PARTITIONED LANDSCAPES: THE GATED COMMUNITY INTERFACE AS AN

EDIFICE FOR SOCIAL AND SPATIAL INTERCHANGE

by

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(Under the Direction of Katherine Melcher)

ABSTRACT

Gated communities consume the contemporary, American landscape physically, economically, and socially. Their development stems from historical beginnings of how to delineate space through design. Current literature debates their prominence as an outcome of people's perceptions, driven by sense of community and fear. Using survey and observational methodologies, this thesis unveils the importance and intricacy of place identification in gated neighborhood entries and its ramifications on the greater public realm. Results suggest the importance of entryway design to these communities, as it influences perceptions of community and fear. This thesis serves as awareness to the trend of private community development practice-- opening a dialogue between planners, landscape architects, developers, and other stakeholders within the design field to better serve the needs of the public. Using the gated community as a medium for theory and analysis, the author addresses how landscape thresholds influence social interactions.

INDEX WORDS: Gated Community, Entryways, Neighborhood Design,

Privatization, Community Theory, Landscape Architecture

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DEDICATION

To my family.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Prologue:

Imagine the following scenario: A resident of a gated community drives down a street passing by a global restaurant franchise, a nearly vacant retail strip, and some single family homes, arriving at an abrupt terminus to a pair of closed gates. The car window rolls down just long enough for the swipe card to electronically open the gates. Seconds later, the vehicle passes through the threshold and continues the journey onward though the private, winding neighborhood road. Except for some maintenance crews busy manicuring the lawns, the landscape lays quiet. Upon arrival at the house, the resident presses the garage door opener, pulls in, and quickly closes the door.

There are many issues evident from the above situation, along with questions, assumptions, and generalizations to draw from it. These include: gating as a relatively recent development in urban sociology, the relationship between community form and perceptions of fear and social cohesion, walls and gates symbolizing a socioeconomic affluence, the creation of homogenous and anomic atmospheres within gated developments, a desired, private appropriation of public space, and these communities insulating themselves to social contact and problems outside their gates (Bowers 2).

Background:

Gating, walling, and fortifying have become a de-facto response in many cultures and places across time to social, economic, and political concerns. Residential developments have adopted this practice in the form of gated communities (Nelson 30). Although most expansively documented in the United States, gated communities have become a global phenomenon, appearing in many countries-- instigating controversy about this fortified treatment of the landscape (Grant 913). "Whether gated enclaves are true 'communities' is open to debate," sparking interest of sociologists, planners, and other researchers on this topic (914). This notion of community, its contentions, and the capability of the landscape to affect people has brought me to this thesis subject.

Although the author is curious of the cultural trend of foreign countries to adopt gated communities in planning practice, the content of the thesis remains embedded in gated developments in the United States. They are a prominent form of the American built landscape, and according to the household sampling of the Census Bureau's 2001 American Housing Survey, around 7 million households—about 6 percent of the national total—reside in walled or fenced developments (Nasser). Additional 2003 data reports that gated community developments account for 11 percent of all new housing in the United States (Nasser). In states such as California, close to 40 percent of new homes are behind security gates (Lang 868).

The subprime-mortgage crisis and high foreclosure rates have magnified problems in residential communities, and according to *Atlanta Business News*, these housing troubles have slipped into gated communities as well. Looking at American demographics, housing and construction data, and consumer research, director of the

Metropolitan Institute at Virginia Tech, Arthur C. Nelson modeled a structural change in the future housing market in the way Americans want to live and work: "Nelson forecasts a likely surplus of 22 million large-lot homes (houses built on a sixth of an acre or more) by 2025—roughly 40 percent of the large-lot homes in existence today" (Leinberger).

Chapter layout:

I hypothesize that the built form of residential, gated communities—manifested through security gates, property walls, and privatized roads—severs the built and social fabric of the landscape. And this fragmentation, formed by fear, resonates at the gated threshold and disrupts a sense of community. This thesis' structure begins in Chapter 2 by looking at the historical backdrop to fortification and follows the development of gated enclaves to their contemporary suburban condition. In Chapter 3, I examine the themes of community and fear drawn from existing literature and research on gated communities. My key thesis question-- measuring the premises found in gated community literature involving territoriality, sense of community, and fear-- specifically asks if the gated entry directly affects activity at this public/private interface. The question further inquires if the impact on activity and interaction indirectly influences perceptions of community and fear within gated community residents and non-residents.

To answer this research question, chapter 4 explains the methodology for using a gated community as a case study. Following the methodological approaches of the majority of the gated community literature, I first use a resident survey to collect data regarding residents' acuities about community, fear, and entrances. Secondly, I use observational and behavior mapping techniques, at the gated entry, to correlate activity at

the gate to the survey results. Survey and behavior mapping outcomes suggest that the extent and manner of a community's enclosure (degree of controlled access) influence perceptions and values of community and safety. While research findings confirm some of the theories of gating, they do not necessarily support the assumption that fear is the primary determinant in explaining the gated community form. More subtle factors pertaining to the social, economic, and political ordering of American suburbia contribute to the appearance of the gated entryway of these communities—affecting community behavior, which in turn, reinforces residents' perceptions of community. I conclude in chapter 5 by elaborating on the key themes driven from the results—inclusive of allowing for other hypotheses. Gated entryways, through their design elements and activation of adjoining spaces, can act as positive symbols of territorial delineation and community identity.

Definitions and Delimitations:

The term gated community takes on multiple meanings and classifications—including walled subdivisions, secure apartment complexes, and public housing. They can be master planned or retrofitted, and take on a variety of features like gates, electronic entry systems, and faux enclosures (Bowers 2). These enclaves also exist in a variety of geographic settings, from city cores to the suburban fringes to rural reserves. For the purpose of this thesis, I have chosen a gated community within the American, suburban context to be defined by a "walled or fenced housing development to which public access is restricted … and usually characterized by legal agreements which tie the residents to a common code of conduct" (Atkinson 178). My methodology for the case

study retains this description; however, some of the historical development and literature

analysis goes beyond this definition in order to understand the chosen scope in greater

detail, as "The spatial ordering of the edge responds to the social dialectic of the center,

played out in an ever-changing suburban landscape" (Low 56). Chapter 3 provides

further definitions and explanations of terms found within the body of literature, such as

sense of community, social cohesion, and fear.

Fundamental Dilemma:

Now once more imagine the scenario of the car entry that began this chapter, but

this time with a runner making use of the street network outside the gates. The street lays

the spatial foundation for the activity, which drives the opportunity for connection and

experience. According to the discipline of environmental psychology, environmental

stimuli bind to a cognitive map and generate "how humans know and think about the

environment" and influence "how people tend to seek out places" or preferred settings

(Fairbridge 1). Therefore, this spatial equation is not devoid of any context. Context--

both physical (landscape features) and cognitive (identity)— influences the perception,

choice, and experience of the environment.   Similarly, the gated entry that the resident in

the car passed through embodies a physical presence in the landscape with resulting

effects on the community—both internally and externally. For the gated community

resident, it may dictate the choice for neighborhood residence. For the runner, the gate

impacts the running route. And together, the gate spatially affects the encounter of the

two because of the interrelationship between environment and behavior. The gate, a

literal building block to the property boundary of the community within, also becomes a figurative emblem of societal values.

Spatial properties that guide place-based community (the gate, the street, the edge of the tree line) should positively merge with the spatial experience or encounter (sense of community) to produce the least amount of dissonance. In designing community edges, the landscape should represent an understanding of the contributors that link perceptions to a place. Thus, in the world of gated communities, the gated threshold becomes ever so important as it stands at the community interface.

Role of Design:

Because of this critical edge between design, community, and the landscape, a niche exists for collaboration between design professionals, developers, and policy stakeholders to positively enhance a community. Part of the gap in the body of gated community research is the role that physical properties of the gate and enclosure can play in the positive design, guidance, and management of gated communities. The physical ordering of spaces and systems for these communities can be a compelling opportunity to incorporate entryways into the design process. By using design principles, such as massing, scale, & movement, entrances can act as initiators to achieving a lively community and further contribute to an ongoing dialogue that sparks more unconventional and innovative techniques.

Looking at the welcoming potential of community landscapes, the design challenge begins at the right of entry into these spaces. The design professions' goals support the importance of design: "[it's] an instrument of service in the public welfare . . .

[it] encourage[s] collaboration among academic, private, and public practitioners" to meet the evolving challenges of our cultural and natural environments (ASLA policy statement preamble). The American Planning Association's vision further augments the central role of design in creating vital communities "by advocating excellence in community planning, promoting education and citizen empowerment, and meet[ing] the challenges of growth and change"(APA Mission Statement). Thus, design principles have the power to provide positive influence on community engagement, cohesion, and sustainability. And entryway design to communities can be a design tool to uphold the design professions' missions and goals.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL REVIEW

"Before I built a wall I'd ask to know

What I was walling in or walling out,

And to whom I was like to give offense."

(Frost 32-34)

Walling Up-- A Morphology:

The intertwined set of issues found within the contemporary scene of gated

communities stems from their historical beginnings and references the territorial

boundaries of the past. Lawrence Bacow, former professor of MIT's Department of

Urban Studies and Planning claims "we have been advocating gated communities for

hundreds of years, because we've been looking at least to walled communities, walled

cities, the Italian hill towns, Jerusalem, other places. . . ." as illustrations of place making

practices (Lang 882). Beginning with a brief examination of examples of the walled cities

of antiquity, this chapter looks at how those historical building patterns relate to the

development of contemporary gated community form. Finally, I conclude with a review

of current literature on the present-day, suburban gated community model.

Although seemingly unique to suburban development practices of the 20th

century, present-day gated communities contain several characteristics related to

historical traditions of delineating space. These themes include an inward strategy of

protection, self containment by controlling access to space, and the act of creating and formalizing spaces by the presence of boundaries (Fields 65). Walls and gates serve as the most typified solution. From the Ancient near-East of Mesopotamia and neo-Babylonian times, gated fortresses and walled cities date back to the beginning of city-building and city-states themselves (Lang 887). Physical, architectural elements of the landscape are representative of the political, social, and economic ethos of the era's time, place, and culture. The well-defined spaces, created by walls and gates, give legibility to the presence and dominion of these fortified, historical landscapes.

The walling of these near-Eastern cities and palaces, like the Assyrian citadel of Sargon II (ca. 720-705 B.C), the Lion Gate of modern-day Turkey (ca. 1400 B.C.) and the Babylonian Ishtar Gate (ca. 575 B.C.) were commonplace in congruence to their severe living conditions (Kleiner 31-36). The Neo-Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar II
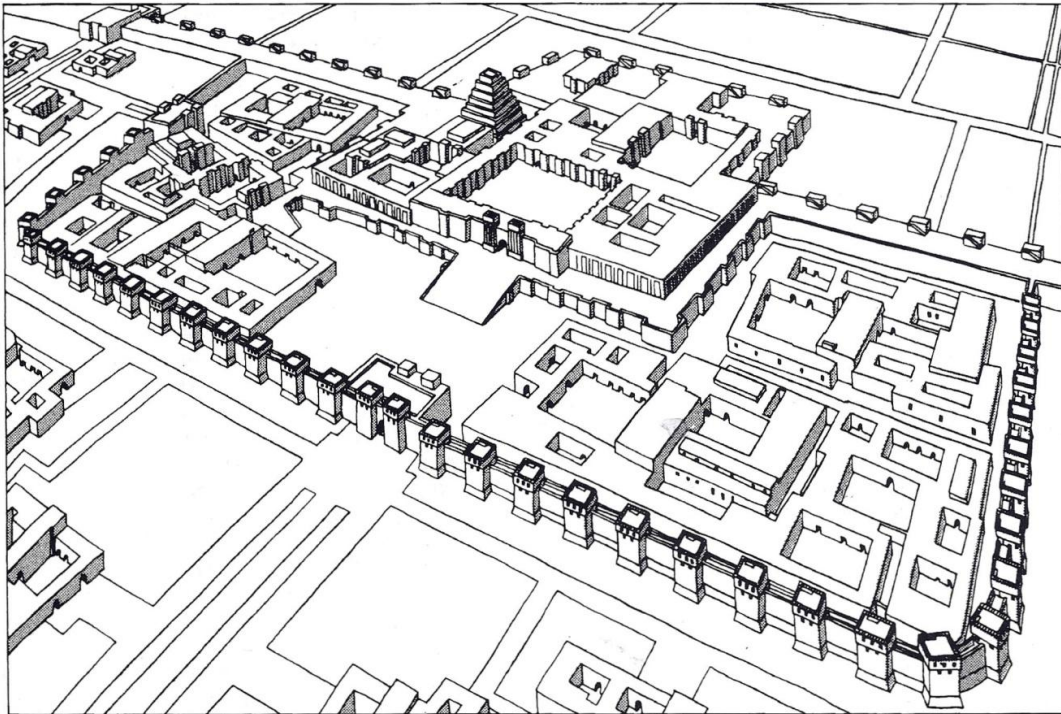
Figure 2-1: Assyrian Citadel of Sargon II. Source: Kleiner (33).

states, "I caused a mighty wall to circumscribe Babylon… so that the enemy who would do evil would not threaten" (38). Thus, the act of fortifying in these cultures reads as an intuitive act. These boundaries, as manifested through walls and gates, contain symbolic
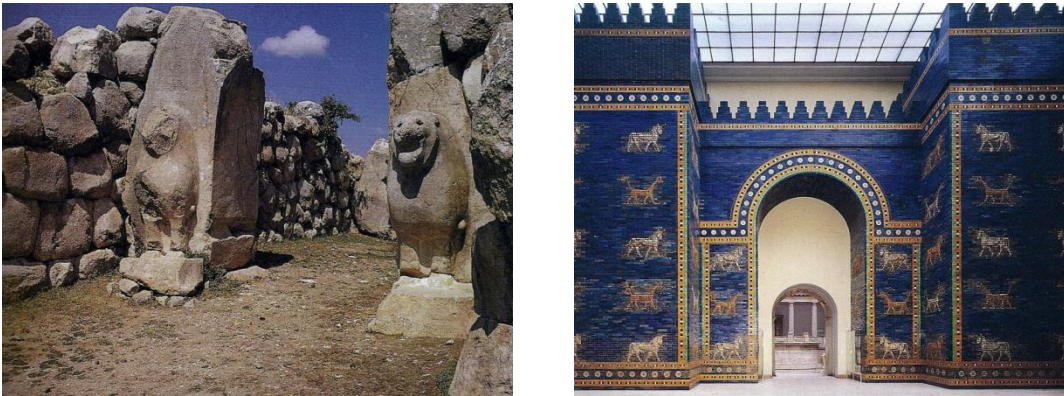
Figure 2-2: Lion Gate (left), Ishtar Gate (right). Source: Kleiner (31,36).

meanings of authority and protection characterized by their stylized forms of height, thickness, and intimidating decor.

Boundaries, in a variety of forms, imply degrees of accessibility: a contingent allowance or denial into a space. As N. J. Habraken argues "territorial boundaries are established by acts" which have cognitive effects (126). From the use of walls, fences, shrubs, and other greenery, the location and spacing of buildings, to the incorporation of topography and natural geographic features, such devices embody the scope of defensible, boundary-forming strategies. Landscapes of organized boundaries give cultural and civic identity and provide a means of surveillance. Borrowing from Etruscan city-building tradition, the ancient Roman pomoerium exemplifies the political and social

undertones of boundaries as they pertain to civic spaces (Smith 930). Although not walled in form, this symbolic boundary defined Roman city edges (usually in addition to actual walls) by the ceremonial formation of an engraved, plowed edge and was delineated by *cippi,* or small posts (930).

Other cross-cultural, past examples of territorial boundaries include The Forbidden City begun in the Ming Dynasty of 1406 C.E. (Kleiner 110), the successive walls of Paris first constructed by the Romans in 52 B.C.E and continually torn down and rebuilt throughout later centuries (Hussey 3), and even the extreme case of the Berlin Wall from the 1940s to 1980s (Grant 920). Although some of these walled enclosures

Figure 2-3: Paris Map of Succession of City Walls. Source: Gardner.

offered protection and monitored access, they also suffocated exchange and forms of communication—providing evidence that "the setting of boundaries is always a political

act" (Blakely and Snyder 1). Boundaries not only serve as means of protection, control, and order, but provide clarity to political and sociological incentives and values.

These historical examples illustrate the extensive use of boundaries over a scale of sizes and types, and that the tradition of fortifying transects a variety of eras and cultures. Historical overlays give a contextual understanding of fortification. They further lend a better understanding to the morphology of the wall and gate with respect to the emergence of the modern gated community. Because the practice of "using physical space to create social place" emanates from the past and influences the contemporary, a historical lens examines the social nature of people's tendencies and preoccupation with walls as they relate to safety, defense, and ideas of community (Blakely & Snyder 1). The common trend to define a formal, territorial place for living or displaying societal values begins to surface and amplifies the statement that "gated communities . . . are a new form of an old desire for safety, exclusion and privacy" (Stewart 6). Systems of walls and gates become the prominent medium for defining that territory.

