

**GATED NATURE AND ITS ROLE IN CREATING PLACE ATTACHMENT AND  
PLACE IDENTITY IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: AN ANALYSIS OF  
GROTTO BAY PRIVATE RESIDENTIAL ESTATE**

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**Minor dissertation presented for the partial fulfilment of degree of Master of  
Philosophy**

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**July 2017**

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## **DECLARATION**

I declare that the entirety of the work contained in this minor dissertation is my own, save for that explicitly stated otherwise.

Sharon Ramsawmy

July 2017

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to express my gratitude to my mum and Ken for their infallible support through the pursuit of this Master's degree, which saw me through pregnancy and the birth of my daughter. Thank you my baby girl for not only making this pursuit more challenging, but also a lot more rewarding. My gratitude also extends to my dad, my brother and members of my family, who although questioned my decision to take up studying again, supported me through it.

Many, many thanks go to my supervisor Bradley, my companion from the conception to the final writing of this dissertation, thank you for your time and advice. Thank you Pippin for guiding, listening and encouraging me through this process.

A very special thank you to my friend Andrea, for her invaluable friendship in the short years that I have known her.

And lastly, thank you South Africa for introducing me to a variety of landscapes, all of breath-taking beauty, and to the warmth of your people.

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on a private residential estate, known as Grotto Bay, situated on the West Coast of the Western Cape province of South Africa. It examines the motivations of its participants to move to a non-metropolitan gated community and focuses on the participants' experiences of life in gated nature. In analysing the participants' subjective experiences, this work aims to understand how such experiences contribute to the development of place attachment, against the backdrop of the understanding of whiteness in the post-apartheid landscape. This qualitative, ethnographic research uses semi-structured interviews and participant observation to collect data. To analyse the data collected, this research uses thematic content analysis of texts and observations to identify motivations and link them to the body of literature on gated communities and lifestyle migration in South Africa. Drawing on the Person, Place and Process Framework, this work further probes into an understanding of the processes of place attachment to Grotto Bay, by speaking back to insights from the literature on place attachment, landscape and identity, within the post-apartheid South African context. The findings show that through gating and a migration back to the rural land, the participants of this research have enlisted the natural landscape to root themselves to place and to find a sense of continuity in self and in their identity, by linking the reconstruction of their past with the present and future. The results further indicate that discourses of withdrawal and attachment to place, read through a lens of white privilege, drive the making and re-making of boundaries in the post-apartheid context of South Africa. This work shows that through the privatisation of the rural landscape, Grotto Bay facilitates notions of power and control through the respondents' romantic and nostalgic idealisation of their new social imaginary. The respondents' subjective experiences exemplify the ways in which estates such as Grotto Bay may stand to perpetuate white hegemony and environmental injustice in the post-colonial and post-apartheid contexts.

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## 1 Chapter one: South Africa, a country of boundaries.

*“It is often boundaries that create identities rather than the other way round” (Thornton, 1994:13).*

The Grotto Bay estate is a space of breath-taking natural beauty. As you enter its gates, you breathe the fresh ocean air. It is serene and quiet, save for the chirping of the birds and, if you listen closely, the sound of the waves crashing. Children are riding their bikes or their skateboards; they greet, wave and smile. In fact, every person you come by greets and smiles. You are transported into a different world, an idyllic world, surrounded by ancient fynbos. It is a world very different from that of the neighbouring towns. However, this world is also gated and exclusive, only accessible to those with the socioeconomic means to enjoy its benefits. It “offers possibilities for identity production and consumption” (Rink, 2008:1), enabled through the privatisation of the rural landscape.

“South Africa can be characterised as a country full of boundaries” (Thornton, 1994:1) experienced through its history of colonisation and apartheid. Apartheid was founded on a principle that allocated a specific race a specific set of spaces, and thus “produced a set of practices concerned with boundaries between categories that it conceived” (Landman, 2010:53). Boundaries that define specific spatial areas are still very much present in post-apartheid South Africa and one example of the making and re-making of such boundaries are gated spaces that utilise “various mechanisms to demarcate separate territories” (ibid: 56).

South Africa’s urban landscape has been significantly altered by the proliferation of gated communities built mainly for the upper and middle classes. Motivations for moving into gated spaces largely revolve around crime and the desire to be free from the anxieties associated with city life, including the Africanisation of previously white areas (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002; Ballard, 2004; Durrington, 2006; Lemanski, 2006; Ballard and Jones, 2011). Most recently gated communities have expanded to include the rural sphere, taking the form of estates that offer a secure lifestyle in nature.

Two things have fascinated me about South Africa since I have moved to this country: the magnificence of its natural landscapes and the persistent patterns of

exclusion still visible in the post-apartheid context. My interest in this research was to focus on both exclusion and nature, and its interconnection with attachment, privilege, identity and whiteness. In doing so I seek to explore the ways in which whiteness enlists the privatisation of nature to establish new boundaries of exclusion, which in turn allows for the re-negotiation of identity and the finding of distinct place attachment in contemporary South Africa (Ballard and Jones, 2011).

### 1.1 Focus of the study

This study unpacks the motivations of its participants to move to a non-metropolitan gated community, situated in a private nature reserve on the West Coast of the Western Cape province of South Africa. This study also focuses on the residents' experiences of life in a natural environment and how they contribute to the development of place attachment, against the backdrop of the understanding of whiteness in the post-apartheid landscape.

Gated communities have been researched extensively in the last twenty years and have now become an omnipresent feature of the urban landscape (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Roitman, 2005; Nonnemaker, 2009; Spoceter, 2012). Typologies differ from country to country, and in line with this Landman (2000) provided a typology of gated communities in South Africa, comprised mainly of enclosed neighbourhoods and security villages. Globally, the phenomenon of gating has been linked to several reasons including political and economic transitions, resulting in the privatisation of urban areas (Atkinson and Blandy, 2005a; Glasze et al., 2006; Bagaeen and Uduku, 2010). Gated living has been associated with middle and upper classes (Lemanski et al., 2008) as a response to the fear of crime mainly, and mostly contains homogenous societies (Roitman, 2005). The adoption of neoliberal tendencies of self-governance has contributed to an increase in gated living (Bellet, 2007), managed by residents' associations who are in charge of the administration and security of the community.

Gated communities have been the subject of considerable research, where pros and cons have been debated (Lemanski, 2004; Manzi and Smith-Bowers, 2005). However, they have been severely criticised in the South African context, particularly with regards to issues of social exclusion and inequality as well as spatial

fragmentation and economic segregation, and have thus been linked to the perpetuation of apartheid's spatial ideals (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002; Juergens and Gnad, 2002; Landman, 2006; Lemanski, 2006; Spinks, 2001; Spocter, 2012).

Internationally gated communities have been referred to as "the ideal refuge in which to escape from the insecurity and uncertainty generated by the postmodern society" (Bellet, 2007:13). In South Africa they tend to offer geographical escapism for the elite, divorced from the realities and challenges of most urban centres (Ballard and Jones, 2011; Boersema, 2011). Recently a new type of security estate has emerged in South Africa that targets a niche market, i.e. the elite looking for place attachment in nature (Ballard and Jones, 2011). This new type of gated community is usually situated in non-metropolitan areas and takes the form of nature-oriented estates or eco-estates<sup>1</sup>, where nature and a wholesome lifestyle are marketed as the primary draws for urbanites looking at migrating to the rural land (Bushnell, 1999; Till, 2010; Ingle, 2010; Ballard and Jones, 2011). This research focuses on the reasons behind this migration to rural residential living using the theoretical framework of lifestyle migration.

The growing body of empirical work on lifestyle migration puts forward a unifying characteristic of migrants: affluence. This way of life is directed at and appeals to those who have the wealth necessary to make a conscious choice on how and where to live (Hoey, 2005). The international literature unpacks the migratory flows of privileged migrants from Northern Europe to the sunnier Southern

<sup>1</sup> Sherriff-Shüping (2015:7) defines eco-estates as "developments that seek to limit negative environmental effects that are often associated with the built environment", while also striving to "incorporate energy-efficient buildings with environmentally sensitive site planning and landscaping" (Hostetler and Noiseux, 2009: 234). Residential developments under the banner of 'eco-estates' which market themselves as being sustainable (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012) have increased in South Africa over the recent years (Ballard and Jones, 2011), offering a privately managed, profitable investment in unique natural surroundings for potential investors (Sherriff-Shüping, 2015). Such residential estates use different marketing terms to "differentiate[d] themselves from others through the use of the terms "green", "eco", "country", and "nature" (Sherriff-Shüping, 2015: 47). The estates can also differ in terms of what they offer as housing estates. While Grey-Ross et al. (2009) perceive eco-estates as potential conservation tools, other researchers perceive them as offering "alternatives for the conservation of energy and water and the reduction of waste, focus on the impact of sanitation, while considering the use of sustainable building material" (Sherriff-Shüping, 2015: 43). For the purpose of this research, the term nature-oriented gated estate has been used to reflect the context of Grotto Bay as a coastal estate set in a private nature reserve, which prioritises the conservation of its unique indigenous setting as well as its abundant fauna in line with Grey-Ross et al. (2009).

European countries, and of Northern Americans looking for a better quality of life in Central America (e.g. Gustafson, 2001; Ackers and Dwyer, 2004; Casado-Diaz et al., 2004; Croucher, 2009, 2012; Benson, 2013). Benson and O'Reilly (2009) identified globalisation, affluence and mobility as the main facilitators of lifestyle migration while motivations to migrate revolve around the need for warmer climates and idyllic environments, together with the availability of leisure activities and cheaper real estate (Croucher, 2012).

A central critique of lifestyle migration relates to the historical and systemic inequalities behind this phenomenon, which Benson (2013) criticises by using a post-colonial lens. Lifestyle migration is very much present within South Africa, enabled by the beauty, vastness and diversity of the landscape. This study focuses on the understanding of lifestyle migration in South Africa through the use of the post-colonial and post-apartheid lenses. Lifestyle migration to non-metropolitan nature-oriented gated communities thus adds another layer of research to considerations of post-apartheid spatiality, especially in terms of land, environmental justice, nature conservation and place attachment in South Africa, which harbour links with colonialism and apartheid (Landman, 2010).

Place attachment refers to the emotions attached to particular environments (Kaltenborn and Bjerke, 2002) and research on sense of place, place attachment, and place identity have contributed in understanding people's relationships to place (Manzo, 2005). Place attachment thus not only refers to our attachment to friends and family in our home area, it also refers to the development of emotional bonds with landscapes and natural places (Kaltenborn and Bjerke, 2002). Through the analysis of the residents' subjective experiences of life in a non-metropolitan nature-oriented estate, this study contributes to knowledge by exploring the interconnection of theories of lifestyle migration, gated communities and place attachment to the natural landscape. It uses a post-colonial and post-apartheid lens to look at the concepts of rooting, uprooting and rerooting (Egoz, 2013) to the rural land.

## 1.2 Motivation for the study

*“The result was that after the adjustments brought about by the 1994 elections, white South Africans found themselves in a condition perhaps best described as angst-ridden and existentially homeless, for they were now strangers in their own land” (Griffiths and Prozesky, 2010:31).*

Settlement and building fortification and segregation have a long history in South Africa, with the building of the Cape Town castle in 1666, of military forts and of ‘laagers’<sup>2</sup>, ultimately culminating in the Group Area Act of 1950 (Landman, 2010). While contemporary South African urban and rural spatialities have renounced race-based segregation, the creation of gated spaces demonstrates a making and remaking of boundaries to serve various purposes, groups and communities (Thornton, 1994; Landman, 2010). In the South African context, several factors have led to the growth of gated communities including crime and the fear of crime, the lack of confidence in local municipalities and government, the search for a sense of community and belonging in urban areas and the search for a specific lifestyle (Landman, 2006, 2010). Gated communities are changing the South African cityscapes and have been criticised for their role in upholding the segregative patterns of apartheid (Bremner, 1999) through the re-creation of boundaries defining who belongs inside and who belongs outside the gates (Thornton, 1994). Gated communities have infiltrated non-metropolitan areas, driven by the commodification and consumption of the rural by the elite in search of a better lifestyle in the rural idyll (Spoceter, 2013).

This research analyses the motivations of the participants to move to a non-metropolitan nature-oriented gated community and in doing so analyses their subjective experiences of life in nature. In exploring the motivations and subjective experiences, this study questions whether residents have met their goals and expectations they anticipated by moving. More specifically, this research analyses the role of nature in fostering place attachment for the white elite currently experiencing feelings of “existential homelessness” (Griffiths and Prozesky, 2010:37)

<sup>2</sup> “Laagers” refer to a camp or encampment formed by a circle of wagons, used by colonial settlers in Africa in defence of attacks from wild animals and the indigenous population (Hudson, 2011).

and feelings of alienation, socially and politically (Ballard and Jones, 2011). Analysing place attachment from the subjective experiences of those living in gated nature is not yet common in research in South Africa, and gaining first-hand accounts from residents through in-depth qualitative research may be valuable in understanding the reasons behind the growth of nature-oriented gated communities in South Africa, and its links with landscape and whiteness. As such, particular attention is given to the role of gated nature as a spatial practice to resolve whiteness' dissonance in South Africa, by questioning the links between landscape and white identity and their connection to colonial and apartheid legacies.

In a country that formally encourages inclusion and equality, it is important to research spatial practices that appear to contradict such values and principles. The growth of, and motivations behind non-metropolitan gated communities can be seen as examples of such contradiction, instead allowing for spatial practices which further entrench the social, economic and environmental disparities between the rich and poor in South Africa.

### 1.3 Aim and structure of the study

The aim of this research is to explore the rationale behind investing and living in a non-metropolitan nature-oriented estate in the rural West Coast of South Africa. Using the theoretical framework of place attachment, this study seeks to unpack and explore the relationship between whiteness, place attachment and nature in the post-colonial and post-apartheid contexts, through the residents' subjective experiences of living in a natural environment characterised as indigenous. By analysing the participants' engagement with the natural environment this research aims to explore the ways in which white South Africans have enlisted rural spatialities to uphold "historical structure[s] of privilege in place" in terms of "exclusion, separation and avoidance" (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2001:75). In doing so this research seeks to understand how the estate functions in providing those living within its boundaries the tools to reaffirm their identity, while finding place attachment in rural nature. In order to reach the aim of this research, fieldwork was undertaken at Grotto Bay Private Residential Estate, a coastal gated community set in a private nature reserve.

The subsequent four chapters include the literature review, the research methodology, the data analysis and a discussion thereof, followed by the concluding chapter. The theoretical framework applied in this research is presented in the literature review, which includes an exploration of the literature on gated communities, lifestyle management and place attachment. Central to this research is the historical and current interaction between space and race in South Africa and thus a review of the historical and complex issues around land are discussed. This is further expanded through the specific focus on non-metropolitan gated communities, and on the links between the natural landscape, whiteness and place attachment in the contemporary South African context.

Chapter three provides a detailed outline of the methods used in collecting and analysing data. It explores the research paradigm and design, as well as the sampling procedures used. The methods used in data collection are then introduced, namely in-depth semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The research site is discussed, followed by the data analysis tools, i.e. thematic content analysis, informed by Scannell and Gifford's (2010) three-dimensional framework involving place, people and process (PPP Framework). The chapter ends with the ethical considerations employed in this research together with the researcher reflexivity and the limitations to the study.

Chapter four presents the findings and includes a detailed discussion and interpretation of the results of the thematic content analysis, situated within the academic literature. The theoretical framework of place attachment, informed by the PPP Framework, and more specifically Egoz's (2013) concept of rooting, uprooting and rerooting is used to support an in-depth interpretation of the findings. Chapter five serves as the conclusion to this research and discusses its value and contribution to knowledge, followed by an overview of the main findings.

This chapter has introduced the subject of research in this study and the rationale behind it. The focus of the study is discussed as well as the researcher's motivation for carrying out this qualitative, ethnographic research, and the aim and structure of the report are laid out. The next chapter provides an in-depth review of the academic literature relevant to this research.

## 2 Chapter two: setting the scene (ry).

### 2.1 Gated communities globally: definition and features

As per Spocter (2012:2), “walls have been used since time immemorial to create a physical divide between people and others, and between people and animals” and as such, Bagaeen and Uduku (2011:7) link gated communities to older “historic patterns of enclosure found globally”. Examples of historical gated developments are medieval fortresses or walled villages and towns. Colonialism also played an important role in the history of gating in its aim to protect the elite classes, leading to Spocter’s (2012:3) claim that “contemporary gated developments are regarded as a progression from the colonial days”. More recently, specifically the last two decades, have seen an explosion of residential enclaves and private real estate developments in almost all metropolises around the world, largely attributed to a growing search for security due to an increasing fear of urban crime (Genis, 2007).

Initially such developments and especially gated communities addressed the needs of a niche market: the rich elite. However they now house a wide range of social groups in different geographic contexts as demonstrated by Caldeira (2000) and Le Goix (2005). This global phenomenon, symbolic of the rejection of the traditional city, has efficiently adapted to change by fitting in perfectly with the current model of global consumption (Bellet, 2007) and thus highlights a “global trend of privatized urbanization” (Álvarez-Rivadulla, 2007: 48). Gated communities have grown rapidly in the countries of Latin America, the USA and South Africa, countries characterised by high levels of social inequalities and also feature prominently in countries such as Russia, China, Turkey and Ghana.

The phenomenon of residential enclaves has been researched extensively by academics in disciplines such as geography, sociology, urban theory and economy, just to name a few (Spocter, 2012), creating “an abundance of theories and evaluations from varied professional perspectives” (Morgan, 2013:24). The literature contains several definitions of gated communities, taken from diverse perspectives, while sharing similarities such as physical barriers to entry and movement, “the privatization and communal control of public spaces”, and the “privatization of

public services in some cases” (Morgan, 2013:25). Atkinson and Blandy (2005b:177) define gated communities as:

*“housing development(s) that restricts public access, usually through the use of gates, booms, walls and fences. These residential areas may also employ security staff or CCTV systems to monitor access. In addition, gated communities may include a variety of services such as shops or leisure facilities.”*

Blakely and Snyder (1997), authors of *Fortress America*, one of the most in-depth investigations of gated communities, categorised them into three different types, with their typologies referring to the reasons for gating. These are: lifestyle communities, prestige communities and security zones. Lifestyle communities broadly refer to gated communities where the focus is on leisure; they may reflect small-town nostalgia and can take the form of luxury, retirement or resort villages (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004), golf estates and country clubs. The commodification of a socioeconomically homogenous community is at the core of this type of gated communities, which cater for both the upper and middle-income classes. Developers seek to attract residents in search of identity, security and a shared lifestyle, by selling a sense of community through common interests and leisure activities (ibid).

Prestige communities on the other hand, a symbol of wealth and status, only cater for the upper-income group pursuing privacy, seclusion and exclusivity. Blakely and Snyder (1997:4) point out that these two categories are driven by “a desire to invest in and control the future through measures designed to maximise the internal life of the residents”, while at the same time aspiring to “induce community in an ersatz, homogenous neighbourhood” (ibid). The last category, security zone, “closes off public streets to non-residents” and “reflects a fear of outsiders who disrupt neighbourhoods” (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004:916). While developers are responsible for putting security measures in place for lifestyle and prestige communities, residents themselves are the instigators of the closure of streets, aiming at deterring crime, limiting traffic, and maintaining their community by strengthening neighbourhood bonds, through exclusion from the rest of society (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004).

Blakely and Snyder's (1997) categorisation of gated communities in the US provide a valuable starting point for research, however their typologies may differ from country to country. Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004) point out that gated communities contain diversity and that their "real significance can only be fully understood with reference to the precise context within which each of these developments is located" (Bellet, 2007:3).

### **2.1.1 Reasons for gating**

Several researchers link the rise of gated communities to political and economic transition (Atkinson and Blandy, 2005a; Glasze et al., 2006; Bagaeen and Uduku, 2010), which consequently leads to the privatisation of the urban space. In the context of Sub-Saharan Africa, Morange et al. (2012) produced a detailed analysis of three cities' reaction to political and economic transition, including that of Cape Town's, and revealed how such transition tended to lead to gating. Landman (2012) finds that when social and spatial transitions follow dramatic political transition, this contributes to the embedding of perceptions around crime and the growth of crime within the process of transition. Research further suggests that over the last twenty years, gated communities developed as the emergent middle class together with the upper class, acquired "local affluence and with it a real, or perceived, fear of encroaching crime and 'contamination' from society not part of their socio-economic status" (Bagaeen and Uduku, 2011:6). Although people with a range of backgrounds live in gated communities, the context for the gated community trend is one increasingly separated by income, race and economic opportunity.

