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Shopping and Guns:

An Analysis of Public Discourses in Social Media about Mall Robberies in South Africa

Sean Thurtell

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List of Acronyms

(ANC) African National Congress

(API) Application Programming Interface

(AOIR) Association of Internet Researchers

(BCG) Boston Consulting Group

(ICBS) International Crimes against Business Survey

(OCCA) The Organised Crime Control Act

(SAP) South African Police Force

(SAPS) South African Police Service

(UCRP) Uniform Crime Reporting Program

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Abstract

This research project investigates public opinions about South African mall robberies discussed on *Twitter*. Using the principles of discourse and multimodal analysis, it provides critical insights constructed from the represented narratives of select, proposed middle-class consumers illustrating distinct sentiments about malls, crime and shopping. Malls are empirical objects that have been trivialised as ordinary and mundane consumer sites, devoid of any sociological significance embedded within the daily practices of shopping. This paper makes the argument that when contested by criminal activity, malls become valuable sites for critical enquiry towards gaining a deeper understanding of what these shopping attitudes mean within a post-apartheid, South African consumer landscape. The central issue of crime threatening public safety at malls diverges into an array of thematic discussions, revealing distinct indoctrinations surrounding apartheid's iniquitous system of racial and social engineering. This study's principle argument makes the claim that anxieties concerning public safety are only the tip of the iceberg, and this serves as an entry point into a discourse contesting exclusive shopping rights above constitutional equality for all. The test tube of mall robberies mixes desirable pleasures and humanitarian moralities together and creates a volatile cocktail of conflicting, consumer aspirations. In short, the public discourse of mall crimes is about maintaining self-entitled spaces of exclusivity within a desperate socio-economic climate. This study concludes with questions and considerations raised by these authors which could springboard into opportunities for future inquiry.

Talking about Crime and Consumption: An Introduction

'We used to build civilisations. Now we build shopping malls' (Bill Bryson).

A defining feature of the world's most recognisable metropolises is the distinct contours of each city's skyline as a silhouette at sunset. From breath-taking skyscrapers to historical landmarks, all cities have distinct characteristics in creating the rhythmic heartbeat of an urban modernity. A central component towards a city's sustainable life is its economy, which inherently pulsates through various modes of consumption. Shopping malls have become focal points of cohabitation for a city's people towards perusing lived, consumer experiences of freedom and liberation within the concrete jungles confounds. This study investigates how crime in malls effects established attitudes, ideologies and rituals of consumer culture through modes of expression on *Twitter.* What sets this study apart from research focusing only on malls or crime as separate and semi-autonomous units is the integrative manner in which these components are brought together within South Africa's unique post-apartheid, social landscape. Positioning *Twitter* as the mediated voice of a select public, allows this study to gain valuable insights into how a middle-class society has progressed in adopting a young constitution aimed at healing, reconciling and rectifying the injustices of the past. South Africa's urban settlements resemble most major worldly metropolises of global modernity and civility, except for one paramount difference, the effortless visualisation of inequality. If we are to capture the South African mall at the centre of this image, when zooming out the more disparate the landscape becomes. Generally, surrounding malls are affluent suburbs and businesses standing as signposts of wealth and prosperity. On the outskirts are informal settlements, disproportionate in size and unable to fit into a single frame. They act as constant reminders, that although the epicentre of this snapshot resembles a London or a Paris, the wealth of South African society remains in the hands of a select few. This unbalanced depth of field inevitably affects attitudes and practices of consumer culture. An introductory question for this paper - how does crime represent a blue print towards accounting for the effects that inequality has on consumer culture, and what does this suggest about public attitudes towards malls and shopping – underpins the investigation of the following pages.

This study makes the argument that one of the reasons why crime weaved together with inequality affects consumer culture in varying degrees, is the manner in which mall robberies represent acts of shopping, as an activity of exclusivity that needs protecting from poverty's outskirts. This argument is supported by close inspection of thematic narratives written from middle-class consumer perspectives, who clearly define the boundaries of what is assumed the rite of passage into the world of malls and shopping. In order to set the stage for the research question – 'How is public opinion about mall robberies represented on *Twitter?*' it is necessary to make a claim for why crime in malls is important towards understanding

consumer cultures broader social context. The following section sets the scene for why malls and crime are key players in consumer studies.

Malls are booming: Where shopping and crime intersect

This study establishes malls as 'unexpected sites of communication' in mediating 'cultural, social and economic relationships' (Rivas, 2009: 2). They function as modes of 'integration into a city's streetscape' through which consumers can 'transpose practices from other urban settings to malls' (Stillerman and Salcedo, 2012: 310). The act of shopping then becomes a performance that 'identifies deep structures at work as a language describing sacred rights' (Miller, 2004: 339). The relevance of this argument within a consumer landscape tends to assume that these sacred performances are dependent on the quantification of malls. An assumption to be made is that the higher the number of constructed malls, the wider the scope for increased foot traffic there is towards affording more opportunities for shoppers to experience the pleasures on offer in this space within their daily lives. For the business of malls, this translates into economic growth. In an article published by the *Mail and Guardian* entitled: *The magnificent march on SA's malls* – these scholarly arguments ring true towards South Africans embracing consumer cultures aspirations into their daily lives. At the time of publication (2014), the article reporting on retail statistics revealed that South Africa had around 1785 fully developed shopping centres, of which 44% were located in Gauteng. These statistics reveal an interesting dynamic in terms of potential shoppers versus the number of developed malls. In comparison, Brazil for example, (which is considered to have a similar emerging economic market as South Africa), has a population of around 200-million versus 400 developed malls, while South Africa's population of around 45-million has 1785 developed malls (Steyn, 2014). According to Dirk Prinsloo, the managing director of *Urban Studies*, these statistics reveal that South Africa's shopping centres are 'far higher in number versus population ratios than most emerging peer markets' (Steyn, 2014). The article argues that the rapid growth of malls in South Africa is due to an emerging middle-class consumer and rapid urbanising expansions (Steyn, 2014). According to the *2012 Global Retail Development Index,* South Africa's potential market for 'retail space can no longer be viewed as that of a developing country' (Steyn, 2014). South Africa is experiencing 'unprecedented growth in urbanisation', in which 63% of the country is now classified as being urbanised (Steyn, 2014). Further growth expectancies anticipate urbanisation levels to reach 68% by 2030 (Steyn, 2014). These predictions warrant the development of 'an additional two million extra square metres of retail floor space by 2025' (Steyn, 2014).

From the time of the publication of this article, up until now, Gauteng in particular, has seen the rise of 'the new R5bn, 130 000m² super-regional' *Mall of Africa* (News24, 2016). Louis van der Watt, founder of *Atterbury Property Development* and chief developer of *Mall of Africa,* explained the motivation for what was then anticipated to be the largest mall in

Africa: ‘Developing a super-regional mall in the heart of the fastest growing urban node on the continent presented the opportunity to create an exciting modern landmark. As the heart of a growing city, its connectivity was a key consideration of *Mall of Africa’s* development’ (News24, 2016). Upon opening *Mall of Africa,* the large influx of consumers displayed considerable positives towards motivating the need for additional retail space. Stefan Salzer, a partner at the *Boston Consulting Group* (BCG) made the following statement: ‘The enthusiasm around the *Mall of Africa’s* opening supports consumer research we conducted recently. SA consumer sentiment remains strong - the same level as a year ago - despite the gloomy outlook for the broader economy’ (Smith, 2016). This statement supports further motivation for the re-designing of what is now Africa’s largest mall, *Tshwane's Menlyn Park Shopping Centre*. The shopping centre now has a floor space of 177 000m^2, with over 500 stores, which is a substantial upgrade from the last one in 1999 (Omarjee, 2016). Charl Marais, the development manager at *Pareto Limited*, which owns *Menlyn Park Shopping Centre*, ascribed a substantial population explosion in the region over the last 15 years, which created an increased demand on the consumer base, as well as a demand from the retailers for expanded floor space, as the central drive towards these upgrades (Omarjee, 2016). Marais also indicates that despite signs of a slowing economy, feasibility studies indicated that this prospect would only increase consumer desires for more pleasurable shopping experiences in times of darkness (Omarjee, 2016).

Another pivotal motivator for developing malls not yet touched upon, and relevant for this study, is providing assurance for consumers that they have a space in which they can shop ‘while temporarily escaping the violence of the streets’ (Rivas 2009: 8). Malls are developed to offer consumers a ‘security-surveyed and patrolled’ (Gumpert and Drucker, 1992: 188) space so that they can shop in peace knowing that even their vehicles parked outside are secure. With armed robberies defying these secured boundaries, it presents this study with an opportune moment for critical inquiry. What this information directs towards, as an intersectional point in addressing consumer culture, is what effects armed robberies will have on patrons and their practices, as well as, sustainability towards the business of malls. A more important and central question to this study is what does criminality as a momentary, symbolic action reveals about the overall state of a selected demographic of shoppers, and how do these sentiments intertwine with South Africa’s broader consumer progressions. This study considers malls to be the quintessential local of ‘urbanised spaces, increasingly shaped by the intersections’ of crime in affecting both local and ‘global patterns of consumption’ (Rivas, 2009: 2). The following section, introduces the publicness of consumers as the key actors performing on the stage of malls in ‘producing a range of cosmopolitan aspirations’ (Rivas, 2009: 2), which in turn, delivers commentaries on social media with distinct sentiments for this study and towards the future of consumer cultures broader range of social research.

The significance of a public voice on social media: Why crime talk matters

South Africa is regarded as a nation that has a high culture of crime and violence affecting people on multiple levels (Schmitz, Kruger and Cooper, 2011). With armed robberies occurring in spaces encouraging pleasurable experiences with 'manifestations of desire, escape, and transcendence' (Backes, 2004: 7), this study is essentially meaningless without incorporating valued degrees of participation. By 'tracing the paths and interactions' of mall robberies in social media, this research is provided with an opportunity for consumer 'insights into social structures and locations', which shape and mould the discursive 'imaginaries of crime and consumption' (Rivas, 2009: 5). The impending nature of these conversations has the ability to move beyond 'the mere expression of personal opinions' and towards a 'collective deliberation of salient issues' (Bosch, 2010: 85). It is safe to assume that when these members of the public discuss mall robberies on social media, a discourse of varying thematic content is created, ripe and ready for analysis. This study's central base for analysis is on *Twitter,* one of the most popular social media platforms in South Africa, and a vital 'part of the processes through which an individual's private' concerns can be 'transformed into public issues' (Sacco, 1995: 141). These 'social construction of crime' (Sacco, 1995: 141) are indispensable, even if they are narrow in scope and are regarded as 'controversial issues' (Bosh, 2010: 85). Social media allows individual expressions to be discussed collectively as authentic 'public interactions' (Bosch, 2010: 85). This significance shifts ordinary conversations towards a deeper understanding of the various types of relationships that exist between shoppers and the space in which they consume.

Researching consumer culture by means of public discourses about mall robberies in social media is necessary for two reasons. Firstly, collective narratives about crime 'shape public consciousness regarding concerns that need to be seen as urgent problems' (Sacco, 1995: 141). Secondly, malls are generally ignored as critical sites of interaction, mainly due to their stigmatisations of 'hypersensitivity and apparent superficiality' (Rivas, 2009: 8), where bored homemakers and rebellious teenagers *hang* out simply to pass time. Though malls have 'basic generic designs' in order to keep shoppers focused on purchasing goods, this study makes a claim that armed robberies convert them into sites 'cultivating new distinct behaviours' (Rivas, 2009: 8). This assertion hopes to contribute towards an ever-increasing focus of scholarly work addressing consumption in the global south (Iqani, 2016). When analysing 'consumption and crime', this study recognises the contextual marriage of these two processes which cannot be divorced from each other and made to live as single units 'in a vacuum' (Rivas, 2009: 6). This study wishes to make another claim, that through investigating crime, the mall reads as a text signifying more than just 'consumer necessities of leisure and pleasure' (Backs, 2004: 3). Although an important aspect of this paper, it is the manner in which this population negotiates the threat of crime, that we are able to learn more about their 'shared traces' of consumer 'norms and values' (Dhurup, 2008: 65) that transcend beyond the mall, and into a conscious, mindfulness of modernity.

Fundamentally, consumer culture in this public realm is about negotiations of power and authority towards representing a social discourse that offers valuable insights about how these consumer viewpoints and practices, shapes and moulds the way forward for a South African consumer public. Sociologist Max Weber makes an imperative distinction between power and authority within this study's context. Power is 'tied to the personality of individuals' making up a public, while authority is associated with the enacted 'social roles' (Mayar, 2015: 758) adopted by a public.

This perspective allows for the making of a final claim towards the applicability of exploring crimes' relationship with consumption through *normal*, everyday eyes, is that most research on crime, places a substantial emphasis on producing quantifiable statistics, more than assessing how paper charts are experienced in a lived, social world. This paper feels that it is crucial to 'understand public perceptions about crime, as these viewpoints 'provide valuable information' often lost in process of 'reporting and recording' (Louw, 1997: 162) criminal activity. As a hypothesis towards the sociality about crime, this study anticipates that a central discussion will anxiously address public safety at malls. These dispositions will inadvertently manifest as consumer moralities towards addressing shopping as an exclusive, citizenry right. Such a prediction immediately raises questions about the meaning of consumption for the impoverished outskirts of this study's epicentral object, the mall. For some South Africans 'one of the historical movements towards achieving' (Louw, 1997: 137) socio-economic transformation, even as a post-apartheid society, is through modes of violent action, which has become the symbolic representation of this paper's title – *Shopping and Guns*. It is within the process of this select population's narratives, that we are able to take a snapshot about how the 'varying degrees of intensity' (Louw, 1997: 137) towards addressing crime, influence social perceptions of liberation, equality and freedom. Before proceeding further with this study, I feel it pertinent to have a moment of reflection and consideration about my own position and understanding regarding the relationship that mall robberies have with consumer culture, not just as a research scholar, but also as a citizen of South Africa.

A moment of contemplation: Researching towards self-understanding

This paper started off as an opportunity to investigate an area of consumer studies that has not received much attention, especially in terms investigating an experiential outlook. Shopping has become the backbone of a globalised modernity, yet it is trivialised as mundane and ordinary and is generally perceived as having no critical insights for the betterment of a functional society. It is precisely this perception that inspired me to seek a deeper understanding of the meaning of malls and shopping in a South African, consumer context. These curiosities became, even more, appealing with the element of crime inserted into the already complex narratives of consumer culture. What resulted was more than just a process of critical investigation and analysis, but rather, this study became a journey of self-understanding and personal reflection.

From the moment of inception to the final typed words, this study has taught me that a seemingly ordinary activity such as shopping, can have far reaching consequences for others well beyond the geographies of a consumer space. Prior to this research, I viewed malls as a space in which I could exercise my individual agency in a private capacity. Anyone attempting to disrupt my time in this space was immediately labelled as a deviant and needed to be removed. What this research has illuminated for me, is that civic expectations and private aspirations will essentially create conflict within a consumer culture that determines an individuals degrees of participation based on their socio-economic position within society. This paper has caused me to contemplate the idea of how in post-apartheid South Africa, neo-liberal ideologies of privatisation fundamentally appear to drive individualistic aspirations and personal desires. I feel that this outlook essentially gets used as an excuse to ignore the foundational pillars of a civic democracy which are desperately striving for constitutional equality. Through the processes of this study, I no longer view shopping solely as a pleasurable social activity, but rather, as an action governed by indoctrinations of exclusivity. Shopping is not simply a process of material acquisition, but rather, an exercise of socio-economic power, that can either be used as a tool representing self-enrichment, or as an opportunity to alter the dominant consumer attitudes highlighted throughout this paper.

The point I am attempting to make in this study is that as citizens, we are eager to embrace the democratic ideals of equality, freedom and liberation. But what we often fail to acknowledge, is that equality is an ideal that requires an outward movement of collectivity before it can be embraced personally. This study has made me question my understanding of what a civil democracy really means in relation to the practices of consumer culture. Through this tiny glimpse about the attitudes of a select population of consumers, it appears that there is a static assumption about what truly defines a functional democracy. These authors view democracy as a one-way transaction from state to citizens, rather than, as a multi-directional partnership where citizens become custodians in service of seeking democratic equality.

How do these contemplations relate back to the nature of this study, which is about public tweets involving malls and crime? As this study illustrates, that as citizens we should be shaken by how criminal violence harms people and that everyone has the right to feel safe and secure. What should infuriate us even more than just addressing criminal violence, is the manner in which this study's actors respond to mall robberies. It debates that if malls are no longer safe, we should be unsettled and want to change the situation, but not because of how crime is represented as an inconvenience to shopping. Instead, this study argues that mall robberies should trigger as a loud siren warning us that our humanitarian attitudes towards equality and each other is in an unhealthy state. This study argues that we should be shaken by the injustices that still perpetuate socio-economic inequalities and human suffering 20 years, post-apartheid. Essentially, mall robberies should not just raise questions about a failing state system, they should also raise questions about how we are failing to take care of each other, and as a result, failing our Constitution. I argue from a sociological perspective, that the existence of crime is not entirely because of corruption and incompetence in

governance. This study starts out as an investigation about public narratives on social media discussing mall robberies but concludes as a reflection about how crime within the context of consumer culture, challenges our humanitarian values of equality. Essentially, what I do in a mall has the ability to create rippling effects that can influence society far beyond just the scope of shopping.

My progressive argument about crime in South Africa, which is investigated through the lens of mall robberies, is that our daily, consumer attitudes refuse to see crime as more than just attacks on shopping convenience. It is an attack on our ability to view these moments as a failure towards our civic humanity, and as a result, ignores the plight of social and economic inequality still present today. Ultimately, the fact that I can go shopping and can tweet about it, indicates that I have a certain middle-class, socio-economic privilege that has an influence over society. By categorising the actors in this study as middle-class consumers, I acknowledge that this assumption could question the validity of certain represented arguments made without comprehensively investigating the middle-class position of each tweeting author. However, because South Africa has one of the largest socio-economic divides in the world, I feel it is reasonable to propagate that the ideological principles of crime and consumption addressed by these actors, ideologically support a middle-class, consumer mindset. The final section in this introduction maps out the building blocks of the chapters to come and paves the way forward for this study's insertion into a public mind about consumer crimes.

A way forward and towards an understanding: Chapter outline

Arguments and research about consumer culture and retail crimes have numerous bridging components, which allows for establishing methods of fusion towards creating a series of links that will become the foundational pillars of this study. This paper's approach and execution is organised into five sequential chapters. Chapter 1: *Malls, Public and Crime: Literature Review and Theoretical Approach* draws on a variety of scholarly perspectives that address three critical areas within this study's approach, towards deciphering social meanings of consumer culture revealed through actions of criminality – malls, a public of consumers and crime. Chapter 2: *Twitter as Public and Corpus: Methodological Approach* shapes this study's literature and theoretical framework into a method of approach for the analysis of public opinion about mall robberies. This chapter inserts a fourth-key component in supporting the study of mediated public opinions, the social sphere of *Twitter*.

The argument put forward, prioritises *Twitter* as best focal lens towards insights about crime and consumer culture. Chapters 3 and 4, funnel the theoretical and methodological bearings laid down as a foundational platform, for an analysis of varied thematic, subject matters. Chapter 3: *Bloodshed and Fear: Discursive Themes Relating to Security, the State and*

Equality, introduces a broader conceptualization of collective concerns about retail crimes. These momentary stills paint a subjective, yet detailed picture of feelings, emotions and rational about what armed robberies mean for this select audience of consumers. Chapter 4*: Is it Safe to go Shopping? What Mall Robberies Reveal about the Meaning of Consumption,* steps away from generalised public affiliations with mall robberies and moves towards the private affairs of consumption. Building on the previous chapters arguments about shopping values, this chapter explores appropriations of consumer culture towards actions of identity formation. Chapter 5: *What to Make of Tweets about Mall Robberies: A Conclusion* secures the key theoretical and empirical themes explored, and arguments made during the course of this paper. It reiterates what lies at the heart of this South African crime story, 'identity and power in consumer culture' (Iqani, 2012: 15).

1. Malls, A Public and Crime: Literature Review and Theoretical Approach

This chapter theorises and reviews relevant literature for the analysis of tweets about mall robberies. Malls are positioned as critical objects of enquiry in light of how armed robberies disrupt the established normative reading of these 'archetypical globalised spaces' (Salcedo, 2003: 1084). Malls facilitate more than just everyday utilitarian and hedonistic shopping experiences. Retail crimes introduce critical insights about how the discourse of malls as symbols of a progressive modernity, contour shopping ideologies into modes of civic power and control. This chapter is organised into ten sections. Section one: *Malls are utilitarian and hedonistic: Social and moral considerations* defines malls according to their utilitarian and hedonistic constructs as facilitators of convenient and pleasurable shopping experiences. Section two: *The symbolism of malls: A social perspective,* represents malls as symbolic spaces dense with metaphorical and political imagery, used for critical insertion within the analysis of this South African crime story. Section three: *The public as space of appearance,* theorises how tweets about mall robberies cannot be conceptualised without an environment. Section four: *Mall, space: Facilitating public/private consumer participation,* situates malls as public/private domains from which individual tweets from a collective public. In section five: *Participatory citizens of consumption,* the role of shoppers as citizens, identify malls as socio-political sites towards the formation of national and consumer identities. Section six: *Shopping with moral panic: Emotional spectators of crime,* theatrically support the emotional, and at times irrational, tweets concerned with the uncertain future of shopping as a safe and undisrupted social practice. The final component of this chapter brings all theoretical elements together within this study's main research object: mall robberies. Section seven: *Understanding crime: A Broad perspective,* theorises crime as complex in nature, with no universally agreed upon working definition. Section eight: *Theorising mall robberies sociologically,* theoretically positions this study's analysis about mall robberies as sociological in concept and execution. Section nine: *Organised crime statistics in post-apartheid South Africa,* provides organisational crime statistics as added relevance towards researching social representations about mall crimes. Lastly, Section ten: *Mall robberies in post-apartheid: A social context,* considers the relationship that mall robberies have towards South Africa's history of political violence, a derivative of apartheid's engineered system of social segregation.

Malls are utilitarian and hedonistic: Social and moral considerations

Malls are constructed to facilitate consumer practices informed by utilitarian and hedonistic ideals in modern, urban societies. They have enclosed climate controlled environments where people can shop undisrupted 'throughout the year' (Salcedo, 2003: 1085), regardless of inclement weather. Their design utilises space efficiently by incorporating a variety of retail outlets in such a way, as not to disrupt consumer flows in the corridors and stores (Et-Adly and Eid, 2016). Malls utilitarian values, therefore, orientate 'functional, instrumental, practical and task-related' (Rahman, Wong and Yu, 2016: 156) activities. Hedonistic values of malls ensure 'aesthetic, experiential, emotional, pleasurable' (Rahman, Et al., 2016: 156), escapist and exploratory experiences (Khare, 2011). These ideals, are intended to create a 'dream house of collectivity', where fantasy and reality blur together to display 'global logics of capitalism' (Salcedo, 2008: 1084, 1088), as well as local consumer characteristics. Mall robberies disrupt these assumed normative constructs, creating a sense of anxiety with shoppers that malls will no longer provide a homeostatic environment conducive for pleasurable experiences. These attitudes introduce issues of morality, which often remain separate considerations surrounding consumer practices. Scholars argue that people do not 'simply abandon' (Miller, 2004: 339) core values when shopping. The social complexities encrypted within individuals makes shopping inseparable from their moral orientations.

Although malls encourage a consumerist mindset, shopping essentially involves a collection of moral constructs (Stillerman and Salcedo, 2012). Malls are 'public places' (Dennis et al., 2010: 206) where shopping and socialising produce a variety of spectatorships. They are 'convenient locations' of connectivity, fostering 'communal interactions' and 'informational exchanges' (Feinberg et al., 1989: 50). Malls motivate 'consumer socialisations' (Jackson, Stoel and Brantley, 2011: 2) of interaction between various agents of social morality, displayed as normative attitudes present within society. These visibilities permeate pre-existing social and moral values manifested together as consumer expressions (Rahman et al., 2016; Khare, 2011). Therefore, malls expose 'two opposing narratives' (Salcedo, 2003: 1087) embedded within core values of people. At the one end of the spectrum, they facilitate social and community interaction, while at the other end; malls encourage 'hyper-consumption' (Salcedo, 2003: 1087). 'Consumer practices' (Dhurup, 2008: 65) are rooted in the processes of socialisation, predominantly structured by normative societal values. Malls are social spaces where shoppers can see, and be seen by others (Gumpert and Drucker, 1992). They visibly produce dual roles of 'performer and spectator' (Gumpert and Drucker, 1992: 189) associated with 'traditional shopping activities' (Farrag, El Sayed and Belk, 2010: 95). An individual's moral compass guides them towards six personal and five social motivators of performer and/or spectator orientations. Personal motivators are 'role playing, diversion, self-gratification, learning new trends, physical activity and sensory stimulation' (Tauber, 1972: 47). Social motivators are 'communication, peer group attraction, status and pleasure in bargaining for goods and interaction with others' (Tauber, 1972: 47). All of these motivators encourage an 'authentic modern experience' (Goss, 1993: 22) embedded in public and civic

aspirations (Farrag et al., 2010). Mall robberies, fundamentally act as a catalyst in driving shoppers to defend their ideological position within the realm of consumption.

With malls forming emotionally pleasurable experiences, they similarly stimulate actions resulting in 'negative emotions' (Goss, 1993: 19; Drucker, 1992). These attitudes result from culturally lived experiences underpinned by broader socio-political contexts. Emotional shopping is a 'political fact' (Lynch, 1976: 72-73), ultimately 'determined by political control' (Lynch, 1976: 73). People can be included or excluded, 'awed, confused, made acquiescent, or even kept ignorant by what they see or hear' (Lynch, 1976: 73). When crime intersects a retail space and causes shoppers to become aware of themselves and others, they do 'not simply enact their existing commitments' (Beltrán, 2009: 616). Instead, armed robberies transform malls into subjectively rich spheres of political commentaries (Beltrán, 2009). Malls, as sites producing an 'indomitable hegemonic presence' when contested by crime, results in shoppers 'surrendering a portion of their civic' (Davidson, 2011: 29) virtues. These values are ultimately encrypted within 'culturally loaded symbols' (Pauly, 2014: 178) and ideological representations of malls, which is discussed next.

The symbolism of malls: A social perspective

Shopping at malls is a matter of social activity disguised by the appropriation of goods where the 'value and exchange' (Gumpert and Drucker, 1992: 187) of products shape personal identities. The 'people who acquire goods have social lives beyond these purchases' (Appadurai, 1986: 5). Malls are more than just about shopping for pleasure. They alter natural behaviours and movements by being an artificial environment, inevitably leading to resistant practices 'far different from' (Davidson, 2011) a shoppers 'intentional purposes' (Backes, 2004: 5). Malls are light houses standing high above the coastline shining as a symbol in representing not just consumer ideals, but also, aspirations of modernity (Jackson, 1996). They 'function as signs, organised with other signs creating meaningful symbolisms' (Hall, 1997: 19) in representing cosmopolitan cities saturated with personal narratives about daily events (Backes, 2004). Malls facilitate 'ideological and cultural exchanges' (Backes, 2004: 3, 6), functioning as a signifier for a collective audience and a new 'dominant voice of contemporary public life' (Goss, 1993: 18). They create additional commentaries by resisting constructs linked to privatisation, profits and purchases, exposing 'vulnerabilities' (Davidson, 2011: 29) existing within consumer practices (Backs, 2004). These resistances transform malls into a civil space rich with political manifestations (Davidson, 2011). Symbolically, malls are a substituted reality for 'consumer practices' (Davidson, 2011: 28) and present a window into 'political exercises intertwined with questions of citizenship and belonging' (Canclini, 2001: 38). Mall robberies drive shoppers to appropriate themselves as citizens with consumer rights. The following section conceptualises shoppers within the public realm and their relationship to malls as a constructed space of appearance.

The public: An affective view

This section conceptualises shoppers as a public within their multiple positions of execution in representing mall robberies on *Twitter*. These conversations, even if seemingly insignificant, contain important socio-political messages encouraging 'key narratives' towards a functional democracy' (Myers and Lariscy, 2013: 332). When individual rationalities come together, these voices produce a critical and conscious, yet 'ethical and discerning' (Denzin, 2014: 84) discourse. The agenda of these *Twitter* statements about mall crimes positions the very 'notions of democracy and citizenship' (Denzin, 2014: 84) the at the forefront of public debates. The tweets represented in this study are a collection of expressions formulated by individuals and merged together as a 'self-conscious voice of solidarity' (Pauly, 2014: 178) condemning the effects and threats that mall robberies have over society. Conducting research on *Twitter* about crimes of this nature is a 'social territory' deserving a 'unique phalanx of exploration' (Lofland, 1998: 19). This study illustrates how these tweets are 'rhetorical exigencies' acting as 'mechanisms addressing' all types of audiences 'directly or indirectly' (Zurutuza Muñoz, 2014: 162). The diversity of expressions allows for an 'emotional, allusive, poetic and metaphorical' (Griffiths and Tann, 1992: 15) thinking process. Oratory practices are a gateway for theories supporting a more coherent discourse addressing the functionalities of civil society (Griffiths and Tann, 1992). Using *Twitter* affords individuals opportunities to 'personalise issues and communicate personal relevance' (Smith, 2010: 333), that normally would be influenced and manipulated by organisational politics. Although scholars are critical of *Twitter* failing to be an inclusive media platform as a means of conceptualising public narratives, *Twitter* affords 'visibility to voices frequently marginalised' (Papacharissi, 2015: 7) by hegemonic societal structures. This study's represented audience does not speak for all South Africans; as discussed at greater length in Chapter 2. What is revealed, 'produces a general representative 'set of values, beliefs, and attitudes' (Logan, 2014: 7) about malls and crime regarding middle-class South African consumers. The following section conceptualises the public within the theoretical position of space of appearance at malls.

The public as space of appearance

A theoretical framing of mall robberies requires an examination of literature about abstracting a public in tandem with their multiple roles at malls. Hannah Arendt (1958) argues that people, individually or collectively, cannot be conceptualised without the environment.

> The *vita activa,* human life in so far as it is actively engaged in doing something, is always rooted in a world of men and of man made things which it never leaves or altogether transcends. Things and men form the environment for each of man's activities, which would be pointless without such location, yet

> this environment, the world into which we are born, would not exist without the human activity which produced it. (Arendt, 1958: 22).

Arendt (1958) defines this structuralization as 'space of appearance'. These creations are not 'real venues of architecture', without people's experiences 'performatively creating' (Gerbaudo, 2012: 38) conditions of engagement within them. Malls as an area of critical inquiry, support the public realm towards 'encounters between man, and other men' (Dossa, 1989: 10-11, 74) in negotiating the intersectionality of armed robberies. Individuals establish public domains when they unite as a collective audience in a shared space (Christians, 2014; McCombs and Guo, 2014). This audience 'creates public opinions' defined by a 'community of views' (Ward, 2014: 29). The origins of these perspectives within 'space of appearance', be it 'academic, private or public' (Kong Lum, 2014: 149), come from 'intersubjective agreements' (Gaus, 2003: 119) valued against the rules set up within society. Participating from within a 'physical location', opens a gateway, whereby people use space of appearance as a 'legitimised presence' (Beltrán, 2009: 601, 610) for voicing their concerns and experiences. The voices of 'ordinary people as a way of being' (Ribbens, McCarthy and Edwards, 2002: 201; Dossa, 1989), identify and position new boundaries within space of appearance. Malls construct this realm wherein multiple roles of participation, disrupted by crime, occurs, discussed next.

Mall, space: Facilitating public/private consumer participation

Malls have an ideological and symbolic positioning towards representing a modern and civic society. This 'physicality attracts a diversity of performances, which are relatively open' (Madanipour, 2013: 57) to interpretation. The public life of malls primarily guides consumer practices as they exist for shopping. Research has predominantly focused on processes involving 'production and consumption of commodities' (Casey and Martens, 2007: 1), neglecting that shopping is a human activity 'tightly structured by social characteristics' (Davidson, 2007: 97). Malls are more than just 'commercial and cultural environments' (Toledano and Avidar, 2016: 2) facilitating consumer participation. 'Little attention has been paid' (Couldry, Livingston and Markham, 2007: 43) to narratives consumers produce when accounting their experiences or events. Consumption practices at malls have an 'integrative and communicative rationality' (Canclini, 2001: 40) encompassing 'wider social contexts' (Couldry et al., 2007: 109), of meaning. Malls afford more than just consumer participation in a 'state of sociality' (Crinson, 1995: 105). They offer 'symbolic meaning' (Decandia, 2013: 86) amplified by 'cultural and sensorial cues' (Crinson, 1995: 105) abundant with a wealth of complexities. Malls stimulate 'overt dispositions of architecture' (Crinson, 1995: 105) with an 'ideological sensibility' negotiated as 'normal' (Brady, 2009: 2) public space. People participate 'as a crowd witnessing itself through a shared physicality' (Beltrán, 2009: 598),

creating significant and compromising relations with the architecture' (Crinson, 1995: 105). Malls do not present a 'static understanding within space of appearance' (Madanipour, 2013: 59), they communicate deeper social meanings' (Pauly, 2014: 178) with 'opportunities to see and be seen by all' (Iqani, 2011: 4). Armed robberies push this perspective to the forefront of this study, by the manner in which they intersect and challenge shoppers to evaluate their attitudes and roles as consumers within these events.

Malls 'normative' yet intentional spatial design weaves 'private and public interests seamlessly together' (Brady, 2009: 2) as a form of relational singularity (Beltrán, 2009). However, discerning malls as public and private space lie within a 'dichotomous contradiction of classification' (Clarke, 2004: 27-28). Normally, 'individual, family and domestic' are categorised as private, while 'markets, state, politics and bureaucracy' (Clarke, 2004: 27-28) are public. Malls obscure these classifications as privatised public spaces, producing public performances by private individuals. However, scholars argue that malls have become 'increasingly empty of public issues' (Gerbaudo, 2012: 32). They reason that when a performance is voluntary, it offers little if any resistance to private and public concerns. Lack of opposition 'deprives space of life' (Amster, 2004: 7), subsequently eroding into a shadow of its former self (Gerbaudo, 2012). This problematic argument results from no 'precise definition' other than 'institutional business structures' (Russel and Lamme, 2016: 2), attempting to breathe life into this private and/or public space. It is 'far too simplistic to presume that all else which is not private space is public space and vice versa' (Wiszniewski, 2013: 67). When armed robberies challenge these constructs, they produce a space conjoined as 'personal identity' (Dossa, 1989, 10, 11) markers bound to the public domain. However, that which is public and private, takes second place, as public values are most important within the constructs of malls as a space of appearance (Dossa, 1989).

'Everyday cultural expressions' (Katz and Aakhus, 2004: 7) used by ordinary people, give a 'direct and deeper range of reasoning' (Talbot, 2010: 227; Furbey, 2009; Dinham and Lowndes, 2009), especially when addressing mall robberies. The intrusive threat of crime consequently challenges dominant public values, allowing for the re-animation of public and private space (Flint, 2009; Talbot, 2010). Criminal impositions challenging 'public values' are paramount in understanding 'urban spaces', as crime produces new forms of insurgent citizenship' (Fredrikson and Pallos, 2016: 2, 5) and democratic action towards 'organisational governance' (Crawford, 1995: 2). When crime intersects private and public, it becomes a civil issue, rendering malls as anything but lifeless (Gerbaudo, 2012). As an 'architectural space' malls enable the 'constitution of human plurality' (Crinson, 1995: 105), allowing criminal spectacles to be made visible (Iqani, 2011). The intersectionality of armed robberies involuntarily forces the public to renegotiate their performative position within malls. These crimes affect more than just public and/or private consumer participations as they systematically filter into the realm of citizenship. The following section theorises citizenship as an avenue whereby the public, from a consumer perspective, negotiate the intersectionality of crime on a national and civic level.

Participatory citizens of consumption

A general definition towards citizens in participatory roles implies that they 'contribute to open communicational discourses' (Ward, 2014: 40). It is about having 'membership to a political community' (Jakobsen, 2005: 9) where individual voices achieve legitimation within society. This study's voice is expressed on social media, more specifically *Twitter*, which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2. Citizenry participation involves addressing basic relations that the public realm has within structures of 'state sovereignty' (Jakobsen, 2005: 11). When it comes to conceptualising the public within malls as a space of appearance, the primary objective of shoppers as citizens are negotiating consumer practices within state regulations. Scholars argue that when people 'engage with democratic processes', there usually is a failure to 'account for their experimental dimensions' (Markham and Couldry, 2007: 676). Therefore, when it pertains to malls, citizenship and consumption are not individualistic practices 'framed by meaning' (Rivas, 2009: 2). Instead, it is a 'collective effort' influenced by 'political and economic forces' (Rivas, 2009: 2). Citizenry practices 'give new insights into studying the intersections of objects, ideas, values and events' (Martin, 1993: 142). They transform ordinary and mundane patterns of consumption into a public realm, revealing intentional responses to 'cultural and societal' (Martens and Casey, 2007: 219; 225) concerns. Any 'allegations made against consumer rights' as citizens are internalised as 'moral issues' (Martens and Casey, 2007: 233), creating a shift from 'patterns of access' towards a 'sense of belonging' (Silva, 2007: 145). Shoppers believe that in their role as citizens, and according to their constitution, they have the right to be present in retail spaces, while those who threaten public order and safety, need banishing (Baker and Wakefield, 2011). These ethics, allow for the translation of citizenship into public discussions (Miller, 1995), that when deconstructed, present a 'complex and symbolic bundle of social and cultural meaning' (Martin, 1993: 141). Citizenry consumer practices are, therefore, 'primary idioms for the development of social relations' (Miller, 1995: 146) which produce 'fundamental truths about human behaviours largely suppressed in society' (Graeber, 2011: 492).

Malls, as an 'evolving site for citizenry practices', have the ability to 'transform societies'(Crawford, 1995: 6). When intersected by armed robberies, this space generates a reference point towards 'conditions of belonging' by redefining 'urban experiences and expectancies' (Crawford, 1995: 6). Mall robberies shake the foundation of citizenship in a manner that creates social unity, not primarily because of 'ideological consumer affinities', but as a result of 'protest affinities' (Gerbaudo, 2012: 85). These crimes have the ability to destabilise 'relationships between government and citizens' when 'haunted by uncertainties' (Markham and Couldry, 2007: 675) and empty promises towards public order and safety. More than that, citizenship involving consumer values, challenge the 'demos and ethos' (Jakobsen, 2005: 11) of a participatory democracy. For this study, demos is the constructed 'democratic/political community' in space of appearance, whereby all who participate in the

public realm, want to be ‘considered and dealt with as equals’ (Jakobsen, 2005: 11) regardless of their background.

In post-apartheid South Africa, issues of equality for all citizens remains a highly contested social issue. As discussed later on in this chapter, current criminological research is not yet able to shift away from apartheid’s segregational history. Today, this legacy manifests itself under socio-economic conditions that arguably remains a resilient determinant towards issues of access and participation within the arena of malls. However, the public discourse for this paper is about those who discursively participate in narratives regarding the effects of mall robberies. This means positioning these participants as a ‘community defined by respective values’, searching collectively for recognition as ‘independent and distinctive individuals’ (Jakobsen, 2005: 11), and that all lives matter and need state protection. However, the mere threat of crime towards public order and safety for these citizens and consumers amplifies their concerns to a level whereby they tweet about mall robberies as emotional spectators of moral panic. Their narratives discursively represent ‘strong feelings’ (Dinham and Lowndes, 2009: 13) of anger, fear and anxiety. These overt emotions towards crime and the state are expressed as strands of ‘self-understanding, moral values, a sense of identity as well as ‘interpersonal and institutional’ (Furbey, 2009: 35) levels of rationality. Theoretical clarification in the following section supports emotional sentiments and moral panic, as a tool for understanding deeper meanings underpinned by heightened tweets about mall robberies (Papacharissi, 2015).

Shopping with moral panic: Emotional spectators of crime

Direct exposure to, or even the mere threat of danger evoked by mall robberies, is by no means a pleasant experience for anyone. Feelings and emotions that arise, can ‘reflexively drive movements’ of rationality, ‘focused thoughts and ideological beliefs’ (Papacharissi, 2015: 3). Rationality is however ‘fallible, as one man’s reason over another’ (Gaus, 2003: 68) does not make for certainty in these situations, nor in accounting the events. The expressive tweets in this study, view shoppers not as having ‘brute feelings’, but rather as a collective expressing ‘complex feelings and beliefs’ (Gaus, 2003: 120) about their rights as consumers and citizens. These expressions are about, and from the ‘implicit intrinsic structures’ (Kong Lum, 2014: 141) within space of appearance, as a means of sense-making. Tweeting about armed robberies, arguably evolves from a sense of moral panic, which is a ‘condition, episode, person or group of individuals, who emerge and become defined as threats to societal values and interests’ (Cohen, 2002: 1). Armed robberies, driven by moral panic, surface as ‘sustained threats and violations’ (Cohen, 2002: 225) in generating fears of being ‘eternal recurrences’ (Hunt, 1997: 644) within society. These conversations essentially express threats about consumer participations and general public safety, ‘embedded within the collective conscience’ (Hunt, 1997: 644) of society. ‘Social threats are social constructs’ (Rowe, 2009: 24) of fluidity, constantly being renegotiated. Moral panics produce ‘logical

revelations' (Adam and Van Loon, 2005: 2) by creating 'normative and institutional rule bound' (Lash, 2005: 47) public participations in an unsafe environment lacking order and control (Douglas, 1992).

When theorising moral panic, scholars emphasise that the mass media aid in being a 'carrier and producer' (Cohen, 2002: 9) of moral panic. As expanded in Chapter 2, *Twitter* has an integrative relationship with mainstream news media, making it difficult to discern the degrees of influence news reports have over produced tweets. This study is not concerned about these origins, but rather, how mall robberies influence the 'symbolic construction of public space', which revolves around 'scene-setting and scripting' (Alexander, Giesen and Mast, 2006: 36) within the public realm. Basically, this study focuses on the discursive representations, attitudes and effects that armed robberies have on shoppers with regards to consumer and citizen participation. The role of mainstream media is then essentially 'directing people' towards 'constructing emotional narratives' about crime endangering their 'coming together in public space' (Gerbaudo, 2012: 12). Mainstream and social media together, create an emotional mindfulness that as long as crime infiltrates malls, individuals within the public realm are constantly 'exposed to a sense of risk and danger' (Rowe, 2009: 26). This consciousness 'powerfully reinforce an awareness of public anxieties' (Rowe, 2009: 26) resulting in periods of moral panic, that 'resonate with wider anxieties'(Garland, 2008: 12) linked to South Africa's violent past. These arguments relate to a broader spectrum of 'public fears and unconscious wishes', manifesting as a 'cultural scapegoat', horrifying onlookers so 'powerfully and precisely' (Garland, 2008: 15). They are best understood within a criminological framework. The following section conceptualises crime sociologically for this study within the context of South Africa.

Crime is complicated: Multiple considerations

Crime in South Africa is a highly debated issue, which at times seems incomprehensible towards having represented meaning beyond the scope of deviancy (Pokes and Winstone, 2007). The discourse of criminal activity is not a single undertaking, which has progressed to a neat conclusion (Marsh, 2006). The analysis of rule breaking and rule-enforcements fails to be cumulative (Marsh, 2006). The analysis is composed of an extended train of partially examined and exhausted ideas' (Downes and Rock 1982: 309). This statement is especially relevant when addressing the relationship between malls, shoppers and crime. The primary construction of malls focuses around safety and security for both the shoppers and housed commodities (Louw, 1997). Armed robberies de-stabilise this fortified space, leaving malls in an unsafe and vulnerable state (Beckett 2001). In recent times (2014 - 2015), South African malls have become hubs of criminal activity, needing recognition as dangerous and problematic public spaces (Hopkins, 2002). Armed robberies not only disrupt ideas surrounding pleasurable consumer experiences, they also heighten anxiety levels towards

issues of public safety (Beckett 2001; Ekblom, 1995). Research on mall crimes and the effects it has on shoppers, particularly in South Africa, lacks comprehensive and critical investigation. Prior research has not focused on expressions about criminality, but rather on crime prevention (Shapland 1995). This privation is easily overlooked as malls are viewed superficially, assumed primarily to promote 'mindless and irrational zombie' (Rivas 2009: 6) like shopping behaviours. As a discourse, malls represent more than just sites for mindless shopping, their meaning is 'shaped and understood by an interactionist' (Koenig, 1985: 343) and experiential approach, resulting in diverse narratives embedded with complex meaning (Louw, 1997; Rivas, 2009). The intersectionality of armed robberies within this space enhances the represented data in chapters 3 and 4, with images 'dense in metaphorical associations and political imagery' (Beckett 2001: 904). Mall robberies give fresh perspectives towards understanding shopping as more than just practices of consumption; they give insights into the current socio-political state of middle-class South African consumers.

