

# Macquarie Links Estate: a gated residential suburb in Sydney

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**Abstract:** The emergence of gated residential spaces in Australian cities has begun to attract the attention of researchers, policy makers, governments and planners. In this paper I present findings from research within a gated residential estate in south-western Sydney (Macquarie Links Estate). The research is based on data from surveys and interviews with residents within the estate during 2007. In this paper, I am primarily concerned with two broad areas – the desire and need for security, and the formation of community and the mechanism of community title. I will conclude with comments on the exclusive segregatory nature of gated residential developments with reference to some dangers and encouraging signs.

## Introduction

Gated communities have a considerable presence in urban landscapes internationally. Obvious examples of the gated community phenomenon can be drawn from places like North America, South Africa and parts of Central and South America, and increasingly in parts of the United Kingdom (Atkinson & Flint, 2004; Blakely and Snyder, 1999; Caldeira, 2001; Low, 2003; McKenzie, 1994). Recently, Australia has taken to the trend of privatising residential developments, although the *gating* of residential space in Australian cities does not yet reflect the international scene. When considering reasons for the emergence of gated communities in Australia parallels are often drawn to the international experience – the desire to be secure, to keep ‘others’ out, etc., and emphasis is placed on the segregatory tendencies of these residential developments. Consequently, the lives of those within gated communities in Australia have attracted mostly negative attention without a thorough understanding of the circumstances. Further, the processes that lead to the development of more affluent enclaves in urban and suburban areas in Australian cities, as well as the inter-urban movement of the middle-upper class residents is yet to be rigorously assessed (see Atkinson, 2006).

In this paper, I primarily present the findings from fieldwork with residents within a gated residential estate in south-west Sydney – Macquarie Links Estate (MLE). I want to mainly spend time on two areas in relation to this estate: the first being the issue of security and the perceived breakdown of law and order in parts of Sydney (what is the need and desire for gating a residential area); the second area is concerned with the move towards community title suburban developments, and specifically the issue of community and the level of neighbourhood interactions (as community and social interaction is assumed in many instances to ‘develop’ in these estates); and to look to the potential impacts on housing affordability. If time permits, at the end, I’ll consider some of the broader implications of gated suburbs as these new residential developments are transforming the geography of Sydney’s urban and suburban areas, and in some cases, generating quite a contrast with surrounding residential areas.

## Case study area: Macquarie Links Estate

Macquarie Links Estate (MLE) is located in south western Sydney, within the Campbelltown Local Government Area (LGA) (Figure 1). Macquarie Links Estate is bounded by the suburbs of Ingleburn, Glenfield and Macquarie Fields. The estate is immediately bounded by the M5 (south-western) motorway, the Macarthur/Campbelltown train line and Ingleburn industrial estate. The estate is considerably small in comparison to other new suburban developments, being home to around 900 residents’ who reside in approximately 300 households (ABS, 2006). The estate is gated, with 24 hour security and is on community title. There is a

community association that effectively ‘runs’ the estate. MLE is a project of Monarch Developments (<http://www.monarchinvestments.com/location/main/index.php?loc=4>). Originally Monarch controlled the community and all its assets, but has recently handed control over the residents.

