

Gated communities. Case study of Wrocław, Poland

Magdalena Wagner, Faculty of Architecture, Wrocław University of Technology, Wrocław, Poland, m.wagner@o2.pl

Piotr Michalski, Institute of Geography and Regional Development, University of Wrocław, Wrocław, Poland, pio.mic@gazeta.pl

Keywords: gated communities, social impact, spatial exclusion,

Abstract

Nowadays modern cities experience emergence of new urban forms. One of those forms are gated communities. The aim of the paper is to discuss the phenomenon of gated communities through the lenses of the city of Wrocław (Poland), the fourth biggest city in Poland.

The phenomenon of gated communities, guarded and inaccessible for "mere mortals" developed in Poland on an unprecedented scale. Although gated communities in Europe are rather rarely, in Warsaw there are few hundreds of such settlements. People choose to live in a gated community due to the need for security and cut-off from "lower class". However, psychologists suggest that people who feel threatened and decide to live in secured housing estates, tend to isolate themselves even more from the rest of society, so that their fears and insecurity may even deepen (the so-called "circle of fear").

The purpose of the paper is to discuss the issue of gated communities in the city of Wrocław. Starting from the theoretical discussion on definitions, the paper will move towards the selected cases located in Wrocław in order to analyse profile of their residents. Results of surveys on the perception of gated-communities will be presented. Additionally, influence on the society and urban space as well as legal aspect of those settlements will be discussed. The paper should contribute both to the theoretical and practical knowledge on gated communities and their impact on social and urban life.

1. Introduction

Gated communities are socio-spatial phenomenon, which developed in Poland on an unprecedented scale never found in Europe before. Proponents of this solution mention the sense of security which is present for citizens living in such type of residential. Opponents, on the contrary, criticize them for isolation increase and distrust toward other members of the society. It would be truism to claim that equivocal evaluation of this type of housing is difficult. In this article, the authors takes the opportunity to explore the idea of gated communities by the citizens opinions recognition.

The aim of this work is to find the answer for the question "Who lives in gated communities in Wrocław?" The answer will let us to create the profile of a person who decided to live in such a kind of housing. This way we extend the knowledge in the area of modern settlement processes and sociology of the city.

There are four hypotheses stated and verified in this article:

1. People living in gated communities are in working age and have higher education.
2. The household of these people is characterized by the income, which is higher than average household income in dolnośląskie voivodeship.
3. Their choice of living in gated communities was based on sense of security and prestige.
4. The occupiers are satisfied of living in this type of housing.

The article was divided into two main parts. The first, theoretical, concentrates characteristics of gated community. Describes also current state of research on this subject. In the second part, there is methodology proposed and the results of questionnaire. Finally in summary there is a conclusion of performed research.

2. Gated community in theoretical approach

Urban space is continuously changing, more or less dynamically (Spyra, 2011). These changes are caused by exo- and endogenous factor series, which determine the urban area development. Examples of such factors are socio-economical conditions, spatial planning and architecture trends or political influence. This transformation refers also to housing development, where gated community is one of possible form of evolution. It is worthy to mention that the idea of separating the houses but also whole cities with high walls and deep moat is very old and comes from ancient and medieval times. In this approach, the gated communities are the step back in settlement evolution. There are some kind of retrospection in housing complex planning. Judd (1995) and Morris (1994) describe it as “return of ancient forms of urbanization”. In previous epochs, such urban isolated enclaves had usually military reasons and let the citizens to feel safe from external dangers. What are the causes of supply and demand trend of gated communities observed today, which has started in the last decades of 20th century in USA (Blakely, Snyder, 1997)? It is caused by two significant reasons: improvement of security and prestige (Brodowski, 2013), which are correlated with living in gated housing complex.

According to Grant and Mittelstead (2004), gated housing is remedy against the fear of “enemies” who could theoretically disturb the order and harmony. The problem seems to be more complex. In the cities, criminal behaviors and pathology reach such extremes that ordinary people can not feel safe walking on the streets or sending children to the kindergartens. Is it only false belief? Does high wall, bodyguard, CCTV cameras improve security? One may take the risk and claim that there is no such guarantee. Well prepared and trained burglar is able to break all forms of protection. According to Blakely and Snyder (1998) research results, analyzed form of housing doesn't improve safety and the crime level in these places is similar to open communities. Moreover, various systems of protection may even trigger criminal behaviors, following the stereotype: “Where there are sophisticated methods of protection, there are sensible reasons to break into”.

Living in gated community may be commonly treated by the occupiers as the manifestation of wealth and high social status (Grant, Mittelsteadt, 2004). There is popular conviction, that having luxury products such as a house in gated estate, raise the respect in surrounding. The wall, apart from defensive function, has also symbolic meaning and expresses the message about the uniqueness and inaccessibility. Cesarski (2010) takes the attention on the other aspect of prestige. The decision of buying the property in such a place can be caused by the urgent need to live with “better“ companion. It means that separated houses concentrate groups of the same status, education, etc.

Gądecki (2007) noticed that explanation of gated housing complexes by safety and prestige arguments is not sufficient and require to raise issues of neoliberalism influence on the city. Grant and Mittelstead (2004) explain that creating such a kind of urban space is the response for privacy, highly demanded by citizens.

