

Behind the 'gates'

*Common-interest housing developments in the Netherlands and the United States,
a comparative study*

Theme 2: Civil society

Robert Feller
s2828030

Economic- and Social History
Prosperity and welfare in the Netherlands and the United States
LGX107B10.2015-2016 Semester 2

drs. G.A. Collenteur
prof.dr. M.G.J. Duijvendak

5.200 words

08-06-2016

Version 4

Content

<u>Introduction</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>§1: What are the different forms of CIDs, and how many are there?</u>	<u>6</u>
- In the USA	
- In the Netherlands	
<u>§2: What are the motivations to build a CID?</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>§3: What are the motivations to live in a CID?</u>	<u>16</u>
<u>Conclusion</u>	<u>22</u>
<u>Literature</u>	<u>24</u>

Introduction

Common-interest housing developments (CIDs) have been a growing, modern phenomenon all over the world. Visually it may be hard to distinguish a CID from a 'normal' neighborhood or apartment building, but what sets it apart is the fact that their residents share the same amenities and collectively decide how these are used and maintained.¹ Sometimes decisions are made in advance (i.e. before the CID is even built, as in the case of *Celebration*, which is built and organized by the Disney Corporation²); sometimes this is an ongoing process.

Dutch media and politicians have commented rather negatively on this phenomenon. They regard it as something 'American', and fear its contribution to the segregation of society (as CIDs divide cities into privately governed streets and neighborhoods).³ Considering Dutch CIDs as copies of the ones in the United States, means supporting Francis Fukuyama's famous *End of history* hypothesis. Fukuyama prophesized the worldwide spread of the western, liberal ideology after the end of the Cold War, which in turn would cause a converging tendency between countries all over the world.⁴

This essay will make a comparison in order to determine whether the CID is indeed part of a converging tendency. For this reason, the main question is: why are common-interest housing developments on the rise in the USA and the Netherlands in the 21st century? In order to answer this question, this essay will look at three different aspects: first, as the CID is an abstract concept with a broad definition, there are multiple visual and administrative forms, of which the gated community is the most famous - and perhaps most notorious. In order to identify either a converging trend or a diverging trend, it is therefore important to discuss what different forms of CIDs there are, which are dominant, and how many there are in total in both the US

¹ Jill Grant and Lindsey Mittelsteadt, "Types of Gated Communities." *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 31.6 (2004): 778.

² Matt Thomas, "Celebration, USA: The First Sign of What Will Be America's Homogeneous Landscape." *The Journal of American Culture* 30.2 (2007): 187.

³ e.g.: "Ommuurde villawijk: wie wil hier nou wonen?" <http://www.rtlnieuws.nl/editienl/villawijk-met-muren> (visited February 14th 2016), "Eerste gated community in regio Rotterdam" <http://www.rijnmond.nl/nieuws/105186/Eerste-gated-community-in-regio-Rotterdam> (visited February 14th 2016), "Amsterdam maakt zich op voor 'Londense toestanden' op woningmarkt" <http://www.parool.nl/parool/nl/4/AMSTERDAM/article/detail/4223820/2016/01/13/Amsterdam-maakt-zich-op-voor-Londense-toestanden-op-woningmarkt.dhtml> (visited February 14th 2016), and: David Hamers, and Nienke Noorman, *Afgeschermdde Woondomeinen in Nederland*, (Rotterdam: NAI Uitgevers, 2007), 26-27.

⁴ Gillad Rosen, and Jill Grant, "Reproducing Difference: Gated Communities in Canada and Israel." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35.4 (2011): 778. And: Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest*, no. 16 (1989): 2.

and the Netherlands.

Second, are the reasons why CIDs are built the same in both countries?

Webster et al. note three main arguments. The first one is known as the 'global city - dual city hypothesis', which argues that economic restructuring has led to a new class structure that is divided between a transnational elite and a growing number of economically excluded. In the metropolises these elites retreat to guarded enclaves, 'where they organize their administration, consumption, production, leisure, education, and housing.'⁵ The second argument focuses on changing tastes and values. 'Western' people increasingly search for 'personal security, quality local public goods (water, energy, services, open space), a socially homogeneous neighborhood and prestige.'⁶ This 'western taste' - supposedly - spreads globally, which in turn would explain the global rise of the CID. The third argument is called 'institutional evolution', according to this theory; people are looking for new ways of territorial organization that are more efficient in distributing services.⁷ This essay will discuss the importance of these arguments for both countries.

In the final part of this essay, the motivations for Dutch and American residents to live in a CID are compared. Within the literature, numerous reasons are given, differing from disenchantment with the government to feelings of unsafety. Shared motivations would indicate a converging tendency.

Why limit this essay to the 21st century? Real growth of common-interest housing developments in the Netherlands is a rather recent, 21st century, phenomenon. The same could be argued for the American situation, although it must be noted that significant growth already started in the 1980s.

The reason for comparing the Netherlands with the US originates from the fact that, so far, there are no direct comparative studies. It is the goal of this paper to fill this gap and to take a closer look at how certain groups within the Dutch and American civil societies are moving 'forward'. Both countries can be considered advanced, capitalist countries, experiencing increased diversity through immigration.⁸

⁵ Chris Webster, Georg Glasze and Klaus Frantz. "The Global Spread of Gated Communities." *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 29.3 (2002): 318.

⁶ Webster, Glasze, and Frantz, "The Global Spread of Gated Communities": 318-319.

⁷ Webster, Glasze, and Frantz, "The Global Spread of Gated Communities": 319.

⁸ "Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2013 Revision"

<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/index.shtml> (visited February 14th), and: "World Population Policies 2005"

<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/policy/world-population-policies-2005.shtml> (visited February 14 2016). These UN reports show that 12.8% of the American population

Following Fukuyama's argument one would expect a converging tendency. A comparison will help to find whether the Dutch and the Americans deploy the same socio-spatial strategies, and whether the motivations behind these are either different or the same.

§1: What are the different forms of CIDs, and how many are there?

consists of immigrants in 2005, going up to 14.3% in 2013. The USA has, in absolute terms, the biggest number of immigrants. In the Netherlands, 10% of the population consisted of immigrants in 2005, going up to 11.7% in 2013.