**Figure 1: Location map of Macquarie Links Estate, Sydney, Australia.**

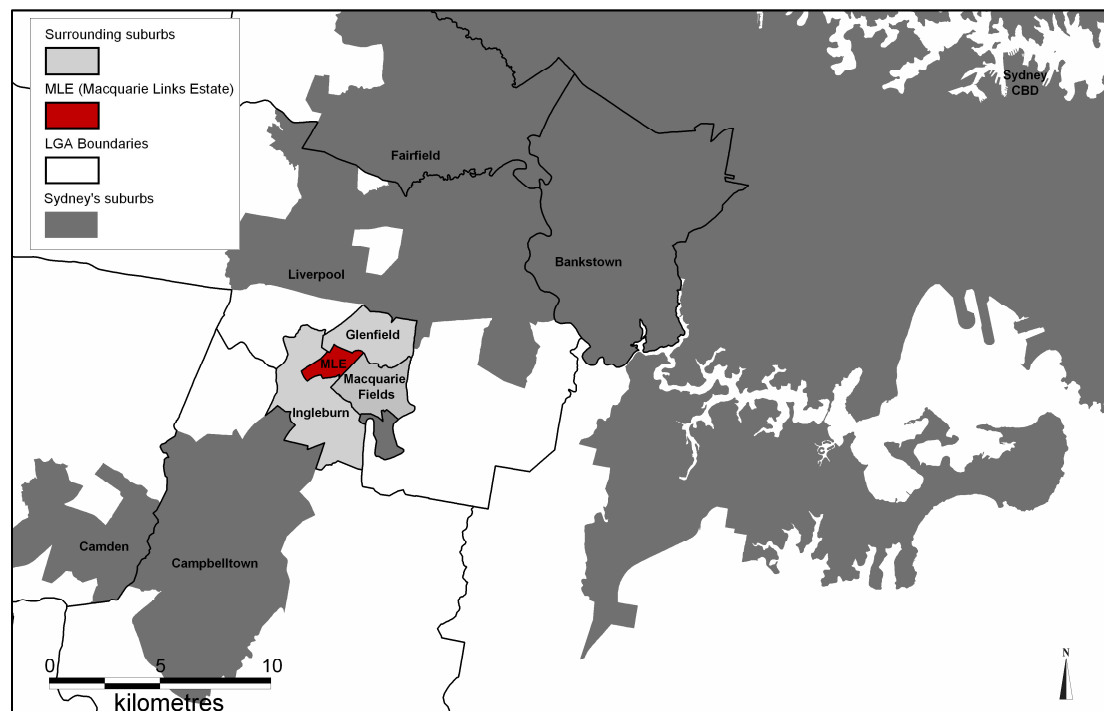


Table 1 gives you a basic snapshot of the demographic of MLE and how it compares to other areas, as at the last census, 2006. What is interesting about the data from the last census is that 59% of the residents are Australian-born, with 40% born overseas. This ethnic mix within the estate was also confirmed by the informants. Invariably, when asked about the mix within the estate, in relation to age, ethnicity and socio-economic status, interview respondents discussed the levels of ethnic diversity within the estate, particularly the presences of people of Filipino or Indian origin. Interestingly, for MLE the first largest country of origin for those born overseas was the Philippines (just over 10% of the population), and India ranked 3<sup>rd</sup>. This itself also goes against the notion of ‘white flight’ (Amin, 2002) into these new estate, which is more an idea borrowed from international experiences. Research on Master Planned Estates in Sydney also suggests that new suburbs house mostly Anglo-Australians (Randolph and Holloway, 2003; Gleeson, 2006).

The census data in Table 1 suggests that Macquarie Links Estate is considerably affluent. Median household incomes in Macquarie Links are twice that of all households in Sydney. However, around 68% of the households are being purchased (mortgagees) and the median monthly housing loan repayments for Macquarie Links are \$2,500.