Researchers also attribute the expansion of gated developments to the neoliberal tendencies of privatisation and self-governance. Bellet (2007) finds that privately managed residential enclaves capable of providing their own services and amenities represent the best example of a neoliberal residential project. Gated communities thus promote the privatisation of public roles performed by governmental services to local private services in terms of security, maintenance and management. Walls are perceived as a deterrent to crime and together with privately employed security, provide the solution against fear or perceived fear of

crime without having to depend on public forces, which are seen as ineffective (Spocter, 2012). Studies from Milian and Guenet (2007) and Breetzke et al. (2014) have conversely suggested that crime can often be a feature inside the walls of gated communities rather than coming from outside. Yet in general investors in gated communities are willing to pay for segregation as well as for the services provided by such developments as it is perceived that they “provide the ideal refuge in which to escape from all the insecurity and uncertainty generated by the postmodern society” (Bellet, 2007:4).

As a ubiquitous part of the urban landscape gated dwellings are often preferred for their investment potential (Spocter, 2012, 2013). Other motivations for gating include the desire for status, privacy, social homogeneity, identity, children-oriented family living, as well as an improvement in quality of life (Coy and Pöhler, 2002; Álvarez-Rivadulla, 2007; Atkinson and Blandy, 2013). Gated communities can also represent a search for the re-establishment of trust and community values among neighbours, whereby “residents seek contact with like-minded people who mirror their aspirations” (Atkinson and Blandy, 2005a). Havermans and Smeets (2010) contend that the popularity of residential enclaves symbolises the need of certain social groups to find a specific environment that suits their lifestyle and their needs, which are no longer supported by the public urban domain. They argue that the rise of gated communities can be attributed to the disruption of place attachment as well as to the threat to place identity due to rapidly changing neighbourhoods (ibid). Compared to traditional neighbourhoods, Edgü and Cimşit (2011:157) find that “gated communities have clear, geographical boundaries that can be easily managed, learned, experienced and evaluated”. Nonetheless Havermans and Smeets (2010) question the ability of gates to actually create a sense of community, stating that a like-minded, homogenous group of people might not always mean a tightknit community (Bagaeen and Uduku, 2011).

The choice of living behind gates is not without societal impacts. For many academics, gated communities have provided a rich soil for research as they conflict with the ideologies of urban planning, and with attempts to achieve social justice and balance within cities and neighbourhoods (Atkinson and Blandy, 2005a). This conflict makes the sustainability of gated communities, both physically and

conceptually a critical issue to consider in the current socioeconomic environment. Another important consideration is the appropriateness of the “Western-based gated model in non-Western-based cultural contexts” (Bagaeen and Uduku, 2010:2). Gated communities can result in the reinforcement of social segregation and the loss of social diversity in the neighbourhoods from which people have exiled themselves. The fortress created by gated communities symbolises that those outside the gates can be permanently excluded as the ‘other’, the “low life criminals and undesirables from whom the deserving middle classes need(ed) to protect themselves” (Bagaeen and Uduku, 2010:2). Low (2001) further suggests that life behind gates can encourage fear of social contact outside gates. Additionally, gated communities have been associated with the displacement of crime from fortified enclaves to areas that harbour softer targets. Indeed the private governance nature of gated communities exacerbates the effects of poverty and crime displacement, systematically layered onto the urban poor (Landman, 2000; Spinks, 2001).

While studies have long focused on investigating gated communities’ role in the privatisation of urban space, a more recent feature of research is around the way in which gating now often involves the privatisation of public, natural resources in suburbs and non-metropolitan areas. The desire for exclusion, privacy and a particular elite lifestyle leads to the transformation of natural resources such as nature reserves, shorelines, beaches and parks into private reserves (Landman and du Plessis, 2007). Natural capital is influenced in a number of ways by the development of gated communities, whereby indigenous fauna and flora as well as watercourses are protected to benefit such lifestyles (ibid). In the marketing of such gated communities, developers lay emphasis on ecology and environmental conservation, rather than on the sensitive issues of security and segregation (Durington, 2006). These nature-oriented gated communities bear characteristics integral to new urbanism and offer potential residents the opportunity of living “in harmony with pristine settings and endangered species” (Till, 2010:225).

## 2.2 Walls and whiteness: gated communities in South Africa

Since the transition to democracy in 1994, South Africa’s urban landscape has been significantly altered by the proliferation of gated communities (Ballard and

Jones, 2011), mainly as a response to high levels of crime and to the perceived fear of crime (Landman and Schönreich, 2002). Landman (2000) identified a working typology of gated communities in South Africa, comprised of two main types: enclosed neighbourhoods and security estates. Enclosed neighbourhoods refer to existing neighbourhoods that are fenced or walled in, with access controlled by gates or booms; while security estates are located on the urban periphery and offer an entire lifestyle package including a secure environment, services such as garden services and refuse removal as well as leisure facilities such as golf courses and equestrian routes (Landman, 2006). While Gauteng boasts the highest concentration of gated communities, Landman (2003) notes their popularity in the country as a whole, specifically in the major urban centres.

Generally, South African gated communities bear similarities with their global counterparts, showing signs of cross-fertilisation of design ideas and planning trends (Landman, 2006). However in South Africa's post-apartheid context wherein integration is encouraged, the impact of gated communities in terms of social polarisation as well as spatial fragmentation is far greater. While the reasons for gating in South Africa reverberate with the reasons for gating globally, there are some nuances in the South African context that set it apart. The residents' public justification for a life behind gates generally revolves around crime, the perceived fear of crime and the inability of local authorities to provide adequate services (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002). It is argued that in actuality the exponential growth of gated communities in South Africa hints at re-segregation and several academics make this criticism of gated communities, citing their role in promoting social exclusion and inequality, spatial fragmentation and economic segregation (Spinks, 2001; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Juergens and Gnad, 2002; Landman 2006; Lemanski 2006).

Gated communities also carry a symbolic association with the perpetuations of the apartheid city (Spoceter, 2012). During apartheid, formal segregation created comfort zones, which enabled the white minority to live within an environment that facilitated their "modern, European sense of themselves" (Ballard, 2004:51). Through the Group Areas Act of 1950, the movement of non-whites was highly monitored. Non-whites were excluded from living within developed, urban areas and forcibly removed from areas deemed as white-only. Similarly movement in gated

communities is heavily monitored with visitors, domestic workers and manual day workers having to report to the security gates, whereby their purpose for entering the estate is verified. According to Durlington (2006) this process is heavily reminiscent of the Pass Laws of apartheid.

The abolishment of apartheid's strict spatial laws drove multitudes of whites in the late 1990s and 2000s to emigrate to countries which would 'better' suit their First World identities, for many in "response to the dislocation they felt in South Africa" (Ballard, 2004:59). Meanwhile, many of the whites that elected to stay in South Africa adopted a system of self-segregation by moving into fortified enclaves. Ballard (2004:52) used the term 'semigration'<sup>3</sup>, to describe this unique form of partial emigration, which takes place "without leaving the borders of South Africa", marked by white flight from integration and a democratic South Africa, into new, more exclusive spatial arrangements.

The dismantling of apartheid in 1994 has transformed South Africa into a fascinating site to study whiteness and space, "as the white minority renegotiates a sense of belonging in a new black majority governed state" (McEwen and Steyn, 2013:4). The concept of space and society is perhaps most relevant in post-apartheid South African cities, where "physical space often creates the preconditions for the development and experience of sense of place" (Landman, 2010:58). Landman (2010: 56) finds that the socio-spatial context relates to questions of "ours" and "theirs" or "inside" and "outside", issues that directly speak to sense of place, community, belonging, and of identity and more specifically to the question of "whose place" is it? Thus "our people, our group, our neighbourhood, or simply our place" is clearly set apart from those outside the walls through the performance of a specific lifestyle, status and elitism (ibid: 58). Gated communities can therefore symbolically act as a "new form of the old apartheid neighbourhoods or citadels of

<sup>3</sup> The term 'semigration' has been developed and used in the media to describe the move of people within South Africa, "who seek a better quality of life away from urban crime, congestion and the concrete jungle"

(<http://www.thesouthafrican.com/semigration-syndrome>, accessed 21.06.2017).

Ballard (2004) pioneered the use of this term in research to describe the post-apartheid move of white South Africans to the Western Cape, particularly Cape Town, governed by the largely white Democratic Alliance (Griffiths and Prozesky, 2010). Ballard (2004) used 'semigration' to encapsulate the spatial practices of gated communities as a means employed by whites to distance themselves from integration while creating an "alternative representation of reality" whereby "one's right to property and personal privacy remain sacrosanct" (Hook and Vrdoljak 2002: 216).

the elite where some race groups were prohibited and excluded: a new-old type” (ibid: 58), or a new social imaginary (Steyn, 2004, Griffiths and Prozesky, 2010).

Academics criticise gated communities for their ideological characteristics, by highlighting the contrast between life within walls and life outside, seen as chaotic and unsafe, which as per Boersema (2011) produces two perspectives of reality, one where gated people feel safe and free and the other un-walled reality where the same people feel threatened. This echoes with Ballard and Jones’ (2011) argument that gated communities in the South African urban context can offer a kind of geographical escapism and a divorce from the reality outside the gates, through the “reproduction of rural or pre-industrial European landscapes such as Tudor, Cotswold, Tuscan” (ibid: 3), which further implies a disconnection with the aspirations of the country and a deep desire to be anywhere but in a democratic, de-segregated South Africa. On the other hand, Ballard and Jones (2011) also argue that nature-oriented estates, situated on the urban periphery or in rural areas appeal to the elite by offering attachment to place through the consumption of the natural heritage.

### 2.3 Walls and whiteness: gated communities in non-metropolitan areas

As a research area, a small body of researchers has addressed non-metropolitan gated communities locally and internationally (Spocter, 2011, 2013, 2016). Spocter (2013) uses theoretical elements of urban gated communities to unpack the phenomenon of non-metropolitan gated communities in the South African landscape and suggests that they bear similar characteristics to their urban counterparts, in the sense that they are also indicative of the fortress mentality. In addition to this, he is of the contention that the “creation of new living spaces in non-metropolitan Western Cape due to increased in-migration is a manifestation of two post-productivist<sup>4</sup> tenets: counterurbanisation and housing development, and the pursuit of leisure and amenity activities” (ibid: 90).

Spocter (2013) and Hoogendoorn at al. (2008) have used the post-productivist theory to understand the prevalence of gated communities in the rural

<sup>4</sup> Post-productivism is defined by Ingle (2010:406) as “rural livelihoods, which have moved beyond conventional agriculture, to incorporate lifestyle services and tourism.”

South African context. These are security estates whereby investors (mostly from urban areas) are buying not only property but a lifestyle, one built around leisure pursuits such as sea or bushveld activities, hiking or golf, together with the commodification of the rural land now being privatised and sold. Non-metropolitan gated communities are marketed “as idyllic, secure lifestyle commodities to be bought into by those who can afford them” (Spocster, 2013:89), and thus offer an alternative lifestyle to the urban rat race, imbued with “rural tranquillity and fresh rural air” (ibid). In this regard, the quest for an alternative or better lifestyle is an active feature of the lifestyle migration framework, based on affluence and mobility. However within the post-apartheid context this lifestyle is still largely segregated, exclusive, unequal and “overwhelmingly white” (Ingle 2010: 406); and a symbol of post-colonial and post-apartheid privilege.

### **2.3.1 Lifestyle migration**

In the age of globalisation, migration patterns do not only comprise of economic, political or environmental migrants from developing or under-developed countries to Western, industrialised ones (Croucher, 2012). Social scientists have recorded a new trend of migration involving “the movement of relatively affluent individuals from well-developed countries in the global north to less economically developed countries in the global south” (ibid: 2). Several terms have been used to describe this phenomenon including amenity migration, residential or privileged mobility, however for the purpose of this research, the term lifestyle migration will be in keeping with the empirical research of Benson and O’Reilly (2009).

Lifestyle migration is a broad subject that encompasses the privileged movement of skilled workers and investors, students, retirees and holidaymakers (Croucher, 2012). In the north, academics have researched the key flows of migration within Europe, including from countries such as the UK, Germany, France, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries into warmer countries including Spain, Greece, Malta, Cyprus or Morocco (King, 2015). The privileged migratory patterns of North Americans into Central America have also been given much attention (Dixon et al., 2006; Croucher, 2009); and more recently the migratory flows into Asia, Africa and the Indian Subcontinent (Benson, 2013). Although a considerable portion of

present research is based on international retirement migration, “the population of privileged migrants and their respective journeys are, however, diverse and growing” (Croucher, 2012:3).

According to Benson and O’Reilly (2009:2) “lifestyle migrants are relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that, for various reasons, signify, for the migrant, a better quality of life.” In their preliminary conceptualisation of the lifestyle migration framework, Benson and O’Reilly (2009) identified globalisation, affluence and mobility as “the historical and material conditions which facilitate” this social phenomenon (Benson, 2013:3). Motivations behind lifestyle migration gravitate around warmer climates and idyllic ruralities, leisure prospects together with the availability of cheaper real estate and commodities, and also towards socially and culturally rich host countries (Croucher, 2012).

The idealistic concept of lifestyle migration does not go without critique. Benson (2013:315) highlights one critique crucial to this study in her suggestion that “there is a need to remain sensitive to the history between sending and receiving countries and/or the power dynamics that make it possible and are made apparent through it.” Lifestyle migration highlights the mobility and privilege of the migrants, mainly white, resulting from not only their own individual socioeconomic status but also from their membership to politically and economically powerful countries (Croucher, 2012). This privilege, which Benson (2013) considers partly systemic, reinforces the inequalities behind lifestyle migration, which can be further exposed using a post-colonial lens. Certainly the historical relationships between home and host countries are important to consider, in terms of their influence not only on the privileged migratory flows between them but also on how they influence everyday lifestyle migration practices by producing “post-colonial continuities in relation to people, practices and imaginations” (Fechter and Walsh, 2010: 1197).

Post-colonial and post-apartheid privilege is a sensitive issue in the South African context, which also experiences lifestyle migration, not only from foreign countries, but very much internally, facilitated by the vastness of the country and the diversity of its landscape. In setting out an approach to understanding lifestyle flows in South Africa, it is essential to understand the historical power dynamics at play,

which tend to reinforce the systemic inequalities embedded in the post-colonial relationship and apartheid spatialities.

#### 2.4 Walls and nature: land and environmental justice in post-apartheid South Africa

The post-apartheid era cannot be considered without considering its links with colonialism and apartheid (Landman, 2010) in a country where the issue of land and space has always been problematic (Sienaert and Stiebel, 1996). South Africa's history has been one of colonisation and contested borders, of racial domination and land dispossession, which "resulted in the bulk of the agricultural land being owned by a white minority" (Rugege, 2004:1). Colonial land dispossession, which continued for another three centuries through "conquest and trickery" (ibid), culminated in the passing of the Native Land Act in 1913 that prohibited Africans from purchasing land outside the assigned homelands. In a more recent past, the Group Area Act of 1950 facilitated the mass displacements of people in the apartheid project of social engineering (Sienaert and Stiebel, 1996).

Although the first conservation organisations were only established in South Africa in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, native South Africans had by then already become alienated from the natural environment (Khan, 2000). The foundation was laid in the late colonial era for the establishment of a system of protected natural areas that "would develop into national parks and provincial game and nature reserves" in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Khan, 2000:158). The conservation ideology of preserving the natural environment ran parallel with the Eurocentric focus of the colonial society, which perceived Africans as uncivilised and whites as the pioneers of civilisation and development (Khan, 2000). Africans, who were seen as environmentally destructive, were forcibly evicted from their traditional lands and prohibited from subsistence hunting for the enjoyment of the white conservationist elite (ibid).

The transition to democracy saw the progressive move from the traditional conservation goals of exclusively protecting wildlife and natural reserves to a more holistic and socially responsive approach (Khan, 2000). The political changes echoed with a transformation within the environmental movement, gradually acknowledging that environmental goals need to encompass the basic human needs of "a clean, safe and healthy environment" (ibid: 171). This however was not enough

to eradicate the conflicts between poor and privileged over the issue of environmental protection, as disadvantaged communities encouraged by the political changes demanded “past injustices be remedied” (ibid: 172). This led to conflicts over access to land and natural resources with the demand for environmental justice becoming a prominent feature of the new democratic era.

While considerable progress has been achieved in the enactment of environmental justice, the critical level of inequality that persists in South Africa demonstrates that environmental problems remain closely linked to socioeconomic and political factors, whereby the affluent, mainly white residents, continue to occupy the “most environmentally desired residential areas” (ibid: 179) while the poor are still plagued by an inequitable access to natural resources.

Non-metropolitan nature-oriented gated communities are the embodiment of the exclusive, environmentally desired residential areas situated within natural environments that speak to the elite’s conservation needs as South Africa’s democratic government struggles to address its socioeconomic and environmental hurdles (Ballard and Jones, 2011). Lifestyle migration to such estates adds another layer of research to the salient issues of post-apartheid spatiality, especially in terms of land, environmental justice, nature conservation and place attachment in South Africa.

The Africanisation of urban areas and whites’ perception of poor communities as detrimental to the environment, together with the threat of climate change, result in what Ballard and Jones (2011) describe as ‘ecological patriotism’. They argue that ecological patriotism “substitutes for nationalism as a mechanism for achieving an attachment to place and claims to autochthony” (ibid: 15), whereby natural landscapes provide a sense of localism for people feeling otherwise “displaced” (ibid: 5) in democratic South Africa. They posit the notion that “whites continue to enlist nature in order to [enter] post-colonialism feeling at home” (Hughes, 2006:837) through the “distillation of certain liked elements of the local to the exclusion of those things less liked in the post-apartheid milieu” (Ballard and Jones, 2011:27). The authors further link the uptake of non-metropolitan, nature-oriented estates to the “re-colonisation of terra nullius” (ibid).

## 2.5 Place attachment through a reconnection with the land

“According to geographers and environmental psychologists, questions of ‘who we are’ are often intimately related to questions of ‘where we are’” (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000:27). As such “place-based theories and research on sense of place, place attachment, and place identity” (Manzo, 2005:67) have contributed immensely in understanding people’s relationships to place. While sociology underlines “how the symbolic meanings of settings influence the social context of human interactions” (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001:17), human geography’s understanding of sense of place runs parallel with environmental psychology’s conception of place attachment (Prochansky et al., 1983; Altman and Low, 1992; Vaske and Kobrin, 2001).

In its definition, place attachment refers to the emotions attached to particular environments (Kaltenborn and Bjerke, 2002). Tuan’s (1974) pioneering work studied the ways in which people attach meaning to place by arguing that as humans evolve in a space, they bestow it with value, changing it into a place “imbued with meanings that create or enhance one’s emotional tie to a natural resource” (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001:17). Place attachment thus reflects “the positive affective bond or link between individuals and their residential environments” (Shumaker and Taylor, 1983:233). Place attachment not only refers to our attachment to friends and family in our home area, it also refers to the development of emotional bonds with landscapes and natural places (Kaltenborn and Bjerke, 2002).

According to Lewicka, while academics from the different disciplines agree on the definition of place, it is harder to find a common understanding of “how one should define and measure people’s bonds with places” (2008:211). In an attempt to address this concern, Scannell and Gifford provide a comprehensive framework of place attachment by “exploring the commonalities across the different permutations of the concept” (2010:2). They group the processes of place attachment under three categories namely the place element, the person element and the process element (known as the PPP Framework), which constitute the theoretical framework used for the interpretation of the findings of this research. A full description of the PPP Framework is addressed in the methodology chapter.

### 2.5.1 Place identity through a reconnection with the land

Contemporary landscape theory explores the ideological associations of landscape and its constructed and mediated nature (van Eeden, 2011), and suggests that the concept of landscape and identity is “asserted through rootedness in place” (Egoz, 2013:275). Egoz equates rooting to “grounding in physical place” and/or to the “quest to belong” (2013: 275). Similarly Cosgrove (2008: 18) finds that landscape plays an important role in “the formation of social and subjective identities”.

Throughout the history of South Africa, landscape and white identity formation have been intertwined (Foster, 2008) whereby “representational practices and discourses” have relied on “landscape to mediate the construction of the imagined communities of nationhood” (ibid: 3). Foster (2008) speaks of the influential role of the country’s natural environment, and its subsequent ideological territorialisation, in the creation of the “emerging nationhood of white South Africans” (van Eeden, 2011: 604). Colonial spatial history laid the foundations for the conveyance of racial and class-based ideologies “through landscape and its sophisticated mechanics of inclusion or exclusion” (van Eeden, 2011: 604). The myth that South Africa was an empty land there for the taking, facilitated the notion that “whites “belonged” in the South African landscape” (Foster, 2008:73). Foster argues that the “naturalisation of the nation” (ibid: 80) wherein “a nation comes to view itself as the offspring of its natural landscape” (Kaufmann, 1998:160) enabled the binding of white people to each other, and created a sense of cultural identity. This is in accordance with Egoz (2013: 273) who finds that landscape acts as “one of the foundation stones for building national identity”. Indeed, the National Party ultimately utilised the identification of whites to the land to unite whites when it was elected in 1948 (van Eeden, 2011).