According to McKenzie, three administrative forms of common-interest housing developments can be distinguished: *Condominiums*, *Cooperatives*, and *Homeowners associations* (HOA, also known as 'planned communities'). *Condominiums* are typically apartment buildings, wherein each homebuyer acquires ownership of an individual unit (thus an apartment), coupled with a fractional interest in the ownership of the entire building, which is managed and maintained by the condominium association. *Cooperatives* give each owner a share interest in the building(s), along with ownership of an individual unit. The cooperative association often has the right to interview and approve sales of units to new owners. *Homeowners associations* are typically detached single-family homes with their own lawns and driveways, along with common areas such as private streets, swimming pools, and shared facilities such as the sewer and drainage. In the HOA, an owner purchases ownership of his own home, as well as an interest in the association that owns and maintains the common areas.⁹

Considering visual categories, there are a many more. Lohof, et al. mention the *cul-de-sac*, which 'naturally' keeps out everything but the residents, as it is a dead-end street; the *garden*, which has a collective garden that adjoins the private gardens of residents; the so called '*hof*', which is a modern variant that refers to the Dutch past of almshouses (note that the contemporary use and administrative form differs from its historical predecessor. Rather, the modern form is meant to refer to a familiar visual concept.¹⁰); the *gated community*; which is a housing development on a private road that is closed to general traffic by a gate across the primary access. Fences, walls, or other natural barriers that further limit public access may also surround it¹¹; the *estate*, which is the bigger and more luxurious version of the gated community; and the *golf course*, which is the largest variant.¹²

These visual differences aside, CIDs all share certain characteristics. First of all, they're all based on common ownership, thus a buyer owns an individual, as well as a common interest. Second, property is subject to sets of restrictions, rules and

⁹ Evan McKenzie, "Common-Interest Housing in the Communities of Tomorrow." *Sage Urban Studies Abstracts*, 32.3 (2004): 204-205.

¹⁰ D. van Veldhuizen, and S. Meier, "Modern Castles and Country Houses: The Use of History in 'gated Communities' in the Netherlands." *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20.7/8 (2014): 823.

¹¹ Grant and Mittelsteadt, "Types of Gated Communities": 913-914.

¹² i.e. The *estate* and the *golf course* need not be gated, and if they are, 'natural' barriers tend to be constructed.

regulations. Rules can be minimal, but also pervasive ranging from architectural controls, to lifestyle issues and age restrictions. Third, CIDs all have private 'governments', as owners belong to a form of homeowners' association into which they are automatically enlisted at the moment of purchase. Fourth, most CIDs reflect an overall neighborhood lifestyle contemplated in advance by the developer. And fifth, an increasing percentage of CID housing (the notorious gated community) includes security measures that fall into three categories: entry controls (such as gates), hardened boundaries (such as walls, or natural barriers), and internal surveillance (such as patrols and video cameras).¹³

This essay will now discuss the situation of the CID per country, with attention to its history. This is of importance as Webster, et al. stress the role of path dependency and the local context on how the phenomenon is implemented.¹⁴

USA

As a phenomenon, the gated community already appeared in early colonial times in the USA. At that time colonist settlements tended to have simple fortifications in order to be protected from the local population. These settlements were however rather short-lived as colonial powers quickly suppressed indigenous resistance and implemented new regimes of land commodification.¹⁵ After that, planned communities were sporadically developed, beginning in the 1820s and more so after the civil war. Cooperatives developed in urban areas, starting in New York in the 1880s. 'Cooperatives have tended to serve two market extremes: Either low-moderate income homebuyers and families or luxury cooperatives such as those that were developed in New York City and that spread to other major urban centers such as Chicago and Washington, D.C.'¹⁶ However, the real growth of the CID has been taking place from the end of the 20th century onwards.

¹³ McKenzie, "Common-Interest Housing in the Communities of Tomorrow": 204-205.

¹⁴ Webster, Glasze, and Frantz, "The Global Spread of Gated Communities": 319.

¹⁵ Rosen and Grant, "Reproducing Difference": 779.

¹⁶ Clifford J. Treese, *Community Association Fact Book for 2014*, Mountain House, California: Foundation for Community Association Research (2015), 18-19.

Year	Communities	Residents	Percentage of the total population
1980	36,000	9.6 million	4.2%
1990	130,000	29.6	11.9%
2000	222,500	45.2	16%
2010	309,600	62.0	20.1%
2014	333,600	66.7	20.7%

Number of constructed CIDs, and the amount of people living in them.¹⁷

The most recent data, from 2014, shows that 20.7 percent of the U.S. population currently lives in community associations. That's up from 4.2 percent of the population in 1980, to 11.9 percent in 1990, to 16 percent in 2000, and 20.1 percent in 2010. In 2014, homeowners associations account for about 51-55% of the totals, whereas condominium communities account for 42-45% and cooperatives for 3-4%.¹⁸ It is these three forms that account for the above-mentioned statistical data on 'community associations' (note that this definition thus excludes timeshares, commercial associations and special tax districts).¹⁹ It should also be noted that the gated community still takes an important place within the American society, as one-fifth of all CIDs is a gated one.²⁰

The Netherlands

Although The Netherlands may not be immediately associated with the CID, it actually has a rich history concerning collective housing in the form of *hoffes*, of which the first date from the early Middle Ages. These *hoffes* were private, urban situated, complexes with a collective street, alley or square that were built by private promoters and managed by the residents themselves. Within these complexes there were strict precepts that were written down and displayed on a central place. New residents all had to read and agree to these precepts, which were mainly about cleaning the sidewalk, brushing the pump, and the days and hours you were allowed to hang out the laundry to dry. Also, cursing and begging were forbidden and the use of alcohol limited. Not obeying these rules could result in a fine.²¹ Nigel Goose and Henk Looijesteijn were able to identify 425 complexes in 1800 (the so-called

¹⁷ Clifford J. Treese, *National and State Statistical Review for 2014*, Mountain House, California: Foundation for Community Association Research (2015), 1.

¹⁸ Treese, *National and State Statistical Review for 2014*, 1.

¹⁹ Treese, *National and State Statistical Review for 2014*, 2.

²⁰ Evan McKenzie, "Constructing the Pomerium in Las Vegas: A Case Study of Emerging Trends in American Gated Communities." *Housing Studies*, 20.2 (2005): 188.

²¹ Stijnie Lohof, and Arnold Reijndorp, *Privé Terrein: Privaat Beheerde Woondomeinen in Nederland* (Rotterdam: NAI, 2006), 32-33.

hoffescultuur was at its height around this time), of which around 97 percent were located in urban areas, especially in the heavily urbanized Province of Holland.²²

New-build CIDs in the Netherlands are often visually inspired by the original almshouses; this thus confirms the importance of path dependency and the local context as defined by Webster, et al. The *hof* aside, the most common kind of CID nowadays is the recreational type (such as bungalow parks). What characterizes these recreational communities is the fact that they're rather temporarily inhabited and people (especially young starters) live there perforce due to the particular Dutch conditions in the housing market, which is characterized by a shortage.²³ What also should be noted is that the gated community is a rather marginal phenomenon in the Netherlands, and where they do exist they are not, as is the case in the US, surrounded by walls and gates. Instead, they appear to be based on subtler spatial boundary drawing (such as ditches or hedges).²⁴

Although Dutch scholars stress the rising popularity of the CID in the Netherlands, statistical data is rather scarce.²⁵ In a stocktaking attempt, Lohof and Reijndorp identified a total of 103 CIDs in 2006 (note that they define the CID as: having a collective outdoor area that is the property of, and/or managed by the collective of residents, or another private party).²⁶ However, the authors expect this to be only a fraction of the actual number, and also a considerable number of projects were still under development at the time of the stocktaking.²⁷ Based on their information, a very conservative estimate can be made that around 32.600 people lived in a CID in 2006. That is 0,2 percent of the total population in that year, which can be considered marginal in comparison to the US.²⁸

Van Twist and Van Velzen undertook a same kind of stocktaking attempt in 2009 and identified 129 CIDs (according to the same definition of the CID as Lohof

²² Nigel Goose, and Henk Looijestijn, "Almshouses in England and the Dutch Republic Circa 1350-1800: A Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Social History*, 45.5 (2012): 1058.