The Evolution towards Gated Communities:

Events leading to the establishment of the contemporary gated community include the Roman occupation of England circa 300 B.C. (Snyder 4). Some of the earliest gated living communities, as more directly related to their present form, begin to materialize in England when Roman soldiers were granted country estates in conjunction with their service to the Roman Empire (Blakely & Snyder 4). Aside from establishing a form of hierarchy and class, the manor's erected walls served as protection from the local villagers. England continued to see a succession of walls and fortifications throughout its

subsequent decades and "the heritage of this system can still be seen on the English landscape" in the form of walled abbeys, manors, and castles (4).

In part due to technological advances and the rapidly industrializing city, residential gated neighborhoods in North America began their earliest emergence in the 1800s (Blakely & Syder 4). Towards the end of the 19th century, New York's high income Tuxedo Park was built with "wooded lake views . . . [and] an admirable entrance to control the social fabric and the character of the architecture" (74). The gated, privatized streets of St. Louis also serve as a precedent of wealthy citizens insulating themselves from the city's undesirable conditions (74). This "new pattern of urban segregation based on the creation of fortified enclaves represents the complimentary side of the privatization of security" and is evident by the identification of city's spatial

Figure 2-4: Tuxedo Park Gatehouse (left), St. Louis Gated Private Street (right). Sources: http://tuxedopark-ny.gov/, http://www.thecwe.org/about-2/history/.

organizations (Caldeira 4). These examples are the materialization of aristocratic, gated developments that valued prestige and protection. The American appearance of gating became congruent with the suburbanization trend—which also began in the 19th century: "While industrial development spawned urbanization, it also created suburbanization as a component of this process" (Blakely & Snyder 14). Thus, the proliferation of gated

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communities involves further examination between the interplay of both their predominant suburban condition along with an understanding of their response to the urban core, as the suburban-urban historical discourse is reactionary at the least with respect to land development.

Arguably, many Americans moved to the suburbs searching for ideal conditions lost within the city, such as safety, space, and cleanliness (Blakely & Snyder 12). The suburbs offered an attractive escape from the city's undesirable aspects and people. Although affluent exodus from the city substantially surfaced in the middle of the nineteenth century in America, it continues to be in a constant flux through today, driven by economic, political, and social factors (Low 47). Simultaneously, the overall urban population has continued an upward trend since the Industrial Revolution (Sukko 31). Escape from the urban core proliferated after World War II-- further aided by technology of the car and promotion of the availability of cheap land and home-ownership. Robert Fishman from *Bourgeois Utopias: the Rise and Fall of Suburbia* makes the case that the "original concept of suburbia as an unspoiled" place has lost its meaning to what "even the greatest advocates of suburban growth never desired--- a new form of city (4)." He continues that the current suburban condition "inevitably developed the kinds of problems…that the middle class left cities to avoid" (5). Have gated communities become a microcosm of this spatial, distancing trend marketed by additional security from "crime, pollution [and] tawdriness" and promised sense of control (Lang 874)?

Arrival of the contemporary, suburban gated community form springs directly from the 1960s and 1970s American master planned retirement developments (Blakely & Snyder 4). These gated retirement communities had higher concentration in areas of the

Southeast and Southwest. Beginning in the 1970s, gating from resorts and country club

developments trickled into affordable, gated lifestyle communities-- attracting the middle

class to partake in walling themselves off, and helping to spread gated communities to

metropolitan areas like Chicago, Dallas, and Atlanta (5). In a multitude of cities and

suburbs, "wealthy homeowners no longer [were] the only ones retreating behind gates"

and according to a 2001 Census Bureau survey, "the desire to lock out the outside world

cut across all income groups" (Nasser). Resorts, country clubs, and suburban

subdivisions during the 1980s and 1990s continued to participate in the absorption

Figure 1-2. *The Increase in Gated Communities, 1870–2000*

Number of units
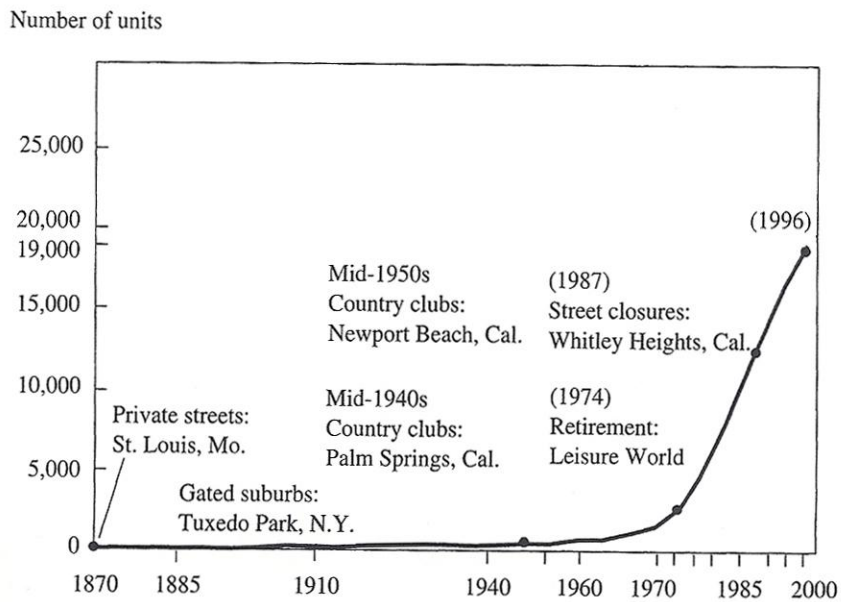
Christine Amado, Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California at Berkeley.

Figure 2-5: Source: Blakely & Snyder (7). Note, units denote gated communities.

of gates and walls: increased real estate speculation and the "trend to conspicuous

consumption saw the proliferation of gated communities around golf courses that were

designed for exclusivity, prestige, and leisure" (Blakely & Snyder 5).

Figure 1. **Gated Community Concentrations**
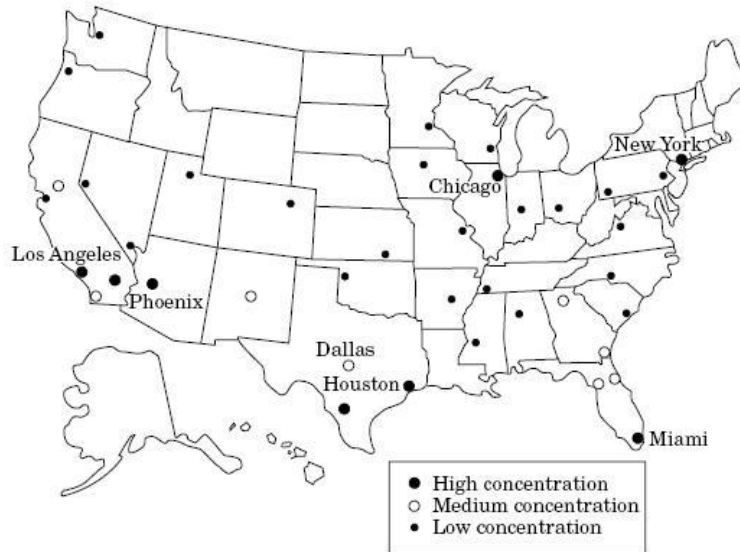
Figure 2-6: Source: Blakely & Snyder (7).

Simultaneously, these later decades saw an increase of gated communities that were partly guided by fear. American people fear they will be victimized, "such that the fear of crime has increased since the mid-1960s even though there has been a decline in all violent crime since the 1980s" (Low 47). Violent crime, inclusive of homicide, robbery, sexual assault, and aggravated assault has fallen nationally along with a decline in property crime (47). This "culture of fear" (47) carried over into the housing market, with "developers see[ing] gated projects as an important niche marketing strategy in a competitive environment" (Grant 914). As crime increasingly preoccupied the public, gates became prominent features from suburban single-family tracts to high-density urban apartment complexes. Results from a poll conducted by the Community Associations Institute cited 70% of gated community residents perceived their place of

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residence as safer than surrounding, non-gated areas (Harris 2). Blakely and Snyder

further add that "since the 1980s, gates have become ubiquitous in many areas of the

country; there are now entire incorporated cities that feature guarded entrances" (5). The

opportunity for cohesive street grids has become fragmented by private enclaves. This

disruption ranges from the addition of fences and gates on previously public streets to the

creation of new gated developments built in conjunction with the suburban tendency of

unconnected street layouts: "These street patterns. . . parallels to loops to lollipops . . .

[are] an intentional device, similar to the gate today" (Blakely & Snyder 8). Both street

design and zoning regulations serve as means of control and access and have aided the

growth of self-contained spaces established by gating.

Prior Research and Current Literature:

Gated communities' phenomenological appeal has interested many sociologists,

planners, geographers, and other similar professions. Current literature and studies have

begun to elucidate characteristics and trends in an attempt to understand this development

practice of residential fortification and its ramifications. Social, economic, and political

themes underpin this recent research. Much insight and respected debates regarding

sense of community, perceptions of safety, and prescriptive design to residential living

has surfaced in the areas of sociology, environmental psychology, economics, and land

planning.

Some of the earliest literature involving gated communities takes a more critical

stance towards these living establishments. One such 1992 publication, "*No Place like

Home: On the Manicured Streets of a Master-Planned Community,*" gives an account of

the motivations for middle-class Americans to "incarcerate" (Lang 3) themselves in these communities. Other critiques of the 1990s include the writing of Evan McKenzie in *Privatopia: Homeowner Associations and the Rise of Residential Private Government.* In his political theory based study, he cites that exclusiveness and homogeneity are the "focus of community life" and ground the organization of gated community private governance (176). He concludes that local municipal governments, without having to provide much additional service, are also the beneficiaries from an enhanced tax base from gated communities: "restrictions within gated communities exist only for maintaining property values, not for nurturing civic values" (Lang 871).

In the 1997 pivotal publication *Fortress America,* Edward J. Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder begin to expose some of the critical issues related to gated communities with a more systematic and objective approach. Their methodology involves an inclusive survey of suburban, American gated communities through residential trend research, extensive site-visits, and focus group sessions. The outcome of this comprehensive approach established a set of national, gated community typologies within the U.S. to help explain the phenomenon of this prominent development choice. The authors link the salient dilemmas and paradoxes (discussed more thoroughly in the following chapter) associated with gated communities, like the disruption of congruent networks of space and a cohesive landscape fabric, to social and psychological motivations within community relationships and sense of community. They conclude that developer efforts at "stimulating community do not seem to create more neighborly environments or to spawn more community involvement than exist in similar non-gated developments"

(Blakely 135). Thus, the act of separating through fortification tactics generates little benefit of community bonds both internally and externally.

Blakely and Synder's research initiates a dialogue about the inherent tensions, both positive and negative, of gated communities. One argument abides that within these "contemporary developments, where segregation and division are dominant characteristics, no social relationships can exist" (Bobic 37-38). Urbanity flourishes under the provision of complexity—inclusive of public and private exchanges. Geographically limiting the urban structure to homogeneity dismantles a place's vitality. The Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas counteracts this debate and claims social networks, interaction, and relationships of today are less physically or geographically dependent and are more transient in nature. He removes community from context, arguing that the contemporary landscape remains devoid of human interaction. In his essay "The Generic City," Koolhaas affirms that the city and street, and thus identity and place grounded within these forms, are lost:

> "People can inhabit anything. And they can be miserable in anything and ecstatic in anything. More and more I think that architecture has nothing to do with it. Of course, that's both liberating and alarming. But the generic city, the general urban condition, is happening everywhere, and just the fact that it occurs in such enormous quantities must mean that it's habitable. Architecture can't do anything that the culture doesn't. We all complain that we are confronted by urban environments that are completely similar. We say we want to create beauty, identity, quality, singularity. And yet, maybe in truth these cities that we have are

desired. Maybe their very characterlessness provides the best context for living."

—interview in *Wired* 4.07, July 1996 (site reference S,M,L,XL).

One must not neglect or dismiss the edge's connection to the center, especially in regards to the establishment of living typologies. Although Koolhaas speaks mostly of the city and urban conditions, his argument should be taken into consideration to the present-day suburban form in which gated communities play a prominent role in. Characterized by business, retail, entertainment venues, and a plethora of housing options, today's suburbs "have morphed into a new urban form that features all the elements of a traditional city, but in a low-density cityscape" (Lang 869). Gated communities, as part of the suburban landscape, have "created a new societal dilemma for all of us. The purpose of gates and walls is to limit social contact, and reduced social contact may weaken the ties that form the social contract" (Blakely 137). This disconcerting, exclusionary act warrants an investigation of creating less rigid and defined boundaries that allow for constant transformation. The debate highlights the positive and negative repercussions of the built fabric and calls to question how planners, developers, and designers can begin to address the associated social dilemmas.

The question remains, what is the most appropriate and influential way to enhance or construct community through design? Many ideal models have been proposed in the search for community design, from Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Movement to New Urbanist ideals. Surely prescriptive rules of thumb and models can be generated with respect to an awareness of people's needs—guiding community principles for land use planning. Christopher Alexander presents such an argument in his book *Pattern Language*: when designing environments, people—through human nature and action--

subconsciously resort to a formal and archetypal system of languages (Alexander ix).

Yet, ultimately, ideas related to community "can never become institutional, designed. It is a question of freedom and interrelations, dependent on spatial changeability and social congruency of a community" (M. Bobic 43). I argue the importance and difficulty in design of community form resides in understanding and fulfilling people's needs, yet allowing for flexibility and interpretation.

From their extensive survey and fieldwork in *Fortress America*, Blakey and Snyder establish three typologies for gated communities which are elaborated on in the following chapter: lifestyle (centered on recreation), prestige (focused on property value), and security zone (inclusive of urban neighborhoods retrofitted for protection). Despite the three types of distinct classification; safety, community, and control all contribute to the network of causes, motivations, and perceptions of gated developments. The typologies illustrate "how diverse the gated-community movement has become—far from their elite roots, gated communities now include residents across the income and lifestyle spectrum" (Lang 872). Blakey and Snyder's work merits further exploration into the broad spectrum of gated community design and life since they simplify a complex living condition. Additional variables and dimensions that give variety to this form, such as physical features and the community's context, appear to be lacking in their evaluation.

In her ethnography *Behind the Gates*, sociologist Setha Low gives an insight on U.S. gated communities and reveals the many motivations and perceptions of residents. The critical importance that Low establishes, leading to the later research methodology of this thesis, is the understanding that analysis of these community types remains multifaceted:

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"Understanding how residents make sense of living inside gated communities requires connecting the experiential and psychological levels of explanation with a critical analysis of society. Interviews and participant observation provide data on individuals, families, and neighborhoods, while comparative studies, theoretical treatises, and reviews of advertisements' television and radio transcripts, and newspaper reports generate a broader view of the social impact. Bringing these levels together without losing the complex reality of individual experience can be accomplished by examining how social and political forces—through ideology and practice—are manifest in everyday behavior and conversations" (Low 24).

From gated communities' existing research, an extensive scope of contextual, historical, and cultural cues emerge. Warranted by legitimate or perceived concerns of control, stability and other incentives—the existing publications provide a backdrop for further research, examination, and discussion of design theory.

Beginning with the historical core of boundary walls and gates, to contemporary gated development interpretive manifestations of these features, the inferences one draws from the existing research lay within a compound web of relationships. One assumption that can be clarified through the historical analysis is that territoriality though walls and gates is a recurrent pattern of enclosure within urban development and sociology—not a "new fortress" mentality (Blakely & Snyder). Theories abound as to why gated communities have become common-place from historical, social, political, and economic perspectives. The most prevalent themes that emerged from the literature review are fear, the search for community, and a territorial identity. The following chapters continue an

assessment of social values, symbolic nature, and paradoxes of gated communities along these themes.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL OVERLAYS

"One on a side. It comes to little more;

There where it is we do not need the wall:

He is all pine and I am apple orchard.

My apple trees will never get across

And eat the cones under his pines, I tell him.

He only says, "Good fences make good neighbors."

(Frost 22-27)

Ideas of Community:

I opened up chapter two with lines from Robert Frost's poem "Mending Wall," to evoke the tension between an individual and society and the desire to confine something in or out. Likewise, gated communities have a "precise sense of whom, or more accurately what, they seek to wall out: uncertainty" (Lang 868). Lang and Danielson suggest that gated communities' walls and gates easily become the default solution to societal problems. A further allusion to "societal angst" from the loss of community and a desire for safety and control exists (868). Lang continues that the status and security lucidly delineated by the walls falls short of "signify[ing] a collective understanding among equals" (869). Does the purpose of these walls fulfill the later, positive adage to Frost's poem and contribute to community establishment and enhancement? From the onset, a literal duality exists in the creation of a wall: one side and the other.