Tilley (2006:14) asserts that “ideas and feelings about identity are located in the specificities of places and landscapes in what they actually look like or perhaps more typically how they ought to appear.” This applies to white cultural identity in South Africa which rose from the experience of the landscape, one that was emptied of those “excluded from representation (...) silenced, omitted or marginalised” (van Eeden, 2011:605). The narrative of belonging to the land is ultimately tied to the hegemonic representation of landscape, enacted through the discourse of identity

formation and later nationalism, and through the role of tourism in the “historical segregation of (leisure) space in South Africa” (ibid). The role of this type of internal tourism was pivotal in the creation of “topographies of power and exclusion”, while the “construction of a privileged tourist gaze signals how colonial myths of entitlement continued to be enacted in the landscape” (ibid), wherein some of the most beautiful places and spaces, in particular those identified for relaxation and leisure activities were reserved, both formally and later informally, for whites.

Egoz (2013) stresses on the role of uprooting in identity building and uses the example of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to illustrate how the same landscape can represent rooting for the Israelis and uprooting for Palestinians, dispossessed of their land. This concept is relevant to South African history, wherein natives were forcibly uprooted to allow for the process of rooting white people to the land. In the post-apartheid era it has come to be white South Africans affected by uprooting, who feel “existential homelessness” (Griffiths and Prozesky, 2010:37) dispossessed of their superior identity and driven to ‘semigration’ and even to emigration in search of a new social imaginary.

This chapter has provided the theoretical foundation of this research and examined the pertinent topics relevant to this study, which include the literature on gated communities and lifestyle migration globally and in the South African context. This study’s focus on whiteness, economic and environmental privilege in South Africa, seeks to uniquely examine the relationship between whiteness, place attachment and the natural landscape in the post-apartheid context. In a country where the previously advantaged minority’s connections to place are threatened, this research seeks to understand the role of lifestyle migration to non-metropolitan nature-oriented gated communities as representative of a specific kind of place attachment. The following chapter introduces the methodological approach used in this study to address the research questions and aim.

### 3 Chapter three: research design and methodology.

This chapter unpacks the research paradigm and design as well as the sampling technique used in this qualitative research. It is followed by an introduction to the methods used in data collection. The research site is then presented, followed by a description of the data analysis tools, i.e. the thematic content analysis, informed by Scannell and Gifford's (2010) three-dimensional framework involving place, people and process (PPP Framework). The chapter ends with the ethical considerations employed in this research together with the researcher reflexivity.

#### 3.1 Paradigm and design

This study explores the motivations behind 'semigration' into a nature-oriented estate, together with the participants' subjective experiences of living in such an environment as a means of exploring the relationship between whiteness, place attachment and nature in the post-apartheid context. As an exploratory research and an "emergent process" (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988:513), an interpretive paradigm was deemed appropriate to explore the subject at hand. The interpretive paradigm adopts the notion that reality comprises of people's subjective experiences of the outside world, leading them to "adopt an inter-subjective epistemology and the ontological belief that reality is socially constructed" (Thomas, 2010:295).

According to Carson et al. (2001), the interpretive paradigm requires more personal and flexible research methodologies and is more apt at capturing the subtle, "hidden and important meaning (is) buried within the superficially inconsequential inflections of voice, body language or situational details" (Black, 2006:320). Moreover, since "scientific inquiry comes down to making observations and interpreting what you've observed" (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:72), it was natural to use two meaning-oriented methodologies, specifically interviews and participant observation, whereby the researcher and respondents share a subjective relationship (Reeves and Hedberg, 2003).

The use of interviews in this qualitative study enabled the researcher to derive rich and detailed information to guide the exploration of the participants' attitudes, values, beliefs, motives and subjective experiences. Conversely, participant

observation enabled the researcher to learn about the activities of the people under study in their natural setting by observing and participating in those activities (Kawulich, 2005). The data were then critically analysed through the process of thematic content analysis, which served to identify the pertinent themes emerging from the data. Next the PPP Framework proved essential in exploring and understanding the multifaceted concepts that emerged in relation to place attachment. In summary, the processes involved in this research highlight its interpretative nature and confirm the suitability of the interpretative paradigm for this qualitative, exploratory research.

## 3.2 Procedure

### 3.2.1 Procedure and sampling method

Initially the security estate identified for field work was Boskloof Eco-Estate in Somerset West, chosen on the basis of its proximity to Cape Town (45 minutes driving distance), as well as its reputation for being one of South Africa's richest neighbourhoods and because of its initiatives relating to the environmental protection of the ecological qualities of the land it occupies. Access to contact, enter and conduct research on the premises was not granted due to the estate's management concern that the South African and foreign elite residing on the premises were in fact mostly "swallows"<sup>5</sup> and had no interest in participating in the research.

Following the recommendation of a colleague at the University of Cape Town, the manager of Grotto Bay Private Residential Estate and Nature Reserve was contacted, who after consultation with the Home Owners Association, agreed to allow the estate to be used as site for this research. Three formal documents were sent via email to the estate manager to invite residents to participate. Document one (Appendix A) was the formal request letter to conduct research at Grotto Bay and was addressed to the Home Owners Association. Document two (Appendix B)

<sup>5</sup> Swallows breed in Europe and migrate to Africa at the start of the northern winter, for its warmer climate and abundance of prey. The term swallows is often used in privileged mobility literature, especially in reference to lifestyle migrants who spend the cold northern months in southern Africa, or in other parts of the world with warmer climates (please see Visser, 2003 and Hall and Hardill, 2016)

was the information sheet, which addressed the residents and explained the reasons behind this qualitative research, the interest in conducting it at Grotto Bay and contained a brief description of the researcher. Document three (Appendix C) was the participant consent form, which was signed at the outset of each interview by the research participant being interviewed. Upon initial email contact with research participants, the researcher requested that each participant email three photographs of nature of significance to them, to be discussed as part of the photo elicitation method suggested in the research proposal. Unfortunately only three participants engaged in this method, the remaining participants having either forgotten to take photographs, or did not have the opportunity or time to take photographs and reflect on their significance to them. Therefore an analysis of the photographs was not included in the analysis of the research.

Grotto Bay was also conveniently situated at approximately 45 minutes' drive from Cape Town, facilitating travel to and from the estate, and was situated within a private nature reserve. A detailed description of the estate will feature further in this chapter. The Home Owners Association (HOA) was helpful in reviewing the documents and in emailing them to all residents, who then responded directly to the estate manager. A total of 10 residents responded favourably by email, and provided their contact details for interviews to be arranged.

A non-probability, purposive sampling method was used, wherein the selection of respondents was made according to their ability to supply the necessary information (Padgett, 2009). This method was supplemented by snowball sampling, which brought the number of participants to 11. As per the latest communication<sup>6</sup> with the estate manager, Grotto Bay has 259 permanent residents and 94 second homeowners, which makes the rate of participation at 3.11 %. This figure does not however take into consideration the number of children residing at Grotto Bay, as this figure is unknown. Although the rate of participation can be seen as low, the data collection tools used in this study provided the researcher with a rich and detailed set of data to analyse.

<sup>6</sup> Latest communication with the estate manager was via email on Friday 10<sup>th</sup> February 2017 at 1:05 pm

It was also noted that due to the context of Grotto Bay as a coastal and non-metropolitan security estate, the estate is comprised of permanent and non-permanent residents. Permanent residents include many retirees and residents who work from home or commute for work, while non-permanent residents own a second home at the estate where they spend most holidays and weekends. Nine participants were permanent residents and the remaining two were non-permanent or “weekenders”.

### 3.3 The research site

Grotto Bay Private Residential Estate, established in 1993, is situated on the West Coast, between the small coastal towns of Melkbosstrand and Yzerfontein. While the entire estate is comprised of 685 hectares of strandveld and sandveld bush, the housing estate is made up of 60 hectares, divided into 220 residential plots, with a few vacant plots still available for sale. In 2002, Grotto Bay was declared a private nature reserve that forms part of the Cape West Coast Biosphere. As such, nature conservation is of high priority, and considerable efforts are undertaken to minimise and control the negative effects of residents’ activities on the natural environment.

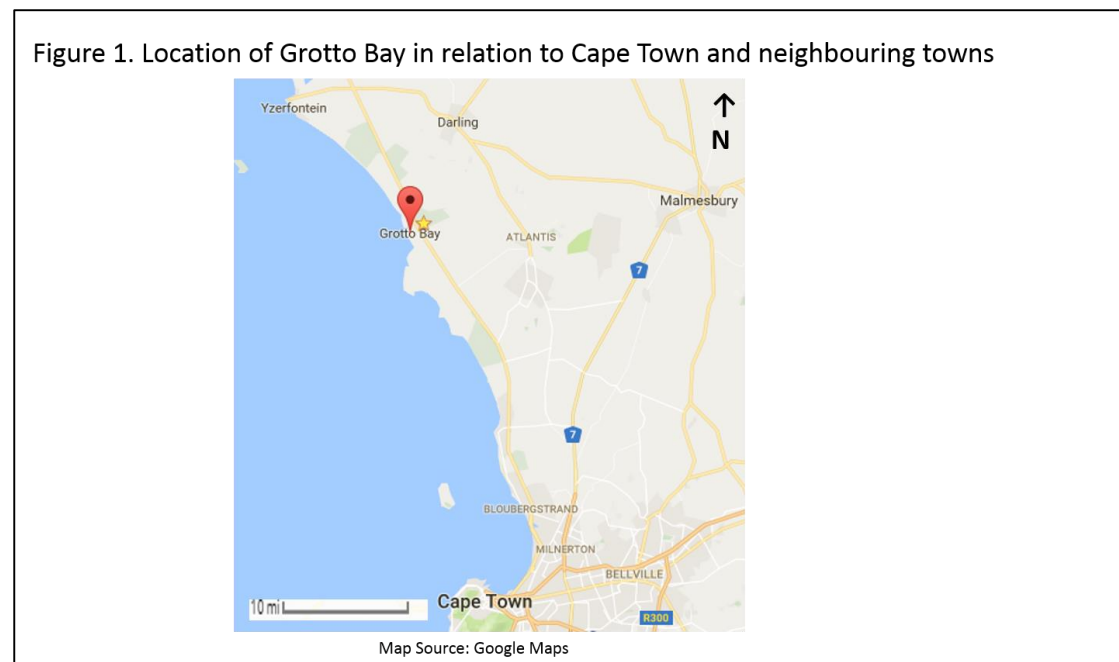
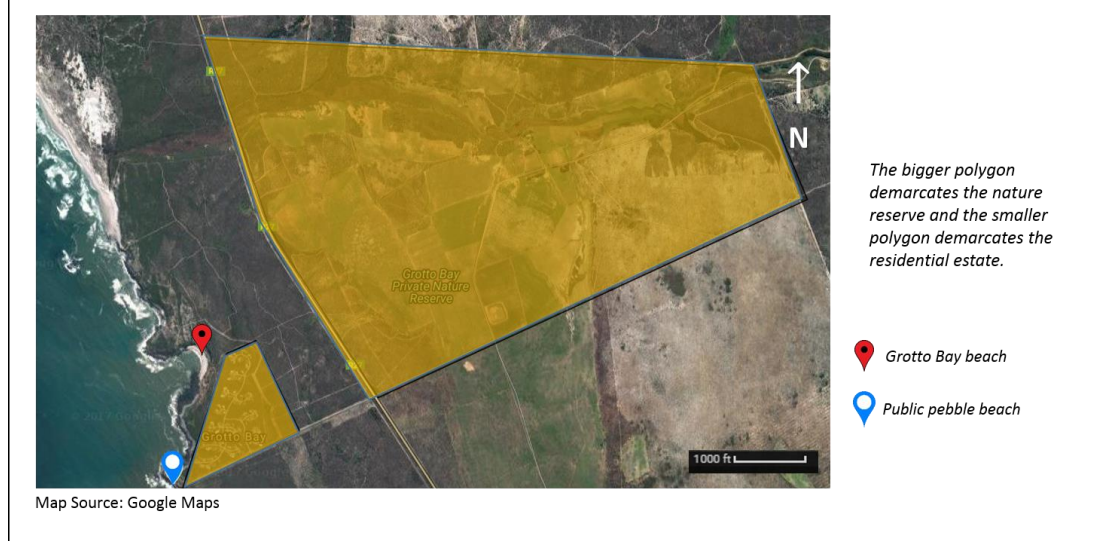


Figure 2. Aerial View of the Estate

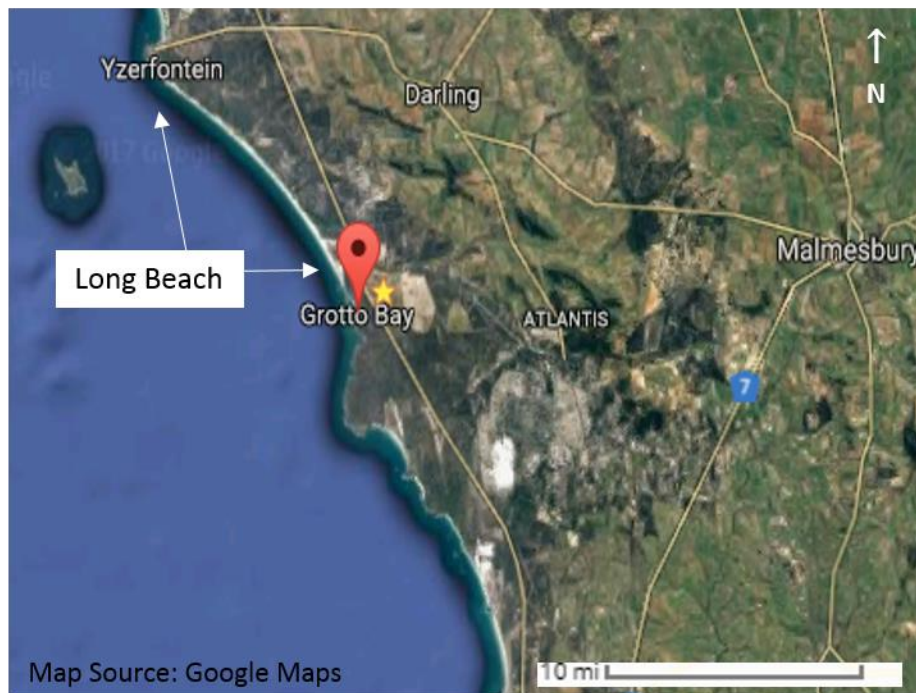


The philosophy of the estate is one that offers “safe and relaxed residential living in harmony with the environment<sup>7</sup>”. There is a strong emphasis on providing a high quality of life for all residents, particularly for young families wanting to bring up their children in a natural environment. Residents are offered activities such as hiking trails or whale watching, with access to the private Grotto Bay beach<sup>8</sup> as well as Long Beach, situated between Grotto Bay and Yzerfontein. The estate is home to a variety of indigenous flora, wildlife and bird and marine life. Social events are organised by the estate, including annual Christmas parties, beach clean-ups and yoga classes, which aim at bringing residents together as a community.

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.grottobay.org/about> (accessed 01/02/2017).

<sup>8</sup> While the public can access the pebble beach (Figure 2), the private sandy beach can only be accessed through the residential estate. It could be that members of the public might gain access to the Grotto Bay beach by walking, but it is most likely that they will be asked to leave for trespassing.

Figure 3. Aerial view of Long Beach



Aerial view of Long Beach, situated in-between Grotto Bay and Yzerfontein.

It is interesting to note that several properties (mainly self-catering) are rented out to holiday makers on several online accommodation platforms including Airbnb, SafariNow and LekkeSlaap. It is understood that several residents work as rental agents and are responsible for the management and marketing of the holiday rentals. Grotto Bay thus contains a mix of permanent residents, second homeowners and short term holiday makers. This mix is especially evident on weekends and school holidays.

In terms of security, the estate is enclosed and has one central access point through the main gate. Security guards patrol the residential estate around the clock. As it is a relatively small security estate, residents are well known by the guards who allow them in at the gate. Visitors have to report to the security office upon arrival, where their purpose for visiting the estate is verified by calling the residents being visited, who will in turn confirm the identity of the visitor, thus allowing access. In the case of holiday makers, access is only allowed once all rental details, including identity, rental address and duration of stay are confirmed with the resident/rental agent. For both visitors and holiday makers, a checklist is then filled

in and signed at the gate, and number plates are recorded before they are allowed to drive in. Strict regulations also apply to building contractors and day workers who are required to wear specific identifiable work wear<sup>9</sup>, and need to leave the estate at a specific time. Thermal heat cameras monitor all activities around the residential estate at night.

Grotto Bay is managed by its HOA, responsible for the provision of services to residents for their welfare and wellbeing, and for the regulation of building and aesthetics issues. The HOA encourages and manages conservation initiatives and maintains the greenbelts and communal areas.



### 3.4 Data collection methods

#### 3.4.1 Semi-structured interviews

After initial contact via email, an appointment was made with each respondent for the interview. Interviews were carried out between August 2015 and November 2015 and each lasted from one to two hours. Seven interviews were carried out at the respondents' homes and four were held at the respondents'

<sup>9</sup> The researcher became aware of the dress code during an informal chat with the resident in charge of security at Grotto Bay whom she met after fieldwork. As an outsider she was not subjected to those rules, being invited into the estate by the participants, and was thus treated as a 'visitor' who has to adhere to the rules of the estate

workplaces in Cape Town. In-depth semi-structured interviews were selected as the main tool in data collection due to their appropriateness in exploring the “perceptions and opinions of respondents regarding complex and sometimes sensitive issues” (Barriball and While, 1994: 330).

Interviews work well when the main aim of the researcher is to get the participant involved and interested in the research in a manner that encourages them to express their views, values, and beliefs freely on a particular topic (Kajornboon, 2005). While some questions (Appendix E) were used as a guide containing a list of key themes and issues to be tackled (Kajornboon, 2005), the interviews themselves were non-standardised. The questions asked evolved from one interview to the other, with questions being added or reworked depending on the flow of conversation and the topic discussed. This enabled further probing and clarification of answers. In addition, the non-verbal components of body language and behaviour that can be rich in value and information in face-to-face interviews, were also recorded via notes (Oltmann, 2016). However, the effectiveness of semi-structured interviews depends heavily on the communication skills of the interviewer, who can be prone to bias. The researcher must thus be capable of performing reliable, ungeneralised interviews. This will be discussed in detail in the researcher reflexivity.

### **3.4.2 Participant observation**

Given the particular setting of Grotto Bay, participant observation enabled the researcher to learn more about the activities and behaviours of the participants in their natural setting (Kawulich, 2005), by observing them and by participating with them in walks on the beach for example. Participants were very eager to show the researcher the estate and engaged in different activities with the researcher. For example, the researcher played on the Grotto Bay beach with the children of two respondents (married couple) and had lunch with another at the estate. Spontaneous events were numerous, and such activities and involvement in the participants’ lives, although brief, further allowed for rich and detailed descriptions of behaviours. This added to the quality of data collection and interpretation and facilitated the development of questions (Kawulich, 2005). As it is essential to make

accurate notes of the observations (Babbie and Mouton, 2001), all observations were subsequently recorded in field notes and encoded in the data analysis.

### 3.5 Data analysis

Qualitative research aims at understanding a particular phenomenon from the perspective of those experiencing it (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). Given that the main aim of this research was to understand why the participants chose to reside in a nature-oriented estate, as well as how their experiences of living in nature contributed to foster place attachment, a thematic content analysis was conducted using fieldwork data. Scannell and Gifford's (2010) PPP Framework was used to further probe into and understand the processes of place attachment.

Thematic content analysis, as a qualitative descriptive method, is widely used in qualitative research analysis (Vaismoradi et al., 2013), and is commonly described as "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 79). While providing a solely qualitative, detailed, and nuanced account of data, thematic content analysis is seen as a flexible and valuable tool, which allows for a rich, detailed and complex account of data (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Vaismoradi et al., 2013).

