University of the Western Cape

Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences Institute for Social Development MA in Social Development

Title:

Fear of crime, Place and the Moral Order: A secondary analysis of gated communities

A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a Master of Arts Degree in Development Studies at the Institute for Social Development, Faculty of Arts, University of the Western Cape.

Alton Riddles

Student Number: 2463320

Supervised by: Dr Abdulrazak Karriem
December 2019

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that **Fear of crime, Place and the Moral Order: A secondary analysis of gated communities** is my own work and that all the sources Ihave used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Full Name: ……..

Date: …… …….

Signed: ……

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Acknowledgements

To my mother for her indefatigable patience as I pursued my various creative and intellectual endeavours.

To my father, who sadly passed before the completion of this thesis, your support throughout my life cannot be overstated.

My family and friends who always told me to stay the course through all of the ups and downs (and there were many downs).

My supervisor, who showed sage-like patience in dealing with a student like me. Thank you for giving direction to an inquisitive, intellectually adventurous yet disorganised mind.

I understand it has become tradition among ISD students to thank Ms. Priscilla Kippie. Having worked with you, I can verify that this tradition is well deserved. I hope that ISD in its entirety realises that you role is immeasurable.

Adv. Nic Kock, the opportunity that you gave me could not have come at a more critical moment. It was at a time that I became disillusioned with academia (and social science). Your encouraging words and faith in me made me reconsider the prospects of the life of mind.

To all the social theorists, past and present, who showed me that clarity and a few reasonable words can go farther than mangled prose and convoluted logic. As is evident from this thesis, Norbert Elias' work is probably the biggest influence.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Abstract

This study will use secondary data analysis of academic articles to study the topic under question. Much has been written on fear of crime from a quantitative and to a lesser extent qualitative approach (Burgess and Doran 2012) but little attention has been on this fear as an emotion from an interpretive sociological approach. The approach to emotions employed in this study will draw on Hochschild's (1983) notion that emotions have signal functions and that emotions constitute a sense just like hearing and seeing, and in her estimation the most important one. Briefly stated, fear (of crime) signals to the person experiencing the emotion that something is worth being wary of; this in turn is based on expectations –and assumptions– of what a safe and orderly situation/environment or person is.

Using the sociology of emotion and the established-outsider theory of Norbert Elias, this study will analyse fear of crime as it exhibits itself in gated communities. Fear of crime provides the focal point of analysis while gated communities serves as an ancillary and contextual site for understanding this emotion. Drawing inspiration from Low (2001, 2009) and Ballard's (2004, 2005) critical studies of white citizen's motivations for moving into gated communities, this thesis will also focus on white citizens in South Africa (and America for comparative purposes). However, employing the sociology of emotion and figurational sociology of Norbert Elias and specifically the established-outsider theory, mentioned above, this study is rooted in different theoretical traditions that that of Low and Ballard.

Morality or the moral order, as it will be used here is concerned with symbolic and concrete attempts at boundary construction and maintenance between groups. Moreover, since normative issue are concerned with what ought to be, the moral order is influenced by the psychological and emotional dynamics of expectations. Thus fear, and specifically fear of crime, as it entangled in the expectations of such notions as safety, trust and social stability is reflective of people's ideas of the moral order. In the final analysis, it will be argued that fear of crime, the emotional load it carries and the expectations implied in it, is best understood as a product of modernity.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Keywords:

Fear of Crime

Gated Communities

Moral Order

Emotions

Expectations

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

List of Figures:

Figure 1.1: Murder rate of South Africa compared to other Countries

Figure 1.2: Murder rates in South Africa 1994-2011

Figure 1.3: Assault rates in South Africa 1994-2010

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Table of Contents

DECLARATION **2**

Chapter 1: Introduction to Study **11**

1.1 Introduction 11

1.2 Background 12

1.3 Rationale 15

1.4 Aims 16

1.5 Research Questions 16

1.6 Thesis Outline 16

Chapter 2: Literature Review **18**

2.1 Introduction 18

2.2 Gated Communities: an overview 18

2.3 Academic discourse and gated communities 19

2.4 The Motivations for Living Behind the Gates 19

2.4.1 Lifestyle or status 20

2.4.2Aesthetics 21

2.4.3 Fear of crime and gated communities 21

2.5 Fear of Crime: an overview 23

2.6. Consequences of Fear of Crime 25

2.7 Fear, Civility and Social Order 25

2.8 Social Disorganization theory 29

2.9 The Ecological Turn 31

2.10 Class and Race 31

2.11 Fear of crime and the elderly 33

2.12Conclusion 35

Chapter 3 Theory **36**

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

3.1 Introduction 36
3.2 A Primer in Figurational Sociology 36
3.2.1 Figurations 36
3.2.2 Power-ratio 36
3.2.3 Functional Democratization 37
3.2.3 Balances 37
3.3 Established-Outsider theory 38
3.4 Social Identification 39
3.5 Being emotional while sociological 40
3.5.1 The sixth sense 40
3.5.3 On Expectations 41
3.5.4 Emotion labour and work 42
3.6 The Fundamentals of a Sociology of Fear 43
3.6.1 The Socio-cultural Dynamics of Fear 44
3.7 The Moral Order 45
3.8 Gated Communities and the Production of Locality 46
3.9 Conclusion 47
Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology 49
4.1 Introduction 49
4.2 Qualitative Studies 49
4.2.1 Strengths of Qualitative research 50
4.2.2 Limitations 50
4.3 The Prospect of Meta-Synthesis 51
4.3.1 Sampling 52
4.3.2 Theoretical sampling 52
4.4 The Data Sources 52
4.5 Analysis 53
4.5.1 Critical Discourse analysis 53

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

4.5.2 Thematic analysis 53
4.6 Conclusion 54
Chapter 5: Analysis 55
5.1 Introduction 55
5.2 Understanding the Black-White Figuration in South Africa 55
5.3 Established, Outsiders and the elements of the Moral Order 58
5.3.1 The Aesthetic Dimension 58
5.3.2 Outsiders as potentially dangerous Other 59
5.3.4 Fear of crime 61
5.4 Modernity and gated communities 64
5.5 Conclusion 67
Chapter 6: Conclusion 68
6.1 Introduction 68
6.2 Fear of crime 68
6.3 Established-Outsider relations 69
6.4 Aesthetics 69
6.5 Safety 69
6.6 Recommendations for further studies 69
Bibliography 71

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 1: Introduction to Study

1.1 Introduction

As crime rates reach levels that are concerning to the average citizen, various responses to this predicament arise. One of the emotional and moral responses to this situation is fear of crime. It is widely recognised that fear of crime is comprised of "a variety of emotional states, attitudes, or perceptions" (Warr 2000: 453). Of the variety of emotional states and attitudes considered in this thesis are aesthetics, lifestyle and notions of morality.

Morality or the moral order, as it will be used here is concerned with symbolic and concrete attempts at boundary construction and maintenance between groups. Moreover, since normative issue are concerned with what ought to be, the moral order is influenced by the psychological and emotional dynamics of expectations. Thus fear, and specifically fear of crime, as it entangled in the expectations of such notions as safety, trust and social stability is reflective of people's ideas of the moral order. In the final analysis, it will be argued that fear of crime, the emotional load it carries and the expectations implied in it, is best understood as a product of modernity.

Much has been written on fear of crime from a quantitative and to a lesser extent qualitative approach (Burgess and Doran 2012) but little attention has been on this fear as an emotion from an interpretive sociological approach. The approach to emotions employed in this study will draw on Hochschild's (1983) notion that emotions have signal functions and that emotions constitute a sense just like hearing and seeing, and in her estimation the most important one. Briefly stated, fear (of crime) signals to the person experiencing the emotion that something is worth being wary of; this in turn is based on expectations –and assumptions– of what a safe and orderly situation/environment or person is.

Using the sociology of emotion and the established-outsider theory of Norbert Elias, this study will analyse fear of crime as it exhibits itself in gated communities. Fear of crime provides the focal point of analysis while gated communities serves as an ancillary and contextual site for understanding this emotion. Drawing inspiration from Low (2001, 2009) and Ballard's (2004, 2005) critical studies of white citizen's motivations for moving into gated communities this thesis will also focus on white citizens in South Africa (and America for comparative purposes). However, employing the sociology of emotion and figurational sociology of Norbert Elias and specifically the established-outsider theory, mentioned above, this study is rooted in different theoretical traditions that that of Low and Ballard.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Whatever the merits and strengths of these theorists, this thesis partially flies against the current of such thinking in that it proposes that such theorizing simplifies the motivations, desires etc. of the residents of gated communities. This is of course not a categorical critique of these theories but merely indicates a matter of degree.

1.2 Background

Internationally, fear of crime has been a topic of study for more than four decades (Rader 2017). There is thus a steady and veritable amount of research on the topic although, as will be discussed in the next chapter, scholars still debate around many issues from conceptualization to measurement of fear of crime. From the beginning, researchers in the USA and the UK have discovered what has become known as the paradox of fear of crime, that is, in times when the crime rate declined fear of crime has risen. Researchers have sought to explain this paradox through variables such as class, gender and race, amongst others (Hale 1996). By the 1990s copious amounts of monographs, articles and other publications have been release on fear of crime (Hale 1996; Ferraro 1995; Warr and Stafford 1983) and the field is still attracting much attention (Rader 2017). Those more disposed to a 'critical theory' approach have also joined the fold. For example, influenced by post-structuralism and Foucault in particular, Lee and Farral (2008) take issue with tendency in the field to view fear of crime and its measurement as an analysis of an objective reality. Rather they take the more Foucauldian route and argue that fear of crime and its measurement is a product of the knowledge-power nexus.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

In South Africa the field has also gained much prominence. It is argued that crime and fear thereof has become a point of obsession (Baghel 2010). Indeed, as Fry (2017) points out, South Africa is ranked the 8th highest for its rates of fear of crime. Fry (2017) argues that South Africans are somewhat justified in that ranking since the rate of violent deaths in South Africa is the 14th highest in the world. To put the imprint of violence in perspective see how South Africa (a non-conflict zone) compares with conflict zones:

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

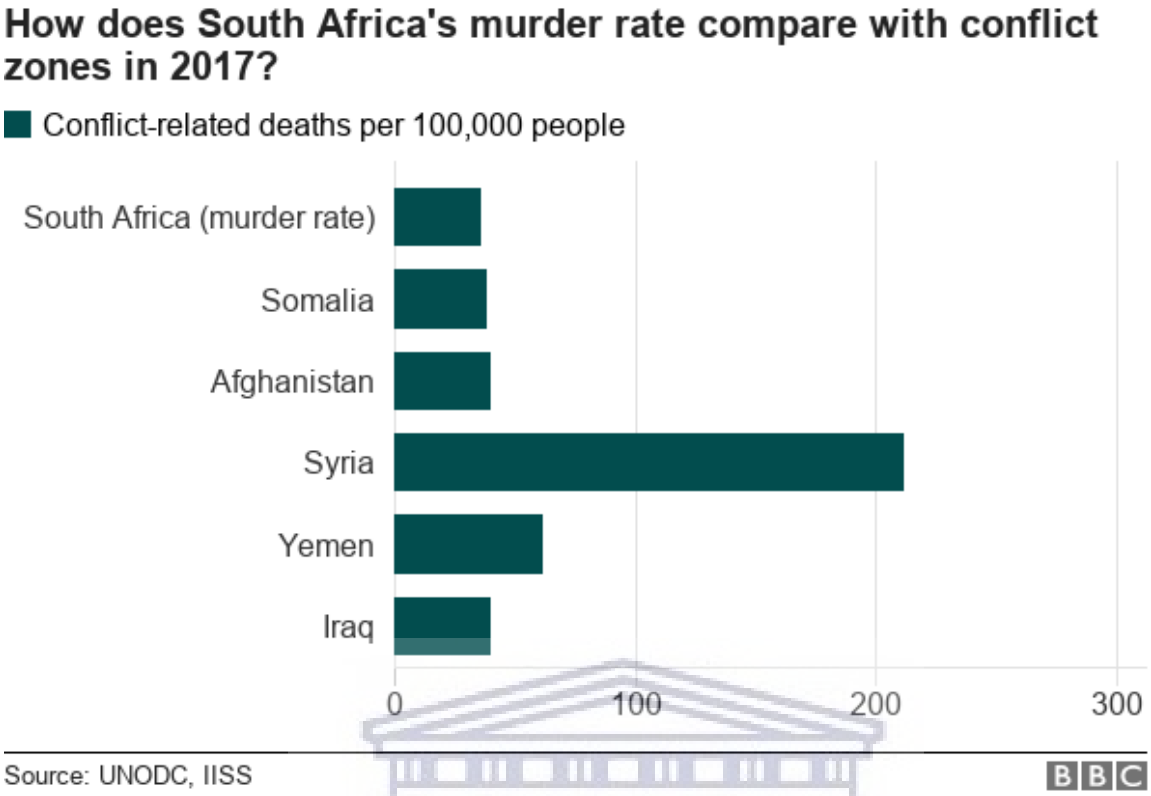
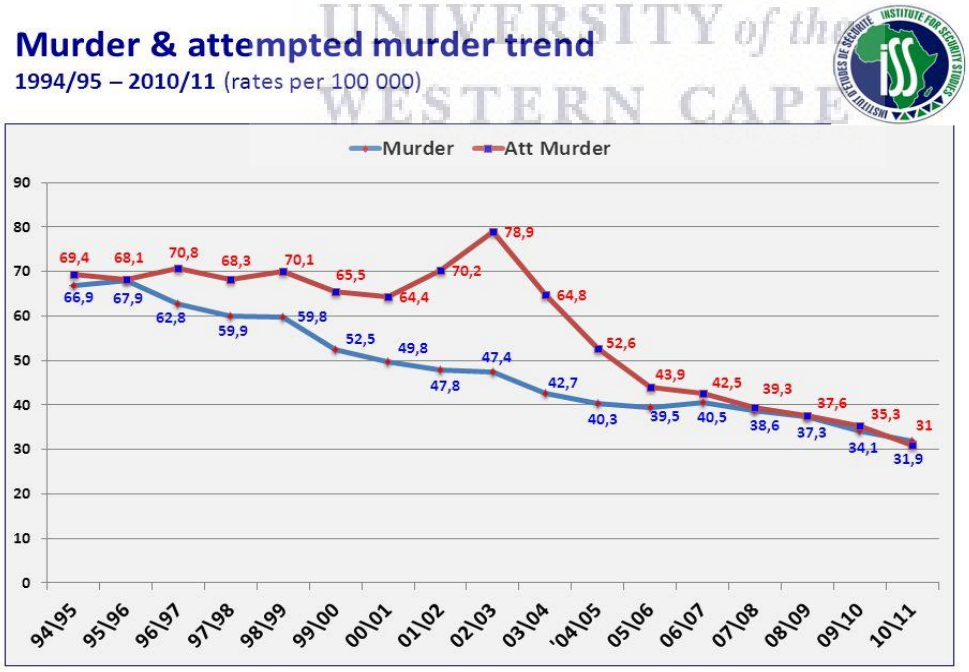


Figure 1.1: Murder rate of South Africa compared to other Countries

In the proximate time-frame in which Baghel (2010) asserts this obsession with crime a 2010 publications by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) indicated that murder rates have decreased since 2002/3 to by 2010/11(see Figure 1.2 below).



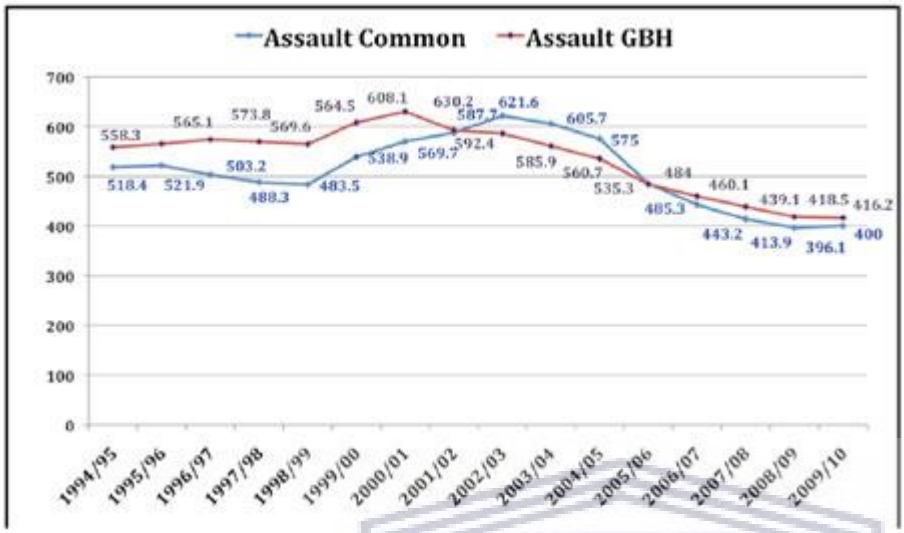
Source:ISS (2011)

Figure 1.2: Murder rates in South Africa 1994-2011

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

At the same time this ISS publication suggests that there have been no drastic changes in assault. Although assault incidences have declined by 20% between 2002/3 and 2010 this has stabilised and show a slight increase in the last year of the statistics was recorded:

Figure 1.3: Assault rates in South Africa 1994-2010



Source: ISS (2010)

More recently the Annual Crime Report from the South African Police Service (SAPS) for the period of 2017/2018 has indicated that murder has increased by 6.9% from the rate recorded in 2015/2016. In this same time-frame sexual assault has increase by 0.9% while assault with the intent to cause grievous bodily harm (GBH) has decreased by 6.7% (SAPS 2018).