Although a seemingly intuitive act of delineating a boundary and property, the practice of erecting walls and gates around today's residential neighborhood developments—as Frost implies—elicits a series of paradoxes within two critical themes: sense of community and fear of crime. Both of these topics, grounded by the dual nature of the wall and gate, are influenced by political, economic, and social domains. In this chapter, I examine the theories and associated debates within the two themes of community and fear as they pertain to gated communities.

To begin the debate, the word "community" necessitates clarification, as the term is spoken of loosely within the rhetoric of developers, public officials, and even scholars. Community implies two working definitions: "one with a focus on the geographic or neighborhood unit and the other with a focus on social relationship factors without reference to location" (Wilson-Doenges 598). The latter definition entails a network of a shared set of interests and values. The feeling, or sense, of community suggests a common language of plurality through mutual bonds. Since "the shape and characteristics of the places we live in have a great influence on our experiences, our social interactions, and our behavior," one must evaluate what defines and influences one's search for place (Blakely & Snyder 31). Sense of community becomes a theoretical concept through which to measure and analyze a place and ultimately understand why gated community living occurs.

Both "sense of community" and "community" remain compounded, loaded terms due to their degree of symbolism and intangibility. Community does imply sharing, whether it is geographically or network oriented. How we perceive the shared structure, territory, experience, or tradition serves as an indicator to our behavior and beliefs. In the

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analysis of gated communities and the search for why people choose to reside in these development types, one must question the perceived decline of community.

As identified in the historical development of gated communities, part of the movement involved the loss of identity, solidarity, and cohesion in the urbanizing city center—leading to the search of the ideal elsewhere. Part of this search became manifested through the design of living arrangements and housing developments. Many sociologists have studied this question of weakened communities, theorizing "what they saw was not community lost but community transformed" (Snyder 32). Robert Putnam's publication *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital* reveals more of this experienced, social isolation. Instead of an ideal, homogeneous and interdependent community of culture and kinship, works now cite the functions and services that community provides—such as production, consumption, and support through economic and contractual means (Roland).

Gated communities begin to breach this idea of community with their political and economic counterparts such as homeowners associations, most commonly known as HOAs (Nelson). The quest for gated community living implies participation "in the social life of a place"– whether that involvement may be through political or economic means (Blakely & Snyder 32). Blakely and Snyder identify, organize, and differentiate elements of community characteristics to establish their gated community typologies. Regardless of the form community represents, the commonality to any structure of community can be expressed through an act of sharing.

The Elements of Community		
Element	Function	Examples
Shared territory	Defining the boundaries of the community	Historical names; housing type; subdivision name; walls; gates
Shared values	Defining identity and commonality	Racial/ethnic background; income level/class; religion; history and traditional celebrations
Shared public realm	Common ground for interaction	Public parks; open space; streets and sidewalks; private subdivision facilities
Shared support structures	Mutual aid and association	Voluntary community organizations, charitable and recreational; churches; professional management
Shared destiny	Mechanisms to protect or guide the future	Civic associations; voluntary neighborhood groups; rules and CC&Rs; homeowner associations

Figure 3-1: Blakely & Snyder's Elements of Community.

From this discussion of community, the series of tensions in the analysis of gated communities and their sense of community arise. While on the surface a particular gated community may be severed from an external network, internally it may be cohesive. The complexity of gated communities begins at but reaches beyond the presence of the walls and gates. Gated developments not only function as communities within the wall's perimeters, but also relate to a larger ordering of external relationships at the neighborhood, municipal, and regional levels:

Gates and fences around 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 value 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 3)

Blakey and Synder recognize these discrepancies, which are related to the territorial and

associated civic values and dimensions functioning within community.

Gated communities can be viewed positively or negatively, and land on either

side of the debate that questions their benefit, need for existence, and design form. They

offer community engagement, yet simultaneously promote civic avoidance. This dispute

encourages analytical attention to the roles these tensions play in providing sense of

community. Civic contribution can be measured by the "high political participation" and

"voter solidarity" within gated communities (Lang 875). However, the localized

commitment to internal interests can inflict a reduction of civic engagement outside the

walls. Lang cites inadequacies in school taxes being raised and new development

proposals generating "not in my backyard" debates as behavior that negatively affects the

broader community.

Gary Pivo, in a panelist debate exploring issues concerning gated communities,

highlights some noteworthy and counterintuitive points in favor of the debate that gated

communities have a strong sense of community. Their marketability comes from the

attention developers give to the communities' lifestyle. The marketed lifestyle attracts

prospective residents of shared interests and when they gather, commonalities emerge—

forming a basis for the potential of community. Although, it can be argued how and to

what extent these shared interests, if any, are realized. Both Pivo and Blakely justify

residents in gated communities voting in blocks, "not unlike the urban ward politics of

the past" (Sydner 873), as empirical evidence for social congruence and cohesion. Privo

adds the example of gated community residents obtaining seats on school boards (outside

of their district) in an attempt to disrupt new spending and thus lower their taxes (873).

There is a resulting concern of this self-interest mentality: "that a sense of community

within gated communities comes at the expense of a larger identity with the region

outside the walls" (Snyder 873). Here lies the tension again: community may be

occurring within the walls, but may be adversely affecting greater social, political, and

economic ties.

Another subtlety that Pivo picks up on deals with local government control and its

relationship to community. Gated communities have the potential to curtail rapid,

exurban growth: instead of people moving farther away from places perceived as

defective, residents have the ability to manage the localized environment within the walls

through privatized control. The assumption, in which people value stability over mobility

and transience, "would increase the heterogeneity of municipalities even as [gated

communities] increase the homogeneity of the population" (Snyder 873).

Pivo references historian Robert Fishman's research and the slowed suburban

growth around London in the mid 19th century as the basis for his argument. The

historical London square, characterized by a gated park and upscale townhomes, slowed

the housing demand in more distant suburbs compared to Manchester where people were

fleeing the urban core (qtd. Lang). Yet, his analysis does not tease apart the square's

green space or gate as being the primary influence to this development characteristic.

Pivo further adds that "the spatial distance between rich and poor may lessen as pockets of wealth become more concentrated and interspersed among less affluent areas" (Synder 873). All of these statements may provide important considerations for policy makers on a regional scale, but the weakness in the argument still remains in the idea of community. Spatially, people of different affluences may be in closer proximity, yet this may lead to policy disagreement and larger lack of community interaction with an "us and them" attitude-- contributing to a justification for further fortification.

Amos Rapoport and his work within the field of environmental behavioral studies boldly makes the case that "whenever elements of the built environment are sharply divided (physically, visually, or mentally) complex relationships among spaces, activities and people on the scale of community cannot occur" (7). Therefore, when one speaks of community, it needs to be clear where the extent of community lies: from the block level to the regional level and beyond. Blakely and Snyder add that we are all members to multiple communities,

> "Like a set of concentric circles or overlapping networks. Community is… a
> political building block and a set of social ideals, formed within a place, a
> territory. As place and community become commodified, environments we buy
> into rather than create, our neighborhoods are more and more shaped by economic
> rather than social institutions. The most recent manifestation of the American
> urban form moves us away from the old power of place based on relationship to a
> new power of place based on property ownership. The walls and gates… are more
> than obstructions to entry; they are symbols of a new social pattern that may
> have profound effects on the nation itself" (35).

There is not only the territorial, place-based gated community, existing within the bounds of the walls and gate, but also the community that can extend outward-- inclusive of mutual responsibility and cooperative strength to foster neighborly interaction. Consideration should be taken to the contextual scale of community, whether territorial or network based, as repercussions exist to the larger whole—namely, a loss of social cohesion and sense of belonging.

The spatial arrangement of the built environment influences one's sense of identity and search for community. As many social critics attest, a diminished sense of community occurs "because something has gone awry in the way we use land to support the built environment" (Fina 739). Public policy scholar Anthony Downs attributes the escalation of conventional low-density suburbs to an American image of the ideal living arrangement. "This image includes a detached, single family home on a spacious lot. From this home, residents would travel to work, shopping and public places consisting mainly of low-rise office or industrial buildings or shopping centers, in attractively landscaped, park-like settings. This travel would be made possible and convenient by the ownership and use of a personal automobile" (Fina 746). Within this image fits the typified gated community, predominately located on the fringe of the urban center, amidst a sprawling spatial condition of disjoined streets and separation of uses. Although this thesis' purpose is not a discourse on suburban sprawl, one must ask if these communities represent the image of an ideal living arrangement within the search for community. In gated community development, the separation of land becomes the de-facto response to achieve this ideal—which leads to questions of the success of gated

communities addressing and resolving the problems that underpin the reasons for their existence.

Just as sprawl and its associated low density development codes separate commercial, industrial, and residential areas, so does the gate separate residences and services from each other. Adjoining this spatial arrangement of gated community living is a strong emphasis on the car for everyday tasks and errands: "streets are wide and may or may not be bordered by sidewalks. Each house has a driveway and garage providing off street parking… layouts are intended to provide maximum individual isolation from traffic and neighbors… and [are not] contiguous to other development[s]" (Fina 744). Furthermore, the gate and entryway visually confirm and cater to a principally vehicular-oriented circulation pattern. Gated community design, related to conventional suburban development tendencies, use walls and gates to separate residences from exterior residential, retail, and commercial/business. These buffers pronounce a distinct separation between interior and exterior community activities, facilities, and even recreational opportunities. Urban planner Kevin Lynch highlights five common features people create via mental mapping as they navigate a city: paths, nodes, regions, landmarks, and edges (Lynch 8). Edges, or barriers, can aid positively in one's wayfinding experience as they provide legibility to the landscape.

Walls and gates, from the onset, encourage distance of community engagement and contact. The presence of these structures stresses a homogenous environment and creates specific social, political, and economic repercussions:

"Arguments range from supply-side claims that the financial benefit to developers, builders, and municipalities drive gating's success, to demand side

proposals that home buyers preferences are the principle motivating factor.

Broader processes of social and political inequality also contribute to this recent

trend, and many consider gating a logical outcome of residential patterns already

in place" (Low 16).

Gated communities represent a form of fragmentation in the environment where public spaces are privatized. Local governments consider them a valuable revenue source because costs are paid by the private developers and homebuyers: "this form of public – private partnership in the provision of urban infrastructure ultimately increases local segregation" (Le Goix 1). Le Goix continues from his findings from a gated community empirical study in the Los Angeles region that "very significant socio-economic dissimilarities are found to be associated with the enclosure, thus defining very homogeneous territories, especially on income and age criteria" (1). These communities support an exclusion that is structured at a municipal level.

To elaborate on Blakley and Snyder's concentric circles analogies, community is the result of interaction from its working units. When separate, these units (people, structures, and systems) cannot relate. Community thrives from active input and constant exchange as a heterogenic arrangement, and fails as a static, exclusive-based model. Social cohesion is lost to the reliance upon economic and policy incentives that play upon people's fears of instability and vulnerability, which in turn, disrupt or warp one's sense of community. Consequently, there are values and benefits to be accrued from heterogeneity and direct conflict resolution that guide and foster a successful, functioning community.

Gating minimizes exposure to risk and is a form of privatism that jeopardizes and restricts access to public space and social goods (manzi, Bowers). This act is problematic as "the popularity of gating reveal[s] concerns about the ability of governments to provide amenities and values that residents expect" and " it raises significant questions about how planners can maintain an integrated and connected urban realm" (Bowers). Lack of familiarity increases perception of vulnerability and fear. Less interaction and awareness to ones neighborhood, town, and city, and relying on external management systems (i.e. the wall or gate) can weaken the community's bonds and diminish common goods otherwise shared by the surrounding area.

Gated communities are not sustainable without a working set of relationships to its members, outside members, and greater urban processes. Policy tensions arise for planners, developers, and community activists to maintain an assimilated and connected community at varying scales. Design opportunity exists in repurposing the walls, gates, and entrance spaces to be more inclusive with respect to civic engagement. The relationship between the entry's design and the community becomes ever more crucial in creatively resolving how the public and private realms connect. As Lynch mentions, clear and distinct boundaries-- facilitated through design—are part of a sequence of spaces that allow for effective navigability. The extent to which design aids this process can be explored through the physical characteristics of an entryway.

Perceptions of Fear:

The second, ubiquitous theme within gated community developments pertains to the subject of fear. This theme appears throughout the literature discussions of gated communities and it now becomes a marketing strategy: "The growth of the fortified enclave is treated as a spatial expression of increasing socio-economic inequalities and urban conflict . . . [and] the location and the security features are one of the first factors that dwellers take into account when purchasing a home" (Bowers 3). A majority of the dialogue involves how fear is a leading concept in motivations for gated communities in addition to exploring the representation of social values within a community. Just as the word community can take on several meanings and implications, so can the word fear.

Embedded within this realm of fear are aspects of perception, safety, and control. These three components, reinforced by one's feelings of familiarity and avoidance, inform the regulation of space through environmental design (Low 47). "As spatial inequality and exclusion are both the intention and outcome of gated communities," fear helps direct gated community design by allaying feelings of vulnerability through fortification (Atkison 9). One gated community resident in an interview with sociologist Setha Low claims she is "more isolated from others, because there is so much space… but the neighborhood is safer… the moment you pass a gate you begin to feel safe" (126). The prevailing question becomes: Why do people resort to gated communities to address and pacify feelings of fear? Answers to these motives lie within the symbolic representation of the gates and walls.

To address the role of fear in gated communities, one must consider the types of fears involved. These forms of fear—as they relate to gated communities—can be defined as a fear of vulnerability (Low 119). This feeling of exposure becomes an undercurrent to fear of the other, spoken broadly as a "desire to separate from someone or something" (Atkison 1). Crime becomes the specific "something" component. Regardless of the type, both fear of others and fear of crime insinuate a desire to control anxiety and establish safety though the means of separation. They are further grounded by the provision of stability:

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

This divisional approach becomes heavily weighed through the structures of gates and walls. Urban and social geography critic Harald Leisch writes "A wall can provide privacy for people who want to be alone and do not want to meet people of another religion, culture or social status in their living area. People are afraid of strangers and feel more secure in a homogenous neighborhood" (Leisch 341). Reinforced by this susceptibility are the fear of crime and the fear of other. Perceptions of crime and the

other help instigate a desire to control in order to establish safety. The walling of communities becomes the materialization of defensive spatial strategies to establish this control.

Means of control are expressed in landscape forms through enclaves and gated designs. Nancy and James Duncan further reveal how the landscape's physical features "function as suburban politics of exclusion" (Low 48). Many existing suburban and urban landscapes, according to environmental psychologist and anthropologist Sally Merry, are increasingly resorting to the spatial model of constructing fences and breaking neighborly relationships in reaction to divergences at the neighborhood level (Merry 87).

Within the planning literature, Blakely and Snyder's *Fortress America* identifies three primary functions of gated communities: lifestyle, prestige, and security zone. These three categories reflect distinctions along the parameter of the community's primary function and reflect the principal intention of the settlement type. For example, lifestyle communities prompt settlement choice through common activities and interests. Prestige communities attract those who seek privacy and status. Security zones predominately emphasize fear as a motivation for defensive strategies in fortification. Furthermore, each main category of lifestyle, prestige, and security zone translates to the character of amenities and facilities, the level of affluence, and security features and barriers (Grant 917). Gated communities can exhibit a variety of features from each type.

Type	Features	Subtypes	Characteristics
Lifestyle	These projects emphasize common amenities and cater to a leisure class with shared interests; may reflect small-town nostalgia; may be urban villages, luxury villages, or resort villages.	Retirement	age-related complexes with suite of amenities and activities
		Golf and leisure	shared access to amenities for an active lifestyle
		Suburban new town	master-planned project with suite of amenities and facilities; often in the Sunbelt
Prestige	These projects reflect desire for image, privacy, and control; they focus on exclusivity over community; few shared facilities and amenities.	Enclaves of rich and famous	secured and guarded privacy to restrict access for celebrities and very wealthy; attractive locations
		Top-fifth developments	secured access for the nouveau riche; often have guards.
		Executive middle class	restricted access; usually without guards
Security zone	These projects reflect fear; involve retrofitting fences and gates on public streets; controlling access	City perch	restricted public access in inner city area to limit crime or traffic
		Suburban perch	restricted public access in inner city area to limit crime or traffic
		Barricade perch	closed access to some streets to limit through traffic

Figure 3-2. Gated Community Typology. Source: Blakely & Snyder.

Within these three overarching types lie nine subtypes that demonstrate four social values: Sense of community, exclusion, privatization, and stability. Important to note are the varying degrees of significance of these four values. Separating gated community residents from outsiders identifies a shared territory through the means, or value, of exclusion.   Privatization is representative of the community value of maintaining a shared destiny by increasing local control. Finally, stability provides a way of protecting common values and support structures among members.

