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GUARDING INEQUALITY



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This research report is submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in partial fulfilment of the degree of Masters of Arts in Social and Psychological Research.

Declaration

I, Saiesh Ajudhiya, know and accept that plagiarism (i.e. to use another's work and present it as one's own) is wrong. Consequently, I declare that this research report is my own unaided work.

Signed: _____

Date: 15 March 2017

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Abstract

South Africa has undergone a number of social and geographical changes since the end of apartheid. This has drastically changed urban spaces, where we have seen the proliferation of Gated Communities (GCs). These spaces have come to signify how inequality has evolved from being an issue exclusively bound to race to one that now occurs within races and between classes. Therefore, in order to better understand inequality the current study considered the individuals who occupy spaces of privilege, but are not necessarily part of those spaces – such as security guards. It attempts to provide descriptions of inequality, moving away from a traditional macro-economic understanding.

This is done through a thematic analysis of interviews conducted with security guards from GCs. The analysis outlines the descriptions given by the security guards on their experience of working at GCs. Four superordinate themes were derived: Professionalism; Education and Knowledge; Commodification of Life; and Violence. From these themes it is clear that we cannot only interpret inequality from an income perspective as there are a number of psychosocial factors that are integrated into the construct of inequality.

Chapter 1: Introduction, Rationale and Research Aims

Introduction

The foundation of contemporary South African society is built on the remnants of an Apartheid era that was characteristically unequal. As a result, inequality has been both a defining feature of South African life and a growing area of study for social and economic scientists in the country. This research has been primarily aimed at better understanding inequality to inform and (re)address its present manifestations. However, there is little scholarly research aimed at understanding the experiential nature of inequality. That is, the way individuals report and perceive their experiences of inequality.

Historically, owing to the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950, sites of inequality were easily identifiable; however, post-1994 these sites have become less geographically discernible. In a seminal paper, Hook and Vrdoljak (2002) refer to such spaces by using the example of security parks (i.e. gated communities (GCs)). They proffer that such spaces reinforce and continue an "*[inscription of] a historical structure of privilege into space*" (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002, p. 217, italicized in original; Vesselinov, Cazessus & Falk, 2007) – that is, the succession of historical inequality. Therefore, spaces, such as, GCs represent microcosmic instances of socio-spatial inequality.

The function of these spaces is to keep those who can afford such a privileged space in and those who cannot out. However, inclusive of such spaces are individuals who occupy a 'grey', in-between space. That is, they have access to the gated community only as far as to perform a service. This includes domestic workers, service companies (e.g. rubbish removal) and private security guards.

Therefore, in an uncanny similarity to apartheid South Africa, those who render these services are, in many instances, required to carry "access cards" whilst in this private space. They do so to indicate that they have been granted permission to be there. This highlights one of the ways that GCs represent a continuity of the labour logic of apartheid and its concomitant forms of social, psychological, spatial and economic inequality. This study, therefore, examines the described experiences of such individuals at GCs to better understand the psychosocial underpinnings of these forms of inequality.

Research Aims

The primary aim of this research was to explore the accounts given by security guards about their occupational, social and personal lives. Through this it intended to discover, explore and comment on some of the psychosocial inequalities that may exist in the precariously privileged space that security guards occupy at GCs.

By doing so, the research has attempted to offer an alternative lens with which to understand inequality. That is, be considering the accounts that security guards give of their lives, and working conditions at GCs, one is better able to understand the psychology of inequality. Therefore, it aimed to provide rich, detailed descriptions of the different type of accounts given by the security guards in reference to an unequal space, such as GCs.

Furthermore, as the study considers Foucaudian theories of power in aiding its epistemological stance, the research aimed to reify some of these theories. In particular, to demonstrate how power can be transformed and adapted. Through this, the study attempted to illustrate that power is no longer exclusively bound to race, as it were 23 years ago in South Africa. Rather, power has become intertwined into race as well as class, particularly as the economic divide within race groups continue to grow.

The research questions asked in this study were: What do security guards perceive their working conditions to be in a highly unequal urban site, such as GCs? What meanings do they give to their lives as security guards at GCs?

Rationale

Studies on inequality have been focused disproportionately on the macro level, with income disparity being the primary focus in South Africa (e.g. May, 1998; Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Özler, 2007). The predominant approach of these studies is to describe and understand macro-level income disparities and inequalities quantitatively. These types of research projects have played a vital role in informing policies and interventions to address widespread economic inequality in South Africa.

There is, however, a considerable gap in terms of describing, understanding and explaining the phenomenon of inequality at the micro-level; that is, inequality as it is experienced by individuals on a daily basis. More specifically, very little attention has been given to understanding the psychology of inequality. This would entail an exploration of the accounts of inequality as it occurs at an individual, intra-psychical

level, as well as how it occurs at an inter-subjective, interactional level. Doing so, would allow one to study inequality from a holistic perspective that is not skewed toward a quantitative, income-driven analysis of inequality.

Therefore, based on this and the fact that South Africa has become highly diverse and urbanised, it is likely that, at a micro-level, there is a daily experience of unequal relations of social and economic power. There are several scholars who have demonstrated that an urban space can provide a site in which to investigate these tensions more closely (e.g. Clarno, 2013; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002).

One such urban space is GCs, where much of what has been written has been focused on residents and non-residents (Lemanski, Landman, & Durington, 2008); the purpose of GCs (Landman, 2006, 2012) and the political spaces they represent (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002). Missing from these considerations are the perspectives of the individuals who serve to maintain and protect this urban space and its occupants; for example domestic workers or security guards.

Security guards of GCs are particularly interesting political subjects for exploring accounts of experiences of inequality. In one sense, the GC is part of their daily lives. They occupy its boundaries and patrol its interiors. On the other, they do not belong to the privileged class that can lay claim to living within its walls. Their place in the logic of the GC is however conditional. It is predicated on having to protect the lives of those with whom they are not considered socio-economically equal. This is what makes this form of 'inequality' noteworthy.

This form of inequality becomes particularly important when one considers that the concept of income inequality does not only involve a layer of having unequal wealth. Rather, it denotes that which is lived and experienced daily. Therefore, it is necessary to attempt to understand the accounts and perspectives of the experience of inequality in order to improve our understanding, describing and treatment of the construct of inequality. Individuals such as security guards have the potential of representing and embodying an inequality that is multi-faceted. That is, an inequality of income, space, livelihood, and significantly, the subjectivity of quotidian inequality.

Structure and Outline

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, an overview of the current literature on different types of inequality is described. In particular, consideration is given to the concept of inequality

and its various manifestations. A site that has been identified as an opportunity to understand the experiential nature of inequality is GCs. Therefore, the different types of GCs and how they are organized and function is outlined. This provides the context in which to situate security guards as embodiments of psychosocial inequality. The current state of security guards is therefore reviewed, as well as some of the challenges that they and the industry are facing. Finally, through integrating the relationship between inequality, GCs and security guards, the notion of experiential inequality is dealt with explicitly. This is done by incorporating Foucaudian theories of power, which form the epistemological backdrop of this research.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Method

In the third chapter, the relevance and applicability of using a qualitative design for this study is considered in detail. This is followed by outlining the sample and sampling technique used in this study. A description is provided of the instruments and process used in order to derive the data used in this study. This includes the procedure of recruitment, transcription and data analysis. Furthermore, reflection is also given with regards to the role of reflexivity during the interview, as well as data analysis. Lastly, the ethical considerations of this study are described in detail, illustrating the care taken in collecting the data.

Chapter 4: Results and Discussion

In this section, short biographical profiles are provided in order to better appreciate the life context of each participant. Thereafter, the themes that have been derived from the analysis are briefly outlined. Each theme is then discussed in detail, making use of the transcribed data, literature and empirical research. A critical reading is also given against each theme.

Chapter 5: Implications, Limitations, Recommendations and Conclusion

The final chapter reflects on the preceding chapters by delineating the practical and theoretical implications of the study. It considers whether the study supports other findings related to the research as well as the implications for the security guards, their industry and GCs. The limitations of this study are discussed, building the foundation on which to consider future research and recommendations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

Inequality has been reduced to measures of income inequality in South Africa (e.g. May, 1998; Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Leibbrandt, Finn & Woolard, 2012; Deghaye, McKenzie & Chirawu, 2014). In a report on inequality, Deghaye, McKenzie and Chirawu (2014) present and define several types of inequality. However, this report, like many others on inequality, places much emphasis on income. This approach is limited as it only provides a macro picture of a specific type of inequality. It does not provide an understanding of *how* this inequality is reported to be experienced by people who are categorized as being unequal.

That is, whilst macroeconomic studies of income inequality, such as Leibbrandt et al. (2012), prove the existence of an unequal society, it is only over the last decade that some scholars are beginning to consider the micro-instances of inequality (e.g. Dominguez-Whitehead & Whitehead, 2014; Barnes & Milovanovic, 2015). This comes off the back of spaces, such as Johannesburg, South Africa, for example, that have undergone drastic socio-political and geographical transformations over the last 20 years. The city has transformed from a marked inequality of race to one of class; where one of the main drivers behind this, is the proliferation of gated communities (GCs).

GCs have become widespread in South Africa's major metropolitans and are synonymous with wealth (Landman, 2006; Spocter, 2011). Many scholars have described these sites as representing literal and metaphorical boundaries between the elite and poor (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Landman, 2006, Vesselinov et al., 2007). However, within the GC are a group of individuals who form part of a lower-class, but are integral to the functioning, upkeep and well-being of a GC. These include garden services, refuse removers, domestic workers and security guards.

Their roles in the GC are defined as one of service, where they are only permitted to the space of luxury, leisure and safety insofar as they are providing a service. Their job is to sustain the community. They are unlikely to reside in it due to their socio-economic status. This highlights a micro-cosmic instance of inequality. Particularly when considering the security guards of GCs, as they are tasked with risking their lives to protect the residents of GCs. Thus, it can be argued that a space such as a GC, where inequality is highly routinized, you have individuals whose

livelihood depends on protecting and defending social, economic and spatial inequality.

The following section situates the construct of inequality within a wider political discourse. Additionally, working definitions for GCs and its role in inequality is considered. Some attention is given to security guards, leading to the overarching concerns that are embedded in the relationship between security guards, GCs and inequality.

Inequality

From colonization to a more recent inequality of classes, the rhetoric of inequality is not a novel one in South Africa (Beall, 2002; Frye & Kisten, 2012). As Beall (2002, p. 48) suggests, "Johannesburg [and quite possibly other cities in South Africa] remains a highly unequal city in a global context where urban poverty and inequality are growing almost everywhere". In other words, despite having gone through a troublesome history and then subsequently, over twenty years of reform, the rhetoric of inequality remains.

The use of the word "rhetoric" here is to link some of the inherent issues of inequality back to governance, the state, and power. That is, the issue and root cause of inequality has been primarily due to an unfair "sharing of resources", where the tacit aim is to continue and reify a "history… in our culture [where] human beings are made subjects" (Foucault, 1982, p. 777). That is, continuing a practice where through inequality, the subject is always made to exist in power. Therefore, it is necessary to rather consider inequality within a socio-human-economic context.

A psychosocial approach to inequality

The use of a psychosocial framework for research questions has been used across various disciplines; for example: medicine, epidemiology, clinical and counselling psychology. The primary use of such an approach is to highlight the importance of social factors (e.g. unemployment, poverty, war, political instability etc.) in terms of one's physical and emotional well-being. Therefore, within the scope of psychology, the use of psychosocial often pertains to the influence of one's social externalities on one's internal psychology. In other words, within the context of this report, it considers the externalities that make-up inequality and how those drive the psychology of inequality (i.e. the experience).

In addition, as Frosch (2003) outlines, psychosocial research takes on a transdisciplinary approach. The advantage of this is that one is able to incorporate alternative and supplementary theories and methods into a study (Frosch, 2003). The current study has taken a similar approach, by incorporating theories from Human Geography, Security Studies, and to a lesser extent Economics. Doing so enables one to understand an individual, and a psychological phenomenon, within a wider social context (Frosch, 2003).

Race, in particular, forms an integral component when attempting to understand psychosocial phenomenon in South Africa. To further explain, based on the legacy of apartheid, there is now an attempt to adjust society in a way that is fair and equitable. This process, to a large degree, uses race as the signifier; for example interventions such as Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment, Affirmation Action, and race quotas in sports.

Therefore, South Africans continue to live in a world where their race remains a critical factor in terms of job security, access to resources and inequality. This in turn has created race as an important psychosocial signifier for social inquiries, as one's race has wider social implications which is also experienced internally as part of one's psychology.

However, it is equally important, when conceptualizing contemporary inequality in South Africa, to consider the controversial possibility that while race is still an over determining category of inequality; class is also an important factor. This follows from the finding that there is greater inequality that occurs within racial groups as opposed to between (Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Özler, 2007; Seekings & Nattrass, 2008). This is seen specifically within Black communities, where it was found that in the period between 1995 and 2000 the Gini-coefficient within this group had risen significantly when compared to inequality within other racial groups (Özler, 2007). More recently, based on the All Media and Products Survey (AMPS), between 2005 and 2015, Black South Africans have grown by 25% in the upper income bracket[1] (South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF), 2015).

In other words, despite a historical position of privilege taken by White South Africans, this space has become increasingly available for Black South Africans. Consider that there are no longer (legal) restrictions on accessing resources, and as

[1]Upper-income: as defined by SAARF's Living Standard Measures (LSM) 7-10.

a result, there is an emerging, affluent Black upper-class (Beall, 2002; Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Burger, Louw, de Oliveira Pegado, & van der Berg, 2015). Thus, within a neo-liberal space, such as South Africa, there are multiple layers of inequality making it a space that is "even more divided [now] than it was at the height of apartheid[2]" (Beall, 2002, p. 50).

Conversely, this view is not held by all scholars. For instance, Clarno (2013) using socio-spatial inequality, argues that intergroup interaction, and power, is still entrenched within racial ideologies. For example, one of Clarno's (2013) main arguments is that White people consider the current South African government (primarily made-up of Black people) incapable of protecting them and therefore they have to resort to private security.

However, what Clarno (2013) fails to acknowledge is that White people are not the only users of private security. The emerging Black middle-class mentioned earlier, is occupying more and more spaces in the affluent areas that are concentrated to the north of Johannesburg. These spaces are laden with GCs, all of which make use of private security. Therefore, although Clarno (2013) provides a rather compelling argument, it would be an oversight to rule out inequality within racial groups.

Socio-spatial inequality

Hook and Vrdoljak (2002) provide a useful insight in understanding the notion of socio-spatial inequality. They argue that, "the driving force behind the establishment of the heterotopic security park [a type of GC] is not as much as providing security, crime-prevention and a new sense of community, but is rather about *inscribing a historical structure of privilege into space*" (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002, p. 217, italicized in original). In other words, through the use of space, social structures can form in order to regulate the way in which a community functions (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002). This includes the way people behave; who is part of the community and who is not; the nature of access to resources; and who holds the power of the space (Atkinson & Flint, 2004; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Landman, 2006).

It is therefore through this 'inscription' that we are able to ascertain how inequality can exist in a particular type of space. That is, although income disparity is

[2] It must be noted that this comment is not to suggest that South Africa was a "better space" during Apartheid. Rather, it is to suggest that contemporary South Africa is undergoing a far more nuanced and morally blurred phase of inequality.

the salient feature when analysing inequality there is much to be learned about how inequality occurs and consequently, that it is not only spatial, but also that it must be lived and experienced within these spaces.

A three nation society. In considering socio-spatial inequality at a macro-level, Nattrass and Seekings (2001) provide an interesting argument against former President Thabo Mbeki's claim that South Africa is a two nation society (a poor Black nation and a rich White nation). They make the case for South Africa as being divided into three classes: (i) "an increasingly multiracial upper class"; (ii) "a "middle" class of mostly urban, employed workers;" and (iii) "a marginalized class of outsiders" (Nattrass & Seekings, 2001, p. 66; Seekings & Nattrass, 2008). Several years later, we are beginning to see more and more empirical evidence growing in support of a within race inequality phenomenon, particularly among Black South Africans (Burger et al., 2015; Leibbrandt et al., 2012).

This concept also holds true for socio-spatial inequality. Johannesburg was spatially organized (much like other global cities – see Pacione, 2005) such that the concentration of wealth was at the centre of the city, with the poor on the periphery (Beall, 2002; Cilliers, du Toit, Cilliers, Drewes, & Retief, 2014). Similarly, post-apartheid Johannesburg, as well as other major cities in South Africa, is conceptually structured in such a way (Beall, 2002; Samara, 2010; Spocter, 2011). That is, the rich has moved out of the city centre to the periphery, with the poor moving into previously economically thriving spaces (Beall, 2002).

This has resulted in a city that is spatially, and to a less explicit extent, socially arranged in an inverted Apartheid city (Landman, 2006). Said another way, the city is arranged such that the poor still remain at the periphery (i.e. the old city centre; outlying informal settlements; or former townships) and only frequent affluent spaces to provide a service – which in most cases is to preserve and maintain the lifestyles of the rich.

