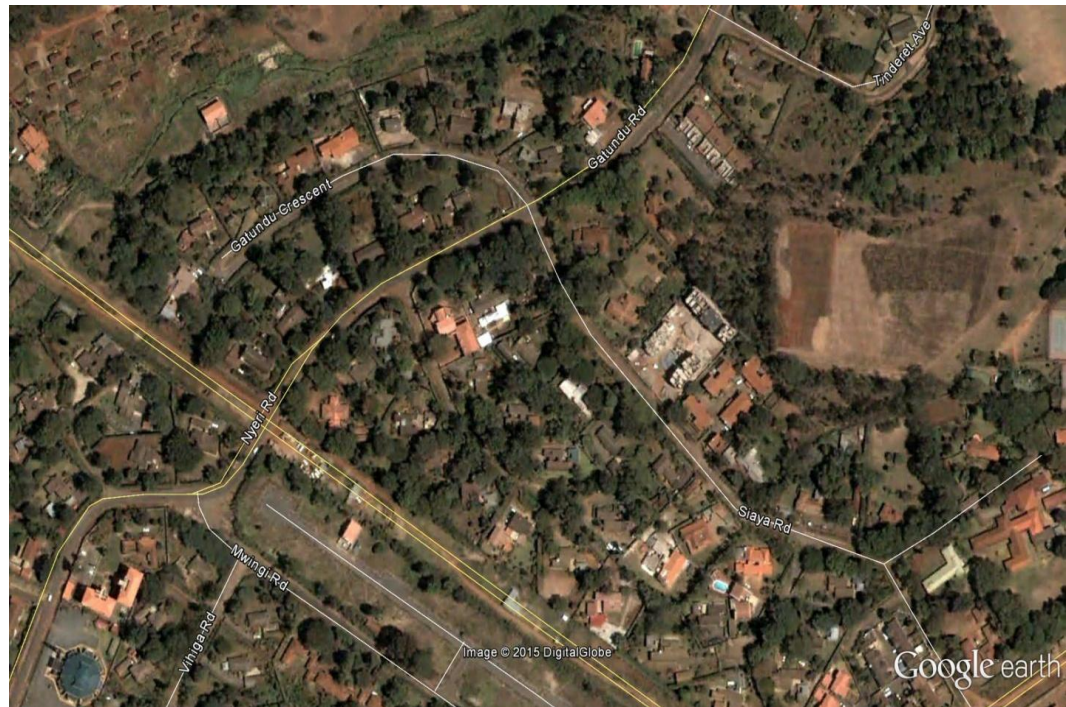


Plate 4.2- Areal image of a part of Kileleshwa in 2002

Source: Google Earth, 2002



Plate 4.3- Areal image of a part of Kileleshwa in 2002 showing marked out plots

Source: Google Earth, 2002



Plate 4.4- Areal image of Part of Kileleshwa in 2007

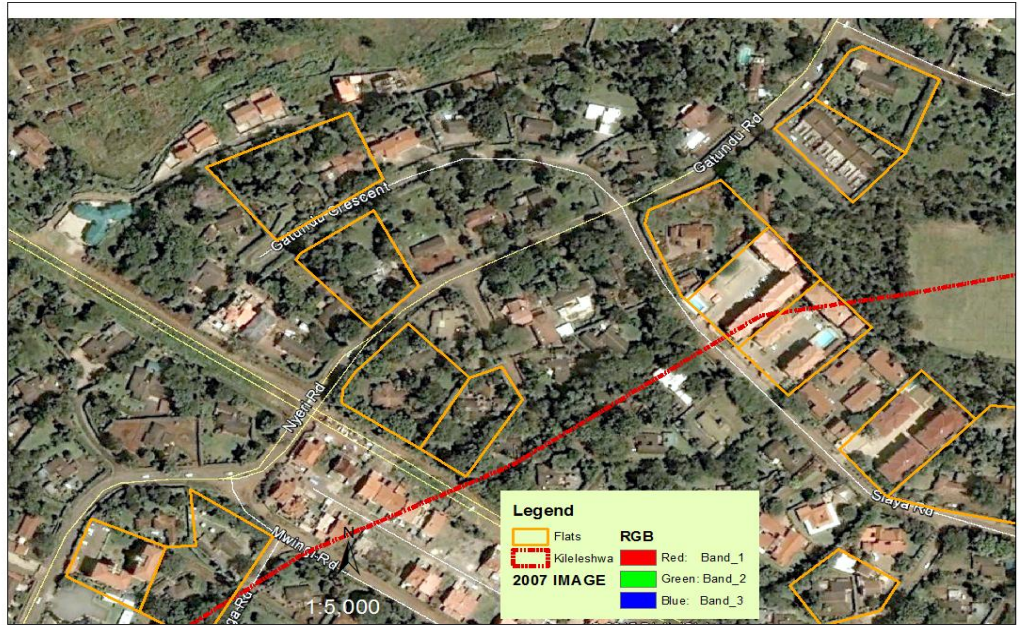


Plate 4.5- Areal image of Part of Kileleshwa in 2007 showing marked out plots

Source: Google Earth, 2007



Plate 4.6- Areal image of part of Kileleshwa in 2015

Source: Google Earth, 2015

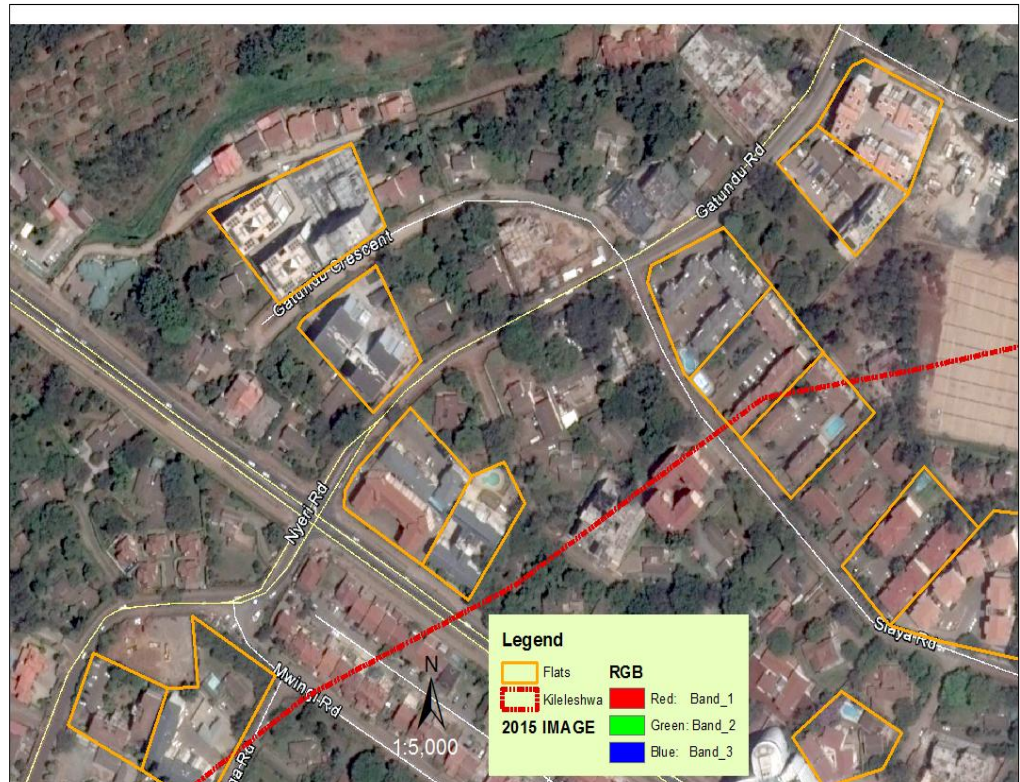


Plate 4.7- Areal image of part of Kileleshwa in 2015 showing marked out plots

Source: Google Earth, 2015

The above areal images indicate how Kileleshwa has spatially fragmented over time due to gated community developments mushrooming up. This has led to loss of greenery and open space and the changes can be seen from images of 2002 to 2007 and then to 2015.



Plate 4.8 High rise gated communities in Kileleshwa

Facilities like schools, shopping centres, fresh produce markets and health care services initially meant for lower population have not been upgraded to accommodate the increased population. Further, accessibility of these facilities is also challenged. In Kinyua's (2013) survey, it was found that respondents driving their children to and from school spend hours in traffic jams, the distances between residential areas and facilities like hospitals and banks are considerable, and there was shortage of fresh produce in the nearby retail centre. Kasuku shopping centre is the only shopping facility in the neighbourhood. Lack of

adequate strategic shopping centres has also caused mushrooming of shops, bars and restaurants adjacent to residential houses. So although this assists in improving social infrastructure, it results in the blurring of defined boundaries between residential and commercial areas.

4.6 PHYSICAL AND GEOLOGICAL FEATURES

There are fragile ecological zones present within the study area such as along the Kirichwa River Basin.

Kileleshwa has historically had low population density due to its relatively fewer settlers living on sizeable plots of land surrounded by greenery. However, the rise of the middle class in Nairobi has prompted a shift in these dynamics as more people are now able to afford the lifestyle that suburbs such as Kileleshwa offer. Kinyua (2013) explains the negative effects of an increased population density on Kileleshwa's natural environment as:

- i. flooding and encroachment on riparian reserves
- ii. noise and air pollution from construction sites and increased number of motor vehicles
- iii. Increased generation of solid waste leading to land pollution where the current waste disposal facilities lack the ability to deal with such increased volumes. Some of this waste ends up in the rivers surrounding Kileleshwa resulting in water pollution which negatively impacts the area's fragile ecosystem.

- iv. Loss of urban green spaces which allow for play, recreation and improvement of air quality

4.7 CLIMATIC CHARACTERISTICS

Climatic conditions of the study area compares favourably to that of the wider Nairobi city. At 1,795 metres (5,889 ft) above sea level, Nairobi enjoys a moderate climate. Nairobi has a subtropical highland climate. The altitude makes for some cool evenings, especially in the June/July season when the temperature can drop to 10 °C (50 °F). The sunniest and warmest part of the year is from December to March, when temperatures average the mid-twenties during the day. The mean maximum temperature for this period is 24 °C (75 °F).

4.8 CONCLUSION

Kileleshwa sub-location has been selected as the study area because of the transformation of the area. Previously Kileleshwa was characterized by low density high income residential dwelling units. This was at the time when Kileleshwa was an exclusive European housing zone. However the scenario changed over time with a noticeable change from low density, high income to high density, middle income residential dwelling units evident from the satellite images of Kileleshwa. This rapid increase in gated developments is leading to loss of green space and concretizing the area. This is because increasing the built environment leads to loss of vegetation and increase in paved surface thereby increasing run-off and hence flooding the drainage systems.

CHAPTER 5- RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings of the study on emergence of gated communities and their impacts on urban areas in Nairobi, Kenya. Gated communities have been emerging quite rapidly the past decade or so all over the world including in Nairobi. Gated communities are residential areas with restricted access designed to privatise normally public spaces. It is argued that gated communities reflect an increasing fragmentation and decreasing solidarity within urban society. Gated communities can also lead to the privatisation of public space or the reservation of certain spaces for exclusive use by certain distinctive social groups.

The data has been presented using tables and graphs with interpretation provided. In the case of data from the interview schedules, content analysis was used to present the findings in a prose form in reflection of the relevant themes.

5.2 RESIDENTS' PROFILE

This section gives the characteristic of the residents living in gated communities in the study area. These are in terms of the gender, age, marital status, number and sex of children as well as level of education.

5.2.1 Gender

The study sought to establish the Gender characteristic of the population. The results are as shown in figure 5.1 below:

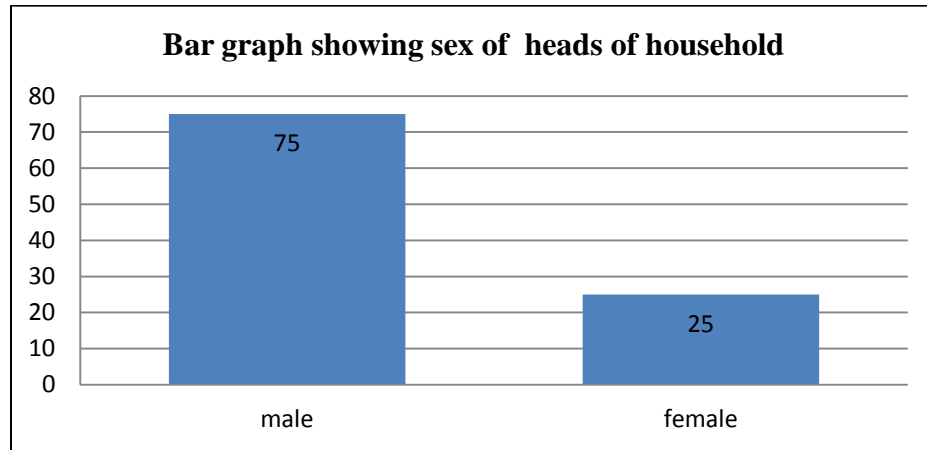


Fig 5.1 Gender of the respondents

Source: Field survey, March 2015

From the findings, 75% of the respondents who participated in the study were male while the rest (25%) were female. This showed three quarters of the residents household heads, whether tenants or owners were males while the remaining quarter were females. According to this survey, it can be seen that men dominate.

5.2.2 Age of respondents

The study also sought to establish the distribution of population by age. The table 5.1 below indicates the distribution of the respondents by age.

Table 5.1 Age of respondents

Age cohort	Frequency	Percentage
below 30 yrs	3	5
31-40 yrs	18	30
41-50 yrs	20	33.33
51-60 yrs	15	25
Above 60 yrs	4	6.67
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, March 2015

According to the results in table 5.1, 33.33% of the respondents were aged between 41-50 years, 30% were aged between 31-40 years, 25% were aged between 51-60 years while 5% were aged below 30yrs and 6.67% were aged above 60 years. This implies that majority of the people (30% + 33.33% = 63.33%) living in Kileleshwa are aged between 31-50 years hence they are in the middle age group.

5.2.3 Marital status

Regarding the marital status, the study showed that 75% of the respondents who participated in the study were married. This can in a way explain how the majority of the household heads were males (75%). The study findings also

illustrates that 12% of the respondents are single, 10% are widowed and 3% are divorced.

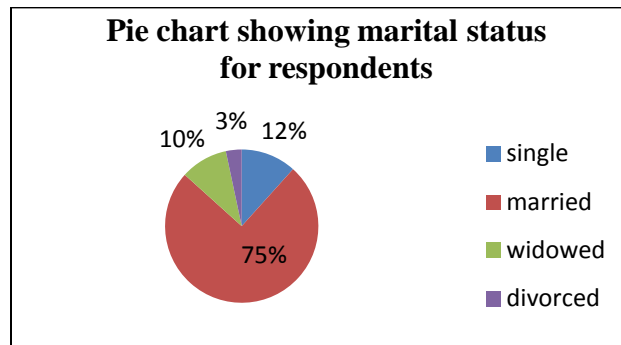


Fig 5.2 Marital status of respondents

Source: Field survey, March 2015

5.2.4 Number of children

The study also sought to establish the distribution of percentage of respondents with children.

Table 5.2 Table showing percentage of respondents with children

%age of respondents having children	Male	Female	Less than/ No children
One child	48	40	12
Two children	27	41	32
Three children	17	20	63
Four children	4	3	93
Five children	0	2	98
Six children	0	0	100

Source: Field survey, March 2015

According to the study findings, it was seen that 88% of the respondents had one child out of which 48% were boys and 40% were girls. 12% of the respondents had no children. It was also seen that 68% of the respondents had two children out of which 27% were boys and 41% were girls. 32% of the respondents had less than two or no children. 37% of the respondents had three children out of which 17% were boys and 20% were girls. 63% of the respondents had less than three or no children. 7% of the respondents had four children out of which 4% were boys and 3% were girls. 93% of the respondents had less than four or no children. It was also seen that 2% of the respondents had five children all of whom were girls and 98% of the respondents had less than five or no children.

The table 5.2 above indicates that the percentage of respondents having children kept decreasing as the number of children increased.

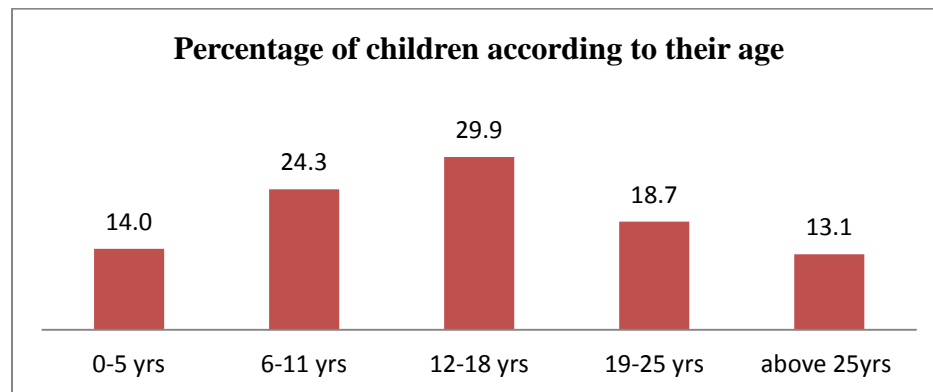


Fig 5.3 Number of children according to their age

Source: Field survey, March 2015

According to the findings, 14% of the children were aged between 0-5 years, 24.3% of the children were aged between 6-11 years, 29.9 % of the children were aged between 6-13 years, and 18.7% of the children were aged between 19-25 years while 13.1% of the children were aged above 25 years. This implies that majority of people living in Kileleshwa have young families with children who were aged between 0-18 yrs (68.2%).

5.2.5 Education level for respondents

The study also sought to find out education level of the respondents. The table 5.3 below indicates the education level for the respondents.

Table 5.3 Education level for respondents

Education level	percentage	frequency
Secondary level (form 1-4)	16.67	10
Diploma (technical or other)	11.67	7
University Bachelors degree	41.67	25
Masters degree and above	30	18

Source: Field survey, March 2015

The study findings indicated that 41% of the respondents had a Bachelors degree, 30% had a Master degree, 12% had a Diploma and 17% had secondary education as the highest level of education. This implies that majority of the respondents

have both graduate and post graduate level of education. This goes on to support the fact the majority of the middle class attain high levels of education.

5.2.6 Occupation

This section discusses the employment status of the respondents. The employment variable was divided into two major categories. These are formal and self-employment. Each of these categories was subdivided into different categories. The study sought to establish the occupation of the residents in this area. The figures 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 below show the employment status of the respondents in the various categories of formal and self-employment.

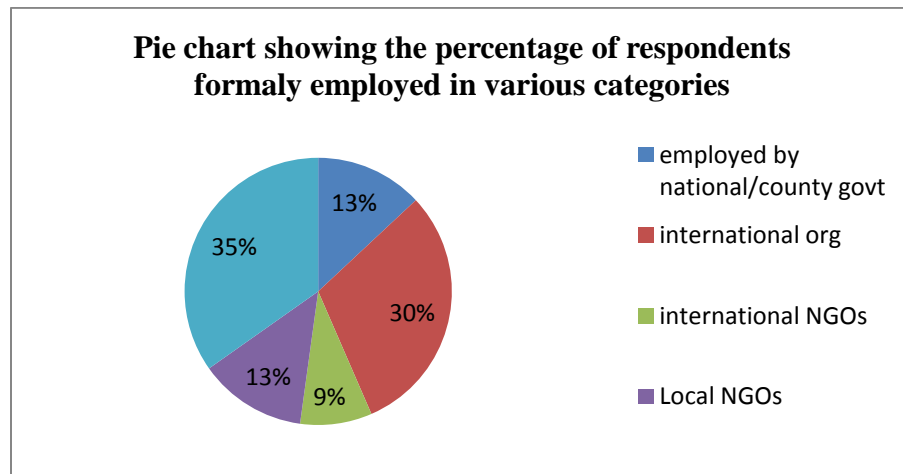


Fig 5.4 Percentage of respondents formally employed

Source, Field survey, March 2015

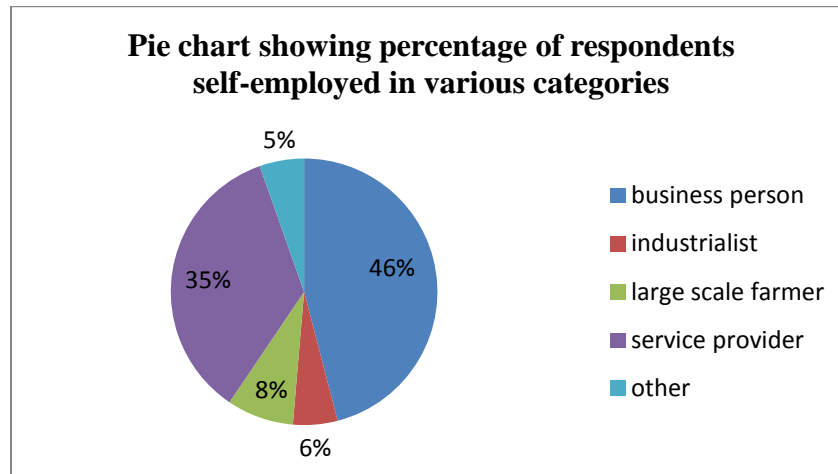


Fig 5.5 Percentage of respondents self employed

Source, Field survey, March 2015

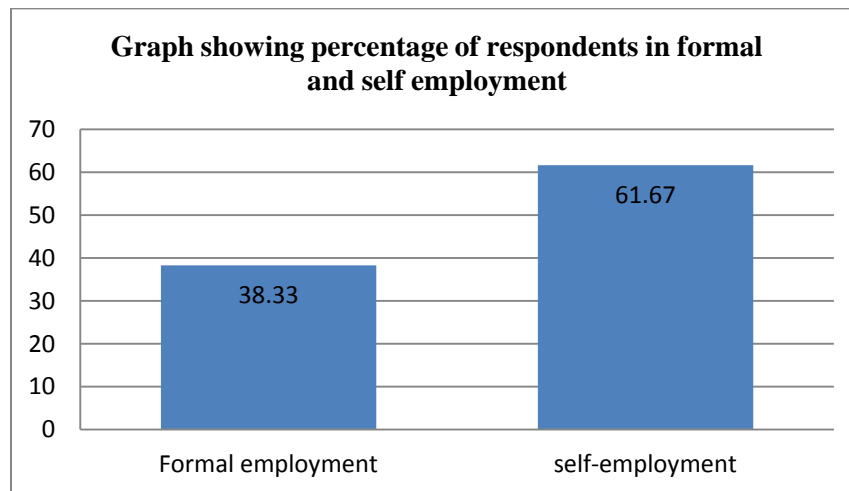


Fig 5.6 Graph showing formal and self employment percentage for respondents

Source, Field survey, March 2015

According to the results in the above figures, majority of the respondents (61.67%) were in self employment while 38.33% were in formal employment.

Out of those formally employed, 30% were employed by international

organizations, 13% were employed by the government (national/county), 9% were employed by international NGOs, 13% by local NGOs and 35% were in the other category that included employment in service industries, manufacturing industries, business firms, financial institutions such as banks among others. Out of those self employed, 46% were business owners, 35% were service providers, 8% were into large scale farming, 6% were industrialists and the remaining 5 were in the Other category.

5.2.7 Income

The study further sought to establish the monthly income of the residents of gated communities. The figure 5.7 below shows the gross monthly income for the respondents.