The Victim of Crime (VOC) Survey report 2017/2018 suggests that fear of crime has been impacted in a negative manner by these trends in crime rates although the fear of crime paradox should make you cautious to draw to strong a causal link between actual crime rates and fear of crime rates. A positive correlation, however, is shown between the rising crime rates (in certain categories at least) and a decrease in feelings of safety. This is most clearly highlighted in an almost 6% decrease in feelings of safety in one's own neighbourhood during the day (Stats SA 2018). Once again, cautioning between too hasty causal links, in this case gated communities and fear of crime, it is interesting that the crime mostly feared was housebreaking. Housebreaking and burglary were feared by 60.8% of respondents while murder was feared by 40.5% and sexual assault by 28.3% (Stats SA 2018).

In addition to this picture of violence in South Africa, which provide legitimate reasons for fear, Baghel (2010) argues that the rise of (fear of) crime to the level of obsession can be more accurately accounted for in changes in the social and political landscape of the country. For example, the liberation of many non-white people to roles and functions not prevalent in

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

an earlier era in South Africa meant that many white people had to socially and emotionally adjust to this new socio-political environment (In the Theory chapter this process will be identified as functional democracy in Norbert Elias' sociology). Fear of crime became of the few legitimate means for white people to distance themselves from groups they saw as potentially dangerous.

This background of fear and violence may possibly impede the process of democratization (Landman and Schonteich 2002). Symbolically, this may have critical consequences as democratisation has been a critical trope in South Africa over the last two decades and has been waved like a patriotic banner amongst scholars and politicians alike. This term covers other politically resourceful words like, 'transformation' and 'redress,' amongst others. Given its highly abstract nature, it difficult to pin down what exactly the term 'democratization' covers. One way of cutting through the semantic fog is to conceptualize it as access. Thus, citizens have access to education, access to health care and, more pertinent to this argument, access to public space. It is argued that gated communities are an especially egregious affront and impediment to citizens' access to public space (Lemanski 2004, 2006; Landman and Sconteich2002). Given the violent and fearful nature of South African society, gated communities even with its dubious political standing, with some arguing that it stands in the way of the democratic process (Boeserma 2011), still appears to be an appealing and reasonable flight tactic.

1.3 Rationale

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The situation of South Africa described above alone warrants a study of fear of crime. Thus more sophisticated statistical analysis of fear of crime, its causes and effects is much needed locally and internationally to keep track of this phenomenon. However, there is a more fundamental sociological entanglement at play. Since, in South Africa, violent crime is such a grim reality, the motivations for groups to distance and insulate themselves– by means of gated communities for example– would seem justified on the one hand. On the other hand, as scholars have observed, fear of crime could be a justification for more prejudicial reasons, for example racism or classism (Low 2009;Baghel 2010;Caldeira 2000). An analysis of the complex emotional and moral dynamics involved in fear of crime as it relates to gated communities might add a different dimension to these studies. While this study draws inspiration from the critical scholarship that identifies the fear of crime amongst residents of gated communities with thinly disguised prejudice, here a different framework in the form of the established-outsider theory will be used to understand the dynamics at hand.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

1.4 Aims

Through an analysis of secondary data this study will aim:

- To understand fear of crime as a motivation to move to gated communities
- To interpret residents of gated communities discourses of fear, safety and niceness
- To understand how white citizens preference for gated communities and fear of crime are related to broader social and political changes in society.

1.5 Research Questions

- What are the emotional dynamics of fear of crime?
- How is fear of crime associated with the moral concerns of a community?
- What role does lifestyle/aesthetics play in maintaining gated communities as a site forthe production of locality?

1.6 Thesis Outline

The outline for this thesis will be as follows:

- **Chapter 1:** This chapter will provide a background for the study. It will outline the aims, rationale and research questions.

- **Chapter 2:** Will provide a review of the literature that is relevant to the concerns of this study. It explores the studies on fear of crime with a special focus on what has been called the 'Broken Windows thesis'. It also provides a brief survey into the literature on gated communities.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

- **Chapter 3:** Provides the theoretical and conceptual framework for the thesis. It will suggest that the relatively new subfield, the sociology of emotions, provides a useful lens for thinking about fear of crime. It will also employ an anthropological perspective on morality to understand the motivations for living in gated communities. Drawing on the work of anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1996), the notion of the production of locality. Other themes that will also be explored are aesthetics and identity.

- **Chapter 4:** Is a discussion on research design and methodology. It will explain the recently developed research tool called meta-synthesis (i.e. analysis of secondary data) and how it will be used in this thesis.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

- **Chapter 5:** Presents and analysis of the literature on gated communities. This will be based on the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 3.

  Chapter 6: Will provide a summary of the study with recommendations for further studies.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

As a field of criminological inquiry, fear of crime has, since its inception, held much potential for policy. Whether it lived up to this potential is debatable but since crime, and its consequences, are always hot button issues fear of crime has endured as a field of academic, public, and policy interest. Furthermore, since the field has psychological, as opposed to merely sociological, overtones it also held the promise of anodyne qualities, aiming to make citizens enjoy the more comforting aspects of modern life. In what follows, the basic aspects of fear of crime will be explored. This will include issues of measuring and consequences of fear of crime. As regards theory, a strong emphasis will be put on the 'disorder' schools of thoughts.Gated communities for its part have been touted as deterrents to fear of crime but the literature suggests that other exclusionary motivations lie behind them. These other motivations will be discussed in this chapter.

2.2 Gated Communities: an overview

Gated communities have been viewed with considerable interests since the 1990's. While it has been noted that walls and, therefore, fortification has been a feature of cities throughout history (Spocter 2012), gated communities in its cotemporary form is of recent stock on the sub/urban landscape.Le Goix and Webster (2008) note that academic interest in gated communities was predominantly concentrated amongst North American and Latin American scholars. The situation, both in terms of scholarship and actual proliferation of gated communities, has no reached global status.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The global imprint of gated communities has been shown through research in the USA (Low 2004), Brazil (Caldeira 2000), the UK (Atkinson and Flint 2004) and Bulgaria (Smigiel 2013) too mention only a few. If we consider this almost ubiquitous presence of gated communities, the question becomes more pressing as to why it enjoys so much popularity amongst certain groups. There seems to be an almost unanimous agreement that gated communities are primarilya response to fear of crime (Atkins 2005, Low 2001, Wislon-Doenges 2000, Balkely and Snyder 1998). I stress 'primarily'since other motivations also accounts for the preference and popularity of gated communities; these include comfort in old age (Rosen and Grant 2011), lifestyle/aesthetics (Vesselinov 2008) and closely related, prestige (Csefalvay 2011).All of these motivations will be further explored below. As a preliminary assertion, it should be noted that the segregationist/exclusionist thesis favoured by the critical urban theorists have a hegemonic standing in the literature on gated communities (see for example

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Caldeira 2000, Low 2004, and Landman2008). It is because of this standing that we need to take a brief overview of academic discourse on gated communities to more fully appreciate the scholarship on this topic.

2.3 Academic discourse and gated communities

Le Goix and Webster (2008) argue that the early academic writings, in the 1990's, were dominated by critical scholarship. That is to say, that gated communities were analysed as, spatially, opposing two of the brighter aspects of modernity which is democracy and equality. From this perspective, gated communities can more generally be perceived, as undemocratic and unequal privatisation of urban space (Davis 1990). Using this privatisation as a metonym for the process and consequences of gated communities, the academic critics made rigorous arguments that this particular spatial manifestation has been at the helm of numerous socio-spatial ills. Among these are spatial fragmentation (Landman and Schonteich 2002), othering (Allen 2002) and, as mentioned above, urban segregation (Le Goix and Vesselinov 2008; Rosen and Grant 2011;Lemanski 2006). In this analytical schema, a motivation like fear of crime is scholastically perceived as an ideology of the economic and class interests of the privileged (Le Goix and Webster 2008). This train of thought outlined here is what Csefalvay (2011: 737) referred to as the politics driven approach the general thesis of which is stated as such: "social polarization could lead to the creation of gated enclaves for the affluent in the city structure, on the one hand, while, on the other, the physical barriers strikingly express the social polarization to the outside observer". It should be said, that this summation does not do full justice to the nuances of the 'critical gated community studies' but is a usefully concise reference point as it refers to the main concerns of these academics namely, social segregation, othering/social exclusion and the power dynamics of urban processes. This critical academic discourse provides a lens through which the various motivations for living in gated communities are understood.

2.4 The Motivations for Living Behind the Gates

Even though the politics driven approach may ultimately view the various motivations for residing in gated communities as ideological veils for privilege and power it might still be useful to explore these on its own merits. This may provide a better understanding of the socio-cultural dynamics of the moral order as they relate to these motivations. The motivations that will be considered here are life-style or status, aesthetics, self-segregation and finally fear of crime or the security logic. These motivations do not exist and exert themselves in isolation; they are often interrelated or it might be that one dominant

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

motivation (e.g. fear of crime) might engender another one (e.g. aesthetic appreciation). Nevertheless, analytical abstraction is necessary to unpack each motivation on its own.

2.4.1 Lifestyle or status

Sociologist Eva Illouz (2012: 19) contends that "choice is the defining cultural hallmark of modernity". In her estimation, this is especially the case in the political and economic domains while for Berger and Zijderveld (2009) this particular hallmark of modernity stretches into the very fibre of what and who to be. This 'what and who to be' is implicit in matters of lifestyle and status. Gated communities, as modern spatial occurrences (Vesselinov 2008) are thus unsurprisingly entangled in this other modern occurrence of lifestyle choice.

In the Hungarian context, Csefalvay (2011) has drawn the startling conclusion that prestige or lifestyle has trumped fear of crime as a motivator for gated community preference in its capital city of Budapest. Considering prestige over considerations of crime involves a trade-off as Csefalvay (2011) notes that the higher the housing status of the area, the higher the crime rate in that area. Here it is worthwhile to point out that, in the South African context, it has been argued the gated communities have had a negligible effect on preventing crime (Marks and Overall 2015). This is not to suggest a negation of the centrality of fear of crime, but, as stated above, fear of crime is interrelated with other motivations.

The notion of lifestyle takes on more ethno-religious dimensions in the Israeli context (Rosen and Grant 2011). Based on ethno-religious considerations, Israeli citizens self-segregate. To maintain these boundaries and the lifestyles encapsulated in them various mechanism are used for example female visitors should cover they whole bodies and also vehicles are not allowed on the Sabbath (Rosen and Grant 2011). These mechanisms, in addition to the glaring salience of the gates, also indicate a strong message of what and who are condoned and what should stay outside of the gate. Indeed, as Rosen and Grant (2011: 782) state, the "social reproduction of these enclosed spaces is motivated by cultural values and ways of life".

In the same study, Rosen and Grant (2011) also compare gated community preference in Canada. It is noted that gated community preference is revealing of lifestyle choice as these structures might be connected with a golf course. Rosen and Grant (2011) note that the agents that market and are involved in the development of gated communities state that security is not the main motivation behind the preference and popularity of these structures. In the Canadian case, lifestyle as a motivation had a strong age component. The respondents in Canada stated that privacy and comfort in later years (old age) was a factor in their preference for gated communities. A similar desire for an age-appropriate lifestyle in the form of gated

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

retirement communities has been highlighted by Spocter (2012, 2016) in the context of Cape Town, South Africa. Interestingly, Spocter (2016) also notes that security (a proxy for fear of crime) was not a primary motivation for living in these estates. This makes for a curious comparison with the literature on fear of crime and the elderly to be discussed later.

2.4.2Aesthetics

Aesthetics is closely related to the notion of lifestyle. Philosophically, aesthetics is usually concerned with turgid meditations on art and beauty. In social science it deals with matters of taste (Bourdieu 1984), niceness (Low 2009) and embodiment and the senses (Meyer 2009) amongst other things. Boerserma (2011: 5) argues that "gated communities should be understood as the institutionalization and bureaucratization of taste" further contending, from this point of view that it is the "emotional experiences of residents that are rooted in the historic and aesthetic conception of community" that should be given centrality in the analysis of this topic.

Boersema (2011) has illustrated how this aesthetic logic has been important for the appeal of gated communities in Pretoria, South Africa. Here safety and the mirage of an idyllic place form residences experience of gated communities. In this particular instance aesthetics, security and a sense of community has formed an emotional/attitudinal figuration. The notion of a moral/normative order, as compromised of this figuration, is implicit in this analysis but not yet made explicit.

The aesthetic motive has also become an important driver behind the preference for gated communities in China (Pow 2009). In Shanghai, the middle class has been increasingly drawn to gated communities has a symbol of social differentiation and taste. As Pow (2009: 373) puts it:

> By being thoroughly aestheticized, class relations are depoliticized and reduced to questions of lifestyle choice, consumption patterns, visual pleasures and "good taste". To this extent, the seemingly innocent pleasure in the aesthetic appreciation of landscapes and the desire to protect the beauty and serenity of landscape can thus act as a subtle yet highly effective mechanism of/for social exclusion and the reaffirmation of elite class identities

Here Pow is indicative of the politics driven approach, while theoretically insightful, whereas, in a different article (Pow 2009b) the moral or normative dimensions of gated communities have been emphasised.

2.4.3 Fear of crime and gated communities

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Gated communities with its walls, electrified fences and security guards promises a cover from the threat the 'outside' world poses. However, as we have noted in the previous section, fear of crimeis not necessarily linked to an actual high incidence of crime and it has been argued the gated communities have had a negligible effect on preventing crime (Marks and Overall 2015). It appears that the jury is still out on whether it, at the very least minimizes exposure to crime. Whatever gated communities' effect on preventing crime is, there is ample evidence to suggest that those who reside within its confines do enjoy a certain level of safety and security (Low 2004).

If fear of crime was seen as the sole motivation for erecting and moving to gated communities, not much critical scholarship would have been devoted to it. As it stands, in addition to fear of crime, many other reasons are attributed for the proliferation of gated communities, reasons which do capture the attention of critical scholars. One prominent reason or explanation is the phenomenon of white flight (Pais et al 2009) where white people move out of neighbourhoods that were previously their sole province. The anthropologist, Setha Low, (2004) notices this pattern in New York, where the increasing ethnic diversity of the urban space served as an impetus for white people to move to gated communities.

In addition to white flight, critics of gated communities also employ terms such as 'othering', 'spatial fragmentation' and 'social exclusion' to analyse these neighbourhoods(Durington 2009). From a bird's eye analytical view these terms cover more or less the same explanatory ground, in as much as it states that gated communities serve to enclose a certain group of people at the expense of a marginalized group. Race and class have been observed as the key indicators of social exclusion and marginalization with reference to gated communities. Critics argue that the exclusionary nature of gated communities reinforces historical, racial and class inequities whether this be in South Africa (Landman 2004) or Brazil (Caldeira 2000).

As a rule, the South African constitution and democratic climate promote inclusiveness. Thus gated communities, in the above mentioned analyses, stand as a bulwark against the ideals of the new South African imagination. In as far as gated communities do actually hamper social inclusivity (a hypothesis rarely tested in the South African literature), those who live inside 'the walls' do feel a sense of (white) guilt for the fear and anxiety they exhibit towards non-whites (Allen 2002; Durington 2009). In Lemanski's (2006) research on a Cape Town gated community, she notes that those on the inside and on the outside of the gates both harbour certain negative feelings towards each other, albeit different feelings. These sorts of findings make critics of gated communities argue, more in a normative than explanatory vain, for a

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

reassessment of these neighbourhoods and a promotion for what they deem much needed social integration (Landman 2004).

Fear of crime, from the critical perspective, is thus part of a complex of class/privilege based perspective. Although, this perspective provides much insight for the analysis to be carried out here, the central focus will be to interpret the cultural, emotional and moral dimensions of fear of crime. To do so, an analysis of the notion of fear of crime needs to be undertaken to clarify its appropriateness for this thesis.

2.5 Fear of Crime: an overview

Research on fear of crime has taken many dimensions from more psychological orientated discussions to more sociological views. This broad disciplinary reach notwithstanding it is common to use the definition given by Ferraro and LeGrange(1987: na) who define the fear of crime as "the negative emotional reactions generated by crime or symbols associated with crime". As far as the current inquiry is concerned, this provides a useful starting point as the perspective taken (mostly anthropological and sociological) can contribute theoretically to the discussion. Anthropology's focus on the symbolic aspect of human lives (although not the extent of its purview) is well placed to build on the above-mentioned definition. This is especially important if one considers the link between crime and actual victimization.

It should be noted that studies on fear of crime are dominated by quantitative approaches as such measurement concerns and its attending conceptual issues are tantamount in such research(Ferraro1995;Ferraro and LaGrange 1987; LaGrange, Ferraro and Supancic 1992). One of the earliest critiques of the vanguard studies in this area is the matter of global measures of fear of crime. Global measures make no distinction between types of crime and also have no reference to a specific time (Hale 1996). To rectify these shortcomings in earlier studies,Shapland and Vagg (1988) suggest that research questions should be relevant to individuals' lives or environment. It would probably be irrelevant to ask an elderly respondent if he feels safe going to a nightclub on a Saturday night.

The focus on measurement also led to another distinction in this field, that of concrete fear and formless fear (Keane 1992). Concrete fear refers to being afraid of the more visceral aspects of crime like being victimized through violence. Formless fear, on the other hand, refers to a non-specific threat to one's well-being (Figgie 1980). Drawing on this distinction, and considering that the current inquiry is qualitatively rooted, it is also useful to point to Baghel's (2010: 82) suggestion that fear of crime "should be seen as a far more nebulous concept than merely a response of anxiety or dread to crime," thus giving one more

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

conceptual range than a quantitative study fundamentally concerned with analysing relationships between variables. This might expand the scope to a more discursive and possibly more phenomenological analysis of fear of crime. That a discursive analysis will be employed does not necessarily imply an overt poststructuralist critique of the ontological status of fear of crime. It should be explicitly stated that this research builds on the assumption that fear of crime is a real emotional and cognitive response and not one necessarily produced by a power/knowledge nexus (for the post-structural view of fear of crime see Farral and Lee (2008)).