Value	Lifestyle	Prestige	Security zone
Sense of Community	Tertiary	Tertiary	Secondary
Exclusion	Secondary	Secondary	Primary
Privatization	Primary	Tertiary	Tertiary
Stability	Secondary	Primary	Secondary

Figure 3-3. Value rankings in gated community type. Source: Blakely & Snyder

The common denominator of all three types established by Blakely and Snyder remains the component of fear and the psychological need of individuals to mitigate agitations of instability. The resulting design is for a homogenous, predictable environment—railed by a fear of "something" i.e. crime, others, or vulnerability-- which can be achieved through establishing control via the physical characteristics that make up the gated community's form.

Blakely and Synder's classification remains hallmark in its analysis of understanding the desire for fortification. In their journal publication, Jill Grant and Lindsey Mittelsteadt elaborate and refine the factors established in Blakely and Synder's model. Focusing on the features of gated communities, Grant and Mittelsteadt note that "although walls and gates may look similar across cultures, they have a range of functions: physical, economic, social, and symbolic. Gates may keep residents inside, or may keep residents out. Through the course of time, the functions of enclosure may change. Inevitably, though, an enclosure affects the way that people navigate and use space" (Grant 919). Grant and Mittlesteadt's statement also speaks to perceptional differences between high and low income gated communites and how they adapt to or

influence the surrounding social and physical fabric. Played out by fear, gates and walls

reflect the employment of power and discipline over space.

Function of enclosure	physical	economic	social	symbolic
	secure people and property	enhance property values	give visual or spatial privacy	display status and power
	create identity for project	protect club amenities	control those inside	control those outside
Security features	*nature of boundary*		physical	symbolic
	wall	fence opaque	fence visually open	fence electric
	low fence, chain, or bollard	fence barbed	speed bumps or chicanes	pavement texture or colour
	faux guard station	mirrored glass on guard house	'private property' signs	'no parking' signs
	hedge or vegetation	topographic feature	water	desert
	swing-arm gate	lift-arm gate	slide gate	swing gate
	nature of security		devices in road bed	guards at designated times
	guards at all times	patrolling guards	card entry	code entry
	auto opener entry	surveillance cameras	armed guards	house alarms
Amenities and facilities	private roads	meeting place	activity centre	recreational facilities
	open space	landscape maintenance	quality design	commercial facilities
	institutional facilities	guards		
Type of resident	homogeneous by age	homogeneous by class	homogeneous by ethnicity, race, status	shared activity (for example, golf)
Tenure	principal residence	secondary residence	seasonal residence	public housing
	fee simple ownership	condominium ownership	land lease	rental
Location	urban	suburban	exurban	rural
	infill	greenfield	resort destination	inner-city
Size	cul-de-sac pod	neighbourhood (tens to hundreds of units)	village (hundreds of units, some commercial)	town (thousands of units and mix of uses)
Policy context	restricts gating	enables gating	growing area	stable or declining area

Figure 3-4. Gated Community Features

An abundant amount of research has been conducted that correlates fear of crime to the physical environment. First, looking beyond the boundaries of gated communities, documentation reveals the correlation between lack of familiarity and perception of danger. Sally Merry affirms this statement in her study of interactions and perceptions of residents in a Northeastern urban housing project (Merry 87). Jane Jacobs connects fear, mainly of crime, with the built environment in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* and offers guidance of how to establish safety in streets and neighborhoods through eyes on the street approach (1961). Oscar Newman argues that people living in high-rise buildings "cannot defend—see, own, or identify—their territory" (Low 48) and offers gating the streets as a partial solution to mitigate perceptions of danger (Newman 2). Furthermore, criminologist Timothy Crowe introduced "crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED)" programs which include police, administrators, planners, public works and other local agency members in neighborhood designs that apply Newman's defensive space strategies (Crowe 13).

The studies of fear and its linkages to community design begin to suggest how gated communities and their residents deal with fear within a neighborhood context. Similar to previous research, Setha Low asserts, through urban ethnographies, that "familiarity, avoidance, and surveillance play important roles in allaying these fears" (Low 47). A void in a proverbial awareness critically influences one's perception of threat and fear. Investing trust in the peripheral walls of a gated community for supervision instead of establishing familiarity through other parameters like natural surveillance contradicts accepted design principles for crime prevention.

Anxiety about the external, built world and the search for safety relates to a person's negative perceptions of the urban condition. Looking to the larger picture of the urban core and the suburban fringe, Americans began moving to the suburbs, in part, to find relief from the more undesirable characteristics of the city. Adversity to people of differing race, class, or socio economic status can be included in these perceived, unappealing city aspects. This aversion starts to manifest itself not only in suburbia, but in the later development of gated communities "as time passed and undesirable conditions showed up anyway" (Guterson 56). Not only does suburbia traditionally offer a security net to the fleeing of the city center, but the gated community compounds and exacerbates safety perceptions at an additional level. Developers and master planners, according to Robert Fishman in *Bourgeois Utopia*, recognized an opportunity to play on these concerns and offer gated communities as the solution to fearful perceptions.

David Guterson, in the Green Valley Nevada master-planned gated community, speaks with residents about what brought them there and they answer: "It's safe here… And clean. And nice. The schools are good and the crime rate low. It's what buyers are looking for." (56 Harpers Magazine). He continues with a resident who relocated from San Diego: "We moved here because… there were these forces, if you know what I mean. There were too many things we couldn't control. Drugs and stuff. It wasn't healthy for our kids" (58-59 Harpers).

This discourse of fear calls attention to an examination of the extent to which these fear concerns are realized. At the nation's scale, there has been an increase in the fear of crime since the 1960s (Colvard 1997), yet a decline in all crime since the 1980s (FBI Uniform Crime Reports). Safety is a legitimate disquiet for every person, and the

role gates and walls serve warrants attention to the fulfillment of their purpose within the gated community context, especially with provision to perceived sense of security.

Urban studies and psychology professor Georjeanna Wilson-Doenges concludes from her comparative study of gated and nongated communities that gated communities provide a false sense or no sense of security at all (Doenges 609). She elaborates on her findings:

> "The implications of giving people a false sense of security and giving them opportunities to withdraw from their surrounding community are serious and are in exact opposition to the sales pitch of developers. Perhaps because the walls are erected by outsiders to the community and guarded off by paid staff or electronic devices, the residents feel that their safety is taken care of. On the other hand, they feel no ownership in the protection of their own community assets. The bulwarking approach to defensible space lacks the social responsibility needed to create the natural surveillance and community bonding that is essential for territorial functioning to succeed" (608).

Furthermore, with the lure of complacency from the walls and gates, gated community residents may actually leave themselves open to property crime by being more likely to leave, as an example, a garage door open (Blakely 52).

Along with crime, gated communities seek to control daily nuances, such as solicitors, traffic, and outside community members. An aversion to confrontation—with strangers and even neighbors—becomes a common characteristic. Reluctance exists to directly address a residential concern. Lang provides the example of a resident preferring to ask a gated community security guard for children to stop playing basketball instead of

a direct confrontation (872). Being more inclined to avoid confrontation "may represent a larger suburban behavioral pattern (873)" as residents rely on third parties to resolve social exchanges. A greater implication results on the level of safety and control as the gates and walls act as the surrogate for resolving both positive and negative interactions: whether the interaction be a friendly encounter with a stranger or deterring the occurrence of a crime.

The paradox of gated communities continues: they may be successful at establishing control by warding off daily intrusions, but this also creates an environment "with few of the surprises or random encounters characteristic of traditional urban life" (Lang 872). In this sense, the micro, physical community severs the macro, social community.

By excluding people and places perceived as threats to the protection and quality of life, "gated communities respond to middle-class and upper-class individuals' desire for community and intimacy and facilitate avoidance, separation, and surveillance. They bring individual preferences, social forces, and the physical environment together in an architectural reality and cultural metaphor" (Low 48). Looking at the overlay of fear on the gated community typology, apprehensions arise concerning the conditions of safety, vulnerability, and crime. These tensions are guided by perceptions of the environment. Building barriers, on the surface, appeases safety and control measures through the exclusionary means of a gated threshold. One of the unresolved challenges remains that the secure design of these communities is "nominal and symbolic, rather than well-researched and effective" (Atkison 4), adding to the complexity of influences and consequences of gated communities.

Although a plethora of work exists about gated developments, the research is still in its infancy with respect to the varying classifications, typologies, and ever-changing contexts that gated communities embody. Current literature offers few solutions or strategies of how to adapt and enhance suburban gated community design, both existing and new, from a landscape perspective. In the following chapter I examine a neighborhood in depth to explore the overlays of fear and community.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

"The gaps I mean,

No one has seen them made or heard them made,

But at spring mending-time we find them there.

I let my neighbor know beyond the hill;

And on a day we meet to walk the line

And set the wall between us once again.

We keep the wall between us as we go."

(Frost 9-15)

Research Setting:

The preceding chapters examined the historical context of walled territorial space, and presented current literature and research about gated communities and their development. Undertones of community-making and fear reside within the plurality of the economic, social, and political influences of gated communities. This complexity leads me to further inquiry about the gated threshold as a materially substantial cue in the landscape-- providing either a welcoming statement for community values as a place for community engagement or an uninviting announcement of exclusion.

The speaker in Frost's poem remains unconvinced by the reasoning of his neighbor and the necessity of walled boundaries in certain settings. I too question the motives behind the wall-building strategies employed by suburban gated communities--

in particular the fortified entryway-- and its internal and external impacts. What positive and negative values does a gated threshold serve? The physical ordering of gated communities plays a symbiotic relationship to their context: the geographic, social, political, and economic structures. This multi-fold nature of gated communities lends me to further elaborate on these issues by studying a gated community at the neighborhood scale and then relating the analysis to a broader scope.

I question if increased sense of community and desire for security legitimately justifies the need for fortified, private neighborhood entries to communities in American suburbia. By studying a specific gated community in Athens, GA, I look to elaborate on some of the present, conventional thought of territorial space of these property developments. Part of this popularized attitude is the need to close off street and public networks through gating or walling to establish and protect (safety, marketability values) the community within the formal boundary: "The perception was that the marketplace wouldn't support a new housing development unless it had the security of gates" (Nasser). What effect or influence does gated entry design have on the gated community's future adaptability, internally, and within the community at large? This question has mainly been left unanswered in existing literature review. Jill Grant categorized gated communities through a list of design features and the function of enclosure, as mentioned in Chapter 2. However, few works have studied the role of entry design on a community's vitality.

Due to this current housing situation that has left many properties abandoned and in disrepair, gated communities should embody progressive, flexible strategies which anticipate and resolve future demands of economic downturns and prosperity and

population fluctuations. Some of these tensions can be addressed at the level of the gated neighborhood entry. Again, little examination exists regarding the entry threshold as an influential piece in a community's landscape. The entry threshold offers potential approaches in reconciling not only immediate needs of the community, but providing an area of focus for prospective, surrounding development. Additional research that measures physical features of gated community entryways may provide evidence on affecting how people interact and feel about their community.

My research approach involves investigating a specific gated community in Athens, GA, and it encompasses two main pieces of investigation. The first methodological component is a survey that examines residents' perceptions related to sense of community, fear, and gated entryways. The questionnaire serves as a preliminary, diagnostic exploration of the thesis question: Does the gated entry directly affect activity at this public/private interface? If so, does affected activity and interaction indirectly influence perceptions of community and fear with gated community residents and non-residents? The second portion involves field observation through behavior mapping and pictures to help analyze the impact of the gated interface's design on people's patterns of movement, interaction, and contact.

Context:

The case study is of a suburban, residential neighborhood named Jennings Mill. This property was selected because its location, spatial arrangement, and physical features offer a distinct opportunity to assess specific components related to community within the frame of gated community developments. Located near the western periphery

of the Athens-Clarke County Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), the Jennings Mill

neighborhood contains gated and non-gated access points; golf, swim, and tennis

amenities; along with a unique internal property division layout. The physical constructs

and spatial relationships of these components lend themselves as opportunities to the

adjacent, suburban conditions and the developing context of the greater Athens area.

Jennings Mill is situated within two jurisdictions-- Athens-Clarke and Oconee

counties-- and is divided into two different residential developments that follow this

jurisdictional boundary: The Village—in Athens-Clarke-- being gated and private and

Jennings Mill Country Club (CC)—in Oconee-- being non-gated and accessible to the

public. The Village was chosen first (with survey questions geared toward this

community tract) and Jennings Mill CC was chosen after research found that the two

communities were linked in their historical development and subsequent, current ties.
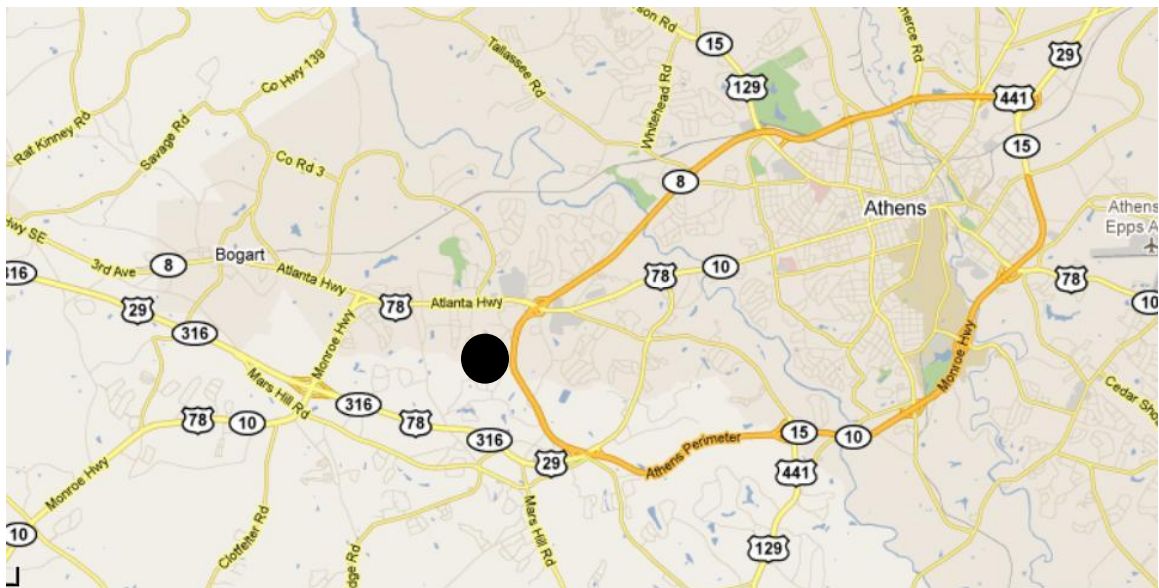
Figure 4-1: Study Area indicated by black circle. Source: Google maps.
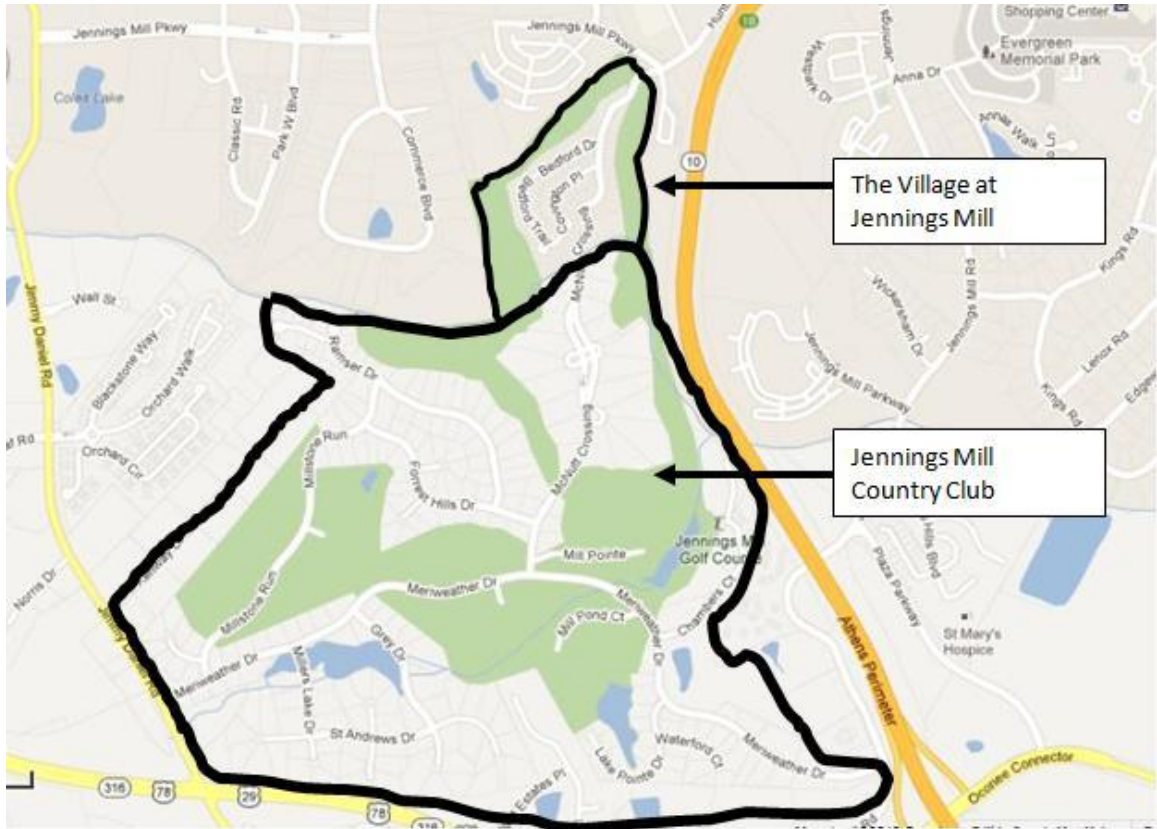
Figure 4-2: Study Area The Village & Jennings Mill CC. Source: Google maps.