**Table 1: Demographic snapshot of Macquarie Links, Sydney, NSW, Australia, 2006 (Source: ABS, 2007).**

	<b>Macquarie Links</b>	<b>Sydney</b>	<b>NSW</b>	<b>Australia</b>
Total persons	<b>911</b>	4,119,190	6,549,177	19,855,288
Median Age	<b>34</b>	35	37	37
Australian-born	<b>539 (59.2%)</b>	2,486,709 (60.4%)	4,521,152 (69.0%)	14,072,944 (70.9%)
Language (English only)	<b>554 (60.8%)</b>	2,635,998 (64.0%)	4,846,672 (74.0%)	15,581,333 (78.5%)
Marital status (married)	<b>455 (65.7%)</b>	1,645,974 (49.7%)	2,628,075 (50.1%)	7,900,684 (49.6%)
Couple families with children	<b>165 (70.5%)</b>	523,813 (49.3%)	792,685 (46.2%)	2,362,582 (45.3%)
Total dwellings	<b>309</b>	1,643,675	2,728,719	8,426,559
Separate house	<b>241 (92.7%)</b>	939,074 (61.7%)	1,721,777 (69.7%)	5,685,387 (74.8%)
Median individual income (\$/weekly)	<b>\$825</b>	\$518	\$461	\$466
Median household income (\$/weekly)	<b>\$2,299</b>	\$1,154	\$1,036	\$1,027
Median family income (\$/weekly)	<b>\$2,346</b>	\$1,350	\$1,181	\$1,171
Median housing loan repayment (\$/monthly)	<b>\$2,500</b>	\$1,800	\$1,517	\$1,300
Tenure type (Being purchased, i.e. mortgagee)	<b>177 (68.1%)</b>	472,796 (31.1%)	745,336 (30.2%)	2,448,205 (32.2%)
Average household size	<b>3.5</b>	2.7	2.6	2.6

### **Method of recruitment**

When trying to recruit participants for research from within a gated estate, overcoming any hurdles with the security need to be dealt with initially. Due to the private nature of MLE (gated entrance and private roads), the resident's do not directly receive local papers or junk mail to their letter boxes – all materials are left at the front gate and people can collect from there if interested (which essentially ruled out any hand delivering of surveys). Everyone is stopped at the gate and asked why they are there. If you're a resident you drive straight through, but if you're a visitor, it varies depending on who's on the gates, but generally all your details are taken down

– your name, who you're going to see and the details of your car, number plates, etc. In light of this, and after my initial dealings with security, to gain more legitimate access into the estate, I used the NSW electoral roll to ascertain the residential addresses of households within MLE. This meant that surveys could be sent direct to households. As of 2003, just over 400 residents were registered on the electoral roll, which equated to about 200 households, all of which received surveys. There was a 25% response rate to the survey (n=51; 17% of the estates 300 households). Around 25 respondents volunteered to be interviewed.

### **The desire for gates and security**

With most research on gated estates, researchers are curious as to why people have moved there. What has motivated people to live in a gated estate? In the survey, the respondents were asked to self-identify three (3) reasons why they were attracted to MLE. Initially, for this estate, the emphasis of the development and the marketing was the international golf course, which lies within the estate. The anticipated demographic for the suburb was older couples, perhaps looking to 'downgrade', with children who had grown up and moved out. The emphasis on the golf course was so prominent that each household was offered a golf membership as part of the house and land packages. Around 30% have taken up membership with the golf course and of this, about 15% are active members (i.e. those that have renewed their memberships annually). In line with this, only 32% of respondents stated that the golf course was one of the main attractions to the estate.

Security, on the other hand, rated highly with the respondents, as 80% of respondents referenced the gates and/or security provided for this development as a main motivation for purchasing property in MLE. When respondents were asked to describe the benefits of living in the estate, the desire for, and emphasis on, security was reiterated:

“We are all responsible for all aspects of maintenance and this ensures a high level of aesthetic appeal. The **security** is a huge plus” (MLE 2, 2007).

“**Security**, bus link to station, facilities such as the pools, tennis courts, walkways, kept gardens” (MLE 6, 2007).

“**Absolute security**. Golf. Close to public transport – M5, airport” (MLE 13, 2007).

“**Gated**. Other people think you are rich. Close to M5 yet secluded” (MLE 15, 2007).

“**Security** is our foremost consideration; there is also prestige related to living in such a community/environment” (MLE 34, 2007).

“**Security** – restricted access to the estate, no cars 'hooning' past your house, less crime (break-ins). Estate well presented (neat lawns, lovely golf course). Close access to M5 on/off ramps” (MLE 45, 2007).