This section theorises the complexities of crime within its sociological position for this study. Outlining starts by reviewing scholarly work negotiating the complexities involved in developing a conceptual understanding and working definition for crime as a necessary entry point for thematic analysis. The existing body of literature draws from the field of *Criminalisation Theories* (The Editors of Salem Press, 2011), which attempts to identify and explain the causalities of criminal behaviour (Beaver and Walsh, 2011). What needs acknowledging is that the nature of this study does not intend exploring the psychological minds of criminals to understand why they commit deviant offences. This study explores the effects that mall robberies have over various social components constructed around daily shopping practices. The tweets presented in Chapters 3 and 4 illustrate how mall robberies are more than just issues of theft. They are discursive representations saturated within ideological undercurrents of social ordering. Biological and psychological motivators are still important mechanisms within the existing bodies of literature attempting to explain criminal deviancies and are therefore briefly highlighted. The following and most important aspect of this study in terms of theorising the analysis of mall robberies is developing a sociological framework. The main component here positions armed robberies through the lens of social solidarity. This perspective integrates the individuality of tweets as a means of conceptualising mall robberies within a public collective. Following this, presented crime statistics support the investigation of mall robberies as a relevant sub-category within the field of organisational crimes. Organised crime affects society on both macro and micro levels. On a macro level, 'international public and economic relations are adversely' (Brown, 2001: 270) affected. On a micro level, mall robberies 'constitutes a direct attack on public order and safety' (Brown, 2001: 270). Finally, the analysis of mall robberies as a South African discourse, cannot obtain significant meaning without considering them as motivators driven by socioeconomic inequalities, derived out of apartheid's engineered system of socio-racial segregation.

Understanding crime: A broad perspective

Scholars, for the most part, agree that predicting criminal actions is 'not a clear-cut or static phenomenon' (Marsh, 2006: 2). Instead, criminal deviancies need holistic assessment, especially when accounting for historical, environmental, biological, psychological and sociological variables. (For a more comprehensive understanding of these variables, see: (Marsh, 2006). Within these considerations, 'every society and its members' conduct themselves according to a pre-determined set of rules and values, that when deviated from, are evaluated against a sliding scale determining their 'varying degrees of severity' (Baker, 2011: 17). These values are usually widely accepted and deeply engraved within society, functioning as guidelines towards maintaining social cohesion (Hester and Eglin 1992). An action will only be 'criminal if that particular society determines it as such' (Marsh, 2006: 4). Regardless, crime across a diversity of societies is recognised as 'a salient social problem in its own right' (Roberts and Gordon, 2016: 49). 'Criminal deviancy' (Marsh, 2006: 15), even if assessed differently according to various societal standards, is still breaking established rules. Therefore, in order to institute mall robberies as criminal requires a systematic working definition. Broadly speaking, Beccaria's (1963 (1764)) work: *Dei deliti e delle pene (On Crimes and Punishment),* although long in conception, is most suitable for this study, as it covers all actors, locations and outcomes represented within the captured data.

> A scale of which the first degree should consist of those which immediately tend to the dissolution of society and the last of the smallest possible injustice done to a private member of that society. Between these extremes will be comprehended all actions contrary to the public good which are called criminal, and which descend by insensible degrees, decreeing from the highest to the lowest. Some crimes are immediately destructive of society, or its representative; others attack the private security of life, property of honour of individuals; and a third class consists of such actions as are contrary to the laws which relate to the general good of the community (Marsh, 2006: 93).

To be critical of this definition, circumstantially, 'real life cannot be predicted nor controlled as if in a laboratory' (Marsh, 2006: 93). This means determining what is criminal may not always follow linear assumptions. When attempting to theorise armed robberies as criminal, one should not expect 'to find some complete explanation or ultimate' (Marsh, 2006: 92) causal action. The importance of this study seeks its answers as 'dictated by the questions' (Hiropoulos and Porter, 2014: 19) and responses embedded within the presented data. Any opportunity to explore the causality of crime needs investigating within an array of intersections and approaches' (Hiropoulos and Porter, 2014: 20). With South Africa's long-standing history of criminal violence, often accompanied alongside movements of resistance, discursively conceptualising a precise criminological definition for this study is by no means simplistic. 'For the most part', developed criminological theories are 'not very good at explaining crime nor are they very good at predicting who will eventually become a criminal' (Beaver and Walsh, 2011: 3). This is not to say that established criminal theories have no validity. What most scholars do agree upon, is, that with the emergence of any new theory, all

they end up doing is re-emphasising established criminalization streams differently (Beaver and Walsh, 2011). This creates potential biases in making it easy to assume that crime manifests universally within all cultural diversities (Pakes and Winstone, 2007). Regardless, crime remains a global 'problem that negatively influences the functionality and stability of all societies' (Brown, 2001: 270). Despite having illusions of a 'universally agreed upon' (Christian, 2011: 62) criminological theory, it remains imperative to establish a conceptual framework from which this study can proceed (Christian, 2011; Mosher, Miethe and Phillips, 2002). Because this research involves discursive representations about mall robberies, the pretext for theorising these crimes is sociological, rather than 'correctional or ameliorative' (Hester and Eglin, 1992: 2), discussed next.

Theorising mall robberies sociologically

Crime understood as a social construct suggests that members of society collectively agree upon which actions are deemed disruptive towards maintaining social order (Christian, 2011).[1] The need for 'collective standards and values' (Marsh, 2006: 96), was defined by Durkheim (1973) as *social solidarity*. When constructing crime as deviations from the normative 'rules of society', it becomes apparent that not all agree with the 'formal ordinances of the law' and/or with 'informal mechanisms' prescribed through 'social pressures' (Christian, 2011: 64). Defining mall robberies sociologically means investigating these crimes as actions involving 'particular social actors within a particular place and time' (Hiropoulos and Porter, 2014: 19). In this context, mall robberies additionally represent contestations against institutional structures within distinct 'conditions and processes' (Marsh, 2006: 91). They manifest as social transgressions involving 'individuals or groups' (Hester and Eglin, 1992: 1) who assert their grievance against South Africa's conditioned socio-political climate. The manner in which the presented tweets discursively represents mall robberies asserts these crimes as contestations and/or resistances towards 'eradicating, ameliorating, or otherwise changing' (Spector and Kitsuse, 1987: 75-76) current conditions. More specifically, this study positions mall robberies within the above sociological dimensions as:

> not only increasing but becoming increasingly violent. That these increases are occurring despite increased public expenditure; that harsher penalties, a return to traditional values and the expansion of law enforcement personnel are needed to deal with the failure of the criminal justice system in dealing effectively with the problem of crime (Hester and Eglin, 1992: 3).

[1] For a more on the complexities of crime as a sociological construct see: Hester, S. and Eglin, P. *A Sociology of Crime.* Routledge: Oxon.; The Editors of Salem Press, (2011). *Sociology Reference Gide: Analyzing Crime & Social Control.* Salem Press Pasadena: California.

Even though the commodification of material goods is centrally proliferated as modes of enrichment (Iqani, 2012: 21& 18), constructing mall robberies as social means taking a brief moment to acknowledge, but not to argue how biological and psychological theories are theorised to influence criminal deviancies. These considerations function only as a reflective footnote within the broader historical context of socially engineering the apartheid system. One of the leading theorists in this field is Eysenck's (1974) combination theory. This model argues that criminal actions often have degrees of predictability masked within particular biological and psychological markers (Marsh, 2006). The dominant biological assumption contends for a breakdown in genetics, resulting in irregular cognitive functioning (Marsh, 2006). This, in turn, interferes with the ability to think and reason rationally in terms of normative social behaviours (Marsh, 2006).[2] Psychological theories follow similar biological lines, by arguing that physical and cognitive irregularities within the brain may lead to abnormal behavioural patterns, often manifesting as criminal actions (Marsh, 2006). These theories are hugely problematic as they assume that deviancy 'lurks within criminals' (Pakes and Winstone, 2007: 4) leaving individuals without agency or control over their actions. The provocation of biology and psychology was particularly detrimental during apartheid and was indoctrinated as one of many motivational tools for the incitement of racial segregation. Nationalists positioned black people as individuals lacking the correct biological and psychological attributes required to function adequately within society. Segregating them was argued as the only way to control their assumed anti-social behaviours from becoming criminal (Marsh, 2006). Pre-determining people as criminal based on biological, psychological or even racial indicators is a 'weak and problematic approach' (Rose, 2003a: 18), as it implies that people function unilaterally and without agency. This study does not attempt to make any assumptions from this positional argument, but rather, focuses on possible social implications, especially inequality, which is associated with criminality and is argued to be perpetuated by this turbulent past. As I have been arguing throughout this section, this study is about understanding the social meanings of representation about mall robberies, and not about what motivates these criminal actions biologically and/or psychologically. Moving forward, the following section supports the need for investigating retail crimes with a brief summary of organised crime statistics in South Africa.

Organised crime statistics in post-apartheid South Africa

Organised crime is defined as 'the unlawful activities of highly organised and disciplined associations, usually motivated by prospects of financial gain' (The Organised Crime Control Act (OCCA), Harbeck, 2011: 82). The Uniform Crime Reporting Program (UCRP) supports violence within organised crimes as a 'force or the threat of force while committing one of

[2] For more on the complexities of biological and psychological motivators of crime see: Beaver, K. M. and Walsh, A. (2011). *The Ashgate Research Companion to Biosocial Theories of Crime.* Ashgate Publishing Limited: England

four offences: murder or non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery or aggravated assault' (Harbeck, 2011: 118). With these definitions in mind, the South African Police Service (SAPS) acknowledge mall robberies as a sub-category of organised crime, defined as:

A person, group of persons or syndicate acting in an organised fashion or in a manner which could result in a substantial financial gain for the person, group or persons or syndicate involved' (Goga, 2014: 64).

These above definitions support current criminological research stating that South Africa is 'suffering from an increase in sophisticated and organised crimes' (Goga, 2014: 63), reflected in official crime statistics released by the SAPS for the 2014-2015 period (shown below in figure 1.1).

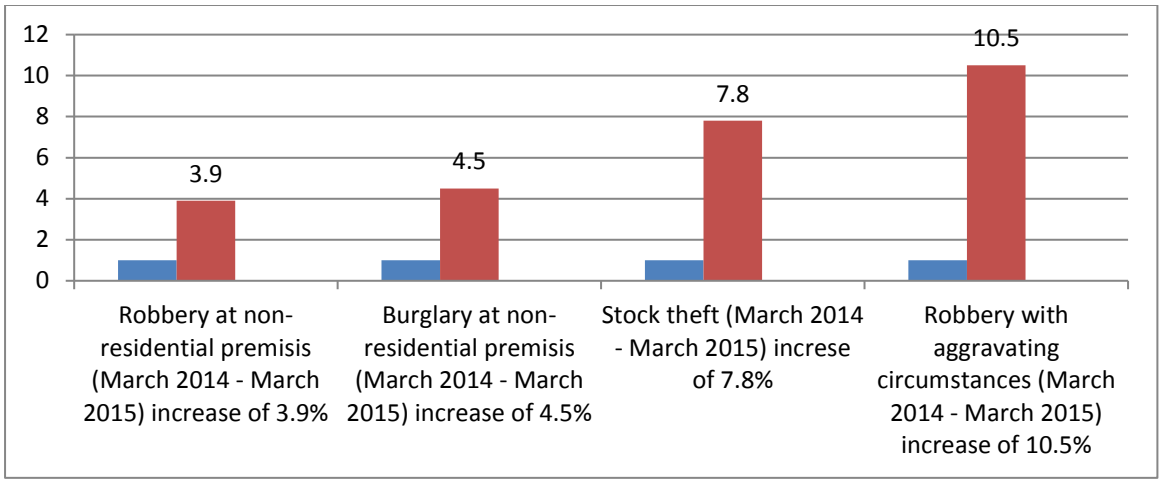


Figure1.1 South African Police Service Crime Statistics (March 2014 – March 2015) which are potentially linked to mall robberies (organised and violent crime).[3]

Over the last twenty years, there are indications that the state 'has taken strong legislative, regulatory and enforcement measures' in attempts to 'combat organised crime' (Goga, 2014: 63), resulting in limited degrees of success. Despite this, criminologists argue that South Africa is 'far from being classified as a criminalised state' (Goga, 2014: 63). What is interesting is that according to the SAPS (2014 – 2015), commercial crimes are down by 29%, while at the same time, other areas within the commercial sector (as indicated in figure 1.) show significant increases, especially surrounding mall robberies. The validity of these statistics is expressed by the tweets in chapter 3, as sceptical towards the state and police's crime preventative efforts. Researching tweets about mall robberies is more than just about validating statistics, it is about how individual experiences account for the direct effects that

[3] This chart is simply a means to visually represent the increase in crime according to the SAPA crime statistics of 2015. The blue pillar represents a base line taken as a representation of where each particular category was in March 2014. The red pillar is a comparative representation for the percentage increase for each category as of March 2015.

organised crime has on shoppers. Research suggests that 'fear of crime' remains prominent 'by a significant share of the population' (Roberts and Gordon, 2016: 57), irrespective of whether expressed or experienced. What this study reveals is that mall robberies encourage 'periods of moral panic'(Marsh, 2006: 10) through which shoppers express their fear of organised crime as legitimate concerns for public safety. The tweets position shoppers within these organised crimes as 'interest groups' revealing their concerns and feelings towards 'governmental, organisational and victimised violence' (Hester and Eglin 1992: 3). Organised violent crimes, as with this case study, needs grounding within South Africa's socio-historical context of racial segregation. Despite this study taking place more than twenty years post-apartheid, the thematic discussions in Chapters 3 and 4 reveal active fragments of these ideological indoctrinations. It is therefore imperative to consider mall robberies position within the aftermath of apartheid, discussed next.

Mall robberies in post-apartheid South Africa: A social context

Constructing mall robberies sociologically in post-apartheid South Africa has numerous theoretical origins, which inevitably trails back to apartheid's legacy (Demombynes and Ozler, 2002). This unique socio-political history 'should never be dismissed as trivial' (Brown, 2001: 271) as it supports arguments in accounting for the high levels of violent crimes still present within South Africa (Parry et al. 2004).

> The period of political transition, defined a culture of violence that resulted from the period of political oppression, the proliferation of firearms, the growth of organised crime, South Africa's youthful population, rapid urbanisation, and a weak criminal justice system (Gould, Burger and Newham, 2012: 9).

The history of political violence is essentially pitted against power relations contesting social inclusion and exclusion (Christian and Howson, 2011; Iqani, 2012; Miller, 1987). 'Place matters' (Hiropoulos and Porter, 2014: 25) to people, as it holds symbolic meaning in forging national identities. By 'marginalising the majority population' (Goga, 2014: 64) through segregating laws, tensions between these citizens and state would inevitably boil over into violent actions, defined as criminal. An individual's social position within their immediate environment predictably influences their behaviour. This can lead to criminally induced actions, as well as 'the perpetration of crime which can ironically motivate the need for social exclusion' (Christian and Howson, 2011: 40). Criminally speaking, environments encourage 'person-situation interactions' (Hiropoulos and Porter, 2014: 18) in shaping specific outcomes along a particular course. Over the last twenty years, extensive research in South Africa has led to the supporting idea that 'people with low incomes and limited access to employment', are more likely to 'be involved in criminal activities' (Marsh, 2006: 58). Malls are major variables for organised crime as they 'strongly correlate with mean expenditure' (Demombynes and Ozler, 2002: 26) and financial rewards.

By symbolising opulent and lavish lifestyles of excessive consumption, malls expedite socio-economic stratification as forms of social segregation regulated and controlled through constant surveillance and security (Hiropoulos and Porter, 2014). When addressing mall robberies in this context, criminological historians argue for a strong correlation between retail crimes as symbols of spatial segregation driven by socio-economic inequalities (Marsh, 2006). In many ways, mall crimes function as modes of contestation as a discourse in representing the historical 'antecedents of social and political unrest' (Christian and Howson, 2011: 40).

At this point, I need to be clear that this study is not attempting to identify a particular criminal group that could fit into the above-mentioned theoretical mould. What I am endeavouring to bring to light, is that when addressing the subject of crime, and because of apartheid's scars, one cannot assume crime to be an obtrusive infringement by any one-particular social profile. The discourse of crime in post-apartheid South Africa is complex and needs sensitive treatment. This is especially relevant when associating crime with issues of racism. Many of the tweets presented in Chapters 3 and 4, discursively use mall robberies as an excuse to engage in racist behaviour. Apartheid ideologically constructed race 'as natural and necessary' (Falkof, 2015: 67) in defending national identities. Disturbingly, these tweets racialize criminals in the same vein especially in determining the value of human life. As Foucault said, 'racism is the break between what must live and what must die' (1997; 254). I have included these tweets in my analysis, not to appear insensitive and/or racist myself. I am aware that they may evoke strong emotions with readers (as they did with me). However, I believe these particular tweets are crucial to the study (as they are also numerically repetitive) to accurately reflect the current socio-political climate of the represented shoppers. I treat the subject of racism with the utmost respect and sensitivity and am constantly aware of my own personal position within these discussions. This study however, is 'concerned with the interpersonal relationships' (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 22) that individual shoppers have with mall crimes and focuses on representing their experiences as a collective public.

2. *Twitter* as Public and Corpus: A Methodological Approach

This chapter articulates the challenges, processes and solutions involved in capturing and analysing relevant *Twitter* statements about South African Mall robberies. In light of the literature and theoretical framework presented, this chapter is organised into nine sections. Section one: *A public and social media*, defines a public in relation to how social media appropriate a collective expression. Section two: *A shopping public: Tweeting in community,* establishes *Twitter* as the suitable networked, community for exploring the social narratives represented in this study. Section three: *Complexities of Twitter,* explains how *Twitter's* operational design and encryption composed data capturing ramifications, resulting in limited, accessible data quantities. Also briefly mentioned in this section, is open-sourced online programs designed for capturing tweets, which also failed in execution because of these operational restrictions. As a final mention in this section, an outsourced program provided the amicable parameters required for overcoming *Twitter's* restrictions, and for achieving the most representative data set for this study. Section four: *Searching for mall robbery tweets,* systematically accounts for how the search criteria was established and implemented. Section five: *Refining Gauteng mall robbery tweets,* provides the systematic steps taken towards refining the raw data into categorised themes for analysis. Section six: *Qualitative research: An approach for interpreting tweets,* presents a qualitative approach as the appropriate method towards interpreting the data within this study's sociological position. Section seven: *Ethical considerations: Researching private lives in a public domain,* considers ethical implications that may arise when using the publically sourced material, while simultaneously negotiating an individual's right to privacy and anonymity. Section eight: *Discourse analysis: Representation and meaning about crime talk,* establishes power and ideology as the central components needed for understanding how tweets about mall robberies, contest and/or appropriate existing consumer attitudes embedded within a disparate, social landscape. Section nine: *Multimodality: Visual narratives of meaning,* motivates the use of tweet images as visual flashpoints in support of providing a comprehensive, and interpretive illustration about South African mall robberies.

A public and social media

Social media refers to 'web-based channels' (Juris, 2012: 274) used for networking and sharing of experiences, ideas and content. Mediated expressions are a means by which 'geographic and asynchronous constraint' (Boyd, Golder and Lotan, 2010: 1) can converge as

a collective voice in a digital space. When individuals unite as a collective within a public domain, they represent this shared space an audience. Social media is the new 'word of mouth' (Pak and Paroubek, 2010: 1326) for public experiences about places and events. Today, digital media are no longer viewed as a structural 'network of networks', but rather, as spaces where crowds of individuals participate in a realm that has come 'to mean all things to all people' (Juris, 2012: 272, 274). These networks allow public expressions of experiential physicality to transgress beyond the here and now. They 'network us' together, but it is shared experiences that 'connect us to each other' (Papacharissi, 2015: 5). That which appears personal and separate from one another in 'place and space' (Marwick, 2011: 2) is collectively expressed as a digital community. By defining the public collectively (as theorised in the previous chapter), social media are the mediated voices of these experiences (Toledano and Avidar, 2016). Using social media for this study, shoppers participate as a collective public within a 'shared social context' (Boyd et al. 2010: 1) of real-time narration and post-reflection. The tweets are about the implications and effects that armed robberies have on consumer experiences at South African malls.

The validity of social media as reliable data sources have come under questioning for the following two reasons (Smith, 2010). Firstly, Papacharissi (2015) argues that social media cannot produce 'communities, but rather, *feelings of community*' (9). Following from this it can be argued that mediations, whether theorised from the perspective of a physical or a felt community, when viewed as a collective, they reflect a communal narrative. In short, social media captures the digital voices of a living community. Secondly, scholars argue that using social media on a personal capacity, more often than not, produce emotionally irrational narratives, especially when dealing with moral panics about crime. This implies that interpreting mall robberies as a social narrative, cannot avoid being 'shaped around public displays of emotion' (Papacharissi, 2015: 6). This study's data originates from 'different social contexts' (Papacharissi, 2015: 6) as displays of communal solidarity. In the heat of the moment, emotions expose the truth about how people really feel. Approaching emotional tweets about mall robberies as irrational truth opens a gateway through which ordinary voices expose a particular and select state of South Africa's civil heartbeat.

Social media promotes more than just an avenue of emotional expression. It facilitates communal functions and practices by giving insight into 'organisational efforts as well as 'public relations' (Smith, 2010: 331). Social media act as a 'virtual town hall' (Smith, 2010: 332) where expressions and opinions allow others the opportunity for contemplation and/or feedback. This assumption does not mean those who engage with social issues can or want to discuss them. As suggested above, social media assumes that all, even marginalised groups, have access to and are able to voice their opinions as a shared community (Papacharissi, 2015). This assumption is especially problematic in South Africa, as historical segregation amplified social, political, economic and educational inequalities, thereby limiting access to social media. Technical competency further divides the use of these platforms (Papacharissi, 2015). As previously argued, not all people affected by mall robberies resort to or are able to

use social media. This study acknowledges that not all affected by these crimes are 'equally represented' (Gouws et al., 2011: 20) outside of this study's data set. This may include the invisible workforce made up of cleaners, security guards, management and retail staff whom on a daily basis, contribute towards the functional operations of malls. However, the focus of this study is about those who have access to, and use *Twitter* as an 'interpretive community' (Marwick, 2011: 16) in voicing their concerns about the effects that armed robberies have on consumer and citizenry practices, discussed next.

A shopping public: Tweeting in community

Twitter as a social platform 'may enter our lexicon just as Xerox has for copying and Google for searching' (Jansen et al., 2009: 2). Research suggests that *Twitter* is now recognised as the most dominant platform for ongoing 'social, cultural and political expressions of everyday life' (Fredrikson and Pallas, 2016: 2). The site is used for 'keeping in touch' with each other, raising awareness of social issues, 'gathering useful information' (Zhao and Rosson, 2009: 245), seeking assisted advice and 'releasing emotional stress' (Ehrenberg, 2012: 25).This section discusses *Twitter's* relevance for this study in promoting public participation through its interfacial design aiding in disseminating multiple and integrative content forms.

Twitter is a global 'networked micro-blogging' site of 140 characters connecting to multiple *smart* devices, through which 'scores of citizens' (Pak and Paroubek, 2010: 18-19) engaged with topical discussions related to breaking news or social issues. Information can be sent and received via mobile 'text messages', as an application on '*Facebook*' and as an email or 'instant message' (Krishnamurthy, Gill and Arlitt, 2008: 1). *Twitter* disseminates information globally by eliminating geographical locations and time constraints, enabling 'real-time highlighting, ranking and tracking' (Ben-Ari, 2009: 632) of events (Grove, 2009: 5-6). When society seeks online support, they use *Twitter* as a spokesperson for experiences, 'opinions and commentaries' (Java et al., 2007: 2). This mode of engagement is pertinent during 'emergency and/or mass convergence situations' (Huges and Palen, 2009: 2). People use *Twitter* as an environmental and contextual 'writing system', affording the use of 'natural language', information 'processing and retrieving' (Gouws et al., 2011: 20, 22). These practices afford individuals the opportunity to voice their personal and/or national concerns, resulting in a collective 'meta-narrative' (Marwick, 2011: 6) dense with ideological values. This is particularly relevant when crime disrupts a mall's symbolic representation of South Africa as a civil, urban modernity. Tweeting about this 'fact of life' (Shirky, 2011: 1), is easier, convenient and less intimidating than face-to-face encounters. *Twitter*, more than any other social site in South Africa, has become a platform for 'more amenable' ongoing 'public dialogues' (Junco, Heiberger and Loken, 2011: 2). By making an 'initial post', individuals progress on the 'path of centripetal' (Nguyen and Rosé, 2011: 76) involvement towards public participation. This progression allows consumers to express direct and immediate

thoughts about mall robberies, as well as, contemplating the intersectional effects it has on shopping and citizenry practices (Go, Bhayani and Huang, 2009). *Twitter* supports integrative hybridity where 'traditional views' converge with 'prevailing cultural and social' (Cha et al., 2010: 11) perspectives. For the participants of this study, *Twitter* is more than just general 'conversation and chatter' (Castillo, Mendoza and Poblete, 2011: 676); these shoppers report news, share personal experiences and express national concerns about the levels of crime not just at malls, but in South Africa.

Twitter's hybridity is made possible due to its functional design. As mentioned, *Twitter's* network structure 'disperses conversation' by interconnecting people rather than 'constraining conversation' (Boyd et al., 2010: 1) bound by space and time. This capability affords 'easy forms of communication', functioning as a shared 'broadcasting' system (Java et al., 1). *Twitter* is able to create a sense of being 'surrounded by conversation' without needing direct exposure or 'peripheral' (Boyd et al., 2010:1) spectatorship. A user is able to respond directly to someone involved in a mall robbery or join in an ongoing public conversation about the effects of these crimes. This capability supports reasons as to why *Twitter* is used for 'mass convergence in moments of crisis' (Huges and Palen, 2009: 2). There are critiques made against the 140 character limitations especially when conveying information in emergencies. Biz Stone, *Twitter's* Creative Director argued this point by stating that 'creativity comes from constraint' (Boyd et al., 2010: 2). Even though tweets are short, they still offer a 'full spectrum of communications' by supporting multiple perspectives right from 'personal and private' to 'traditional and mainstream media' (Wu et al., 2011: 706). Restrictions create 'fast modes of communication' (Java et al., 2007: 2) whereby users need to get to the core issue immediately. This mode of communication does not come without cost. The following section addresses the system and design restrictions limiting the visibility of information available for both users and as a data source.

Complexities of *Twitter*

Twitter's building blocks are constructed and designed around an 'Application Programming Interface (API)' (Kwak et al., 2010: 2). This coding language prescribes the functional rules and regulations for users. *Twitter* receives millions of tweets on a daily basis on 'every imaginable topic' (Honey and Herring, 2009: 3), making it a 'noisy environment' (Tumasjan et al., 2010: 178) to control and organise. Cohesion is achieved by generating algorithmic 'word graphs' within the API, which searches for and categorise incoming 'topic phrases as root nodes' (Liu, Lui and Weng, 2011: 67). These nodes are likewise used as markers by a user. The at symbol (@) is used to address individuals or organisations directly, while the #hashtag symbol is used to create or link in with an ongoing topic or trend. These nodes become problematic when searched for, as they are 'weighted in proportion to phrase frequency' (Lui et al., 2011: 67) hierarchal structures. This means that not all tweets posted or searched for will appear on a user's main feed. The tweets not visible run the risk of decay

due to interference from ‘natural analogues, idioms and neologism’ (Romero, Meeder and Kleinberg, 2011: 695).

Tweets appearing on a user’s main feed are pre-determined by the API’s algorithms and are short lived due to high volumes of incoming traffic. The API further limits tweets ‘publically’ displayed or searched for by restricting the programs ‘recovery system’ (Romero et al., 2011: 697). To give a basic example; if a user has made more than 100 tweets, only their most recent 100 tweets are visible, the rest succumb to eventual decay (Romero et al., 2011). The reason for this is that tweets automate on a first come first served basis (Honey and Herring, 2009). The same applies to anyone searching for a specific user tweet, #hashtag or trending topics. With high traffic volumes on *Twitter*, categorization is another implemented API coding system used to cluster similar words, phrases or terminology (Cunha et al., 2011). For example, ‘#michaeljackson, #mj and #jackson’ (Cunha et al., 2011: 60) would be categorised together. This action limits finding tweets using nuanced language similar in sentiment, but not within the field of established categories. To further complicate matters; if an individual uses a directly categorised phrase such as #mallrobberies or #mallrobbery, viewing it is only possible if the account is public (Marwick, 2011). This option is made available for a user if they wish to protect their online identity from uninvited followers. Accounts that are public, come with additional user limitations, highlighted next.

System implementations directly affect the degree of user ability and influence on *Twitter*, particularly when attempting to participate in public discussions. If not well versed in appropriate user language, tweets can easily miss their mark and get lost in a vast ocean of content. This has primarily to do with the manner in which tweets are signposted. If users fail to incorporate categorised wording, the #hashtag or @symbol, they will not reach their intended destination or readership (Honey and Herring, 2009). Correct signposts need to contend with ‘usage patterns within neighbouring networks’ (Romero et al., 2011: 703). Adopting the #hashtag as a signpost does not automatically result in visibility. Neighbouring networks seek patterns of repetition as benefit markers in determining the visibility of tweets (Romero et al., 2011). What this technical terminology translates to is that not all posted tweets are visible to the public. The following section addresses the complexities faced in data capturing resulting from the above-mentioned program and interfacial limitations.

Data gathering: Problems and solutions

As this project required analysing tweets that address the theme of mall robberies, this section articulates difficulties encountered, and a workable solution within the process of using *Twitter* as a data source. The most important criteria within this entire process was to ensure the best possible representation of tweets about South African mall robberies, posted between January 2014 and December 2015. This period, to date, accounts for the highest number of mall robberies experienced in South Africa, with the majority occurring in Gauteng. As mentioned, with the bulk of South Africa’s malls located in Gauteng, the scope of tweets

automatically narrowed down to only mall robberies in this province, subsequently producing a quantitatively significant corpus. A further benefit for focusing on Gauteng mall robberies is that these frequent crimes produced constant activity on *Twitter*, assuring a rich and diverse collection of tweets. Having a large corpus further assures repetitive coherency in producing distinct themes towards evaluating core 'norms, values and principles' (Fredrikson and Pallas, 2016: 2) embedded within South African consumer culture. With the vast amount of global tweets appearing daily on *Twitter*, including international accounts of mall robberies, a systematically localised refining process was adopted. This presented numerous challenges as a direct result of *Twitter's* API limitations, subsequently restricting search criteria, as well as functional issue concerning open-sourced and paid for software designed for capturing tweets into raw data, discussed next.

Searching for mall robbery tweets

Initial searches for tweets about South African mall robberies started with the signposts #mallrobbery and/or #mallrobberies. These signposts were established as South African hashtags and hyperlinks used by media houses for online news reports. The public subsequently adopted these hashtags for their own personal tweets. However, when searching for tweets, it was found that not all personal responses about mall robberies used the hashtags #mallrobbery and/or #mallrobberies as signposts. This subsequently led to broadening the search criteria to include alternate #hashtags and key phrases not designated as signposts. For example, a general hashtag #mallcrime, or specific mall hashtag #clearwatermall produced more content. This meant that individual mall #hashtags had to be included in the search criteria. More than that, searches using keywords for specific malls, such as *Clearwater* mall robbery/shooting produced significantly more tweets. Searches now had to include general #hashtags, specific mall #hashtags and individual key mall phrases.[4] Gauteng at present has over 260 retail centres under 5 main classifications; Super regional, Major regional, Minor regional, Neighbourhood convenience and community convenience (mallguide.co.za, 2016). However, not all 260 retail centres are enclosed malls and the focal object of this study. According to mallguide.co.za, enclosed malls are classified under Super regional and Major regional. Even with a smaller number, it still meant individually searching all #hashtag and key phrases for each mall. Having identified more specific search criteria, a data-capturing program was needed.

There are a number of open-source software programs, specifically designed for capturing tweets from *Twitter*, available for download on the internet. The three most prominent programs are; *AQUAD Seven, QDA Miner* and *Sim Stat*. The general problem encountered with these programs was connectivity and data formatting issues. These programs would either systematically fail to connect with, or capture tweets. On consulting with technical

[4] See Appendix A for a full listing of all the #hashtag and/or keywords used as search criteria in Dean's program, discussed later on.

experts they suggested a more stable program written by *QSR International* called *NVivo*. '*NVivo* is software that supports qualitative and mixed methods research. It is designed to help organise, analyse and find insights in unstructured or qualitative data like: interviews, open-ended survey responses, articles, social media and web content' (qsrinternational.com, 2016). By installing a browser plugin, *NCapture*, *NVivo* is able to capture tweets and convert them into exportable PDF documents. More than this, *NVivo* has a function that can analyse and detect qualitative sentimental language patterns. This software appeared to be the perfect tool for this study, as the methodological approach of analysis is qualitative, discussed later.

One of the first setbacks encountered with *NVivo*, is that it is commercially expensive, licenced software. There is a 14-day trial period on offer for potential buyers, which this study utilised. More than just cost, *NVivo* is technically complex to operate, despite instructional tutorials at hand. After initial set-up and multiple lessons, *Twitter's* API, algorithms complicated matters even further. Not all visible tweets were captured and imported into *NVivo*. The programs technical support staff upon request attempted to capture the tweets themselves, without any success. Their feedback confirmed suspicions that *Twitter's* algorithmic, API settings limit the available amount of import data. This setback meant exploring alternative avenues to find an appropriate solution for data capturing. By means of networking with Dr Glena Daniels, a senior lecturer in the *Media Studies* department at the *University of the Witwatersrand*, I was directed to Dean Falcke (BBS (Hons) in Marketing, BA (Hons, cum laude) in Journalism and Media Studies). He is also a *Microsoft* IT Professional in SQL Server 2008, specialising in database development and administration. Mr Falcke had subsequently designed a programme called *TweetMiner*, which specifically navigates around *Twitter's* algorithmic, API restrictions. After numerous strategic meetings with Mr Falcke, he was able to program *TweetMiner* to search for the key word/phrases and hashtags mentioned earlier. The following section provides a brief technical explanation about *TweetMiner's* operation specifications. The point of this illustration is twofold; firstly, *Twitter* is promoted as a modern and inclusive public sphere for research, however, tight operational control limits public and data accessibility. Secondly, because of these restrictions, research, incorporating *Twitter* requires collaborations towards finding innovative solutions that will authenticate the ideals of a Habermasian public sphere.

TweetMiner navigates within *Twitter's* API limitations to build a sample-based dataset. Using an explicit list of the 3000 most-followed South African *Twitter* accounts, the system runs daily updates generating over 60 000 new tweets which are added to the over 30 million tweets already captured in the database. The 3000 accounts are curated from other top *Twitter* user accounts, with the system crawling through user lists in adding to its growing list of top accounts for monitoring. The basic criteria used to add accounts to the watch-list are; Firstly, an account must be a known South African, either, through verified celebrity or common knowledge, location, or phases in their description. Secondly, each account should have at least 1000 followers. Corporate accounts are not expressly forbidden but are avoided if possible. Using this collection of tweets, a search engine (currently *Microsoft's SQL Server*

2012) ran scans (incorporating the above-mentioned search criteria) against the database to produce smaller data sets better suited for the qualitative purposes of this study. There are however limitations for *TweetMiner* in producing data sets. Firstly, users who simply read tweets without interacting are not tracked and captured. Therefore, liked tweets and retweets only measure a certain level of activity and may not constitute the full readership or impact of a tweet. Secondly, the methodology of data capture tends to favour those who are the most active or popular on *Twitter*. While this offers an advantage of capturing any mainstream issue being disseminated on the platform, *TweetMiner* will not capture smaller chatter or conversations held in alternative circles. The data is designed to give a snapshot of the daily 'hot topics' and cannot capture every single item. However, with over 20 million Tweets collected a year, it still offers a respectable source of data despite these limitations. This does not present issues of validity for the textual corpus of this research. This study's discourse is about active tweeters, and that means the data captured is from those who spoke out about mall robberies. The following section elaborates on the process involved in refining the raw data into smaller, thematic tweets, focusing solely on Gauteng mall robberies.

Refining Gauteng mall robbery tweets

The systematic steps taken in refining raw data into categorised themes is outlined as follows:

1. Presentation of all raw captured data.
2. Selecting, refining and coding of appropriate data.
3. Thematic categorization.
4. Additional observation.

The raw data captured was organised in two separate sets of tweets; top 3000 South African accounts and, keyword searches (including hashtags) relevant to mall robberies in Gauteng. With the top 3000 accounts being *TweetMiner's* default search setting, they consequently produced data (1493 tweets) related to mall robberies throughout South Africa, but not specific to the established search criteria. This subsequently eliminated them from coding, thematic categorisation and analysis. However, in relation to influence, and, as an insight into South Africa's *Twitter* landscape, these tweets produced an interesting observation, discussed later. The designated search criteria delivered 2850 potentially relevant tweets. Both sets of raw data were imported into *Microsoft Windows Excel*, as this program organises and presents the data in a systematic manner, illustrated (with an example) below in Figure 2.1. This structural layout made refining, coding and thematic categorization more efficient.

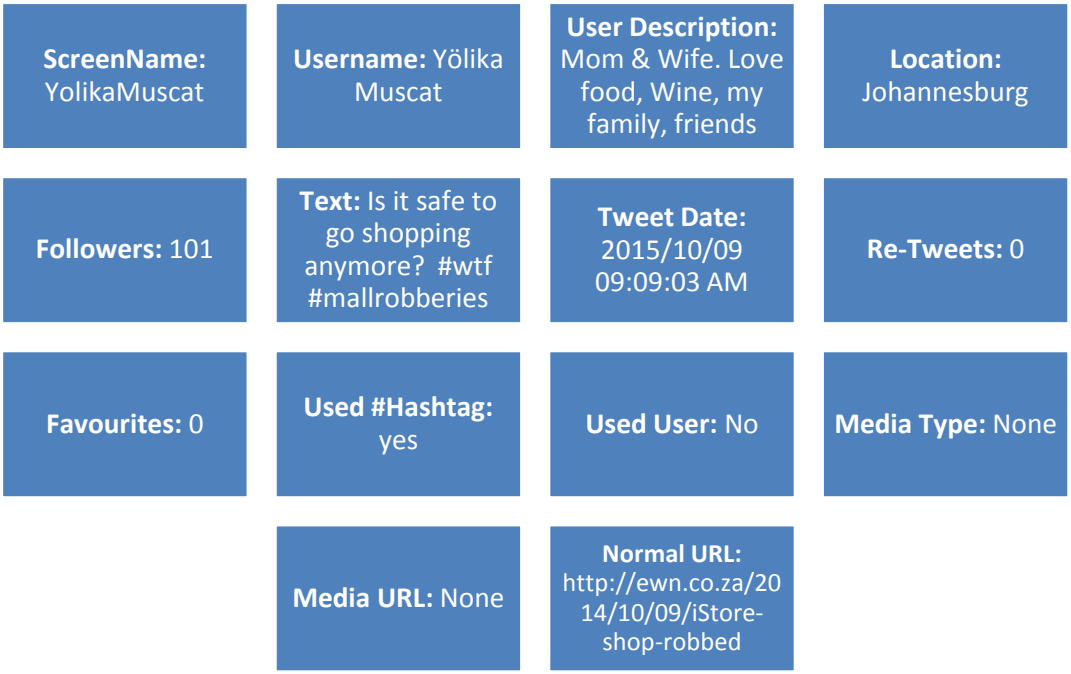


Figure 2.1 Systematic organisation (with example) of tweets imported into *Microsoft Excel*.

With the research question: 'How is public opinion about mall robberies in Gauteng, South Africa represented on *Twitter*?', establishing a refined, workable corpus needed to be focused on individual tweets, and not necessarily those from media institutions and/or community-based organisations. The refining process started by ignoring screen and user names and concentrating on the text of each tweet. This approach was to minimise any pre-disposed biases affected by race, gender or celebrity influence, identifiable by a tweets screen and/or user name. As this study's central focus is on a discourse about mall robberies, it felt it unnecessary to categorise tweets according to race and gender (discussed in more detail later in this chapter). Assigned coding values, discussed later, would then separate and confirm personal tweets from institutional and/or community forums. Identifying relevant tweets were however subjective in two ways: firstly, I intentionally searched for personal, emotional and expressive tweets not using formal journalistic and/or organisational language. Secondly, tweets were also selected based on individuals who spoke from a consumer and/or citizenry perspective. The latter theme was anticipated to be about organisational management, private security and state policing efforts in crime prevention and public safety. The former was about shopping practices disrupted because of intersectional crime at malls.

After identifying the interim tweets, coding values were assigned to each tweets username. This approach was an efficient means of further refining individual tweets posted in a personal capacity, and not on behalf of any institutional and/or community forum. Personal tweets were assigned to the number (1), institutional to the number (2) and community forum to the number (3). For example, names such as John Smith would mark as (1), *Mail and*

Guardian as (2) and *ECsecurity* as (3). Next, the coding system was subjected to cross-checking on an identical data sheet by a third party. The coded data sets were then cross-referenced against each other to ensure a mirrored match. Finally, the coded values were cross-checked against language criteria to ensure that textual tone and style matched the appropriate code number. For example, no (1) would be validated if the text used informal language, such as personal pronouns, slang or abbreviated language, no (2) for formal journalistic style in an objective and factual tone, and no (3) for formal language with corporate, commercial or community forum subject matter. This mode of double blind testing confirmed that the data selected for thematic categorization was coded as no (1) and, collectively represented a public.

The next step towards finalising a thematic corpus for analysis was identifying and categorising repetitive sentiment present within tweets (coded as no.1). Repetitive sentiment differs from multiple appearances of identical tweets and those re-tweeted. This meant selecting tweets talking about the same general topic, but without being carbon copies of each other. However, scholars argue that re-tweeting holds the same conversational sentiment within a public discourse. This form of mediation is 'inextricably tied' to 'supporting and building a community', as re-tweets inhabit the same 'multiplicity of contextual' (Boyd et al., 2010: 7) sentiment. Re-tweeting is often associated with 'certain values that the original' (Suh, 2010:1) text contains. By excluding identical and/or re-tweets, the final number of tweets assigned for thematic categorization came to 547. This number gains significant meaning when considering the value of re-tweets towards principles of sentiment. Between the 547 tweets, there were 514 supportive re-tweets. Figure 2.2 below, visualises the final generalised themes, as well as quantitative numbers of tweets and re-tweets in each general category.

Theme	Number of tweets	Number of re-tweets
1. Public critiques against state and policing efforts in crime prevention.	112	77
2. Concerns about visible mall security ensuring public safety	100	75
3. Social hierarchy established by means of spectacular labelling and shaming	149	179
4. Malls as public/private ideological identity markers		

	54	41
5. Criminal seasonality	16	7
6. The value of malls for consumer culture	23	2
7. Consumer value of crime	39	102
8. Malls and escapism	15	3
9. Mall robberies as an issue of race and class	29	9
10. Online shopping alternatives	10	19

Figure 2.2 Listing of identified themes, as well as, the number of tweets and re-tweets in each category.

These general categorised themes provided the backbone for each section's analysis in chapter 4 and 5. Categories 1, 2 and 3, each, produced two separate sections within chapter 4's, six sections. For example, category 1 had tweets that addressed the state from both a presidential and policing perspective. This subsequently meant investigating these discussions in their own individual section. At the start of each section in, chapters 4 and 5, a table illustrates the number of tweets available for analysis. These tables do not imply that all tweets were incorporated into each sections analysis. They merely provide a quantitative, visual trope, in adding weight and support to the relevance of each theme.[5] If I were to incorporate every single tweet, they would create repetitious cycles of wordiness, and eat away at this study's word count guideline. As argued for re-tweets, these unused numbers in each table section, still provide the same original value towards the tweets analysed.

As mentioned, the top 3000 South African *Twitter* accounts produced an interesting observation in terms of influence. An account's followed numbers predominately determines degrees of influence on *Twitter*. Influencers are 'individuals, organisations and institutions that disproportionately impact the spread of information or some related behaviour or interest' (Bakshy et al., 2011: 2). In South Africa, for example, media personality and political analyst *Max du Preez* and media institution *Carte Blanche*, sequentially have more than 120 000 and 190 000 followers. These numbers pale in comparison to local/international comedic celebrity *Trevor Noah*, with over 4 million local and international followers. However, media personalities and institutions still form a large percentage of the top 3000 followed South African *Twitter* accounts. This general indicator, as a benefit for this study, suggests that South Africans have higher degrees of interest towards engaging with social, political, cultural and economic issues, over entrainment stories. The following section

[5] See Appendix B-K for full transcripts of tweets categorised in figure 2. 2.

establishes a qualitative research approach as the appropriate method needed for this study's discourse and multimodal analysis of data.

Conversations and comments: Method of analysis

This section conveys a methodological approach for analysing public conversations on *Twitter* about mall robberies. The discussion starts by outlining a qualitative method best suited for textual interpretation and not statistical quantification. The progression of this section then integrates qualitative methods with a bilateral analytical approach. Discourse analysis discursively interprets textual representations, in light of how power and ideology resist and/or appropriate societal norms and values. Multimodality accounts for textual units and their semiotic connotations in producing whole tweets analysed, interpreted and given representative meaning through discourse analysis. The main objective of these methods is to deconstruct the ordinary, everyday language of shoppers into meaningful narratives about the effects that mall robberies have on South Africa's middle-class consumer.