In sum, urban South Africa has, for the most part, increased its global economic position. This has been, and is being, done with a democratic model, where there are no restrictions on any racial group. However, what is being argued here is that despite this neo-liberal approach, widespread inequality remains a national concern. The complexity in which this occurs is what calls for an understanding of experiential inequality as opposed to a standard analysis of income inequality. The impetus for such an inquiry comes from May (1998, p. 56, emphasis added) who suggests that, "[s]tatistics … say little about the *actual experiences of poverty*" or as in this case,

inequality. The fact that it has taken us eighteen years to head this call by May (1998), makes such an inquiry exceedingly important. That is, the national focus on addressing social and economic inequalities may have resulted in neglecting the psychology that constitutes such an entrenched and historic inequality.

Gated Communities

"[GCs] refer to a physical area that is fenced or walled off from its surroundings, either prohibiting or controlling access to these areas by means of gates or booms" (Landman, 2006, p. 136). Within this there are two categories – enclosed neighbourhoods and security estates (Landman, 2006). The former refers to existing communities/neighbourhoods that 'enclose' themselves with gates, fences and security check-points (Landman, 2006). The latter, includes spaces that are constructed from the outset to be enclosed *private* environments (Landman, 2006).

The distinguishing feature between these categories is that enclosed neighbourhoods include public spaces that have been enclosed to restrict access. Whereas, for security estates, the spaces that they occupy are private spaces reserved for whomsoever has been deemed a member of this private space or has been granted access to it (Landman, 2006; Vesselinov et al., 2007). See Appendix A for a diagram depicting the categories of GCs.

The trend of GCs stems from the United States of America, where during the latter half of the 20th century they were primarily established to create retirement villages (Blakely & Snyder, 1998; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Vesselinov et al., 2007). However, the allure of the exclusivity and lifestyle did not take long to attract some of America's richest, resulting in GCs being "designed for exclusivity, prestige and leisure" (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002, p. 196). This was not exclusive to America, with Brazil, also a highly economically divided country, establishing a number of such communities (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002).

In South Africa, crime-prevention and safety were the drivers of the establishment of GCs (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Landman, 2006, 2012; Lemanski et al., 2008). As Landman (2006, p. 133) suggests, "residents believe that life within an enclosed neighbourhood … [would] provide a solution to crime and an improved quality of life". Therefore, with the surge of crime and the promise of a better life in post-apartheid South Africa, the agenda of GCs is a seemingly justifiable one. However, this view is not taken by many scholars, possibly due to the ironic

concentration of GCs in the north of Johannesburg where crime levels are relatively low compared to the central business district, where crime is an everyday experience (Lemanski et al., 2008).

GCs as spatial arrangements of privilege

GCs are ostensibly created to protect its occupants from the threatening levels of crime in South Africa (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Landman, 2006; Lemanski et al., 2008). This view is not limited to a South African context (cf. Atkinson & Flint, 2004; Addington & Renninson, 2015). Several authors have argued that GCs primarily function to segregate and anchor privilege (Atkinson & Flint, 2004; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Landman, 2006; Vesselinov et al., 2007).

As Atkinson and Flint (2004, p. 880) suggest, “Security is not aimed at solely protecting residents against serious crime but also meets an apparent desire to avoid day-to-day incivilities and random social contact”. Such a description and “desire” is one that resonates with many South Africans (especially poor Black South Africans) following an era of segregation. Therefore, the promotion and construction of GCs serves as a means of social sanctioning – a “modern day” segregation (Atkinson & Flint, 2004; Landman, 2006; Lemanski et al., 2008; Vesselinov et al., 2007).

Furthermore, it would be short-sighted not to understand the immediate consequences of such social isolation. Consider, for example, the nature of an enclosed neighbourhood. As described earlier, residents petition, from an already existing neighbourhood/community, for an area to be fenced off and regulated by access controllers (Landman, 2006). This request is processed and granted by the local municipality (Landman, 2003).

However, the process of petitioning can become complicated if there are residents who do not want to enclose the neighbourhood, or if there is disagreement as to where to draw the perimeter (Lemanski et al., 2008). When this occurs, in some instances, residents are bullied into the decision or are stigmatized for not wanting to sign the petition (Atkinson & Flint, 2004; Lemanski et al., 2008). Consider the below extract from a resident from Landman’s (2006, p. 142, italics added) case study.

> My direct neighbour is one of those who decided she did not want to be part [of the enclosed neighbourhood] but now she leaves her gate open. Those who are not in must also have an ID card like the *black domestic*

> *workers* [...] they [the resident who did not want the enclosure] don't sign in or anything else. But one feels that they should sign in and out every day if they don't want to be part of the group.

From the extract we can see how a modern day segregation unfolds. The resident considers his/her neighbour as unfairly benefitting from the enclosed neighbourhood. As a result, he/she suggests that the neighbour should be required to pass the security screening each time she enters her neighbourhood. The resident also likens her to the "black domestic workers", which shows signs of the remnants of an apartheid ideology of non-whites having to carry passes wherever they went.

The physical and material boundaries of GCs

In order to promote social, personal and economic well-being, there is no better way than through the joint effort exerted by communities (Landman, 2006). As Landman (2006, p. 139) posits, "positive and well-performing cities are equitable". That is, if a city is structured such that most people have an equal opportunity to access its resources, this will generate economic activities (Landman, 2006); these activities result in a progression of urban life for all. However, this is an idealistic view and has its own set of limitations. Nevertheless, the intention is to promote spaces that are not highly regulated and restricted, especially in terms of privatising urban spaces. In a post-apartheid context this can be achieved firstly through an integration of communities. However, GCs represent the counterpoints of such integration.

GCs bring into question accessibility to resources and opportunities. As Landman (2006, p. 139) suggests enclosed neighbourhoods "contribute to the privatisation of public space and often the opportunities and facilities contained within". Consider for example, a public park, when this space becomes part of an enclosed neighbourhood, public citizens no longer have the opportunity to access the park freely. They are required to go through a specific entrance regulated by a private security company.

In addition, the emergence of a number of enclosed neighbourhoods (many of which are illegal – see Landman, 2003) and security estates have also restricted the use of public roads. It has resulted in commuters having to alter their routes, where in some instances prolonging their journey (Atkinson & Flint, 2004; Landman, 2003).

Emergency vehicles are also required to navigate through the maze of enclosed neighbourhoods in order to respond to an emergency (Atkinson & Flint, 2004; Landman, 2003). This is particularly problematic when several clusters of GCs begin to emerge in a community. It results in a cumulative restriction and privatization of space.

This poses other practical implications for residents – for example, the turning of large vehicles, the quickest route to an emergency being blocked off, access to read municipal measures of water consumption, or the daily operations of the municipality (Landman, 2006). To assist in visualizing these implications consider the below figure of a community in Johannesburg that has several enclosed neighbourhoods. The large "white spaces" illustrate how previously accessible areas have been zoned off to control access (they have been converted into enclosed neighbourhoods). This leads to a limitation on how and where people can move, making it difficult to enter areas that are legally public.

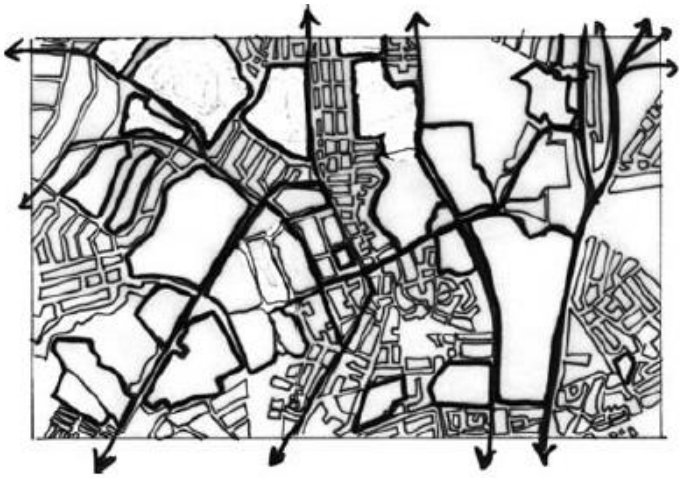


Figure 1. Community in Johannesburg with several enclosed neighbourhoods (sourced from Landman, 2006)

The symbolic power of GCs

Landman (2006) and Smit, Trudi, Landman and Venter (2015) use the construct of seclusion to illustrate that, regardless of how one may attempt to define GCs, or how much one argues for their utility, when looked at in its most simplistic sense it still remains an enclosure of space. Such an act has a number of social implications. In particular, it creates a culture of the *outsider* – that is, those who belong and those who do not. This culture has the potential to grow into a sense of exclusivity and entitlement (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Landman, 2006; Spocter, 2011). This therefore

leads to a microcosmic community that self-selects out of the greater community in which it is embedded. In a neo-liberal South Africa, where ostensibly, integration is an ideal, such physical and symbolic structures are fundamental obstacles to the nation-building project.

Aside from secluding oneself, there is the concept of exclusion (Landman, 2006). That is, the measures and criteria put into place in order to exclude people from the GC (Addington & Renninson, 2015). The most obvious grouping would be criminals. However, in large security estates, for example Fourways Gardens[3], where several hundred visitors pass through weekly, how does one decide who is a criminal and who is not?

The default position would be to exclude those who *appear* not to belong. In other words, first classifying the visitor based on physical appearances. Thus, considering that the make-up of most GCs is a multi-racial middle to upper class, those who seemingly do not appear to belong to this group may be a classified as a threat (Atkinson & Flint, 2004; Landman, 2006). Individuals are also profiled in terms of gender and number of people in a vehicle (Landman, 2006). A single male driver or a group of males are generally considered as potential threats and tend to be subject to much resistance if they attempt to enter the GC without permission or an access card (Landman, 2006).

It is through this concept of exclusion that one can see the mirroring of apartheid South Africa. That is, apartheid South Africa used race as a means to sort out the "good" from the "bad"; where in this instance there is the use of social class and income to determine one's position in society. The complexity here, however, is that the lower class is made up predominantly by poor Black people who continue to be stigmatised and stereotyped as criminals (Landman, 2006).

A neo-liberal segregation

One way of conceptualizing GCs is that they are being used as the vehicles to foster and sustain levels of social inequality, similar to those of the apartheid city. This is most likely being done in terms of a three nation society described previously. What makes the space of a GC interesting is the regulation or the enforcement of creating and maintaining this three nation society by a method of exclusion.

[3] Fourways Gardens is a large security village in Northern Johannesburg, South Africa.

While obviously structural, exclusion is also practiced on a daily basis by security guards, who represent the central gate keepers to these privileged spaces (Landman, 2006). That is, a security guard has to make a decision, in certain instances, whether to stop and question an individual, thus regulating access to the estate (Landman, 2006). This is done by a process of profiling. As illustrated, an example of who would be denied access would be a single male driver or a group of males (Landman, 2006). It follows then, using this logic and considering that most security guards are male (Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PSiRA), 2016), that when they are in their civilian clothes they run the risk of being excluded.

Therefore, similar to the apartheid city, where the poor were used to protect the privileged from encroachments by the poor, GCs employ a similar tactic. That is, the individuals who regulate the protection of the elite society within the enclaves of the GC are not part of the community and are not treated as such. They are however required to maintain, patrol and guard the boundaries that are created to keep out the group to which we assume the security guard is answerable. There are striking similarities between this and an apartheid model. However, in this instance we are not only dealing with a layer of race, there is also the issue of class segregation, both within and between races.

Security Guards

Current state of security guards and their industry

The private security industry has been described as one of the fastest growing in South Africa (Berg & Nouveau, 2011; Clarno, 2013; Minnaar, 2005); owing to a surge in urbanity and levels in crime. The increase in the industry had led to the creation of Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PSiRA) whose mission is: "*To protect the constitutional rights of all people to life, safety, and dignity through the effective promotion and regulation of the private security industry*" (PSiRA, 2015, p. 5, italicised in original).

Therefore, as can be derived from its mission, PSiRA serves as a regulatory body for the individuals who are exposed to private security and for those who belong to the industry (i.e. security guards). The body is run by the state, which has set out the following priorities for the industry (PSiRA, 2015, p. 5):

i. Excellent service delivery (effective regulation)
ii. Effective Financial management
iii. Industry stewardship, stakeholder and customer relationship management
iv. Enabling environment with competent and skilled workforce
v. Efficient and effective processes and systems

As can be seen from these priorities, there is a strong focus on the delivery of services and in ensuring a well-regulated industry that is indicative of transparency and operates in the best interest of all stakeholders. However, there are those who are sceptical of the function of the entity. For example, Stenning (2009, as cited in Berg & Nouveau, 2011, p. 28) suggests that, "PSiRA, is, in practice, 'a business model rather than a model of public service governance'". In other words, the *actual* role and function of PSiRA is questioned, in particular, in referent to its role (or lack of) in ensuring the well-being of security guards (Berg & Nouveau, 2011; Sefalafala & Webster, 2013). This is supported by Sefalafala and Webster (2013, p.79) who argue that:

> [PSiRA] is used as a means to control the conduct of both service providers … and security guards. The discourse of professionalization is taken over, reconstructed and used as an instrument of managerial control in organisations … [this discourse] involves an active process of normalizing control aimed at aligning individual identities with corporate and state interests.

In other words, in their view, the organization is aligned with ensuring the economic growth of the private security industry as opposed to the growth of the individual employees. PSiRA (2015) reported a 7.2% decline in the number of active security guards – indicative of poor national economic growth. However, this could also be as a result of high demand leading to an oversupply, thereby saturating the market (Minaar, 2005). Table 1 gives a brief overview of the current status of the security industry in South Africa (PSiRA, 2015):

Table 1. Summary of Private Security Guards in South Africa

Total number of active security guards	451 565 (40% in Gauteng)
Total number of registered, unemployed security guards	1 528 404
Number of registered security businesses	8 195 (39% in Gauteng)
Gender breakdown (total)	Female – 21%; Male – 79%
Salary range	R2 938 – R4 077

Challenges faced by security guards

Socio-political challenges. As Clarno (2013, p. 1190) rightly points out, "[i]n the wealthy northern suburbs of Johannesburg, South Africa, the neighbourhood has become an increasingly important site of political engagement". This notion speaks to the many issues uncovered in the preceding sections, where it has been illustrated that GCs serve has highly routinized sights of inequality.

Berg and Nouveau (2011, p. 27) highlight that "private security guards are the first line of defence", yet they are underpaid and provided with less than ideal working conditions (Minnaar, 2005). So not only are security guards required to be the protectors of the elite, with low pay, they also have to deal with issues of job insecurity. Exacerbating this is the fact that these security guards are often considered as suspects in cases of robbery or trespassing (Clarno, 2013; Sefalafala & Webster, 2013).

The issue of job insecurity highlights a major concern within the labour sector – the plight of the *precarious* worker. There has been much debate about the definition of precarious work and workers (see Kwan Lee & Kofman, 2012; Mantouvalou, 2012; Munck 2013). However, one of the common themes in some of the proposed definitions is that it is work that has an uncertain term and is not always formalized. Precarious work also makes salient wider socio-political issues; with authors like Kwan Lee and Kofman (2012, p. 393, italics added) suggesting that "precarious employment undermines state legitimacy and escalates labor politics into national politics, class struggle into citizenship struggle. It is not *just* a job issue". Security guards can be classified under the banner of precarious workers, particularly when one considers their work within a psychosocial lens.

Psychosocial challenges. Until recently there has been very little research on security guards in South Africa. Sefalafala and Webster (2013) provide some valuable insights on the current status of security guards. This follows from one-on-one

interviews, as well as surveys, with security guards from various sites (i.e. GCs, businesses, universities).

Some of their findings suggest that there are a multitude of psychosocial issues that exist in the profession. For example, they indicate that the long hours and tediousness of guarding put tremendous strain on a security guard's familial life (see also du Toit, 2015). Other issues include the stigmatism and stereotypes that are associated with a security guard's uniform; limited career growth; poor training; and the associated risks in being a security guard (du Toit, 2015; Sefalafala & Webster, 2013). Embedded in this, is the issue of security guards being viewed as suspects when an incident occurs within the GC (Clarno, 2013; du Toit, 2015; Minnaar, 2005).

As a result of this, Sefalafala and Webster's (2013) research include a number of references to the life of a security guard as being indignant and below an agreeable quality of working conditions. They state that, "security guards experience their work as an extremely, repetitive, boring, lonely, unrewarding, unfulfilling, tiring, strenuous and under-stimulating activity" (Sefalafala & Webster, 2013, p. 86).

There is also the symbolic meaning that the security guards give to their uniform (Sefalafala & Webster, 2013). From their research it is appears that the security guards hold a number of meta-stereotypes[4] about their uniform. For example, they suggest that it signifies that they are "functionally illiterate… failures… who are useless, poor, and without the ability to reason" (Sefalafala & Webster, 2013, p. 89). This illustrates a fundamental concern with the way in which security guards perceive themselves and how they imagine they are perceived. This, it can be argued, is rooted in a psychosocial inequality as well as in more structurally related inequalities, such as income, geography and access to resources.

Furthermore, it reifies the precarity of the work that security guards do. Their work requires that they uphold law and order within the enclaves of the GCs. Such work would require a level of respect, cooperation and compensation from the various stakeholders – that is, security guard employers, residents and the wider community. However, as Sefalafala and Webster (2013) have illustrated, security guards are in a precarious position, where they are tasked with the job of protecting a class to which

[4] See Vorauer, Main and O'Connell (1998) for a detailed description on meta-stereotypes. In short, it refers to the stereotypes that you perceive others to have of you based on your group membership – where in this instance it is the group 'security guards'.

they do not belong to, and are excluded or stigmatized from the class to which they may belong to, based on their security guard uniform.

