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by

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Gated Subdivisions in East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana

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Gated Subdivisions in East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana

by

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Abstract

Gated Subdivisions in East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2011

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This paper is about the current state of gated subdivisions in East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana. It provides a list, map, and relevant census data of the gated subdivisions in each of the three cities in the parish in which they are found—Baton Rouge, Central, and Zachary—and the unincorporated areas of the parish. It also examines comprehensive plan elements that relate to gated subdivisions, and whether actual gated developments adhere to the plan’s principles.

It is important to examine gated developments in East Baton Rouge Parish because they have an effect on the social, fiscal, and public health of their inhabitants and the surrounding communities. The population of East Baton Rouge Parish is growing, which means that new housing units will be built in the near future, many in new subdivisions. The characteristics and placement of housing are major components of an area’s quality of life, and the governments in East Baton Rouge Parish have the opportunity and the responsibility to influence future quality of life by carefully and

thoroughly considering their residential developments. An understanding of gated neighborhoods in the area will add to citizens' and governments' ability to thoroughly consider future residential development. No comprehensive list or map of gated subdivisions exists for any part of the parish. By mapping them now, and providing a "state of the parish" report, interested citizens and planners at all levels of government can track the increase or decrease of gated communities. Showing that there is sometimes a difference between a comprehensive plan's stated objective and the reality of gated communities may encourage closer scrutiny before future gated developments are approved.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This paper is about the current state of gated subdivisions in East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana. It provides a list, map, and relevant census data of the gated subdivisions in each of the three cities in the parish in which they are found—Baton Rouge, Central, and Zachary—and the unincorporated areas of the parish. It also examines comprehensive plan elements that relate to gated subdivisions, and whether actual gated developments adhere to the plan’s principles.

It is important to examine gated developments in East Baton Rouge Parish because they have an effect on the social, fiscal, and public health of their inhabitants and the surrounding communities. The population of East Baton Rouge Parish is growing, which means that new housing units will be built in the near future, many in new subdivisions. The characteristics and placement of housing can have a major influence on residential affordability and access to services, transportation outcomes, balances between different land uses and other factors shaping an area’s quality of life. The governments in East Baton Rouge Parish have the opportunity and the responsibility to influence future quality of life by carefully and thoroughly considering where and how their residential land uses are developed. An understanding of gated neighborhoods in the area will add to citizens’ and governments’ ability to thoroughly consider future residential development. No comprehensive list or map of gated subdivisions exists for any part of the parish. By mapping them now, and providing a “state of the parish” report, interested citizens and planners at all levels of government can track the growth

patterns of gated communities and their overall implications for planning at the city and parish scale. Showing that there is sometimes a difference between a comprehensive plan's stated objective and the reality of gated communities may encourage closer scrutiny before future gated developments are approved.

I am writing this paper from the viewpoint of a planner and concerned citizen of Baton Rouge, the primary city in East Baton Rouge Parish. As a planner, I would like to see every metropolitan area be inclusive, affordable, and healthy for its citizens, and want to contribute to general knowledge by recording the state of gated neighborhoods at a certain point in time. As a citizen, I have a personal interest in making my city the best it can be—both for my own happiness and to ensure that the area's quality of life makes it attractive to businesses and people who will contribute to overall economic prosperity. This work will evaluate if gated communities promote or limit inclusivity, affordability, and health. Based upon this evaluation I set forth certain questions and criteria that should be studied very carefully before new gated developments are approved.

To create the map of gated subdivisions in the parish, I primarily drew upon publicly available information: subdivision lists, private street lists, and subdivision maps from the City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge consolidated government; subdivision information from the Multiple Listing Service of the Greater Baton Rouge Association of Realtors; Google and Bing aerial and street view imagery; and site visits. After compiling a list of gated subdivisions, I used ArcGIS mapping software to show the location of each gated subdivision polygon. There are gated communities in three of the four cities in the parish and in the unincorporated areas of the parish as well.

My search for gated subdivisions usually did not include apartment complexes or other properties built specifically for renters, except in the rare cases that the apartment complexes constituted their own subdivision. This is because no comprehensive list of apartment complexes is available for even a part of the parish, so finding all the gated apartment complexes would have required using Google Street View and/or driving on every mile of road in the parish; though I would have liked to map every gated community for renters and owners, this approach was prohibited by my limited time and resources.

Currently adopted comprehensive plans are available online for the cities of Central and Zachary and the consolidated City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge government. None of the comprehensive plans specifically mention gated subdivisions, but a major question addressed in this report is whether the proliferation of gated residential developments contradicts some of the main goals and elements of these comprehensive plans.

Information from the 2010 Census was invaluable for finding out more about gated subdivisions in East Baton Rouge Parish. The larger the area of interest, the more data the Census Bureau provides; for example, for a city, the Census gives statistics on population, race, national origin, language spoken at home, educational attainment, house value, income, and much more. However, for a block, which is the smallest geographic unit of measurement in the Census and can be as small as 0.7 acres, (U.S. Census Bureau 1994) the only major categories of information available are population, race, and housing occupancy. Since I wanted to get as accurate a picture as possible of the gated

subdivisions in the parish, even if it meant sacrificing breadth, I chose to use data at the Census block level to compare gated subdivisions to their surrounding areas.

This paper is organized into five chapters and an appendix; the first chapter provides an introduction and overview of the paper. The second chapter reviews and summarizes selected literature studying gated communities in the United States. Chapter Three gives an overview of East Baton Rouge Parish's demographics, economics, education, transportation, crime, and housing; along with Chapter Two, it provides context and background for the discussion of gated subdivisions. Chapter Four contains, for each of the cities and the unincorporated part of the parish: the map of gated subdivisions, their characteristics and trends, parts of the applicable comprehensive plan that relate to gated subdivisions, and whether the actual gated developments adhere to the plan's principles. Chapter Five is a summary of the previous chapters and concludes the paper. The Appendix contains a table summarizing key information about each gated subdivision in the parish.

Chapter 2: Literature on Gated Communities in the United States

To put my research in context, I will review some of the major literature on gated communities in the United States. This will allow me to show, in future chapters, how the development of gated subdivisions in East Baton Rouge Parish fits in with the rest of the nation as well as some of the key issues identified in the literature concerning this form of residential development.

FORTRESS AMERICA: GATED COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

The most influential work on gated communities I found in my research is Edward J. Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder's 1997 book *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States*. It is cited in almost all of the articles and publications I read while researching this report. In the "first sweeping study of the development and social impact" (Blakely and Snyder 1997) of gated communities, Blakely and Snyder identify three types of gated communities—lifestyle communities, prestige communities, and security zones—and study them nationwide using surveys, focus groups, interviews, and site visits. They conclude that gated communities are a manifestation of—not the cause of—increasing economic, race, and class separation in the United States, and that many of the qualities and amenities Americans are seeking from gated neighborhoods can be achieved by other, less exclusionary means. (Blakely and Snyder 1997)

Blakely and Snyder first give a short history of gated communities in the United States. The first gated communities in this country, like Tuxedo Park in New York City and St. Louis' private streets, were built in the late 1800s by the very wealthy and the aristocracy as protection from the industrial cities around them. However, "these early gated preserves were different from the gated subdivisions of today. They were uncommon places for uncommon people." (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 4) In the 1960s

and 1970s, the first gated developments for ordinary people were built, such as the retirement community Leisure World at Seal Beach, California. In the 1980s, gated communities became much more popular and widespread among the middle to upper middle classes. They were built around golf courses “for exclusivity, prestige, and leisure” as well as in suburbs and urban centers “primarily out of fear, as the public became increasingly preoccupied with violent crime.” (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 5) The popularity of gated communities rose even more in the 1990s and can be found in “all regions and price classes.” (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 7) Fortress America estimates that in 1997 there were approximately 20,000 gated communities with over 3 million housing units in the United States. (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 7)

Blakely and Snyder argue that the increase in powerful homeowner associations, or HOAs, which are always found in gated neighborhoods and often in non-gated ones, has reduced some residents’ feelings of social responsibility to the larger community. They call this phenomenon “civic secession” and describe it as follows:

With the spread of homeowner associations, more and more Americans can set their own taxes in the form of assessments, use them for services they choose, and restrict those benefits to themselves and their immediate neighbors. From there it is a small step to seceding from a city or county in order to avoid paying for those who don’t live in one’s HOA. (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 7)

The first type of gated community identified by Blakely and Snyder is the lifestyle community. The gates do provide some security, but are primarily meant to provide “separation for the leisure activities and amenities offered within.” (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 39) This type includes retirement developments, new master planned towns, and golf course-centered developments. The second type of gated community, the prestige community, has gates for security, but also to maintain an exclusive image. This presumably keeps housing values and social status high for those inside the gates. Except

for the gate, Blakely and Snyder say, there is no difference between a gated prestige community and a non-gated neighborhood of similar housing stock. Blakely and Snyder's third type of gated community is the security zone. In a security zone, the gates are often not built by the developer but are constructed by residents of an existing neighborhood as a barrier to nearby crime, traffic, and blight. Security zones most often occur in urban areas or older suburban areas where residents are trying to maintain their neighborhoods' safety and sense of community. While the other two types of gated communities mostly serve the middle to upper-middle class, security zone communities include lower income neighborhoods and sometimes even housing projects. (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 100)

Blakely and Snyder found that gated community residents have differing levels of community involvement and participation in the larger municipality, just as residents of non-gated neighborhoods do. However, in gated communities, "residents have less need of the public realm outside their gates than those living in traditional open neighborhoods. If they choose to withdraw, there are fewer ties to break, less daily dependence on the greater community." (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 138) If increasing numbers of gated community residents withdraw from larger society, it could have negative consequences for all citizens.

When faced with the problems of modern cities, such as crime, crowding, and pollution, earlier generations of Americans separated themselves from the problems by moving to the suburbs. Now that those same problems have spread to the suburbs, many people are using gates as another form of separation, which creates another barrier to interaction between different groups of people. This "may add to the problem of building the social networks that form the base for economic and social opportunity." (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 153)

Fortress America identifies common elements that residents of gated communities are searching for, such as safety, security, quiet, and a sense of community. Blakely and Snyder then present tactics that can help neighborhoods achieve these goals “without building barriers between neighborhoods and neighbors.” (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 162) First, Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) is a term referring to physical characteristics that allow social defenses against crime. (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 162) For example, if a few houses share a well-tended courtyard and all have windows looking out onto that courtyard, criminals will be deterred because there are many opportunities for them to be observed. Those living around the courtyard will identify the space as theirs and be more inclined to care what happens there. On the other hand, a large unobserved expanse covered with graffiti doesn’t “belong” to anyone and invites crime. Traffic calming measures are a second way to achieve safety and quiet in a neighborhood without gates. These can include narrowing streets, installing speed bumps, curving streets, creating sharp corners, and paving with materials that signal pedestrian as well as automobile use. Making streets safer and more inviting for people discourages crime and encourages social interaction among the community. Third, Blakely and Snyder say, so-called sustainable communities use “integrated, holistic solutions that encourage community participation to ward off destructive elements.” (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 169) The principles of sustainable communities are similar to CPTED, but on a larger scale. They include “more compact development, environmental protection, citizen participation in design and implementation, equal access to services, concern for all members of the community, public spaces to bring people together, and architecture and zoning that promote a sense of place.” (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 169) Where sustainable communities are flexible and inclusive, gated communities are purposefully inflexible and exclusive. Blakely and Snyder’s final tactic to help

neighborhoods achieve their goals without gating is regional improvement. They point out that nearby municipalities and neighborhoods are interconnected, and that no community will ever be truly safe if it ignores its surroundings. Therefore, regions must “face the problems of poverty, social disorder, and failing municipal services and infrastructure rather than simply flee from them or wall them out.” (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 173)

THE EDGE AND THE CENTER: GATED COMMUNITIES AND THE DISCOURSE OF URBAN FEAR

Setha Low’s article “The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear” is another influential work on gated communities. It appeared in the journal *American Anthropologist* in 2001, (S. Low 2001) and much of the same research is also presented in Low’s 2003 book *Behind the Gates: Life, Security, and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America*. (S. M. Low 2003) In the article, Low argues that fear of crime and a “loss of place” in their previous neighborhoods is driving middle-class and upper-middle-class Americans to buy homes in gated communities, and that this trend is creating or exacerbating numerous social problems. Low used other researchers’ information and her own previous research on class separation, as well as conducting her own research for this article. She interviewed developers, real estate agents, and residents in two gated communities in Queens, New York, and San Antonio, Texas, transcribed the interviews, then analyzed the transcripts to find recurring themes. These themes included concerns about social order, xenophobia, ethnocentrism, class and status anxiety, fear of crime, desire for beautiful surroundings, and sense of community. She concludes that the movement behind gates “contradicts American ethos and values, threatens public access to open space, and creates yet another barrier to social interaction,

building of social networks, as well as increased tolerance of diverse cultural/racial/social groups.” (S. Low 2001, 45)

**FROM THE PUNITIVE CITY TO THE GATED COMMUNITY: SECURITY AND SEGREGATION
ACROSS THE SOCIAL AND PENAL LANDSCAPE**

In her 2001 *University of Miami Law Review* article, Mona Lynch synthesizes information from books, journal articles, and magazine articles to show that modern prisons and gated communities are similar in the ways they are constructed and the rationale behind their existence. (Lynch 2001) The “punitive city” is a theoretical approach to the penal system proposed during the 1970s, at the same time that there was broad realization that the purported aim of prisons—to rehabilitate criminals—was a failure. The punitive city is a way of controlling criminals by softening the “spatial boundaries which mark the differences between inside and outside, freedom and captivity.” (Lynch 2001, 89) Instead of isolating all criminals in jail, the entire community (including family, friends, schools, neighborhoods, and police) works together to bring criminals into compliance while they remain part of the community. Incarceration would become the last resort on this “continuum of correction.” (Lynch 2001, 89)

Lynch argues that the current penal system in the United States has abandoned its attempts at criminal rehabilitation and also has not used the community-based punitive city model. Instead of the community altering the penal system, some aspects of the penal system have become part of the community, such as gated communities; there are “parallels between ‘free’ gated communities and the prison as an involuntary, no-frills gated community.” (Lynch 2001, 91) Both are marked by walls and gates, have relatively homogeneous populations (prisons are mostly populated with racial minorities under 40 years old who had low incomes before being incarcerated, while gated

communities are largely white and have higher incomes), and their existence is “driven in significant part by...concern for security [and] anxieties about crime and other social problems.” (Lynch 2001, 100) However, in upscale gated communities, residents pay to keep others out, and in prisons, taxpayers pay to keep others in. Like the rejection of the punitive city model by the American penal system, the rise of gated communities rejects the idea of safety as a function of civic participation.