Qualitative research: An approach for interpreting tweets

Qualitative research gives interpretive meaning to 'data typically not given numerical values' (Stokes 2003: 18). Instead, meaning is constructed in and around 'everyday social' (Ball and Smith, 1992: 6; Bryman, 2004), interactions towards uncovering deeper ideological values embedded within society. Qualitative methodology is based 'explicitly or implicitly on set theory and logic' (Goertz and Mahoney, 2012: 17) in approaching 'interpretive forms of inquiry' (Jankowski and Wester, 2002: 44). The objective is to give a meaningful analysis of 'social and cultural processes' (Jensen, 2002: 1) classified in the realm of the ordinary. Qualitative work establishes avenues of 'thoughtful awareness' (Green, 2002: 216) whereby contextual representations are explored, interpreted and given meaning for a public audience. This is achieved by 'identifying, developing and relating' (Corbin and Strauss, 2014: 10) concepts that seems at first glance have no connection to each other. Qualitative representation goes beyond the 'operationalization of systematic categorization and scales' (Morley and Silverstone, 2002: 150) of normative behaviours and practices (Jensen, 2002). It identifies critical issues disguised as ordinary conversations about 'news, culture and society' (Tuchman, 2002: 83).

Public tweets about mall robberies produce a discourse describing more than just threatening circumstances. They reveal an interwoven relationship shoppers have towards malls and consumer culture. These narratives are 'complex and indeterminate', saturated with subjective emotions and opinions 'historically determined' (Larsen, 2002: 123) by ideological predispositions. Issues of subjectivity in qualitative research are not only limited to the subject matter but towards analysis as well. Tweets are often narrated in an arbitrary

manner and authentic interpretation has the potential to be clouded by personal experience and/or opinion (Ball and Smith, 1992). For this reason, issues of subjectivity are supported from Papacharissi's (2015) theoretical perspective of affective attunement, which assists as a qualitative tool in distinguishing 'fact from emotional opinion' (Papacharissi, 2015: 131), towards uncovering tangible truths embedded within public storytelling. Affective attunement allows the principles of discourse analysis (discussed later), to interpret the 'imagined and enhanced' (Papacharissi, 2015: 4) criminal threats at malls through the narratives shoppers produce. This approach 'permits people to feel' as they 'locate their place' (Papacharissi, 2015: 93) within a collectively illustrated picture. Affective attunement further supports 'public networks as discursively connected'(Papacharissi, 2015: 5) illustrations about social reality. This qualitative approach supports authenticity in the meaning making of subjective tweets, by means of the following interpretive guidelines: 'appropriateness, intuitiveness, receptivity, reciprocity and sensitivity' (Corbin and Strauss, 2014: 6). These principles allow meaning making that is 'selective and interpretive' as opposed to an analysis that is 'exhaustive and objective' (Edwards, 2001: 321). A further area where qualitative work has a valued, dependent relationship between researcher and subject matter is through personal participation. Qualitative methods are referred to as 'participatory research' (Jankowski, 2002: 166), as there is not always direct access into an individuals world, but rather, representations of their lived experience (Newcomb, 2002). Qualitative interpretations are, therefore, both representational and reflective.

Within the corpus I selected for thematic analysis, there was material objectively neutral from emotion and opinion. These tweets were mainly flashpoints from mainstream news media and select individuals re-phrasing news headlines. This study is interested in public opinion as a social discourse on *Twitter* about mall robberies. This inevitably meant navigating in and around emotional opinions in process of meaning making. When implementing initial coding determining personal tweets, the allocation was about the social content narrated from a position of emotion and opinion. The key to successfully analysing these tweets sentiment, as a researcher, meant being self-aware towards sensitive material that could antagonise and/or unhinge existing social tensions within a South African context. The following section addresses ethical considerations about the manner in which this study illustrates and engages with the representation of tweets publicised in *Twitters* public domain.

Ethical considerations: Researching private lives in a public domain

All the tweets illustrated in chapters 3, 4 and 5 were sourced from user accounts made visible within *Twitter's* public domain. The *Association of Internet Researchers* (AOIR) attempts to address protocols about the ambiguous challenges that arise when it comes to issues of privacy and anonymity involving publically sourced material. Although the tweets in this study 'operate in a public space', the identities of the authors' publishing them may want to maintain certain 'expectations of privacy' (Markham and Buchanan, 2012: 6). To date, there

are no universally definitive answers about how to approach this range of 'dialectical tensions' (Markham and Buchanan, 2012: 7). What is on offer is a set of key guiding principles that are 'fundamental to an ethical approach to internet research' (Markham and Buchanan, 2012: 4). These principles address questions about the publicness of people and their potential vulnerabilities towards being harmed (Markham and Buchanan, 2012). Because this study conducted research on digital narratives and not physical 'human subjects', the guidelines for addressing author privacy and anonymity suggests that these ethical tensions are best 'approached through the application' (Markham and Buchanan, 2012: 4) of phronesis.

In the quest to accommodate the authors' rights to privacy and anonymity, while simultaneously attempting to preserve data authenticity and coding simplicity, each tweet used in this study is referenced according to the author's user handle as opposed to their screen name. For example, my identity screen name on *Twitter* is Sean Thurtell, while my user handle is @KalELThurtell. As illustrated above in figure 2.1, there are occasions where a user's screen name and user handle are the same and/or similar in identity. In such instances where these authors' are potentially identifiable and at risk, this paper argues that these authors' voluntarily and consciously published their tweets prior to appearing in this paper.

On the issue of omitting gender from the data's coding system, this decision was made based on the potential for gender bias skewing the validity of a tweets narrative. The same applied for coding tweets according to race in terms of an author's ethnicity. Although this study does address thematic issues of race, it does so within a broader social context alongside issues of class. A final consideration about referencing only the authors' user handle, is that this study fundamentally seeks to understand the lived experiences of people and their opinions about mall robberies. This study does not want to devalue the authenticity of the tweets by substituting a user handle with a pseudonym, as these voices are the central component driving this study.

Before concluding this section, it needs to be noted that within this study's allocated period (2014-2015), graphic images attached to certain tweets were also captured. Although visual imagery has its place within this study's theoretical scope (discussed later in this chapter), for ethical and inhumane reasons, it was decided to omit using these disturbing images as visual flashpoints. However, discussions surrounding these graphic images (specifically dead bodies on public display) were still crucial towards this study's overall analytical context. At the risk of raising red flags, and as a means of respect towards the loss of life so callously flaunted on *Twitter*, the ethical decision was made to rather give a brief, written description of these images. The following sections motivate discourse and multimodal methods as the appropriate tools for a qualitative analysis of this study's thematic narratives.

Discourse analysis: Representation and meaning about crime talk

'Social research does not exist in a bubble' (Bryman, 2004: 4), therefore, the application of qualitative research methodology combines different versions of how society is structured. Discourse analysis facilitates meaning making through 'representations of the world from particular perspectives' (Fairclough, 2003: 129). Understanding social order through discourse is fundamentally about exploring power and ideology, best theorised by Norman Fairclough.

> Theorisation of power as in part of 'ideological discoursal', power is to shape orders of discourse, to order discursive practices in dominance. Even casual conversation has its conditions of possibility within relations of ideological/ discoursal power (Fairclough, 1995: 24).

The concepts of power and ideology are broad and need contextual relevance for this study. 'Discourse is shaped by tensions between public sources and private targets' (van Dijk, 2001: 353), by means of 'interrogating the nature of power relations' (Nikander, 2006: 6) displayed through public action, and in so, reveal dominant social structures (Deacon, 1999). These structures, 'are themselves also constructed and maintained' (Herring, 2001: 624) through discourse. This study is interested in how shoppers as a public, challenge and/or resist social, institutional, and governmental power structures when discussing mall robberies. These textual representations perpetuate social hierarchy, by means of 'who speaks about what and when' (Ainsworth-Vaughn, 2001: 454). Societal structures and power relations are not always consciously visible. They often adopt ideological 'systems of belief, values and attitudes' (Logan, 2014: 2-3), constructing everyday practice. Ideology becomes 'naturalised and/or automatized' (Fairclough, 1995: 76) in reproducing communities' 'political, economic, social and cultural interests' (Logan, 2014: 2-3). These actions, when practised, place more emphasis on 'social effects, than truth-values' (Fairclough, 1995: 76) affecting society. In chapters 4 and 5, the represented tweets clearly articulate how shoppers feel about mall robberies affecting their ideological construction of consumer practices.

Ideology, not only encompasses societal values, it also has a 'material component' (Logan, 2014: 2-3) that shapes the actions and beliefs of people. Malls are used as a 'social and interactional constructed space', whereby social power 'creates and perpetuates' (Johnston, 2001: 644) dominant consumer ideologies exasperated by the threat of criminal intersectionality. Understanding these hegemonic practices means incorporating 'an array of rhetorical strategies and practices' (Logan, 2014: 2-3). Discourse analysis allows for translating everyday public dialects into a more meaningful language (Ruddock, 2001). The textual corpus of this study was intentionally selected to be about the 'things of this world, objects and events' (Ruddock 2011: 17), more specifically, public opinion about malls and crime.

Interpreting meaning about mall robbery tweets using discourse analysis requires a conceptual approach. Discourse analysis 'connects meaning and language about society and culture' (Gunter, 2000: 88), by focusing on 'underlying power relations and ideological

positions' (Hall, 1997: 15). The secret to producing a meaningful discourse is that the analysis needs presenting 'in such a way that any reasonable person would agree with the findings, based on the evidence presented' (Stokes, 2004: 19). This is achieved by denaturalizing ideological constructions of power and social relations, mediated from within 'societal and cultural divisions' (Deacon, 1999: 60) on the one hand, and 'language and text' (Fairclough, 1995:27) on the other. The 'key challenge of meaning making', is to identify areas of social stability to which the public respond, and in so, 'shape and challenge power of context' (Olshtain and Celce-Murcia, 2001: 707). Through discourse analysis, represented criminality 'manifests discursively' by means of 'social and ideological practice' (Wodak and Reisigl, 2001: 372). These 'multi-dimensional aspects', as opposed to an 'inventory of forms', when analysed, unveil a 'network of associations' (Dubois and Sankoff, 2001: 284) in representing mall robberies' discourse narrative. Analysing this study's discourse is not about providing information explaining mall robberies 'state of affair' (Polanyi, 2001: 267), but rather, how consumers create social meaning through representation. By means of everyday language, this study integrates discourse analysis as a means to, deconstruct 'factors of context' in determining shoppers 'social position, and/or emotional involvement' (Cook-Gumperz and Kyrazis, 2001: 593) about how mall robberies disrupt and/or threaten their consumer practices. These discursive, 'verbal strategies' (Gumperz and Kyrazis, 2001: 593) produce a deeper, socially pragmatic understanding about ideological power structures embedded within a South African consumer culture.

Creating meaning through discursive analysis about mall robbery tweets starts with how consumers initially respond to criminal intersectionality at malls. Achieving this means connecting tweets to broader relational contexts, maintained and recreated through ideological and power structures within society (Blakemore, 2001). Discourse analysis assumes that initial public responses are formulated upon pre-existing constructed knowledge, based on the principles of a democratic society (Clark and Van Der Wege, 2001). In essence, shoppers describe their feelings, thoughts and experiences about mall robberies from ideological positions and power structures. 'Power and domination are important considerations' (Grimshaw, 2001: 754) in all forms of public talk, as an ideology, is a structure of the property, action and event (Fairclough, 1995). Analysing mall robbery tweets gives insight about 'the production and reproduction of social order' (Heller, 2001: 258). This allows interpretations for how shoppers actively appropriate and/or resist ideological power structures through crime talk, as well as, how these structures guide their talk (Cotter, 2001).

The value of a public discourse is that their narratives are measured against the 'opinions of peers and friends' rather than, 'by influentials' (Cha et al., 2010: 11). Today, in an urban modernity, 'person perception' and experience, is far more important in public decisions and interactions, than those in authority, who often come across as distant and impersonal towards everyday 'real world' (Zhao and Rosson, 2009: 244) experiences. Public talk in this study is a 'perfect reflection' (Gerbaudo, 2012: 12) of individual expression engaging with others in a contemporary setting. Malls further produce an 'institutional engaging discourse'

(Linde, 2001: 520) by means of citizenry, consumer and institutional contact. As a public, shoppers use this 'social and interactional constructed space', to 'exercise, contest and maintain social and ideological power' (Kakavá, 2001: 662). The advantage in producing a textual corpus for analysis about mall robberies on *Twitter* is that the 'community of users' creates social structures 'exclusively out of words' (Herring, 2001: 624). This means shoppers are non-reliant in having to be present in a particular geographical space and time when tweeting about these crimes. The following section provides a method of support for analysing tweets incorporating multi-media elements.

Multimodality: Visual narratives of meaning

Meaning making from discursive narratives incorporating semiotic elements require integration of multimodal methods within discourse analysis (Deacon, 1999). Linguistic analysis (an integral component of discourse), assists in decoding words through modes of pragmatic syntax [hybridity]; the study of how words are formed and put together in order to create collective meaning (Kress, 2010; Gunter, 2000). Multimodal analysis incorporates semiotic concepts to produce textual meaning within a discourse. Multimodality is:

> the processes of meaning making of signs in social environments; about the resources of making meaning and their respective potentials as signifiers in the making of signs-as-metaphors; about the meaning potentials of cultural/semiotic forms. Multimodality can describe and analyse all signs in all modes as well as their interrelation to any one text (Kress, 2010: 59).

By living in an urban modernity, social media has become an integrative tool in documenting everyday activities (Lim-Fei, 2004). Combined semiotic resources, 'often accompany and support the linguistic' (Lim-Fei, 2004: 220) narrative established within social media. Multimodality supports this study in two ways: firstly, as an assisted extension to discourse analysis. Secondly, it demonstrates how signs are 'built up as a series of functional units' (Baldry, 2004: 84) in process of meaning making. Multimodality is 'descriptive in its explanatory' (Snoek, Worring and Smeulders, 2005: 2) application, while discourse analysis 'seeks to discover' (Harshman, 1970: 5) holistic fusion of meaning.

Twitter is a multimedia network incorporating different semiotic resources such as audio, video and hyperlinks. For this study, images found in some tweets, assist as visual flashpoints used for added meaning in the discourse. These images also provide depth towards visually representing poignant discussions about criminality within malls as space of appearance (Kah-Meng, 2004). Linguistic analysis does not always 'visually map' (O' Halloran, 2004: 113) sequential choices or actionable continuity of discursive narratives. Multimodality visualises 'sites of display' (Jones, 2009: 114) in space of appearance, while discourse analysis generates interactional meaning about the public space of malls. Multimodality configures shoppers as 'social actors' within space of appearance, by visualising the criminal 'spectacle' for others to engage with as a 'social unit' (Jones, 2009: 114). This is achieved by

deploying a range of ‘semiotic resources in addition to natural language’ (Guo, 2004: 198). The spectacle of mall robberies influences the represented modality of ‘space and architecture’ (O’ Halloran, 2004: 1) towards formulating the linguistic interpretation decoded by discourse analysis (Bouissac, 2012). In essence, multimodality addresses physical and integrative media modes in their individual semiotic representation, while discourse analysis makes meaning about the complete text (Knight, 2011). The interpretive meaning of these tweets is cemented by the literature and ‘theoretical perspectives’ (Alias, 2004: 56) outlined in this chapter and the previous. What follows next in chapters 3 and 4, is an analysis of various themes uncovered within the data captured.

3. Bloodshed and Fear: Discursive Themes Relating to Security, the State and Equality.

The thematic analysis of this chapter is organised into six sections. In section one: *Shopping is dangerous: Criminal violence, trauma and panic*, addresses feelings and emotions about South African mall robberies. These reactions tended towards hysterical expressions of threat and danger concerning shopper safety and civil order. The authors of these tweets extended their feelings into the realm of metaphorical allegories, revealing how anxieties about mall robberies impinged on their shopping experiences. In section two: *Safe, shopping is a necessity: The meaning of security*, the patrons in discussion challenged mall security as a failed system in keeping them safe and secure from outsiders attempting to disrupt their self-entitled time spent at malls. These authors placed more emphasis on needing visible mall security to defend their believed *right* to shop, than needing actual physical protection. In section three: *Mall robberies are the President's fault: Politicising the issue*, citizenry perspectives took a political stance in voicing their opinions about mall safety. These tweets expressed feelings of disillusionment towards the various state apparatus not appearing visibly active in preventing mall robberies. This outlook resulted in heightened concerns towards civilian chaos. These feelings of regression, as a final cry for someone to do something, produced narratives calling for a militarised state of martial law. In section four: *Policing mall robberies: Polarising views*, the cosmopolites polarised policing efficiencies towards crime prevention at malls. Pessimistic tweets rebuked state administrative inefficiencies towards successful, crime preventative protocols. Decisive police intervention produced appraised scripting from a racist and inhumane perspective. These tweets spectacularize the loss of human life as something to be celebrated. This unconstitutional stance devalues human life and places these authors in danger of criminal prosecution. In section five: *Us vs. them: Blood and innocence,* attitudes of hate speech continued to charge racist and inhumane talk about criminal deviancies. This populace assumptively took the moral high ground by positioning all shoppers as innocent, law-abiding citizens, while, simultaneously casting racist and inhumane labels onto criminals as a means of justifying their own prejudice towards *others*. Section six: *Ebony and ivory not in perfect harmony: Racism, class and xenophobia,* discusses how talking about mall robberies diverged into racist issues of class and xenophobia. As a discourse of select middle-class, alt-right consumers, this chapter highlights immense disparities towards arguments suggesting that as a South African society, we have comprehensively come to embrace a progressive constitution striving for equality, transformation, and reconciliation through the symbolic practice of shopping.

Shopping is dangerous: Criminal violence, trauma and panic

'Gunshots! People Screaming! Running for cover! People wounded! Gun on the floor! #BedfordCenter' (@SheriShaz, 2016/01/29).

Keywords	Tweets	Re-Tweets
Scared, fear, danger	104	113

Figure 3.1 Illustrates a number of tweets captured bearing keyword classifications and sentiments relating to criminal violence, trauma and panic. These numbers do not indicate a number of tweets used in this section, as they are merely in support the thematic weight for this section. Refer to Chapter 2: *Searching for mall robbery tweets*, for more information about selected numbers and appropriate use in each section.

This section articulates descriptive tweets by individuals concerned about the threat and/or experience of mall robberies. These representations are organised into two stages. Firstly, discursive expressions about feeling at risk concerning violent, armed robberies, establishes this study's subjective undercurrent towards interpreting the thematic narratives in this chapter and the next. Secondly, metaphorical illustrations re-emphasise the social condition of this study's audience as a public, and about how armed robberies impinge on their shopping practices. Crime talk throughout this chapter and the latter subjugates these emotional narratives as social mechanisms transmitted through wider 'control systems' (Cohen, 2002: 76) of indoctrinated moral hysteria. In its peak, moral hysteria often blurs contextual distinctions resulting in talk that is 'more receptive' (Cohen, 2002: 58) towards preposterous expressions about criminality. In these heightened moments, expressions of anarchy and death often supersede rational thought. For example, 'Incidents of armed robberies can remind you how easy it is to die in this country. Just like that!' (@Just_Mingus, 2015/01/29). '#MallRobberies South Africans are more at risk of dying through violent crime than natural deaths. Criminals have taken over' (@sibilanga99, 2015/09/21). These examples convey insights about the 'general mood and state' (Hester and Eglin, 1992: 2) of these authors, which are elicited from social and institutional, hegemonic structures (Fairclough, 1995). Although emotional expressions are subjective, they are by no means trivial. These individual modes of talking connect to circumstantial and pervasive 'risk-thinking' (Lash, 2005: 48) which socially embodies the emotions expressed throughout this study.

Emotional expressions of 'content meaning', essentially perpetuates towards 'referential meaning' (Maschler and Schiffrin, 2015: 193), which manifests discursively as moral hysteria. By 'explicitly representing' (Maschler and Schiffrin, 2015: 193) a particular psyche about the effects of mall robberies, these narratives become fluid. They flow via multiple channels from 'describing' feelings, to 'depicting' (Chafe, 2015: 391) the consequential attitudes and actions resulting from these feelings. This approach allows these representatives to establish their 'identity, status, and authority' (Marin, Zhang and Ostendorf, 2011: 39) as a community who are resisting deviant offenders. Increased criminal activity, perpetuated by

the threat of danger, sequentially fuels heightened feelings of 'moral hysteria' (Hunt, 1997: 637). The following tweets in question used expletive and apprehensive language as a 'tool for packaging information' (Mithun, 2015: 12) that illustrates the general hysterical sentiments throughout this chapter and the next:

'Okay, so WTF?! Shit is scary now… #BedfordCentre' (@Iam_Sthe, 2015/09/21). '#BedfordCentreShooting my daughter works at *Bedford Centre*. She says it has been terrifying. Wish we could live in peace' (@Libby_Vermeulen, 2015/01/29). The natural reaction in these periods of moral panic perpetuated by 'situations of physical threat' (Cohen, 2002: 85) often results in talk of avoidance. '#BedfordCenterShooting a bit scared of malls now. So tragic that we have to live with this crime' (@TheGiftofJoy, 2015/01/29). 'I'm actually scared to go to the Mall of the South now since there was a shooting there'(@JoziLamala, 2015/10/17). 'Sorry CT, I take it back… gangsters paradise living up to its name again today. Guess I won't be doing much shopping…#mallrobberies' (@madly_Michelle, 2014/10/17). The language and grammar used here are critical in understanding the expressional, and at times, irrational influence of moral panic. The use of the expletive words 'Shit' and 'WTF'(What the Fuck), along with apprehensions such as, 'terrifying' and 'scared', emphasise personal feelings structured around a heightened sense of frenzy. 'Fears and concerns' underpinned by moral panic, are 'part and parcel of the human condition' (Hunt, 1997: 633) however; these narratives are expedited by general attitudes towards South Africa's socio-political condition. As will be illustrated throughout this chapter and the latter, this climate is unequally represented and lacking in social responsibility towards defeating criminality through practices affirming the right to equality. This represented audience is primarily self-centered and emulates conservative, right-wing attitudes towards criminals, which at times, are racist and dehumanising. These authors ultimately believe that their perceived right to safe shopping is a constitutional mandate, regardless of the fact that these attitudes are exclusively naive.

More than fear and anxiety, the regularity of mall robberies produced attitudes of criminal expectancy. 'Oh well, why not? Only another armed robbery, a day in the life…' (@helenketting, 2015/01/29). 'And we made #SkyNews with #BedfordCentreShooting, and we were just #happy to have a #loadshedding free day. #tryingtostaypositive' (@MrsAssad1, 2015/01/29). '#mallrobberies, killing and robbing #bafana players. All in a day's work #SouthAfrica #crime' (@luckylukell, 2014/11/06). These examples illustrate how moral panic exposed in its various subversive forms, not only becomes 'normative' (Garland, 2008: 13), but can also lead to purportedly deeper social effects, such as desensitisation. 'We are so desensitised to a crime that seeing dead people and AK47's have just become the norm #BedfordCenterShooting #Bedford' (@ Ridaaaz, 2015/01/29). 'It's sad I'm not shocked. #BedfordCenter has been hit before and so has Eastgate. It hasn't been safe for years.

It could happen anywhere' (@ThatDarnKitteh, 2015/01/29). These tweets were in response to an image that was circulated (which is too graphic and inhumane to include), showing the back of an injured or deceased man lying bleeding on the floor. In the background of the

image are people who appear to be going about their daily shopping activities, as if nothing has happened.

This image is a poignant flash point in representing the humanitarian attitudes of this study's audience. As will become evident, these participants subjugate the right to shop above all else, even human life. For these shoppers, it does not matter that this bleeding man symbolically has no face, nor an identity. What matters for them is that malls remain open and exclusively safe for the business of shopping. This form of desensitisation is what should be alarming for these individuals, more than the display of graphic images. This is not to say that all South Africans have become desensitised to violent and inhumane spectacles of crime. Often, sensational images of spectatorship, appeal to a broader moral 'imagination and concern' (Garland, 2008: 15). For example, and in response to the image described, @JLHLIFE2 (2015/09/21) says; 'The lack of ethics of the pics being posted of the perps and victims in today's Bedford Centre shooting, astounds me'. This form of talk is unfortunately rare, but not entirely ethical in its approach. By colloquially referring to the bleeding man as a 'perp' and not the perpetrator, and by assuming that all shoppers are innocent, devalues the humanitarian sentiment of this narrative. Needless to say, constant exposure to 'risk culture' (Adam and Van Loon, 2005: 2), generally produces immediate responses without considering any broader, sociological implications. Desensitisation results from 'psychological costs' resulting in 'changes of personal habits and attitudes' as a means of 'personal protection' (Brown, 2001: 270, 277). What this study illustrates, is that this represented audience are more desensitised to the humanitarian effects that mall robberies should have over their attitudes towards shopping, than their actual feelings of desensitisation towards the threat of violence. These sentiments are explored at greater length later on in this chapter.

Fuelled by 'uncertainty, contingency, complexity, fragmentation and turbulence' (Adam and Van Loon, 2005: 2, 5) about mall robberies, individuals adopted metaphorical representations as a means of continued emotional expression. For example, @SparkBunny (2015/02/01) says, 'After the #BedfordCenterShooting my business partner and I witnessed, the saying 'shop till you drop' has a whole new meaning'. This tweets idiomatic representation as a 'structural abstraction' inadvertently operationalises this authors 'beliefs and values' (Gumperz, 2015: 309) towards shopping. As long as crime intersects malls, it threatens to disrupt the ideological normalities of the above-mentioned shopping perspectives. By making light of the immensity towards criminal violence, this tweet continues with insensitive sentiments towards valuing shopping over any humanitarian and social responsibility. Shopping at malls predominately centres on fashion as a means of constructing consumer identity. 'I will not be going to any South African mall until I can afford a bulletproof vest ☹ #BedfordCenter! It's safer in Taverns' (@That_Damn_Vuyo, 2015/01/29). By representation, bulletproof vests exemplify the dangers of mall robberies and the need for personal protection. Metaphorically speaking, they symbolise the appropriation of normative consumer identities and behaviours. Clothing stores exclude bulletproof vests as fashion items, and in the same fashion, criminals are excluded from malls. This illustration

symbolically represents a resistance towards social and economic inclusivity. This individual, as with those mentioned, is more disturbed by not being able to shop, than about South Africa's socio-economic landscape, which arguably drives these criminal actions.

The materiality of consumer goods as an expressive metaphorical representation towards South Africa's socio-economic disparities extends further when illustrated by @miriammannak (2015/01/29) who says, 'It irks me that the shooting at *Bedford Centre* is described as an 'incident' as if it concerns someone knocking over a vase of flowers'. This perspective draws attention to the fact that mall robberies represent more than just attacks on malls. The brokenness of the vase as a critique towards the severity of violent crime symbolically extends further into the realm of consumer culture as a practice that 'aestheticizes everyday life' (Kenway and Bullen, 2008: 18). This metaphor sets up 'polemical antagonisms' (Chouliaraki, 2008: 844) between opposing forces, by drawing attention to a fractured society displaced by social and economic differences.

Metaphors of light and darkness as a visual cue in expressing feelings about mall robberies, and as a symbolic representation towards South Africa's social condition, is illustrated by @FundiswaMbuqe (2014/12/08) who says, 'Fourways mall is so dark. It's like an armed robbery could ensue #Loadshedding'. The 'physical environment of a mall' directly assists in shaping the 'emotional responses of shoppers' (Wakefield and Barker, 1998: 207). Lighting is a key feature in creating a pleasant ambient mood where shoppers feel relaxed and forget about the goings on in the real world (Dennis et al., 2010). The significance of this example is that the darkness of the mall, immediately evoked feelings of danger and anxiety, whereby, the manner in which this study's audience responds to crime, casts the 'darkest shadow' (Nuttall and Mbembé, 2007: 283) towards restoration, transformation and equality as a South African society. This illustration also sets the mood for some of the sensitive material discussed in this chapter and the next. The following sections progress away from focusing primarily on the semantics of lexical grammar, and metaphorical allegories, by adopting a meta-functional analysis of the presented themes. Followed next, tweets focusing on the efficiencies of mall security in keeping shoppers safe are scrutinised. This discussion reveals a discourse that symbolically positions the boundaries of mall security, as a means of defending the right to shop by appropriating exclusivity above social equality.

Safe shopping is a necessity: The meaning of security

'#MallRobberies The spates of crimes show we don't have proper security in malls' (@yayahhlats, 2015/09/05). 'It's not even safe to go to the mall….' (@Trek2200, 2015/10/13).

Keywords	Tweets	Re-Tweets
Safety, Security	100	75

Figure 3.2 Illustrates a number of tweets captured bearing keyword classifications and sentiments relating to shopper safety and security. These numbers do not indicate a number of tweets used in this section, as they are merely in support the thematic weight for this section. Refer to Chapter 2: *Searching for mall robbery tweets*, for more information about selected numbers and appropriate use in each section.

One of the main marketable features in attracting shoppers to malls is 'carefully orchestrated' security designed to keep patrons' (Salcedo, 2003: 1088) safe while they shop. This section enunciates tweets about mall goers feeling at risk from outsiders, threatening their believed *right* for safe, undisrupted shopping practices. These shoppers believe that tighter security measures are the solution towards curbing criminal actions. They predictably deny mall robberies as a social commentary, that 'paints a picture' (Kent, Sommerfeldt and Saffer, 2016: 8) of social inequalities still present within post-apartheid South Africa: 'There have been numerous #mallrobberies. Why has mall security not been beefed up? Have not heard anything about the safety measures taken!' (@merlynn_marion, 2014/09/19). 'Your will power to keep criminals out of your property must be greater than that of the criminal. '#BedfordCentre we need to tighten our security @StandardBankZA to ensure that our customers are safe across all the Branch network!' (@Tbg612, 2015/01/29). '#MalloftheSouth must be boycotted until they install cameras and have security in the parking area' (@alter_e, 2015/11/15). 'Pics of Bedford Centre Shooting are graphic. Only go to the Trending timeline if you don't mind blood. These malls need better security' (@GlennRunn, 2015/01/29). 'Mall property owners in SA can afford to x2 their security. If you have 36 guards… get 72! And not change anything else. #MallRobberies' (@RabinHarduth, 2014/09/09). 'This was waiting to happen… There is no visible security in the entire mall. #mallofthesouth' (@li3zel, 2015/10/12). 'But how can you put a jewellery store so close to the mall with no security? #MallOfTheSouth' (@Kego_S, 2015/10/12). 'Maybe if malls use biometric systems or more cops just like in the UK #Mallrobberies' (@khanya7, 2014/09/21). 'Why are ALL malls not gun-free zones, with manned security checks at every entrance, like #Montecasino? #BedfordCenre #BedfordShooting' (@PaulaGruben, 2015/01/29). '#MaponyaMallRobbery as they proceeded, they realised there more security inside and started to flee. '#MallRobberies What about big steel doors that drop down and put the mall in lock down, most malls have a couple of glass doors' (@dgtager, 2014/09/21). Opinions about inefficient mall security, inevitably lead to feelings of fear and

anxiety. By tweeting in this state, these shoppers open a gateway through which they 'transmit' an abbreviated 'version of the world outside' (McCombs and Gau, 2014: 251), a dangerous world, where even malls no longer provide sanctuary:

'#BedfordCentreshooting this place is crazy. Not safe. Scary' (@dmunu, 2015/01/29). 'Shooting at Northgate mall! How safe are our malls? (@ECSecurity, 2014/03/13). '#MallRobberies Think to yourself, where in South Africa do you actually feel safe without being worried about your safety? (@Pedro_Gemelgo, 2014/09/21). 'I'm unable with the escalating crime in South Africa. One has to now think twice about going to the Mall. Yho #BedfordCentreShooting' (@BeastyZA, 2015/01/29). 'We design malls badly. Yes we have to balance convenience VS. Safety but we have too many entrances and tenant mix is NB. #Mallrobberies' (@RabinHarduth, 2014/09/09). '#Clearwatermall #secondbombthreat wonder wats wrong with this mall #notsafe anymore' (@sgpobzar, 2015/04/24). Still not safe' (@K_anye, 2014/12/17). 'Whoa! #BedfordCentreShooting eish crime is really getting out of hand, there is nowhere to hide' (@kingtdm, 2015/01/29). 'The #BedfordCentreShooting is yet more proof that crime is out of control and no1 is safe anywhere or at any time!!!! #crythebelovedcountry' (@DennylListon, 201501/29). 'What happened in #BedfordCentre didn't surprise me. Public spaces in #Johannesburg are soft targets' (@margiedgarder, 2015/01/29). 'The day shopping malls became the most unsafe and we walked safely in downtown Johannesburg. #MallRobberies' (@SibekoBontie, 2014/10/17).

An obvious observation about these tweets indicates how shoppers appropriate the enforcement of mall security as the *safe* solution in preventing armed robberies. Security as a construct merely addresses the symptoms and not the root cause of most crimes, not just those involving property. As argued, this study is not attempting to make definitive claims about the causality of mall robberies. This study is observing as a means to illustrate, how mall robberies are socially complex in character, and not simply solvable by efficient security measures. These tweets reveal a sense of self-entitlement by the authors towards malls as a *rite of passage*. They believe that safe, undisrupted shopping should take precedence over seeking to engage with important social issues raised by these disturbances. Needing security in the first place should raise alarm bells that society is ill, and simply trying to plaster the wound, will not stop the infection from spreading. To understand this argument, it is necessary to recognise the occupational implications that mall security has towards symbolising restrictive, social control.

The functional layout of malls incorporating elements of visible security and surveillance within its structural design enforces 'considerable control' over shopping 'routines, experiences' (Mayr, 2015: 755) and practices. By being privately owned, this 'bureaucratic system of rules' (Mayar, 2015: 758), shape public order through restraint, resulting in restrictive degrees of individual or group agency. As a public space, shoppers adopt malls as 'territories of the self', wherein, they feel entitled to make claims against any 'external interference' (Machin and Meghir, 2004: 314) causing them to feel unsettled, and/or disrupt

their shopping experience. Shoppers evaluated mall robberies according to a distinctive set of consumer 'values, beliefs, expectations and behaviours' (Jackson et al., 2011: 2). At the top of this list is mall atmospherics, orchestrated to produce tranquil environments that minimise any disruptive, and/or threatening circumstances towards pleasurable, consumer experiences (Massicotte et al., 2011). Increasing visible security might make more sense from a safety perspective. However, 'crime prevention through environmental design' (Ekblom, 1995: 117), creates a conundrum for mall atmospherics towards finding an acceptable balance, whereby, security can be effective without being obtrusive. To illustrate this point, I draw attention to *Clearwater* Mall, located West of Johannesburg, Gauteng. After a bomb threat and later, a foiled armed robbery, both taking place in 2015, petitions were made for security upgrades. 'A man has been killed and 4 others injured in a shootout a few minutes ago. @clearwatermall management pls beef up security. #Clearwatermall' (@msizi_myeza, 2015/09/01). Subsequent security improvements, as illustrated in Figure 3.3, implemented a double-delayed boom system to control access for vehicles entering and, exiting the premises. These upgrades to an existing system, are minimally intrusive as shoppers are accustomed to these 'landmarks' and their 'interactions with them' (Clark and Van Der Wege, 2015: 408). What is an additional feature not experienced before, is a visible manned presence at each access point. The security personnel, however, creates an immediate awareness that on entering the premises, you are under constant surveillance (James, 2014). This awareness can have polarising effects towards driving the 'intensity of emotions' (Papacharissi, 2015: 15) felt, as both, reassuring and simultaneously unsettling. Research reveals that increasing security and surveillance can have similar anxieties, that, the threats of crime entice (Shaftoe 2008). The constructs of security, generate a sense of 'human vulnerability' in knowing that, the 'everyday ordinariness' (Chouliaraki, 2012: 5) of free movement is regulated through restriction.

Mall security functions as a socialising agent towards the 'transformation and deformation' (Mbembé, 2004: 404) of social order. The above tweets illustrate how armed robberies drive moral panic, resulting in an audience calling for immediate action in defending malls as a socially, ordered space (Lofland, 1998). These tweets indicate that fear of crime has shoppers feeling unsafe in a space ordered by 'comprehensive surveillance and security' (Salcedo, 2003: 1084). Interpreting these concerns means understanding how security, as a symbol of restriction and control, shapes the 'interactional behaviours' (Hodges, 2015: 46) of these shoppers. As an institutionalised 'spatial organisation' (Keating, 2015: 244), mall security resists criminal contestations towards disrupting the 'orderly production of social life' (Mayar, 2015: 756). Mall security is arguably a systematic public affair, used as a means in establishing social hierarchies (Keating, 2015). The presence of mall security in an enclosed geography sends a subverted message that material and social value needs protecting and defending. Ideologically, mall security is more than just about keeping shoppers safe, and criminals at bay. When embraced, mall security becomes an identity marker towards 'blurring the boundaries' (Hodges, 2015: 48) between public protection and social

segregation. The representation of mall security as a controlling 'aesthetic of appearance' (Chouliaraki, 2008: 834), illustrates narratives historically reflective in maintaining socioeconomic domination and segregated inequality. 'Time to dust off all those scanners and place them at all Mall exits like in the bad old days of Apartheid #Mallcrime' (@fadeelat, 2014/10/18).



Figure 3.3. Double-delay boom system with manned patrols and exit spikes at *Clearwater* Mall. Source: Sean Thurtell, taken with permission from centre management.

By placing all emphasis on security measures in preventing criminal actions from 'destabilising the presumed order of things' (Dolbi and Rizvi, 2008: 10), these self-entitled tweets produce a 'polarising discourse' of 'us and them' (Dolbi and Rizvi, 2008: 10). As 'fields of action' (Wodak and Reisigl, 2015: 583), governed by security in the process of identity formation, these authors direct the 'balance of power' between 'social classes' as a means to enforce 'social formations' (Fairclough, 1995: 40). Criminal activity contests these

power struggles by challenging the boundaries of control through forceful movements set against established social order (Ekblom, 1995). Mall robberies represent a means of agency towards 'personal desires and traditions of social exclusion' (Scollon and Scollon, 2011: 542). They produce significant, social commentaries in an arena attempting to remove itself from 'historical progressions' (Gilliam et al., 2002: 4) and of social segregation, by symbolically representing liberated freedom through consumption. While mall security attempts to provide a 'safe environment' for shoppers, these implemented mandates consequently 'exclude' or at least, 'marginalise social groups considered to be non-consumers or disruptive' (Salcedo, 2003: 1089) towards the established public order. Security 'strips the idea' that malls symbolise 'equality and freedom', by transcribing it as a complex arena wherein 'power dynamics are enacted' (Iqani and Kenny, 2015: 100). By mandating the cause of mall security, these representatives place more importance on the *right* to shop in safety, than equality for all South Africans. By using discursive expressions such as, 'keeping *our* customers safe', *boycott* the mall until there is better security, and 'how safe are *our* malls?' These shoppers reproduce a sense of entitled expectancy that malls are there to serve and protect them. Yes, malls are marketed as safe spaces, but they are privately owned enterprises. All of the tweets represented in this section, express concerns about what should be done to improve their security in a space; not their own. By claiming a *rite of passage* to malls, the authors demonstrate attitudes of self-entitlement, debilitating any prospects of looking outward from the immediate, towards addressing mall crimes as a social issue, and not just an inconvenience to shopping.

'A city is defined by its quality of life' (Cecchini, 2013: 39), especially in having unrestricted movements within public space. By 'tightly controlling' (Brady, 2009: 4) access and movement at malls, restrictive constraint substitutes free agency in forming social identities with feelings of 'placelessness' (Iqani, 2011: 3). Participation within a public space is less about 'actual physical location', and more about how, restrictive control towards outsiders 'legitimises public action' (Chouliaraki, 2010: 120) in justifying human suffering. The 'discriminatory repressiveness' of mall security, ideologically 'superimposes' South Africa's historical legacy of segregation and inequality, appropriated by distinctive 'lifestyle, consumption and, consumer' practices influenced by 'market systems' (James, 2011: 229). The appropriation of malls needing security to protect goods and people sustains 'puritanical fears' (Koenig, 1985: 18) that criminality inherently corrupts society's ability to progress forward by aggressively attempting to occupy a harmonious space (Fairclough, 1995). The 'struggle for public space', is not a single undertaking meant only for a selectively responsive 'segment of the population' (Gerbaudo, 2012: 11). Mall security visualises existing 'borders between social territories' (Wiszniewski, 2013: 68), established against the backdrop of historical segregation, through which criminality contests these power dynamics (Crawford, 1995). The apartheid state established 'spatial patterns' of segregation according to race, while today malls, with the enforcement of security, continue to establish 'spatial patterns' (Mbembé, 2004: 386) of socioeconomic segregation. Mall robberies represent new forms of

social narratives, by attempting to 'dramatically transform' (Decandia, 2013: 87) a space that continues to appropriate 'distinctive patterns of socioeconomic segregation' (Stillerman and Salcedo, 2012: 310). Malls represent an 'enclaved space', through which criminal action, 'dramatically contests' (Darian-Smith, Gunner and Nutall, 2005: 44) the slow progressions made in South Africa towards rectifying the inequalities of the past.

By tweeting from behind the barriers of mall security, these shoppers draw clear distinctions between them and us. Without addressing any historically determined, socioeconomic contexts still present within South Africa, these tweets continue to litigate mall robberies solely as acts of criminal deviancy. The very assertion that mall robberies can be contained with efficient security measures, distracts from viewing malls as a space symbolising wealth, power and exclusion, being 'asserted through the performance of consumption practices' (Iqani and Kenny, 2015: 101-102) by a select few. Mall robberies represent social narratives towards understanding that 'no single space' (Crawford, 1995: 3) enforcing social exclusion and social hierarchies, can support a progressive democracy. In many ways, visible security, along with these tweeted perspectives, enhances malls as a colonised space regressively perpetuating the historical legacy of apartheid (Stevenson, 2002). The following section addresses tweets directed towards the state and president, declaring that mall robberies result from incompetent leadership and administrative failures.

Mall robberies are the President's fault: Politicising the issue

'The government, which has the responsibility to protect its citizens, is failing the ordinary and law-abiding citizens of SA. #BedfordCentre' (@XonaniMvulana, 2015/01/29).

Keywords	Tweets	Re-Tweets
ANC, Government, President, Military	32	24

Figure 3.4 Illustrates a number of tweets captured bearing keyword classifications and sentiments relating to the state, government, president and military. These numbers do not indicate a number of tweets used in this section, as they are merely in support the thematic weight for this section. Refer to Chapter 2: *Searching for mall robbery tweets*, for more information about selected numbers and appropriate use in each section.

The represented authors in this section believe that a failed state is the reason for mall robberies. These narratives in question, build upon sentiments of self-entitlement, moving towards delusions of grandeur that exclusive shopping is a democratic right and not a social concern challenged by mall crimes. Firstly, these tweets hold the governance of the *African National Congress* (ANC) to ransom for not ensuring mall safety. Fuelled by moral panic and 'pervasive logic'(Adam and Van Loon, 2005: 5), mall robberies resulted in tweets viewing

South Africa as a risk society, crippled by a definitive set of malfunctioning, political, economic and socio-cultural manufactured uncertainties:

'Can we now see that #SAGov do not use their resources properly like #IntelligenceAgenC for incidents like the recent spate of #Mallrobberies' (@Riaan_Niew, 2014/09/09). 'Appointing puppets with peripheral agendas like Nhleko means core purpose like keeping shopping centres safe falls by the wayside #BedfordCentre' (@AshMendelo, 2015/01/30). 'Another sad day in Bedfordview! #prayers #BedfordCentreShooting #senseless… When will people start to matter in SA?' (@CNadz01, 2015/01/29). 'SA needs a government that can deal with these sickos and eradicate violent crime for good. #BedfordCentreShooting' (@juliogarciaSA, 2015/01/29). 'Shootouts, robberies, hijackings, smash & grabs, looting but the ANC is complaining about the name of a street. #priorities, #BedfordCentre' (@Kae_sista, 2015/01/29). '#Mallrobberies First the Nigerians import & brought drugs into SA and now look! Is that a good story to tell? ANC pls wake up, SA under siege' (@Molaobert, 2014/10/18). These discursive feelings of inadequacy towards seeking resolution tended towards name-calling as a means of urgent appeal for 'someone to do something' (Cohen, 2002: 122) about the situation. Who better to castrate than the President?

