

**THE URBAN DILEMMA:
A Critical Analysis on Gated Communities and the Notion of Self-Segregation for a
Future of Urban Inclusivity**

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Analyzing the importance of urban inclusivity to our cities, this dissertation raises the limitations to its success whilst criticizing the surrounding arguments. Central to this research paper is the exploration of critical voices in order to pose and answer questions surround the notions at hand: self-segregation and gated communities, both underneath umbrella topic of urban inclusivity. What are the core values of an inclusive city and what are its core values? What are the underlying reasons for society to self-segregate and in turn opt for a gated lifestyle? What can we and can't we control and more importantly how? To this day the city acts as a central melting pot for societies diversities, and with this comes complexity and complication. The city is made up of urban characters, such as governing bodies, urban planners, the media, and the general population, all with a civic responsibility accommodate for those diversities and to handle the limitations presented from the notions outlined throughout the dissertation. When the topic reaches such levels of wider impact, which proposes assumptions and threats to society, it inevitably forms arguments and contrasting opinions, these will assist the dissertation in its exploration of 'The Future of Urban Inclusivity'.

INTRODUCTION

One of the main aspects of concern in contemporary cities is what is called urban segregation. To segregate is the action of keeping someone, or yourself, apart from others. In urban environments like our cities, although it is a natural societal characteristic, it can be quite detrimental if not dealt with correctly. It directly tarnishes the future of inclusive urban environments, which we will learn to be a fundamental core value for cities. There are many advocates within academia that have spoken about what truly makes a city urban, and one voice that explains this concept is the Centennial Professor of Sociology at the London School of Economics, Richard Sennet. Sennet describes cities that are truly successful to “be supported by a dynamic economy, provide cultural stimulation and also do their best to heal society’s divisions of race, class, and ethnicity.”¹ Importantly he describes an open city to be an “incomplete form”, by being incomplete it gains permeability, thus allowing for all sectors of life to adapt within.

Hierarchies within society have always dictated the way many industries, directed their design and business models; keep the rich with the rich, the poor with the poor, and so on for race and gender. Nevertheless, over the last decade there is a lot of evidence to suggest that unity within sectors of life is ever more at the fore front of the city mindset, we call this urban inclusivity. “Cities are really complex, but incomplete systems, and given that mix they have managed to outlive all kinds of more powerful actors which are formal and closed.”² This is a quote from sociologist, Saskia Sassen in one of her lectures on the topic of urban inclusivity, which directly supports Sennet’s views on how the city must be a space that is fragmented and penetrable for all corners of society. Here Sassen claims that this mix of variety and incompleteness is what allows the city to survive over time, unlike some corporations within the city which may be complex but closed and therefore don’t allow for that plasticity.

These views overtly talk about the structure of a city, its boundaries likening those of a cell membrane, allowing change and malleability. But the underlying point raised by Sassen is that it is the people who make the city.³ Similarly, Sennet distinguishes between two aspects of the city, the ‘cite’ and the ‘ville’.⁴ The ‘cite’ deals with the way of life of the people and their attitudes to neighbours and strangers, whilst the ‘ville’ refers to the built urban environment and how the city is spatially designed. According to Sassen it must be “a space that those without power get to make a history, a culture, a neighbourhood economy, a space where powerlessness can become complex”.⁵ Here we see the importance that Sassen gives to the people making a city a successful urban space, and if that gets obstructed by discrimination, prejudice, and in turn, segregation, the city loses one of its core pillars as it is no longer a “global frontier space, where actors from different worlds have an encounter for which there are no established rules for engagement”.⁶ These critical voices speak about the city and its protagonists and therefore the dangers of social behaviours getting out of hand such as segregating fractions of

¹ Sennett, Richard. "Housing and Urban Neighbourhoods, The Open City." *Urban Age* (2006): pg. 1.

² Sassen, Saskia. "The Politics of Equity, Who Owns the City?." //www.youtube.com/watch?v=UAQuyizBIug&t=789s (2015)

³ Sassen, "The Politics of Equity, Who Owns the City?."

⁴ Ginsberg, Yona. "Richard Sennett: Building and dwelling: ethics for the city." (2020): pg. 1-2.

⁵ Sassen, "The Politics of Equity, Who Owns the City?."

⁶ Sassen, "The Politics of Equity, Who Owns the City?."

society, or in Sassen's words, "taking the power away from the people"⁷, this dangerous possibility is one of the reasons directly impeding urban inclusivity.

However, the topic at hand is now far more complicated than a notion of coalition when walking down the street. There is still a strong desire to be kept with 'your own kind', even wanting to remain with your own ethnic group when having a meal. This doesn't only apply to the rich, but to all sectors of life. Does this self-segregation root from a stubborn standpoint, whereby change is feared? Are there faults within the urban systems that promote exclusivity? Or is there a deeper psychology behind it all that stems from discrimination, prejudice, and a narrow-minded way of living? These are all questions that will be looked at and criticised, not only via the engrained catachrestic of people's personalities and daily desires, but the actual walls and barriers that are cropping up more and more; such areas that are physically keeping people apart from each other come in the form of gated communities. Sennett insists that closed cities, with physical boundaries that segregate are "homogeneous" and offers that those areas like gated communities are an example of the closed city.⁸ Sennett suggests such housing should not be built as it de-urbanises cities, by a city not being open, both Sennett and Sassen would argue it loses its core value, its urban inclusivity. However, two views from two sociologists may very well be biased towards the greater good of society, the governing bodies, and the people themselves may have needs that must be met. So the question remains open, should we keep designing our towns and cities to custom accommodate to certain sectors of society through schemes such as gated communities or should we strive for a one-size-fits-all model to unite all corners of life despite its risks? To answer these questions, we must first understand what is really happening, analyse the history a long with the speculative future of these notions that are separating sectors of society from each other.