²³ Manuel Aalbers, "The double function of the gate. Social inclusion and exclusion in gated communities and security zones." Paper presented at the conference '*Gated communities: Building Social Division of Safer Communities?*', 18-19 September (2000): 14-15.

²⁴ Van Veldhuizen and Meier, "Modern Castles and Country Houses": 819.

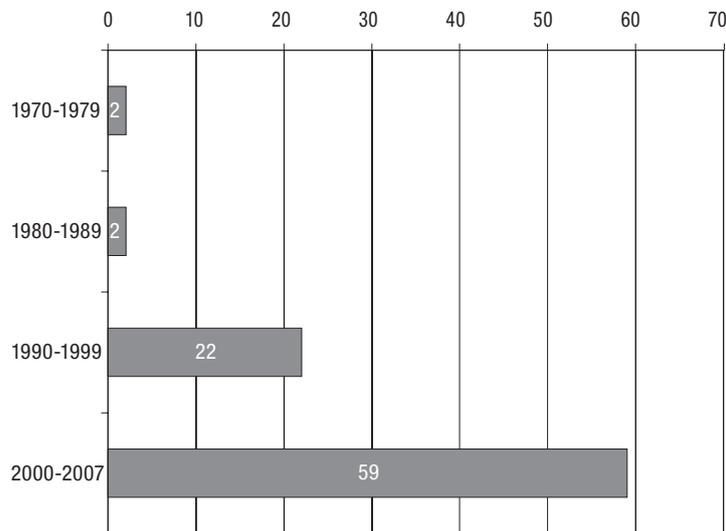
²⁵ Compare: Lohof and Reijndorp, 2006; Mark van Twist, et al., 2009; Hamers and Noorman, 2007; Veldhuizen and Meier, 2007.

²⁶ Lohof and Reijndorp, *Privé Terrein*, 227.

²⁷ Lohof and Reijndorp, *Privé Terrein*, 27.

²⁸ This estimate is based on the information Lohof and Reindorp have on 89 out of the 103 developments. These 89 developments consist of a total of 14.185 residences. If we consider the Dutch average of 2.3 persons per household (2005), we could thus expect around 32.600 people to live in a CID in 2006.

and Reijndorp. Note that this would then mean an increase of 26 CIDs in one or two years time, although it might also be possible that Van Twist and Van Velzen searched 'better'). Out of these 129 CIDs, they were able to identify the year of construction of 85. This is valuable as this provides us with a clear image of the growth of the phenomenon since the 1970s.



■ Number of constructed CIDs since 1970.²⁹

Their statistics support the theory that CIDs have grown in popularity in the Netherlands, especially since the year 2000. Although exact numbers seem to be hard to get (and Lohof and Reijndorp expect that their stocktaking is only a fraction of the actual total) it is nonetheless safe to say that the phenomenon, at least in this regard, is still far away from the situation in the US.

²⁹ Mark van Twist, Geke van Velzen, and Bram Brouwer, *Privaat Beheerde Woondomeinen: Een Wereld Op Zich?* (Den Haag: LEMMA, 2009), 14.

§2: Why are CIDs build?

Webster et al. note three main arguments on this discussion. This paragraph will discuss all three while considering both the specific Dutch and American situation.

The 'global city - dual city' hypothesis

According to this hypothesis, the emergence of the CID should be connected with the global restructuring of the economy. This restructuring has caused a dual economy in which, in the metropolises, the very rich have retreated to their own (guarded) enclaves. Although this view offers an explanation for the international rise of the CID, Webster et al. do notice some weaknesses, especially concerning regional differentiation. After all, this hypothesis does not explain why there are also CIDs outside metropolises. Nor does it explain why some metropolises have a relatively small amount of CIDs.³⁰

Beside this, the theory seems to fit the American situation more than the Dutch, as income inequality is significantly greater in the US than in the Netherlands. In a country where differences between the rich and the poor are more exorbitant, it makes more sense that the rich retreat to their own enclaves, and in some cases even put a wall around it (as is the case with the gated community). Due to the welfare system and social housing, the situation in the Netherlands is much less precarious. 'Bad' neighborhoods are therefore nowhere as physically dilapidated, or socially disorganized, as those of large American cities (e.g. the ghettos of New York or Los Angeles).³¹

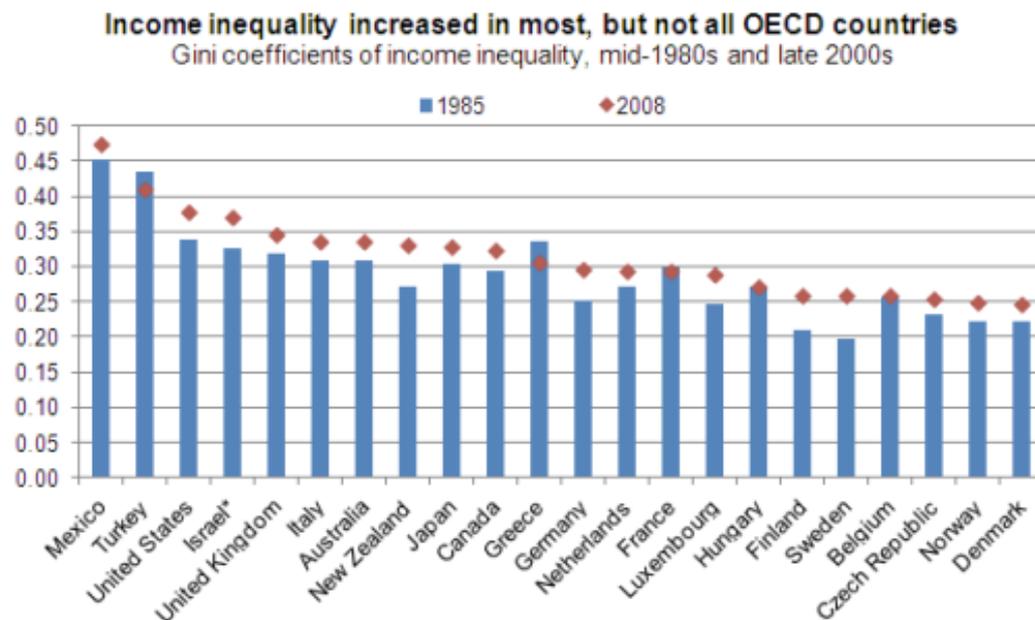
Also, Dutch CIDs are generally inhabited by the middleclass, and not by a 'retreating' elite. In the US, it is estimated that one-third of the CIDs consists of luxury developments that are meant for the upper- and upper-middle class.³² However, it should be noted that the CID gradually becomes more of a middleclass phenomenon over there as well.³³

³⁰ Webster, Glasze, and Frantz, "The Global Spread of Gated Communities": 318.