Probably, there are much more factors responsible for this modern phenomenon. However, equally important are the consequences of its existence. Jałowiecki and Łukowski (2007) noticed the most significant problem, which is society segregation. It happens when rich areas such as gated communities are created while other areas become gradually the place of poverty. The authors call this process “ghettoisation of urban space”. This metaphor doesn't seem to be exact description due to the historical context. Ghettos were usually places where people were forced to live. Such areas isolated specific ethnic groups regarding race, nationality or religion. The similarity between ghettos and gated areas are only in the fact that both are usually surrounded by the walls. The gated houses occupants decide to live in there freely. Additionally, occupants of poor areas also don't describe the places where they live as ghettos. It seems that the illness of modern cities is not actually ghettoisation. It rather should be named “socio-spatial fragmentation”.

There is a significant difference in dynamics of gated houses development between east, middle and west Europe. Such solutions are very rare in west Europe cities on the contrary to post

socialist countries where this model of urban space is currently very popular (Polańska 2010, Csizmadya, 2011). Initial symptoms of gated communities appeared in Poland on the beginning of '90s (Brodawski, 2013). First such a housing complex was built in Warsaw just after regime transformation. On the beginning of second decade of 21st century its number exceeded 300. For comparison, there is one left in Berlin. Gąsior-Niemiec and other (2007) explain this phenomenon as reproduction of voluntary isolation patterns, significant for communist and socialist nomenclature. Polański (2010) mentioned more prosaic evidence, responsible for isolated housing complexes success in middle-east part of Europe. He noticed the reasons in vast range developers offers in situation of lack municipal flats and defective legal system, creation of new social structure and fear of high criminality. Additionally, Szczepańska (2011) found them in the need to have own property (“stand on own feet”) which was not fulfilled in communism times. Although these reasons, gated communities expansion in the urban space of post communist countries is ongoing. It also influence the space of Wrocław with population of 600 000 people, the main city of dolnośląskie voivodeship.

Unfortunately, there was no scientific literature, which would identify the subject of isolated housing complexes in urban space of this city. Even though it is not possible to omit their existence in the municipal space. They are created in various parts from the city center to suburbs. They have different forms of protection - from complexes surrounded only by short fence to castle shaped buildings with high walls, CCTV and guards. According to Brzeziński's (2010) typology of gated communities, there are two types of them in Wrocław: “islands” (one isolated complex inside open architecture) and “archipelagos” (many isolated settlements in neighborhood).

3. Methodology

There were occupants from three gated communities in Wrocław considered in the research: “Zielona Wyspa” (Strońska St), “Atrium-Geo” (Raclawicka St) and “Zielona Etriuda” (Turniejowa St). The choice of the settlements was based on a number of reasons. Firstly, all of them were located in the same district of Wrocław - Krzyki, close to each other, which means that occupiers can utilize the same social infrastructure. Secondly, chosen settlements were erected in comparable time and are in the similar distance and travel time to the city center (Table 1). Three housing estates are in diverse size, concerning the number of flats: from 72 („Zielona Etiuda”) to 248 („Zielona Wyspa”). Moreover, all of them were created in the same urbanization process. They were integrated in existing municipal body instead of city development in urban sprawling process.

Table 1. Characteristic of settlements in context of location, the time of erection and number of occupants.

	Zielona Wyspa	Atrium-Geo	Zielona Etiuda
Travel time (min) at 13:00	11	10	12
Travel time (min) without traffic jam	8	8	10
Distance from city center (km)	4,4	4,9	4,9
Year of erection	2008	2009	2008
Number of flats	248	96	72

source: data based on Google Maps TM.

Described group of common features makes possible to hypothesize that occupiers of selected settlements could have similar reasons and personal values when decided to join to gated communities that makes possible to treat all of them as one, uniform statistical population.

There are a few definitions of research methods in available literature. Kaminski (1974) claims that the method is “a group of theoretically justified conceptual and instrumental actions, generally covering the entire researchers proceedings, aiming to solve specific scientific problem”. Okoń (1975) describes the method as “systematically applied procedure, leading to defined result. Conducted operations are mental and physical activities, properly selected and implemented in a fixed order.” In submitted research, authors decided to utilize diagnostic opinion poll, because in exact and precise way describes behaviors, preferences and personal values - specific for gated communities members. T. Pilch and T. Bauman (2001) write about opinion poll as „it is the way of collecting knowledge about structural and functional attributes, social phenomenon dynamics, opinions, views, intensification and directions of phenomenon development, which have educational value, based on a specially selected group, representing the general population, in which examined phenomenon occurs”. Therefore, one can say that opinion poll is useful during social phenomenon research and lets get the insight into opinion, behavior and respondents motives. In effect, it makes possible to widen view of gated settlement society.

The term “research technique” can be understood as “the way of data collecting, based on a carefully elaborated directives (exact, clear, scientific), verified in studies of various sciences and thus having interdisciplinary values (Kaminski, 1974). In diagnostic poll, the most popular techniques are questionnaire, interview and observation. In described research the questionnaire was applied. This is a method of data collecting, which is based on filling in especially prepared form, personally by respondents, with the high level of standardization, in pollster presence or absence (Pilch, 1977).