As alluded to in the previous statement, fear of crime, for operational purposes, is divided into three categories: cognitive, affective, and behavioural (Fattah and Sacco 1989). The cognitive dimension of fear of crime refers to individual beliefs about the probability of becoming a victim of crime. The affective aspect concerns individuals' feelings about crime and does not necessarily have any relation to an external reality. This distinction is especially useful as it passes the rational/irrational dichotomy of earlier studies on fear of crime (Hale 1996). This point especially will be explored in the next chapter but suffice it to say that it is not analytically productive to analyse emotions along a rational-irrational continuum (this is not to say that certain emotional responses can't be irrational). Finally, the behavioural dimension refers to individuals' actions to perceived or real threats of crime (Lawton and Yaffe 1980).

According to Hale (1996) earlier studies of fear of crime focussed mainly on the notions of vulnerability and level of crime or crime experience as possible correlates to fear of crime. Level of crime or crime experience is further divided into direct and indirect impacts on individuals. Vulnerability, especially, has been viewed as important in analysing fear of crime amongst the elderly and women. Indeed, age and gender are the most prominent variables in these studies.

Studies in the area of fear of crime often pointed out the tenuous link between this feeling an actual crime rates (Baghel 2010; Doran and Burgess 2012; Ceccato 2012). This discrepancy between actual victimization and the level of fear of crime is ripe for theoretical elaboration in this field. Sociologically it has been noted that this inverse relationship is more pronounced amongst certain social categories, noticeable among these are race (Durington 2009), age, especially the elderly, (Davis and Snyman 2005) and probably most conspicuously in the research, gender (Davis and Snyman 2005). Since it is widely accepted in the 'social science perspective' that the above-mentioned social categories are socially constructed, historical andqualitative research would yield interesting explanation as to why these groupings feel

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

more vulnerable. At a glance the criminological literature seems to be content with identifying these social categories as important variables in the study of fear of crime.

2.6. Consequences of Fear of Crime

It might seem theoretically exuberant to frame fear of crime as a form of trauma; however, the types and levels of fear of crime do have an impact on how people live their lives (or in some instances do not live their lives). As explicit as some responses or consequences of fear of crime may be, one has to be careful not to over psychologise these, as in many instances these responses might be quite normal. Thus, instead of most responses and consequences being seen as pathological, it is best viewed as quotidian.

One of the oft cited consequences of fear of crime is the decline in community morale and order. The issue of disorder and incivility as a cause of fear of crime will be discussed below but here one of the more visible consequences of fear of crime is withdrawal from neighbourhood activities (Hale 1996). Skogan (1986) states that people who exhibit more fear tend to stay home especially after dark and when outside they take care to avoid strangers or situations their perceive as threatening. This lack of participation in community activities has further knock on effects, for example, residents might not take an interest in the well-being off their neighbours and this can have a detrimental effect on community safety. Furthermore, withdrawal may also be a feminist concern as studies have shown that women are more likely to adjust their behaviour because of fear of crime (Hale 1996).

There are also potential psychological effects of fear of crime. Fear of crime, if persistently triggered, may cause negative emotional responses ranging from anger to outrage (Burgess 2012). If outrage, for example, is experienced at a sufficiently collective level, the response might be vigilantism which has been relatively common in South Africa as a recent incident in Port Elizabeth has shown (News24 30 July 2019). Although not the focus of this thesis, I suspect there is a dialectical relation between fear of crime and outrage/anger (which may devolve into mob justice). At this level, people's lifestyles may also be hampered, as the fear of victimization will limit the activities community members will engage in, especially the youth (Burgess 2012). This lack of sociality may prove to be harmful psychologically.

2.7 Fear, Civility and Social Order

In addition to the various facets discussed above, there has also been a long tradition in the literature to discuss fear of crime in relation to incivilities and social order (Hunter 1985). This line of research has proven to be contentious not merely for theoretical and empirical reasons but also for ideological ones. One of the explanations for the ideological backlash, is

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

that one branch of this line of fear of crime thinking, the 'Broken Windows' theory(Kelling and Wilson 1982) was instrumental in New York Mayor's Rudy Giuliani's crime policies in the 1990's. This policy has proven unpopular among people of left political leanings and casted a dark cloud over the theory ever since. Ideology aside, the incivility, social order and fear of crime link still provide a useful framework for the arguments employed in this thesis.

The impetus for the Broken Windows idea comes from an article published by James Q Wilson and George Kelling in 1982, although the roots for such thinking can be find in Wilson's 1977 book 'Thinking about Crime'. The springboard for the article's argument was the 1970's New Jersey 'Safe and Clean Neighbourhoods Program'. This programmeset to improve policing strategy and police-community relations by implementing foot patrols as opposed to police merely driving around in squad cars. Initial response to the programme was sceptical and studies have shown that foot patrol had no discernible effect on reducing the crime rate (Wilson and Kelling 1982).

Wilson and Kelling (1982), however, pointed to an apparent paradox in these findings which was while foot patrol did not necessarily reduce crime it did help people feel safer. This, of course, flies in the face of reason. The answer, Wilson and Kelling suggest, is to be found in what people fear. While they point to violent attack as an especially visceral fear (a point that also need much attention), they argue that what people fundamentally fear is disorderly individuals engaging them in public. As examples of these disorderly individuals they cite "panhandlers, drunks, addicts, rowdy teenagers, prostitutes…" (Wilson and Kelling 1982:npn); this is also to make the point that disorderly people do not necessarily fall under the rubric of the violently criminal. There is an obvious moral/normative and aesthetic dimension to perceptions of disorder (Chapter 4 in this thesis) and critics of Broken Windows tend to use this as arefutation of the approach, but this still does not detract from the theoretical utility of the ideas.

From the foot patrol officers and the community point of view, disorder was firstly a matter of distinguishing between 'regulars' and 'strangers' (Wilson and Kelling 1982). What is interesting is that distinction was extended to neighbourhood 'disorderly' people as well. Thus, while a neighbourhood drunk might, from the point of view of the Broken Windows hypothesis, be considered disorderly, the fact that the drunk was a 'regular' was less psychologically and morally discomforting than a 'stranger' walking about in the neighbourhood. An interesting parallel can be found in the South African anthropologists' ElaineSalo and Fiona Ross, respective studies on the notion of 'ordentlikheid' (respectability) amongst residents living on the Cape Flatsin Cape Town. In these instances, whether a young

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

man is a gangster, for example, if he can subscribe to a semblance of respectability, he could still be reasonably accepted as part of the moral universe of the community. Of course, this is more easily extended if the young man is a 'regular' rather than a 'stranger'.

In light of the 'ordentlikheid'/respectability notion, it should be noted that Wilson and Kelling do not argue that all 'regular disorderly' people are uncategorically subsumed within the moral universe of the community. As Wilson and Kelling (1982) state, it is those drunks and derelicts who 'know their place'. They are allowed to stray from public perceptions of order but not too far. That is to say, they have to display some semblance of respectability so as not to disrupt the fragile social order. Put differently, even though they are allowed some leeway, the rules, both legal and moral, still apply to them.

To support their argument at the community level, Wilson and Kelling (1982) make recourse to social psychology. They refer to an apparent standard observation and insight from social psychologist, that if there is a building with one broken window which goes unfixed that there will soon be more windows broken. Such is the empirical backbone of the core of Wilson and Kelling's perspective. Drawing on insights from social psychologist Philip Zimbardo's experiments (not his in/famous prison experiments), Wilson and Kelling (1982) note that untended property is not just fair game but is also susceptible to the raves of those who consider themselves law-abiding. From this Wilson and Kelling(1982) argue that behaviour not 'tended' to can also have detrimental effects on community cohesion and order. The argument goes, that if certain behaviours like the rowdiness of teenagers or excesses of public drunks are not controlled then this can be construed as licence not to behave in a manner that is conducive to public order. Public drinking or loitering may thus increase as community social control has been loosened.

The two authors are also mindful to point out, that while crime, especially violent crime, is not inevitable; the perception of crime alone is enough for community members to adjust their behaviours accordingly. Wilson (1977) has pointed out that a common adjustment or reaction to this situation is for families, with the means, to move out. Skogan (1986) has noted that this flight of families can contribute to the downward spiral of a community as most of the families who move out were instrumental in upholding the moral fabric of the community.

A cautionary note is appropriate here; Wilson and Kelling (2006) in a later assessment of their Broken Windows notion, noted that the obverse might not be true. In an assessment of the 'Move to Opportunity' voucher scheme did not necessarily reduce the crime rate amongst residents who moved to more affluent neighbourhoods. Thomas Sowell (2018) in his

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

assessment of the Move to Opportunity scheme also made similar observations. What this might suggest is that values are slower to adjust to changes in the environment, and this could also possibly be seen, to what early sociologists referred to as cultural lag. Anyone following the argument thus far might be tempted to point out that this is a refutation of the Broken Windows thesis (as Harcourtand Ludwig (2006) proposed), since moving into a more affluent neighbourhood (i.e. a more 'orderly' neighbourhood) has no effect on crime rates amongst the newly arrived residents. Wilson and Kelling (2006) counter by pointing out that Broken Windows does not suggest that disorder does not affect crime rate at an individual level but at the neighbourhood level. Furthermore, following the cultural lag logic, to the extent that neighbourhoods in and of itself has an effect on individual behaviour; this does not present itself immediately but over years (to be fair this is a hypothesis that Wilson and Kelling did not test but it is still a point with merit).

Flight or moving out is not the only response to disorder. Wilson and Kelling (1982) argue that people's conceptualization of their resident's changes amongst the growing signs of disorder. Thus, your neighbourhood is no longer considered home but merely a place where you live (Wilson and Kelling 1982). Similar to the atomizing charges against neoliberalism, disorder in neighbourhoods makes residents more individualistic in their pursuits and their incentives to get involved with community matters, especially regarding crime, becomes diminished. In such a climate community controls and checks are weakened (Wilson and Kelling 2006) and the disorderly behaviour can flourish which, according to the Broken Windows logic, will increase fear. Thus, fear can lead to less public participation.

The main thrust of the 'incivility' school can be simply stated as physical and social signs of disorder have a significant impact on fear and may also have an impact on incidence of crime. One of the earliest exponents of this argument, Albert Hunter (1978) argued that fear of crime in urban settings is essentially a fear of social disorder. Drawing on the works of sociologists Howard Becker and Erving Goffman, respectively, Hunter states that civility is a product of the degree to which people adhere to the expectations of behaviour in public. Thus civility (and by logical extension incivility) is precariously produced through face to face interactions. I say 'precariously produced' since the possibility of incivility, at this level of analysis is always present empirically (this is parallel to Freud's thinking on civilization).

Furthermore, Hunter (1978) notes there is also a macro dimension to civility. Here civility is viewed as the outcome of the dynamics of modern nation-states. Thus, civil ties are horizontally produced and maintained through obligations and recognition of fellow citizens and vertically through adherence to the dictates of law and order. Hunter (1978) further

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

suggests that civility is best conceptualized as the dialectic interplay between the face to face and the macro nation-state levels.

Whereas Hunter mainly focussed on physical incivilities, later theorizing has made a distinction between physical and social incivilities. Rader (2017) gives an example of social incivilities as teenagers standing around on corners whereas physical incivilities point to, for instance, graffiti and deplorable states of buildings. Recent multilevel analysis (Ward et al: 2017) suggests that physical and social incivilities might have distinctive impacts on levels of fear of crime.

2.8 Social Disorganization theory

Related to the Broken Windows and the Incivilities line of thinking is what is known as social disorganization theory. Even though this theory was developed in the 1920's and 1930's, it has shown a remarkable resilience as a mode of thinking about crime, delinquency and other related social phenomena. As with most sociological thought this theory was a passionate intellectual onslaught to the dominant individualistic thinking in criminological circles, most notably, what was then known as, criminal anthropology. The pioneers of this approach were two 'Chicago school' sociologists Shaw and McKay although a luminary such as Robert Park may also be credited in making contributions to the field.

During the time that Shaw and McKay were to develop their ideas it was an era of rapid industrialization, urbanization with an influx of different groups of people into the American cities. These developments brought with it not just opportunities but, inevitably, various social problems. Amongst the various social issues, Shaw and McKayhoned in on were delinquency and crime or what they would call social disorganization. To explore the nature and causes of these problems these two sociologists used Chicago as their natural habitat.

As sociologists they obviously saw their problematique as social but also more importantly as rooted in the very structure of the city. To explain the causes of social disorganization they conceptualized the city as comprising of 5 different zones in concentric circles:

- The City Centre: This is the central business district, where few people take up residence (Roucek and Warren 1966). During the time of the initial development of social disorganization theory, the central business district was expanding; this led to a waning of residential properties as residents tended to move away from all the peace-disturbing aspects that business districts brings with it (Kubrin 2009).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

- Zone in transition: This zone includes slum areas but due to the expansion of the central business district into its ambit is characterised by high land values (Roucek and Warren 1966). Owing to its slum aspects it was common to find rooming houses and brothels in this zone (Timms 1967).

- Zone of Working Men's Homes: This is zone is characterised by being occupied by second generation immigrants whose parents tended to be housed in the slums of the former zone (Roucek and Warren 1966).

- Residential Zones: This zone was characterized by single family dwellings and apartment hotels (Timms 1967).

- Commuter's zone: These are the more desirable residences characterised by more sedentary modes of living (Roucek and Warren 1966).

These different zones provide a basis for understanding the differential effect 'environment'/zone structure has on social dis/organization. From this Shaw and McKayidentified three factors contributing to disorganization. These are: low socio-economic status, racial/ethnic heterogeneity and residential mobility (Kubrin 2009). Since the link between crime and poverty (or low socio-economic) status has been shown to be tenuous, I will briefly focus on the other two factors.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Besides the more obvious aspect of racism with regards to the racial/ethnic heterogeneity factor of social disorganization, just as sociologically fundamental is the issue of trust. To the extent that people have a choice in where they live, they tend to move with people like themselves. This is a phenomenon that Thomas Sowell (2018) has called social sorting; it's a global phenomenon and is not limited to societies where there is strife between black and white people. If, for various reasons, neighbourhoods become more diverse, people become apprehensive and trust becomes a rare currency. The issue in not merely race, classis just as important (Wilson1977). In well-established neighbourhoods, the introduction of 'unfamiliar' people may arouse various discomforting sentiments. Interestingly, Skogan (1986) noted that fear of 'unfamiliar' people is most strongly felt by the elderly. It should go without saying, that this in no means implies that people cannot live in diverse neighbourhoods but at the very least the initial introduction of different people can cause distrust and fear amongst other

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

things. One can of course argue that the rise in gated communities is in part a reflection of the impulse to reside with similar people, whether by race or class.

Related to issues of trust (and fear) that may arise from racial/ethnic heterogeneity is residential mobility. As neighbourhoods change to, what is perceived as, less desirable places, those with the means move out and those left behind have to deal with the neighbourhood changes (Skogan 1986). The potentially drastic demographic changes can have an impact on social organization as new comers are viewed with suspicion. This suspicion leads to a weakening in social ties and informal social control, which from the standpoint of social disorganization theory is vital to maintain order in a community.

2.9 The Ecological Turn

Although the pioneering work of Shaw and McKay proved popular, initially, in the 1960's their work was greeted with a general dismissal. It was only in the 1980's that social disorganization theory experienced arevival. This new revival was to take an 'ecological' view of social disorganization. One of the more salient differences between the 'revival' school and the Shaw-McKay school was whereas the earlier school's scale of analysis was zones within a city, the new approach's scales were, neighbourhoods, cities or nations with the assumption that each of these have varying influence on social disorganization.

While in the earlier version of social disorganization theory it was basically taken for granted that people lived in different zones, the new social ecologists' thinkingadded a 'political-economy' view in their analyses. Thus, it was not just that people lived in certain type of environments with their respective influence on disorganization but that certain groups because of structural reasons found themselves in those environments which were less conducive to organization. From this it was shown that African American's were disproportionately relegated to those 'ecologies' that influences disorganization.

In addition to the much needed 'political-economy' perspective, disorganization theorists added the notion of collective efficacy. The concept of collective efficacy refers to "the willingness of community residents to exercise informal control and to trust and help one another" (Sampson and Groves 1989). There seems to be a bit of an overlap with some of the concerns of the Broken Windows theory. At any rate, this concept stresses other sociological concepts (or processes) such as social capital and trust amongst others.

2.10 Class and Race

Another area of study, which is curiously little researched, is the influence of race and class on fear. Although the two are separate categories or variables, empirically they tend to

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

overlap. Therefore,African Americans, for example, are significantly correlated with the working class; the obverse can be demonstrated for their white counterparts. While this dichotomy holds true, one should be careful not to fall into facile analyses and generalizations regarding this matter. While much important work has been done there are limits to what can be said on such matters as the reaction to Charles Murray and Richard Hernstein's*The Bell Curve* has shown (Sowell 2009). Contentious as these issues may be, race remains an important sociological variable to understand various social phenomena and fear of crime is no different.

The literature has shown that the poor are more fearful than the wealthy (Pantazis 2000; Rader 2017). This is explained by differential vulnerability (discussed below) between poor and rich. The basic argument is that the poor generally lack the means to protect themselves from criminal victimization (Pantazis 2000). One can for instance think of the high-tech security measures and private security services at the disposal of the wealthy against the meagre measures of the poor as an example of this differential vulnerability. Furthermore, poor people are more vulnerable to victimisation because they tend to live in high crime areas (Rader 2017). They are thus, reasonably more fearful than the wealthy. Pantazis (2000) has suggested that poor people's fear of crime should be viewed in relation to other insecurities they might suffer such as, for example, unemployment and debts.