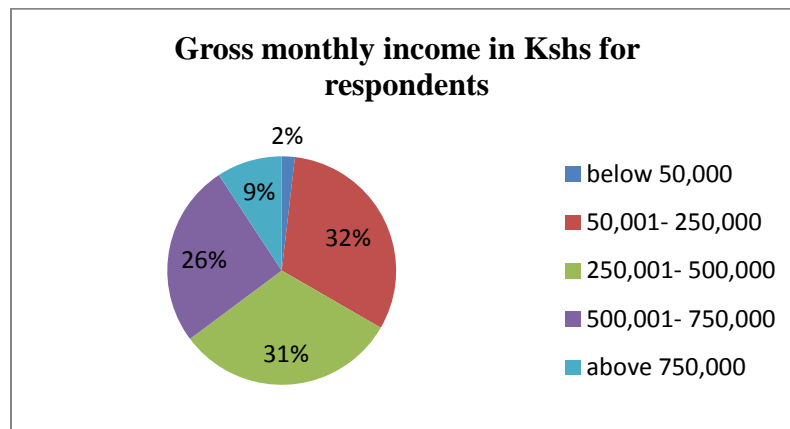


Fig 5.7 Gross monthly income for respondents

Source, Field Survey, March 2015

According to the findings, 2% of the respondents indicated that they had a monthly income of below Kshs 50,000, 32% of the respondents had a monthly

income of between Kshs 50,000-250,000, 31% of the respondents indicated that they had a monthly income of between Kshs 250,000- 500,000, 26% of the respondents had a monthly income of between Kshs 500,000-750,000 and 9% of the respondents had a monthly income of Kshs 750,000 and more. This implies that majority of residents in Kileleshwa had an income of between Kshs 50,001-250,000 at 32% followed closely by an income of between Kshs 250,000-500,000 at 31%. This clearly indicates that most of the residents of gated communities in Kileleshwa are middle income earners ranging from low to high.

5.2.8 Distance and time taken to place of work

The study sought to find the distance from place of work to home. The fig 5.8 and 5.9 below shows the distances and time taken from place of work to home.

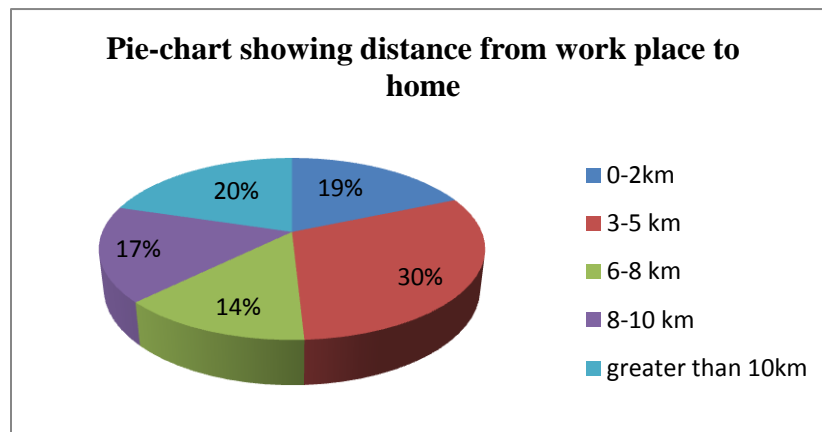


Fig 5.8 Distance from place of work to home

Source, Field survey, March 2015

From the findings of the study, 19% of the respondents indicated 0-2 km as the distance from place of work to their home, 30% of the respondents indicated 3-5km as the distance from place of work to home, 14% indicated 6-8km as the distance from place of work to home, 17% of the respondents indicated 8-10km as the distance from place of work to home and 20% indicated distance of work from home to be over 10km. this implies that 49% of the residents of gated communities cover a distance of 0-5km from their place of work to home.

Time spent to get to place of work

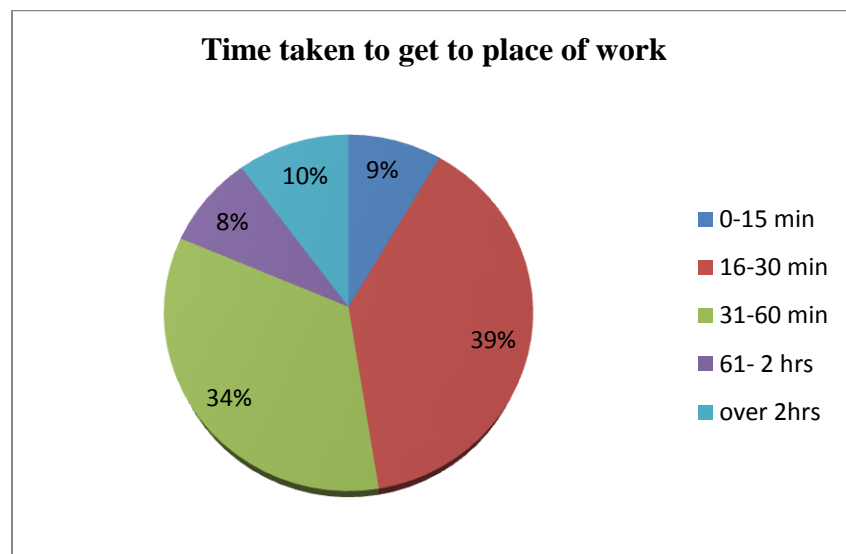


Fig 5.9 Time taken to get to place of work

Source: Field survey, March 2015.

The study findings indicated that 39% of the respondents took 16-30 minutes to get to work, 34% took 31-60 minutes to get to work, 9% took 0-15minutes, 8% took 61min- 2hrs and finally 10% of the respondents took over 2hours to get to

work. This implied that majority of the respondents 16-30 minutes to get to work. The time taken to get to place of work also depended on the direction of location of the work place. Some places were more accessible than others in terms of the time taken to get there.

From the study findings the following table can be put together which further explains the above statement

Table 5.4 Distance and time taken to get to place of work

Distance from place of work to home (Km)	Time spent to get to place of work					
	0-15 min	16-30 min	31-60 min	61min-2hrs	Over 2hrs	Total
0-2	n=4 6.67%	n=7 11.67%	n=0 0%	n=0 0%	n=0 0%	n=11 18.33%
3-5	n=1 1.67%	n=10 16.67%	n=7 11.67%	n=0 0%	n=0 0%	n=18 30%
6-8	n=0 0%	n=2 3.33%	n=6 10%	n=0 0%	n=0 0%	n=8 13.33%
8-10	n=0 0%	n=1 1.67%	n=5 8.33%	n=2 3.33%	n=2 3.33%	n=10 16.67%
Greater than 10	n=0 0%	n=2 3.33%	n=2 3.33%	n=3 5%	n=5 8.33%	n=12 20%
total	n=5 8.33%	n=23 36.67%	n=20 33.33%	n=5 8.33%	n=6 10%	

5.2.9 House ownership status

The study also sought to find the house ownership status in the gated communities. This is as shown in fig 5.10 below.

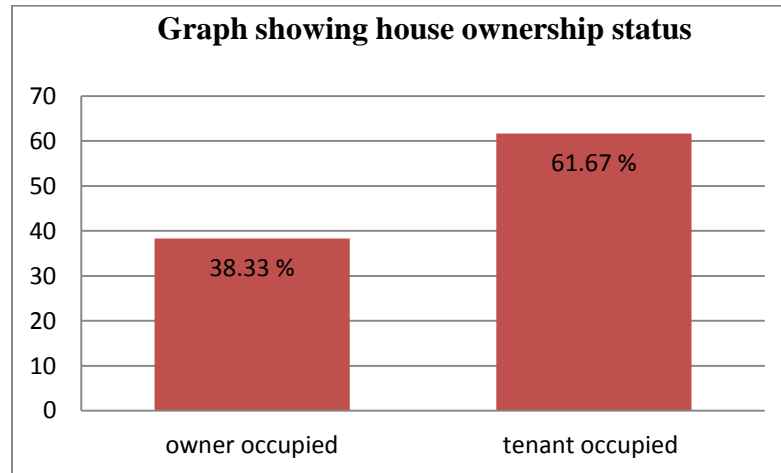


Fig 5.10 House ownership status

Source: Field survey, March 2015

From the finding of the study, majority of the respondents (61.67%) indicated that they were tenants while the rest (38.33%) were homeowners. Thus majority of the gated community residents are home owners. For both the home owners and the tenants, the study also sought to find out the purchase/ construction cost of the houses within the gated communities as well as the monthly rent payable by the tenants of the houses. The study findings are as indicated in fig 5.11 and 5.22 below.

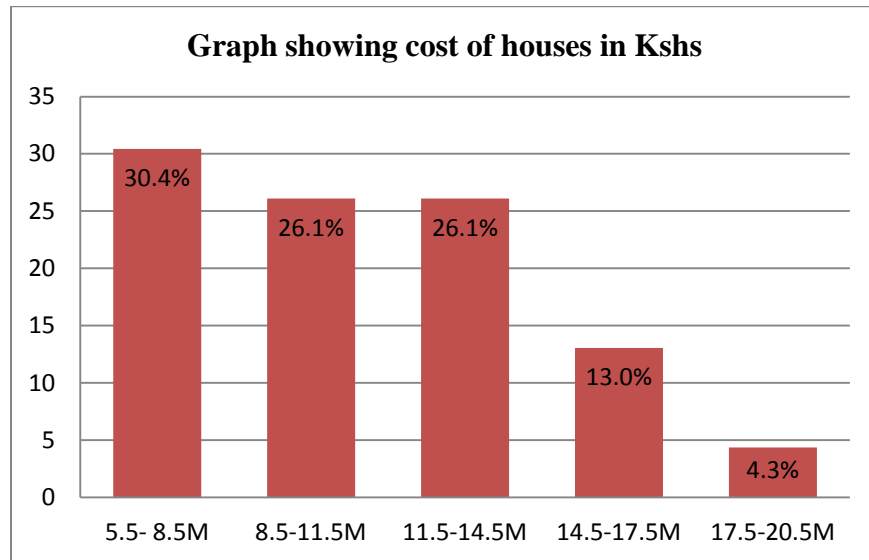


Fig 5.11 Cost of houses to home owners

Source: Field survey, March 2015

The housing costs varied as some of these houses had been purchased when they were just constructed while others were purchased more recently thus more expensive.

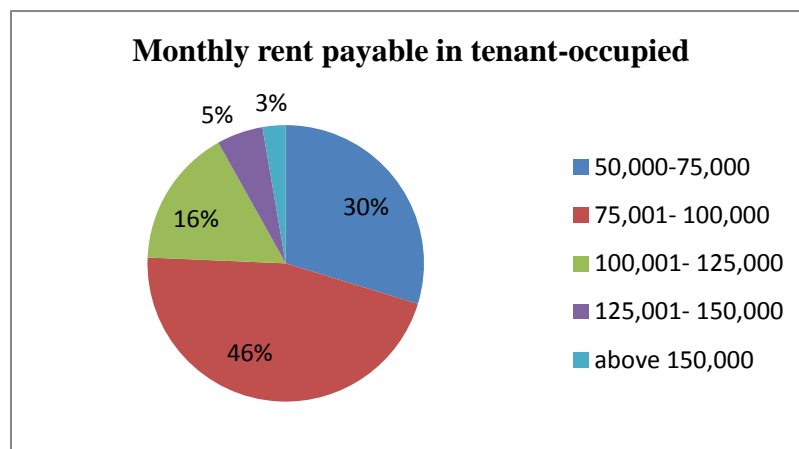


Fig 5.12 Monthly rent payable by tenants

Source: Field survey, March 2015

From the findings of the study, majority of the tenants (46%) indicated that they paid monthly rent of between Kshs 75,001-100,000, 30% paid a rent of between Kshs 50,000- 75000 while 16% paid rent of between Kshs100,001-125,000 with 5% and 3% paying rent of between Kshs 125,001-150,000 and above 150,000 respectively. This implies that majority of tenants in gated communities paid a monthly rent of between Kshs75, 001- 100,000.

5.2.10 Number of years lived in gated community

The study sought to find out the number of years residents had lived in gated communities. The results are as shown in the figure 5.13.

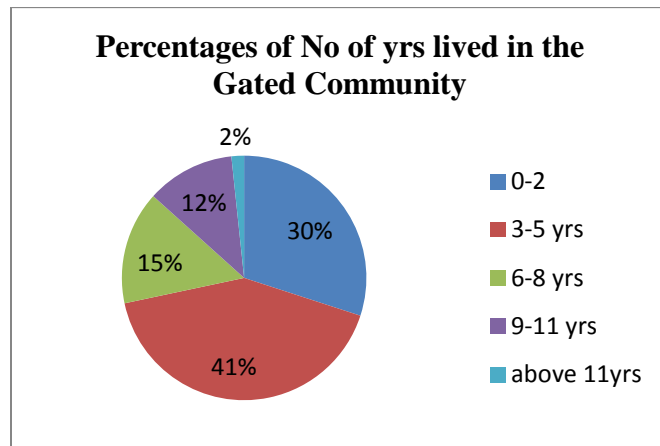


Fig 5.13 Number of years lived in gated community

Source: Field survey, March 2015

The study findings indicated that 41% of the respondents have lived in the gated community for 3-5 years, 30% of them have lived for 0-2 years, and 15% of the

respondents have lived for 6-8 years, while 12% and 2% have lived for 9-11 yrs and above 11 years respectively. This implies that majority of the respondents have been living in gated communities for the past 5 years. This further reinforces the trend of people living in gated communities is a more recent one, especially in Kileleshwa where densification has taken place in the past decade due to rezoning (Kinyua, 2013).

5.3 REASONS FOR MOVING INTO GATED COMMUNITIES

This section is about the residents reasons for moving into gated communities and all factors related to that.

5.3.1 Gated community and security

The study sought to find reason why people moved into Gated Communities. The findings are shown in figure 5.14 below.

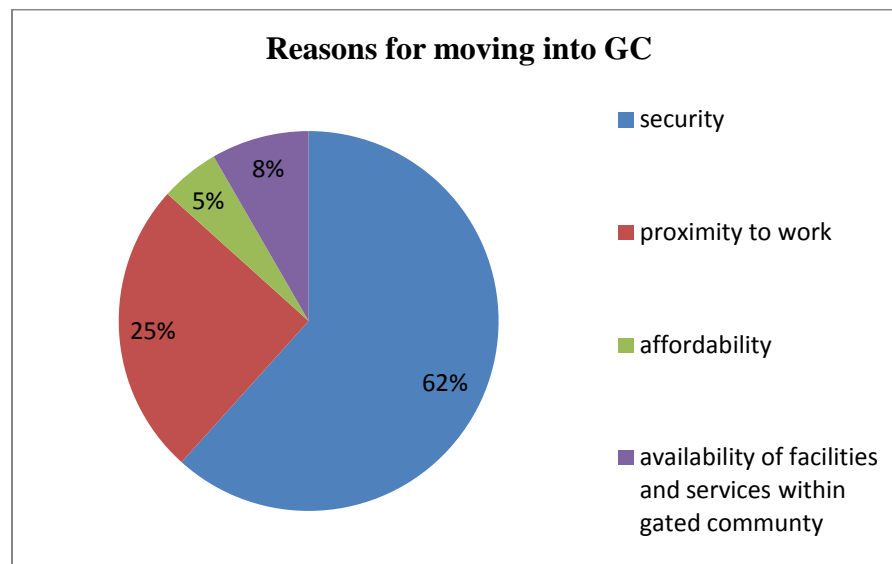


Fig 5.14 Reasons for moving into Gated Communities

Source: Field Survey, March 2015

The study finding indicated that 62% of the respondents moved into gated communities for safety reasons, 25% of the respondents moved to gated communities for reasons of proximity to place of work, 8% of the respondents moved to gated communities for reasons of availability of facilities and services within the gated communities while 5% of the respondents moved into gated communities for affordability reasons. This indicates that majority of the respondents moved into a gated community for security reasons.

The study also sought to investigate what property developers/managers had to say about gated communities being a dominating development in the recent years. On this the property developers/managers said that residents wanted to own/ rent property in a secure environment. There is a demand for increased secure living conditions and this has played a role in the development of gated communities. The residents want security as well as a space where their children can play safely. People want increased facilities and services within their residential estates and this demand is what has led to increased gated community developments. On this issue one of the key informants said:

“Residents want secure homes in high security areas. With the exorbitant land prices of almost 200Million Kshs per acre in Kileleshwa, it makes more sense to

come up with high rise gated apartments that can give high returns on investment.”

Another of the key informants added:

“There is always a demand for housing, it is like there is a vacuum in the market that can never be filled, and with the current trends of insecurity, residents believe living in gated community is the best as there is safety in numbers.”

A key informant from the city planning department was also interviewed to give their view on the emergence of gated communities. When asked about the reasons that can be attributed to the emergence of these kinds of developments the key informant said:

“Security is the key reason why people are moving into such developments. Initially people had their own units, but issues of insecurity led people to live together. Another reason is that it saves on costs as people share out the costs and yet another reason is the rising land costs that have led to high rise residential estates to be able to maximize returns.”

Previous place of residence and the type of development

The study further sought to establish the previous place of residence of the residents and the type of development. From the findings of the study, Parklands, Westlands, South B, South C, Muthaiga, Karen, Kilimani, Lavington, Nairobi West were some of the areas respondents had lived in before moving to

Kileleshwa. Some had even come from places outside Nairobi city such as Kikuyu town and Kisumu.

On the type of development the respondents lived in before moving to the gated community, the findings are as shown in fig 5.15 below:

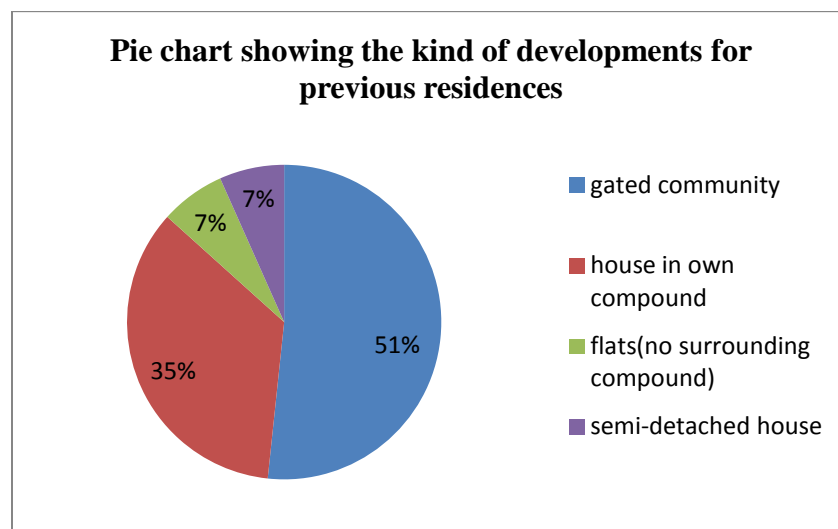


Fig 5.15 Type of development of previous residences

Source: Field Survey, March 2015

The study findings indicated that 51% of the respondents lived in a gated community as their previous residence, 35% of the respondents lived in a house in its own compound, and 7% of the respondents lived in flats with no surrounding compound while 7% of the respondents lived in semi-detached houses. This implies that majority of the people (51%) resided in gated communities previously before moving to the gated community in Kileleshwa.

5.3.2 Reasons for moving into gated community in Kileleshwa

The study also sought to establish the reasons why residents preferred living in a gated community in Kileleshwa. These are as indicated in the sections below:

5.3.2.1 Safety and security

The study sought to establish security as a reason for moving into a gated community in Kileleshwa. The results are as shown in fig 5.16 below:

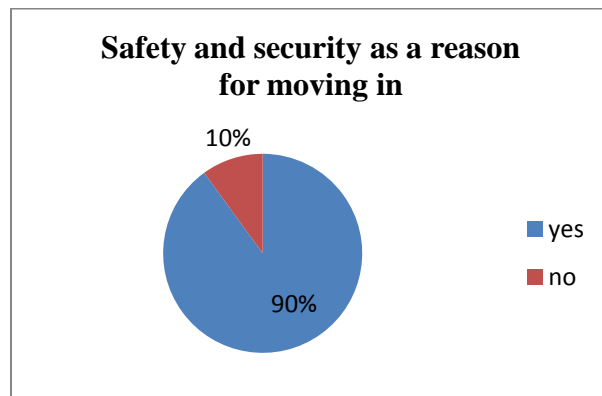


Fig 5.16 Safety and security as a reason for moving into a gated community

The study findings indicated that 90 % of the respondents moved into gated communities in Kileleshwa for safety and security concerns. This implies that majority of the residents in Kileleshwa moved into gated communities for safety and security reasons.

Safety and security within gated communities

The study also sought to find out the safety and security situation. This subsection deals with the rating of safety and security within and outside the gated community. The results are as indicated in the figures 5.17- 5.19

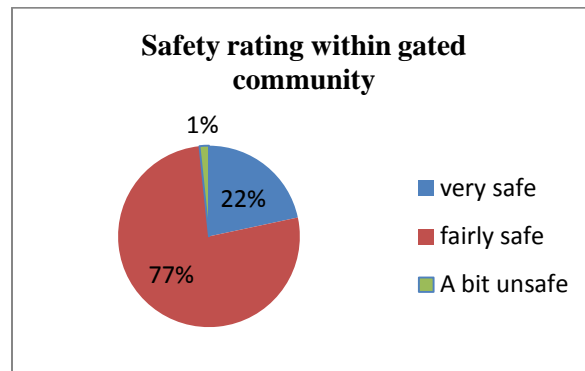


Fig 5.17 Rating of safety and security within Gated community

The study findings indicated that 77% of the respondents found the gated community to be fairly safe, 22% of the respondents found the gated community to be very safe while 1% of the respondents found the community to be a bit unsafe. Upon further investigations, the residents revealed that no place is completely safe, there is always a risk. However due to the security guards and the alarm systems provided, the residents feel that their children are much safer within the gated community than outside. This implies that majority of the residents found gated communities to be a fairly safe place to live in.

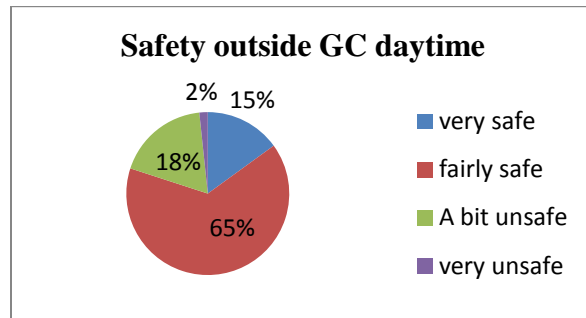


Fig 5.18 Rating of safety outside Gated community during daytime

The study finding indicated that 15% of the respondents indicated that it was very safe outside the gated community, 65% indicated that it was fairly safe, 18% indicated that it was a bit unsafe while 2% of the respondents indicated that it was very unsafe. This implies that majority of the residents (65%) feel that it's fairly safe outside the gated community.

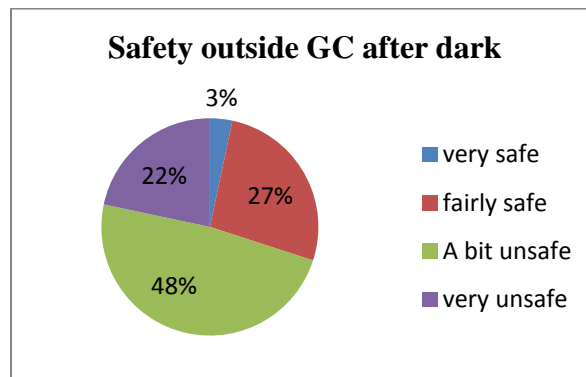


Fig 5.19 Rating of safety outside Gated community after dark

The study findings indicated that 3% of the respondents indicated that it was very safe outside the gated community after dark, 27% indicated that it was fairly safe outside the gated community after dark, 48% of the respondents indicated that it

was a bit unsafe outside the gated community after dark while 22% of the respondents indicated that it was very unsafe outside the gated community after dark. This implies that majority of the respondents feel that it is a bit unsafe outside the gated community after dark.