The relationship between inequality, GCs and security guards

Security guards have rarely featured in studies on GCs, yet their role in the GC is what makes such a lifestyle ‘attractive’ and even ‘possible’. Moreover, there are several issues that occur between security guards and GCs that require specific attention. Consider that in South Africa living in a GC, by default, puts one in a position of privilege. The literal and metaphorical make-up of GCs promotes an idyll that ensures safety, comfort and luxury (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002). However, individuals such as security guards (and domestic workers), are granted access to this space insofar as they serve those individuals that reside within them.

What makes security guards an interesting focal point is the function that they are required to serve. The idea of having a guard mandated to protect and guard your assets and/or life is what makes GCs an attractive space. Security guards are a marginalised group, and in a country such as South Africa where there is a prevailing discourse on marginalised groups, how is it that this marginalised group has been overlooked? Therefore, there is a need to shift from viewing security guards and GCs from a privileged vantage point, where they are seen as separate entities. Rather, it is necessary to interrogate and focus on the relationship between GCs and security guards; with a particular focus on their experiences of inequality.

In other words, the relationship between security guards and GCs demonstrates how within a given space there is the intersectionality of a number of psychosocial and socioeconomic tensions that exist in South Africa. These “tensions” manifest in one way or the other as a form of inequality – be it spatial, social, racial, or financial. Therefore, we cannot only rely on a single-minded approach to inequality, as there are multiple facets that are imposed on and experienced by those that are categorized as unequal. Rather, we need to assign the ‘human’ to the numbers produced when calculating inequality metrics such as Gini-coefficients. This allows one to take a holistic approach when researching highly unequal urban sites, such as GCs.

A turn towards experiential inequality and its link to power

Michel Foucault's (1982) seminal paper, *The Subject and Power*, provides the philosophical underpinning of this study. This is intended to aid in making sense of some the reasons and predispositions to the proposed psychosocial inequality that exist in urban sites such as GCs.

In his paper, Foucault (1982, p. 787) illustrates the structural and manifest nature of power, wherein he states that, "Power only exists when it is put into action, even if, of course, it is integrated into a disparate field of possibilities brought to bear upon permanent structures. This also means that power is not a function of consent". The basic proposition here, and for most of his paper, is that power only exists insofar as it is created and defined by those who consider themselves the yielders of it.

It is with this position that we can, for example, consider the apartheid South African government who maintained power of the state through *their* creation of and definition of who or what is considered as the subaltern. In a similar sense, alluding back to Landman's (2006) assertion, contemporary South Africa, is being controlled and defined by an exclusive minority – a multi-racial upper class. It could be argued that this occurred as a result of the following concept from Foucault (1982, p. 790) that "freedom must exist for power to be exerted". In other words, post-apartheid South Africa had been freed from its previous oppressive master and had therefore become available for new power to be exerted on it.

Thus, where power used to serve an ostensibly structural function – that is, the separation of races – the same is currently occurring, where we have a separation of the classes. In the same sense that the structural separation had led to an array of annotated psychosocial crimes on particular race groups, it is posited, that a similar scene may unfold. Thus, as a means with which to understand this, it is necessary to focus in on a micro-level, and to consider a group that forms a grey area of this alleged division.

GCs are microcosmic sites that illustrate some of the notions put forward by Foucault. It also assists in understanding and situating security guards and GCs within the different forms of power – sovereign power, disciplinary power and biopower. Briefly, sovereign power is defined as a state or power (or sovereign) gaining power through violence and force to monopolize and govern behaviour and thus, the distribution of wealth and resources (Lilja & Vinthagen, 2014). Whereas disciplinary power involves one's self control and monitoring of "other" to ensure that the social

norms are upheld (Lilja & Vinthagen, 2014). In other words, as Lilja and Vinthagen (2014, p. 114) suggest, “the goal is to get individuals to keep themselves under surveillance, discipline themselves … but through … the values and goals that reflect the interests of other and not the individual”. Biopower on the other hand is concerned with the general population and its wellbeing (Lilja & Vinthagen, 2014) – that is, concerned with the success of the population. This is achieved through directing behaviour to ensure productivity of the community (Lilja & Vinthagen, 2014).

Therefore, if we are to consider the GC ecosystem, remnants of sovereign power can be seen through the physical barriers that are put into place at GCs, for example, boom gates and high walls. This is an implied force where those that do not belong do not have the power to enter without being granted. Disciplinary power is exerted by the residents in checking one’s behaviour, ensuring the success of the community by upholding the rules.

That is, assisting in keeping those that do not belong out, as well as adhering to other superficial rules for example, having one’s house painted in the prescribed estate colour, ensuring all houses look the same. This form of disciplinary power feeds into the biopower of the GC. In order to ensure the safety and leisurely lifestyle of a GC, all inhabitants need to uphold a degree of disciplinary power that will sustain the success of the community. Security guards can be seen as the biopolitical citizens of this community, where their role is to protect the very community that they will never form a part of. Therefore, by considering the accounts of the experience of working in a routinized site of inequality, such as GCs, it may be possible to surface the way that psychosocial inequality is experienced and perceived.

Conclusion

Inequality is a complex issue that involves a number of considerations. However, it is important not to only view this at a macro level. Rather, some consideration should be made at a micro level. GCs provide a platform on which to do this as it represents a number of the broader concerns related to inequality.

Security guards serve a vital role in GCs in South Africa, yet they are under researched. It is known that “wealthy South Africans … rely on private security companies [guards in reality] to guarantee their safety” (Benit-Gbaffou, Didier & Morange, 2008 as cited in Clarno, 2013, p. 1200).

Thus, security guards occupy a space in GCs where they are required to serve a number of functions, such as protecting those who belong by keeping those who do not out. Yet, they are neither considered as belonging nor are they given equal access to the privileged spaces that make up GCs. In other words, they are marginalized in terms of income and in terms of access. Therefore, the position and relationship between security guards and GCs offer a unique urban space in which to consider psychosocial inequality. This inequality being undergirded by wider psychosocial productions of power.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

Research Design

A qualitative design was used for the current study. As the research aimed to understand accounts and descriptions of the experience of guarding at GCs, this design was the most fitting as the unit of analysis is the language (i.e. the text) used by the participants. Using this design to obtain such data allows for one to critically analyse, interpret and synthesize the accounts of experiences of psychosocial inequality.

Additionally, owing to the novelty of such an inquiry, it was determined that an exploratory qualitative design would be the most sophisticated design for this study. Doing so allowed for the participants to direct the inquiry as opposed to the researcher enforcing a discussion on inequality and their experience of it. In other words, as there was no certainty as to whether individuals have a psychological experience of inequality it was important to take an exploratory approach.

It was hoped that through a general discussion, instances of embodied inequality may emerge. Embodied inequality refers to the experiential nature of living or functioning in instances of inequality. This includes income inequality, socio-spatial inequality, as well as psychosocial inequality. As such, it is through these instances that one may infer a psychological description of the experience of inequality. Doing so is based on the fundamental assumption in qualitative (and quite possibly quantitative) research that although experiences mediated through language can never be studied directly, accounts that are given of an experience are likely to be inferred by an individual's own lived experience which is socially arranged (Josselson, 2004). Therefore, the words expressed by the participants were analysed and interpreted as such.

Participants

This study was made up of five participants, as the aim was to obtain in-depth, detailed descriptions from security guards. Two security estates were selected from which the participants were invited to participate. Both were located in the Greater Johannesburg Area. The impetus to use these estates was based on, as a starting point, the disparity of income between security guards and the occupants within the estate. That is, areas that have a prevalence of GCs, such as this, include residents

with high annual income (Landman, 2003). The presence of income inequality can serve as a structural instance of inequality and was therefore used as a proxy for the presence and quotidian experience of a psychosocial inequality. In other words, income inequality serves as an identifying marker for the existence of several other forms of inequality.

The inclusion criteria was that the individual would have to be a security guard stationed at a GC (specifically for this study, a security estate), and have the capacity to converse with ease in English.

The sampling technique that was utilised can be described as mixed purposeful sampling (Patton, 2002). That is, the technique includes elements of: "politically important cases" (Patton, 2002 p. 241) – the concept of inequality is inescapably related to a wider political discourse; convenience – the participants work in estates that are easily accessible to me; "critical cases" (Patton, 2002, p. 236) – it is likely that most security guards within a similar setup would have similar experiences of inequality; and lastly "snowball sampling" (Patton, 2002, p. 237). Participants were selected on their availability and willingness to participate.

Data gathering procedure

Instruments: Semi-structured interview

The unit of analysis in this study was the account or perspective given by the security guards in reference to their occupational and personal life, as well as in relation to GCs and the security industry. One way in gaining access to this is through the use of an interview. The interview was conducted using a semi-structured format guided by an interview schedule (see Appendix B).

Within the paradigm and aim of this study it was proposed that using an interview will allow for a detailed and in-depth description of the reported experiences of being a security guard at GCs. Smith and Osborn (2007, p. 63) indicate that "[t]he interviewer's role … is to facilitate and guide, rather than dictate exactly what will happen during the [interview]". Thus, the participants were treated as being "co-authors and not merely repositories of data" (Walters 1995 as cited in Wimpenny, 2000, p. 1487). Interviews were conducted in a place that was mutually convenient.

Interview schedule. The aim of the schedule was to ask the participant to think about their experience in a particular way in order to formulate reflective accounts of the experience of guarding at GCs. This was done by starting the interview with a

general discussion about the security guard and his/her biographical profile. Thereafter, he/she was asked specific questions on what it is like being a security guard, what type of relationship they have with the residents in the security estate and so on (this schedule can be found in Appendix B). The interview schedule was used more as a guide than a set of formal questions for the participant to answer.

Procedure

Ethics clearance was obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of the Witwatersrand. Security guards were approached at the relevant estates where I requested their participation. They were provided with a participant information letter which included information on what the study is about, what was required of them and relevant contact details (see Appendix C). Once they indicated that they would like to participate, we had arranged to meet at a time, day and place that was safe, quiet and mutually agreeable.

Of the 25 participant information sheets handed out to security guards at five large security estates in Northern Johannesburg, South Africa, 5 led to interviews. Considering the nature of this research, this was considered an adequate number of participants. By the fourth interview it became apparent that sampling was approaching a point of saturation.

Each participant was asked to sign a consent form (see Appendix D). This was consent to be recorded and to participate. It was made explicit that the audio files will be stored securely and that the only individuals who have access to the files are my research supervisor and me. They were also told that in the write-up of the report no identifying information will be used, thus protecting their identity. Additionally, should they have felt that whatever was being discussed has caused them to have unwanted feelings, details for counselling services were provided and they could withdraw at any time.

The interview then commenced, following the interview schedule described above. The time range for the interview was approximately sixty to eighty minutes. An audio recorder was placed on the table to record the interview. Upon completion of the interview, the participant was thanked for his/her time and valuable contribution. They were handed an envelope which contained a R100 for their participation.

The reason for remunerating the participants with money in return for participation is twofold. Firstly, it has been suggested that by reimbursing participants

for their time highlights the importance and value of their participation (Grady, 2001). Secondly, it is assumed that these individuals fall within a lower-income bracket and as such it was not my intention to exclude potential participation on the basis of not being able to pay for transport. Grady (2001) suggests that remuneration needs to be balanced in a way that the participant does not feel compelled to participate. Thus, these participants already have a source of income (i.e. their monthly salary) and the amount offered is neither excessive nor inappropriate.

Reflexivity

Macbeth (2001, p. 35) describes reflexivity as "a deconstructive exercise for locating the intersections of author, other, text, and world, and for penetrating the representational exercise itself". In other words, he suggests that through two positions – positional and textual reflexivity – one can attempt to decode the interaction that takes place in qualitative research between the researcher and the researched. Furthermore, it serves as a disclaimer for the analytical and interpretive insights that the researcher makes through text (i.e. language).

Additionally, Macbeth (2001, p. 36) makes a crucial observation of the process of self-reflexivity and that is that it "is a member's exercise first". That is, self-reflexivity turns away from the scientific rhetoric within research methodology. Rather, it moves towards, what Macbeth (2001, p. 36) refers to as "ordinary worlds". These ordinary worlds refer to the real-world interaction that takes place between the researcher and his/her participants. Nevertheless, most authors concede that the reflexive exercise is a useful tool in any qualitative inquiry (see Macbeth, 2001; Pillow, 2003; Speer, 2002).

However, Pillow (2003) argues that it should not be a taken-for-granted exercise, where researchers include it into their papers without clearly defining its role within the research. Some scholars also warn against using the self-reflexive space as a confessionary, cathartic and self-promoting exercise (Macbeth, 2001; Pillow, 2003). Rather, the reflexive exercise should involve a careful consideration as to what is the purpose of including it in the research? Does it add to the methodological process and rigour to the research? And what is the impact of the researcher's position in relation to his/her participants?

These are some of the questions asked in the current research and will be addressed in-turn. Firstly, the purpose of a reflexive section in this research is to consider my position, as researcher and author, relative to the research participants,

the security guards. The security guards that participated in this study, in my opinion, did not display an apprehension in meeting me, or in engaging in a discussion about their work. A conscious attempt was made to build rapport with the security guards, creating a space where the security guards and I could discuss with comfort and ease some of the tensions that they face. As I have had some knowledge and prior experience with individuals from the communities that the security guards come from, I was able to use context-specific and relevant conversational topics to further aid the discussion.

In terms of the methodological process, this type of research does not necessarily require a process of self-reflexivity (cf. Speer, 2001). The data has been derived through a systematic approach and has been verified by being informed by theoretical and empirical research. The analyses do not require a self-reflective process of who I am intra- and interpersonally. Rather it requires an awareness of any research bias or position. This is guarded against by considering alternative explanations of the data and whether or not these are supported, theoretically and empirically (see Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2014).

With methods, such as ethnomethodology as an example, the researcher – in some cases – becomes part of the community, becoming entrenched as a member, and thereby relying on a reflective analysis of being a member in that community. In contrast, the current research utilized a process where the interview constituted an interaction between members; however the analysis was done through a researcher lens. Therefore, the interactional nature of the researcher and participant was also taken into some consideration (this is shown in more detail in Chapter 4).

Lastly, *who* the researcher is, in my opinion, should not be a determining factor in the ability to conduct this particular research. In other words, any researcher that is equipped with the knowledge and skillset in conducting and analysing interview derived data should be able to generate the same level of insights and quality. The position of interviewee and interviewer is something that exists in the “ordinary worlds” that Macbeth (2001) refers to. Therefore, participants are aware of the phenomenon of being interviewed and act accordingly within that context. If the interviewer puts forward his/ her own position as a member within the interview, then the data from that should be analysed for its own worth (see Potter & Hepburn, 2005). That is, given the context and the language used by both the interviewer and interviewee, the type of insight given by the researcher should be based on that as a stand-alone, and not as

a reflexive process about how the researcher reflexively thinks he/she felt when he/she said or acted in a particular way during the discussion.

Therefore, the impact of my position should be interpreted in terms of the interaction that ensues between the interviewer and the interviewee. It should not be based on an a priori basis in terms of marked racial, class, sex, or age differences. Rather, they should be taken into consideration if they arise during the interaction.

Data analysis

After each interview was conducted the audio file was transcribed. Where possible non-verbal cues were noted in the transcript. That is, through repeated listening to the audio types and being acutely aware of tone, markers such as a "smiling" or "surprised" voice was noted (see Appendix F for the transcription symbols). The intention of noting these non-verbal markers was to attempt to capture the interaction as close as possible. Thereafter, using Braun and Clarkes' (2006) 6-phase guide of thematic analysis, the data was analysed.

Before considering these phases it is necessary to provide a working definition of what was considered as a theme in this study. A theme can be defined as "captur[ing] something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response of meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82, italics in original). In addition, as the study used an exploratory approach, themes were derived inductively (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Patton, 1990). Furthermore, in order to address the critical analytic element of the study, both semantic and latent themes were considered (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Semantic themes refer to "explicit or surface meanings" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 84). That is, to illustrate some of the patterns in the data and to assign meaning to these (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Patton, 1990). However, latent themes attempt to understand the underlying factors of these meanings and as such involve a critical, interpretive element (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The interpretation is informed by the theoretical underpinning of the study (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

It is also important to note that an account or perspective is formed from statements that come from a historical, current, political, social, inter- and intra-personal context (Frosch, 2003). Therefore it is necessary to note the material world with which language interacts with and is derived from. Although, some aspects of an

account may elicit intangible objects, they nevertheless refer to a real world for the participant, and should be interpreted as such.

The analytic process. Following the above definition of themes, the data was analysed as follows. Phase 1 included a familiarization of the data. This involved a process of transcription, listening to the audio types as well as thorough reading and re-reading of the transcribed data. By becoming familiar with the data it was possible to begin to formulate preliminary ideas. As a result “initial codes” were developed by systematically going through the data and assigning codes wherever applicable in each dataset (i.e. each interview) (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87).

These codes were then collated and themes were derived from them. Each theme was reviewed in detail to determine its relevance to the study. Additionally, themes were also assessed in terms of whether there were direct links, overlaps or contradictions between them. After this revision, the final list of themes were defined and named. This was done to create superordinate themes, sub-themes and minor themes.