Additionally, Braun and Clarke (2006) point out the active role of the researcher in sifting through the data extensively, allows for the identification of patterned meanings and common threads (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). To do so the researcher used the six-phase process developed by Braun and Clarke (2006) as a guideline. In the first step of the process, the researcher transcribed all the recorded interviews verbatim. Transcribing, although a lengthy and time consuming process, allowed the researcher to fully familiarise herself with the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Following transcription, all interview transcripts were read and re-read, enabling the researcher not only to immerse herself in the data but also to have a thorough understanding of the data at hand, while simultaneously searching for meanings and patterns (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

The researcher used the qualitative data analysis software package Nvivo, made accessible by the University of Cape Town, to generate the initial coding and search for themes. The data were approached with specific questions in mind, what

Braun and Clarke (2006:89) call theory-driven, and as such an extensive list of codes or more specifically nodes, was generated in Nvivo. In line with Braun and Clarke's (2006) recommendations, the entire data set was methodically worked through and the researcher focused equally on each data item. Eventually, coding was done by highlighting, tagging and naming selections of texts pertinent to the study. Examples of nodes include "Africanisation of the city", "better quality of life", "sense of community" and "connection to nature". New nodes were generated as and when needed and data were organised in "meaningful groups" (ibid: 88). Field notes and participant observation notes were also coded.

The third phase of the analysis consisted of generating themes, by reviewing all nodes systematically and putting them together to form main themes and sub-themes. As per Braun and Clarke's recommendations (2006), a thematic map was used to establish the links between themes and their sub-themes, which were then named. The Cluster Analysis Tool and the Tree Map functions on Nvivo aided in visualising the nodes and consequently drawing a manual thematic map (Appendix F). Relationships between themes were identified and connected to the research questions and aim. It is important to note that this process was on-going. Themes and sub-themes were altered, re-named or disposed of in the interest of providing a strong and succinct analysis. After reviewing all collated extracts and working and reworking the themes and thematic map, it became apparent that the themes naturally broke into two major groups. This resulted in the decision to write the data analysis in two separate parts.

The thematic content data analysis, used in conjunction with the PPP Framework (Figure 5), highlighted the multidimensional aspect of place attachment. The person dimension, divided in two levels by the author (personal and group) point to the role of the experiences and personal connections at the individual level as forming place attachment; while at group level collective attachment indicating these are created by the shared symbolic and historical meanings and values of the place, informed by culture, gender and religion (Low, 1992; Scannell and Gifford, 2010).

The place dimension looks at the social and physical characteristics of a place, i.e. at the built and natural environments as well as the social interactions at

different levels. The psychological dimension refers to the affective, cognitive and behavioural aspects of the bond between person and place. Affection describes the feelings of love, happiness and pride towards the place, while the cognitive aspect refers to the meanings, memories and beliefs which facilitate place meaning and connections to place, ultimately leading to place identity (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). The behavioural aspect of the psychological dimension refers to instances where “attachment is expressed through actions” (ibid: 4), characterised by the wish to remain close to the place (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001).

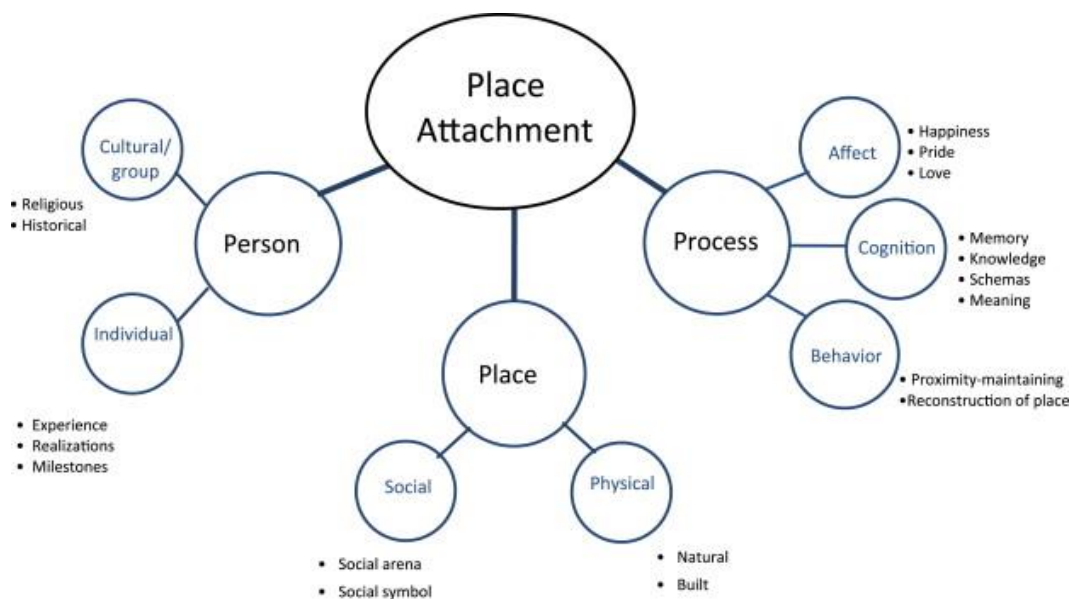


Figure 5: "The tripartite model of place attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010:2)"

After the data were collected and analysed, and themes and sub-themes were clearly defined, the researcher was sufficiently familiar with the “scope and content of each theme” (Braun and Clarke, 2006:92), to begin to document the results in the form of the data analysis. A great deal of effort was undertaken to ensure that the analysis provided a “concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive and interesting account of the story the data tell within and across themes” (Braun and Clarke, 2006:93). The data extracts used not only served a descriptive purpose but also helped in building arguments and theories, backed by the literature, to understand lifestyle migration and place attachment in the context of Grotto Bay.

### 3.6 Ethical considerations and reflexivity

As previously described in this chapter, after ethical clearance (FSREC 22–2015) from the University of Cape Town, and consent to access and conduct

research at Grotto Bay by the HOA were granted, written informed consent was sought from potential participants through the information and consent sheets (Appendices B and C). The information sheet contained all relevant information about the research, the methods of data collection and the researcher. The consent sheet, which was signed at the start of each interview, informed the respondent that the interviews were confidential and any information that may serve to identify them would be altered, in order to maintain their anonymity. The researcher informed each participant of their right to stop the interview at any point should they wish to withdraw. Respondents were also informed of the nature of the issues to be discussed at the start of each interview, and of their sensitivity due to the current socioeconomic and political unease. This research was conducted in an attempt to understand the phenomenon of moving to nature-oriented estates and as such the researcher's investment in this area of research was clear. In order to avoid any issues of fairness or interpretations that would reach a particular conclusion, the data, transcriptions and observations were left unaltered.

Research being an ongoing process (England, 1994), reflexivity as "a continuing mode of self-analysis" (Callaway, 1992: 33) was vital throughout the stages of this research in order to stay objective and produce trustworthy, honest and valid results (Finlay, 2002). As research "represents a shared space, shaped by both researcher and participants" (Bourke, 2014:1), it is understandable that the research process can be influenced by both the researcher and participants' identity. Not only our perceptions of others but also our expectations of how others perceive us together with our own biases influence the research process (ibid). As such, I was able to monitor my positioning by examining my own biases through regular critical reflection and self-scrutiny throughout the research process (Finlay, 2002; Bourke, 2014).

While collecting data, it was sensible to assume that my cultural background might affect the process as both mine and the "participants' experiences are framed in social-cultural contexts" (Bourke, 2014:2). I was aware that my background had an impact on the interviews, in the sense that participants did not feel that they were being studied by a South African interviewer, when describing their insights about the country's complexities, but were still aware that they were being interviewed by

a person of colour and a foreigner. I found that my positionality as a Mauritian woman married to a white Afrikaner male eased the interview process in two separate ways. Since most of the respondents had been to Mauritius or wanted to go in the future, they were eager to discuss their experiences and ask for travel tips. This acted as a good icebreaker at the start of interviews. When participants asked why I reside in South Africa, many were pleasantly surprised and/or intrigued that I was married to a white South African man. They were interested in knowing how and where I met my husband and Afrikaner participants were even keen to meet him. Those two topics of conversation helped in establishing rapport quickly with participants.

Participants were very approachable and engaged in discussing their views, even on sensitive topics. I noticed that although participants spoke confidently and were not interested in giving socially acceptable answers or in hiding their views, every participant felt uncomfortable when I asked how they felt as a white South African in the current socioeconomic and political landscape. Participant 3 smiled and shifted uncomfortably as she told me that I am asking a difficult question. Some participants rolled their eyes, looked away while some sighed at my question. All participants paused and gave the question some thoughts before answering

In terms of participant observation, I was able to take part in several activities with participants. I went on walks on the beach and in the reserve, had lunch with two participants, and was invited to come over for braais on several occasions. It felt as if the participants wanted me to experience what Grotto Bay had to offer and I observed first-hand the care and love they have for the estate and its nature.

From my various interactions and conversations with the participants, I have come to make the assumption that only two people of colour reside in Grotto Bay. When I asked informally about residents of colour, some participants have spoken of two interracial couples, both consisting of white men with Coloured wives. I did not ask the estate manager for the racial composition of the estate, as race and privilege being a sensitive subject in post-apartheid South Africa, it could have been seen in a negative way and therefore jeopardise my research. However from participant observation during my visits to the estate, I have not seen any person of colour besides the domestic, construction and day workers, which led to my conclusion that

Grotto Bay is a racially homogenised estate. Appendix D contains the participants' descriptions and demographics, as well as additional information relevant in situating them within the context of Grotto Bay.

In terms of the data analysis, I took it upon myself to learn to transcribe. My unfamiliarity with the process made it a rather tedious exercise. Being a novice not only in interviewing, but also in coding and analysing data, it took me a great deal of time to become familiar with the different processes. I therefore did my utmost best to remain objective and unbiased throughout, by performing reliable interviews and by establishing distance between the text and myself during the data analysis process (Terreblanche et al., 2006).

### 3.7 Limitations to the study

This research focused on one non metropolitan nature-oriented estate within the Western Cape province, and was thus only representative of this specific location, not the entire country. Therefore a study on a broader scale that could include a larger sample from various nature-oriented estates nationally would be beneficial in order to establish the relevancy of this study's hypothesis across the South African context. It would also be interesting and beneficial to research the motivations of people of colour who move to such estates, in order to understand their positioning and experience with regards to lifestyle migration to non-metropolitan gated communities and the way in which they form new or adapted identities as well as their potential for comparable place attachment to their white counterparts.

Methodologically, one limitation of this study pertains to the use of semi-structured interviews to collect data, which prevented uniformity in the interview process. This tool, while helpful in delving deeply into respondents' narratives did prevent uniformity in the interview process, potentially leading to the researcher influencing findings and to different types of data to be collected from different respondents. However although the researcher had limited experience in conducting interviews, diligence was done to remain objective and unbiased throughout data collection and analysis and efforts were made, in the presentation of the data in the analysis chapter, to avoid comparing and contrasting respondent interview data in a

manner that would imply that precisely the same questions had been posed to each respondent in similar circumstances.

This chapter has provided a brief description of the methodological processes involved in this research. The relevancy of the interpretative paradigm was discussed along with the procedure and sampling methods and the presentation of the research site. Thereafter the data collection methods were defined together with the process of thematic content analysis. This chapter ended with the ethical considerations and the researcher's own reflections on the data collecting and analysis processes.

## 4 Chapter four: data analysis.

### 4.1 Part one: leaving the city

*“In this postmodern society, our communities are made up largely of re-placed persons who come from different backgrounds and experiences. They re-place themselves in new locations where they feel they can live a particular desired lifestyle and seek connection there.” (Bushnell, 1999:81)*

The primary focus of this research is to understand the motivations of participants to ‘semigrate’ to Grotto Bay, and the subsequent role of the natural landscape in developing a sense of attachment to place and in reaffirming their social identity in a country currently in the process of redefining itself as African (Steyn, 2001). Through the analysis, the respondents’ initial reasons for moving into Grotto Bay unfolded, indicated to have been influenced by the local social, economic and political situation (Roitman, 2005). This was followed by an analysis of their experiences of place attachment in a natural environment.

This chapter describes the results of the data analysis with part one exploring residents’ initial motivations behind their moves to Grotto Bay. In-depth analyses of their initial reasons for ‘semigration’ showed an alignment with several aspects of the literature of post-apartheid gated communities as well as with the lifestyle migration literature, and were categorised under the broad themes of spatial withdrawal and lifestyle migration. Three sub-themes were identified under spatial withdrawal namely ‘semigration’, safety and fear of crime and failure of the state. The sub-themes identified under lifestyle migration included counterurbanisation, retirement migration and second-home ownership. The binary indicated between Grotto Bay and the outside world (urban setting) featured heavily in interviews and included instances of ‘othering’. Thus part one of this analysis chapter ends with a discussion of white privilege and the reconnection with nature respondents indicated was offered by Grotto Bay.

## 4.2 The spatiality of withdrawal

### 4.2.1 'Semigration'

Participants 8 and 9, an elderly married couple, were one of the first families to move to Grotto Bay in 1995. When asked why they moved, Participant 9 answered:

*“Well, you know we were looking for somewhere to retire, we wanted to live in peace, away from what was happening or would happen in town with you know the end of apartheid and all that. We found this place, we were very lucky.”*

This statement encapsulated the feelings felt by many whites at the end of apartheid, concerned about the upcoming socioeconomic and political changes brought in by the new democratic regime, including the Africanisation of previously whites-only spaces. These changes which “increased the level of fear among those who were segregated for many years” (Spocter, 2012:7), facilitated the decision of many white South Africans to emigrate after 1994 fearing the perceived chaos which the end of apartheid may bring; as well as the end of the way of life as they know it, their old social imaginary, an imaginary deemed as a “deeply embedded, immoral construct, fundamentally at odds with the new South Africa” (Griffiths and Prozesky, 2010:31).

Amongst those that chose to stay, many opted to ‘semigrate’ into security estates, which scholars have argued to symbolise white people’s “withdrawal from the obligations of citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa” (Spocter, 2013:54), by removing themselves from civic engagement and retreating from the responsibilities of civic society (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002). The statement from Participant 9 illustrated the notion that residential enclaves enable white South Africans to build a new imaginary in these types of settings. By segregating themselves from society, it has been argued that they are then able to ignore national plans of unity and integration (Lemanski et al., 2008), given their distance physically but also socially from the rest of the country.

Participants’ 8 and 9 reasoning for ‘semigration’ also highlighted that their need for self-containment was also driven by a degree of fear (Spocter, 2013), the fear that by opening the Westernised South African cities to unregulated access

might turn them into chaotic Third World cities, which they would not be able to identify to (Ballard, 2004). Gated communities described as “bastions against the crime-ridden, informal, uncontrolled and chaotic city” (Spocter, 2013: 54) present an escape for those who, like these participants, fear the results of social and political change.

Further data for this research indicated a desire by participants to remove themselves from the challenges of living in post-apartheid South Africa. Due to the current climate of escalating sociopolitical, racial and economic unease, Participants 3 and 5 have expressed that had they been younger, they would have chosen to emigrate. Participant 3 stated:

*“Look if I was 40 years old or 35 years old maybe I would have a totally different approach to this problem or potential problems but at my age, I just went to a pre-retirement workshop two weeks ago and technically I’ve got till 79 left, so 14 years. So I couldn’t be bothered.”*

This phenomenon has been noted by Griffiths and Prozesky (2010) who found that ten years after the first democratic elections, emigration was deemed by many white South Africans as the most sensible thing to do. In fact, the children of the participants who made these statements have emigrated, something their parents say they approve of. Participant 5 commented:

*“...if my kids were still little I would certainly think about it and you know if I was 20/30 years younger I would definitely not think twice....as it is my son is in the UK because there is no place for him. He doesn’t have a tertiary qualification and his chance of getting a decent job is so limited.”*

These extracts contribute to an understanding of the way in which place and identity are still in flux for those attracted to ‘semigration’ to gated communities, with three emerging narratives. First age can be a deterrent against emigration for the older generation (of retirement age or above) of white South Africans, who might find it challenging to assimilate and live in a new country. Second the discourse of emigrating in order to provide a better future for one’s children points to motivation for going overseas with a young family to establish new opportunities. Third, real and perceived limitations on economic privilege and upward mobility affect

understandings of the place of a white person, particularly a young person, in post-apartheid South Africa.

According to Statistics SA, the young white population, age 15-34, has declined considerably in recent years, partly due to emigration for employment opportunities abroad.<sup>10</sup> Consistent with Wambugu's (2005) findings, Participant 5, in describing her son's limited opportunities, paints a picture of post-apartheid South Africa in which whites are displaced from their jobs. This is as a result of affirmative action policies aimed at providing "compensation for the apartheid injustices that exacerbated the socioeconomic disadvantage that millions still suffer" (Oppenheimer and Kok, 2014:3). Critics of affirmative action policies believe white people are victims of an unjust system wherein whites who have the merit, experience or qualification for a job are cast aside to create job opportunities for blacks (Wambugu, 2005). This type of criticism was evident in Participant's 6 statement:

*"...as white South Africans we are marginalised, we are very marginalised, I can't get a job in South Africa, I can't get work, if I go somewhere I need to speak Xhosa or I need to be non-white or not male. So as a white South African male you are definitely marginalised. It's hard to find work in South Africa...And if I am more suitable for a job than you are, why should I be marginalised? So it is racism because that's wrong."*

His argument was consistent with Wambugu's research wherein white South Africans when criticising transformative actions make "an appeal to fairness and justice based on values of expertise, merit and experience" and in doing so they construct a "dichotomy of competent whites versus incompetent blacks" (2005:62). Participant 6 frames the process of affirmative action as racist without reference to past injustice, which is also consistent with Wambugu (2005) and Pincus (2000). As a 'marginalised white male', this respondent used the discourse of victimisation, wherein white people are at a disadvantage in the new South Africa in terms of affirmative action, while the black government is constructed as the "real racists"

<sup>10</sup> <http://businesstech.co.za/news/lifestyle/120767/south-africas-young-white-population-is-shrinking/>

(van Dijk, 1992:94), whose unfair and racist policies justify white emigration or 'semigration'.

When participants discussed 'semigration' such as Participant 3, who remarked on moving to avoid 'problem or potential problems', there was a "familiar insinuation at all times [is] that South Africa is in decline, moving from better to worse" (Steyn and Foster, 2008:37). As such 'semigration' into security estates seemed to provide a new social imaginary through the ideology of a safe and privatised enclave, in contrast to their perceptions of the world outside.

#### 4.2.2 Safety and fear of crime

In line with South African research on gated communities (see Bremner, 1999; Durlington, 2006), crime, the fear of crime and the resulting need for safety are often cited as primary reasons for moving into gated communities. Walls and gates are seen as potential deterrents to "intrusions associated with crime, drugs, and vandalism, and a general disregard for public and private property" (Breetzke et al., 2014:6). Of the 11 participants interviewed six listed safety as their main reason for moving to the estate. For example Participant 8 said:

*"I think that people feel threatened in Cape Town or in Joburg because of all the burglaries and the murders, and they want to get away from that. They want to keep their families safe. To me that's a lot of the reasons."*

This comment on the need for security in South Africa highlighted the high level of crime in the country consistent with Landman and Schönsteich (2002), while also highlighting an increase in the fear of crime as noted by Dirsuweit (2002) and in the perceived fear of crime in line with Mistry (2006). Silber and Geffen (2009) use crime statistics and evidence to argue that the "burden of serious crime is disproportionately absorbed by black and poor South Africans" (ibid: 41) who are victims of both violent and property crime while the wealthy are mainly victims of property crime (Schönsteich and Louw, 2001), with affluent areas being targeted by criminals. Participant's 6 comment indicated that it was this type of crime that was prevalent in his previous residential area:

*“We lived in Tokai, a lot of crime, lots of crime in Tokai, we were broken into, and our neighbours were broken into, it was syndicates who were breaking into the houses, cause it’s an affluent area so...”*

Schönteich and Louw (2001) found that organised crime syndicates are most likely to be behind “burglaries of homes in upper-class areas and businesses” (ibid: 6). In fact Grotto Bay has also faced issues of security in the past years, as explained by various participants. In 2014 security had to be reinforced following three burglaries in the space of 18 months. Participant 3 gave an account of the incidents:

*“We had a period of a year when there were a couple of attacks. They got in from the beach and from the main road they cut the fence but that was before we had any alarm systems or guards or anything and subsequently it’s been fine, the last two or three years, nothing’s happened. It was apparently a syndicate that operated from Atlantis and they actually attacked a whole lot of houses in Melkbos<sup>11</sup> and then they moved to us and there were about 4 attacks, but not serious you know, just break-ins and taking stuff...then they caught them, they caught the one guy and then they broke the syndicate.”*

The burglaries in Melkbosstrand, its proximity to Grotto Bay, and the subsequent burglaries in the estate endorse findings from Breetzke et al. (2014), whose research suggests that gated communities and their immediate surrounding areas can be associated with higher rates of property crime. Participant 3 mentioned that the syndicate operated from nearby Atlantis, which is located approximately 23 kilometres from Grotto Bay, a relatively short driving distance. Atlantis was established in the 1970s by the apartheid government as an industrial and manufacturing centre and a community for Cape Town’s coloured population under the Groups Areas Act 1950<sup>12</sup>. The suburb thrived under governmental support and incentives up until the mid-1980s, after which manufacturing activities declined considerably due to the withdrawal of said governmental incentives. The town currently referred to as an “apartheid state’s failed urban experiment [...] scarred by

<sup>11</sup> In reference to Melkbosstrand.