The study also sought to find out the security problems experienced by the residents in the gated communities. The results are as shown in figure 5.20 and 5.21 below. The study findings indicated that 95% of the respondents had never experienced any security problems personally while 5% of the respondents indicated that they had experienced security problems personally in the gated community. Upon further problem it was revealed that the security problems that were experienced by residents included break-ins and mugging, some of these happened at the gate as the residents are returning back home late at night. One of the residents quoted:

“However the instance of that happening have been very minimal”

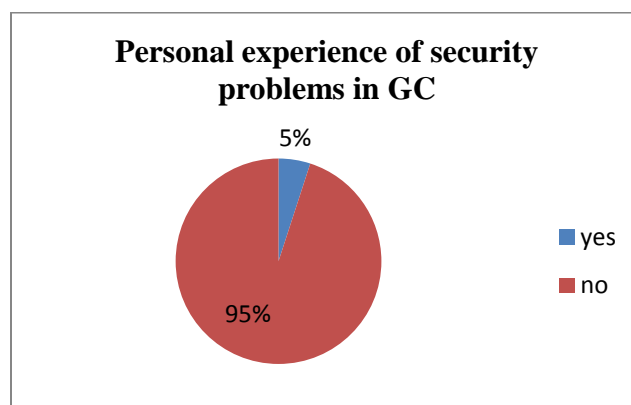


Fig 5.20 Personal security problems experiences

The study also sought to establish the security problems experienced by other residents in the gated community that the respondents were aware of. The study findings indicated that 52% of the respondents indicated that they were aware of security problems experienced by others within the gated community while 48% of the respondents indicated that they were not aware of any security problems experienced by the rest of the residents within the gated community. Upon further prodding it was revealed that the security problems experienced by others were break-ins, mugging, car-jacking and domestic security issues.

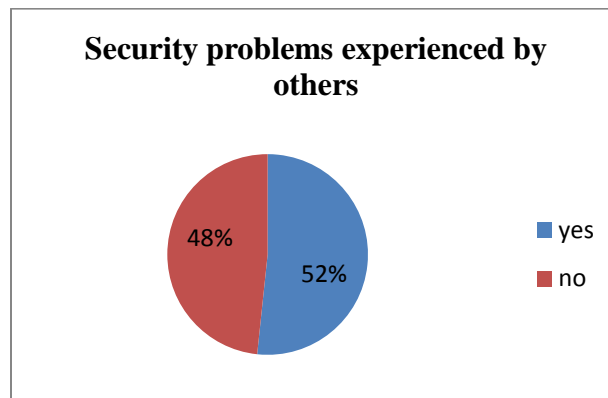


Fig 5.21 Security problems experienced by others

On safety and security, property developers and managers said that Kileleshwa is comparatively a safe area. They said that Kileleshwa is generally a safer location compared to other residential locations in Nairobi with additional perks being that it is central to a lot of the locations and rated the street safety as good. With a police station right in the vicinity of the gated communities is a big contributing factor. One of the key informants said on this:

“Kileleshwa is safe due to the police station nearby, proper roads and proper street lighting at night. In addition to this the gated communities have their own security guards both during the day and at night.”

Another key informant on the same added:

Things are generally okay in Kileleshwa, which is why people are moving into gated communities here. Sometimes it’s just a run in with bad luck when such security problems do occur. It’s like being at the wrong place at the wrong time.”

The property developers/managers also added that gated communities have provision such as electric fencing, security guards, CCTV cameras, alarm systems, dog units among others to cater for the safety and security aspects.

The police were also interviewed in the study so as to enable us to get a better picture of the actual security situation on the ground. The key informants indicated that based on the crime index things are better this year as compared to the previous year therefore the trends in security situation are generally decreasing for Nairobi. On security in Kileleshwa, mostly what is experienced is car-jacking at the gates.

The key informants added that the measures that have been taken against the insecurity issues have been intensified police patrols both day and night; street lighting projects act as a deterrent when it comes to crime. Also the community

concern about security has led to developments have high permanent walls and electric fences.

The key informants added that some of the challenges facing them when combating with safety and security within the neighbourhood have been the ratio between the police and the community. The police are way fewer. The other challenge that faces them is that the community is not proactive; people might know the perpetrator but are not willing to reveal the same to the police. Finally the security equipment should be added and improved such as police cars and other security equipment.

When asked about the role of gated communities and to what extent these have offered solutions to the current security challenges in the city, one key informant said:

“Gated communities have indeed offered solutions. They assist the people because thieves cannot get in due to the high walls, electric fencing and presence of security guards as these are deterrents. The CCTV and control cars identify the criminals while still far. If everyone does this, then there will be very minimal insecurity in residential areas.”

The main reason of residents in choosing gated communities is security. Gated communities can address the fears and anxieties of individuals by enhancing personal safety, the security of material goods, as well as protecting the home

from unwanted intrusions. Security is a broadly defined concept, which brings different levels of ‘peace of mind’. It has therefore been seen that the residents of gated communities as well as property developers and managers are of the belief that security is the main reason why people move to gated communities. There is also the belief that apart from property and personal protection, gated communities also offer protection for the future amenity of the residential environment.

5.3.2.2 Gated communities and affordability

The study sought to establish affordability as a reason for moving into gated community in Kileleshwa. The results are as shown in fig 5.22 below:

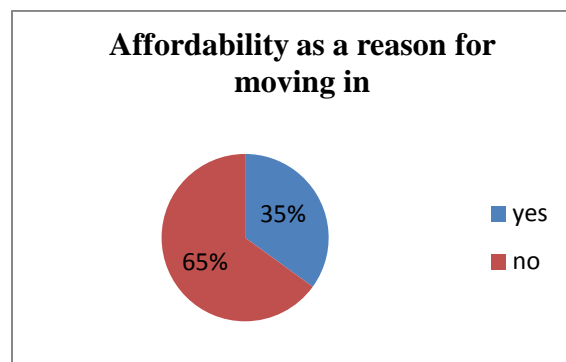


Fig 5.22 Affordability as a reason for moving into gated community

The study findings indicated that 35% of the respondents moved into gated community in Kileleshwa due to affordability reasons. This implies that almost 35% of the residents in Kileleshwa moved into gated communities because they

found them affordable while the rest of the 65% did not find gated communities affordable but still opted to reside in them.

Demand for gated communities is rising among the middle and high income earners whose purchasing power has increased over the years with the improved economic conditions. Property managers said that most developers owning a large size of land prefer to develop a gated community because it provides relatively higher returns. In addition to this, it is generally cheaper to live in gated communities because residents share some of the costs of running the community.

5.3.2.3 Gated communities and shared facilities

The study sought to establish shared facilities and service provision as a reason for moving into gated communities in Kileleshwa. The results are as shown in fig 5.23 below:

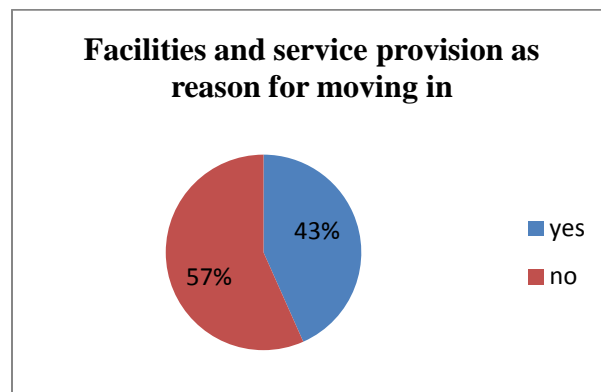


Fig 5.23 Facilities and services provision as a reason for moving into gated communities

The study findings indicated that 43% of the respondents moved into gated communities in Kileleshwa due to the shared facilities and service provision reasons. This implies that almost 43% of the residents in Kileleshwa moved into gated communities because of the shared facilities and services provision which they claim helped save time and effort as well as was more affordable since the cost was shared out among the residents.

The study also sought to find out what the residents of gated communities had to say about the provision of shared services and facilities in gated communities.

The results are as shown in the figure 5.24 and 5.25 below:

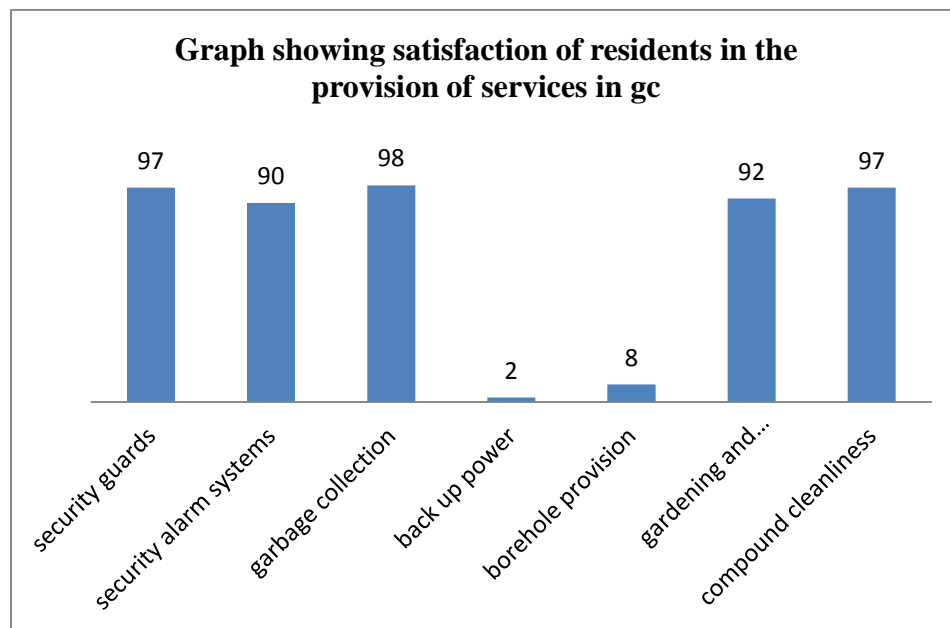


Fig 5.24 Level of satisfaction in provision of services

The study findings indicated that the level of satisfaction was 97% with the provision of security guards, 90% with the provision of alarm systems, 98% with garbage collection, 92% with gardening and lawn maintenance, 97% with compound cleanliness while it was only 2% with backup power and 8% with borehole and water provision. The respondents said that the gated community was an ideal place to live in especially for those who have young children. The security guards and alarm systems were very adequate as was the general compound maintenance and cleanliness. However the respondents were not satisfied with the power outages and the water provision which they said was only twice a week.

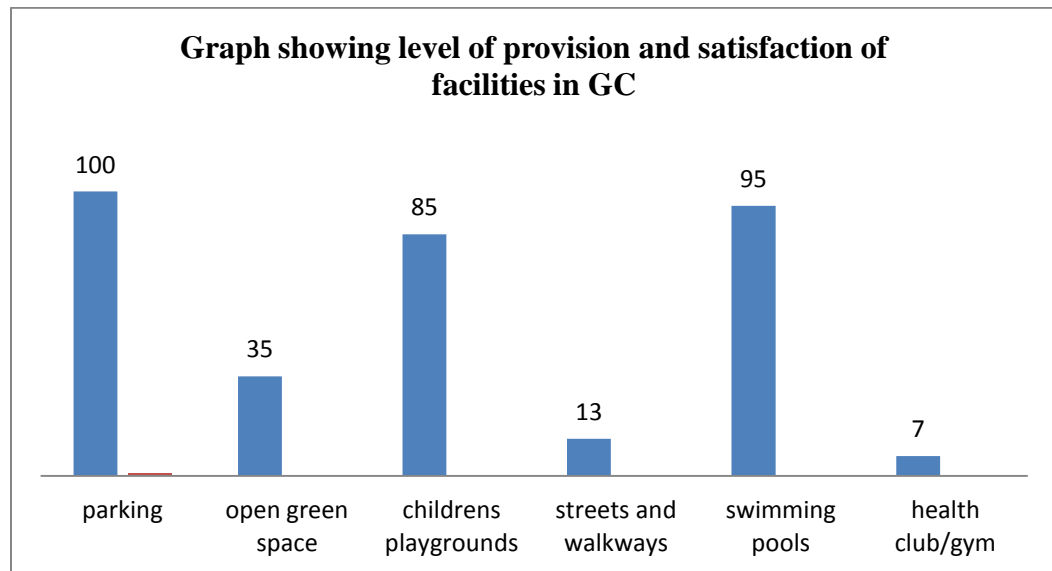


Fig 5.25 Level of satisfaction in provision of facilities

On the provision of facilities within the gated communities, the study findings indicated that 100% of the respondents were satisfied with the parking facilities

available, 35% of the respondents were satisfied with the open green space, 85% of the respondents were satisfied with children's' playgrounds, 13% were satisfied with the provision of streets and walkways, 95% of the respondents were satisfied with the swimming pool provision whereas only 7% were satisfied with the provision of gym/health facilities. The respondents said that it was convenient to have a swimming pool and playground within the gated community. This helps especially those families that have young children. On provision of gym/health facilities, the respondents said that there is very poor provision of such facilities and most of them need to access these facilities outside which becomes inconvenient therefore they stated that having a gym within the gated community would definitely be an attractive facility for one to move in there.

The study also sought to find out the overall rating of the provision of these facilities and services. The results are as shown in the figure 5.26 below:

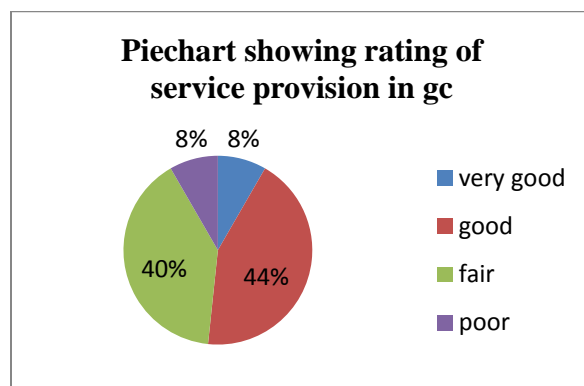


Fig 5.26 Rating of service provision in Gated community

The study findings indicated that 8% of the respondents found the service provision within the gated community to be very good, 44% of the respondents found the service provision to be good, 40% of the respondents found the service provision to be fair while the remaining 8% of the respondents found the service provision to be poor. This implies that majority of the residents (44%) found the service provision to be fair and 40% of the residents found the service provision to be good.

Facilities and amenities offered by developers was one of the attractions in gated communities. Residents in gated communities share the facilities and amenities which are only available to the residents. It is generally cheaper to live in gated communities because residents share some of the costs of running the community.

5.3.2.4 Gated communities and lifestyle

The study sought to establish prestige and status as a reason for moving into gated communities in Kileleshwa. The results are as shown in fig 5.27 below:

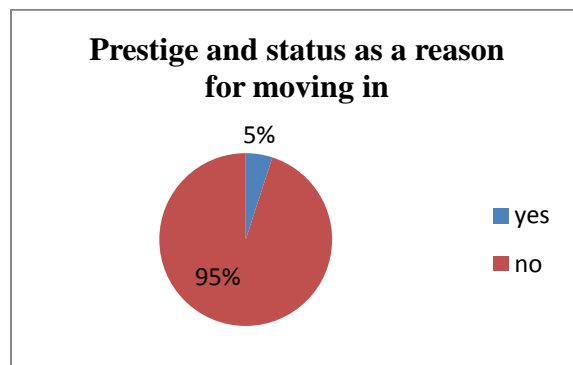


Fig 5.27 Prestige and status as a reason for moving into gated communities

The study findings indicated that 5% of the respondents moved into gated communities in Kileleshwa due to prestige and status reasons. This implies that very few of the residents in Kileleshwa moved into gated communities for prestige and status.

Besides security, prestige and status were also reasons that attract residents to live in gated communities. The space in a gated property is privatized and only available for the residents within gated community. The gated communities offer a luxurious and prestige lifestyle for the residents such as swimming pool, club house, exclusive hall, children's' playgrounds amongst others. Living behind the wall reflects the status of the resident which is wealthy and well-educated.

5.3.2.5 Gated communities and sense of community

The study sought to establish sense of community as a reason for moving into gated communities in Kileleshwa. The results are as shown in fig 5.28 below:

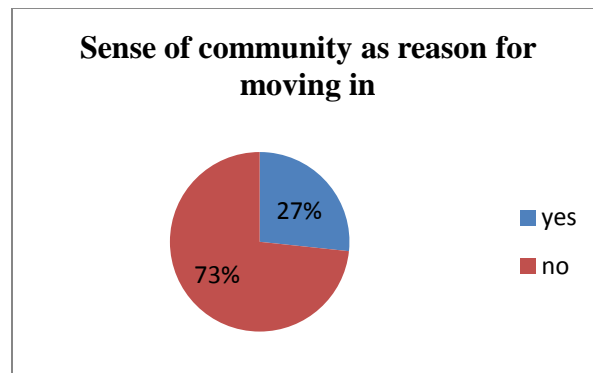


Fig 5.28 Sense of community as a reason for moving into gated communities

The study findings indicated that 27% of the respondents moved into gated communities in Kileleshwa due to sense of community reasons. This implies that almost a quarter of the residents in Kileleshwa moved into gated communities for sense of community.

Beside security, another reason why people move into gated communities is sense of community. Community ‘includes a sense of mutual responsibility, significant interaction, and cooperative spirit’ (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). This sense of community and connection was also reflected in the experiences of other gated community residents.

5.3.2.6 Gated communities and other reasons for moving in

a) Proximity to work as a reason for moving in

The study sought to establish proximity to work as a reason for moving into gated community in Kileleshwa. The results are as shown in fig 5.29 below:

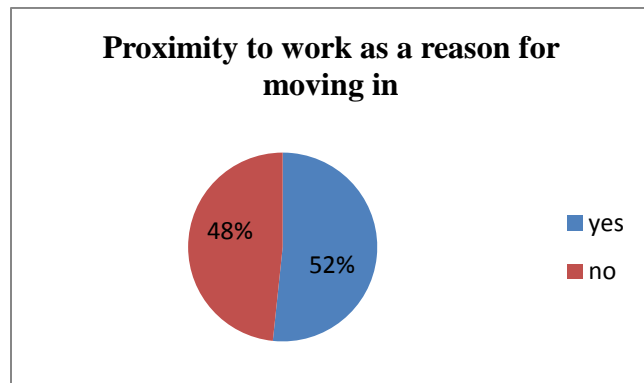


Fig 5.29 Proximity to place of work as a reason for moving into gated communities

The study findings indicated that 52% of the respondents moved into gated communities in Kileleshwa due to proximity to place of work. This implies that almost 52% of the residents in Kileleshwa moved into gated communities because of the proximity to place of work. This can also be supported by the fact that Kileleshwa is now a mixed commercial and residential area with a lot of offices and businesses in the area.

- b) Proximity to Central Business District (CBD) as well as being central to many other areas as a reason for moving in

The study sought to establish proximity to CBD as a reason for moving into gated communities in Kileleshwa. The results are as shown in fig 5.30 below:

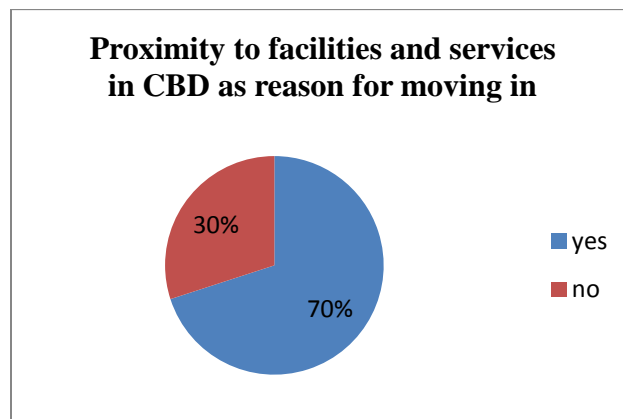


Fig 5.30 Proximity to CBD and central to other areas as a reason for moving into gated communities

The study findings indicated that 70% of the respondents moved into gated communities in Kileleshwa due to proximity to the CBD of Nairobi city as well as

the fact that Kileleshwa is a central location to many areas. This implies that majority of the residents (70%) in Kileleshwa moved into gated communities because of the proximity to CBD and centrality of Kileleshwa to a lot of areas. This was supported by the residents' claim that being a central location saves a lot of time when one needs to access the various facilities and services one needs that are not found within the location.

5.4 GATED COMMUNITIES AND A SENSE OF COMMUNITY

The study also sought to establish whether gated communities contribute to a sense of community. This explained by the findings of the study as shown below.

5.4.1 Gated communities and membership

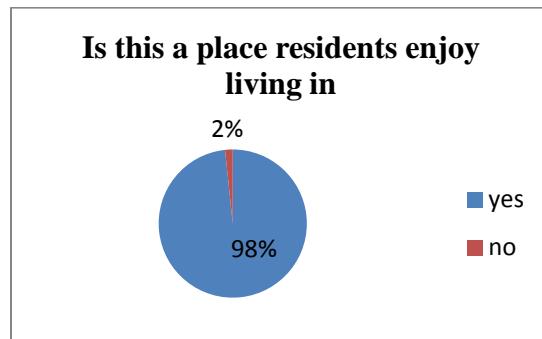


Fig 5.31 Gated community as a place residents like living in

From the figure 5.31 above, the results indicated that 98% of the residents enjoyed living in the gated community while 2% did not. Upon further prodding those who enjoyed living there gave reasons of security, availability of services and facilities within the gated community which also brought about affordability

since the costs are shared among the residents. In addition to that, it was also revealed that living within the gated estate was enjoyable in that the residents felt that there are neighbours with whom they can associate with. Also, the children all play together which brings about some sense of security, as the children would always be under adult supervision.

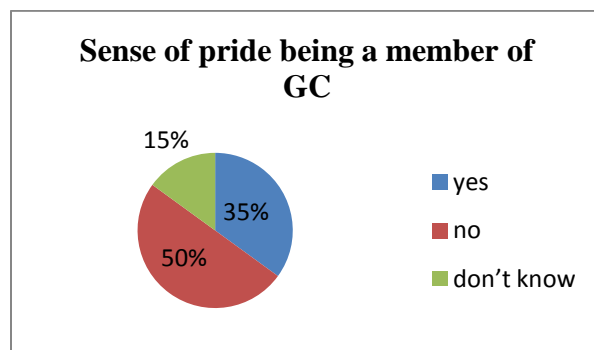


Fig 5.32 Sense of pride being a member of a gated community

The study also sought to find out if residents feel any sense of pride being a member of the gated community. The results are as shown in the figure 5.32 above. The study findings indicated that 35% of the respondents feel a sense of pride being a member of the gated community, 50% of the respondents felt no pride being a member of the gated community while 15% of the respondents didn't know whether or not they felt any pride. This implies that majority of the respondents felt no sense of pride being a member of the gated community.

Respondents in this study reported experiencing an enhanced sense of community and belonging since moving into their gated community. A community within the

bounds of gated communities is not necessarily based on long-held friendships. Rather, a connection with other residents develops simply because they live within the same geographically-defined area.