Although this is presented in a coherent and somewhat linear fashion in this research report, the actual process required multiple readings and coding of themes and therefore does not mirror the sequence in which the results are presented. The write-up of the report formed the final phase of the analysis; wherein the themes are weaved together in order to create a coherent and comprehensive story of the results.

By using the method outlined in the current study it illustrates a structured, logical and coherent process (see Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2014); wherein any critic will have the benefit of following the chain of analysis. This does not mean to suggest that the results presented are an absolute truth, derived from absolute objectivity (i.e. a traditional realist finding), rather it is to argue that the data has been analysed in a methodologically rigorous manner.

Ethical considerations

Much consideration was given to protecting the identity of the participants of this research. Although they did not fall under what is termed a “vulnerable population”, care needed to be taken to ensure that their participation will not jeopardize their employment, and more importantly their safety as security guards. As such, no identifying information has been recorded or referred to in this research report. In particular any reference to the specific estate that they work (or worked) at has been

censored. Additionally, any reference to the company they work for has also been censored. All names used in this study are pseudonyms.

In terms of the actual interview process, the type of questions and setup of the interview had been designed to not inflict any physical and psychological harm on the participant. If at any time they felt vulnerable they could withdraw their participation immediately, and if there were any recordings of the participant, it would have been destroyed. This was made explicit to the participant. Additionally, should they have required contact details for counselling services, these were readily available. It was also emphasized that declining to participate will not be held against them in anyway. The interview took place in a safe, secure, comfortable and uninterrupted setting. That is, I had arranged with the coffee shop for a space that is generally quiet, as well as for no interruptions once the interview had begun.

With regards to remuneration, as has already been explained the remuneration provided did not make the participant feel compelled to participate as it was not an excessive amount, but was sufficient to cover any transport costs incurred by the participant.

Chapter 4: Results and Discussion

Overview

In what is to follow, a brief consideration and profile will be given for each participant to provide the reader with some context to the individuals interviewed. Furthermore, each superordinate theme that has been derived from the data will be presented along with its sub- and/or minor-themes. This will be done by considering some of the literature and arguments presented.

The Participants

The security guards interviewed for this research varied in terms of tenure at their current place of employment and in seniority. However, all five identified themselves as being access control security guards. In short, their primary task is to control access into the estate by ensuring that only "approved" individuals are allowed entry. Secondary to this, is to identify any potential threats to the estate and to alert the control room of such threats. The standard grading for an access control guard ranges between Grade E to Grade C. With most access control supervisors being classified as either a Grade A or Grade B – this is according to the participants interviewed.

All names provided here are pseudonyms, in order to protect the identity of the participants. In addition, every effort has been made to remove any identifying information. Nevertheless, the reality of such research is that the data cannot be isolated from its source in its entirety and therefore, it is necessary to present the results in such a way that the reader may have the ability to merge the data with the humanness of the participants. In an effort to make this possible, a short description will be given for each participant.

(Note: as each interview varied in terms of the direction of conversation, there is limited biographical information. Participants were asked to start the conversation by telling the researcher about themselves – see Appendix B).

P1: Jacob. Jacob has been working in the security industry for 25 years; he began his career in 1990 when he moved from the Eastern Cape to Johannesburg. He is currently a supervisor at an affluent security estate, with a Grade A classification. He indicates that he has enjoyed his time being a security guard. He resides in an informal settlement with his wife and daughter, who is currently completing a

postgraduate degree in Political Sciences. Asides from being a security guard, Jacob serves as a pastor in his community.

P2: Simon. Like Jacob, Simon is also an access control supervisor who has been working at the current estate for 8 years. Prior to being a security guard, he worked as a salesman, selling exotic birds. Simon comes from Limpopo where he used to, in his spare time, work alongside a farm vet. He is currently studying towards becoming a pastor. Simon resides in an informal settlement.

P3: Tshepo. Tshepo has been working at the current security estate for 4 years as an access controller. Prior to this, he worked as a retail security guard for 2 years. He indicates that he had moved to the estate as he considered it a less risky job. Before becoming a security guard, he worked as a construction worker. He still does this in his spare/off time to earn extra money. Tshepo currently lives in an informal settlement with his girlfriend and daughter. His broader family lives in Mpumalanga; they are financially dependent on him.

P4: Mandla. Before Mandla became a security guard, he used to work as a farm hand; he has been working as a security guard from 2007. He began as a patroller and then later moved to becoming an access controller.

P5: Alfred. He began his career in security as a control room operator for 8 years in his home province, Free State. Alfred later moved to Johannesburg, staying with the same company, to work as an access control guard with a Grade C certification. He is in his fourth year at the security estate and currently lives with his sister in an informal settlement. Alfred is married with two children, a boy and a girl; they reside in the Free State.

The details included above were chosen in order to give the reader a closer connection with participant. That is, by providing details over and above their professional capacity we are able to understand the different roles that they take-up. It is clear, that aside from the pressures and struggles of being a security guard, many of the guards are also fathers, husbands, and partners. Therefore, it provides some

context to their lives, outside of being a security guard, and outside of the walls of a GC.

Superordinate themes

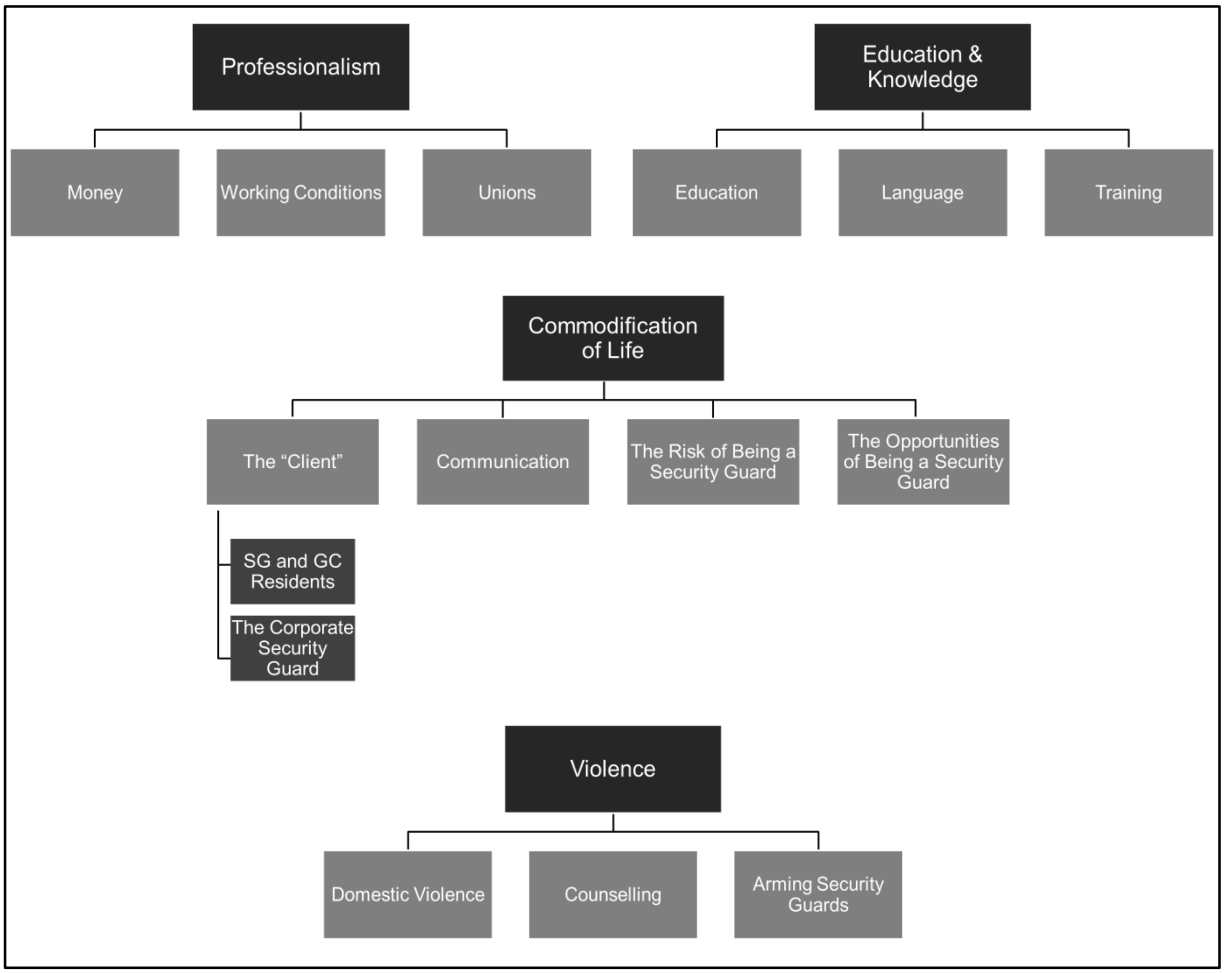
The aim of this research was to critically analyse some of the accounts used by security guards about their profession and through this consider some of the psychosocial inequalities that may exist, particularly as a consequence of the site of guarding. The results yielded some explicit and implicit modes of this.

Graph 1 illustrates the thematic map of the study. As a critical thematic approach was used, each theme is discussed based on three layers. Firstly, the theme is presented with data to substantiate its derivation. Secondly, it is aligned with current literature as well as empirical research. Lastly, a critical reading is provided, which serves as the interpretive element of the analysis. This layer consists of an informed consideration of the data, the literature and current psychosocial phenomena.

Professionalism

This theme refers to the accounts of the security guards with regards to some of the challenges that they face in their profession. These include issues related to money, working conditions and unions. It highlights some of the ways in which the security guards describe their current status in the security industry. The prevailing theme is a sense of despair as many security guards consider the profession as limiting, with a mediocre remuneration plan.

Furthermore, it highlights a wider professional concern, where if you are not part of senior management, you will most likely remain marginalized. In other words, it demonstrates that the security guards have a psychological awareness of the disparity between them and their management. Intertwined within this, is that, due to the security guards not having managerial qualifications, it is unlikely that they will be promoted to these positions; this is despite several years of supervisory experience. These concerns are considered in detail below.



Graph 1. Thematic map

Money

Many of the security guards considered a career in guarding as a poor avenue to pursue wealth. Some of them see it as an introduction into the job market; this supports some of the findings from Sefalafala and Webster (2013). Considering that wages are determined based on one's grade it is interesting that the security guards believe that there is not much of a career in private security. In another words, the hierarchical structure would allow for individuals to work towards the higher tiers. The following extract reflects an opinion from Jacob regarding a potential career in being a security guard.

Researcher:	*Do you think there is a potential to stay? Like do you think you can do well if you stay [as a security guard]?*
Jacob:	*Hmm not as such because there is no money in the security industry. Unless maybe, let's say, you go there you end up (being) a director, or in a management*

Jacob suggests that “there is no money in the security industry”. This is despite many authors describing the security industry as one of the fastest growing in South Africa. This suggests an apparent disjuncture between the growth of the industry and perceptions held by individual employees. That is, the financial equity is not being cascaded down to the employees. It also illustrates a false belief “that the benefits of growth would reach the poor [security guards in this case] through a trickle down effect” (May, 1998, p. 53).

Consider that Jacob has been a security guard for 25 years, and therefore, it could be argued, that his long tenure has put him in an experienced position as he has been through the many transitions that have taken place in the industry. However, Jacob, who is currently a Grade A guard, is limited in career growth due to structural and organisational constraints, making him stagnant in his position.

That is, despite Jacob’s years of experience, his lack of education is what may prohibit him from obtaining one of the more senior positions. This is substantiated with Jacob suggesting that the industry intentionally employs individuals without education, for access control, as they are more likely to take the pressures of the job, without protest, in order to maintain some financial security. He says:

> *You- you- you know what’s the, what the difference is in a security, for example now, you can take the uuh my daughter who is in her Masters and you say, “Okay, can you work here as a security?”, but she never take that pressure, really. Which means now, that is why they use these uuh guys like me which are not well educated and I know that if I lose this job, I’m going to suffer. So I take all the pressure which I receive there by the gate.*

What the above illustrates, pre-empting the theme of Education, is that their position of being uneducated precludes them from successful careers in an otherwise lucrative industry. Additionally, it can be argued that due to macro socioeconomic implications of unemployment and job insecurities in South Africa, they are in some ways obligated to remain in the industry as it is, at the very least, a form of income. As described in their profile’s many of them have to support both their direct and extended family.

Supporting Jacob’s claim that there is no money in the industry, Tshepo has had to resort to part-time work in order to cover some of his expenses (e.g. transport). This indicates that his current wages do not meet his day-to-day expenses. Tshepo also

alludes to the macro socioeconomic concern of there being slow national economic growth. He states that in the “security industry there is no money, like everywhere there is no money”.

Therefore, as Özler (2007, p. 519) suggests, “South Africa needs to grow in a way that also improves the distribution of incomes if it’s to make significant progress against poverty in the short to medium run”. However, South Africa is far from achieving this, as there is a heightened sense of desperation for many poor South Africans. This is seen through Simon when he suggests that in order to survive you will do anything – which incidentally is how he got into the security industry:

> *I went into that industry because of hunting money. You see when you broke, if I can say, “Can you cut grass?” you will do it, because you need something to eat. There is the problem.*

Working Conditions

Aside from issues with remuneration, the security guards expressed a concern with their working environment. This concern was expressed in relation to working hours, guard house rules and the associated risks with being the first line of defence. Consider the below excerpt from Tshepo, he was asked what are the working conditions like for him.

Researcher:	*The working conditions, are they good for you? Could they be improved? What do you think of that?*[5]
Tshepo:	*Ja, the working, the working conditions can be improved, the working conditions can be improved. Like you should stand for twelve hours, just imagine six am to six pm, standing, you are not allowed to sit down*
Researcher:	*((surprised voice)) You not allowed to sit down?*
Tshepo:	*Ja, you are not allowed to sit down, twelve hours standing*
Researcher:	*Are you serious?*
Tshepo:	*Ja, twelve hours standing. You sit down by chances, you will be doing something that you know is not allowed, if they find you they take you for a hearing and so you see to stand for twelve hours is not a joke*
Researcher:	*Yoh*

[5]The researcher acknowledges that by using the phrase “Could they be improved”, he may have oriented Tshepo to respond in a biased fashion by providing a list of what can be improved. That is, it was not a spontaneous mention. Nevertheless, the data provided here provides important insights on the working conditions of security guards.

Tshepo:	*There is no lunch etcetera*
Researcher:	*There's no lunch?*
Tshepo:	*There is no breakfast etcetera, you see*
Researcher:	*Ja*
Tshepo:	*Even if you are eating, a car comes, you leave your food, you serve the car. You cannot say, "Hey I'm busy"*
Researcher:	*Ja*
Tshepo:	*"Doing my lunch, or doing my breakfast". You have (nothing like that). So, like even if you have got a problem with your family*
Researcher:	*Hmhm*
Tshepo:	*Or your girlfriend, like maybe if I can call now and say, "Hey, my shack is burning there in [X informal settlement]"*
Researcher:	*Ja*
Tshepo:	*It would take maybe five hours for them [the security company] to relieve me to go to [X informal settlement]*
Researcher:	*Sho*

There are several notable points to be taken from Tshepo's explanation on what can be improved. Firstly, Tshepo gives the impression that there are stringent rules regulating the security guards behaviour and movement. It is uncertain as to whether sitting on the job would in fact result in disciplinary action, however, if that is in fact the case, it highlights some of the experienced forms of inequality as it would be physically improbable to remain standing for twelve hours straight.

It is possible that Tshepo may have exaggerated the consequences of sitting on the job, given the context of the interaction. That is the questions and responses from the researcher may have oriented Tshepo to give the researcher (or rather the interviewer) the story the he was looking for. However, despite this orientation, it remains that, the fact that security guards are not allowed to sit, as Tshepo puts it, "*is not a joke"*.

Furthermore, the consequence of having to work twelve hour shifts, without being able to sit, does not only affect the security guards physically, but it also puts strain on familial relationships and responsibilities (Sefalafala & Webster, 2013). As Tshepo indicates, his personal life / crises are secondary to the security company. That is, they need to first find another guard to fill his shift, despite the fact that there are already four other security guards working on his shift.

The accounts given here illustrate how Tshepo situates his life as different and quite possibly unequal. He makes use of “normal” identifiers of what life *should be* like. That is, it should be “normal” to have a lunch hour, or to sit, or to attend to your “burning shack”, in a “normal” job. (In an ideal, equal world Tshepo would most likely not be living in a shack). However, as Tshepo illustrates, the precarious position that the security guards occupy is in a sense a curtailment of life. It shows that the position of a security guard is an unconventional one, in that they do not have the privileges of “regular” workers.

Moreover, many only consider the *actual* working hours at the site and its immediate effect. However, as Alfred indicates, a security guard’s day begins at least two hours before they arrive at the site. “You supposed to wake-up like maybe around four o’clock and uuh you take a taxi you supposed to be at work maybe like six o’clock. So that means there [is] long hours” (P5: Alfred). Here we see an instantiation of socio-spatial inequality. The security guards belong to a poor, lower-class and as a result primarily reside on the periphery of Johannesburg’s rich (Beall, 2001). Most of them have to travel long distances, incurring travel expenses in order to get to their place of work.

Therefore, this brings to the fore the design of the city, where it is has been socio-spatially organized such that the poor are kept away, yet close enough in order to service the rich by providing services such as safety (Beall, 2001). It also appears that the security companies do not make allowance for the guards by placing them closer to where they live. This is illustrated explicitly in the following excerpt from Tshepo who is explaining the challenges with taxis, as well as site placement.