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/national/2017-08-02-capes-atlantis-close-to-becoming-a-special-economic-zone> (accessed 14.09.2017).

decades of violence, substance abuse, rape (and) chronic unemployment<sup>13</sup>” supplies the estate with most of its domestic manual labour, and points out the relevancy of the effects of crime displacement due to the proximities of gated communities in adjoining areas (Melkbosstrand), as highlighted by Breetzke et al. (2014).

While the perimeter of the estate was fenced at conception, as a result of the burglaries the HOA opted for the installation of thermal security cameras in 2014 around the residential part of the estate only, which identify any human movements at night. Security guards, who patrol around the clock and manage the gateposts, were employed as a result of the break-ins. To enter the gates of Grotto Bay as a visitor one must state the reason for visiting and provide the name of the resident being visited, which is then verified by calling the resident in question.

Although Breetzke et al., (2014) point to the risk of crime in gated communities, since the implementation of the stringent security measures Grotto Bay has not experienced subsequent security breaches, and respondents reported feeling confident and relaxed about security. Participant 6 said:

*“At night when you go to sleep, there are no cars, no sirens, there are no burglar bars on our windows, and it’s a very safe environment for us.”*

Participant 7 observed that:

*“Well when I’m at home, it makes me feel very comfortable. And I think that that’s partly because of the crime rate, or lack thereof.”*

#### **4.2.3 Failure of the state**

In addition to the need for safety and fear of crime, structural reasons for moving also revolved around the inability of the state to provide basic services to citizens. The lack of service delivery, in terms of municipal services such as running water, electricity and refuse removal, is a major concern in South Africa. This has led to a rise in mass urban protests especially in low income areas (Bénil-Gbaffou and Oldfield, 2011). While the current government has succeeded in improving the lives

<sup>13</sup> <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-07-30-apartheids-bitter-legacy-taints-capes-new-urban-removals> (accessed 20.12.2016)

of many citizens, millions of people's difficult circumstances have remained unchanged, leaving them deeply affected by the inefficiency of local government. Participant 9 highlighted this:

*"This (Grotto Bay) is totally different you know, once you have passed that border there is a total different life out there, terrible, I'm nearly in tears thinking about it, I can't stand the way those poor people live you know. And we think everyday how lucky we are to have a nice place like this. It is very sad to see what's happening to the country honestly, it should have never happened and the old man<sup>14</sup> must be turning in his grave. That's for sure."*

In describing the world outside the estate's gates as 'terrible', Participant 9 suggests a situation that is "perilous, damaged, irretrievably lost to social order" (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002:34), justifying the need for "exclusion, separation and segregation" (ibid). Participants describing a binary of Grotto Bay versus the world outside (or the city) was a constant theme in the interviews and evident during the process of analysis. Participant 9 uses the term "lucky" to describe the privilege he benefits from living in the estate and is saddened by the lack of quality of life faced by the poor in South Africa, unable to "access basic needs such as food, clothing and housing" (Landman and Ntombela, 2006:5). His use of "we" contrasted with the term "those poor people" highlights a degree of 'othering' where he positions himself and the other residents as the 'norm', i.e. privileged, compared to those who are of lower income and lack access to services. There seems to be a degree of psychological comfort for the respondent in living where he does, while at the same time also feelings of sadness towards those who are less fortunate than him.

Of course poor service delivery does not only affect those in poverty, but also wealthy and resourceful South Africans, however, their socioeconomic position can allow them to move to places where they do not need to depend on public services. 'Semigration' to estates such as Grotto Bay allows residents to access privatised

<sup>14</sup> In reference to "the old man" Participant 9 is making reference to Nelson Mandela, the first democratically elected president of South Africa, elected in 1994 at the time when many were hopeful about the ushering in of a new era by him and the African National Congress.

spaces with an effective system of private governance in the form of the HOA. The HOA of Grotto Bay acts as a micro-government, shifting the power from the local authority, and offering a more efficient and controlled set of services to the residents. Based on the perceptions of several participants, Grotto Bay can be seen as an example of a successful privatised micro-state within a failed South African state. The participants spoke of their adherence to the rules set by HOA and reported their understanding of their importance in terms of their safety, for the well-functioning of the estate, and for the protection of the natural environment.

Participant 3 commented:

*“You are in control of your environment to a larger extent but it’s bound by the rules of the estate too you know, there are certain parts where you are not allowed to walk in, you are not allowed to walk in the fields, you have to have your dog on a lead, it’s controllable because there’s not a lot of outside influence and everybody plays by the same rules that live there.”*

Participant 4 explained his satisfaction with the HOA of Grotto Bay from his office in Cape Town:

*“What I also like about Grotto is that you are also very close to the authorities in the sense that here in Cape Town if I have a problem with my drain, it is difficult to get to the right bloody person at the municipality to come and do anything about it, you know you phone and they don’t pick up their phones. At Grotto you are very close to the management and if you have a complaint you can lodge it with them and they do something about it or they tell you they can’t do anything about it.”*

While all people feel compelled to seek out a good quality of life, security and efficient service delivery, the relation between access to these things in modern day South Africa and race as well as economic means is stark. According to Hook and Vrdoljak (2002), gated communities deepen the gap between rich and poor, adding to the existing social fragmentation of the urban fabric (Spoceter, 2011). Participants 9 and 4 are both unhappy with the present situation in South Africa and have been able to use their economic privilege to segregate themselves from the challenges faced by the majority of South Africans, including the inefficiencies and limitations of government.

### 4.3 Lifestyle migration

Grotto Bay marketed as a secure nature-oriented estate caters to several niche markets. To understand the spatial and motivational components of migration of these niche markets (Mitchell 2004), this research applied the umbrella concept of lifestyle migration, following Benson and O'Reilly's (2009) empirical research for the purpose of this analysis. It is Benson and O'Reilly's (2009:2) contention that "lifestyle migrants are relatively affluent individuals of all ages moving either part-time or full-time to places, that for various reasons, signify for the migrant, a better quality of life".

The personal motivations of the participants in this study can be explained using three theoretical strands of lifestyle migration: counterurbanisation, retirement migration and second home ownership. Internationally lifestyle migration is linked to economic privilege (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009) and the same can be said locally. In South Africa, there is the additional complexity of economic privilege being closely linked to white privilege, gained through various forms of oppression including colonisation and apartheid.

In the case of Grotto Bay, nature, including access to the private beaches and the reserve, played a crucial role in the decision of participants to 'semigrate.' The analysis found the natural world surrounding the estate provided residents with the opportunity to commune with nature in a way that allowed them to "reconnect to their natural heritage through closer contact with non-human nature" (Till 2010:224).

#### 4.3.1 Counterurbanisation

All participants gave personal, in-depth accounts of the particular circumstances that led them to move to Grotto Bay. Consistent with research findings from Benson and O'Reilly (2009), a narrative of escape was evident in the motivations to move, characterised by "negative representations of life before migration" (ibid: 2). Boyle and Halfacree (1998) argue that counterurbanisation is predominantly a white phenomenon, motivated by cultural preferences. In the context of post-apartheid South Africa, it can be argued that cultural preferences extend to a particular type of counterurbanisation, known as white flight wherein

whites flee the Africanisation of urban cityscapes (Ingle, 2010). The participants of this research, educated professionals, distanced themselves from the city and the challenges presented by urban life in contemporary South Africa. Their motivations accentuated “individualised, self-realisation narratives of the decision to migrate” (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009: 3). The distinct counterurbanisation narrative that emerged from the data is illustrated by the comments from Participants 3 and 5 who said:

*“I wanted to get out of the city.”* (Participant 3)

*“City life is pretty busy, pretty much of a rat race, rushing around, huge traffic issues, safety issues...going to a place like that (Grotto Bay), you are removed out of the city when you are there, even though you might have to come to town to work or for many other reasons, but you can get back into your little safe haven. So, for me city life is becoming very hectic, everybody, not everybody, a lot of people want get away from it all, and you think but why are we living this life that we have to run away from? Something is not right somewhere. So for me it’s trying to get some kind of natural balance.”* (Participant 5)

Ingle (2013:61) notes that urban dwellers have fuelled the post-productivist movement whereby “improved transport and communications have facilitated rapid movement between rural and urban areas, and have stimulated preferences for rural lifestyles, even while those enjoying this option maintain constant access to cities.” This is illustrated in Participant’s 5 comments regarding the manner in which many residents commute to work in Cape Town. This argument is reinforced by Participant’s 6 who does not mind the daily commute:

*“I wanted a more relaxed lifestyle (...), a bit of quality living for the kids. So I kind of go: quality of life over convenience. I don’t mind travelling, it might take me an hour, an hour and a half to drive in but when I get home as I drive over the hill and come back to Grotto, then relief.”*

The way of life offered by the countryside is the central motivator for counterurbanites (Benson & O’Reilly 2009), as demonstrated by the above extracts. Respondents were eager to experience a lifestyle perceived as devoid of crime as well as free from stress, traffic and pollution. Narratives of finding the ‘right balance’ between urban and rural life and of ‘losing your soul’ in the city are associated with

discourses of self-realisation, of “bourgeois bohemian” and of the “liberatory potential” of lifestyle migration literature (Benson & O’Reilly 2009:5), as is the need to provide children with a certain kind of lifestyle. Participant 10 gave a description of this:

*“You know we want our kids to find value in the right stuff. We want them to have the right priorities, we want them to appreciate nature and beauty and the things that really matter. And here you have nature.”*

Central to this lifestyle is also the availability of good schools in the surrounding areas of Melkbosstrand and from Blouberg to Milnerton, which further incentivises parents to invest in Grotto Bay (Ingle, 2013). Participant 3 mentioned the change in the estate’s demographics over the years:

*“I’ve seen in the last three years that the type of person moving there seems to get younger and what is happening is that with the advancement in technology you find more people working from home and you get people, like, who work in advertising, you get people that are graphic designers. So, you’re getting younger people who come there and when you speak to them and say why Grotto, they would say to you, lifestyle, it’s quiet, it’s relaxed, my kids can drive their bicycles in the street, and I don’t have to worry about them.”*

Ingle (2013), in his study of creative professionals moving to the Karoo, found similar narratives as the one described by Participant 3, wherein being able to provide a particular experience of growing up in nature to their children encouraged them to relocate. Ingle (2013) argues that migrants generally reach a pivotal time in their lives, prompting them to make a lifestyle change. This was true of the residents interviewed for this study: some had reached a certain stage in life where their adult children had either moved out of school or their work circumstances had changed, while others had experienced a different type of turning point warranting their migration (Benson & O’Reilly 2009). Participant 10 gave an account of the thought process behind his move:

*“Economically because of my own business at some stage we were forced to sell our house and we started renting and the house that we rented was sold after three years, and when we started looking for a place and trying to inconvenience our kids the least, we were still looking at the same area in*

*Bellville. So we first looked at an area of five km around the existing school not having to take them out and when we couldn't find something that we could afford, it became evident that we would have to eventually move them from school, so the thought between my wife and I was, why don't we the make a move and change our lifestyle."*

#### **4.3.2 Retirement migration**

Spocter (2016) finds that gated communities are tailored to specific segments of the market, looking to appeal to a niche group by providing those segments with a specific type residential experience topped up with additional features. As explained previously in this analysis, the fear of crime is a major contributor to the decision of living behind gates, particularly for people of retirement age who can be seen as soft targets to criminals (ibid). Although Grotto Bay was not conceived as a retirement community, it has attracted a high percentage of retirees as well as semi-retired people from conception, and although demographics are changing rapidly as explained previously, it is still highly populated by senior citizens. Of the 11 respondents, three are set to retire within the next three years, and another three are retirees permanently living in the estate.

A priority to the older generation is the accessibility of medical care and assistance in performing tasks relating to home and personal care as they age. Spocter's study (2016) finds that the need for frail care topped the list of priorities for those moving into a gated retirement communities. While Grotto Bay is not retirement focused and does not cater for those needs specifically, older respondents indicated feelings of confidence that their needs would be taken care of in case of emergency due to the proximity of healthcare services in the estate's neighbouring towns, evident in Participant's 7 statement:

*"So if something goes wrong people, people get out here quick. I've got medical aid and medical insurance and a major hospital and clinic is just down the road."*

Other motivations for retirement migration to Grotto Bay emerged from the data including those relating to financial viability, to the need to scale down and/or reduce cost of living, as explained by Participants 3 and 7:

*“When I bought there 7/8 years ago, you found older people living there, older I mean 50+ and most of the people moved out there either because they were scaling down and it was cheaper than buying something in town. You know 8 years ago you could buy a good size house for R1.2, R1.5 m, which you couldn’t do in town.” (Participant 3)*

*“Our original idea was to get a smaller house; I wanted a two bedroom so that we wouldn’t have hordes of people, now we’ve got so much space. What I like is a little bit of peace and quiet and there is plenty here.”(Participant 7)*

Both participants spoke of the relative affordability of properties in Grotto Bay compared to prices in Cape Town. Lower cost of living is a common feature in local and international lifestyle migration literature, prompting migrants “to take advantage of the considerable differential in housing prices between city and rural locations” (Ingle, 2010:411). Participant 7, for example, was able to purchase a bigger house than he anticipated. Aside from property value, participants indicated that life in the estate overall is also relatively cheaper compared to living in the urban sphere:

*“Well compared to where I lived in Panorama, the rates are less. If I take my rates and my levy here, cost you less than my rates and taxes, lights and water cost you there. And we are on pay as you go Eskom electricity and it’s cheap. And the water is basically free<sup>15</sup>.” (Participant 7)*

### **4.3.3 Second homeownership**

Second homeownership and retirement migration are not new to South Africa. Visser (2003:389) notes that a “number of towns and villages along South Africa’s coastline were established or developed as a direct result of second-home use”. Second homeownership as a consumption pattern, has been linked to several types of tourism migration, including holiday and/or weekend homes, as well as weekend homes intended by residents as eventual retirement homes (Hoogendoorn et al., 2005). Grotto Bay is a popular estate for second homeowners and

<sup>15</sup> Each household at Grotto Bay is allocated 30 kilolitres of free water per month. The water is sourced from a spring situated on the Duckitt farm, as per the original purchase agreement between the Duckitts and the developer. Footnote 18 explains the acquisition of the Grotto Bay land from the Duckitts.

weekenders. According to Participant 2, only 30% of Grotto Bay is permanently occupied with the remaining being holiday or weekend houses.

Two respondents of this study currently reside in Cape Town and use their houses as their weekend escapes from town with plans to retire there in the future. When asked what led them to buy in Grotto Bay, both participants spoke about the convenience of the short drive from Cape Town. Chaplin (1999) finds that second homeowners prefer properties to be located relatively close to their permanent place of residence in order to make the most out of their leisure time. Both of the weekender respondents were very particular about being on the West Coast, and shared that they had viewed several properties in different areas such as Langebaan, none of which they liked, due to them being popular or overbuilt tourist areas:

*“We went to look at Langebaan and decided Langebaan was just similar to Onrus and Hermanus, overrun by people and shops, cars and businesses and everything. We went to Paternoster and it didn’t appeal to me at all, they are just too busy as well, I just didn’t like it.” (Participant 4)*

*“I did look at other areas up on the West Coast. I like the idea of the West Coast. When I grew up my family had a place in Hermanus but for me driving on my own over two passes and the length of time and the traffic, really didn’t take my fancy. The West Coast, the road is excellent, it’s 45 minutes from my home, it’s accessible, and I was thinking it’s accessible for friends to come and spend the weekend with me, things like that. I did look further up the coast for properties, they were less expensive, it was more towards Langebaan, so more built up which I didn’t need.” (Participant 5)*

The histories of Participants 4 and 5, both in their early 60s and having grown up with a holiday home on the coast as children, reflect findings from Benson and O’Reilly’s (2009) that lifestyle migration is often derived from tourism-informed mobility. This refers to instances where migrants experience a certain way of living while on holiday and aspire to recreate that lifestyle. The economic boom experienced in South Africa from the 1950s to the 1970s, led to the availability of higher disposable incomes and holiday time, allowing many middle and higher income families to support a holiday house. Both of these participants cited their childhood as a catalyst for their own investment in a second home:

*“I grew up with a holiday house. When I was born my father bought a plot at Onrus, close to Hermanus, that was in 1953 and he built a house in 1954 and I was born in 54 at Onrus, so I grew up with a holiday house, it’s part and parcel of my genes and it’s how I grew up. And in 1954, Onrus was a small, quiet little place, tucked away, but my father bought a plot right in front of the sea at the beach, on the corner there. But those days there were hardly a road going to our house. We had to get up on top of the hill because the road was so bad. So it was peaceful and quiet, I remember as a kid, the cattle walked around, there was a farm, a milk farm somewhere over there, who delivered milk to us and these cattle walked in between the houses and on the beach. So it was peaceful and quiet, it was wonderful.” (Participant 4)*

*“When I was growing up as a youngster the family holidays were at Hermanus, and the coastal environment is very similar to that. It brought back a lot of childhood memories and ja I think that’s just what sealed it for me.” (Participant 5)*

For both participants, cultural identity can be seen as important, with Participant 4 being quite vocal about his need to preserve the tradition of holidaying on the coast. Research from Visser (2003), Hoogendoorn et al. (2005) and Visser and Hoogendoorn (2011, 2015) points out that the vast majority of second homes being owned by South Africans whites from the middle to upper classes can be viewed as a contentious subject, in a country affected by high levels poverty with many still living in substandard conditions (Visser 2003). The discourse around South African second homeownership is reflective of and connected to the one around gated communities, both of which have been criticised for reinforcing the distinction between haves and have nots, whereby “the limited residential property mobility in the South African context inadvertently leads to the maintenance of apartheid’s racially segregated residential areas and divisions of labour” (Visser, 2003:113).

The need for a sense of continuity is profound in Participant’s 4 language. When asked whether Grotto Bay has allowed him to link his past, present and his future (as a retiree), he was exuberant in his answer:

*“Yes, yes, yes. Because the concept of a holiday house is part of my upbringing and also part of my wife’s upbringing, my fondest memories are not living in*

*Cape Town but at Onrus, being with my parents all the time, swimming in the sea with my dad, braaing. I've got 4 brothers and sisters so I grew up in a very big family and the whole issue of togetherness and just enjoying it because that is why we go there, to enjoy life, for no other reason."*

Both respondents spoke of the need for peace and tranquillity, particularly when juxtaposed with their demanding urban lifestyle, which bring about the need to relax in peace and away from the crowds (see Ingle 2013), as indicated by Participant 4:

*"I live in the city I don't need noise, I need peace and quiet over the weekend or when I go to the sea."*

Both participants invoked nostalgia when discussing their holidays as children and their efforts to recreate those experiences in later life, in a country very different from the one they had grown in. Nostalgia refers to the pain of a loss, in this case a bygone era. During apartheid, beach segregation was legislated by strict "policies of division" Durrheim and Dixon (2001: 436), which provided whites access to much bigger surfaces of beach that also had "better amenities and were closer to the city, whereas 'non-white' beaches outside municipal control were either ill-suited for recreational use or downright treacherous" (ibid).

Truscott (2011) argues that white South Africans, and particularly Afrikaners, feel a "melancholic loss" for what van Zyl describes as a "sentimental yearning for the past, involving distorted and often romanticised memories" (van Zyl, 2008:130). Van Zyl finds that nostalgia plays a role in "elevating pleasant memories to prominence while disregarding more unpleasant ones, thereby re-establishing a sense of continuity" (ibid: 131). While almost all of the respondents' interviews demonstrated their experiencing of a certain degree of nostalgia, it was particularly pronounced among those of Afrikaner origin.

Van Zyl (2008) notes that the rise of Afrikaner nostalgia runs parallel with the dismantling of apartheid, which took away their position of political power and privilege, but not their economic and white privilege. After the end of apartheid, the narrative adopted by many Afrikaners was that of being strangers in their own land, as much of "their traditional identity and historic thinking based on the close identification between the Afrikaans language, white dominion, cultural supremacy, and Afrikaner nationalism was obsolete within the new South Africa" (ibid: 136).

Van Zyl's claims that Afrikaner nostalgia includes a fixation on "the contrast between the past and the present in the form of the dichotomy between life on the platteland<sup>16</sup> and life in the city" (2008:139). This contrast was reflected in a number of interviews through the binary respondents used to describe the city versus Grotto Bay, where life in the rural idyll free residents from the anxieties associated with city life, and where one can live segregated and in "harmony with the natural world" (ibid: 139).