5.4.2 Gated communities and Emotional safety

The study also sought to establish how boundaries and inclusion of the right people can help create trust and feeling of safety. This is as shown below.

a) How well residents know their neighbours

The study also sought to find out how well residents knew their neighbours within the gated community. The results are as shown in the figure 5.33 below:

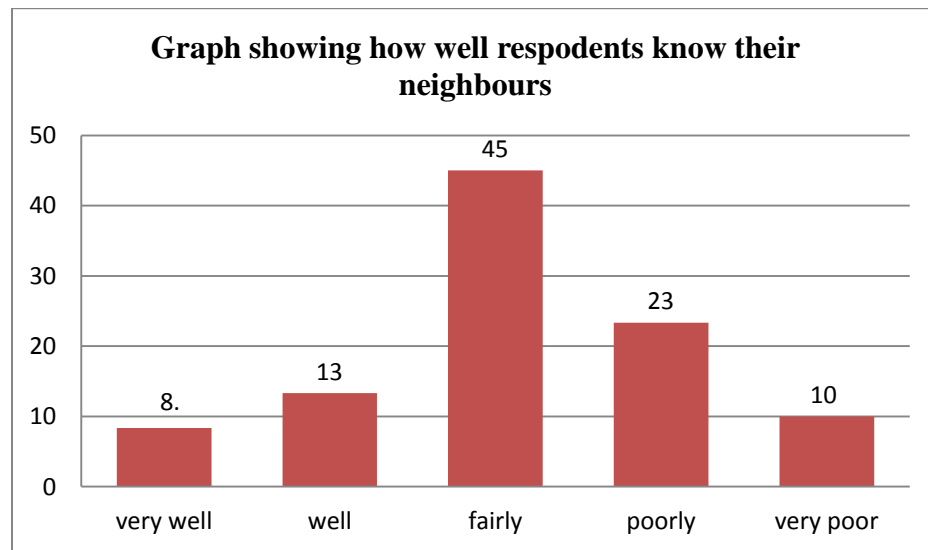


Fig 5.33 How well residents know their neighbours

The study findings indicated that 8% of the respondents knew their neighbours very well, 12% of the respondents knew their neighbours well, 45% of the

respondents knew their neighbours fairly, 23% of the respondents knew their neighbours poorly while 10% of the respondents knew their neighbours very poorly. This implies that majority of the residents know their neighbours fairly. This is because most of them claim that they live very busy lives whereby they leave their houses in morning and only get back very late in the evening and by then it's too late to socialize with neighbours.

b) How many neighbours residents know

The study also sought to know residents knew how many neighbours. The results are as shown in the figure 5.34 below:

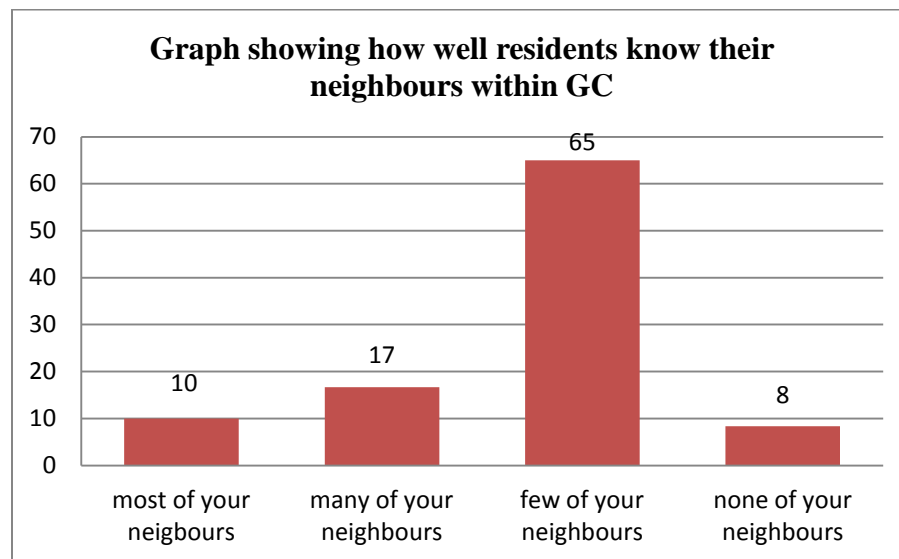


Fig 5.34 how many neighbours' residents know?

The study findings indicated that 10% of the respondents knew most of their neighbours, 17% of the respondents knew many of their neighbours, and 65% of

the respondents knew few of the neighbours while 8% of the respondents knew none of their neighbours. This implies that majority of the residents knew few of the neighbours. This trend has also been explained in some of the above subsections.

c) Trusting neighbours

The study also sought to establish the trust developed between residents and their neighbours within the gated community. The results are as shown in the figure 5.35 below.

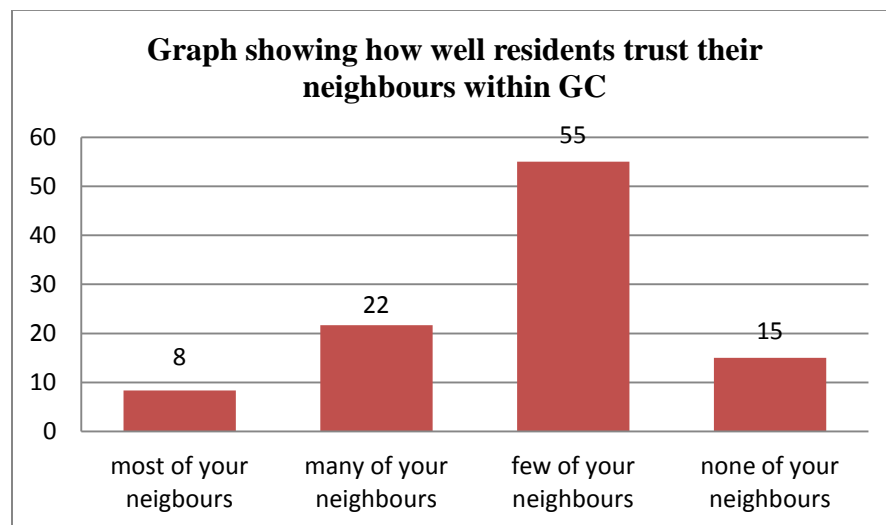


Fig 5.35 how many neighbours residents trust?

According to the chart below, the study findings indicated that 8% of the respondents trust most of their neighbours, 22% of the respondent trust many of their neighbours, 55% of the respondents trust few of their neighbours while 15% of the respondents trust none of the neighbours as they don't know them well

enough to trust them. Further prodding revealed that the respondents who trusted their neighbours said that the trust networks just build as one sees the neighbours in the compound, or driving down the street even though one might not know them personally. It's the familiarity and living in one community that brings about the trust. While there were those respondents who did not trust their neighbours because they according to them they simply couldn't trust someone whom they did not know on a personal level. According to the respondents, gated communities did encourage the sense of community which creates strong bonding and close relationship amongst residents.

5.4.3 Gated community and sense of belonging

The study also sought to establish the feeling of belonging by the residents of the gated community. The results are as shown in the figure 5.36 below:

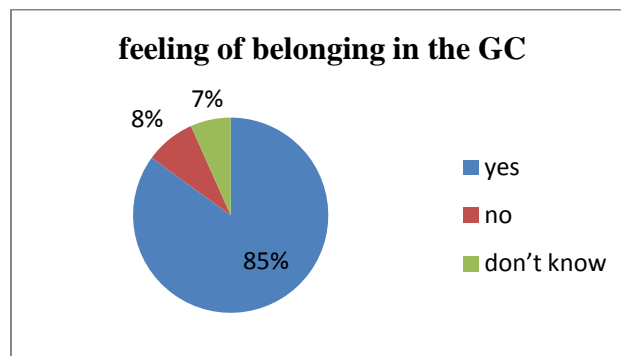


Fig 5.36 Feeling of belonging in the gated community

The study findings indicated that 85% of the residents had the feeling of belonging in the gated community, 8% of the respondents did not have a feeling

of belonging while 7% of the respondents didn't know whether they felt like they belonged or not. This implies that majority of the residents feel they belong in the gated community.

Respondents in this study reported experiencing an enhanced sense of community and belonging since moving into their gated community. Indeed, some key informants reported that *“everybody's there for one another, I don't know of anyone here that wouldn't do something for you.”* This shows that the feeling of belonging is achieved by many once they move into gated communities as they are able to forge bonds with those who live within the boundaries.

5.4.4 Gated communities and influence

The study also sought to establish the extent of residents influencing decisions that affect the community. The results are as shown in the fig 5.37 below.

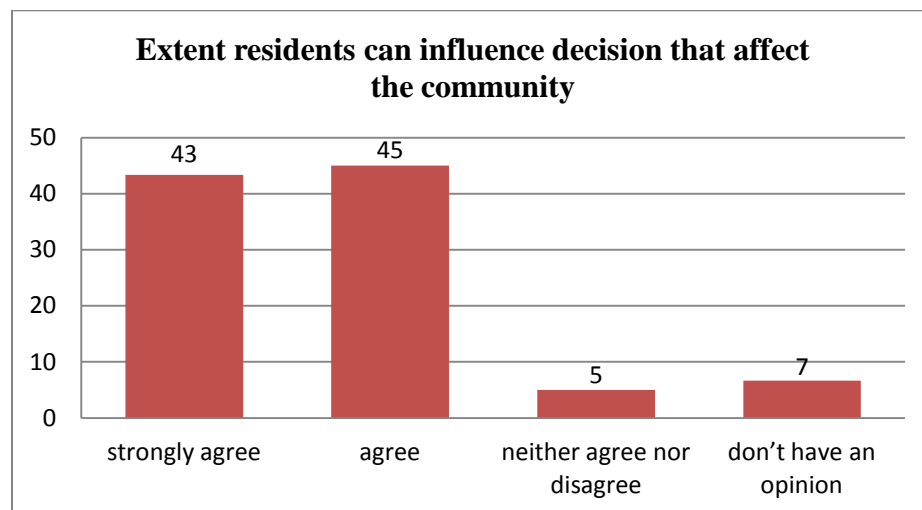


Fig 5.37 Extent of influence of decisions by residents in gated community

The study findings indicated that 43% of the respondents strongly agree that they can influence the decisions that affect the community if they work together, 45% of the respondents agree that they can influence the decisions that affect the community if they work together, 5% of the respondents neither agree nor disagree on the fact that they can influence the decisions that affect the community while 7% of the respondents don't have an opinion on this matter.

Upon further inquiry it was revealed that majority of the residents agree that if they come together and work together then they can influence the decisions that affect the community. However there were those who believed that there are rarely instances where the residents get to work together and therefore couldn't influence any decisions.

5.4.5 Gated communities, integration and fulfillment of needs

The study also sought to find out what relationships existed between the residents of the gated communities and if there is a sense of community. The factors that were investigated here if the residents look out for each other, do they ask each other for any help or financial loans when in a financial difficulty? This comes from the idea that the community needs to solve the problems for its members in order to make it worth their time and contribution.

a) Residents looking out for each other

The study also sought to investigate if the residents look out for each other. The results are as show in the figure 5.38 below:

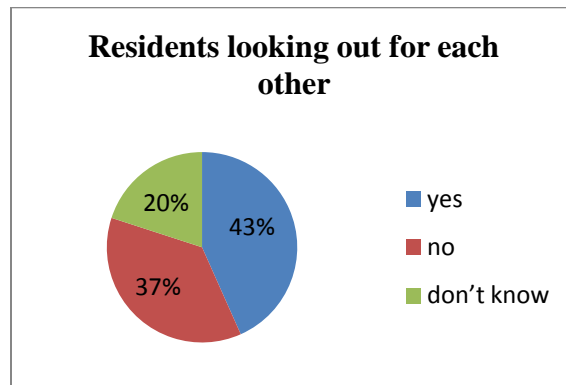


Fig 5.38 Residents looking out for each other

The study findings indicated that 43% of the respondents agreed that the residents look out for each other, 37% of the respondents indicated that resident do not look out for each other while 20% of the respondents didn't know whether the residents looked out for each other or not. Further prodding revealed that for those respondents who agreed that residents looked out for each other, it was mainly because they are in the same block or are immediate neighbours (live next door to each other) or if their children play together. Those who did not agree that residents looked out for each other or those who didn't have an opinion were mostly those who had busy schedules at work and hardly bonded with the other residents because of the same reasons.

b) Asking neighbours for help

The study also sought to find out if residents would ask their neighbours for any kind of help. The results are as indicated in the figure 5.39 below:

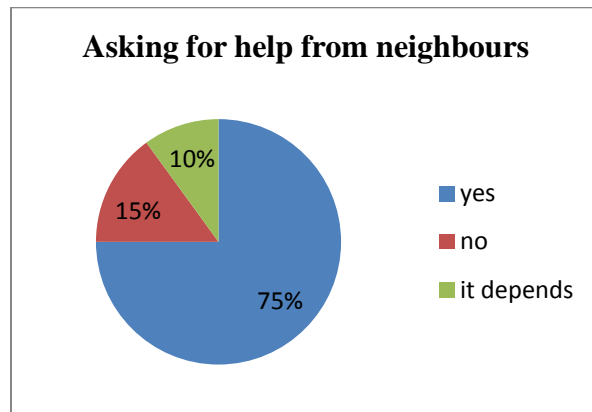


Fig 5.39 Residents asking for help from neighbours within GC

The study finding indicated that 75% of the respondents indicated that they would ask their neighbours for help, 15% of the respondents indicated that they will not ask their neighbour for help while 10% of the respondents indicated that asking their neighbours for help would depend on what kind of situation exists and under what circumstances it is taking place. This implies that majority of the residents would ask their neighbours for help implying that the neighbours are there to help each other when in time of need.

c) Asking neighbors for a loan when in a financial difficulty

The study also sought to establish the relationship between residents by investigating if residents would ask for a loan from their neighbours if in a financial difficulty. The results are as shown in figure 5.40 below:

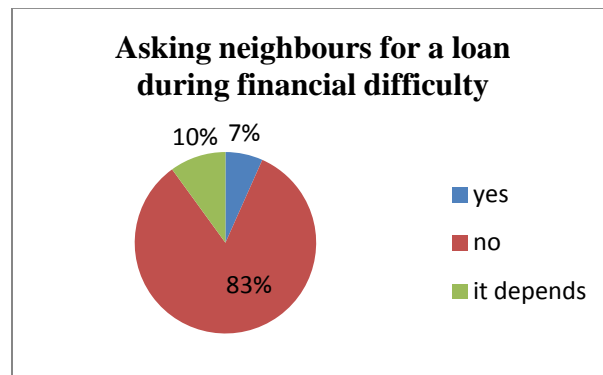


Fig 5.40 Residents asking for neighbours for a loan in a financial difficulty

The study findings indicated that 83% of the respondents said that they would not ask their neighbours for a loan while in a financial difficulty, 7% of the respondents said that they would ask their neighbours for a loan if in a financial difficulty while 10% of the respondents said that it would depend on the extent of financial difficulty as well as the circumstances surrounding the issue at that time. This implies that majority of the residents would not ask their neighbours for a loan while in a financial difficulty.

When people live together in a gated community, the interactions forge bonds between the residents. They have something in common. This further helps in

integrating their needs such that the community members are always willing to help out in case of a difficulty.

5.4.6 Gated communities and shared emotional connection

The study also sought to establish the connection between the residents within the gated communities due to the experiences of the residents who live together within one community. This is shown by the level of interaction of the residents with each other.

a) Interaction of residents

The study sought to establish the level of interaction between the residents. The results are as shown in the figure 5.41 below:

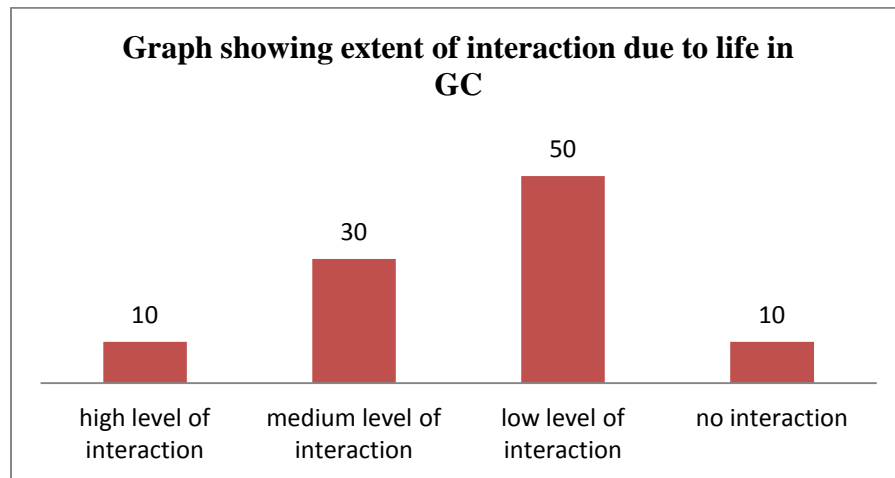


Fig 5.41 Extent of interaction in gated communities

The study findings indicated that 10% of the respondents said that they experienced high level of interaction within the gated community, 30% of the

respondents said that they experienced medium level of interaction, 50% of the respondents said they experienced low level of interaction while 10% of the respondents said they experienced no interaction in the gated community.

On further prodding it was revealed that because of the lifestyle of the residents, it makes it difficult to interact as much as one would like. People are generally out till late evening and on weekends they are mostly catching up on the domestic chores. It was also revealed that those families with younger children experience more interaction than those with older or no children. This is because the younger children tend to make most use of the facilities where they bond with other children creating good social ties between the families.

5.4.7 Gated communities and their perceptions

5.4.7.1 Gated communities, seclusion and exclusion

The study also sought to establish the nature of the gated community in terms of harmony and inclusivity. The results are as shown in the figure 5.42 below

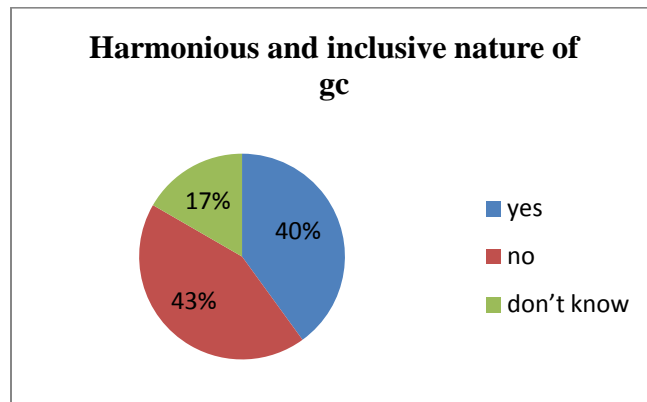


Fig 5.42 Harmonious and inclusive nature of gated community

The study findings indicated that 40% of the respondents found the gated community to be harmonious and inclusive, 43% of the respondents did not find the gated community to be any of these while 17% of the respondents did not know if the gated community was either harmonious or inclusive. Further prodding revealed that for most of the respondents the gated community was definitely harmonious but they did not find it inclusive. Most of the respondents said that there were very few activities that would take place within the community. In fact, they added that people all would keep to their own apartments once they are back from work. There were hardly any events that were done together collectively or with the involvement of all the residents.

The study also sought to establish whether gated communities contributed to a sense of community from the perspectives of the developers/managers. It was found that the property developers provided common area arenas such as community halls/ meet up places and open spaces where the residents could meet and interact. There were common facilities such as the swimming pool, gyms and children's playgrounds that also brought about social contact between the residents.

When asked about any forms of meetings held between residents, the property managers said that there are meetings held at least once a month. These meetings are to do with the welfare of the community, to discuss rules and regulations as

well as code of conduct, to discuss repairs and management issues of the common areas such as the swimming pool, the borehole, the gym, the playgrounds among others.

On relationships between residents the key informants said:

“The relationship is cordial considering they know each other and cooperate when it comes to payment of service charge.”

Another key informant on the same said:

“The residents are from different countries. If they are from the same country then they have a lot in common and would interact more, otherwise it’s an occasional hi.”

Yet another key informant on the same said:

“Unless you have lived in the same place for a long time, you don’t really know the people there. People don’t really help in forming bonds unless if you are a person who goes out of your way to talk to your neighbours.”

5.4.7.2 Conflict

On conflicts among residents the key informants said that there are sometimes conflict cases but these are very small issues such as when someone parks his car in his neighbour’s parking slot or when the residents are using the facilities in the wrong manner. The key informant added that it’s never been anything that is

serious. Otherwise the residents all mind their own business and the only places they possibly run into each other are the parking lots, swimming pools and other common areas.

On conflicts with non-residents, the property developers said that there are rarely cases when that happens. Residents mostly leave for work in the mornings and get back late in the evenings while weekends are mostly spent catching up on the domestic chores.

5.5 GATED COMMUNITIES AND SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION

5.5.1 Integration and accessibility

The study also sought to establish if the residents were satisfied with the facilities and services within the gated community and if they needed to access public facilities and services to meet their needs. This section deals with the aspects of public provision of facilities and services, where the residents would access these facilities if not available within the gated community and how accessible these services are.

The results are as shown in figure 5.43 below:

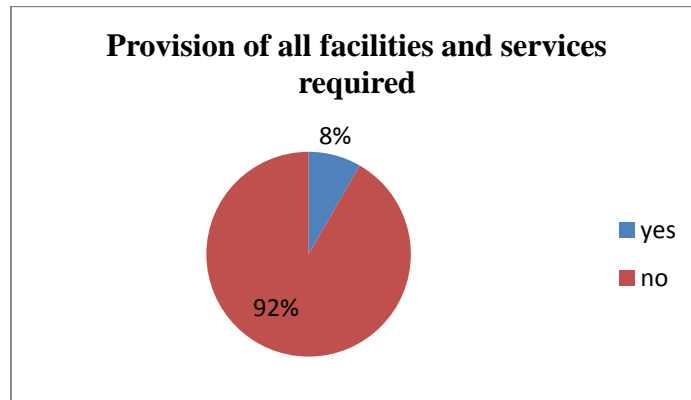


Fig 5.43 Provision of facilities and services within gated communities

The study findings indicated that 92% of the respondents felt that not all facilities and services were provided within the gated community, while 8% of the respondents felt that all the relevant facilities and services were provided within the gated community.

The study also sought to establish where the residents accessed those facilities and services not provided within the gated community. The results are shown in figure 5.44 below:

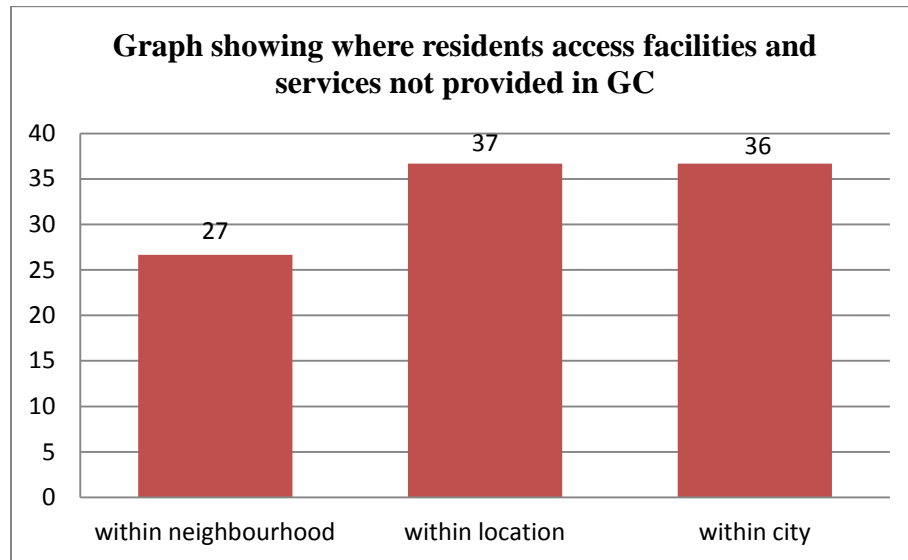


Fig 5.44 Where residents access public provision of facilities and services

The study findings indicated that 27% of the respondents accessed these services and facilities within the neighbourhood, 37% accessed them within the location while 36% accessed them within the city. This implies that majority of the facilities and services are available within the location. This is also supported by the fact that Kileleshwa as an area is central to a lot of facilities and services.