In 1801, David Meriwether opened a grist mill on the current Jennings Mill Country Club land "to serve the growing Athens community" (www.jenningsmillclub.com). The mill closed in 1939. In 1981, some Athens investors and developers "recognized the need for a new country club real estate community serving Clarke and Oconee Counties" and the Jennings Mill golf and residential community was the outcome of the partnership (www.jenningsmill.com). The dam that was part of the original mill still holds back the water at the golf putting green. The mill's former service building, now the pump house, remains near the driving range (www.jenningsmill.com). After the initial lot development of Jennings Mill CC, another phase of the development expanded to the Athens-Clarke County side, to what would

become The Village at Jennings Mill. From an informal interview with a Jennings Mill

HOA member, I was informed that due to developer incentives, this second phase of

development at The Village turned into a last minute deal of smaller lot sizes with higher

density. To help curtail traffic cut through from Jennings Mill CC, gated entries were put

in place on The Village's side. Although the two areas are of differing home values and

development densities, the factor of having two communities bounded by the same

neighborhood name, HOA, and shared golf/tennis/swim amenities, allows a unique

comparison opportunity for the questionnaire results.

PROPERTY OVERVIEW		
	The Village at Jennings Mill	**Jennings Mill Country Club**
county	Athens-Clarke County	Oconee County
total housing units/lots	108	263
zoning	RS-5 single family residential	R-1-PUD single family residential
Average lot size	0.4 acre	1 + acre
median home value	$ 140,000 – 160,000	$ 400,000-450,000
street	Private and gated entrances	Public and non-gated entrances

Figure 4-3: Source: Athens-Clarke and Oconee Public Records

The study area of Jennings Mill CC-- the non-gated planned unit development

located on the Oconee County side-- is the county's first planned unit development

(web). The second area, The Village at Jennings Mill, is the smaller, gated community

counter-part in Athens-Clarke County and is located directly north of Jennings Mill CC.

The Village's primary gated entrance fronts Athens-Clarke county, and the second gate

sits at the threshold between The Village and Jennings Mill Country Club above McNutt

Creek. A golf course bridges the two developments spatially and recreationally, but the

golf, swim, and tennis facilities are all located within the Jennings Mill Country Club tract.

Entrances:

A total of three, primary entryways exist in providing street access to the Jennings Mill residential development (refer to Figure 4-4 for location and number key). The Village's gated entrance (1) to its privatized roads sits directly at the end of Huntington Road, which is intersected by Jennings Mill Parkway. Jennings Mill CC contains two, ungated entries to its public streets: a west side entrance off of Jimmy Daniel Road (2) and an east side entrance that sits off of Jennings Mill Road (3). Both Jimmy Daniel and Jennings Mill Roads are higher speed limit (45mph) and traffic volume streets than Huntington Road and Jennings Mill Parkway (25 mph)—acting as thoroughfares that connect traffic from Highway 316, Atlanta Highway, and Athens Perimeter. A secondary gated entrance to The Village is situated internally to the Jennings Mill development along McNutt Crossing (4). None of the streets, with the exception of Jennings Mill Parkway, are bound by sidewalks.
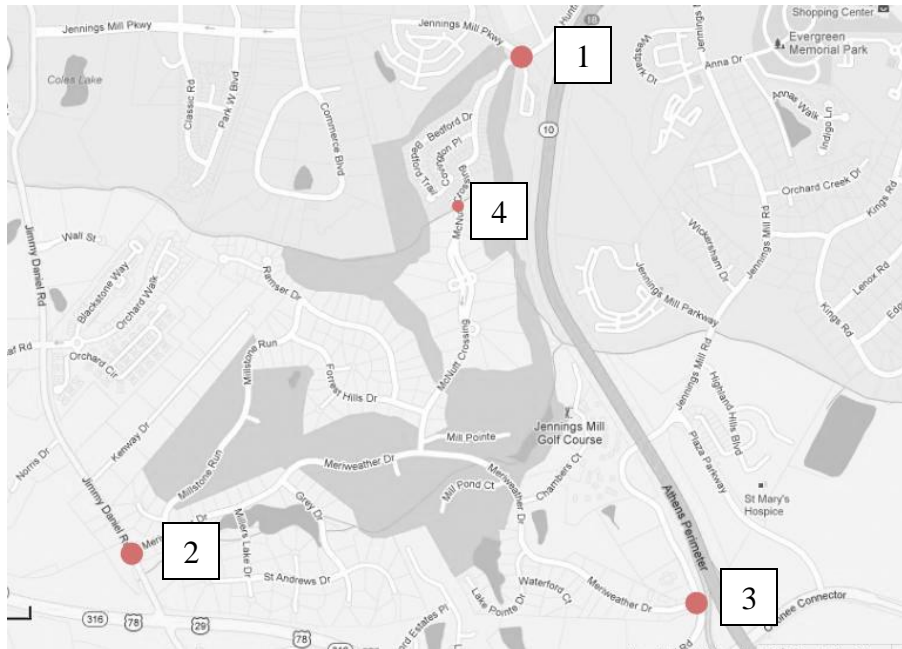
Figure 4-4: Entrance points to the Jennings Mill neighborhood. Refer to numbers in text.
Source: Google maps.
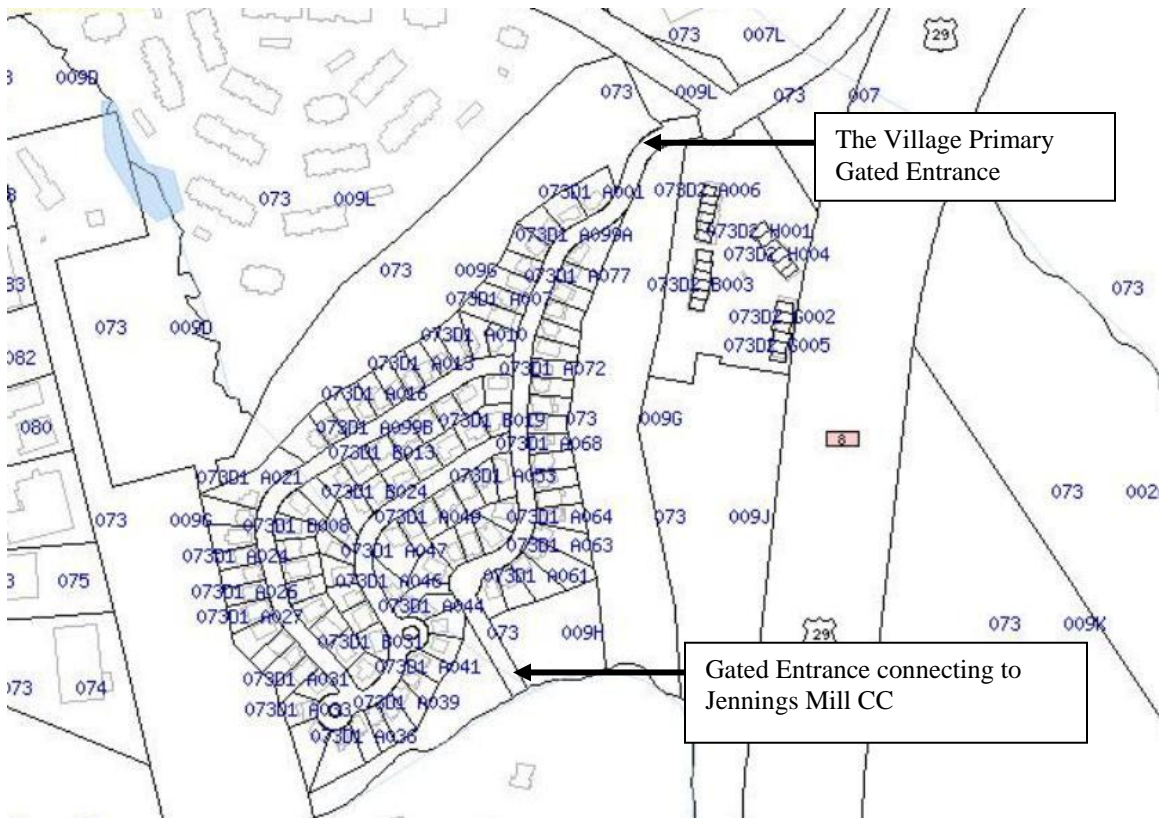
Figure 4-5: The Village at Jennings Mill Parcel Map. Source: ACC Accessor.
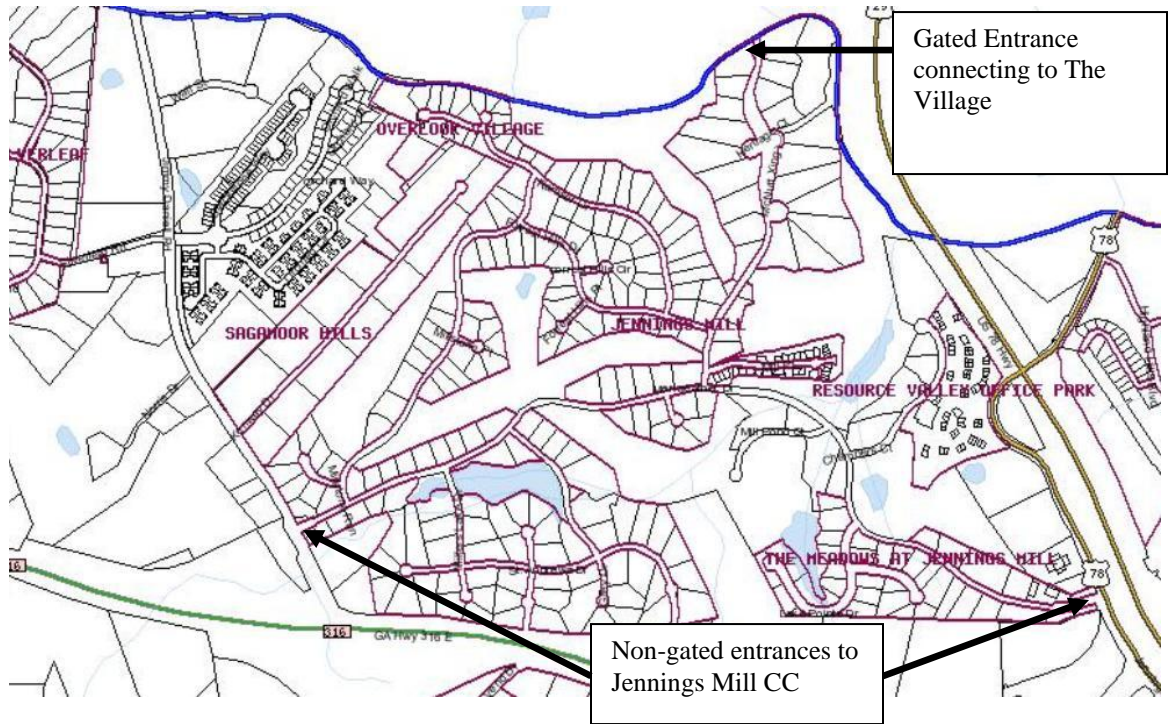
Figure 4-6: Jennings Mill Country Club Parcel Map. Source: Oconee Tax Accessor.

The Village's primary entrance at the Huntington/Jennings Mill Parkway intersection falls under the classification of "restricted entry" from its electronically controlled access wrought iron gates (Grant 922). Residents enter via a gate code or clicker. However, The Village property is not enclosed by a fence. The gates remain close except during weekday afternoon hours from 2:30 to 4pm. Design features of the Village's entrance include two faux guard houses on either sides of the gate, an entry sign that displays the subdivision name, and two decorative retaining walls. These landscape components, along with vegetative plantings and the natural land feature of a hill to the north of the entry, provide a total sense of enclosure to the property. A lack of sidewalk paving immediately adjacent to the property provides less pedestrian accessibility around and through The Village.

Figure 4-7: Primary gated access to The Village. Source: Google maps & author photo.

Figure 4-8: The Village gated entry design elements. Source: author photo.

Figure 4-9: The Village gated entry design elements. Source: author photo.

The secondary gated access point to The Village, along with the remaining two entrance points to Jennings Mill CC differ in their typology and functions. The only linkage between the two properties (aside from the golf course's private golf cart paths) is a gate that prevents vehicles and pedestrians from passing through. This chain fence gate, mechanically operated by a clicker and sitting at the end of a concrete bridge, is smaller in height and width than the primary gate. McNutt Creek flows beneath the bride and gate, and acts as a natural barrier between The Village and Jennings Mill CC.

Figure 4-10: The Village secondary gated entry. Source: Google map & author photo.

The western and eastern entrances to Jennings Mill CC, although abruptly meeting higher speed roads that are aligned with residential and commercial lots (mostly undeveloped) serve as identity place markers to the subdivisions. The focal points of these two entrances are signage, along with hardscape design and vegetative plantings. Furthermore, within Jennings Mill CC are a series of subdivided residential and recreational areas, with entry signage and faux decorative gates. Their presence in the landscape serves as way finding landmarks.

Figure 4-11: Jennings Mill CC west entry. Source: Google map & author photo.

Figure 4-12: Jennings Mill CC west entry design elements. Source: author photos.
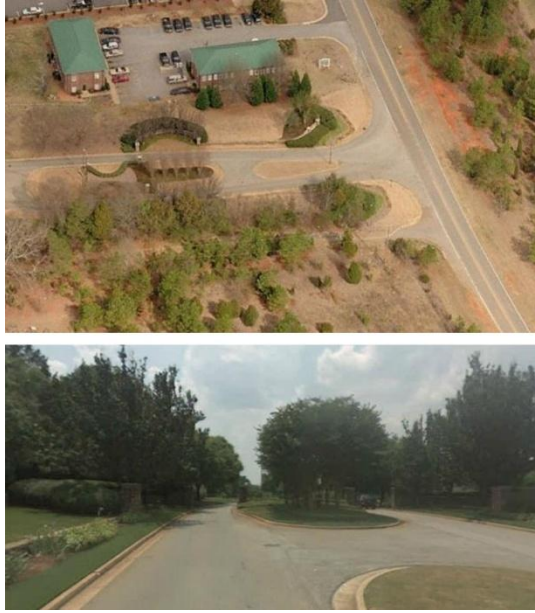
Figure 4-13: Jennings Mill CC east entry. Source: Google map & author photo.

Figure 4-14: Jennings Mill CC east entry design elements. Source: author photos.

Figure 4-15: Jennings Mill CC internal entries. Source: author photos.

The adjacent land uses to the primary, gated entrance of The Village include a gated apartment complex, small business park, and the half vacant Perimeter Square Shopping Center (Goodwill, eateries, small business, and outreach ministries). Within a half-mile radius there is a further mix of residential single family homes and the commercial/retail uses along the Atlanta Highway strip (Starbucks, Pier One Imports, McDonalds); all within close proximity to the Athens Perimeter Highway and Highway 316 corridors. Opportunities of connectivity exist with these adjoining places. This

immediate context and its future development plans helped inform some of the questions

for the questionnaire.

According to the U.S. 2010 census, Athens is the fifth largest city in Georgia

Additionally, it anchors Oconee, Clarke, Madison, and Oglethorpe counties as the

principal city within Athens-Clarke MSA (US Census). Looking at the U.S. Census local

growth records over the past decade, Northeast Georgia counties continue to grow

equivalent to or faster than the state.

COUNTY	2000	2005	2010	% increase 2000-10
Barrow	46,144	59,465	69,367	50.3%
Clarke	101,489	109,503	115,452	15.0%
Jackson	41,589	52,021	60,485	45.4%
Madison	25,730	27,157	28,120	9.3%
Oconee	26,225	28,833	32,808	25.1%
Oglethorpe	12,635	13,400	14,899	15.2%
Georgia	**8,186,453**	**9,090,479**	**9,687,653**	**18.3%**

Figure 4-16: County Populations. Source: U.S. Census

As increasing population and development creates political, economic, and social

concerns for housing and land [re]development, where can a residential gated community

fit into this backdrop of opportunities and constraints? More specifically, what

contributing roles can the gated threshold serve in the landscape to cultivate community

and sense of place?

Research Methodology- Questionnaire:

Procedure. The community-resident questionnaire method was developed to measure the

sense of community and sense of fear between two differing communities and establish a

point of comparison to one another, the existing body of literature, and relationship to

activity at the gated entrance. Questions included reasons for the development choice,
perceptions of community and safety, and opinions for entranceways. (See appendix for
full survey).