'Zuma we are concerned about #Mallrobberies in our country' (@Maxmpho, 2014/11/06). '#BedfordCentreShooting and what is Zuma doing about crime?' (@MarlizaVisser, 2015/01/29). 'When will the #zagovernment wake up! Yes #jacobzuma we have a crime problem #BedfordCentreShooting! Wake up!' (@mieliecoza, 2015/01/29). 'So President Zuma when are you going to stop this CRIME crazed lawlessness #BedfordCentreShooting' (@JnrEGM, 2015/01/29). Still not feeling satisfied that one man can protect all malls, moral panic created perceptions of 'widespread social problems' (Lemmings, 2009: 8) needing immediate resolution. This resulted in these subjects being 'more open than usual' (Cohen, 2002: 78) in calling for extreme measures of state militarised, safe shopping:

'No we don't feel safe. Where is our military??? #Mallrobberies' (@KarenPretorius, 2014/09/21). 'Once again I say the army must be deployed to our shopping malls. It will only get worse. #mallofthesouth #mallrobberies' (@CentaurusTr, 2015/01/29). 'Deploy the army to malls. #bedfordcentre #bedfordview' (@nnzikhali, 2015/08/31).

These tweets illustrate how citizens as a public, exercised their democratic voice from a 'grassroots perspective' in representing a collective 'we' (Cohen, 2002: 224). They criticise 'elite-engineered', state representatives about their apparent lack of involvement with criminal 'interest-groups', not just at malls, but also throughout the nation (Lofland, 1998: 629). With mall robberies scrutinised as a societal threat with no immediate resolution, it is understandable that these narrators turned towards political structures, institutions and state figureheads as the 'accredited experts' (Cohen, 2002: 1) for crime prevention. As a point of departure towards problematizing these narratives, as citizens, they are within their democratic right to challenge democratic leadership for amicable solutions pertaining to national concerns. Before interpreting these tweets alongside the sociality of mall robberies, it

is pertinent to reflect on what South Africa's national constitution commissions towards citizenry rights. Citizens anticipate that their expressed 'opinions' and views are a 'prerequisite' for 'civic action' (Rowe, 2009: 22).

Section 12 of the national Constitution: *Freedom and security of the person*, declares that, as a democratic state, all South Africans have the right 'to be free from all kinds of violence in both public and private areas' (Government of South Africa, 2016). This constitutional declaration supports German Democrat Julius Fröbel's summary of a democracy.

> 'The social republic, that is, the state in which happiness, freedom and dignity of each individual are recognised as the common goal for all, and the perfection of the law and power of society springs from the mutual *understanding* and agreement *of all its members*' (Gaus, 2003: 123).

Constitutionally speaking, when a citizen experiences any form of violence or danger, it is the state's mandate to do everything within their power to uphold these values. The authors of this section have taken this sentiment to heart, so much so, that even President Jacob Zuma is held responsible for causing mall robberies and unsafe shopping. By personalising the president, these tweets re-emphasise accountability towards the state in seeking solutions about South Africa's criminal pandemic (Markham and Couldry, 2007). These presidential appeals are less about the man Jacob Zuma, and more about his cabinets' administrative capabilities in managing crime. Feeling constitutionally free, these narratives 'solicited inputs' (Mergel, 2012: 151) of political expression, by presupposing marshal law as the national solution for mall robberies. Again, it is understandable that moral hysteria, driving feelings of endangerment about mall robberies, would drive militarised expressions as an exercise challenging the 'rights of democratic citizenship' (Denzin, 2014: 84). As citizens, these authors feel victimised by mall robberies, not just as martyrs of crime, but also as victims' dependent on 'institutional and organisational' (Van Dijk, 2015: 478) state power in keeping them safe while they shop. Constant threats of criminal violence for these citizens, means 'pollution of the order', resulting in actions towards those held 'responsible in fulfilling their public, and moral duties' (Zurutuza Muñoz, 2014: 161-162). Casting responsibility on state authorities and leadership becomes a means through which these citizens seek accountability in regaining 'social order' (Kong Lum, 2014: 160).

What these authors fail to recognise is that living under the principles of a democratic society, entails forming relationships of accountability between the 'government and its citizens' (Markham and Couldry, 2007: 675). These dynamics in practice are complex and difficult to understand 'what the mutual relationship should be' (Markham and Couldry, 2007: 675). This is where these illustrated tweets become intrinsically questionable. They exemplify a 'sense of hopelessness' (Crouch and Rozzel, 2014: 293) towards mall crimes as a simplistic, solvable, linear equation. They believe that the government needs to uphold its constitutional mandate by ensuring that malls remain exclusively safe. What these authors decline to realise is that they 'play a dual role' in providing 'political and civil' (Myers and Lariscy, 2013: 332) solutions towards implementing social order.

As citizens, 'radical democratic imaginations' have less to do with 'penal policy' (Brown, 2001: 282), and more to do with wider 'political, social and economic contexts' (Denzin, 2014: 84). The political objective of these representatives, overtly expresses their constitutional views and 'opinions towards legislation' (Wodak and Reisigl, 2015: 583) and state operations in dealing with mall robberies, while under the surface their ideological attitudes towards social exclusion are being 'worked out' (Wilson, 2015: 398). By demanding that the state uses its resources in securing privatised, exclusive organisations promoting leisure and pleasure, these tweets illustrate delusions of grandeur towards the true meaning of constitutional equality. Complaining that people's lives have no value for the ANC is fundamentally inappropriate towards malls representing spaces of exclusivity. By stating that government is more concerned with street names than exclusive shopping safety, it places these authors in a hypocritical position towards appropriating their constitutional right.

When taking a closer look at the above constitutional and democratic mandate, these tweets are misguided into believing that resolving mall robberies is the sole responsibility of governance. Striving for freedom, dignity and the right to be free from violence for these citizens, is expediently embraced and parsimoniously ignored in execution. Equality is human right meant for all members of society. It is not accomplished by imposing constitutional rules and regulations with self-entitled mannerisms. Equality only becomes tangible when all citizens consciously envelop their social responsibility towards selfless, constitutional servitude. When you are more concerned about the safety of privatised, exclusive shopping at malls than how violent crimes affect all citizens socially, then these individuals need to question their own constitutional values.

These represented tweets illustrate that interpersonal expressions 'discursively reproduces' (Van Dijk, 2015: 478) social dominance. The politics of crime is essentially a 'matter of coordination guided by public reason' (Gaus, 2003: 20). Tweeting about mall robberies reveals 'deeper socio-cultural roots' (Lofland, 1998: 636) of resistance, that appear rational in its collective representation. 'Explain a bit? I do feel #BedfordCentre is a symptom of ANC govt. Because the rot begins at the top' (@gareth6pike, 2015/01/29). This tweet in sentiment to the rest illustrates how these citizens are oblivious to most forms of equitable reasoning. The social rot of inequality still present within South Africa began a long time ago, as an engendered system of segregation. By always blaming something or someone else for the state of society, illustrates how indoctrinations of apartheid are still embraced as societal outlooks.

These citizenry perspectives about mall robberies demonstrate interests that are less about how these crimes affect an entire population, and more about the 'concerns of select groups' (Crouch and Rozell, 2014: 290). Affectual expressions of 'collective behaviour' (Papacharissi, 2015: 7), displayed as 'political statements' (Goffman, 2008: 4) governed by limited reasoning, produced a 'symbiotic relationship' (Papacharissi, 2015: 11) wherein these individuals displayed the need to preserve a certain lifestyle, more than equality for all. These tweets addressed mall robberies as a self-entitled issue, without considering an 'entire set'

(Potter, 2014: 98) of circumstances influencing their general attitudes towards mall robberies. @Clubsocs (2015/01/29) raises this awareness when asking, 'Busy reading the comments on an article about Bedford Centre shooting.

I'm trying to understand how people can blame the ANC? Huh?' It is understandable that violent criminal behaviour amplifies hysterical talk in seeking an immediate resolution about the present threat of danger. However, democracy in practice is not just about the state serving the needs of select citizens. Democracy is a dual relationship, where citizens take personal responsibility towards their daily attitudes and activities, to support, rather than criticise the workings of state resources. By holding the state, government and president to ransom, these individuals negate any civic and moral responsibilities that they themselves may facilitate towards providing amenable solutions in resolving criminality (Lofland, 1998). Civil movements towards equality cannot be achieved by resolving 'a single causal stimulus' (Pauly, 2014: 182). It needs consigning in context to 'historically emerged' (Papacharissi, 2015: 16), ideological predispositions of social cultivation. Political discussions wherein citizens express 'personal troubles with crime' (Sacco, 1995: 142) provides the building blocks for identifying existing social inequalities neutralised through criminality. This line of argument extends into the realm of policing, as the following citizenry representatives 'regard themselves as needing' (Markham and Couldry, 2007: 676) immediate protection in assuring safe shopping. The following section illustrates polarising perspectives about the police. They are simultaneously criticised and praised for being both absent and efficient in preventing mall robberies. These opposing tweets continue with self-entitled sentiments towards shopping exclusively in safety. At this point, I need to caution that the subject matter represented in the latter part of this section and throughout section five, is racially charged and inhumane in execution. I approach these insouciances with sensitivity, as these discussions are an important illustration of how certain individuals place more value on shopping than constitutional rights to life.

Policing mall robberies: Polarising views

'Police should've addressed the issue after the first few mall robberies. A bit late now robbers having fun around town #MallRobbery' (@BigBananavc, 2014/09/09). 'Job well-done #SAPS for arresting suspects of #MallRobberies. We can't even go to malls without thinking @ de back of the head abt robberies' (@Lebogangvilla, 2014/09/09).

Keywords	Tweets	Re-Tweets
Inefficient, Corrupt, Well-done (racist, inhumane)	91	53

Figure 3.5 Illustrates a number of tweets captured bearing keyword classifications and sentiments relating to policing perspectives. These numbers do not indicate a number of tweets used in this section, as they are merely in support the thematic weight for this section. Refer to Chapter 2: *Searching for mall robbery tweets*, for more information about selected numbers and appropriate use in each section.

This section addresses tweets with polarising views about policing capabilities concerning mall robberies. These tweets represent both pessimistic and troublesome (disguised as an appraisal) perspectives about the state's law enforcement. Fearing armed robberies and personal safety drove negative, 'reactive attitudes' (Brown, 2001: 281) towards inefficient policing, partly because of continual media coverage exemplifying the immediate dangers of crime scenes, more than coverage about 'effective law enforcement' (Gaus, 2003: 121):

'SAPS must implement a plan to stop mall robberies' (@DA_KZN, 2014/10/20). '#MallRobberies: you can wait for the cops to save you (they can't), or you can be armed and fight back. Guess which option actually works' (@Gunservant, 2014/09/21). '#BedfordCentreShooting never has there been a better time to look at policing invest in the right people and pay them well. End #corruption' (@winker_watson1, 2015/01/29). 'Hope @SAPoliceserve arrested the real suspects, not the injured shoppers #BedfordCentre just saying nje' (@CarSalesMan_1, 2015/01/29). '#Mallrobberies. Investigations by police do NOT inspire me with confidence. 1st - spell investigation…' (@ckowalsk, 2014/09/03). '#BedfordCentreShooting When the crime took place, Bedfordview SAPS were hosting a farewell for a retiring detective (@BedfordEdenvale, 2015/01/29). These negative sentiments continued by making comparative assessments about the past and at the time, current policing administrations.

'The crime is getting out of hand now, #bringbackbhekicele needs to be a serious movement. #BedfordCentre' (@Nam_2206, 2015/01/29). '#MallRobbery times like this we miss Bheki Cele, this nonsense was almost nonexistent during his time! And now we have a cow' (@wisanemawi, 2014/09/09). 'In times like these, I miss the form Police Comm. Bheki Cele. Mall robberies like these never happened in his time of office. #Mallrobbery'

(@GeniusMoyo, 2014/10/25). 'I cannot say I have the same respect for the current Police Commissioner that I had for the former! #BringBackBhekiCele #Marikana #MallRobberies' (@GiNO768, 2014/09/10). Having discussed that statistically, property related crimes in South Africa are on the rise, mall robberies form a critical area from which these tweets draw impeding attention towards policing efforts in managing these violent situations.

'Negative views towards policing' (Roberts and Gordon, 2016) efficiency in restoring social order, has within the public eye, a long-standing history of reported abuse and corruption within the police's organisational ranks. To understand the full impact of these tweets, as both unfavourable and inadvertently appreciative towards the police, it is necessary to position the SAPS in context to their historical relationship with society. During the time of apartheid the police, then known as the SAP (South African Police Force), were the 'bastion of' (Faull, 2007: 2) state law. The SAP served as the Nationalists 'coercive arm' towards forcefully 'disregarding the rights of black residents and political dissidents' (Faull, 2007: 2). These actions fashioned the police force as a racist organisation serving only white agendas, and in the process expediting racial inequality and hateful attitudes towards them. During South Africa's post-apartheid, transitional period, it was estimated that '80% of policing resources were concentrated almost entirely in suburbs and CBD's' (Minnaar and Ngoveni, 2004: 44). 'Black, coloured and Indian areas' were left with the 'remaining 20% (African areas in fact only receiving 8% of the total)' (Minnaar and Ngoveni, 2004: 44). Today in post-apartheid South Africa, the now known SAPS, are ordained by a democratic mandate to serve and protect all citizens, fairly and equally. This does not mean that the public image of policing has shifted away from their historically tarnished reputation. These above authors believe that mall robberies are a result of the country 'facing a crime explosion' (Minnaar and Mistry, 2004: 38) and that the police are inadequately equipped to deal with these situations. With these tweets expressing sentiments of uncertainty and lack of confidence in the police, they re-emphasised the antagonisms that have, and still could influence the SAPS public image today.

In these moments of crisis, despondent views of policing inefficiency tended towards the 'control agencies' (Hunt, 1997: 636) structures these organisational rankings. The writers scripted about past leadership of Police Commissioner Bheki Cele's administration being more efficient than, at the time, Police Commissioner Riah Phiyega's term in office. These comparisons come from a historical position of the police being associated with abuse of power (Faull, 2007). When the new post-apartheid government amalgamated the SAP with 'ten homeland police forces' (Faull, 2007: 2) to form the SAPS, community trust increased with hopes towards 'better levels of crime' (Minnaar and Ngoveni, 2004: 42) intervention. These expectations placed immense levels of public focus on the accountability of this new law enforcement, which up until now, was shrouded with inhumane characteristic traits (Faull, 2007). The importance of this discussion is not about which police commissioner had better policies and greater success rates in crime prevention. It is about the prevailing narrative of distrust that still announces itself within this public discourse.

Over the years, South Africa's mainstream media have assisted in 'reproducing and sustaining' (Hunt, 1997: 635) negative responses towards policing efforts in dealing with violent situations. Mainstream news reports tend to increase negative police perception by providing information about criminal outcomes, rather than providing continual feedback about policing progress (Sacco, 1995). News constructed in this manner inevitably leads people to feel at risk and unsupported by the police (Cohen, 2002). This resulted in these representatives tweeting from a negative position for someone 'to calm things down' (Papacharissi, 2015: 12). These negative perceptions about the SAPS are not entirely isolated just to mall robberies. These tweeted sentiments fall alongside a continuous history of media coverage wherein the police have a distorted relationship within a bigger policing picture between the public, 'crime and legal control' (Sacco, 1995: 143). This is illustrated by @GiNo768 (2015/09/10) who, when comparing the respective police commissioners administrative capabilities in crime prevention, ended the tweet with the #Marikana signpost. Dubbed the *Marikana Massacre* by the media, this tragedy on 16 August 2012, 'left 34 mine workers dead, 78 wounded and more than 250' arrested (sahistory, 2016). This tragic event, when in conversation, is often compared to the *Sharpeville Massacre* that took place during the height of apartheid on 21 March 1960. This tragic event, which has been cemented in South Africa's violent history, left '69 people dead and 180 people seriously wounded' (sahistory, 2016). In many socio-political circles, the *Sharpeville Massacre* was not a total shock, as the SAP functioned as an 'army more than a police force' (Faull, 2007: 2). The Nationalist government by this stage of their rule had indoctrinated a belief system that they were at war 'against an often invisible' black 'enemy' (Faull, 2007: 2). These two massacres: one prescribing a police force set against the backdrop of a racist, inhumane establishment; And the other, constitutionally mandated to serve and protect human equality. Both these law enforcements have accounts of police brutality dominating their narrative. In this context, it is understandable that these authors tended to perpetuate a negative policing image in light of talking about mall robberies.

Negativity turned towards racism and inhumanity in a situation where the police appeared visibly successful in dealing with criminality, as with the following account: It illustrates a juncture in South Africa's contemporary history book, which despondently jeopardises progress made towards transformation and reconciliation. These authors use circumstantial police brutality as an opportune moment to demonstrate the ghost of apartheid's racist and inhumane past, with tweets that glorify the loss of human life. At *Clearwater Mall* on the 1st of September 2015, a shoot-out between the police and six suspects ensued, resulting in two deaths and three injured suspects (Luvhengo, 2015). The following tweets, and those illustrated in Figures 3.6a & b are in response to a graphic imagine circulated in the news and on *Twitter*, showing one of the deceased, a black man who was shot in the head. The image also shows a trail of blood running from the deceased's head and down the parking bay. This image has not been included for sensitive reasons, and out of respect for the loss of human life:

‘Shout out to @SAPoliceService. The #ClearwaterMall incident deserves to be applauded’ (@Leratolshmael, 2015/09/01). ‘#Clearwatermall awesome @SAPoliceService work #let’s take back our streets tired of all these criminals’ (@JnrEGM, 2015/09/01). ‘Well done to @SaPoliceService – wow! Really nailed the #criminals at #Clearwatermall today’ (@MagrietKemp, 2015/09/01). ‘Well done by SAPS at Clearwater Mall robbery. They lived by the sword…’ (@Franna47, 2015/09/02). ‘Well done #sapsGP the only problem! #DOJ will grant him bail. Should’ve put a bullet in his head. I bet he was illegal as well #MallRobberies’ (@gavf1, 2015/09/01). ‘Clearwater Mall shooting: Death toll rises to two. That’s not a fatality, that’s a victory. Hooray, the cops!’ (@King_ShakaZulu, 2015/09/01).



Figure 3.6a User comments in response to Figure 7.A, an attempted armed robbery on 1 September 2015 at *Clearwater* Mall. Source: @Devious_Words, (2015/09/01).

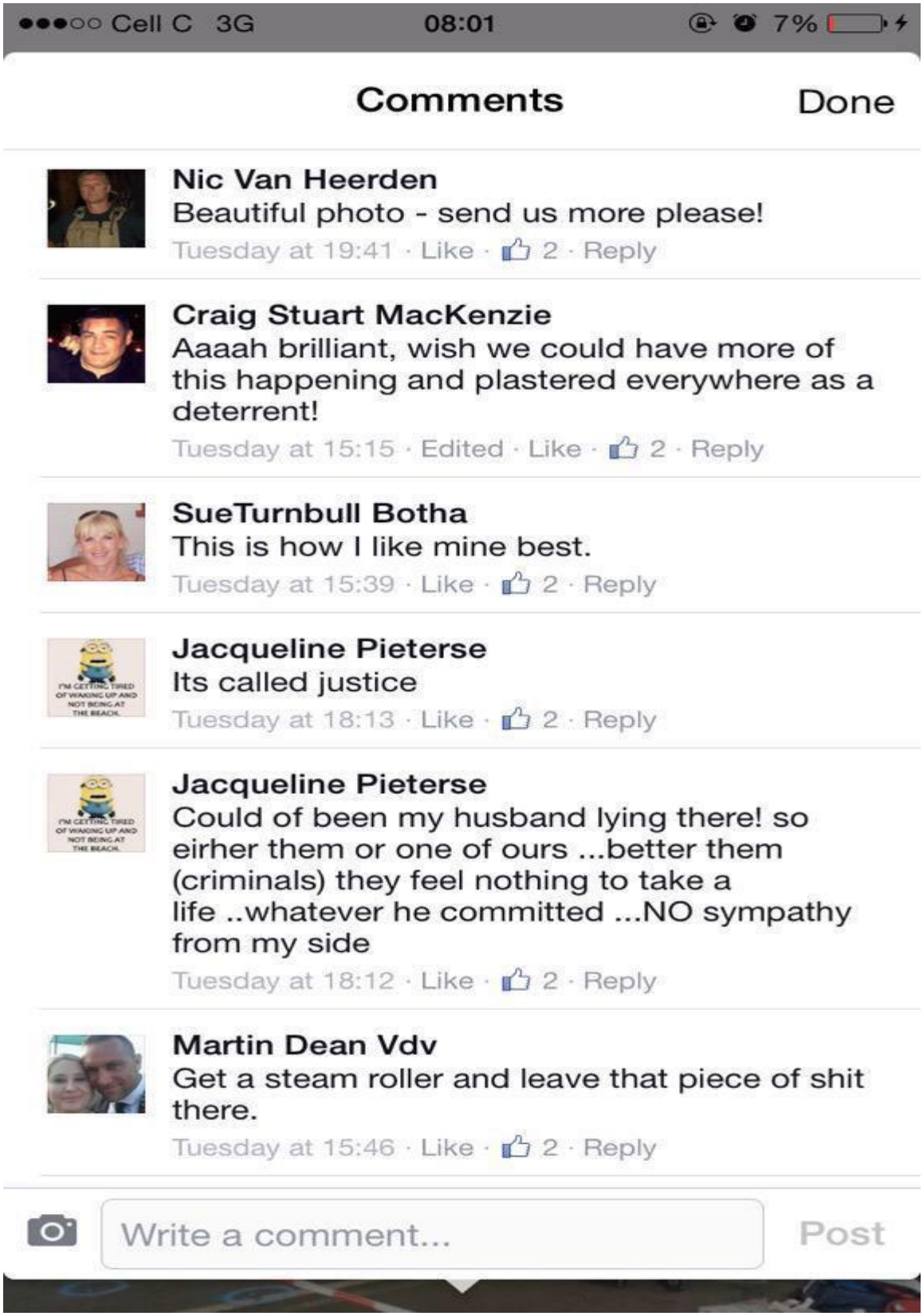


Figure 3.6b User comments in response to Figure 7.A, an attempted armed robbery on 1 September 2015 at *Clearwater* Mall. Source: @Devious_Words, 5 (2015/09/01).

These disturbingly racist and inhumane comments have definitive ideologies established under the Nationalist rule. During the course of apartheid (1948-1994), 'nationalist propaganda' indoctrinated a 'powerful narrative' (Falkof, 2015: 8) under white minority groups that the black majority, who were deemed uncivil, were constantly threatening the nation's peace and order. This mindset produced indoctrinated 'militaristic' (Falkof, 2015: 1) governance, justifying violence as a means of power and dominance needed to suppress and segregate the threatening intentions of the black enemy. These tweets re-enforce this historically racist narrative by celebrating not just the death of a suspected criminal, but also the death of a black human being. As Michel Foucault said:

> Racism makes it possible to establish a relationship between my life and the death of the other. The fact that the other dies does not mean simply that I live in the sense that his death guarantees my safety; the death of the other, the death of the bad race, of the inferior race (or the degenerate, or the abnormal) is something that will make life in general: healthier and purer (1997: 255).

These individuals believe that the police killing a suspected criminal is a victory against crime and for the betterment of society. They are using the smokescreen of criminality as an excuse to exercise their valued beliefs in support of a historically, ideological system that devalues human life through racism (Magubane, 1979). What is even more disturbing than being racist is the lack of humanitarianism these individuals have towards human life. How they are able to justify the loss of life with comments like; *serious leak, road kill, one less, brilliant, exactly what we needed, beautiful photo, it's call justice and piece of shit*, is astoundingly worrisome. What these individuals are oblivious to, is that the manner in which they celebrate a black person's death, regardless of being a criminal or not, makes them lawbreakers. These narratives are unconstitutional and can be subject to criminal prosecution. In South Africa, there have been numerous, unrelated incidents where expletive comments were posted on social media that has led to charges of crimen injuria. One such example is the case of Davie Kriel who has indicated he intends pleading guilty to charges made against him for hateful speech. In 2016 Mr Kriel in response to fireworks being discharged for the *Hindu* festival of *Diwali,* made the following comment on *Facebook,* 'To those idol worshippers and devil disciples who buy them in the name of religion, piss-off back to your dark hole in the backwoods of India you dickhead!! I could strangle you morons with my bare hands and derive great pleasure in watching your face turn blue and your tongue pop out' (Petersen, 2017). The seriousness of intolerance towards racism in South Africa should have been a warning light to these above right-winged comments who, with such attitudes, might as well attempt time travelling to form part of the Nationalist cause. By racially segregating and restricting black movements, they essentially took away black people's 'human dignity, hope and aspirations' (Vilakazi, 1965: 1313). What is also disheartening about these comments according to their profile pictures in figures 3.6a & b, is that these individuals are predominately white. Their comments tarnish the reputation of other white citizens who are embracing movements towards reconciliation.

‘News about crime’ is often used as a gateway for people to ‘process private troubles’ through representations ‘of specific criminal events’ (Sacco, 1995: 142). A ‘good story’ (Hunt, 1997: 634) as these individuals position it, usually underpins existing ideological norms and values brought to light as represented contestations of social ordering. These racist and inhumane responses are not ‘determined by fear of deviant action’ (Garland, 2008: 23) as a form of emotional release due to successful police intervention. They allude to deeper social concerns about how crime threatens to destabilise these respondents contested modes of social hierarchy. Mall robberies not only threatens their safety but as a structural representation of social and economic territory, these respondents sublimate racism and inhumanity as police appraisal, as a means to justify ‘social reterritorialization’ (Sacco, 1995: 154; Crawford, 1995). By praising the police through ‘inscribed’ (Lash, 2005: 52) racist and inhumane intentions towards criminals, these individuals inadvertently reproduce social distinctions through continued actions of *othering*. Their production of coherent, racist and inhuman narratives, wherein the death of criminals is victoriously celebrated, allows these individuals to ‘maintain social ordering’ (Zurutuza Muñoz, 2014: 168). Their spectacular reactions disguised as emotional reasoning is used as a justifiable tool towards ‘establishing high degrees of cultural closure’ (Stevenson, 2002: 35-36).These individuals view criminality as something needing eradication, rather than addressing its ties towards historically segregated inequalities. Even though inequality created by historical segregation has been ‘positively correlated with crime’ (Demombynes and Ozler, 2002: 9), these individuals, by means of racist and inhumane practices, place their emphasis on the ‘strategic intent’ (Russell and Lamme, 2016: 6) of criminality, more than on the social context of the person behind the gun. These actions from a position of social hierarchy, fail to resist any ‘systems of ideological exploitation’, or the ‘marginalisation of competing views’ (Sacco, 1995: 141) brought forward by mall crimes. Instead, these individuals define the ‘terms of their discussion’ (Papacharissi, 2015: 12) through regressive forms of racism and dehumanisation. They legitimise their views and opinions as warranted, ‘judicial decision-makers’ (Lemmings, 2009: 17) in deciding the appropriate course of action for these criminals, a decision that involves an inhumane death. Racism, on the other hand, is used as a means to appropriate inequality through continuous movements that re-establish ‘cultural and social’ (Lemmings, 2009: 17) segregation.

These individuals fail to acknowledge that their racist attitudes towards human life is the substantive moral issue in question, more than criminal deviancy. They establish themselves as an ‘elite voice’ not needing to ‘accommodate any divergent’ (Gaus, 2003: 7) perspectives that may facilitate resolutions towards crime prevention. This study is by no means attempting to trivialise the ‘fear of criminal violence’ and the impact it has on ‘quality of life’ (Stevenson, 2002: 36). The point made here is that these attitudes displayed towards violent outcomes of human life has its roots festering against the historical ‘backdrop of a super-structural crisis’ (Roberts and Gordon, 2016: 49). Apartheid indoctrinated white people with racist and inhumane ideologies, which base a person’s skin pigmentation as a definitive

measure of human life. These representatives re-appropriate the scars of apartheid as criminal, and in so, separate themselves from dealing with any form of humanitarianism associated with transformation and reconciliation (Dossa, 1989). The message that these individuals are conveying (regardless of being racist and inhumane towards the death of a black *criminal),* is that what matters, is the police taking a human life in defence of a concrete structure, so that they can continue shopping in exclusivity. The following section explores how mall robberies link in with broader social issues of associated with casting labels onto criminals. The process of *othering* functions as a racist and inhumane form of establishing socially, exclusive hierarchies. These represented tweets illustrate how their authors remain oblivious towards socio-economic inequalities present within South Africa.

Us vs. them: Blood and innocence

'Oh law will thou take your course this time around. Bring the perpetrators to book. #BedfordCentreShooting' (@Thobekal, 2015/01/29).

Keywords	Tweets	Re-Tweets
Guilty, Innocent, Terrorism	45	66

Figure 3.7 Illustrates a number of tweets captured bearing keyword classifications and sentiments relating to criminal perspectives. These numbers do not indicate a number of tweets used in this section, as they are merely in support the thematic weight for this section. Refer to Chapter 2: *Searching for mall robbery tweets*, for more information about selected numbers and appropriate use in each section.

This section illustrates how racist and inhumane labelling of criminals through the lens of *spectacular criminality* leads to *othering*. I use the term *spectacular criminality* as my own illustration towards how racist talk places this audience in a position of hypocrisy. These represented authors use racism as a justification to take the moral high ground of presumed innocence by casting all social and moral iniquities entirely on criminals.

This stance appropriated racist talk as a means to cast de-humanising labels upon criminals: '#BedfordCentreShooting Photo of the apprehended criminal. Fucking asshole, just shoot him!' (@IndiaSchamrel, 2015/01/29). '#BedfordCentreShooting don't take prisoners kill them, they clearly don't value life… Kill, the prisons are over populated' (@fornow4getit, 2015/01/29). 'Injured robbers taken to hospital?! Let them die, they don't deserve to live #BedfordCentreShooting' (@BiancaJadeGomes, 2015/01/29). 'No one died from the #BedfordCentreShooting??? What crappy aiming' (@lukanyo, 2015/01/29). '#BedfordCentreShooting We shouldn't be living in fear of pigs who rob and kill to steal things we work hard 4. I hope God deals with you!' (@natanz1, 2015/01/29). 'And we a

society that has totally lost its morals and values that we protect barbarians, SPEAK OUT #BedfordCentreShooting' (@MensFederation, 2015/01/29). 'A brazen daylight robbery at a shop in *Hyde-Park Corner*. These thugs simply don't care anymore, going all kamikaze and stuff. Lord save us! (@SaneleZondii, 2015/03/19).

Feeling morally vindicated and justified, the tweets tended towards public lynching as a viable solution for mall robberies: 'Week number 3 that the *Mall of the South* is open and there is already a robbery happening. When are we gonna start hanging people again?' (@Travesty_Kruger, 2015/10/12) 'Seriously this #BedfordCentre incident is not on! These kinds of people should be hung in public #BedfordShooting' (@MrCPT, 2015/01/29).

Calling for public retribution was motivated by tweets declaring that criminals violated the rights of innocent shoppers: 'He was a criminal ready to kill to get what he wants, him dying saved a lot of innocent lives #clearwatermall' (@FSekeleni, 2015/09/05). '#BedfordCenter is a bloodbath. Hope it's the blood of the criminals' (@StueyMax, 2015/01/29). 'So now innocent people nearly lost their lives due to a shopping centre shootout #BedfordCentreShooting' (@Linda_Shi, 2015/01/29). '*Bedford Centre* shooting: very grim reality when it comes to crime in S.A. The innocent always end up being hurt' (@Epykliving, 2015/01/29). 'When u bumble in2 good people and u c ur life with new iz, spend so much time shunning saints whilst focusing on Shames #BedfordCentreShooting' (@robinwind, 2015/02/14). 'Law-abiding South Africans have become #sittingducks #eNCA #MallRobberies' (@errolfrancke, 2014/10/27).

Continuing to remain righteous, tweets looked outwardly towards equating mall robberies as acts of terrorism: '#SouthAfrica doesn't need a terrorist org to cause chaos in a shopping centre. Our ordinary criminals do that all on their own #BedfordCentreShooting' (@CJSchulze, 2015/01/29). 'War zone at my favourite mall ☹ #BedfrodCentre – sending my well wishes. Sad about the violence we are subjected to by crime animals' (@radmaxrow, 2015/01/29). 'Some countries r experiencing real wars; in SA our war is crime… #MallRobberies' (@KailasB, 2014/09/21). '#MallRobberies We should be allowed to defend ourselves. More people die in SA than in Iraq. Murders are perpetrators by the same terrorists' (@kennymclellan, 2014/09/21). 'I remember saying #ParisAttack can happen anywhere at any time #BedfordCentreShooting' (@Bongani_Drama, 2015/09/21).

Mall robberies in this section functioned as an intersectional moment between shoppers and criminals, where criminality was used as an ideal opportunity to 'maintain, legitimise and establish social distinctions' (Keating, 2015: 246). These authors achieved this by framing themselves and criminals in contrasting light. Criminals were inhumanely, racialized as *pigs, barbarians* and *thugs* undeserving of the right to life, while shoppers position themselves as innocent bystanders to an evil enemy. These narratives created a hypocritical self-image where racism towards 'those who acted' (Kendal and Tannen, 2015: 587) was used as a means of distancing and justifying shopper responses towards *othering*. Labelling provides a 'quantifiable difference' between 'them and 'us', as it attempts to explain certain behavioural and characteristic traits as something coming from 'another breed of person' (Marsh, 2006:

57). These narratives, as a social commentaries of control and oppression over 'dispossessed groups', produced a hypocritical belief system weighed against 'moral codes' (Garland, 2008: 28) in determining the humanitarian value of life. Racist and de-humanising talk, when left unchecked, becomes an avenue for subjective and irrational action. With these authors 'construing citizens as innocent spectators' (Chouliaraki, 2008: 844), they believe that eradicating crime through spectacular fashion is the only discernible way forward for a society. Talk appropriating spectacular criminality as a form of 'non-symbolic' (Lofland, 1998: 20), retributive action, resists any engagements towards public debates that may produce meaningful and sensible outcomes towards crime prevention. What these tweets illustrate is that malls, as an architectural symbol of peace, tranquillity and exclusivity, when visibly intersected by violent crime, tends to generate irrational and emotional responses of affective attunement escalated by racist indoctrinations (Papacharissi, 2015). By appropriating the use of racist and inhumane language as a descriptive of 'perception and experience' about criminals outside of any social context, these individuals became clouded towards making any objective judgments, and ultimately shifted to 'retributive responses' (Hargovan, 2014: 48) involving public lynching.

It is not so much 'criminal actions' which illicit responses; it is the 'publicising and punishing of crime' (Marsh, 2006: 98) that often perpetuates spectacular, public talk. As action and talk, public hanging holds 'tremendous symbolic power' in being both 'public and visually sensational' (Wood, 2011: 1). The 'public trial' of criminals further assists in justifying clear boundaries of 'acceptable and unacceptable behaviour' (Marsh, 2006: 98). Today, although public hangings are an antiquated practice of inhumane justice, as talk, it ideologically re-enforces racist distinctions present within these audience narratives (Deacon, 1999). The history of lynching black bodies in public was used as a means of enforcing 'racial territories' through its 'most sensational manifestations' (Louise Wood, 2009: 2). Publically displaying lynched bodies established 'images of white power and black helplessness' (Louise Wood, 2009: 2). These tweets reveal 'personal and social identities' encrypted within apartheid's 'relationship between' the white 'self, and *others*' (Maschler and Schiffrin, 2015: 189). These tweets create a united front of 'orderly white citizenry' through which the black, lynched body is used as an 'image that authenticates and re-enforces a racist ideology' (Louise Wood, 2009: 75). These attitudes function as a mechanism justifying 'incitements of violence' (Louise Wood, 2009: 76) as the only appropriate solution to crimes in a public space. The narrative of public lynching as a racist ideology gains significant meaning when evaluating it against these authors' position within mall robberies. There intentional, counter labels of shopper innocence, further 'establishes social dominance' by means of using 'shock effect' (Kendall and Tannen, 2015: 642) to draw attention to themselves. By re-appropriating 'social attributes' (Chouliaraki, 2010: 122) of racism, ideologically embedded as a belief system, these individuals 'maintain and protect' (Keating, 2015: 248) their exclusive social standing.

Justifications of innocence, resulting from appropriated social distinction and dominance, underpin vicarious 'substitutions of excitement and pleasure' (Marsh, 2006: 1) usually gained

from witnessing, but not from partaking in deviant behaviour. Casting racist and inhumane labels upon criminal offenders acts as a 'mechanism in meaning-making for conceptualising' the degrees of 'deviance and amoral behaviour' (Vejar, 2011: 27). With these authors adopting a position of innocence, they establish that any type of behaviour outside of this scope deserves the full wrath of public shaming and punishment. Having an interactional response by means of 'affective attunement', essentially appropriates these authors understanding towards 'forces and non-forces of encounter' (Papacharissi, 2015: 16), which legitimises their views in establishing socially exclusive, hierarchies. Maintaining social 'power and order' is exercised by 'public consent' (Lemmings, 2009: 3) as a community maintaining the durability of their 'standards and values', which is displayed as a spectacular 'reaction to punishment' (Marsh, 2006: 98). An example of this hypocrisy displayed by this audience as *innocent* bystanders is illustrated below in Figure 3.8. I am aware that this image of a black man encompassing forms of spectacular criminality is a sensitive issue; however, I feel it is a necessary illustration needed to drive home the hypocrisy of this audience in question.

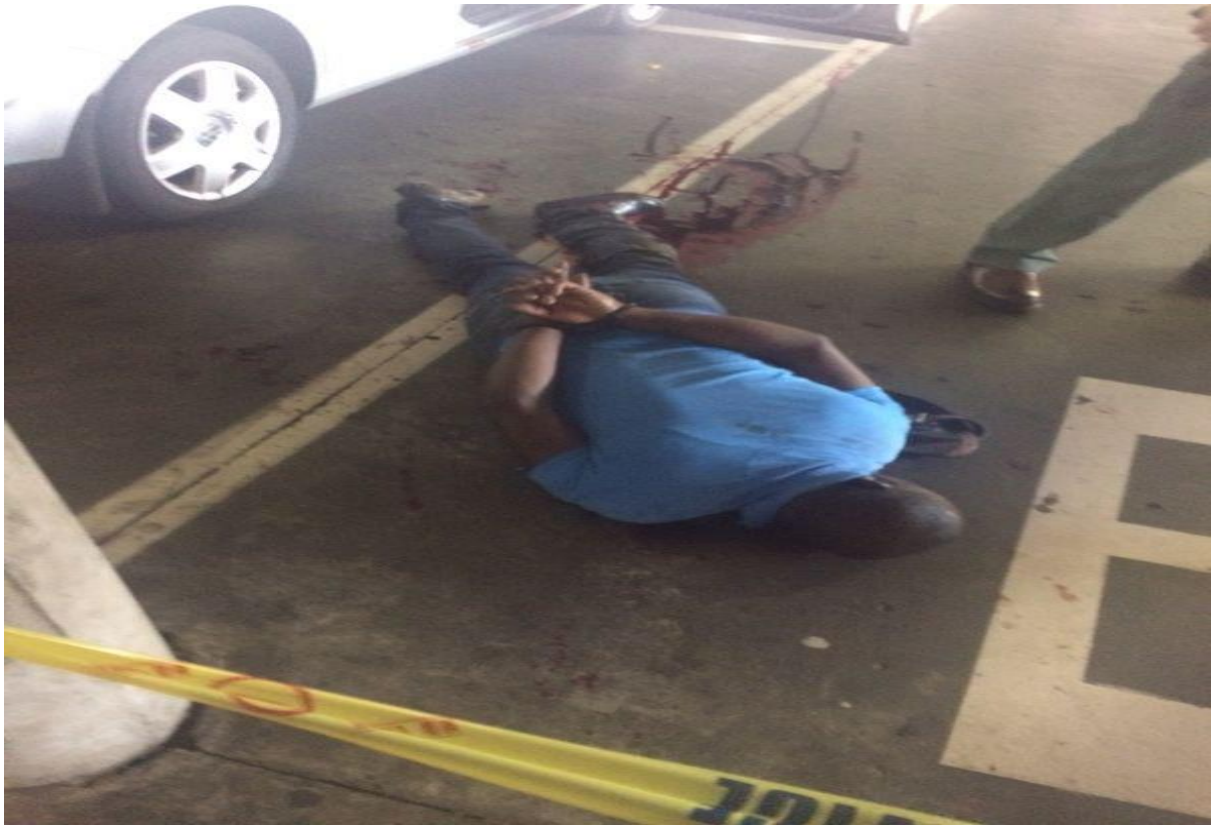


Figure 3.8 An apprehended criminal in a parking lot during a shooting at the *Bedford Centre* in Bedfordview on 29 January 2015. Source: @PigSpotter (2015/01/29).

What is crucial to observe about this image, other than its inhumane and faceless display of a black body, is the user handle which circulated this image on *Twitter*, that of @PigSpotter.

Firstly, the name of this user handle is a racist reference to South Africa's traffic law enforcement. What @PigSpotter essentially does, is give followers forewarning about where road blockades and traffic speeding cameras are situated. This information allows motorists who are un-abiding to speed limits, who have un-roadworthy vehicles, or who even have illegal content or blood alcohol limits the opportunity to avoid police demarcated search areas. The hypocrisy of this user handle encouraging law breaking, then wanting to point fingers at *others* is simply detestable. We do not know the broader social context, 'or history' of individuals, nor do we 'have full appreciation' (Papacharissi, 2015: 4-5) of whether or not they might be involved in other forms of morally questionable activities. Yes, we might imagine the individual's feelings of 'excitement and disillusionment' (Papacharissi, 2015: 4-5) towards mall robberies, however, their daily actions remain private and unseen. This positioning automatically re-affirms the social hypocrisy of spectacular criminality. By spotlighting the actions of visible criminality, it encourages these authors to focus on presumed 'stories of human tragedy', rather than 'dispositions towards human affairs' (Chouliaraki, 2008: 838). Anyone who is present at a mall and seemingly not involved in criminal activity, through the eyes of these individuals, automatically assumes innocence, which by default establishes *us versus them* perspectives.

The impact of *othering* through spectacular criminality gained further momentum by shifting the focus of mall robberies beyond national borders towards tweets referencing the global war on terror. The indoctrinating attitudes behind these tweets share a strategy of 'racializing their own identities' (Jalata, 2005: 80) and those of the *other* as a means to marginalize criminals and elevate shopper innocence. By comparing criminals to terrorists and mall robberies as acts of terror, these individuals imply that their innocence as a 'civil liberty is sacrificed' (Hussain and Bagguley, 2012: 2) through the imposing actions of the *other*. This perspective is viewed not just as a national threat, but also as an enemy of global proportions. These tweets not only illustrate a 'racist delineation' of a valued self, but also a 'denigrated' (Hussain and Bagguley, 2012: 7) assessment of the *other*. By taking the moral high ground, these individuals contradict themselves through their unscrupulous hypocrisy of presumed innocence as a motive for spectacularizing criminals. Comparing mall robberies as acts of terror reaches its pinnacle with the following tweet: 'On a scale of 1-Westgate how bad is the *Bedford Centre* shooting?' (@jeymez, 2015/01/29).This tweet refers to a hostage situation that took place on 21 September 2013, where an 'unknown number of armed terrorists entered the *Westgate* shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya' (Goldberg et al., 2014: e104136) and took the place hostage. This terror attack led to a 'four-day siege, resulting in 67 fatalities and about 175 wounded' (Goldberg et al., 2014: e104136). What is significant about this terror attack is that not only did it occur at a mall on the African continent, but more specifically, what was established as a motive for the attacks. It was seen as an opportunity for the terrorist organisation *Al Shabaab* to place pressure on the Kenyan government to withdraw its troops from Somalia (Onuoha, 2013). Reports suggest that by targeting and killing members of an upper-class Kenyan society, *Al Shabaab* would ensure their voice was heard and their demands were met (Onuoha, 2013). What this situation indicates towards mall robberies

being referenced as terror attacks is that these authors believe criminals want to take hostage of their way of life. By spectacularizing mall robberies, these individuals generate 'middle-class consciousness's' associated with ideological 'habits of consumption' (Lemmings, 2009: 5) towards preserving exclusivity and inequality as features of their urban modernity. This example and the previous, re-affirm 'affective processes' (Papacharissi, 2015: 17) of racism as necessary and intentional towards conveying the impending dangers of criminality (Gumperz, 2015). By representing mall robberies as *war zones* and criminals as *terrorists*, these authors generate cohesive narratives that the national and distant *other* are the same enemy threatening to occupy their exclusive social domains (Martin, 2015).

'Lexical expressions' using 'mental models' of specific terrorist accounts were used as subversive methods by these individuals to 'normalise and downplay' (Van Dijk, 2015: 473-474) the need to understand broader, social and historical contexts associated alongside 'acts of labelling' (Leap, 2015: 666). The voices of the *others* are solely present through these individual's interpreting their actions. 'Acts of labelling' function as a 'consensus message' that perpetuates racism without 'invoking alternative understandings' (Leap, 2015: 666-667) towards deeper, social meanings about mall robberies. These narratives 'impoverish' (Chouliaraki, 2008: 832) mall robberies as a social commentary in highlighting alternative perspectives other than their own subjectivities. Talk of spectacular criminality numbed these authors ability to identify with the fact that their need to create social distinctions only perpetuates the existing socio-economic inequalities present within South Africa (Leap, 2015).