> *That’s what made me to leave that company and look for [Y Security company] which was here around [X Northern Suburb] and the taxis were giving me problems, like [on a] weekend it’s hard to get a taxi there, you can maybe use two taxis. And the bosses they don’t care about that, they want (...) some of them say, “No it’s not their problem, you want to work, or you can shift to the nearest place there [nearest place to the site of guarding]”. Manje ((trans. Now)), if you are a man with a girlfriend and a child it’s not easy just to sit here, next time you sit there*

Even if Tshepo had the means to move closer to his site, he would still have to live on the periphery, far removed from spaces of wealth, as his social status excludes him from occupying many of the affluent spaces in Northern Johannesburg.

Additionally, it could be inferred that he is a victim of hegemonic masculinity in that he holds the view that as a man he needs to be the primary provider. Support for this is found when Tshepo states that "if you are a man with a girlfriend and a child, it's not easy just to sit here". In other words, as a man he has certain responsibilities to uphold, one of them is to provide for his family. Therefore, some of the challenges and psychosocial inequalities that he faces on a daily basis may add to his struggle in fulfilling this role.

Unions

In light of the above grievances from Tshepo, the researcher had enquired about unions as a means with which to address them, to which he responded (emphasis added):

> *The company's bosses don't like unions, if you complain too much they make plans of taking you out of the site. If you complain about the working conditions, they make some plans to close your mouth, like take you out of the site.*

The manner in which Tshepo describes the security company's reaction to the forming of unions gives one an impression of a mafia-like run entity, with their bosses, "closing their mouths" or "taking you out". That is, it takes on an autocratic and violent tone that is reminiscent of an Apartheid era where a similar scene would unfold if a Black police officer had a similar grievance or objection.

Here we see the poor being controlled by threatening them with losing their jobs, where in Apartheid South Africa it would have most likely have been one's life. Therefore, in this triadic relationship between security guards, GCs and the "outsiders" of GCs, security guards have the least amount of power as they are caught in the middle of two worlds – illustrating a psychosocial inequality of position.

That is, whilst the poor are in a position to mobilize against the rich and the rich are in an equal space to respond. Security guards are in a grey space, where they are from the grouping "poor", yet they have, perhaps not voluntarily, taken a position to protect the rich from the poor. Thus, being in such a space, creates inequality as, inasmuch the security guards protect the rich from the poor (protection referring to protection from crime, social interaction) they will continue to belong to a marginalized lower class.

This is tacitly referred to by Jacob, who asserts that whilst the government and the unions have "tried their best", to intervene, there are always "those rich guys". In other words, although there is a process being put into place to address these inequalities, not even an entity as large as the South African government can adequately ensure a safe, fair and acceptable working standard for the security guards. This inability being attributed to a resistance from the "rich guys [who] are involved in security" (P1: Jacob) – see the below excerpt.

> *But now because they are union, they, unions visible, and they tried their best to investigate, they are lot of people, they are involved to protect the security guards. There is a lot of things government they tried to do, there is a lot of things, they, South African government they tried their best … A lot of people they come, you see, the government they tried their best, but the issue is, as I told you, don't forget that this a rich guys they are involved in a security you'll find that maybe, the big companies, (they already told) the shareholder also ((laughs)) they are also those rich guys*

Education and Knowledge

This theme speaks to the findings from Sefalafala and Webster's (2013) study, wherein they found that many security guards believe that whilst they are competent in their capacity as security guards, they suggest that this view is not necessarily held by residents or visitors. Most of the guards indicated that the major source of conflict in the estate is a result of residents or visitors undermining security guards. An example of this comes from Simon:

Simon:	*And you see most of the people are they just undermine eeh a security they don't know uuh a security is a person whose guarding uh uh uh a life of someone*
Researcher:	*Hmm*
Simon:	*Remember uhm when you sleep inside your hou- uhm inside your house security is busy patrolling, you are busy doing a (babe) [having sex] inside your house*
Researcher:	*Ja*
Simon:	*Do you think it's a uhm uuh a simple job?*
Researcher:	*No*
Simon:	*You can't undermine that person eh*
Researcher:	*Hmm*

Simon:	*A person whose guarding you until you (get) up you must res- respect that particular person eh*
Researcher:	*So do you feel people don't respect security guards?*
Simon:	*Most of the people uuh they just undermine uh security guards is because most of them they don't have the knowledge, they don't know (uri) security guard is someone who is very much important. Security guard is someone whose holding my life*
Researcher:	*Hmm*
Simon:	*You understand, he knows my secret, you understand eh?*

In the above excerpt Simon makes the point that the residents do not acknowledge that, whilst they undermine security guards, they are the ones who are potentially "holding [their] life*"*. Simon suggests that by residents not understanding the full portfolio of a security guard; they do not understand their importance to the estate and therefore disrespect and undermine them.

Simon also implicitly refers to the fact that, although the residents may believe that they hold all the power in the relationship, the security guards also have a level of power in their intimate knowledge of the residents. However, one can assume that a security guard is unlikely to act on these "secrets". This is assumed as, given the previous extract from Tshepo where companies make a plan to "close your mouth", a similar tactic may be employed here should a guard consider exposing a resident's secret.

Nevertheless, what Tshepo does here, is that he demonstrates a claiming back of power. He is suggesting that you do not have to have education or money to have knowledge. A security guard's position in the GC privileges him/her to intimate secrets of the residents. Therefore, as Tshepo suggests, if residents are more conscious of the position and knowledge that security guards hold, they are more likely to respect them. However, one of the main barriers in achieving this "respect" is a lack of education.

Education

Several of the security guards expressed that their progression in the security industry (or any other industry) is hindered by a lack of education. This is further exacerbated by their limited proficiency in reading, writing and speaking English. They

posit that adequate training and support from the security companies may assist in addressing this.

However, one of the major shifts in the industry was when it became heavily regulated post-1994. The result of which led to more frequent audits in ensuring the qualifications of security guards (see PSiRA, 2015). As Jacob suggests, many people lost their jobs as a result of this: “Those are the new rules. Which means the old man, like us, for example, me, I don’t have that matric. Lot of them, they lose the job (on) that time”.

There is a social irony that occurred during this phase in the industry. Consider that a wealthy upper class saw it fit to enclose themselves in GCs from a poor, predominantly black, lower class. In other words, the social class that they are protecting themselves from, make-up the security forces that protects them. Therefore, as the participants in this study have highlighted, when a crime occurs in the GC the security guards run the risk of being seen as the primary suspects.

The industry also requires that security guards uphold certain standards – for example being fluent in English and a matric certificate. However, particularly in the early years of South Africa’s democracy, it was near impossible for many security guards to achieve these standards due to the inequalities experienced during the preceding apartheid era.

In other words, it appears that many groups, with security guards being the example here, are required to meet certain standards without being given a fair opportunity to attempt to obtain the necessary resources to meet them. The argument being posited here is that despite there being a greater focus on addressing inequality, the group that continues to be marginalized is the lower class; a grouping that has historically been disadvantaged.

Özler (2007) posits a similar notion with regards to income inequality. He argues that due to the significant gap between the rich and poor, “one would expect an increase in inequality due to the rising incomes for a small group of educated and skilled South Africans and stagnant or declining incomes for a much larger group of low-skilled labour” (Özler, 2007, p. 489).

Moreover, in relation to Sefalafala and Webster's (2013) assertion, there appears to be generalized stereotypes and meta-stereotypes about security guards, one of them being that they are uneducated. For example, Jacob states that, “now if you work there as a security they think that you are not educated”. Sefalafala and

Webster (2013) would likely argue that, in this instance, this is a social injustice, and that the security guards may "feel" that such a stereotype may negatively impact their self-perception and ability to do their job – a sentiment that the author concurs with. However, in contrast to this, Jacob uses this stereotype of "uneducated" as a tactic to resolve conflict between his subordinates and a resident/visitor. Consider the below extract from him:

> *As a client, uuh you say, "You see this guy he doesn't know how to do his job because he is not well educated", and I'm going to say, "Okay, don't worry, you know th- you have a problem in the security, the guards are not well educated, don't worry, we are going to train that guard"*

Jacob went on to explain that he uses this tactic in order to calm the resident/ visitor down and only thereafter, attempts to explain that the security guard was in-fact correct and was simply doing his/her job. He states that in some cases you find that the aggressor apologizes to the security guard. Nevertheless, this illustrates that the stereotype of an uneducated, low-skilled, lower class security guard is reinforced by both the stereotyped and those who stereotype. Doing so adds to the complexity of a psychosocial inequality, where what is emerging, is an internalization of one's own unequal position, which is reaffirmed through social interactions such as the one described above.

Language

The ability to be proficient in English is an integral part of a security guard's job at GCs. They need to be able to communicate with ease with residents/ visitors. This is seen in the below extract from Tshepo (emphasis added):

> *And there in access control you must be like, you must be, what can I say, uuh <u>you must be good in speaking English</u>, you must be good in greeting the residents, uuh even the visitors, you must be always smiling … you must have to understand what everybody is asking*

This highlights the above concern of setting stringent requirements for security guards. That is, the guards may have not previously had access to the necessary resources to become proficient English speakers; the same is likely to be true in their

current capacity given their socioeconomic status. However, they are required to have met this standard when applying for a job.

In addition, based on the concept of a multi-racial upper-class, it would be inaccurate to argue that the tension of requiring the security guards to speak in English is exclusively racially motivated. Consider the following extract from Mandla, "[T]here's a lot of people (mixed up people) even the Blacks, they don't know how to speak the African language. They speak only English, so they want those people now [i.e. security guards that speak English]".

Here Mandla suggests that residents (even those who are the same race as he is) prefer that security guards speak in English and therefore security companies actively seek out individuals who fit this criterion. In other words, they are being marginalized within their own racial grouping based on a false association with intelligence and language proficiency – English in this case. Thus, what we find in this instance is that there is a nexus of inequalities that is being experienced, enforced and lived by the security guards.

Training

All the guards interviewed highlighted the importance of being trained, with Simon suggesting that by getting trained one would find the job both easy and enjoyable. He states that, "if you don't understand this job it's not easy and it's not going to be easy. You must be trained, get trained and have a full understanding of this job, [you] gonna enjoy [it]".

However, despite this argument by Simon, many of the guards argued that the training given is not up to standard and that there is poor regulation on the qualification of guards. They argue that many security guards buy their certificates without actually having gone through the training. Jacob captures these issues in the below extract by comparing South African security guards to American security guards (emphasis added).

Jacob:	*So uuh what I do believe, if you check for example in other countries, like America*
Researcher:	*Hmhm*

Jacob: *Uuh security their higher standard and uuh even their power, they are higher, and they are using well educated security, well-trained security, even the standard of training is–*

Researcher: *Higher*

Jacob: *(Than our security industry)*

Researcher: *So you think we don't have good enough training?*

Jacob: *Yes we don't have enough, good enough training, even if you can go to these uuh, even in uuh school, in a school where they train security, even maybe you can reach now the guards who are trained, lot of guards, they just buy the certificate they don't get proper training*

Considering that, as Berg and Nouveau (2011, p. 27) assert, "private security guards are the first line of defence", it is peculiar to consider that there is a perception of poor training in the industry. That is, they form the primary barrier between the perceived threats of violence and theft and the residents of the GC. Yet most guards consider that they are inadequately trained. This issue being exacerbated by poor security guard certification regulation (Berg & Nouveau, 2011; Minnaar, 2005); despite having a regulatory body (i.e. PSiRA).

Over and above having well trained security to protect the lives behind the gates of the GC, there is the issue of the life that is protecting those lives. Said another way, poor training and regulation on qualifications may jeopardize one's ability to deal with life threatening situations and the result may be lethal. As will be illustrated, this negligence is mainly attributed to the business model used by the security companies – who in turn are regulated by PSiRA (Berg & Nouveau, 2011). Jacob illustrates this in the below extract, where it appears that, according to him, training is not one of the company's priorities (as this is presumably a major cost to the company), he suggests:

> *[T]hat the problem is the standard of the training in the security industry. Uhm the people they forget that, the owners, they forget that there is uuh uh a life which is always in danger in the security industry. So they put uuh they take that one as a business that they gain money*

Jacob also highlights an earlier assertion, where the governing entities of the industry fail to realize that whilst there is a business to be run, there is also a human life at risk. Therefore, by not prioritizing adequate training and ensuring the qualifications of security guards, the security companies create an inequality of safety.

That is, they promote a perception that the security guards safety is not as paramount as the residents. Thus, highlighting the ways in which a life becomes commoditized.

The Commodification of Life

In the following sections, under the theme of 'commodification of life', it is demonstrated how the preceding descriptions of inequality and sites of routinized inequality serve as a basis of power relationships between the rich and poor. This is done by drawing on some of the arguments made by Foucault (1982).

It is demonstrated, particularly under the sub-theme of the "Client", that the security guards have merged several worldviews, making it unclear which segment they draw on in formulating their perspectives on the issues and concerns in the security industry. That is, they make use of a militaristic rhetoric, intertwined into a corporate one; thus merging two, seemingly different worldviews into one. It is apparent, however, that this occurs not as an inherent function of the security guards. Rather, it is a result of wider socio-political and economic externalities that has filtered into their psychosocial identity.

It is posited that, through the merging of a corporate and military rhetoric, human life becomes commoditized. As seen in the extract above from Jacob, it is easily forgotten that a human life is the product that is being sold for protection at GCs; that is, they forget that "there is…a life" protecting them. This is further substantiated by Alfred, who states that:

> *You see. That is the problem which is they are always have a problem. Because the people now they just consider the issue of money and say the client is paying money so you supposed to make sure that your client is happy, that is all*

In other words, the security guards live paradoxically, where they have to maintain a corporate like approach, whilst at the same time have a militaristic approach in the event of a threat to the GC. We see here how the individual exists in the service and sacrifice of life (cf. Foucault, 1982). That is, the needs of the paying client comes above all else – as Alfred suggests, "that is all". A clear example of this can be seen when Jacob says that anyone can be protected insofar as they can afford it. Consider the below extract from him (emphasis added):

Jacob: *In a security we are here to protect you, doesn't matter you are a criminal or what, my job is to make sure that even that criminal is safety, that is why for example, in those estate they say uuh in here everyone must be- if you come inside I must call. So let's say now you are an investigator, you come in in that estate and you say, "Okay, I want to see Jacob there". Security is going to ask you, who are you? Concerning with what? You see now ((chuckles)) they starting to ask you lot of questions … You see, so but now that person there is well protected because of that security. Now I'm going to say, "Okay, uuh Mr. So and So is here by the gate" (he) say, "Who is uuh that one?" "I think boss, this he's a policeman, the way I look, he never told me that he's a policeman"*

Researcher: *((laughs))*

Jacob: *"Okay, is he policeman okay". Now you see he start to hide, and the other [guy] say, "Okay, just tell him I'm not here" and the guard he's not going to say [to the policeman], "No he must- he told me to told you that he's not here"*

Researcher: *Hmm yes*

Jacob: *He's going to say, "No you are not here*"

It is evident here that being a security guard can at times put one in an ethical dilemma, as on the one hand they need to do their job, whilst on the other cooperate with the police. As Sefalafala and Webster (2013) point out, as well as some of the security guards from this study, many guards fear for their job; it is not surprising that many of them choose the former. Therefore, the very physical and metaphorical structure of GCs can be questioned in the above extract. Based on what Jacob has shared, GCs can be used as a way to protect criminals as opposed to keeping them out. The security guards are placed in a double-bind where they have to protect the integrity of the estate and its residents, as well as consider the ethical consequences of providing protection to a criminal.

Furthermore, by Jacob stating that they are required to protect the residents, regardless of who are they are, illustrates a naturalization of the concepts of a human life and money. That is, those who have more money, also have more value assigned to their life; whereas previously, in South Africa, this was primarily in relation to race.

The "Client"

Security guards and GC residents. In order to understand the type of relationship that security guards and residents have, the guards were asked to share their thoughts and perspectives about the people who live in a security estate versus those who do not. The account given by Alfred below illustrates some of these perceptions (emphasis added),

Researcher:	*Okay, so do you think the people that move into these estates move in just because of security reasons, like what do you think of the people that live in these estates, as opp-, versus someone who just has a normal house and no security access?*
Alfred:	*Ja, peoples … who live, who moves into the security, into this complex, these estates, they move in for security reasons. Uh, it's like, it's different from where we are living in township, there is a big difference. In township, if you are sleeping in township, anybody can come to your house and say ("kom-kom-kom-kom") … nobody can … tell him or … that, "No, where you are going, you are not allowed to go there". But in an estate, if you want to relax, you will know that nobody can come from the outside without your permission. You know, like you have got your … vehicles or what so whatever, you know your property's safe (if it's inside an) estate*
Researcher:	*But then do you think it's fair that those people get that luxury and you who live in the township don't get that luxury?*
Alfred:	*No, it's not fair, it's not fair, but because, they will tell you that "I'm educated I'm earning this much … I'm educated, I have got expensive assets, so I cannot live with my assets in township. You see, that's why I come here"*

The excerpt from Alfred illustrates that he is aware of the disjuncture in his environment versus his work place. That is, the picture that he describes illustrates the structural difference between his home and the GC. He suggests that unlike residents at GCs, he does not have the privilege of claiming back his possessions. This alludes to a suggestion that what he owns is not valuable enough to warrant the same protection seen in GCs. Therefore, the experienced inequality here is in the account Alfred gives in describing the differences between his home and those in GCs.