AN EXPLORATION OF SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND FEAR OF CRIME IN GATED COMMUNITIES

For an article in the journal *Environment and Behavior*, Georjeanna Wilson-Doenges surveyed residents in gated and non-gated neighborhoods of different income levels about their sense of community, the presence of crime, and their fear of crime. She also collected crime data for each neighborhood. (Wilson-Doenges 2000) Two high-income neighborhoods, one gated and one non-gated, were selected in Newport Beach, California, a wealthy suburb. Two low-income public housing projects were selected in Los Angeles County, California. 200 addresses were randomly chosen from each of the four neighborhoods and each was mailed a survey. Respondents rated their communities on 4-point or 5-point scales, using questions such as “How safe would you feel being out alone in your community at night?” (Wilson-Doenges 2000, 604) Of the 29% of surveys that were returned, analysis of covariance was used to control for gender, age, marital status, number of children at home, and length of residence. The responses of public housing residents, whether in gated or non-gated communities, did not significantly differ on any of the measures. The high-income gated community residents reported a lower sense of community but higher “perceived personal safety” and “comparative community safety” (Wilson-Doenges 2000, 605-6) than high-income residents in the non-gated community. Per capita crime rates for the eight major crimes of burglary, aggravated

assault, robbery, forcible rape, murder, motor vehicle theft, larceny-theft, and arson did not significantly differ between the gated and non-gated neighborhoods in each income category. Wilson-Doenges says in the discussion of her findings that gated communities may actually decrease sense of community, “give either a false sense of security or no sense of security at all,” and that “gating communities seems a high price to pay for such a small return.” (Wilson-Doenges 2000, 609)

GATED COMMUNITIES AND PROPERTY VALUES

In a 2001 paper, Michael LaCour-Little and Stephen Malpezzi examine the house prices in a well-established St. Louis, Missouri neighborhood which has a relatively homogeneous housing stock of four different types: public, not gated, and not governed by a homeowner’s association; public, not gated, and governed by a homeowner’s association; private, not gated, with a homeowner’s association; and private, gated, with a homeowner’s association. (LaCour-Little and Malpezzi 2001) They found that when other factors were equal, the houses inside gates “command an economically significant price premium.” (LaCour-Little and Malpezzi 2001, 2) This is due to the “privacy-security effects of gating” as well as “private subdivision and homeowner association imposed design restrictions, which operate as insurance against negative externalities.” (LaCour-Little and Malpezzi 2001, 2) LaCour-Little and Malpezzi obtained 20 years of property sale data, gated status, homeowner association presence, and information about many other aspects of the sold houses; for example, bedrooms, bathrooms, and the presence of an attached or detached garage were counted for each house. Hedonic regression was used to find the correlation between these covariates and house selling price. They found that date of sale, house size, and lot size appear to be the predominant determinants of sales price, and that garages and remodeling also have positive effects on

house price. The presence of a homeowner's association, private street status, and gating all have positive coefficients and are highly statistically significant. A gated street with a homeowner's association increased the sales price of a house by 26% as compared to public unrestricted streets and by roughly 9% over a neighborhood with a homeowner's association only. Therefore, "the total value premium of 26% is comprised of 17% for the homeowner's association and 9% for the gated streets themselves." (LaCour-Little and Malpezzi 2001, 17)

SECURITY VERSUS STATUS?: A FIRST LOOK AT THE CENSUS'S GATED COMMUNITY DATA

In an article in the *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, Thomas W. Sanchez, Robert E. Lang, and Dawn M. Dhavale analyze the gated community data from the 2001 American Housing Survey (AHS), which was the first U.S. Census Bureau publication to include information about gated communities and provided the first nationwide look at the characteristics of gated communities and their residents. (Sanchez, Lang and Dhavale 2005) The researchers found that some of the data contradicts popular assumptions about gated community residents. Using data that is readily available from the 2001 AHS, the authors chose 34 selected variables to perform a discriminant analysis, which "produces linear combinations of the independent variables to predict group (tenure and community type) membership." (Sanchez, Lang and Dhavale 2005, 285) Almost 6% of American households live in communities surrounded by a wall or fence, and almost 60% of those had controlled entry of some type. The West and South regions of the country have a higher proportion of gated communities, because they occur more frequently in new construction, which is higher in those two regions. Though much of the literature about gated communities focuses on primarily white, affluent homeowners, the AHS data shows that "renters are nearly 2.5 times more likely to live in walled or

fenced communities and over 3 times as likely to have controlled entries. These renters include households in public housing projects, which often have walled and gated design elements.” (Sanchez, Lang and Dhavale 2005, 285) However, homeowners in gated communities are indeed primarily (86.4%) white, and are also more likely to be married, affluent, and living in the suburbs than renters in gated communities. Hispanic homeowners or renters are the most likely ethnic group to live in gated communities. Black homeowners are the group least likely to live in a gated community, even in metropolitan areas like Atlanta, Baltimore, Detroit, Memphis, and Washington, D.C., where blacks make up a significantly higher percentage of households than in other large metro areas. According to the AHS, for homeowners, the perception of crime was virtually the same in gated and non-gated communities.

LITERATURE REVIEW SUMMARY

Reviewing major literature on gated communities in the United States shows that there are parallels between gated subdivisions in East Baton Rouge Parish and the rest of the nation. The literature’s discussion of key issues concerning this form of residential development apply to the parish, as summarized below.

Fortress America says that in the 1980s, gated communities became much more popular and widespread among the middle to upper middle classes, and their popularity continued to grow in the 1990s. (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 7) As I discuss in Chapter 4, this was also true in the City of Baton Rouge and the unincorporated areas of the parish, and the trend continued into the 2000s as well. The book also identifies three types of gated developments: lifestyle, prestige, and security zone; (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 39) in Chapter 4 and the Appendix I categorize each gated subdivision as one of the three types. *Fortress America* discusses the dangers of “civic secession,” (Blakely and Snyder

1997, 7) which is a concern about gated developments that governments in East Baton Rouge Parish should address, and finally, the authors present tactics that neighborhoods can use to achieve some of the same goals as gated developments but without the negative social effects of an actual gate. These tactics could be encouraged in East Baton Rouge Parish as an alternative to gates.

In the article “The Edge and the Center,” the author studies the problems in communities that cause people to move to gated developments. I argue in Chapter 4 that gated subdivisions are contrary to the principles of area comprehensive plans and should be avoided. If parish governments wish to avoid gated developments, this article provides a list of the problems the parish needs to fix to accomplish that. Lynch’s article about the “punitive city” also talks about reasons for people moving to gated developments, and it draws unfavorable parallels between upscale gated communities in which people pay to keep others out and prisons, where taxpayers pay to keep others in.

Wilson-Doenges’ article finds that gated communities may decrease residents’ sense of community and “give either a false sense of security or no sense of security at all.” (Wilson-Doenges 2000, 609) These are two more reasons why gated developments should be carefully studied before approval.

The “Gated Communities and Property Values” article showed that houses in gated communities typically command higher prices than those outside the gate, (LaCour-Little and Malpezzi 2001, 2) which may make it harder to keep gated neighborhoods affordable. As discussed in Chapter 4, Zachary’s master plan specifically says they want to promote mixed-income neighborhoods, (City of Zachary 2009) and according to this article, gated subdivisions may not be compatible with that goal.

The article analyzing the Census’ gated community data says that homeowners who live gated communities are more likely to be white, (Sanchez, Lang and Dhavale

2005) which is the same conclusion I reached about gated subdivisions in East Baton Rouge Parish, and which is discussed in Chapter 4. The article also says gated communities are more prevalent in the South and West of the United States because their housing stock is newer; (Sanchez, Lang and Dhavale 2005) this applies to East Baton Rouge Parish, which is in the South, and as I discuss in Chapters 3 and 4, the housing in East Baton Rouge Parish is even newer than that of the rest of Louisiana.

Chapter 3: Overview of East Baton Rouge Parish

East Baton Rouge Parish is shown in Figure 1 below. This chapter provides an overview of information relating to gated developments for the entire parish, but more specific information will be included in the chapter and section devoted to each city.

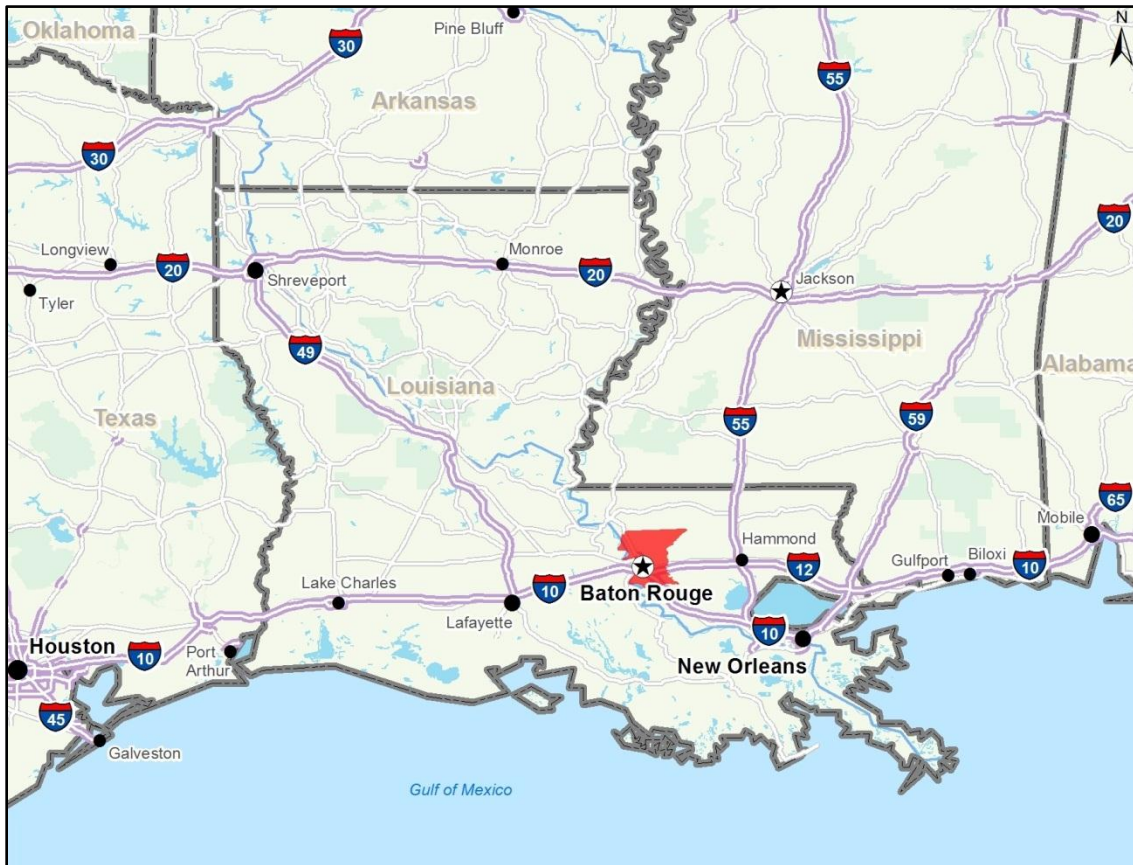


Figure 1: Location of East Baton Rouge Parish in Louisiana

East Baton Rouge Parish contains the City of Baton Rouge, the state capital of Louisiana. In addition to the City of Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge Parish contains three other municipalities: the cities of Baker, Zachary, and Central. Central was incorporated in 2005, and will be the last incorporated municipality in the parish; a 2007

parish ordinance says that “no additional city, town or village shall be incorporated in East Baton Rouge Parish.” (City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge 2007) The governmental structure of East Baton Rouge Parish is unusual; the City of Baton Rouge and the Parish of East Baton Rouge consolidated the two governments in 1949 to create a mayor-council system of government. Under this system, Baton Rouge has a Mayor-President who serves as both the Mayor of Baton Rouge and the President of the Metro Council, the governing body of the parish. (City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge n.d.) This consolidated government is often referred to as the “city-parish.” Baton Rouge is still an incorporated city with city limits that do not coincide with the parish limits. The other three incorporated municipalities retain their independence from the parish. Figure 2 shows East Baton Rouge Parish and its incorporated municipalities.

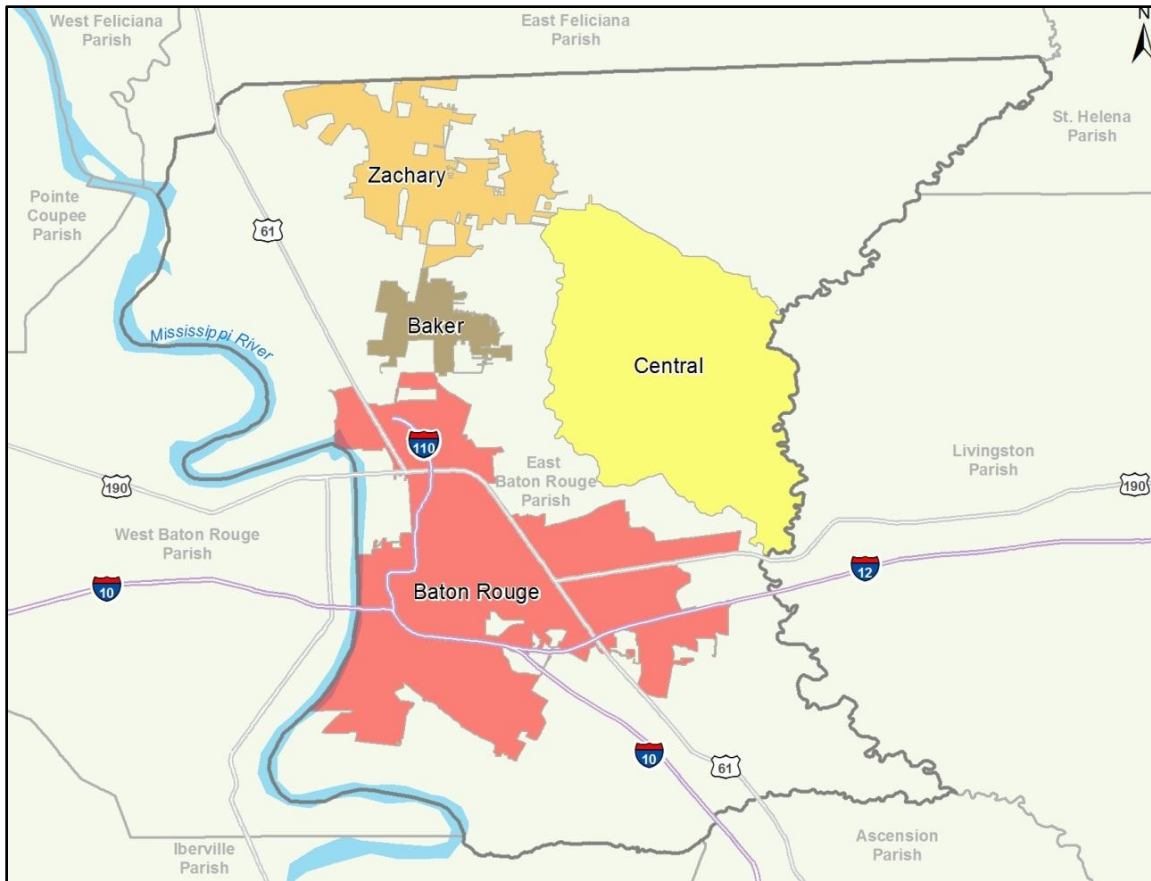


Figure 2: Incorporated Municipalities in East Baton Rouge Parish

DEMOGRAPHICS

There are 440,171 residents in East Baton Rouge Parish according to the 2010 Census, which is a 6.6% increase in population from the 2000 Census. (U.S. Census Bureau 2010) It is the most populous parish in Louisiana. Though East Baton Rouge Parish is growing at a higher rate than the state of Louisiana, it is growing at a much slower rate than neighboring parishes in the nine-parish Baton Rouge Metropolitan Statistical Area. (United States Office of Management and Budget 2003) From 2000 to 2010, Ascension Parish grew almost 40%, Livingston Parish grew approximately 39%, and West Baton Rouge Parish grew about 10%. (Baton Rouge Area Chamber 2011)

Some of the growth in these neighboring parishes is due to outmigration from East Baton Rouge Parish; the parish’s comprehensive plan, FUTUREBR, says that between 2001 and 2008 the parish lost residents to other parishes in the MSA every year except in 2005-2006, when Hurricane Katrina caused an influx of people to the parish. According to FUTUREBR, “although population growth in the MSA has surpassed the expected forecast, East Baton Rouge Parish is not maintaining its share of this growth.” (City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge 2011, 12) Figure 3 below, taken from FUTUREBR, shows the parish’s population increasing while its share of the regional population decreases. The City-Parish government says in its master plan that it wants to retain its share of regional population, which will require land-use planning, transportation improvements, school system improvements, and crime rate reduction.