The emphasis on security continued. Residents were asked to indicate the importance of certain features of the estates development. The fact that the entrance to the estate is gated (96%); the concierge at the gate knows everyone that passes through the estate (96%); and the estate has 24 hour security (90%), all rated as features of high importance to the residents.

Near to the end of the survey, residents were asked if they would have a preference for gated communities again in the future. Eighty two percent of respondents said yes. When asked to indicate why, the security aspect of such developments was reiterated:

“**Security** and sense of belonging; other people with similar values to ourselves” (MLE 1, 2007).

“There are more advantages than disadvantages. **Security** is the main: feeling safe” (MLE 16, 2007).

“**Security** issue, **feeling secured** all the time. I am at peace that kids can go and walk safely within the estate” (MLE 26, 2007).

“Because we like to have peace and quiet and **feel safe** in our home. We hate car hoons, drunken and destructive teenagers. We also hate noisy neighbours” (MLE 47, 2007).

With security being a significant driving force for these residents it was deemed necessary to determine the residents housing backgrounds and histories, to begin to understand the trend towards living in a gated residential space. Figure 2 shows the previous residential locations of the respondents. Nearly 90% of respondents have moved from LGAs in south western Sydney. 40% have moved from within the Campbelltown LGA (the LGA within which MLE sits), and close to 50% have moved from the neighbouring LGAs of Liverpool, Camden, Fairfield and Bankstown. The movement into the gated community is localised. These findings aren't necessarily surprising and have been reported in other research into new private residential developments (Gwyther, 2005; Kenna, 2007). One of the local MPs in south western Sydney thinks this trend is:

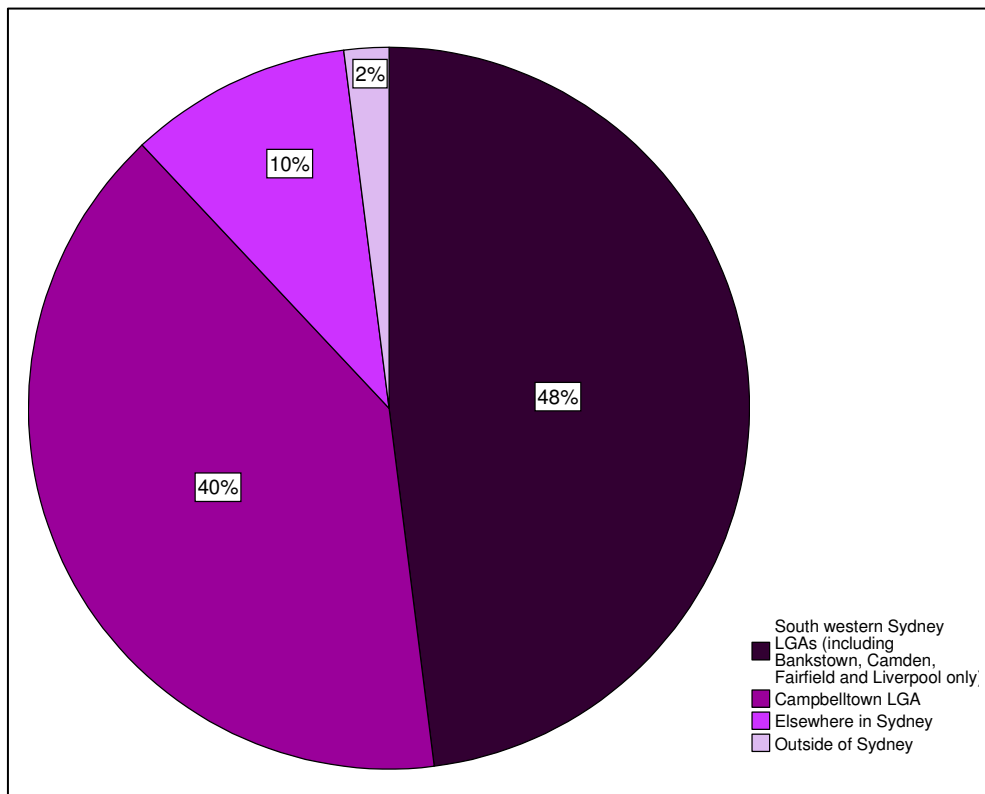
“...a fantastic thing. Isn't it great to think that people have lived in this area for 20 years and now chose a different form of housing and are able to afford a different form of housing. ... you find that people are accessing a home and quality of lifestyle that they may not have been able to previously access in south-western Sydney and stay in south-western Sydney, and that's important” (Local MP #2, 2007).