Attitudes of social distinction take an even more subtle stance when disguised as concerned public voices. With these tweets embedded in similar 'subjective positions' towards the 'ideological representation' of *others*, they become actions of pure retributive 'human performances' (Fairclough, 1995: 39-40). By expressing the need for direct action towards eradicating crime as the only viable solution, these individuals perpetuate the continuation of spectacular criminality (Dossa, 1989). I am not suggesting that these authors should refrain from expressing how they feel, or that criminal actions are exempt from the law. I am arguing that ideologically, by labelling criminals as *others*, these subject positions fail to address any historical and/or social contexts of the power of inequality still present in post-apartheid South Africa. Contrary narratives attempting to move away from racist and inhumane outlooks about criminal deviancy and towards addressing socio-economic inequalities do exist, but only from nuanced perspectives: 'Is crime only an issue when it affects you?' (@RonaldPhiri01, 2015/01/29).

Tweets such as these lend themselves to potential introspection, especially concerning socio-economic inequalities that are disproportionately visible throughout South Africa. By stating that *we,* in reference to middle-class consumers, *make it easy for them* (criminals) opens up an opportunity to debate how malls representing 'artefacts of globalisation' (Salcedo, 2003: 1084) and economic liberation, can also stand as beacons to remind society that there are those who are socio-economically excluded from this world. In this light, I would like to

remain hopeful that @RolandPhiri01 (2015) was taking a humanitarian position in asking people to think about whom crime really affects, those in poverty and social exclusion, or those who are concerned about malls remaining open for convenient shopping? Socially, mall robberies have less to do with criminal action framed by public reasoning, and more to do with a collective resistance of 'political, social and economic forces' (Rivas, 2009: 2) at play. 'Got mixed feelings as I walk into the *Bedford Centre* this morning #BedfordCentreShooting' (@MsTaubie, 2015/01/30). This statement suggests feelings of anxiety create moral hysteria about mall robberies, but the idea of being uncomfortable in a space symbolising economic freedom, liberation and excessive consumption, is an ideal starting point for future talk about existing socio-economic inequalities. 'We can bitch on the robbers – who are douchebags yes. But man we make it easy for them… !' (@RabinHarduth, 2014/09/09). This tweet, although not directly a racist slur, raises a provocative thought towards excessive materiality existing only for a select few members of society. The actions of criminals and their representative scripting, in many ways, signifies a need for 'broader debates surrounding the importance of material culture in transitioning societies' (Iqani, 2015: 141).

By viewing mall robberies not just as criminal, and the fact that crime intersects this exclusive consumer space, constructs malls as an 'arena for the struggle over the meaning of social participation' (Crawford, 1995: 4). Privileged citizens need to consider their own *truth*, but not to the detriment of other *truths*. If public attitudes continue resisting socio-economic transformation, these individuals (as a represented collective) will forge ahead in 'attributing blame and responsibility for tragic happenings' (Ellul, 2014: 207) solely as an act of criminality. A starting point towards a 'discourse of resistance' (McCarthy and Louge, 2008: 34) takes into consideration that representations of criminality need addressing within social contexts, before making racist and inhumane judgments based solely on visible, immediate actions. If not brought into consideration, this stance fails to question the 'dynamics of power and resistance' (McCarthy and Louge, 2008: 34) that mall robberies portend, especially in light of socio-economic inequalities. Essentially mall robberies represent 'conditions of possibility' that stretch beyond the immediate causality of public responses about criminality, and moves towards larger social issues of 'indifference and apathy' (Chouliaraki, 2008: 832). The following section explores how mall robberies link in with broader issues of racism associated with establishing social hierarchies, appropriating a classist system. Issues of *othering* also continue in sentiment when discussions about xenophobia arise.

Ebony and ivory not in perfect harmony: Racism, class and xenophobia

'Affirmative Shopping Deluxe #BedfordCentreShooting #BedfordRobbery #Bedfordshooting' (@C365D, 2015). '#MallRobberies is #affirmativeaction shopping' (@PCasz, 2014/09/22). 'It's led to racial profiling – happens when security increases, unfortunately… #mallrobberies' (@juanitaw, 2014/10/28).

Keywords	Tweets	Re-tweets
Black, White, Class, Xenophobia	16	9

Figure 3.9 Illustrates a number of tweets captured bearing keyword classifications and sentiments relating to racism, class and xenophobia. These numbers do not indicate a number of tweets used in this section, as they are merely in support the thematic weight for this section. Refer to Chapter 2: *Searching for mall robbery tweets*, for more information about selected numbers and appropriate use in each section.

Although the post-apartheid governance 'promises a new constitution' (Mergel, 2012: 16) as well as reconciliation, transformation and equality for all South Africans today, the negativity towards indifference still produces racist attitudes. Opposing minority and majority groups are still in constant criticism of each other. This section articulates how tweeting about mall robberies continued with racist talk embedded within issues of class and xenophobia. The conversation started with tweets attempting to position mall robberies as an issue of class and not racism:

'These thugs are really out to kill, why not just take what you want and spare the lives of these breadwinners…#mallrobberies' (@samido1060, 2014/09/06). 'I see the middle centre class blacks mostly asking "Kanti where is it safe now?" #Bedfordcentre' (@Nipho_Reserved, 2015/01/29). As the following tweets demonstrate, and especially within post-apartheid South Africa's turbulent landscape, it is difficult to separate class from issues of racism:

'Incredible how quick the police show up in white neighborhood's #BedfordCentre' (@Kgosi_Leking, 2015/01/29). 'Criminals don't care if you are black or white, bro, they murder everyone. Of course, white people target them but it's false' (@Devious_Words, 2015/09/01). It's got little to do with race and more with money #mallrobberies' (@Devious_Words, 2015/09/01). Feeding into issues of racism, tweets tended towards blaming the foreign *other* as the reason for mall robberies:

'#MallRobberies I bet are not even South Africans hitting Browns Jewelers' (@Baptista74, 2014/09/21). 'Now Nigerian criminals are economically sabotaging our country and SA govt is saying nothing #Mallrobberies' (@Machakaltsweng, 2014/10/19). 'Why doz everything bad dat happens 2 #SouthAfrica connects to #Nigeria? #mallrobberies' (@mandlamZA, 2014/10/22).

These tweets support arguments inciting class and race as centrally bound together 'in any material analyses' (Nengwekhulu, 1986: 30, 36) of society. This is especially relevant towards how mall robberies represent a discourse contesting the endeavours for socio-economic liberation by means of ongoing class struggles in South Africa. Defining these mall goers as middle-class assumes that they occupy a sense of 'middle-ness' (Klaaren, 2013: 668) in terms of income, position and mindset within society. Being middle-class means these individuals can establish themselves as an 'elite and powerful' social entity by appearing to be a 'visibly normal' (Keating, 2015: 248) and a 'respectable people of property and commerce' (Lemmings, 2009: 4). More than these positional standings, class limits itself as a means of establishing differences within society (Teegan, 2001). In light of mall robberies, these authors appropriated class as a mode of defence 'against the contamination of the excluded criminal (Teegan, 2001: 477). These individuals exemplify class as a means of encapsulating how criminal deviancies affect their 'self-identity, consumption practices, and social status' constructed in and around their 'urban location' (Iqani, 2015: 131) to malls. @Nipho_Reserved (2015/01/29) illustrates this when referring to an emerging post-apartheid, black middle-class, who also questions their safety at malls. A central argument to this example suggests that in essence, the higher an individual classifies their class standing (economically, politically and culturally), the less they are able to comprehend consumer crimes as a contestation against economic and ideological class struggles (Nengwekhulu, 1986). The fact that armed robberies intersect malls as a consumer space saturated with symbols of class and exclusivity, makes it difficult to 'recognise and identify' (Decandia, 2013: 86) with an externally deprived lower class. In South Africa's capitalistic, westernised world of materiality, the spectacle of class becomes a defining discourse within practices of consumption. South Africa's story of consumer class and lifestyle, however old and tired it may seem, cannot be divorced from acknowledging 'apartheid's day to day legislative' (Falkof, 2015: 68) implementations of racialized segregation. These practices, especially when discussing mall robberies, are still rooted in the racist 'politics of consumption associated with the civilising mission in establishing formations of social distinctions (Posel, 2010).

The manner in which these individuals position mall robberies within a post-apartheid 'middle-class' (Falkof, 2015: 66-67) aspirational mindset, displays behavioural attitudes that uses criminality as a means of distancing themselves from and re-affirming a legacy of racist typecasting. This becomes apparent when @samido1060 (2014/09/06) displayed a racist demeanour by referring to criminals as *thugs* and shoppers as *breadwinners.* Racist judgements formed from a classist position towards criminals are notoriously constructed around the 'aestheticization of commodities' (Iqani, 2013: 3). These individual tweets illustrating aspirational, consumer lifestyles, have embraced malls as ideological symbols of freedom and liberation in a globalised modernity (Iqani, 2012). By feeling impedingly threatened by instances of criminality, these tweets defaulted to racist talk as a form of naturalised language constructed from within South Africa's segregationist era (Posel, 2010).

South Africa is a nation with a turbulent history of classifying people and their positions within in society according to 'racialized identities' (Giardina, 2008: 70). These tweets demonstrate how the impact of class conflict within the social landscape of South Africa, has an intertwining relationship with racism, especially with malls functioning as a signpost for middle-class consumer aspirations. Today, under post-apartheid conditions, simmering racist tensions frequently find ways into the public realm, creating heightened moments of realisation that South Africa's past is still presently active. This is because racism is 'profoundly and in its very essence ideological' (Fields, 1982: 143) and therefore, 'constructed as a natural' (Falkof, 2015: 67) form of expression. In the case of mall robberies and the dangers they impose for shoppers, concerns about public safety in these tweets initially appeared to take president over issues of racism. However, as the discourse throughout this chapter indicates, the fundamental motive argued to be driving mall robberies, lies within issues of socio-economic inequalities, which have been propagated by a history of racial segregation (Johnson, 1980). With crime disrupting established conditions of shopping safety, these narratives from the authors about criminals inevitably perpetuated intergroup resistances as a form of 'racist consciousness' (Nengwekhulu, 1986: 32).

For racism to 'acquire a certain relative autonomy' towards mall robberies, there needs to be 'certain given conditions' which play a 'conditioning role' (Nengwekhulu, 1986: 32) in shaping public outlook towards criminals. Essentially armed robberies are about 'fears of contamination and degeneration', brought on by those classified as an 'inferior race' (Teegan, 2001: 462). South Africa's history of racism has fundamentally classified black people as the criminal perpetrator, which justified the need to protect 'white pride' (Teegan, 2001: 465) by means of social segregation. These racist attitudes are active within this audience's way of thinking. The following examples illustrate how 'racial discrimination and prejudice' (Nengwekhulu, 1986: 31) towards criminals, tended towards racist typecasting on a political front. 'Lmfao ewn comments on the Bedford Centre shooting some blame apartheid. Wtf its 20 years now' (@KEVINSHUTUP, 2015/01/29). This tweet was in response to intense arguments that ensued on *Disqus*, a networked community platform integrated within *Twitter* to facilitate extended public discussions (Disqus, 2016). The following transcript is in response to an armed robbery that took place at *Bedford Centre* on 29 January 2015. It illustrates how criminality is used to perpetuate the 'unadulterated nature' of racism as the ever present and 'central tenant of apartheid's legacy' (Falkof, 2015: 68).

Brent: *The blood is on the ANC's hands. They are the most unless bunch of oxygen thieves ever to walk the face of the earth.*

Sean: *Racism is only going to make you look like an entitled, pretentious asshole. Regardless of skin colour, the shooters committed a crime which would have possibly been prevented had we elected a government with foresight and justice.*

Ashy: *You guys are just too funny. People got shot today and all most of you can do is fight about ANC and black and white please grow up people.*

Peter: *South Africa, toilet of the world.*

Icancomment: *Savages!!!*

Kwatas: *Blame apartheid and your forefathers, these guys are trying to make a living because your fathers deprived their fathers of equal opportunities hence you whites are well learned and you are able to insult the ANC and black people....the only thing about this incident i don't like is that a black person was shot!!!*

Aaron Anderson: *The fact that you actually equate armed robbery with "trying to make a living" tells us more than enough about you. And it explains the utterly moronic nature of the rest of your comment.*

Kwatas: *If there was equality, whites treated blacks as their fellow human beings then people would be literate and not resort to forceful repossession, that is the moral of my comment idiot!!! Have you been to the townships to see what hardships black people are going through, Unequal education, health system, infrastructure and the land itself??? Thanks because of the group areas act that isolated black to infertile lands. You should visit the Apartheid Museum before painting all blacks with the same brush!!!*

Richard: *Yes, fair enough, apartheid separated land and races unfairly. You're comment has merit, if it was posted 20 years ago. However, apartheid has been over for 20 years. Whites have not had power over decisions about education/housing/health care/job creation etc. that has been squarely on the shoulders of the ANC. Yes the townships are hard places to live, but the fact that they still exist 20 years after apartheid is due to the inadequacy of the ANC government. You ask not to paint all black people with the same brush. Well do not paint all white people with the same brush. We are not all racist supporters of apartheid; we also want to live in equality with everyone else without having to worry about our wonderful nation being dragged down by a corrupt few. I know that not all black people are like Zuma and his cronies, but one cannot hide the fact that they are criminals who have no concern about truly improving the lives of everyone in our country. The fact that you blindly defend him because he is black is actually more racist than the people calling for him to be removed because he is a criminal.*

By adopting self-determining images of racial and social distinction, these individuals disempower each other from developing a discourse addressing crime as a social issue perpetuated by socio-economic inequalities, rather than racist classifications. There are attempts to bring issues of inequality to light, but all these individuals demonstrate is an intolerance and unwillingness to accommodate each other. This conversation essentially illustrates how mall robberies become a representation about the 'politics of racism', rather than 'exhibiting continuities' (Klaaren, 2013: 551-552) indicating signs of progressive change. Racism in this discussion is essentially about the 'horrible logics of purity and power' (Chidester, 1991: 10) as a self-entitled and exclusive narrative. This stance inevitably 'lead back to what is known of old and long familiar' (Freud, 1990: 340). Apartheid is still a conscious, racist ideology that 'perpetuated and reproduced' (Nengwekhulu, 1986: 32) these

racist divisions towards acknowledging mall robberies as commentaries about a fractured socio-economic nation.

Existing attitudes of racism tended deeper down the rabbit hole of prejudice when talking about mall robberies from a position of xenophobia. Xenophobia is defined as a 'hatred, fear or dislike of foreigners' (Harris, 2002: 169). The tweets in discussion responded to news reports revealing that police investigations suspect that the majority of goods stolen from malls were destined for Nigeria. These expressions were less about the stole goods destination, and more about blaming foreigners, where it should have rather taken ownership for the nations 'social ills' (Harris, 2002: 170). Xenophobia as a form of racism and inhumanity is not a new phenomenon within 'South African society', and is 'deeply rooted in the country's' (Vilakazi, 1965: 1) violent history. In recent times (1994-2015), these 'brutal acts perpetrated against migrants, largely reflect' how a South African public 'deals with minorities and vulnerable groups' (Vilakazi, 1965: 2). These authors appropriate their racist hostilities towards criminals through stereotypical, xenophobic imagery: *Now Nigerian criminals are economically sabotaging our country, why does everything bad that happens to South Africa connect to Nigeria.* Ideologically speaking, these individuals appropriate local and foreign criminal deviancies under the same racist umbrella. They denounce mall robberies as a discourse contesting 'relative deprivations' (Neocosmos, 2010: 4) of socio-economic inequalities. Instead, these discursive expressions of prejudice is used as a means of *othering* to maintain social exclusivity within a shopping world.

As a consumer discourse, mall robberies have dual functionalities in relation to racism and class in South Africa. Firstly, they contest distinctive 'regimes of meaning' (Iqani, 2015, 128) categorised from within socio-economic boundaries classified according to the historical determinants of racism and class (Posel, 2010). Secondly, criminals adopt forceful and dangerous methods as a means to address the 'historically, constitutive and existing relationships between the workings of racism and class' (Posel, 2010: 160) by contesting the freedoms of shopping. Essentially, mall robberies 'mobilise counter-hegemonic movements' of 'economic impediments' contested through 'feelings of injustice' (Alexander, 2013: 26) towards the manner in which apartheid's historical legacy still determines citizenry value. By not conceiving racism and class as 'instances of social totality' (Nengwekhulu, 1986: 33) dividing a nation, even with the advent of an ever growing 'black middle-class, economic transformation' (Mattes, 2015: 667) has become a subverted means of racially classifying any middle-class consumer as a bourgeoisie. With the presence of consumer transformations, these authors still discussed mall robberies with a sense of 'contradictory consciousness' (Wale, 2013: 165), by unjustly using historically constructed ideologies of racism and class as central determinants towards placing humanitarian value on people. In the end, mall robberies remind a South African public that socio-economic inequalities remain substantial and that racism and class, 'occupy a central position' (Nengwekhulu, 1986, 33) within the struggles for equality. Mall robberies as a social commentary, are attempting to find 'freedom

under' (Mattes, 2015: 686) neo-liberal conditions constructed around a democratic modernity (Iqani and Kenny, 2015).

This chapter explored how tweets about mall robberies produced feelings of moral hysteria towards social instability and shopper safety. This public as a collective of citizens were within their constitutional right to express anxieties about feeling unprotected from criminal violence. It was also within their right to besiege justice for criminals who were breaking the law and endangering lives. Where this analysis of tweets became critical, was not to denounce the right to express, nor was it to trivialise individual subjectivities, but rather to raise questions about the unethical construction of these narratives. This chapter problematized talk about mall robberies as expletive, derogatory, defamatory, racist and inhumane, not towards criminality, but towards human life. Having the right to express entails a sense of civic responsibility towards the Constitution. This means approaching conversations with a sensitive and ethical mind. However, these narratives illustrated indoctrinations of the apartheid's segregationist era, more than evaluating criminality through debates appropriating socio-economic equality for all. A further concern raised was that of sentiments of self-entitlement towards safe shopping. All citizens have the right to feel safe and protected from criminal violence. It was however the unethical manner in which these individuals voiced their concerns about their safety at malls, that made their responses questionable for this study. This was especially problematic when, in process of assuring shopper safety, racist and inhumane attitudes became a form of celebration towards the loss of human life. What these attitudes illustrated was that shopping as an ideological practice, still has values of socio-economic exclusivity, more than humanitarian values of equality. The following chapter explores how tweets about mall robberies reveal 'homogenising attitudes of consumer culture' (Iqani, 2011: 3) in a space constructed to facilitate socially, pleasurable shopping experiences. With moral panic centrally driving concerns about shopper safety, these individuals 'accelerate consumer culture' (Rowe, 2009: 36) as a necessary, daily social activity that needs protecting and preserving.

4. Is it Safe to go Shopping? What Mall Robberies Reveal about the Meaning of Consumption

The tweets represented throughout this chapter provides a window into the rationale of individual consumers in forming a collective understanding towards the seemingly trivial act of consumption (Papacharissi, 2015). Lending from the previous chapter, are continued sentiments of self-entitlement towards the pleasures of shopping as an assumed rite of passage, meant only for middle-class exclusivities. Criminality continues to be used as a scapegoat towards denouncing talk about what mall robberies mean within a socio-economically divided, South African landscape. The thematic analysis of this chapter is organised into four sections. Section one: *We will shop regardless: Consumer aspirations for pleasure,* illustrates how tweets about mall robberies expose a love for pleasurable shopping. These authors position shopping as more than just acts of commodity acquisition, for them, shopping is quintessentially a mandatory component of modern, urban living. Section two: *Get out of my mall: Shopping as a domestic, national and territorial identity,* articulates how tweets about mall robberies are experienced as direct threats against domestic and national identity. These dangers transpired into discursive movements of solidarity, in which these audience members claimed a sense of collective and self-entitled territorialisation over malls and shopping. Section three: *Just like the movies: Hyperreal,* tweets incorporated cinematic narratives as a means to describe the effects of mall robberies as a nightmarish scene from a movie. Armed robbers forcefully infiltrated an ideologically exclusive dream space designed for fantastical, escapist pleasures, in a symbolic attempt to jolt these shoppers back into facing the social reality of crime. Section four: *Stealing is good business: Consumer values of materiality,* illustrates how stolen goods resulted in talk about consumer values of materiality. Tweets reveal how theft in many ways drives both national and international commerce, not just for criminals, but also for the business of malls. This chapter concludes with hopeful signs towards future debates about mall robberies, not only as a public risk but also as a humanitarian crisis directly in conflict towards achieving constitutional equities.

We will shop regardless: Consumer aspirations for pleasure

'Is it safe to go shopping?' #wtf #mallrobberies (@YolikaMuscat, 2014/10/09).

Keywords	Tweets	Re-tweets
Need to shop, love to shop, nice things, crime season	40	9

Figure 4.1 Illustrates a number of tweets captured bearing keyword classifications and sentiments relating to shopper aspirations. These numbers do not indicate a number of tweets used in this section, as they are merely in support the thematic weight for this section. Refer to Chapter 2: *Searching for mall robbery tweets*, for more information about selected numbers and appropriate use in each section.

This section illustrates how shopper tweets normalise acts of consumption as a necessary, lifestyle commodity meant for private and exclusive pleasure. These authors distance themselves from viewing shopping as a moral and/or ethical dilemma subjugating socio-economic inequalities still present within South Africa. Tweets started this discussion by expressing a love affair with shopping despite their being imposing dangers associated with mall robberies:

'The rise in #MallRobberies is scary. Criminals are now dictating when and why we should go shopping' (@marica_breeze, 2014/09/09). 'These #MallRobberies are frightening how are we expected to do shopping mara!!!' (@cindzo, 2014/12/04). #BedfordCentreShooting more like 'aversion therapy' (@Gatvolverby, 2015/01/29). 'The way I love shopping and hanging out at #BedfordCentre but after today aai, I'm looking for another chilled shopping centre' (@genrak_35, 2015/01/29). 'I love shopping, imagine being in a store and it gets robbed hah! Drama epic drama #MallOfTheSouth hmm wat a tragic opening…' (@TumiMotlhabane1, 2015/10/12).

This love for shopping turned into expressions about pleasures derived from shopping and malls: 'Today is going to be a hella boring day. I live in front of #mallofthesouth but won't be able to go. #mallrobberies' (@Vanessa_ione, 2015/09/23). '#Bedfordcentre can miss me, never going there again. #mallrobberies' (@Vusiwe_M, 2015/01/30). Smh. We can't have nice things' (@BantersaurusDev, 2015/10/12). 'Brand new mall. No time wasted. Centurion, Armed Robbery' (@bosunrsa, 2014/07/21). 'Eh what happened?? That's one of my fav malls in Jhb: Fourways Mall shooting: 3 dead. (@realJMaru, 2014/08/29).

Finally, these authors talked about how mall robberies disrupt seasonal moments of festive, pleasurable shopping: 'Another armed robbery at a mall in #SouthAfrica. Likely to see more of these… 'Tis the season after all?' (@GenStander, 2015/10/12). 'You know the festive season is around the corner when the mall robberies start in September 1st. Crime is out of control! #ClearwaterMall' (@juliogarciaSA, 201509/01). 'That's it. No one's getting gifts

this festive season. Another robbery at Centurion Mall' (@KimVanderSchyff, 2014/11/20). '#Mallrobberies do your Xmas shopping early and avoid being a Victim of #mallrobbery' (@moxolisi, 2014/10/18).

These tweets illustrate how criminal activity signifies the value of consumer practices, constructed as an unrestrictive movement of activity towards 'human fulfilment' (Gmeber, 2011: 493; Lukose, 2008). In modern societies, consumer practices represent a form of empowering agency that when contested by a threatening agent, expedites beliefs that self-actualization is at risk (Beltrán, 2009: 617). Not being able to shop may appear to be a 'hysterical overreaction', but these individuals justify their responses as appropriate towards how their consumer values are threatened by 'a deeply troubling, moral evil' (Garland, 2008: 22). Such effects 'energise public rituals' (Papacharissi, 2015: 9) of desire to become active consumers rather than 'passive victims' (Gmeber, 2011: 490) towards criminal behaviour. With South Africa's long-standing history of violence, the pleasures associated with shopping often transcend into practices directed towards satisfying needs and anxieties often 'unrelated to purchasing' (Barker and Wakefield, 2011: 793) material goods. When violent behaviour disrupts the ability to experience pleasure through shopping, these individuals displayed a 'valuational consensus' (Rowe, 2009: 34) about how mall robberies disturb their anomie towards daily consumer activities. 'So, not even 'retail therapy' is safe anymore, you could be shot buying coffee (@Gatvolverby, 2015/01/29). Criminal interferences compelled these individuals to assess their need to shop as a 'relationship of conditional freedom' (Chouliaraki, 2008: 846) needing defence from those who appear to have no regard for public order. With armed robberies challenging their consumer values, these tweets illustrate how shopping has become more than just an activity about 'emotional pleasures' of social interaction and the acquisition of 'material objects' (Martin, 1993: 142). Shopping for these individuals represents acts of resistance against how crime threatens to disrupt their access to a 'private and intimate world' (Martens and Casey, 2007: 225). Research indicates that pleasurable experiences coincide with a person's 'emotional state' (Sierra and Hyman, 2011: 345) towards establishing desirable outcomes. With mall robberies being 'situationally-based' disruptors of pleasure and 'social interaction' (Khare, 2011: 110), crime predictably heightened these individuals shopping desires.

Further consumer evaluations indicate that shopping provides unique 'experiential benefits and gratifications' (Jackson et al., 2011: 3) inscribed as a valuable social activity for a modern way of living. By constantly feeling at risk, these shoppers illustrate intense feelings of dissatisfaction towards not being able to peruse, pleasurable shopping activities. Their solution is to find another *chilled* mall, or to complain about how *boring* life is without having *nice things*. Feelings of dissatisfaction within urban settlements tend to perpetuate desires towards establishing stronger, 'routinizing rituals' where shopping is used to evoke pleasurable feelings as a means to 'assuage everyday anxieties' (Martens and Casey, 2007: 228). The fact that crime both disrupts and heightens anxieties in an environment associated with pleasure, only increased these authors' desire to continue shopping.

What this audience of shoppers essentially illustrate is that they have a ‘reflexive relationship with malls’ (Fienberg et al., 1989: 50), whereby the un-assurance of a stimulating environment influences their enacted sociability towards seeking out ‘pleasure and arousal’ (Dennis et al., 2010: 205). Achieving spaces of euphoria means establishing a ‘positive atmosphere’ conducive for ‘social interactions’ that contribute towards ‘popularity and probability’ (Feinberg et al., 1989: 50) associated with malls. When crime disrupted these delicate environments, it not only unsettled these shoppers but also tarnished the representation of shopping as a means toward ‘self-congruity’ (Massicotte et al., 2011: 79) and ‘human restoration’(Rosenbaum, Otalora and Ramìrez, 2016: 158). ‘So the Mall of the South hasn’t even been open for a month and there’s already been a robbery’ (@BantersaurusDev, 2015/10/12). ‘I love malls – but to change the minds of the centre management and owners is where we need to focus. #MallRobberies’ (@RabinHarduth, 2014/09/09). Malls have become ‘central points’ (Khare, 2011: 111) of community interaction and social stability, that when threatened, ‘weaken shopper attachments’ (Mangleburg, Doney and Bristol, 2004: 17) to them. Malls represent more than just the ‘appropriation and use’ (Canclini, 2001: 38) of goods. They have come to necessitate everyday ‘socio-cultural processes’ (Canclini, 2001: 38) of an urban modernity, which crime now threatens to destabilise.

Consumption has become an activity that allows shoppers to ‘daydream and fantasise’ (Martin, 1993: 144) about experiences that transport them into the world of carnivals and festivities. The significance of mall robberies in South Africa is that the public has come to expect periods of seasonal crime, especially over the December festivities. During this time, the retail industry experiences a surge in consumer sales, predominately encouraged by salary bonuses and the commercialisation of Christmas as a special time for overindulging pleasures. The festive season is also the most probable time for increased criminal activity. These authors have defined this ‘assessed risk potential’ (Adam and Van Loon, 2005: 7) as crime season, which as illustrated, had an effect on their shopping expectations. ‘Warning! #MallRobbery season has arrived’ (@RBRuddick, 2015/09/01). ‘Malls not safe, anymore. It’s that season again. #ClearwaterMall’ (@xstshepo, 2015/09/01). These concerns about criminals threatening their ritualised festivities of pleasure and indulgence, re-affirms ‘established values and meaning’ (Canclini, 2001: 41) towards shopping as a social practice needing preservation. Intense desires to shop, when threatened by criminality, tends to heighten moral panic about the dangers involved in perusing shopping as a cultural necessity within an ‘urban modernity’ (Kenny, 2008: 387). This understanding inevitably creates a sense of awareness that consumer freedoms are at risk (Hunt, 1997). News media play a pivotal role in perpetuating moral panic by constantly reminding shoppers of potential risks involved at malls due to increased criminal activity over the festive season. An example of this comes from *The Citizen* newspaper (2014), who published an article titled: ‘*Mall Robberies: tips to stay safe this holiday season*’. This article provides readers with observational and practical suggestions towards suspicious activities, and what to do if

shoppers are confronted with a 'less than desirable situation' (Citizen Reporter, 2014). These *tips* suggest the following:

- Avoid being alone in high-target stores around opening and closing times.
- Be observant at all times – be aware of shoppers around you and of anyone following you in parking areas.
- Report suspicious behaviour discreetly to shopping centre management, the information desk or security staff.
- Should robbers demand your vehicle or a personal item, hand it over immediately – your life and those of your family member are worth more than valuables.
- Don't confront anyone yourself – robbers are likely to be armed.
- As difficult as it may be, stay calm, don't make eye contact, don't act aggressively, and follow their instructions at all times.
- Have a predetermined plan with friends or family members to reunite in the event of a robbery.

These *tips* as guidelines for personal safety under threatening conditions have merit to them. As a means of engaging with the sociality of danger talk, these guidelines run the risk of ensuring that the 'homogeneity' of consumer practices towards seeking only pleasurable experiences, overrides the 'politics of consumption' (Kenway and Bullen, 2008: 21). What these tweets illustrate is that these authors have learned 'shopping predispositions' (Baker and Wakefield, 2011: 793) towards malls as a constructed atmosphere of pleasure and fantasy. This mindset has the ability to distract shoppers from recognising criminality as a voice of contestation for those socio-economically deprived of participating in their exclusive world (Kelly, 2008). With mall robberies threatening desirable outcomes, these individuals demonstrate how their shopping practices have become highly valued modes of 'orientation in a public world' (Couldry and Markham, 2006: 1) promising nothing but pleasure (Gmeber, 2011). As a discourse narrative, armed robberies disrupt consumer practices as a complex 'semiotic system' operating on 'multiple levels of communication' (Iqani and Kenny, 2015: 102). These communicative layers in discussion with the illustrated tweets presents this study with a 'broad spectrum' of possibilities towards arguing how shopping practices in South Africa ignore the 'distant sufferings' (Chouliaraki, 2008: 832) of socio-economic exclusion.

Shared meanings of resistance and contestation intertwining with consumer practices, construct an interpretive 'conceptual map' (Hall, 1997: 18) for malls as a space of appearance. They are retail spaces representing 'narratives of modernity' which are 'historically orientated' alongside the 'rise of consumerism' (Iqani, 2011: 2). Malls function as 'social instruments of creative power' used for 'thought and action' (Keating, 2015: 244) towards organising participatory interactions. They have become the 'new social arena' where shopping is used to define the lines between, 'consumerism, consumption and materialism' (Martin, 1993: 141). Malls represent a 'spatial dispersion' from which consumption irons out public negotiations of 'private troubles and public issues' (Gerbaudo, 2012: 32). They are 'primordial sites', wherein shoppers prioritise their consumer values

against ‘the actions of others’ (Luff and Heath, 2015: 368-369). Malls represent more than just ‘theatres of consumption’, they function as ‘social environments’ (Mbembé, 2004: 394) towards defining a community. These ‘landscapes of urban activity’, when intersected by crime, present a ‘discursive terrain’ (Keating, 2015: 245) towards characterising consumption as a discourse representing the struggles and expressions of those seeking socio-economic liberation. The manner in which these authors construct shopping as a normalised and pleasurable activity, produces ‘fetishistic qualities’ of ‘cultural practices and consumer agency’ (Lukose, 2008: 139), that in light of mall crimes, cannot be ignored.

Living under a new democracy in post-apartheid South Africa, consumption as a narrative ideologically speaks to ‘eternal human qualities’ of desire in pursuit of a ‘comfortable and pleasant life’ (Iqani, 2015: 137). When criminality disrupts the levities at malls, it announces that shopping should be more than just an ‘un-reflexive exercise’ (Canclini, 2001: 38) of social pleasure and material purchases. Armed robberies question the ‘moralistic judgements’ (Canclini, 2001: 38) of shopping practices by contesting the ideals of liberation and freedom embedded within the ‘material dimensions’ (Iqani, 2015: 141) of consumerism. A malls’ ‘shaped boundary’ (Decandia, 2013) orders separations within society by allowing only those who have the economic means, the opportunity to participate in acts of liberation and freedom associated with modern, urban societies (Kenny, 2008). Mall robberies attempt to restate these societal positions, by re-ordering this space as ‘sites of struggle’ (Mayr, 2015: 756) from which disproportionate groups protest the reshaping of socio-economic inequalities. These forceful actions attempt to ‘create a common citizenship’ (Stevenson, 2002: 53) by breaking down the walls of an exclusive space. This is to allow ‘general access’ (Stevenson, 2002: 53) into a world not solely based on an individual’s socio-economic status. Mall crimes as an actionable discourse, calls upon the ‘moral agency’ of consumers to participate in shaping and changing South Africa’s inequalities with more than just ‘word and feelings’ (Chouliaraki, 2008: 845) about criminal un-pleasantries towards shopping. This perspective is by no means suggesting that criminals threatening the lives and/or possessions of shoppers are the victims in this narrative. The argument is that criminal actions symbolically represent ‘new forms of consumption’ (James, 2014: 35) by forcefully addressing the current social, political and economic landscape of post-apartheid South Africa. The ‘publicness of consumption’ (Iqani and Kenny, 2015: 102) brought to light by the forceful actions of criminality, should act as a constant reminder that, not all citizens are free to participate in the ideals and values represented by the seemingly mundane practice of shopping.

Similarly, mall robberies address the tensions that exist towards defining the lines between public and private space. The privatisation of malls as corporately owned businesses face challenges in structuring this public space as simultaneously both ‘secure and accessible’ (Gevisser and Nuttall, 2004: 517). Mall robberies not only dispute the safety of malls, they also create ‘private anxieties’ for the ‘elites operating within’ (Rowe, 2009: 33) this publically commanded, private space. Malls are a quintessential contradiction towards the

meaning of a public space. On the one hand, they promote socio-economic empowerment while, simultaneously resisting any movements falling outside the scope of 'homocentric and/or organically constructed communities' (Crinson, 1995: 105; Zukin and Maguire, 2004). This physical place, as a consumer discourse of conflict, repositions criminality within the historical narrative of apartheid's socially engineered system of segregation. Mall robberies function as a means to justify the need to protect consumer practices within an exclusively ordered, privatised space (Nuttall, 2008). Criminal actions attempt to insert a voice into this 'ideological terrain' (Lukose, 2008: 140) as a means to contest the plight of socio-economic minorities still struggling with apartheid's aftermath. The very ideological existence of restriction, if not questioned, will continue to appropriate an economically fragmented society from participating in 'self-expressions' (Papacharissi, 2015: 24) of freedom, liberation and equality by means of shopping intricacies.

This study is not suggesting that this audience in question should disregard the dangers of criminal violence at malls. Violence has never been the solution towards solving humanitarian difficulties; unfortunately, it has become the cultural go-to for South Africans who are feeling despondent by the sluggish process of transformation more than twenty years into a post-apartheid democracy. The challenge is not to view mall robberies simply as acts of criminal violence, but instead, to acknowledge the potentiality of violence as a 'transgressive, multi-cultural message' attempting to 'depoliticise' (Giardina, 2008: 75) the current socio-economic disparities affecting social unity. Mall robberies essentially remain 'socio-political flashpoints' towards 'economic empowerment' (Iqani, 2015: 141) for all South Africans. Acts of consumption equate to the 'production of modern subjects' brought into existence through the acquisition of 'mass-produced goods' (Nuttall, 2008: 171). Malls symbolically encapsulate these ideals of modernity, by subjugating consumer practices as a 'commercial revolution' towards progressive forms of 'modern societies' (Iqani, 2011: 2). When uncontested, shopping practices in South Africa re-affirm continued 'productions and reproductions' (Canclini, 2001: 38) of pleasurable experiences, but only for a select few. The intersectionality of crime disrupting these acts of consumption creates a 'movement towards a richer understanding' (Feinberg et al., 1989: 62) of consumer values. This movement should not promote sole rights for only middle-class consumers but needs to be adopted as a movement towards socio-economic liberation for all. The following section illustrates how tweets about armed robberies actively construct malls and shopping as signposts for the formation of consumer identities. For these authors, armed robberies are not singular acts of criminality isolated within a particular geography. For these individuals, malls are more just physical landmarks, they have become personified identity markers that when destabilised, threatens domestic, national and social civility.

Get out of *my* mall: Shopping as a domestic, national and territorial identity

'Funny, they seem to be more shocked that it is happening in their neighbourhood than anything #BedfordCentre' (@Nipho_Reserved, 2015/01/29).

Keywords	Tweets	Re-Tweets
Home, My, Our, Country	55	0

Figure 4.2 Illustrates a number of tweets captured bearing keyword classifications and sentiments relating to domestic, national and territorial identity. These numbers do not indicate a number of tweets used in this section, as they are merely in support the thematic weight for this section. Refer to Chapter 2: *Searching for mall robbery tweets*, for more information about selected numbers and appropriate use in each section.

Malls as fixed locations within defined boundaries of consumption have a sense of fluidity when attempting to encapsulate various notions of consumer identities. This section articulates how talking about mall robberies lead this audience to establish domestic, national and territorial identities in protest against crime. These tweets start by associating mall robberies as a direct attack on the private lives of domestic neighbourhoods:

'Close to home… The Clearwater mall robbery is scary stuff… That's why I stay clear of malls' (@koren_devereux, 2015/09/01). 'This #ClearwaterMall incident was too close for comfort – every mall near me is now scary nhai Jeso' (@kudamupeni, 2015/09/01). '#BedfordCentreShooting extremely concerned… What is going on in my neighbourhood?' (@sircrumz, 2015/01/29). 'So scary when shit like this happens in your backyard #clearwatermall' (@zama_mdluli, 2015/09/01). 'My hood is getting dangerous now, first Cradlestone Mall and now #ClearwaterMall once again… lyo' (@thandi_pitse, 2015/09/01). 'Mall robberies have been happening but it actually hits home when it happens to a place you frequently eat at. 'shudders' #BedfordCentre' (@anelemkumla, 2015/01/29).

Talking about the domestication of mall robberies inevitably became a national issue: 'Crime in our country is out of control, this shooting incident at Bedford centre, we can't even do our shopping in peace now #bedfordcentre' (@Zamozam, 2015/01/29). '#BedfordCentreShooting Can't get over how bad this country is! These people need to be dealt with accordingly!! We need some JUSTICE!!!!' (@natanz1, 2015/01/29). 'This country has lost the plot #BedfordCentreShooting' (@Ridaaaz, 2015/01/29). 'Oh my word, #BedfordCentreShooting, what's happening to our country' (@NR_DeLUKS2, 2015/01/29). 'Anada mall robbery in JHB… what is South Africa becoming?' (@AyandaMpofu2, 2015/01/29).

Having expressed how mall robberies threaten both domestic and national consumer identities, tweets tended towards a sense of personal and collective solidarity in claiming territory over malls: 'So our friendly local mall #bedfordcentre aka #gangland is the scene of

another shootout with multiple casualties' (@RichardJSherman, 2015/01/29). 'Now we must be scared to go shopping at our very own Malls? #MoponyaMallRobbery' (@Mlindi1, 2014/12/17). 'Counting days #MallOfTheSouth my new territory' (@WeLoveArthur360, 2015/12/01). 'Mall of the South robbery, for the 2nd time since it opened last month? Nah, fam… My mall can miss me, with ALL that' (@chronburgundy, 2015/11/06). 'And how I like chilling at Bedford Mall. NuMetro Bedford, my fav spot. Scared for my life #BedfordCentre #Bedfordrobbery #Bedfordshooting' (@DorriennSoul, 2015/01/29). '#Clearwatermall is my favourite mall now I'm really afraid to shop there' (@mamiki_T, 2015/09/01). '@lousigreenberg it was! Was it prompted by law-officer shooting at Bedford Centre Offices? Nervous now about my Kensington neighbours' (@JoanneMacg, 2014/03/19). 'Can't stop thinking about this #Bedfordcentre shoot-out thing and how I know so many people from around there… just hope they're okay' (@na_le_di, 2015/01/29). 'Fuckers !! #BedfordCentreShooting my college is so close to the centre… thoughts go out to the injured' (@RochelleVldmn, 2015/01/29). 'I know so many people who could have possibly been or were at Bedford Centre when this shooting happened' (@keThaboM, 2015/01/29).

These tweets, by means of crime talk, illustrate how malls function as an 'organising principle' (Mbembé, 1992: 5) of consumer identity. They are ideological extensions towards the continual development of social, domestic and collective identities associated with urban modernity (Mbembé, 1992). Malls are no longer just a space of consumer and social activity; they have become automated focal points of discussion towards people's daily orientations of themselves and the world around them. Malls as proximal locators of place and space, intrinsically create a sense of urban identity in concession with the ideals of modernity (Keating, 2015). As a site of appearance, the stability of malls serves as a gauge in identifying and assessing the functional well-being of local communities and national citizenship. For these authors, malls are 'diversified spaces' continuously in motion' and are able to assume various 'layers and levels' (Decandia, 2013: 88) of identity meaning. Malls function as symbols of stability in the everydayness of ordinary people's lives by sculpting the 'character, and function' of urban 'streetscapes' (Kenway and Bullen, 2008: 18). When criminality shook these foundations, vibrations rippled outwardly as signalling threats towards the invasion of domestic privacy: *These mall robberies are close to home, happening in my neighbourhood and your backyard*. These tweets create a 'sense of localness' (Keating, 2015: 249) by associating what happens at malls as part and parcel of the domestic, private binary. This form of identity is bound within associations of malls having significant impacts on the 'social positioning in everyday life' (Silva, 2007: 142), whereby material standards connect to domestic representations of self-fulfilling desires. For these individuals, criminality not only threatens the literal utilitarian convenience that malls have come to represent in a 'contemporary, consumer culture' (Khare, 2011: 110). Figuratively speaking, mall robberies challenge the very notion of what the material and ideological pleasures of consumption represent. These practices are necessitated as an essential component of a successful and fulfilling domestic lifestyle (Khare, 2011). The everydayness of suburban life

has developed a co-dependent relationship between malls and the home. The proximal location of malls within concentrated neighbourhoods serves multiple utilitarian functions for the community (Gumpert and Drucker, 1992). One of the most prominent attractions within a fast-paced urban lifestyle is convenience through locality (Khare, 2011). 'Going through the #MallofTheSouth store directory and it sounds AMAZING!! No more travelling 30min + for the best stores' (@PlausiblePaws, 2015/10/02). Traveling a shorter distance for shoppers potentially means more time for 'social interactions' (Khare, 2011: 110) of leisure and pleasure.

Malls represent more than just 'conceived spaces' (Stillerman and Salcedo, 2012: 312) of proximal convenience. They also serve as symbolic lifestyle connotations of material wealth, which transcends beyond the mall into to a home's environment. These consumable goods, serve as constant reminders towards the never-ending pursuit of desire and pleasure ideologically associated with an urban modernity. In many ways, malls are agents of 'encroachment' (Stillerman and Salcedo, 2012: 312), who are publically negotiating the processes of identity formation within the privacies of domestic life (Hamilton and Hamaguchi, 2015). When challenged by crime, malls acted a melting pot wherein these authors ideological constructions of consumption, fused their public and private domains into a singular, national identity (Kenway and Bullen, 2008). These individuals viewed mall robberies not just as an attack on public/ private space , but also as a symbolic attack on their national identity, which needs 'protecting from the defilement of an alien presence' (Morley, 2002: 218; Adam and Van Loon, 2005): *Crime in our country is out of hand, and we cannot shop in peace.* This 'mode of consumer' identity, forms an integral 'sense of self and sociality' in producing malls as a 'critical site' (Posel, 2010: 162) for exercising power and control. Malls as 'space of performance', has pre-disposed virtues embedded within discursive narratives of 'civic agency' towards resisting the 'distant suffering of others' (Chouliaraki, 2012: 3). What these authors demonstrate by 'engaging in direct actions' (Chouliariaki, 2010: 121) of nationalism, is that they imagine themselves to be the sole citizens suffering at the hands of a historically turbulent society. The argument made here is not assuming that these citizens have no cause for expressing their discontent about mall robberies. As argued, this audience is more concerned about addressing criminality as an issue preventing them from visiting *their favourite* mall, rather than considering criminality to be a clear indicator of inequality. By adjudicating mall robberies as an issue within *our* country, these authors as middle-class consumers, essentially position themselves within the civic parameters of socio-economic exclusivity (Couldry, et al., 2007).