³¹ Jan Willem Duyvendak, F. Hendriks, and Nicis Institute. *City in Sight: Dutch Dealings with Urban Change*. Den Haag: NICIS Institute, (2009), 269-270.

³² Aalbers, "The Double Function of the Gate": 4.

³³ Vesselinov, Cazessus and Falk, "Gated Communities and Spatial Inequality": 114.



Source: OECD income inequality.³⁴

Changing tastes and values

Regarding this argument, the real question is whether taste 'spreads' as much as it 'evolves' from a local context. In other words, did the popularity of the CID blow over from the US to the Netherlands (and other parts of the world for that matter), or did it originate from within? Webster et al. argue: '[...] markets evolve within specific cultural contexts, and the offerings of housing entrepreneurs will reflect the social context in which markets work.'³⁵ Van Veldhuizen and Meier support this view and also note that 'in every national context, there is collective knowledge about, first, the residential places where the affluent have (or had) lived for centuries and, second, which kind of built heritage 'belongs' to which social groups. Architects, and especially developers, make use of this knowledge.'³⁶ Taking this into consideration, we can identify two sides to the discussion.

Multiple scholars (Van Veldhuizen and Meier, Reijndorp, Hamers et al., Vesselinov et al.) argue that increased mobility, the increase of ethnic minorities, the construction of new towns, and the considerable expansion of existing cities have diminished traditional social cohesion and blurred the differences between the city

³⁴ "Society: Governments must tackle record gap between rich and poor, says OECD" <https://www.oecd.org/newsroom/societygovernmentsmusttacklerecordgapbetweenrichandpoorsaysoced.htm> (visited 19 April 2016).

³⁵ Webster, Glasze, and Frantz, "The Global Spread of Gated Communities": 319.

³⁶ Veldhuizen, van, and Meier, "Modern Castles and Country Houses": 830.

and the country. At the same time liberalization and privatization have made the role of the government less important, therefore increasing the responsibility for one's own life. All of these factors have increased unease among residents, who feel they are losing control of what is going on around them. A homogenous neighborhood, such as the CID, wherein one feels to have an overview of what is going on, and - to a certain extent - can contribute to what goes on, restores feelings of control.³⁷ Lohof and Reijndorp call this 'the search for the familiar stranger', who is like-minded and who can help with the organization of everyday life (which ranges from looking after the children, to giving legal or financial advice).³⁸ In this regard, Dutch and American CIDs are the result of the same resistance to increased individualization.

However, part of the 'solution' to deal with these feelings of unease and disorder is to turn to familiar, recognizable (historical) housing forms.³⁹ Because of this, more than half of the Dutch CIDs are based on historical examples of modern castles, modern country estates and almshouse complexes.⁴⁰ At the same time, luxurious, gated communities are absent in the Netherlands (whereas in the US one out of five CIDs is gated and walled), which reflects the Dutch culture, in which ostentatious behavior, senseless extravagance, and pretentiousness are generally frowned upon. According to cultural historian Pleij, this can be traced back to the late Middle Ages, in which pragmatism, tolerance, and negotiation were important characteristics in the highly urbanized society of the merchant nation. This bourgeois culture has also influenced the nation's cities, which lack grandeur and large palaces.⁴¹ In this way, although the root cause is the same in the Netherlands as in the US, the outcome is still different and fits to a specific national context.

'Institutional evolution'

According to Le Goix and Webster, the CID's promised efficiency is the most important reason for its global rise.⁴² The CID, which they refer to as a 'residential club', provides a way of supplying jointly consumed goods efficiently on the basis of controlled membership and fee.⁴³ As the city provides a large number of facilities to a

³⁷ Hamers and Noorman, *Afgeschermdde Woondomeinen in Nederland*, 16-17.

³⁸ Lohof and Reijndorp, *Privé Terrein*, 187-188.

³⁹ Veldhuizen, van, and Meier, "Modern Castles and Country Houses": 825.

⁴⁰ Veldhuizen, van, and Meier, "Modern Castles and Country Houses": 823.

⁴¹ Veldhuizen, van, and Meier, "Modern Castles and Country Houses": 822.

⁴² Le Goix and Webster, "Gated Communities": 1189-1200.

⁴³ Le Goix and Webster, "Gated Communities": 1197.

large number of people (that citizens pay for through taxes), supply and demand tend not to be fully balanced (leading to either over- or underused facilities). In club governance, the group is smaller and thus a balance between supply and demand is more easily reached. Therefore, club governance is supposed to be more efficient than public government in the sense that more people have their specific preferences for civic goods and services, and for type of neighbour and neighbourhood met, which - in turn - makes the CID attractive.⁴⁴

Residents are not the only one to be attracted by the higher efficiency of the CID. According to McKenzie, CIDs are an important solution to developers, who are confronted with rising land costs.⁴⁵ CIDs allow for the mass production of high-density housing for (mostly) middle-class homebuyers, as lots are smaller, and private streets are narrower (in comparison to public streets). Inhabitants are 'compensated' for this with shared amenities, such as parks and swimming pools. Thus, CIDs enable developers to maintain profits and keep prices affordable despite rising land prices.⁴⁶

Local governments are also drawn towards the CID because of its financial benefit. CIDs attract upper- and middle-income residents that increase tax revenues. At the same time, expenditure is minimal, as CIDs privatize what would otherwise be government responsibilities (such as repairing streets and removing leaves).⁴⁷

Considering this, one would expect as spectacular growth of the CID in the Netherlands as in the US, why is this not the case? In this regard, it is important to note that the political and judicial contexts strongly influence what eventually emanates from a society. Le Goix and Webster argue: 'The nexus of laws and practices that shape local property markets, development industries and land regulations create path dependencies in the local manifestation of the global trend towards private cities.'⁴⁸ Traditionally, the Dutch government has had a lot of influence on spatial development, especially in comparison to the American government. According to Lohof and Reijndorp, this traditional governmental influence is still present, despite increased privatization and deregulation since the

⁴⁴ Le Goix and Webster, "Gated Communities": 1197.