Many of the residents in Macquarie Links have well established social and family networks within the region. This is an important, positive, trend in relation to these new developments, as residents are clearly not 'giving up' on the south western Sydney region. As I will demonstrate in a forthcoming section, some of these residents have experienced some trouble in the region, but are still choosing to reside there, just in a more secure location. There should be something quite positive taken from that (regardless of opinions on gated communities in general). Further to this, many interview informants reiterated their connections to the area and desires to stay within the area. For example, one informant noted:

“I just think there's an element of ignorance in that we are no different, we're not a cult, we're not refugees from the real world, we're just people who chose to live in that area and we want to stay in Campbelltown, we wanted to stay in that area, we had the opportunity...” (MLE Informant #2, 2007).

Many of the residents' had the opportunity to upgrade to a different style of neighbourhood within the south-western Sydney region. This opportunity was presented to them in Macquarie Links.

**Figure 2: Macquarie Links survey respondent's previous residential locations (Source: Resident Questionnaire, 2007).**



Some recent commentary on security developments in Sydney has criticised the residents' desire for security due to the reported decrease in criminal activity throughout Sydney in the last few years. Some suggest that these residents have a 'fear of crime', but not necessarily lived experiences of crime (Gleeson, 2006, among others). I think it's fair to say, from my analysis of the surveys and interviews, that crime, for these residents, is both real and imagined. To draw on the work of anthropologist Teresa Caldeira in *City of Walls* (2001), who did a large study of gated communities in Brazil, she articulates the 'talk of crime' – the narratives and everyday conversations about crime - that work to generate a wider anxiety about crime through the continual circulation and proliferation of discourses about crime that generate greater fear of disordered spaces. Coupled with this 'talk of crime' in Sydney is the continual circulation of wider moral panics, particularly centred around the activities and behaviours of young people, or specifically youth gangs, in Sydney and elsewhere in Australia (Poynting and Morgan, 2007). The three recent 'riots' in Sydney since 2004 have not worked to improve this 'panic' or anxiety about groups of young people. So, there is a general 'fear of crime' that is generated by the continual circulation of commentary on criminal activities.

The spatial distribution of certain criminal activities throughout Sydney has a bearing on the types of crime that residents experience in a given location. For the residents in south western Sydney, these location specifics of criminal acts are a motivational aspect of choosing a gated residential location. While there has been a marked decrease in criminal activity throughout NSW over the past few years, there has been a significant increase in one of the sixteen major categories of crime, as defined by BOCSAR (Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research) – *Malicious damage to property* – including homes, graffiti and damage of public places and physical structures (e.g.

walls, monuments, etc.). Throughout NSW there has been a 4.3% increase in this criminal activity (BOSCAR, 2004). The areas of Sydney that recorded an increase in malicious damage to property were the south western Sydney LGAs of Canterbury, Bankstown, Fairfield, Liverpool, Campbelltown and Camden – the region within which most of the respondents of MLE previously resided. So while many argue that the ‘fear of crime’ is imagined, not necessarily experienced (Caldeira, 2001; Low, 2003; Gleeson, 2006) – and in large part it may well be, but for the residents in south west Sydney, there has been an increase in a certain type of criminal activity. 100% of the respondents agreed that the estate was safer than surrounding areas. The Chairperson of the Community Association also confirmed that “Security’s a high priority for them”.