The more exclusively individuals identify with malls as ideological predispositions towards 'consumer culture' (Baker and Wakefield, 2011: 800), the more inwardly an individual's sense of self can become when crime threatens these values. Malls represent exclusive 'spatial systems of structuring', through which consumer ideologies can establish a need to protect shopper 'movements and social interactions' (Goss, 1998: 19). This audience turned towards a sense of territorialisation, which manifested as personal and collective solidarity:

Our mall, my mall is under attack. They took their sense of solidarity a step further by expressing their concerns for other shoppers affected by criminal violence: *I know so many people in there, hope they are ok.* Inhabiting the 'public realm' (Lofland, 1998: 30) of malls as a collective does not automatically assume that individuals *really* know each other. It is only when this space is challenged by external forces contesting its ideological meaning, that people reveal a deeper sense of identity, often with a sense of altruism. The strong sense of solidarity that these authors displayed in relation to malls proximity blurred the lines between 'identities and subjectivities' (Keating, 2015: 244) of localised domestic issues, and civic aspirations of nationality. Their sense of self-entitlement and ownership towards a commercially privatised space is problematic in light of what freedom of participation 'means in the post-apartheid context' (Iqani and Kenny, 2015: 97). These representations resulted in malls becoming a symbol of exclusive, territorial identity, which these individuals embodied as movements of social solidarity. However, their appropriation of 'domestic metaphors and images of privacy', positioned these narratives in support of 'excluding those' identified as unfit to belong 'within these public domains' (Morley, 2002: 218). I am not suggesting that the dangers of criminal violence should be welcomed at malls. My argument is that these tweets are constructed from a middle-class perspective, making it easy to forget that retail crimes have a powerful correlation towards poverty. As long as malls remain a space of exclusivity, they will continue to be out of reach for the majority of South Africa's population who still live under the breadline. As long as tweets like these, also continue to view malls and shopping as a territorial, middle-class right, any form of solidarity they may strive for runs the risk of becoming only noisy chatter. With these authors indicating that their identity is 'inextricably bound' (Sliva, 2007: 141) to consumption practices, their daily 'routine making decisions' (Scott, 2005: 36) on where and how to live will only increase attitudes of exclusivity.

The interconnectivity towards associating malls and consumption as 'domestic practices' towards national solidarity, significantly transforms 'consumer culture' as an 'objectified entry into self-conscious' (Miller, 1995: 148) talk. The manner, in which malls facilitate the use of public/private space, does not come 'without its tensions' when negotiating the 'hierarchies of power' embedded within the 'contested constructions' (France, Bottrell and Armstrong, 2012: 52) of social territory. When identity formation is acquired through an inadvertently 'public/private space' of appearance, with 'tightly controlled' (Brady, 2009: 4) parameters, these public narratives left little room for the reasons of others as a discourse of socio-economic contestation. As a visual trope, malls overload the environment with saturated images of 'consumption and materialism' (Martin, 1993: 143), whereby practices of wealth and excess become the dominant ideological narrative associated with freedom and equality in modern, urban societies (Brady, 2009). The problem with such a performative space is that these individuals associated their shopping agency as a private activity solely geared towards personal pleasures and enjoyments. This perspective failed to consider that shopping practices also represent moral issues closely tied to 'liberalism and democracy' (Gaus, 2003: 20). By excluding certain demographics from participating in this public/private

space, malls essentially resist progressions of socio-economic transformation. Their exclusivity, symbolically 'destabilises national identities' within its restrictive 'flows of ideas, images and people' (Koh, 2008: 194). Mall robberies act as a means of spectacular resistance to power, by contesting a public narrative that is failing to acknowledge any responsibilities of socio-economic inequalities beyond their private lives (Chouliaraki, 2008). These criminal acts also function as a means to address the manner in which this audience normalises the everydayness of shopping, which resist the formation of 'identity politics' (Koh, 2008: 194) within an unbalanced nation in crisis. Their discursive interactions towards criminality, not from a position of danger, but rather as an inconvenience towards shopping, continue to appropriate 'hegemonic relations' (Mayar, 2015: 760) between the haves and have-nots. These ideologies of identity formation powerfully bound within their consumer practices illustrates a distorted imagination towards associating domestic and national 'identity formations' (Mayar, 2015: 760), as quintessential values of humanitarianism. By virtue of crime's presence within malls 'performative stage' (Iqani and Kenny, 2015: 101), armed robberies are attempting to reconstitute these consumer solidarities into a form of 'moral agency' by addressing the 'civic virtues' of the 'vulnerable other' (Chouliaraki, 2010: 121). If not approached with this intent, identity formations through consumption will continue to denounce socio-economic inequalities as a societal construct denying those who are suffering their own voice within the progressive models of modernity. The following section illustrates how shoppers associate with mall robberies through fictional representations of popular culture tweets. These authors use cinematic references as symbolic metaphors in describing the unbelievable reality of mall robberies occurring in a space representing escape and fantasy.

Just like the movies: Hyperreal

'What's happening at #BedfordCentre is just a movie. Unbelievable, imagine going to the mall to do groceries, next thing, movie!' (@Lebza_Dj, 2015/01/29).

Keywords	Tweets	Re-Tweets
Reality, Movie, Escape	15	3

Figure 4.3 Illustrates a number of tweets captured bearing keyword classifications and sentiments relating to escapism. These numbers do not indicate a number of tweets used in this section, as they are merely in support the thematic weight for this section. Refer to Chapter 2: *Searching for mall robbery tweets*, for more information about selected numbers and appropriate use in each section.

This section articulates how personal tweets incorporate popular, cinematic references to represent feelings of disbelief about having to contend with the reality of mall robberies.

Tweets started by expressing a sense of awakening: 'The Bedford Centre shooting pictures are too graphic Jesus' (@Africanoir, 2015/01/29). 'This #bedfordcenreshooting is such a bolt back to 'reality'' (@LindyWith_a_Y, 2015/01/29).

With this awareness, tweets expressed a sense of disbelief by equating mall robberies as a dreamy nightmare from a movie: 'Kinda like a scene from a movie #BedfordCentre damn!' (@Reagan_Moss, 2015/01/29). 'Is it that our South African criminals watching way too many movies" #BedfordCentre' (@iamdjman, 2015/01/29). 'Feels like we are living in the Wild West! #BedfordCentreShooting #joburg' (@ANGtheHOFF, 2015/01/29). 'Cctv camera visuals of Mall of the South brazen robbery are like something out of 007' (@GetrudeM, 2015/10/13). '#mallofthesouth, 21 jump street' (@sanjanamahabeer, 2015/09/28). 'All these violent incidents lately, brings to mind scenes of #WorldWarZ! People are totally losing the plot! #bedfordcentre' (@YolikaMuscat, 2015/01/29). 'South Africa: They were shooting like Cowboys – Mall Robbery Witness' (@zobonews, 2015/08/24).

These tweets serve dual functions towards how this audience constructed their reality towards malls and crime. Firstly, these tweets re-affirm the symbolic conceptualization of malls as a space encouraging desires of 'artificial, escape experiences' (Rojek, 1993: 203). Secondly, movies as loaded semiotic modes of symbolism illustrated how these authors sentiments towards the disbelief of crime within a space designed for escape, became a hyper-reality. Within the fast-paced and stressful lifestyles of modern living, 'notions of escape abound social life' (Rojek, 1993: 9), especially within highly congested cities. The availability of space for escapist activities becomes a premium commodity, which the functional design of malls has skillfully tapped into. Their 'architectural styles' are based on the 'recombination of borrowed imagery' (Mbembé, 1992: 2) where you step out of the natural world and into a sort of spaceship that will take you to a galaxy far, far away. Once inside a mall, the environment screams of excitement and pleasure, with bright lights and controlled temperatures, the pleasant sight of new things and the smell of decadent food consumed alongside cheerful chatter. These 'dreamland spaces seduce' the senses and 'cultivate consumer fantasies' (Stillerman and Salcedo, 2012). Malls have become quintessential 'escape centres' in which the 'rules of everyday life are relaxed and the boundaries of social behaviour are rolled back' (Rojek, 1993: 165). The invasiveness of violent crime forcefully disrupted this homeostatic balance and reminded these shoppers that not all is, as it seems: *This is just like a movie scene from James Bond, the Wild Wild West, or even a zombie apocalypse.* These tweets reference a variety of major blockbuster movies that 'constitute a matrix' (Mulvey, 1975: 10) of images in representation towards the hyper-realness of mall robberies. They also function as a means of distancing themselves as mere spectators having to watch the *others* invade and shut the 'door to their dream-life' (Rojek, 1993: 9). Western cinema depicts Cowboys defending themselves against the *savage* Indians, James Bond is usually up against the *foreign* Russian spy, 21 Jump Street is literally about cops and *robbers*, and World War Z has people defending themselves against a zombie-inducing *virus*. At first glance, these movies appear to be remote from the world of mall robberies. However, these

‘generic movie images’ (Jewitt and Van Leeuwen, 2001: 78) function as a semiotic sign requiring little interpretation towards the nature of these individuals intended conversations. These film images represent an ‘internalised schemata of experiences and predispositions’ (Papacharissi, 2015: 21), used as a means to ‘centralise cultural power’ through ‘articulations of ideological’ (Kelly, 2008: 85) movie narratives. These images allow these authors to represent armed robberies as a hyperreal spectacle, attempting to invade an artificial world. Ironically, armed robberies intensified these shoppers’ desires to escape, not just from their everyday mundane life, but also from the reality that these crimes impose upon them.

These discursive film narratives facilitated a discourse whereby these tweets ‘engaged in direct action’ as a means of imagining and contesting mall robberies in line with how a film’s main protagonist, who is in a state of conflict, eventually finds resolve. They all illustrate the eventual demise of the enemy and the continuation of life in its pre-existing state. For these individuals, it is a story where criminals receive justice and these shoppers can remain in a world ‘organised around ‘spectacles and sensations’ (Rojek, 1993: 136). Malls became a symbolic film location, through which these authors scripted their story as an opportunity to re-enforce the ordinance of social hierarchies (Keating, 2015). The idea of films as a form of escapist entertainment depicts a mall as a location that simultaneously assisted these individuals in constructing a particular representation of themselves and criminals. More than scripting about the risk of crime as an image of spectacular action, explosions and danger, these fictitious representations re-affirmed the malls as the quintessential symbol of escape. Intersectional criminality ‘unmasked the illusory forms of freedom’ that shopping prescribes as ‘experiences of leisure in everyday life’ (Rojek, 1993: 123). These tweets ‘sensationalist creativity’, verifies personal desires for ‘daydreaming and fantasising’ (Martin, 1993: 144) rather than, acknowledging the affective realities of crime within society. As a ‘cultural ideology’ (Kiesling, 2015: 621), these movies gave both the shopper and the criminal distinctive attributes towards the ‘framing and positioning’ (McCombs and Guo, 2014: 251) of ‘the world outside and the picture in their heads’ (Gordon, 2015: 324). These films act as a means to represent ‘different people, places and events’ (Rojek, 1993: 143) constructed around multiple storylines, as a single framed picture encompassing a principled narrative. If this image were to represent a movie poster, it would have ‘symbolic language’ (Zukin and Maguire, 2004: 187) illustrating a dystopian landscape filled with anxieties about an enemy attempting to infiltrate a person’s fantastical dream world. By referencing movies as a commentary on the reality of mall robberies, these individuals in many ways disclosed their own denial about having to contend with the socio-economic implications that crime represents within South Africa’s current socio-political landscape. These discursive movie narratives framed outside the realm of reality, become an imagined way of life that lacks the ‘gravitas of actuality’ (Papacharissi, 2015: 4).

These ‘hybrid forms of storytelling’ (Papacharissi, 2015: 27) represent public resistances against the social commentaries mall robberies attempt to address. Just as movie plots, wherein the protagonist seeks some form of conflict resolution, so too do the public towards

crime challenging their consumer and social lifestyles. Moral panic drives the theatrics of these narratives as discursive representations reflecting 'socially established' (Mulvey, 1975: 6) power structures of exclusion. Movie imagery fundamentally stands at a juncture from which these fantastical tweets, resist mall robberies contesting these individual's desire to escape the socio-economic realities that arguably fuels criminal activity. These visualisations function as a semiotic signpost, through which the public symbolically use these movies hegemonic narratives as a means to establish their stance against criminality. They are in a dreamy nightmare, left struggling to maintain their symbolically constructed, escapist world while crime forcefully jolts them back into reality. These practices constructed around ideologies of escapism, put these individuals at risk towards forming 'immaterial meanings' of association with malls and reality, instead of producing 'concrete relationships' (Decandai, 2013: 88) in dealing with social tensions within a space perpetuating socio-economic exclusion. Armed robberies fundamentally act as communication nodes which connect through the almost impenetrable walls of exclusivity, to allow these authors the chance to contemplate the socio-economic inequalities on the outside (Stillerman and Salcedo, 2012). As stated, this study is not campaigning against having any form of control and restriction to protect lives. It is to emphasise that people have 'reflexive relationships' with malls, not just as consumers who 'enact in meaningful' relationships and 'engage in playful interactions' (Stillerman and Salcedo, 2012: 310). Criminal activity within a 'hyper-real dream space' (Iqani and Kenny, 2015: 98) where people attempt to escape from the stresses of everyday life, remind us that there are those who are suffering in the barren world and are not afforded the privileges of a select few. These attitudes become apparent by these authors subjugating movies as a means of representing mall robberies as something not within their storylines seeking desire and pleasure. The construction of malls as a fantasy escapist world, in many ways, deterred these authors from recognising mall robberies not just as a threat to public safety, but also as a symptom of a disparate socio-economic climate.

Addressing crime from within a culturally escapist perspective, demonstrates tweets failing to acknowledge mall crimes as something more than just a transcendent representation of cinematic relativity (Rojek, 1993). The discourse of mall robberies challenges the socio-economic disproportions cultivated out of apartheid's real-life script. Malls as a designated 'tool of expression' (Keating, 2015: 245), can no longer be idealised only as a modern convenience of escapist pleasure. The malls narrative has become a 'culturally mediated' (Rojek, 1993: 196) script of 'negotiable meaning', through which these intersectional crimes are able to 'visually define' (Jewit, 2001: 143) the socio-economic disparities still present within South Africa's historical documentary. The following section articulates how tweets responding to mall robberies create awareness about the material value in shopping for goods. The central component in this section addresses issues of affordability as a means to 'encapsulate both the 'ability to consume and to maintain' specific lifestyles through the acquisition of 'material goods' (Phadi and Ceruti, 2013: 155). Mall robberies not only exemplify the monetary value of stolen goods as consumable commodities, both locally and

internationally, they also raise questions about their representations towards class and status within an economically divided society.

Stealing is good business: Consumer values of materiality

'Laden trolleys and long queues for month-end shopping @PicknPay #MaponyaMall despite the shooting, robbery earlier' (@ermbates, 2014/09/01).

Keywords	Tweets	Re-Tweets
Goods, Reward, Business	39	102

Figure 4.4 Illustrates a number of tweets captured bearing keyword classifications and sentiments relating to consumer values of materiality. These numbers do not indicate a number of tweets used in this section, as they are merely in support the thematic weight for this section. Refer to Chapter 2: *Searching for mall robbery tweets*, for more information about selected numbers and appropriate use in each section.

In 'modern or industrial societies'(Martin, 1993: 142), the ability to purchase material goods as either a necessity or luxury, produces complex narratives of social meaning in relation to an individual's economic standing. The goal in this section is not to 'study consumers, but to understand the people who consume' (Martin, 1993: 157). This approach illustrates how tweets talking about theft at malls, draws attention towards shopping values embedded within material aspirations of consumption. Consumption for this section is loosely defined as the 'acquisition and use' (purchasing or stealing) of 'durable and nondurable goods' (Posel, 2010: 161). Tweets start this discussion by establishing mall robberies as a commercial venture for criminals. Incidentally, during this study's period (2014-2015), the majority of stolen goods were identified as destined for an international market:
'Nigeria has emerged as a destination for electronic devices stolen during the recent spate of #mallrobberies across SA' (@TheCitizen_News, 2014/09/09). 'The hi-tech stuff goes across our borders - so while they're blacklisted here, they work there' (@Devi_SG, 2014/09/21).

Not only do commodities have commercial value, they also raise awareness about their financial worth as a form of consumer aspiration: '#SBV services is offering an R500 000 reward for info on #BedfordCentre robbery' (@CrimeLineZA, 2015/01/30). 'R2000 reward… That's nothing compared to what those criminals walked away with when they looted the mall #mallrobberies', (@JUSTTWISTA, 2014/09/09). 'How much revenue is generated in VAT alone on all the items replaced after #Mallrobberies and other crimes? Who benefits?' (@StanfromIBF, 2014/09/21). '#MallRobberies Robbers tell shop attendants not 2 panic, 2 hand over goods coz it doesn't belong to them + insurance pays' (@Devi_SG, 2014/09/21). 'Stop giving your pics away for FREE. Make money from the #news around you get our app today #BedfordCentreShooting' (@newspics_ZA, 2015/01/29).

Mall crimes not only signify aspirational values of materiality, they also raised questions about ethical approaches to business: '#MaponyaMall Business is back to normal, though some are shaken after this morning's shooting' (@ermbates, 2014). '#BedfordCentre says it is "trading as normal" following a shooting that left 5 wounded' (@ewnupdates, 2015/09/01). 'Mall of the South is trading again after armed robbery' (@tameTIMES, 2015/10/12). 'Like how can shop owners be opening their stores after a shootout? #BedfordCentreShooting' (@londz_mkh, 2015/11/06).

A central model arguing the causality of commercial crimes suggests that 'criminal activity depends on the returns to crime' (Machin and Meghir, 2004: 960). The *International Crimes against Business Surveys* (ICBS), indicates that the prospects of financial rewards make 'retail businesses' (Hopkins, 2002: 783) such as malls, prime targets for criminal activity. As these tweets indicate, the commodities stolen are predominantly electronic devices, such as smartphones and tablets. The monetary value of these goods lies in their appeal to serve both a utilitarian and hedonistic functions in people's daily lives. These mobile devices have internet capabilities and serve as forms of communication and entertainment. Electronic devices 'parallel' the industriousness of production and consumption, as in 'what is produced must be used up' and moved through the 'general economy' (Martin, 1993: 143). The value and affordability of material goods acts as a tangible means to 'ascertain the significance of cultural productions' embedded within the 'lives of people and their communities' (Miller, 1995: 156). Within these ideals, the politics of production and consumption appropriated by an ever-increasing globalisation creates a 'complex terrain' (Lukose, 2008: 136) of marketable economic possibilities. Placing a monetary value on crime creates a 'delivery system' of 'affective investment' (Zukin and Maguire, 2004: 173) whereby the social discourse of deviancy takes a back seat for the lure of financial reward: *R500 000 reward, R2000 reward, insurance pays*. More than just rewards and insurance payouts, the business of crime still has a way of benefiting the pockets of store owners. When *Bedford Centre* was targeted in 2015 by an attempted armed robbery, news reports disclosed that the suspects were identified having coffee at the *Wimpy* restaurant chain, inside the mall before the shootout ensued. '#BedfordCentreShooting Staff at the *Wimpy* at the shopping centre say robbers had coffee at the shop just hours before they attacked' (@ewnreporter, 2015/01/29). This exposure for *Wimpy* under less than ideal circumstances produced an interesting insight: 'So not all bad news re #BedfordCentreShooting, at least #wimpy gets some free advertising!' (@GBreyts, 2015/01/29). This example suggests that despite the severity of armed robberies, at the heart of commerce lies the ability to put profit and sustainability above all else.

The significance of crime's material value, gains increased social meaning when contextualising its position within 'time and space' as markers towards determining an 'individuals ability' (Casey, 2007: 127) to shop. Stolen goods not only mean financial loss for store owners, theft also disrupts and raises questions about the daily business of shopping. Malls as private enterprises striving towards sustainability, need to ensure that business

continues as smoothly and frequently as possible, even in the light of disruptive criminal violence. By crime depriving a 'space of interaction' (Canclini, 2001: 39) from material value, malls no longer represent consumption practices as just unilateral sites of affordability. Crimes of consumption has the ability to obtain meaning in terms of how the material value of goods function as 'regimes of agency' (Posel, 2010: 161) in resisting the regulatory constraints of affordability and, as determinates of social worth. In this light, mall robberies have less to do about the actual market value of commodities and function more as a catalyst in revealing consumer attitudes of materiality and affordability, by serving as expressions towards the formation of social identities (Zukin and Maguire, 2004). 'Wow, this BedfordCentreShooting is sad hey! So many injured in the name of a quick buck! Such behaviour disgusts me though!' (@misstoto91, 2015/01/29). '#Mallrobberies Security officers earn R3000, we earn R80 000, do you really think they care about our safety, let's be real' (@musamello, 2014/09/11). 'This has cured my #shopping #addiction #mallcrime #nomorebirthdayshopping' (@Owens_A333, 2014/02/13). 'Stay at home and out of the #malls. You will be #richer and #safer #Mallrobberies' (@shitspotter, 2014/09/21). These examples illustrate varied associations of consumer attitudes, through which material values function as 'pervasive filters for these individual experiences' and interpretations of their 'social world' (Gmeber, 2011: 490).

Consumption as embellishments of modernity transcends beyond the representation of shopping as just the 'material processes of accumulation' (Von Holdt, 2011: 22). In South Africa's post-apartheid, neo-liberal democracy, consumer practices have taken on various forms of 'cultural objectification' (Miller, 1995: 143). This is especially relevant when considering how retail crimes challenge representations of 'symbolic order' through established 'movements of insurgent citizenship' (Von Holdt, 2011: 31). Criminality essentially aims to destabilise ideological class values of materiality used as tools to strip away the democratic aspirations of a socio-economic minority (Von Holdt, 2011). It is at this point, that this study's audience appears to be wrestling with their shopping aspirations and humanitarian ethics. As argued in the prior and current chapter, this study's population has placed great emphasis on valuing the act of shopping above the benevolent impact that mall robberies have within society. On the one hand, this audience has complained about malls no longer being safe, which deprives them of pleasurable shopping experiences. Now as this section illustrates, these shoppers are outraged by the audacity of stores re-opening after an armed robbery: *Business as usual, but how can shop owners open after a shootout?* This argument creates conflict between the 'freedoms and logics of citizenship' (Molapo and Ngubeni, 2011: 81) within a democracy promoting uninterrupted, neo-liberal markets. For the business of malls, generating profit means consumption through participation, despite armed robberies creating an 'arena of competing claims' (Canclini, 2001). Mall robberies, 'in many ways' stimulate consumerism within an 'increasingly complex and detailed fabric of modernity' (Cassey, 2007: 127). By appropriating theft as an opportunity for 'commodity exchange' (Iqani and Kenny, 2015: 101), consumerism positions itself as a critical site towards understanding people's 'sense of self and sociality' (Posel, 2010: 162) within a

dispartite socio-economic landscape. These tweets posted insights into the financial value of consumer culture, as 'social practices' deeply ingrained within society's operational constructs of 'everyday life' (Lukose, 2008: 140). The moral panics associated with armed robberies as a threat towards public safety has this audience evaluating their shopping prospects for inanimate objects against their assumed 'moralities of consumption' (Martens and Casey, 2007: 230). Essentially what mall robberies are doing here, is highlighting that even with conflicting moral and ethical perspectives, the social and economic boundaries of shopping have become a singularity in 'shaping patterns of relations' (Silva, 2007: 142) within South Africa's contemporary society. This study would like to imagine that by questioning the humanitarian value of materiality, that future public debates, would address the 'polemical antagonisms' (Chouliaraki, 2008: 844) of mall robberies, as a movement of poetic justice towards freeing capitalistic mindsets bound by the chains of exclusivity and inequality. Such a moment would declare that all South Africans need vindicating from the shackles of the past.

This chapter explored how tweets about mall robberies revealed distinct attitudes towards shopping and malls. These tweets as a collective of citizens illustrated that despite malls becoming sites of danger, this population was determined to keep on shopping. This resolve was principally driven by the allure of pleasure and fantasy. Seeking out such intimacies caused this audience to address criminality not as a danger to society, but rather as an inconvenience impeding on personal shopping experiences. These perspectives displayed sentiments of self-entitlement towards a privatised, commercial space solely focused on generating profits. This stance was supported by arguments of middle-class blindness, from which these individuals were able to justify shopping as an assumed exclusive right, rather than an inclusive step towards attaining socio-economic equality for all citizens. These represented tweets also positioned acts of consumption as formations of domestic and national identity. This population expressed anxiousness towards how mall robberies have a rippling threat on the private lives of suburbia. This state of panic inevitably became an issue of national identity, through which this public adopted a sense of territorial solidarity over malls and shopping. The outcome of this stance was argued to come from viewing the threats of crime as an imposition on individuals and private activities of consumption, rather than considering how armed robberies challenge the moralities of shopping as ideological oppositions, against achieving liberation and equality for all South Africans. These resistances continued with attempts to escape the reality of mall robberies by associating them to dreamy nightmares. This denial re-affirmed that unless consumer perspectives adopt a more attuned approach towards debating criminality, shopping as a symbol of progressive freedom and equality will remain out of reach for the majority of South Africa's general population. This chapter concluded with tweets addressing how criminality re-focuses attention on consumer values of materiality. This discussion illustrated how crime presented itself as both a hindrance and stimulator towards national and international commerce. This audience showed hopeful signs towards addressing retail crimes as a humanitarian crisis, rather than just an issue of when, where, how and why a person should be able to shop.

5. What to Make of Tweets about Mall Robberies: A Conclusion

By presenting a snapshot of a select middle-class consumer, this study has taken an insurgent step towards understanding the social complexities encompassing crime, shopping and malls within a South African consumer culture. By means of concluding, this study draws together the key theoretical and empirical themes represented and explored throughout these chapters. This chapter is organised into two sections. Section one: *Rounding up the present: A conceptual summary*, pieces all the key moments together within this study's selective approach, and contemplates how its sociological value, might contribute towards a deeper understanding of South African consumer culture. It also takes an opportunity to consider how this analysis might contribute towards a broader scholarship aimed at establishing a new generation of academics that could contextually, address African consumerism in the global north (Iqani, 2016). Section two: *Stay at home and shop online: Future considerations,* considers how comments about online shopping affect this study's arguments and what it might indicate towards the future sustainability of malls, shopping and crime. It also evaluates how online shopping might present an avenue for future consumer studies.

Rounding up the present: A conceptual summary

This study has outlined a framework for the thematic analysis of the relationship between consumer culture and crime. It was curious to understand how socially mediated representations approached mall robberies, and what this had to say about this specific audience within a particular consumer landscape. A motivational reason for this approach argued that prior research addressing the effects of crime tended towards generated meanings primarily with static and quantifiable charts, rather than seeking experiential insights directly from the horse's mouth. To form an intertextual understanding of the selected data in moving towards a descriptive analysis of relevant themes, this study mapped key literary, theoretical and methodological approaches critical towards establishing a solid, workable foundation.

This approach ensured an empirical and contextual grounding of malls for the investigation, and interpretation of criminal activity at these prominent consumer sites. A key contribution to this study's approach was the manner in which malls were positioned as facilitators of continued consumption even with the threat of criminal objectives attempting to disrupt daily consumer practices. This understanding centralised malls as key players for both shoppers and criminals, and stood as a quintessential signpost for urban consumer aspirations for this

select audience. It theoretically conceptualised the space of malls as a performative site for multiple, participatory consumer roles – public, private and civic. The anxieties felt by crime, substantiated a theoretical need to contrive an atmosphere of moral panic as a compounding influence towards negotiating discursive representations of public subjectivities and moments of irrationality. This position further contributed towards ongoing debates negotiating the complex challenges faced in establishing a workable paradigm for crime, especially within a South African context. By investigating narratives constructed from a select public of shoppers about mall robberies, it contributed towards current and future discussions of meaning making about how the sociological nature of crime, affect attitudes of consumer culture, more than seeking quantifiable statistics and stereotypical assumptions about criminal deviancies. The nature of this study, with its social tensions and anxieties encrusted around criminality, proposed a qualitative approach towards understanding the lived experiences of consumers discussing mall crimes. These captured moments of expression contributed towards gaining deeper insights into a consumer world, which is rapidly being destabilised by the kid who just refuses to take no for an answer. This study proposed that a more impending issue relating mall robberies in this South African consumer landscape is the lack of public narratives debating crime as a manifested representation of socio-economic inequality. Given South Africa's historical past, general attitudes and believed ideologies of indoctrination moulded at the hands of the apartheid system was illustrated as a present and active agent influencing the identity formation and execution of this audience worldview.

This study incorporated a qualitative, methodological approach for capturing and interpreting data relevant towards constructing a meaningful public voice. Interpreting these discursive narratives within their varied contexts meant examining two important aspects of discourse analysis, its theoretical approach towards understanding power and ideology, and its practical concepts used to construct meaning (Staples et al., 2015). These aspects guided the 'functional relationship' of this population in relation to criminality's 'situational context' (Staples et al., 2015: 505-506) at malls. These concerns were addressed by means of discourse and multimodal analysis, which was able to weave these tweets expressive outbursts together within a broader 'socio-cultural' (Deacon, 1999: 60) consumer landscape. Discourse techniques assisted in making sense of 'noisy texts' (Gouws et al., 2011: 21) as a means to identify the 'social structures and power relations' (Fairclough, 1995: 25) embedded within these tweets, which often gets dismissed as trivial banter. Techniques incorporating elements of 'linguistic, rhetorical' and multimodal strategies, assisted further in translating and interpreting the 'thematic meanings' (Gunter, 2000; 88) embedded within the use of ordinary everyday language. The interpretive meaning of these narratives was argued to have been constructed from a historically turbulent 'socio-cultural, economic and political' (Papacharissi, 2015:24) context.

This study made the claim that conducting consumer research from incorporations of social media platforms, presented this paper with more than just an opportunity to construct 'personal identities' (Juris, 2012: 266) of self-representation. It also argued that social media

has become a key player towards communicating deeper social, political and economic ideologies embedded within the broad scope of consumer culture (Smith, 2010). Social media was positioned as public forums facilitating 'mediated feelings of connectivity' (Papacharissi, 2015: 7, 22), which is able to weave a singular story displaying communal and civic aspirations of consumption. As an 'imagined community' not knowing each other personally, this study was able to decipher a wealth of 'essential traits' (Kiesling, 2015: 621) about these consumer behaviours, which was displayed as expressive utterances of individuality, and packaged together as a single collective unit (McNeill, Levey and Duncan, 2015). This motivation assisted in capturing a distinctive moment within South Africa's consumer landscape and provided a glimpse into why discursive experiences of crime and consumption require continual investigation. *Twitter* was proposed as the most suited platform for addressing the curiosities about how crime affects consumer practices of a specific public collective. Contributions were made to a growing body of researchers using this medium as a data source by highlighting both the strengths and drawbacks associated with social media as an idealistic, yet problematic public sphere. *Twitter* was flagged as a platform with numerous operational challenges embedded within its coding system, which restricted the availability of free-flowing data. This study proposed an integrative solution in approach as a means around, and a way forward for capturing, coding and refining a representative, thematic corpus for analysis. The degrees of data purity was illustrated as a direct determinate of privatised ownership and procedural regulations. This study proposed by means of incorporating an externally sourced software program *TweetMiner*, which was used to source data from *Twitter,* and how *Twitter* as an assumed, authentic and open data source, is problematic and requires further investigation for more workable and practical solutions in moving forward. Working within these constraints presented further challenges towards finding truthful nuggets of sensibility within the hypersensitivities of a historically induced, social climate of racially charged economic, political and cultural volatilities.

An important contributing argument made from this study's varied modes of consumer expressions, which ranged from narratives addressing the dangers that crime imposes upon public safety. The efficiencies of mall security, accusations and questions about state and policing apparatus, and direct shopper retaliations of racism and inhumanity towards criminals, exposed mall robberies to be more than just deviant acts of violence. The data presented, discursively invited particular 'forms and textures of affective attunement' (Papacharissi, 2015: 24), which illustrated deliberate constructions of meaning-making. When it was time to address the impact of crime at malls, these shoppers were more concerned about the inconvenience of potentially having to shop elsewhere, than asking questions about why the crime was happening in the first place. These consumer attitudes became an ideological symbol for maintaining exclusivity in defiance of a constitution establishing human rights of liberated equality and transformation. Their message – shopping values, supersedes humanitarian civility. These sentiments were especially disheartening when at the expense of human life; the valued ability to shop became a racist and inhumane

celebration. As unethical reactions stemming from historical modes of 'risk perception', this population ideologically cast spectacular labels upon criminals as a means of drawing clear social distinctions through acts of 'symbolic ordering' (Adam and Van Loon, 2005: 7). By establishing criminals as a distant, *other,* these orderings revealed cracks towards arguments suggesting that South Africa's progressive constitution mandating human rights of equality is fundamentally at the heart of this public's civic outlook. Instead, these individuals directed shopping as ideological modes of 'cultural reproduction', towards resisting intersectional criminality from eroding their exclusively constructed 'social boundaries' (Heller, 2001: 256). Malls through these acts of criminality became a 'multidimensional space' where consumer activities represented 'concepts of power' (Darian-Smith et al., 2005: 2) struggles in resistance to an exasperated landscape filled with disparate socio-economic inequalities. The act of shopping also became a supportive extra towards establishing the 'stability of selective social hierarchies', who were resisting any counter actions contesting 'movements and momentum' (Papacharissi, 2015: 8) of exclusivity. Visually, mall security represented resistant measures towards criminalities symbolic action in 'penetrating the institutionalised form' (Mayar, 2015: 756) of social and economic oppression within a modernity. The overarching manner in which this population addressed crime, re-established the social exclusivities of malls, as narratives prescribing a 'multiplicity of existences' (Decandia, 2013: 87), but without wanting to afford the same freedoms on offer, for a select few.

For this study's audience, mall robberies represented a threat to both the normalities of everyday consumer life and a direct challenge against 'declining legitimacies' (Lash, 2005: 48) towards establishing acceptable social norms and behavioural patterns. Mall robberies essentially drove these authors to position consumption as an exclusive 'activity of leisure and pleasure' (Casey and Martens, 2007: 2) that needs protecting from the distant *other*. This sentiment was re-enforced with illustrations of hyperrealism, denial and escape from an *enemy,* rather than considering mall robberies to be a symbolic act of contestation and awakening towards consumption as an unequally, constructed social practice. These consumers tended to displayed civic ambitions of domestic and national solidarity towards crime, but only as a means to 'isolate people' (James, 2011: 63) with socio-economic inequalities from becoming part of an aristocratic community. By territorializing malls as part of domestic localities and national instabilities within the 'intertextual background' (Stubbs, 2015: 486) of crime, this population re-established their consumer ideologies as the central means of achieving and maintaining 'collective aspirations' (Morley, 2002: 218) and social exclusion. This stance remains problematic within this population's own inability to acknowledge that if shopping is only about achieving a never-ending 'cycle of ephemera' (Casey and Martens, 2007: 2), South Africa's historical scabs of inequality will continue to be ripped open and remain festering wounds. This study argues that it is only when mall robberies are politicised as a discourse addressing 'individual and collective agency' which has the ability to 'regulate and deregulate' power structures embedded within society, that the

impact of these crimes can attribute more conceptual value to the ‘material’ (Iqani and Kenny, 2015: 97), social and economic realm.

This audience snapshot illustrated narratives subjugating the practice of shopping as a necessary essential for an urban modernity. It made the argument that not being able to shop is not only an assumed rightful inconvenience towards these shoppers activates of leisure and pleasure, but that criminality also destabilises domestic and national consumer identities. This domain of social exclusivity resulted in attitudes that justified and ignored the need for national unity and social inclusivity. This population’s retaliation strategy against criminal threats assumed a rightful position of individual and collective territorialisation over the private domain of malls. This consumer stance became an overreaching declaration of similarity in defence of apartheid's historically engineered system of social inequality, which denied a majority population their aspirational rights of free movement and entry into a consumer culture. This argument was re-enforced by consumer attitudes illustrated through modes of hyperreal comparatives, which manifested as denials towards acknowledging and accepting civic responsibility towards addressing unbalanced power distributions within society. Consumer values associated with a material enterprise rounded off this study’s thematic analysis with a sense of optimism. It illustrated that within an evidently divided consumer landscape, there are sensitivities potentially willing to debate consumer culture in South Africa, not as a self-entitled and exclusive right, but rather as humanitarian aspirations seeking equality for all.

This study essentially proposes that consumption practices, as a signpost of a progressive democracy should fundamentally not be about whether people are free to shop, but rather needs to address the ideological attitudes that drive social expressions towards aspirations of liberation and equality. These tweeters, unfortunately, used their ‘ideological frameworks’ (Logan, 2014: 7) indirectly as a legitimising smoke screen to position criminality solely as acts of deviance, rather than as a social commentary challenging the socio-economic disparities, still present in post-apartheid South Africa. What this study illustrated as a contributing flash point within a broader South African consumer narrative, is that contestations against shopping as social acts of middle-class, are visibly embedded within an array of political ‘claims and tensions’ (Wiszniewski, 2013: 67) still surrounding apartheid’s iniquitous system of racial and social engineering. This study puts forth, that it is only when all citizens are able to acknowledge mall robberies as contestations against the social values embedded within South Africa’s ‘historical power relations’ (Chouliaraki, 2012: 4), only then, can we as a nation become Crusaders desperate enough to rectify the imbalance of power as a movement towards equality, transformation and reconciliation. As an argument for the future, the following section contemplates various considerations for what mall robberies mean when moving forward as a South African consumer culture.

Stay at home and shop online: Future considerations

'#Mallrobberies I think it's time to take online shopping to the next level' (@Brendaksa, 2014/09/09).

Keywords	Tweets	Re-Tweets
Online shopping	10	19

Figure 5.1 Illustrates a number of tweets captured bearing keyword classifications and sentiments relating to online shopping. These numbers do not indicate a number of tweets used in this section, as they are merely in support the thematic weight for this section. Refer to Chapter 2: *Searching for mall robbery tweets*, for more information about selected numbers and appropriate use in each section.

This study has illustrated and analysed a particular period (2014-2015) within South Africa's consumer history, and now needs to look forward towards contemplating what mall robberies suggest about the future sustainability of malls and consumer culture. One such observation from tweets tended suggestions towards online shopping as a means of negotiating around retail crimes:

'Online shopping it is. #Mallcrime' (@Khuthii, 2014/11/02). 'I guess its internet banking for me from now on… #BedfordCentre' (@LazGola, 2015/01/29).

These tweets, as a consideration about the impact that mall robberies have on consumer aspirations, manifest various contradictions in line with the analysis of shopping attitudes presented in this study. Firstly, the above population has clearly voiced that for them, the act of shopping is a desired quest for pleasurable, social interaction and satisfactory material acquisitions. The prospect of shopping online would mean that an artificial mouse click on a virtual screen, would replace a sociality of interaction and material acquisition. The only presentable argument that online shopping has for this population is prospects of safety and criminal avoidance. This study would like to assume that in this current moment of consumer sentiment, the anticipation of online shopping is simply another means to remain in an exclusive state of detachment from not having to face the social realities of a divided South African, consumer culture. Secondly, the ability to shop online makes a case for ongoing scholarly debates addressing the *digital divide.* The central focus of this argument positions technology as a means for a select minority of *haves* to exercise power and authority over a majority of *have-nots*. What does this argument suggest about South Africa's current and future digital, consumer landscape? In addition, how would online shopping affect the socio-economic inequalities argued to have an impact on broader issues of crime and consumer culture, as well as, how could these questions act as guides of enquiry into future research? These thoughts have the potential to raise many more questions not yet considered within the broader context of consumer studies. As a single consideration for future possibilities,

especially within the *global south*, I would like to contemplate what the following statistical indicators initially propose towards future research.

In 2012, percentage numbers suggested that South Africa's internet usage had grown by 25% from 2011-2012. These user percentages were surmised to be around 6.8 million by the end of 2010. Towards the end of December 2011, internet users were evaluated to be around 8.5 million, with estimations of more than 85% using mobile devices. Further predictions anticipated that by the end of 2012, this number would exceed 10 million (News24, 2012). Analysts forecast that these numbers indicated that 20% of South Africans would have made the transition into a digital era. This number also proposed that these technological progressions would classify South Africa as a mass consumer market (News24, 2012). In terms of an online shopping community, by 2014, statistics indicated that online retail purchases were sitting at only at 1% of the markets share, but that this number was growing (Steyn, 2014). By comparison, in 2016, statistics put South Africa's internet users at over 28 million, which equated to a 52% market penetration (Internetlivestats, 2016). Despite a dramatic increase in internet usage, by 2016, South Africa's online shopping community had only grown by 0.2% (Kloppers, 2016).

What does such a small growth percentage suggest about the future impact that online shopping may have on the sustainability of malls, consumer practices and retail crimes? To complicate this conundrum even further, international online shopping statistics paint an interesting picture especially towards the sociality of consumerism. Britain and the United States of America, have respective online retail markets of 16.8% and 13.9% (Kloppers, 2016). The success of online shopping is argued to be dependent on internet access, technological competence and efficient, after sale services. A natural assumption would then anticipate that because Britain and the U.S.A are first world consumer nations, that their online shopping communities would have a higher online presence. If this study acts as an initial step towards answering these questions, then consumer culture would appear to be driven by varying degrees of social experience, more than opportunities of online-to-home conveniences. Does this proposition then suggest that South Africa's physical retail floor space will continue to grow and that retail crimes will continue to threaten and influence consumer attitudes on multiple, complex layers? If we are to assume that consumer culture in South Africa is more than just quests of material acquisition and rather about functioning symbols of aspiration, equality and liberation in a post-apartheid climate. In addition, if we are to position 'Johannesburg alone as a city that has become the great shopping mall for most sub-Saharan Africa' (Mbembé and Nuttall, 2008: 25). Then, consumer culture in South Africa, just like uncharted territory, holds countless research opportunities for exploration and discovery.

From this above perspective, and as a form of gyroscopic momentum, there are many more questions to consider in terms of alternative research approaches, as well as, public concerns raised in and from this study which allows for broader research considerations. By turning towards social media as a research platform, questions about how malls and crime are

represented within an array of available social media, and what this suggests about people's relationship with consumer culture becomes apparent. The assumed publicness of social media then springboards attention towards debates grappling with questions about conceptualising the meaning of audiences and users in process of producing and disseminating an array of social content. For example and as argued, re-tweets are subjugated to represent a collective in weight, meaning and sentiment as that of the original tweet. How then does a replicated message derive oppositional readings through a singularity of multiple disseminations? How does that action translate into a deeper understanding of a user in context to a messages subject matter and influence over a potentially diverse consumer audience? Such questions inevitably will stimulate more questions and opportunities not thought of at present. In terms of this research, what new questions will arise concerning race, crime and shopping that has only been touched upon or not even thought of? One such issue raised in this study and worthy of consideration, relates to policy implications that ask questions about, or to what degree the state should use its resources to protect private institutions? What does this imply when there is a public present? How does this affect the implementations of an inclusive constitution mandating the safety of its citizens within an exclusive space? These considerations immediately raise questions about the meaning of equality and the context in which it is defined and executed. When it comes to questions, about what consumer culture means in a South African context, this study has attempted to open a single jar stored within a massive warehouse of future research considerations. In its broadest sense, this study has attempted to isolate a single ray of light from a blinding spotlight asking questions about what consumption really means not just in South Africa, but also within a new body of theorists defining the meaning of consumer culture in the global south. This study hopes that through its contributing insights and/or critical oversights, that it will direct attention towards the many facets and complexities involved towards understandings of consumer culture.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Listing of searched tweets using the following #hashtag and keyword phrases.

1. Super and major retail centres in Gauteng, South Africa searched for in conjunction with *robbery, armed robbery* and *shooting* keyword phrasings, as well as, the #hashtag handle for each mall.

14th Avenue District, Bedford Centre, Brooklyn Mall, Centurion Mall, Clearwater Mall, Cradlestone Mall, Cresta Shopping Centre, Eastgate Shopping Centre, Festival Mall, Forest Hill City, Fourways Mall, Hyde Park Corner, Jubilee Mall, Key West Shopping Centre, Killarney Mall, Kolonnade, Mall @ Reds, Mall of Africa, Mall of the South, Maponya Mall, Menlyn Park Shopping Centre, Northgate Shopping Centre, Randridge Mall, Rosebank Mall, Sandton City, Southgate Mall, Stoneridge Shopping Centre, The Glen, The Zone @ Rosebank, Westgate Shopping Centre, Wonderpark Shopping Centre, Woodlands Boulevard, Zambezi Mall.

2. #Hashtag keyword phrases.

#Mallrobberies, #Mallrobbery, #Mallcrime, #Mallshooting, #Armedrobbery.

Appendix B

Listing of tweets captured and categorised thematically as listed in Chapter 2, figure 2.2.

Table Theme 1. Public critiques against state and policing efforts in crime prevention.