The study also sought to establish the frequency of use of these public facilities by residents of gated communities. The results are as shown in figure 5.45 below:

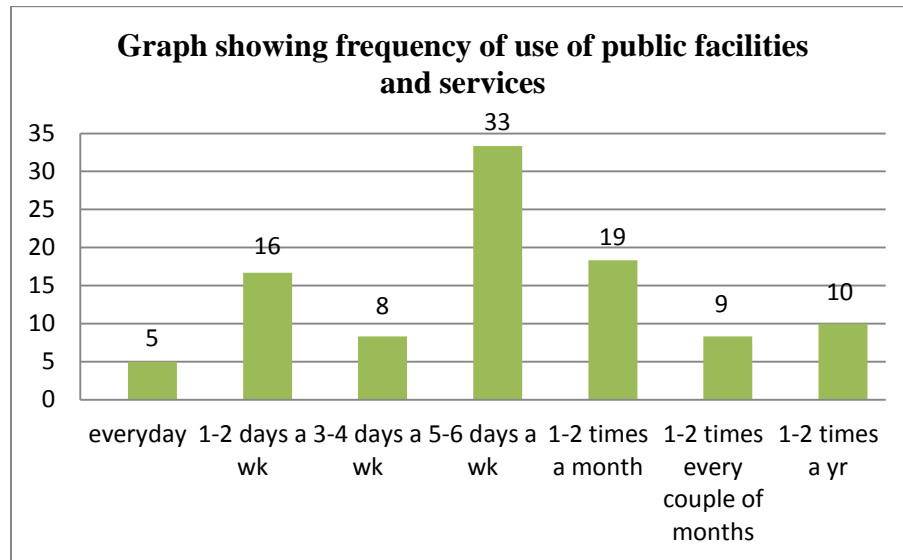


Fig 5.45 Frequency of use of public facilities and services

The study findings indicated that 5% of the respondents use the facilities and services every day, 16% of the respondents use the facilities and services every 1-2 days a week, 8% of the respondents use facilities and services every 3-4 days a week, 33% of the respondents use the facilities and services every 5-6 days a week, 19% of the respondents use the facilities and services 1-2 times a month, a further 9% use the facilities and services 1-2 times every couple of months while 10% of the respondents use the facilities and services 1-2 times a year. This implies that majority of the residents (33%) use the public facilities and services at least once a week (every 5-6 days)

The study also sought to establish whether residents were satisfied with the quality of public provision of facilities and services. The results are shown in the figure 5.46 below:

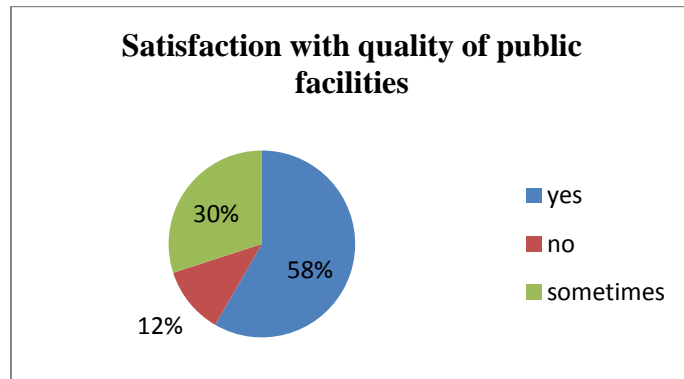


Fig 5.46 Satisfaction with quality of public facilities and services

The study findings indicated that 58% of the respondents were satisfied with the quality of facilities and services, 12% were not satisfied with the quality while 30% said that they were sometimes satisfied sometimes not.

The survey also involved interviewing property developers/ managers about the emergence of gated communities and how it impacts our urban areas. It also involved establishing property developers' opinions on gated communities and their contribution to spatial fragmentation.

On interaction of residents with non-residents outside the gated community, the key informants said that there is visiting involved. Residents also interact with non-residents at work places, invite non-residents to parties held within the gated community once in a while, and get invited to parties outside by no-residents. One of the key informants said:

"..So interactions are there and friends are also made outside the estates."

Distance from public facilities to gated community

The study sought to establish the distances of these public facilities and services used by residents to the gated community. For distances to schools, shopping facilities, medical facilities, government administrative facilities and religious facilities refer to figure 5.47- 5.53. For distances to schools, medical facilities, government facilities, shopping centres, open space, entertainment, leisure and cultural facilities results are as shown in the figures below

a) Distance to education facilities

The study sought to find how far (in km) were the primary, secondary and tertiary schools the respondents' children attended. The results are as shown in the figures 5.23, 5.24 and 5.25 below

I. Primary schools

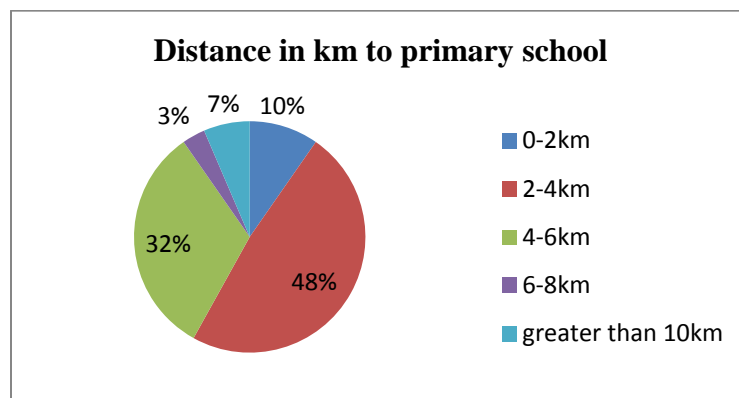


Fig 5.47 Distance in km to primary schools

The study findings indicated that 48% of the respondents sent their children to primary schools that were 2-4 km away, 32 % of the respondents sent their children to primary schools 4-6km away, 10% of the respondents sent their children to primary schools 0-2km away, 3% sent their children to primary schools 6-8km away while the remaining 6% sent their children to primary schools more than 8km away. This implies that majority of the respondents (58%) prefer to send their children to schools that are within a 4km radius. Upon further questioning most of the respondents said that it was one of the factors they took into account when they chose to move into the gated community. It can also be seen that very few respondents (7%) send their children to schools that are further than 8km.

II. Secondary schools

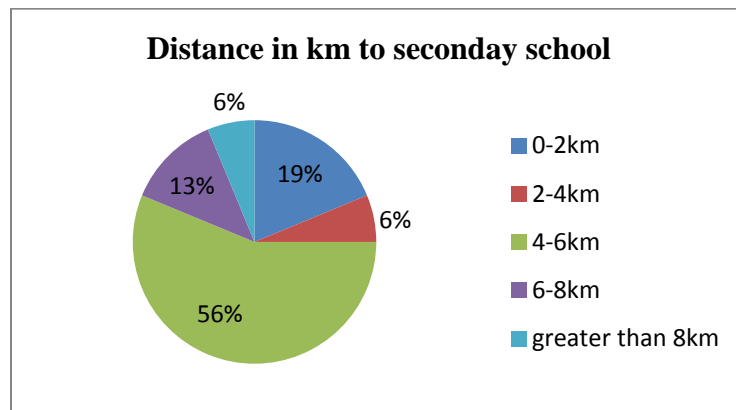


Fig 5.48 Distance in km to secondary schools

The study findings indicated that 56% of the respondents sent their children to secondary schools 4-6km away, 19% sent theirs to secondary schools 0-2km away, 13% sent theirs to secondary schools 6-8km away, 6% sent theirs to secondary schools 2-4km away while the remaining 6% sent theirs to schools further than 8km. This implies that majority of the respondents sent their children to secondary schools that were 4-6km away. Upon further prodding it was revealed that the respondents wanted to send their children to good schools but still wanted them close so as to be able to make the commuting to and fro easier for their children.

III. Tertiary schools

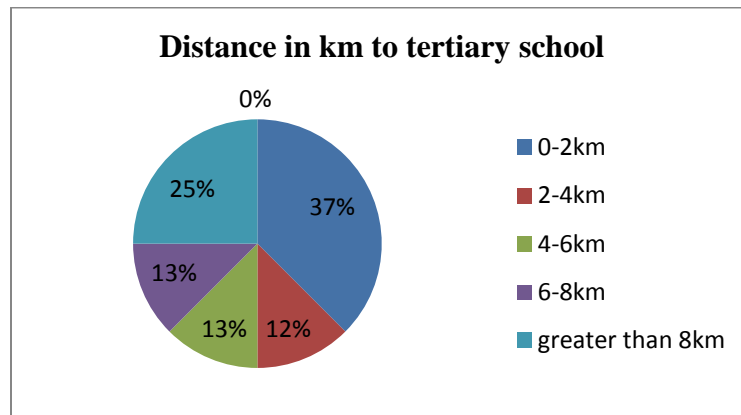


Fig 5.49 Distance in km to tertiary schools

The study findings indicated that 37% of the respondents sent their children to tertiary schools 0-2km away, 12% sent theirs to tertiary schools 2-4km away, 13% sent theirs to tertiary schools 4-6km away, 13% sent theirs to secondary schools

6-8km away while the remaining 25% sent theirs to schools further than 8km. This implies that majority of the respondents sent their children to tertiary schools that were 0-2km away. Upon further prodding it was revealed that the tertiary institutions are few and respondents wanted to send their children to good ones, the closest being University of Nairobi. It was also revealed that because the tertiary institutions are fewer, they are more scattered and thus the distances involved but it wasn't much of an issue as the children are older and mature enough to make their decisions on commuting to and fro.

b) Distance to retail/shopping facilities

The study also sought to find the distance to the retail facilities used by the respondents. The result is as shown in figure 5.50 below:

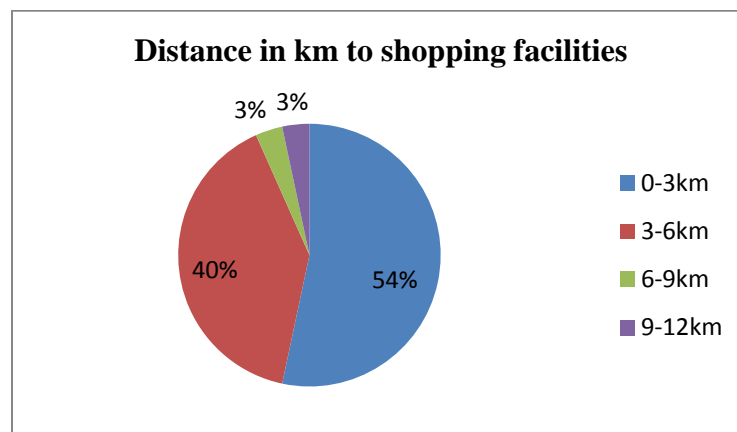


Fig 5.50 Distance in km to shopping/retail facilities

The study finding indicated that 54% of the respondents used the retail facilities within 0-3km of their residence, 40% within 3-6km, and 3% of the respondents

used retail facilities within 6-9km while the remaining 3% used retail facilities that were 9-12km away. This implies that majority of the residents (94%) use retail facilities within a 6km radius. Upon prodding, the respondents confirmed that the location of the gated community was such that it was central to a lot of the facilities including retail facilities.

c) Distance to medical/health facilities

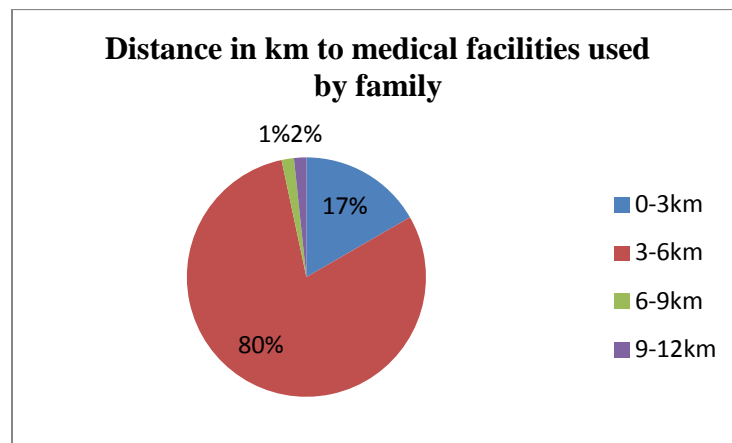


Fig 5.51 Distance in km to medical facilities

The study sought to find the distance to medical facilities that the respondents and their families used. The results are as shown in the figure 5.51 above.

The study findings indicated that 80% of the respondents used medical facilities that were 3-6km away, 17% of the respondents used medical facilities that were within a radius of 3km where as 1% and 2% of the respondents used medical facilities 6-9 and 9-12 km away respectively. This implies that majority of the respondents (97%) used medical facilities that were within a radius of 6km. Upon

prodding, the respondents revealed that with them having small children, it made sense to have good medical facilities not too far away and many of them opted to use Aga Khan Hospital, MP Shah and also Nairobi Hospital. Their place of residence was located in a perfect area to grant them easy access to these facilities.

d) Distance to government administrative facilities

The study also sought to find the distance to the government administrative facilities used by the respondents. The results are as shown in the figure 5.52 below:

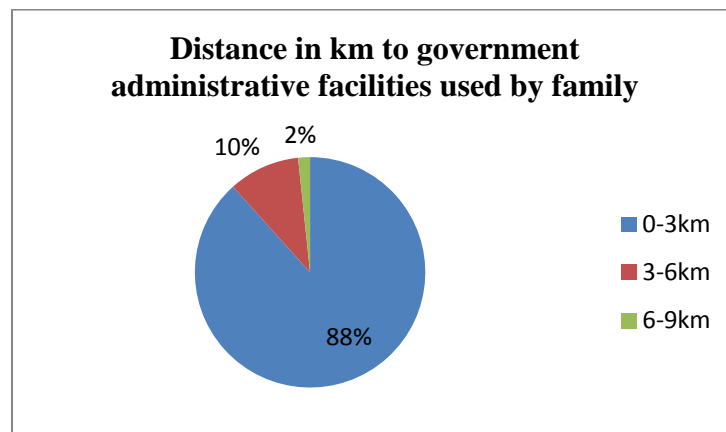


Fig 5.52 Distance in km to government administrative facilities

The study findings indicated that 88% of the respondents used government administrative facilities that were 0-3km away from the place of residence, 10% of the respondents indicated that they used government administrative facilities that were 3-6km away while 2% of the respondents indicated that they used

government administrative facilities that were 6-9km away. This implies that majority of the respondents used government facilities that were within a radius of 3km.

e) Distance to religious facilities

The study also sought to find the distance to the religious facilities used by the respondents and their families. Religious facilities here included all the various places of worship meant for the different religions such as temples, churches, mosques among others. The results are as shown in the figure 5.53 below:

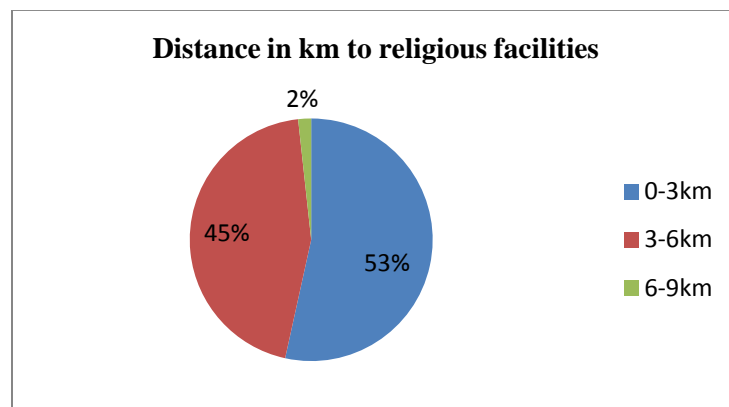


Fig 5.53 Distance in km to religious facilities

The study findings indicated that 53% of the respondents used religious facilities that were 0-3km away from the place of residence, 45% of the respondents indicated that they used religious facilities that were 3-6km away while 2% of the respondents indicated that they used religious facilities that were 6-9km away.

This implies that majority of the respondents (98%) used religious facilities that were within a radius of 6km from place of residence.

f) Distance to open/green space

The study also sought to find the distance to the open space/green space used by the respondents and their families. The results are as shown in the figure 5.54 below:

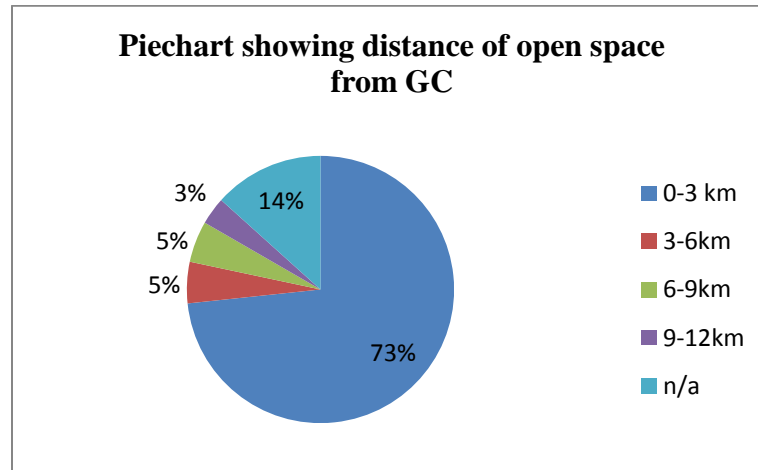


Fig 5.54 Distance in km to open/green space facilities

The study findings indicated that 73% of the respondents used open/green space facilities that were 0-3km away. 5% of the respondents used open/green space facilities that were within a radius of 3-6km, a further 5% of the respondents used open/green space facilities 6-9 km away while 3% of the respondents used open/green space facilities 9-12km away and 14% of the respondents found they had no need to access open/green space facilities. This implies that majority of the

respondents (73%) used open/green space facilities that were within a radius of 3km.

g) Distance to leisure facilities

The study also sought to find the distance to the leisure facilities used by the respondents and their families. The results are as shown in the figure 5.55 below:

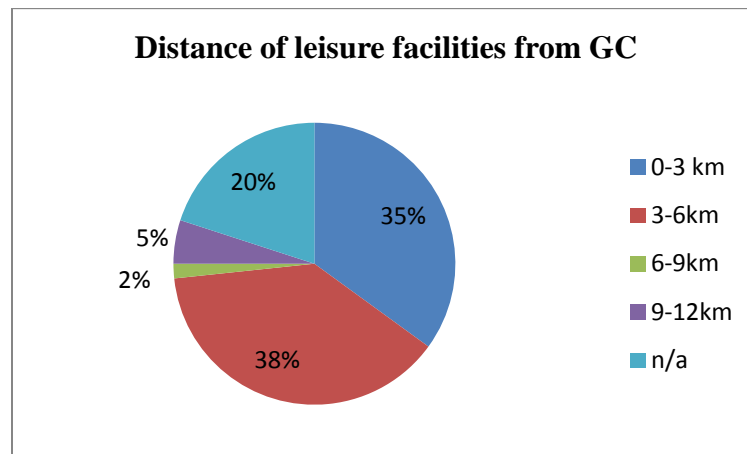


Fig 5.55 Distance in km to leisure facilities

The study findings indicated that 35% of the respondents used leisure facilities that were 0-3km away. 38% of the respondents used leisure facilities that were within a radius of 3-6km, a further 2% of the respondents used leisure facilities 6-9 km away while 5% of the respondents used leisure facilities 9-12km away and 14% of the respondents found they had no need to access leisure facilities. This implies that majority of the respondents (73%) used leisure facilities that were within a radius of 6km.

h) Distance to entertainment facilities

The study also sought to find the distance to the leisure facilities used by the respondents and their families. The results are as shown in the figure 5.56 below

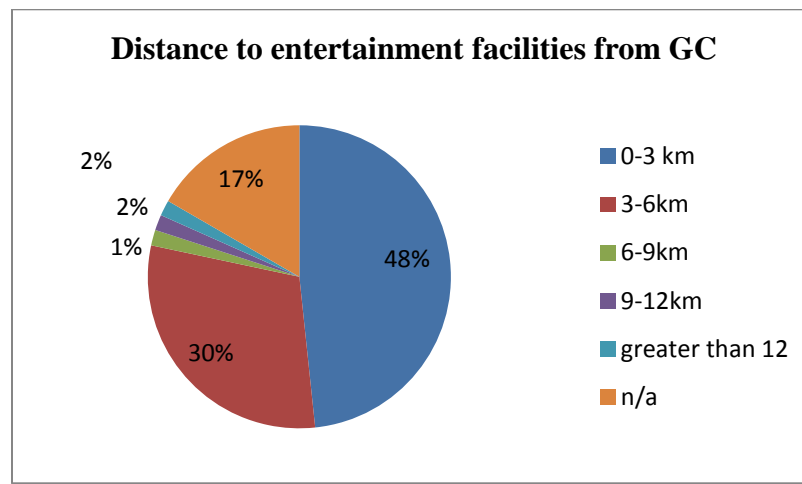


Fig 5.56 Distance in km to entertainment facilities

The study findings indicated that 48% of the respondents used entertainment facilities that were 0-3km away. 30% of the respondents used entertainment facilities that were within a radius of 3-6km, a further 1% of the respondents used entertainment facilities 6-9 km away while 2% of the respondents used leisure facilities 9-12km away. Another 2% of the respondents used entertainment facilities that were further than 12km away while 17% of the respondents found they had no need to access entertainment facilities. This implies that majority of the respondents (78%) used entertainment facilities that were within a radius of 6km.

i) Distance to cultural facilities

The study also sought to find the distance to the cultural facilities used by the respondents and their families. The results are as shown in the figure 5.57 below

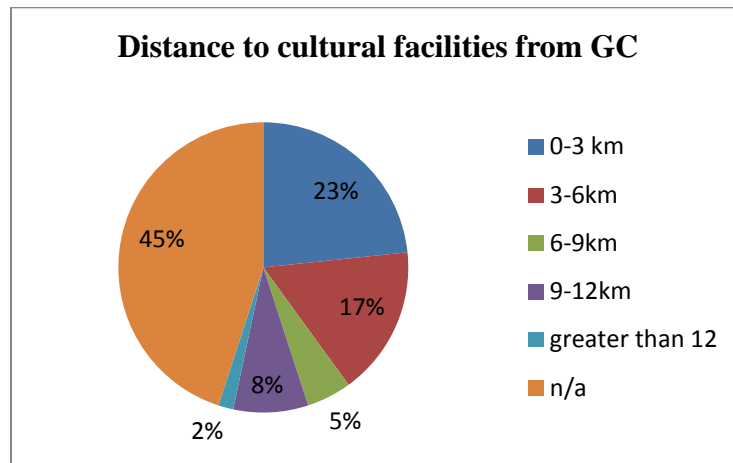


Fig 5.57 Distance in km to cultural facilities

The study findings indicated that 23% of the respondents used cultural facilities that were 0-3km away. 17% of the respondents used cultural facilities that were within a radius of 3-6km, a further 5% of the respondents used cultural facilities 6-9 km away while 8% of the respondents used cultural facilities 9-12km away. Another 2% of the respondents used cultural facilities that were further than 12km away while 45% of the respondents found they had no need to access cultural facilities. This implies that majority of the respondents (40%) used cultural facilities that were within a radius of 6km.