The socially loaded question to be asked here is what entitles a multi-racial upper class to have their lives and assets protected, versus a marginalized lower

class? One could argue that even if one does not have economic equality, at the very least all South Africans should have a sense of security. However, as illustrated through Alfred, this is not always the case.

Furthermore, this instance highlights some of the arguments made earlier, where, not only does inequality exist based on income, but as Alfred points out, the residents in the GC have a sense of entitlement to be protected because they are "educated" and they have "expensive assets". Thereby reiterating the prevailing argument that, there is a perception that, if you have are educated, with a wealth of assets you should be afforded the lifestyle and protection seen in GCs.

This alludes to some of the presuppositions made by Landman (2006) where she argues for a human geographical mirroring of an apartheid society. In other words, where the 'war' was once based on racial domination, here we have a war in terms of class. (With any rhetoric centred on notions of 'war', there are casualties – a group that is also perceived as the enemy; where in this instance it is a highly marginalized lower class, a class that remains a predominantly black one).

Some of the ways in which this manifests is that the poor are put into situations where they are expected to hold a certain standard. This is despite not having been given the opportunity to attain the relevant skills or knowledge prior and during their employment. If we consider the security guards in this study, this may include having to obtain a matric qualification and to speak fluently in English.

Furthermore, issues of safety remain a prevalent concern for poor communities. GCs are ironic, in that they exist in areas with some of the lowest crime levels – it was so even before the GC was erected. Therefore, the areas that actually require interventions are the ones that are neglected. Simon referred to this when describing his life in an informal settlement (emphasis added).

> *I'm staying in [X informal settlement], there is a hig- high crime there uuh I'm not enjoying uuuh fact of the matter is money. I cannot afford the rent of estate place because it cost money, so I have to stay there until maybe I can find uhm uuh the better place which uuh can pay me high salary, so that I will pay uuh uuh uhm the levy, so if uhm staying in [X informal settlement] place is is is a must because of money, money problem. But the- I'm not enjoying, you understand? Because aah that place is not secure. You understand? So let's say if I'm I'm busy working right now, anything can happen if there is no one at home*

Here we see another example of the naturalization of life and money, where Simon suggests that in order for him to acquire safety he needs money. He also indicates that by not feeling secure in such an area his life in the township is unpleasant. Moreover, Simon states that “anything can happen [to his home] if there is no one [there]”. Thereby, illustrating the irony of the precarious work that security guards do. That is, while he is defending other, wealthier, people’s homes, there is no one to protect his home. Therefore, as Simon suggests, a “happy” and protected life is one that can only be acquired through money.

The Corporate Security Guard. Relating to the relationship between the security guards and the residents is the type of rhetoric that the guards use when speaking about them. For the most part, in the interviews, the security guards refer to the people living in GCs as *clients* and not residents. The use of the word “client” implies a particular dynamic between the security guards and the GC residents.

Consider that the board of directors at a given estate employs a security company to service the GC. Although residents pay a levy for the security provided at the estate, each resident is not a client per se to the security company; rather, it is the estate as a whole. By having such a relationship, it allows for residents and visitors alike to comply with rules and regulations established by the security company and the board of directors. However, as can be seen in the below extract from Alfred, this is not always the case.

> *So if you are a security officer, neh, uuh a client can come and swearing to you, you are not allowed to revenge[6]. You see, it’s not a simple job. Yo- you are a human being and the client is a human being, but you are not allowed to revenge.*

Here we see an example where, if a resident is behaving in an inappropriate way towards a security guard, the guard is unable to react to such behaviour. Alfred later went on to explain that even if you do report a resident, it is often their word against the security guard. This results in the guard either being relocated to another site or having their contract terminated. It appears that power has been conferred to the residents, with the guards referring to them as “the client” and that they have a perception (albeit false) that residents have the power to have their job terminated.

[6]The researcher interprets the use of the word *revenge* as Alfred suggesting that they are not allowed to report the resident.

One can speculate that the security company uses this description of the "client" as a scare tactic in order to ensure smooth running of the estate. This is exaggerated to the security guards, where there is a belief that the company may lose the tender for a particular site due to the actions of one security guard. Consider the below extract from Alfred.

> *The company they say the resident is the boss, the resident is the boss and the company will take the instructions, take the instructions from the residents. Because the resident will call, will call the office straight that, "This guy at the gate is he did this and that, this and that". You see so the company to save the site for other guys to work they should take a decision about what. You should take him and put him somewhere, and take another guy and put him so that site might survive. The security is a gamble, one person can make the site, can make the company lose the site*

Alfred paints a dire picture here when he describes the consequences of a security guard acting out of turn. However, it is unlikely for a security company to lose a multi-million rand contract, especially in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg where the big estates have been monopolized by the big security companies. That is, the geography of GCs is segmented by security companies.

The type of accounts given by the security guards reinforces the power relationship between the rich and poor, where even if they are employed by a security company, they (the security guards) are still at the mercy of the rich. Thus highlighting a point by Foucault (1982, p. 791) that, "power relations are rooted deep in the social nexus, not reconstituted "above" society". One way in which this emerges is through language and how it is used in social interactions between the master and the subaltern or in this instance, the security guards at the GCs residents. In other words, using communication as method to reify a position of power through communication.

Communication

All the security guards interviewed expressed a concern with the way in which residents and the security company communicate with them. One of the guards suggests that the preoccupation with money is what hinders effective communication between the relevant stakeholders – see the below excerpt from Jacob (emphasis added):

Jacob:	*That is the problem*
Researcher:	*So yo-, so th- problem is that there's no communication between*
Jacob:	*There's no communication*
Researcher:	*The client and the security company*
Jacob:	*Absolutely*
Researcher:	*Do you think that'll help with the uuh situation with?*
Jacob:	*Ja uuh uh I believe that one is the very, very important issue which is they supposed to sort out (once off), because uuh, what- t- what the when they talk about the client they always consider just the issue of money*

Therefore, by "always consider[ing] just the issue of money", Jacob is suggesting that security guards are not being heard. In other words, the preoccupation with GC residents and "money" has led to the voice of security guards being neglected. It also illustrates that communication between security guards and the security company, as well as residents, is unidirectional. That is, as Jacob states, "There's no communication", and therefore it is likely, based on his account, that the security guards are spoken *to* and are unable to respond as their concerns do not conform to the "issue of money". The implication is that the guards are then seen as objects of protection, as opposed to a human life that is protecting other human lives.

Communication is also linked to the theme of Education and Knowledge. Some of the security guards state that because people view them as uneducated, communication between visitors and security guards often leads to conflict. This is usually a sense of frustration on the part of the visitor as they would like to limit their time at the gate. Therefore, the security guards are constantly in a double-bind, where they have to perform their job as a security guard, whilst at the same time serve their role as the subordinate to residents and their visitors. The below extract is an example of this (P4: Mandla, emphasis added):

> *Uuh they take uuh uuh uuh security officer as a – useless thing actually, eh that's why they decide to do whatever they can do. Say you are a visitor, you are coming to visit, you are driving a nice car, uuh you will tell security, "I'm coming to visit". But security is still waiting for you to give him information, "Where are, sorry sir, where are you going to visit?" "Uuuh I'm going to see Mr. James". "Uh on the site we've got a lot of Mr. James eh, so, which one?" … still they– the client is gonna cross because of that, so*

he's gonna say … you don't want to listen to him. You are listening, but the information that you [the visitor] are giving security officer is not full.

The above account by Mandla highlights several important points. Firstly, Mandla illustrates the type of meta-stereotypes that security guards have. That is, they presume the resident will think of them as a "useless thing". Mandla, also uses markers such as "driving a nice car" to illustrate the difference in position between him and the visitor to the estate. These markers highlight the difficulty the guards face in conducting their job. For example, Mandla, requires all the relevant information first in order to grant the visitor admittance into the estate. However, as Mandla points out the visitor does not "want to listen to him".

The poor communication between visitors and security guards could be due to a power struggle; based on the markers used by Mandla – "do whatever they can do"; "nice car". The position of the "rich" visitor should automatically grant him/her access to the estate. However, by being vetted by security, it makes them part of the group that *should* be stopped (i.e. a lower-class, one that security guards belong to).

Furthermore, in keeping with the findings from du Toit (2015) and Sefalafala and Webster (2013), by communicating with security guards it is a form of acknowledging their existence and service that they provide. As Jacob, states below, security guards observe the residents and are aware of their daily movements. However, it appears that some residents are unaware of the faces that work twelve hour shifts in order to ensure the security of their livelihoods. Thus, it is in the interest of the residents to, at the very least, greet security guards. This is an important issue for the security guards interviewed in the current study; consider the below extract from Jacob (emphasis added):

So the everyday they must say, "Hello security!" Security they guard, security is they study you every day, security is going to study you, they know that every time you supposed, you come in ten o'clock, and uuh ten o'clock, you know uuh Mr. Moodley is always there ten o'clock, you know Mr. Moodley and they going to ask you, "Ah my man why today, what's happened, what's the problem? You are not happy?" 'Cos you speak with those guys, you say, "No man I have a problem, my grandfather he passed away". You say, "Okay, no sorry for that". It's because they know you. But you know because, you are not visible to them, so security you just open

If the residents engage in the behaviour described above by Jacob, then it would involve having to give up a position of power as such an interaction is perceived as a form of social interaction. It would take away the superimposing position of the client and would introduce the individual – a “Mr. Moodley”. Thus, in order to maintain this, a distance is created between the residents and the security guards, where the residents are viewed as the dominant force in the relationship.

However, as Jacob tacitly suggests, security guards hold some power in this relationship as “they study you every day” and are aware of your movements. Therefore, Jacob is asserting that security guards are more than objects who “just open” the gate for residents and visitors, and should be acknowledged as such. However, based on their unequal position they are “not visible to them”.

The risk of being a security guard

Aside from an inequality being exercised in terms of communication, there is a stereotype of security guards as being the primary suspect when a crime has been committed (Clarno, 2013; Sefalafala & Webster, 2013). This form of stigmatization reinforces the psychosocial inequality being argued here, where the security guard is marginalized in terms of his/her position, education, and social status or class. Mandla suggests that being singled out as a suspect is an occupational hazard. Consider the below extract,

> *If you checking a security, which is the risk of security, is anything that can happen security [guards are] the first suspect. Now, that is the higher risk of a security. Anything that can, even if there is a robbery, the first suspect is a security.*

Mandla illustrates his position as the ‘inside’ outsider of a GC. This highlights that, while the guards are ostensibly granted access to the estate, they are still viewed as belonging to a poor, predominantly Black class. Based on this group membership, they are seen as suspects, as it is a demographic similar to themselves that they are guarding against; therefore illustrating the perverse relationship between security guards and GCs. That is, if the security guards were out of uniform, they would not necessarily be granted access to the estate. They run the risk of being seen as threats to the estate. Thus, their uniform becomes an identifying marker that grants them access to the estate.

However, Sefalafala and Webster (2013) have shown that a security guard's uniform also hold a number of negative connotations and serves as a marker for criminals. This is echoed by Jacob who suggests that even when they are not on duty, their uniform puts them in potential danger; consider the extract below (emphasis added).

> *Even if now, (neh), the people can come here and I'm wearing, you see I'm wearing the uniform, they can come here and say I'm a target than everybody[7] here. You see, anytime if you are a security, if you wearing the uniform, you are in uuh uh a target*

This emphasizes the complex position that security guards hold in the wider community, their workplace and their personal environment. It is interesting to consider that at their place of work, it is expected that they would be the first line of defence, and therefore the first target for a criminal. However, this is also expected when they are in a public space in that they still fear being targeted because of their identity as a security guard. Therefore, Jacob illustrates that a security guards job and identity as a guard poses a threat to their safety, both inside and outside of the GC. However, despite the dangers of being a security guard, they do not receive any further compensation through 'danger pay'. Jacob describes why this is the case:

Jacob:	*There is another one we call it a danger allowance … They, they evaluate the site where you work and the other site they have that they call danger allowance … They know the danger site and tha- which is a not danger site, so they pay that danger allow- all- allowance*
Researcher:	*Is the site that you working at a danger site? Like is it considered a dangerous place or?*
Jacob:	*Uuh the site I'm working now is not considered as a danger site*
Researcher:	*So you don't get an allowance?*
Jacob:	*We don't get that allowance, ja*
Researcher:	*Do you think that's fair or?*
Jacob:	*According to me it's fair because as I told you that it's a business. Let's not-, let us not forget that is a business*
Jacob:	*So for (instance) it's not a ((start laughing)*
Researcher:	*((smiling voice)) Ja, ja*
Jacob:	*It's a business, because the company get the money from the client*

[7]Note: Jacob and the researcher had the interview in a public space, so the "everybody" that he refers to is in referent to the other patrons at the coffee shop.

> *because what is going to happen is, you are a salesman, you go there to the client and the client is say, "Okay, I'm going to charge you a danger allowance" and another company come and say, "No I'm not going to charge you a danger allowance". So automatically the client is going to go for that one*

GCs are indeed not considered dangerous sites, and so the author aligns with the point made by Jacob. However, by reverting back to the business model, Jacob illustrates the overarching theme of the commodification of life and the client. In other words, Jacob illustrates that, perhaps inadvertently, even if a site is considered dangerous there is the possibility that the board of a GC will choose the security company that is cheaper (i.e. the one that does not include danger pay). The fact that Jacob considers this process as being fair, illustrates the entrenchment of the prevailing corporate-military identity of security guards. That is, Jacob attempts to balance out the business model of the security company with the day-to-day dangers of his job.

Therefore, we have a group of security guards who are already marginalized based on their income, where they live and their workplace. We also see that they have the perception of being potential targets in public spaces. This illustrates the complexity and nature of the inequality experienced by these security guards as it has become part of their identity and psychology.

In other words, considering the accounts by the security guards, they describe themselves as being unequal to residents and visitors at GCs, as well as ordinary citizens in a public space; this inequality being marked by their uniform. However, as illustrated in the theme of Training, the guards consider themselves ill-equipped and therefore having to extend the role as a security guard, beyond the walls of GC, put them at risk. However, the security guards show some resilience in their position as they consider their proximity to wealth as a vantage point, and a means with which to promote and better their lives.

The opportunities of being a security guard

Despite the various challenges and forms of inequality described previously, some of the security guards consider their position as security guards (particularly,

ones at GCs) as an opportunity with which to obtain better, higher paying jobs. The below extract from Alfred is an example of this.

> *Sometimes uuh because you if you are- uuh human being, you are a mankind there uuuh on of the client can feel shame for you and say, "No man I (am pleased) to take you and give you a job, which is gonna offer you uuh a serious sal- salary". You see because there, there is a lot of people, some of them they are the lawyers, business people, you see?*

It is uncertain whether this has indeed happened. When the researcher asked Alfred if it has, he redirected the conversation. Nevertheless, what this indicates is that there is an assumption that by guarding at GCs, the security guards have better access to individuals who are "lawyers" or "business people" – individuals who are presumably regarded as having the power to offer a "serious salary". It also illustrates how the security guards consider themselves as objects. Consider that a better opportunity (i.e. a better life) will only come into fruition if a rich person "feel[s] shame" for you when they see you as a "human being" or a "mankind" as opposed to a simple security guard. This is seen in more detail from an excerpt from Jacob who uses South African businessman Douw Steyn as an example (emphasis added).

> *Okay, me I uuh for example, if I work there in a construction site now, in a, in a big site, let's say for example I work for, there is another guy, there is a billionaire in South Africa, Steyn, … Let's say now the security that stay there work there, he have an access now to speak with Steyn. Whereas you if you go there you never get that access, you see, but me I can just go now and say, "Steyn, you know what I have a daughter whose doing Masters in [X University]". Because I can sit with Steyn have a drink with him, because I'm the one who is open the gate for him every day and you, you don't have that access. But me I'm not educated but I can have a picture [with] Steyn and you, you never have a picture with Steyn. So all in all I can benefit to work as a security*

There are several notable markers in the above excerpt. The first deals with the current theme being discussed here. That is, Jacob, considers his position as an opportunity to meet with lucrative individual's, such as Douw Steyn. He suggests that his position will allow him to know Steyn on a more intimate level – this being marked by, "I can sit with Steyn have a drink with him". Aside from knowing him intimately,

Jacob also alludes to the fact that his position may provide the opportunity for him to get financial assistance. Evidence for this is seen when he fictitiously "tells" Mr. Steyn about his daughter's postgraduate studies.

Secondly, when Jacob states, "you, you don't have that access. But me I'm not educated but I can have a picture [with] Steyn and you, you never have a picture with Steyn" (emphasis added), it is interesting to consider this in terms of the interaction taking place between the interviewer and Jacob. Consider that the interviewer in this context is someone who can be categorized as being educated. Therefore, it can be speculated that the "you" Jacob is referring to above is the interviewer, and more widely educated people in general. This is supported by the proximity of the "you" and the phrase "me I'm not educated". Jacob makes the point that he does not need to be educated to have the privilege of taking a photo with Steyn; whereas people with an education, like the interviewer, are unlikely to have a this opportunity.