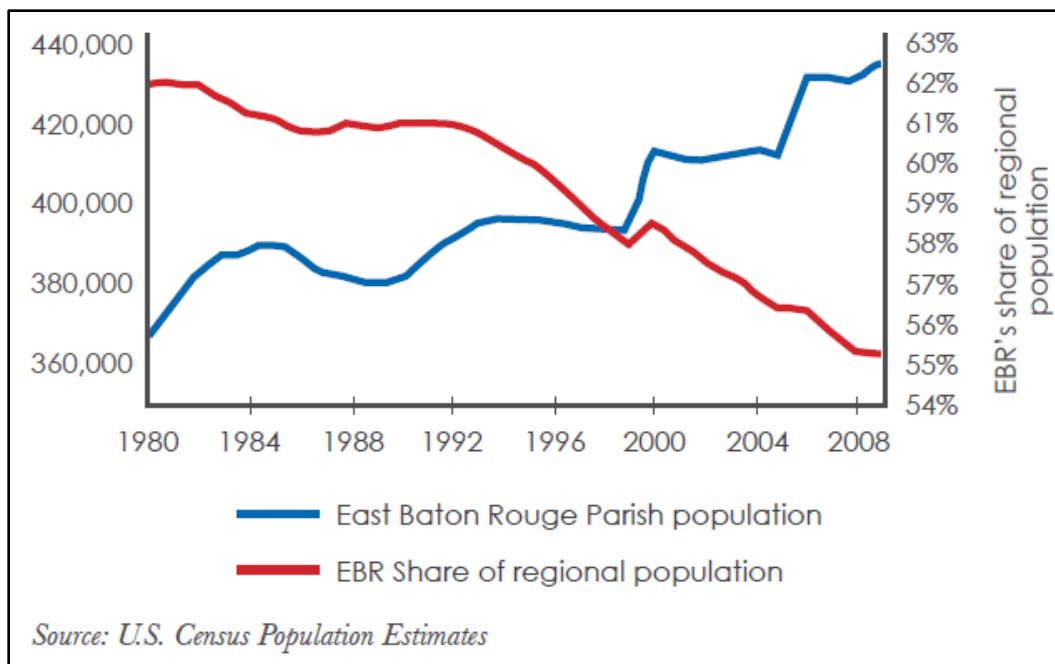


Figure 3: East Baton Rouge Parish Population and Share of Baton Rouge MSA Population, 1980-2009. (City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge 2011)

East Baton Rouge Parish covers approximately 455 square miles of land and has an average of about 967 people per square mile. Population per square mile varies widely by city; Baton Rouge is the most densely populated with about 2,983 people per square mile, and Central is the most sparsely populated with about 432 people per square mile. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011)

The median age in the metro area is 32.6, which is significantly younger than the Louisiana median age of 35.8 and the national median age of 37.2. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) According to FUTUREBR, these “younger adults seek out housing that is pedestrian friendly, convenient, diverse, and balanced.” (City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge 2011, 18) This does not describe most gated developments in the parish, which are vehicle-centered, single-entry neighborhoods with a more homogeneous population than the rest of the parish.

Figure 3 shows that there is a higher proportion of black or African-American people in East Baton Rouge Parish than in Louisiana or the U.S, and a lower proportion of whites, Native Americans, those of another race, and those of two or more races combined. The proportion of Asian people in East Baton Rouge Parish is higher than in Louisiana as a whole, but lower than in the United States. There are also a smaller percentage of Hispanic or Latino people of any race in the parish than in the state or nation; the parish has 3.7% Hispanic or Latino people while Louisiana has 4.2% and the United States has 16.3%. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) In the next chapter, I present the demographics of gated subdivisions in Baton Rouge, the unincorporated part of the parish, Central, and Zachary, and compare them to the parish demographics outlined here.

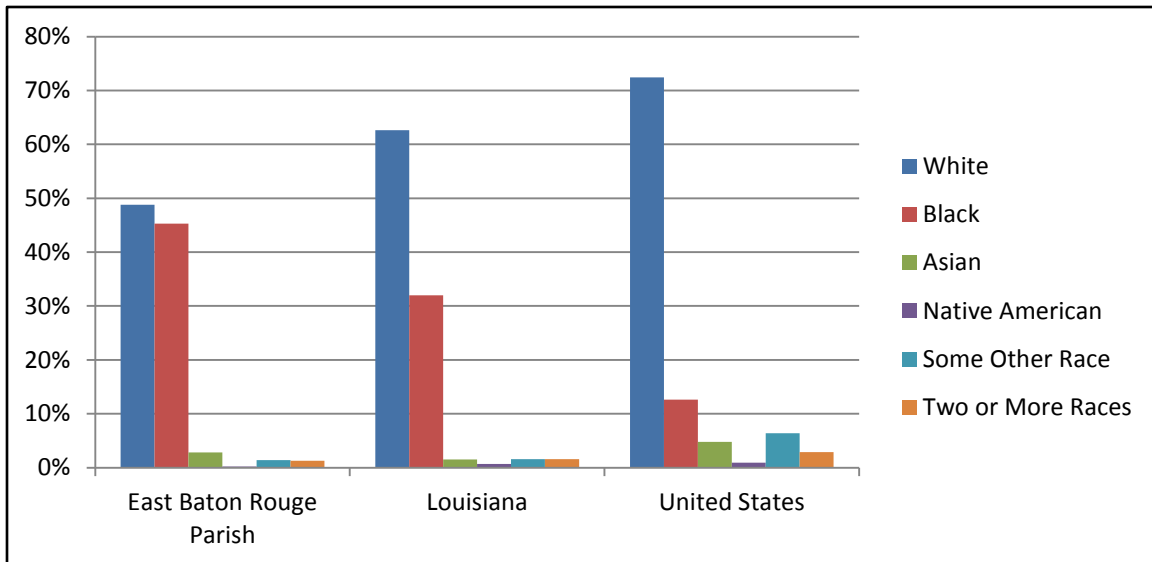


Figure 3: Race Distribution in East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, and the United States

INCOME

The Baton Rouge Metro Area generally performs better on personal economic measures than Louisiana as a whole, but worse than the nation. Median household income in the Baton Rouge Metro Area was \$44,964 in 2010, which is higher than Louisiana's at \$42,505, but lower than the nation's at \$50,046. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) However, the Cost of Living Index for the metro area in 2010 was 96.0, which is lower than the national average of 100; this suggests that it may require less money to live in East Baton Rouge Parish than elsewhere in the nation. (Baton Rouge Area Chamber 2011)

According to the 2010 Census, approximately 17% of people in the parish had incomes below the poverty level in the previous year, compared to 19% of Louisiana residents and 15% of the nation. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) East Baton Rouge Parish also fell between Louisiana and the nation in the percentage of households receiving

Supplemental Security Income. The percentage of households receiving food stamps is exactly the same in East Baton Rouge Parish and the nation (11.9%), which are both lower than in Louisiana (15.3%). (U.S. Census Bureau 2011)

The U.S. Census Bureau published a report entitled “U.S. Neighborhood Income Inequality in the 2005-2009 Period” which found that the City of Baton Rouge has the tenth highest measured household income inequality of places in the United States with populations over 100,000. The State of Louisiana also ranked high in income inequality; it was one of the eight states that scored higher than the United States on all three measures of income inequality used in the study. As the report says, the implications of income inequality are contested; some argue that social stability is weakened “when the rich get richer and the poor get poorer” and others argue that income inequality drives the economy and trying to equalize income through progressive taxation “can stifle creativity and lower the well-being of everyone.” (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) The report found that high income inequality in census tracts tended to be found in cities with older housing and was associated with low income. Low income inequality was associated with suburbs having younger housing and higher income. Simply put, people with higher incomes are likely to live near each other in the suburbs. An implication of this “income sorting” cited by the census report is that “if residential choice is sensitive to the income distribution, economic policies that moderate or amplify income inequality may shape the cities in which we live.” (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) High income inequality in Baton Rouge does not necessarily have a causal relationship with gated developments, but the gates serve as a physical expression of that inequality.

EMPLOYMENT

East Baton Rouge Parish was not hurt as badly by the recession as many other areas in the nation; one of the major indicators of this is the area's relatively low unemployment rate. According to the 2010 Census, 9.3% of those 16 and over in the civilian labor force were unemployed in the parish; this is 0.8% lower than Louisiana's unemployment rate and 1.5% lower than the nation's rate. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011)

The Baton Rouge Area Chamber lists several economic rankings in which the Baton Rouge area rates highly; one of these is the Manpower Economic Outlook Survey, which says the metro area has "the strongest employment outlook in the country for [the first quarter of] 2011, ranking it first among the 100 largest MSAs" and it projects a net 18% employment growth during that time. (Baton Rouge Area Chamber 2011) The City of Baton Rouge was ranked as "one of the strongest job markets in the U.S." by *Bloomberg Businessweek*, according to BRAC. (Baton Rouge Area Chamber 2011) This has implications for gated developments; since the parish will be growing in population due to its desirable employment outlook, there will be a need for more housing. Therefore, the pressure on local governments to approve more gated developments will probably increase.

EDUCATION

There are four public school districts in the parish; East Baton Rouge Parish School System covers the City of Baton Rouge and the unincorporated part of the parish, and the cities of Baker, Central, and Zachary have formed their own independent school districts. Zachary's school system is the highest ranked in the state, and Central's is sixth highest ranked. East Baton Rouge Parish and Baker are much lower in the rankings, at numbers 54 and 68, respectively, out of 71 districts. (Louisiana Department of Education 2011) As mentioned in the Demographics section of this chapter, school system quality

and rankings are believed to play a significant role in the population loss from East Baton Rouge Parish to neighboring parishes, and they may play a role in shifting population from the cities of Baker and Baton Rouge to Central and Zachary. I personally know families who have moved to Zachary in large part for the high-quality public schools. If population continues to shift from Baton Rouge to Central and Zachary, those two cities will be under increased development pressure and possibly under increased pressure to build gated developments.

TRANSPORTATION

Almost 93% of workers in the parish use a personal vehicle to get to work, whether they drive alone (81%) or carpool (12%). According to the 2010 census, mean travel time to work is 22.5 minutes in East Baton Rouge Parish, which is lower than Louisiana's 24.8 minutes and the nation's 25.3 minutes. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) However, the 2011 Urban Mobility Report by the Texas Transportation Institute ranks Baton Rouge as the most congested medium size city in the country. (Texas Transportation Institute 2011) All three comprehensive plans in this parish say that traffic congestion and lack of connectivity are major problems, and as I discuss later in the paper, gated developments are likely to exacerbate those problems.

There is a shortage of public transportation in East Baton Rouge Parish. Capital Area Transit System (CATS) is the only fixed-route bus system in the region, serving the City of Baton Rouge and its immediate surroundings, including part of Zachary. However, from personal experience, I know that CATS service is infrequent and inconvenient when compared to personal vehicle travel, and has very few, if any, patrons that choose to ride the bus. Most people who ride CATS do so because they have to. CATS does not receive dedicated government funding and has had recent budget

shortfalls that constantly threaten to further reduce service or increase fares. (Garland 2011)

CRIME

Table 1 shows the rates of four major violent crimes in Baker, Baton Rouge, and Zachary in 2009, the most recent data available for all three cities. (U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation 2010)

Crime	Offenses Known to Law Enforcement in 2009		
	Baker (pop.13,315)	Baton Rouge (pop. 223,187)	Zachary (pop. 14,625)
Murder & nonnegligent manslaughter	1	75	0
Forcible Rape	3	55	1
Robbery	4	1,135	0
Aggravated Assault	33	1,558	35
Violent Crime Total	41	2,823	36

Table 1: Violent Crime Offenses Known to Law Enforcement in 2009, in Baker, Baton Rouge, and Zachary

Table 2 shows the rates of four major property crimes in Baker, Baton Rouge, and Zachary in 2009. (U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation 2010)
The City of Central is not included in these Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Reporting tables.

Crime	Offenses Known to Law Enforcement in 2009		
	Baker (pop.13,315)	Baton Rouge (pop. 223,187)	Zachary (pop. 14,625)
Burglary	113	4,268	32
Larceny-Theft	362	8,459	171
Motor Vehicle Theft	20	929	8
Property Crime Total	495	13,656	211

Table 2: Property Crime Offenses Known to Law Enforcement in 2009, in Baker, Baton Rouge, and Zachary

Though most other sections of this chapter have compared East Baton Rouge Parish to Louisiana and the nation, the U.S. Department of Justice-Federal Bureau of Investigation website cataloging crime statistics has a prominent warning called “Caution Against Ranking” that lists many factors affecting the volume and type of crime in different places, including population density, economic conditions, and family conditions. (U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation 2011) Since I have not made a thorough study of the contributing factors to crime in the three areas I compare elsewhere in this paper, I will not attempt to rank or compare crime in the parish to any other area. Though I have presented findings for the three cities side by side, this is purely for convenience.

However, other evidence does agree with what the table above seems to suggest—that the smaller cities in East Baton Rouge Parish have less crime than the City of Baton Rouge. For example, the master plans of both Central and Zachary mention their low crime rate as a feature the community would like to preserve, while the FUTUREBR plan says that the city must lower its crime rate to retain desired population levels in the future. Gated developments have not been shown to be effective at reducing

crime inside the gates, (Wilson-Doenges 2000) so they would not be a viable solution to reducing crime or keeping crime levels low.

HOUSING

The 2010 Census estimates that there are 187,508 housing units in East Baton Rouge Parish, and that 88% are occupied and 12% are vacant. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) Of the occupied units, about 61% are owner-occupied and 39% are rented. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) In Chapter 4 and the Appendix of this paper, I compare the occupancy rates of Census blocks with gated developments to the parish as a whole.

Figure 5 shows the proportion of housing units by the year in which they were built. In general, housing units in East Baton Rouge Parish are newer than units in Louisiana and the nation as a whole. For example, in the United States, almost 14% of housing units were built in 1939 or earlier, while in the parish, only about 4% of units were built then. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) This fits in with the article about the Census' gated community data reviewed in Chapter 2 of this paper, which says that the West and South regions of the country have a higher proportion of gated communities, because they occur more frequently in new construction, which is higher in those two regions. (Sanchez, Lang and Dhavale 2005)

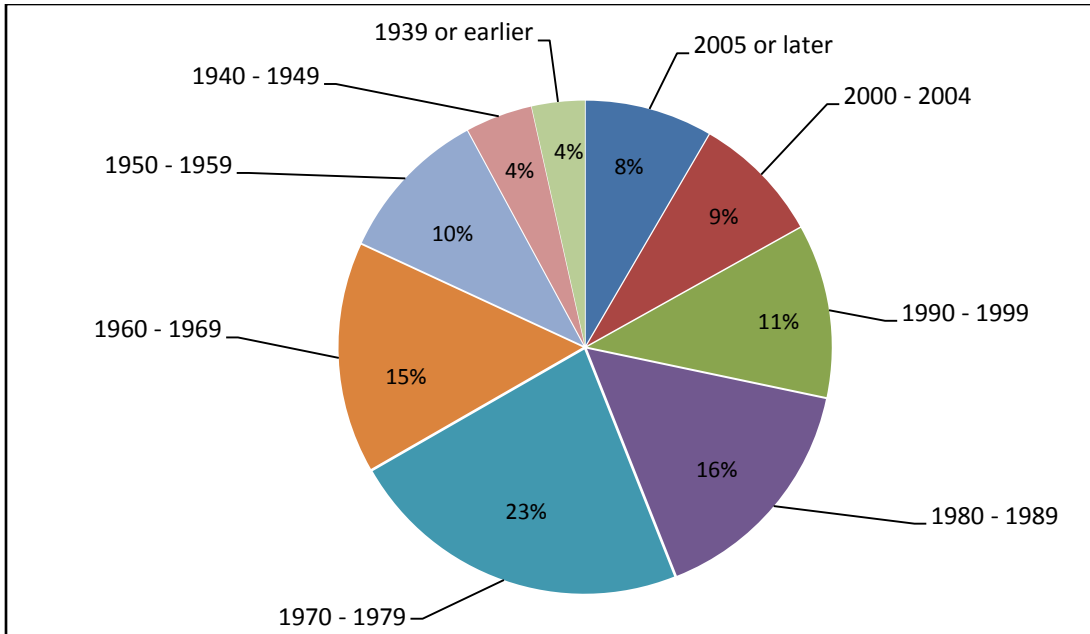


Figure 5: Percentage of Housing Units by Year Built in East Baton Rouge Parish

The median value of an owner-occupied home in East Baton Rouge Parish is \$166,800. This is higher than the Louisiana median of \$137,500 but lower than the national median of \$179,900. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) The median cost of a mortgage in the parish is \$1,283 and the median gross rent is \$760. These monthly costs are both higher in East Baton Rouge Parish than in Louisiana, but lower than in the nation as a whole. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) According to the “Gated Communities and Property Values” article reviewed in Chapter 2, houses in gated communities sell for higher prices than comparable houses outside gates. (LaCour-Little and Malpezzi 2001) Therefore, if gated developments become more popular and widespread in the parish, it is possible that house values could also increase.