The following three chapters will be exploring further the topics introduced so far by using the subjects of self-segregation and gated communities for a future of urban inclusivity to explore the challenges the city faces and further analyse arguments within the topic. Chapter 1 will be examining the strengths and limitations of urban inclusivity and additionally introducing critical voices to analyse why and what a city needs to be successful. Chapter 2 will be focusing on Self-segregation that is affecting the urban environments looking at the history and reasons behind the subject to gain a better understanding of the issue at hand. Chapter 3 will be digging deeper into subject of gated communities, breaking down spatial case studies and providing an inside look to how the mentality in these communities is influencing urban inclusivity. The conclusion will aim to suggest the priority that urban characters need to consider. Subsequently it will provide an example of an organisation that is striving to regain diversity in the city and tying the topic back to Sassen's view of a successful city.

CHAPTER 1: THE URBAN NECESSITY

"When cities confront major challenges, it is often the need for new solidarities that can bring a shift about".⁹ Rather than just explaining what a city is, and what makes it inclusive, this signifies the importance of those interactions, and begins to identify one side of an argument for cities to be diverse and varied in class and background. In this section Sassen suggests that when a city is faced with sociological challenges, from wars to climate change, it is the diversity of different classes that help form a new change. Sassen argues that the lack of complexity that a non-urbanised and exclusive city might have adopted wouldn't be anywhere near as successful in combating social hurdles, as it offers no space to form a new norm than the one that previously failed to suffice. What truly differentiates a city to other habitable spaces, other than factors such as size and central governing bodies, is the opportunity to identify a clear "difference between being powerless and being invisible or impotent".¹⁰ In other words, the city is the one place that you can be born or migrate into it without any power, but whatever your circumstance, the city assures to never be unseen or unheard. That element is key to support that civic complexity which, as previously mentioned, allows the city to survive challenges through the change of new norms; to avoid remaining stagnant. As described in 'Urban Capabilities', notably "cities are one of the key sites where new norms and identities have been constructed", and that is through the city's permission of immigration and internal reestablishment of classes, a term coined, urban movement.¹¹

However, critically there is another way to look at this movement which may be hindering or de-urbanising cities and ridding them of those tools that Sassen speaks about, complexity and diversity. That danger comes when

⁷ Sassen, "The Politics of Equity, Who Owns the City?."

⁸ Sennett, "Housing and Urban Neighbourhoods, The Open City."

⁹ Sassen, Saskia. "Urban capabilities: an essay on our challenges and differences." *Journal of International Affairs* (2012): pg. 87.

¹⁰ Sassen, "Urban capabilities: an essay on our challenges and differences."

¹¹ Sassen, "Urban capabilities: an essay on our challenges and differences."

foreign investment is mistaken for harmless gentrification.¹² Gentrification is another example of urban movement, whereby the character of a poor urban area is replaced by wealthier members moving in. Gentrification tends to be seen as a positive in many cases as it improves housing, attracts new businesses and, although it displaces current inhabitants in the process, it is an organic attribute of the urban environment, one of the many natural flows that runs within a city. Moreover, it promotes urban inclusivity, as often, instead of completely kicking the poorer habitants away, it promotes the wealthier arrivals to mingle and collaborate with those residents, yes gentrifying the class of an area, but nevertheless in an inclusive manor. On the other hand, foreign investment can be a dangerous and often mis-identified form of gentrification, as in many global cities it is not an organic shift but rather an aggressive, abrupt, and forceful change, fuelled by rich overseas investors who often don't have any understanding of the core values of that city, just a profitable target. One voice that identifies this critical counter argument to urban movement, yet supports Sassen's views, is John Atlas, a Democratic Socialist who carried out a study, later used by Sassen, on foreign investment.¹³ What we might think is just gentrification, you could argue is de-urbanising cities. For example, the study carried out in 2015 looks at a Chinese foreign investment for Atlantic Yards, New York, which is turning a low-density area of foreign shops and small factories with a mix of expensive lofts and cheap basement flats into high density expensive luxury apartments, which in turn reduces the diversity and therefore makes the area less urban. Instead of collaborating the new wealthy arrivals with the pre-existing complex migrant community, the Atlantic Yards project is simply replacing the area with high-rise buildings that are completely inaccessible to the lower classes. So, this is the problem you find when it comes to the development of major cities, the same foreign investment which may look like it brings diversity via harmless gentrification, is essentially de-urbanising and restricting inclusivity.

As outlined, one of the threats to a future of urban inclusivity for our cities is who's hands you put the power in. As Sassen suggests, the city gives power to the powerless, but with money that power becomes control that can be distributed in the wrong places, leading to a loss of consideration for the city's diversity.¹⁴ One former way the city has controlled these risks is through the introduction of planning acts. The risk of foreign investment comes down to the physical destruction of inclusive and diverse areas of the city, so by introducing laws and legislations that leads to the physical re-build of inclusive spaces, the city can re-gain control over its urban future. One example of this is outlined by Maria Adebawale-Schwarte, a commissioner for London Sustainable Development. Schwarte discusses the future of cities, providing insight into how London replied to the post-Second World War chaos. After the war London needed re-building, and a new strategy to do so saw the '1947 Town and Country Planning Act' get passed. The Act called for landowners to give much of their profits to the local government when selling their land.¹⁵ This money would then get re-invested to help build strictly inclusive public amenities, such as local parks, social estates and community centres, the sort of spatial characteristics of a city like London which still allow its urban inclusivity to survive. Critically that act battled the risks of unfair distribution of land which we see today in major cities. Unfortunately, the act did not survive, and Maria Schwarte suggests a re-implementation of such legislations would bolster the civic initiative to build a more inclusive urban future.¹⁶

The topic of how the 'ideal' city should be planned and built has formed many surrounding arguments. There are a few ways to look at it and arguably none are wrong or right, the spatial construction of the city depends on the architect's priority. Although, for a future of urban inclusivity ignoring human diversity and differences will not avail. Both Sassen and Sennet agreed that for a city to be urbanly inclusive it must account for progressive social variety and therefore be able to change and transform. It must be built on areas that can be occupied by dissimilarities and buildings that reflect the natural distinction of society and allow those variations to shine whilst living side by side; not attempt to achieve inclusivity by forcing different background and classes to live together in a monotonous manor. One city plan which had a different concern in mind and went for the latter approach was 'Plan Voisin' (Fig. 1), proposed by the famous Swiss-French Architect, Le Corbusier. The plan demonstrates what the spatial formation of a city would look like if the primary affair is to achieve order, control, and structure.¹⁷

¹² Sassen, "The Politics of Equity, Who Owns the City?."