Code No	User Name	Text	Tweet Date	Re-tweets
1	adamduploy	Shit like the #BedfordCentreShooting makes me cry for #SouthAfrica. Lawless society managed by a corrupt government with no balls.	2015/01/29 10:39:00	1
1	AdrianLarger	SA is becoming a bad place. It makes me sick when innocent people are hurt. Hope the police kill every one of those F.....S #bedfordcentre	2015/01/29 10:41:28	0
1	AldrinSampear	#MallRobberies Mothiba says they cant reveal which malls are high risk	2014/09/09 8:36:37	0
1	AldrinSampear	#MallRobberies Mothiba says in all of the incidents, the police suspect that they were inside jobs	2014/09/09 8:50:46	0
1	AldrinSampear	#MallRobberies Mothiba: some of our customers are not alert	2014/09/09 8:51:46	1
1	AldrinSampear	#MallRobberies GP police say there are a number of groups involved... "What's worrying is that staff are colluding with criminals"	2014/12/18 12:45:22	0
1	AldrinSampear	#MallRobberies Mothiba says they cant reveal which malls are high risk	2014/09/09 8:36:37	0
1	AldrinSampear	#MallRobberies Mothiba says in all of the incidents, the police suspect that they were inside jobs	2014/09/09 8:50:46	0
1	AldrinSampear	#MallRobberies Mothiba: some of our customers are not alert	2014/09/09 8:51:46	1
1	AldrinSampear	#MallRobberies GP police say there are a number of groups involved... "What's worrying is that staff are colluding with criminals"	2014/12/18 12:45:22	0

1	AshMendelo	Appointing puppets with peripheral agendas like Nhleko means core purpose like keeping shopping centers safe falls by wayside #BedfordCentre	2015/01/30 5:06:05	0
1	AshrafS_	LAWLESS SOUTH AFRICA "@ewnupdates: Shooting at Bedford Centre in Gauteng http://t.co/QOjIclXjU3 http://t.co/DkMLl6cNSZ"	2015/01/29 10:59:50	0
1	AurozOgra	Bedfordview police responded to the Bedford Mall crime scene faster than the centre's management 👈 @SAPoliceService #BedfordCentre	2015/01/30 14:14:16	2
3	BedfordEdenvale	#BedfordCentreShooting Full article, photo gallery and video http://t.co/jLCHL7uZ0D	2015/01/29 14:51:33	0
3	BedfordEdenvale	#BedfordCentreShooting When the crime took place, Bedfordview SAPS was hosting a farewell for a retiring detective. http://t.co/jLCHL7uZ0D	2015/01/29 14:57:01	13
1	BigBananavc	they should've addressed the issue after the first few mall robberies Bit late now Robbers having fun round town #MallRobbery	2014/09/09 5:50:57	0
1	bmathaila	Why did the police didn't kill the rest of the thugs.Bheki Cele where are you mara?#clearwatermall	2015/09/01 17:44:48	0
1	Buzzy14	Well done SAPS Special Unit!! UPDATE: Clearwater Mall confirms armed robbery | Roodepoort Northsider http://t.co/M7zlKVjfgs	2015/09/01 9:45:53	2
1	CarSalesMan_1	Hope @SAPoliceService arrested the real suspects not the injured shoppers #BedfordCentre just Saying nje. Wrong Suspects #Senzo #reigerpark	2015/01/29 12:29:45	0
2	carteblanchetv	Shopping malls fight back against #MallRobberies http://t.co/cLKLRNEXKv	2014/11/03 12:30:59	3
1	CentaurusTr	Deploy the army to malls. #bedfordcentre #bedfordview	2015/01/29 14:39:05	0
1	CentaurusTr	Once again I say the army must be deployed to our shopping malls. It will only get worse. #mallofthesouth #mallrobberies	2015/10/13 16:11:46	0
2	CitiReporter	Mothiba says lax mall security has made it easy for criminals to rob stores in malls #MallRobberies #citi - ^PS	2014/09/09 8:40:14	2
2	CitiReporter	Mothiba says police are sure that in all the #MallRobberies we have seen, insiders have helped criminals with information #citi - ^PS	2014/09/09 8:54:04	0
2	CitiReporter	#Mallrobberies The police says since the launch of festive season "when duty calls" , they have intensified security at malls #citi - ^PB	2014/12/18 12:44:36	0

1	ckowalsk	#mallrobberies. Investigations by police do NOT inspire me with confidence. 1st - spell investigation.....	2014/09/03 4:26:08	0
1	Clubsocs	Busy reading the comments on article about the Bedford centre shooting. I'm trying to understand how people can blame the ANC ? Huh?	2015/01/29 19:45:18	0
1	CNadz01	Another sad day in Bedfordview! #prayers #BedfordCentreShooting #senseless... when will people start to matter in SA?	2015/01/29 18:26:03	0
3	DA_KZN	SAPS must implement plan to stop mall robberies - Dianne Kohler Barnard MP http://t.co/kjFV1baFts @DKB20 #DA #SAPS #mallRobberies	2014/10/20 11:07:56	0
1	dirkdup69	“Uhmhuheoohaeh, Crime is not out of control” ~ Jacob Zuma#BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 10:30:06	3
1	DLlywelly n	I'm quite surprised that the President's Office has not said anything regarding yesterday's #BedfordCentreShooting. ANC supports crime in SA	2015/01/30 9:50:59	1
1	EJM_JVR	@PigSpotter #BedfordCentreShooting The purps will probably be released on minimal bail to continue their criminal careers	2015/01/29 11:23:28	1
1	EricJWest	RT @MissBuffinno: Why are most policemen overweight in our country? #BedfordCentreShooting" Because they have no pride! No longer a calling! (deeper political commentary in relation to mmm body?)	2015/01/29 11:45:08	4
1	ermbates	#MallRobberies "One mall robbery is one too many. There has been quite a number of successes, police have thwarted quite a number." (duel commentary on mall crimes but praise for police too)	2014/12/18 12:50:54	0
2	ewnupdates	Phiyega announces big decline in mall robberies http://t.co/VafFYoyUtn http://t.co/IgBwGYqor4	2015/08/13 5:18:05	4
1	Fannykhoz a	13 Police officers we're lost in the last 6 months, and this can't continue #MallRobberies MV #Mothiba	2014/09/09 9:02:49	0
1	Franna47	Well done by SAPS at Clearwater Mall robbery. They lived by the sword.....	2015/09/02 6:37:09	0
1	gabyb1	Total lawlessness in South Africa.....#BedfordCentre#shooting	2015/01/29 11:01:50	0
1	gareth6pike	explain a bit? I do feel #BedfordCentre is symptom of ANC govt. - Because the rot begins at the top.	2015/01/29 19:56:58	0
1	gavf1	Well done #sapsGP the only problem! #DOJ will grant him bail. Shouldve put a bullet in his	2014/12/18	0

		head. I bet he is illegal as well #MallRobberies	13:11:22	
1	GeniusMoyo	In times like these i miss the former Police Comm. Bheki Cele. Mall robberies like these never happened in his time of office. #MallRobbery	2014/10/25 19:03:33	0
1	GiNO768	I cannot say I have the same respect for the current Police Commissioner that I had for the former! #BringBackCele #Marikana #MallRobberies	2014/09/10 15:47:02	0
3	Gunservant	#MallRobberies: you can wait for the cops to save you (they can't), or you can be armed and fight back. Guess which option actually works?	2014/09/21 17:56:09	0
3	IOSNewsSA	More than a dozen #MallRobberies and police insist they are making inroads in fighting crime..what do you think? In @IOSNewsSA tomorrow	2014/10/17 18:54:22	0
1	its_emyce	I tink abt how he wud escpe a robbery scene "@pedykruz: When I see a pot bellied policeman, I just think about the zone he's assigned to pro	2013/10/23 16:47:50	0
2	JacaNews	Mothiba says they are appealing to all stakeholders to work together to fight the scourge of robberies at shopping malls #MallRobberies MV	2014/09/09 8:28:45	1
2	JacaNews	Mothiba says there are isolated #MallRobberies in other provinces, but mostly in Gauteng MV	2014/09/09 8:47:53	1
2	JacaNews	Mothiba encourages communities to be part of policing at sector levels - this will help catching out bogus cops #MallRobberies MV	2014/09/09 8:54:04	0
2	JacaNews	@JacaNews 2pm: #Nkandla committee's first meeting elects a Chairperson & Gauteng police concerned about inside jobs in #MallRobberies	2014/09/09 11:55:04	1
3	JnrEGM	So President Zuma when are you going to stop this CRIME crazed lawlessness #bedfordcentre shooting @MandyWiener http://t.co/PhZYN6Tunq	2015/01/29 10:28:32	2
3	JnrEGM	#EastRandMall #ClearWaterMall awesome @SAPoliceService work #let's take back our streets tierd of all these criminals @Abramjee @lead_sa	2015/09/01 10:08:59	13
1	juliogarciaSA	SA needs a government that can deal with these sickos and eradicate violent crime for good. #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 11:40:16	4
1	JUSTTWISTA	Gauteng province has all types of policing agencies... But its like a playground for all Criminals... #MallRobberies	2014/09/01 18:11:23	0
1	Kae_sista	Shootouts, robberies, hijackings, smash & grabs, lootings but the ANC is complaining about the name of a street. #priorities #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 12:36:12	3
1	KarenPretorius2	No we don't feel safe. Where is our military??? #MallRobberies	2014/09/21 17:48:58	0

1	keir_casper	@SAPoliceService #sapsGP #Shootout #SAPS #ClearwaterMall well done keep up the amazing work	2015/09/01 9:19:12	0
1	kelvindphiri	@SABreakingNews do we still have police commissioner in the country? Crime is viral now #clearwatermall	2015/09/01 10:45:40	0
1	KEVINSHUTUP	Lmfao ewn website comments on the bedford centre shooting some blame apartheid. Wtf its 20 years now	2015/01/29 15:35:26	0
1	King_ShakaZulu	@ewnupdates Clearwater Mall shooting: Death toll rises to two http://t.co/W1YxiEO8xc That's not a toll, that's a victory. Hooray the cops!	2015/09/01 18:34:39	0
1	konketso1	#BedfordCentre "why cant they be permanent police visibility at our Malls to prevent this stupid bastard?	2015/01/29 11:10:45	0
1	Lebogangvilla	Job well done to #SAPS for arresting suspects of #MallRobberies .We can't even go malls without thinking @ de back of the head abt robberies	2014/09/09 8:37:24	0
1	LeratoIshmael	Shout out to @SAPoliceService. The #ClearwaterMall incident deserves to be applauded. 👐😀👐🏃	2015/09/01 17:15:37	1
1	kelvindphiri	@SABreakingNews do we still have police commissioner in the country? Crime is viral now #clearwatermall	2015/09/01 10:45:40	0
1	Lebogangvilla	Job well done to #SAPS for arresting suspects of #MallRobberies .We can't even go malls without thinking @ de back of the head abt robberies	2014/09/09 8:37:24	0
1	LeratoIshmael	Shout out to @SAPoliceService. The #ClearwaterMall incident deserves to be applauded. 👐😀👐🏃	2015/09/01 17:15:37	1
1	leratonkole	@SAPoliceService hope you catch those guys asap.i live in jhb south,more than half of #mallrobberies been in the south.feeling besieged	2014/09/09 9:13:09	0
1	Lion_for_Truth	Never had this shit under apartheid! - "Armed robbery this morning at Clearwater Mall, West Rand. 4 shot,... http://t.co/T8ZxzOQgT3	2015/09/01 8:22:32	0
1	MagrietKemp	Well done to @SAPoliceService - wow! Really nailed the #criminals at #ClearwaterMall today! https://t.co/mk59vl39dc http://t.co/z5Va9bRPey	2015/09/01 17:14:58	0
1	MarlizaVisser	#BedfordCentreShooting and what is Zuma doing about crime ?	2015/01/29 11:08:41	0
1	Masterp23Z	Why do police hide or allow these thugs to hide their faces when they take them away? Shouldn't we know them orb the future? #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 11:02:38	1
1	Maxmpho	Zuma we are concerned about #Mallrobbery in our country.	2014/11/06	0

			12:47:08	
1	MegInterrupted	#bedfordcentre shooting, not that #loadshedding, #etoll and #ANC 's stupidity wasn't enough!	2015/01/29 11:38:49	0
1	mhlabaelijah	Are these people doing #MallRobberies working with SAPS or the SAPS just don't have the intelligence to fight this?	2014/09/21 16:33:35	0
1	mieliecoza	When will the #zagovernment wake up! Yes #jacobzuma we have a crime problem! #BedfordCentreShooting! Wake up!	2015/01/29 12:40:26	0
1	MissBuffinno	Why are most policemen overweight in our country? #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 11:37:13	1
1	MiZz_haSiNa	Mothiba says the suspect the possibility of inside information in most or all of the #MallRobberies #sabcnews	2014/09/09 8:56:55	0
1	Molaobert	#mallrobberies First the nigerians import@/BROUGHT drugs into SA aNd now look!Is that a goodstory to tell?ANC pls wake up SA is Under siege	2014/10/18 12:32:12	0
1	morake147	Good news coming out of Clearwater mall. Robbers have met their match.Well done to our officers.Bravo Comissioner Mothiba.	2015/09/01 8:07:42	5
1	MrsAssad1	#Mallcrime Ahh, I see in Cape Town they catch suspects. In Jhb we just talk about them... Nice work #CapeTown.	2014/10/10 6:42:42	1
1	MSchoombie	What is happening to this country we love! #jacobzuma #BedfordCentre ANC you seriously have to help this country instead of yourselves!	2015/01/29 10:34:59	0
1	Nam_2206	The crime is getting out of hand now, #bringbackbhekicele needs to be a serious movement. #bedfordcentre http://t.co/J6xXaQkViF	2015/01/29 11:02:56	0
1	NinaRensburg	Very disturbing #mallrobberies. That even judges can be bought! And to think I grew up with my gran sensding money to Somalians #mnet @dstv	2014/10/19 17:45:55	0
1	nnzikhali	Armed robbery at Menlyn Park: Gauteng police were not aware of the robbery. http://t.co/HH6nKACOue	2015/08/31 12:36:05	0
1	Nozigi	#BedfordCentreShooting»So if the criminals r arrested they will b charged for culpable homicide #DolusEventualis?@Abramjee?def by law?	2015/01/30 6:04:52	0
1	OsamaBinPascal	SAPS spokesperson Katlego Mogale says nobody can get a licence to own AK47. Which planet is she living in? #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 16:26:09	0
1	osipuka	If #CarteBlanche can get such intelligence, what stops our police? #MallRobberies	2014/10/19 17:32:35	0

1	Paley143	The #SAPS have been doing a splendid job over the past few days. #Clearwatermall #N12Eastgate #Menlyn	2015/09/02 19:01:41	0
1	Pasco_e	I'll bet you that the thugs who raided #BedfordCentre this morning were out on bail on some other offence.	2015/01/29 11:28:15	3
1	PatriciaLehle	#BedfordCentre police forensics suck. No convictions. Criminals act with impunity. So sorry for the victims.	2015/01/29 12:52:47	0
1	Pedro_Gemelgo	#MallRobberies Only when we have an incident like Westgate Nairobi, will security and government wake up, then it's too late!	2014/09/21 17:43:00	0
2	POWER987News	#MallRobberies Police do believe that syndicates are involved in these robberies. Police looking for a syndicate operating Maponya Mall	2014/12/18 12:47:45	0
1	Ramosate_Molamu	SAPS should deploy Tactical Response Teams to all malls like they do on the freeways before we have another Kenya situation #MallRobberies	2014/09/02 17:48:56	1
1	RavilRaman	@carteblanchetv #MallRobberies probelms generally have solutions, the porky brigade have no clue how to tackle this	2014/09/21 17:41:43	0
1	Riaan_Niew	Can we now see tht #SaGov do not use their resources properly like #IntelligenceAgenC for incidents like the recent spate of #MallRobberies	2014/09/09 8:57:59	0
1	RoriMoseli	*shootout at Bedford Centre* Let's blame the ANC☹☹☹#BedforviewLogic #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 12:09:02	1
1	rynardtspies	RT @SAcrimefighters: The end of the road for one of the #Bedfordcentre robbers. http://t.co/oUxe7R6oFa <	2015/01/29 12:20:03	0
2	SABCNewsroom	#MallRobberies Dlamini: Our resources are outstretched, people expect us to be everywhere.	2014/09/05 7:18:09	0
1	Riaan_Niew	Can we now see tht #SaGov do not use their resources properly like #IntelligenceAgenC for incidents like the recent spate of #MallRobberies	2014/09/09 8:57:59	0
1	RoriMoseli	*shootout at Bedford Centre* Let's blame the ANC☹☹☹#BedforviewLogic #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 12:09:02	1
1	rynardtspies	RT @SAcrimefighters: The end of the road for one of the #Bedfordcentre robbers. http://t.co/oUxe7R6oFa < Not! He'll be out on bail soon.	2015/01/29 12:20:03	0
2	SABCNewsroom	#MallRobberies Dlamini: Our resources are outstretched, people expect us to be everywhere.	2014/09/05 7:18:09	0

1	sbuzeke	robbery went wrong at Clearwater mall thanks to SAPS http://t.co/9HXjOtqJ6x	2015/09/08 23:20:10	0
1	scatteredsister	#BedfordCentre thugs and robbers have no place using my tax money to be treated at hospital. I object. #letthembleed.	2015/01/29 11:34:37	1
1	SiveMayiya	#CliveNaidoo #ClearwaterMall #EastRandMall. The popo had a good week already.	2015/09/01 14:06:58	0
1	TamsynCarstens	After hearing about the #BedfordCentreShooting & being a hijack survivor myself I can say this, poor governance = breakdown in human rights	2015/01/30 6:51:24	0
1	The_Leong_King	5 arrested in connection with spate of Gauteng mall robberies.Well done #police !Congratulations! #Crime #MallRobberies #safety #security	2014/09/09 11:54:38	0
2	VEPofficial	Hats off to #SAPS, great work! #ClearwaterMall #NalediMall	2015/09/02 4:28:19	0
2	VEPofficial	Hats off to #SAPS, great work! #ClearwaterMall #NalediMall	2015/09/02 4:28:19	0
1	WesHellyar	Instead of worrying about the Human Rights organisations opinions of SA, let's rather worry about the shocking #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 15:21:51	0
1	winker_watson1	#BedfordCentreShooting never has there been a better time to look at policing invest in the right people and pay them well. End #corruption	2015/01/29 18:30:50	0
1	wisanemawi	#MallRobbery times like this we miss Bheki Cele , this nonsense was almost non existent during his time! And now we have a cow	2014/09/09 5:20:26	0
1	XolaniMvulana	The government, which has the responsibility to protect its citizens, is failing the ordinary and law-abiding citizens of SA. #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 21:06:31	0

Appendix C

Listing of tweets captured and categorised thematically as listed in Chapter 2, figure 2.2.

Table Theme 2. Concerns about visible mall security ensuring public safety.

Code No	User Name	Text	Tweet Date	Re-tweets
1	africanunsub	#MallRobberies r terribly under-reported, owners try to hide them for fear of patrons staying away! #IndustryInsider	2014/09/09 8:25:13	0
1	alter_e	#MalloftheSouth must be boycotted until they install cameras and have security in the parking area. @liefdeenvrede @aspenhills @glenvista	2015/11/15 12:48:48	0
1	Alwinco	Your willpower to keep the criminal out of your property must be greater than that of the criminal #MallRobbery #Alwinco	2014/10/28 7:58:15	0
1	aMidLifeCrisis	Seeing these pics of #BedfordCentreShooting is making my blood run cold #Memories @MandyWiener @F1sasha @disifensham @IanFSA	2015/01/29 10:28:48	0
1	Asanda_mxo	its high risk being at a mall these days #BedfordCentre incident	2015/01/29 11:22:11	0
1	AshGamingZA	Well done on the great security at the mall ;) https://t.co/ojuD0l04EH Never shop there #mallOfTheSouth	2015/10/22 8:11:33	0
1	BeastyZA	I'm unable with the escalating crime in South Africa. One has to now think twice about going to the mall. Yho #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 10:53:17	1
1	bf4744289d3a409	#BedfordCentreShooting SA must be the only country where the vicroms are exposed and the robbers faces are covered by police	2015/01/30 6:51:36	0
1	Britzs2Suzette	Armed robbery at mall@reds, CCTV not clear! Tonight many security guards - too late!	2013/02/08 18:04:06	0
1	Carl_T84	Mall security don't stand a chance against armed robbers #MallRobberies	2014/09/21 17:40:29	2
1	Carl_T84	Looks like malls are no longer safe. #MallRobberies	2014/10/11 18:53:17	0

2	CitiReporter	Mothiba: Some of the malls have very relaxed security.Some have CCTV cameras that aren't working or are of poor quality #MallRobberies #citi	2014/09/09 8:32:40	0
3	CrimeWatchdog	Be mall robbery aware: http://t.co/54GlAzao6B #MallRobberies #SafetyTips #crime #Joburg. @GCALERTS	2015/03/11 12:00:47	2
1	Deluxe_AYK	The security locked the people who were trying to escape under the roller door inside the mall as he made a run himself #MallRobberies	2014/12/18 13:53:23	1
1	DennylListon	The #BedfordCentreShooting is yet more proof that crime is out of control and no1 is safe anywhere or at anytime!!!! #crythebelovedcountry	2015/01/29 15:16:40	4
1	Devi_SG	#MallRobberies - some shopping centres say you cant put in excessive security measures. Big guns cause more drama.	2014/09/21 17:46:36	3
1	Devi_SG	#MallRobberies - consumers also need to be more awake when shopping. Being in a big fat "dwaal" not good. Look sharp!	2014/09/21 17:48:15	3
1	Devi_SG	#Mallrobberies - more security, more cost, more the SA consumer will pay. Not rocket science.	2014/09/21 17:49:39	5
1	dgtager	#MallRobberies What about big steel doors that drop down and put the mall in lock down, most malls have a couple of doors	2014/09/21 17:45:13	0
1	dmunu	#BedfordCentreShooting this place is crazy. Not safe. Scary	2015/01/29 11:33:01	0
3	ECSecurity	SHOOTING AT NORTHGATE MALL!HOW SAFE ARE OUR MALLS?Shoppers had to dodge bullets at Northgate shopping centre... http://t.co/sZ5jG8h5nM	2014/03/13 8:32:55	0
1	ermbates	#MallRobbery #Police have 13 inyalas stationery at different malls, sector vehicles are patrolling at malls frequently @eNCAnews	2014/12/18 12:37:20	0
1	ermbates	#MallRobberies #Police general here says @SAPoliceService in #Gauteng is working with mall security personnel to thwart robbers @eNCAnews (state vs private security, says that with issues of crime the ideas of neo-liberal policies need colaberating with the state)	2014/12/18 12:51:50	1
1	fadeelat	@CapeTalk567 Time to dust off all those scanners and place them at all Mall exits like in the bad old days of Apartheid #Mallcrime	2014/10/18 6:44:02	0
1	GlennRunn	Pics of Bedford Centre shooting are graphic.Only go to the Trending timeline if u don't mind blood.These malls need better security#Glifeza	2015/01/29 11:37:46	0
3	Gunservant	Malls get robbed and we put our faith in metal detectors? Okaaaaay...whatever makes you feel	2014/10/20	3

		better. #mallrobberies #crime	19:30:09	
1	Imthedrugexpert	Mall employees don't feel safe: Following another robbery at the Centurion Mall, workers are questioning their... http://t.co/zb0BzkjDDR	2014/10/17 14:16:18	1
2	JacaNews	Mothiba says they setup meetings with mall management to beef up security and looking into security systems #MallRobberies MV	2014/09/09 8:27:53	1
2	JacaNews	1pm: Gauteng police boss asks "How many security guards do you see in a mall?" #MallRobberies & #TUT students set bus alight	2014/09/09 10:56:21	0
1	JaxJn30	#MallRobberies. There is cctv coverage, yet who 'mans' this and monitors suspicion behaviour / action / parking???	2014/09/21 17:44:19	0
1	JoanneMacg	Tx, I'm safe at home writing. But horrified. I'm there almost every day. #bedfordcentre	2015/01/29 10:41:24	0
1	JohanDuvenhage	All business that are affected with a decent CCTV system should share criminals photos #mallrobberies	2014/10/22 12:33:21	0
1	K_anye	:#MaponyaMall Robbery as they proceeded,they realized there more security inside&started to flee.@sindivanzyl still not safe! 2014-12-17 08:39:58.000 0 0 1 1	2014/12/17 8:47:54	0
1	Keagi_M	The Bedford Centre shooting. we are not safe anywhere :-(How sad!	2015/01/29 11:10:32	1
1	Kego_S	But how can you put a jewelery store close to the mall with no security ?! #MallOfTheSouth	2015/10/12 15:23:43	0
1	khanya7	Maybe if malls use biometrics systems or more cops just like in the UK #Mallrobberies	2014/09/21 17:41:50	0
1	kingtdm	Whoa! "@shotgunflava: #BedfordCentreShooting eish crime is really getting out of hand, there is no where to hide"	2015/01/29 16:31:58	0
3	leemunati	Armed Robbery Stopped in South AfricaThis particular jewellery store is in a busy shopping mall in... http://t.co/4bS9DFAyAU	2015/05/23 17:50:23	0
1	khanya7	Maybe if malls use biometrics systems or more cops just like in the UK #Mallrobberies	2014/09/21 17:41:50	0
1	konketso1	#BedfordCentre "why cant they be permanent police visibility at our Malls to prevent this stupid bastard?	2015/01/29 11:10:45	0
3	leemunati	Armed Robbery Stopped in South AfricaThis particular jewellery store is in a busy shopping mall in... http://t.co/4bS9DFAyAU	2015/05/23 17:50:23	0

1	li3zel	This was waiting to happen... There is no visible security in the entire mall. #mallofthesouth https://t.co/R70loambCV	2015/10/12 12:59:15	0
1	LiabilityGuy	I suppose it's possible that #mallrobbery perpetrators target shops that have easy escape routes onto highways once outside.	2014/10/18 6:55:29	2
1	lisa__mhmmm	Mothiba says lax mall security has made it easy for criminals to rob stores in malls #MallRobberies #citi	2014/09/09 8:43:31	1
1	LizetPeyp	@carteblanchetv - how can we be sure an armed guard is not just a criminal in disguise? It might ba a stolen uniform..... #MallRobberies	2014/09/21 17:44:50	0
1	margiedgander	What happened in #BedfordCentre didn't surprise me. Public places in #Johannesburg are soft targets.	2015/01/29 16:06:41	0
1	mark12118	#bedfordcentre going to Bedford eish me luck and safety	2015/01/31 7:50:30	0
1	Maxmpho	#Mothiba says if malls do more securitydrills people will also be more aware andprepared #MallRobberies @Ann7Tv	2014/09/09 8:52:41	6
1	MelanieWebbSA	Why doesn't money get delivered to/collected from banks late at night? Easier to spot crooks hanging around & no shoppers. #BedfordCentre	2015/01/30 4:10:36	4
1	merlynn_marion	There have been numerous #mallrobberies. Why has mall security not been beefed up? Have not heard anything about the safety measures taken!	2014/09/19 19:05:03	0
1	MikeStoker	#Mallrobberies: how to stay safe this holiday season #insurance via @SantamInsurance http://t.co/92qkpQcv5G	2014/11/08 6:43:39	0
1	mkhizeandy	#MallRobberies more security in our MALLS we don't want KENYA shooting, innocent blood	2014/09/09 11:06:54	0
1	MrNdana	I was at North Gate mall yesterday and felt unsafe remembering a jewellery robbery there about 2-3years ago. Now this shooting @ clearwater	2015/09/01 15:25:36	0
1	msizi_myeza	A man has been killed & 4 otheres injured in shootout a few minutes ago.@clearwatermall management pls beef up security. #Clearwatermall	2015/09/01 8:52:46	0
1	MsShivambu	You hear about the robbery at Rosebank? □"@sindivanzyl: *re-routing to Clearwater Mall*"	2014/10/01 8:09:59	0
1	neilfitz31	the security deployed in the majority of Malls in SA is poor to say the least...poorly skilled& paid little. #MallRobberies	2014/09/21 17:42:10	0
1	Nmoshupye	Mothiba says they will work with mall and private security entities to tackle the issue of mall	2014/12/18	0

		robberies in Gauteng.#MallRobberies @ANN7tv	12:47:50	
1	Nyarhi_Genuine	Heavy police presence in #BedfordCentre after shooting took place.	2015/01/29 11:03:15	0
1	opshq23	#mallrobberies Mall armed robberies spike between 8 and 10 in the morning, Monday and Friday are favored	2014/11/04 5:16:27	0
1	PaulaGruben	Why are ALL malls not gun-free zones, with manned security checks at every entrance, like #Montecasino? #BedfordCentre #BedfordShooting	2015/01/29 11:34:15	2
1	Pedro_Gemelgo	#MallRobberies @carteblanchetv Think to yourself, where in South Africa do you actually feel safe without being worried about your safety ?	2014/09/21 17:45:59	0
2	POWER987News	#MallRobberies Mothiba says some malls CCTV cameras don't work and the security is "too relaxed"	2014/09/09 8:28:00	2
2	POWER987News	#MallRobberies Mothiba says 12 Malls have been identified as High risk and more police will be deployed including Nyalas	2014/09/09 8:30:20	1
2	POWER987News	#MallRobberies Mothiba says they are working with mall security, undercover cops and uniformed police to try tackle the problem.	2014/12/18 12:43:03	1
1	ProTwoolz	It's that time RT @ewnreporter: #MaponyaMall #Robbery as they proceeded, they realized there more security inside and started to flee. MR	2014/12/17 8:33:24	1
1	RabinHarduth	We design malls badly.Yes we have to balance convenience VS Safety but we have too many entrances and tenant mix Is NB. #Mallrobberies	2014/09/09 8:48:42	0
1	RabinHarduth	A staggered tenant mix from convenience to high risk needs to be built in to the design. Banks,jewellery,high risk separate#MallRobberies	2014/09/09 8:51:21	0
1	RabinHarduth	On existing malls - revise tenant mix to create a more secure area of the mall. #MallRobberies	2014/09/09 8:56:25	0
1	RabinHarduth	Mall property owners in SA can afford to x2 their security.If you have 36 guards.. get 72!And not change anything else. #MallRobberies	2014/09/09 8:58:47	1
1	RabinHarduth	@africanunsub I agree.. but for maximum buffer effect - they need to be furthest from entrances #MallRobberies	2014/09/09 9:22:28	0
1	RichardJSherman	#BedfordCentre management endanger the public by allowing cash to be transported during daylight hours. they have the power to stop this.	2015/01/29 11:58:32	1
2	SABreakin	Cresta Shop Owners Deeply Concerned Over ‘Well Coordinated’ Robbery: Shop owners at	2014/08/13	5

	gNews	the Cresta Shopping Centre... http://t.co/0BQ2p1ogts	16:22:43	
1	RichardJSherman	#BedfordCentre management endanger the public by allowing cash to be transported during daylight hours. they have the power to stop this.	2015/01/29 11:58:32	1
2	SABreakingNews	Cresta Shop Owners Deeply Concerned Over 'Well Coordinated' Robbery: Shop owners at the Cresta Shopping Centre... http://t.co/0BQ2p1ogts	2014/08/13 16:22:43	5
2	SAgovnews	Mothiba says security features at the malls should be strengthened and that he will liaise with municipalities in this regard #mallrobberies	2014/09/09 8:40:49	3
3	SAPoliceService	#sapsGP identified 12 malls where we will increase visibility which will incl deployment of Nyalas. #MallRobberies #SaferFestiveSeason ME	2014/09/09 9:23:05	9
1	seandisrof	Why are the checks going to be random? Why not check everybody at the entrances? It works for Monte Casino. #mallrobberies	2014/10/20 11:55:16	0
1	sgpobzar	#clearwatermall #secondbombthreat wonder wats wrong with this mall #notsafe anymore	2015/04/24 9:06:48	0
1	shamznoor	More #MallRobberies I am staying away from malls.	2014/12/18 13:49:41	0
1	shotgunflava	#BedfordCentreShooting eish crime is really getting out of hand, there is no where to hide	2015/01/29 15:38:02	0
1	SibekoBontle	The day shopping malls became the most unsafe and we walked safely in downtown Johannesburg. #MallRobberies #JoziMaboneng	2014/10/17 13:38:47	0
1	SifisoNgwenya_1	Seems like cash-in-transit has been replaced by #MallRobberies ! @SAPoliceService visibility needs 2 be beefed up @Abramjee @GP_CommSafety	2014/10/17 13:33:32	0
1	siphojanuary	RT @AldrinSampear: #MallRobberies Mothiba says some malls CCTV cameras don't work and the security is "too relaxed"	2014/09/09 8:40:50	1
1	Status_Raters	gets new boom gates and pay machines... Customers end up paying more for parking. Everyone waiting for #MallOfTheSouth to open	2015/01/09 7:05:54	0
1	TakuMashowa	.....how they got into that mall with an AK47 is wat bafflez me #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 11:04:45	0
1	Tbg612	#BedfordCentre we need to tightened our security @StandardBankZA to ensure that our customers are safe across all the Branch network!	2015/01/29 11:10:00	0
1	tesariri	As to #MallRobbery - please step up security!	2016/02/15 7:19:07	0

1	TheRealKamoG	I'm on my way to menlyn park mall,only to find out there has been another robbery taking place inside. This means they must tighten security	2011/10/06 8:58:45	0
1	Thori_sk	#mallrobberies Really putting a lot of people at risk. These service providers must improve on shop security!!! @eNCAnews	2014/09/09 7:36:52	0
1	Tituz83	These malls should hv more securities now n police officers actually... #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 10:46:36	0
1	Thori_sk	#mallrobberies Really putting a lot of people at risk. These service providers must improve on shop security!!! @eNCAnews	2014/09/09 7:36:52	0
1	Tituz83	These malls should hv more securities now n police officers actually... #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 10:46:36	0
1	Tloubatla_Tlou	A swi tandini its safe“@FanaThePurp: #BedfordCentre Whats happening in the country mara - where can one be safe?”	2015/01/29 10:39:28	0
1	Trek2200	It's not even safe to go to the mall..... #MallOfTheSouth	2015/10/13 6:59:59	0
1	Wezzz47	Apparently there was an armed robbery at East Rand mall about an hour ago, I was there and didn't see anything.	2014/01/06 11:34:09	0
2	worldnews netwrk	Armed robbery by men .who pretended to be customers at a Vodacom shop in Forest Hills Mall in Gauteng South Africa at 3pm yesterday.	2015/08/14 9:56:48	1
1	yayahhlats	#MallRobberies Pillay-van Graan: The spates of crimes show we don’t have proper security in malls.	2014/09/05 7:14:12	0
1	Zenobiya	This shooting at Bedford centre *smh* shopping malls r no longer safe	2015/01/30 8:19:46	0

Appendix D

Listing of tweets captured and categorised thematically as listed in Chapter 2, figure 2.2.

Table Theme 3. Social hierarchies established by means of spectacular labelling and shaming.

Code No	User Name	Text	Tweet Date	Re-tweets
3	AllyWestCoast	why would you just shoot innocent people? disgusting world we live in. one down. #BedfordCentreShooting http://t.co/u4CfQ9zttR	2015/01/29 16:20:12	0
1	anelemkumla	Apparently there was an armed robbery at Standard Bank in Sandton City. Haven't heard of bank robberies in ages. So retro.	2014/07/26 10:47:54	0
1	awesomewayne76	Think its day light robbery charging people R6.00 for less than 10 min at a mall @clearwater mall	2013/11/04 7:17:54	0
3	BedfordEdenvale	Shoppers take to social media to commend Bedford Centre management. http://t.co/Z8BTTa1V9w #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/30 9:23:01	0
1	BiancaJadeGomes	Injured robbers taken to hospital?! Let them die, they don't deserve to live #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 11:37:46	0
1	Boipelo__	:(“@Bongani_Drama: Those pics are unbearable. #BedfordCentreShooting”	2015/01/29 10:36:05	1
1	Bongani_Drama	I remember saying #ParisAttack can happen anywhere at anytime. #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 16:33:09	0
1	CastingSA_II	I really hope the blood in the images from the #BedfordCentre is robber blood and not innocent bystander blood	2015/01/29 10:46:06	2
1	chrisvanwell	Tragic scenes are coming through on twitter from Bedford shopping centre shooting . Prayers are with all those injured	2015/01/29 10:30:09	1
1	CJSchulze	#SouthAfrica doesn't need a terrorist org to cause chaos in a shopping centre.Our ordinary criminals do that all on their own #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 11:35:00	0
3	CortacSecurity	#Armed #Robbery on the go at PicknPay Bedford Centre. shooting occurring. Avoid area and advise as many people as possible. #SpreadTheWord	2015/01/29 9:42:49	1
3	CrimeWatc	See a gallery of pics of yesterday's Mall of the South robbery here: http://t.co/LcY9BG1aaA	2015/10/14	1

	hdog		18:16:10	
1	curateJoburg	judging the tweets and comments on photos tweeted about #BedfordCentre shootout - our people are angry #stopcrime	2015/01/29 11:05:50	5
1	DalePackham	Shocking rule by thugs and criminals ...running amok with scant regard for the law #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/30 8:09:05	0
1	DeanMacpherson	My thoughts and prayers are with those injured in the #bedfordcentreshooting. Once again, what should be a normal day is shattered by crime.	2015/01/29 10:33:47	21
1	DJANDYX	These days you pray when you go to the malls cos there might be a shooting (@ Northgate Shopping Centre) https://t.co/N3Z6WLZO9Q	2015/09/01 12:22:48	0
1	Duvane_M	After being in the middle of last weeks shooting and robbery at Cresta I'm a little freaked out to be at Cradlestone Mall. 6 robberies here!	2014/08/18 6:55:40	0
1	EleniMichelle	Curious. Has anyone heard any updates about the Bedford Centre shooting from last month? 0.0 #Bedfordview	2015/02/27 19:15:09	0
1	engeltjie1	Of to watch bakgat3@mall@reds,hopefully theres no armed robbery today,lol!	2013/09/20 6:17:19	0
1	Epykliving	Bedford Centre Shooting:Very grim reality when it comes to crime in S.A. The innocent always end up being hurt! http://t.co/M1enMTvrnr	2015/01/29 16:03:26	1
1	errolfrancke	Law abiding South Africans have become #sittingducks #eNCA #MallRobberies #SenzoMeyiwa @SABCNewsOnline @Debora_Patta http://t.co/eyoQs6GDeR	2014/10/27 19:56:30	1
1	FirdoseM	Terrifying to think I used to work in #bedfordcentre Saw a shootout there myself. RT @power987News http://t.co/VkHoMQ7HGw #besafebedfordview	2015/01/29 10:46:22	6
1	focusstsoweto	Mall of the south Robbery we not safe @Abramjee http://t.co/D928YSbQED	2015/10/12 12:41:32	6
1	fornow4getit	#BedfordCentreShooting dont take prisoners kill them, they clearly dont value life... Kill them prisons are over populated	2015/01/29 11:25:14	1
1	foxipetcare	First robbery at the mall of the south. The south is not for sissies.	2015/10/12 12:37:35	0
1	FSekeleni	@_PapiJIG he was a criminal ready to kill to get what he wants, him dying saved a lot of innocent people lives #clearwatermall	2015/09/05 9:43:17	1
1	ftrftrftr	SA and gun violence... I can't! #bedfordcentre	2015/01/29 11:22:52	1

3	FundiswaMbuqe	Fourways mall is so dark. It's line an armed robbery could ensue #Loadshedding	2014/12/08 9:33:27	0
1	Gavintucker	Killings and robbery at Clearwater Mall. According to Hlaudi Motsoeneng, the perpetrators were probably inspired by reports on crime. #ANC	2015/09/02 12:26:49	0
1	GBreyts	Jeez watching the events today was rather depro #BedfordCentreShooting #roguecops #axemurders let's reel this in #SA !?! #toomuchnow	2015/01/29 16:09:32	0
1	givovoakajuju	Spring fiesta at #ClearWaterMall....water is merky for the robbers	2015/09/01 8:04:59	0
1	GoitseMoroka	With All these #mallrobberies in RSA, one will need a bullet vest just to go shopping.	2015/01/29 11:22:56	0
1	HDirkH	Thinking of all the people in the #BedfordCentreShooting ! Prayers are with you all ! 🏙 be safe !	2015/01/29 10:23:45	2
1	helenkettingg	oh well, why not? Only another armed robbery, a day in the life....@ExpoFanie @ExUnitateVires	2015/01/29 11:30:40	1
1	Iam_Sthe	Okay, so WTF?! Sh!t is scary now... #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 11:14:28	0
1	IamRebba	@ShaiPule #TheNorth #bedfordcentreshooting #BedfordView hahahahahaha! Argh they found the guys! It'll be alright!	2015/01/29 10:50:07	1
3	ILoveEdenvale	No difference anymoreRT @TheMadSub: What on Earth is going on in South Africa? #BedfordCentreShooting Are we facing criminals or terrorists?	2015/01/29 11:29:27	3
3	ILoveEdenvale	I love Edenvale: Bedford Shopping Centre shooting aftermath http://t.co/ndlv2pVhvh | #BedfordCentre The aftermath…	2015/01/29 12:45:21	1
1	IndiaSchamrel	:#BedfordCentreShooting Photo of the apprehended criminal. http://t.co/aDWxuWmfjZ fucking asshole, just shoot him!	2015/01/29 10:17:15	2
1	itsuplink	Tired tired tired tired #need #BedfordCentre	2015/02/09 21:42:20	0
1	jackzorro101	#BedfordCentre looks like a hospital trauma unit by the pics I'm getting. These robbers are getting more and more inexperienced. Dafuq!!	2015/01/29 10:31:44	0
1	jacques086	Sometimes I feel sorry for myself. But then #bedfordcentreShooting happens, and I jolt to the realisation how insignificant my problems are	2015/01/29 10:27:35	0
1	jberrrrr	it's just been almost painful to watch lately..cant get out of the zone and when we do, it's bad chances or	2014/01/25	0

		robbery	19:32:24	
1	jeymez	on a scale of 1-Westgate how bad is the Bedford centre shooting?	2015/01/29 11:02:43	0
1	JLHLIFE2	#MallRobberies this is bad as people have a illusion of safety at a mall. I just hope none are insured by @Discovery_SA	2014/09/21 23:40:54	0
1	JoshD_Medic	The lack of ethics of the pics being posted of the perps and victims in today's Bedford Centre shooting, astounds me. Shocking.	2015/01/29 20:12:48	2
1	JoziLamla	I'm actually scared to go to the Mall of the South now since there was a shooting there.	2015/10/17 8:39:09	0
3	JPSAorg	Tungsten rounds fired at #BedfordCentre! These criminals weren't playing around! http://t.co/SnbMHkbL1F	2015/01/29 10:53:06	29
1	juliogarciaSA	Before we know it we'll be wearing bulletproof vests just to go to the mall. Sad state of affairs!!! #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 11:38:06	0
1	Just_me2you	Gauteng is a #warzone today! #ClearWaterMall #EastRandMall #JetPark #robberies #shooting #crime #NotSafeAnywhere #SouthAfrica 🚓🚒🔫	2015/09/01 10:05:39	1
1	Just_Mingus	Incidents like #BedfordCentreShooting can remind you how easy to die it can be in this country. Just like that!	2015/01/29 10:23:24	3
1	KailasB	@Devi_SG some countries r experiencing real wars & in SA our war is crime & gov isn't taking this seriously #MallRobberies	2014/09/21 17:57:06	0
1	karabzy	Pakistan will do 4 me"@Lukipa_: Another robbery, clearwater mall "@LeratoIshmael: What happened now? "@Lukipa_: Malls are no longer safe"	2015/04/09 10:55:23	1
1	kate_moff	That scary moment when @blakelboyle "simulates a robbery" on your backpack while you're in the zone listening to music and walking to class	2013/03/12 13:21:37	1
1	Keitu7	This robbery @ fourways mall though..glad no one got hurt,but now scared to go there today☹haai.	2012/08/29 8:57:54	0
1	kennymclellan	#MallRobberies We should be allowed to defend ourself. More people die in SA than in Iraq. Murders are perpetrated by the same terrorists.	2014/09/21 17:46:12	1
1	Khumzaboy	#ATT #UPDATE #BedfordCentreShooting those are suspects...they're criminals, caught on the act, they shuld sentenced right away	2015/01/29 11:44:57	0
1	korkied	#BREAKING #SecurityAlert #ArmedRobbery. Seems like the criminals have left gauteng for KZN #Mallrobberies	2014/09/10 12:00:29	0