PARISH OVERVIEW SUMMARY

In Chapter 3, I gave an overview of some of East Baton Rouge Parish’s characteristics that relate to gated subdivisions. Three of these characteristics may mean

there will be increased pressure to develop new housing in general, and gated neighborhoods in particular: first, the population of the parish is growing, especially the cities of Central and Zachary; second, public schools in Central and Zachary are highly ranked; and third, East Baton Rouge Parish has relatively low unemployment and a strong employment outlook. People in the parish are relatively young and more racially diverse than Louisiana or the nation, which means they may be less likely to desire gated subdivisions. The City of Baton Rouge and Louisiana both have high income inequality, which does not have a causal relationship to gated developments, but gates are a physical expression and a reminder of that inequality. Congestion and automobile traffic is a large problem all over East Baton Rouge Parish, and the lack of street connectivity in gated subdivisions would only make the problem worse. Like the rest of the South and West regions of the country, the parish has relatively new housing, which correlates with a higher percentage of gated subdivisions. All the data presented in Chapter 3 is related in some way to gated developments in East Baton Rouge Parish; in the next chapter, I analyze each jurisdiction's specific gated subdivisions and how they relate to the parish as a whole.

Chapter 4: Gated Subdivisions in East Baton Rouge Parish

This chapter will describe existing gated subdivisions in each of the jurisdictions in the parish in which they occur. Gated subdivisions in the unincorporated areas of the parish will be included in the City of Baton Rouge section, because there is virtually no difference between the government of subdivisions inside the City of Baton Rouge and in the unincorporated part of the parish. For both, the City Parish Planning Commission makes recommendations to the Metro Council, which controls planning, zoning and subdivision regulations. The Cities of Central and Zachary each have their own planning commissions and have jurisdiction over planning, zoning, and subdivision regulations within their respective city limits. In total, there are 61 gated subdivisions in East Baton Rouge Parish: one in Zachary, two in Central, and 58 in the City of Baton Rouge and the unincorporated part of the parish. Figure 7 shows their locations in red.

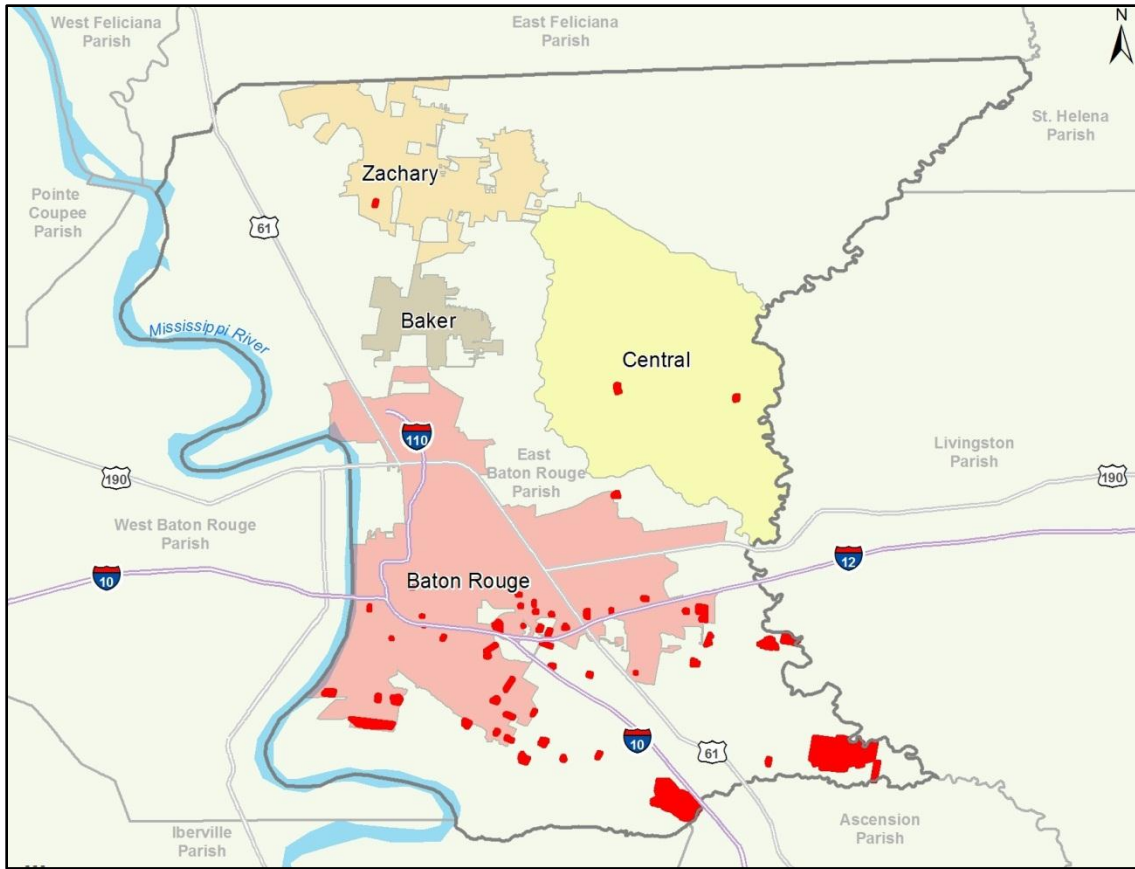


Figure 7: Gated Subdivisions in East Baton Rouge Parish

CITY OF BATON ROUGE/UNINCORPORATED PARTS OF EAST BATON ROUGE PARISH

When I began to research and map gated subdivisions for this paper, I contacted personnel at the City Parish Planning Commission (CPPC) to find out if I would be duplicating work they had already done. They said that the CPPC kept a list of gated subdivisions that is not available to the general public, but which I could have for my research. However, only 20 subdivisions were listed in the CPPC database of gated communities. Since I could immediately think of at least two gated subdivisions not shown on the CPPC’s list, I knew the list was not exhaustive and that further research

was needed to develop a more comprehensive list and maps of gated communities in the Parish.

I began with a list of all the subdivisions in the Parish (excluding Baker, Zachary, and recent subdivisions in Central),¹ and a corresponding subdivision map, both available online from the CPPC. (City Parish Planning Commission 2011) The list provided the subdivision name, its location on the map, the filing (if applicable), the final date the subdivision was recorded, and whether it is residential or commercial. There were 2,945 separate entries on the CPPC's list. Thankfully, that number does not accurately reflect the number of subdivisions, because many subdivisions had multiple entries, one for each different filing. Removing duplicate subdivisions and filings left approximately 1,500 different subdivisions. I first categorized all the subdivisions I could on the list as gated or non-gated using my personal knowledge, Google Street View, and Bing Maps. I then made site visits to the remaining subdivisions to see firsthand if they were gated. I also visited all the gated subdivisions and photographed the gates. I estimate that I personally visited about 200 subdivisions and drove at least 300 miles around East Baton Rouge Parish.

I found that there are 57 existing gated subdivisions in the City of Baton Rouge and the unincorporated areas of East Baton Rouge Parish, and at least one more is being planned, for a total of 58.² This means that almost 4% of subdivisions in the city-parish's jurisdiction are gated. Figure 8 shows their locations in red.

¹ See page 49 for an explanation of Central's inclusion in the CPPC subdivision maps.

² See Appendix for complete list of gated subdivisions.

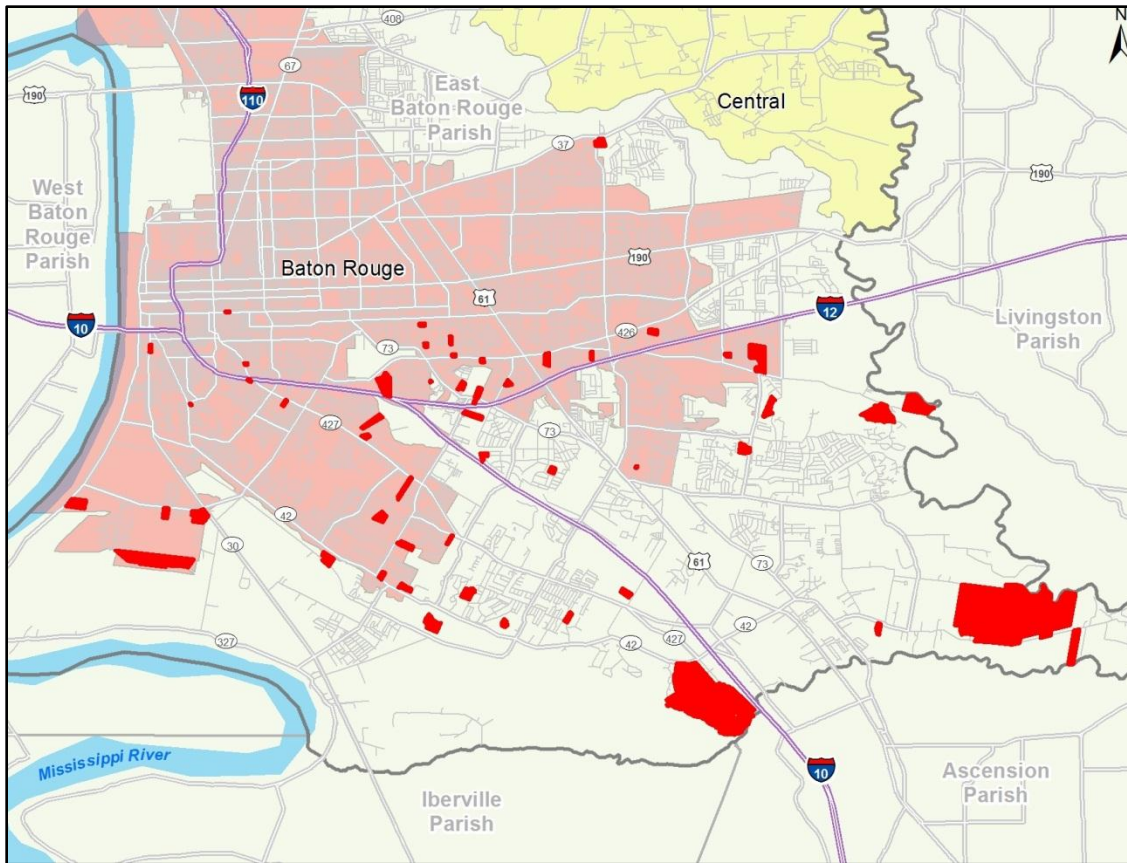


Figure 8: Gated Subdivisions in the City of Baton Rouge and the unincorporated part of East Baton Rouge Parish

Gated subdivisions in the city-parish’s jurisdiction are all located in the southern half of the parish, and all but one is located south of Florida Boulevard/U.S. Highway 190, a major thoroughfare in Baton Rouge and a street that is often used to divide the city into “North Baton Rouge” and “South Baton Rouge.” 32 of the gated subdivisions fall within the city limits, 24 are outside the city limits, and one is half in and half out. However, the city limits of Baton Rouge do not necessarily correspond with Baton Rouge’s contiguous developed area, and what a Baton Rouge resident like me might refer to as the “center of town” might be technically outside the city limits. As shown in Figure 9, two of the gated subdivisions that are technically outside the city limits are

actually in small enclaves completely surrounded by the City of Baton Rouge; I was unable to find any reason for these developments not being inside the incorporated areas of the city.

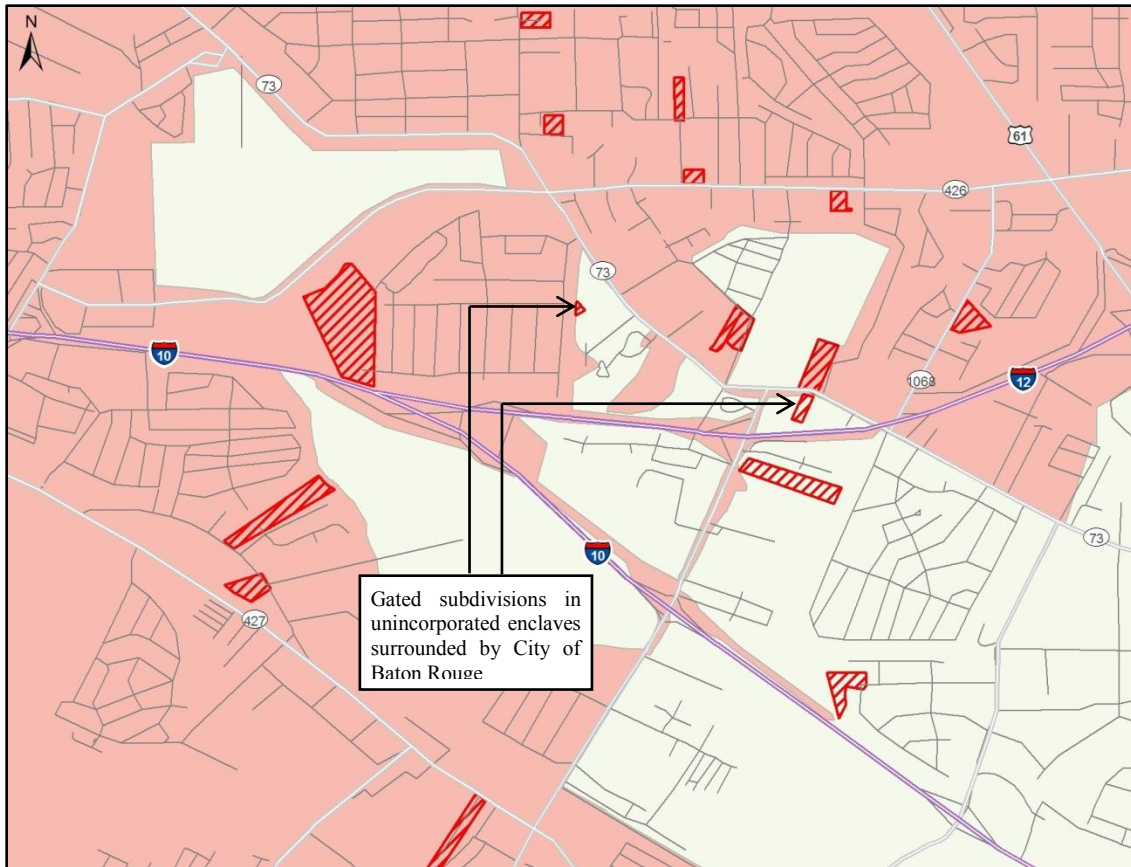


Figure 9: Gated Subdivisions in Unincorporated Enclaves Surrounded by the City of Baton Rouge

I wanted to use the CPPC's official subdivision shapefiles along with ArcGIS mapping software to easily map the location of each gated subdivision and calculate its size. A subdivision shapefile would also make it easy to get demographic information for each gated subdivision by overlaying it with a shapefile containing census data. However, the CPPC charges \$2,000 for the subdivision shapefile, (City Parish Planning

Commission 2011) which I could not afford, so I had perform a slightly longer process using free information; I downloaded the subdivision map as a PDF from the CPPC's website, saved it as a JPEG image, and georeferenced that image using ArcMap. I was then able to make my own gated subdivision shapefile by tracing the georeferenced subdivision map. My subdivision shapefile will not match the official CPPC shapefile exactly, but for the purposes of this report there will be no accuracy lost by not using the official version.

The 58 gated subdivisions in the City of Baton Rouge and the unincorporated part of East Baton Rouge Parish range in size from an urban townhome development of about half an acre to an equestrian estate development of over 900 acres. The average size is approximately 47 acres. Acreage for each gated subdivision is listed in this paper's Appendix.