This brings to bear positions of power, where in the interaction there is a young male interviewing an older male who is in many ways unequal to the interviewer (this is primarily socio-economically). However, in the above excerpt, there is an attempt by Jacob to assert that he is not without any power and that his position can provide him with privileges that people, like the researcher, would not necessarily have.

Unfortunately, these opportunities do not always materialise for the security guards. However, the resilience shown by Jacob here shows that the he has not lost all hope. The issue, however, is that there are hegemonic ideologies of power constantly at work here, where the security guards believe that only a powerful businessman, like Steyn, would provide the opportunities that they seek. This type of thinking perpetuates inequality, in all its forms.

Violence

"[G]uarding staff of private security companies in South Africa are confronted with violent situations that private security guards in many other countries would never have to confront, at least not on a regular basis" (Berg & Nouveau, 2011, p. 23). Despite some of the guards suggesting that guarding at GCs is not as dangerous as guarding at, for example shopping malls or airports, they are nevertheless exposed and vulnerable to violent situations (Sefalafala & Webster, 2013). Aside from the obvious external risks of being attacked or having the security breached, there are a

number of internal sources and instantiations of violence that the security guards are exposed to; domestic violence being at the forefront.

Domestic violence

Almost all of the guards shared an incident of domestic violence that they had witnessed or knew about. These ranged from verbal abuse to physical abuse to homicide. The below excerpt from Mandla illustrates an instance of domestic violence that had led to a fatality (emphasis added).

> *There was another one which was a serious one. On that one, what happened is uuh the lady, the wife, there was uuh, violence- domestic violence. (They always happens). The lady, came and report to the security guards that, "My husband is not allowed to come here anymore" and that husband, have a what, an access card. On, they go to the system and they deactivated that, sys- that, that thing the card. Okay, and unfortunately, they changed the guard, that one guard who used to work there was off and they bring another new guard and that new guard now start to work there, and that guy came [the husband]. He say, "My man, I stay here, you see my card, you see my name tag, you see everything I have and I stay here" and uuh, okay the guard decide to take and uh and just open, because this guy is stay here and the, the man go inside and found the lady there and killed that lady*

This highlights the imperfect world of GCs, where one has an image of an idyllic lifestyle (Sefalafala & Webster, 2013); it has its own "dark" secrets that are guarded by the security guards. It demonstrates that the heterotopic community is not protected from wider psychosocial issues such as domestic violence. Therefore, it is posited that the security guards are not only gatekeepers of the lives and assets, but also the gatekeepers of the intimate secrets of some of the residents living in GCs.

Furthermore, the security guards are in fact aware of their position as the guardians of domestic secrets. They also illustrate that an individual in a GC, who is "educated" with "nice cars", "nice ties" and a perceived "happy" life, is imperfect, as that individual can also be an "abuser". The below conversation with Jacob demonstrates this explicitly (emphasis added).

> Jacob: *You see, okay and this lady she say "Okay I understand Jacob" and they go inside. When I go there I say "Okay what is the real*

	problem?" This lady, this lady say, "No, you know what" uuh lady is a doctor, this guy is an accountant
Researcher:	*Ja*
Jacob:	*They are well educated, all of them, they are, they, if you are a security like me, I'm not professional, I'm not well-educated, they are driving a nice cars, but they are fighting*
Researcher:	*Ja*
Jacob:	*((giggles)) You see, I know them, because I am a security, I know his, everyday these guys, they are wearing nice ties and everything, you can think that they are happy, but every day I know that this guy he is an abuser, you abuse this one*
Researcher:	*Yes*
Jacob:	*You see, so the security have a lot of information, they know everything about them there.*

In the above, Jacob is seen as highlighting the marked differences between him and the residents, pointing out their profession, as well as making it a point to state that they, "all of them are educated". The "all of them" Jacob is likely referring to is all the residents in the estate. This interaction highlights several important issues.

Firstly, by Jacob juxtaposing his "unprofessional", "uneducated" self against the "well educated" residents, he is demonstrating the fallibility of the upper class. He illustrates that even he, as an "uneducated" person can see the wrong in domestic abuse. Secondly, he inadvertently outlines the way in which a life becomes commoditized. That is, a happy life can only be made up of being "well educated"; and having "nice cars" and "nice ties". However, Jacob shows that he is also aware of some of the cracks in the façade of life in GCs. Security guards know the secret that even though "they are driving nice cars… they are [also] fighting]". Thereby, reinforcing the argument that security guards have some power in their relationship with residents as "security have a lot of information" about them.

An alternative dimension to the theme of domestic violence is that, according to the security guards, the strain and pressure of guarding leads to them acting out against their family, committing domestic abuse themselves. The guards consider this as a constant threat to their personal lives. As Mandla states, "if someone fight[s] with you [at the estate] you, you can fight with your kids at home". Tshepo also expresses his concern of the weight that guarding has. He suggests that the pressure sometimes

leads to “most of the security guards “kill[ing] their selves or they kill their wives” or “You might [find that they] end up doing something bad to her [their wife/girlfriend]”.

This suggests that the constant threat and/or conflict between residents and visitors cause the security guards to act out violently in their own homes. The position of the current study is not to condone or validate their behaviour. Rather, it is to suggest that violence (physical and mental) is part of a security guards daily experience of working at a GC and therefore, has some bearing on their personal well-being. This supports similar findings from Sefalafala and Webster's (2013).

Counselling

It emerged from the interviews that no counselling is available for the security guards, even after a traumatic event, like the one described above. The guards interviewed, however, expressed the need for counselling. Despite identifying this need, one of the guards, Jacob, reminded the researcher that, by providing such a benefit would involve a direct cost on the part of the security company. That is, he states*, “*So the security they also need the counselling and now there is no counselling, because the owners, uuh I do understand the owners because it’s a, it’s a business” (emphasis added).

Therefore, returning to the theme of the commodification of life, where human experiences are equated to a monetary value. In other words, there may be instances where a guard witnesses a particularly traumatic event at a GC. The option of seeking professional help, post the event is not readily available as it is not a profitable option for the security company. It can be assumed that, like danger pay, it is unlikely that the companies (or GCs) would cover for this.

Moreover, it is surprising that Jacob would state that he understands the side of the security company (i.e. that at the end of the day they are running a business) as he had related several, potentially, traumatic experiences. One of these stands out in particular. The incident had taken place whilst he was guarding at a Northern Johannesburg school. The telling of this story can be found below (emphasis added).

> *I was a supervisor even then, “Uuh I noticed that [Anne], [Anne] was not so happy to be, what happened to [Anne]?” So now he [Anne] was not happy and I go to the class and I say, “Ma’am, where is [Anne]?” Ma’am say, “No he is not here in the class” and we start to look around and you find that [Anne] has hung. You see, and the guard*

noticed [Anne] (…) you see, so if maybe, there's that link, even that guard whose supposed to call uuh uuh (…) so now if I see that no man you are not happy I ask you nicely, what's the problem? And I assist you, I can. You cannot hang yourself because I can speak with you now nicely

A stand-out point from the above is that Jacob feels obliged to not only protect one's physical and material well-being (i.e. by preventing violent crime being enacted on them), but also one's psychological well-being. In other words, he suggests that if you "are not happy", he can "assist you"; highlighting the seriousness with which he takes his job.

In addition, Jacob also refers to the importance of the role of security guards. He states that "the guard noticed [Anne]". Thereby, indicating, that the security guards go over and above their role of access control and should be respected for it. One could argue that Jacob is illustrating to the interviewer that the power that guards hold goes beyond holding secret. Their ability to assess a change in mood or behaviour of a resident could be the difference between life and death. Therefore, their job should not be taken lightly.

Other security guards also illustrate the "mind reading" role that they play in their GC. This responsibility, self-inflicted or not, epitomizes the psychosocial inequality being argued in this report. Consider the below excerpt from Tshepo who is describing the type of "mind reading" that he is required to do (emphasis added).

Tshepo:	*If I know you are a resident, I know you every day that you come, like maybe you coming from work, you are always smiling, you are greeting the guys, you know. But the day you came, you didn't greet the guys, no you greet them with no morale you know*
Researcher:	*Ja*
Tshepo:	*And I so that you are maybe with three guys who are going with you, I fail to monitor the situation in your house, "How (uti), how's it going man?"*
Researcher:	*Ja, just to follow up*
Tshepo:	*Just to follow up. The resident will say, "No but this guy have seen me entering with a, those guys, and I always used to greet these guys with morale and everything". But that day, I didn't do that and (…) failed to think that, what's happening with Mr. So-and-So". Because I know him. So you see that you can become a suspect*

Researcher: *And then*

Tshepo: *And if you are a suspect you can go to the cells and they will ask, "But how did you see the situation?"*

Researcher: *Yes*

Tshepo: *You say "I see Mr So-and-so, he entered here with maybe three of four guys, I tried to greet him, but he was low and down". So you see, they will ask, "Why didn't you follow him up?", because that's your job to make sure that everybody enters here is happy*

The above excerpt demonstrates the precarious position that the security guards are in. Having already been identified as unequal in structural terms (i.e. economic and socio-spatial inequality), they are also victimized for failing to "read" the psychological state of a resident. The fact that Tshepo states that it is "your job to make sure everybody enters here is happy" illustrates the blurred space that they occupy. GCs attempt to justify their construction by arguing that they are primarily designed to provide security. If this were the case in reality, one could argue that Tshepo's response would have been, "that's your job to make sure that everybody enters here is *safe*". However, as demonstrated, the guards indicate that they their responsibility extends from simply opening gates and patrolling.

Following this, and within the sub-theme of counselling, there are several pertinent questions that can be asked: (i) If the security guards concern themselves with the psychological well-being of residents, who ensures the same for them?; (ii) If a security guard arrives at work with the type of "low morale" described above, who is there to "assess" his/her situation?

The simple answer is that the industry and GC is primarily geared towards ensuring the well-being of the residents. Therefore, the security guards would most likely need to rely on their family or other forms of social capita to cope with the trauma that may come from guarding, for example, witnessing a crime.

Thus, exemplifying the ways in which these security guards embody a psychosocial phenomenon of inequality. It illustrates that those who serve, do not necessarily have the opportunity available for them to be served. Additionally, it demonstrates how the security guards are stereotyped as criminals, even though they have been employed to protect the GC from criminals.

This type of stereotyping is reminiscent of apartheid South Africa. That is, when it suited the ruling party's agenda, Black police officers and security guards were

treated in the same way as manner as non-White criminals (many of whom were criminalized for political activity). This ensures that the estate and the security company hold the power in the relationship.

Arming security guards

The access control guards indicate that they are not armed and make use of their radios and panic buttons as their primary form of protection; this leads to the dispatching of an armed reaction unit. When asked whether they believe it is a good idea that they are not armed, Simon, indicated that he concurs with the policy of not arming access control security guards. He states this is because "they [residents/ visitor] mustn't fear you".

Mandla adds a layer to this by suggesting that due to the numerous instances of conflict that arise between security guards and residents and visitors alike, there is the risk of the guards using their gun to resolve such situations. The below extract from him highlights the level of intensity that some of these conflicts involve. Furthermore, it alludes to an expression of frustration on the part of the security guards.

Researcher:	*Do you think it's a good idea that the guards don't have, like they not armed at the front at the gate?*
Mandla:	*Uuuh … it's a good idea. Because the guards they are always working, they- every day you can get cross anytime if you are a guard*
Researcher:	*So do you think it will be more dangerous if they had-?*
Mandla:	*Guards can kill a lot of people, if they can have a gun*.
Researcher:	*Okay*
Mandla:	*They can kill a lot of people, because every day they are, especially those who are doing the access control. You see. Because at the gate there is- there always uuh shout at the guards and always they do this and this. So the guard can get cross anytime*

The extract from Mandla is concerning, given that the phrase "kill a lot of people" is mentioned twice as a reaction to working at access control. He indicates that "every day you can get cross", which suggests that his environment at the GC is relatively hostile. Some of the reasons for the guards getting "cross anytime" could be as a result of the routinized experience of psychosocial inequality.

In other words, by going through the experiences described throughout this chapter – where a security guard's job impacts his/her intra- and interpersonal life; through long working hours, in a highly regulated environment; which carries the stereotypes and stigmatization associated with being a security guard, and where there is little compensation for their work – it makes it clear why some of the security guards display signs of frustration and hostility.

Revisiting power

The theme of the commodification of life is salient across the data and themes. In particular, it encapsulates the shifting power dynamics in South Africa. That is, power is now not only directly associated with race; rather, it is a culmination of race and class, where there are inequalities seen within and between racial groups. Some support for this is seen when Mandla states that "even the Blacks, they don't know how to speak the African language".

Mandla refers to a race group that he belongs to (as classified by the researcher based on his physical appearance). However, he differentiates himself from them as they, according to him, cannot speak African languages. Mandla goes on to indicate that, as a result of this, Black people who cannot speak English are not eligible to become security guards because affluent Black people only speak English, thereby illustrating an inequality within race groups.

This provides some evidence for the argument of within and between race inequalities. However, it provides the strongest evidence for the shifts in the way power exists in contemporary South Africa. That is, the current multi-racial upper-class makes use of several tactics – education, language, income, space, social interactions, and physical structures – to ensure their retention of power. In other words, they make use of a number of precursors to exclude poor, predominantly, Black South Africans from their idyllic community.

These tactics are similar to those used during apartheid; however being able to distinguish their existence has become a nebulous task, as the construction of segregated communities – like GCS – are legal and accepted practices. Therefore, although poor South Africans are not legally restricted in their access to resources, they are met with a number of challenges. Some of these include a multi-racial upper class resisting the national efforts of ensuring and promoting an equitable South Africa.

Chapter 5: Implications, Limitations, Recommendations and Conclusion

The exercise of power is not a naked fact, an institutional right, nor is it a structure which holds out or is smashed: it is elaborated, transformed, organized; it endows itself with processes which are more or less adjusted to the situation (Foucault, 1982, p. 792)

Theoretical and Practical Implications

The current research uses some Foucaudian formulations of power to understand the lives of guards at GCs. That is, if we consider South Africa at a macro level the ways in which power exists and functions is strikingly similar to that of an apartheid South Africa. The only difference is, as Foucault (1982, p. 792) states, the processes of oppression has been "more or less adjusted to the situation".

It demonstrates that although apartheid governance has ended, the ways of thinking and the organization of power structures remain – "We have been trapped in our own history" (Foucault, 1982, p. 780). In other words, the nature and content of national discourses may have changed, but their underlying assumptions are congruent with South Africa's marginalized history – dating back as far as colonial South Africa.

For example, as Lee (2003) argues when considering contemporary nationalist discourses, one has to consider that these have been subject to a century worth of Eurocentric idiosyncrasies. He states "that these ideologically saturated discourses form an implicit background of unstated assumptions, predispositions, and prejudices" (Lee, 2003, p. 85). Considering some of the accounts from the security guards, they are aware of some of these "unstated assumptions" about them, particularly as a result of their socioeconomic status.

In other words, while there is a national drive of equity, the divide between the rich and poor continues to grow. This is exacerbated by inequalities developing exponentially within racial groups. Thus, poor South Africans remain in a position of socio-economic inequality relative to a group of multi-racial, rich South Africans. Their low-economic status continues to keep them on the periphery of wealth and power. As seen through the participants of this study, this has led to an over reliance on the upper-class in order to improve one's living conditions or to access resources, such

as a public park, or shopping malls. Therefore, this research adds to the theoretical foundations on which Foucault has built over the years on his theories of social power and biopolitics (see Foucualt, 1979; 1982; Gudman-Høyer & Hjorth, 2009). It demonstrates that inasmuch individuals are free, it puts them in a vulnerable position to be rendered powerless by a different, albeit structurally familiar, powerhouse.

Moreover, it illustrates the modernity of sovereign, disciplinary and biopower. That is, we have a multi-racial upper-class, which makes use of biocitizens, such as security guards, to hold sovereign power over a given GC. They have monopolized spaces through GCs, creating controlled and regulated environments, which are ultimately maintained through violence. Consider for example, that if the leisurely lifestyle of a GC were to be threatened, the residents of the community would turn to the private security company to restore the balance.

This would be done through a process of "violence" – an increased number of security guards, more patrols, a heavier presence of armed guards, and a rigorous vetting of all visitors to the estate. There are several examples of this currently happening in some of Johannesburg's biggest GCs. With some estates deploying armed access control guards, with automatic rifles, from 6pm to 6am. The ecosystem of the GC also relies on disciplinary power from the residents and the security guards to ensure the lifestyle of the community.

Furthermore, other practical implications, supporting research findings by du Toit (2015) and Sefalafala and Webster (2013), are that security guards in the private security industry experience inequality on multiple layers. They can be categorized under two types of inequality – income inequality and psychosocial inequality. The former has been demonstrated elsewhere (e.g. May, 1998; Özler, 2007), however, the current research illustrates explicitly the notion of a psychosocial inequality.

That is, it illustrates that poor South Africans, like the security guards in this study, embody and internalize their position of inequality. This psychosocial inequality is a function of power structures, where a multi-racial upper class makes use of socio-spatial inequality (e.g. GCs) in order to maintain their position of power.

Thus, security guards who are both included and excluded from these spaces provide a proxy with which to understand experiential psychosocial inequality. Some of the descriptions that they provided reflect the hegemonic, commoditized ideology of a life. To further explain, whilst acknowledging their inequality in terms of income, space, and lifestyle, the security guards justify and argue for GCs. They see their

position in the GC as aspirational, hoping that one day they can afford such a lifestyle. Most of the security guards are indeed weary about their working conditions, income and relationship with the residents, however they are equally optimistic and opportunistic that, by putting their lives at risk, some rich resident will offer them a job with a “serious salary” (P5: Alfred).