⁴⁵ In the Netherlands land costs have risen with 25.6% between 2006 and 2015. Source: "Bouwkavels" <https://www.kadaster.nl/web/Zakelijk/Vastgoedcijfers/Bouwkavels.htm> (visited 19 April 2016). In the US land costs have risen more spectacularly from an average of \$15,000 in 1975 to \$97,138 in 2015. Source: "Land prices by state" <https://www.lincolnst.edu/subcenters/land-values/land-prices-by-state.asp> (visited 19 April 2016).

⁴⁶ McKenzie, "Constructing the Pomerium in Las Vegas": 187-188.

⁴⁷ McKenzie, "Common-Interest Housing in the Communities of Tomorrow": 207-208.

⁴⁸ Le Goix and Webster, "Gated Communities": 1208.

1980s. In this way, Dutch developers are still very much regulated by the local governments, and these, in turn, are not all welcoming towards CIDs, as some fear segmentation.⁴⁹ Thus, although both Dutch and American developers and governments can profit from the CID-phenomenon, path dependency and the national context influence its chances to grow.

⁴⁹ Lohof and Reijndorp, *Privé Terrein*, 198-199.

§3: What are the motivations to live in a CID?

It is now, for the purpose of this essay, important to take a closer look at the micro perspective of the phenomenon. Who lives in the CID, and why?

In the US, common-interest housing developments, and especially gated communities, used to be 'exclusive oases of wealth and privilege'.⁵⁰ Recent analysis of representative data however suggests that CIDs are spreading as a residential choice across the middle class and across different ethnic and racial groups, especially Latinos and Asians (nonetheless more than 80 percent of the CIDs are still inhabited by born and raised Americans). This trend does, however, not reduce segregation; American CIDs remain largely homogeneous enclaves as people choose to live among people of 'their' group (which has to do with the already mentioned need for order and clarity).⁵¹ In other words, the different ethnic and racial groups generally all retreat to their own enclaves.

Dutch CIDs are also characterized by homogeneity and are primarily inhabited by middleclass autochthones.⁵² According to Van Veldhuizen and Meier's case study of the suburban district of Brandevoort, it is mostly two-person households (36 percent) and nuclear families (also 36 percent) that live in the CID. Of these residents, the majority is well educated.⁵³

Considering motives to live in a CID there are both differences and similarities between the Netherlands and the US. The search for more security is mentioned as one of the most important factors for the global rise of the CID.⁵⁴ However, there's discussion whether this factor plays any role in the Netherlands.⁵⁵ Recent statistics show that both the objective security, as well as the way in which

⁵⁰ Elena Vesselinov, Matthew Cazessus, and William Falk, "Gated Communities and Spatial Inequality." *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 29.2 (2007): 114.

⁵¹ Vesselinov, Cazessus and Falk, "Gated Communities and Spatial Inequality": 114. And: Elena Vesselinov and Renaud Goix, "From Picket Fences to Iron Gates: Suburbanization and Gated Communities in Phoenix, Las Vegas and Seattle." *GeoJournal* 77.2 (2012): 214.

⁵² Aalbers, "The Double Function of the Gate": 4. And: Veldhuizen, van, and Meier, "Modern Castles and Country Houses": 819, 831.

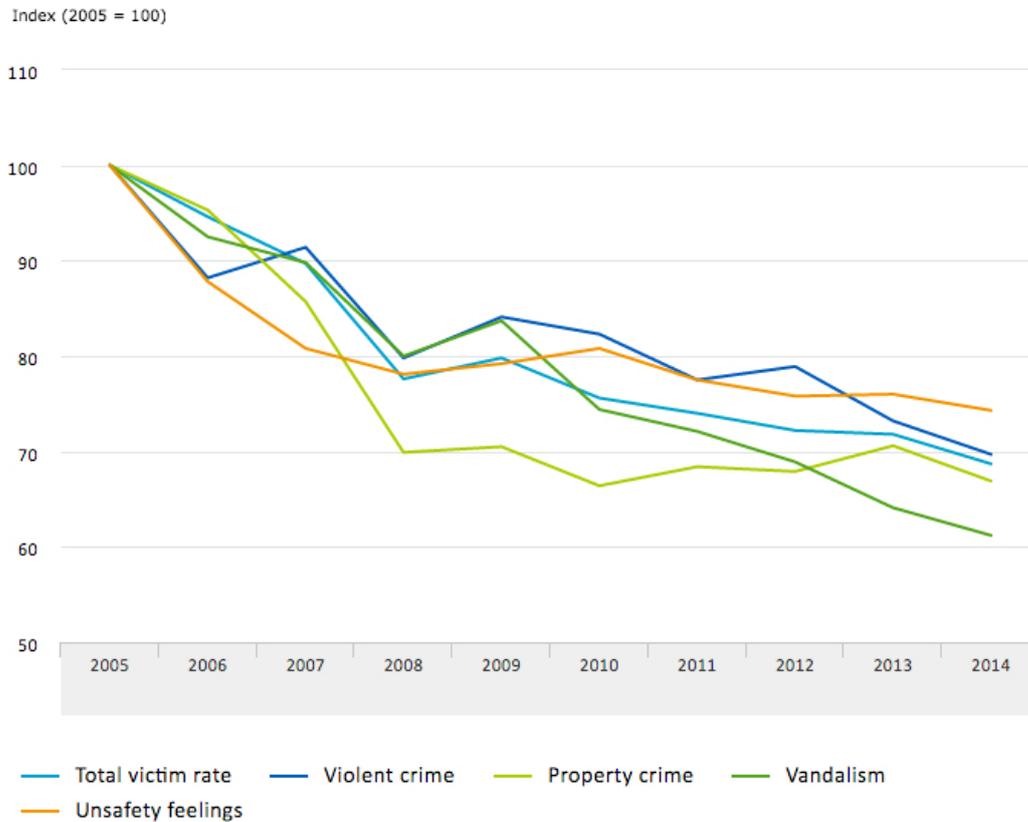
⁵³ Veldhuizen, van, and Meier, "Modern Castles and Country Houses": 819, 827.

⁵⁴ Compare: Leavitt and Loukaitou-Sideris, 1994; Atlas and Leblanc, 1994; Blakely and Snyder, 1997. i.e. Le Goix and Webster challenge the importance of the security and argue the need for more efficiency plays a more significant role. According to them residents are pulled, rather than pushed towards CIDs. See: Le Goix and Webster, "Gated Communities": 1189-1200.