Where race is concerned, it has been shown that African Americans tend to express more fear of crime than whites (Rader 2017). This is in line with the class-race nexus discussed above. However, research findings in this area have not been consistent, as some studies have shown that whites are more fearful than others; this has been argued to be the influence of media representations that suggests that whites are more likely to be victimized (Rader 2017). In a different vein, social disorganization theorists argue that racial heterogeneity in a neighbourhood also increases fear of crime amongst residents (Sampson and Groves 1989), further providing impetus for studying the link between fear of crime and race.

After Foucault and the textual turn in social science, it has been common to view people's discourses (basically what they say and think) as implicated in politics, power relations and positioning. The notion of 'othering' (which is the current buzzword for 'social exclusion') has always gained much traction under this mode of thinking and nowhere is 'othering' and positioning as apparent than in people's discourses of order and disorder. In an interesting article provocatively titled 'Poverty as danger' the Australian anthropologist Erin B. Taylor (2009) persuasively argues for such reasoning. It is argued the poor communities in Latin America and the Caribbean, through the "politics of moral order" (Taylor 2009), are

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

positioned as dangerous and therefore should be subjected to (the Foucauldian notion of) discipline. Middle class fears of the poor are analysed as expressions of class interest and moreover the discourses emanating from these fears are said to marginalize the poor. The logic of such arguments is very persuasive and is common in anthropological studies. Anthropology is not the only discipline where such reasoning prevails, the interdisciplinary study of gated communities is also apt to this line of reasoning. Many interesting studies on gated communities have explored the race/class- 'othering'-fear of crime dynamic. In recent years this has especially been the case in South Africa.

2.11 Fear of crime and the elderly

It was stated, earlier, in the literature on gated communities that the attraction these residential structures have for the elderly has more to do with comfort and lifestyle than with fear of crime. This stands in stark contrasts to the literature dealing directly with fear of crime which indicates that older citizen's experience significantly higher fear of crime rates that the rest of the population. To understand why this is the case the dimensions of vulnerability need to be clarified before explaining the fear of crime of the elderly

In the criminological literature, the high(er) rates of fear of crime amongst the elderlyand womenhave been explained through the concept of vulnerability. Noting that earlier studies could not adequately correlate fear of crime with the notion of exposure to risk, Killias (1990) suggests that vulnerability might be suitably employed to explain levels of fear. Drawing insights from social psychological research, Killias (1990: 106) argues that fear (of crime) depends on three factors or dimensions of vulnerability:

- Exposure to non-negligible risk
- Seriousness of consequences
- Loss of control

Exposure to risk can be subdivided into physical, social and situational factors (Killias 1990) but following Hale's (1996) subsequent review of the literature, the focus here will only be on the physical and social factors. To highlight the impact of physical factors, recourse was made to the standard question of fear of crime while walking alone at night. In answer to this question, women had considerably higher levels of fear than men. Furthermore, when asked what crime they feared the most, rape was consistently mentioned as the most terrifying (Killias 1990). Social factors impacting on the exposure to risk include certain jobs that make women more susceptible to danger. Killias lists amongst these risky jobs, taxi drivers and work where employees have to stay until late hours.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

The second dimension of vulnerability, the seriousness of consequences, is also useful when considering women's fear of crime. It has been stated there is a consistent dread of rape amongst women respondents in studies of fear of crime. The point is made that victims of robbery or other types of crime do not face the same consequences as victims of rape (Killias 1990).

Finally, loss of control refers to the assessment of individuals that their protective means and options for escape in potentially dangerous situations might not be adequate (Killias 1990). In studies the implicit model of a perpetrator is a young man which suggests issues of physical capacity with regards to one's possibility of being victimized. Most studies addressing the physicality of (potential) victims, suggest that this issue is more pronounced with women and the elderly. Killias and Clerici (2000) have provided evidence that sex (referring specifically to women) is an important variable when assessing levels of vulnerability and fear of crime.

These studies on vulnerability have provided a useful explanatory tool to elderly fear of crime. Killias (1990), however, cautions that the various dimensions of vulnerability provide merely a necessary condition but is not a sufficient explanation in itself. This, therefore, provides ample scope for broader sociological and anthropological analyses.

As another important predictor of fear of crime, age and especially the elderly has been a focal, if not contentious, aspect in this field of study. As noted earlier, the 'victimization/fear paradox' (Rypi 2012) is well documented amongst the elderly. This paradox refers to the phenomenon where a groups' fear of crime is disproportionate to the actual levels of crime or victimization. In a similar vein to the social category of gender, studies suggest that, as a social category, the elderly levels are in proportion to their actual risk of victimization (Hale 1996). From the standpoint of victimology, the fear of crime of the elderly can be explained in terms of risk factors and vulnerability.

Common sense would suggest that the elderly are particularly frail and therefore more vulnerable and susceptible to the predations of criminals. In what would appear to be a rare instance, the social science literature seems to be congruent with common sense analysis on this particular matter. Delport (2013), for example, describes the various risk factors involved that exacerbates the vulnerability of the elderly. These include physical factors, for example the diminishing health of the elderly, social factors– the isolation of the elderly and economic factors which include the elderly's financial dependence on others (Delport 2013). These factors suggest that the elderly are more vulnerable or exposed to risk although not necessarily actual victimization if the dictates of the 'victimization/fear paradox' are to be taken seriously.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

The factors mentioned above would also logically lend support to the second dimension of vulnerability, which is seriousness of consequences. If elderly vulnerability is increased by such factors as diminishing health and financial dependence on other than its stands to reason that an episode of victimization, such as a violent attack or theft, might have more serious consequences for victims in other social categories. In light of such a line of analysis, the 'victimization/fear paradox' would appear to be less paradoxical. It could possibly be an avenue to address the irrationality of fear of crime arguments (see Hale 1996).

Quantitative analyses, of varying levels of sophistication and conceptual nuance, where independent variables like vulnerability are associated to dependent variables like elderly fear of crime are useful to indicate the frequency with which such attitudes, feelings and emotions are held. Such findings promise much practical and policy utility and should not be glibly dispensed with, however, more process-orientated/post-structuralist critiques have been levelled at quantitative studies' categorization of fear of crime of the elderly and their vulnerability. Rypi (2012) notes that such studies tend to treat the elderly as a homogenous and static group with no appreciation for the complexity and fluidity that such an identity entails; this extends to the way vulnerability and fear of crime has been framed in discussion of the elderly. Rypi suggest that studies should focus on the negotiations and agency that the elderly employ regarding fear of crime and vulnerability. This is in line with dominant poststructuralist– and contemporary anthropological– thinking and is well worth considering, however, it should be noted that there is an epistemological disconnect between conceptualization in quantitative studies and more process orientated qualitative studies.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

2.12Conclusion

This chapter provided a brief overview of the numerous aspects of fear of crime. I have focused mainly, on what I call the 'disorder' school of this field as this is pertinent to the whole argument of this thesis. As such it provides a necessary springboard for the ideas developed in the following two chapters. The next chapter addresses the issue of how the sociology of emotion can enrich the field of fear of crime studies.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 3 Theory

3.1 Introduction

The literature reviewed in the previous chapter provides hints on what should be made clear when studying fear of crime and gated communities: emotions and morality. It is also clear that gated communities as materially insulated structures imply insider and outsiders. To that extent the figurational sociology of Norbert Elias and especially the established-outsider theory will be useful. To expand on this theory and to make more amenable to the concerns of this thesis, the sociology of emotion and specifically the sociology of fear will be used as analytical tools. To elucidate the link between emotions, morality and space, (i.e. gated communities) insights from the anthropology of morality and space will also be employed.

3.2 A Primer in Figurational Sociology

Process or figurational sociology is the product of Norbert Elias' (1978) response but also synthesis of the classical social theorists such as Weber, Durkheim, Marx, Simmel and Freud, amongst others. Over the years Elias and then his students developed a barrage of conceptual tools under this banner; enough to fill a textbook. Therefore, what is represented here is not an exhaustive account of the conceptual and theoretical reach of figurational sociology but merely brief explanations of the theoretical tools more relevant to the framework of this thesis.

3.2.1 Figurations

The concept of figuration was developed to think through such analytical dualisms as agency-structure, micro-macro and individual-society. All these seemingly opposing and static phenomena are rather interconnected, constantly shifting webs of relationships. As Elias (1978: 128), using the example of people playing a card game, puts it:

> If the term 'concrete' means anything at all, we can say that the figuration formed by the players is as concrete as the players themselves. By figuration we mean the changing pattern created by the players as a whole not only by their intellects but by their whole selves, the totality of their dealings in their relationships with each other. It can be seen that this figuration forms a flexible lattice-work of tensions.

3.2.2 Power-ratio

This "flexible lattice-work of tensions" alludes to another important feature of Elias' sociology and that is the notion of power-ratio. For Elias (1978), all human relations are pervaded by power relations. This is not necessarily the notion of power-as-oppressive favoured by 'critical' scholars (whether it be patriarchy, institutional racism or cultural

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

hegemony) but also a more embracing idea that all human interactions (figurations) are comprised of one person or group having something that another person or group wants or cant' do. Thus, even a loving relationship can be characterised as one person seeking the attention or affection of the other person more. While this might not necessarily devolve into an oppressive relationship it does impact it in meaningful ways (for example the more ardent attention/affection seeker will defer more to the other partners demands or suggestions). This dynamic, however, is constantly shifting (i.e. power-ratio) so that the other partner in the relationship will have more say in certain situations. Here we need to consider to other concepts, that of 'balances or ratios' and 'functional democratisation'.

3.2.3 Functional Democratization

For Elias (1978) the concept of function was not normatively conceived in the sense that it only applies to relations, whether of person or institutions, which contribute to a harmonious social order. The concept equally applied to relationships and situation characterised by conflict of interests. Thus a slave and his master both provide something that the other needs and therefore constrain each other's actions although because of the ever present power-ratio on party has more constraining power than the other. Functional democratization, then, means an opening up of possibilities, roles, positions and so forth or in figurationalist terms "diminishing contrasts, increasing varieties" (Loyal 2004).

As a crude, schematic example, one can for instance think of a black woman and white woman during the Apartheid era. A common figuration between the two would be that of domestic worker and lady of the house. After the fall of apartheid, their figuration and its attending functions were elaborated to the point where a black woman could now live next door to a white woman and therefore have the new function and role of being a neighbour– diminishing contrast in social hierarchy and increasing figurational varieties– which would have been more unlikely in previous decades. The irony of this example in the context of this thesis is not lost on me. It should be noted, as Menell (1994) notes, even the process of functional democratisation new social inequalities constantly emerge. Finally, as a foreshadowing of the section on emotion, functional democratisation brings with it anxieties, amongst other things, between established and outsider groups.

3.2.3 Balances

The notion of balances and ratios was employed to see the relations between different entities (individuals, tribes, nations etc.) as always shifting and therefore always characterized by power. In addition to the power balance, Wouters (2014) conceptualizes six other balances.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

These are the balance of competition and cooperation, the balance of external social control and internal self-control, the balance of formalisation and informalisation, the lust-balance, the 'we-I' balance the balance of involvement and detachment. I prefer to see the relationship between established and outsiders as characterized by a 'we-they' balance.

3.3 Established-Outsider theory

Another useful, although somewhat neglected, lens of understanding boundaries and by extension the moral order that human beings construct and consequently abide by is the established-outsider theory developed by Norbert Elias (although the initial case study on from which this theory was developed was co-authored with Scotson, Elias was arguably the theoretical force behind this collaboration). Based on a case study on a small community in the English Midlands during the late 1950s, Elias sought to understand the dynamics of group differentiation amongst the earlier settled inhabitants and the new comers of this community. What struck Elias as odd was that all inhabitants of the community were of the same racial/ethnic category and on more or less similar class standing; the key difference in the process of differentiation was in "social oldness and cohesion" (Scott et al 2011: 152) That is to say that the members of the community who have been living the longest also had the most social capital to become more cohesive as a social group, they have become established. By contrast the new comers did not have the social capital to create a sense of social cohesion yet and thus they were seen as outsiders (May 2004).

The outsiders are also distanced by various techniques of stigmatization. In the elaboration and application of the theory in Scott et al. (2011), gossip is a key technique of stigmatization. Through very selective transfer of information about the outsider group, the established tend to judge the outsiders as a whole by the characteristics of the worst of its constituents; that is, they were perceived by their 'minority of the worst' (Mennel 1994). Conversely, the ideas about the established are biased towards the praiseworthy elements of their group, thus they were perceived by their 'minority of the best' (Mennel1994). It follows that from this particular asymmetry of information conveyance (i.e. gossip vs. praise) that a grossly distorted image of both groups is constructed but obviously having a more negative impact on the outsider group. The degree of distortion made by the established group is influenced by the degree of power the established have over the outsiders. This idea is well summarized in the following:

> By and large…the more secure the members of a group feel in their own superiority and their pride, the less great the distortion, the gap between image and reality, likely

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

> to be; and the more threatened and insecure they feel, the more likely is it that internal pressure, and as part of it, internal competition, will drive common beliefs towards extremes of illusion and rigidity. (Elias and Scotson 1965: 95 quoted in Mennell 1994)

It is also noted that in the established-outsider dynamic the contents of stigmatisation remain remarkably similar across social contexts, that is to say "outsiders are always dirty, morally unreliable, and lazy, among other things" (Mennell 1994: 182). Viewed symbolically, this accord well with the framework of morality and boundaries sketched in this thesis. The established-outsider theory, then, provides a tool for understanding the mechanisms for boundary making and the moral order that is implicated in it.

While, May (2004) has criticized Elias' theory for having a blind spot when it comes to issues of space, it should also be remembered that the applicability of the established-outsider theory reaches beyond localized, parochial small scale community studies in which it was first conceived. Elias and subsequent theorists have used it to understand broader scale shifting relational dynamics between groups within given societies. Furthermore, since the established-outsider theory revolves around group or social identification this aspect needs to be developed more in addition to a more explicit focus on emotions (via the sociology of emotions).

3.4 Social Identification

All identities and authentic expression of these are based on a set of practices and symbols. Two assumptions are involved in stating that identities are based on practices and symbols. The first is that identities are not given and is always in the process of being and becoming (Cooper, Hall and du Gay 1996; Jenkins 1987). Secondly practices and symbols are open to multiple interpretations and use (a point tiresomely made by anthropologists overtly concerned with symbols, see Cohen 1979, Firth 1973, Turner 1975) which means that the stability of identities are always threatened. Furthermore, de Swaan (1995) argues that the process of social identification involves feelings of experiencing some human being as more similar and other as less so than 'us' and that this process has both cognitive and emotional dimensions in addition to the practices and symbols mentioned above.

The preceding comments suggest that, in accordance with figurational sociology's emphasis on balance of tension, identification also implies disidentification. The concept of disidentification was developed by de Swaan (1997) in his analysis of theanimositybetween Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda. The process of disidentification runs parallel to the strategies

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

established groups use to define outsiders in that it denies bad qualities in we-group and projects them onto the outsiders thereby making them appear more distant and unfamiliar (de Swaan 1997). Similarly, the cognitive sociologist EviatarZerubavel (1991:41) argues that "social identity is always exclusionary, since any inclusion necessarily entails some element of exclusion as well". It is also interesting to note that de Swaan (1995:31) argues that the more extreme manifestations of this exclusionary aspect of social identification, for example nationalism, classism or racism, are not just "divisive and exclusive, but also unifying and inclusive". Since social identification also has an emotional aspect, it would be appropriate to outline a theory of emotion.

3.5 Being emotional while sociological

Most discussions and elaborations on Arlie Hochschild's classic book, 'The Managed Heart' (1983), have focussed on the concepts of emotion labour, emotion work/management, and feeling rules. These have proven to be concepts of great utility in the sociology of emotions and will therefore be employed in this thesis as well, but I submit that this narrow focus on three concepts have curiously neglected other interesting and useful notions in her work. For the purposes of the analysis here, it is suggested that Hochschild's notion that emotions have signal functions and that emotions constitute a sense just like hearing and seeing, and in her estimation the most important one (Hochschild 1995), also has analytical value.

3.5.1 The sixth sense

What is fascinating about Hochschild's(1983: 219) account of emotions as that she conceives of it as a "biologically given sense" and as such "it is a means by which we know about our relation to the world, and is therefore crucial for the survival of human beings in group life." On this last point about survival in group life, it is interesting to note that Norbert Elias (1987) saw emotions as an indication that humans are constituted for social life. Thus, as emotions provide us with the raw materials for social life, according to Elias; it is also avery important means for us to maintain this social life, according to Hochschild. It should also be pointed out that if emotions are indeed a biologically given sense, it is subjected to the same limitations as other senses. So if emotions are the "means by which we know about our relation to the world" (Hochschild 1983: 219) it stands to reason that this 'knowing' can be limited and can exposes us to many misunderstanding and mistakes in "our relation to the world" (e.g. literature and pop culture are replete with such examples).

3.5.2 Emotions and the Signal Function

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Hochschild, however, goes one step further, emotions are not just a biologically given sense, but it is a sense of a particular kind. The uniqueness of emotion from other senses presents itself in that it's not only related to "an orientation toward action but also to an orientation toward cognition" (Hochschild 1983: 219). Drawing on Freud's analysis of the signal function of anxiety, Hochschild extends this function to all emotions.Hochschild asserts cognition plays a role when emotions signal messages to a person. In the Freudian case, fear or anxiety signalled danger of physical harm (Scheff 2011). Pointing beyond anxiety, Hochschild states that other emotions are "senders of signals about our way of apprehending the inner and outer environment" (1983: 221). The use of the word 'apprehending' is not semantically insignificant, I argue, as it implies anticipation of something whether danger or safety.

For present purposes, the essence of this line of thinking is in the statement; "[W]hen an emotion signals a message of danger or safety to us, it involves a reality newly grasped *on the template of prior expectations*" (Hochschild 1983: 221 emphasis in the original). This notion of (prior) expectations is integral to the framework developed here as it applies not only to my analysis of fear of crime in relation to gated communities, but also has implications for the quasi-anthropological treatment of morality employed in this thesis. It is also important to note that the signalling involves juxtaposition between what we experience and what we expect to experience (Hochschild 1983).