Nostalgia is thus closely linked to 'semigration' and lifestyle migration, often as a spatial response to the drastic changes brought by the changes to South Africa including the end of apartheid. Participant 4, by purchasing a coastal holiday home in a gated community, has endeavoured to recreate his memories of his time with his parents with his own kids:

*"It's a pity that my father and my father in law are already dead, our other parents are also dead, they never saw Grotto Bay but the whole concept of being at the sea, of looking out over the sea and drinking wine, that takes me long back to my parents and those days and the perpetuation of that, my kids love it."*

#### 4.4 The maintenance of geographies of privilege

Benson and O'Reilly (2009) argue that while structural concerns and motivations often inspire lifestyle migration, as evidenced by the insights from the participants in the previous section, it is facilitated by economic privilege and upward mobility. The authors find that economic privilege is most apparent in retirement migration and second homeownership. In relation to retirement, the authors find that retirees, specifically baby boomers, have succeeded in accumulating enough funds, through savings and property ventures, to allow them to invest in a new lifestyle (ibid). Participant 7 illustrated this type of economic privilege when speaking of the relative ease by which migration happened in his case:

<sup>16</sup> The Afrikaans word 'platteland' means flat land in English and refers to rural areas.

*“So my buddy had a house up here and we spent a weekend here, and my wife said cheers pal we moving. And it took us a couple of months to find a place and that’s it in a nutshell.”*

Along the same line, second homeowners use their surplus capital to invest in a holiday home such as Participant 4, who not only was taken by and purchased the first and only house he viewed, but was also in a financial position to buy it outright without a mortgage:

*“So we drove back that evening and went to a restaurant in Table View and I started making my calculations because they wanted R 2.9m for the house and I was looking for R 2.5m. I didn’t want to take a bond, I wanted to buy in cash. And I started working out all my calculations and we decided we will be able to make it so I offered him R 2.6m.”*

While the levels of economic privilege and the consequent ease of migration may differ from resident to resident depending on their particular circumstances, Grotto Bay can be described as a close to homogenous space in terms of race, class and aspirations. Consistent with research on the South African literature on lifestyle migration and non-metropolitan gated communities, all respondents were white and relatively wealthy. In line with McEwen and Steyn (2013), it can be argued that the context of Grotto Bay serves as a buffer against the inequality, poverty and social and environmental challenges faced by the poor. This has the potential to make those challenges, and the people who face them, less visible to the privileged eye “housed comfortably within the orderly white space on which the contour lines of social status are traced” (Dwyer and Jones, 2000:214).

The Grotto Bay context is an example of post-apartheid spatiality, with established patterns of segregation and privilege (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000). This type of lifestyle has been described as “new and separate ‘life-worlds’ [...] for which this elite no longer qualifies merely by being white” (Visser, 2003:234). An awareness of these divides were demonstrated by respondents who distinguished between their experience of life in South Africa, characterised by beauty and affluence, and those of the poor living in dramatically different environments. Participant 1 said:

*“Obviously there are problems but what country doesn’t have problems you know and to be fair, in my kind of life I don’t get to experience those problems on a day to day basis I know that they are there and my heart goes out to the people who have to live like that you know and we do what we can when we can, but it’s not my reality really, you know what I mean. It’s horrible the stories I hear, and my hearts really bleeds for them but I wouldn’t like to leave my beautiful, beautiful South Africa.”*

The participant explicitly confirmed his white and economic privilege in relation to the poor, through spatial distancing. His feelings of empathy are limited due to his distance, something Mills (1997:95) explained as “white ignorance produces a ‘cultivation of patterns of affect and empathy, that are only weakly, if at all, influenced by non-white suffering”. The participant’s standard of living and well as his ability to feel separate from the challenges and suffering of others living nearby are both luxuries of what McEwen and Steyn (2013:1) describe as membership in the “semigrant power elite”.

#### 4.5 The role of nature in lifestyle migration

The beauty of the landscape was central in the choice to ‘semigrate’ to Grotto Bay for most participants of this research. While the concept of nature-oriented estates is flourishing in South Africa, Grotto Bay differs from them in that nature is not re-produced by developers. Instead the estate is truly located in natural wilderness, characterised by native fynbos, which can be found not only in the nature reserve, but also in the residential estate that developers preserved as greenbelts in between houses and roads. Unlike other nature-oriented estates (see Ballard and Jones, 2011) many residents opt to leave their gardens in their indigenous form, with the fynbos as unhindered as possible. However, this privatised nature is exclusive to elite consumption, a characteristic Grotto Bay shares with South Africa’s nature-oriented estates as demonstrated by Ballard and Jones (2011)

One common feature of the participants’ narratives is how each and every one of them fell in love with the nature and landscape of Grotto Bay, prompting them to take up residence there. Participants spoke often of the beauty of Grotto Bay. Participant 5 described visiting a friend at Grotto Bay prior to buying:

*“I loved the place, it was beautiful and she’d invited me, she said anytime you want to come for a weekend, you’re more than welcome. So that’s what happened. I ended up going every now and again to visit her, go for walks on the beach and I really fell in love with it”*

#### 4.6 Part two: back to nature

##### 4.6.1 The spatiality of attachment

Part two uses the PPP Framework to explore the ways in which the participants’ lived experiences facilitate place attachment to Grotto Bay, and how the functions of place attachment contribute in preserving white South Africans’ culture, identity and privileges in post-apartheid South Africa. As a multidimensional concept, place attachment involves three dimensions: person, place and psychological process (Scannell and Gifford, 2010:2). For the purpose of this study place attachment to Grotto Bay is characterised through the ways in which the respondents’ attachment to their social and physical environments, as well as to the meanings associated with their attachment to this specific place are indicated.

#### 4.7 The person dimension

##### 4.7.1 Personal experiences of place attachment

According to Scannell and Gifford (2010:2), place attachment involves the “personal connections one has to a place” and relates to the personal experiences that not only foster “place making” but also “personal growth” and a “stable sense of self”. Respondents’ personal experiences ranged from specific instances of memory-making such as Participant 1 proposing to his wife on the main Grotto Bay beach, to the ongoing enjoyment of simple things such as learning to kayak or “just walking around the reserve and observing the natural world, undisturbed” as described by Participant 3. As demonstrated in Part one of this analysis, the evocation of personal memories plays an important role in the reasoning they give for lifestyle migration and ‘semigration’. Part two will describe the ways in which this also plays a central role in place attachment.

The analysis of respondents' descriptions of the positive changes in lifestyle afforded by the estate demonstrated feelings of attachment and perceptions of personal growth. Participant 7 described a clear example of this:

*“So shopping in Melkbos is 30 odd kilometers down the road but if you run out of bread, it's 60 kilometers if you want a loaf of bread. So I'm making a lot of bread again.”*

Participant 7 was not the only respondent to describe their efforts to live a simpler, more self-sufficient life. Participant 2 spoke of the feeling of satisfaction she derived from picking fresh mussels from the beach and braaing them for supper, which she said she found more appealing than the experience of “eating mussels at the Waterfront”. It was quite evident that participants enjoyed the wholesome and simpler lifestyle of Grotto Bay, an important goal of lifestyle migration, and a significant contributor to place attachment. According to Manzo (2005) such aspirations and lived experiences are contributors to place meaning as well. Individual experiences of attachment were very much tied to the nature of the estate and the data revealed that respondents enjoyed the rejuvenating effects of nature. Godbey (2009) confirmed nature's rejuvenating and calming effects on people. For example Participant 11 said:

*“But in the summertime, we try and get home and in the late afternoon, we go down to the beach. It seems like it's a holiday everyday, you recharge. And then in wintertime, I try to make a point of sitting outside and have my coffee when I get home, before I start with the kids' homework and everything, to just recharge my batteries.”*

#### **4.7.2 Group experiences of place attachment**

“At the group level, attachment is comprised of the symbolic meanings of a place that are shared among members” (Scannell and Gifford 2010:2) with the preservation of a collective culture playing a key role in the formation of place attachment. Throughout the interviews, there was an emphasis on interactions with the local environment and the benefits of an outdoor lifestyle, which are facilitated by the access to Grotto Bay's private beach and nature reserve. Participants consistently indicated the importance of the preservation of the environment and

referenced their love for an outdoor lifestyle, part of their family's, or even their community's, broader culture. Scannell and Gifford (2010) have observed the validity of the preservation of culture to place attachment. Participant 10 explained what he perceived of as the benefits of life on the estate:

*“Since we’ve moved here, just spending quality time in nature as a family, walk, play, all of us are fitter, healthier. I have started doing trail running because here if you go running, you are in nature, I never enjoyed running but I love it now. It’s just because it’s here. And physically losing weight and being healthier.”*

Growing scientific evidence posits that the closeness to nature improves health outcomes as it is “positively related to such health indicators as levels of stress and amount of physical activity” (Godbey, 2009:3). Active involvement in nature and frequency of use of an exercise trail for example encourage place attachment as demonstrated by Farnum et al. (2005). Access to nature has enabled Participant 10 and his family to experience the positive health and fitness benefits of an outdoor lifestyle. It has also enabled him to reverse his attitude towards running, an example of growth and self-realisation (Manzo, 2005). Place dependence is created through repeated interaction with a place, which in turn creates an appreciation for a particular setting (Kyle et al., 2004).

Participant 10 reflected on the effect of nature on his children, all three under 10 years old:

*“We are so fortunate in the sense that all of them have friends here as well, and when they play, they still play, they are on the trampoline, they are at the beach, they go down to Long Beach on a regular basis. They are so healthy and fit, because they run, they cycle. Those are the kinds of things that we believe are more important than all the other stuff.”*

Childhood can be an especially formative time for place attachment as pointed out by Sobel (1990) and Sebba (1991), and at Grotto Bay, children can play freely and safely. The speed limit on the estate is 40 kilometers per hour and children have right of way at all times. The natural environment of the estate encourages children to roam and explore, allowing childhood attachments to develop through place-play. By having friends on the estate, feelings of bonding and opportunities of friendship

among children emerge and help to create the social ties indispensable to place attachment (Low and Altman, 1992).

Participants reported their encounters with the abundant fauna and flora at Grotto Bay that appeal to a person's sense of wonder and excitement and play a role towards attachment to place, in line with findings from Beatley (2011) and Kellert et al. (2008). Participant 1 described an interaction with nature:

*"I was walking and there was a little bokkie<sup>17</sup> in the road. I stopped and I watched him go across in the fynbos you know, and there was a tortoise, and just the other day a big snake was laying in the road getting himself warmed up, you know what I mean? It's actually breathtaking you know. I know there's like 10 000 varieties of plants that make up fynbos and just to walk around and you see them, my wife would just walk around and stop and look at the new little flower and just when you walk around there is so much abundance here of everything. It's almost unbelievable really, I mean ja it just brings out such appreciation I think you know to be able to live like this."*

Participant's 1 reference to the lifestyle at Grotto Bay as "living a dream" mirrors other respondents remarks on the feelings of taking up residence at Grotto Bay, with Participant 10 referring to living there as leaving him "humbled, privileged and in awe" at the unspoilt beauty of the environment they live in. It is important to reflect on one of the vital components that facilitate this lifestyle, the residents' access to domestic labour. Of the seven in-house interviews, six were done while the domestic worker was busy cleaning. Although the respondents' relationship with their domestic workers is not in question in this research, it can be argued that the availability of cheap domestic labour has helped in enabling white South Africans' pursuit of leisure activities pre and post-apartheid. In fact, Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) finds that the employer's flexibility largely depends on the services provided by the domestic worker, whereby the wealthier the employer is, the more time they have on their hands to relax, and pursue hobbies and leisure activities.

As a settlement faced with high levels of unemployment, Atlantis acts as the pool from which Grotto Bay sources the manual labour that assists in the functioning

<sup>17</sup> Afrikaans word for a little buck

of the estate. Atlantis, which also suffers from high levels of crime as explained previously in this analysis, is 'othered' in terms of both labour and crime, needed for labour but feared in terms of crime. The high level of inequality prevalent in South Africa means that the proximity and availability of cheap labour allow residents of Grotto Bay to validate their entitlement to this lifestyle as a direct product of their white, economic and spatial privilege.

Place attachment is often formed not only based on who can take part in this type of lifestyle but also based on who cannot. Those who are not economically able to participate in the type of lifestyle available at Grotto Bay make up the majority of South Africans, with very few able to afford to live on a private estate. The privatised landscape of Grotto Bay can be perceived as a microcosm of the legacies of colonisation, apartheid and related land dispossession<sup>18</sup>, of environmental injustice and white privilege whereby its community has the economic means to benefit and enjoy an environment "free of the undesirable effects of industry and waste" (Ruiters, 2001:98). This is in stark contrast to the black majority that still lives in the inferior environments of townships and informal settlements suffering from poor or non-existent services, health hazards as well as water and energy supply issues (Khan, 1994).

#### 4.8 The place dimension

*"I mean this, Grotto Bay, my love for what's out there and for my circle of friends is the same." (Participant 10)*

A key source of people's attachment to place is their sense of community (Pretty et al., 2003). While an understanding of why groups forge community is often based on people's emotional connection to each other, their emotional connection to place can also be the inspiration for a sense of community at the individual and group level (Manzo, 2006). Attachment to place is thus intertwined

<sup>18</sup> The land, which contains the estate, was purchased from the Duckitts, at the end of the 1980s, a well-known family who still owns a farm in the West Coast. Cowling and Du Plessis (2006) document the arrival of William Duckitt in 1800, brought to the Cape to boost the local agricultural state. The land owned by the Duckitts, through generations, is a prime example of land dispossession in the colonial era, taken from the nearly exterminated pastoralists/herders Khoikhoi, known to have occupied the coastal regions of the south-western Cape.

with attachment to residents of the community as well as the social interactions encouraged by the place (Scannell and Gifford, 2010).

Pretty et al. (2003) note that people's current need for a sense of community is a factor which emerged from concerns regarding changes in social structures, from wide scale urbanisation and from the formation of community around interests rather than around locality. Many of these concerns also apply to the post-apartheid South African context wherein the need for a sense of community has been documented as motivation for migration to gated communities (Landman, 2006, 2010). Scannell and Gifford (2010:339) indicate that this evidences the "fundamentally political nature of people's connections to their community" within constructed spaces like gated communities. Some studies show that gated communities enable sense of community (e.g. Low, 2001; Genis, 2007; Lemanski et al. 2008), while others disagree (e.g. Wu, 2005, Low 1997). In their analysis of lifestyle migration Benson and O'Reilly (2009) find that rural locations offer a greater sense of community that cannot be found in the urban sphere.

Although the participants of this research did not indicate a sense of community as part of their motivation for their lifestyle migration to the West Coast, they often spoke about the sense of community they have found and the friendships and other neighbourly relationships they have developed. While not an overt initial consideration, it could be argued that in seeking out the lifestyle they did at Grotto Bay for reasons such as peacefulness, nature and security they also were implicitly seeking a community of like-minded residents aligned with their own sociopolitical context.

Pretty et al. (2003:11) suggest that to "understand the nature, processes and experience of sense of community at any one time, it is necessary to have some appreciation of the community's history". Historically white South Africans shared "discourses that privileged whiteness" through the country's "history as a white colonialist society" and the social imaginary of apartheid both of which "drew on the broader colonial discourse" of white superiority (Griffiths and Prozesky, 2010: 33). The conceptual construction of the "disempowered, delegitimized others" gave meaning to whiteness in the South African context, that of the maintenance of racial purity and separation (Steyn 2001: 24).

With the demise of apartheid in 1994, white South Africans were propelled into a new world, one of uncertainty and social vulnerability, where they faced the black majority in power, requiring that they find and develop a new social imaginary, i.e. new forms of identity and ways of life (Griffiths and Prozesky, 2010). This new social imaginary included the emergence of security estates, evidence that “sociopolitical relations are often expressed in spatial terms” (Manzo, 2006:340). Security estates thus not only enabled whites as a politically marginalised group to shun processes of adaptation, but also allowed them to enact a new found sense of community embedded in a physical place.

#### 4.8.1 Community place attachment at Grotto Bay

As a place-based community, Grotto Bay also holds characteristics of a relational community. As a socioeconomically and racially homogenised group, the residents share relational and historical ties. They also share similar experiences central to the development of psychological relatedness (Sonn and Fisher, 1996) and to “meaningful social contact and positive social cohesion” (Pretty et al., 2003:12). Participants constantly used terms such as “like-minded”, “nice and friendly people”, “similar type of person”. According to Boersema (2011), such terms not only symbolise homogeneity, but also the perceived parallel between “niceness” and whiteness, and its direct divergence from the ‘other’.

In line with Pretty et al. (2003:12), places such as Grotto Bay provide a context in which residents can “express their identity and roots, their emotions” and nurture a sense of attachment to place while bonding with their community. For example Participant 5 said:

*“I suppose the fact that everybody has chosen to be there, must have some similar ideas and wishes for the way they want to live their life”.*

Several participants mentioned the role of geographical isolation in strengthening community bonds. Some highlighted the example of the unavailability of shops close to the estate encouraging residents setting out to do shopping to send each other messages on the Grotto Bay What’sApp group to ask whether others need anything. In doing so participants spoke of managing to decrease individual trips to the stores and of facilitating regular contact among residents and a sense of

mutual dependence. Respondents also highlighted the small size of the community as creating a sense of belonging as Participant 2 said:

*“I like it isolated. And because the community is so small and, one always relies on each other because we are all in it together, you know, I think it builds a sense of community.”*

The McMillan and Chavis (1986: 14) model highlights a principle of shared emotional connection, described as the “definitive element for a true community”. Several features of this principle were present in the participants’ interviews. They spoke of the drive for residents to do things together at group level, a feature of contact hypothesis, which advocates that the more people interact with each other, the closer they get. Respondents spoke of the different events organised by the HOA including Participant 5:

*“There is quite a lot of push for people to do things together, braais at the community center, activities going on, beach cleanups and things like that. So that helps to bind people together.”*

The analysis found that participation in neighborhood improvements at Grotto Bay translated into a shared sense of conservation ethics and pro-environmental behavior, and thus positive attachment to place (Ramkissoon et al., 2012; Vaske and Kobrin, 2001). Respondents spoke fondly of their initiatives to protect the fauna and flora of the estate, as well as of their recycling initiatives. Place-protective behaviors, a prominent feature of the data, highlighted their sense of commitment and responsibility as a community towards the natural environment (Relph, 1976).

Respondents also mentioned being “proud to live there” and “that everyone feels or thinks similar”, highlighting the homogeneity of the group. Each participant affectionately emphasised the depth of commitment offered by other members of Grotto Bay community, a characteristic of a community with strong notions of their joint efficacy (Pretty et al., 2003), as seen in the extract below:

*“One morning we were driving to school and the car broke down and everyone that came from Grotto Bay stopped to ask if I was ok. And it was not one or two cars. And some took the big kids, and some took me and some came back to help Nico with petrol. And then they went to Darling to fetch the bakkie and then Nico came to fetch us again. So I don’t know how many stories I’ve got like*

*that. So it's not just people coming over and having some wine and having a good time, they really look out for each other. If they don't see you in three days, then they will phone: How are you? Are you ok, what's going on? They will just check up on you.” (Participant 11)*

The analysis of the data found the presence of different layers of community, aside from the greater Grotto Bay community. For instance respondents spoke of their ‘close<sup>19</sup>’ community, referring to their street (one of the eleven streets on the estate) and mentioned how each ‘close’ has a different energy and how people tend to be close within their ‘close’. In fact ‘closes’ are set up in a way as to encourage interaction between ‘close’ residents, who share a common neighbourhood space (Manzo, 2005). The interviews further revealed the existence of micro-communities made up of people who share particular interests and values and who have bonded with one another. Participant 10 described this as:

*“If I talk about the community, I talk about our group, not that we are exclusive from the rest, but it's not the whole Grotto that gets together in the bush on Sunday mornings or for whatever. So it's the religion we share, the wine, the braais, we've just got the same interests in life.”*

It is also important to point out that place attachment can create community conflicts (Manzo, 2005). Grotto Bay is no exception with respondents describing a wide range of conflicts including people not adhering to the rules of the estate (tampering with the indigenous vegetation, killing wild animals such as snakes) and personal disagreements between residents themselves, such as described by Participant 3:

*“I'm very aware of my environment, for instance I have planted... since I've moved in there, I've planted olive trees, about 15. I've planted 8 Milkwoods, so to me it is very important to propagate trees because it's the West Coast<sup>20</sup>, but it must be indigenous to the environment and I was very upset because one of*

<sup>19</sup> Please refer to Figure 4 in chapter three for an understanding of the layout of the ‘closes’.