⁵⁵ Compare: Hamers and Noorman, *Afgeschermdde Woondomeinen in Nederland*, 10. And: Aalbers, "The Double Function of the Gate": 13. Aalbers does not share this view, he argues that safety and exclusiveness play the most important role in the rising demand of CIDs in the Netherlands. Sense of community is less important. However, his view seems rather contradicted by figures on objective and relative security.

security is experienced, have improved in the Netherlands in recent years. This counts for the Netherlands as a whole, and also for most of the big cities.⁵⁶

Crime victim rates and feelings of unsafety, 2005-2014



57

In this regard, the rise of the Dutch CID doesn't seem to be caused by feelings of unsafety. This would explain why in the Netherlands the gated community is such a marginal phenomenon, and where it does exist, it differs in form from the American one. 'Soft borders' (such as water, green, and differences in height) are used, instead of gates and walls. These soft borders are not so much implemented to increase security, but rather contribute to increased clarity and surveyability within the neighborhood.⁵⁸

In the US, crime rates have steadily dropped since the 1990s, however the majority of the Americans still have the feeling that crime has increased. In other words: feelings of unsafety have grown over there.⁵⁹

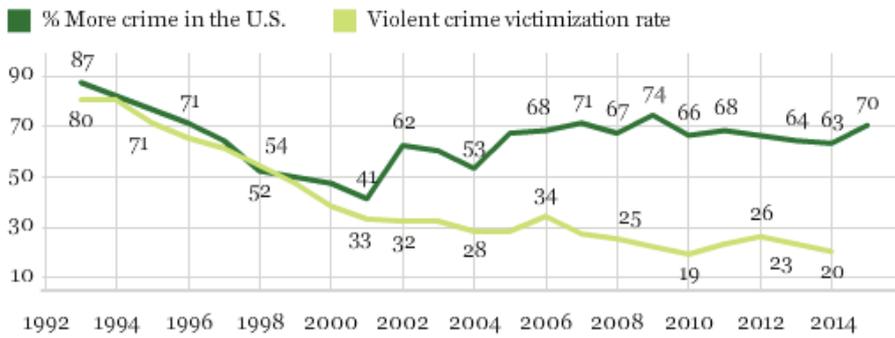
⁵⁶ Hamers and Noorman, *Afgeschermdde Woondomeinen in Nederland*, 18-19.

⁵⁷ CBS, *Veiligheidsmonitor 2014*. (Den Haag: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2015), 3, 53.

⁵⁸ Hamers and Noorman, *Afgeschermdde Woondomeinen in Nederland*, 10. And: McKenzie, "Common-Interest Housing in the Communities of Tomorrow": 188.

⁵⁹ "Criminal victimization 2014" <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv14.pdf> (visited 19 April 2016) and "Crime" <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1603/crime.aspx> (visited 19 April 2016).

U.S. Violent Crime Rate⁶⁰ and Americans' Perceptions of Crime Rate vs. Year Ago

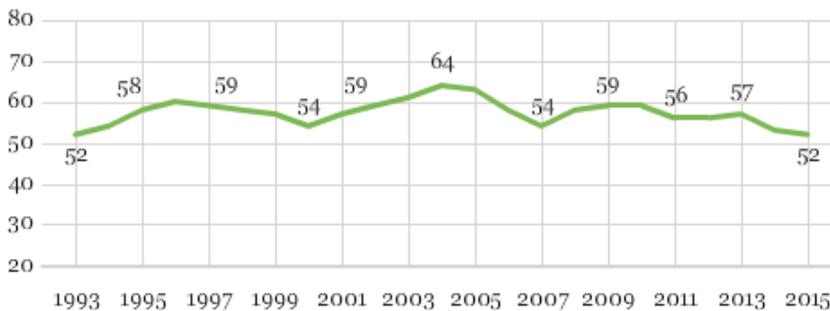


*Violent crime rate is the number of victimizations per 1,000 persons that occurred during the year.*⁶⁰

At the same time, Americans' confidence in the police has ranged between 52 percent and 64 percent since 1993, which is relatively low in comparison to the Dutch situation, where almost 70 percent of the people has confidence in the police in 2013.⁶¹ Lower confidence in the police can contribute to a higher 'do-it-yourself' mentality. Americans retreat to CIDs to find, and create, their own security. This would also explain why there are more gated communities in the US than in the Netherlands. Taking the above-mentioned arguments into consideration, the security argument seems more applicable to the American situation.

Americans' Confidence in the Police

Figures are percentage with "a great deal"/"quite a lot" of confidence



62

⁶⁰ "More Americans say crime is rising in US", http://www.gallup.com/poll/186308/americans-say-crime-rising.aspx?g_source=CATEGORY_CRIME_AND_PERSONAL_SAFETY&g_medium=topic&g_campaign=tiles (visited 28 May 2016).

⁶¹ "Ruime meerderheid heeft vertrouwen in gezaghebbende instanties", <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2015/04/ruime-meerderheid-heeft-vertrouwen-in-gezaghebbende-institutes> (visited 28 May 2016).

⁶² "In US, confidence in police lowest in 22 years" <http://www.gallup.com/poll/183704/confidence-police-lowest->

McKenzie argues that, besides security, disenchantment with the government is an important motivation to live in a CID, but this also doesn't seem to suit the Dutch situation.⁶³ In the Netherlands taxes are relatively high and the benefits of creating ones own amenities, and managing ones own collective property, are not always clear. Why should you have to pay for the lighting and cleaning of the streets in your neighborhood, while in others the local government is responsible for this? Therefore, whereas the US has some very large CIDs (for instance: Sun City in Phoenix Arizona has more than 41.000 residents and not only has two hospitals, but also a research center for Alzheimer and cardiology⁶⁴), Dutch CIDs are relatively small and have little amenities. Although privatization and liberalization of the market has been taking place since the 1980s, most amenities are still taken care of by local governments. Having shared amenities in the CID would mean paying both for these and for the public ones (through taxes).⁶⁵ Aalbers notes: 'the limited government responsibility in the US gives people a reason to take care of their own amenities; on the other hand, the more extended responsibility of European governments throws up a barrier for people to organize their own amenities.'⁶⁶ This situation might however change in the future. Dissatisfaction with 'paying double' may lead to situations wherein people refuse to pay for public amenities. There are multiple examples of this in the US where, for instance, CIDs for seniors refuse to contribute to school facilities.⁶⁷

In comparison to the Netherlands, the role of the government in the US is rather small; regulation is limited and taxes low. In this situation it becomes more interesting for people to pay extra, so they can manage their own residential area. Creating additional amenities not only increases comfort of living, but also increases property value; making it an attractive investment.⁶⁸

For the Dutch, practicality seems the most important reason to live in a CID. Van Veldhuizen and Meier's case study shows that a majority of the residents decided

years.aspx?g_source=CATEGORY_CRIME_AND_PERSONAL_SAFETY&g_medium=topic&g_campaign=tiles (visited 28 May 2016).