A total of 371 surveys were mailed, with the opportunity to respond to the
questionnaire on-line as well. Return mail included 20 questionnaires from forwarded
address and vacant houses/ lot error. In total 102 were received by The Village and 249
were received by Jennings Mill CC (a final total of 351 total surveys). Of The Village's
102 surveys, 39 residents responded which gave a response rate of 38%. From the
Jennings Mill Country Club's 249 surveys, 78 residents responded to yield a response
rate of 31%. This relatively low response rate from both neighborhoods shows the
difficulty in garnering participation from the residents. With consideration to the sample
size, response rates warranted adequate feasibility to the questionnaire study (market
directions analytical group 2)

Although the questionnaire's objective is to serve as a tool to quantify data, not all
questions could be rigidly structured and partitioned into categories for respondents to
choose from. In the case when the subject/content of the question involved how
respondents perceived their environment, open-response questions were used. Open-
ended questions allowed residents a chance to vocalize any needs, values, and concerns
that may have been unanticipated within the series of structured questions. To help
quantitatively organize and assess the open-ended questions, responses were partitioned
into categories.

Codes were applied to the remaining participant responses. The structured, pre-
coded questions used nominal and ordinal organizing mechanisms: dividing response

63

items into separate or parallel categories and using rank order arrangement for measuring

magnitude. Both the open-ended and pre-coded categories maintained mutual

exclusiveness, exhaustiveness, and had a single level of abstraction.

Results- Questionnaire:

Community overview. For general community and respondent characteristics, both The

Village and Jennings Mill Country Club (CC) had residents of age fifty and over as the

largest demographic group. The Village contained a significantly greater percent

distribution of younger residents in the 18-29 and 30-39 year age brackets. However, a

higher percentage (22%) of residents from Jennings Mill CC had children under the age

of 18 living with them compared to The Village (4%). For community establishment, The

Village showed a generally even distribution of years lived at the residence ranging less

than one year to over 10 years, while 58 percent of Jennings Mill CC residents reported

residing in the community for over 10 years. Both communities were characterized by a

low amount of renters: 7 percent for The Village and 0 percent for Jennings Mill CC.

Both communities cited location as their greatest influence for choice of residence.

Regarding the respondent's community interaction, both The Village and

Jennings Mill CC had a high percentage (93 percent and 92 percent respectively) of

residents reporting interaction with other residents. The most common outdoor spaces

for interaction happened internally: a street within the neighborhood and a resident's

yard. Five percent of Jennings Mill CC residents did cite neighborhood entrances for

places of interaction, while no Village residents reported interaction at any entrance. A

significantly lower percentage of respondents for both The Village (41 percent) and

Jennings Mill CC (45 percent) interacted with non-residents within the neighborhood.

Again, residents were the least likely to interact with non-residents at neighborhood entrances or the street immediately exterior to the entrance. More Jennings Mill Country Club respondents reported seeing non-residents frequenting the neighborhood streets versus The Village's respondents. According to the free response question of perceptions of non-residents using the streets, the term "non-resident" was interpreted to be both pedestrian and vehicular. Perceptions from both respondent sets ranged from negative to positive.

RESPONDENT PERCEPTIONS OF NON-RESIDENTS IN NEIGHBORHOOD			
		The Village	**Jennings Mill CC**
How do you feel when you see non-residents using the JM neighborhood streets? (open-ended)			
Perception	**Example**		
Negative	"Uneasy" "They do not belong"	15% (13)	12% (40)
Somewhat negative	"Uneasy unless they provide services"	8%	25%
Neutral	"Ambivalent"	23%	28%
Somewhat positive	"Okay if it's people from the apartments or Oconee side out walking"	46%	35%
Positive	"It's nice to see people out"	8%	0%

Figure 4-17: Survey Question Results.

Relatively low neighborhood activity involvement characterized The Village and Jennings Mill CC: when asked if "involved with community activities in the Jennings Mill neighborhood," 28 percent of The Village responded yes and 37 percent of Jennings Mill CC responded yes. Respondents gave reasons of few or little opportunities offered, lack of information, or no places for community involvement without being a member of the county club. Activity reported for involvement outside of the neighborhood for both

respondent sets was an inverse of internal neighborhood activity, with involvement rates around eighty percent.

Sense of community. The questionnaire revealed that the gated community sample of The Village showed both similarities and differences for sense of community in comparison to the non-gated counterpart of Jennings Mill CC. The mean response for both communities of overall perceived sense of community landed in the somewhat strong to strong range. For the Village, a slightly higher rate was given to community being "non-existent" and a slightly lower rate for community being "very strong." A shared public realm and territory was the most important value component to establishing community for The Village, with protection being the valued choice and experience for residing in the Jennings Mill neighborhood. Additionally, sense of community was least valued in neighborhood choice (17 percent) and experience (13 percent). In contrast, Jennings Mill CC respondents gave stability and sense of community as top responses for neighborhood choice and experience, with shared values and public realm as the most important components to developing community. Both The Village and Jennings Mill CC reported the neighborhood lacking activities and affiliated public spaces for activity to occur. When asked to provide examples of community, both respondent sets indicated the same with respect to social gatherings, friendly neighbors, country club recreation amenities (golf, swim, and pool), and appearance/affluence of the neighborhood. However, the Jennings Mill CC respondents gave a larger range of examples than The Village.

Safety. Involving experiences and perceptions of safety, The Village respondents had no

first-hand experience of a crime within the neighborhood, and a small percentage of

Jennings Mill Country Club respondents (17%) had been crime victims within the

neighborhood. Regarding knowledge of a crime within the neighborhood, 28% of Village

respondents claimed yes in comparison to a significantly higher percentage of

respondents from Jennings Mill Country Club (72%). For perceptions of security,

Jennings Mill CC residents responded with a slightly higher percentage of positive

feelings of security than the gated Village. Four percent of The Village respondents

included the category of "unsecure" while Jennings Mill CC respondents did not.

Neighborhood Entrance. As expected, the majority of residents from The Village used

the gated Village entrance in their typical, daily transportation routes. Jennings Mill CC

respondents mostly used the non gated neighborhood entrances on the Jennings Mill CC

side as the most prevalent. Both respondent sets gave proximity to destination and

convenience to house as the main influence to entrance choice. A small set of

respondents from both communities claimed the entrance type, gated or non-gated,

influenced their choice of entry. Respondent attitudes regarding gated entry varied

between The Village and Jennings Mill CC. A greater percentage of total respondents

from The Village had positive perceptions of the gated entry in comparison to Jennings

Mill CC. Providing a sense of security and restricted access was the dominant response

from both communities as justification for liking the gated entrance. However, Jennings

Mill CC respondents alluded to vehicular access ("prevents traffic from cutting though")

more than The Village—who referenced pedestrian traffic as well ("discourages

wanderers").

RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS OF GATED ENTRY				
			The Village	**Jennings Mill CC**
Attitude towards gated entry				
	Like (+) Dislike (-) Both like and dislike Indifferent		76% (39) 17% 0% 7% 0%	38% (78) 15% 1% 12% 23%
Justification for perception	**example**			
	sense of security, deterrent	"I like the idea of controlled access" & "limited access reduces crime"	13 (number of responses)	23
+	Marketing/value	"I purchased the home specifically because it was gated" & "added re-sale value"	2	0
+	Aesthetic & privacy	"creates a nice entrance and internal environment"	1	1
+	identity	"establishes community"	1	0
-	maintenance	"expensive"	1	3
-	False security and access	"people can walk around gate"	2	3
-	nuisance	"difficult to have visitors" & "hard to ride our bikes around gate"	5	5

Figure 4-18: Survey Question Results.

Research Methodology- Behavior Mapping:

Procedure. The goal of the behavior mapping was to examine the influence of the gated

boundary's design and physical presence on pedestrian and vehicular movement and

exchange. Explicitly, this purpose entailed identifying the gated entryway's function(s):

creating privacy for residents within the gate, limiting access to non-resident foot and vehicular traffic for safety/fear precautions, and delineating property edge. This entryway was chosen for its gated access design, its function as the primary access point for The Village, it's geographic position situated at the terminus of a public street, along with its adjacent spaces and surrounding developments. The questions that organized the behavior mapping included:

- Does the gated interface facilitate positive identity and character to the neighborhood as a place of interaction?

- Does regulating access to non-residents also cause a degree of difficulty of exchange and access for the gated community residents?

- Does the gated street entry serve as a psychological boundary to the rest of the community, because there is no wall restricting foot access?

Specifically, the format involved a systematic collection of activities around the gate: pedestrian and vehicular circulation patterns which noted the (path) origin and destination of activity, the person or vehicular type, along with miscellaneous data like idle time spent by car traffic at the gate. This mapping was conducted during three different times of the day (morning, afternoon, and evening) for twenty minute intervals over a two week period.

	PATH		TYPE			MISC. ACTIVITY	
	pt. of origin	end pt. (A,B,C,D)	car	service (maintenance, delivery)	other	wait time (>15 sec)	notes
vehicular A							
B							
C							
D							
	pt. of origin	end pt. (a,b,c,d)	recreator (walk/run)	bicyclist	other	wait time (>15 sec)	notes
pedestrian a							
b							
c							
d							

Figure 4-19: Behavior map data collection chart.

Results- Behavior Mapping:

Vehicular. Over the two week span, the number of vehicles accounted for in a daily

average at the gated intersection was 120. Huntington Road was the dominant

thoroughfare for both point of vehicular origin and point of destination. Cars were the

prominent vehicle type with 89% total of all vehicles documented. Similarly, of the 908

total vehicles that passed through the gate, 87% were cars with the remaining 13% being

comprised of service vehicles (maintenance, delivery, and "other" which was a school

bus or security patrol car). Nearly 25% (23.7%) of the 908 vehicles passing through the

gated community path sat idle at the gate for more than 15 seconds. Themed occurrences

from field notes are as follows:

- Vehicles accelerated to pass through the gate when vehicles were ahead of them

  or they saw the gates open due to recent activity of a vehicle passing though

- Gates were consistently open during weekday late afternoons from 2:30-4:00 pm presumably for school bus traffic. Vehicles tended to accelerate less to pass through the gated threshold during these hours.

- Vehicles in the "guest call box lane" typically followed in after "resident" vehicles entered/opened the gates, contributing to vehicular "pile-up"

- People got out of vehicle (typically service vehicles to punch in a code to open gate), a few instances included people in vehicles having to swipe card multiple times and sit at entry when gates appeared to be malfunctioning
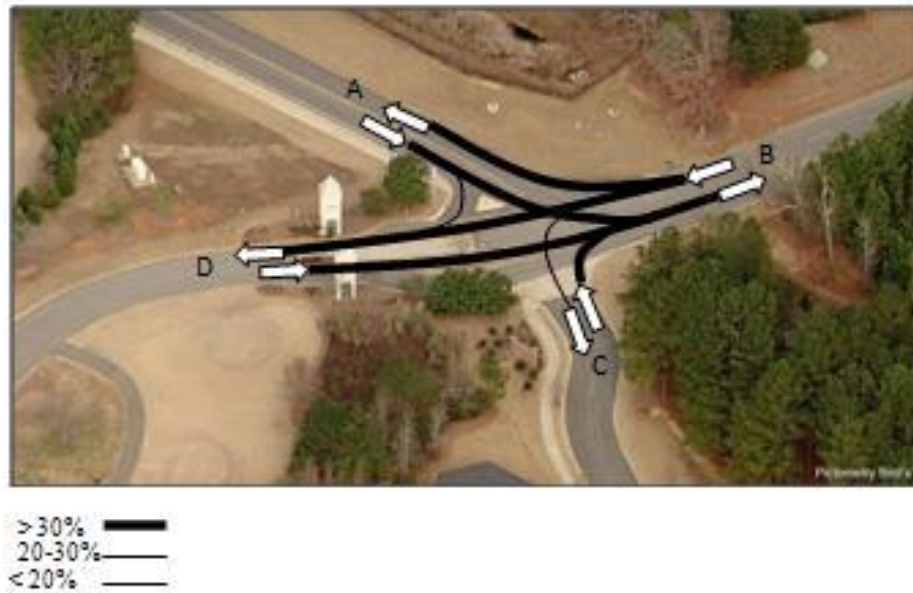
Figure 4-20: Vehicular paths-Percent Total from point of origin. Note: point D is located within the gated community, while points A, B, & C are outside the gated community.

DAILY AVERAGE VEHICLE COUNT PATH MATRIX						
			end point			
			A	B	C	D
point of origin	A		--	82% (31)	0%	18% (31)
	B		41% (39)	--	23% (39)	36% (39)
	C		0% (14)	100% (14)	--	--
	D		0% (36)	100% (36)	0% (36)	--

DAILY AVERAGE VEHICULAR (x) COUNT PATH MATRIX x=120		
location	Point of origin	End point
A	26%	28%
B	32%	33%
C	12%	13%
D	30%	26%

Figure 4-21.

Figure 4-22: Traffic observation from field notes: Source: author photos.

Pedestrian. The daily average number of people accounted for in pedestrian activity was

30. Although the gated street entry is permeable at its edges with no walls, a degree of

separation for foot traffic still existed: pedestrian circulation through or around the gate

(13%) was significantly less than the other 87% of pedestrian traffic that did not breach

the gated interface. Of the 13% using the gate entrance, 75% passed directly through the

gate via a swipe card or conveniently entered when the gates were open. The remaining

25% went around the gates. Locations "a" and "c" were frequented paths of activity for

walkers and runners (30%-37%), and location "e" was a recurrent destination for dog

walkers (with an average stopping time of 5 minutes). Also, 33% of the time, pedestrians

from location "a" turned around at the intersection and headed back towards the "a"

location.
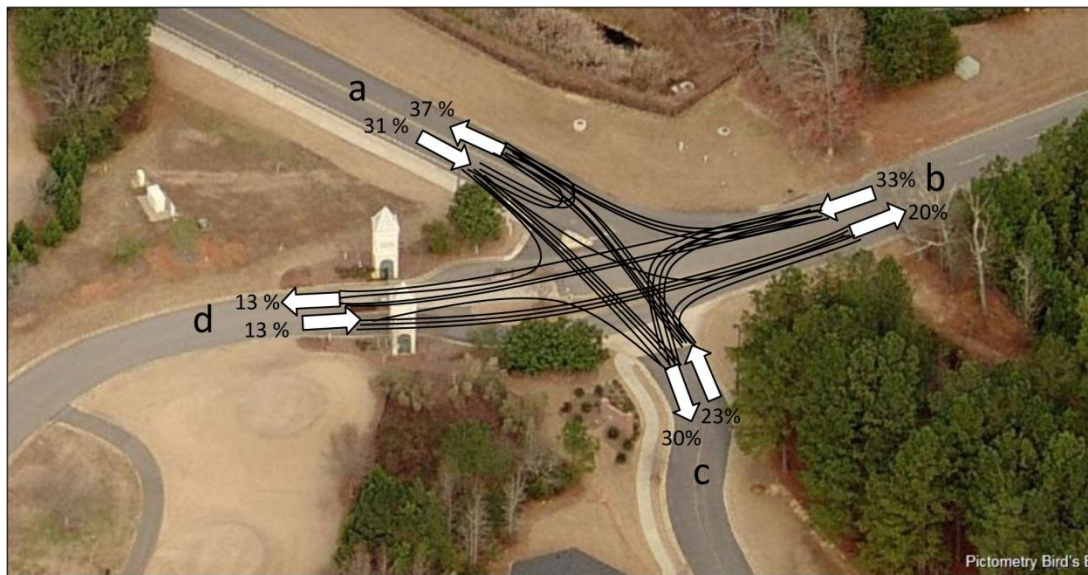
Figure 4-23: Daily average pedestrian origin and end point paths

		end point			
DAILY AVERAGE PEDESTRIAN COUNT PATH MATRIX		a	b	c	d
point of origin	a	33% (9)	11% (9)	44% (9)	11% (9)
	b	30% (10)	0% (10)	40% (10)	30% (10)
	c	71% (7)	29% (7)	0% (7)	0% (7)
	d	0% (4)	75% (4)	25% (4)	0% (4)

DAILY AVERAGE PEDESTRIAN (y) COUNT PATH MATRIX y=30		
location	Point of origin	End point
a	31%	37%
b	33%	20%
c	23%	30%
d	13%	13%

Fig. 4-24
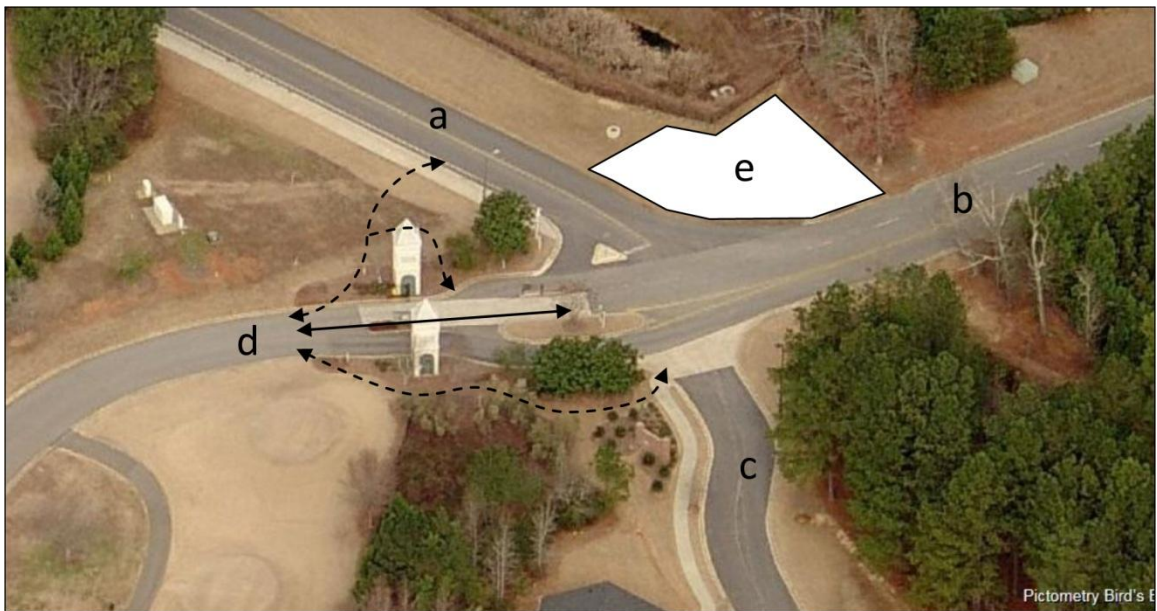
pedestrian path through gate (75%)
pedestrian path around gate (25%)

Figure 4-25: Pedestrian Paths.

Figure 4-26: Pedestrian- bike entry at gates (left), running around gate (right)

Figure 4-27: Pedestrian paths around gate

Summary:

The Jennings Mill survey provided the grounds for collecting information about the residents and measuring the neighborhood's sense of community and fear. Through the behavior mapping study, the design and spatial characteristics of The Village's gated entrance indicate a negative impact on pedestrian and vehicular patterns. Vehicles sat idle at the gates for extended periods of time (greater than 15 seconds). The gates did not adequately serve their function to prevent unwanted traffic and control speed as cars easily passed through during times when gates were left open and cars increased their

speed to gain entry behind a vehicle in front of them. The large majority of non residents, on the exterior gate side, never made an attempt to pass into The Village. Spaces immediately adjacent to the gate were utilized the most for pedestrian interactions (talking, dog walking, recreating). Residents who did pass through the gates struggled with convenience issues, such as biking through the closed gates. Entryway comparisons reveal the physical context, design quality, and treatment of space influences how an entryway is perceived as a threshold or barrier. Subsequently, the disruptive effect on movement patterns affects residential interaction and indirectly affects one's perception of community. While the gate's design may serve as a positive identity marker in the landscape, it does not generate interaction between inside and outside the community. Instead, the entryway facilitates annoyance (for residents and non residents) and acts as an impermeable boundary for the larger community. The following chapter addresses in further detail what was learned from the methodology and its implications at a more macro scale.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

"Something there is that doesn't love a wall,

That sends the frozen groundswell under it

And spills the upper boulders in the sun,

And makes gaps even two can pass abreast."

(Frost 1-4)

Discussion:

The case study of Jennings Mill was an exploration of how physical gating

impacts the spatial and social cohesion within suburban, private developments. From the

survey and behavior mapping data, I found informative patterns that refuted and

supported the theoretical overlays from Chapter 3 (sense of community and fear). The

results further indicate there is no single typological description or sociological

categorization of gated community characteristics at the micro level as suggested by a

majority of the ideological discourse presented in the previous chapters. Gated

communities have varying degrees of enclosure, features, and development and policy

contexts which have a bidirectional effect on types of residents and their sense of

community and safety. Although some generalities can be pulled from the literature and

study results, each of these development types lend themselves to a unique set of

properties—which range from the property's historical development and physical design

characteristics to its spatial arrangements and surrounding context.

Figure 5-1: Ariel View. The Village (top) & JMCC (bottom). Source: Google maps.

My hypothesis that gated communities' built forms inhibits social cohesion and segregates the landscape was partially upheld from the data and behavior results. The Village residents still maintained, through the questionnaire, a high level of sense of community and feelings of safety. And through the self reporting, the non-gated Jennings Mill CC residents had higher percentages of knowledge of a crime that took place in the neighborhood. Perhaps the gated entry does curtail crime. This result could also reflect, however, a greater percentage of residents in Jennings Mill CC that interact and converse with one another instead of The Village where they passively rely on the gates and security patrol car. Where my research question further falls astray from the negative assumptions of gated community developments is the positive identity residents equate with the design of the gated threshold. This correlates back to Lynch's research with way finding. What is learned is that design matters, and it can both positively and negatively inform and reinforce one's identity with and perception of his or her community. Design principles become powerful tools in the role they play in shaping the landscape.

Results from the study uphold some valid points of the gated community discussion on sense of community. When asked which of Blakely and Snyder's social values (protection, stability, privatization, and sense of community) best reflected neighborhood selection, residents in The Village (gated) cited sense of community as the least important choice (17%) compared to Jennings Mill CC residents (36%). The Village residents further cited sense of community (14%) and stability (21%) as the least experienced social value in the neighborhood and protection as the greatest (48%). However, when specifically asked the degree of perceived sense of community (non-existent, not strong, somewhat strong, strong, very strong), the greatest percentage (41%) replied with "strong." Jennings Mill CC residents ranked their experienced sense of community just second (31%) to stability (54%). The gated residents also viewed shared public realms (62%) as the most important component to one's sense of community-- which conflicts with the actual lack of accessible, shared public spaces in The Village. These survey results affirm the assumption that residents of gated communities are buying into a false, or confused, sense of community. The results reject the argument about gated communities being stable neighborhoods.

Although both gated and non-gated residents had similar results for questions related to safety, The Village residents indicated the gated neighborhood entry as the top contributor to sense of security and confirmed justification by indicating liking the gated entry. Like community, fear also becomes a dependent variable along a continuum of influences. Jennings Mill is a private, golf community, but its first development did not have a gate. The neighborhood has evolved, with many residents in the questionnaire stating a desire for "public amenities"—the privatized amenities of the golf club restrict

the sharing of services to a select few. Other assumptions within the academic debate are

not upheld, such as the homogeneity of such developments. The gated community of The

Village, by resident type, showed more diversity than the non-gated country club.

My main critique from the findings is in comparison to both my own pejorative

hypothesis and the highlighted publications of Blakely, Snyder, and Low-- particularly

because of their crucial role in bringing attention to the phenomenon of gating. Through

investigating Jennings Mill, I came to recognize that the characteristics of gating are not

entirely congruent and classifiable with the body of knowledge of gated communities,

and that gated communities present even greater variation along several dimensions.

Blakely and Snyder developed straightforward classifications of gated communities along

a series of contrasting functionalities: community or lack of community, internal versus

external, public and private, division versus cohesion. As mentioned in Chapter 2,

physical features of the community's edge, compounded with the community's

surrounding context, do not land gated communities into any single, distinct

classification. The survey results and behavior mapping contradict Low's ethnographic

studies—showing gated communities adhere less heavily to strictly a culture of fear and

segregation. While fear does play a role in guiding The Village residents' choice of

neighborhood, other dominant factors like traffic control safety and HOA conflicts were

more influential in causing the gating in the first place. Following the national trend,

Athens-Clarke County's property crimes and theft rates have decreased over the years.

This statistic calls to question then the need for gating at the Village. Since traffic safety

is a high concern, other design parameters that do not involve gating can resolve this

issue. While Blakely, Snyder, and Low instituted an important dialogue, more studies and

research are needed to conduct deeper, more subtle analysis to some of the positions and

assumptions established in the earlier publications of gated communities

Crime reported by Athens-Clarke County Police Department, Georgia

Year	Months reporting	Population coverage	Crime rate per 100,000 population			
			Property crime			
			Property crime rate	Burglary rate	Larceny-theft rate	Motor vehicle theft rate
1989	12	42,037	7,921.6	3,706.3	3,806.2	409.2
1991	12	46,756	11,613.5	3,659.4	6,797.0	1,157.1
1992	12	90,368	8,301.6	2,326.0	5,269.6	706.0
1993	12	89,016	7,205.4	1,442.4	5,227.2	535.9
1994	12	90,791	6,904.9	1,355.9	5,102.9	446.1
1995	12	91,242	6,957.3	1,138.7	5,358.3	460.3
1996	12	93,168	7,445.7	1,186.0	5,750.9	508.8
1997	12	94,853	7,724.6	1,564.5	5,581.3	578.8
1998	12	91,911	7,508.4	1,233.8	5,719.7	554.9
1999	12	91,290	6,957.0	1,329.8	5,196.6	430.5
2000	12	100,421	6,421.0	1,091.4	4,964.1	365.5
2001	12	102,843	6,238.6	1,039.4	4,830.7	368.5
2002	12	105,007	5,920.6	994.2	4,547.3	379.0
2003	12	104,313	5,832.4	1,031.5	4,421.3	379.6
2004	12	104,361	5,738.7	1,148.9	4,246.8	343.0
2005	12	105,727	5,290.0	990.3	3,958.3	341.4
2006	12	106,700	5,280.2	1,045.9	3,893.2	341.1
2007	12	113,389	4,844.4	1,151.8	3,383.0	309.6
2008	12	113,950	5,656.0	1,497.1	3,838.5	320.3
2009	12	114,540	4,927.5	1,673.7	3,014.7	239.2

Figure 5-2: Source: Unified Crime Reports, ACC

In Grant's article analyzing the physical features of gated communities, she

advises that "it may be misleading to consider [gated communities] as a unified set of

urban forms" due to their diversity (914). Though a gated community may conform to a

certain category, each development still remains unique within its type. The findings

from my research, as they pertain to sense of community and fear within the spatial properties of the gated threshold, follow this critique-- pointing out subtle merits (neighborhood identity, feelings of shared community values, relieving financial burden from municipalities for privately owned and maintained infrastructure) and weaknesses (reduced contact with the greater community, annoyance due to inconveniences, little management of risk related to crime) within the gating rhetoric that make them complex realities. Moreover, the polarized views of the paradoxes of gating fall along multiple continuums rather than a stringent, one dimensional line of opposite tensions. Given the intricacies of gated communities, the gate threshold should be a forefront to the design-- adhering to Atkinson's assertion that gated communities should be well researched and not a default solution to community living (cite 178). His point can be put in place on a policy level for the consideration of any future gated developments or retrofitting existing ones.

Still critical to note, as another continuum, is the evolving context of gated communities. In a letter received within one of the questionnaires, a resident stated: "The Village was marketed as a neighborhood of modestly priced, small homes on small lots, gated for security, low maintenance, ideally suited to retirees… The Village has changed dramatically in the past 3-4 years, and in addition to many foreclosures, there are also many houses now occupied by renters… several of us want the gate to be opened permanently." Another resident of The Village, in an on-line blog, reported:

"So what makes a "subdivision" a "neighborhood"? Let's make the question clear: What gives a residential neighborhood a sense of community and positive character? Should we compare Sunset Terrace to my subdivision, The Village at Jennings Mill,

the epitome of the suburban subdivision? Out here we are quite isolated; in fact, we have a gate. There is nothing useful within walking distance. … Houses are often vacant because this neighborhood is attractive to buyers of second homes. Do we "Village People" have a "neighborhood" after all? (www.athensworld.com/2007)

Thus, the gate itself becomes an even more critical component in the landscape. Looking at future, adjacent development, The Village's gated interface can form as an anchor to the surrounding area. The resident blogger continues:

"… It does seem a shame that many newer subdivisions in Athens don't connect well to the rest of town, but concerns over traffic and crime (some legitimate) have raised resistance to the idea of completing some roads that were originally planned to fully connect subdivisions, and the farther out development has spread the more it is separated from our central part of town by highways and rivers. Of course, the roads are only one part of my… concerns over what makes a good neighborhood."

Athens-Clarke and Oconee counties are experiencing population growth and faced with the challenge of how to accommodate this growth, especially at the suburban fringe. Adjacent land to the Villages gated entrance—the Perimeter Square shopping center—is looking towards a new direction for its development—possibly including a mixed-use development, a public/private partnership, and even a residential venture. (Morales). Part of their analysis involves looking at how people access the space. Results from my questionnaire and behavior mapping indicated vehicle traffic as the dominant transportation to and along the area of Perimeter Square shopping Center. Does development of this tract of land influence the way the gate purposes modes of

transportation and activity? How does this intersection relate, and shape, such future development and infill? This center has already seen an increase in activity with the conversion of the former Wal-Mart to Athens Church. What new use can this gated threshold take on? Possible solutions to traffic can be resolved at the entry. Activating the adjacent spaces to the entry through landscape design—such as a dog park, community garden, a playground, coupled with adding sidewalks continuously around the area and signage for bike routes—can curb speeding vehicles by having an increase of pedestrian presence and movement. The gated barrier has the potential to act as more of a threshold by tapping into its cultural and historical components. Entryway signage analysis of Jennings Mill revealed references to the development tract's past connection of an old Mill—which currently stands as a rundown, vacant area in Jennings Mill CC. Furthermore, the secondary gated entrance that severs Jennings Mill CC from The Village could be used to connect residents, and non residents, to the ecological component of McNutt Creek.
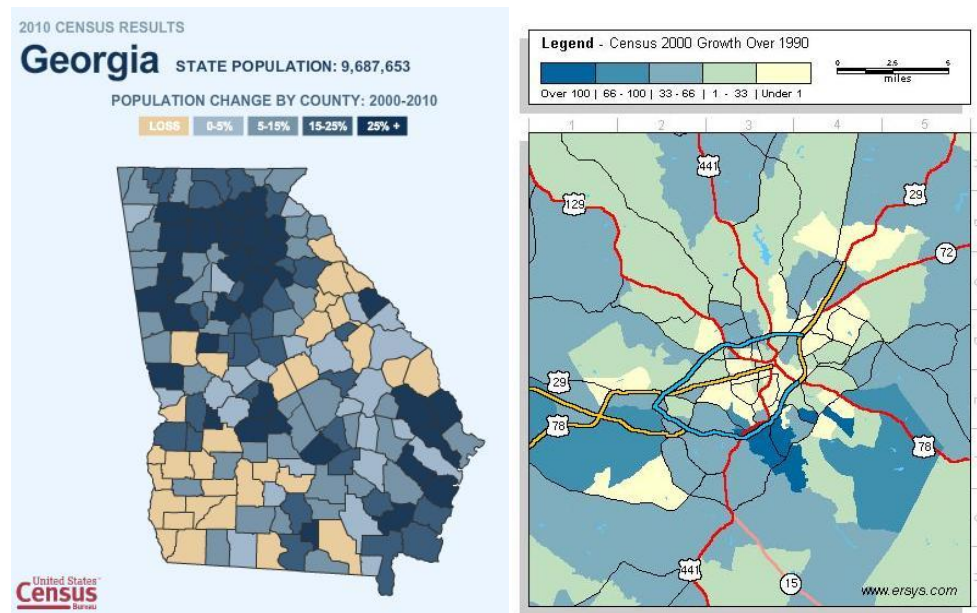

Figure 5-3: Growth Pattern Change in Georgia and Athens. Source: Census, ACC

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Forms of community and settlement patterns magnify the importance of understanding the gated threshold at the micro scale and situating it within the context of the larger picture: "People across the nation face difficult decisions when choosing settlement systems that alter not only the appearance but also the character of community. These issues are not easy to resolve, and public policy on the shape of these neighborhoods and cities cannot be left to chance" (Snyder ix). Decisions at the level of the gate have an effect on the physical and social fabric. As Athens and the surrounding counties experience continued growth in population, policies regarding planning for future gated communities need to be addressed, along with retrofitting the existing ones.

Conclusion:

Gated communities presently in the United States have evolved from their beginnings in antiquity. The academic discourse has brought many questions to the purpose, need, and effect of gating. What factors contribute to their prevalence and popularity? How do they function? How do they play into the larger, spatial picture? Today, gated communities have become a vehicle for which residents choose to manage and control risks associated with fears—such as crime, safety, and property values. Prevention of access to outsiders upholds the 'goods and services' supplied inside the gates and walls of the community. Where my analysis and conclusion differs from much of the dialogue is looking at the gated threshold as a design medium that does not establish a simplistic dichotomy between gated and non gated, public and private, internal and external community. It is important to understand this critical interface as a piece of

the landscape that can reinforce the community within the gate and spatially bind to social externalities. What are alternative ways of conceptualizing the gated entry between the private and public realms? As the findings show from my research, seeing the gate as a straightforward spatial divider of polarized opposites is less distinct than I intuitively thought. The partitioning of space through gates and walls has the opportunity to function as a form of bridging the public and private, much like a front porch or foyer, and a possible solution to spatial and social connection. Savannah College of Art and Design president Paula Wallace says "the highest and best use of a front porch is to enable and encourage the art of conversation. We entertain ourselves with stories on the porch. We invite people in. We sit. We visit" (AJC Porches Front and Center 6). Similarly, opening up areas around the gate where people could sit and chat at the neighborhood front could positively impact the community. Providing the entryway with a framework for adaptability (beginning at the organizational level with the HOA, and carried out through design) is crucial to achieve a spatially active place that engages one with the change in seasons and the life of the neighborhood.