On accessing facilities and services, the key informants said that the higher order facilities are not available within the gated communities such as medical facilities, educational facilities and government facilities and to access these, the residents can use either a personal car, public means or walk as Kileleshwa is central to many locations.

One of the key informants said:

“There is ease of access to facilities and services not located within the development. This is because the location of the development is such that everything is accessible.”

5.5.2 Equity and efficiency

The study also sought to establish how accessible this public provision of facilities and services was. The results are as shown in the figure 5.58 below:

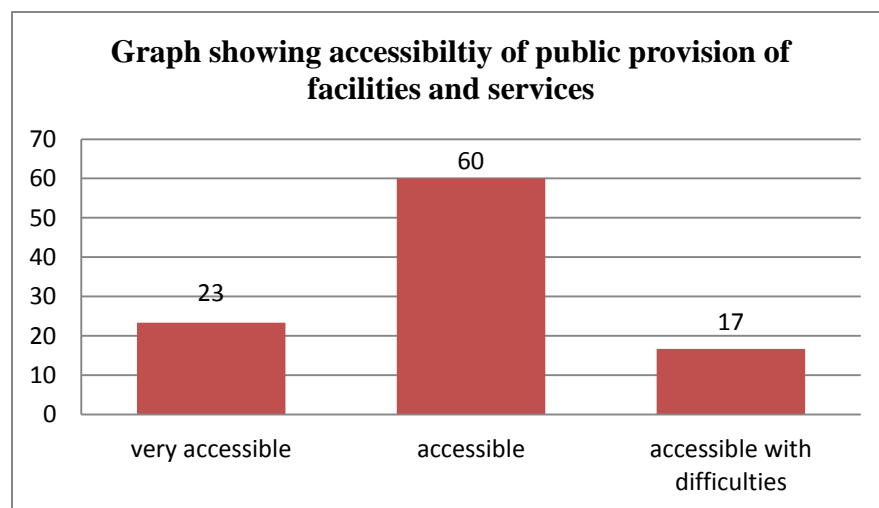


Fig 5.58 Accessibility of public facilities and services

The study findings indicated that 23% of the respondents find public provision of facilities and services very accessible, 60% of the respondents find the public facilities and services accessible while 17% of the respondents find the public facilities and services accessible but with difficulties. Upon prodding it was revealed that the respondents who found the public facilities and services accessible with difficulties specified that some of the difficulties encountered were the distances involved, the traffic jams and the scarcity of parking facilities at these locations.

Generally the property developers were of the opinion that with the rising land prices, gated communities are a solution to accommodating larger number of residents at an affordable cost compared to stand alone house for example 1 acre in Karen= 1 house while 1 acre in Kileleshwa= 60 houses. One of the key informants said:

Gated communities are the way now and in the future due to rising cost of land, security in numbers and shared costs of facilities.

However, as community facilities are privately owned and gates prevent access, recreational spaces of gated developments are exclusive to residents and cannot provide any spill-over benefits for the broader community.

Gated communities physically separate a specific area from its environment and create zones or pockets of restricted access within the urban fabric. The

fragmentation of the space is a result of the physical isolation. Gated Communities create urban tissues which differ from other housing areas. From the study and the areal images, it can be seen that gated communities indeed bring about spatial fragmentation of urban space, privatizing normally public spaces. This affects the socio-economic relations that are essential building blocks of urban life.

5.6 GATED COMMUNITIES AND SOCIAL FRAGMENTATION

The study also involved establishing the different social groups residing in the gated communities stratified by ethnicity, race, cast among others.

5.6.1 Gated communities and its residents

The study sought to establish whether there were people of different cultural backgrounds living together in one gated community. The results are as shown in the figure 5.59 below

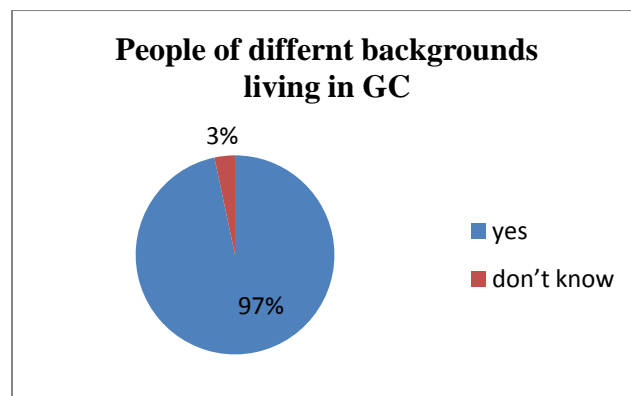


Fig 5.59 People of different backgrounds living within gated community

The study finding indicated that 97% of the respondents said that there were people of different backgrounds living together in the gated community while 3% of the respondents said they did not know if people of different back grounds were living in the gated community. This implies that majority if the residents are of different backgrounds living together. From observations it was further verified that indeed there were people of different backgrounds living within one gated community such as Africans, Chinese, Indians, Arabs and Caucasians among others.

The study also found that the property managers believe that there is a high diversity in the social groupings that the owners/renters come from; high end to the middle class. Also racial diversity exists as there are Africans, Caucasians, Indians and Asians all living together in one gated community. A key informant said:

“There are a variety of groups, French from Comoros, expats from different countries, locals, Sudanese, Chinese etc who all live in one community regardless of the social class.”

5.6.2 Gated communities and availability of shared social facilities

The study also sought to find out how the residents rated the social facilities provided in the gated community both for themselves and their children. By social facilities in this research meant all those facilities that will bring about

communication and social contact between the residents. This is shown in figures 5.60 and 5.61 below:

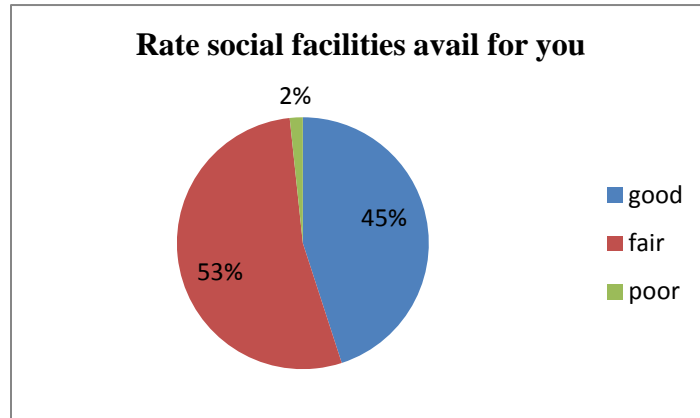


Fig 5.60 Rating social facilities available for respondents

The study findings indicated that 45% of the respondents rated the social facilities to be good, 53% of the respondents rated them to be fair while 2% of the respondents rated them to be poor. Upon inquiry it was revealed that the residents would have preferred better social facilities such as a gym/health club where people could do some workouts together, the community hall and meeting areas should have seating arrangements as well as a kitchen and wash area.

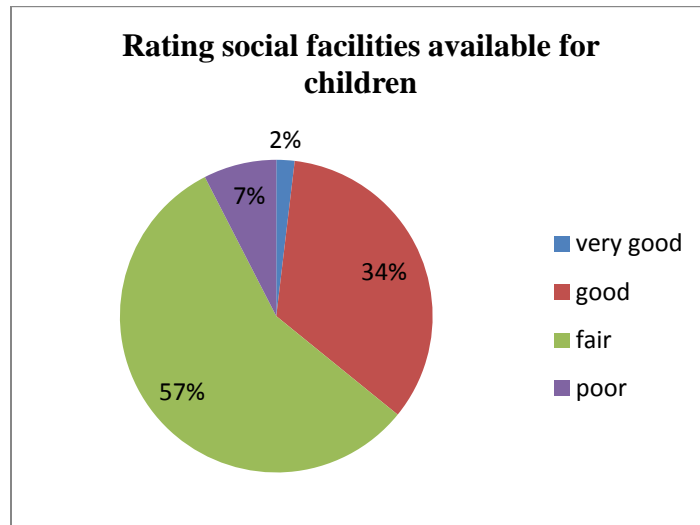


Fig 5.61 Rating social facilities available for children

The study findings indicated that 2% of the respondents rated the social facilities available for their children as very good, 34% of the respondents rated them as good, 57% of the respondents rated them as fair while 7% of the respondents rated the facilities as poor. Further prodding revealed that majority of the respondents thought that there was need for improvement of the social facilities such as playgrounds, swimming pool among others as these are the facilities used more often by children who spend a lot of their time within the gated community. They also revealed that it is when using these facilities that their children develop bonding with other children and due to this, the parents also then get to know each other.

5.6.3 Gated communities and interactions of residents

The study also sought to establish how often the residents of different backgrounds interacted with each other socially. The results are as shown in the figure 5.62 below:

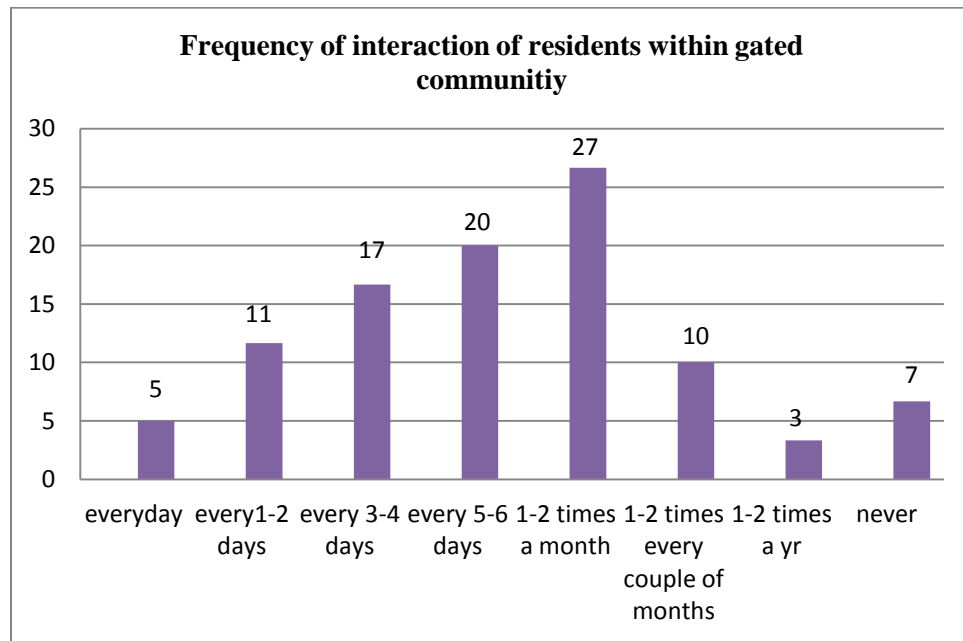


Fig 5.62 Frequency of interaction of residents within gated community

The study findings indicated that 5% of the respondents interacted everyday, 11% of the respondents interacted every 1-2 days a week, 17% of the respondents interacted every 3-4 days a week, 20% of the respondents interacted every 5-6 days a week, 27% of the respondents interacted 1-2 times a month, 10% of the respondents interacted 1-2 times every couple of months, 3% of the respondents interacted 1-2 times a year while 7% of the respondents never interacted with others within the gated community. This shows that majority of the respondents

(27%) interacted with others 1-2 times a month. Upon further prodding it was revealed that these interactions are mainly either due to the monthly meetings organized or perhaps get-togethers organized by one of the residents.

5.6.3.1 Knowing neighbours at street level (outside gated community)

The study also sought to establish how well the residents knew their neighbours outside their gated community that is those people who live in their area but not within their gated community. The results are as shown in the figure 5.63 below:

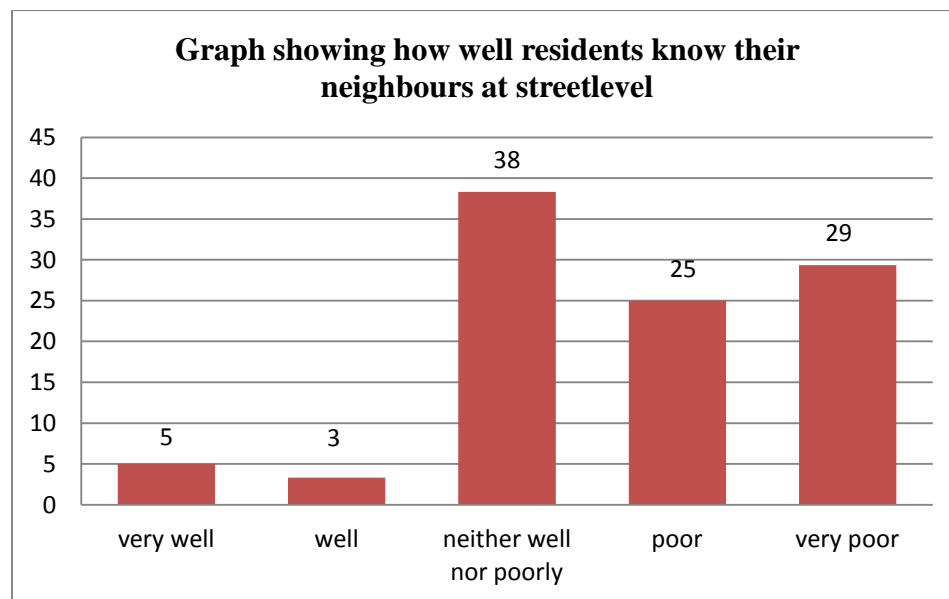


Fig 5.63 How well residents know their neighbours at street level

The study finding indicated that 5% of the respondents said that they knew their neighbours very well, 3% of the respondents said that they knew their neighbours well, 38% of the respondents said that they knew their neighbours fairly well, 25% of the respondents said they knew their neighbours poorly while 29% of the

respondents said that they knew their neighbours very poorly. Further prodding revealed that the residents do not get to socialise much with the neighbours within the gated community due to busy schedules. It therefore would be even more difficult to socialise much with the neighbours outside the gated community. The residents also added that the weekends are spent catching up on domestic chores as the children play within the gated community. Once in a while residents would invite outsiders for a poolside party; however the management needs to be informed a few weeks prior to the engagement.

5.6.3.2 Trusting neighbours outside the gated community

The study also sought to establish how many of the residents trust their neighbours outside their gated community. The results are as shown in figure 5.64 below:

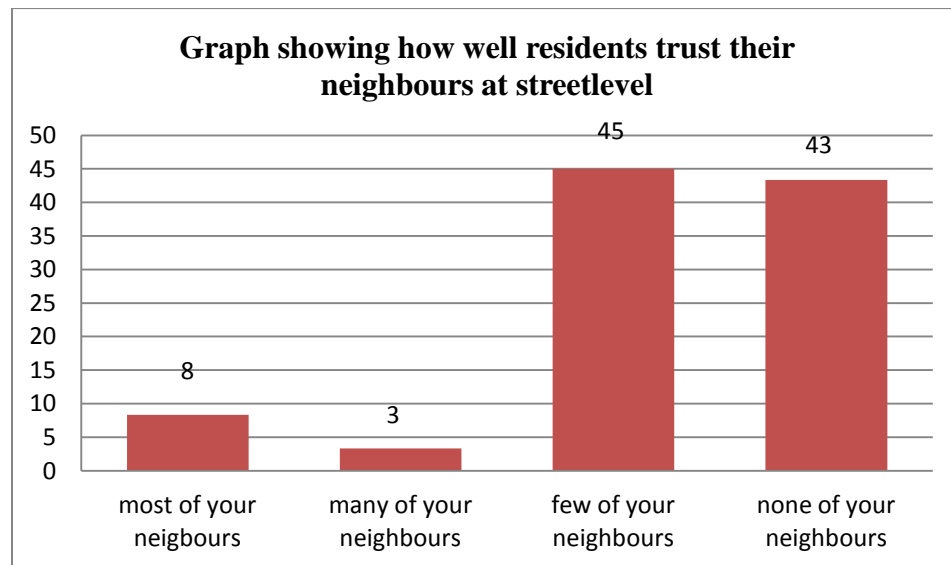


Fig 5.64 How many residents trust their neighbours outside the gated community?

The study findings indicated that 8% of the respondents trusted most of their neighbours outside the gated community, 3% trusted many of their neighbours outside the gated community, and 45% of the respondents trusted a few of the neighbours outside the gated community while 43% of the respondents did not know any neighbours outside the gated community enough to trust them. This implies that majority of the residents (88%) know trust very few or none of the neighbours outside the gated community.

5.7.3.3 Interaction with neighbours outside gated community (within neighbourhood)

The study sought to establish whether residents interact with neighbours within the neighbourhood. The results are as shown in figure 5.65 below:

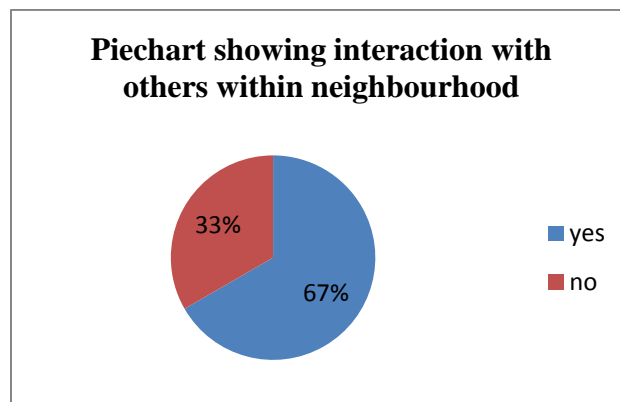


Fig 5.65 Interaction with neighbours within the neighbourhood

The study findings indicated that 67% of the respondents interacted with neighbours within the neighbourhood while 33% indicated that they have no interactions with neighbours within the neighbourhood.

The study also sought to establish the frequency of these interactions with neighbours at neighbourhood level. The results are as shown in the figure 5.66 below.

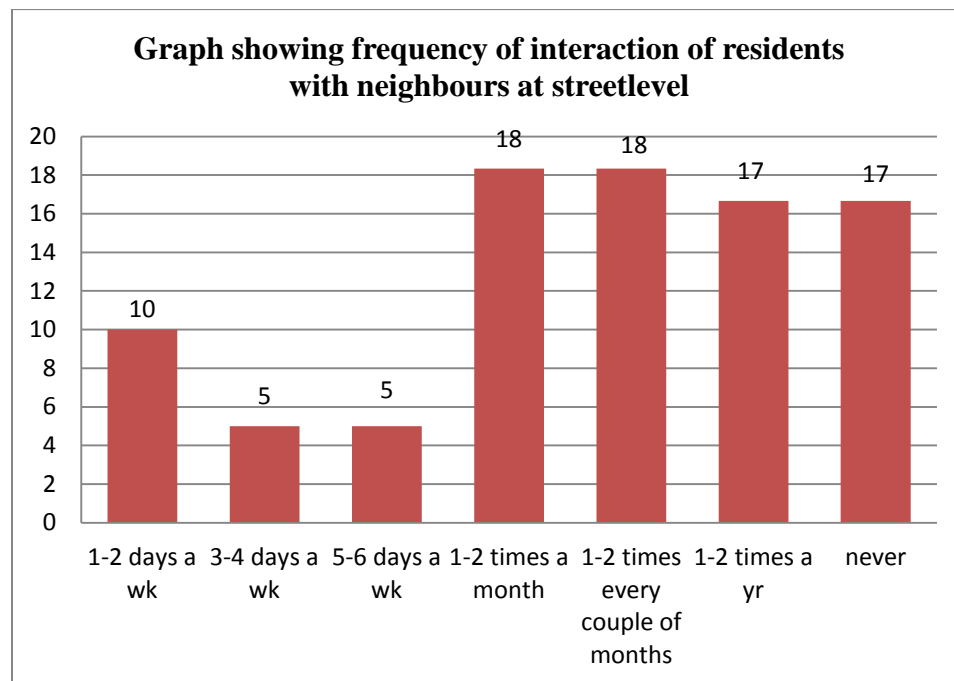


Fig 5.66 Frequency of interaction with neighbours within the neighbourhood

The study findings indicated that 10% of the respondents interacted with neighbours outside the gated community every 1-2 days a week, 5% of the respondents interacted every 3-4days a week, 5% of the respondents interacted every 5-6days a week, 18% of the respondents interacted 1-2times a month,

another 18% of the respondents interacted 1-2 times every couple of months, 17% of the respondents interacted 1-2 times a year while the remaining 17% never interacted with neighbours outside their gated community. Further prodding revealed that the interactions with neighbours outside the gated community are limited due to the busy work schedule of the residents however some do try to make an effort to socialise with their neighbours.

On the interaction of the residents, the key informants said that there are common facilities provided within the gated community that bring about interaction between the residents. These are the swimming pools, the club house, the gym, the open/green space, the parking lots and children's playgrounds among others. The residents can have a get-together at the common areas such as the club house or pool side. However these have to be done with prior arrangement with the management.

The property managers considered the level of utilization of these facilities as underutilized and said that if these were utilized more often, then better networks and connections would forge among the residents.

On access to facilities to non-residents, the property managers said that formally non-residents are not allowed to use the facilities but residents can bring their visitors to use the facilities. One of the key informants said:

“The facilities are generally used by residents only. The non-residents are vetted at the gate and only allowed in if the residents approves. It’s normally a one-off situation.”

This physical separation may also have social impacts because the design of the typical gated community eliminates the need for interaction with non-residents. This works against government policies to enhance social cohesion and linkages between neighbourhoods. By excluding others, particularly those who cannot afford to purchase property within these developments (Grant, Greene, & Maxwell, 2005); an ‘us and them’ mentality can develop between residents and outsiders.

Gated communities can also create a barrier to interaction among people of different races, cultures, and classes and may add to the difficulty of building social networks, which form the basis of social and economic activities. Gates, walls and fences are, therefore, not only physical barriers to keep out criminals. They have the potential to convey a strong message and a powerful signal to “outsiders”

5.7 GATED COMMUNITIES AND POLICIES AND INTERVENTIONS ON SPATIAL AND SOCIAL FRAGMENTATION OF URBAN AREAS

The study also sought to establish the city planning department’s role in guiding the development of gated communities and what policies are in place to ensure

the regulation of these developments. From the findings, Nairobi County Council formulates development policies and enforces development control by reviewing and issuing development permits. According to a key informant, the role of the department of planning is:

“Providing policy guidance to the applicant in terms of the requirements of the application areas, responsibility of formulating policy and being in tandem with the current development trends.”

From the interview with the key informant it is clear that the city planning department has not been effective in achieving its goals and objectives and the reasons attributed to this are:

- i. The instruments guiding development are almost rendered obsolete and this is due to abdication of responsibilities
- ii. People not understanding what is expected of them in terms of policy regulations such that someone has bought the land but has no idea about the development regulations of that place.

Kileleshwa was zoned predominantly as a residential area (single dwelling units on half acre plots). Apartments of 4 floors+ attic were permissible from 2006. However there are a lot of variations from the guiding policy and in the last 5 years multi-storey buildings have come up. According to the key informant, the causes for variations are as discussed below:

- i. There are unauthorized developments which are not within the limits of the policy. On paper 5 floors are approved but on the ground, more are constructed to break even and therefore there is lack of developmental control.
- ii. There is pressure for residential apartments from private property developers
- iii. There is even more pressure for office blocks and commercial centres as people move from the CBD to Kileleshwa; pressure for change of use from residential to office and commercial
- iv. Also corruption and don't care attitudes have led to these variations from the guiding policies

On regulations that guide the development of gated communities, the key informant said:

“There are no regulations that guide the development of gated communities. However when applications are received, the department tries to guide in regards to the required regulations for example in Karen, there is acreage requirement of ½ to 1 acre but nowadays people want ⅛ to ¼ acre. Although there is no policy, it is still required that people adhere to the requirements of their zones for example the plot ratio (35%) and ground coverage (100%).”