⁶³ McKenzie, "Constructing the Pomerium in Las Vegas": 187.

⁶⁴ Lohof and Reijndorp, *Privé Terrein*, 198.

⁶⁵ Hamers and Noorman, *Afgeschermdde Woondomeinen in Nederland*, 10.

⁶⁶ Aalbers, "The Double Function of the Gate": 12.

⁶⁷ Lohof and Reijndorp, *Privé Terrein*, 194-195.

⁶⁸ Lohof and Reijndorp, *Privé Terrein*, 194.

to move to the CID of Brandevoort because of its location.⁶⁹ This practicality argument is backed-up by Lohof and Reijndorp who note that 'buyers of a residence in a CID are not so much attracted by the possibility of private management, but rather by the combination of location, design and construction.'⁷⁰ A case study of Van Twist et al. shows that a majority of three Dutch CIDs see a 'pleasant living environment' as the most important motive to live in a CID.⁷¹

Prestige also plays a role and in this regard the Netherlands looks more like the US, although there are some small differences. In the US, moving to a better neighborhood is seen as a major indication of social mobility (increasing one's prestige). Americans actually move almost twice as many times as the Dutch. According to Aalbers, this is because differences between 'good' and 'bad' neighborhoods in the US are so much bigger; people want to make sure they don't get stuck in a 'bad' neighborhood and tend to move to the suburbs.⁷² Thomas argues that 'fear of what heterogeneous lifestyles have come to represent', is an important reason for people to leave the metropolises.⁷³ According to him, American city-life represents a heterogeneous cultural surrounding in which people live in small apartments and earn a low income. 'The dream is to make more money, escape the city and live in the clean and green homogenous suburbs' (which is sublimated in the CID). These are defined as places 'where crime, poverty, and suffering do not exist.'⁷⁴

In the Netherlands, there is no situation that comes close to that of the American (black) ghetto. 'The concentrations of both poor people and ethnic minorities are relatively low. In 1995 only in a quarter of the four largest cities the share of ethnic minorities had mounted to at least 30 percent.'⁷⁵ Concentrations of ethnic minorities have, however, increased since the 1990s. As a consequence, the number of neighborhoods with a share of at least 50 percent ethnic minorities is growing. This contributes to a Dutch consciousness of the 'importance' of where one lives, for one's prestige.

Van Veldhuizen and Meier's case study of Brandevoort shows that residents like the fact that their CID refers to a Dutch past and is, for instance, an imitation of

⁶⁹ Veldhuizen, van, and Meier, "Modern Castles and Country Houses": 819, 830.

⁷⁰ Lohof and Reijndorp, *Privé Terrein*, 186.

⁷¹ Twist, van, Van Velzen, and Brouwer, *Privaat Beheerde Woondomeinen*, 41.

⁷² Aalbers, "The Double Function of the Gate": 10-11.

⁷³ Thomas, "Celebration USA": 188.

⁷⁴ Thomas, "Celebration USA": 188-190.

⁷⁵ Aalbers, "The Double Function of the Gate": 11-12.

the seventeenth-century canal ring area of Amsterdam.⁷⁶ They consider living in such a CID as a sign of prestige, even when the urban elites still inhabit the authentic equivalent. Veldhuizen and Meier note that the preference for homeownership at certain locations that have outstanding (e.g. different) architecture provide a basis for social distinction. 'In particular, middle- and higher income groups are able to choose from a number of different residential places because they have sufficient economic resources.'⁷⁷ Through taste and '*habitus*' (Bourdieu: 'all that one has - people and things - and all that one is for others'⁷⁸) one classifies oneself and is classified by others, and by using these classifications, individuals reproduce the possibilities to acquire and employ social, cultural and economic capital. In the specific case of Brandevoort this means that 'historical references are seen as part of the Dutch cultural heritage by which the residents are able to protect their social identities and status as well as their financial investments.'⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Note that this confirms the importance of the historical context on the visual construction of the CID.

⁷⁷ Veldhuizen, van, and Meier, "Modern Castles and Country Houses": 821.

⁷⁸ P. Bourdieu, *Distinction, A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1984), 56.

⁷⁹ Veldhuizen, van, and Meier, "Modern Castles and Country Houses": 819, 830.

Conclusion

Recently, the Dutch county of Lochem decided to prohibit three Dutch families from living collectively in a yurt (a round tent). The initiators hoped to share one car, one washing machine and a common kitchen garden among other things. The local government referred to the strict Dutch housing regulations that simply don't allow these forms of housing at this moment.⁸⁰ Considering this recent example as a form of CID shows the importance of the institutional context of a country. Although Fukuyama's converging theory seems plausible on the surface, when looking behind the 'gates' of the CID phenomenon, we discover that both the constructions and the motivations differ between the Dutch and the American ones. Yes, the number of CIDs is rising in both countries, but as well as in relative as in absolute numbers, it is still a rather marginal phenomenon in the Netherlands. The developers and the governments, who financially benefit from them, are the main producers in both countries, but at the same time, not all Dutch local governments are welcoming the CID, as they fear segregation.

When considering the consumer motives, there are hardly any similarities. For the Dutch CID residents, practicality plays a more important role. They live in a CID because it is affordable, close to work, close to the big city and child friendly. The Dutch housing market, where demand is high and supply low, seems to be a primary cause of this practicality. This would also explain the relatively large amount of the 'recreational' type of CID, which is mainly inhabited by starters who have a hard time finding anything else. Security, which scholars see as an important factor in the growth of CIDs, hardly plays a role and where it actually does, it is integrated within a typical Dutch context. Dutch CIDs are not known for their walls or gates, but rather for their use of water and greenery. In the US, security, prestige (social mobility) and efficiency are the most important arguments. Relatively bigger income inequalities and the smaller role of the government (two factors that are also interconnected) play an important role in this.

This essay shows that institutional and cultural path dependencies are very important, as they - apparently - shape a single concept, the CID, in two different

⁸⁰ "Gemeente Lochem worstelt met plan voor wonen in een yurt"
<http://www.omroepgelderland.nl/nieuws/2108654/Gemeente-Lochem-worstelt-met-plan-voor-wonen-in-een-yurt> (visited 25 April 2016).

ways. Rather than coming together at one point, these two countries are moving to two different points that may look alike, but are not the same.