In light of this, a lot of time was spent in the interviews teasing out the residents’ previous housing experiences, what were their previous suburbs like, what were the people like and how did this change over time, etc. For example, two of the informants who previously lived in south western Sydney were asked: “Was there an increase in any sort of trouble in the area [Ingleburn]?”, to which they replied:

“Oh yes. I lived in an area that was pretty well removed from it so I didn’t really experience it first hand. ...I didn’t feel unsafe in my own home. I will say that I felt ... put it this way, I was happier when my husband was home. When I was in the house on my own, we backed onto a reserve and you’d get kids gathering in the reserve and they’d drink and the bottles would come over the fence and there were people that had windows broken, who were broken into. So I was conscious of that issue, which I hadn’t really been before” (MLE Informant #17, 2007).

“The security aspect didn’t strike me until we’d moved in here. It’s just so relaxing. At our old place we had our creepy crawly stolen out of the pool, we had our front hose reel stolen from the front of the house, we were on holidays somewhere and our neighbour rang and said there was a prowler in our house and the police came and caught him. We had constant beer bottles on our property, we had a car chase and the car went across our corner and dug up big holes, and another time a bicycle was being chased by police and he went across our lawn and he was going 100 miles an hour. ... Every time we went away we were worried someone was going to break into our house and then we’ve had all this stuff stolen from outside, pot plants, etc. Plus party goes on Saturday night you know yahooping down the streets. People would come up to our corner, we had a lot of young people down the bottom, and they’d all do wheelies and be spinning cars. We put up with that for years” (MLE Informant #16, 2007).

The responses of these two informants indicate both ‘talk of crime’ and lived experiences of crime.

In light of this focus on security and the increase in ‘malicious damage to property’, an indication of the state of ‘law and order’ in Sydney in the past few years would be complementary. An outspoken member of the NSW police force, who’s served in many of NSW most ‘notorious’ areas (e.g. Cabramatta), spoke of the loss of police control over the streets. Following the Macquarie Fields riots in February 2005, Tim Priest was interviewed by *60 Minutes* during the filming of ‘Mean Streets’ and when asked ‘So what’s happened to law and order?’, Priest responded:

Well, we’ve lost the streets. We’ve seen petty crime go unpunished and now we’re seeing mid-level crime going unpunished and we’re seeing rioting

behaviour when the police do try to clamp down on crime and that's a sign that we really have lost the streets (Priest, 2005).

There is concern by many of the interview informants for the lack of police resources, or resident's perceptions of the mis-direction of the available resources. There are continual references to the occurrence of RBT (Random Breath Test) operations, but no comparable number of routine drive-thru of suburban areas:

"In this day and age, police do not seem to be able to help in respect to home invasions, assaults or break-ins. They are more concerned with employing 7-8 patrol cars for a local RBT! As long as this mentality exists, citizens have to do what they can. So a secure estate is one" (MLE 3, 2007).

Interestingly, the gates and the levels of security do not stop criminal activities altogether. During the interviews with residents within Macquarie Links, many spoke of the acts of crime or vandalism that have occurred within the estate. Three specific events continually referred to were: the vandalism of one of the golf clubs storage sheds, which was apparently trashed by 'youths'; the spate of petty crimes within the estate – people leaving doors unlocked and mobile phones or wallets being stolen out of their houses; and, a drug bust within the estate.

### **Community title**

There is an increasing trend towards community title developments in suburban areas of Sydney. MLE is an example, as is Wilton Park, a lend lease development at Wilton and Panorama, the Mirvac development at Glenfield, to mention a few. Community title is an interesting concept for residential development in that residents own their own homes, but the land which the suburb sits on is privately owned by the community. According to the Chairperson of the Macquarie Links Community Association (2007):

"The concept [community title] is workable and councils love it because they save costs in infrastructure, but they don't think long-term ...".