<sup>20</sup> The West Coast of the Western Cape province experiences very “windy conditions, sandy soils, flat - possibly alkaline soils, winter rainfall, summer drought”, conditions most adaptable to the plantation of indigenous trees. (<https://www.sanbi.org/sites/default/files/documents/documents/treelistwccapeflats.pdf>, accessed 14.09.2017).

*the other closes, a lady was put in charge of the circle and she promptly cut down two Milkwood trees that were about 10 years old and I actually went to the body corporate and complained about that and her excuse was that somebody told her the root system was very invasive, but I said its endemic to this area and she said, oh she is sorry. So I said next time before you do something, go and Google it first!!!”*

Despite some inevitable negatives when any group of people live in close proximity, the analysis of the interview data revealed largely positive experiences-in-place at each of the different layers of community at Grotto Bay, including the greater Grotto Bay community, the ‘close’ communities and the micro communities created through social networks and shared interest. Responses indicated characteristics of a well-functioning community, one which offered mutual support when needed even when “one may not have personal relationships with each individual member” (Pretty et al., 2003:9). Participant 10 gave an emotional account of his experience of community:

*“But I tell you that we have never made better friends in such a short space of time anywhere, ever in our lives than we have in Grotto Bay. There is a sense of community, a sense of really, really caring, or like-minded, like-aged people that we just accidentally sort of met here.”*

In the context of post-apartheid South Africa, the Grotto Bay community’s distinct sense of place provides insight into the way in which “attachment can entrap or create territorial conflicts” (Manzo 2005:337). Membership into the community requires residence in the estate, a privilege clearly set through racial and socioeconomic status. The boundaries keeping out ‘others’ are not only status but also physically demarcated by means of gates and around the clock security. Furthermore, the ocean and nature reserve also act as a natural boundary keeping outsiders at a distance. This variant set of boundaries act as sources of protection against threat (McMillan and Chavis, 1986) and protect the upper and middle classes, largely white, conservationist identity allowing for a cloistered sense of community. Grotto Bay empowers residents to take control of their living circumstances as well as participate in their community, confirming the notion that identity and power relations manifest themselves in one’s interaction with place.

#### 4.8.2 The romantic re-enactment of a placed-based community

As a concluding observation, this analysis sought to contextualise the romantic idealisation of the new social imaginary present in the interviews. The analysis of the transcripts brought to light findings from Boersema (2011) who unpacked the subjective experiences of female Afrikaans residents in a gated community in Pretoria wherein respondents spoke of the friendliness of the community. Similarly, respondents from this study spoke highly of the strong social bonds, with one of the respondents (Participant 8) asking “who wouldn’t be friendly living in such a place”. Participant 1 spoke of his weekender neighbours jumping over the wall<sup>21</sup> to share “wine, food and laughs”, while Participant 11 spoke of the medical doctor neighbour who came over after 11 pm to help bring down her son’s fever. This new social imaginary of Grotto Bay, which bears strong attachment to place and strong social and community bonds, can be compared to Tönnies’ (1955) *Gemeinschaft*<sup>22</sup>. In line with Boersema’s (2011) research, the participants’ narrative of their community carried a moral undertone. When asked about the values the community of Grotto Bay shares, Participant 10 responded:

*“I think the value of life, of looking out for one another, and the nature. I think everyone that lives here loves the nature.”*

This statement implies once again the contrast with life inside the gates and people outside the walls of Grotto Bay. The binary between communities like Grotto Bay and other places in South Africa was addressed directly by Participant 6:

*“You know there’s no neighbourliness when you live in big cities, whereas with Grotto Bay you know, it’s there for you.”*

<sup>21</sup> At Grotto Bay, properties either do not have walls or have short walls in comparison to many houses in urban neighbourhoods that have high walls, fortified with barb wire or electrical fences. In this particular case, the wall in question was approximately 50 centimeters in height

<sup>22</sup> “According to Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft*, or community, is comprised of personal social ties and inperson interactions that are defined by traditional social rules and result in an overall cooperative social organization. The values and beliefs common to a *Gemeinschaft* are organized around appreciation for personal ties, and because of this, social interactions are personal in nature. Tönnies believed that these kinds of interactions and social ties were driven by emotions and sentiments (*Wesenwille*), by a sense of moral obligation to others, and were common to rural, peasant, small-scale, homogenous societies” (<https://www.thoughtco.com/gemeinschaft-3026337>, accessed 05.04.2017)

This analysis found that residing in Grotto Bay created a new social identity among residents revolving around place-making in nature and facilitated by their “collective memories, narratives of community, invented traditions, and shared ecological awareness” (Duncan and Duncan, 2001:390). The manner in which respondents were found to solidify their sense of place in contrast to life outside of Grotto Bay is similarly found by Boersema (2011:10) as in “much of the positive image of the estate is mirrored by the negative image of post-apartheid South Africa. It is community versus anomie.” Participant 4 did note the surrealistic features of life on the estate:

*“And one thing about Grotto Bay, what was this movie’s name, The Truman Show, Grotto Bay initially and I think still is a bit of A Truman Show<sup>23</sup>. People, everyone greets everyone. Everyone waves at everyone, everybody is friendly, everybody says hello to each other, it’s a little artificial in that sense but a nice artificial, funny but in a positive way.”*

Participant 11 even described living at Grotto Bay as being “permanently on holiday” while her husband speaks of living “as if it’s not there” in reference to the high levels of crime and inequality. Through such statements, respondents proved their awareness of how different the world they live in is, compared to the world outside Grotto Bay’s gates, and how dependent they are on their spatial arrangements in order to preserve their unique way of life.

#### **4.8.3 Place attachment in the natural landscape**

It became evident through the analysis of the interview transcripts that the landscape surrounding Grotto Bay plays a crucial role in the participants’ quest for attachment and rootedness in place. This need for rootedness is posited to be linked to a broader quest for identity as white South Africans, in a country where they feel increasingly displaced (Ballard and Jones 2011). Although this study did not delve deeply into the level of specificity in the understanding of physical attachment

<sup>23</sup> The Truman Show is a movie about a man, Truman, who lives a fake life, whereby his whole world is a big studio with cameras everywhere, and all his friends and people around him, are actors who play their roles in the most popular TV-series in the world: The Truman Show. For more information please see <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0120382/>.

(Scannell and Gifford, 2010), there was a general consensus from the interviews that participants had a sense of “ecological patriotism” (Ballard and Jones, 2011:15) and attachment to the vast and diverse natural heritage of South Africa.

Consistent with research by Stokols and Shumaker (1981), it was clear that the natural landscape of the estate provided participants with the tools necessary to support their goals, the main one being their need for a sense of freedom, which in turn facilitated their attachment to place. The analysis found that respondents’ sense of freedom was created by both the natural landscape of Grotto Bay specifically, and residence in the estate generally, including the relief that the security of the estate provided in terms of protection from the perceived threats of crime and violence. The strong sense of security allowed residents the freedom of movement in the estate, where they can let their guard down, and enjoy a sense of carelessness (Boersema, 2011). Participant 7 asserted that he believed his residing in Grotto Bay would allow him to live longer as he did not have to “look over [his] shoulders anymore,” while Participant 8 spoke of the collective sense of security:

*“You go down on a Saturday or a Sunday and people are walking their dogs, going for hikes and they have the safety, so they don’t have to go around carrying firearms.”*

Moreover narratives spoke of a restoration of control and safety (Ballard and Jones, 2011) through the adherence to the HOA’s estate rules as well. While residents benefit from the freedom of movement within the walls, non-residents entering the estate, such as domestic workers and builders, are controlled and required to wear specific identifiable work wear, and need to leave the estate at a specific time. Hook and Vrdoljak (2002:29) noted that the strict measures enforced in gated communities “duplicate the spatial regulations of apartheid” which limited “the movement of black citizens”. Holiday makers do not face such strict measures, however they are still required to follow the HOA’s estate rules and are not allowed to bring any animals into the estate. Holiday makers are also prohibited from driving on the track to Long beach, a right only granted to homeowners with permits from the estate.

Respondents also described enjoying the freedom from pollution in terms of air, traffic and noise. Participant 10 spoke of the freedom his child enjoys within the gates of Grotto Bay, a freedom guarded by the security personnel:

*“If you think about Jacques, he has just turned 5, he gets on his bicycle and rides just under 1.5 kilometers on his own, if you put that in town it’s quite a few blocks of streets.”*

Overall respondent testimonies confirmed having achieved their goals in moving to Grotto Bay and continued to enjoy the benefits derived from lifestyle ‘semigration’. Participant 5 explained:

*“Yes my goals are to be able to live peacefully and safely, to be free, to do what I want to do when I wish to do it and Grotto Bay has enabled me to do that. So I feel, at this stage, it’s fulfilled my needs of what I envisaged I would like”*

According to Scannell and Gifford (2010:6) “individuals (also) become attached to places that support the pursuit of their goals,” which in turn leads to place dependence wherein “individuals value a place for the specific activities that it supports or facilitates”.

Many of respondents’ remarks demonstrated not only a strong sense of attachment but something that bordered on anxiety about instances where they were required to face life outside of the estate. This anxiety evidenced a place dependence, another facet of place attachment. All the participants indicated that they did not intend to move away from the estate with Participant 10, going to the extent of saying “I want to die here”. This contentment with their choice of residence and thus highlights the fact that the estate allows for self-realization and goal attainment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010).

Respondents also made reference to the aesthetical beauty of Grotto Bay, reinforcing Boersema’s (2011:8) view that while “the security apparatus is the backbone of the estate, the aesthetic appearance is its public face.” The freedom to control the aesthetics of the estate is seen as the “preferred management technique of elites which goes hand in hand with social exclusion and the management of class” (Boersema, 2011:4). Building regulations at Grotto Bay require that all houses adhere to the West Coast vernacular style of fishermen cottages in an attempt to

keep with the history of the region and promote a sense of heritage as well as a distinct identity (Ballard and Jones, 2011).

Scannell and Gifford (2010) argue that individuals find attachment in the meanings associated with the aesthetics of a place, while Duncan and Duncan (2004:387) find that “certain communities can mobilise enough economic and cultural capital to create landscapes that have the power to incorporate and assimilate some identities while excluding or erasing others”. In the case of Grotto Bay, the aesthetics is reliant on the privatisation and consumption of the natural landscape and of the built environment, reinforcing the notion that landscapes can “become possessions for those with the wealth and power to control them” and can “play an active role in the performance of elite social identities and the framing of social life and values within a community” (ibid).

#### 4.9 The psychological dimension

To better understand the particular formulation of attachment resulting from lifestyle migration, the final section of this data analysis and discussion probes the psychological process behind place attachment, and the degree to which attachment to Grotto Bay’s natural environment helps in cultivating and maintaining identity processes (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996) among the participants of this research. Within the PPP framework, the psychological process behind place attachment contains three elements: affect, cognition and behaviour, each of which will be discussed in this section.

The notion of landscape and identity is closely interwoven with the broader history of white South Africans according to Foster, having been “used to construct white cultural identity in South Africa” (2008:5). Through the development of gated communities and, in particular eco-estates, a form of re-colonisation of the land has taken place (Ballard and Jones, 2011), facilitated through privatisation, which allows residents to exercise their gaze on an empty land (scape) (van Eeden, 2011). This section will also use the concepts of rooting, uprooting and rerooting developed by Egoz (2013) to better recognize the link between landscape and identity, and how it contributes to place attachment in the context of Grotto Bay.

#### 4.9.1 Place identity through the process of rerooting to place

The search for a new social imaginary is very present throughout this data analysis suggesting that forming this type of understanding about themselves and their community is a central motivation behind participants' lifestyle migration to Grotto Bay. The data revealed that not only were participants looking for the new social imaginary of a modern safe and privatised enclave, but also one of community reminiscent of the geographies and white experiences (safety, privilege, separation) during colonisation and apartheid. Grotto Bay enables the preservation of cultural identity through the participants' rerooting to place via their return to the land (Bushnell, 1999; Till, 2010; Ingle, 2010; Ballard and Jones, 2011).

The notion of carrying past experiences into the present was present in the participants' narratives and in their motivations for moving to Grotto Bay. Past experiences appeared to help respondents in this study to harness a sense of continuity in their lives, given that "societies and persons may change according to the historical and social circumstances in which they find themselves but they are still the same society and the same person with a core of enduring key traits" (Tilley, 2006:8). When asked to describe his identity, Participant 10 used the words "braai, Springbok rugby, open space", all strong historical emblems of Afrikaner culture and nationalism. Participant 11 mentioned that Grotto Bay has inspired her 10-year-old son to aim to become a farmer, which could be seen as symbolic of the participants' yearning for the "remembered images from his romanticised past" (van Zyl, 2008:146).

The process of rerooting to the land can be associated to white flight from the Africanisation of the city into nature-oriented estates to reconnect to the land Afrikaners historically believed God entitled them to and to their cultural identity (van Eeden, 2011). This theory reverberates with Egoz's (2013:275) research on the rerooting of Israelis to their ancient "biblical landscape" and of their "pioneering ethos of building and physically rerooting in the landscape". An additional component of rerooting lies within the early "visual discourse around 'white' South Africa" and of its beautiful and emptied landscapes (van Eeden, 2011:605) to the participants' contemplation of the 'empty' Grotto Bay landscape, obtained through the privatisation of land. In fact, most participants spoke of the importance of having

an ocean view, and if not, of their need for immersion in the various Grotto Bay landscapes. This yearning is telling of the connection between white identity and landscape on which the white colonial imaginary was built (Foster, 2008), and of its extension into the post-apartheid era.

Interestingly, obviously cognisant of the racial homogeneity at Grotto Bay, Participant 6 felt compelled to distinguish the estate from Orania, the town in the Karoo with a strictly enforced policy of racial exclusivity for white Afrikaners only. He said:

*“So I don’t think that it’s like a little Orania, it’s like a little tight community, there are people of colour that live there and it’s not like you can’t live there if you Indian or Colored, whatever, we choose to live there and that’s that.”*

His comment highlighted how estates such as Grotto Bay use socioeconomic means to perform exclusionary practices, a feature of the South African gated community literature as confirmed by Hook and Vrdoljak (2002). The academics link the transformation of space within gated communities to a “politically conservative one” and a form of “resistance with the primary aim of the reassertion of privilege” (ibid: 36) and of identity.

Another component of identity-building and rerooting to place lies in the context of conservation and more particular to this study, in “ecological patriotism” which “arguably substitutes for nationalism as a mechanism for achieving an attachment to place and claims to autochthony” (Ballard and Jones 2011:15) in a social and political environment where they feel increasingly alienated

Their conservationist identity and related place attachment wherein outsiders are seen as potentially destructive to the environment builds on a Eurocentric conservation ideology developed in the late nineteenth century associated with white privilege and power (Khan, 1994). This sense of themselves as protectors of the natural world enables the process of rerooting to the land, and constitutes the cognitive element of place attachment. In the following extract, Participant 7 made reference to his need to purchase a particular type of expensive vehicle, evidence of economic privilege, and to “only us” who can access the reserve, an indication of conservationist identity and superiority:

*“I actually need a 4x4 because they have 4x4 tracks here, where you got to have a permit and it’s only us that can use it, so they don’t get destroyed. And I’d like to use them.”*

Clearly, residents feel a distinct type of place attachment to Grotto Bay wherein they are, through economic and racial privilege, in a position to preserve and maintain the surrounding natural environment. Throughout this analysis and discussion, respondents’ identification to choosing to live in nature and to participate in the conservation of the environment surrounding Grotto Bay made clear they associated these processes with their individual identity as well as their broader social identity. Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) characterised this practice as place-related distinctiveness. It is also clear that this attachment happens at the expense and exclusion of outsiders, those who Participant 7 alluded to as people who may destroy the physical place. Participant 10 spoke much more directly about the deliberate exclusion used in the name of formulating a conservation-focused community at Grotto Bay:

*“I do believe that if I speak for myself, you find a large percentage of white people would move progressively to places that are unknown, either more expensive or difficult to get to, because of a few reasons. Some will go because you don’t get any blacks there, some will go there because you will not find any of the destruction caused of a general place. The one thing that gets to me is the places where everyone can go to, it’s just how nature just gets dirty, litter, glass, messy. It’s like people have a complete disrespect for it. So you find that a large percentage of people find spots to stay and go to, where it is either too expensive, or too remote or too this, for the masses to go.”*

Like Participant 7, he legitimises the need for exclusive spaces in order to conserve them and protect them from misuse and destruction. This analysis found that while in other contexts, respondents were conscious of their privilege and more subtle in their use of language that was derogatory or ‘othering’, within the environmental frame respondents were far more direct, explicitly highlighting

perceptions of entitlement and superiority, forwarding the belief that they are the protectors of their exclusive territory<sup>24</sup>.

As evidenced in this chapter's data analysis and discussion, place attachment translates into emotional investment in place including feelings of love and of pride (Scannell, and Gifford 2010). These types of feelings were found through both straightforward reading and interpretation of the interview transcripts, wherein positive feelings of having found an ideal home in nature characterised respondents' descriptions of their lives in Grotto Bay. At the same time the analysis also identified negative feelings of anxiety, fear and disinterest in urban life, perceived of as rushed, dirty and affected by crime.

This suggests that the impetus to take up lifestyle migration is born both of seeking a particular, perceived quality of life and out of feelings of displacement and dislocation experienced widely by whites in South Africa after the end of apartheid. Consistent with Griffith and Prozesky (2010) and Ballard and Jones (2011), the findings of this study suggest that 'semigration' into the indigenous nature of Grotto Bay offers a solution to white South Africans' feelings of dislocation in the new South Africa. What could present as feelings of sadness and longing for an idealised past are ultimately transformed by the gated estate lifestyle into feelings of love for nature and for community, enabling their construction of attachment and belonging.

Residence in the estate facilitates the renegotiation of their sense of self through the re-enactment of an idealised past and the reconfiguration of both personal and social identity. This initial dislocation and subsequent relocation explain not only residents' motivations for lifestyle migration but also their place attachment to the non-metropolitan gated community of Grotto Bay. A discussion of how this relates to the initial research questions is included in the next and final chapter.

<sup>24</sup> Several participants highlighted the negative aspects of having holiday makers in the estate on a regular basis and complained about the noise levels coming from the holiday houses. There was a degree of 'othering', as holiday makers and day workers were made out to be the culprits behind the various forms of litter and cigarette butts found around the estate. Participants gave the impression that due to their love for the estate's nature, residents would neither litter nor not adhere to the rules in place. This also highlights the sanctimonious attitude of residents as the protectors of the estate.

## 5 Chapter five: a final gaze at the landscape

*“I belong here so I will stay here” (Participant 6).*

*“The tapestry that describes the nature of one’s relationship to a place is unique for each individual” (Scannell and Gifford, 2010:5).*

### 5.1 Grotto Bay, the symbol of a reconstructed past and imagined future

The intention of this dissertation was to explore and understand the motivations of its respondents’ move to Grotto Bay, a nature-oriented gated community, situated on the rural West Coast of South Africa. This dissertation also aimed to explore the ways in which participants’ subjective experiences of the estate’s natural environment enabled the development of place attachment. Through data collection and analysis, the functions of place attachment to Grotto Bay emerged as instrumental in preserving the participants’ culture, identity and privileges, by linking their colonial settler past to their present and their imagined future as white South Africans in post-apartheid South Africa. Indeed, the Grotto Bay experiment reflects Tilley’s assertion that “heritage landscapes become memorious of a nation’s past and the need to root and maintain that identity in the land as a counterpoint to the flux of modernity, to arrest time and change and provide something traditionally authentic” (2006:19). This concluding chapter provides an overview of the findings of this study and its contribution to the field is discussed.

### 5.2 Value and contribution of the research

The phenomenon of gated communities has been largely researched in the urban sphere, both locally and internationally. By contrast this research addressed a less studied area, a niche gated community located in a non-metropolitan area. In an attempt to contextualise this relatively new South African phenomenon of gating in rural nature, the principles of lifestyle management were applied. The gating of large expanses of rural nature, known as nature-oriented estates or eco-estates in South Africa, has previously been studied mainly in terms of ecological sustainability (see Grey-Ross et al., 2008 and Sherriff-Shüping, 2015). However, their existence and expansion have raised questions about their social sustainability in a country with an

extremely high rate of social and economic inequality<sup>25</sup> which this study sought to consider, specifically in relation to identity and place attachment of the privileged residents.

Thus this study highlighted the role and positioning of a rural nature-oriented estate such as Grotto Bay in the interconnection between place attachment, the natural landscape and white identity in post-apartheid South Africa, furthering Ballard and Jones' (2011:1) hypothesis of "where largely white elites often feel a precarious hold in the new South Africa, natural heritage offers attachment to place" specifically in relation to a rural nature-oriented estate.