Research tool, used to perform the poll is a questionnaire form. T. Pilch and T. Wujek (1974) define the research tool as „the object used to accomplish chosen research technique”. While the research technique means all activities, such as observation or conducting the interview, it is a research tool which is technical instrument for data collection. In this sense, a research tool is a questionnaire, observation sheet, and even pencil" (Pilch and Wujek 1974). Authors define the questionnaire as "a set of questions, built according to special rules". For research purpose, created questionnaire consists of 16 questions of multiple and single choice as well as free response type queries. There are seven general questions on the beginning, referring to sex, age, education, occupation, salary, time of living in gated community, and the number and relations to people living in the same household. The rest of questions are more specific. Six of them ask about preferences and personal values of occupiers (reasons for choosing gated estates as the place to live - positive and negative sides, neighborhood relations, wish to moving out, spending the leisure time inside the housing estate. Another two questions refer to satisfaction of living in gated community comparing to the previous place of living. Finally the last query refer to general satisfaction of living in this type of urban space. The questionnaire was anonymous, respondents were asked to fill in the form personally, The results are presented in the following chapter. The questionnaire form is attached to the article in appendix.

4. Results of the survey

The study was conducted on 20-24 April 2015, between 4-8 p.m. Interviewers were standing next to entrances (wickets) to the selected gated communities. 180 people were asked to fill the questionnaire of which 86 agreed to do so. The rest refused due to lack of time and / or rush (68 persons), tiredness (12 people); 14 persons did not give a reason. The authors were unable to carry out the research with residents of the housing estate "Zielona Etiuda" (Turniejowa St) due to lack of contact. The interviewers noticed that the inhabitants of the “Zielona Etiuda” estate enter its area with cars through underground parking and they do not use pedestrian entrances (gates). The estate

manager was asked to inform the residents about the research during a settlement council meeting and to obtain (on behalf of the authors) a permission to send questionnaires via mail or e-mail. Unfortunately, no positive response was obtained and the authors were unable to conduct the survey with the inhabitants of the “Zielona Etiuda” settlement. Therefore, only inhabitants of two gated communities “Zielona Wyspa” and "Atrium-Geo" participated in the research. The overall number of inhabitants of three selected areas was estimated on the basis of the available number of flats in them and the average number of persons per household (in Lower Silesia in 2013 it is 2.5 people per household by the Central Statistical Office (CSO) and 2.3 persons according to calculations made on the basis of this research, as it is discussed later in the paper). This means that the selected three gated communities are inhabited by about 1,000 people (957 people with an average of 2.3 persons/household, and 1040 with an average of 2.5 persons by CSO). The group of respondents (86 people) accounts for 8.6% of the population of these three settlements.

The study involved slightly more men (44 persons) than women (42 persons). In terms of age the research group could be named “young people”, since 87% of respondents are under 35 years of age. No one declared age higher than 55 years (Figure 1)

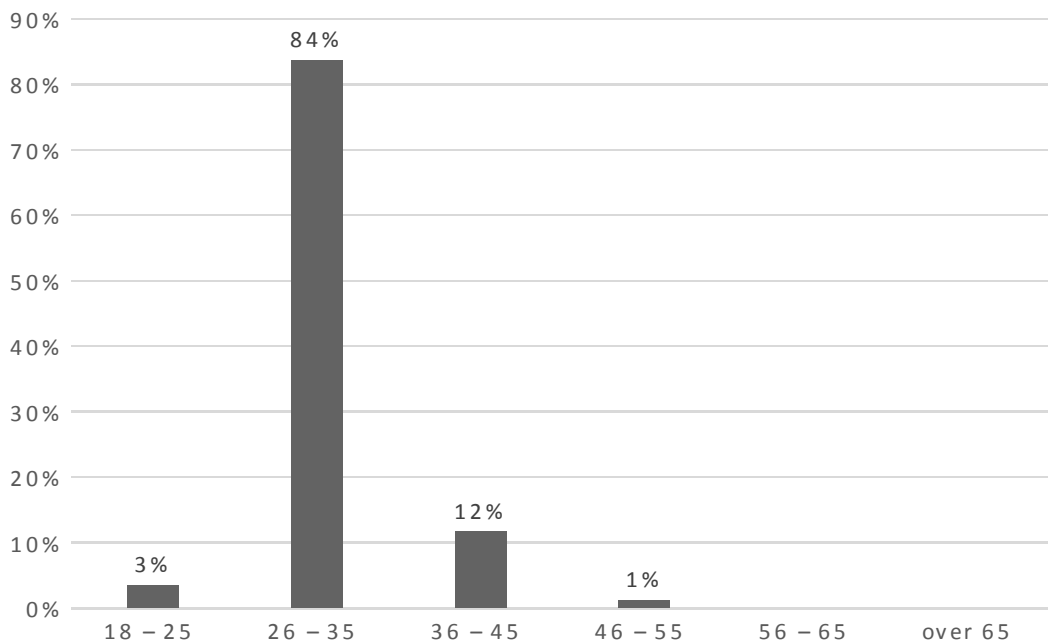


Figure 1. Respondents age profile
source: self-reported

Noteworthy is the education of the respondents, as 95% of them declared higher education, and the remaining 5% declared secondary education.

Taking into account occupation of the respondents, the research group can be divided into four subgroups. Nearly half of respondents (48%) are corporate employees, mostly associated with the IT, finances, etc. The second largest group (23%) are employees of the public sector: teachers, civil servants, doctors, etc. Businesses/firms are carried by 16% of respondents, while 13% of people declared to be so-called freelancers (artists, designers, etc.) (Figure 2).

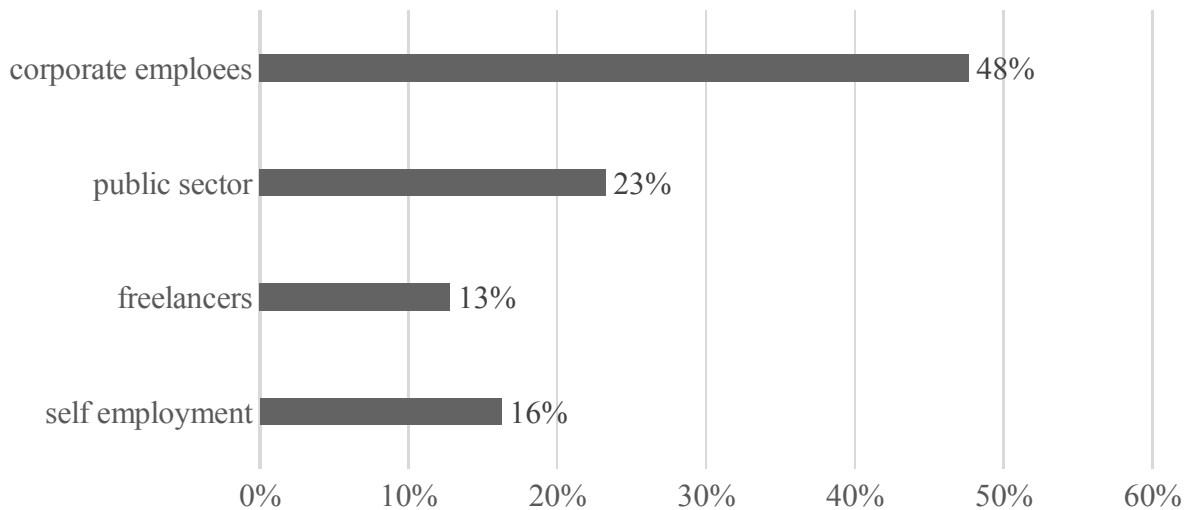


Figure 2. Respondents employment profile
source: self-reported

The research group has also been analyzed in terms of declared incomes. As a basis for the analysis, the following data taken from the Local Data Bank CSO:

- the average number of persons per household in Lower Silesia in 2013 is 2.5 persons/household;
- average monthly disposable income per 1 person in a household in Lower Silesia in 2013 is 1,344.79 PLN.

Given these data, it is possible to calculate the average monthly disposable income of a household of 2.5 peoples which is 3,361.98 PLN. Due to the research hypothesis: "residents of gated communities have higher incomes than the average households by CSO, the first income threshold was set at 3,500 PLN. It turned out that 87% of respondents exceed this level, while 56% percent of people say that their household disposable income is between 3,500 – 6000 PLN. Another 16% of people declare income of 6,000 – 10,000 PLN and 15% of respondents say that they have a monthly income of more than 10,000 PLN. Household disposable income below 3500 PLN is declared only by 13% of the respondents (Figure 3).

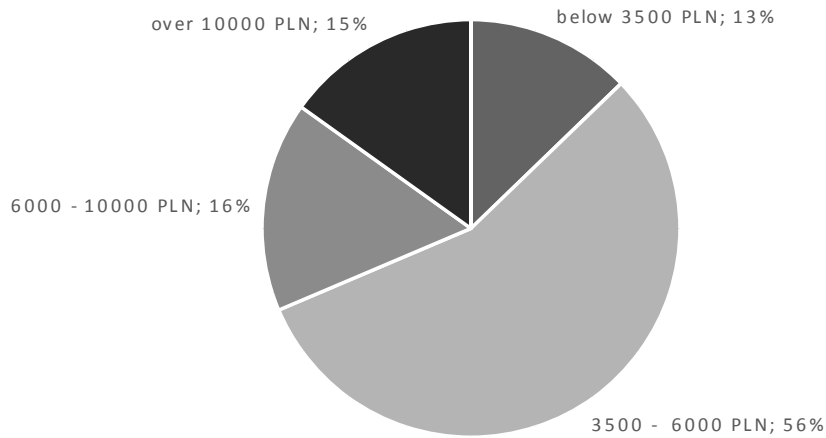


Figure 3. Income profile
source: self-reported

Next question asked about members of households and each respondent was allowed to give more than one answer. 10% of respondents answered "I live alone", while 85% of respondents live with a partner or a husband/wife. 3% of respondents declared that they live with other people (grandparents, roommates, etc.). 43% of respondents live with children and this means that 2% of respondents are single parents (Figure 4). These data also allow for the calculation of the average number of persons per household, which is 2.3 persons / household, so only slightly less than the data provided by the Central Statistical Office (2.5 persons).

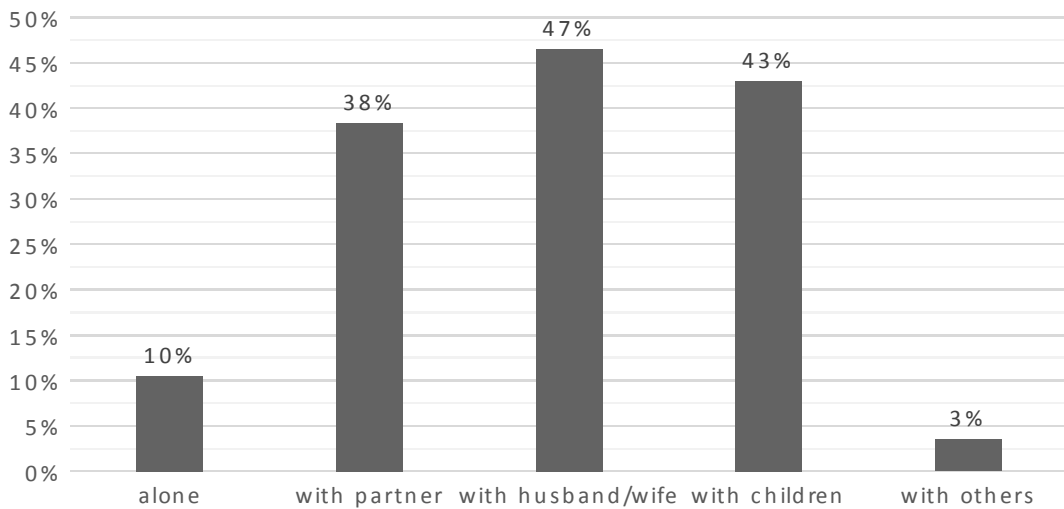


Fig. 4. Members of the household
source: self-reported

Next question was checking how long people live in the selected gated communities (Figure 5) The largest group are people living in a fenced housing estate from 4 to 6 years (41%). The second largest group are people who live there more than 6 years (27%), which probably means that they live there since the construction of settlements, which took place in 2008/09. 14% of respondents live in the gated community for less than 1 year. 9% of respondents replied "1 year – 2 years" and also 9% replied "2 years – 4 years".

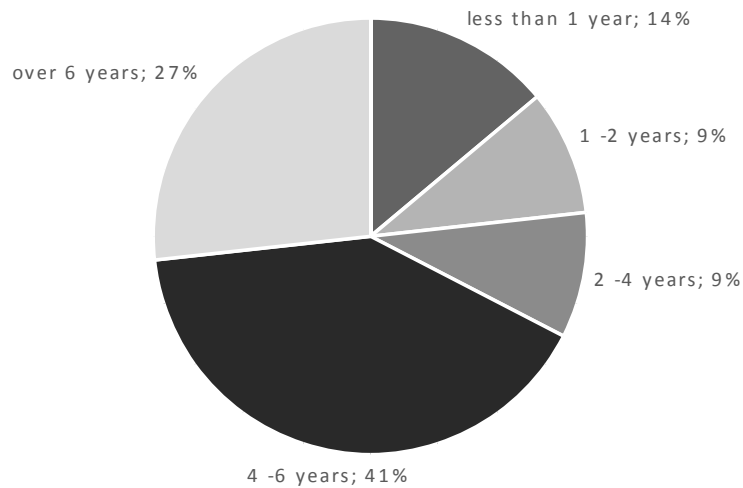


Figure 5. The length of occupation time
source: self-reported

Question no. 8 investigated reasons for moving into a gated community. Respondents could give up to four answers. Most people (66%) pointed to peaceful surroundings. Next causes are: nice architecture (56%), security concerns (55%), and lots of green areas (44%). Less than 30% of people gave following answers: high standard of buildings (27%), recreation facilities (22%), closed form of settlement (20%). 10% of respondents pointed to the favorable price and 5% of respondents reported other causes (i.e. availability on the market). Nobody pointed to the prestige as the reason for selecting the gated community for a place to live (Figure 6).

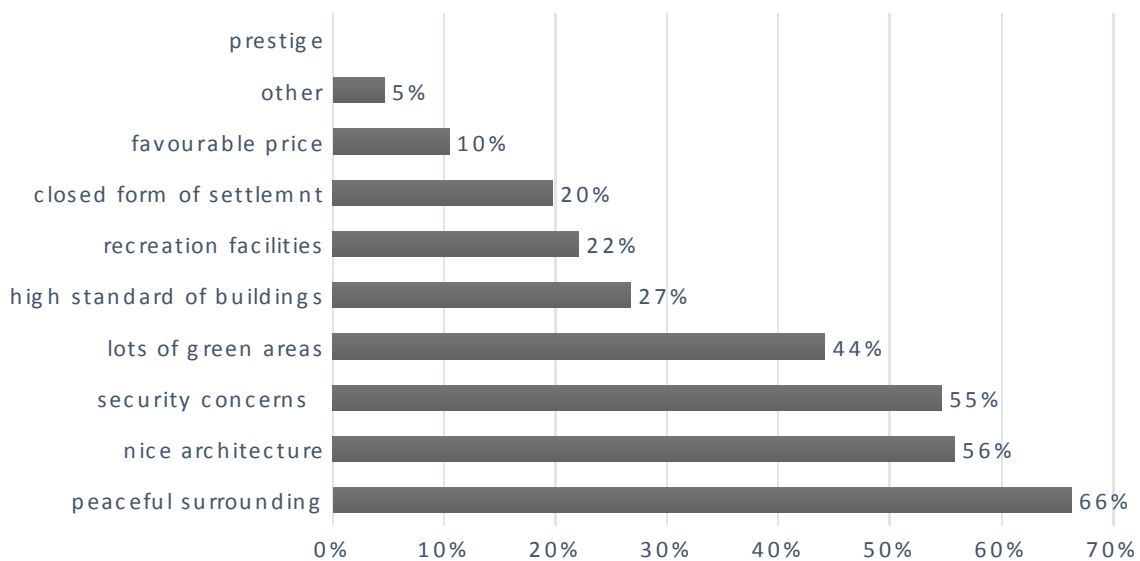


Figure 6. The reasons for moving into a gated community
source: self-reported

The research group was also asked to identify advantages and disadvantages of living in a gated community. Respondents could also give up to four answers. Most frequently mentioned positive aspects were: suitable/convenient location in the city (72%), safety (53%), lots of greener areas (52%), peaceful surroundings (49%), and monitoring and/or the presence of the security guards (42%). Less respondents indicated such factors as: high standard of buildings (31%), recreation facilities (20%), closed form of settlement (16%), good relations with neighbors (14%), nice

architecture (10%). Only 3% of respondents appreciated isolation and anonymity (Figure 7).