Macquarie Links is divided into 17 stages, all of which have their own sub-committee of the broader community association. Each stage has a strata manager and each household pays community levies. Essentially, each of the households has a vested interest in the development and the maintenance of the estate long-term. The idea of resident associations draws many similarities to the US-style developments (Blakely and Snyder, 1999; McKenzie, 1994). I want to consider community title in two parts: the first being in regards to the development of 'community' and the second to do with housing affordability.

Resident's were asked about senses of community and neighbourhood interactions within the estate. 86% of the respondents said that they felt part of a community, specifically because of common interests and community meetings:

"We all have a common goal. Pride and a sense of being part of something special" (MLE 2, 2007).

"Most everyone in the estate are very friendly, attending community meetings, acknowledgement of you by gatehouse staff" (MLE 6, 2007).

"We can suggest things / ways to improve the estate through neighbourhood committee and then to the executive committee" (MLE 24, 2007).

“Neighbourhood in each stage – you work together for the goodness of the place, so our family can enjoy a resort lifestyle living” (MLE 26, 2007).

“Neighbourhood watch; neighbourhood meetings; facilities and concierge” (MLE 37, 2007).

“Shared facilities and pride in the estate” (MLE 49, 2007).

I considered that feeling a ‘sense of community’ and being part of a ‘community’ (actual levels of interaction and neighbourliness) could be quite different things. One of the questions asked of the resident’s was the level of neighbourhood interaction. In the survey, resident’s were presented with a matrix-style grid and potential everyday sorts of interactions were listed down the first column, and the degrees of these interactions were across the top (i.e. interactions with immediate neighbours through to others in the suburb). Respondents were asked to tick as many as applied to them. For example, the first listed interaction was daily greetings. Resident’s could have indicated that they undertake this interaction with their immediate neighbours, neighbours elsewhere in the streets, elsewhere in the suburb, beyond the suburb or N/A. They could tick multiple boxes.

For all of the possible interactions listed, 50% of the respondents said they were not applicable, indicating that levels of neighbourhood interaction are low. However, the residents were given the chance to self-identify their interactions with other residents and it was here that residents listed broader suburb-scale interactions and particularly noted their associations with other neighbours specifically through meetings of the residents association. Further to this, only 53% of respondents agreed that there was social interaction within the estate. Resident interaction and participation in the community other than through community governance are considerably low and based mainly around residents meetings.

During the interviews, residents were asked about community events (i.e. what is planned to get people involved in community/neighbourhood life). One interview informant noted how Macquarie Links had so much potential for interaction but it just was not planned or coordinated correctly:

“We could have had a community vegetable garden or something that brought residents together for a communal purpose” (MLE Informant #19, 2007).

Another informant said that:

“A lot of it’s based around the golf club” (MLE Informant #2, 2007).

The golf course and golf club were intended to be the hub of the community and provide an outlet for community interactions. But as noted earlier, the golf course is not a hugely important reason why residents desired to live in Macquarie Links. The golf club/course isn’t the space for interaction as was intended. No real efforts were made to initiate alternatives. In Gwyther’s (2005) research on community formation in Master Planned Estates, she found that the actions of the developers had a real impact on the outcome for the community in regards to both their sense of community and their levels of interaction. Here, at MLE, the community association is now responsible for how ‘community’ forms, as the developer has handed over the estate to the community. Resident’s feel a sense of community because they all have a common, vested, interest in the development of the ‘physical’ community space, rather than the social elements of the community.

### **The costs of living in the estate**

I want to briefly touch on the issue of housing affordability as it relates to community title. The survey respondents overwhelmingly conveyed, one of the main disadvantages to living in Macquarie Links, was the sheer cost of community fees:

“Paying council rates and strata rates. Council does nothing” (MLE 9, 2007).

“Cost of running the estate – garden, security, bus” (MLE 13, 2007).

“Levy too high” (MLE 14, 2007).

“We pay levy to benefit the privileges of having 24/7 security and use of amenities” (MLE 24, 2007).

“Community levies; cost of maintaining infrastructure; little support and services from local council; scale of council rates to services supplied; control and interference from developer” (MLE 31, 2007).