On the planning challenges that have arisen from gated community developments the key informant had this to add:

“It leads to segregation. It further entrenches the segregation that already exists. Public space is no longer accessible by all and this affects everybody who cannot access what they need. Some developments cause blockage of roads and cause further traffic. Therefore these islands need to be broken down to allow people access. In terms of the amenities provided, more often than not there is a compromise. 10% of the land that should be allowed for recreation is used for paved parkways etc. this causes loss of greenery and increased surface runoff.”

Before approving the development of gated communities, the considerations that are taken into account are the planning policies that prevail in those areas such as observation of ground coverage, adequate parking provisions, architectural requirements such as adequate lighting and ventilation among others.

On the contribution of gated communities to social fragmentation of the society, the key informant had this to say:

“In a gated community, there is a bond within the gate between the neighbours; there is solidarity and togetherness. On the global level it is an island. You can get access only if you know someone inside. This will brew feelings of resentment as there are insiders and outsiders, haves and have-nots. It is really upon the policy makers to address the cause of these gated communities (the security situation in our country).”

On contribution of gated communities to spatial fragmentation of urban space the key informant had this to add:

“There is no explicit policy that guides the gated communities. They are part and parcel of planning but there is no policy as such for them. They do contribute to the spatial fragmentation of urban space in a socio-economic framework as they create islands that are inaccessible for everyone or accessible to only few who belong inside.”

When asked about vision of Nairobi of the future and where gated communities fit into all of this, the key informant had this to say:

“Nairobi will be a city where security is not an issue. Without security nothing can fall in place. The vision is for Nairobi to be like other cities of the world; functional, secure and where there are no glaring divisions/segregations. A city where people will live in the same spaces without segregation/fragmentation. Where they will not be judged by where they live. There are no gates in the future of Nairobi as the whole city will be secure. Gates only dominate the landscapes of our city so long as security concerns are not addressed.”

The above study findings implied that gated communities contribute to spatial fragmentation of our urban space as well as social fragmentation by creating pockets of restricted access that reduce social contact between those outside and inside.

CHAPTER 6- SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The study was carried out to analyze the extent gated communities contribute to spatial and social fragmentation of urban areas and has identified the reasons why people move into gated communities in Kileleshwa sub-location of Nairobi city. The study also established the extent to which gated communities contribute to a sense of community and also identified interventions which can be adopted to reduce spatial and social fragmentation in urban areas. The research study was guided by the following questions:

- a) What are the residents' main reasons for moving in to gated communities?
- b) To what extent do gated communities contribute to a sense of community?
- c) To what extent do gated communities spatially fragment urban areas and cause loss of connection and social contact?
- d) What alternative interventions can be adopted to reduce fragmentation of the urban areas?

6.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The main study findings have been discussed in chapter 5 on results and discussions. The findings were divided in five parts. The focus of the first part of the findings was on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the

residents living in gated communities. The second part of the findings focused on the first objective of the study that was on the emergence of gated communities and reasons why people are moving into gated communities. The third part of the findings focused on contribution of gated communities to a sense of community. The fourth part of the findings focused on the social and spatial fragmentation of urban areas while the fifth part of the findings focused on the city planning department's contribution to the development of the city and how the policies affect the development of gated communities.

6.2.1 Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of residents

The study found that the area which at independence was an exclusive European housing zone characterized by low density and high income single dwelling units has changed rapidly over the last few years with noticeable change from low density high income housing to medium income high density residential neighbourhood characterised by walk up apartments and office blocks.

The study found that 75% of the respondents who participated in the study were male while the rest (25%) were female. This showed three quarters of the residents household heads, whether tenants or owners were males while the remaining quarter were females.

The study also found that majority of the residents are in the middle age group between 31-50 years and on marital status of respondents, the study showed that

75% of the respondents were married. The study findings also showed that 12% of the respondents were single, 10% were widowed and 3% were divorced.

Further, the study found that majority of people living in Kileleshwa have young families with children who were aged between 0-18 yrs (68.2%) and therefore need services and facilities such as childrens playgrounds, swimming pools, alarm systems and security guards among others.

In addition to this, the study also found that 41% of the respondents had a Bachelors degree, 30% had a Master degree, 12% had a diploma certificate and 17% had secondary education as the highest level of education. This implies that majority of the respondents have both graduate and post graduate level of education. This goes on to show the fact the majority of the middle class attain high levels of education.

On occupation status, the study found that majority of the respondents (61.67%) were in self employment while 38.33% were in formal employment and on gross monthly income, the study found that 32% of residents in Kileleshwa had an income of between Kshs 50,001-250,000 followed closely by 31% earning an income of between Kshs 250,000-500,000 This clearly indicates that most of the residents of gated communities in Kileleshwa are middle income earners ranging from low to high thus confirms the reasons for choosing Kileleshwa as study area.

The study also found that majority of the respondents (61.67%) indicated that they were tenants while the rest (38.33%) were homeowners. Thus majority of the gated community residents are tenants.

From the findings of the study, majority of the tenants (46%) indicated that they paid monthly rent of between Kshs 75,001-100,000, 30% paid a rent of between Kshs 50,000- 75000 while 16% paid rent of between Kshs 100,001-125,000 with 5% and 3% paying rent of between Kshs125,001-150,000 and above 150,000 respectively. This implies that majority of tenants in gated communities are the medium ad high income urban residents in Nairobi who paid a monthly rent of between Kshs 75,001- 100,000.

6.2.2 Emergence of gated communities and reasons for moving into gated communities

The study found out that 41% of the respondents have lived in the gated community for 3-5 years, 30% of them have lived for 0-2 years, and 15% of the respondents have lived for 6-8 years, while 12% and 2% have lived for 9-11yrs and above 11 years respectively. This implies that majority of the respondents have been living in gated communities for the past 5 years.

The study also found out that 62% of the respondents moved into gated communities for safety reasons, 25% of the respondents moved to gated

communities for reasons of proximity to place of work, 8% of the respondents moved to gated communities for reasons of availability of facilities and services within the gate communities while 5% of the respondents moved to gated communities because they could afford rents/service charges paid in gated communities. This indicates that majority of the respondents moved into a gated community for security reasons.

Also the study found that the property developers/managers of gated communities said that residents wanted to own/ rent property in a secure environment. There is a demand for increased secure living conditions and this has played a role in the development of gated communities. The residents want security as well as a space where their children can play safely. People want increased facilities and services within their residential estates and this demand is what has led to increased gated community developments.

On provision of services within gated communities, the study found that the respondents said that the gated community was an ideal place to live in especially for those who have young children. The security guards and alarm systems were very adequate as was the general compound maintenance and cleanliness. However the respondents were not satisfied with the power outages and the water provision (both are government facilities) which they said was only twice a week.

On provision of facilities within gated communities the respondents said that it was convenient to have a swimming pool and playground within the gated

community. This helps especially those families that have young children. On provision of gym/health facilities, the respondents said that there is very poor provision of such facilities and most of them need to access these facilities outside which becomes inconvenient therefore they stated that having a gym within the gated community would definitely be an attractive facility for one to move in there.

On safety and security rating, the study found that 77% of the respondents found the gated community to be fairly safe, 22% of the respondents found the gated community to be very safe while 1% of the respondents found the community to be a bit unsafe. Prodding revealed that those who found it a bit unsafe gave the reason of previous break-ins within the gated community. The study also found that the residents revealed that no place is completely safe, these is always a risk. However due to the security guards and the alarm systems provided, the residents feel that their children/ themselves are much safer within the gated community than outside.

The study found that the property developers said that that gated communities have provision such as electric fencing, security guards, CCTV cameras, alarm systems and dog units among others to cater for the safety and security aspects.

In addition to this the study also found that the Kileleshwa police said that the trends in security are generally improving in Nairobi and the crime index is lower than it was the previous year. They also added that gated communities have

offered solutions to current security challenges due to the high walls, electric fencing, security guards and dog units as well as CCTV camera which act as deterrents.

6.2.3 Gated communities and sense of community

The study found out 98% of the residents enjoyed living in the gated community. On rating of social facilities available for residents, the study found out that 45% of the respondents rated the social facilities to be good, 53% of the respondents rated them to be fair while 2% of the respondents rated them to be poor. It was further found that the residents would have preferred better social facilities such as a gym/health club where people could do some workouts together, the community hall and meeting areas should have seating arrangements as well as a kitchen and wash area.

On rating of social facilities for children, the study found out that 2% of the respondents rated the social facilities available for their children as very good, 34% of the respondents rated them as good, 57% of the respondents rated them as fair while 7% of the respondents rated the facilities as poor. It was further found that majority of the respondents thought that there was need for improvement of the social facilities such as playgrounds, swimming pool among others as these are the facilities used more often by children who spend a lot of their time within the gated community.

On the extent of interaction the study found that 10% of the respondents said that they experienced high level of interaction within the gated community, 30% of the respondents said that they experienced medium level of interaction, 50% of the respondents said they experienced low level of interaction while 10% of the respondents said they experienced no interaction in the gated community. It was revealed that because of the lifestyle of the residents, it makes it difficult to interact more than one would like. The study also found that majority of the residents agreed that if they come together and work together then they can influence the decisions that affect the community.

On relationships between residents, the study found out that 43% of the respondents agreed that the residents look out for each other, 37% of the respondents indicated that resident do not look out for each other while 20% of the respondents didn't know whether the residents looked out for each other or not and for those who looked out for each other, it was established that it was mainly because they are in the same block or are immediate neighbours (live next door to each other) or their children play together. The study also found that majority of the residents (75%) would ask their neighbours for help while in the case of a financial difficulty, it was found that majority of the residents (83%) would not ask their neighbours for a loan. It was also found that 50% of the respondents felt no sense of pride being a member of the gated community while 15% did not know if they felt a sense of pride. This established that living within the community brought about interactions that forged some bonds, however the

bonds were not necessarily based on long-term relationships rather because of familiarity and living within the same geographically defined area.

On knowing the neighbours, the study found that majority (45%) of the residents said that they know their neighbours neither well nor poorly. This is because most of them claim that they live very busy lives whereby they leave their houses in morning and only get back very late in the evening and by then it's too late to socialize with neighbours. The study also found that 65% of the residents knew few of the neighbours well enough and only 55% of the respondents trusted them. It was also found out that residents who trusted their neighbours said that the trust networks just build as one sees the neighbours in the compound, or driving down the street even though one might not know them personally. It's the familiarity and living in one community that brings about the trust. This therefore goes on to show that living within the gated community does not necessarily build a sense of community.

On feeling of belonging the study found that majority of the residents feel they belong in the gated community.

The study also found that the property developers provided common area arenas such as community halls and open spaces where residents could meet up and talk. According to the property developers, there are meetings held at least once a month. These meetings are to do with the welfare of the community, to discuss rules and regulations as well as code of conduct, to discuss repairs and

management issues of the common areas such as the swimming pool, the borehole, the gym, the playgrounds among other.

On relationships between residents, the study found out that the property developers/managers said that the relationship between residents is cordial considering that they know each other and they live within the same compound and conflict case are normally rare.

6.2.4 Gated communities and spatial and social fragmentation

The study found that 97% of the respondents said that there were people of different backgrounds living together in gated community while 3% of the respondents said they did not know if people of different back grounds were living in the gated community. This implies that majority of the residents are of different backgrounds living together. From observations it was further verified that indeed there were people of different backgrounds living within one gated community such as Africans, Chinese, Indians, Arabs and Caucasians among others. The fact that these people all live in one community sharing common facilities and services, attending meetings, children playing in the common arenas all brings about a factor they all have in common and this would foster relationships between them.

The study further found that 5% of the respondents interacted everyday, 11% of the respondents interacted every 1-2 days a week, 17% of the respondents interacted every 3-4days a week, 20% of the respondents interacted every 5-6days

a wk, 27% of the respondents interacted 1-2 times a month, 10% of the respondents interacted 1-2time every couple of months, 3% of the respondents interacted 1-2times a year while 7% of the respondents never interacted with others within the gated community. This shows that majority of the respondents (27%) interacted with others 1-2 times a month. Upon further prodding it was revealed that these interactions are mainly either due to the monthly meetings organized or perhaps a get-together organized by one of the residents.

It was revealed that the residents don't get to socialize as much with the neighbours within the gated community due to busy schedules and therefore are expected to socialize much less socialize with the neighbours outside gated community. The residents also added that the weekends are spent catching up on domestic chores as the children play within the gated community. Once in a while residents would invite outsiders for a poolside party; however the management needs to be informed a few weeks prior to the engagement. This indicates that there are sets of rules the residents are expected to abide by when living in a gated community.

The study also found that that majority of the residents (88%) trust very few or none of the neighbours outside the gated community. In addition to that the study also found that 67% of the respondents interacted with neighbours within the neighbourhood while 33% indicated that they have no interactions with neighbours within neighbourhood. The study further found that the interactions

with neighbours outside the gated community are limited due to the busy work schedule of the residents however some do try to make an effort to socialize with their neighbours.

On public provision of facilities and services the study found that the gated community does not cater to all the needs of the residents and therefore the residents need to access the public facilities and services such as educational or health facilities. The study also found that majority of the public facilities and services are available within the location and are accessible with 58% of the respondents being satisfied with the level of provision. This is also supported by the fact that Kileleshwa as an area is central to a lot of facilities and services. On the frequency of use of these public facilities and services it was found that majority of the residents use the public facilities and services at least once a week (every 5-6 days).

On distances of public facilities to gated community the study found that majority of the respondents (73%) used open/green space facilities that were within a radius of 3km, majority of the respondents (73%) used leisure facilities that were within a radius of 6km, majority of the respondents (78%) used entertainment facilities that were within a radius of 6km and a majority of the respondents (40%) used cultural facilities that were within a radius of 6km.

On social fragmentations, the study found out that according to property developers there is a high diversity of social groupings living in gated

communities; Africans, Caucasians, Indians, Asians all living together in one gated community. There are common facilities within the gated community that bring about interaction between the residents. These include swimming pools, the club house, the gym, the open common area space, parking lots among others. The study also found that the level of utilization of these facilities was low and that according to the property developers if these were utilized more often, then better networks and connections would forge greater interaction and sense of community among the residents. On accessibility of gated communities' facilities to non-residents, the study found that the non-residents are not allowed to use the facilities and are usually vetted at the gate and are allowed in only if the residents approve.

On spatial fragmentation, the study found that residents of gated communities interact with non-residents of wider neighbourhood/street/city at work places or when they invite non-residents to their homes so there are interactions with non-residents. On accessing facilities and services, the study found that higher order facilities are not available within the gated communities such as medical facilities, educational facilities and government facilities and to access these the residents can use either a car or public means or walk as Kileleshwa is central to many locations.

Since gated communities are stand alone resident areas, there is little interaction even with the neighbouring gated communities. To some extent therefore,

development of gated communities have the potential of negative traditional concept of neighbourhood urban development.

6.2.5 City planning department's contribution to planning and the development of the city and gated communities

The study found out that city council planning department has not fully achieved their goals due to challenges like inefficient development control and resistance by developers to comply with regulations and guidelines.

From the findings, the study further found that the current zoning and planning guidelines and regulations in Kileleshwa were not sufficient to safeguard against the negative impacts of development in the area due to the fact that development trend is faster than the guiding policies and regulations and slow enforcement of development regulations due to lack of adequate manpower. Also there is abdication of duties by the planners and corruption that further complicates the enforcement of regulations and policies.

The study also found that there has been pressure on the maisonettes and bungalows for development to residential apartments as well as office blocks and commercial centres as people are moving from the CBD to Kileleshwa. The satellite images for Kileleshwa in chapter 4 indicate the changes the neighbourhood has gone through the past decade or so.

The study also found that there are no policy guidelines or regulations that guide the development of the gated communities. However the applicants are guided by the zoning requirements for the particular area where the development is going to take place and this is the current role of the planning department.

The study also found that gated communities bring about planning challenges as they lead to segregation and make public space less accessible by all. Gated communities contribute to social fragmentation by creating islands which can only be accessed by those who belong. The study also found that gated communities contribute to spatial fragmentation by creating pockets of restricted access.

According to the respondents, the study also found that the planning department's vision for Nairobi of the future is a city where security is not an issue, a city that will be functional, secure and where there will be no glaring segregations. There would be no gates in the Nairobi of the future. Gates however dominate so long as the concerns of security have not been addressed.

The study also found that there needs to be policies formulated that will guide the development of the gated communities and help minimize some of the negative effects of gated communities such as fragmentation and segregation.

6.3 CONCLUSION

This study sought to investigate the spatial and social impacts of gated communities on urban areas. To achieve this, the study pursued the general objectives to determine the main reasons for the emergence of gated communities and why people are moving into gated communities in Kileleshwa, Nairobi. The study also sought to investigate the extent to which gated communities contribute to a sense of community and to establish interventions which can be adopted to reduce spatial and social fragmentation of the urban areas. The study pursued the hypothesis that the emergence of gated communities has led to the spatial and social fragmentation of urban areas.

To achieve this, the study got data from primary sources (questionnaires, interviews and observations) and secondary sources. It has been established that Kileleshwa had undergone rapid transformation from high income low density zone to middle income high density zone and is now characterized by high rise apartments, commercial centres and office blocks. Kileleshwa is mostly inhabited by middle aged and middle income residents with families.

The study established that security is the main reason contributing to people moving into gated communities. It also established that other reasons why residents move to gated communities include proximity to place of work, availability of facilities and services within the gate communities and for some affordability, shared facilities, for prestige and status; for sense of community,

proximity to place of work as well as proximity to CBD and centrality of Kileleshwa to a lot of areas. This was supported by the residents' claim that being a central location saves a lot of time when one needs to access the various facilities and services one needs that are found within Nairobi.

The study also established that majority of the residents enjoy staying in the gated communities.

The study also established that there was medium to low level of interaction within the gated community. It was revealed that because of the lifestyle of the residents, it makes it difficult to interact more than one would like. The study also found that majority of the residents agreed that if they come together and work together then they can influence the decisions that affect the community.

On relationships between residents, the study established that residents who look out for each other mainly do so because they are in the same block or are immediate neighbours (live next door to each other) or if their children play together. The study also established that majority of the residents would ask their neighbours for help while in the case of a financial difficulty, it was found that majority of the residents would not ask their neighbours for a loan. It was also found that majority of the respondents felt no sense of pride being a member of the gated community but majority of the residents feel they belong in the gated community.

On knowing the neighbours, the study established that majority of the residents know their neighbours fairly (neither well nor poorly). This is because most of them claim that they live very busy lives whereby they leave their houses in morning and only get back very late in the evening and by then it's too late to socialize with neighbours. The study also found that majority of the residents knew few of the neighbours and trusted them. It was also found out that residents who trusted their neighbours said that the trust networks just build as one sees the neighbours in the compound, or driving down the street even though one might not know them personally. It's the familiarity and living in one community that brings about the trust.

On relationships between residents, the study found out that the property developers/managers said that the relationship between residents is cordial considering they know each other and they live within the same compound and conflict case are normally rare.

The study also established that the property developers provided common area arenas such as community halls and open spaces where residents could meet up and talk. The study also found that the level of utilization of these facilities as underutilized and according to the property developers if these were utilized more often, then better networks and connections would forge among the residents. On access to facilities to non-residents, the study found that the non-residents are not

allowed to use the facilities and are usually vetted at the gate and are allowed in only if the residents approve.

According to the property developers, there are meetings held at least once a month. These meetings are to do with the welfare of the community, to discuss rules and regulations as well as code of conduct, to discuss repairs and management issues of the common areas such as the swimming pool, the borehole, the gym, the playgrounds among other.

The study also established that people of different backgrounds living together in gated community. From observations it was further verified that indeed there were people of different backgrounds living within one gated community such as Africans, Chinese, Indians, Arabs, whites among others.

The study further established that majority of the respondents interacted with others 1-2 times a month. Upon further prodding it was revealed that these interactions are mainly either due to the monthly meetings organized or perhaps a get-together organized by one of the residents.

The study also established that majority of the residents knew their neighbours within the neighbourhood (at street level) fairly. It was revealed that the residents don't get to socialize as much with the neighbours within the gated community due to busy schedules, much less socialize as much with the neighbours outside gated community. The residents also added that the weekends are spent catching

up on domestic chores as the children play within the gated community. Once in a while residents would invite outsiders for a poolside party; however the management needs to be informed a few weeks prior to the engagement.

The study also established that that majority of the residents trust very few or none of the neighbours outside the gated community. The study further found that the interactions with neighbours outside the gated community are limited due to the busy work schedule of the residents however some do try to make an effort to socialize with their neighbours.

The study established that the gated community does not cater for all the needs of the resident and therefore the residents would need to use public facilities and services. It was also established that majority of the public facilities and services are available within the location and are accessible. This is also supported by the fact that Kileleshwa as an area is central to a lot of facilities and services. On the frequency of use of these public facilities and services it was found that majority of the residents use the public facilities and services at least once a week (every 5-6days).

On distances of public facilities to gated community the study found that majority of the respondents used open/green space facilities that were within a radius of 3km, majority of the respondents used leisure facilities that were within a radius of 6km, majority of the respondents used entertainment facilities that were within

a radius of 6km and a majority of the respondents used cultural facilities that were within a radius of 6km.

On spatial fragmentation, the study found that residents interact with non-residents at work places, invite non-residents to their homes so there are interactions with non-residents. On accessing facilities and services, the study found that higher order facilities are not available within the gated communities such as medical facilities, educational facilities and government facilities and to access these the residents can use either a car or public means or walk as Kileleshwa is central to many locations.

The study also established that with the formulation of policies on gated communities, the development of gated communities can be more controlled and maximize the positive impacts while minimizing the negative impacts in the development of the city. Some of the negative physical and ecological impacts of the rapid mushrooming of these gated developments are loss of greenery (trees and vegetation) that retain the water and contribute to climate change, paving of the surfaces that increases the run-off contributing to flooding of the drainage systems that are currently in place as well as pollution of the environment due to the increased number of people and vehicles in the area.

This research indicates a need for planners to provide appropriate and viable alternatives to current forms of residential development. Gated communities are an extremely attractive form of development for residents as they provide

physical protection and offer a high level of residential amenity and recreational facilities. Significantly, the sense of community and belonging felt by residents affords a more valuable notion of ‘security’ than could be provided by gates alone. Further, through restrictions on design and access, gated communities may help to reduce uncertainty by enabling residents to exert greater control over their living environment.

Alternate residential communities must provide privacy, security, opportunities for social interaction, desirable local amenities, adequate traffic management and greener designs that can support the increased demand for housing (Grant, Greene and Maxwell, 2005). Indeed, through the design of new living environments, planners and urban designers can play a role in encouraging social interaction and in doing so improve the well-being of the wider community.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The study has established that Kileleshwa has rapidly transformed from a high income middle density zone to a middle income high density zone with gated communities dominating the landscape. It was established that the main reasons for their emergence are:

- a) the perceived security situation prevailing in the city of Nairobi as well as
- b) land scarcity and rising costs of land that require putting up of high rise apartments to derive maximum returns
- c) shortfall in the housing market due to the rising middle class population

The study established that the main reason for moving to gated communities is the issue of safety and security. Other reasons that were established were availability of high quality shared facilities and services within gated communities, proximity to work as well as affordability. It was also established that gated communities spatially fragment urban areas and cause loss of previous connection between different parts of the neighbourhood and social contact. It was further established that integration of policies and guidelines on development of gated communities within the development control framework is lacking. The current development policies are not sufficient to safeguard against the negative impacts of gated community developments in the area and in the city as a whole. Consequently, the following recommendations are proposed to be integrated within the development control framework. These are intended to guide the development of gated communities not just in Kileleshwa but in the whole city.