3.5.3 On Expectations

UNIVERSITY of the

It almost natural to think of the sources of prior expectations in the childhood of a person; in that sense we are all Freudians. While this is not the place to traverse the murky debate between psychoanalysis and sociology, it should be noted that prominent (psychoanalytically orientated) sociologists such Neil Smelser and Ian Craibhave made forceful cases for including psychoanalytically informed views in sociological analysis of identity formation, which in this instance includes expectations. Craib's book, *The Importance of Disappointment*(1994), can be read as an analysis of how psychoanalytically and sociologically formed expectations can lead us all awry. In the final analysis, it is clear that past experience from childhood to adulthood influence our present expectations.

WESTERN CAPE

A step up on the analytical ladder is the influence of social and cultural forces on behaviour. Hochschild's analysis of emotion is usually categorised as a culturalist approach as opposed to an approach that emphasizes the structural influences on emotions. The culturalist emphasis in Hochschild's theory is manifest in the notion of feeling rules. Briefly stated feeling rules are those normative (or pre- and proscriptive) elements of emotions that regulate

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

how, when and where a person should display emotions. There are, thus, broad societal and cultural frameworks that influence the appropriateness of particular emotions in particular contexts and how these emotions can be displayed. More to the point of our discussion here, it could be argued that since norms are a guide to our interactions and therefore influence what we *expect* from others and the world, it could be argued that feeling rules strongly influence the relational aspects of our expectations. As mentioned earlier, the concept of feeling rules, and the related terms emotion labour and emotion work which will be discussed in the next section, are viewed as the cornerstone of Hochshild's analysis of emotions.

3.5.4 Emotion labour and work

In the literature dealing with the notions of emotion labour and emotion work or management some scholars tend to treat the terms as interchangeable while in Hochschild's original analysis it is conceptualized as two linked though different terms. With reference to Marxist categories, Hochschild (1983) describes emotional labour as an attempt to create an appropriate display and feeling of emotion in the marketplace (i.e. work or organizational space) and it thus has exchange-value. An example of this would be young people who have to do promotions for products in a shopping mall; here a so-called sunny disposition would be valuable both in terms of endearing yourself to a prospective employer or customer. On the other hand, emotion work or management refers to the same logic of display and feelings but in the private realm and thus has use-value (Hochschild 1983). The fact that scholars working on related issues have not strictly adhered to Hochschild's use of the terminology need not bother us too much as long as we explicitly explain the dynamics of emotional display and feeling rules whether in public or private.

Sophie Rietti (2009) has highlighted some of the vital concerns of emotion work in its empirical consideration and social consequences. Following the lead of Bartky (2002), Rietti (2009) argues that if the demands of emotion work/management are too overwhelming for actors concerned then it can run the risk of highlighting certain aspects of a situation while putting other aspects in the background. This may result in an emotional rigidity and social blindness that might have disciplinary utility but is not conducive to the existential openness needed when engaging with other human beings, especially in situations where such openness is required. In summation, emotions "shape our lives through their conceptions and evaluations of the situations in which we find (or could find) ourselves, of the people we deal with, and of ourselves and our place in the world;" therefore emotions are "*engagements with the world*, not mere self-enclosed feelings" (Solomon 2007: 204 emphasis in original).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

3.6 The Fundamentals of a Sociology of Fear

"…all humans distinguish that which is dangerous from that which is safe"

(Zerubavel 1997: 53)

If we allow ourselves to ask one of those paradoxical pedestrian-yet-important questions, we have to inquire what a sociological inquiry of fear would entail. As a starting point we can state it thusly:

> A sociology of fear cannot simply be concerned with the operation of the individual 'emotion' of fear. It must examine the cultural matrix within which fear is realised and attend to patterns of social activity routinely associated with it. Nor is it enough to develop a social psychology of fear of the kind that we typically find in the sociology of emotions. Fear must also be examined at the societal level where it may even become the very foundation of forms of social organization. As many have known to their cost, whole regimes of domination can be founded on fear (Tudor 2003:244).

Tudor's framework for analysing fear sociologically is congruent with the view of the sociology of emotions sketched earlier. In addition, it could be argued, that fear should be afforded a special analytical place in light of the formulations of risk and the risk society by contemporary social scientists (see Beck 1986,Douglas1992). Indeed, it can be stated as an ancillary hypothesis that as societies or nations become more civilized (i.e. as they adopt the trappings of law and order, democracy and individual autonomy amongst other things) the *expectations* of stability and safety a raised to a level where it paradoxically makes fear more pervasive. This, I believe, is partly suggested in Frank Ferudi's (2002) influential 'culture of fear' thesis. Taken together, these lines of thought suggest that fear is one of the more important emotions to understand social life in the modern world. If this is indeed the case, then it is probably analytically important to clarify what fear is.

While many would see fear as the paralysing emotion par excellence, Barbalet (2004) argues that fear can illuminate group interest and it thus may also provide a road map of how to realize those interests. It is important to note that Barbalet situates his analysis of fear in the context of class conflict and thus it does not necessarily resonate with the commonly received view as is to be inferred from fear of crime for example. This does not mean that fear of crime cannot be on some level of analysis be associated with class. Fear of crime, in this inquiry, is analysed in terms of class (or status group) formations but not necessarily in the 'critical' mould of Barbalet. Starting with a definition that has broad analytical resonance, Barbalet (2004: 149) defines fear as "caused by an incapacity to deal with danger or threat." This is a Freud-meets-social-justice definition of fear since the word 'incapacity' as opposed

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

to 'anticipate' (in line with the Freudian definition) suggest social actors rendered politically incapable of dealing with socio-economic danger and threats; this is in accordance with Barabelt's critical class analysis of fear. Following Barbalet's reasoning the working classes are exposed to numerous socio-economic related fears such as the prospect of unemployment and chronic poverty. The working classes thus have less *capacity* to voice their concerns vis-a-vis employers. The Marxian contention that the worker has only his labour to sell is pertinent to this analytical scheme since it also alludes to the *incapacity* of workers to protect themselves from the dangers and threats of a volatile and precarious labour market.

If the working classes are threatened because of their vulnerability in relation to employers and labour markets than elite fears are aroused when the power dynamics that support their social position are shifting (Barbalet 2004). The shifts in power dynamics can occur at different levels (with different consequences); it may for instance happen at the institutional level as in the case of the Civil Rights Movement or at the level of ideas, for example egalitarian philosophies whether this takes the form of socialism or Rawlsian 'justice'. This is an analytical point; ontologically these different levels of shifting power dynamics work in combination, not necessarily coherently, with each other. So, an egalitarian inspired policy will call for minimum wage laws which obviously implicate institutions in the political and legal domains. These changes, in turn, can make the elites more apprehensive if not fearful of their current social position. These assertions can be summed up by stating that "fear functions as a signal indicating that interests are threatened by the prospects arising from the relations of power in which the subject is implicated" (Barbalet 2004: 161). While this line of analysis is important in emphasising the socio-economic basis of fear, we can expand our theoretical brushstrokes to include the broader social and cultural dynamics of fear.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

3.6.1 The Socio-cultural Dynamics of Fear

Nominally, it is appropriate to start an exploration on the cultural (and social) dynamics of fear with Frank Furedi's notion of culture of fear. Furedi (2002) suggests that the culture of fear can be understood by at least three principles:

1. **Shift in moral reaction to harm:** here Furedi suggests that contemporary (Western) culture enfeebles people to the inevitable tragedies and misfortunes of the human condition. There is thus been a growing concerted effort against the idea of an accident. People are encouraged (if that is the right word) to find someone or something to blame. This is parallel to Thomas Sowell's (2012)notion of the Utopian vision (in earlier works he called it the unconstrained vision) where those who subscribe to this vision sees the problems of the world as the fault of 'evil' people

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

(basically those they don't agree with) and faulty institutions. Furedi also points out that in such a zeitgeist where the idea of tragedy or misfortune becomes defamiliarized there tends to be an excessive quest to search for meaning, especially in making sense of the direct afflictions that befall people. And one of the central avenues that a culture of fear provides to make sense of the various tragedies is the blame game.

2. **Safety as an end in itself:** If accidents always have a blame-worthy antecedent in a culture of fear, it is even better to eschew accidents and by extension danger all together. Safety becomes sacralised and risk as a public issue becomes more salient. The prophylactic ethic is extended into more domains of social life from safety in the work place to safe sex campaigns. Indeed, Ferudi (2006) argues that this excessive cultural concern with risk and safety amounts to a morality which he labels the "new etiquette."

3. **Changing the narrative of harm:** Along with the growing inflation of what is to be perceived as risky is also to the stories we tell about danger and disasters. Thus, our reactions to disasters change accordingly with the new narratives of harm. Ferudi (2002) uses the different reactions to the disaster of the Appolo space craft of 1967 and 19 years later that of the Challenger space shuttle to illustrate this point. He argues that it is not anxieties about technological change or scientific hubris that accounts for the two different reactions but the change in public attitudes in general. The culture of fear and its constituent elements should thus be understood in its historical and social contexts.

Since emotion more generally and fear specifically, deals with norms and expectations there is an undoubted moral quality to it, in the sense of drawing boundaries around that which is dangerous from that which is safe.

3.7 The Moral Order

The crux for the conception of morality employed in this thesis is quasi-Durkheimian as it asserts that certain ideas and practices have their proper place and accordingly are assigned to sacred or profane status. This idea of order as predicated, symbolically and physically, to its

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

designated places has been forcefully developed by anthropologist Mary Douglas (1966) and its worth quoting her at length on this issue:

> Granted that disorder spoils pattern, it also provides the material of pattern. Order implies restriction; from all possible materials, a limited selection has been made and from all possible relations a limited set has been used. So disorder by implication is unlimited, no pattern has been realised in it, but its potential for patterning is indefinite. This is why, though we seek to create order, we do not simply condemn disorder. We recognise that it is destructive to existing patterns; also that it has potentiality. It symbolises both danger and power. (Douglas 1966: 95)

Thus, as order seeking social beings amidst unlimited disorganizing (and potentially dangerous) materials (whether it be ideas, people or practices) we invest a considerable amount of energy in maintaining this order and therefore are also implicitly or explicitly concerned with boundaries. This 'order maintenance' can be done explicitly as for example in highly ritualised contexts which provides participants with what Durkheim called collective effervescence, the shared emotional and moral experience towards the specific object of ritual (Shilling and Mellor 1998). On the other hand, it can be done implicitly through the various concessions to unspoken norms in everyday life; this is the observations made by ethnomethodology and later Bourdieu's (1992) reflexive sociology.

Also important is the contention that "order implies restrictions" or boundaries. Douglas (1966) notes that boundary construction or order is necessarily limiting of our existential and social frame of reference. Why is this case? An answer is provided by geographer Robert D. Sack in his analysis of the moral foundations of place. Sack argues that

> [W]e humans are incapable of accepting reality as it is, and so we create places to change it according to the ideas about what we think reality ought to be, and do so again and again, thus continuously creating and transforming the landscape. (2001: 117)

As a pre-emptive analysis one may argue that gated communities represent such incapacity to accept reality and to create a space or place more amenable to what we think life ought to be.

3.8 Gated Communities and the Production of Locality

A gated community is essentially a space where subjectivity or identity is negotiated, mediated and produced. This implies that a broader communal identity is also produced at the same time. As such it will be useful here, to briefly, explore Appadurai's notion of the production of locality. For Appadurai (1996) locality is not so much rooted in its spatial or

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

scalar dimension but by its relational and contextual aspects. It is the individuals' relations in a specific site which is an important part in the production of emotions in a locality. Moreover, how and where the locality is contextualized in relation to other localities and the broader national or global scale is also an important factor. As a complimentary term, Appadurai (1996: 178-179) defines neighbourhood as the "actually existing social forms in which locality, as a dimension, is variably realized."

Appadurai also points out that like almost any other social product, locality is characterised by a degree of precariousness and interminable engagement with it to maintain the semblance of foundational unity. The production of the local subject is for Appadurai (1996: 179) similar to rites of passage. So if one is to seriously employ the ideas of Van Gennep and Victor Turner to the production of locality, it could be argued that in the case of just moving into a gated community (or any other locality) there will be a liminal phase in which the new local subject will be betwixt and in between. The new local subject needs to be acquainted (or maybe inducted) into the rhythms and rules of the new locality. When the new subject is successfully integrated into the new locality, it also defines the moral boundaries in terms of who the friends are and who the strangers are. This process of integrating new members into the locality and subsequently the moral parameters of the community is important because "without reliably local subjects, the construction of a local terrain of habitation, production and *moral security* would have no interest attached to it" (Appadurai 1996: 181, emphasis mine).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

3.9 Conclusion

Drawing on figurational sociology, the sociology of emotions and the anthropology of morality and space, this chapter aimed to provide a framework to analyse fear of crime in relation to gated communities. It argued that gated communities are sites where the established-outsider dynamic is at play. It further argued that emotion is a biologically given sense, like hearing and seeing, that gives us clues about the world which allows us to act in the world accordingly. More than clues, these emotions are also evaluations about the world. These evaluations are based on expectations and therefore help us to situate experience and objects according to our notions of right and wrong, proper and improper and clean from dirty. In short, it suggests and aids in the construction of a moral order which assigns experiences and objects to its proper places. It was argued that fear and space are especially influenced by this moral order therefore fear of crime is one of the more salient motives behind living in gated communities.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

4.1 Introduction

As indicated before, this research is addressed to a secondary analysis of qualitative studies of gated communities. Quantitative research has a well-established tradition of meta-studies where broad statistical conclusions are drawn from a multitude of studies. Meta-synthesis, as the qualitative counterpart to meta-studies are called, is of relatively more recent stock and is still mired in many theoretical, philosophical, and methodological debates (Finlayson and Dixon 2008;Finfgeld 2003; Zimmer 2006). Studies on gated communities are primarily conducted in the qualitative mould and therefore this thesis, employing secondary data as it does, will situate itself within this newly meta-synthesis method.

4.2 Qualitative Studies

Even though quantitative meta-studies involve complicated methods, it is still generally assumed that there is an easier commensurability to synthesise quantitative data as opposed to qualitative data. Synthesis issues aside, the general orientation of qualitative studies is commensurate with one of the latent aims of this study; theory building. Qualitative studies are not traditionally concerned with testing a theory but to generate it (Dey 2005). In keeping with this tradition, this thesis falls under the rubric of exploratory research where "social phenomena are investigated with minimal a priori expectations in order to develop explanations of these phenomena" (Bowen 2005: 209). The 'a priori expectations' in the field of gated communities' studies will be pointed out below (in section 4.3)but suffice it to say here a sample of the existing literature will be analysed from a different perspective.

It should be noted that the exploratory nature and theory building aims accords well with the grounded theory approach, the elements of which are liberally and flexibly adopted in this study. One of those elements of grounded theory that parallels the aims stated above, is that it the claims made using grounded theory involves relationships between concepts as opposed to hypothesis testing where measuring of relationships takes precedent (Pandit 1996). Also of importance for the purposes of this study, is that grounded theory is analytical over statistical the aim being a concern about how cases fit in with a broader theoretical framework and not necessarily broader population (Pandit 1996). Representativeness is thus not necessarily a methodological death knell in grounded theory. As will be shown below grounded theory has common ground with meta-synthesis and as such is a useful additive to the secondary analysis of qualitative data.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Returning to the issue of the synthesis issue at the beginning of this section, one has to ask what is it in the nature of qualitative research that makes it more difficult to synthesise. Considering the strengths and weaknesses of qualitative studies might put us in a better position to explore meta-synthesis as a viable option for this research.

4.2.1 Strengths of Qualitative research

According to Atieno (2009) one of the more commendable aspects of qualitative research is that it renders data more manageable without simplifying it. This is definitely a benefit as researchers often find themselves overwhelmed by a barrage of complicated datasets. Qualitative research also provides more nuanced information of groups or social phenomena being studied (Choy 2014). This is, of course, in line with qualitative research's interpretivist stance. Related to the afore-mentioned strength the "use of qualitative methods, including ethnographic observation, can challenge researchers' assumptions about specific phenomena, as well as reflecting areas of inconsistency, variation and contradiction" (Griffin 2004: 8). This is an important point, since the researcher's aim here is to grasp the complexity of a particular group's mode of being, which is never straightforward. A qualitative approach can "facilitate the examination of sensitive or difficult topics if a relationship of trust, develops between researcher and researched…" (Griffin 2004: 6). The issue of trust in qualitative research cannot be overstated if the researcher is to gather illuminating data for his/her study. If you consider the deep sociality that qualitative research demands and if you couple that with a sensitive topic then rapport and trust is one of the researcher's main resources.

4.2.2 Limitations

One of the main critiques lodged at qualitative research is that such studies often lack generalizability (Atieno 2009). This is hardly surprising if you take into account that qualitative research is in-depth and tends to focus one case or a small sample group. This weakness logically springs from the fact that qualitative researchers' interests are in the nuances and underlying motivations for social behaviour rather than a focus on patterns in frequencies in social life. If qualitative research allows you to analyse the intricacies and contradictions of social life it is only because it is so time consuming (Choy 2014). This particular weakness is probably one of the main reasons why qualitative methods are not favoured by policy-orientated research where expeditious inquiry and results are valued. It is also pointed out that in the domain of qualitative inquiry, "all researchers' interpretations are limited" (Choy 2014: 102). This is inevitably so, since the qualitative researcher's social position (be it class, gender or race) may blind the researcher form certain aspects of the social world under the study while potentially overemphasizing others.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

4.3 The Prospect of Meta-Synthesis

From the above-mentioned strengths of qualitative research, it is clear that qualitative studies revel in the idiosyncrasies of its subject-matter. Sandelowski et al. (1997) likens the prospect of summarizing even one qualitative study to summing up a love poem. From the limitations, outlined above, it would appear that generalizing from different qualitative studies is a dire if not futile endeavour. This has created an aversion to generalization of qualitative studies which in turn make this type of research less appealing to policy makers (Beck 2002). As a counter to these currents of thought in qualitative research, meta-synthesis tries to provide a means of drawing appropriate conclusions across a range of qualitative studies.