In response to the full council rates that these residents’ still pay, one local MP for the area said:

“...the parks inside Macquarie Links are maintained by the Macquarie Links community association ... and there’s no rate reduction for them for that. So their rates, like my rates and everyone else’s rate contribute to every other park in the city, **and they pay very expensive rates**, and I have received representations that either council should do more in the area in terms of maintenance or their rates should be lowered, and I don’t support either of those because they have to pay, like everyone else, for the common good and it’s up to people like me to ensure that people see value in paying for the common good” (Local MP #2, 2007, emphasis added).

However, regardless of their gripes against the fees, many informants wouldn’t have it any other way as they believe the benefits of living in Macquarie Links far outweigh the negatives.

On average, detached houses are paying around \$2,500 a year to the community fund, but the apartments, due to their design (not the location in a gated suburb), are paying near to \$2,000 a quarter to maintain their precinct. The blocks of units have been designed quite poorly and have one lift that services only 5 apartments, which is the reason why costs are so high. If you think back to the recent census data, the median home loan repayments were \$2,500 per month. Living in MLE is not exactly affordable. When I interviewed the chairperson of the community association I asked if residents could expect increases in their rates overtime and he responded:

We’re budgeting for a 13% increase, each year for the next 3 years (Community Association Chairperson, 2007).

His concern though, was for the longevity of the development:

“... one of the issues here is because we have a gate house with private roads, we have to maintain the roads as well, so when this thing needs re-bitchumening, it’s going to be our cost, and it’s just not sustainable. ... Eventually, there’ll be a huge re-bitchumen job, a million bucks, and we won’t have the money. And that’s the bit that worries me” (Community Association Chairperson, 2007).

Given that the entire residential estate is private, the resident's own, and essentially have to maintain, everything within the community. All costs for maintenance, general upkeep and infrastructure requirements, among other things, are borne by the resident's.

Community title can be seen to have many benefits for those who reside within a suburban development governed by community title. A certain standard is maintained for these residents' in relation to landscaping, home design and maintenance; people have common values and a common, vested, interest in the development. As a result of the security services provided on community title, residents generally have a greater peace of mind about their residential location and personal safety. However, from my research within Macquarie Links Estate, I am not entirely convinced of the benefits that community title could bring to suburban development. Community title has brought a greater sense of community for many residents within the estate, but has not improved social interaction, except to encouraging residents to collectively meet at the neighbourhood meetings of the community association. Community title imposes community levies, which are an additional cost of living in the estate (on top of mortgages and council rates). Residents need to have a considerable income to reside in MLE. Community title is an area that clearly presents itself as one for further investigation.

### **Conclusion**

One of the questions we have to ponder is exactly what is wrong with gated suburbs? Are the gates themselves a problem, or are there other, more worrying mechanisms for exclusion at work in these new private residential developments? While the development of a private suburb with a gated entrance is considered segregatory, one of the more encouraging elements of the development of Macquarie Links Estate is that it is not self-sufficient. Macquarie Links Estate does not have the population to justify or sustain a shop or a school, which essentially means that *residents do move beyond the estate*. The degree of self-sufficiency of a new residential suburb is likely to have a large bearing on the social outcomes of the development. With residents of Macquarie Links having to travel to other parts of the region for school, shopping, work, sporting and leisure activities, they are not as 'disconnected' from society as some might consider. If a gated estate had these services and facilities it is likely to be more insular and more social divisive. In a planning and policy sense, if gated communities are to become a growing trend, then smaller scale developments of this nature would surely lessen the impact.

In terms of considering other segregatory mechanisms at work within Macquarie Links Estate, it is necessary to reflect on the role of community title in generating exclusion in a socio-economic sense (cost of living in the estate) and in regards to the physical landscape (clear demarcation in standards of the residential environment). As mentioned above, only those who can afford the quality of life on offer in MLE can live in the estate. This form of development is having a definite (negative) impact on housing affordability.

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