The gated subdivisions in the city-parish's jurisdiction are located in 111 separate census blocks, according to the 2010 Census. As discussed in Chapter One of this paper, blocks are the smallest geographic unit of measurement available from the Census Bureau, but they still vary greatly in size. Some gated subdivisions I studied contained several census blocks, and some gated subdivisions made up only a small part of the census block in which they were located.

Of the 111 census blocks containing gated subdivisions, 14 had no population in 2010, so I did not include them in my analysis. I also removed nine more census blocks because they contained gated neighborhoods that do not yet have any residents. This left 88 census blocks containing occupied gated subdivisions in the city-parish's jurisdiction. As I discussed in the first chapter of this paper, much less data is available for census blocks than for census tracts or the parish. I was only able to compare race, people who are Hispanic or Latino, and housing occupancy of blocks containing gated subdivisions to

larger areas. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) The Appendix at the end of this paper lists the census blocks containing gated subdivisions and the statistics for each.

I found that in the census blocks containing gated subdivisions in the city-parish’s jurisdiction, there are a larger percentage of whites and Asians, the same percentage of Native Americans and people of two or more races, and a smaller percentage of blacks and those of other races than in East Baton Rouge Parish as a whole. 3.1% of people are Hispanic or Latino in the census blocks with gated subdivisions, which is slightly lower than the parish’s rate of 3.7%. Figure 10 shows the difference in race distribution in the two areas.

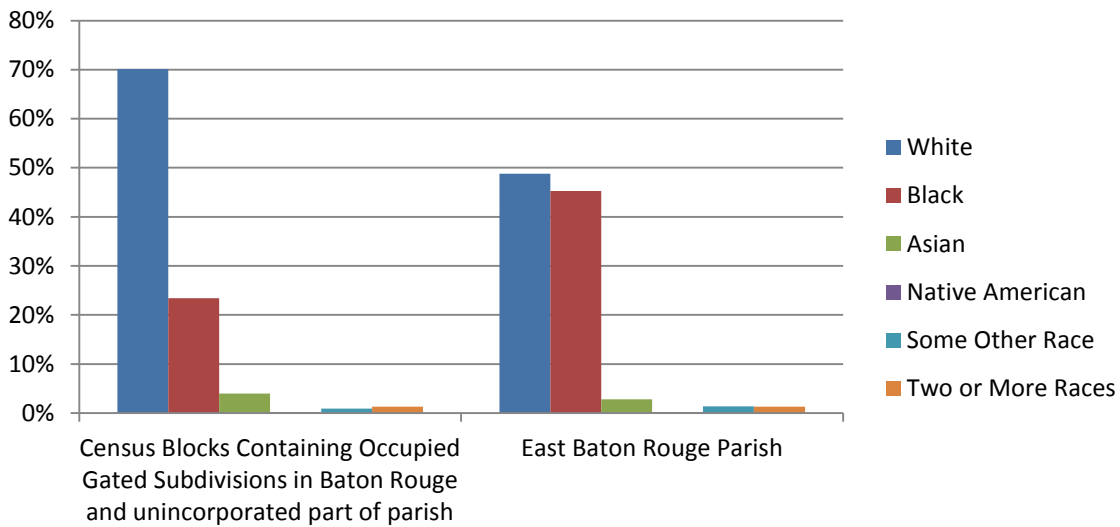


Figure 10: Race Distribution in 2010 in Census Blocks Containing Occupied Gated Subdivisions in Baton Rouge and the unincorporated part of the parish and in East Baton Rouge Parish.

As far as I could determine, only one of the gated subdivisions I found in the city-parish jurisdiction was designed as a rental property.³ While homeowners can certainly

³ Townhomes of Sherwood Forest subdivision; see pages 43-46 for discussion.

rent out the houses they own in gated developments, I assume that most people residing in gated subdivisions in Baton Rouge and the unincorporated part of the parish own the homes in which they live. If this assumption is correct, my findings agree with part of the analysis of census gated community data I summarized in Chapter One, in which the authors found that homeowners in gated communities in the United States are primarily white. (Sanchez, Lang and Dhavale 2005, 285) However, they also found that black homeowners are the group least likely to live in a gated community, (Sanchez, Lang and Dhavale 2005, 285) which is not borne out by my findings; though blacks make up a lower percentage of the population in the blocks I studied than in the parish as a whole, they still make up about 23%, the second highest race percentage.

Housing occupancy rates are higher in census blocks with gated subdivisions than in the parish as a whole. In the blocks with gated subdivisions, housing units are about 92% occupied and 8% vacant, while in East Baton Rouge Parish, housing units are about 88% occupied and 12% vacant. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011)

As Blakely and Snyder wrote in *Fortress America*, in the 1980s, gated communities became much more popular and widespread among the middle to upper middle classes, and their popularity continued to grow in the 1990s. (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 4-5) Figure 11 illustrates this trend in the City of Baton Rouge and the unincorporated areas of the parish, and shows that the trend continued into the 2000s.

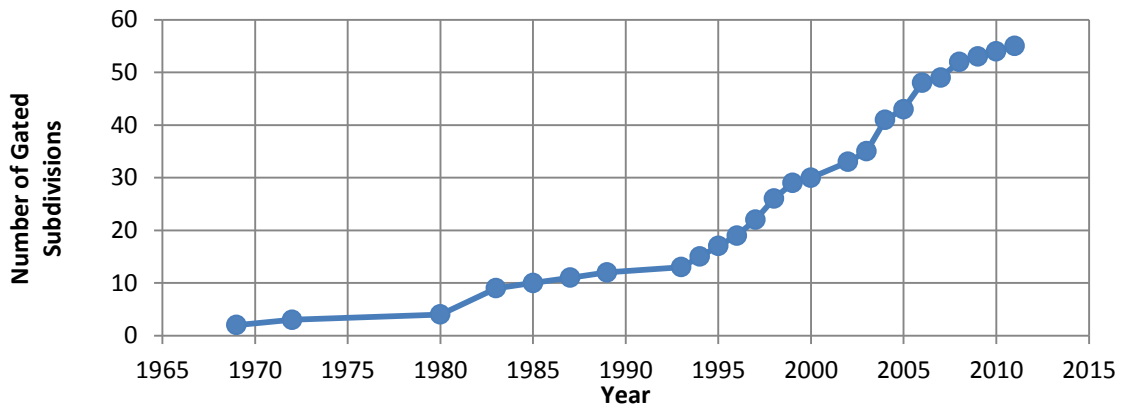


Figure 11: Number of Gated Subdivisions by Year Subdivision Recorded in the City of Baton Rouge and the unincorporated areas of East Baton Rouge Parish

Since there are so many gated subdivisions in Baton Rouge and the unincorporated part of the parish, I am not able to give a detailed profile of each one in this paper. I therefore chose two to describe in more detail, which will show different aspects of gated subdivisions in the jurisdiction.

The Country Club of Louisiana

The Country Club of Louisiana (CCLA) is the most well-known gated subdivision in the Baton Rouge area. It is located outside the city limits of Baton Rouge, at the southern edge of the parish, as shown in Figure 12 below.

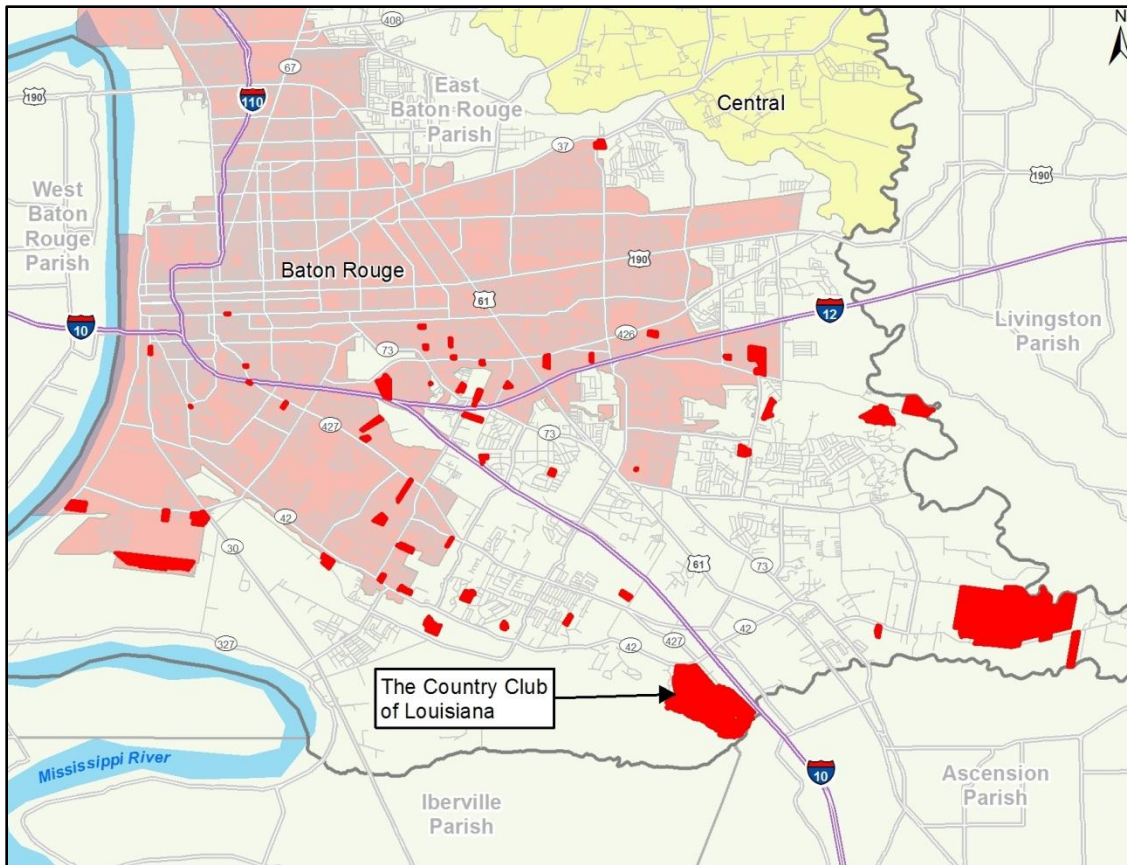


Figure 12: Location of The Country Club of Louisiana

CCLA was one of the first gated subdivisions in the parish, built in 1985, and has almost 600 completed homes and 679 lots. (The Country Club of Louisiana Property Owners Association 2011) Its 670 acres include custom-designed homes built around a golf course, tennis courts, pools, playgrounds, and a clubhouse modeled after a traditional southern plantation. The CCLA Property Owners Association is highly organized and its subdivision regulations are numerous and strict; for example, the Architectural Review Committee must approve all new construction, landscaping, or alterations, there are no more than two pets allowed per house, and basketball goals must be painted the same

color as the house. (The Country Club of Louisiana Property Owners' Association 2008)

Figure 13 shows one of the homes in CCLA.



Figure 13: Home in The Country Club of Louisiana. Source: GBRAR. (Greater Baton Rouge Association of Realtors 2011)

One of my coworkers lives in CCLA, and provided me with information about the subdivision's gate control. There is an elaborate and thorough system of guards and gates at the two entrances to the neighborhood. The front entrance, shown in Figure 14, has two lanes, one of which allows residents to pass through a gate arm using an automated card kept in their cars, and another lane in which visitors must stop to show identification and be checked in by a guard. Guards are on duty at the front gate 24 hours

a day. Every visitor, from a friend to the pizza delivery person, must have a resident “sponsor” to enter CCLA; the sponsor must either put frequent visitors on a permanent list or the guard must call the resident to confirm that the visitor is invited. The back entrance to CCLA is primarily for workers and their vehicles, but can be used by residents and visitors when open; there is only one lane with a guard who must verify everyone who enters. The back entrance is only open from 7 am to 7 pm on weekdays, 8 am to 3 pm on Saturdays, and it is closed on Sundays; this is in keeping with the subdivision regulation that no construction work be performed on Sundays unless absolutely necessary. (The Country Club of Louisiana Property Owners' Association 2008)



Figure 14: Front gate at the Country Club of Louisiana. Far right lane for residents with automated gate cards; right lane for visitors who must stop at guard house.

Fortress America would label CCLA a “lifestyle community” because its gates do provide some security, but are primarily meant to provide “separation for the leisure activities and amenities offered within.” (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 39) According to *Fortress America*, the gates at CCLA would be secondary to the golf course, clubhouse,

tennis, and swimming offered to residents, but I believe the system of guards and gates provides more than the normal level of security offered at many lifestyle communities.

Townhomes of Sherwood Forest

Townhomes of Sherwood Forest is the northernmost gated subdivision in the city-parish's jurisdiction, as shown in Figure 15 below.

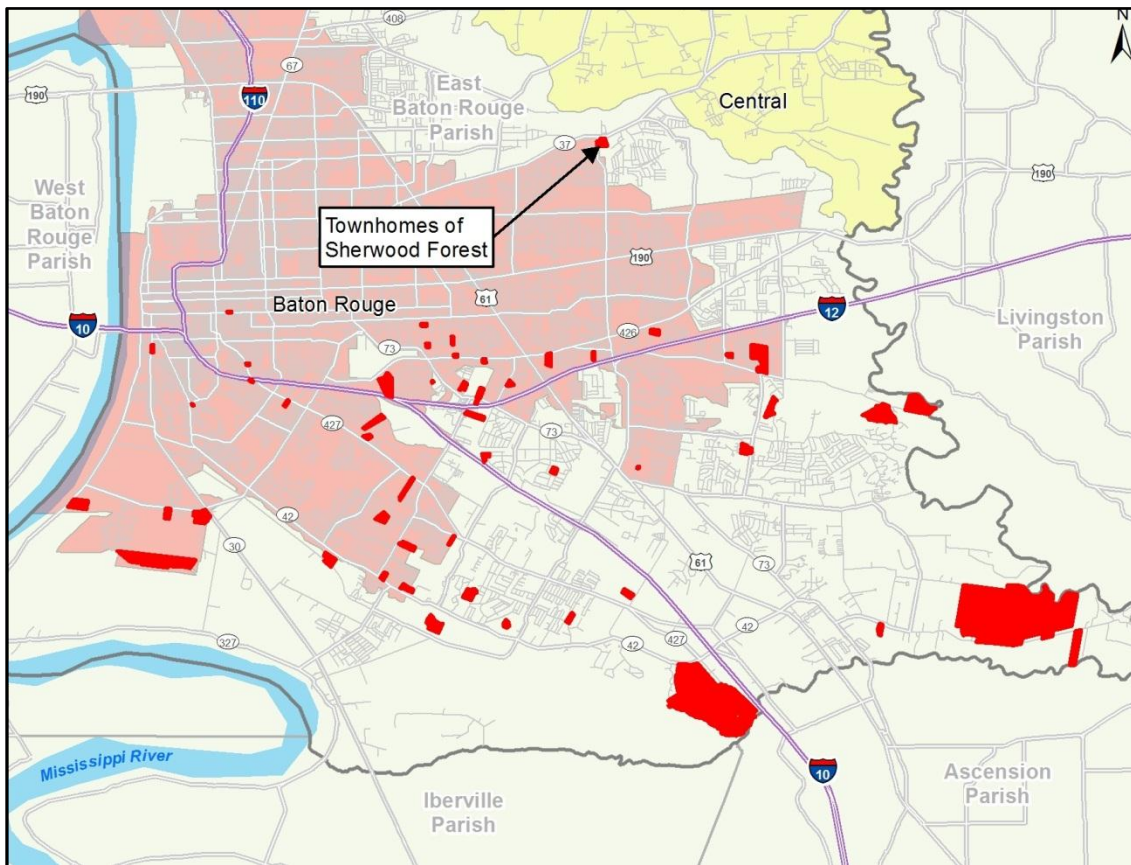


Figure 15: Location of Townhomes of Sherwood Forest

Townhomes of Sherwood Forest is the only gated subdivision in the city-parish's jurisdiction made specifically for rental housing. Along with the Senior Residences of Central, which is profiled on pages 52-54 of this paper, it is managed by ProdiGem,

L.L.C., a company that manages affordable housing properties. It is affordable, meaning residents should not pay more than 30% of their monthly income towards rent, and according to the application available on ProdiGem's website, it is reserved for those who make 60% or below the median family income for the area. (ProdiGem, L.L.C. 2011)

Townhomes of Sherwood Forest is a 14 acre development of two-, three-, and four-bedroom duplexes, with 98 total housing units. The main street of the subdivision is shown in Figure 16.



Figure 16: Townhomes of Sherwood Forest subdivision

Some of the units are accessible to those with physical, hearing, and visual disabilities. When I visited Townhomes of Sherwood Forest in August 2011, the homes were occupied but the gate was still being built, as shown in Figure 17.



Figure 17: Gate under construction at Townhomes of Sherwood Forest. Leasing office at right; townhome at left.

It was hard to fit Townhomes of Sherwood Forest into a *Fortress America* category. On one hand, the subdivision was approved in 2007, and the houses are already occupied, so the gate built in 2011 was probably not part of the original subdivision plan. This may mean it would qualify as a “security zone,” in which the gates are not built by the developer but are constructed as a barrier to nearby crime, traffic, and blight. While the other two types of gated communities mostly serve the middle to upper-middle class, security zone communities also include lower income neighborhoods and sometimes even housing projects, and the Townhomes of Sherwood Forest does serve lower income people. On the other hand, *Fortress America* says security zones are constructed by residents of an existing neighborhood, and since the Townhomes of Sherwood Forest is a rental community, residents do not have the power to construct a gate without the

owner's permission. Security zones also most often occur in urban areas or older suburban areas where residents are trying to maintain their neighborhoods' safety and sense of community, and this subdivision is only about five years old. With its affordability and basic construction, Townhomes of Sherwood Forest probably does not qualify as a prestige community, and it offers no special amenities inside the gate that would make it a lifestyle community, so though it does not fit perfectly, the subdivision is probably best categorized as a security zone. (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 39)

Master Plan Elements Relating to Gated Subdivisions in Baton Rouge and the unincorporated part of East Baton Rouge Parish

The City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge consolidated government uses a master plan to set its general, long-term vision for the city/parish's growth and change. The Metro Council adopted the parish's first master plan, called the Horizon Plan, in 1992. The plan was meant to look 20 years ahead, and in 2012 would have reached the end of its life. (City Parish Planning Commission 2008) The Metro Council has therefore recently adopted a new 20-year comprehensive plan for the city and parish, called FUTUREBR. (City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge 2011) Like its predecessor, FUTUREBR does not mention gated developments, but it contains guiding principles with which gated subdivisions may conflict. These include, most prominently, promoting street connectivity, mixing land uses, and encouraging diverse neighborhoods.

One of the main principles in FUTUREBR that is repeated over and over again is that streets should be interconnected. It says "new neighborhoods should be connected both within the community and to the City-Parish's overall transportation network" (City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge 2011, 41) but that most new housing developments are not built to connect to each other, meaning that "going from one neighborhood to the next requires travel on major arterials" which "increases congestion

for everyone and makes walking or biking difficult.” (City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge 2011, 52) Encouraging walking or biking as an alternative to vehicle travel promotes overall public health and is also important to the independence of those who are unable to drive. FUTUREBR also mentions another impact of street connectivity on public health—the ability of first responders to reach an emergency in the shortest time possible is improved when there are many routes to a location. (City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge 2011, 6) Obviously, when a neighborhood is gated, the streets are not interconnected with the surrounding neighborhoods; the main point of a gated neighborhood is to control the points of connection to the outside. Therefore a gated subdivision is contrary to one of the central tenets of the FUTUREBR plan.

A second frequent recommendation found in the FUTUREBR plan is mixing land uses to encourage growth patterns that make walking, biking, and public transit viable alternatives to vehicle travel. One of the main reasons for mixing land uses is that it will help to alleviate the city-parish’s “severe transportation problems,” (City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge 2011, 6) which cannot be done by street improvements alone. Mixing land uses can be done by, for example, allowing buildings to have retail stores on the ground floor and housing on upper floors, or allowing small businesses in single-family houses. In any case, mixing land uses involves having business and housing in close proximity to each other; this would not be compatible with a gated subdivision, since the gates would probably deter customers from visiting the businesses inside.

The Economic Development chapter of the master plan links a high quality of life in a city to increased economic development opportunities and says “talent and businesses are more attracted to cities that have...diverse, vibrant neighborhoods.” (City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge 2011, 19) Homogeneity, not diversity, is

one of the hallmarks of gated neighborhoods, and the many restrictions that go along with most gated subdivisions also make it unlikely that they would ever be described as “vibrant.”

Finally, FUTUREBR says that “street network characteristics such as configuration, compactness, and connectivity influence the frequency with which people drive, walk or ride a bike.” (City of Baton Rouge/Parish of East Baton Rouge 2011, 6) Though it is not specifically mentioned in the master plan, increased walking and bike riding could have positive overall health effects for residents, and a gated development which discourages non-motorized travel would hinder these positive effects.

CCLA and Townhomes of Sherwood Forest represent opposite ends of the gated development spectrum in the City of Baton Rouge and the unincorporated parts of the parish. They offer specific examples of how gated subdivisions in the jurisdiction ignore the street connectivity, mixed-use, and neighborhood diversity objectives of its master plan. CCLA is an example of almost non-existent street connectivity; in a subdivision of 600 houses and thousands of residents, there are only two entry points, both of which connect to the same two-lane road. The streets in Townhomes of Sherwood Forest are not well-connected either; there is only one entrance to the neighborhood, but it is so much smaller than CCLA that I believe it has a smaller effect on traffic. Neither of the neighborhoods supports the mixed-use goal of the master plan, because their gates prevent the necessary amount of customers a business would need. In opposite ways, both subdivisions also go against the goal of neighborhood diversity; CCLA keeps low income people out of the neighborhood with large house and lot sizes that drive up prices, and Townhomes of Sherwood Forest keeps people out who make over 60% of the area’s median income. (ProdiGem, L.L.C. 2011)

CITY OF CENTRAL

The City of Central was incorporated fairly recently, in 2005. Its population is 26,864 according to the 2010 Census, with 62.24 square miles of land and about 432 people per square mile. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) It is the most sparsely populated of the four cities in East Baton Rouge Parish. It is shown in Figure 7 on page 32 of this paper.

What is now the City of Central was a part of unincorporated East Baton Rouge Parish until 2005; prior to 2005, Central was under the jurisdiction of the city-parish consolidated government, and its planning, zoning, and subdivisions were managed by the City Parish Planning Commission. The CPPC parish subdivision map and list therefore contain all the subdivisions in Central up to 2005, so I followed the same process to find gated subdivisions in Central as I did for the City of Baton Rouge.⁴ To find the more recent subdivisions, I used the City of Central's website, which lists recently approved subdivisions, (City of Central 2011) and the Greater Baton Rouge Association of Realtors website, which allows a search for gated neighborhoods. (Greater Baton Rouge Association of Realtors 2011) There are a total of 102 residential subdivisions in the City of Central, and two of those are gated: The Gates at Burlington and Senior Residences of Central. Figure 18 shows their locations in red.

⁴ See pages 32-33.

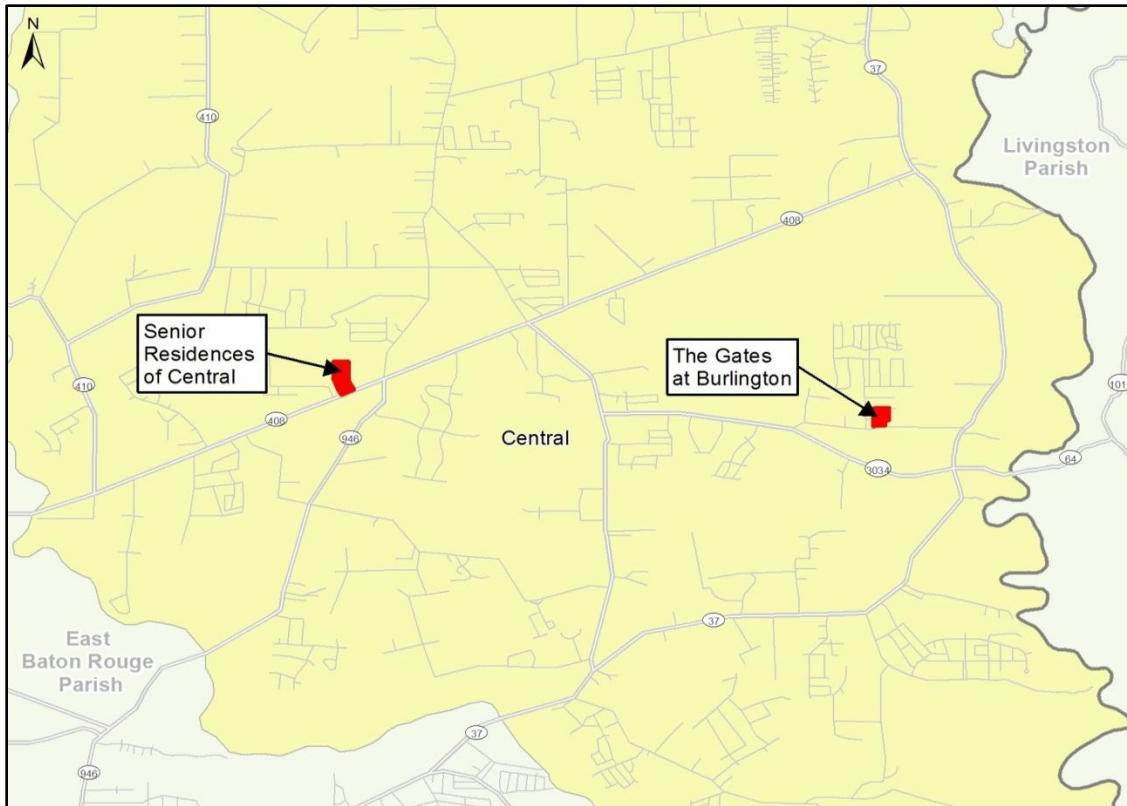


Figure 18: Gated subdivisions in Central

Both The Gates at Burlington and Senior Residences of Central are relatively new subdivisions; they were recorded in January 2011 and March 2008, respectively. Both are also communities specifically for seniors; Senior Residences of Central is for those age 62 and older, and The Gates at Burlington is for those “55 and better,” (The Gates at Burlington 2010) as the neighborhood’s website says.

The Gates at Burlington

The Gates at Burlington covers approximately 10 acres and will include 53 houses when fully built. When I visited The Gates at Burlington in August 2011, there were only about five houses completed, as shown in the background of Figure 12, and none

were occupied yet. The gates themselves were installed but standing open, and the perimeter fence had not been installed, as shown in Figure 19.



Figure 19: The Gates at Burlington subdivision in Central

The Gates at Burlington’s website describes the neighborhood as an “active age-restricted community” that offers “quiet country living in the city.” (The Gates at Burlington 2010) Though none of the following amenities were built at the time of my visit, the website promises a neighborhood clubhouse with “indoor and outdoor cooking areas, a pool, gazebo and much more.” (The Gates at Burlington 2010) Following the *Fortress America* categories discussed in Chapter 2 of this paper, The Gates at Burlington would be a “lifestyle community” because its gates, when they become operational, will provide some security, but are primarily meant to provide “separation for the leisure activities and amenities offered within.” (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 39)

I chose not to analyze any census data for The Gates at Burlington because it has no residents yet.

Senior Residences of Central

Senior Residences of Central is an 18 acre neighborhood of 40 duplexes, or 80 housing units total, for rent to people age 62 and older. The subdivision amenities include a lap pool and a clubhouse. One of the duplexes is shown in Figure 20 below, and Figure 21 below shows the subdivision's entrance gate and main street.



Figure 20: Senior Residences of Central duplex. Source: ProdiGem, L.L.C. (ProdiGem, L.L.C. 2011)



Figure 21: Senior Residences of Central entrance gate. Source: ProdiGem, L.L.C. (ProdiGem, L.L.C. 2011)

Along with Townhomes of Sherwood Forest, profiled on pages 43-46 of this paper, Senior Residences of Central is one of two gated subdivisions I found in the parish managed by ProdiGem, L.L.C., a company that manages affordable housing properties. Both are made specifically for renters, and both are meant to be affordable; the Senior Residences of Central website says it is “committed to offering quality, affordable housing for qualifying seniors who wish to live independently and choose a life among their peers.” (ProdiGem, L.L.C. 2011) The website does not make clear what qualifies a senior to live in the neighborhood (other than age), but the application form says that “in most cases, applicant should not be spending more than 30% of income on rent.” (Prodigem, L.L.C. 2011) According to *Fortress America*, Senior Residences of Central would also be classified as a “lifestyle community.” (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 39)

Senior Residences of Central is located in Block 3001, Block Group 3, Census Tract 43.01 of East Baton Rouge Parish. Block 3001 is more racially diverse than the City of Central, as shown in Figure 22 below, but still has a much higher proportion of whites than the parish as a whole. The parish has 3.7% Hispanic or Latino people, while Block 3001 and the City of Central have 1.5% and 1.6% Hispanic or Latino people, respectively.

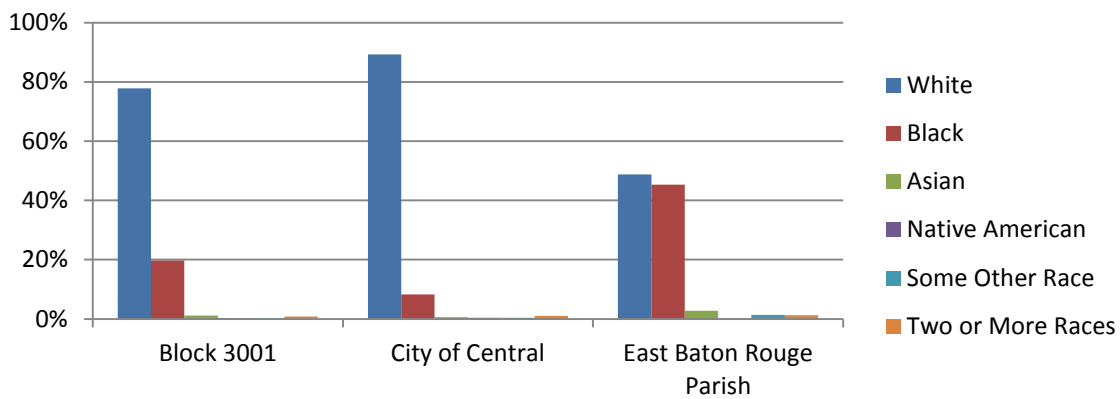


Figure 22: Race Distribution in Block 3001, City of Central, and East Baton Rouge Parish

Housing occupancy rates are higher in Central and in Block 3001 than in East Baton Rouge Parish. While East Baton Rouge Parish has 12% vacant housing units, the City of Central has 3.7% vacant units, and Block 3001 has only 2.5% vacant units.

Master Plan Elements Relating to Gated Subdivisions in Central

Like the city-parish consolidated government’s FUTUREBR plan, Central has a master plan to set its general, long-term vision for its growth and change, called the City of Central Land Use Plan. (City of Central 2010) The Land Use Plan was adopted in 2010. (City of Central 2011) It does not mention gated developments, but it contains guiding principles with which gated subdivisions may conflict. These include promoting street connectivity, promoting “Health Utility,” and attracting mixed-use developments.

Just as in the FUTUREBR plan, one of the main principles in Central’s Land Use Plan is that streets should be interconnected. It says that “the primary inadequacy in [Central’s] street network is the multitude of non-connecting ‘stub-outs’ in subdivisions throughout the city” which “forces vehicles to gather on collectors ill-designed for

increasing demands.” (City of Central 2010, 59) The Land Use Plan also specifically says that “dead end streets and cul-de-sacs should be strictly limited and should always be used in conjunction with streets that provide multiple options for travel to the same destination.” (City of Central 2010, 64) If this part of the Land Use Plan were strictly enforced, it would mean that no gated subdivisions would be approved in the City of Central, because the effect of gating streets is just as, if not more, disruptive to traffic than a dead end or a cul-de-sac.