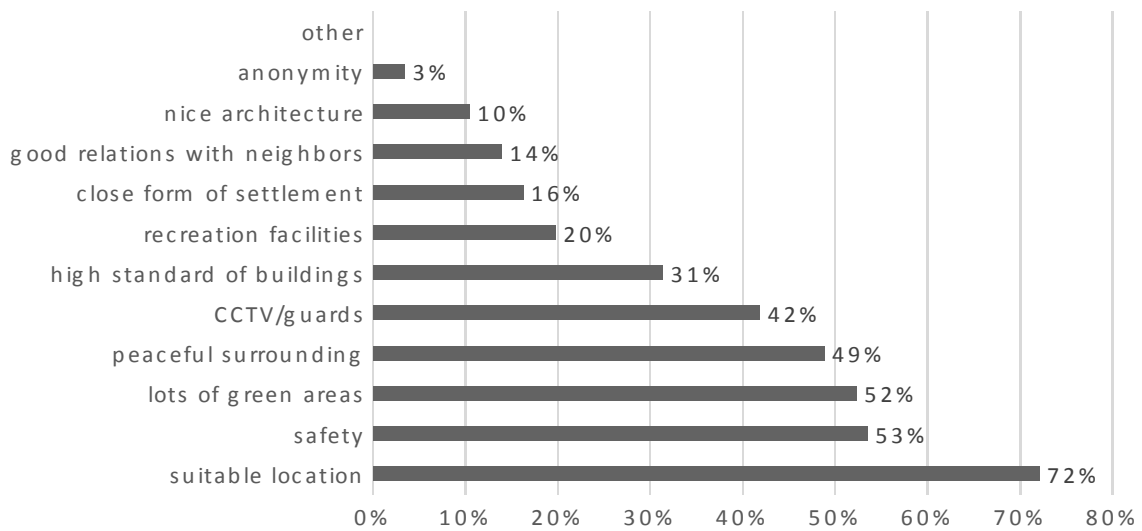


Figure 7. Advantages of living in a gated community
source: self-reported

Among negative aspects of living in a gated community the most important factor is lack of parking spaces (66%). The respondents complained also about: high development intensity (43%), isolation and anonymity (34%) and limited access to services (29%). Further positions were occupied by answers: no/bad relations with neighbors (22%), unsafe area (15%), lack/poor condition of green areas (12%) and recreation places/facilities (8%). Only 1% of respondents rated location in the city as unfavorable, but no one recognized the fenced form of the settlement as an disadvantage (Figure 8).

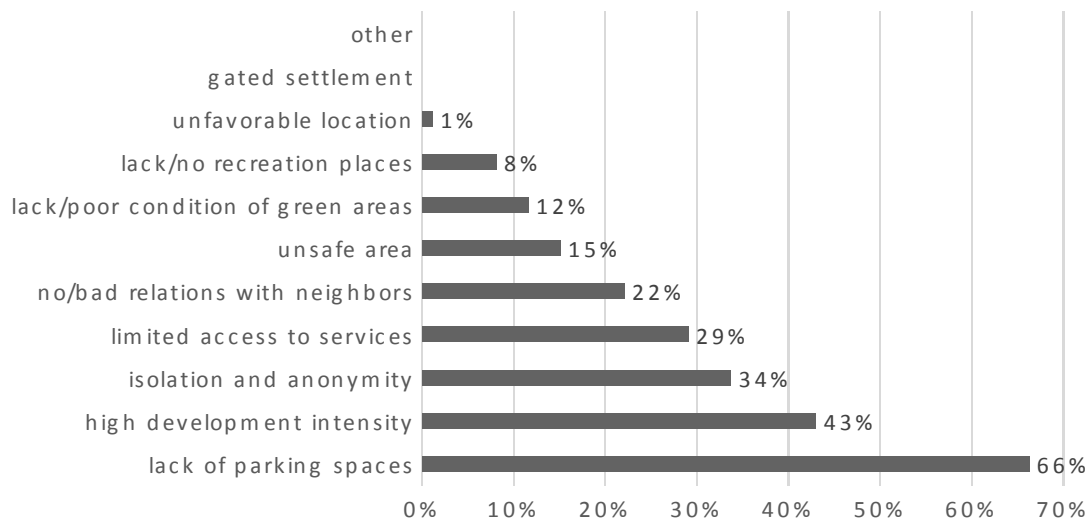


Figure 8. Disadvantages of living in a gated community
source: self-reported

Social relations between residents can be described according to the classification provided by Kryczka (1981), who takes into account a degree of involvement of inhabitants:

1. limiting neighbourhood (neighbours avoid behaviours that could be considered inappropriate, e.g. noise, littering, etc.);
2. conventional neighbourhood (neighbours exchange greetings);
3. informed neighbourhood (neighbours have some knowledge about each other, e.g. where they work, whether they have children, etc.);
4. providing neighbourhood (neighbours exchange small favours);
5. solidarity neighbourhood (neighbours have sense of unity and they conduct joint actions as a community);
6. friendly neighbourhood (neighbours visit each other and spend time together; they establish peer relationships or even friendships).