¹³ Atlas, John, Robert Fisher "The People Shall Rule: ACORN" (2009) pg. 7.

¹⁴ Sassen, "The Politics of Equity, Who Owns the City?."

¹⁵ Adebawale-Schwarte, TedX, "Creating Inclusive Cities" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oZbKl1dd1JM&t=8s> (2019)

¹⁶ Adebawale-Schwarte, TedX, "Creating Inclusive Cities"

¹⁷ Le Corbusier, AA Files "Plan Voisin" (1925)



Fig. 1: Le Corbusier's Plan Voisin for Paris. Le Corbusier, from *Urbanisme* (Paris, 1922)

Le Corbusier, along with other world-leading modernist architects at CIAM (International Congress of Modern Architecture) presented Plan Voisin to the city of Paris in 1925. They outlined the principles of the 'Functional City'¹⁸ to react to the destructions and social chaos brought by World War I. As its name suggests it was based on efficiency, functionality, and safety - disregarding almost the unpredictability of its human fabric. Since Plan Voisin ignored the capricious DNA of urban society and overlooked the need of social behaviors that vary drastically from person to person; the plan was debunked by the city of Paris and labelled "too radical".¹⁹ 30 years later a group of pan-European architects from CIAM heavily contested the fast-spreading orthodoxies of modernism in post-war Europe proposed by Corbusier, they called themselves 'Team 10'. This specific group of architects were charged with holding the 10th annual meeting of CIAM where they created a schism within. Discussing a new direction to "restore a human scale to urban design and to re-examine the role of the architect within society"²⁰, Team 10 challenged its doctrinaire approach to urbanism believing that buildings or groups of buildings within the city should serve as signs of identity for the inhabitant - supporting the notion of urban inclusivity in the city and its reflection to the complex make-up of its population. This approach informed another important voice surrounding the topic of urban inclusivity for cities, who heavily criticised Le Corbusier's modernist dogma of that era; Jane Jacobs, an American-Canadian author and urbanist famous for her book named 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities'. Throughout her work, Jacobs advocates for cities to be built around the protagonists, the people, not for the people to have to fit in a build envisioned for how others thought society should live functionally. She wrote "cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody."²¹ Jacobs believed a city must, and only can, be truly inclusive when it is transformed over time by its complex occupants. The urban design of a city must reflect the variety of those who live within it, city planners cannot rely on their buildings to dictate and compose human behaviour, to force all corners of life into the same model, much like the proposition for 'Plan Voisin'. According to Jacobs this mistake stems from the fact "we expect too much of new buildings, and too little of ourselves".²² Importantly Jacobs believes the priority when designing our cities should be to serve the diverse people who walk the streets day to day, much like the veins that run through the human body "there is no logic that can be superimposed on the city; people make it, and it is to them, not buildings, that we must fit our plans".²³

Nevertheless, the responsibility of urban inclusivity only partially lies in the hand of the city's designers. Whether the city is planned for modernist functionality like Corbusier suggests, or as a malleable formation of diverse and inclusive builds, the behaviour of society itself still poses a major threat to urban inclusivity. A prominent human characteristic is to self-segregate in multi-cultural and financially classed cities. When a person or certain sector begins to feel unequal or excluded by its counterpart they will decide to surround themselves predominantly with those of similar class or background, irrespectively of how the city is physically built. This behaviour directly limits urban inclusivity and has been pronounced globally for a very long time. Even today all over the world you see cultural pockets spawn in cities. These pockets are not necessarily divided by walls and barriers but rather take the form of neighbourhoods that over time have attracted a certain ethnicity, class, or religion. Historically, drastic measures of this in global cities was seen when racism forced ethnicities to segregate, not by force of the law, but rather in search of safety and acceptance. One example of this was "after Brazil abolished slavery in the late 1800s, former African slaves gathered in settlements in Rio, the then-capital, creating these cities within the

¹⁸ Gold, John R. "Creating the Charter of Athens: CIAM and the functional city, 1933-43." *The Town Planning Review* (1998): pg. 228

¹⁹ Gold. "Creating the Charter of Athens: CIAM and the functional city, 1933-43."

²⁰ Baker, Dorie, Yale News, "Renegade Architectural Group "Team 10" Honoured at Yale" (2006) <https://news.yale.edu/2006/08/23/renegade->

²¹ Jacobs, Jane. "*The death and life of great American cities.*" (1961). Pg. 238

²² Jacobs. "*The death and life of great American cities.*"

²³ Jacobs. "*The death and life of great American cities.*"

city. While black Brazilians over the years felt pushed out of the downtown, migrants started coming into Rio looking for work in the 1930s and '40s. They couldn't afford proper housing and sought refuge in the slapdash dwellings”.

These pockets, built on self-segregation, became like a cycle over time, whereby cities became increasingly international and globally accessible, but new-coming immigrants would immediately find themselves most comfortable in their respective cultural pockets. The favelas in Rio are a perfect case study to show the progression from cultural pocket to gated community, through which walls were physically put up to cement their area in the city. That being the case, evidently the threat to a city’s urban inclusivity spreads much further than how we physically design our cities, there is humanness to account for and how much you fuel and promote that nature to consider.

CHAPTER 2: SELF-SEGRAGATION

To understand why people self-segregate and more importantly the extent of its impact, it is crucial to examine the roots of segregation. The difference between segregation and self-segregation is notably that the former is a forceful implementation whilst the latter is a personal decision. However, when the origin of self-segregation is analysed, the two are very closely related, forceful segregation over time has created systematic problems of inequality leading to the willing decision to self-segregate in modern society. Therefore, to understand the personal choice many people make in today’s era it is vital to pinpoint the history of segregation, which stems even further back than the start of the global slave era in 1776.²⁴ The centuries of American Slavery, for example, are an obvious target to identify where segregation might have started. However according to Carl Nightingale, a professor of urban history, during the early era of American slavery, a segregated city would have been “unthinkable - large neighbourhoods set aside for blacks would have quickly become organizing grounds for slave revolts.”²⁵ Even well after emancipation, most Southern whites would have been more concerned over what black people could have been doing in their own segregated communities rather than their actions in integrated spaces. It wasn’t until the decades following the American Civil war where the remaining white supremacists opted for a notion of segregation against African Americans. Nightingale argues that this new approach had been developing far before their time. As early as the late seventeenth century, the colonial powers of the British East India Company had begun designating sections of Madras, India, and labelling them as ‘White Town’ and ‘Black Town’ (Fig.2), which Nightingale claims were the first signs of Segregation on a large scale; notably with absolutely no regard for inclusivity within society.²⁶