Encouraging walking or biking as an alternative to vehicle travel promotes overall public health, which is called “Health Utility” in Central’s Land Use Plan. Gated neighborhoods do not specifically discourage walking or biking, but the automobile-centered design of most gated subdivisions does not encourage walking or biking either. The Land Use Plan, like FUTUREBR, links street connectivity to another aspect of public health—the ability of first responders to reach an emergency in the shortest time possible is improved when there are many routes to a location. (City of Central 2010, 64)

Central’s Land Use Plan recommends creating mixed-use centers “where civic, cultural, education, entertainment, business and living space are combined” (City of Central 2010, 28) for many reasons. The benefits of mixed-use centers include natural area preservation through increased development density as opposed to sprawl, senior housing within walking distance of services, and lower natural resource consumption through decreased vehicle travel. As discussed earlier in this chapter, mixing land uses involves having public spaces and housing in close proximity to each other; this would not be compatible with a gated subdivision, since the gates would deter customers from visiting the businesses or other public spaces inside.

The Gates at Burlington and Senior Residences of Central are the only two gated developments in Central, and they ignore the street connectivity, “Health Utility,” and

mixed-use objectives of the master plan. Both subdivisions have only one entrance and are not designed to be connected to adjacent neighborhoods in the future. “Health Utility” is not promoted by either gated subdivision; though residents could walk or bike inside the neighborhood, both subdivisions’ sole outlet is onto a main state highway with no sidewalks and no bike lanes. This strongly discourages walking or biking as an alternative to a car. Finally, neither of the neighborhoods supports the mixed-use goal of the master plan, because their gates prevent the necessary amount of customers a business would need.

CITY OF ZACHARY

The City of Zachary was incorporated in 1889. Its population is 14,960 according to the 2010 Census, with 23.93 square miles of land and about 625 people per square mile. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) It is shown in Figure 7 on page 32 of this paper.

Unlike Central, Zachary has never been under the jurisdiction of the city-parish consolidated government, so I could not rely on the thorough map and list of subdivisions made by the CPPC to find gated subdivisions in Zachary. I used the Greater Baton Rouge Association of Realtors website to search for gated neighborhoods (Greater Baton Rouge Association of Realtors 2011) and searched terms like “gated neighborhood,” “gate subdivision,” and “Zachary” using Google, but found no gated subdivisions. I then called the city’s Planning and Zoning department and spoke to the Code Compliance Officer, who told me there was only one gated neighborhood in Zachary, Club View Estates, and that he did not know of any others to be built in the future.

Club View Estates

Zachary's only gated neighborhood is a single street enclave called Club View Estates inside a much larger golf course subdivision called Copper Mill. Its location is shown in red in Figure 14 below.

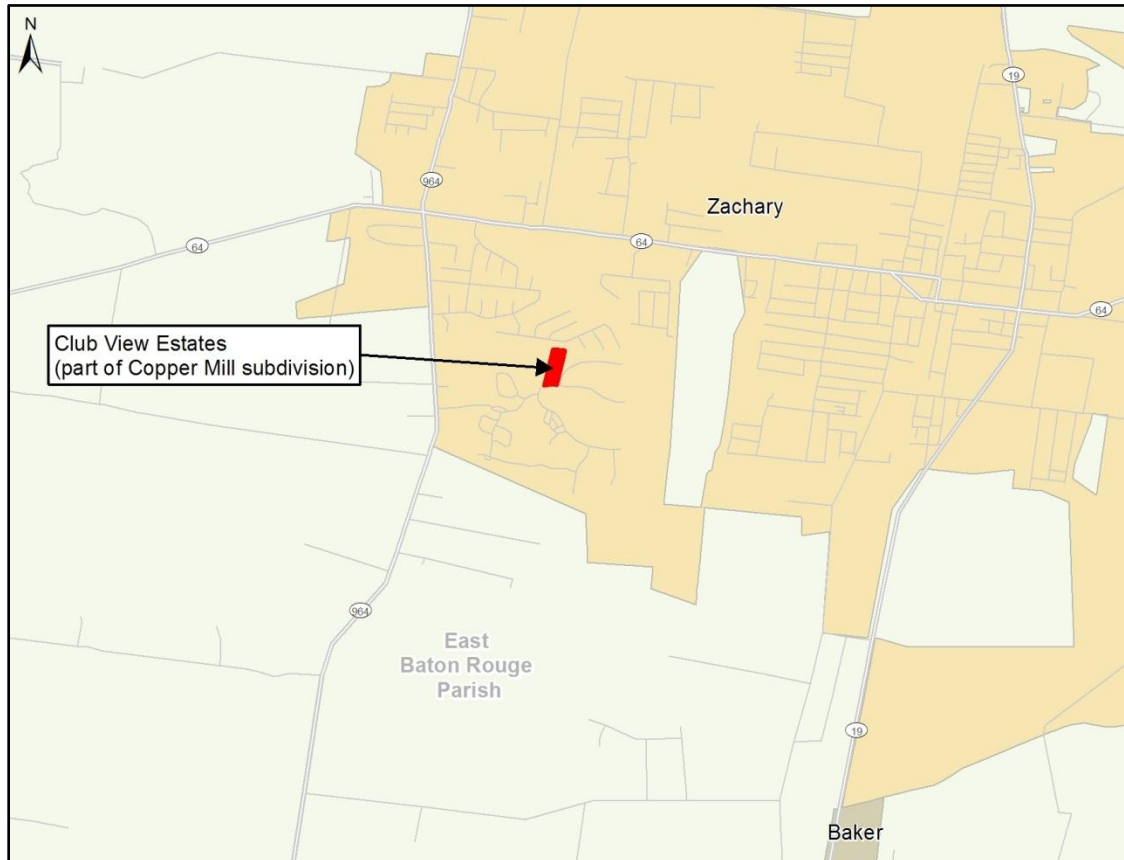


Figure 23: Club View Estates, gated subdivision in Zachary

Once I learned that there was a gated neighborhood called Club View Estates, I searched that name using Google and found one lot listed for sale on a local realtor's website. The description says that Club View Estates "boasts larger lots" than the rest of Copper Mill and its homes are to be built with a minimum of 2,800 square feet of living area and "specific architectural design elements." (Hager Realty 2011) When I visited

Club View Estates in October 2011, the gate was installed but standing open, and no houses were built yet, as shown in Figure 24 below.



Figure 24: Entrance to Club View Estates

To give an idea of what homes in Club View Estates might look like when built, Figure 25 shows a home in Copper Mill, the subdivision that surrounds Club View Estates.



Figure 25: Copper Mill subdivision home. Source: GBRAR. (Greater Baton Rouge Association of Realtors 2011)

I was not able to find the total number of lots in Club View Estates, but based on Club View Estates' six acre size and the fact that its lots are supposed to be larger than the surrounding lots, I estimate that about 20 to 25 houses will eventually be built behind the gate.

Following the *Fortress America* categories discussed in Chapter 2 of this paper, I believe Club View Estates would be a "prestige community" even though it is inside a golf course subdivision; its gates are not providing any "separation for the leisure activities and amenities offered within," (Blakely and Snyder 1997, 39) as there are no extra leisure amenities inside Club View Estates. If the entire Copper Mill golf course subdivision were gated, I would classify it as a "lifestyle community," but since Club View Estates is gating itself off from the already upscale community around it, the gates seem to be only for exclusivity.

I chose not to analyze any census data for Club View Estates because it has no residents yet.

Master Plan Elements Relating to Gated Subdivisions in Zachary

Like the city-parish consolidated government's FUTUREBR plan and Central's Land Use Plan, Zachary has a master plan to set its general, long-term vision for its growth and change, called the Zachary, Louisiana Master Plan, which was most recently revised in 2009. (City of Zachary 2009) It does not mention gated developments, but it contains guiding principles with which gated subdivisions may conflict. These include promoting street connectivity and increasing the range of housing options to include mixed-income and diverse neighborhoods.

The City of Zachary emphasizes connectivity of streets and sidewalks throughout its Master Plan; it says "existing streets adjacent to land proposed for subdivision must be continued into or through the development to meet the continuity objectives" (City of Zachary 2009, 4) of the plan. When a neighborhood is gated, the streets are not interconnected with the surrounding neighborhoods; the main point of a gated neighborhood is to control the points of connection to the outside. Gated subdivisions fundamentally conflict with the Zachary Master Plan's requirement for connectivity. The Zachary Master Plan has an illustration of good versus bad street connectivity, and ironically, the bad street connectivity looks a great deal like the Copper Mill subdivision, home of Zachary's only gated neighborhood. This is shown in Figure 26 below, with good connectivity on the left, bad connectivity in the middle, and Copper Mill subdivision on the right, with Club View Estates shown in red.

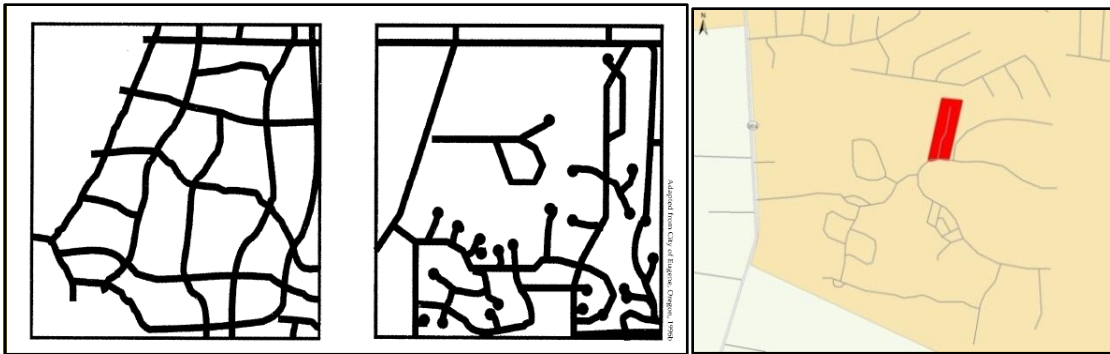


Figure 26: Examples of Good and Bad Connectivity and Copper Mill subdivision

Zachary’s Master Plan also frequently recommends increasing the diversity of its housing stock to accommodate all types of residents—young, old, single, families, low-income, or wealthy. It says Zachary must focus on creating “integrated and fully functional neighborhoods as opposed to ‘typical’ subdivisions and housing developments.” (City of Zachary 2009, 5) Gated subdivisions are contrary to this tenet of the Master Plan for because they are typically built for a single economic class and often have rigid restrictions that may prevent the kinds of uses that make a neighborhood fully functional and integrated, such as garage apartments for elderly relatives.

Also, as discussed in Chapter Two of this paper, houses in gated communities typically command higher prices than those outside the gate, (LaCour-Little and Malpezzi 2001, 2) making it harder to keep the neighborhood affordable. The two affordable gated subdivisions profiled earlier in this paper are able to be affordable by using low income housing tax credits and possibly other government subsidies, but I assume that the Zachary Master Plan wants to encourage housing diversity without relying solely on subsidies.

Club View Estates, Zachary’s only gated development does not yet have any houses built. It is a prestige community that conflicts with the goals of the city’s master

plan by not promoting street connectivity and by not promoting housing stock diversity. It is not the “integrated and fully functional neighborhood” that Zachary’s master plan calls for.

Chapter Five: Summary and Conclusion

This paper presented what I believe is the first comprehensive list and map of the 61 gated subdivisions in Baton Rouge, Central, Zachary, and the unincorporated areas of East Baton Rouge Parish. It gave an overview of the entire parish's demographics, income, employment, education, transportation, crime, and housing. It also gave census block data on race, Hispanic population, and housing occupancy for each gated subdivision; this showed that census blocks containing gated subdivisions were less racially diverse and had a smaller percentage of vacant homes than the parish as a whole. I reviewed comprehensive plans for each jurisdiction to find elements relating to gated neighborhoods, and found that gated neighborhoods conflict with several principles stated in area plans, like promoting street connectivity, mixing land uses, encouraging diverse neighborhoods, and promoting public health.

The paper also summarized some influential literature about the history, physical characteristics, inhabitants, and reasons for the proliferation of gated communities in the United States. The literature review served two purposes: to describe general qualities of gated neighborhoods as a basis for more specific descriptions of those in East Baton Rouge Parish, and to show that the literature does not generally show gated communities in a positive light.

I began researching this paper with the idea that gated communities are solely populated by wealthy homeowners. However, I was surprised by certain findings. In my general research, I did not expect the findings of the article on census gated community data, which contradicts popular assumptions about gated community residents by showing that renters are far more likely to live in gated communities than homeowners. In my specific East Baton Rouge Parish research, I thought that East Baton Rouge

Parish's gated subdivisions would all be versions of The Country Club of Louisiana, which has very expensive, grand homes and an overwhelmingly white population. But I found that the parish has two gated subdivisions specifically meant to be affordable, something I did not know existed in this area.

Like Blakely and Snyder, I do not think that gated neighborhoods are the cause of any of the social, economic, or health problems of America, but I do think they highlight and aggravate those problems. Gated developments are a physical manifestation of the implied barriers between different races and classes and may make it harder to overcome those barriers. As a planner, I would like to see every city be inclusive, affordable, and healthy for its residents, but most of what I found out about gated subdivisions did not convince me that they can advance any of those goals. By design, gated subdivisions are exclusive, not inclusive; the gate separates those who belong from those who do not. Except for the two gated developments in the parish reserved for lower-income residents, gated subdivisions are not necessarily affordable either. In fact, some homeowner associations in gated developments require that houses be over a certain number of square feet; this ensures that houses built in the neighborhood will cost a certain amount to build and keeps property values high. Gated subdivisions by no means prevent their residents from being healthy, but the typical gated subdivision in East Baton Rouge Parish has a single entrance geared toward automobile travel, which may discourage walking or riding a bike to perform daily tasks. Many of the gated subdivisions I visited did not even have pedestrian gates, only vehicle gates.

It is unclear why planning officials in the jurisdictions in East Baton Rouge Parish continue to approve gated subdivisions that seem to contradict their comprehensive plans. Perhaps since gated developments have been approved in the past, officials fear lawsuits from developers who would argue that their subdivisions are the same as those already

approved. It is possible that planning officials are inclined to approve all the developments they possibly can in the interest of promoting economic growth.

Planning officials have the power to reject any subdivision plans if they do not conform to the master plan of their jurisdiction, and they should be able to reject gated developments because of their lack of connectivity just as they would have the power to reject a subdivision plan that specified 10 foot wide streets instead of the required 30 foot width. The main areas in which gated subdivisions in the parish conflict with comprehensive plans are street connectivity, mixed-use developments, public health, and diverse neighborhoods. It could be argued that gated subdivisions do not have adverse effects on mixing uses, public health, and neighborhood diversity, and therefore there is no conflict with the comprehensive plan's goals. However, it is absolutely clear that gated developments do not promote street connectivity, and for that reason alone they could be rejected.

In conclusion, I think that since they go against principles stated in comprehensive plans, new gated subdivisions should rarely, if ever, be approved. I also believe that all communities in East Baton Rouge Parish need to actively resist race and class segregation, physical isolation, and reliance on the automobile, which gated developments may promote. These subdivisions can have an effect on the future well-being of the surrounding communities and warrant further study and careful scrutiny when they are proposed.