### 5.3 Overview of main findings

In order to achieve the research aims and objectives, a detailed discussion of the theoretical frameworks involved in this research was undertaken in the literature review, followed by an overview of the qualitative methods used to collect data, specifically the use of in-depth, semi-structured interviews which allowed for the collection of a rich and detailed set of data. This data set was analysed and discussed in chapter four. The results of the analysis were divided in two sections of analysis, underlined in terms withdrawal and attachment.

#### 5.3.1 The spatiality of withdrawal

The initial justifications and motivations behind the lifestyle migration of the respondents in this study, which emerged during the data analysis process, resonated with much of the existing South African research around gated communities. Interviews in this study confirmed that following the demise of the social imaginary of apartheid, white South Africans felt threatened enough to look at exit strategies where they could seek security and community. While some opted to emigrate, including some close to the respondents, many of those who stayed chose to "semigrate" and live in gated communities like Grotto Bay. In the South African context, gated communities have been associated with the perpetuation of

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-01-24-groundup-noordhoek-eco-estates-protect-the-rich-from-the-reality-of-masiphumelele/>

apartheid geographies, leading to increased fear, and segregation from the Africanisation of the city (Lemanski, 2004; Durlington, 2006).

Perceptions of improved safety and the fear of crime, “usually posited as the main reason for residence” in gated communities (Spocler, 2013:231), were prominent themes in this research, with more than half of the respondents listing safety as the primary reason they chose to move to Grotto Bay. While Spocler (2013) found that non-metropolitan gated communities are more secure than their urban counterparts, it was interesting that Grotto Bay had suffered a spate of attacks, which resulted in tighter security measures. This confirmed Breetzke’s et al. (2014) findings that gated communities, and their surrounding residential areas, can be associated with high rates of property crime mainly from organised crime syndicates. Following the introduction of strict security measures, the residents have not reported any crime subsequently.

The failure of the state and its inability to provide basic services to citizens were also put forward as a motivational factor in migration to gated communities and was the case among the respondents in this research. Participants spoke of the efficiency of the HOA compared to the local government and municipality. There was a degree of disillusionment with the current government, which was seen as incompetent and discriminatory against whites. Participants also used the discourse of victimisation, seeing themselves as having been placed in a disadvantaged position compared to the black majority, especially in terms of employment due to transformative policies such as affirmative action.

The meta-themes of ‘othering’ and the binary of Grotto Bay versus the world outside the gates appeared consistently throughout the first part of the data analysis and created their dislocation and dissonance from their lives in urban settings. The participants expressed their dislike and sometimes fear of the world outside the gates of the estate, which they found chaotic and dangerous and in complete contrast to the safe, clean and well-managed estate. Their narratives highlighted the ever-widening gap between rich and poor, as well as the socioeconomic privileges they benefit from as white South Africans with access to generational wealth. In line with the gated community literature in the South African context, this research confirmed that participants, while feeling empathy and sadness towards the poor,

still used their socioeconomic status to isolate themselves from a transformative, inclusive society in the interest of a particular quality of life perceived to be offered by residence in the natural world.

In addition to the structural reasons justifying their move to Grotto Bay, all participants expressed their search for a better lifestyle. The theory of lifestyle management was applicable to this research which included counterurbanisation, second homeownership and retirement migration. In essence, the two determining factors behind lifestyle migration are generally affluence and mobility (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009), and in the South African context, it is further characterised as an "overwhelmingly white" concept (Ingle, 2010:406). The post-apartheid search for a better lifestyle, away from the desegregated urban areas has "influenced whites' locational choices" encouraging migration to gated communities including those in rural areas (Ingle, 2010:409).

Several important points emerged from the theoretical positioning of lifestyle management in this research. It became evident that Grotto Bay is as an example of post-apartheid spatiality as it confirms the established patterns of segregation and privilege, as well as the "identity-affirming qualities" of its environment (Dixon and Durrheim, 2004:471). This was discernable based on the ways in which participants expressed their need to preserve their sense of identity and community around shared values, as well as upholding a sense of continuity in their lives by linking their past, present and future through shared generational experiences and the preservation of the natural environment.

### **5.3.2 The spatiality of attachment**

Using the PPP Framework developed by Scannell and Gifford (2010), the role of nature in fostering feelings of place attachment was analysed, focused on attachment through relocation. Residents' sense of place was closely linked to the context of Grotto Bay as a nature-oriented estate situated in an indigenous fynbos environment and as part of a private nature reserve. Participants' attachment to place was deciphered through their attachment to the social and physical environments of the estate, as well as to the meanings associated with being in nature and taking responsibility for its conservation.

The analysis of the personal and group experiences of place attachment at Grotto Bay revealed that the change in lifestyle provided by the estate enabled participants to experience personal growth especially through their interaction with nature. These personal instances of place making provided participants with a “stable sense of self” (Scannell and Gifford, 2010:2) and confirmed consistent with Manzo’s (2006) argument that people’s emotional connection to place can inspire their sense of community at the individual and group level. It became evident that as a socioeconomically and racially homogenised group, the residents of Grotto Bay shared relational and historical ties as well as similar life experiences understood in the context of their current residence as a shared interest in rural living and preservation of the natural world that helped in developing positive experiences of community.

As contended by Ballard and Jones (2011), a place’s landscape can play a pertinent role in fostering place attachment, rooting in place and in the participants’ quest for identity. This was found to be the case in Grotto Bay wherein both access to and participation in the maintenance of its private beaches and nature reserve created a shared sense of both place and identity in post-apartheid South Africa among respondents.

Through their interactions with the gated landscape, participants achieved their goals of freedom in the sense of communing with the natural world as well as of association and away from external public interference. The final section of the data analysis explored the participants’ psychological process behind place attachment, including the ways in which taking up residence in a particular place allows for an identity-affirming process to take place. This was the case in Grotto Bay wherein romanticised formulations of a distinct community were espoused by respondents, one focused on shared values, safety, respect for nature and calm and communal way of life.

The central findings around the notion of landscape and identity ultimately related to the historical shaping of South Africa as “a white man’s country” (Foster, 2008:219) in the colonial past and presently, in a privatised fashion, through the establishment and maintenance of gated communities and estates with homogenous populations relating to both race and socioeconomic circumstances. In

doing so, Egoz's (2013: 275) "concepts of rooting, uprooting and rerooting" were used. The analysis indicated that historically white South Africans developed their sense of identity through their quest to belong to the land. At the end of apartheid whites' strong rooting, including privileges associated to their race were symbolically uprooted creating "existential homelessness" (Griffiths and Prozesky, 2010:37) in their birth country, leading them to seek and create new spaces. The new social imaginary facilitated by such spaces, including Grotto Bay enables the preservation of white cultural identity through the participants' re-rooting to place via their return to the land and its parallel ties to the re-colonisation of the 'empty' land as discussed in the last section of chapter four.

#### 5.4 A final note

In conclusion, this dissertation has discussed how a particular group of white South Africans residing in a nature-oriented estate on the West Coast of South Africa have enlisted the natural landscape to root themselves to place and to find a sense of continuity in self and in their identity, by linking the reconstruction of their past with the present and future, through the use of gating and a migration back to the land. While their motivations for their migration are understandable given the current political, racial and socioeconomic climate, the choice to remove oneself and one's family from participation in the country's broader transformation agenda needs to be read through a lens of white privilege and cannot be divorced from apartheid ideas of racial segregation and land appropriation. Place attachment to Grotto Bay on an individual level fails to contextualise the broader perpetuation of apartheid ideals and environmental injustice taking place when communities of historic wealth and privilege migrate to (or go back to) the land.

Respondents' personal, romantic and nostalgic idealisation of the new social imaginary provided by Grotto Bay was explored in this research, but further consideration needs to be paid to the way in which such estates might stand to perpetuate a post-colonial and post-apartheid white hegemony and unfair domination of the natural landscape. As a trend currently on the increase in rural areas, consideration also needs to be paid to the effects of such estates on the social and natural fabric of the rural. Little could sum up the formulation of identity and

place attachment identified in this research more aptly than the words of Participant 6 who said: "I belong here so I will stay here."

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## Appendices

### Appendix A- Formal Request Letter



**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**  
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

Department of Environmental and Geographical Science  
Faculty of Science  
University of Cape Town  
RONDEBOSCH 7701  
E-mail: sharonramsawmy@gmail.com  
Telephone: 081 465 0969

Mr Willie Landman  
Estate Manager  
Grotto Bay Private Residential Estate

#### REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN GROTTA BAY PRIVATE RESIDENTIAL ESTATE

Dear Mr Landman,

My name is Sharon Ramsawmy, and I am a postgraduate student at the University of Cape Town. The research component of my Master's dissertation involves understanding the motivations of homeowners to invest and reside in an estate situated in a nature reserve. I further intend to explore the relationship between belonging and identity, sense of place and nature. I also aim at questioning the reasons behind the proliferation of nature oriented estates in South Africa.

The methods involved in this research are in-depth, semi-structured interviews and photo elicitation, whereby participants will be asked to take 3-5 pictures of the nature that surrounds them using their personal device, and that have a special meaning to them. The participants' photographs will be used to guide a discussion about sense of place, nature, and identity in the context of the estate. I wish to interview 10 to 15 participants.

This project will be conducted under the joint supervision of Dr Bradley Rink, University of the Western Cape and Dr Pippin Anderson, University of Cape Town. This research has been granted ethical clearance from the Science Research Ethics Committee of the Science Faculty, University of Cape Town.

I am thus kindly seeking your help in order to get in touch with the Home Owners Association and invite residents to participate in this research. I am also seeking your consent to enter the premises of Grotto Bay Private Residential Estate in order to conduct interviews with research participants at a time and place convenient for them. I have attached a copy of the Research Information Sheet which provides information about my research. A consent form to be used in the research process is also attached for your perusal. My dissertation proposal as well as the Ethics Clearance Approval letter are available should you request them.

If you require any further information, please do not hesitate to contact me on. Thank you for your time and consideration in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Sharon Ramsawmy

Candidate for the MPhil in Environment, Sustainability and Society.  
University of Cape Town

## Appendix B- Information Sheet



### Human Subjects Research Information Sheet Department of Environmental and Geographical Science University of Cape Town

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**Researcher:**

Sharon Ramsawmy  
Email: [sharonramsawmy@gmail.com](mailto:sharonramsawmy@gmail.com)  
Telephone: 081 465 0989

**Degree Course:**

MPhil in Environment, Sustainability and Society  
Department of Environmental and Geographical Science  
University of Cape Town

**Supervised by:**

Dr Bradley Rink  
Dr Pippin Anderson

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In compliance with the University of Cape Town (UCT) *Code for Research involving Human Subjects*, the following information is being disclosed to human subjects who are involved in the stated research. This research is making use of human subjects as sources of data, and the following is disclosed in compliance with the *Code*. Furthermore, this Disclosure and Consent is meant to provide participants (research subjects) in the research with reasonable and sufficient knowledge about the researcher, the researcher's background, location and research intentions while also verifying participant(s) consent to take part in the research.

#### 1. ABOUT THE RESEARCHER:

I am Sharon, 35 years old and from Mauritius. I previously worked as a Human Resource Practitioner and have a Master's degree in HR. After a few years working in the field I opted for a change of career, and decided to pursue a Master's within the environmental and sustainability sector at the University of Cape Town. I am mother to a two year old girl and I am married to a South African, who I met while living in the UK. We now reside in Woodstock.

#### 2. TITLE OF RESEARCH

Place attachment and place identity through the privatisation of natural heritage: An Analysis of Grotto bay Private Residential Estate, Western Cape.

#### 3. RESEARCH FOCUS AND INTENTIONS

This research will focus on questioning and understanding the motivations of homeowners to invest and reside in a nature oriented estate. I further intend to explore the relationship between belonging and identity, sense of place and nature. I also aim at questioning the reasons behind the proliferation of nature oriented estates in South Africa.

#### 4. PARTICIPANT'S INVOLVEMENT

**What's involved:**

Participation in this research involves answering in-depth, semi-structured questions from the researcher that have relevance to the research focus and intentions. They are also required

to take 3-5 photographs of the nature within the estate that has meaning to them. There are no additional requirements.

**Risks:**

There are no foreseeable risks of physical, psychological or social harm to participants that might result from or occur in the course of the research. In the course of the research and such disclosure were to be perceived as harmful or unwanted on the part of the participant(s), every effort will be made to maintain anonymity and to prevent such harm from being suffered.

**Benefits:**

There are no anticipated benefits by participating in this research.

**Costs:**

There is no cost to participants for participating in this research.

**Payment:**

There is no payment being offered to participants for their participation in this research.

**5. CONFIDENTIALITY AND ANONYMITY**

Privacy and confidentiality will be guaranteed to participants unless permission to void such clause is granted. Participant name(s) will be changed or name and affiliation and any information that could reasonably lead to identification shall be omitted unless permission to void such clause is granted.

**6. PROTECTION OF DATA**

All data which emanates from this research project shall be safely held and protected by the researcher. In addition, all identifiers will be stripped from data for storage, and human subject identifying codes and/or pseudonyms will be used for filing and analytical purposes.

**7. POTENTIAL FOR HARM TO UCT OR OTHER INSTITUTIONS**

There are no foreseeable risks of harm to UCT or to other institutions (such risks include legal action resulting from the research, the image of the university being affected by association with the research project) that might result from or occur in the course of the research.

**8. ETHICS**

There are no apparent ethical issues that are expected to arise during the course of the research. However, should such issues arise (e.g., with regard to conflicts of interests amongst participants and/or institutions) they will be fully discussed with the participant(s) prior to completing data collection.

**9. CONSENT & DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION**

Verbal consent for participation in this research will be required. A copy of this *Information Sheet* will be provided upon request.

## Appendix C- Consent Form



**Human Subjects Research Consent**  
**MPhil in Environment, Sustainability and Society**  
Department of Environmental and Geographical Science  
University of Cape Town

Researcher:

**Sharon Ramsawmy**  
Email: [sharonramsawmy@gmail.com](mailto:sharonramsawmy@gmail.com)  
Telephone: 081 465 0969

Title of Research:

Place attachment and place identity through the privatisation of natural heritage: An Analysis of Grotto Bay Private Residential Estate, Western Cape.

Degree Course:

MPhil in Environment, Sustainability and Society  
Department of Environmental and Geographical Science  
University of Cape Town

Supervised by:

**Dr Bradley Rink**, Department of Geography & Environmental Studies, University of the Western Cape  
**Dr Pippin Anderson**, Department of Environmental and Geographical Science, University of Cape Town

In compliance with the University of Cape Town (UCT) *Code for Research involving Human Subjects*, the following *Consent Form* is required for human subjects who are involved in the stated research. This research is making use of human subjects as sources of data, and the following *Consent Form* and the associated *Information Sheet* is provided in compliance with the *Code*.

### CONSENT

- I agree to participate in this research project.
- I have seen, read, and understood the *Research Information Sheet* presented to me by the researcher as well as this *Consent Form* and had an opportunity to ask questions about them.
- I agree to my responses being used for education and research on condition that my anonymity and privacy are respected, subject to the following as they pertain to Clause no. 5 of the *Research Information Sheet*:
  - I understand that my privacy and confidentiality will be guaranteed unless permission to void such clause is granted.
  - I understand that my name will be changed and affiliation or any information that could reasonably lead to identification shall be omitted unless permission to void such clause is granted.
- I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this research project.
- I understand that I have the right to retract my consent (in writing) at any stage and to withdraw from participation in this research project at any stage (in writing).

Signature of Participant/Guardian (if under 18): \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Participant/Guardian: \_\_\_\_\_

**Void of Anonymity Clause:** By ticking the following  and initialling below \_\_\_\_\_ I consent to void the anonymity clause above.

Name of person who sought consent: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of principal researcher: S.Ramsawmy \_\_\_\_\_

Date: 23/07/2015 \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix D- Participant Demographics

<i>Participant</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Background</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Marital Status</i>	<i>Children residing at GB</i>	<i>No of years in GB</i>	<i>Residents/ Weekender</i>	<i>Area lived prior to moving to GB</i>	<i>Area of Birth</i>	<i>Place of Work</i>
1	50	White	English Speaking	Male	Yes	No	1	Resident	Melkbos	Cape Town City Bowl	Works from home
2	40-45	White	Swiss national	Female	No	No	4 (3 years renting and one year as owner)	Resident	Scarborough	Swiss Alps, Switzerland	Works from home
3	65	White	Afrikaans Speaking	Male	Yes	No	9	Resident	Greenpoint	Krugersdorp, Gauteng	Commutes to work in the city bowl
4	62	White	Afrikaans Speaking	Male	Yes	No	9	Weekender	Currently lives in Orangezicht, City Bowl, Cape Town	Gardens, City Bowl	City bowl
5	60+	White	English speaking	Female	No	No	9	Weekender	Currently lives and works in Thornton, Pinelands	Cape Town	Thornton
6	45+	White	English Speaking	Male	Yes	Yes	6	Resident	Tokai	Ballito, KZN	Commutes to work in Woodstock
7	68	White	English Speaking	Male	Yes	No	1	Resident	Panorama	Gauteng	Retired
8	70+	White	English Speaking	Married Couple	Yes	No	20+	Resident	Southern Suburbs	Cape Town	Retired
9	70+	White	Dutch national		Yes	No	20+	Resident	Southern Suburbs	Holland/ Pretoria	Retired
10	50	White	Afrikaans Speaking	Married Couple	Yes	Yes	3	Resident/Renting	Northern Suburbs	Gauteng	Works from home
11	40-45	White	Afrikaans Speaking		Yes	Yes	3	Resident/ Renting	Northern Suburbs	Western Cape	Atlantis

## Appendix E- Interview Guide

The aim of this research is to understand why people are choosing to invest and live in nature-oriented estates in this post-apartheid context of South Africa. I wish to understand the motivations of people for going back to nature, the same nature that through civilisation, progress and urbanisation we have moved away from.

The main themes involved in this study are community and belonging, place attachment and place identity and nature.

### 1. *Please tell me the story of your journey to Grotto Bay?*

- Prior to moving here, where have you lived?
- How long have you lived in Grotto Bay?
- For what reasons did you move to Grotto Bay and why here in particular?
- In what ways has your quality of life improved since living at GB?
- What personal memories does living at Grotto Bay trigger for you?
- Do you feel that Grotto Bay has allowed you to have a sense of continuity in your life by linking past memories to present to your future?

### 2. The length of time spent living in a place helps in creating emotional and psychological bonds with that place. Also the values that people associate with places and landscapes constitute their **attachment** to those places.

- Living in Grotto Bay allows you to be in close contact with indigenous flora, with wild animals and with the ocean. What are the characteristics of each nature component that you enjoy the most and most associate with?
- What about the bigger picture, the West Coast landscape. How do you identify with this landscape?
- Can you tell me of any significant experience that you have had at Grotto Bay that has helped you in establishing those special bonds with the place.
- How does this particular west coast landscape make you feel at home today in SA? How do you identify with Grotto Bay and with this landscape?
- What connects you more to this place than anywhere else in South Africa?
- If you had the opportunity to move somewhere else in South Africa and enjoy the same standard of living, would you move?
- What does it mean to you today in the current political climate, to be South African?

3. Questions of who we are naturally linked to where we are and people are comfortable in places that are consistent with their **identity**.
  - How does Grotto Bay fit your identity as a South African?
  - When you moved, did you have a few goals in mind? How has living here enabled you to achieve those goals?
  
4. **Attachment** to place also relates to the attachment you have to the people living there, with whom you interact, and also to your attachment with the social dynamics the place represents.
  - What is your idea of community and what are your experiences of community at Grotto Bay?
  - What values does the community or communities of Grotto Bay share?
  - What are the ties that bind this community/communities?
  
5. **NATURE**
  - Why have you decided to live in nature? What are the qualities of living in nature? On the physical, emotional and spiritual levels?
  - Can you give me one or a few examples of practices that connect you to this natural environment? Are there things that you do that you don't even realise, that have before second nature to you, and that is only accessible to you now that you live in Grotto Bay?
  - Civilisation has had the effect of sheltering man from nature, leading to a disconnection between nature and us. We are lucky in South Africa to have unspoilt pockets of nature that we can go to resource ourselves. But why do you think that today people are going the extra length so as to live within nature? What is your view on the eco-estate trend in SA?
  - How would you describe your home architecture and how does it fit with the landscape? Do you value the aesthetics standards of Grotto Bay?
  - How do you value and care the environment you live in? What are your views on nature conservancy at Grotto Bay?

Appendix F- Thematic Analysis Map