6.4.1 Greater integration

Gated communities entrench previous and existing patterns of socio-spatial segregation in the city and this is normally at the expense of the poor. All of the urban planning and development policies and legislation should have one strong theme in common; greater integration.

Spatial integration promotes the integration of marginalized neighbourhoods with the better-performing areas of the city, the provision of facilities in underdeveloped areas and infill development to facilitate greater access to

socioeconomic opportunities. Social integration is concerned with the integration of different age, ethnic and income groups in different urban areas to allow for greater social interaction and diversity; hence, towards a more inclusive city.

6.4.2 Rigorous development control

Other than the 1948 master plan for the city of Nairobi, there has not been any recent approved development plan for the city that reflects an overarching framework within which different components of the city can be planned at local level to guide local developments such as gated communities.

An overall integrated and consultatively developed development plan is urgently needed to guide developments at local levels in tandem with sub-county zonal and broad land use zones that indicate how the parts are connected within a seamless network of connecting roads within an integrated city-wide development framework. Such a framework, even within mobility managed environments for whatever reason would ensure complementarity and compatibility among urban land uses and functions within the city of Nairobi.

It has therefore been recommended that the government should undertake systematic planning and the rigorous application of development control by strict implementation of comprehensive land use zoning regulations and integrated development plans to take into account the difficulties of integration produced by

different social groups including deprived groups, upper classes refusing integration, and destabilized middle-classes.

6.4.3 Public debate on gated developments

It can be expected that concerns about the impact of gating will not make private developers go away, nor will they reduce the demand for gated communities. The city planning department planners need to engage in a public debate about the implications of gated developments and the character of government responses to them so that they can establish appropriate policies and practices for future planning. This is because without specific controls for gated developments, there are no agreed upon matters for consideration in the assessment of developments that propose to restrict non-resident access. This can be done by the planners and government agencies having open consultative meetings and discussions which would also give the general public an opportunity to express their views and concerns about the same.

6.4.4 Policy formulation

The study recommends that the government should develop policies relating to gated communities. These policies would help shape the development of the urban centres in such a way that it would minimize the negative effects of gated communities especially the socio-spatial segregations. It is important to adopt policies targeting to encompass gated communities into the city fabric on one

hand, and slowing down the trend towards their amplification on the other. Therefore policies of good governance for land development and land use control are paramount.

6.4.5 Planning controls

The Nairobi County Government should streamline development control in Kileleshwa and every part of the city and ensure strict enforcement of planning regulations. Planning approaches which address the drivers of spatial division should be adopted in order to stimulate reintegration procedures against fragmentation triggering processes. Some of the controls that are recommended include:

- a) Requiring developers of gated communities to provide a given percentage of affordable dwellings units and a mix of dwelling types so gated communities could have a range of house types such that they could be developed as melting points for national integration process. This would reduce the socio-economic segregations.
- b) Covenants on open space could be imposed to ensure public access to open space. Public access to open space does not necessarily confer a right to use resident recreational facilities. Private use of recreational facilities could be maintained by the use of lockable gates which can be opened only by residents using a swipe cards or pin code

6.4.6 Pro-place and Pro-people policies

The study recommends that the rehabilitation of public spaces is a crucial step in integrating the fragmented segments of the society into interrelated and common activities that would help reduce the social divergence and provide a viable and livable city. On the other hand, the conditions of people can be improved by policies that emphasize on betterment of attributes such as employment, education, safety as well as well as recreation and social amenities. These policies are necessary for reducing the concentration of poverty and consequently segregation. In addition, it is believed that interventions embarking upon the problems of deprived as well as downgraded urban areas, would contribute to decelerate the expansion of gated communities, since an integrated harmonious spatial and social fabric will encourage people to live within, rather than hide behind walls. This would alleviate the tension and help eradicating the socio-spatial barriers between adjoining distressed areas and gated communities.

6.4.7 Housing provision and servicing for low and middle income groups

The study also recommends the adoption of useful policies include housing provision and servicing for low- and middle-income groups by initiating major low-cost housing projects in appropriately located land. These efforts would include the diversification of the local economy to create sufficient employment opportunities for the growing population and try and reduce the disparities that currently exist in cities so as to try and eliminate the distance between the have and have-not groups that societies are divided in.

6.4.8 Participatory decision-making, co-production and co-management

The study also recommends that participatory decision making, co-production and co-management in which all the stakeholders such as the government, economic and social actors. Locals, community based organizations, NGOs as well as the media should take part. The aim is the enablement and empowerment of the society to play a more active role in the augmentation of the current socio-spatial disintegration problems and consequently reaching some sort of harmonization in dealing with conflicting interests.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

Further research on sustainable housing densification needs to be carried out to examine the multiple implications of the development. This study dealt mainly on socio-economic and spatial implications of gated communities and this therefore calls for further study on socio-physical and ecological implications of increased gated community developments in Kileleshwa.

A study also needs to be carried out on the infrastructure services serving Kileleshwa and other areas earmarked for redevelopment due to congestion and if they have been expanded adequately to cope with the growth in Kileleshwa.

Due to time limitations and budgetary constraints, findings were based on a relatively small sample that may have influenced the nature of results that were

obtained. There is need therefore to expand on the sample size and carry out similar research in other estates to allow us draw conclusions and provide information that is sufficient for policy development. There is also need to carry out similar research in other locations of the city to allow us to draw conclusions and provide information that is adequate for policy development.

Studies also need to be carried out on what makes up a gated community. What are the parameters of gated communities that would bring about the sense of community within such developments. This can be done by looking at economic parameters, size and number of units among others.

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APPENDICES – RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

APPENDIX 1

Observation checklist

Topic: Gated communities and their impact on urban planning.

Monitoring item	Area of focus	achievement			Remarks (specify the location, availability and adequacy, any good practices, problems observed, possible causes for problems, any proposed corrective measures)
		Yes	No	N/A	
Physical infrastructure	Roads Electricity Water Sewerage Storm water drainage				
Land uses in kileleshwa	Residential Commercial Industrial Institutional Recreational				
public facilities	Schools Hospitals Shopping centres Mosques Churches Temples Police posts Administrative offices				
Building design of gated communities	Building materials and architectural finishing Layout of gated				

	communities No of storeys/floors Parking lots				
Design of Open spaces within the residential communities	Open spaces Green spaces Seating areas Access to open space Access to green space				
Shared amenities	Swimming pools Gymnasiums Jogging tracks Club houses Children's playgrounds Backup generators				
Provision of shared facilities	Garbage collection Streets and compound cleaning Gardening and lawn mowing Borehole water facilities				

APPENDIX 2

Interview schedule for Property Developers/ Manager

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING
M.A. (PLANNING)
RESEARCH THESIS**

Topic: Emergence of gated communities and their impacts on urban planning

The information collected during this research study is confidential and purely for academic purposes and will not be divulged to any other person whatever the circumstance.

Interview schedule Number Date of Interview
.....

Property developer/ Manager's interview schedule

1. Name of the developer/ manager (optional)
.....

2. Age of the developer/ manager

3. Gender: *Male* *Female*

4. Level of education for the manager/developer

a. Primary level certificate

b. Secondary level certificate

c. Technical diploma

d. University bachelor degree

e. University master degree and above

5. What is the uniqueness about this project that makes it stand out?
.....
.....

6. Why did you decide to adopt this sort of development?
.....
.....

7. Were the development plans approved by Nairobi City Council?
.....
8. When did the property development begin?.....
9. a) When was it that the first owner/ tenant occupant move in?.....
b) When was it fully occupied?.....
10. For how long has this gated community been in existence?
11. What was the initial cost of this project?
12. What was the final cost of the project after completion?
13. The number of storeys for each block in the development
14. How many dwelling units are there in the gated community?
15. What is the selling price per unit?
16. What is the economic benefit of the project to buyer/ purchaser?
17. What will be the monthly service charge that the residents would pay?
.....
18. The number of parking spaces per dwelling unit
19. Out of these, how many are occupied and unoccupied

On safety and security

20. How would you describe the safety and security situation in Kileleshwa over time and space?
21. What changes have taken place in kileleshwa due to insecurity?
.....

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

22. How would you rate the street safety?
a. poor b. good c. very good d. excellent

23. What would you suggest is a way to deal with insecurity?

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

24. What provisions do you have to take into account the safety and security aspects?

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

Gated communities and sense of community

25. Are there any forms of arenas (for example club house) where the residents of the gated community can interact? What are they?

.....
.....

26. Are there any forms of meetings held by the residents? Yes No
If yes, regarding what?

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

27. How do you rate the relationships between community members and their neighbours?

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

28. Are there any conflict cases among residents? Yes No

29. If so what are the major sources of conflict?

.....
.....

30. Are there any forms of conflicts between the residents and the non-residents of the gated community? Yes No

If yes

Gated communities and social fragmentation

31. From your assessment as a developer/manager, from which social groups within the Kenyan/global society do the owners/tenants of these gated communities come from?

32. What are the common shared amenities and facilities that are provided in the gated community that bring the residents together?

33. Would you consider the level of utilization of these facilities as
a. Unutilized b. underutilized c. fully utilized d. over utilized

34. Is there access to facilities by non-residents? If not how do you ensure it?

35. Are there any parks and other green spaces and open spaces within the estate?

36. Are there any community halls provided where the residents can have some get-togethers?

37. Are there any provisions for places of worship where people can meet and worship such as mosques, churches, temples etc?

Gated communities and spatial fragmentation

38. How do the residents within the estate interact with those outside the estate?

.....
.....
39. How do the residents access city wide higher order facilities and amenities or are most of them catered for within the development?
.....
.....

40. Is there easy access of the residents to those facilities not catered for within the gated community?
.....
.....

Other general issues

41. In your own opinion, how do you assess the emergence of gated community as a way of providing housing within the city?.....
.....
.....

42. If you were to invest in another project, would you invest in a gated community? Give reasons.
.....
.....

Thank you.

APPENDIX 3

Interview schedule for Nairobi County Council (department of planning)

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

M.A. (PLANNING)

RESEARCH THESIS

**Topic: Emergence of gated communities and their impacts on urban
planning**

*The information collected during this research study is confidential and purely for
academic purposes and will not be divulged to any other person whatever the
circumstance.*

Interview schedule Number Date of Interview
.....

County Council Officer’s interview schedule

1. Name of the respondent
2. Position (Job title)
3. How long have you worked here?
4. What is the role of your department in regulating and guiding
development in the city?
.....
.....
.....
5. Has the department been effective in achieving its goals and objectives?
Yes No
If no elaborate factors for limited effectiveness.....
.....
6. What is this area (Kileleshwa) zoned for?
.....
.....
7. How closely are the developments within this zone in line with the
zoning plans?
.....
.....
.....

8. If there are any variations in (7) above, what are the causes?

.....

.....

.....

.....

9. Do you have regulations that guide the development of gated communities? Yes No

If yes, how are these regulations applied?

.....

.....

.....

10. What are the challenges you face when implementing the regulations?

.....

.....

.....

.....

11. There has been a changing trend in the housing typology to gated communities in the past decade or so.

What can you attribute to be the reasons behind this emergence?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

12. In your view, what are the planning challenges that have arisen from these types of developments?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

13. What is the number of gated communities that have been approved by the Council in Nairobi (ask for an officer who would work with you to give u the list of gated communities in Nairobi/kileleshwa)?

.....

14. What considerations have you taken into account before approving the development of gated communities within the city?

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

15. The extent to which gated communities have offered solutions to the current security challenges in the city

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

16. What measures do you think can be put in place to address these security concerns?

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

17. Kenyans are to become more cohesive. To what extent have gated communities contributed to or are likely to contribute to the social fragmentation of the society?

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

18. To what extent are gated communities part and parcel of planned urban development of the city? Have they been provided the umbrella within which these gated communities are developed? (In your opinion, do gated communities contribute to the fragmentation of the urban space?)

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

.....

19. Kileleshwa of the past was a very green area. To what extents are the current development and planning regulations adequately addressing the need to safeguard against the negative impacts of such urban developments?

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

20. What planning interventions can be put in place to bring about a green environment as envisaged in the constitution within the study area?

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

21. Have the governance changes within the city impacted on the development (from the time of the commission to the elected representatives under the county council and now the devolved government)?

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

22. What is your vision of the Nairobi of the future?

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

23. Where do gated communities fit into all of this?

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

Thank you.

APPENDIX 4

Interview schedule for Kileleshwa Police Station

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

M.A. (PLANNING)

RESEARCH THESIS

Topic: Emergence of gated communities and their impacts on urban areas

The information collected during this research study is confidential and purely for academic purposes and will not be divulged to any other person whatever the circumstance.

Interview schedule Number Date of Interview
.....

Officer Commanding Police Station's (OCS) interview schedule

1. How would you describe the security situation in Nairobi (forms of insecurity, levels of insecurity, perpetrators, targets, hotspots)?
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
2. How would you describe the trends in the security situation?
.....
.....
.....
.....
3. What in your opinion is the security situation in Kileleshwa?
.....
.....
.....
4. What measures have been taken against insecurity in Kileleshwa?
.....
.....
.....
5. How effective have these measures been?
.....
.....
.....

-
.....
6. What are the challenges that the neighbourhood is currently facing in terms of security?
-
.....
.....
7. What is the extent to which gated communities have offered solutions to the current security challenges in the city?
-
.....
.....
.....

Thank you.

APPENDIX 5
Questionnaire for residents of gated communities

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING
M.A. (PLANNING)
RESEARCH THESIS

Topic: Emergence of gated communities and their impacts on urban areas
The information collected during this research study is confidential and purely for academic purposes and will not be divulged to any other person whatever the circumstance.

Questionnaire Number Date of Interview

 Respondent Contact

Residents' questionnaire

A. Personal data of respondent and his/her household

1. Who is the head of the household: *male* *female*
2. Age
3. Education level of the household head/ respondent
 - a. *primary level certificate (class 1-8)*
 - b. *secondary education certificate (form 1-4)*
 - c. *diploma certificate (technical or other)*
 - d. *university degree*
 - e. *masters degree and above*
4. Marital status: *single* *married* *widowed* *divorced* *other*
5. Please indicate in the table below the sex and the age of your children if any.

NO OF CHILDREN	Sex Male=1 Female=2	Age
1 st child		

2 nd child		
3 rd child		
4 th child		
5 th child		
6 th child		

6. What is the occupation if the household head?

a. Formally employed

i. *Employed by national/county govt*

ii. *International organization (World Bank, UNDP etc)*

iii. *International NGOs*

iv. *Local NGOs*

v. *other*

b. Self employed

i. *Business person*

ii. *Industrialist*

iii. *Large scale farmer*

iv. *Service provider (specify)*

v. *other*

7. What is your gross monthly income?

a. *Below Kshs50,000*

b. *Kshs50,001 -250,000*

c. *Kshs250,001 – 500,000*

d. *Kshs500,001 – 750,000*

e. *Kshs750,001 – 1,000,000*

f. *Above Kshs 1,000,000*

8. Distance from place of work to home (in Kilometres)

a. 0- 2 b. 3- 5 c. 6- 8 d. 8-10 e. greater than 10

9. How much time do you spend to get to your place of work?

a. 0- 15min b. 16-30min c. 31-60min d. 61min-2 hrs

e. over 2 hrs

B. House ownership information

10. House occupation status

a. *owner occupied* b. *tenant occupied*

11. If owner occupied, what was the cost of the house?
.....

12. If tenant occupied, what is the monthly rent payable (in Kshs)?

- a. Below 25,000
- b. 25,001- 50,000
- c. 50,001- 75,000
- d. 75,001- 100,000
- e. 100,001- 125,000
- f. 125,001- 150,000
- g. above 150,000

13. Size of the house

- a. Bed sitter
- b. One bedroom
- c. Two bedroom
- d. Three bedroom
- e. Four bedroom
- f. Five bedroom
- g. Other

14. What is the monthly service charge payable?

- a. Below 5,000
- b. 5,001- 10,000
- c. 10,001- 20,000
- d. 20,001- 30,000
- e. 30,001- 40,000
- f. 40,001- 50,000
- g. above 50,000

C. reasons for moving in

15a). When did you move into this gated community?

15. b)How long have you lived in this gated community (no of years)

- a. 0- 2
- b. 3- 5
- c. 6-8
- d. 9-11
- e. above 11

16. Why did you choose to move to this gated community?

.....

-

17. Where was your previous residence?
18. What kind of development was it?
- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| <i>a. gated community</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>b. house in own compound</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>c. flats (without a surrounding compound)</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>d. other (specify)</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
19. State the reasons why you prefer to live in a gated community in kileleshwa (tick where appropriate)?
- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| <i>a. safety and security</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>b. prestige and status</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>c. sense of community</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>d. affordability</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>e. facilities and services in gated community</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>f. proximity to place of work</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>g. proximity to services and amenities in CBD</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
20. Do you have a learning institution within your gated community where your children are enrolled?
21. Which and how far (in km) are the schools which your children attend?
- | |
|--------------------|
| a. Primary |
| b. Secondary |
| c. Tertiary |
22. Where do you shop your household goods from?
-
23. How far are the shopping facilities for your basic household needs?
-
-
24. How far is the nearest medical health facility that your family uses?
-
-
-
25. How far is the nearest government administrative facility available?
-

26. How far is the nearest place of worship that you and your family use?

27. Are there shared facilities and services provided in your gate community?
 a. Yes b. No

28. If the answer above is yes, check which facilities and services are provided :

Facilities

- Parking space for residents*
- Open green space*
- Children's playgrounds*
- Jogging tracks*
- Streets and walkways*
- Swimming pool*
- Gymnasium and/or health club*
- Community hall (meet up place)*
- Seating areas (benches)*

Services

- Security guards*
- Security alarm systems*
- Garbage collection*
- Back-up power*
- Water provision (borehole)*
- Gardening and lawn mowing*
- Compound cleanliness*

29. How adequate is water provision within this gated community?
 a. very adequate b. adequate c. fairly adequate
 d. poorly adequate

30. How would you rate the provision of these services and facilities?
 a. very good b. good c. fair d. poor e. very poor

Safety and security

31. How safe do you rate this gated community?
 a. very safe
 b. fairly safe
 c. a bit unsafe
 d. very unsafe

32. How safe do you feel outside the gated community during the daytime?

- a. *very safe*
- b. *fairly safe*
- c. *a bit unsafe*
- d. *very unsafe*

33. How safe do you feel outside the gated community after dark?

- a. *very safe*
- b. *fairly safe*
- c. *a bit unsafe*
- d. *very unsafe*

34. Have you experienced any security problem since you moved into this gated community?

- a. *Yes* b. *No*

If yes, please specify

- a. *break-in* b. *mugging* c. *kidnapping* d. *carjacking*
- e. *others*

35. Do you know of anyone else who has experienced a security problem in this gated community? a. *Yes* b. *No*

If yes, please specify

- a. *break-in* b. *mugging* c. *kidnapping* d. *carjacking*
- e. *others*

D. Gated community and sense of community

36. Is this a place you enjoy living in?

- a. *Yes* b. *No* c. *don't know*

37. How do you rate:

a) The social facilities available for you?

- a. *very good* b. *good* c. *fair* d. *poor* e. *very poor*

b) Facilities for your children?

- a. *very good* b. *good* c. *fair* d. *poor* e. *very poor*

38. To what extent does life in the gated community bring about increased interaction between you and the other residents?

- High level of interaction*
- Medium level of interaction*
- Low level of interaction*

No interaction

39. To what extent do you agree or disagree that by working together, the resident within the gated communities can influence the decisions that affect the community?

Strongly agree

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

Don't have an opinion

40. Do residents within the gated community look out for each other?

a. Yes b. No c. don't know

41. If you need any kind of help, would you ask any of your neighbors for help?

a. Yes b. No c. it depends

42. If you are in a financial difficulty and need to borrow money, would you ask any of your neighbors for a loan?

a. Yes b. No c. it depends

43. Do you feel some sense of pride being a member of this gated community?

a. Yes b. No c. don't know

E. Gated communities and social fragmentation

44. How well would you rate how you know your neighbors?

a. very well b. well c. fairly d. poor e. very poor

45. Would you say that you know:

a. most of the neighbors in your gated community

b. many of the neighbors in your gated community

c. a few of the neighbors in your gated community

d. or you don't know any of the neighbors in your gated community

46. Would you say that you trust

a. most of the neighbors in your gated community

b. many of the neighbors in your gated community

c. a few of the neighbors in your gated community

d. or you don't know any of the neighbors in your gated community

47. Is this gated community vibrant, harmonious and inclusive?
 a. Yes b. No c. don't know
48. Do you feel like you belong to this gated community?
 a. Yes b. No c. don't know
49. Are there people of different backgrounds living in this gated community?
 a. Yes b. No c. don't know
50. To what extent do you feel that people from different backgrounds get on well together in this gated community?
 Strongly agree
 Agree
 Neither agree nor disagree
 Disagree
 Strongly disagree
 Don't have an opinion
51. How often do you interact (socialize) with other residents in your gated community?
 Everyday
 a. 1 to 2 days a week
 b. 3 to 4 days a week
 c. 5 to 6 days a week
 d. 1 to 2 times a month
 e. 1 to 2 times every couple of months
 f. 1 to 2 times a year
 g. Never
52. How well do you rate how you know your neighbors within the neighbourhood (street level)?
 a. very well b. well c. fairly d. poor e. very poor
53. Would you say that you trust
 a. most of the neighbors within your neighborhood
 b. many of the neighbors within your neighborhood
 c. a few of the neighbors within your neighborhood
 d. or you don't know any of the neighbors within your neighborhood
54. Apart from the residents in the gated community, are there any other people within your neighborhood that you associate with on a social level?
 a. Yes b. No c. it depends

55. How often do you interact (socialize) with other residents in your gated community?

- a. *Everyday*
- b. *1 to 2 days a week*
- c. *3 to 4 days a week*
- d. *5 to 6 days a week*
- e. *1 to 2 times a month*
- f. *1 to 2 times every couple of months*
- g. *1 to 2 times a year*
- h. *Never*

F. Gated communities and spatial fragmentation

56. Does your gated community provide you with all the facilities and services that one requires?

- a. *Yes* b. *No* c. *Not all*

57. If the answer above is no or not all, where do you access these facilities?

- a. *within the neighbourhood*
- b. *within the location*
- c. *within the city*
- d. *outside the city*
- e. *don't need access to facilities*

58. How accessible are the public provision of facilities such as cultural, religious, sports, leisure, libraries, museums, arts venues, parks and open spaces?

- a. *very accessible*
- b. *accessible*
- c. *accessible with difficulties* specify.....
- d. *inaccessible*
- e. *very inaccessible*

59. How often do you use these public facilities?

- a. *Everyday*
- b. *1 to 2 days a week*
- c. *3 to 4 days a week*
- d. *5 to 6 days a week*
- e. *1 to 2 times a month*
- f. *1 to 2 times every couple of months*
- g. *1 to 2 times a year*
- h. *Never*

60. Are you satisfied with this quality of public facilities?

a. Yes b. No c. sometimes

61. The questions below are on accessibility of the public social facilities within the neighborhood location by the residents:

a. How long does it take to access open space by foot (minute)?

.....
b. How long does it take to access leisure facilities by foot (minute)?

.....
c. How long does it take to access retail facilities by foot (minute)?

.....
d. How long does it take to access educational needs by foot (minute)?

.....
e. How long does it take to access medical facilities by foot (minute)?

.....
f. How long does it take to access entertainment facilities by foot (minute?)

.....
g. How long does it take to access cultural facilities by foot (minute)?

.....
h. How long does it take to access religious facilities by foot (minute)?.....

.....

Thank you