Appendix

Subdivision Information							Census				Information for 2010 Census Block										
Subdivision Name	Jurisdiction	Comments	Is subdivision built and are houses occupied?	Fortress America category	Subdivision Final Recording Date	Acres	2010 Census Block	2010 Census Block Group	2010 Census Tract	Total Population	Hispanic	White	Black	Native Amer.	Asian	Other Race	Two or More Races	Total Housing Units	Occupied Housing Units	Vacant Housing Units	
Arlington Bend	City of B.R.	rental apartment complex marketed to Louisiana State University students	Yes	Prestige	6/2/1987	31.3	2001	2	4014	1287	65	1038	140	2	65	18	22	634	589	45	
							2002	2	4014	450	13	373	45	2	13	3	10	131	131	0	
Arlington Plantation Townhomes	City of B.R.	townhouses marketed to Louisiana State University students	Yes	Prestige	11/2/2004	10.8	2004	2	4014	430	11	371	33	2	13	0	11	218	200	18	
							2005	2	4014	10	0	9	0	0	0	0	1	5	5	0	
							2006	2	4014	10	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	5	4	1	
							2007	2	4014	24	0	24	0	0	0	0	0	10	10	0	
							2008	2	4014	16	0	16	0	0	0	0	0	10	8	2	
Beauge Lake	City of B.R.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	1/31/2002	45.5	2008	2	3801	901	22	676	116	1	98	1	9	525	496	29	
							2009	2	3801	45	0	31	6	0	8	0	0	14	13	1	
							2011	2	3801	8	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	
Bronley Townhomes	City of B.R.	townhouses	Yes	Prestige	9/23/2004	4.0	4008	4	4005	146	7	53	92	0	1	0	0	65	62	3	
Camellia Trace	City of B.R.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	12/10/1998	12.3	3008	3	2602	392	20	292	55	0	37	3	5	286	264	22	
							3012	3	2602	191	10	58	132	1	0	0	0	94	80	14	
							3013	3	2602	402	25	46	321	0	2	18	15	242	197	45	
Cedar Terrace	City of B.R.	townhouses, not gated at time of construction	Yes	Possible Security Zone	2/22/1983	1.5	2034	2	16	39	0	9	28	1	1	0	0	19	19	0	
		will be single family detached houses when built; gate is operated by card reader but stands open because no houses are built yet	No	Prestige	unknown, but recent- subdivision is under construction November 2011	6.1	3010	3	4604	973	6	622	327	4	14	4	2	399	317	22	
Club View Estates	Zachary																				
		will be townhouses when built; not built yet but advertised as gated	No	Prestige	4/4/2011	3.9	2121	2	52	36	0	10	22	0	0	0	4	16	15	1	
Cherie Row	City of B.R.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	5/1/2000	3.2	3009	3	3802	311	10	288	13	0	6	0	4	206	192	14	

Subdivision Information										Census										Information for 2010 Census Block									
Subdivision Name	Jurisdiction	Comments	Is subdivision built and are houses occupied?	Fortress America category	Subdivision Final Recording Date	Acres	2010 Census Block	2010 Census Tract	Total Population	Hispanic	White	Black	Native Amer.	Asian	Other Race	Two or More Races	Total Housing Units	Occupied Housing Units	Vacant Housing Units										
The Country Club of Louisiana	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Lifestyle	8/28/1985	671.2	1004	4016	71	2	60	5	0	6	0	0	33	31	2										
							1005	4016	28	0	26	0	0	2	0	0	13	12	1										
							1006	4016	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0										
							1007	4016	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0										
							1008	4016	139	0	126	5	0	8	0	0	50	50	0										
							1009	4016	51	2	45	0	0	6	0	0	16	16	0										
							1010	4016	53	3	50	0	0	3	0	0	19	19	0										
							1019	4016	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0										
							1020	4016	712	34	674	9	0	17	4	8	317	296	21										
							1021	4016	49	0	49	0	0	0	0	0	13	13	0										
							1022	4016	39	0	35	1	0	3	0	0	12	12	0										
							1023	4016	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0										
							1024	4016	46	0	42	0	0	4	0	0	15	15	0										
							1025	4016	55	0	50	5	0	0	0	0	25	24	1										
							1026	4016	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0										
							1027	4016	48	3	48	0	0	0	0	0	17	16	1										
							1028	4016	70	0	69	0	0	0	0	1	34	32	2										
							1029	4016	86	3	83	0	0	0	2	1	28	27	1										
							1030	4016	99	3	93	5	0	1	0	0	35	35	0										
							1031	4016	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0										
							1034	4016	39	7	34	0	0	5	0	0	14	14	0										
							1035	4016	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0										
Country Club Place Residences	City of B.R.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	7/16/2008	4.7	3010	3802	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0										
							3011	3802	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0										
							3012	3802	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0										
							3009	3802	311	10	288	13	0	6	0	4	206	192	14										
Edward Oaks	City of B.R.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	6/20/2006	1.1	3032	23	17	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	8	7	1										
Pair Day Estates	City of B.R.	single family detached houses; vehicle gate is operated by card reader but there is an unguarded pedestrian entrance	Yes	Prestige	8/13/2009	2.3	2022	20	79	1	78	0	0	0	0	1	29	28	1										
Gate House	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	9/11/1998	16.9	4001	3906	317	1	267	19	0	16	6	3	137	136	1										
							4004	3906	36	0	35	0	0	1	0	0	23	21	2										
Hidden Gates	City of B.R.	townhouses; manual gates that stand open all the time	Yes	Prestige	9/15/1999	4.2	3023	4505	127	3	87	35	1	4	0	0	44	44	0										

Subdivision Information										Census				Information for 2010 Census Block									
Subdivision Name	Jurisdiction	Comments	Is subdivision built and are houses occupied?	Forres America category	Subdivision Final Recording Date	Acres	2010 Census Block	2010 Census Group	2010 Census Tract	Total Population	Hispanic	White	Black	Native Amer.	Asian	Other Race	Two or More Races	Total Housing Units	Occupied Housing Units	Vacant Housing Units			
Highland Greens	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	10/23/1997	26.5	1002	1	40.16	61	3	38	17	0	6	0	0	19	18	1			
							1003	1	40.16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
							1033	1	40.16	71	0	50	7	0	14	0	0	29	24	5			
							1025	1	40.16	55	0	50	5	0	0	0	0	25	24	1			
							1004	1	40.16	71	2	60	5	0	6	0	0	33	31	2			
Highland Knoll	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses, gate is operated by card reader but stands open during the day	Yes	Prestige	4/1/1997	7.0	1001	1	40.1	1419	38	1221	130	1	39	14	14	543	524	19			
Highland Oaks	City of B.R.	townhouses, gate is operated by card reader but stands open all the time	Yes	Prestige	4/27/1983	5.9	2006	2	40.05	145	2	121	13	1	4	0	6	84	79	5			
Hollydale Townhouses	City of B.R.	townhouses	Yes	Prestige	6/10/1983	1.6	1027	1	26.01	221	5	183	26	1	2	2	7	132	123	9			
Jamesstone Court	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	2/25/1980	13.1	2012	2	38.04	31	0	29	2	0	0	0	0	26	21	5			
							2013	2	38.04	25	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	14	14	0			
							2016	2	38.04	28	0	28	0	0	0	0	0	20	18	2			
							2017	2	38.04	30	0	29	0	0	1	0	0	20	17	3			
Jefferson Retreat	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	10/18/2005	6.6	2018	2	38.05	149	3	109	22	2	13	0	3	61	57	4			
Jeffersonian Townhouses	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	townhouses	Yes	Prestige	2/27/2004	0.6	4000	4	38.01	87	0	87	0	0	0	0	0	30	30	0			
							4001	4	38.01	317	6	227	55	1	32	1	1	259	213	46			
Lae Carle Garden Townhouses	City of B.R.	townhouses	Yes	Prestige	7/9/1998	3.7	1017	1	39.09	289	11	203	48	0	30	0	8	157	145	12			
Lake Bean Pre Townhouses	City of B.R.	townhouses	Yes	Prestige	7/15/2005	29.7	4014	4	40.14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
							5001	5	40.14	1421	27	1168	128	2	104	4	15	585	558	27			
Lakewood Point	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	8/1/1995	6.9	4018	4	40.06	397	9	359	14	0	19	4	1	138	133	5			
Lasalle Parc	City of B.R.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	8/30/1999	3.4	2014	2	20	269	4	248	3	1	12	0	5	121	118	3			
Lasalle Place	City of B.R.	condominiums	Yes	Prestige	2/16/1983	3.0	2020	2	20	457	10	400	33	0	16	1	7	280	263	17			
		single family detached houses, gate opens automatically when any car drives up--not just cars with gate cards	Yes	Prestige	1/19/1994	140.7	4004	4	40.14	796	20	703	37	1	41	2	12	245	244	1			
Laurel Lakes Estate	City of B.R.		Yes	Prestige			4005	4	40.14	30	2	30	0	0	0	0	0	12	12	0			

Subdivision Information										Census			Information for 2010 Census Block:									
Subdivision Name	Jurisdiction	Comments	Is subdivision built and are houses occupied?	Fortress America category	Subdivision Final Recording Date	Acres	2010 Census Block	2010 Census Block Group	2010 Census Tract	Total Population	Hispanic	White	Black	Native Amer.	Asian	Other Race	Two or More Races	Total Housing Units	Occupied Housing Units	Vacant Housing Units		
Lobell Quarters	City of B. R.	single family detached houses, gate is operated by card reader but stands open during the day	Yes	Prestige	12/31/998	3.6	2008	2	20	180	11	155	11	0	3	6	5	73	69	4		
Magnolia Pointe	City of B. R.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	11/20/2006	14.2	4004	4	40.05	409	4	58	334	0	12	2	3	184	175	9		
Mallard Lakes	Unincorp. E. B. R. P.	single family detached houses on minimum 10-acre lots	Yes	Lifestyle	2/20/2004	908.2	1006	1	45.1	480	6	459	12	3	1	1	4	321	187	134		
Moss Side Plantation	City of B. R.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	5/5/2004	5.7	3029	3	38.01	24	0	22	2	0	0	0	0	10	9	1		
New Place	City of B. R.	condominiums marketed to Louisiana State University students; not gated at time of construction	Yes	Possible Security Zone	4/23/1953	0.6	2011	2	28.02	151	3	139	9	0	0	0	3	90	84	6		
Nottingham	Unincorp. E. B. R. P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	11/16/2006	9.3	1013	1	45.1	19	1	17	2	0	0	0	0	24	10	14		
Old Goodwood Gardens	City of B. R.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	4/10/2003	5.4	1009	1	38.02	208	5	197	11	0	0	0	0	105	100	5		
Old Quarter Houses	Unincorp. E. B. R. P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	11/12/1996	2.3	2002	2	38.04	81	0	79	2	0	0	0	0	19	19	0		
Partners Quarters Townhomes	City of B. R.	townhouses	Yes	Prestige	10/27/2010	0.7	2000	2	39.06	399	39	214	150	0	16	14	5	144	139	5		
Patrician Gate	Unincorp. E. B. R. P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	5/12/2006	6.8	1007	1	38.04	622	18	567	34	0	11	6	4	272	255	17		
Perkins Lane	City of B. R.	will be townhouses when built; not built yet but advertised as gated	No	Prestige	6/24/2011	3.4	2005	2	26.01	62	3	61	0	0	1	0	0	26	23	3		
Senior Residences of Central	Central	duplexes; senior rental community; affordable	Yes	Lifestyle	3/14/2008	18.2	3001	3	43.01	1168	17	909	230	3	14	3	9	485	473	12		
Shadowbrook Lakes	City of B. R.	will be single family detached houses when built; gate is manually operated and stands open	No	Prestige	6/17/2008	60.8	3007	3	45.05	73	15	57	6	0	0	10	0	35	30	5		
							3008	3	45.05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
							3014	3	45.05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
							3015	3	45.05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
							3016	3	45.05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
							3017	3	45.05	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		
							3018	3	45.05	234	6	192	30	0	12	0	0	117	111	6		
							3021	3	45.05	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	1	2		

Subdivision Information							Census		Information for 2010 Census Block											
Subdivision Name	Jurisdiction	Comments	Is subdivision built and are houses occupied?	Frontiers America category	Subdivision Final Recording Date	Acres	2010 Census Block	2010 Census Block Group	2010 Census Tract	Total Population	Hispanic	White	Black	Native Amer.	Asian	Other Race	Two or More Races	Total Housing Units	Occupied Housing Units	Vacant Housing Units
Silver Lining	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	5/16/1972	20.5	2000	2	40,06	1520	62	1267	118	3	98	10	24	779	737	42
St. Regis Place	City of B.R.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	7/24/1997	11.1	1016	1	39,09	18	2	11	0	0	7	0	0	9	8	1
							1027	1	39,09	42	0	41	0	0	1	0	0	23	23	0
							1028	1	39,09	14	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	10	10	0
							1029	1	39,09	13	0	11	2	0	0	0	0	7	7	0
Stone's Throw	City of B.R.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	6/21/1969	8.9	2003	2	38,02	165	5	152	8	0	4	0	1	81	77	4
The Cove	City of B.R.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	12/20/1993	2.7	2003	2	38,02	165	5	152	8	0	4	0	1	81	77	4
The Estates at Myrtle Hill	part City of B.R., part Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	8/19/2004	9.9	4027	4	40,05	123	3	107	16	0	0	0	0	46	45	1
							4028	4	40,05	4	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	1	0
The Gates at Burlington	Central	single family detached houses; some are built but none are occupied yet	No	Prestige	1/4/2011	10.2	1006	1	44,02	245	0	225	14	1	0	5	0	96	91	5
The Gates at Winkang	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	10/19/1999	19.8	1023	1	45,05	118	0	95	12	1	3	0	7	51	48	3
The Lakes at Bluebonnet	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	condominiums	Yes	Prestige	2/24/2006	33.1	2025	2	40,16	337	3	270	43	3	17	1	3	179	144	35
The Landing at Mallard Lakes	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	will be single family detached houses when built; gate is already built	No	Prestige	7/9/2008	40.0	1012	1	45,1	286	14	267	15	0	0	0	4	125	115	10
The Links at the Country Club of Louisiana	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Lifestyle	8/31/1994	6.8	1023	1	40,16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
							1020	1	40,16	712	34	674	9	0	17	4	8	317	296	21
The Masters at the Country Club of Louisiana	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Lifestyle	3/28/1996	13.9	1020	1	40,16	712	34	674	9	0	17	4	8	317	296	21
The Pond on Hart's Mill Lane	City of B.R.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	6/26/1995	16.5	1007	1	50	378	8	354	9	0	6	2	7	165	160	5
							1008	1	50	32	0	29	3	0	0	0	0	10	10	0
The Province at Moss Side	City of B.R.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	3/28/2003	15.1	3009	3	38,01	304	4	270	202	0	3	0	4	115	113	2
							3051	3	38,01	282	3	270	2	0	5	1	4	102	100	2

Subdivision Information						Census			Information for 2010 Census Block											
Subdivision Name	Jurisdiction	Comments	Is subdivision built and are houses occupied?	Forrest America category	Subdivision Final Recording Date	Acres	2010 Census Block	2010 Census Block Group	2010 Census Tract	Total Population	Hispanic	White	Black	Native Amer.	Asian	Other Race	Two or More Races	Total Housing Units	Occupied Housing Units	Vacant Housing Units
The Villas at Janestown	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	will be single family detached houses when built, not built yet but advertised as gated	No	Prestige	6/4/2010	10.6	3000	3	40.09	683	65	216	406	0	16	35	10	243	227	16
The Wilderness at Mallard Lakes	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses on minimum 10-acre lots	Yes	Lifestyle	7/3/2002	223.1	1006	1	45.1	480	6	459	12	3	1	1	4	321	187	134
The Wilderness at White Oak	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	2/20/2002	71.5	2012	2	45.05	2291	122	423	1701	10	40	62	55	923	823	100
Townhomes of Sherwood Forest	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	affordable rental townhomes, gate currently under construction; not gated at time of construction	Yes	Possible Security Zone	12/12/2007	13.8	2033	2	35.07	65	3	0	64	1	0	0	0	24	24	0
							2034	2	35.07	33	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	10	10	0
							2037	2	35.07	35	0	0	35	0	0	0	0	8	8	0
							2038	2	35.07	43	0	0	37	0	6	0	0	11	11	0
Twenty White Oak Landing	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	single family detached houses	Yes	Prestige	9/1/1989	77.1	1003	1	45.05	258	2	235	15	0	5	1	2	86	85	1
University Villas Garden Homes	Unincorp. E.B.R.P.	will be single family detached houses when built, not built yet but advertised as gated	No	Prestige	unknown, but subdivision is under construction November 2011	18.5	1005	1	40.11	347	24	251	65	2	15	7	7	167	156	11
Village de Province	City of E.R.	townhouses, not gated at time of construction	Yes	Possible Security Zone	7/29/1983	7.3	3010	3	39.04	989	24	110	855	4	4	10	6	497	409	88

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