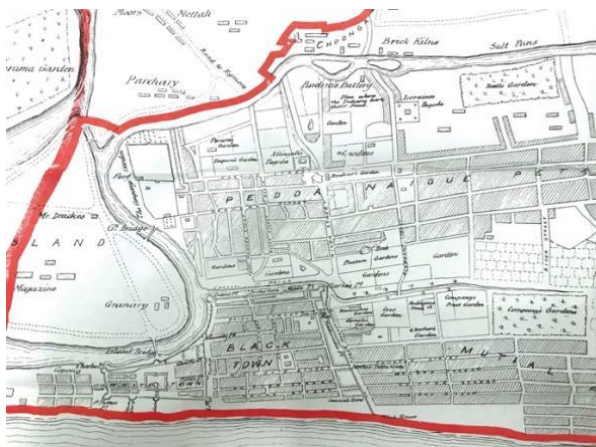


Fig. 2 British East India Company Map of Black & White Town, (Madras, India 1645)

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Baltimore’s governing bodies, in particular, had an abundance of influential evidence for the use of segregation to fuel racist agendas. Even after the Supreme Court declared municipally mandated residential segregation unconstitutional in 1917, cities around America had already adopted segregated buses and schools.²⁷ These roots influenced the systematic discrimination and arbitrary hierarchies that

²⁴ Gershon, Livia, “How Global Colonialism Shaped Segregation” Jstor Daily (2018) <https://daily.jstor.org/how-global-colonialism-shaped>

²⁵ Gershon, Livia, “How Global Colonialism Shaped Segregation”

²⁶ Gershon, Livia, “How Global Colonialism Shaped Segregation”

²⁷ Gershon, Livia, “How Global Colonialism Shaped Segregation”

still today result in a mentality to self-segregate throughout classes, in turn creating a massive risk to the future of urban inclusivity.

Today, self-segregation generally looks a lot more innocent when analysed as a lifestyle choice. As previously mentioned, the notion is systematically implanted into the way most people grow up in the city. But the extent to which it governs our routines is still a surprise for most of society. To understand how engrained it is in our lives it is useful to look at American sociological data statistics. The reason America is a good case study for this is because they thoroughly document their statistics, they have a rich history of segregation and their sample sizes are like no other western part of the world, which is where this behaviour is most prominent. A study conducted by the Public Religion Research Institute gathered data (Fig. 3) from white and African Americans across the United States, of the ethnicities they surrounded themselves with.²⁸

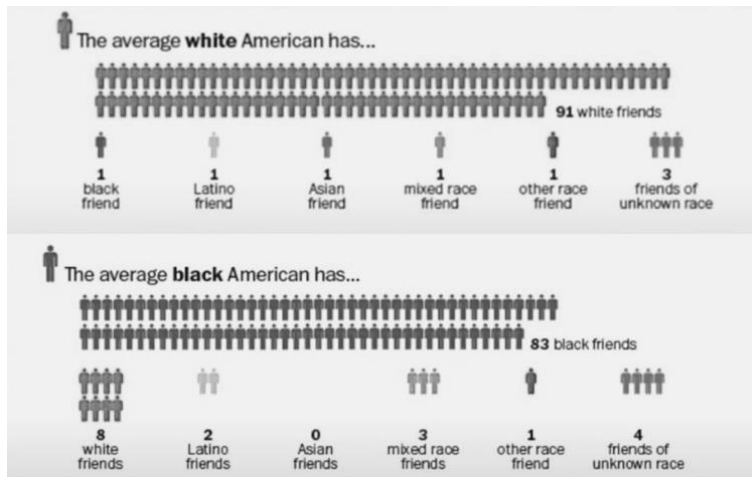


Fig. 3 Public Religion Institute Data, PRPI (2016)

The data set above shows the average white American and black American in relation to the ethnicities in their social circles. The sample size is taken from 3000 people spread across America of all ages. As the results suggest, both white and black Americans are very good at self-segregating. Surrounding themselves with people of the same ethnicities is almost second nature. Understanding why this happens is important to validate the true impact of this sort of behaviour on the inclusivity of our city. However, prior to analysing the reasons behind self-segregation it is useful to contextualise this data set by supporting it with another piece of research which looks at the same notion but in relation to the city; a spatial study that investigates the effect on the city's diversity. Donald Davis, an Urban Economist, published a piece of research, tracking 50,000 users (Fig. 4) of the internet review site 'Yelp' in New York City and analysed where they lived, worked, and went out to eat.²⁹ Arguably it is already known how neighbourhoods in New York City have been segregated by race for decades, see the likes of Brooklyn for white Americans and Harlem for black Americans. However, interestingly this study shows that these racial differences don't subside when people go out for a meal. The chart below shows the residences of the tracked users on the left and the places where they consumed food on the right.

²⁸ Jones, Robert. PRPI "We May Self-Segregate More Than We Think" The Young Turks (2016) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FsgGJI0NP5A&t=13s>

²⁹ Davis, Donald R. "How segregated is urban consumption?." *Journal of Political Economy* 127, no. 4 (2019): 1684-1738.