Beck (2002) following the ground laid by Noblit and Hare (1988) suggests the following steps to conduct a meta-synthesis:

a) Choosing the subject matter of interest.
b) Making a decision on which qualitative studies would be of interest in the initial of phases of the project.
c) Critically reading through the qualitative studies.
d) An assessment of how the different studies relate to one another. At this phase the researcher needs to consider overarching themes, concepts or metaphors that will facilitate the analysis.
e) Finding a means of comparing the studies while still remaining cognizant of the individual studies' various nuances and particularism.
f) Create a composite analysis of the various studies, i.e., the synthesis.
g) Convey this synthesis through an appropriate medium.

By now it is clear that my subject matter is gated communities and the moral-emotional dimension involved. This is in stark contrast to the majority of studies on gated communities which focus predominantly on social exclusion, unequal urban development, class prejudice or racism. Given this strong theoretical current in 'gated communities studies', it took a carefully creative reading of the existing literature. My purpose is to use some of the main concepts/metaphors (e.g. class or race) and provide a different interpretation of these. Also included is the relatively little studied concept of aesthetics.

As a final note, it was pointed out earlier that there are some common grounds between meta-synthesis and grounded theory (which is partially used here) as such some of these aspects can be highlighted here. Bowen (2009) states that whole studies in the grounded theory tradition have been conducted solely on the basis of using documents. The argument is also made that documents can be treated as field notes. As an extension of this argument, Pandit

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

(1996) advises that in grounded theory studies the researcher can use academic literature on a subject (in this case gated communities) as secondary data. More importantly, for the methodological stance in this thesis, Pandit (1996) further remarks that direct quotations from the academic literature may use as data for the analyst's own theoretical or conceptual aims. In the following chapter, interview extracts from qualitative studies on gated communities will be used in service of the theoretical framework developed in the previous chapter.

4.3.1 Sampling

As noted above, this study falls within the ambit of exploratory research. As such, the sampling method most appropriate for such a research endeavour is purposive sampling (Neuman 2007). Purposive sampling is used when the researcher chooses cases with a specific goal, theoretical or substantive, in mind (Neuman 2007). This form of sampling is especially useful when the analysts wants to identify research objects of a particular type-for example whites people in gated communities- and on that basis also choosing cases that will prove to be analytically and empirically informative (Neuman 2007).

4.3.2 Theoretical sampling

It was intimated in an earlier section, that the latent aim of this thesis is theory building. To this end, theoretical sampling provides a useful tool of analysis. According to Kearny (1998: 181) theoretical sampling involves "collecting data from sources best able to answer emerging analytic questions, rather than limiting sampling to a predetermined group of informants or settings." It is clear that in this thesis the 'predetermined group of informants' (whites) and 'settings' (gated communities) is germane to the 'emerging analytical questions. Furthermore, Pandit (1996) states that this form of sampling a focus only on data that will assist in developing propositions as it relates to the overall emerging theory.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

4.4 The Data Sources

The data sources to be used for analysis are all academic articles. A brief description of each follows below.

- Durington, Matthew-Suburban fear, media and Gated Communities in Durban South Africa. As the title indicates the research was conducted in Metropolitan Durban at a gated community named Springfield Hills. Durington employed the ethnographic method and the research was conducted during 2003, 2005-2007.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

- Boersema, Jacob-Guilt behind the Gate: White South Africans and The Experience of Gated Living in post-apartheid South Africa. The research was conducted in Pretoria at the Sun Estate gated community. Three months of participant observation was conducted including more than 40 interviews.
- Ballard,Richard-Assimilation, Emigration, Semigration, and Integration. The research was conducted in Cape Town at unspecified gated communities. Focus groups and fieldwork was used to conduct the research.
- Low, Setha- The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear. The research was conducted at various gated communities in San Antonio and New York City, America. The methods employed were ethnography, content analysis and critical analysis.

4.5 Analysis

This substantive analysis is based on interview data from three South African qualitative studies and one from America for comparative purposes. Based on a content analysis various themes were identified. The themes used for analysis were based on their significance in the interview data. That is, these themes were highlighted as significant by the research participants themselves although not always directly.

4.5.1 Critical Discourse analysis

Using Low (2001) and Ballard (2004, 2005) as models this study will employ critical discourse analysis to interpret the feedback of interviewees from the four South African studies on gated communities and the one from the America. According to van Dijk (1995: 20 italics in original) one of the aims of critical discourse analysis is to "examine the nature of social power and power abuse, and in particular the way dominance is *expressed* or *enacted* in text and talk". Thus, based on the theoretical framework that was developed in the previous chapter, themes relating to power but also social differentiation will be analysed as they pertain to fear of crime amongst white people who live in gated communities.

4.5.2 Thematic analysis

Considering that, methodologically, this thesis conforms to some elements of grounded theory, thematic analysis is also an appropriate research tool. Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006: 3) describe thematic analysis as a "search for themes that emerge as being important to the description of the phenomenon." To this it could be added that "it is a form of pattern recognition within the data, with emerging themes becoming the categories for analysis" (Bowen 2009: 32).

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter surveyed the nature of qualitative studies. It assessed a particular method of qualitative study known as meta-synthesis. This method is used as a form of secondary data analysis of qualitative studies. It also highlighted content analysis and critical discourse analysis as important research tools to be employed in this thesis.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 5: Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This analysis will employ the framework developed in the previous chapter. It will first provide a brief overview of race relations in South African as a background to understand the motivations of white South Africans to move into gated communities. To extend the scope of theory building, as discussed in the previous chapter, it also makes comparisons with white Americans living in gated communities as there appears to be parallels with the South African case. The main motivations to be discussed are morality, aesthetics, safety and fear of crime. In the final analysis it will be argued that most of these motivations are best understood as part of the process of modernity.

5.2 Understanding the Black-White Figuration in South Africa

Popularly understood the history of hitherto South African society has been the history of race and class struggle. Technical academic historiography might disagree; this is not an altogether unreasonable assessment of the situation. Race has to varying degrees held a prominent place in most of South Africa's history. But racial and by extension racist attitudes did not automatically or naturally come to South Africans as one would suppose. As European expansion brought white people in contact with people phenotypically different from them it was morally incumbent to justify their exploitation of these others. Physical markers were immediate and convenient symbols of difference. However, Enlightenment ideals dictated that everyone was equal, moreover, the emphasis on skin colour (and physical type more broadly) could prove to be arbitrary. Science, as bastion of the aforementioned Enlightenment, provided the seemingly neutral justification (Erasmus 2008: 170). It did after all put the stamp of objectivity on attitudes (i.e. racism) that stem from mostly ideological and economic considerations. This obfuscation of ostensibly objective science of race with ideological premises is what Boonzaier (1988) refers to as the race paradigm. It is this paradigm that provided white South Africans the prospects of political and economic power at the expense of non white South Africans while still placating the white conscience. Does this explain the full seductive sway of racial identification and racism?

From a materialist perspective, one could argue that racial identification did coincide with economic and material interest and that white groups from various descents, in South Africa, had to mobilize to ensure hegemony (see Glaser 2001). Erasmus (2008) maintains that in the 1920's race did not have such a salient feature in South Africa and that it was mostly used to distinguish between the British (English speaking whites) and Afrikaner (Afrikaans speaking

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

whites)settlers. But in the 1930's (in the wake of the Depression) and the 1940's (with growing industrialization and urbanization) Afrikaner workers became threatened by the cheap black labour force (Glaser 2001). In this context it made sense to affirm racial solidarity (Glaser 2001). Race thus became more important to white South Africans as the material situation demanded it.

Materialist or instrumentalist thinking do not explain the whole range of racial identification. It might be in some instances appropriate to attribute racial identification to an instrumental logic, but we may in the final analysis discover that this phenomenon grew a life of its own. People may identify because they may feel that they share experience or, as Glaser puts, it "shared histories multiply common points of reference, facilitating gossip, humour and reminiscence" (2008: 149). As intimated here experience is historically defined. Also, Apartheid ideology with a good degree of success mapped material circumstances onto racial classification and identification. Thus, if two black strangers meet each other, chances were that their experiences of Apartheid South Africa coincided which would, in turn, foster a racial identification. This may sound like a materialist explanation and it is to a certain extent but the point is an experiential and thus emotional veracity arises which may not necessarily be reducible to the material source. As Erasmus (2008:172) states:

> (A)partheid's race categories created clearly defined places for people in the material and social world and, at the same time, specific ways for people to be in the world. For the most part, people came to see themselves in terms of these categories, thus making them subjectively real.

Here one is also reminded of Thomas's injunction that "if a situation is defined as real it will be real in its consequences" (quoted in Andersen and Taylor 2004). The consequences (racial identification amongst other things) are real up to this day in South Africa.

Another point to emphasize with regards to race in South Africa is that the polity's organizing vocabulary shifted from race to culture, ethnicity or nation (Boonzaier1988; Erasmus 2008;Glaser 2001). These terms were for all intents and purposes thinly veiled allusions to race. But the terms do seem to have different symbolic utility. For instance, as Mamdani (2001) argues, race united the beneficiaries of Apartheid while ethnicity divided the oppressed (that is black people in South Africa were divided into Xhosas, Zulus etc.). Each ethnicity, according to Apartheid logic, had a clearly defined *culture* which for bureaucratic purposes could constitute different nations. In short, race has categorical expediency as it is supposed to refer to phenotypical features (especially skin colour) whereas ethnicity refers to differences in values, customs and beliefs that is culture, regardless of race.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

What is the fate of race in contemporary South Africa? Most social diagnosticians would say that race is still alive and well in South Africa. These diagnosticians, rightly, comment that doing away with the concept of race does not do away with the historical socio-economic inequities of using race as an organizing political principle (Alexander 2001; James and Lever 2001;Terreblanche 2002).

The economic sphere seems especially recalcitrant to the constitutional and political changes of Post-Apartheid South Africa. Alexander (2001) notes that economic power is still in the hands of those who wielded it during the Apartheid era. This does not mean that black people made no material advances after the Apartheid era. But the fact that black people became more upwardly mobile should be celebrated carefully. Progressive laws like The Employment Equity Act benefited only "the aspirant African petit bourgeois who have jobs and are members of trade unions" (Terreblanche 2002:47). The fact remains that the majority of blacks still live in abject poverty. In light of South Africa's economic and political challenges a too hasty expectation of non-racialism is unrealistic (Alexander 2001;James and Lever 2001).

Since racial category and socio-economic position still largely overlap, we still find some deeply entrenched ideas of racial identification. Racism might be publicly decried but privately it is still prominent (James and Lever 2001:50). Indeed, racism seems to have a more insidious existence in Post-Apartheid South Africa but every so often it comes up to the public to breathe. The news jumps on these instances with sensationalistic fervour reminding us the everyday citizen that our old companion is still with us. It is also argued that well intentioned policies like Affirmative Action only serves to reinforce the notion of race(James and Lever 2001). Thus, although many well intended South Africans may not be racist in their day to day interaction our consciousness still remains very racial. To reiterate, it is important to distinguish between racism (a prejudicial attitude based on a person's skin colour) and racialism (the consciousness where race plays an important role in how we think and interact with other people). Racialism, for our purposes, can be externally orientated like for instance when Coloured and Black people consider golf to be a white person's sport or it can be internally orientated like when Black people call other black people, who act 'white', coconuts. All South Africans can thus be said to be interpellated by the South African racialism. Interpellation was a term used by the Marxist philosopher, Louis Althusser, to highlight how ideology 'calls out' to subjects, that is, people see the world through their acceptance of the dominant ideology (see Crossley 2005:153).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

5.3 Established, Outsiders and the elements of the Moral Order

One important insight that was drawn from the Broken Windows theory is that fear of crime is essentially about fear of disorder (Wilson 1975). Human beings, on a practical level, deal with disorder in several ways. One of these ways of dealing with disorder is by associating or socially sorting– see discussion below– themselves with people like themselves. This homogeneity can manifest itself along the lines of race, class, nationality or religion. This particular strategy is also confirms the social disorganization theorists' contention that heterogeneity is a factor in potentially compromising the social order at a community or neighbourhood level (Skogan 1983).

In *Knowledge and Decisions*, Thomas Sowell (1996: 83) argues that "one of the most basic and pervasive social process is the sorting and labelling of things, activities and people." In his *Race and Culture*, Sowell (1995) applies this social sorting mechanism to residential choice and asserts that throughout history and all over the world, different ethnic or racial groups, has through the social sorting process, almost invariably prefer to take up residence with those of the same ethnicity or race. Sowell points out that the benefits of taking up residence in ethnically or racially similar neighbourhoods include cultural and linguistic familiarity and the social capital that may be derived from this familiarity. This is especially important for immigrant groups. In later works, Sowell (2011, 2018) has emphasised that there is thus nothing random about the clustering of people in various neighbourhoods. The social sorting mechanism and the fear of disorder (i.e. fear of crime) are two of the elements that form part of the established-outsider dynamic.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

5.3.1 The Aesthetic Dimension

The fear of disorder and the tendency for homogenous clustering of groups through social sorting can manifest itself in preference of tastes, lifestyles and values, in short, aesthetics. For example, Low (2009: 86) argued that gated community residents' quest for niceness of their neighbourhood reflects a "moral and aesthetic judgement," and asks one of the residents of a New York gated community about this issue:

> It definitely has some negatives and some positives, but for my personality and way of life, I don't mind it. I chose the neighbourhood, because I like the style of the homes, and there would be nothing that I would really do, because I like what I have, and I'm not looking for anything that would be against the homeowners' association. Everything is included for me. (Low 2009: 89)

This sentiment is echoed by a resident from the Golden Sun Estate gated community in Pretoria, South Africa:

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

> I like the lifestyle. I would not want to live anywhere else. I feel comfortable. I am happy around the area. And I feel like part of owning it. When I am sitting at the club and looking at the view. I love it. (Boersema 2001: 10)

If niceness of residential environment reflects moral and aesthetic evaluations, then it also speaks to Sack's (2001) notion that we always try to recreate space in terms of what we deem an appropriate reality to be. Of course, this normative dimension reaches beyond aesthetic judgments of our surrounding as Mary Douglas (2001) suggest that we always seek order and therefore are compelled to draw physical and symbolic boundaries. This framing and social production of lifestyle and nice environment of the established implies that there are others who have a different aesthetic conception and should therefore be ordered in the socio-spatial hierarchy accordingly.

5.3.2 Outsiders as potentially dangerous Other

As far as the established is concerned, the other/outsider is "rough, uncouth and delinquent" (Mennel 1994: 181). This attitude is clearly expressed by two of the white gated community residents in Durban, South Africa that Richard Ballard interviewed in 1996:

You've got to accept [integration]; the thing is that economically I think you will get a better class, you won't just get the one who shouts and you know when they talk to each other. And.

> …basically you're paying quite a sum of money to live in various exclusive areas and you find that those people generally have high powered jobs or jobs where they're working hard and they actually have moved away from certain traditions (Ballard 2005: 12)

Another interviewee of Ballard provides a link between notions of aesthetics and outsider as rough and uncouth:

> It didn't upset me in the sense that seeing [street traders] there is not the problem, it's a question of cleanliness. Why don't they keep the place tidy and neat and clean? And then I don't blame them entirely because it's a question of have we educated them into that area? Have we taught them, have we taken the trouble to give our time to educate them to say why we want the place clean? It's one thing telling a person' clean that' and sit on him with your foot in his neck demanding that he clean it. It's better to get him to want to keep it clean himself. I feel we've lagged in not educating. That's just one area I mean there are many areas where I feel there's a lagging in this ... [education is also] cultural and to learn to do things. If we want them to be and behave

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

> the way we would like to see [them behave] we must train them teach them why. They must want to learn to be like we feel they should be. (Ballard 2004: 57)

Here we find a clear indication of defining outsiders only by their more questionable aspects; this is an aspect of what in established-outsider theory is referred to as the "minority of the worst" (Mennel 1994: 181). The fact that the outsider can be positioned as aesthetically displeasing and rough, amongst other things, could also mean that this group could be seen as compromising safety according to the normative ordering of the established.

5.3.3.1 Safety

One of the key moral messages that gated communities convey with its especially physical boundaries, is safety. Safety is an idealized abstraction, but its ontological status is denoted by what it negates, which is danger. So, while some studies (Breetzke, Landman and Cohn 2014) suggest that gated communities may not be as safe as some may think, it is the *semblance* of safety that provides these spaces with its emotional energy. Additionally, gated communities in their materiality are thus the media in which the appearance of safety is transmitted to the collective emotions of residence although they do not necessarily have to perform public rituals to experience Durkheim's collective effervescence.

One of the San Antonio interviewees in Low's (2001: 54) study reveals concerns about safety with regards to her child:

> You know, he's always so scared…It has made a world of difference in him since we've been out here…A world of difference. And it is that sense of security that they don't think people are roaming the neighbourhoods and the streets and that there's people out there that can hurt him.

Giddens (1994) notion of ontological security is pertinent to the experience of the interviewee's child. The important element of ontological security, in this instance is that it refers to a confidence in "the constancy of the surrounding social and material environments of action" (Giddens 1994: 92). Moreover, Giddens, argues that this sense of ontological security is developed in early childhood and is rooted in emotional rather than cognitive elements. It should also be pointed out that the confidence in one's social and material environment, mentioned above is also constitutive of trust, whether in people, things or places (Giddens 1994). It is from this perspective that the interviewee's child developed a sense of (ontological) security within the confines of the gated community.