1	Krabbles7	Killarney mall shooting a few mins ago. U see thats why I suggested a bulletproof when going to a mall	2013/10/22 10:20:19	1
1	Krabbles7	Armed robbery at Brown's Jewellery store at Clearwater mall, AGAIN	2015/06/19 7:32:43	0
1	kwena	When terrorists attacked in France, we said never in our country. PS: It's been happening for a while now, example, #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 11:00:10	2
1	kennymclellan	#MallRobberies We should be allowed to defend ourself. More people die in SA than in Iraq. Murders are perpetrated by the same terrorists.	2014/09/21 17:46:12	1
1	Khumzaboy	#ATT #UPDATE #BedfordCentreShooting those are suspects...they're criminals, caught on the act, they shuld sentenced right away	2015/01/29 11:44:57	0
1	King_ShakaZulu	@ewnupdates Clearwater Mall shooting: Death toll rises to two http://t.co/W1YxiEO8xc That's not a toll, that's a victory. Hooray the cops!	2015/09/01 18:34:39	0
1	korkied	#BREAKING #SecurityAlert #ArmedRobbery. Seems like the criminals have left gauteng for KZN #Mallrobberies	2014/09/10 12:00:29	0
1	Krabbles7	Killarney mall shooting a few mins ago. U see thats why I suggested a bulletproof when going to a mall	2013/10/22 10:20:19	1
1	Krabbles7	Armed robbery at Brown's Jewellery store at Clearwater mall, AGAIN	2015/06/19 7:32:43	0
1	kudamupeni	this #ClearwaterMall incident was too close for comfort - every mall near me is now scary nhai Jeso	2015/09/01 9:31:35	0
1	kwena	When terrorists attacked in France, we said never in our country. PS: It's been happening for a while now, example, #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 11:00:10	2
1	Les_Ndlovu	The way its just so easy for anybody to walk into a mall with a gun nowadays & cause havoc. Its worrying. @eNCA #ClearwaterMall	2015/09/01 9:07:43	2
1	Lethabo__K	Mall of the South just opened and BOOM! Robbery? Yhuuu ☹	2015/10/12 13:06:23	1
1	Libby_Vermeulen	@PaulRotherhamZA #BedfordCentreShooting my daughter works at Bedford Centre. She says it has been terrifying. Wish we could live in peace.	2015/01/29 10:14:13	2
1	Linda_Shi	So now innocents people nearly lost their lives due to a shopping centre shootout #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 12:38:52	0
1	LittleManK	Grogan (Cape Times) #cartoon #mallrobberies http://t.co/JqyXOFPlzl	2014/10/21	0

	riel		20:22:37	
1	luckylukell	#mallrobberies, killing and robbing #bafana players. All in a days work #SouthAfrica #Capetown #crime	2014/11/06 14:09:44	0
1	lukanyo_	No one died from the #BedfordCentreShooting??? What crappy aiming	2015/01/29 16:03:10	0
1	Madame_Fossette	: This picture just sums it all up #BedfordCentreShooting http://t.co/OjQjjdj4ijomg!	2015/01/29 12:17:35	0
1	madly_michelle	Sorry CT, I take it back... gangster's paradise living up to it's name again today.Guess I wont be doing much shopping...#MallRobberies	2014/10/17 14:15:13	0
1	MandyWiener	Shooting at Bedford Centre in Deadforview. Seems more like armed robbers than gangsters this time. Anyone there?	2015/01/29 10:09:42	10
3	MensFederation	Are we a society that has totally lost its morals and values that we protect barbarians, SPEAK OUT #BedfordCentreShooting cc @CrimeLineZA	2015/01/29 11:28:24	4
1	miriammannak	It irks me that the shooting at Bedford Centre is described as an "incident", as if it concerns someone knocking over a vase of flowers.	2015/01/29 10:39:07	4
1	Moratwe_	Most dangerous places to hang out at in South Africa:● Malls#ClearWaterMall	2015/09/01 12:48:56	0
1	mpho_R6	It seems like there's armed robbery every week mo mall @ reds	2016/02/22 18:49:20	0
1	MrCPT	Seriously this #BedfordCentre incident is not on! These kind of people should be hung in public ☹ #BedfordShooting http://t.co/mpSBMZyUUi	2015/01/29 14:31:55	7
1	MrsAssad1	And we made #SkyNews with #BedfordCentreShooting. and we were just #happy to have a #loadshedding free day. #tryingtostaypositive.	2015/01/29 16:07:19	1
1	MsTaubie	#BedfordCentreShooting got mixed feelings as I walk into the Bedford centre this morning.	2015/01/30 5:10:09	0
1	nandnz	The difference between organized crime syndicates like the #BedfordCentreShooting and daily hijackings is that it was carefully orchestrated	2015/01/29 10:15:14	2
1	NaseemaMall	From where r robbers acquiring firearms? Why r we not looking into this seriously? #MallRobberies @carteblanchetv	2014/09/21 17:40:56	1
1	natanz1	#bedfordcentreshooting We shouldn't be living in fear of pigs who rob and kill to steal things we work hard 4.I hope God deals with u!	2015/01/29 11:37:58	0

1	Nkule_Duma	@crimeairnetwork what is really going on in this country #bedfordcentre im even scared to go @Northgatemall because of this !!	2015/01/29 10:47:04	0
1	nqaba99	Just witnessed an armed robbery @southgate mall...never been so scared	2013/04/28 8:33:20	0
1	opshq23	We want to keep track of all mall robberies in South Africa please use #mallrobberies .Wanted ,mall robbery http://t.co/HA6yomuDCS	2014/11/02 10:09:50	7
1	PatiswaBaloyi	Going to buy groceries at the mall is becoming dangerous.... you mite find yourself shot up by gangsters :'(#BedfordView #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 10:08:57	1
1	Pol_Sec_Analyst	In a country where <700 acts of crime are reported at shopping malls annually, #BedfordCentre shooting was a mere matter of time	2015/01/29 11:43:13	4
1	Pol_Sec_Analyst	Are we going to blame the #BedfordCentre shooting on shop owners who are unwilling to 'share expertise' with local criminals?	2015/01/29 11:47:39	6
1	PumzaDeti	It's one of those, I wanna see but I don't wanna see things. As I scroll through these gruesome photos of the shooting at Bedford Centre.	2015/01/29 14:46:52	0
1	RabinHarduth	I struggle to get out a mall in 15 mins with one packet from Dischem . How the F do you get out in 3 minutes with 2 LCD tv's #MallRobberies	2014/09/09 9:11:51	0
1	RabinHarduth	We can bitch on the robbers - who are douchebags yes. But man we make it easy for them... ! #MallRobberies (easy how?)	2014/09/09 9:13:11	1
2	Radio702	[ON AIR] Dr Graham Wright, Head of Consumer Goods Council and Former Head of Business Against Crime on the recent surge of #MallRobberies.	2014/09/01 16:13:13	1
1	radmaxrow	War zone at my favourite mall :((#bedfordcentre - sending my well wishes. Sad about the violence we are subjected to by crime animals	2015/01/29 10:47:21	1
2	RdptRecord	Woman recounts scary ordeal at Clearwater Mall robbery: http://t.co/wx4odJGvll @SonwabileRR @CrimeWatchdog http://t.co/wokz4R0Yu4	2015/06/19 10:08:31	1
1	Ridaaaz	We are so de sensitized to crime that seeing dead people and AK47's have just become the norm #BedfordCentreShooting #BEDFORD	2015/01/29 11:34:40	2
1	Rijako	The #robbery and #shootout at #bedfordcentre is another excellent example why law abiding citizens in South Africa should arm themselves	2015/01/30 16:21:48	0
1	robinwind	When u bumble in2 good people and u c ur life withnew iz spend so much time shunning saints whilst focusing onShames #bedfordcentreshooting	2015/02/14 13:36:03	1
1	rocheartz	Isn't it another #foodforthought, Twitter, that when Mall of the South opened, it didn't trend on	2015/10/12	0

		#SATrends, but trends due to a robbery.	14:54:12	
1	RonaldPhiri01	[LISTEN] Is crime only an issue when it affects you?http://t.co/QyHEso9wjE *Tips on how active citizenship can curb crime#bedfordcentre	2015/01/29 10:39:14	0
1	Ridaaaz	This country has lost the plot #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 11:23:32	0
1	Ridaaaz	We are so de sensitized to crime that seeing dead people and AK47's have just become the norm #BedfordCentreShooting #BEDFORD	2015/01/29 11:34:40	2
1	Rijako	The #robbery and #shootout at #bedfordcentre is another excellent example why law abiding citizens in South Africa should arm themselves	2015/01/30 16:21:48	0
1	robinwind	When u bumble in2 good people and u c ur life withnew iz spend so much time shunning saints whilst focusing onShames #bedfordcentreshooting	2015/02/14 13:36:03	1
1	rocheartz	Isn't it another #foodforthought, Twitter, that when Mall of the South opened, it didn't trend on #SATrends, but trends due to a robbery.	2015/10/12 14:54:12	0
1	RonaldPhiri01	[LISTEN] Is crime only an issue when it affects you?http://t.co/QyHEso9wjE *Tips on how active citizenship can curb crime#bedfordcentre	2015/01/29 10:39:14	0
1	SakhileG	What's scary about tungsten bullet compared to others? RT @RonPipes: holy cow RT @JPSAorg: Tungsten rounds fired at #BedfordCentre! These cr	2015/01/29 10:58:03	0
1	Salomienbotha	#BedfordCentre lyk soos n oorlog zone!!!!!	2015/01/29 11:04:50	1
1	Sam_Machili	And I will be shot before I get it aa@eNCAnews R500,000 reward for #BedfordCentre shooting http://t.co/XKe5F1N3Qe http://t.co/HuF2VyZsv6	2015/01/30 14:51:40	0
1	SamkeKhawula	16 cars have been stolen since the opening of #MallofTheSouth on the 24th of Sep... but nothing in the news.	2015/10/13 12:58:45	0
1	SaneleZondii	A brazen daylight robbery at a shop in Hyde Park Corner. These thugs simply don't care anymore, going all kamikaze and stuff. Lord save us!	2015/03/19 14:39:33	0
1	SaraInMedia	And nothing about The Glen Mall robberies, at the istore, movies, car thefts, pick pockets, etc??? Why are they silent?? #mallrobberies	2014/09/21 17:44:40	0
1	ShayDaniel	Why do the perpetrators in the Bedford Centre shooting get the privilege of being treated. You harm/take someone's life, you deserve to die	2015/01/30 6:59:20	0
1	SheriShaz	Gun shots! People screaming! Running for cover! People wounded! Gun on the floor! #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 9:46:09	9

1	SheriShaz	A year later and I'm still shaking when I think about it! Thank God I came out there alive! #Bedfordcentreshooting	2016/01/29 9:14:18	0
1	shibu222	Who were they robbing? RT @Gina_Moakamedi: Witnessed a robbery at clearwater mall around 6h30pm today. It shook me hard. We are not safe.	2013/05/20 19:22:41	0
1	sibilanga99	#MallRobberies South Africans are more at risk of dying through violent crimes than natural deaths.Criminals have taken over.	2014/09/21 17:40:58	1
1	SimzSoFr3sh	@Asanda_mxo: its high risk being at a mall these days #BedfordCentre incident[this is shit!]	2015/01/29 11:40:05	0
1	SiviweMambu	That shooting at Bedford centre...I will never get over my fear to be near the cash transit folks □😔😔	2015/01/29 16:01:14	2
1	SparkyBunny	After the #BedfordCentreShooting my business partner & I witnessed, the saying "Shop 'til you drop" has a whole new meaning.	2015/02/01 19:02:31	0
1	StadlerKaren	You can't shop, you can't drive, you can't walk, you can only pray you and your loved ones will survive.#Bedfordcentre #murder #mayhem#RSA	2015/01/29 15:26:15	1
1	Stefovo	I had a dream I was at a GP shopping mall and there was a robbery, looked like Centurion. My one fear :(	2014/09/30 7:55:43	0
1	StueyMax	#BedfordCentre is a bloodbath. Hope it's the blood of the criminals.	2015/01/29 11:28:52	0
1	sunil3007	@GarethCliff Daytime robbery just got a whole new definition #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 12:54:34	0
1	Tha_Nde_Ka	They even dressed up for satinism.. #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 11:07:09	0
1	thapelomothiba	So krejer is out on bail, all of the sudden is shooting again at bedford centre... I'm just me saying	2015/01/29 10:01:23	0
1	That_Damn_Vuyo	I will not be going to any South African mall until I can afford a bullet proof vest :(#BedfordCentre !its safer in Tarvens t	2015/01/29 19:39:08	0
1	ThatDarnKitteh	#BedfordCentre this isn't exactly the first shoot out the centre has experienced...Guess more people hearing of this one means more shock.	2015/01/29 10:59:01	1
1	ThatDarnKitteh	It's sad I'm not shocked. #BedfordCentre has been hit before and so has Eastgate. It hasn't been safe for years. It could happen anywhere.	2015/01/29 11:12:47	0
1	theBeachG	#BedfordCentre is just the beginning of what's coming, i think ☹	2015/01/29	0

	ypsy		14:17:30	
3	TheGiftofJoy	#BedfordCentreShooting a bit scared of malls now. So tragic that we have to live with this crime	2015/01/29 11:42:49	0
1	Thembelish	Yoh but Johannesburg is not safe anymore #Looting #BedfordCentre what's next?	2015/01/29 11:10:22	0
1	ThobekaL	Oh law will thou take your course this time around. Bring the perpetrators to book. #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 14:55:28	0
1	tmadiba	What makes Bedfordview so attractive to gangsters? #Bedfordcentreshooting	2015/01/29 10:33:00	0
1	Travesty_Kruger	Week number 3 that the Mall of The South is open and there is already a robbery happening. When are we gonna start hanging people again??	2015/10/12 12:43:08	0
1	Truth2Come	#SouthAfrica. Mall shootings so common-most not reported! --->Police foil post office robbery after shootout http://t.co/dKeJ3p2Zff	2014/11/18 5:31:23	0
1	Tshepo_Rafuma	#BedfordCentre Omg, in day light nogal	2015/01/29 12:58:33	0
1	tumim02	There was a robbery in fourways mall dis morning and I was inside the bank..shit scared..I'm a G to the core.	2012/08/29 8:41:42	0
1	Ufrieda	Guess where I'm headed this morn? #BedfordCentre - my middle finger to the #SAcrimemadness. Time to take back this country.	2015/01/31 8:10:06	0
1	urbanmosadi	Imagine walking out of Clicks and catching a fucken bullet nje. #BedfordCentre tf.	2015/01/29 10:53:09	3
1	tmadiba	What makes Bedfordview so attractive to gangsters? #Bedfordcentreshooting.	2015/01/29 10:33:00	0
1	Travesty_Kruger	Week number 3 that the Mall of The South is open and there is already a robbery happening. When are we gonna start hanging people again??	2015/10/12 12:43:08	0
1	Truth2Come	#SouthAfrica. Mall shootings so common-most not reported! --->Police foil post office robbery after shootout http://t.co/dKeJ3p2Zff	2014/11/18 5:31:23	0
1	Tshepo_Rafuma	#BedfordCentre Omg, in day light nogal	2015/01/29 12:58:33	0
1	tumim02	There was a robbery in fourways mall dis morning and I was inside the bank..shit scared..I'm a G to the core.	2012/08/29 8:41:42	0

1	Ufrieda	Guess where I'm headed this morn? #BedfordCentre - my middle finger to the #SAcrimemadness. Time to take back this country.	2015/01/31 8:10:06	0
1	urbanmosadi	Imagine walking out of Clicks and catching a fucken bullet nje. #BedfordCentre tf.	2015/01/29 10:53:09	3
1	xolanimashasha	Ain't u scared? RT @quemarshall: Robbery at standard bank northgate shopping centre is taking place as I tweet	2012/03/05 14:47:49	0
1	Zamantungwa_K	In other news, there was a robbery eShoprite, Jabulani Mall. Surprised not to see it in the news.	2013/04/12 17:20:19	0

Appendix E

Listing of tweets captured and categorised thematically as listed in Chapter 2, figure 2.2.

Table Theme 4. Malls as public/private ideological identity markers.

Code No	User Name	Text	Tweet Date	Re-tweets
1	AlexPew2	There's been at least one robbery at a Gauteng mall every day this week, in both Johannesburg and Pretoria... Who can't love #SouthAfrica ?	2014/09/04 11:53:15	0
1	anelemkumla	Mall roberries have been happening but it actually hits home when it happens to a place you frequent and eat at. *shudders* #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 10:49:35	0
1	AyandaMpofu2	Anada mall robbery in JHB...what is South Africa becoming?	2015/01/29 11:44:16	0
1	CeliaClack44	This makes me so #angry#lovemycountry#hatethecrime #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 23:11:58	0
1	Chekwanewilson	I think the Clear Water Mall is now becoming a recurring crime scene. What's happening to this mall? #ClearWaterMall	2015/09/01 11:05:07	0
1	chronburgundy	Mall of the South robbery, for the 2nd time since it opened last month? Nah, fam... That Mall can miss me, with ALL that.	2015/11/06 8:02:30	0
1	DLlywelly n	What is happening to this country, reading about #BedfordCentreShooting makes me glad I left South Africa http://t.co/a5ruGPLprM	2015/01/29 16:19:00	0
1	DorrienneSoul	And how I like chilling at Bedford Mall. NuMetro Bedford, my fav spot.Scare for my life 😳😳. #BedfordCentre #BedfordRobbery #Bedfordshooting (crime affecting malls as a means of leasure)	2015/01/29 17:03:28	0
1	Gavintucker	Does anyone know what store they robbed, or was it just a wild shooting as South Africans have become so fond of? Bedford Centre	2015/01/29 11:50:09	0
1	GerardZA	Going down in the east again #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 9:56:10	0
1	GomolemoMore	This is the parking lot I use almost every time I go to #ClearwaterMall BATHONG😀	2015/09/01 9:34:04	0
1	Ilse_Coetze	So close to home! #MallRobberies need some serious #intervention Bayside Mall in Cape Town	2014/10/18	0

	e143	robbed http://t.co/XX7mVrXJDB	16:47:06	
1	iZ_7	#BedfordCentre #bedfordshooting #bedfordcentershooting because South Africa. Just another day in this nation. A sad truth.	2015/01/29 11:04:40	0
1	Jamo251	“@ Nuno_88: That video of the blood trail inside the mall 😭😭😭😭 #BedfordCentreShooting” dude! 😟 so close to home also 😒	2015/01/29 15:43:31	0
1	JoanneMacg	@louisgreenberg It was! Was it prompted by law-office shooting at Bedford Centre Offices? Nervous now about my Kensington neighbours 0_o	2014/03/19 12:40:59	0
1	KandiceVenter	My heart is in South Africa, but after being in a mall while an armed robbery was taking p… http://t.co/JmIj6vMI1k http://t.co/N0D7uAuowO	2015/10/12 21:04:08	0
1	kAriibO	#BedfordCentreShooting What is happening to this world...to South Africa	2015/01/29 11:43:38	0
1	Kea_N	I know so many people who could have possibly been or were at Bedford Centre when this shooting happened ☹	2015/01/29 10:33:28	0
1	keThaboM	the use of ammunition in the country is getting out of hand, our communities and overall society in danger #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 10:46:25	0
1	KgalaengSelepe	Omg I only heard today that there was a shoutout @ #clearwaterMall a couple days ago! And I love 5 min away.😩	2015/09/03 22:40:41	0
1	kinneymoremohol	The new mall of the south is not opened as yet and the taxi bosses are fighting #shooting each other for territory already	2015/08/27 15:01:15	0
1	koren_devereux	Closer to home...The Clearwater mall robbery is scary stuff..That's why I stay clear of malls. 😒	2015/09/01 14:42:37	0
1	kudamupeni	this #ClearwaterMall incident was too close for comfort - every mall near me is now scary nhai Jeso	2015/09/01 9:31:35	0
1	KgalaengSelepe	Omg I only heard today that there was a shoutout @ #clearwaterMall a couple days ago! And I love 5 min away.😩	2015/09/03 22:40:41	0
1	kingtdm	Whoa! "@shotgunflava: #BedfordCentreShooting eish crime is really getting out of hand, there is no where to hide"	2015/01/29 16:31:58	0
1	kinneymore	The new mall of the south is not opened as yet and the taxi bosses are fighting #shooting each other for	2015/08/27	0

	mohol	territory already	15:01:15	
1	koren_dever eux	Closer to home...The Clearwater mall robbery is scary stuff..That's why I stay clear of malls. 😒	2015/09/01 14:42:37	0
1	mamiki_T	@ewnreporter #Clearwatermall and #MenlynPark are my favorite malls now I'm really afraid to shop there.	2015/09/01 9:52:21	0
1	Mischa1962	@wcpretorius #ClearwaterMall But SA is not a violent country.	2015/09/01 13:11:20	0
1	MissBhoza	I ask again, where must we live? @The_New_Age: Four wounded in #Bedfordview shooting: paramedics http://t.co/37RIIOyNF2 | #BedfordCentre"	2015/01/29 11:19:57	0
1	missleem	Six people were arrested following a robbery and shoot-out at Centurion Mall. Yerrrrr these malls are not safe anymore :(	2014/10/17 14:03:47	0
1	Mlindi1	Now we must be scared to go Shopping at our very own Malls? #MaponyaMallRobbery.	2014/12/17 8:49:28	0
1	mohamedallie	Hooting in shopping centres s.a becoming a lawless state. Nothing positive left to say about this country #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 16:13:11	0
1	na_le_di	Can't stop thinking about this #BedfordCentre shoot-out thing and how I know so many people from around there...just hope they're okay	2015/01/29 11:23:43	0
1	natanz1	#BedfordCentreShooting Can't get over how bad this country is! These people need to be dealt with accordingly!! We need some JUSTICE!!!!!!	2015/01/29 11:23:36	0
1	nicole_mckZie	Dude . I can't live here anymore “@Nkuli_H: This Bedford Centre Shooting😢😡”	2015/01/29 16:20:43	0
1	Nipho_Reserved	Funny, they seem to be more shocked that it is happening in their neighbourhood than anything. #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 11:27:58	0
1	NR_DeLUKS2	oh my word, #BedfordCentreShooting ,whats happening to our country???	2015/01/29 11:37:49	0
1	PlausiblePaws	Going through the #MallofTheSouth store directory and it sounds AMAZING!! No more traveling 30min + for the best stores 👸□🐱 @MOTS_Concierge	2015/10/02 14:04:28	0
1	privatechefssa	#mallofthesouth There goes the neighbourhood! 😐	2015/09/24 10:39:35	0
1	RichardJSherman	So our friendly local mall #bedfordcentre aka #gangland is the scene of another shootout with multiple casualties.	2015/01/29 11:03:16	0

1	Ridaaaz	This country has lost the plot #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 11:23:32	0
1	RochelleVldmn	Fuckers !! #BedfordCentreShooting my collage is so close to the centre .. toughts go out to the injured .	2015/01/29 11:42:54	0
1	RichardJSherman	So our friendly local mall #bedfordcentre aka #gangland is the scene of another shootout with multiple casualties.	2015/01/29 11:03:16	0
1	RochelleVldmn	Fuckers !! #BedfordCentreShooting my collage is so close to the centre .. toughts go out to the injured .	2015/01/29 11:42:54	0
1	sircrumz	#BedfordCentreShooting extremely concerned.....What is going on in my neighbourhood	2015/01/29 11:10:31	0
1	SupaMegaCrush	Crime in SA is out of control yeeeeer.....#BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 12:25:01	0
1	thandi_pitse	My hood is getting dangerous now, first Craddlestone Mall and now #ClearwaterMall once again... Iyo	2015/09/01 8:51:14	0
1	TheMadSub	What on Earth is going on in South Africa? #BedfordCentreShooting Are we facing criminals or terrorists?	2015/01/29 11:22:27	0
1	tysykes	Things were going relatively well in SA.. now everything seems to be falling apart! EVERYTHING! #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 11:34:57	0
1	tysykes	Things were going relatively well in SA.. now everything seems to be falling apart! EVERYTHING! #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 11:34:57	0
1	WeLoveArthur360	Counting days #MallOfTheSouth my new territory	2015/12/01 5:34:03	0
1	yas_mini	#BedfordCentreShooting fact that the mall is down the road and I’m there so often freaks me out ..Guess I won’t venturing to the mall today	2015/01/29 10:01:44	0
1	zama_mdluli	So scary when shit like this happens in your backyard #clearwatermall	2015/09/01 9:54:34	0
1	Zamozam	crime in our country is out of control, this shooting incident at Bedford centre,we can't even do our shopping in peace now #bedfordcentre	2015/01/29 10:33:09	0

Appendix F

Listing of tweets captured and categorised thematically as listed in Chapter 2, figure 2.2.

Table Theme 5. Criminal Seasonality.

Code No	User Name	Text	Tweet Date	Re-Tweets
1	amtsi69	#BedfordCentre i thought crime season is over	2015/01/29 15:10:13	0
1	BucsKopite	Haha. @Zuluking709: It's robbery/cash in transit heist season in South Africa. Not going nowhere, not even the mall b"	2014/11/19 13:23:14	0
1	Buliebabes	Apparently there was a shooting at Clearwater Mall? Stores on shut down. Tis the robbery season before Christmas	2015/09/01 7:32:33	0
2	channelislam	Mall robberies: Jewellery, IT and Cellphonestores at high risk for holiday season http://t.co/nWhi7WI1mo #crime #mallrobberies	2014/10/23 18:38:14	1
1	GenStander	Another armed robbery at mall in #SouthAfrica: http://t.co/bmiTmmSCWy. Likely to see more of these..."Tis the season" after all?	2015/10/12 23:32:08	0
1	jaywesselsmech	All the malls getting robbed again is it that time of the year #mallrobbery	2015/09/01 17:59:28	0
1	juliogarciaSA	You know the festive season is around the corner when the mall robberies start on September 1st. Crime is out of control! #ClearwaterMall	2015/09/01 8:25:24	6
1	katjanechild	Last week there was a robbery at a smallish mall in Somerset West. This week Clearwater Mall. It's not even festive season yet.	2015/09/01 8:19:15	0
1	KimVanderSchyff	That's it. No ones getting gifts from me this festive “@ChrisEvans_news: Another robbery at Centurion Mall: http://t.co/KyBrg8ZF15 #NoGo	2014/11/20 11:01:48	0
1	KimVanderSchyff	That's it. No ones getting gifts from me this festive “@ChrisEvans_news: Another robbery at Centurion Mall: http://t.co/KyBrg8ZF15 #NoGo	2014/11/20 11:01:48	0
1	moxolisi	#mallrobberies do your Xmas shopping early and Avoid being a Victim of #mallrobbery	2014/10/18 7:52:01	0
1	myessa786	Wow, shopping centres are still targets after the festive season #bedfordcentre attacked.My thoughts	2015/01/29	0

		are with victims. #SayNoToCrime	10:35:49	
1	Ndivhuwo M88	So #ClearwaterMall it was the target as we welcome spring time. ja neh	2015/09/01 12:52:06	0
1	RBRuddick	Warning! #MallRobbery season arrived! Daar is 2 maande voor Des,dis elke jaar so. September - Desember	2015/09/01 12:43:53	0
2	TheCitizen _News	A MUST READ > #Mallrobberies: tips to stay safe this holiday season http://t.co/K2Fsj7wQV1 http://t.co/23dknViS9W (see what that is about)	2014/11/07 8:00:28	0
1	xstshepo	Malls not so safe,anymore. Its that season again. #ClearwaterMall	2015/09/01 9:06:31	0

Appendix G

Listing of tweets captured and categorised thematically as listed in Chapter 2, figure 2.2.

Table Theme 6. Consumer values of crime.

Code No	User Name	Text	Tweet Date	Re-Tweets
1	butync4h6	So like me & @MamokaM encountered a robbery @ Killarney Mall. Thot it was some Westgate eish	2013/10/05 17:19:33	0
1	caprycee	if this was in the uk it would be on the world news. not even a mention on @BBCNews #Bedfordshooting #BedfordCentre http://t.co/jwCYESIqzr	2015/01/29 19:53:04	0
3	CrimeLine ZA	#SBV services is offering a R500 000 reward for info on #BedfordCentre robbery. Call SBV on 083 408 7029.	2015/01/30 16:18:04	17
1	davidberrys a	Worried about #BedfordCentreShooting? We have everything you need on @bidorbuy_co_za!	2015/01/29 11:06:25	0
1	Devi_SG	#MallRobberies Robbers tell shop attendants not 2 panic, 2 hand over goods cos it doesn't belong to them + insurance pays.	2014/09/21 17:42:16	2
1	Devi_SG	- the hitech stuff goes across our borders - so while they're blacklisted here, they work elsewhere. G621	2014/09/21 17:43:27	2
1	ermbates	Laden trolleys and long queues for month end shopping @PicknPay #MaponyaMall despite shooting, robbery earlier http://t.co/t5ihUDlL8D	2014/09/01 13:08:13	1
1	ermbates	#MaponyaMall Business is back to normal, though some are shaken after this morning's shooting @eNCAnews http://t.co/caG3mQOLYp	2014/09/01 13:36:30	2
2	ewnreporte r	#iStoreRobbery There's been another armed robbery at an iStore - this time at centurion mall in Tshwane. ML	2014/08/22 10:24:34	18
2	ewnreporte r	#Mallcrime Police say some goods stolen during a recent rash of mall robberies have been traced to Nigeria. LI	2014/10/20 6:03:53	12
2	ewnreporte r	#BedfordCentreShooting Staff at the Wimpy at the shopping centre say robbers had coffee at the shop just hours before they attacked. TM	2015/01/29 14:08:11	20

2	ewnupdates	[DEVELOPING] #BedfordCentre says it is “trading as normal” following a shooting that left 5 wounded.Send us your pics http://t.co/e1qSNhRCzm	2015/01/29 11:28:50	12
1	GBreyts	So not all bad news re. #BedfordCentreShooting http://t.co/bt78CX6UYI at least #wimpy gets some free advertising!	2015/01/29 20:08:55	0
1	Gina_Moakamedi	That clearwater mall shooting saved my bank balance. The plan was to pass by there! But tomorrow is another day 😁	2015/09/01 18:18:31	0
1	JUSTTWISTA	R2000 reward... That's nothing compared to what those criminal walked away with when they looted the mall #mallrobberies	2014/09/09 10:14:54	0
1	Khumalo_Zeenhle	It has emerged that the #MallRobberies items have been heading to #Nigeria. SA Police.	2014/10/18 12:42:50	0
1	Khumalo_Zeenhle	It has emerged that the #MallRobberies items have been heading to #Nigeria. SA Police.	2014/10/18 12:42:50	0
1	LiabilityGuy	The liability associated with #MallRobberies is something we've shared our concerns about @shaafrica http://t.co/c5cbBZfcuj	2014/09/21 17:45:36	2
1	londz_mkh	Like how can shop owners be opening their stores after a shoutout?!?! #BedfordCentreShooting #BedfordShooting	2015/01/29 11:41:22	0
1	londz_mkh	Actually how do you rob a Markhams guys???! #MallOfTheSouth	2015/11/06 8:38:42	0
1	misstoto91	Wow, this BedfordCentreShooting is sad hey! So many injured nje in the name of making a quick buck! Such behaviour disgusts me though! :(	2015/01/29 12:39:41	0
1	moso4SA	#BedfordCentreShooting Staff at the Wimpy at the shopping centre say robbers had coffee at the shop just hours before they attacked. #smart.	2015/01/29 14:58:30	0
1	MsSandlana_	Cradlestone bathong. "@eNCAnews: Show goes on for 'Isidingo' actor after Krugersdorp mall robbery >> http://t.co/QAPAgUrNwG"	2014/06/15 18:07:22	0
1	musamello	#MallRobberies Security Officers earn R3000 monthly, we earn R80 000, do you really think they care about OUR safety, lets be real?	2014/09/11 13:31:12	0
1	Natz0711	The scenes from #BedfordCentre looks hectic.What is wrong with these people? Injuring people just to get money. At least they got a suspect. (just for money, well that’s how deeply consumerim	2015/01/29 11:18:55	0
1	newspics_ZA	Stop giving your pics away for FREE. Make money from the #news around you get our app today #BedfordCentreShooting http://t.co/xJMdIQ887w	2015/01/29 11:19:01	1

1	O_Rakgotho	Now its reported that the majority of stolen mobile devices in the #MallRobberies get activated in Lagos!!!! (international links to Nigera, then this just fuels the sterotype that nigerians are criminals	2014/10/18 18:55:37	1
1	Owens_A333	This has cured my #shopping #addiction #mallcrime #channel6news #nordstrom ☹ #nomorebirthdayshopping http://t.co/S9gGVRPgo3	2014/02/13 7:28:58	0
2	POWER987News	#MallRobberies Mothiba says of the robberies 95% of the time cellphones are stolen	2014/09/09 8:37:31	1
1	rodcramb	#bedfordcentre Hope 702 will decline any requests from Bedford Centre for advertising or positive publicity.	2015/02/01 6:35:05	0
1	Rupertconradie	I work in a mall. We focus more on security in our shops than sales.Clear drop in our sales has been seen. #MallRobberies	2014/09/21 17:39:34	0
1	Rupertconradie	I work in a mall. We focus more on security in our shops than sales.Clear drop in our sales has been seen. #MallRobberies	2014/09/21 17:39:34	0
2	SAgovnews	Mothiba says 95% of the robberies were related to stealing cellphones, "where are these cellphones going?" #mallrobberies	2014/09/09 8:38:19	3
1	shitspotter	Stay home and out of the #malls You will be #richer and #safer #MallRobberies @kakspotter	2014/09/21 17:43:49	5
1	SifisoNgwenya_1	police say their investigations have revealed that the elec devices stolen in these #Mallrobberies r being taken 2#Nigeria & activated there	2014/10/19 11:46:07	0
1	StanfromIBF	How much revenue is generated in VAT alone on all items replaced after #Mallrobberies and other crimes? Who benefits?	2014/09/21 17:40:22	1
2	tameTIMES	Mall of the South is trading again after armed robbery.	2015/10/12 14:11:16	0
2	TheCitizen_News	#Mallrobberies target gadgets, not money: http://t.co/o2XxBj592X http://t.co/IejMFxFQUz	2014/09/09 10:15:01	1
2	TheCitizen_News	Nigeria has emerged as a destination for electronic devices stolen during the recent spat of #mallrobberies across SA http://t.co/fwVXAcbtxv	2014/10/18 12:00:17	1

Appendix H

Listing of tweets captured and categorised thematically as listed in Chapter 2, figure 2.2.

Table Theme 7. The value of malls for consumer culture.

Code No	User Name	Text	Tweet Date	Re-Tweets
1	amiecwilliams	surreal what happened at Bedford view today, mad how close my family were. my thoughts go out to the families affected 💐😔 #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 17:02:57	0
1	AshvirMaharaj	With all these #MallRobberies happening in JHB, parents you need to think twice about leaving your kids to hang out at malls.	2014/09/09 8:30:11	0
1	asmareeno	Menlyn robbery sees increased security: The Menlyn Park mall is to step up security for the festi... http://t.co/1JZjnWfKky #Africa #RSA	2014/11/15 8:51:20	1
1	BantersaurusDev	So the Mall of the South hasn't even been open for a month and there's already been a robbery. Smh. We can't have nice things.	2015/10/12 17:06:32	0
1	bosunrsa	Brand new mall. No time wasted. "@AlertZaAfrica: GP/PTA/Centurion | Armed Robbery | Telkom Shop, Forest Hill Shopping Centre"	2014/07/21 17:00:52	0
1	cindzo	These #MallRobberies are frightening how are we expected to do shopping mara !!!	2014/12/04 12:38:49	0
1	ForeverFifie_	Going to the mall has turned into a hazard 😔 #BedfordCentreShooting	2015/01/29 11:26:26	0
1	Gatvolverby	So, not even "retail therapy" is safe anymore, you could get shot buying a coffee. #Bedfordcentreshooting More like "aversion therapy"	2015/01/29 10:59:55	0
1	genrak_35	The way I love shopping and hanging out at #bedfordcentre but after today aai I'm looking for another chilled shopping centre	2015/01/29 11:38:55	0
1	K_anye	The last 12 RTs scare the hell outta me. I've never liked malls but I can't avoid them forever. #MallRobberies	2014/09/09 9:17:40	0
1	marcia_breeze	The rise in #MallRobberies is scary. Criminals are now dictating when and why we should go shopping	2014/09/09 9:41:41	0
1	MonicaGrac	Arrived at Canal Walk at 5:30pm, not much to see. Left at 6:30pm and there were 4 gaurds at exit	2014/10/19	0

	e716	with hand metal detectors #MallCrime	17:22:40	
1	RabinHarduth	Regional centres don't need parking and retail on same level . People will walk to a bank or ATM. It is a destination shop. #mallrobberies	2014/09/09 8:54:41	0
1	RabinHarduth	I've love malls - but to change the minds of the centre management and owners is where we need to focus. #MallRobberies	2014/09/09 9:16:04	0
1	RealJMaru	Eh what happened?? That's one of my fav malls in Jhb@Sebz_7: Fourways Mall shooting: 3 dead.	2014/08/29 5:01:04	0
1	sindivanzyl	🙈🙉🙊 "@RabinHarduth: of the 8 malls that got robbed in Gauteng - I've worked on designing 4 of them . haha#wasntme #MallRobberies"	2014/09/09 9:50:10	1
1	Tloubatla_Tlou	A swi tandini its safe“@FanaThePurp: #BedfordCentre Whats happening in the country mara - where can one be safe?”	2015/01/29 10:39:28	0
1	Trek2200	It's not even safe to go to the mall..... #MallOfTheSouth	2015/10/13 6:59:59	0
1	TumiMotlhabane1	i love malls , imagin being in a store and it gets robbed hah! dramaa epic drama #MallOfTheSouth hmm wat a tragic opening ...	2015/10/12 15:54:38	0
1	Vanessa_jone	Today is going to be a hella boring dayI live in front of #mallofthesouth but won't be able to go :(	2015/09/23 22:41:37	0
1	TumiMotlhabane1	i love malls , imagin being in a store and it gets robbed hah! dramaa epic drama #MallOfTheSouth hmm wat a tragic opening ...	2015/10/12 15:54:38	0
1	Vanessa_jone	Today is going to be a hella boring dayI live in front of #mallofthesouth but won't be able to go :(	2015/09/23 22:41:37	0
1	Vusiwe_M	#Bedfordcentre can miss me, never going there again.	2015/01/30 6:04:45	0
1	YolikaMuscat	Is it safe to go shopping anymore? #wtf #mallrobberieshttp://t.co/BirOUY7ON5 http://t.co/V3vkd6YejC	2014/10/09 9:09:03	0

Appendix I

Listing of tweets captured and categorised thematically as listed in Chapter 2, figure 2.2.

Table Theme 8. Malls and escapism.

Code No	User Name	Text	Tweet Date	Re-Tweets
1	Africanoir_	The Bedford Centre shooting pictures are too graphic. Jesus.	2015/01/29 10:58:14	0
1	ANGtheHOFF	Feels like we are living in the Wild West! #BedfordCentreShooting #joburg	2015/01/29 11:46:17	1
1	Franki_Five0	Cops should have killed those robbers #DeadManTellNoTales #BedfordCentreShooting #BedfordCentre #BedfordRobbery #BringBackTheDeathPenalty	2015/01/29 14:29:33	0
1	GetrudeM	Cctv camera visuals of Mall of the South brazen robbery are like something out of 007	2015/10/13 14:44:25	0
1	iamdjman	Is it that our south african criminals watching way too many movies ? #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 15:15:16	2
1	Lebza_Dj	What's happening at #BedfordCentre is just a movie. Unbelievable. Imagine going to the mall to do groceries, next thing, movie!	2015/01/29 12:14:25	0
1	Lebza_Dj	What's happening at #BedfordCentre is just a movie. Unbelievable. Imagine going to the mall to do groceries, next thing, movie!	2015/01/29 12:14:25	0
1	LindyWith_a_Y	this #bedfordcentreshooting is such sad a bolt back to "reality"	2015/01/29 10:35:44	0
1	MrSergioMartins	My folks were in the mall during the #BedfordCentreShooting .They are shaken but not stirred.Seems we are all desensitized to this in RSA.	2015/01/29 13:02:17	0
1	Reagan_Moss	Kinda like a scene from a movie #BedfordCentre damn!	2015/01/29 12:57:07	0
1	ronnyt2009	#GenerationsLegacy encouraging plotting crimes and guns in the face of the gory images of the #BedfordCentreShooting makes me sick #Rethink	2015/01/30 18:42:13	0
1	ronnyt2009	#GenerationsLegacy encouraging plotting crimes and guns in the face of the gory images of the	2015/01/30	0

		#BedfordCentreShooting makes me sick #Rethink	18:42:13	
1	sanjanamahabeer	#mallofthesouth 😈😈 21 jump street.	2015/09/28 12:50:44	0
1	YolikaMuscat	All these violent incidents lately, brings to mind scenes of #WorldWarZ! People are totally losing the plot! #bedfordcentre	2015/01/29 10:46:15	0
3	zobonews	South Africa: They Were Shooting Like Cowboys - Mall Robbery Witness [News24Wire] An eyewitness has recounted seei… http://t.co/4j57U6E1U2	2015/08/24 15:17:28	0

Appendix J

Listing of tweets captured and categorised thematically as listed in Chapter 2, figure 2.2.

Table Theme 9. Mall robberies as an issue of race and class.

Code No	User Name	Text	Tweet Date	Re-Tweets
1	Baptista74	#MallRobberies I bet they are not even South Africans hitting Browns Jewelers !	2014/09/21 17:41:38	0
1	C365D	Affirmative Shopping Deluxe #BedfordCentreShooting #BedfordRobbery #Bedfordshooting #AA #BEE MK Aks	2015/01/29 15:34:35	0
1	juanitaw	@Bushradio @WesternCapeGov it's led to racial profiling - happens when security increases unfortunately... #mallrobberies	2014/10/28 9:27:24	1
1	Kgosi_LeKing	Incredible how quick the police show up in white neighbourhoods. #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 10:52:03	3
1	khadijajussub	Muslim people involved in th lakeside mall robbery! What has this world come to??? #disgusted	2012/11/10 16:55:31	0
1	KEVINSHUTUP	Lmfao ewn website comments on the bedford centre shooting some blame apartheid. Wtf its 20 years now	2015/01/29 15:35:26	0
1	Kgosi_LeKing	Incredible how quick the police show up in white neighbourhoods. #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 10:52:03	3
1	khadijajussub	Muslim people involved in th lakeside mall robbery! What has this world come to??? #disgusted	2012/11/10 16:55:31	0
1	MachakaItsweng	Now Nigerians criminals are economically sabotaging our country and SA govt is saying nothing #Mallrobberies	2014/10/19 6:28:54	0
1	mandlamZA	Why doz everythin bad dat happens2 #SouthAfrica connects to #Nigeria? #Churchcollapse, #bafanabafana, #economy #drugs #mallrobberies	2014/10/22 13:22:30	0
1	MrMacD101	Some of the comments on @News24 regarding the Bedford Centre shooting. Some people need to understand that crime knows no colour	2015/01/29 12:08:20	0
1	Nipho_Res	I see the middle centre class blacks mostly asking "kanti where is it safe now" #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29	0

	erved		11:29:05	
1	PCasz	#MallRobberies is #affirmativeaction shopping.	2014/09/22 6:26:27	0
1	prozac_pusher	The injured robbers will get treated at a private clinic and the shoppers without medical aid at a state hospital.. #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 11:11:51	2
1	samido1060	This thugs are really out to kill, why not just take what you want and spare the lives of this breadwinners.....#mallrobberies	2014/09/06 21:33:56	0
1	STANLEY MANGANYE	What's happening in Dobsonville -Shopping. Centre#Robbery ?	2016/02/12 9:47:51	0

Appendix K

Listing of tweets captured and categorised thematically as listed in Chapter 2, figure 2.2.

Table Theme 10. Online shopping

Code No	User Name	Text	Tweet Date	Re-Tweets
1	BazNotChuck	Word... RT @LazGola: I guess it's internet banking for me from now on... #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 10:51:07	0
1	brendaksa	#mallrobberies I think its time to take online shopping to the next level.	2014/09/09 9:11:45	0
1	dgtager	#MallRobberies Try to stay away from malls, shop at smaller centres and shop on line. Bring back the death penalty!!!!!	2014/09/21 17:40:02	0
1	floydmoola	Kuyenzakeni? https://t.co/0Ryb1FnirN	2015/10/13 19:34:33	1
1	Hd165	The lighter side of these #MallRobberies in JHB is that perhaps people may be looking at #onlineshopping @Superbalist_	2014/09/10 5:35:25	0
1	Khuthii	Online shopping it is. “@ewnreporter: #Mallcrime Two shops hit by armed robbers in Cape Town this weekend. LI”	2014/11/02 12:46:30	1
1	LazGola	I guess it's internet banking for me from now on... #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 10:40:50	8
1	Khuthii	Online shopping it is. “@ewnreporter: #Mallcrime Two shops hit by armed robbers in Cape Town this weekend. LI”	2014/11/02 12:46:30	1
1	LazGola	I guess it's internet banking for me from now on... #BedfordCentre	2015/01/29 10:40:50	8
1	ShazKittyCat	Bein sick at home allows one to catch up w random stuff. Like #socialmedia or #onlineshopping Ain't nobody got time 2b a #mallcrime victim ✋	2014/10/29 10:53:58	0