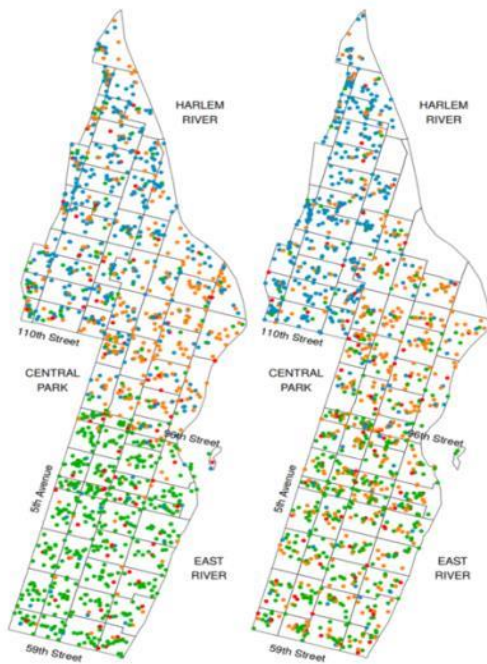


Fig. 4. Davis et al. Data (2019)

Green dots indicate white people, red dots indicate Asians, yellow dots indicate Hispanics and blue dots indicate African Americans. The mapped data shows that most New Yorkers stayed around their neighbourhoods when going out to eat. Critically this data set could be implying something quite futile if seen as a result of people not travelling very far from home for a meal. However, Davis and his colleagues took this into consideration and built a model that differentiates the extent that someone is influenced by distance of a restaurant or avoidance of different neighbourhoods. Davis concluded “if the travel time to restaurant A is half as long as to restaurant B, then people are about three times more likely to go to restaurant A than B. However, the social differences play an even more important role. People are about 25% to 50% less likely to go to a restaurant in a socially different neighbourhood.”³⁰ When the two studies are compared, there reveals a clear pattern in the way the average American is self-segregating every day in the city. It is a behavioural characteristic which is engrained in most people and the extent of it is clear to see, even in New York, one of the most diverse cities in the world, they spend most of their lives around people from very similar backgrounds and classes and that just seems to be a normal trait of our global cities. As Jane Jacobs describes, the ‘neighbourhood’ is a limitation to urban inclusivity in the city³¹, this is supported by Davis showing neighbourhoods become cultural pockets which in turn cause divisions in the city. Jacobs wrote that “neighbourhood is a word that has come to sound like a Valentine. As a sentimental concept, ‘neighbourhood’ is harmful to city planning”.³²

The argument here is whether this sort of self-segregation is something that can be controlled as Jacobs would suggest, changing the way neighbourhoods are used, or whether it is a natural way of life that must be accepted. To draw an opinion from this argument it is vital to truly understand the reasons behind this behaviour, to decide whether it’s a controllable limitation to urban inclusivity. There are two core explanations to self-segregate in the city. The first one is a systematic reason and the second is the psychology of fear. Systematic means that the idea that an African American is more likely to be surrounded by other African Americans is because through housing systems, educational opportunities and so on, one like them is ‘placed’ in an environment whereby he/she is far more likely to be around other African Americans and additionally ones of their economic status. Furthermore, because the system makes it very hard to break out of those environments, the cycle continues. The same applies in different ways for all ethnicities though some far more privileged in the system.

Another take on the reason behind self-segregation is a psychological explanation. Fear can be very subconscious, and fear of change is one of the most common psychological anxieties. To put it simply, humans are programmed to want to remain where they feel they fit in. The impact of this is that it becomes a vicious cycle whereby people

³⁰ Davis, “How segregated is urban consumption?”

³¹ Jacobs. “*The death and life of great American cities.*”

³² Jacobs. “*The death and life of great American cities.*”

fear surrounding themselves with different backgrounds due to not being as comfortable and understood as they would like to be. This then causes even more of a disparity between races, cultures, and economic statuses so that the fear, and therefore segregation, becomes even greater over time. Lieven De Cauter, a Belgian philosopher, who focused on urban architecture, breaks down this sense of fear that he thinks results in today's urban self-segregation. In 'A Short Archaeology of the New Fear' De Cauter labels the new fear of the twenty first century as "contemporary collective fear".³³ He breaks down this fear into six categories. They all explain different angles of widespread fear, such as economic fear of 'haves' and 'have-nots', fears of the world moving too fast and being left behind and fears of overpopulation. Notably De Cauter outlined two specific types of fear which directly explain the topic at hand in urban spaces. The first is 'xenophobia', which in literal terms is the fear of foreigners. This comes hand in hand with the increasing migration through the redevelopment of neighbourhoods, whereby people fear newcomers entering their comfort zone. The second important category is 'agoraphobia, a fear of *agora* (the public space).³⁴ With urban environments becoming increasingly chaotic, people fear being too exposed to the open common space as they feel vulnerable to disorder. Therefore, when the question is posed about whether self-segregation is a controllable limitation or if it is a natural human behaviour, De Cauter argues that "the hope for integration is unrealistic, and we must accept the inevitable disintegration"³⁵. Critically De Cauter's views might be overcomplicating fear is different for everyone. Furthermore, there is always an opportunity to resolve the issue of self-segregation in our cities, rather than accepting the disintegration. Many characters in society, from governments, to city planners, to the media can do a better job at easing the fears and generally promoting more inclusive cities.

However, the reaction to this urban fear goes further than daily social behaviours in the city, there is also an architectural response which emphasises and progresses the threat to urban environments. Architect Robin Evans describes "architectural props"³⁶ as walls and barriers, likening them to the classic gated community as an attempt to offer an "immediate, temporary response"³⁷. It may be that self-segregation is an engrained human characteristic, and possibly there are solutions to dampen social fears and perhaps even rectify the systematic segregation, however, for the damage of urban inclusivity, one aspect is concrete. Allowing the city's occupants to continue exercising self-segregation to the extent that prejudice and exclusivity is at the forefront of everyone's daily lives, will lead to an increase of people opting for a gated lifestyle. This, in turn, is the sort of action that the city must avoid for a sustainable future of diversity.