Most of the respondents (51%) can be classified as "conventional neighbours", i.e. they exchange pleasantries. The second largest group (31%) are respondents creating "informed neighbourhood". 15% of respondents are "friendly neighbours", and the remaining 2% of people are building "providing neighbourhood". No one chose responses indicating affiliation to "solidarity neighbourhood" or "limiting neighbourhood" (Figure 9).

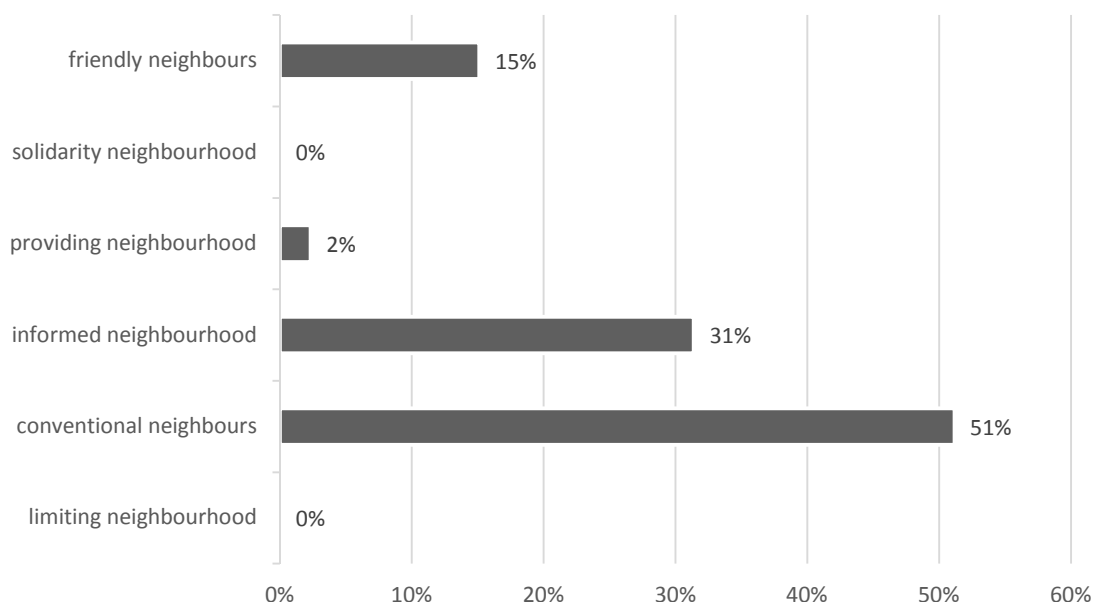


Figure 9. Social relations between residents in a gated community
source: self-reported

The research group was asked if they are willing to move out from the gated community. Positive answer was given by 36% of respondents, giving such reasons as: a larger size of an apartment (16%) or building a house (20%). 64% of respondents are willing to stay in the settlement. Another issue examined in the study was spending time inside within a gated community area. Positive answer was given by 22% of respondents, listing activities such as sitting on the benches (8%) or playing with children (14%). The vast majority of respondents (78%) does not spend free time within their gated communities

The research group of residents was also asked to evaluate their gated communities and compare them with their previous places of residence. The vast majority evaluated gated community

"much better" or "better" (45% and 30%) than the previous place. 22% of respondents said that those places are "similar" and just 2% of respondents gave answer "worse". Nobody has evaluated their gated community as "much worse" than the previous place of residence.

While examining respondents' previous places of residence, it can be noticed that the vast majority (89%) moved to gated communities from multifamily housing estates: so-called Paneláks (panel buildings constructed of pre-fabricated, pre-stressed concrete) (30%), townhouses (30%) or modern settlements (29%). From single-family building (semi-detached/terraced and cottage) moved out 8% of respondents; 2% of the respondents previously lived in a dorm.

Next question was dealing with "openness" of previous place of residence. It can be noted that the majority of respondents (86%) moved from the open estates. 13% of respondents previously lived in a gated community, and 1% of the respondents lived in an open settlement with monitoring/security guards.

It also turned out that for 65% of respondents gated community is the next step of their "wandering" in the city of Wrocław, and 30% of respondents chose a gated community as a place for living while moving to Wrocław from other cities. Just 5% of respondents moved into a gated community from a village/rural area.

The last question in the questionnaire referred to the general satisfaction with living in the gated communities. It turned out that 88% of people are satisfied with their settlements and 12% is not satisfied with living there.

5. Conclusion

The results of conducted survey verify the hypotheses posed in the work. Residents of gated communities in Wrocław, as alleged, turned out to be people of working age and with higher education. The assumption that household incomes of the residents are higher than the average household income in the province of Lower Silesia was also correct. The presumption that residents are in general satisfied with living in the gated communities is right. The hypothesis saying that main reasons for moving into a gated community are security and prestige is just partially true. While the survey confirmed security and safety were ones of the most important reasons for choosing a gated community, prestige was a less significant cause. As it was already discussed in the work, prestige is considered to be one of the main factors contributing to the spread of gated communities in the cities. However, the conducted survey has not confirmed this statement, on the contrary, it was denied. Nevertheless, it should be taken into account that respondents could have avoided giving the answer "prestige" on purpose, as they may be aware of the fact that gated communities are often perceived as a manifestation of snobbery.