In a Durban, South Africa gated community, Durington (2009: 83-84) asks a respondent about the main motivation for moving into a gated community:

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

> It is security…they use the word security. If you speak to the estate managers they will tell you that when people are asked during their induction for new residents or owners what the main reason is for moving here they will say security. It is absolutely way out in front.

This salience of the security motivation, in this instance, can be attributed to the porous, vague and ultimately unreliable nature of safety. This existentially vexing ontological status of safety can be attributed to the idea that "as the absence of danger, safety is the absence of something that is unobservable in the first place" (Sampson 1996: 551). Sampson (1996) elaborates on this, noting that while it is sometimes possible to spot danger it is not possible to categorically designate something as safe. Insurance policies, sell-by dates and Nanny Cams, just to name a few, are probably indicative of this observation. Safety or security, thus, provides at best a contingent peace of mind even within the comforting and confidence inspiring structures of gated communities.

Providing further exposition on this point, in addition to seeing gated communities as a safe haven to an increasingly hostile world, the interviewee continues:

> we lock ourselves in here at night and set alarms and have armed response security guards…it's when people leave or their guests leave to go back and forth between these secured spaces where the real fear is.

Baghel (2010) has argued that in South Africa crime has become an obsession. This obsession influences fear of crime. If Baghel is right then one of Furedi's (2006) characteristics of a culture of fear is very prominent, that is, safety as an end in itself. Indeed, this is evidenced by the views above. Excessive, sometimes obsessive concern with safety, in this context is intimately entangled with fear of crime.

5.3.4 Fear of crime

One of the more frequently cited reasons for moving into gated communities has been fear of crime. Although this reason has been viewed sceptically by scholars of gated communities (Low 2009;Durington 2009; Ballard 2004) who see it as thinly disguised veils for racism and/or classism. The fact that it is so frequently cited is not to be blithely dismissed by discursive, critical or debunking sociological analysis. What is important here, are these subjects' definition of the situation because, according to sociological wisdom, this definition will be real in its consequences. Consider the sentiments by one of the interviewees of Boerserma (2011: 12) from a gated community in Pretoria:

> We moved here for security. They burgled the house of my best friend three weeks ago and she does not live in a security complex. But they were tied up, on the bed,

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

while they were asleep at 3 am in the morning. We stopped our car at a traffic light and then somebody smashed the window while the children were in the car. That wasn‘t good. My son Sander his first words were -man hits. ‘He was only 12 months old when he said -man‘ and then he said _man hits window broken.’ Ach... I could tell you many atrocious stories. And these are violent people. It is the violence that accompanies the crimes which is really bad.

In America, one of the interviewees of Low (2001: 53) reflects on the situation of her old neighbourhood and subsequent reason to move into a gated community:

> [W]hen Bloomingdale's moved out and Kmart moved in, it just brought in a different group of people ... and it wasn't the safe place that it was. ... I think it's safer having a gated community. ... They are not going to steal my car in the garage. ... [In the old neighborhood] every time we heard an alarm we were looking out the window. My daughter and son-in-law lived next door and their car was stolen twice.

In South Africa, one of the white gated community residents Ballard (2005: 16) interviewed in 1996 provides an extended meditation on the impact of fear of crime:

> You know I always have done but recently I’m beginning to doubt whether I really want to live here the rest of my life because I’m very unhappy about it, I’m actually nervous. I don’t know; you live from day to day, and you wonder if today’s going to be your day that someone will stick a gun in my head. I mean especially when I go out in the morning I’m very nervous…You’re conscious all the time. When I open the garage I look behind me, get in the car look behind me, lock my door, reverse out fast, jump out the car, look behind me again make sure there’s no one there, lock the garage, get back in my car; that’s the routine and night time is even worse if I’m going out to get children. So I am nervous, yes, and… I can’t actually tell you if we’re going to live here the rest of our lives, I can’t actually tell you that, it depends if we can sell this house. At the moment we are prisoners. I am actually a prisoner here. We don’t have a choice, we cannot sell the house.

The issues raised by the interviewees under the discussions on safety and fear of crime can be understood within the broader framework of state responses or conditions shaped by these responses. Critics who point to neoliberalism as the grand culprit of various dire issues would more accurately frame it as state non-responses. Under the neoliberal schema, state expenditure is severely curbed and thereis a general anti-interventionist discourse being promoted. Kees van der Waal (2008), therefore, argues that it is these very aspects of

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

neoliberalism that made it improbable for the Post-Apartheid South African government to realise its arguably grand goals for social transformation.

The one unrealised goal, of concern here, is that the South African government could not provide safety for citizens across the board. Partly because of the government's neoliberal stance, the notion of community policing gained prominence in the 1990's throughout South Africa (Pfigu, Gabriel and van der Waal 2014). Although the community policing policy had the trappings of participatory discourse, it was part of a process that might be called the bifurcation of the safety regime. Landman (2012:247) has argued that[T]he role of the police has changed from being the only guardians of order and security to being merely another player in the security market, reliant solely on their capacity to deliver a competitive product."

This process can be ascribed to the intensive commodification of security under neoliberalism. Moreover, given that inequality has remained a bone of contention for successive South African governments since 1994, the bifurcation of the safety regime is exacerbated. Accordingly, middle-class households consume the products of the private security market while those with lesser means have to resort to the police and additional measures like community policing.

The bifurcation of the safety regime is a subset of a larger condition of inequality in South Africa. The racial dimension of this inequality tends to receive the most focus and, indeed, it has been observed that white South African enjoy a living standard akin to the average of the wealthiest countries (van der Berg 2014). The inability, noted above, of governments to address this dimension of inequality, and its attending problems, leaves many non-white South Africans disillusioned. If local governments are perceived as lacking in service delivery this disillusionment can soon turn to anger expressed in the form of protests (Landman 2012).

Here it could be argued, that policing of these protests sets up a more or less structured dynamic between police and the communities in which these protests occur. This can be socially problematic within the framework of the bifurcation of the safety regime. Given that under such circumstances, relationships between police and residents of low-income neighbourhoods are ambivalent, at best, these communities are forced to rely on more informal methods of social control in addition to the much touted community policing. The notion of respectability ('ordentlikheid') provides one such means for informal social control. But this can prove to be somewhat divisive. In Pfigu, Gabriel and van der Waal's (2014) research of predominantly coloured, low-income communities in Stellenbosch, the youth

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

seem to be lacking in this currency of respectability. To varying degrees of justification, the youth in these circumstances are effectively discursively, criminalised. Furthermore, Pfigu, Gabriel and van der Waal (2014) notes that there is also a racial dimension to this situation as the small black population in these neighbourhoods are viewed with suspicion and generally considered as not meeting the criteria for respectability. Also of importance in these communities is the notion of "civic state of exception" (Kirsch 2010:144) where residents, in particular those involved in community policing, are allowed to exact a degree of vigilante justice. This state of affairs, from the comments reported by one of the interviewees above, could be seen as 'the world coming to an end' and therefore understandably 'lock themselves in.' Those that can afford a privatised safety regime can after all enjoy a less problematic sense of security. There is no recourse to a civic state of exception, no need for protest actions which may complicate relations with the police, only the, arguably precarious, sense of comfort of being enclosed by the walls and gates.

5.4 Modernity and gated communities

The description of established and outsiders, safety, moral order, aesthetics and fear of crime is at a higher level of abstraction reflective of modernity. Modernity, generally speaking, is characterised by "secularization, rationality, democratization, individualization and the rise of science" (Giddens and Sutton 2014). The plurality of social life-worlds has also been emphasised as an important aspect of modernity (Berger and Berger 1973). This process and milieu of modernity has a double-edged quality as (functional) democratisation while expanding the realm of possibilities for more people also creates certainty and anxiety for those more accustomed to the older scheme of things. The same applies to plurality of social life-worlds which is the corollary of democratisation. The plurality of social-life worlds and (functional) democratisation demand that individuals and groups engage in a world of unfamiliarity on a more frequent and intensive basis. One way of dealing with this situation is in focussing on creating an existential and moral order.

Bauman (1994: 4) argues that "among the multitude of impossible tasks that modernity set itself and that made modernity into what it is, the task of order (more precisely and most importantly, of order as a task) stands out". The constructing and maintenance of a moral order, the delineation of boundaries and designation of objects to its proper places, is thus an urgent task for the modern consciousness. The plurality of social life-worlds, however, makes the task of order a frustrating affair. A frustrating affair that breeds anxiety and an excessive concern with safety and, by association, fear of crime. This obsessive concern with safety is

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

implicit in Hollway and Jefferson's (1997) argument that notions of a war on crime are one of the many endeavours of ordering.

Smelser (1998: 211) asserts that "the organization of life into a society is a way of making life more predictable and for that reason less dangerous". Fear of crime, from this perceptive, may be viewed as a failure or at least a lack of confidence in this organization. The lack of confidence in the organization has been conceptualized as ontological insecurity (Albrow 1999). Following the Baumanian reasoning, Dirsuwiet (2007) argues that road closures or gated communities is a very powerful ordering mechanism that provides its residents with ontological certainty. Thus for those in gated communities, fear of crime presents a prime ordering scheme as it makes risks or threats "knowable, decisionable, and potentially controllable" (Hollway and Jefferson 1997: 265). Johnny Steinberg (2008) has argued that South African middle class anxieties and fears of crime should not be quickly dismissed as many of this socio-economic cohort, both black and white, have been victimized by violent crime. Steinberg, however, states that for middle class white people this possibility of being a victim of violent crime is a new existential state of affairs. It can thus be argued that for many white South Africans, this new existential state of affairs permeated the boundaries of their old moral order and in the absence of a readily available ordering framework gated communities provide a solace while they trying to make sense of a perplexing modernizing project.

Up to this point the analysis has focussed on the defensive reasoning of gated communities. Ordering of the world and more specifically using space to create reality according to our precepts (Sack 2001) implies an assertiveness and pro-activity. The aesthetic impulse involved in the production of space into place (i.e. locality) is one of the manifestations of this assertiveness and pro-activity. Furthermore, the assertiveness and pro-activity of the aesthetic impulse is indicative of that cultural hallmark of modernity called choice (Illouz 2012). This phenomenology (or experience) of choice is, moreover, to be understood in the broader historical, cultural and socio-political background it takes place.

Consider the racial figuration of South Africa stated above, at a certain point (i.e. Apartheid) choice was a relatively unremarkable issue as one side of the figuration (white citizens) took it for granted and on the other side (black citizens) it was to varying degrees curbed. The fact that functional democratization was of limited scope during this time meant that the spatial and moral ordering was relatively straightforward. As the Apartheid figuration gave way to the contemporary figuration, the attending functional democratization (i.e. expanding social roles of black South Africans and the rising equalisation of black-white social interaction)

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

inevitably impacted white South Africans' spatial and moral ordering. It should be noted here, that functional democratization of Post-Apartheid South Africa did not have to overtly change the structure of the old spatial and moral ordering. The study of contemporary urban inequality and gated communities in South Africa and the rise of the concept of white privilege to buzzword status should disabuse anyone of the notion that there has been a total overturn of the old spatial and moral order. The point here is, merely, that under the Post-Apartheid figuration and functional democratisation, citizens are more sensitized to these remnants and justifiably see them as incompatible with the ideals of the new order.

The importance of the contemporary South African racial figuration is also to be seen in the emotion work that white citizens have to do now. This is implicit in one of Ballard's interviewees that stated that integration is something that has to be accepted yet clearly had trouble with the actuality of living close to people of a different race. Since racism was a largely unproblematic attitude in the Apartheid racial figuration, the emotion work required for white people in their interactions with their black counterparts was arguably an unreflective and to a large extent a straightforward matter. The functional democratisation and the new public morality (especially pertaining to matters of race) that accompanied it demanded an expeditious emotion re-working from many white citizens. At this point, Rietti's (2009) argument that if emotion work or management becomes too overwhelming for people concerned then it can run the risk of highlighting certain aspects of a situation while putting other aspects in the background takes on a special relevance especially if one considers, as was argued in Chapter 3, that this can lead to emotional rigidity and social blindness.

It is my contention, that this emotional rigidity and social blindness reinforces the established-outsider relations especially the 'minority of the worst' aspect of this dynamic. This, to reiterate, was evident from Ballard's interviewee who had some deep misgivings about the street traders' 'ethic of cleanliness'. Viewed from this perspective, the emotion work required for white citizens in the Post-Apartheid racial figuration has become overwhelming which lead to a particular kind of emotional rigidity and social blindness. Since the new public morality has been fervently invested in democratisation and equality (key characteristics of modernity), the emotional rigidity and social blindness need to take a more socially acceptable form. Aesthetics provided a socially acceptable discourse. Therefore, this line of analysis is compatible with that of Pow (2009) and Low (2009) who are more critical of discourses of aesthetics and niceness, while attempting to add new dimensions to these critical analyses.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

It is in this context that white South Africans, aesthetic choices and by extension their physical and symbolic boundary creation and maintenance is to be understood. The emotional rigidity, indicated above, is formed by expectations. It was previously argued that "[W]hen an emotion signals a message of danger or safety to us; it involves a reality newly grasped *on the template of prior expectations*" (Hochschild 1983: 221, emphasis in the original). The prior expectations of white South Africans were to an extent formed by the historical figuration described above. Since these expectations and the moral order built around it has been politically (through the liberation process) and culturally (through egalitarian discourses) problematised, white South Africans had to retreat to the "bunkers of the psyche" (Ballard 2005).

Gated communities as an aesthetic choice provides a politically and culturally less dubious means of structuring space into something more amenable to prior expectations. Also if the expectations are framed as matters of class and taste (i.e. aesthetics) rather than race then there is a possibility of teaching aesthetic appreciation to outsiders. This seems to be the sentiments expressed by the interviewee above when it was remarked that education was needed to teach the street traders about cleanliness. Gated communities, in so far as it puts up physical and symbolic boundaries, thus, provides the motivational nexus between morality, safety and aesthetics.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided secondary data from qualitative studies to show the extend that fear of crime has impacted white South Africans. A comparison has also been made with white Americans living in gated communities using the work of anthropologist, Setha Low. Fear of crime, morality, safety and aesthetics have been identified has key motivational factors for moving into gated communities. These factors have in turn been analysed has part of a broader process of (South African) modernity. Modernity as a socio-cultural process was analysed as an important macro-level factor. The analyses in this chapter argued that characteristics of modernity, for example increased individualization and the plurality of social life, are important in attempting to understand the relation between gated communities, fear of crime and the various components of morality

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

Through a secondary analysis of qualitative studies (metasynthesis), this study attempted to explore the complex emotional and moral dynamics involved in fear of crime as it relates to gated communities. While this study drew inspiration from the critical scholarship that identifies the fear of crime amongst residents of gated communities with thinly disguised prejudice, a different framework in the form of the established-outsider theory, figurational sociology and the sociology of emotion was used to understand the dynamics at hand. This chapter will provide a summary of the key analytical findings of this thesis as well as provide recommendations for further studies

6.2 Fear of crime

Quantitative studies have provided nuanced distinctions under the broad category of fear of crime. An example of this is the concept of vulnerability and its three dimensions namely, exposure to non-negligible risk, seriousness of consequences and loss of control (Killias 1990: 106). Qualitative studies for its part, has provided pivotal insights on the relationship between fear of crime and social order at both micro and macro level. As this thesis was a meta-synthesis, the insights drawn from these qualitative studies were an invaluable source of theoretical inspiration. However, since one of the objects of meta-synthesis is to draw or create general theoretical and conceptual categories from different qualitative studies, the framework employed in this study added different dimensions to the fear of crime-social order nexus.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Firstly, to emphasise the importance of the normative aspect, the notion of moral order was used instead of social order. The moral order was conceptualised as being concerned with the construction and maintenance of physical and symbolic boundaries and, therefore, ultimately an attempt to assign objects to its proper place in the social world. With the aid of the sociology of emotions, it was further argued, that fear of crime is more than just a visceral response to danger. In short, fear of crime, as an emotion, is also a signal of the social, cultural and political engagement of the world. From the 'critical school' of gated community scholars, fear of crime, is one level, a reflection and discourse of the powerful and privileged. These ideas were extended in the register of figurational sociology and in particular the established-outsider theory. Moreover, it was demonstrated that aesthetics was also connected to fear of crime as well as safety (as a moral and cultural discourse).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

6.3 Established-Outsider relations

In this thesis South African race relations between black and white people were frame as established-outsider relations as developed by Elias and Scott (1994). Using this particular theory and figurational sociology more generally, provided a different perspective in how fear of crime, amongst other factors, plays a role in white South Africans preference for gated communities. The concept of functional democratisation, further, helped in explaining these phenomena. It was argued that the Apartheid racial figuration's emotional and moral schema was bedevilled by the move to a Post-Apartheid South Africa. The old established-outsider dynamic was to some extent compromised by the functional democratisation of the new South Africa. This in turn made overwhelming demands on the emotion work/management white South Africans had to perform. Gated communities and the discourse of aesthetics are the means through which some of the strain of this emotion work are hoped to be alleviated.

6.4 Aesthetics

Aesthetics, in this study, served a dual conceptual function. On the one hand it is part and parcel of how people experience their world and their identities. On the other hand, it is conceptualised as a discourse that conceals the workings of power and privilege. In both of these conceptual functions, aesthetics was viewed as related to the moral ordering of space (in particular gated communities). Thus in Low's (2001) concept of niceness, the moral overtones of wanting to live with the right kind of people and in the right kind of environment is both intertwined in people's tastes and lifestyles (i.e. identities), and also a means of prevaricating on issues of power and privilege.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

6.5 Safety

Drawing on Furedi's (2006) culture of fear thesis, this study viewed safety as one of the moral claims made through experiences of fear of crime. The respondents in the qualitative studies made various references to safety and security as key priorities and therefore they choice to live in gated communities. Furedi's (2006) concept of safety as a good in itself, partially explains the prevalent mention of safety and security mentioned by the respondents. One of the points made was that gated communities are material media for the transmission of safety into the collective emotions of its residents even thought, it might actually have a dubious claim on providing this safety (Marks and Overall 2015).