CHAPTER 3: THE GATED-COMMUNITY

"This order is all composed of movement and change, and although it is life, not art, we may fancifully call it the art form of the city and liken it to the dance - not to a simple-minded precision dance with everyone kicking up at the same time, but to an intricate ballet in which the individual dancers and ensembles all have distinctive parts which miraculously reinforce each other and compose an orderly whole. The ballet of the good city sidewalk never repeats itself from place to place."³⁸ This is an excerpt from Jane Jacobs's work, the 'Sidewalk Ballet' which perfectly depicts the quality of the open city, diverse but synergised. Through this depiction you can see the contrast to the opposite model for urban spaces, that consists of organised repetition, no sense of surprise, much like the model of a gated community. By using a 'dance' to identify this difference, you can begin to visualise the opposing effects on the city's social core. One critical voice that contrasts with Jacobs's view of a city full of improvisations and variations is 19th century English Urban Planner, Ebenezer Howard. Howard was an advocate for human planning and design. He envisioned a new plan for what he called 'garden cities'³⁹ which was a model involving building towns as a whole instead of gradual growth and transformation like that of the 'open city'. This sort of approach was in response to his scorn for crowded and dirty urban disorganisation which he saw industrial towns developing towards. The idea was sold as "a utopian city where people live harmoniously with nature".⁴⁰ The spatial model for his ideal city was very specific, a circular urban plan for small towns self-contained and surrounded by green belts, aiming to "accommodate all of a persons need".⁴¹ These 'garden cities' would only

³³ De Cauter, Lieven. "A Short Archaeology of the New Fear." *Open* (2004) No. 6 (In)Security

³⁴ De Cauter. "A Short Archaeology of the New Fear."

³⁵ De Cauter. "A Short Archaeology of the New Fear."

³⁶ Evans, Robin. "The Rights of Retreat and the Rites of Seclusion" in *Translations from Drawing to Building and Other Essays*, London: Architectural Association Publication, (1997) pg. 38

³⁷ Evans. "The Rights of Retreat and the Rites of Seclusion"

³⁸ Jacobs. "*The death and life of great American cities.*"

³⁹ Admin, "Garden City Movement by Sir Ebenezer Howard" *Planning Tank* (2020) <https://planningtank.com/planning-theory/garden-city->

⁴⁰ Admin, "Garden City Movement by Sir Ebenezer Howard"

⁴¹ Admin, "Garden City Movement by Sir Ebenezer Howard"

support up to 32,000 people and were designed to limit growth so that they remained like big neighbourhoods.⁴² Howard's fanatic model foreshadowed the development of gated communities. Jacobs therefore criticised Howard's views claiming that his "aim was the creation of self-sufficient small towns, really very nice towns if you were docile and had no plans of your own and did not mind spending your life among others with no plans of their own".⁴³ Importantly Howard did have the intention to create towns where "people from all walks of life can live and work in harmony"⁴⁴. However, to achieve this level of urban inclusivity, the urban environments have to be able to grow and accommodate for change, but building limited towns as a whole does not serve this diversity. Although the first garden city was built in the UK as early as 1903⁴⁵, this concept of the utopian town was an idea that was quickly transferred to the US where the explosion of gated communities erupted in the late 1970's. Originally built as communal civic spaces, by the 80's millions of Americans had opted for the gated lifestyle, seeking for an idealistic American neighbourhood town⁴⁶. The people selling these gated residences quickly tapped into the desire and sold the gated community as the 'American Dream'. One of the most notorious and successfully promoted communities is 'Celebration Town' in Florida, USA.

This specific community was a project developed by 'The Walt Disney Company', reminiscent of a dream neighbourhood life, where everything and everyone works in a pattern. The town was built in reaction to the success of Peter Weir's 'The Truman Show'⁴⁷, a film that came out in 1998 following Jim Carrey stuck in an invisible urban bubble surrounding a utopian town. The Truman Show is arguably just as fictional as life in Celebration Town. Residents witness fake snow fall every hour in winter, music playing on the streets, every house and shop built in the 'new urbanism' style to create "walkable neighbourhoods"⁴⁸. Disney's ideal town is intended to look and feel like middle America between the Wars. Repeated picket fences, porches and well-kept lawns, a criterion all households must abide to (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Celebration Town by Preston Mack (2018)

Art historian and critic, Sven Lütticken, argues that the fictional and non-fictional cannot be separated in these places because "if The Truman Show is 'just' fiction, and non-Disneyfied gated communities 'just' a social and political reality, they nonetheless all function in the symbolic register of contemporary culture"⁴⁹.

Importantly, Celebration town, like all other gated communities needed, and most certainly got government backing to help the development of a new habitable town. Gated communities are an immense threat to the inner city as it creates an alternative that, according to social critic, Jeremy Rifkin, 3 out of 5 Americans today desire to move to⁵⁰. But it is the fact that they are being increasingly developed with government support which poses a future threat. This is the reason that governments are another urban character that needs to be held accountable for not prioritising the inclusive and diverse future of the city. Like other communities of its kind the government refer to Celebration Town as a 'Common Interest Community' (CIC). A CIC is when amenities within a community are collectively privately owned, rent collected by the community goes towards the upkeep of

⁴² Admin, "Garden City Movement by Sir Ebenezer Howard"

⁴³ Jacobs. "The death and life of great American cities."

⁴⁴ Admin, "Garden City Movement by Sir Ebenezer Howard"

⁴⁵ Admin, "Garden City Movement by Sir Ebenezer Howard"

⁴⁶ Grant, Jill L. *Challenging the public realm: gated communities in history*. Halifax, Canada: School of Planning, Dalhousie University, (2008). Pg. 2-3

⁴⁷ Cunningham, Douglas A. "A theme park built for one: the new urbanism vs. Disney design in the Truman show." *Critical Survey* 17, no. 1 (2005): pg. 122

⁴⁸ Cunningham,. "A theme park built for one: the new urbanism vs. Disney design in the Truman show."

⁴⁹ Lutticken, Sven. "Park Life." *Open* (2004) No. 6 (In)Security pg. 74

⁵⁰ Rifkin, Jeremy, "The Age of Access" (2000) pg.312

amenities including roads⁵¹. When you look at CICs in this way, they are a positive for the residents as they get to control standards and more importantly who comes in and out. Additionally, the local government don't need to worry about maintenance of these amenities as they are all privately owned. The main benefit of Celebration Town for the government is that residents still pay full tax per household yet require far less service as they are self-maintained. For this reason, they get so much government support and continue leading the future of our inner cities towards closed mentalities and fear of diversity. Furthermore, residents are normally less willing to contribute to public amenities outside their gates and results have shown they are more likely to vote against these when they appear on their ballots. In turn this means the cities are getting less support from these 'gated residents' towards public amenities like parks and community projects which help the city be more inclusive.⁵²

On the other hand, Celebration town is an ideal study to show how communities of its type are heavily promoted to the American citizens. Disney's 'Imagineering team' wrote in the 1996 Celebration town brochure:

*There once was a place where neighbours greeted neighbours in the quiet of summer twilight. Where children chased fireflies. And porch swings provided easy refuge from the cares of the day. The movie house showed cartoons on Saturday. The grocery store delivered. And there was one teacher who always knew you had that special something. Remember that place? Perhaps from your childhood. Or maybe just from stories. It held a magic all of its own. The special magic of an American hometown.*⁵³

This demonstrates two things. Firstly, the way gated communities are advertised to the public is to remind them of 'the good old days'. However, Rifkin argues that celebration town has "no sense of history, but instead an engineered experience"⁵⁴ of a utopian town that never really existed the way Disney portray Celebration (Fig.6). The second element is in support of Robin Evans as it portrays the responsibility and power that the media have in influencing the decisions of people to leave the city and self-segregate behind gates and walls in seek of a better life.



Fig. 6. A Rendering of Celebration, WKMG (2019)

When it comes to the benefits that are sold to people leaving the city to join gated communities, they tend to be attracted for a few reasons. The first is lifestyle, meaning people might opt for a retirement estate or country club as they want to be surrounded by like-minded people who enjoy the same activities they do, that could be from playing golf to shopping for similar tastes or abiding by certain community rules. The second reason is prestige. This means feeling exclusive, living in these communities is a status symbol, and the community ensures that even for outsiders everything looks and feels that way. The last reason is security. Communities offer safety measures to keep out crime from entering the area, but safety is the one that needs to be criticised further. In America there has been a growing paranoia over property crime, such as home invasions or vandalism. The consensus for people in gated communities is that they are safer as the city is infected with crime and violence, posing a relentless threat on people's homes. However, there is a clear distinction between the growing popularity

⁵¹ Callies, David L. "Common interest communities: An introduction." *Urb. Law.* 37 (2005): pg. 325.

⁵² Callies, David L. "Common interest communities: An introduction."

⁵³ Imagineering team, "Celebration Town Brochure" 1996

⁵⁴ Rifkin, "The Age of Access"

in the 21st century for gated communities that offer security and the continuous steep drop in property crime rates across America (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. U.S Property Crime Rate from FBI Uniform Crime Reports (2018)

Despite this, in other parts of the world gated communities really do come as a necessity for the upper classes to not become easy targets of extremely high crime rates. One example of this is when you compare what’s going on in America to a gated community in Brazil such as ‘Paradise City’ in Sao Paulo (Fig. 8) and you look at the crime rates surrounding the urban area (Fig. 9), you can begin to understand that in some less developed countries there is no safety unless you build walls around your home.⁵⁵

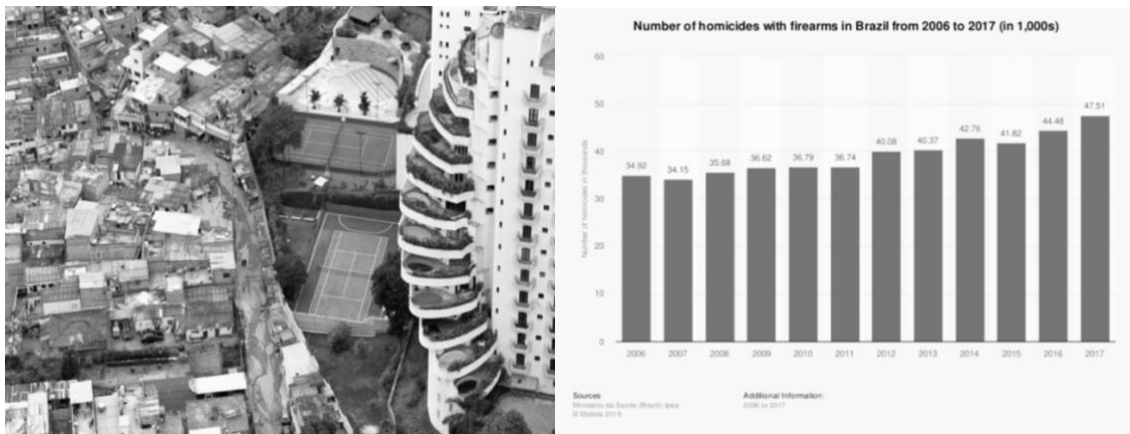


Fig. 8. Imagen de injustia, paradise city by Tuca Vieira (2004) Fig. 9. Number of homicides with firearms in Brazil. Statista (2017)

Frequently, gated communities are located on the outskirts of cities. When they are looked at as a whole with the urban environment, the spatial layout of these communities breeds a ‘gated mentality’ which begins to impose itself on the ‘urban mentality’. Someone who suggested this consequence was Canadian Journalist, Malcolm Gladwell. Gladwell used the gated community model to criticise the universal planning of office layouts in the 80’s and 90’s. “Those offices were suburbs – gated communities, in fact”. He claimed that when workplaces were designed in rows of isolated cubicles, surrounding important offices guarded by secretaries, much like the layout of a gated community, then “employees would be deprived of public acquaintanceship, the foundations of public trust, and cross connections with the necessary people.”⁵⁶ This loss of touch to the outside world is damaging urban environments’ inclusivity. Gated communities on the edges of cities cause divisions within the city as they promote a model that tries to directly tarnish the city’s reputation, convincing people to seek for a more segregated lifestyle. In support, Ajibola, Oloke, & Ogungbemi, three urban developers and authors argued “the rise of gated

⁵⁵ Caldeira, Teresa PR. “City of walls.” University of California Press. (2020).

⁵⁶ Gladwell, Malcom. “Designs for Working” The New Yorker, (2000)

communities can lead to spatial fragmentation and separation in cities because of its security and financial implications. Gated communities give a sense of community, safety, security and social exclusion which lead to urban fragmentation and separation.”⁵⁷

To contextualise the ‘gated mentality’ Setha M. Low, a professor of environmental psychology, carried out interviews investigating the mentality of gated community residents towards the outside world. In an interview with a gated community member named Felicia, Low explored the notion of urban fear.

*“Felicia: My daughter feels very threatened when she sees poor people. Setha: How do you explain that? Felicia: She hasn't had enough exposure. We were driving next to a truck with some day laborers and equipment in the back, and we were parked beside them at the light. She wanted to move because she was afraid those people were going to come and get her.”*⁵⁸

This naive mentality can turn into ignorance towards outsiders which causes divisions when the two meet. In turn, when pre-characterised traits of racism and aggression are thrown into the mix, which are not uncommon in either the city or gated communities, then ignorance can turn into violence against strangers. This is the worse end of the spectrum in relation to a lack of urban inclusivity. Violence, as spoken about by Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek, can be categorised into ‘subjective violence’, which includes criminal acts such as rape, murder, and visible aggression, and ‘objective violence’ which is far more subtle but widespread in today’s society.⁵⁹ Objective violence is living sinfully by contributing to things like pollution, whilst masking it with a fake lifestyle. As described by Žižek it includes “living in gated communities, eating organic food, taking holidays in wildlife preserves, and so on.”⁶⁰ To contextualise objective violence and understand the impact it has on urban inclusivity, it is valuable to look at inner city exclusive mentalities, most prominent in private members clubs where people are self-segregating with their own ‘prestige’ demographic through paying a premium to almost hide from the violence they are contributing to every day, this sort of violence and urban division go hand in hand. Similarly subjective violence can be seen coming out of gated communities and effecting the urban environment. Prejudice is unfortunately at the heart of many of these communities, as they are inhabited by predominately white upper-class members of society who sometimes have been attracted to self-segregate in order to avoid ethnic minorities and the unjustified dangers they have been programmed to believe in. A case study to demonstrate this is at Twin Lakes gated community where 17-year-old African American Trayvon Martin was fatally shot.⁶¹ This case is a complete example of the violence that can be present in gated communities. It is true that crime happens everywhere, and it is probably lower in these communities than in the city. However, this is about the nature of the crime, a man who was so engrossed in segregating away from the city’s dangers that when he noticed a young black boy walking on his lawn, his first reaction was to shoot and kill. This incident reflects how being separated for so long from the norms of a city and ethnical differences can lead to subjective violence. The case sent shock waves through the cities across America, emphasising the catastrophic damage gated mentalities can have on society, in turn producing an even larger social division. American cultural critic, Rich Benjamin wrote an article called ‘The Gated Community Mentality’ where he supported this notion and stated that “they churn a vicious cycle by attracting like-minded residents who seek shelter from outsiders and whose physical seclusion then worsens paranoid groupthink against outsiders.”⁶² This cast of mind rejects any sort of change in patterns that fit the agenda. When the agenda is to segregate from discomfort, and it is exercised through the implementation of gated communities then it can be a slippery slope towards the failure of urban inclusivity

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, both the notion of self-segregation and the involvement of gated communities limit the future of urban inclusivity. It is evident that the core value of self-segregation is a natural human behaviour which can’t be denied completely, however the promotion of segregation and the active distancing from diversities needs to be made apparent for urban characters to promote an inclusive mentality. Gated communities are the architectural and physical response to these desires, although through analysis it is evident that they have a negative impact on

⁵⁷ Al Shawish, A. "Evaluating the impact of gated communities on the physical and social fabric of Doha City." In *12th international postgraduate research conference* (2015), pg. 69

⁵⁸ Low, Setha M. "The edge and the center: Gated communities and the discourse of urban fear." *American anthropologist* 103, no. 1 (2001): pg.54.

⁵⁹ Žižek, Slavoj. "Violence". New York: Picador, (2008) pg. 27

⁶⁰ Žižek, "Violence".

⁶¹ Hunter, Sara E. "Fears of "the Other"." *Urban Anthropology* (2017).

⁶² Benjamin, Rich. "The gated community mentality." *New York Times* (2012) pg. 29.

the city. When attempting to combat the limitations to urban inclusivity, responsibility can successfully be spread across the topics explored. Critically a lot of these urban characters won't have the intention to prioritise inclusivity in their urban plans, the reason being their importance lies in accommodating the sectors that produce profits. Therefore, there needs to be an increase in urban organisations that claim and capitalize on the power that only the city offers. These organisations cannot attempt to fight human preference or redefine civic responsibility, nor can they change history and fix systematic issues in society. What these organisations need to do is step forward and restore the power of the land, shaping urban spaces towards the intention to include, not exclude. To do this they must preserve areas of the city that represent diversity, without letting the wrong characters gain control.

One organisation that sets an example in this field is the London based Community Land Trust (C.L.T). In 2011, with the help of Assemble Architects, social investors and media attention, C.L.T adopted Toxteth neighbourhood in the centre of Liverpool, an extremely diverse area which was on the verge of getting demolished, pushing the diversity out of that part Liverpool. The C.L.T project was named 'Granby Four Streets' and its aim was to renovate the properties for shared equity sales, allowing inclusive revitalisation of the neighbourhood for 250 multi-cultural families.⁶³ The project grew out of the need for affordable housing and to address the inequality of urban programmes. Importantly, instead of demolition, this urban regeneration attracted low-income households back into the area which sits side by side to some of the most upper-class neighbourhoods of Liverpool. In turn the residents entered "an innovative form of community land ownership"⁶⁴ through the collaboration of the areas upkeep. C.L.T now sit at "the top table"⁶⁵ in Liverpool in terms of urban ownership and have control over its urban inclusivity. By blending the boundaries of diversity and putting the land into the hands of the community, the future of urban inclusivity will prosper. To truly achieve an inclusive urban future, the city needs to remain a place of acceptance and opportunity for all walks of life, and only then can it be urbanly successful. Saskia Sassen stated that "cities are one of the key sites where new norms and identities are made"⁶⁶. For a future of urban inclusivity, all civic characters, especially organisations like C.L.T need to continue to prioritise this notion, build and design to promote and accept the urban movement, providing new norms and identities.

⁶³ Change The Rules, "Granby 4 Streets Liverpool" (2011) <https://letschangetherules.org/map/granby-4-streets>

⁶⁴ Assemble "Granby Four Streets" (2013) <https://assemblestudio.co.uk/projects/granby-four-streets-2>

⁶⁵ Change The Rules, "Granby 4 Streets Liverpool"

⁶⁶ Jacobs. "The death and life of great American cities."

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