The study provided data that allows for sketching a profile of a gated community resident in Wrocław. This seems to be a person 26-36 years old, with higher education, living with a partner or a wife / husband and children, employed in a corporation, or in the public sector. The resident does not establish close social relationships with their neighbours, but exchanges greetings only. However, it should be taken into account that examined settlements were built ca. 7-8 year ago, therefore, the residents have not been given a chance to establish strong and long-lasting connections. Nevertheless, observations and impressions from the survey conduction allows for an assumption that these relations will probably not change with time. The question remains whether the connections between residents of gated communities differ from the bonds established by people living in unfenced housing estates. Of course, giving an answer to this question requires additional research, but literature reveals that these relations in both cases are rather similar.

Moreover, a resident of a gated community in Wrocław is satisfied with the housing estate and rarely mentions any disadvantages. He/she does not plan to move out in the nearest future. A key factor for living in a gated community is safety. Most of the respondents moved into gated communities from open (not fenced) settlements located in Wrocław. This may lead to a conclusions

that people move into gated communities as soon as they have financial capabilities to do so. A question arises whether improvement of safety among unfenced settlements would prevent the spread of gated communities in Wrocław. It seems fair to say, that greater safety in open housing estates would reduce the number of such investments. Improving security (among other factors affecting the quality of life) in the open settlements may protect Wrocław from transformation into a giant zoo, where you can watch people behind a fence instead of animals.

References

- Blakely, E.J., Snyder M.G., 1997. *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States*, Brookings Institution Press, Waszyngton
- Brodowski, P., 2013. Spatial Problems of Gated Communities in Poland. The Case of Toruń, In: *Journal of Settlements and Spatial Planning*, Cluj-Napoca, Centre for Research on Settlements and Urbanism, pp.27-32
- Brzeziński, K., 2010. Łódzkie gated communities w perspektywie socjologicznej, In: Kryczka P. and Bielecka-Prus, J. eds: *Przemiany miast polskich po 1989*, WSPA, Lublin, pp. 174-181
- Cesarski, M., 2010. Refleksje na marginesie książki Jacka Gądeckiego o osiedlach grodzonych w Polsce, w. *Człowiek i Środowiskom*, Instytut Gospodarki Przestrzennej i Mieszkalnictwa, Warsaw, pp. 43-58
- Csizmadya, A., 2011. Conflicts around gated communities. Enhr Conference materials, Tuluza. [online] Available at <http://www.enhr2011.com/sites/default/files/Paper_csizmadya_WS23.pdf> [Accessed 5 May 2015]
- Gądecki, J., 2009. *Za murami. Osiedla grodzone w Polsce - analiza dyskursu*, University of Wrocław, Wrocław
- Gąsior-Niemiec, A., 2007. Grodzenie miasta: casus Warszawy, In: *Studia regionalne i lokalne*, Warsaw, pp. 5-30
- Jałowicki, B., Łukowski, W., eds, 2007. *Gettoizacja polskiej przestrzeni miejskiej*, Scholar Press, Warsaw
- Grant, J., Mittelsteadt L, 2004. Types of gated communities, In: *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, Pion Ltd, Londyn, pp. 913-930
- Jaroszevska-Brudnicka R., 2007. Osiedle zamknięte nowe zjawisko w przestrzeni mieszkaniowej Torunia In: *Living in the City*, Czasopismo techniczne, Cracow University of Technology, Cracow, pp. 101-106
- Judd, D. R., 1995. The rise of the new walled cities. *Spatial Practices: Critical Explorations in Social/Spatial Theory* Eds. H. Liggett, D. C. Perry, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 144 – 166
- Kamiński, A., 1974. Metoda, technika, procedura badawcza w pedagogice empirycznej. *Metodologia pedagogiki społecznej*, R. Wroczyński, T. Pilch, eds, Ossolineum, Wrocław
- Kryczka, P., 1981. *Spółeczność osiedla mieszkaniowego w wielkim mieście. Ideologie i rzeczywistość*, Warsaw
- Morris, A. E. J., 1994. *History of Urban Form Before the Industrial Revolutions*. Longman Scientific and Technical, Harlow, Essex
- Okoń, W., 1975. *Słownik pedagogiczny*, PWN, Warsaw
- Pilch, T., Bauman, T., 2001. *Zasady badań pedagogicznych. Strategie ilościowe i jakościowe*, Żak, Warsaw
- Pilch, T., 1977, *Zasady badań pedagogicznych*, WSiP, Wrocław
- Pilch, T., Wujek, T., 1974. *Metody i techniki badań w pedagogice. Pedagogika - podręcznik akademicki*, M. Godlewski, S. Krawcewicz, T. Wujek T, eds. PWN, Warsaw

- Polańska, D., 2010. Gated communities and the construction of social class markers in postsocialist societies: the case of Poland, In: *Space and Culture*, pp. 421-435
- Spyra, M., 2011. Trwanie i przemijanie miasta w kontekście metodologii projektowych, In: *Czasopismo Techniczne. Architektura*, Cracow University of Technology, Cracow, pp. 388-392
- Szatan, M., 2012. Zanikanie przestrzeni publicznej we współczesnych miastach, In: *Palimpsest. Czasopismo socjologiczne*, University of Cracow, Cracow, pp. 91-102
- Szczepańska, M., 2011. Osiedla grodzone: świadomościowe aspekty podziałów społeczno-przestrzennych i więź sąsiedzka, In: *Social Space Journal*, pp. 1-25
- Tokajuk, A., 2014. Projektowanie bezpiecznych struktur mieszkaniowych na przykładzie Osiedla Błękitna I w Siechnicach, In: *Architecturae et Artibus*, 2014, Białystok University of Technology, Białystok, pp. 95-103