6.6 Recommendations for further studies

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

The first recommendation is also a statement on the limitation of this study. Since this study was based on an analysis of secondary data, it was confined to the resources made available from this data. Considering that not much research on gated communities and fear of crime has been conducted with the particular theoretical framework that was developed here, more primary research should be conducted. Such primary studies can also move beyond the narrow focus on white gated community residents that were used in this thesis.

Secondly, since the more manifest aim of this thesis was to provide a different framework to analysis gated communities and fear of crime, it is hoped that further developments can be made to the conceptual apparatus used here. The first place to start would be with emotions. Much more can be said about the sociology of emotions in relation to the topic discussed her. There is also much to be considered from the philosophy of emotions and the cognitive sciences but a discussion of these in this thesis would have led to a much bloated theory chapter and would have also demanded evidence from primary study.

This thesis has also not done full justice to the sociology of Norbert Elias and specifically his established outsider theory (it was also too late to include the towering insights of Peter Berger and Howard Becker). There is still a whole arsenal of concepts from Elias' oeuvre that could possibly shed light on the matters discussed here. Unfortunately, his key notion of the civilising process would have necessitated a much bigger project that is demanded here. This coupled with the phenomenological sociology developed by Peter Berger would, through primary research, give a fully rounded sociology of emotion on fear of crime and gated communities in addition to the many insights by the critical studies.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Bibliography

- Abrahams, D. (2010) A Synopsis of Urban Violence in South Africa. *International Review of the Red Cross* 92 (878), pp. 495-520

Africa. S. (2015). Human Security in South Africa *Strategic Review for Southern Africa* 37 (1), pp. 178-189

Alexander, N. (2001) *Prospects for a Nonracial Future in South Africa*. In Beyond Racism. Eds Charles V. Hamilton et al Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers pp 471-489

Allen, D.B. (2002). Race, Crime and Social Exclusion: A Qualitative Study of White Women's Fear of Crime in Johannesburg. *Urban Forum* pp. 53-79.

Altbeker, A. (2007). *A Country at War With Itself*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press

Atieno, O.P.(2009). An analysis of the strengths and limitation of qualitative and quantitative research paradigms. *Problems of Education in the 21st Century* 13(1), pp.13-38.

Atkinson, R. and Flint, J.(2004). Fortress UK? Gated communities, the spatial revolt of the elites and time–space trajectories of segregation. *Housing studies*, *19*(6), pp.875-892.

Bauman, Z.(1994). Morality without ethics. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *11*(4), pp.1-34.

Boerserma, J. (2011). Guilt behind the Gate: White South Africans and The Experience of Gated Living in post-apartheid South Africa. Paper presented at the *International RC21 conference*

Baghel, R. (2010). Fear of crime in South Africa : Obsession, compulsion, disorder .*Transcience Journal* 1(2), pp 71-84

Ballard, R.(2004). *Assimilation, emigration, semigration and integration*. In Under construction: race and identity in South Africa today. Eds Natasha Distiller and Melissa Steyn. *Johannesburg: Heinemann Publishers.*

Barbalet, J. (2004). Emotions, Social Theory and Social Structure: A Macrosociological Approach. Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Bartky, S.L.(2002). *Sympathy and Solidarity: and Other Essays*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Beck, C.T.(2002). A meta-synthesis of qualitative research. *MCN: The American Journal of Maternal/Child Nursing*, 27(4), pp.214-221.

Berger, P; Berger, B and Kellner, H (1974). *The Homeless Mind*. New York: Vintage

Berger, P and Zijderveld, A. (2009). *In Praise of Doubt*. HarperCollins e-books

Boonzaier, E. (1998) 'Race' and the race paradigm. In South African Keywords Eds. Emile Boonzaier and John Sharp Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip

Bourdieu, P and Wacquant,L. (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Bowen, G.A.(2005). Preparing a qualitative research-based dissertation: Lessons learned. *The qualitative report*, *10*(2), pp.208-222.

Bowen, G.A.(2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative research journal*, *9*(2), pp.27-40.

Breetzke, G.D., Landman, K. and Cohn, E.G.(2014). Is it safer behind the gates? Crime and gated communities in South Africa. *Journal of housing and the built environment*, 29(1), pp.123-139.

Caldeira, T.P.(2000). *City of walls: crime, segregation, and citizenship in São Paulo*. University of California Press.

Catalano, S. (2013) *Intimate Partner Violence*. Bureau of Justice Statistics

Ceccato, V. (2012). *The urban fabric of crime and fear.* London : Springer

Choy, L.T.(2014). The strengths and weaknesses of research methodology: Comparison and complimentary between qualitative and quantitative approaches. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, *19*(4), pp.99-104.

Cohen, A.(1979). Political Symbolism. *Annual Review of Anthropology* (8) 87-113

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Craib, I. (1994).*The importance of disappointment*. New York: Routledge.

Crossley, N.(2005). *Key Concepts in Critical Social Theory*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications Ltd

Cséfalvay, Z. (2013). Gated Communities for Security or Prestige ? A Public Choice Approach and the Case of Budapest. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*35 (4), pp.735-752

Davis, L and Snyman R. (2005). *Victimology in South Africa*. Pretoria:Van Schaik.

De Swaan, A. (1995). Widening Circles of Identification: Emotional Concerns in Sociogenetic Perspective. *Theory, Culture & Society* 12 (2), 25-39

De Swaan, A. (1997). Widening circles of disidentification: on the psycho-and sociogenesis of the hatred of distant strangers-Reflections on Rwanda. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 14(2), pp.105-122.

Doran, B., and Burgess, M. (2012). *Putting Fear of Crime on the Map*. London: Springer Series

Douglas, M. (1966). *Purity and Danger*. London: Routledge.

Durington, M. (2009). Suburban fear, Media and Gated Communities in Durban, South Africa. In *Home Cultures* 6 (1), pp 71-88

Erasmus, Z. (2008) *Race*. In New South African Keywords. Eds. Nick Shepherd and Steven Robins. Jacana/Johannesburg: Ohio University Press pp 169-181

Elias, N and Scotson, J. (1965). *The Established and the Outsiders*. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd

Elias, N. (1978). *What is Sociology*. New York: Columbia University Press

Elias, N. (1987). On Human Beings and Their Emotions: A Process-Sociological Essay. *Theory, Culture and Society* 4 (2-3), pp. 339-361

Fattah, E and Sacco, V. (1989).*Crime and Victimization of the Elderly*. Canadian Journal on Aging

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Fereday, J. and Muir-Cochrane, E.(2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 5(1), pp.80-92.

Ferraro, K. F. and R.Grange (1987). "The measurement of fear of crime". *Sociological Review* 57: 70–101.

Figgie, H.E.(1980). The Figgie Report on Fear of Crime. *America Afraid Part l: The General Public*.

Finfgeld, D.L.(2003). Metasynthesis: The state of the art—so far. *Qualitative health research*, *13*(7), pp.893-904.

Finlayson, K.W. and Dixon, A.(2008). Qualitative meta-synthesis: a guide for the novice. *Nurse researcher*, *15*(2) pp. 777-780

Firth, R.(1973) *Symbols*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Fry, L. (2017). Revisiting Fear of Crime in South Africa. *Journal of Social Welfare and Human Rights* 5, (1), pp.15-30

Furedi, F. (2002). *Culture of Fear: Risk-taking and the Morality of Low Expectation*

Revised Edition. London: Continuum

Giddens, A. (1994). *The consequences of modernity*. John Wiley & Sons.

Giddens, A. and Sutton, P.W.(2014). *Essential concepts in sociology*. John Wiley & Sons.

Glaser, D. (2001) *Politics and Society in South Africa.* London: Sage PublicationsHale, C., 1996. Fear of crime: A review of the literature. *International review of Victimology*, *4*(2), pp.79-150.

Hall,S and du Gay, P. (1996) *Identity in Question.* London: Sage

Harcourt, B and Ludwig, J. (2006). Broken Windows: New Evidence from New York and a Five-City Experiment. *Public Law and Legal Theory Working Paper* No. 93 2005

Harvey, D (2005) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Hochschild, A. (1983). *The Managed Heart.* Berkeley: University of California Press

Hunter, A. (1978).*Symbols of Incivility : Social Disorder and Fear of Crime in Urban Neighborhoods.*Center for Urban Affairs. Reactions to Crime Project

Keane, C.(1992). Fear of crime in Canada: An examination of concrete and formless fear of victimization. *Canadian J. Criminology* 34(2), pp. 215–224

Kearney, M.H.(1998). Ready-to-wear: Discovering grounded formal theory. *Research in Nursing & Health*, *21*(2), pp.179-186.

Killias, M. (1990). Vulnerability: Towards a Better Understanding of a Key Variable in the Genesis of Fear of Crime. *Violence and Victims*5 (2), pp 97-108

Killias, M and Clerici, C. (2000) Different Measures of Vulneribility in their Relation to Different Dimensions of Fear of Crime. *The British Journal of Criminology* 40 (3), pp. 437-450

Kubrin, C.E.(2009). Social disorganization theory: Then, now, and in the future. In *Handbook on crime and deviance* (pp. 225-236). Springer, New York, NY.

Illouz, E. (2012). *Why Love Hurts*. Cambrigde: Polity Press

James, W. and Lever, J. (2001) The Second Republic: Race, Inequality, and Democracy in South Africa. In *Beyond Racism*. Eds. Charles V. Hamilton et al Boulder and London: Lynne Reinner Publishers pp 29- 62

Jenkins, R. (1987) *Social Identity*. London: Routledge

LaGrange, R.L., Ferraro, K.F. and Supancic, M., (1992). Perceived risk and fear of crime: Role of social and physical incivilities. *Journal of research in crime and delinquency*, 29(3), pp.311-334.

Landman, K. (2004). Gated communities in South Africa: The challenge for spatial planning and land use management. *The Town Planning Review*75 (2), pp. 151-172

Landman, K and Schonteich, M. (2002). Urban Fortresses: Gated Communities as a reaction to crime. *African Security Review* 11 (4), pp. 71-86

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Lee, M. and Farrall, S. eds., (2008). *Fear of crime: Critical voices in an age of anxiety*. Routledge.

Le Goix, R and Webster, C. (2008). Gated Communities. *Geography Compass*

Lemanski, C. (2004). A New Apartheid? The spatial implications of fear of crime in Cape Town, South Africa. *Environment and Urbanization*16 (2), pp. 101-112

Lemanski, C. (2006). Spaces of Exclusivity or Connection? Linkages between a Gated Community and its Poorer Neighbour in a Cape Town Master Plan Development. *Urban Studies* 43 (2), pp. 397-420

Low, S. (2001). The Edge and the Centre: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear. *American Anthropologist* 103 (1), pp.45-58

Low, S.(2009). Maintaining whiteness: The fear of others and niceness. *Transforming Anthropology*, *17*(2), pp.79-92.

Loyal, S. (2004). Elias on class and stratification. In *The Sociology of Norbert Elias* Eds Steven Loyal and Stephen Quilley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Meyer, B. (2009). Introduction. In *Aesthetic Formations: Media, Religion and the Senses* Ed. Birgit Meyer. New York: Palgrave MacMillan

Mamdani, M. (2001) Response to 'Prospects for a Nonracial Future in South Africa. In *Beyond Racism*. Eds. Charles V. Hamilton et al Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers pp 493- 497

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism.* Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Marks, M and Overall, C. (2015). Breaking Down Walls: New Solutions for More Effective Urban Crime Prevention in South African Cities. Stability: *International Journal of Security and Development* 4 (1) 3, pp. 1-19

May, D. (2004). The Interplay of Three Established–Outsider Figurations in a Deprived Inner-city Neighbourhood. *Urban Studies* 41, (11), pp. 2159–2179

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Mennel, S. (1994). The Formation of We-Images: A Process Theory. In *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity* Ed Craig Calhoun Oxford: Blackwell Publishers

Noblit, G.W. and Hare, R.D., (1988). *Meta-ethnography: Synthesizing Qualitative Studies* California: Sage Publications Inc.

Pais, J.F., South, S.J. and Crowder, K., (2009). White flight revisited: A multiethnic perspective on neighborhood out-migration. *Population Research and Policy Review, 28*(3), pp.321-346.

Pandit, N.R.(1996). The creation of theory: A recent application of the grounded theory method. *The qualitative report*, *2*(4), pp.1-15.

Pantazis, C. (2000). 'Fear of Crime', Vulnerability and Poverty: Evidence from the British Crime Survey. *The British Journal of Criminology* 40 (3), pp. 414-436

Pow, C. (2009). Neoliberalism and the Aestheticization of New Middle-Class Landscapes.

*Antipode*41(2), 371–390.

Pow, C. (2009). 'Good' and 'Real' Places: A Geographical-Moral Critique of Territorial Place-Making. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B. Human Geography* 91(2), pp. 91-105

Rader, N.(2017). Fear of crime. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice*.

Rosen, G. and Grant, J.(2011). Reproducing difference: Gated communities in Canada and Israel. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 35*(4), pp.778-793.

Ross, F.C.(2010). *Raw life, new hope: Decency, housing and everyday life in a post-apartheid community*. Juta and Company Ltd.

Roucek, J and Warren, R. (1966). *Sociology: An Introduction*. New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Co.

Rietti, S. (2009). Emotion-Work and the Philosophy of Emotion. *Journal of Social Philosophy* 40 (1), pp.55-74

Rypi, A. (2012). Not Afraid at All ? Dominant and Alternative Interpretative Repertoires in

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Discourses of the Elderly on Fear of Crime. *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 13(2), pp. 166-180

Sack, R. (2001). The geographic problematic: moral issues. *Norsk geogr. Tidsskr* 55 (3), pp. 117–125

Sampson, R. J., & Byron, W. (1989). Community Structure and Crime: Testing Social-Disorganization Theory. *Groves Source: American Journal of Sociology*, 94(4), 774–802.

Sandelowski, M., Docherty, S. and Emden, C.(1997). Qualitative metasynthesis: Issues and techniques. *Research in nursing & health*, *20*(4), pp.365-371.

Scheff, T.J.(2011). Social-emotional world: Mapping a continent. *Current sociology* 59 (3), pp.347-361.

Scott, J; Carrington, K and MacIntosh, A. (2011). Established-Outsider Relations and Fear of Crime in Mining Towns. *Sociologia Ruralis* 52 (2), pp. 147-169

Sharp, J.(2002). 'Non-racialism' and its discontents: a post- apartheid paradox. *International Social Science Journal* 50 (156), pp.243 - 252

Simpson, R. (1996). Neither Clear Nor Present: The Social Construction of Safety and Danger. *Sociological Forum* 11(3), pp.549-562

Skogan, W. (1986). Fear of Crime and Neighbourhood Change.*Crime and Justice* 8 (1986), pp 203-229

Smigiel, C. (2013). The production of segregated urban landscapes: A critical analysis of gated communities in Sofia. *Cities* 35 (2013), pp. 125-135

Solomon, R. (2007). *True to our Feelings*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sowell, T. (1994). *Race and Culture*. New York: Basic Books

Sowell, T. (1996). *Knowledge and Decisions*. New York: Basic Books

Sowell, T. (2011). *Intellectuals and Society*. New York: Basic Books

Sowell, T. (2018). *Discrimination and Disparities*. New York: Basic Books

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Spocter, M. (2012). Gated developments: international experiences and the South African context.*Acta Academica*, 44(1), 1-27.

Spocter, M. (2016). Non-metropolitan Gated Retirement Communities in the Western Cape. *Urban Forum*, 211–228.

Taylor, E.B.(2009). Poverty as danger: Fear of crime in Santo Domingo. *International Journal of Cultural Studies, 12*(2), pp.131-148.

Terreblanche, S. (2002) *A History of Inequality in South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press

Timms,N. (1967). *A Sociological Approach to Social Problems*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Tudor, A. (2003). A (macro) sociology of fear. *The Sociological Review*51 (2), pp. 238-256.

Turner, V. (1975) Symbolic Studies. *Annual Review of Anthropology* (4) 145-61

Van der Berg, S.(2014). Inequality, poverty and prospects for redistribution. *Development Southern Africa, 31*(2), pp.197-218.

Vesselinov, E.(2008), September. Members Only: Gated Communities and Residential Segregation in the Metropolitan United States 1. In *Sociological Forum* 23 (3), pp. 536-555

Ward, J.T., Link, N.W. and Taylor, R.B.(2017). New windows into a broken construct: A multilevel factor analysis and DIF assessment of perceived incivilities. *Journal of Criminal Justice 51* (July-August), pp.74-88.

Warr, M. and Stafford, M. (1983). Fear of victimization: A look at the proximate causes. *Social forces, 61*(4), pp.1033-1043.

Warr, M.(2000). Fear of crime in the United States: Avenues for research and policy. *Criminal justice, 4*(4), pp.451-489.

Wilson, J. (1977). *Thinking about Crime*. New York: Basic Books Inc.

Wilson, J and Kelling, G. (1982). *Broken Windows*. Atlantic Monthly

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Wouters, C. (2014). Universally applicable criteria for doing figurational process sociology: Seven balances, one triad. *Human Figurations: Long-term Perspectives on the Human Condition* 3(1)

Zerubavel, E. (1991). *The Fine Line: Make Distinctions in Everyday Lif*e. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Zerubavel, E. (1997). *Social Mindscapes: An Invitation to Cognitive Sociology*. Harvard University Press

Zimmer, L. (2006). Qualitative meta-synthesis: a question of dialoguing with texts. *Journal of advanced nursing*, *53*(3), pp.311-318.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/