In order for these developments to be repositioned towards the future, more models are needed that combine empirical data with an understanding of the gated interface on community cohesion in practice. The findings from the Jennings Mill case study, at the micro level, attest to the existing and expansive range of applications of gating on a macro scale that includes an interwoven framework of characteristics and challenges. Further direction should involve pulling key factors and principles that differentiate gated communities across the multiple continuums to use in direct design application of the gate and walled threshold.

Frost's poem suggests merit and value exist in the act of wall building and breaking. As the 'groundswells' of nature instigate a call to mending the wall through an act of community building, perhaps gated communities—beginning with the walled and gated edifice --- can facilitate the integration and ordering of our built environment. Walls and gates affect the perceptions and activities of a space. By grounding these landscape pieces, through design, to functions other than safety and privatized territory—such as ecological, cultural, or recreational purposes, maybe then can the speaker say again "Good fences make good neighbors" (Frost 45).

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APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire Directions:
1. Please respond to the following questions. You may choose to omit any question if necessary. You may chose to stop taking the questionnaire at any time.
2. Skip or mark N/A to any question items that you do not feel apply to you.
3. When the option of "other" is listed, please fill in the category in the blank space provided.
4. Definition clarity: "Jennings Mill neighborhood" is defined as the residents of Jennings Mill in Oconee County AND the residents of The Village at Jennings Mill in Athens-Clarke County.
5. Please fill out only **ONE** questionnaire per household.

___

1. What is your age?
___ 18-29 years
___ 30-39
___ 40-49
___ 50-59
___ 60 & older

2. What is your gender? Male___ Female ___

3. Do you have any children under the age of 18 that reside with you? Yes___ No___

4. Do you live in Jennings Mill County Club (Oconee County) ___
                         The Village (Athens-Clarke County)___

5. How long have you lived in the Jennings Mill neighborhood?
___ less than 1 yr
___ 1 to 5 yrs
___ 6 to 10 yrs
___ more than 10 yrs

6. Are you a homeowner? ___ **OR** are you a renter?___

7. Is the Jennings Mill neighborhood similar to your former residence in the following ways?
Yes___ No ___
        If Yes, check all that apply:
        ___ Housing type
        ___ Neighborhood type
        ___ Lot size
        ___ Types of residents
        ___ quiet/secluded/private atmosphere
        ___ Strong sense of community and belonging
        ___ Recreational amenities
        ___ Other:_____

If No, how is Jennings Mill neighborhood different from your former residence (check all that apply):
___ Housing type
___ Neighborhood type
___ Lot size
___ Types of residents
___ quiet/secluded/private atmosphere
___ Strong sense of community and belonging
___ Recreational amenities
___ Other:_____

8. What **MOST** influenced your decision to reside within the Jennings Mill neighborhood? (check all that apply):
___Overall location & convenience (to basic amenities & services)
___ School District
___ Proximity to work and/or school
___ Cost
___ Housing type/architectural features
___ Quiet/secluded/private atmosphere
___ Sense of community cohesion
___ Security/Safety
___ Low maintenance
___ Recreational amenities
___ Other: _____

9. Have you ever been the victim of a crime within the Jennings Mill neighborhood?
    Yes___ No___
  Do you know of an occasion when a crime has occurred in the Jennings Mill neighborhood?
    Yes___ No ___

10. How secure do you feel living in the Jennings Mill neighborhood?
___ very secure
___ secure
___ somewhat secure
___ unsecure
___ very unsecure

11. What aspects contribute to your sense of security in a neighborhood? (check all that apply):
___ Street lights
___ Patrol car
___ Home security system
___ Knowing your neighbors & residents
___ having controlled neighborhood access (gates and walls)
___ General neighborhood context (adjacent places to the Jennings Mill neighborhood)
___
Other:_____

12. What is your attitude towards the controlled access gate at The Village entrance?
Like___ Dislike____ Both Like & Dislike____ Indifferent___ N/A___
Why?_____
_   _____
_____

13. Can you identify a non-resident from a resident in the Jennings Mill neighborhood?
Yes___ No____ Sometimes___

14. Do you see non-residents using the neighborhood streets? Yes___ No___
If Yes, what is the average frequency? Daily__ Weekly__ Monthly__ Yearly__
If Yes, how do you feel when you see non-residents using the streets?
_____
_____
_____

15. Do you interact with other residents of Jennings Mill in any of the following neighborhood
spaces? Yes___ No___
If Yes, what is the average frequency? Daily___ Weekly___ Monthly___ Yearly___
If Yes, in which exterior spaces are you MOST likely to interact?
___house's yard
___street within neighborhood
___street directly outside of neighborhood
___gated neighborhood entrance at The Village
___non-gated neighborhood entrances along Meriweather Dr.
___golf/swim/tennis
___ other:_____

16. Do you interact with non-residents within any of the following Jennings Mill neighborhood
places? Yes___ No___
If Yes, how frequently (on average)? Daily___ Weekly___ Monthly___ Yearly___
If Yes, in which exterior spaces are you MOST likely to interact?
___house's yard
___street within neighborhood
___street directly outside of neighborhood
___gated neighborhood entrance at The Village
___non-gated neighborhood entrances along Meriweather Dr.
___golf/swim/tennis
___ other:_____

17. Are you involved with community activities in the Jennings Mill neighborhood? Yes___
No___

        If Yes, which activities: (check all that apply)

        ___ Social events

        ___ Homeowners Association

        ___ Recreation Activities

        ___ Other:_____

        If No, for what reason(s) _____

18. Are you involved with activities outside of the Jennings Mill neighborhood? Yes___ No___

        If Yes, which activities: (check all that apply)

        ___ religious

        ___ civic organizations

        ___ school/work events

        ___ social events

        ___volunteer services

        ___recreation activities

        ___other:_____

        If No, for what reason(s) _____

19. Which neighborhood entrance is the **MOST** prevalent in your typical, daily transportation
    routes:

    ___ The Village Entrance (controlled access)

    ___ Meriweather Dr. entrances (non controlled)

    ___ Equally Both

        Is the selected above entrance influenced by any of the following? (select all that apply):

        ___ entrance type (controlled or non-controlled)

        ___ proximity to destination/house

        ___ other:_____

20. Does the Village Entrance's controlled access gates being opened or closed influence when
    you choose to enter/exit the neighborhood? Y___ N___ Occasionally___ N/A___

21. Do you visit any of these places, within ½ mile radius, to The Village's entrance?
(Check all that apply):

___ Eatery (Starbucks, Rafferty's, McDonalds, Krispy Kreme, Shoki)

___ Perimeter Square Shopping Center on Huntington Rd (Goodwill & other tenants)

___ Shops & local businesses along Atlanta Hwy (Pier 1, GA Square Mall, etc.)

        If Yes, please indicate your frequency to each (daily, weekly, monthly, yearly):

        _____

        If Yes, what is your usual mode of transportation to each?

        _____

        If Yes, which neighborhood entrance do you use to each?

        _____

22. What is your perceived sense of community in the Jennings Mill neighborhood?
    Non-existent___ Not Strong___ Somewhat Strong___ Strong___ Very Strong___

23. What do you feel the Jennings Mill neighborhood lacks in community identity? (e.g.
amenities, activities, public spaces, safety, non-resident interaction, etc.)
_____
_____
_____
___

24. What is the first idea or example of community that comes to mind when you think about the
Jennings Mill neighborhood?
_____
_____
__

25. Which of the following aspects do you feel is the most important to developing a sense of
community? (select all that apply):
___ shared values (e.g. common interests, backgrounds, ethnicity, heritage, etc.)
___ shared territory (e.g housing type, subdivision, walls, etc.)
___ shared public realm (e.g parks, streets & sidewalks, etc.)
___ shared support structures (e.g community organizations & outlets)
___ shared destiny (e.g mechanisms to guide the future like neighborhood groups, HOA, etc.)
___ other:_____

26. Which of the following social values **BEST** reflects your **CHOICE** of residing in the
Jennings Mill neighborhood:
___ sense of community (preservation & strengthening neighborhood bonds)
___ protection (separation from the outside in helping define a place)
___ privatization (internally control public services in protecting the neighborhood's future)
___ stability (predictability and homogeneity in neighborhood support structures)
___ other:_____

27. Which of the following social values **BEST** reflects your **EXPERIENCE** of residing in the
Jennings Mill neighborhood:
___ sense of community (preservation & strengthening neighborhood bonds)
___ protection (separation from the outside in helping define a place)
___ privatization (internally control public services in protecting the neighborhood's future)
___ Stability (predictability and homogeneity in neighborhood support structures)
___ other:_____

THANK YOU, YOU HAVE COMPLETED THE QUESTIONNAIRE!

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS		The Village	Jennings Mill CC
(# of respondents)		(39)	(78)
Age			
	18-29 yrs.	10%	1%
	30-39	24%	4%
	40-49	7%	17%
	50-59	10%	24%
	60 +	49%	54%
Gender			
	Male	51 %	49%
	female	49%	51%
Years as resident			
	<1 yr	17%	4%
	1-5	31%	15%
	6-10	31%	23%
	11+	21%	58%
Ownership			
	Homeowner	93 %	100%
	Renter	7%	0%
Children at residence			
	Yes	4%	23%
	No	86 %	77%
	N/A	10 %	0%

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS			
		The Village	**Jennings Mill CC**
Is the JM neighborhood similar to your former residence?			
	Yes	21% (39)	46% (78)
	No	76%	41%
	N/A	3%	13%
What most influenced your decision to reside in JM neighborhood?			
	Top 3	1. location 79% (39) 2. cost 62% 3. quiet environment & security/safety 55%	1. location 68% (78) 2. housing features 55% 3. quiet environment 50%
	Bottom 3	1. recreational amenities 14% 2. low maintenance 17% 3. sense of community cohesion 21%	1. low maintenance 8% 2. cost 15% 3. sense of community cohesion 19%

COMMUNITY INTERACTION		
	The Village	**Jennings Mill CC**
Do you see non-residents using the JM neighborhood streets?		
Yes No N/A	69% (39) 31% --	64% (78) 23% 13%
Do you interact with other residents of Jennings Mill?		
Yes No N/A	93% (39) 7% --	92% (78) 6% 2%
Neighborhood place of interaction	1. internal street 89% (37) 2. yard 78% 3. country club facilities 33% 4. gated entrance 7% 5. external street 7% 6. non-gated entrance 0%	1. internal street 63% (72) 2. yard 63% 3. country club facilities 51% 4. non-gated entrance 6% 5. external street 3% 6. gated entrance 1%
Do you interact with non-residents of Jennings Mill?		
Yes No N/A	41% (39) 59% --	45% (78) 51% 4%
Neighborhood place of interaction	1. internal street 50% (16) 2. yard 42% 3. country club facilities 17% 4. external street 8% 5. non-gated entrance 0% 6. gated entrance 0%	1. country club facilities 60% (35) 2. yard 57% 3. internal street 40% 4. external street 3% 5. non-gated entrance 6% 6. gated entrance 0%

COMMUNITY INTERACTION			
		The Village	Jennings Mill CC
Are you involved with activities in the Jennings Mill neighborhood?			
	Yes No N/A	28% (39) 72% --	37% (78) 53% 10%
	Activity	1. HOA 75% (11) 2. recreation 25% 3. social events 12%	1. recreation 79% (29) 2.social activities 79% 3. HOA 66%
Are you involved with activities outside of the Jennings Mill neighborhood			
	Yes No N/A	79% 21% --	81% 14% 5%
	Activity	1. religious 83% (33) 2. social 70% 3. recreation 65% 4. school/work events 61% 5. volunteer 52% 6. civic org. 26%	1. religious 76% (63) 2. social 63% 3. recreation 57% 4. volunteer 49% 5. civic 41% 6. school/work 40%

RESPONDENT PERCEPTIONS OF NON-RESIDENTS IN NEIGHBORHOOD			
		The Village	**Jennings Mill CC**
How do you feel when you see non-residents using the JM neighborhood streets? (open-ended)			
Perception	**Example**		
Negative	"Uneasy" "They do not belong"	15% (13)	12% (40)
Somewhat negative	"Uneasy unless they provide services"	8%	25%
Neutral	"Ambivalent"	23%	28%
Somewhat positive	"Okay if it's people from the apartments or Oconee side out walking"	46%	35%
Positive	"It's nice to see people out"	8%	0%

COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS & VALUES		
	The Village	**Jennings Mill CC**
What is your perceived sense of community in the JM neighborhood?		
Non existent	10% (39)	6% (78)
Not strong	10%	15%
Somewhat strong	34%	29%
Strong	41%	33%
Very Strong	3%	10%
Which of the following aspects is most important to developing a sense of community?		
Rank Order	1. shared public realm 62% (39) 2. shared support structures 38% 3. shared territory 38% 4. shared destiny 28% 5. shared values 28%	1. shared values 62% (78) 2. shared public realm 41% 3. shared destiny 36% 4. shared territory 35% 5. shared support structures 27%
Which of the following social values best reflects your choice of residing in the JM neighborhood?		
Rank Order	1. protection 48% (39) 2. stability 41% 3. privatization 34% 4. sense of community 17%	1. stability 58% (78) 2. sense of community 36% 3. protection 27% 4. privatization 21%
Which of the following social values best reflects your experience of residing in the JM neighborhood?		
Rank Order	1. protection 48% (39) 2. privatization 34% 3. stability 21% 4. sense of community 14%	1. stability 54% (78) 2. sense of community 31% 3. protection 23% 4. privatization 14%

PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY IDENTITY		
	The Village	**Jennings Mill CC**
What do you feel the JM neighborhood lacks in community identity? (open-ended)		
lacks	-Public spaces 67% (21) -Activities, non-golf 29% -Amenities 24% -Organization, meetings, representation 14% -Interaction, resident, non-resident 10% -Maintenance, upkeep 5% -Establishment, occupancy 5% -Connectivity, sidewalks 5%	-Activities, non-country club 38% (56) -Public spaces 27% -Connectivity, sidewalks 23% -Nothing 14% -Interaction, resident, non-resident 14% -Amenities, gated entrance, services 9% -Organization, communication, representation 7% -safety 2%
What is the first idea or example of community when you think about the JM neighborhood? (open-ended)		
example	-Lacking, non-existent 35% (20) -Neighbors, friendliness 35% -HOA 3% -Golf, pool 10% -Social gatherings 5% -Appearance, Affluence 5%	-Golf, pool, tennis, county club 37% (60) -Neighbors, friendliness 20% -Appearance, affluence, home & yard care 20% -Quiet, secure, private 13% -Nothing, non-existent 7% -Social gatherings 5% -Established 5% -Pedestrians 5% -Segmented, closed-off 3% -Common area landscapes 2% -Accessible 2%

RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS OF SAFETY		
	The Village	**Jennings Mill CC**
Victim of crime in neighborhood (%)		
Yes	0%	17%
No	100%	83%
Knowledge of crime occurrence in neighborhood (%)		
Yes	28%	72%
No	72%	28%
Feeling of security (%)		
Very secure	41%	44%
Secure	41%	51%
Somewhat secure	14%	5%
Unsecure	4%	0%
Very unsecure	0%	0%
Factors contributing to sense of security		
greatest least	1. gated neighborhood entry 2. street lights 3. patrol car 4. home security system 5. knowing your neighbors 6. neighborhood adjacency	1. knowing your neighbors 2. patrol car 3. street lights 4. home security system 5. neighborhood adjacency 6. gated neighborhood entry

RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS OF GATED ENTRY			The Village	Jennings Mill CC
Attitude towards gated entry				
	Like (+) Dislike (-) Both like and dislike Indifferent		76% (39) 17% 0% 7% 0%	38% (78) 15% 1% 12% 23%
Justification for perception	**example**			
	sense of security, deterrent	"I like the idea of controlled access" & "limited access reduces crime"	13 (number of responses)	23
+	Marketing/value	"I purchased the home specifically because it was gated" & "added re-sale value"	2	0
+	Aesthetic & privacy	"creates a nice entrance and internal environment"	1	1
+	identity	"establishes community"	1	0
-	maintenance	"expensive"	1	3
-	False security and access	"people can walk around gate"	2	3
-	nuisance	"difficult to have visitors" & "hard to ride our bikes around gate"	5	5