Literature

- Aalbers, M. "The double function of the gate. Social inclusion and exclusion in gated communities and security zones." Paper presented at the conference '*Gated communities: Building Social Division of Safer Communities?*', 18-19 September, Glasgow: University of Glasgow.
- Atlas, R., and W.G. Leblanc. "The impact on crime of streets closures and barricades: a Florida case study." *Security Journal*, 5 (1994): 140-145.
- Blakely, E.J., and M.G. Snyder. *Fortress America, gated communities in the United States*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press & Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1997.
- Bourdieu, P. *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge, 1984.
- CBS, *Veiligheidsmonitor 2014*. Den Haag: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2015.
- Duyvendak, Jan Willem, F. Hendriks, and Nicis Institute. *City in Sight: Dutch Dealings with Urban Change*. Den Haag: NICIS Institute, 2009.
- Fukuyama, Francis. "The End of History?" *The National Interest*, no. 16 (1989): 3-18.
- Goose, Nigel, and Henk Looijesteijn. "Almshouses in England and the Dutch Republic Circa 1350-1800: A Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Social History*, 45.4 (2012): 1049-1073.
- Grant, Jill, and Lindsey Mittelsteadt. "Types of Gated Communities." *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 31.6 (2004): 913-930.
- Hamers, David, and Nienke Noorman. *Afgeschermdde Woondomeinen in Nederland*. Rotterdam: NAI Uitgevers, 2007.
- Hamers, D., and J. Tennekes. "Will Enclosed Residential Domains Affect the Public Realm of Dutch Cities? Three Theoretical Perspectives." *Planning Theory*, 14.3 (2015): 227-247.
- Le Goix, Renaud, and Chris J. Webster. "Gated Communities." *Geography Compass*, 2.4 (2008): 1189-1214.
- Leavitt, J. and A. Loukaitou-Sideris. "Safe and secure: public housing residents in Los Angeles define the issues." *Future and Visions of Urban Public Housing*, Nov (1994): 287-303.
- Lohof, Stijnie and Arnold Reijndorp. *Privé Terrein: Privaat Beheerde Woondomeinen in Nederland*. Rotterdam: NAI, 2006.

- McKenzie, Evan. "Common-Interest Housing in the Communities of Tomorrow." *Sage Urban Studies Abstracts*, 32.3 (2004): 203-234.
- McKenzie, Evan. "Constructing the Pomerium in Las Vegas: A Case Study of Emerging Trends in American Gated Communities." *Housing Studies*, 20.2 (2005): 187-203.
- Nabielek, Kersten, and Sandra Schluchter. "Afgeschermdde woondomeinen in Nederland." *Rooilijn*, Jaargang 42, Nummer 5 (2005): 314-321.
- Rosen, Gillad, and Jill Grant. "Reproducing Difference: Gated Communities in Canada and Israel." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35.4 (2011).
- Ruiu, Maria L. "Differences between Cohousing and Gated Communities. A Literature Review." *Sociological Inquiry*, 84.2 (2014): 316-335.
- Sanchez, Thomas, Robert Lang, and Dawn Dhavale. "Security Versus Status?" *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 24.3 (2005): 281-291.
- Thomas, Matt. "Celebration, USA: The First Sign of What Will Be America's Homogeneous Landscape." *The Journal of American Culture*, 30.2 (2007): 187-197.
- Treese, Clifford J. *National and State Statistical Review for 2014*, Mountain House, California: Foundation for Community Association Research, 2015.
- Treese, Clifford J. *Community Association Fact Book for 2014*, Mountain House, California: Foundation for Community Association Research, 2015.
- Twist, Mark van, Geke van Velzen, and Bram Brouwer. *Privaat Beheerde Woondomeinen: Een Wereld Op Zich?* Den Haag: LEMMA, 2009.
- Veldhuizen, D. van, and S. Meier. "Modern Castles and Country Houses: The Use of History in 'gated Communities' in the Netherlands." *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20.7/8 (2014): 818-833.
- Vesselinov, Elena, Matthew Cazessus, and William Falk. "Gated Communities and Spatial Inequality." *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 29.2 (2007): 109-127.
- Vesselinov, Elena, and Renaud Goix. "From Picket Fences to Iron Gates: Suburbanization and Gated Communities in Phoenix, Las Vegas and Seattle." *GeoJournal*, 77.2 (2012): 203-222.
- Walks, R. Alan. "Electoral Behaviour Behind the Gates: Partisanship and Political Participation among Canadian Gated Community Residents." *Area*, 42.1 (2010): 7-24.

Webster, Chris, Georg Glasze, and Klaus Frantz. "The Global Spread of Gated Communities." *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 29.3 (2002): 315-320.

Internet sources

"Amsterdam maakt zich op voor 'Londense toestanden' op woningmarkt"

<http://www.parool.nl/parool/nl/4/AMSTERDAM/article/detail/4223820/2016/01/13/Amsterdam-maakt-zich-op-voor-Londense-toestanden-op-woningmarkt.dhtml> (visited 14 February 2016).

"Bouwkavels"

<https://www.kadaster.nl/web/Zakelijk/Vastgoedcijfers/Bouwkavels.htm>
(visited 19 April 2016).

"Criminal victimization 2014" <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv14.pdf> (visited 19 April 2016).

"Crime" <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1603/crime.aspx> (visited 19 April 2016).

"Eerste gated community in regio Rotterdam"

<http://www.rijnmond.nl/nieuws/105186/Eerste-gated-community-in-regio-Rotterdam> (visited 14 February 2016).

"Gemeente Lochem worstelt met plan voor wonen in een yurt"

<http://www.omroep gelderland.nl/nieuws/2108654/Gemeente-Lochem-worstelt-met-plan-voor-wonen-in-een-yurt> (visited 25 April 2016).

"In US, confidence in police lowest in 22 years"

http://www.gallup.com/poll/183704/confidence-police-lowest-years.aspx?g_source=CATEGORY_CRIME_AND_PERSONAL_SAFETY&g_medium=topic&g_campaign=tiles (visited 28 May 2016).

"Land prices by state" <https://www.lincolinst.edu/subcenters/land-values/land-prices-by-state.asp> (visited 19 April 2016).

"More Americans say crime is rising in US",

http://www.gallup.com/poll/186308/americans-say-crime-rising.aspx?g_source=CATEGORY_CRIME_AND_PERSONAL_SAFETY&g_medium=topic&g_campaign=tiles (visited 28 May 2016).

"Ommuurde villawijk: wie wil hier nou wonen?"

<http://www.rtlnieuws.nl/editienl/villawijk-met-muren> (visited 14 February 2016).

"Ruime meerderheid heeft vertrouwen in gezaghebbende instanties",

<https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2015/04/ruime-meerderheid-heeft-vertrouwen-in-gezaghebbende-instituten> (visited 28 May 2016).

"Society: Governments must tackle record gap between rich and poor, says OECD"

<https://www.oecd.org/newsroom/societygovernmentsmusttacklerecordgapbetweenrichandpoorsaysoecd.htm> (visited 19 April 2016).

"Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2013 Revision"

<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/index.shtml> (visited 14 February).

"World Population Policies 2005"

<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/policy/world-population-policies-2005.shtml> (visited 14 February 2016).