The guards do not consider the injustice of their job being, in essence, a life being “purchased” to protect another life. Rather, they suggest that if they had the money, education and opportunity as the residents at the GC, they would live there too. This illustrates that they have succumb to the widespread phenomenon, where poor South Africans are commoditized as human barriers for rich South Africans against criminals and, ideologically, other poor South Africans.

This research therefore illustrates the inherent power struggles that continue to exist in South Africa. It demonstrates how inequality is described and spoken about by those who are marginalized. The implication of this is that we now understand that addressing inequality is not a simple solution of giving the low classes more money. Whilst greater wealth may improve their lifestyle, the phenomenon of a psychosocial inequality will continue. That is, the marginalized are aspiring to live the life of those who marginalized them in the first instance; thus making the phenomenon cyclical.

Study Limitations

The current research makes several claims of wider social and theoretical implications in terms of power structures; the sample used comes from a particular group. This is limiting as we would need a cross-check from other marginalized lower-income groups in order to further substantiate these findings on the experiential nature of inequality.

Furthermore, there are some limitations in the methods used for this study. As Potter and Hepburn (2005) argue, there are several fundamental issues with interviewing in qualitative research. They state that interview based research fails to acknowledge the social interaction that takes place in the interview between the researcher and the interviewee. The current research acknowledges, in explicit cases, the implications of this interaction.

However, owing to the design and some of the research questions asked, an exclusive focus on interactional elements during the interview would possibly limit addressing some of the research questions directly.

The research site may also serve as a study limitation as the reported experiences by the security guards from this study may differ to those from other sites. For example, security guards at GCs in the south of Johannesburg or in another city. Additionally, males represented the entire sample of the current study, therefore providing data from a particular point of view. There are over 90 000 females employed within the industry and should therefore, also be taken into consideration (PSiRA, 2015).

Future Recommendations

Based on the preceding study limitations further research should consider some of these limitations. In particular, research in other, similar sites such as the ones used in the current research. This may provide a better foundation on which the results from the current study can be transferred across contexts and in-turn better inform the consideration of inequality.

Additionally, it is suggested that other individuals who occupy similar intimate spaces, such as the security guards in the current study, should also be researched (e.g. domestic workers; dog walkers; car washers). This will allow for an illustration of a generic psychosocial inequality that may exist in such a socially and economically disparate society as South Africa.

The current research provides a foundation on which researchers can use in order to better address the psychology of inequality, as well as to better understand the social arrangements that exists in contemporary South Africa. That is, it allows for a nuanced and detailed foundation on which to research further instantiations of an emerging “Apartheid of the classes”. Such research will serve to address a number of contemporary social issues as well as to illustrate how a psychosocial phenomenon can be related to the human geographical make-up of a society, particularly in one’s that have a history of segregation.

On way in which this could be done in future is through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). That is, as the current study aimed to explore whether themes of psychosocial inequality exist at all, a supplementary study using CDA can attempt to understand how this inequality constructed. In other words, future research would need to consider the discursive resources that security guards draw on when talking about GCs and their profession. This will allow for a more granular interpretation of the accounts given by the security guards.

Conclusion

Inequality has been a topical concept over the last two decades in South Africa. With a number of government and non-government agencies hard at work attempting to address the legacy of apartheid which prohibited access to resources to non-white South Africans; many of whom made-, and continue to make-up, the nation's lower class. In attempting to do this, there was first the need to establish the extent of inequality. One way of doing this was to determine levels of income inequality. This has been done extensively and as a result there are initiatives aimed at addressing income inequality

Now that there is a substantial grasp of the extent of income inequality, particularly through recurring studies, tracking income (such SAARF's All Media and Products Survey (AMPS)), we are able to move towards understanding the nuances of the experience of inequality. In particular, to understand, describe and interpret inequality through a psychosocial lens.

It also assists in further substantiating Foucaudian (1982) theories on the nature of power. That is, power is a construct that is transformed and adapted according to a situation – it never disappears entirely. Therefore, one of the major contentions in South Africa is the change in the definition of power; where it was once defined by race, but has more recently become defined by class and race.

It is through an analysis of a psychosocial inequality that we are able to dissect how power therefore exists between classes. Specifically, the current research demonstrates how unequal urban sites, such GCs, serve as enclaves of power. These sites regulate and maintain a particular ecosystem that has been designed only for those who can afford it – providing a strange intersection of guards as the products of biopower in the service of sites of socio-spatial sovereignty.

The individuals who protect these sites, security guards in this study, consider their position as gatekeepers through various perspectives. This is seen through the four main themes that has been derived– Professionalism; Education and Knowledge; The Commodification of Life; and Violence.

Under the theme of Professionalism, the security guards outline some of the functional challenges and opportunities of being in the industry. One of the foretelling concerns by the security guards is the difficulty of being promoted and, as a result, the difficulty in bettering their lives. They also highlight that, unlike other industries, the

forming of unions is not well received, and many of them fear that by forming unions they jeopardize their job security.

The tensions that arise in the theme of Professionalism are inextricably linked to Education and Knowledge. That is, their likeliness to be promoted is based on their competency as security guards. The security guards consider competence as being well-educated, proficient in English and adequately trained. However, the guards in this study overwhelmingly state that there is a lack of training offered by their employers and that, due to previous disadvantages, many of them were unable to further their education.

Another facet to the theme of Education and Knowledge is that the security guards believe that they are perceived as being uneducated and inadequate, thereby marking their inferiority to the residents of GCs – introducing one of the major contentions throughout this research report, the commodification of life.

For the security guards, the value of someone's life (and hence their power) is linked to their monetary value. The way in which they articulated this is: because you are rich, you deserve protection; if you are poor you neither get the same level of protection, nor the lifestyle that comes with living in a GC. In contrast, you protect the rich, their possessions and life. Many security guards therefore consider this the norm and defend the notion of a GC, suggesting that they too would like to live in such a space, if they could afford to. The guards, however, serve to protect and promote life that is for the "better good" of the community. They believe that by serving as the gatekeepers to this idyllic space, they preserve a space to which they aspire to belong.

Furthermore, some security guards consider their position as being advantageous. Because these estates are home to some of the wealthiest individuals in Northern Johannesburg, the security guards see their proximity to them as an access wealth. This further delineates the power dynamic between the guards and the residents, in that, it is only by doing one's job well (i.e. protecting the residents lives), will they be rewarded; highlighting the commoditization of life. That is, if you demonstrate a willingness to protect another's life, using your own, you will be rewarded.

The danger for security guards and the commodification of their lives is the level of violence that they potentially engage in or are exposed to. This includes the internal manifestations of violence that occur in the GC, such as domestic violence. The security guards had shared a number of instances where residents were involved in

cases of domestic violence. Therefore, the security guards are not only the gatekeepers of lives, but also the keepers of secrets of domestic violence. They are obliged to keep these "secrets" in order to secure their jobs, as talking out could jeopardize their employment.

In sum, the security guards in this study demonstrate the complexity inherent in South Africa's unequal distribution of privileges and rights across its citizens. These include the challenges and opportunities of the profession; the relationship with GC residents and their perception of GCs. They describe their unequal position as the result of a number of contingent factors. The inequality that they experience cannot only be derived from a report of Gini-coefficients. Rather, it is something that they live and experience on a daily basis. Considering some of the accounts from the security guards, they are aware of their inferior position to the residents in terms of their daily interaction.

However, they also argue that it is "fair" that residents have such a lifestyle. They, the residents, deserve it because they have money, and by default have lives worth protecting. The guards do not consider, as the researcher and several other authors do, that GCs create social fractures in communities – creating physical and metaphorical barriers between the rich and poor. Rather, based on their everyday experience of having such unequal lives, the guards aspire to have the safe and idyllic lifestyles that the residents of GCs do.

Therefore, highly unequal spaces, such as GCs, create an idyll of a heterotopic community (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002). These spaces are made up of a predominantly multi-racial upper class that is protected by security guards. Their privilege and wealth requires protection and defence by those whose everyday lives and experiences do not belong in the spaces they must guard daily. This is the tension of being the outside insider – living, breathing and sustaining the unequal South African society that many are forced to serve and defend.

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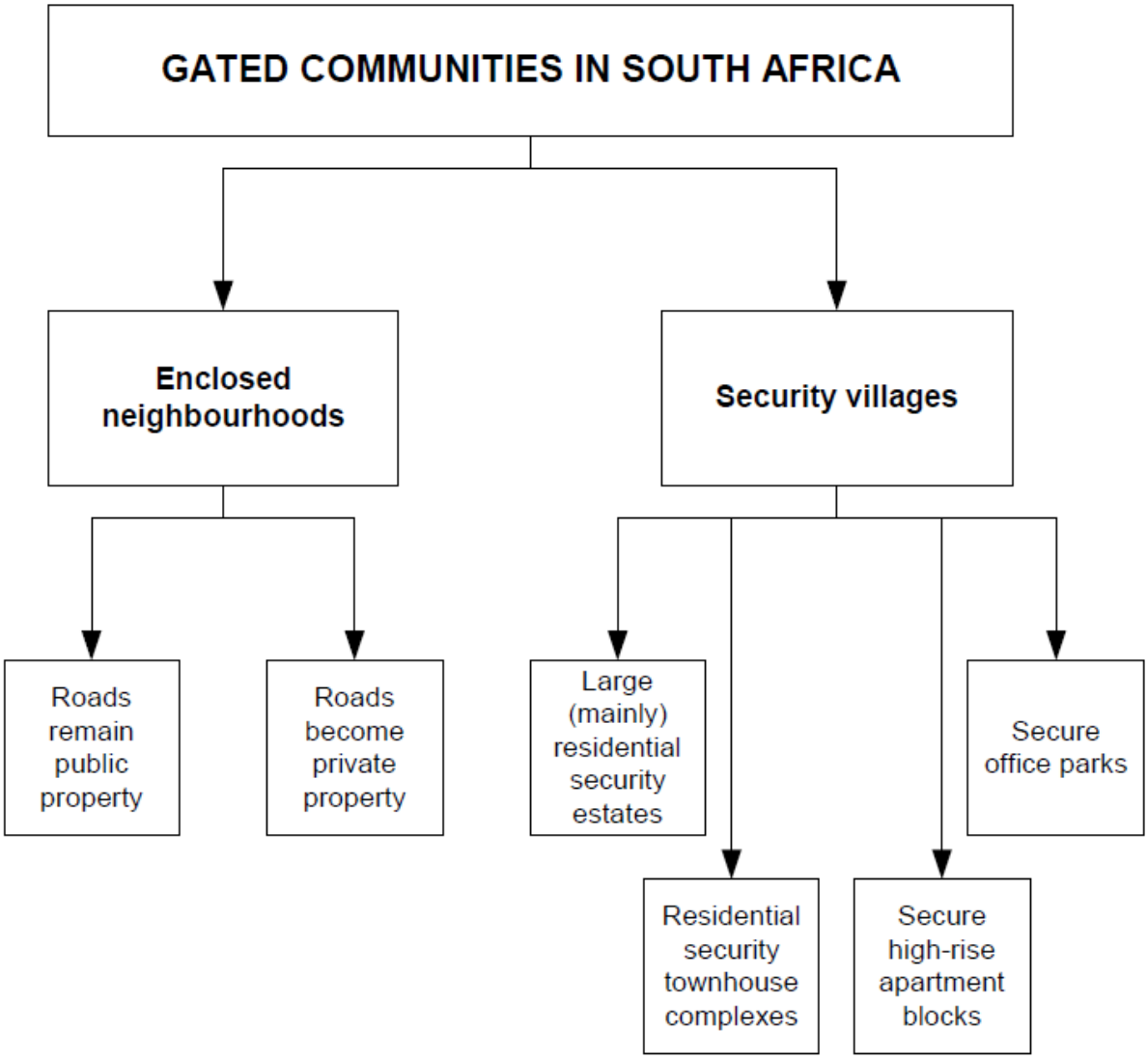
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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Categories of GCs



Sourced from Landman (2003, p. 16)

Appendix B: Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule

- Opening question: Can you please tell me about yourself
    - Prompts: where you live, your work life

- Pocket questions:
    - Can you tell me what it's like being a security guard?
    - Why did you become a security guard?
    - If you have guarded at other estates like this?
        - Can you tell me about what it was like at that estate?
    - Is there anything that stands out for you in your experience at X estate?
    - What is the type of relationship you have with some of the residents at X estate?
    - Why do you think people live on estates like this?
    - What sorts of people live in estates like this?

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet

Psychology

School of Human & Community Development

University of the Witwatersrand

Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050

Tel: 011 717 4503 Fax: 011 717 4559

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION LETTER

The Experiences of being a Security Guard at Gated Communities

Dear Sir/Madam

Good day, my name is Saiesh Ajudhiya. I am currently completing my postgraduate degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of this, I am conducting research on the experiences of being a security guard at a Gated Community (for example, a security estate, like the one you are working at).

I would like to invite you to participate in this research. Below I briefly explain what this will involve.

What is the purpose of this study?
To get an understanding of some of the experiences that security guards have while working at Gated Communities, such as the one you are stationed at.

What will I be asked to do?
If you agree to participate in the study, I will ask you to meet me at a place convenient for both of us. This will take approximately 1 hour to 1 ½ hours. The interview will be recorded.

Will participating put me at any risk or cause me any inconvenience?
As part of this study, I am asking that you allow me to audio-tape our discussions. The equipment I will be using will be set up so that it will not distract you during the course of the interview.

Participating in this study is completely voluntary. If you choose to be in the study, and feel any discomfort as a result of participating, you can change your mind and withdraw at any time. If you want the recordings in which you appear to be withdrawn from the

study, even after the recording has been completed, you can request this at any time by contacting me.

Will the information I give be confidential?
You may be concerned that the things you say or do during your participation might be made public, and used against you in some way. I want to reassure you that your identity will be kept private, and you will not be personally identified in any written reports. The tapes will be transcribed by me, and all personal names and identifying details will be excluded from the transcripts. You will not be identifiable from the transcriptions.

The recordings will be kept as electronic audio files and will be stored on secure, password-protected computers.

What are the potential benefits to me and to society?
It is unlikely that you will personally benefit from your participation. However, it is possible that from your participation that there will be a better understanding of what some of the experiences of being a security guard at Gated Communities are.

Will I receive anything if I participate?
You will receive a R100 to cover any transport costs and your time.

How do I arrange to let the researcher know when I can participate?
If you agree to participate or would like to think about it, I will take your contact number and keep in contact with you to arrange a time/day that is convenient for you. My contact details are also below.

Your rights as Research Participants
You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims or rights because of your participation in this research study.

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me.

I look forward to working with you and thank you in advance for considering taking part in this research project.

Regards,

Saiesh Ajudhiya - *Researcher*
E-mail: sajudhiya@gmail.com

Prof. Brett Bowman – *Supervisor*
E-mail: Brett.Bowman@wits.ac.za

Appendix D: Participant Consent Form

Psychology

School of Human & Community Development

University of the Witwatersrand

Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050

Tel: 011 717 4503 Fax: 011 717 4559

The Experiences of being a Security Guard at Gated Communities

Consent to be interviewed and recorded

I, _____, give consent to be interviewed and to be audio-taped, by Saiesh Ajudhiya. I understand that:

- The results of the study will be reported in the form of a research report for the partial completion of the degree, Master of Arts in Social and Psychological Research.
- The research may also be presented at a local/international conference and published in a journal and/or book chapter.
- The audio-files will not be heard by anyone other than the researcher and supervisor.
- The audio-files will be kept in a safe place indefinitely, with controlled access.
- No identifying information will be used in the research report.
- Although direct quotes from the interview may be used in the research report, I will be referred to by a pseudonym (that is, my real name will not be used).
- There are no risks associated with this study.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix E: Participant Consent Form – Addendum

Psychology

School of Human & Community Development

University of the Witwatersrand

Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050

Tel: 011 717 4503 Fax: 011 717 4559

The Experiences of being a Security Guard at Gated Communities

Consent to be interviewed and recorded

I, _____, give consent to Saiesh Ajudhiya to use the audio-recording that occurred when I was under the impression that the interview and recording had stopped. I acknowledge that both the interviewer and I were unaware of this at the time. I give permission for the additional recording to be used in-line with the terms of consent given in the original interview consent form.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix F: Transcription Symbols

(( )) - Describes elements such as laughter, or particular tones

( ) - Phrases that were unclear from the audio recordings

(…) - Inaudible segments

[ ] - Text added or adapted by the researcher

Appendix G: Ethics Clearance Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: MPSYC/15/003 IH**
PROJECT TITLE:	Guarding Inequality.
INVESTIGATORS	Saiesh Ajudhiya
DEPARTMENT	Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	10/06/15
DECISION OF COMMITTEE*	Approved

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE: 10 June 2015

CHAIRPERSON
(Professor Brett Bowman)

cc Supervisor:

Prof. Brett Bowman
Psychology

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR (S)

To be completed in duplicate and **one copy** returned to the Secretary, Room 100015, 10th floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure, as approved, I/we undertake to submit a revised protocol to the Committee.

This ethical clearance will expire on 31 December 2017

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES