

1. Chapter1: Introduction

Post-apartheid South Africa has seen the emergence of scores of secured estates which in their modern forms have gates or secured walls and serve as a protected form of residential community or housing domain. All these spaces contain strictly controlled entrances for pedestrians, bicycles, and automobiles, and a closed boundary with high walls and fences. Usually, gated communities consist of small residential streets and include various shared niceties like carports that are next to each other. They usually have one park, to which the unit blocks are close in proximity and common places which are shared. With regard to time, most daily activities happen in an enclosed area in gated communities and they are a type of common interest development, but are distinct from planned communities. Thus, there is a possibility that residents may stay within the community for most daily activities.

Murunga (2011) argues that South Africa has the most advanced experience in the operation of private security, which also operates due to the fear citizens' experienced from townships. According to Gumedze (in Murunga, 2001) fear emerges because of the hatred people had towards the police during apartheid (Murunga, 2001:3). Thus, they started depending on private security enterprises. Not only did private security take precedence in the safeguarding of private and public spaces, but South Africa also depended on community policing which was part of the 1992 interim constitution (Gumedze, 2007). Therefore, in the 1994 democratic transition, a legal agenda which included the Constitution, the Police Act, the South African Police Services Strategic Plan, as well as other projects were put on the table so that they create a transformation from the former dictatorial apartheid police into a democratic rule. However, the combination of a post-apartheid crime wave with the capacity-building problems of the new police service left a gap in daily security for many communities. There was when private security companies emerged as non-state agencies which are used to provide

clients with security services. Podile Security is the designated company for Phepha Estate, the gated community examined in this research report.

Living in South Africa, one's life is regularly subject to social mistrust and disaffection (Eagle, 2015). This is because people are exposed to high levels of criminality and of crimes that contribute not only to individual and group concerns, but also to public dialogues that produce the notions of threat and justify intergroup prejudice. Thus, there is a perceived need to minimize or accommodate the reality of threat in order to survive in inevitably crime ridden environments. And that is where gated communities come in. therefore; maximum number of emerging gated complex companies employs mostly immigrants to safeguard their residences. But these immigrants become prime suspects to the locals and are considered to be illegal and therefore criminals, and that makes it difficult for the citizens to trust their protection. In this case, this study will focus on the reasons why citizens find it hard to trust the migrant security guards that are protecting them.

1.1. The arrival

With the dawn of so called "real urbanism" in Johannesburg (Chipkin, 2012), waking up in the enclaves of Phepha Estate in the Rhula Park East of Johannesburg gave me a feeling of belonging. It was a quiet working day and this gave me the idea that most of the people went to work in their different places of employment, and young people to their different schools. While I was preparing myself to go meet the security guards at the gate, still in my cousin's flat, I could hear a song playing on the radio very far. It was difficult to hear its rhythm which was interrupted by the sound of a lawn mower that sounded like it was coming closer. These interjected the quietness of the morning. As I was heading to the gate, looking around witnessing the sameness of the buildings in the residential complex, I found myself confused with the direction. It was as if it was not the right way I used when coming in the previous day.

The two-storage face brick buildings looked the same to me even though they were distinguished by different colour paints on the doors and windows. (An idea that I thought was brilliant because it would help me to identify my block of flats when coming back later.)

Checking the passage and counting the streets to turn on while going to the gate, I saw a few people coming my way where two ladies were in navy blue uniform (I thought perhaps they were nurses), one man in overalls, one in a security uniform while one of them was wearing what distinguished him as a traffic officer. This made me think they were coming from night shifts. And even though it was after eight o'clock in the morning, they might have been delayed by transport or any other cause because they were walking on the long pedestrian path from the gate.

As they all passed and turned to different places through the same passageway I also used, I heard some noise which sounded like an angry woman. She screamed "s'febe nguwe¹." She carried on screaming nasty words and as I passed and realized that they saw me, the guy who looked like he was packing bags in the small private car was telling the angry lady that screaming would not help her, but make people realize that she's just an opportunist looking for a nice place to live, and for free. The lady was only snivelling while the other one stood against the wall folding her arms as if she was watching an interesting stage performance. I walked fast to the gate where my destination was so that I could alert the security guards what was going on not very far from where they were. I told one of them who was standing facing the direction I was coming from. I was not sure if the job of the security guards was to interfere with what looked like a private altercation, but wanted to let them know that people were fighting and maybe they could do something before someone got hurt. The security guard quickly ran to the direction I showed him and after few minutes he came back saying he did

¹ S'febe nguwe- is you, who is a whore

not see anything or anyone outside which made him go as far as three to four blocks. By then, I just finished introducing myself, trying to feel comfortable with the man I was left with, but also introduced myself to him who just came back. He confirmed that one can report anything to the security guards as long as it happened inside the premises.

As few cars were going in and out, Machona and Chitereke were rising to the gate, opening for them. I was seated outside on a white plastic chair, right close to the door of a small guarding room. Chitereke was boiling water with a white kettle and preparing to make coffee in a red Coca-Cola cup. As floppy as the cup was when boiled water was poured into it, Chitereke handled it with care and drank from it with brown sliced bread that was prepared with Stork margarine on a newspaper. He was leaning on the desk where a few walky-talkies were being charged. He was communicating easily and this was most welcoming to me. He said he never thought anyone was interested in them (migrant security guards) because he and his colleagues assumed no one cared, especially South Africans. Therefore, for someone, especially a student approaching them, there was hope that one day everybody will be treated the same way because students know how to stand their course: they have seen the Fees Must Fall protests which rocked South African universities in 2015-16.

As Chitereke was having his breakfast, two women came from a different route as the one I used. As they approached, I let the guards know they were the ones involved in the argument. They asked the women what has happened because one of them was still crying. They also asked them where they stayed. The crying lady replied that they live in a nearby township, explaining that the man who slapped her stays with her boyfriend and that he wanted her to leave the house because she did not agree with his bringing different girls into his brother's house, that it was disrespectful. Moreover, she complained, the man just brought these girls in the morning when he knocked off, but let them go after hours when the brother was about to come back from work. But he expects her as a girlfriend not to say anything. She said

that he just makes food and carelessly used everything as if he was the one paying rent, and the woman must not interfere. So that day, she got tired of him because he told the brother that she is the one misusing things since she's in the house day and night and doesn't want to look for a job. With all this information, I got a sense of another part of the security guards at the residential complex. I somehow thought "bathand' izindaba²," but how so if I am the one who told them what was happening. In this case, the security guards are sometimes drawn into mediating private disputes which somehow shows the informal structure of law and order is in the Phepha community. A few minutes later, the culprit came with the woman's boyfriend, bending from the passenger side to ask the security guards if two ladies went out through the gate, and which side did they go. The security guards replied and told him they surely went out, but they were not sure of the side they went. As they drove off out of the gate, Machona turned to me and told me that that was how other residents wanted them to work. That they should guard inside and outside the complex which was not possible. If they told them they did not know when answering the tenants' questions, they tell them where to get off, that they don't know how to their jobs. However, the guy always has fights with his neighbours and they always report him for making noise with his music and girls most of the time. And for the security guards recognising the troubled guy, I thought it was a right thing to do.

1.2. The Context

Phepha Estate is situated in the Southern part of Boksburg, under Ekurhuleni municipality, in the Eastern part of Johannesburg South Africa. Like most of the secured residential compounds, it is guarded by security personnel. It is less than five years since the complex was finished and started letting. Phepha Company has many gated complexes around Johannesburg, mostly in the East Rand, but Phepha Estate is unusual in two respects. Firstly,

² Bathand' izindaba- they are too nosey

it caters for mostly black people, and second, it uses the company name for identification. The area where the complex is built used to be occupied by whites until in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Only a few white people are left in this suburb, and for that reason, only a handful of white people reside in the Phepha Estate complex. And because of the division among people during the apartheid government where none-whites were not allowed to buy houses or stay with white people. Moreover, Indians, coloureds and blacks were supposed to be in their respective areas thus, there is a dominantly coloured township near the Phepha Estate which has many shebeens and other parlours next to it.

Phepha Estate is a huge compound. One part has flat units, but there is also a new development of low cost houses on the other side. As much as it is divided by a fence, there's an open way without a gate where the street was extended from the main gate to the houses to show that the houses are part and parcel of the parkland. Not only that, other houses were about to be started at the time of this research. A construction vehicle was going around provoking the dust into brown smoke that looked as if it would pollute the sky. There was a rumour that a small shopping complex would also be built. The complex name Phepha means "Safety," and residents of both the flat section and the new houses expect to be safe from harm because that is what the complex in its nature promises. Nevertheless, as much as the complex has extended and is still spreading, the number of security guards who used to work before the expansion of the compound did not change per shift. Yet they are still expected to take care of the security. Moreover, all of these security officials in Phepha Estate are migrants, and mostly from Zimbabwe. In line with Bolt's observations about farm labour (2010), this brings in a class transposition and relations of mistrust which is the backdrop of the research.

South Africa has long been a destination for migrants from the rest of the southern African subcontinent, but this has intensified even more so in recent decades, as migrants from Zimbabwe and other countries have sought alternatives to living under conditions of economic

and political crisis at home. One response to this development has been an atmosphere of xenophobia (Hayem, 2013). Even though many South Africans would like to migrate to other, especially western countries, they still have low tolerance towards other African nationals who come into their country to seek refuge. Thus, coming into South Africa, African immigrants have been exposed to severe hostility during their stay in the country, which makes them vulnerable because they fear dangers to their lives every day. This makes it hard for them to get jobs but leads some of them to look for anything that will help their welfare, which are the jobs that local people would not take as they are considered degrading to a status of a man (Bolt, 2010). Therefore, because life is not easy anywhere in the world without an income, substantial numbers of migrants have applied their entrepreneurial flair in establishing small enterprises and employing workers. These often bring jealousy to their local counterparts. But another common venue for work as a migrant, especially for male Zimbabweans and Congolese, and even for Malawians who are mostly poor nomads in South Africa is employment in the private security industry (Xing, 2014).

1.3. Accessing the Abode

The research that gave life to this report was conducted over eight months of part-time ethnographic fieldwork inside the Phepha Estate complex, from the end of June 2016 to the second week of January 2017. There were many hesitations from the area manager of Podile Security, maybe from the fear of exposure in unintended areas of the security company. Therefore, with the panic of being late with my data collection, I spoke to the site manager who gave me permission at last without reluctance. But because I had to deal with two companies at the same time, I asked the site manager as to whom I can speak to in order to feel free inside Phepha Estate's premises while collecting the data. Before I could speak to the rightful person,

Mr Lovemore Pambo who is a Podile security site manager had already done so on my behalf. He told me on WhatsApp messenger, where most of our conversations were held, that he thought the research was not harmful to anyone, but hoped it would bring confidence to the security guards and to himself.

My hope was for the security guards to be as willing to communicate with me as Mr Pambo was, though little hesitations occurred after the introduction of my topic after a small welcoming general discussion. One of them, Tendai told me it would have been ‘cool’ if I just went there to sit and not to ask any questions. I told them I was aware of the challenges and that was the reason I wanted to hear them from the ‘horses’ mouths.’ My interests intrigued them which even led one of them to ask whether, if I were given a chance to do their job, I would do it. My answer was that I was there ready to sit with them hold the tomffa³ and speak on the radio. In all the hours spent exploring the research, I was in the company of three of the men, while one of them was inside the premises, walking around patrolling the area. Moreover, I was mostly occupied by doing participant-observation in opening for the cars going in and exiting the complex. I often got used to the routine and some of the security guards on different shifts started treating me like their fellow colleague. They would tell me to get to work on time in the morning and be with them at their ‘parade,’ to see the handing over of the site and equipment. Moreover, they said I should also learn how to record information in the OB (Occurrence Book). This gave me a hang on the daily routine the security guards get to on daily bases.

³ Tomfa- a battle stick always carried by Security guards and Police Officers.

1.4. Methodology: Access, Limitations and Data Collection.

In terms of the other gate situated on the houses' side, I would accompany whoever was going there, but that would mean going there only twice a week and I would not stay for more than two hours because most residents with cars loved to use the flat side gate. I usually felt like I was lazy to be there because there was no electrical equipment. Electricity was not yet connected at that gate, thus people working there did not have a lot of work to do other than manually opening the booms. With me present at that side, it would be three people on duty. Therefore, I would be the one physically opening the gate with reluctance from the 'guys,' telling me to be careful not to let the gate come down to hit the cars before they drive pass or hurt myself. In going both sides, where the guards were working hard and where there was less work, I wanted to see if both tenants and security guards treated each other the same way in terms of trust.

Though I felt like I was doing close to nothing at the other gate, it gave me enough time to conduct interviews with the two gentlemen I would be 'hanging' with at that moment. I would ask about their take on the security of the residents and how they feel about their jobs. Even though the place they were did not look secure enough for them as security guards, they would respond that they are at work every day as required. Most of the complaints they made were about the fact that the guard room did not have any good equipment. So they often asked if I and the others could bring them some when coming to them.

The data collection was mostly done through tape recording. I also wanted to take pictures just for interest's sake. I thought the pictures would help me in remembering the person speaking when I compiled my notes which had to be typed in my computer. But none of them allowed me to do so, though they allowed photographing the gates and the cars. I understood their concern due to ethical considerations. I recorded every detail of the data through

transcribing every evening when I left the site. This gave me a clearer description of the information given. Not allowing me to take photographs gave a limit in remembering the voices during transcription and analysis. And because I already had pseudonyms for them, I had to go back to the previous day I was on the site where I asked them for the nicknames they wanted me to use for the research. As I was getting along and closer to them, and because they had three shifts (groups) where six guards were working per change, I chose three of the men to interview for the project. This did not end this way because some of them would be interested in the conversation and fill in. And by so doing, I would allow anyone of the guards to voice his concern. Although I preferred the main gate where most of the activities were taking place, circumstances would make me go to the other in order to collect as much data as possible. Finally, I have altered the geographical location and the name of the two companies involved, which are a private security and the two residential Estates in order to protect the privacy of the persons and places involved.

The audio recording and the transcribing of data every evening made me remember what the guards felt about their job because I could still hear their emotions through the recording. This even made me remember their facial expressions as if I had taken mental pictures. And because of data collection that worked for me, it made it easy to write this report because since the notes were nicely compiled. They made me remember who a victim of mistrust was as if I was still on the field with the gentlemen.

1.5. Literature Review

1.5.1. Stereotypes and Public Influence

Opposition to immigration is a major concern in South Africa. The country is known to have long, hard-to-police northern borders, and it has witnessed an influx of illegal migrants since the 1990s (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). Hainmueller & Hopkins argue that the effect of

national socioeconomic and political events such as economic problems did not necessarily increase opposition to immigration, especially in the US, but trace this rather to spiteful debates over immigration policy in 1994-96 and 2006-07, and the events of 9/11. These inflated negative opinion on migration. Henceforth, Hainmueller & Hopkins mention that local people lost trust in immigrants. In frequently looking at cultural responses based on perceived threats to national identity or prejudices generated by local group contact, migrant workers especially in gated communities feel discriminated against and lack a feeling of belonging. Thus, even with the fact that people want to search for greener pastures, South African do not expect to be treated repulsively when they get to other countries (Hayem, 2013, Bolt, 2010).

Many immigrant groups are faced with negative stereotypes in the countries they live in (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Such clichés bring in negative performances. In the case of security officers, they might be afraid to have direct contact or face to face conversations with residents. According to the requirements of their jobs, security guards are supposed to have relationships with tenants so that they know where to provide help quickly in case of any danger in the flats or the whole complex. Moreover, Steele & Aronson (1995) argue that stereotyping causes a state of psychological discomfort. This happens when individuals are confronted with a negative typecast about their own group in a situation in which the negative stereotype could be confirmed. Substantiation is true for the guards who feel as if they are working to protect individuals socially superior to themselves, and therefore have to be forced to agree with any negative treatment they receive (Steele et al, 2002). This makes them feel treated adversely by residents they have vowed to protect. This, according to Landau (2010), this type of behaviour is demonic and evident violence posed by the society to the people who try to bring peace.

In stereotyping, an individual state is characterized by the interchanging of a functional stress response which increases monitoring of the performance situation, and the regulation of negative thoughts and emotions (Schmader and Johns, 2003; Beilock et al., 2007). This in case

of security workers, they feel under pressure when they think about their jobs, even when they are off the field. In getting to work, they have already thought of how bad the day is going to be when they encounter the local residents who do not like migrants. Therefore, this process consumes working capacity, and it becomes unavailable for the task at hand. Moreover, working intelligence is reduced and turns into underperformance (Schmader & Johns, 2003; Beilock et al, 2007), especially in peak hours such as in the morning when people are leaving for work, and in the evening when they come back, because they have to open the gates for them. These are the testing times the security guards have to face stereotypes, and even more so when it is the weekend or the month end.

The study of stereotype threat theory and research did not give full identification of little stereotyped groups (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2007; Logel et al., 2012). This is not the case with South Africa where stereotypical attitude is directed to the male immigrants in security industries. According to (Inzlicht & Schmader, 2012) most of the US research main findings have pointed out that African American women were the most vulnerable. Arguing in this point, my study will focus on the male Zimbabweans security workers since Zimbabwean women are mostly found in a trustworthy environment such as in households as helpers or cashiers in shops and petrol filling stations. This is why I chose the male migrant workers as my focus of study leaving out the female workers because they are not the potential targets of stereotype threat (Inzlicht & Schmader, 2012).

1.5.2. Xenophobia and Inessential Revulsion

Local residents in particular parts of South Africa have often attacked foreign immigrants from African countries: calling them *makwerekwere*, a derogatory term for foreigners (Hickel, 2012). According to the findings during the general talk with the citizens

as well as the immigrants, other immigrants coming from the western countries, whom are not South African born, black or white, legal or illegal, they are not fought against, but only those from African countries are name-called by fellow black people. Many immigrants have been tortured and some were killed which has inspired a search to explain the possibilities and limits of multiculturalism in South Africa (Landau, 2010). This is because the country had become dangerously unstable which affects not only the immigrants, but other South African citizens that are allegedly labelled as lower in status than others in terms of ethnicity. These events have inspired a great deal of soul-searching in South Africa as analysts seek to explain why multiculturalism in the much-promoted Rainbow Nation has become so dangerously unstable (Hickel, 2012). As a result, an enormous body of scholarly literature has emerged that explores many causes of xenophobia in a careful and sophisticated ways.

Globalization is often looked at as a primary driver of xenophobia (Hobsbawm 1992; Malikki 1995; Appadurai, 1998). According to this kind of argument, neoliberal policy and associated social transformations demoralise livelihoods and encourage violence as people compete over scarce resources such as jobs and housing. On the other hand, the nation has so much focus on identity politics, where cultural tides that characterize globalization prompts a state of hybridity, flux, and lack of compelling shared ethical standards that triggers the violence and recreates social boundaries (Landau, 2008).

In line with this argument, neoliberal development in post-apartheid South Africa has sent unemployment rocketing from 13% in 1994 to 25% in 2013, or 40% by unofficial measures (Hickel, 2012). Moreover, Hickel says, more than half of young South Africans who are less than 24 years of age are looking for work but cannot find any. Of those who have jobs, one third earns less than \$1 a day, which is equivalent to R14 a day. In explaining the type of social suffering in South Africa since 1994, Hickel argues that the number of people living on less than R14 a day has doubled. He says that they grew from two million, to four million in

2013. In time, two million people have lost their homes where they were forcefully removed because they could not pay their rents. This according to Hickel has made the number of shack dwellers increase by 50%. As a result, more than one quarter of South Africans live in shacks (Klein, 2007). Many of them stay in backyard rooms as tenants (Benson, 2015 & Zweig, 2015). These occurrences bring concerns about livelihoods where cases of xenophobia come out because people seek scapegoats for their dispossession. Ultimately, Hickel (2007) suggests that a popular group of leftist intellectuals in South Africa has argued that xenophobic violence is initially the consequence of economic ‘decay’ where there’s a visible uneven development which results from the structural adjustment and deindustrialization (Bond et al. 2011; Tshitereke 1999; Harris 2002). And if people avoid staying in shacks, both immigrants and citizens alike, they receive bad treatment from landlords (Mohamed, 2010). At the end of the day, these are mostly causes of envy, especially towards immigrants who might take any low-paying jobs. Their ability to rent rooms and buy food brings pressure to their citizen counterparts (Mabin, 2003). And because the government promised jobs for the local citizens, failure to the promises leads to hatred towards the immigrants because even if some of the jobs are available, most local people, especially males could not take them because they are regarded as demeaning (Tissington, 2011). Thus, because the migrants have sort of income, as small as it may be, they have a way of taking better care of bare necessities than their local counterparts.

1.5.3. The Entrance way and the desired arrangement

With regards to bringing trust between the security guards as well as the residents in the Phepha Estate and other residential complexes, gates need to be sorted in a way that tenants as the ones paying would feel satisfied. Without communication between the administration of both parties involved, mistrust and accusation will always arise (Eagle, 2015). Thus, in case of

the case where criminals may use to access the premises, new technology need to be fixed so that more people will be attracted and safety will be guaranteed in a residential area (McGoey, 2001). If the right kind of gates are installed in a place according to its geography, which can be crime trotted so that vandalism can easily be reduced (Chronister, 2004 & Misthe, 1991). This way, barricades in the form of the correct types of gates will be an idea. This will enable the security personnel as well as the tenants to report the suspicions and work together in the place of dwelling because the installed devised gate will guarantee safety in the premises (Kilburn, 1988 & Drew, 2016). These are the kinds of securities the guards at the Phepha Estate wish to have in order to reassure the residents that proper security is guaranteed for the welfare of the tenants. This way, residents will be rest assured and not blame the security guards with every wrong that occurs in the complex.

Chapter 2: The Entrance

2.1. The gate: A focal point of Safeguarding

This chapter examines the role of security workers in creating a protected and wellbeing of the tenants in Phepha Estate gated compound. Although most research on gated communities emphasizes their segregation from the overall society, this investigation focuses on the seclusion of the security guards by the residents of the gated complex. Most employees working as security guards in protected communities are inhabitants of the nearby informal settlements and townships. In that way, they are reminded how violent their places can be, and therefore avoid any similar occurrences inside. This is one of the reasons access control is strengthened in residential complexes though it disrupt the relationships of trust that property owners establish with service workers. Even though the tenants and residents meet briefly on exiting and entering the gate, there is lack of trust. It is not trustworthy to the tenants, especially the

fact that most of these workers are foreign nationals who are thought to have too little and hard to find if they happen to commit a crime. Most of them are known to be without necessary documentations. Strict regulations had to be put in place in order to satisfy the residents and to give them a sense of freedom.

2.2. Securitization: Responsibilities and Access Control

Every time I got to the main gate, even when I am a bit late and have missed the parade, I found the “guys” speaking out loud and greeting most of the people driving in and out of the gate as if they were happy to be at work. This happens at around six o’clock in the morning because others are just coming in and some are leaving after a night shift. This time, residents including the children are going to different places of work and schools. All one could hear would be a squeaking sound of the gate where two security guards would be opening for residents without access cards and school children’s transport drivers who obviously do not stay in the premises. This main gate is made of two boom gates allowing people to enter and exit. On both sides, on these booms, there are CCTV cameras that are located exactly on the access card tapping device so that the CCTV monitor can make a good identification of the person driving in or out.

2.3. The Guard Room

In the guard room there is a CCTV monitor. This is where they charge the radios and the torches for the night shift. The guards do not have their own torches. Hence, they have to leave them charged in the guarding room for them to be ready when they come back for the night shift. At the back of the small guarding room, there is a platform made of planks where four and sometimes five radios are also charged. On two opposite windows of the room, the

guards who just came in for the shift will hang their backpacks while some just put them on the floor. One of them, mostly who just came in that morning, will be going back and forth to the toilet behind the room with a mop, wetting it in the bathroom basin and mopping the room while everybody is outside next to the dog kennels. Here, part of the parade takes place where the security guards will be talking about what has taken place at night, and if there was a problem that needed urgent attention.

After speaking about the previous night shift and the one that is about to begin, and normally after the mopped floor is dry and able to be accessed, the guards would go into the guard room for handovers. Those who were on night duty and ready to be relieved would be queuing to sign on the occurrence log book, talking about how they are going to spend their days after their short sleep. While doing so, they will be taking the handcuffs off of their waists. I noticed that maybe two of them have a belts on their waists on which they hang paper sprays, tomffa, handcuffs and radios. According to the roster on the wall, two of them would be going to the dog kennels to check on the canines. These kennels are not the normal ones where people keep their domestic dogs. These are huge shacks made for a single dog which gives it the ability to move freely inside. They have meshed iron windows for fresh air. The guards who will handle the dogs that day have to wash them as well, clean the kennels, and feed them. And because there are four dogs, each one of them must deal with two dogs. This process takes about ten to fifteen minutes while the site is being handed over to the next shift. This is how the security guards who are next for the shift report to duty.

Immediately after handing over everything they have to, the guards call the control room in central Boksburg to notify them that another shift has started. They say so by telling the officers at the control room their names and company numbers for them to be recorded there as well. Because incidents have already been reported to the control room the previous night by the previous shift, they just read about them and familiarise themselves in case those

at the control room would call in and ask about them. Moreover, the occurrence book comes in handy because it does not only mention that the incident happened. It also gives details of who was involved in the incident, what exactly happened, where it happened in the complex and the reason why and how it happened if known. All this was an assurance to me that the guards were reporting the incidents and therefore, they were doing their jobs. This was not done every day since crime did not occur on daily basis.

Both security officials had a little book they carried along. They called it a pocket book, because it was very small and easy to fit in the pocket. This small book is used to support the occurrence book if one is far from the guarding room. In it they record any occurrence, especially when they are patrolling with the dogs or driving around with the cart. They use the cart to drive around the large grounds, calling those who are in the guard room if anything happens, or if they need each other by the gate. In terms of the pocket book, if there was an incident for which information is needed at court, a guard is allowed to copy information from the occurrence book and take it to court for first-hand information. After the handover process of recording everything, the guards can start their shift. The word “shift” for these security officials means the time of work as well as the group of people working at that time. They said they have three shifts (meaning three groups). If I asked how they work, they replied that while two groups work night and day shifts, another group is off. While six people are on duty at a time: six will work at night and six will be resting on their off day.

2.4. Admittance Mechanism: It can never go wrong

Access control is a system which controls the way of people, vehicle and goods into and out of the premises. Entries and exits are supervised. Because Phepha Estate is so large, visitors are controlled by way of vehicle search, so that guards maintain records of cars coming

in and getting out of the complex. In this way, registration, colour and the make of the car visiting must be recorded. Moreover, security officials who might be walking, patrolling inside the complex must be notified of the visitor so that they know there was no false entry of a car that does not belong there. When searching these cars, security guards have to follow procedures, informing a driver that their car is liable to be searched. They need to tell the drivers that they need to get out of the car for easy examination of the vehicle. And while one security guard is doing the search, another must be there to supervise. If maybe a visitor does not want to be searched according to the right of admission, they must be denied access to the premises.

Newly employed security guards that came to work while I was there were told that they needed to search the cars in a decent way because most of the people are eager to get to where they are visiting to. If not, that could start an altercation that might bring the intervention of their bosses. And when the search is positive, meaning that something wrong was found in the car, a security official has the right to detain the visitor. If negative, then they should let them go in peace by thanking the person for his or her time. The new employees are taught the procedures in searching the vehicles. First of all, the official is supposed to identify the person he is about to search. This way, they must know which of the people going in and out, that's if they are residents or not. They do so by giving them a Phepha security sticker to put next to the disk on the windscreen on first day of moving in. this way, even not all residents have the stickers, it is easier to spot some tenants. The new guards are told to search thoroughly and systematically. This is a search conducted methodically which would make the person being searched not feel like a criminal, but feel that it is just a procedure. This way, a security official has to put himself in the place of the person being searched. Also, by putting oneself in the shoes of the visitor, an official must always be alert for any possible attack, either from the one being searched or their hosts in the complex, who could have a bad deal with a visitor being searched. This is searching within the boundaries of the Criminal Procedures Act.

In access control, while searching the vehicles entering the premises, guards are supposed to look for any suspicious and dangerous objects or weapons the visitor might carry. Moreover, stolen objects or illegal goods including precious metals are goods to be hidden in places like gated residential areas according to previous incidents known to the guards. Thus, if they can be discovered in visitors' vehicles, they must be apprehended in the guarding room and the police must be called to handle the matter which can lead to the perpetrator being arrested. That way, access has to be controlled in order for the residents to feel safe.

Safeguarding especially in access control is not easy in Phepha Estate. Of six guards who work a shift, two will be opening for residents who are leaving for work in the morning. This is a crucial time where no one wants to be late for work. However, if someone stops in front of the boom gate searching for the access card, and for a bit longer, others behind them become agitated and start swearing at the driver in question or cussing at the security guards to see that someone needs help. Furthermore, if this kind of incident happens, the guards have to stand at the gate tapping in and out for anyone including the visitors. The number of cars getting in and out is uncountable because some are children's transport to day care, and to primary and high schools, while others are for residents who just knocked off from night duties, or they can be coming back from anywhere for that matter.

Chapter3. Failure at the Gate

3.1. Car Stress and Bleakness

This chapter detailed the disappointment faced by the security guards at the Phepha Estate. This is because their job was not easily done because of the way the gate was structured at the complex. In that way, security guards believe that if good kits that help in access control

whether for the vehicles or pedestrians were installed at the Phepha Estate gate, they would have enough time to search for suspicious and visitors' cars. Safeguarding the entire complex would happen without having to worry about helping those at the gate since their number was very few per shift. The fact that the complex is too big with the new development of houses at the other side makes the security guards unable to recognise the residents and the visitors. Even at the flat/units side alone, people keep coming in for leasing while others are leaving. Therefore, it will not be a laidback job to try and familiarise people every day. Not only that, the security company keeps on changing some of the "guys" to other sites and bringing in new ones. In this case, if the gate was made differently, it would be a tranquil for them to work because visitors would know where to drive through and adhere easily to the procedures. For the residents, they would be more respectful and compliant to while told they need to use their cards or report them if they were lost in order to get new ones.

During my fieldwork hours I sometimes took the role of opening the boom gate for cars coming in and out. I first jumped to the gate after thinking that Machona, a man in his late forties to early fifties, was working under pressure under the scorching November sun. He was on the exit side tapping continually, which got to the point where he would put a card on the tapping device for the boom never to come down before the traffic getting out was finished. On the entry side was Chitereke, tapping up and down without letting anyone in unless he spoke a little with them first. Machona advised me to do the same as he was, saying if I did not, the residents would complain and their language might make me leave the spot and not continue with my research. I assured him that I will do as he says. Holding his white access card on the tapping device he gave me a sign to hold it as he did not want to remove it. I did so and the traffic that was inside continued flowing out. Before he left to cross the entry lane to the guarding house, he whispered with a giggle, "*tell me what others said when the traffic subsides.*"

As Machona left the gate platform we were standing on, cars were passing but other residents would drive slowly when they get to where I was, asking if I was in training. Some of the car drivers asked if I was new on the job, others just smiling and passing, while others would say “*awuk’faneli lom’sebenzi⁴ or k’wenzenjani⁵*.” It looked like the residents were somehow used to what was happening at the gate in the morning, but seemed to be surprised with my presence. For other questions, I would answer “yes” or “no” depending on the seriousness of the enquiry. Younger car owners driving alone were asking me if I also knocked off at six in the evening, saying I can visit them in their apartments to take a bath after working under the sun. When the traffic lessened on my exit and Chitereke’s entry side, I went to him and ask how that problem could be solved. He told me to go sit with him in the guarding room so he can explain while we having some water to cool ourselves down.

3.2. Gates as Amenity, Nicety and Crime Reducing

As we went in, Machona came out and started opening for entering and exiting cars. Tendai was seated on the black plastic chair with his hands on the table. He was busy changing the four blocks of pictures on the small black monitor by zooming in on each one of them. He turned to me and asked if I had fun. I told him it was amusing, that my problem was the heat where I wish there was an umbrella. They both laughed when Chitereke went out to the bathroom to get water with a grey jug and offered it to me. I thanked him, and while I was drinking, he apologised for not having even a bar fridge for them to keep nice cold water or a glass for that matter. I assured him the water was cold enough as he started explaining the mistakes at the gate:

⁴ Awuk’faneli lom’sebenzi – this job doesn’t suit you

⁵ K’wenzenjani- what happened

“Here, I don’t think the problem will ever be solved. You see this boom gates, the entrance and the exit, there is no visitors lane. All the cars use the same lanes. Will we ever be able to search every car that comes in or out? How will we identify the visitors and know the residents? Not all of them even care about our stickers. It’s only three of us here. Two of our men are “beefed-up⁶” at the other gate. One is going around (walking) because these carts are not for us the Podile securities, but for the Phepha Estate. They are just good people to borrow us sometimes. This complex is too big, especially now that the houses side is also getting bigger. Why we open like that without them using their own access card you might wonder. Tenants and visitors use the same lane. Actually, there was supposed to be an entrance for visitors. This doesn’t normally happen in residential compounds, but here, it would come in handy you know. Seriously, it is impossible to please everyone, but to try and make the tenants happy to be here is our priority, and that’s what we are here for. And because we all have to look happy they think we are simple like that. And so they take advantage and want us to open for them because some do not understand that those who are being opened for are visitors and do not have access card. They would get there, pointing to the tapping socket and just “pull-up” and you wonder why. If you relax a bit, thinking they might be looking for their cards, My God, (he sighed), they will tell you how to do your job. He says this sarcastically smiling, bending his mouth to the right cheek. I really feel unwanted sometimes. I just stay in this job because the tenants didn’t hire me, and for the reason that I have people to feed at home back in Zimbabwe.

While Chitereke was narrating this to me, Tendai interrupted and explained that the way the gate was, was nothing but a total failure. He said not only the car visitation in terms of lanes should be looked at, but the way everything was made at the gate. He mentioned the way he thought the gate should have been. The first thing that gave concern was the equipment

⁶ Beefed-up -positioned

“Where is the intercom system?” He asked. Turning to my side where I was seated on the other chair and looking at Chitereke who was standing against the wall next to the window crossing his legs with his finger in his mouth as if he was biting his nails, (this made me wonder why he was not seated since he was working in the sun). Tendai said *“look at where this guarding house is. Is it not supposed to be in the middle of the gate with windows both sides to allow me to talk to the visitors going or coming in, and someone doing the same on the other side? Why is it on the side of the gate? That’s the reason we are always running out though we were actually supposed to be in so we record the cars coming from a distance because we would face the side of the main road, having a big window, maybe bullet proofed just like in any other complex you can visit.* Tendai lamented further saying if there was an intercom system; tenants would not complain so much, though people always find something to whinge about. He suggested that there should be a remote control gate and somewhere to press for whomsoever somebody is visiting to know that their visitor is coming, and press somewhere to open for them in their house. He lamented further saying that he was not expressing that disappointment because he was lazy, but he looked at how big the compound was which determines the number of visitors whether in cars or just walking. That it was not easy for them to control the whole thing, especially in access control.

Chitereke and Tendai talked about the failure the developers of the complex had as if they were having a conversation to each other and I was excluded. Somehow they asked why the developers of the complex did not copy from other places since they wanted as many people to let. Tendai says that the main purpose of a gate is to attract tenants to rent on a low-crime property. He also says that he does not think it not to deter crime but to provide the perception of security and exclusivity. Moreover, he thought that everyone wants to feel good about where they live and a gated community is like a private place where admittance privileges are required. In terms of crime prevention, it is just an addition to the treat and that is why peopling

there are a working class. They want to put ‘their money where their mouths are, which is where they can afford.

3.3 Catastrophe at the Gate: Pressure not easily avoided

People treat gated complexes as a sign of extravagance and because they pay not little amount to stay there; they need a good security since that is what secured complexes promise. But for those who sign tenancy agreement in Phepha Estate, they mostly recognize the failure to the promise without looking at the cause. All they do is fight the security guards whom they can see as the next available people to project their frustrations. Thus, even though the security guards know what brings conflict towards them and the residents, it is not easy to tell the tenants where the problem might be coming from which leaves the letting Estate as the protagonist. And for the security guards who might have worked in other complexes, they are familiar with what could be changed or improved starting from the gate of the complex.

Gates are often considered as a cheaper alternative to hiring and managing security guards (McGoey, 2001). Companies that promote gates in their marketing stress their liability of protection, which is plausible but not entirely true. Gates according to (McGoey, 2001 & Chronister, 2004) can also be a barrier to any emergency services like the police or fire departments, even for the tenants. Thus, every gated complex should put a system in place that allows quick access in case of crisis. Boom or swinging gates in an unstable community will have problems being operational 24-hours per day due to abuse and vandalism (Misthe, 1991 & Chronister, 2004). But for the gate system to be effective, the right kind of gating and fencing should depend on the nature of the property and the management control in place (McGoey, 2001). According to McGoey (2001), gates and fencing works best on a stable property with non-criminal, mature residents. In support of this statement, he says if one manages a property

that accommodates college students it can be terrible to maintain an effective gate system. Thus, one has to do proper research on which kind should they install. That is why when one thinks of a security gate on their property, they must look at the crime rate in their community and employ a better type of security because a gate would be a waste of time (McGoey, 2001).

To keep a barrier for criminals, fencing and gates have to be designed to restrict access and therefore provide both a physical and psychological barricade for criminals (Drew & McGuigan, 2016). In doing so the properties need signage that can publicise that the premises are private and no trespassing will be tolerated. Gated communities should not claim to be able to prevent all crimes (McGoey, 2001), because gates and fences are only one method used to help a property manager fight crime. More tools are usually needed to do the complete job. This includes the resident's support and the management to make sure the gate system they put in place is one fitted to crime in the area in question. According to McGoey (2001) management of the residential compound needs to educate the residents how to properly use the gate system and how to report abuse and even damage. This can be done by showing residents the importance of their safety by enforcing community rules to prevent criminal types from residing on the inside. The enforcement can include reporting of unauthorized persons using the gates and not wait for the security guards to give them a way forward (Kilburn, 1998). These can be done on both gates of the Phepha Estate where residents can keep alert of the suspicious acts at the gates and around the streets.

While still in a conversation with Chitereke and Tendai, Lovemore came in from going around the complex. It was about 9:30 that morning. What fascinated me was his interest in our discussion. He complained a little about the heat saying that he went to the guards at the other gate but felt like he walked to town. Drinking water directly from the jug, Tendai and Chitereke shouted at him and say he must behave in the presence of a lady. *"How is she going to drink from that jug if you just put your filthy mouth on it?"* Playfully, they pretended like

they were fighting and that is when Tendai jumped outside. Lovemore moved into the topic and said that the residents do not understand many things. I asked what they were; he shook his head and started relating his story.

“They want things go according to their understanding. In terms of access control, ‘securities’ are the ones who have to be in control. Somehow they want us to feel that we are low in status and stop at the gate for us to open while they have their access cards. One guy called me as I was standing outside. As big as the complex is, I recognised that he was the resident. I went because I know sometimes they will say they left their cards at work or wherever. There, his card was on the dash board. I asked what the problem was; he says I must open for him because few hours ago he was opened for even though he had his card. There were two cars behind him, so I ignored them because I wanted them to understand that what he was doing was wrong and that they too can avoid doing it. He started screaming at me and tells me that I was there to serve him. “Having a card or not, you are here to open for me, for us.” He continued telling me that he is the one that makes sure I survive because his rent money comes to me. As much as I wanted to respond to him, I kept quiet and opened for him to avoid many things. With the visitors is worse, one of them told me he didn’t want me to search his car. He said someone at this gate took his money while searching the other day. Though I knew it was not true because no one reported anything like that. Residents will not trust us with anything since we were doing this ‘stupid’ job. In that case, he will not even park his car on the side because we do not see that the place we tell them to park was a higher pavement, and their expensive cars are low. If they hit something underneath, they both (with his team) will work for the rest of their lives to pay for it.

In cases like this, CCTV surveillance systems could work well to support access control at the gate (McGoey, 2001). He argues that a well-placed camera can keep an eye on the gated entry areas 24-hours a day. This will only happen if a camera could be placed in such a manner

to be able to identify the vehicles make and license plates of anyone who approaches. In case of the Phepha Estate gate, on both the entry and exit, the cameras are in places where one taps in or out. This is a great deterrent to vandalism and those who do not want to cooperate with the guards (Drew & McGuigan, 2016). But in case of the Phepha gate, they are placed in the manner that can only be able to capture the face of a person and nothing about the car. That is why some could just pass them and drive a little bit to the front, then request the security officials to open for them. These are residents and visitors included.

According to Chronister (2014), a video system along with the intercom system can be another way to help with access control. If integrated with the gate, the intercom system can allow tenants to view who is at the gate seeking permission to enter. The technicality at the Phepha Estate can be the fact that another set of security guards will be needed in order to monitor the video signals from the west coast and the east coast property due to the advent of digital and broadband technologies (Chronister, 2014). Furthermore, this video technology system can even allow a conversation to carry on with the person desiring access and open the gate remotely for them.

The function of fencing and gates' real purpose is to keep unauthorized people out. But there is no guarantee that they will prevent crime at all costs. According to Knowledge, South Africans just like anywhere live in a fantasy world. Knowledge is a 37 year old man who came from Zimbabwe to South Africa in the year 2004 at the age of 25. He says that it took him only four months to get a job and he has been a security ever since. He mentioned the fact that working as a security makes one see bad things all the time. When I asked him which bad things he saw, he told me only if I had the whole day, he would tell. Even though I insisted I would be there for the entire day, he just said "*one day.*"

Opening for both sides of the gate, Learnmore, the supervisor, called Knowledge and asked him to go to the other gate. I offered to go with him curiously wanting to know about the stories he promised to tell me. While on our way, Knowledge said “*uyabona nina abant’abasebenzayo la eSouth Africa ninjane?*” I smiled inside because I was a student hoping to be one of them though the sound of the statement didn’t give me a positive proceeding of the whole conversation:

“You live in complexes and you think you are safe. You do not trust us and think you can trust each other. Look at Oscar’s Steenkaamp’s murder case. He killed his girlfriend (Reeva Steenkamp) in his house. There, the security is very tight. But he told ‘them’ that he thought there was an intruder. If he can mention the intruder whom he thought came in through the window, don’t you see that somehow he didn’t trust the tight security around his complex? I mean all those gadgets. Maybe he did it on purpose, but to make up a story about a person coming into his house unauthorised supposedly from the gate shows that the security can never be tight enough and people only need to trust in God. In this conversation, Knowledge wanted to assure me that no matter how many security guards can work in a premises, a planned crime always happens. That even though sometimes it can be prevented, sometimes unfortunate occurrences does take place, but residents never think of it that way. Knowledge continued saying that ‘this is why there is flying squad, the dog units; SWAT in the US even just the Police. But South Africans, AHH! Especially you girls: ‘Now I’m working, I’m going to stay in a ‘town house’ and buy myself a cherry car (Mocking the first time working ladies and their small cars).’ That small one, do you know it? While measuring with hand the distance from the ground to the height of his waist. I told him I knew it. Nothing is wrong with that, but people must learn to follow the rules. When you get to the gate you do not want to expose your nails

⁷ Uyabona nina abant’abasebenzayo la eSouth Africa ninjane?- you see how you working class people are in South Africa

to the rain because you just put them on, what do you call it? Laughing, I said manicure. Yes, even your men can't stand them because you cannot even cook with them on. Most of the crimes in these complexes are domestic and some are caused by tenants because if a resident just want to go through without tapping their cards at the gates, wanting us to just let them in, criminals will take advantage and want us to open for them too because it is hard in this big complex to know if one is a resident. Next time, they invite their fellow thugs who also are South Africans. But you always blame 'these' crimes to the foreigners.

Though full of stereotype, Knowledge's lamentations about the behaviour of South Africans brought in Chipkin's argument when he says that the end of legal barriers gave people options to go and stay wherever they wanted (2012). During apartheid, inequality in South Africa restricted black people from staying in places that were known to be for white domination if not for whites only. During the dawn of democracy some of the institutions and processes were unable to bring in the methods that may carry on modernity in their system.

The ANC as a non-racial organisation campaigned on bringing racism and inequality to an end. Also, that the fact that because racism was not explained in terms of the unfamiliar psychology or culture of white individuals or as a group. It is just something that reflected the way that capitalism had developed in a colonial setting and there were many institutions created in order to make it survive (Chipkin, 2012). In so doing, ANC gained platform that involved a National Democratic Revolution that wanted to eliminate the white domination in the colonial-capitalist economy and their apartheid superstructure (Chipkin, 2012). And because there was no more a 'no-go-area' for black people in the country, blacks were free to stay anywhere as long as they can afford (Seeking, 2010). And that according to Chipkin is the rise of socio-economic development where blacks where most of them are middle-class and can be able to sustain their livelihoods.

But when relocate to previously advantaged places they expect new technologies for better services. In terms of Latour (2002), social relations can be hold up together by technology to make life simple. He emphasises the fact that technological materials can replace humans and be able to hold the society together. These are the expectations by residents as well as security personnel. However, people also need to be in good relationships because they are essential to one another at some point. Latour's argument suggests in terms of Phepha Estate's society that even though tenants might be using access cards for entry, if they happen to misplace them, they need humans to print them out and process them to work again. Moreover, the residents need to understand that what the security guards are forcing is a regulation and with mistrust and disrespect to towards them, pure safety will not prevail.

Chapter4. Typecasting: not a cultural phenomenon

4.1. Migrants' point of view

After listening to Knowledge's story, I came to understand that stereotyping does not only necessarily come from the citizens of South Africa. Bolt (2010) highlights the typecasting of Zimbabwean farm workers towards their citizen counterparts. Sefalafala argues that according to Candeias, security guards in Johannesburg experience work and life as a process of 'double precariousness' (2012). However, they cannot be regarded as 'victimized subjects with compromised capacity. In other words, they might be suspected to be doing deals which may somehow bring residents agony. Moreover, Sefalala mentions the fact that their instability does not encourage passivity or even hatred towards the people they are protecting. They need to use the potential they have to promote agency and innovative livelihood strategies which in terms of Phepha Estate means to do their job in an active way. Sefalala (2012) mentions the

fact that most security guards, especially migrants, walk long distances, occupying deserted buildings to save money. According to the responses I got from the security guards at Phepha these are most of the reasons citizen residents do not trust them. They think that because many do not have “real” homes, therefore they can steal because they do not have traceable residential addresses. Even though security guards are instructed to see the black male figure as an essential marker for suspicion, the citizens see the black immigrants as suspects, whether working as their protector or not.

Migration between countries is part of globalisation, but globalisation can also be perceived as being among the main contexts of xenophobia (Hobsbawm 1992; Malkki 1995; Appadurai, 1998). Social boundaries are created among people and lives of other people are taken for granted. After a busy morning at the main gate, in the guarding room I had a conversation with Pemberai. Pemberai did not talk much and most of the time it seemed as if he was paying attention but really did not like our conversation. He wouldn't even laugh when his colleagues cracked a joke. Even though he used to leave the guarding house most of the time when I was there, that day he sat and participated. Speaking softly he told me that he moved from Lala Park informal settlement in Soweto where he used to stay in a shack with his cousin, telling me that his cousin was beaten to death after he was accused of stealing a 32-inch TV from that neighbourhood and selling it quickly to someone who stayed around there. Even though he said “accused,” he later mentioned the fact that he was not really sure if his cousin has stolen the TV, and that he has sold it to someone who stayed in one of the many shacks:

“I just came back from Bara (Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital) to find few people still standing outside our shack. My heart started beating because I thought xenophobic attacks has started. But what made me draw near was the two Zimbabwean guys and one Malawian we worked together as ‘securities’ in one of the warehouses in one of the industrial areas that

side. These guys are the ones who broke the news to me, that my cousin was beaten to death right there before he could run away. But the two guys who killed him were arrested because one of your neighbours alerted the Police. They told me that they tried to call me, but my phone kept going straight to voicemail. My cousin liked drinking, but even though we didn't work together, he was always on time for work every morning because he was a guard at the shop in Bara (opposite the rank). He drank a lot and I suspected he gambled. He would have a lot of money and would try to fix people's cell phones even though I never knew if he was really doing the right job. He had a friend who stayed somewhere in 'ekasi' who liked inviting him to clubs and even though I didn't like the guy, it was not easy to tell him. I had to move out of that shack and it's been eighteen months now. I'm staying with one of my friends in Bozza informal settlement. I like this side of town because it is not as harsh as Soweto. I even stopped working that side because it is impossible for me to travel there due to money issues.

Pemberai's story reiterates the familiar problem that citizens do not trust immigrants. Hainmueller & Hopkins (2014) argue that while socioeconomic problems are mostly known not to be caused by immigration, and even though attempts are made in order to solve these perceptions, most people seem uninterested. So, when I am conducting interviews in Pemberai's presence, he felt the need to keep quiet about it because he sensed that his cousin was discriminated against and that this issue created prejudgment against foreigners which led him and his friends to be forced to look for an alternative place to stay. His friends had told and even showed him other people involved in cheering the incidents. Moreover, they were there but couldn't stop the occurrence, because they could not face the citizens and tell them the man had a right to live (Steele & Aronson, 1995). At the same time, Pemberai is still facing a psychological discomfort because he is uncertain if the same incident could happen to him or to someone he loves.

Machona told a similar story after Pemberai narrated the cruelty that happened to his cousin. Being a little older than the others, he said he usually told the youngsters and the newcomers from anywhere, “*whether Zimbabwe, Malawi or Congo that this South Africa is not your homeland.*” He says he usually advise them never to behave like citizens or pretend like they are. The fact was that “*these*” people do not just hate. But certain behaviours may provoke them. According to Machona, if one hates one is a hater, the person does not have love in their hearts and there is nothing anyone can do about it. But the way he sees things at the Phepha Estate since it started letting, people are different. He said that many people came in and many have left and since he started working there, he never took anything personally simply because a person may have woken on the wrong side of the bed.

Getting to work and thinking about the negativity one is going to face may cause stress (Schmader and Johns, 2003; Beilock et al., 2007). Thus, instead of performing well and being cheerful for the rest of the day, one may be feeling under pressure and therefore underperform in one’s tasks. This way, agreeing with Machona, even though one may see that he has to open the entry boom, he might find himself opening the wrong one even though there is no car. And that can bring an embarrassing moment which will make the person waiting to say something negative, though not all people because others are understanding, where they can sympathise and tell you it can happen to anyone including them. And that’s how the African American used to feel when discriminated against (Shapiro and Neuberg, 2007; Logel et al., 2012). According to Inzlicht & Schmader, (2012), they as security guards are the potential group to be spoken negatively about because it is not easy to please everyone. “*And besides, says Machona “how can someone put blame on somebody who is not there?”*”

Machona carried on by telling us that a woman came and accused the guards for stealing her four car tires that were outside under her carport. He said the lady spoke all sorts of languages after he told her he is not sure that it was one of his team, but will look for them

everywhere. He asked the lady if she had boy children or boy neighbours since they were the ones who liked to push the tires on the street. By asking that question, Machona said the lady got angrier and said he was accusing her of bad parenting which according to him was irrelevant. He said he went inside the complex, going even to the houses side, which was impossible to find even if someone from there took them. People there had garages where they could've hidden them. Machona did not find the tires that day, but called to tell her he was going to keep searching for them. He said the following day, after going around with another guy who was in training. The lady called him and apologised that it was really the children who took them and left them at their friend's house, but brought them back that day. According to Machona, he was surprised that even after he suggested asking her children, the lady ignored and found out later after work. This is when Pemberai, in his quietness spoke again saying *"maybe she did ask them, but did not really want to show you that your suggestion was taken because of pride.* But even though the lady did not take the suggestion, Machona was right at the end of the day.

4.2. Envy: A lead to hating the Innocent

What happened to Machona is one of the episodes that are caused by xenophobia. The general lack of multiculturalism in South Africa causes inequality (Landau, 2010). Intolerance does not occur only between the citizens and the immigrants, but amongst citizens with those who are labelled low in language statuses in the black communities. These are the people who are dark in complexion or those who speak Xitsonga, Tshivenda and Sepedi. This brings instability to South Africa and triggers violence unnecessarily (Hickel, 2012). Thus, the economic decay is visible and the fact that many young South Africans do not have job makes it more unpleasant. From the time that Machona came to South Africa, he has never stayed more than a month without a job.

Machona says the only job that he has ever worked is being a security guard. Moreover, he says there are few citizen security guards and if there are, one can find them in industrial areas, at schools and maybe at shops, rarely at residential complexes. As a result, the young men are playing dice and drinking ekasi and Machona usually asks himself as to where they got the money. But if they ask the foreign nationals where they could be working, and “*we say, security,*” they say they will not work such kinds of jobs because they have matric (Bond et al. 2011; Tshitereke 1999; Harris 2002). “*What is surprising is that being born here, they still live in shacks, maybe with their parents while some of us are renting the backrooms tiled and painted.*” According to Klein (2007), these are the causes of envy because some boys want to befriend the migrants who are working the jobs they think are degrading because they want to share a beer during the outing.

4.3. Residents’ point of view: Living in Encumbrance

Citizens as residents also have their perceptions when it comes to migrants. The house part of the residential complex looked to me as very different from the uniform way the units are in the flat section. The buildings are the same colour, though different in terms of the number of rooms and the simplex and duplex categories. At the house section, every house has a different type of gate. Some are too large for the walls built around them, some are normal height, some too small while other houses still have the wire fence the builders left after completion of the house. The paving also differs by colour according to the owner’s preference, where others just have lawn and flower gardens. Burglar doors are in different colours and decorations. This aroused my curiosity because in the nature of residential domains, one is not allowed to change anything whether renting or owning the property. As a South African citizen, a Phepha estate resident, and a house owner, Themba holds a portfolio as a director of security

department in the complex. His duty is to make sure the whole security system is intact. Here, he looks at the budgets, security improvements needed by residents as well as making sure the security company do what the residents require in securing the place. He has to see to it that perimeter wall and gate systems are undamaged.

Themba and his acquaintances hold regular meetings because they still need many things to be put together as the place is still new. During my interview with him, Themba expressed his disappointment in the security of the Phepha estate which made him question himself if it was Podile Security Company or the letting company that has allowed so many flops. He got involved in the directorship of security because he was a victim of house breaking. He says:

‘Then, everybody thought they were safe from every harm especially because me, myself, I was born and raised in ‘Spruit’ (Katlhong). That was a rough place and as much as I knew ‘rough life’ lived by “aboguzu⁸” because we had many in our neighbourhood, here was a bonus because I thought I was safe to an extent that I can leave my house literally unlocked. Guess what, they ‘greeted’ me in a complex. We use the word greetings when the “tsotsis⁹” does a house breaking to you while you still a new resident in the vicinity. Other people will say the tsotsis are the builders in the same contractors that built the houses. They would say it is mostly done by Basotho and the Mozambican guys because they are the ones in ‘these contractors.’ But my disappointment was ‘how,’ when the security guards are supposed to make sure nothing like that happens. He sighed..waited for few second. They took my flat screen TV, though 32 inch, but I bought it cash. They also took my microwave, laptop, external hard drive with my work. I had new set of pots (you know when your girlfriend asked to buy that brand so she can cook for you when she visits), they took them. I was ‘welcomed’ by two

⁸ Aboguzu -criminals

⁹ Tsotsis- criminals

packets of broken glasses by the kitchen door after work. Not everything was packed yet and that made it easy for them to take the box with my shoes and jewellery boxes with watches as well as some jeans and jackets. I was so hurt, I almost packed and returned home.

Themba expressed his disappointment with the security but says things will get better in time. He says residents do not trust the guards because when someone leaves the house and report to them that they will not be home for few days that is when there will be a burglary. He says many people mention that problem in the house section. They say that for those who do not say anything to guards, asking them to watch their houses, they will come back and find the house intact, with nothing missing. He says that in as much as most security guards use bicycles to travel to work and back home, many residents complain about their children's bicycles being stolen. Not only that, lawn mowers, shovels, kids play scooters and many more things, big things that if stolen by a walking by person passing by, the guards may be able to spot them and interrogate the culprit. Moreover, he really does not think that a visitor driving a car would take those types of items, if he could make an excuse for the guards that they might not be the ones stealing. It would be easy for the residents to catch him because they know each other, and if something suspicious would happen, they could easily report them. But in these cases, they truly believe that the guards are involved because they are trusted by the residents, and they are the ones walking freely during the day and at night. Accordingly, during the day, they might be searching for something they will go get at night, and leaving in the morning with a child's mountain bike, other residents will not suspect anything.

Trying to make me see why people suspected the guards, Themba told me that people there are under unnecessary pressure of building 'stop nonsense'¹⁰. He says that it was not necessary because they were living in an estate where tight security was promised in the

¹⁰ Stop nonsense- walls surrounding the houses

advertising of the properties. And for the different innovations people are doing to their yards is because unlike most house estates, their part was called ‘The House Owners Association’ and that’s why they can change and do anything to their properties. That it was the reason why the place was not as uniformed as the unit or flat side. *“People used to park their cars outside like in the estates you see in the movies. But because residents do not trust the security here anymore, they built garages and high walls. After few years, people will not know who their neighbours are and it will lead to them not trusting each other anymore. This is how untrustworthy the security system here is.”*

Themba says he is able to tell these problems and also lack trust in the security guards is because he even knows how much they are being paid. He thinks the security guards are men just like he is. And because the salary they are getting is never enough to sustain a man who has a family. He mentions the fact that they pay rent somewhere, whether a shack or a room. They also need to feed their families, so even though others may walk long distances to work, they need enough money to take care of other things too. However, they get too little and stealing may help them ‘patch’ other necessities because whatever might be stolen might be sold for extra cash. For them coming to work this kind of jobs does not mean they are happy like our saying *“ak’fan’ nok’hlala¹¹.”* Yes it is true, but most of them are being recruited by others telling them in companies like this one makes money out stealing different things according to what the company deals with. As security guards, they are usually not suspected because they are there to guard criminals, but end up being the criminals due to their needs not being fulfilled. At the same time, even if it’s not the security staff in Phepha involved in theft, but they are suspected in leaking the information that someone in a particular house will be gone for sometimes, therefore, their acquaintances may go in for housebreaking.

¹¹ Ak’fan’ nok’hlala- it’s better than doing nothing

Even though Themba uses the main gate more often because he might come home late when the gate on his side is already closed (it closes at 7pm), he thinks it is not safe because non-residents just go pass the gate without any interrogation on both gates. Worse on the one that closes in the evening where he says that people from the informal settlement not far from the complex pass freely to the flat side. These people might not be visiting anyone, but passing on to exit the main gate while going to the shopping complex or anywhere for that matter. “*I mean, why take a ‘long draai¹², while you can do the ‘double-up¹³.’*” Themba says that he always encourages that people pay the levy. He reassures them to do that in as much as even though they think that security is not worth it, when they pay, the estate and the security company will not help them if they do not put enough staff and anything needed to tighten the security. He mentioned that R160 000 is being paid monthly to the security company, thus they want to see more improvement in the tightening of the security since there will be more houses that are being prepared to be built in the complex. Themba mentioned that they spoke about the school, and shops like small supermarkets to be built in the complex, saying it was a good idea but also a threat to the residents since they do not trust the security. In this development, people think more criminal activities will take place if the security company is not changed. Thus, they think those working are not qualified to be security guards (Dundes & Marx, 2006). He says if they were, they would know the amount of hours and a salary they were supposed to be paid according to the Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PSIRA). Themba says that PSIRA regulates the payments and the normal hours an employee as well as register them. Moreover, it regulates the rates employees are supposed to be paid according to the grades they have acquired from training colleges. And during his contacts with the security guards in the Phepha Estate, Themba got to know that none of them have any qualification or

¹² Long draai- long walk

¹³ Double-up – short easy way

have registered with PSIRA, and sure that many other tenants may know it too which leads to residents mistrust towards them.

Themba also expressed concerns about the shops inside the complex saying that in as much as the house section is for home owners; people have to remember that it is in an Estate complex where they live by the rules. Therefore, it is not allowed to have shops, as big as the containers the shop owners are using. Moreover, some are extending houses by building a 'just' big room. This is a garage-like room the shop owners are building to use it as a shop in somebody's yard. Themba says that residents once said that they change the way their houses look because the property owner allowed such ugly extension of the house. He says that it is in the nature of 'township boys' to '*blom*¹⁴' in shops. Therefore, with these kinds of next to real shops in the complex, boys come to hang around there and this makes parents not to send their children to buy anything since their changes might be taken by these boys or not really given by the shop keepers for the parents to suspects the boys.

Shops are needed in the neighbourhood because not everyone in the complex has a car. But residents think they are one of the reasons crime is reported almost every three months. If one shopkeeper does not report robbery on gunpoint or knife, residents caught a criminal and gave law into their own hands by beating up the culprit. In one criminal occasion, Themba happened to be passing by and stopped the angry residents who were beating up a thief in one of the shops. The criminal beaten was either a resident of the houses part of the complex or the flats. He was from the nearby informal settlement where most of the security guards resided. In this case, shops are to be banned in the complex, but owners are given enough time and choices after the development of the new house section in the complex. They were asked to rent from the shop complex that will be there so that they do not change the beauty of the

¹⁴ Blom – hang around

compound. This will keep the place beautiful where containers and ugly buildings can be demolished. Moreover, they would want them to register their businesses in the rightful way because the community needs them and would want to support them. Another problem is that when paying levies, the property owners pay the equal amount with those who do not have shops. This way, they believe understanding is not shared equally between the residents because the security guards are believed to guard more parts where the shops are, and forget about other parts, especially the flat/unit side where shops are totally not allowed. Thus, when they have their own properties, they will pay their levies and security bills will be upgraded to fit their requirements.

Another disturbing thing about shops is that as small as the yards are, someone will park next door, on another person's yard with loud music and headlight on straight to the house. This is why the shops are regarded as upsetting. Many cars park in all houses around the shop. The drivers will take more time than necessary to leave where they would be hanging around with girls while some are exchanging drugs and smoking marijuana leaning on surrounding walls of innocent people. If police cars approach unexpectedly, they would jump inside the yard while others even open the doors in search for a safe place to hide. Thus, according to Themba, security officials are not there to see what is happening and residents face these on their own.

4.4. Flat/Units: Worst case scenario

Mrs Brook responded to my knocking at her door at noon. It was on a Monday and she gave a long yawn and a 'hello' that sounded together with the yawning. She greeted me as if she has seen me before and I felt a warm welcome. As she offered me a seat, Mrs Brooks sat on the old brown sofa and immediately switched on her TV. She tuned into eNCA and said she

went to sleep right after the children's school transport fetched them. So, she loves the news but was lazy to clean the house so she can sit and watch the bulletin. She assured me not to mind the untidiness of the living room, that she will clean later in the evening... "*after they came back to make another mess.*" She was still in 'dreamland' and she hopes I am not from the rental office who are full of nonsense and act like they never encountered money problems. I introduced myself and after telling her my research question, she asked why I didn't investigate "Phepha" instead.

"If the whole security system is not functioning properly, it's all about the company they are working at." But before she could speak further, I asked her if she was expecting the rental people. "*Yes my child, taking a toothpick from her hair, picking her pyjama pockets as if she was looking for a lighter to put on a cigarette. Knowing well it was just a toothpick, I waited for her in silence to see and hear as she gives me the answer to my question. Not finding whatever she was looking for, she said:*

"You see when you start a business and hire your staff; the new place will be filled with laughter and love. Bliss all over with the hope that things will go well. Here, as new as this place is, everything is 'rotten.' Stove worked for few months, tiles were floating as if the unit was built on the grave, toilet sit turns sideways when you sitting on it and nothing accept what I bought works well in this house. My daughter works in the Western Cape and she missed one payment few months ago. Now, even if she tries to fill the gap she can't, maybe not yet. So the rent is accumulating because on the seventh of every month, they cut our electricity and add up R300 for reconnection after full payment. You will understand that that R300, if not paid for four months is more than R1000. That is the reason I asked the security boys to switch it back for me. I love watching news and my grandchildren like watching the cartoons."

Even though I thought of the DSTV payment after she spoke about eNCA and cartoon, thinking inside, I thought she should use the DSTV payment money to add on to the rent, she interrupted my thoughts and said she has a right to DSTV. *“Imagine my kids telling me I should pay DSTV for movies and all. I told my daughter never to take the DSTV off her debit orders, or else, my blood pressure will be high with boredom and I will die.* Even though Mrs Brook didn't look too old and sick to me, I felt her love for news and how much she wanted her grandchildren to have the life of the Estate:

One thing for sure, she continued, Phepha Estate is just using the people here to make money. Their security is ‘crap’ and no matter how much we as residents complain about our stuff being stolen, they just promise to put more guards but do not stick to their promise. What they know is to threaten to throw people out even when they owe too little. I’m sure they are happy to add the R300 for non-payment of the month to pay their staff some bonuses. They were coming here few months ago to demand money, or else they will throw us out. They would even demand to take our belongings or ask bribes (sometimes R1000) so that they do not change our locks. Because I do not have money, I would give them anything like microwave, fridge but not TV. I am afraid because if they push us out we won’t have anywhere to go with my grandchildren. How do you think people so disrespectful like ‘that’ white girl would even think of fixing the security if she can harass you more than what the criminal can do. She’s disrespectful and never pitches when we holding meetings here. Maybe she thinks we want to speak about her impudence. ‘YOOO!-she’s rude ‘jou¹⁵.’

Mrs Brook carried on speaking about the impoliteness of the lady who goes around telling people to leave when they skip the monthly rent, or by switching off their electricity. She expressed her sadness about what happened to another woman whose clothes and

¹⁵ Jou - You

everything else were taken out of her unit in her absence, saying that she was lucky she didn't owe a very big amount, and her daughter who is a nurse and just started working will pay it off as she promised. Mrs Brook stood up and went to the kitchen to make herself some coffee and offered me a juice. That time she expressed her feelings about Phepha Estate saying it was built for poor black people. That is why some people come in and stay only for one month and leave. Some complain saying that the surrounding feels like *"the loxion one moes"*¹⁶. In that case, the standard of security and the treatment of residents fit the level of the place. She said she found her plasma stolen after visiting Edenvale. Even though she left the kitchen light on, someone forced their way in, but it looked like they didn't struggle a lot even though the door handle was removed. She had stayed for three days away and even though she told the security guards that she will not be in, therefore must check up on her unit, a criminal still came in. Nevertheless, they broke in and she suspected the security guards and rental people cannot do anything about it. Mrs Brook didn't trust the security guards and somehow, out of her old age thought both security and the Estate did not take care of her needs as a tenant.

Speaking to Mr Mkhwanazi who occupied the second section of the flats the day it was opened for letting, he said security is 'bull' at the Phepha Estate. His point of view is almost like everyone else who stays in the complex. However, as a father and holding a title of a pastor in the complex, he says security measures were supposed to be taken from 'right outside the complex':

"If you get out of the main gate to the taxi stop you track on a serious note and in the 'jungle.' Both sides of the road to the gate are very long grasses that gangsters hide to grab our 'baby girls' bags. The Estate developers failed to build this place in a right way. From the road to the gate is approximately one kilometre. If its winter where it gets dark early, people

¹⁶ The loxion one moes- feels like exactly in the old township

are mugged and girls survive rape because even though they walk fast to the gate where the security officials are, those boys catch up with them and ends up taking their bags. As a leader in this unit/flat part, ladies come to me crying that they have lost everything because their bags are taken by “these” nyaope¹⁷ smokers (morning or evening). No matter how much we ask them to put on the street lights, they will not do anything about it. Maybe they want us as a community to do so. Nevertheless, they will respond in a meek way saying they will call Eskom, but the lights will work for maybe two weeks. What we as a community need is more security people to stand from up the street there. Which we know it will be impossible. Or rather, the houses must be built this side, meaning they should extend the gate to be close to the main road where public transport drops people. That would be easier for those walking to get to the complex without being mugged.

The pastor explained that there are university students who have lost their phones, notebooks and tablets because the ‘rough’ boys from nearby places wait for them not far, but right next to their homes (the Estate). Most of the times he would find the guards with torches and dogs going around in the small forest from the gate to the main road saying they are looking for someone’s bag in the dark evening. They would say they are looking for the bag because most women would say they usually find their bags outside the complex even though they wouldn’t find the money or bank cards. Since his existence at the Phepha Estate, Pastor has never heard that the security people have arrested someone who committed crime in the complex.

The lack of satisfaction to the residents shows that there is failure on both the security and the letting company. The main problem is caused by the negligence of the company to adhere to their promises. Moreover, the disrespectful attitude of the administration lady gives

¹⁷ Nyaope – mixture of many things to make drugs

the tenants the worry that the company even cares about them if not their money. Moreover, it gives an idea that not only in the backyard dwelling where tenants are overlooked. And because both speakers gave an idea that there are constantly holding meetings, things are not getting better to the satisfaction of the residents. Moreover, the crime incidents spoken about show the failure of the security put in place where the guards cannot fix on their own. This makes them give up on doing their properly where they are known to sit in carports of any unoccupied unit and have their beer. This was said in an informal conversation with a lady I happen to walk with to the tuck shop. This was on midmonth weekend where I had flu and didn't go to the gate. I was going to get myself some painkillers for the headache I had and we came across the two security guards where one of them was holding an orange device which I asked what is was. I had never seen it before and the man told me it was a clocking device they use in clocking areas around the compound.

The young lady told said the 'guys' are just walking to look for spot to 'chill' because she has noticed that they sometimes sit and drink on duty. That even if they were on a lunch break, people are not supposed to drink alcohol. Thus, according to the tenants, low performance could be the results of drinking on duty (Ansari et al, 2013). And even though they might think that they are not seen, other people do, but just not raise an alarm.

Chapter5. Other security measures

5.1. Real life of the citizens

Getting used to people around the complex I befriended a gentleman named Tshepo who saw me in a Wits t-shirt outside my cousin's unit and came over. Tshepo told me he also studied at Wits and as we were standing trying a gentleman named Maseko pulled his POLO car next to us. And because I told Tshepo I was on research, he told me to interview Maseko

as he was a security supervisor of another company though he was not a resident of Phepha. In Maseko's view, he thought the security system at Phepha is very poor. He mentioned the fact that for a big complex, many guards were supposed to be working on a shift regardless of whether is night or day. Moreover, even though he doesn't reside there, he never had a problem in entering the complex, and one can imagine such an easy entrance in such a big compound.

Maseko said that in the industrial areas, visiting cars have to give mileage (going in and out) and the time to the security guards because the company has to estimate the distances. Therefore it makes it easy for the company see if a driver misused the company vehicle. But here, where the security guards do not have to write or ask for mileages, but a simple search, they can't even ask where one is going because they don't want to interfere. He thinks the security guards at Phepha are too comfortable since most of the things are not done. He too mentioned the problem of the access control in the complex. Maseko stated that even though he might be an immigrant, he has valid papers and a grade B in security which makes him a supervisor. And for the guys at the gate, they are just called by their friends because more people were needed by the employer. Thus, most of them do not have any certificates, and no interviews were done with their employers. In this way, even though they can face trouble with the residents, there's no way they can report it to the employer since both sides know they do not have necessary documentations.

5.2. A wish for Altered security measures

In order to see if Phodile security at Phepha was relaxed in their job I had to ask them if they knew another complex where their company has posted the guards. They told me there was Jericho Walls complex and that it is much bigger than Phepha, but looked so 'nice' to work at. Even though Knowledge has never worked there, he recommended that I should go and see how brilliant the gate was made. Jericho walls residential Complex is situated in the Northern

part of Boksburg. While driving there with my brother, I noticed two lanes on the entrance and without asking, my brother went straight to the one which the small board arrow pointed as the visitors' one. A young woman came out in uniform, exactly like the ones I was used to at Phepha Estate, so we greeted her and asked if she could open for us. She introduced herself saying her name was Tshedza, she was a Venda woman but would talk to us in Zulu. Tshedza asked if we were going to a specific house and if we can give her the unit/flat number. We told her we were there just there to look at the way the place was secured and how the gate system was made for good access control. Tshedza said she was sorry she couldn't open for us, saying that in order for us to go in, we were supposed to give her the unit number where she would give us a code to press using a cell phone for the people in the flat to respond to us verbally. Therefore, if they agree with our visitation, they will give us a code that when we give to the security, the slip would pop-out of a little machine at the gate. This '*is'qcepezana*¹⁸' will be produced to the securities in whichever gate a person is visiting inside. I amazement I exclaimed '*gate?*' She says 'yes' There are other complexes inside, that that was the main one. She continued telling us that the small paper would be regarded as entrance permission to get into the complex, "*I mean the ones inside*". Tshedza told us that it was completely up to the people in the complex to allow visitors in, her role as a security official was to search the vehicle for any endangered equipment for the safety of the tenants. That if the occupants do not want you to go through, they press a certain code from inside and obviously a slip won't come out. Even though I pleaded with her to let us in, just to drive around as if we were observing as people who want to lease there, Tshedza said she was afraid to go against the rule as she would lose her job. She said that she could see that we were harmless, but was told never to trust anyone, but to protect the interests of the tenants and the policy of the company.

¹⁸ Is'qcepezana- small piece of paper

I saw a very big difference in the gate security of Phepha and of Jericho Walls, especially because they were secured by the same security company. Tshedza told us to reverse our car and park at the side of the exit so that we can ask her some questions. We did so, and she came to us even though she was not too comfortable, saying people will think she was delivering drugs since she was not allowed to be too intimate to anyone except her colleagues. In as much as it might look simple to work at Jericho as a security officer, Tshedza says it was sometimes terrible because visitors would call her an immigrant because she works as a security officer. They would shout at her when they get frustrated in case they do not find anyone to open for them. She told us that there were other complexes inside the main one, saying that they too have guards at their gates because they do not want any 'stupid' thing to happen, that would lead to burglary and things like death. Unless otherwise people kill each other as residents since we have no power to guard inside their houses. When I asked her about how frequent the crime was reported in that complex, she said 'never' since she started working there last year April, saying the only emergency she has ever opened the gate for was for an ambulance.

Tshedza said she was happy to be working in a place like Jericho. The reason was that it was predominately for white people who do not commit too much crime but mind their own businesses. For Tshedza the field of law enforcement offers an interesting though challenging future to young women (Tenny, 1953). Even though others are rude to her and her colleagues, she rather works with them because they do not know how to keep grudges; therefore she tries to do the same. She says this because when she started working there, a huge white man wanted to go in as a visitor. So she tried to explain the procedures to him. The man shouted at her telling her it was impossible for him to have anyone since he was coming for the first time and wanted to be that 'someone.' This means he wanted to look at the place like we did. He told her how stupid she was, that she has to go back to school which led her to cry and

thought of even quitting the job. But just like her colleagues, Tshedza couldn't leave the job because she looked for employment for many years in order to raise her younger brother and sister. This is what Tenny (1953) mean by one's personal life turning into a subject to comment with and often criticised. She explained how she wanted to go to college, but couldn't because no one would help her since she was orphaned at the age of seventeen while in matric. Tshedza mentioned how she always worked the 'migrant employment,' like Baba, one of her migrant colleagues like to say. She always tells Baba that she found being a security as easier than being a slave in someone's house where they will want her to wash the mug but not allow her to drink from it. Therefore, she doesn't think it was a migrant's job, but just a job better than feeling sorry for 'yourself.' And for Tshedza, she loved gated complexes than being a Retail Security guard which she thinks many citizens consider a better security job:

'I didn't want to stand for hours at the door tearing and signing slips. Here you sit down, you only get up when someone changes to a visitors' lane. And many of the people know how it works. She says most of the work is done in monitoring the CCTV because anytime an alarm that might go off.'

Although Tshedza wanted to join the police, (because it is free training), she resorted to being a security guard but with high hopes that someone will come along to help her, especially tenants. She said she is also applying in armed responses and as long as they want women, she stands a better chance because she has a Grade D with experience, and planning to have a Grade C very soon. Even though literature suggests that substance abuse, personality disorders, depression, and psychosis as types of mental health problems that might present among the security guards, Tshedza didn't have any of those but could've experience the prevalence one which is childhood trauma experience (Ahmad et al, 2012). Thus, in the present study, childhood trauma experience is hypothesized as a risk factor of mental health problems

among the security guard. Therefore, standing up to the challenges she was facing, she joined security service.

As she was about to go back to the guarding room, Tshedza told us that one day she dreams of having a Beam security company that will supply very big complexes like Jericho. When I asked her what “Beam” security was, she said it was the sensors installed in different corners of the premises to detect trespassers and raise an alarm. That way, the criminal can run away before damaging or killing anyone (if intended), and to alert the neighbours. But most of all, the armed response will be on their way to take control of the situation.

According to Tshedza, Jericho Walls Complex is much bigger than Phepha. The fact that there are security guards in other complexes inside, with different names means it is much bigger. But the access control is better for security guards and much safer for the tenants. Therefore, for the guards at the gates doing their work in monitoring through the CCTV, it is more easier because as a tenant pretending to be a visitor by leaving the access card or forgetting your admission code, one have to speak nicely to the guards and request an admission in case there is no one to grant access for them in the their houses. These are the properties Phepha security guards are hoping for in upgrading their gate into since the tenants; especially the house owners need proper and safety security.

There are two other residential complexes in a walking distance from Phepha Estate. The only difference is that they are smaller with only two bedrooms per unit and better access control. For these two complexes, the entrance at the gate does not require two lanes because of the small number of residents. Thus, it is not too difficult to know the tenants, sometimes with their house numbers as well as their cars. In a general discussion two women started in a taxi which was about the growing number of residential complexes everywhere in South Africa, I came to realise that it was beneficial not only for companies, but for ordinary people

as well. The conversation started when one wondered about how she last saw the new complex while the constructors were putting on windows. That it then had tenants in all the units was a big surprise to her. Her comments about that was the fact that the estate business was too common nowadays where 'these' business people just want to rob people's money because most of them did not have places to stay. But the response from the second lady was that people are looking for places to stay, and that was the reason they occupy the complexes very quickly. Moreover, people get tired of backroom dwelling where the landlord is watching their every move. This conversation brought so much interest to me since I was backroom dweller with my family in different places around Johannesburg. Thus, I had to find people to interview about it and many interesting facts came up which were more like my experiences as a backroom dweller.

Mohamed (2010) suggests that if one occupies any rented place, they must sign the lease or anything that can be binding so that if anything that another party does not agree with, they can go back to the signed contract. This is not always the case with many landlord/ ladies because some of them are likely to be poor and can change their minds anytime they feel like (Mohamed, 2010). He advocates the fact that tenants need to know the rents legislation that was passed by Parliament in 1920. And even though many amendments were done on it over the period of eighty years, it was advisable for it is in response to the needs of a society that is changing. Thus, laws were initiated to protect tenants from ridiculous rent increases and evictions because of the severe housing shortage. Many tenants and landlord who have backyard rooms for rental do not consider formulating a lease agreement for their tenants (Tissington, 2011). Henceforth, none of them know how to deal with the problem should it happen. This suggests that it would be better to stay in residential complexes where one signs contract they can revisit in case a problem arises. For black people, whether young and old to always look for rooms to rent is because of the geographical matters (Mabin, 2003). He

mentions that the urban expansion has costs as well as benefits. Therefore, their distributions solely affect the nature of daily life. People choose to rent in places that are not too far from their places of work. In the actual sense of the word, the work places may be far, but the taxi ranks or train stations maybe closer for transport convenience. At the same time, the people renting might be people from the rural places in South Africa, people from other African countries or from other different places in Johannesburg looking for convenience (Mabin, 2003).

On a similar note as the above, according to Benson (2015), African women's entry to the city, particularly Cape Town was limited by the migrant labour system during the apartheid regime. This is because they were used 'traditionally' as reproducing a reserve of labour for white farms, mines, and towns. Therefore, the state intentionally had to maintain a permanent shortage of family accommodation so as to regulate black people's access to the city. The migrant labour system set the stage for the gendered and housing issues that faced the women in Crossroads (Benson, 2017:370). This caused the women to secretly live in male 'bachelor' hostels if not in their white 'master's' backroom where they were not allowed to stay with their children. In consequence, when black people come to the cities after apartheid, before they buy their own properties after finding jobs, they have little choice but to set up shacks on empty pieces of land. But this is a different choice from the youths who have an opportunity to land a job and build their careers. They resort in renting the backyard rooms instead of shacks.

Although living in places that seem to have more formalised environments, South African studies have shown that backyard dwellers are generally marginalised and vulnerable, surviving in not too good living conditions and often exploited by their landlords (Zweig, 2015). This is because landlords know that whosoever needs a room to rent must be employed. And even though they do not know if he earns a good salary or not, they turn to assume he might not be able to rent his own apartment. Globally the renting of informal forms of

accommodation to tenants has become an effective livelihood strategy employed by the urban poor, answering to the need for affordable housing and has been estimated that in Africa and Asia informal rental provides over half the housing needs (Zweig, 2015 & Benson, 2017). This comes in a form of either a house, flat or room in backyard even in the inside. Sometimes it could be a shack that a tenant can bring and leave it behind when they leave or sell it to the next tenant in the same backyard.

A friend of mine connected me with his friend who stays in a backyard room who articulated his experiences and brought in the complexes before I could even ask him about them. The gentleman invited me with my friend to his place. He stays at a back yard in a cottage with a bedroom, a kitchen and a very small bathroom consisting with a bathtub and a toilet which filled the little room even the bathroom carpet set couldn't be put correctly on the floor. The bathroom was in the middle between the bedroom and the kitchen. As one comes into the entrance of the cottage, they go in facing straight into the bathroom, but turn slightly into the bedroom door that is facing the kitchen door. The bedroom according to the gentleman was his living room and bedroom, 'two in one' as he said it. The gentleman was with a friend of his watching an English Premier match where Arsenal was playing against Manchester United on a Super Sport channel (SS4). He was almost ready to dish his food. Looking around his nicely furnished room, even though he was complaining of not cleaning it for few days, it had a nice flat screen TV on a small glass TV stand. There was a nice little black DVD/ music system that complemented the black flat screen TV. Moreover, there was a double bed nicely covered with a lime bedding set that has the love shaped two small pillows written *Mr* on the one and *Mrs* on the other. I was told to sit on one of the three blue camping chairs next to the small cross legged coffee table where he would put my plate of food with a glass of mango juice. All the observation and the catering happened before the real introduction as he said "*re tla buwa hare*

*ntse reja*¹⁹.” The gentleman introduced himself as Sbu,’ shortcut for Sbusiso and said his friend’s name was Tebza (short for Tebogo) and that they were friends since high school and both were university drop-outs. But he brought up the fact that they would go back to study because working at the bank was not worthy for the good life they want to live. Sbu mentioned that upon hearing that I was going to see him as a university student, he got so excited knowing he will get some motivation to go back to varsity. I asked him his interests of study and he replied ‘*Business.*’ Sbu said that he was tired of making those who do not appreciate his effort rich. That he works so hard to the point that he was noticed, but given close to nothing as a reward. Talking about the back yard dwelling, he pointed to the big house shaking his head. And because he already knew my main question to him before I arrived, he says in a lower voice, “*unga boni ba hlala ku mabazabaza, abant’ baya hlupheka*²⁰.” They live because the tenants are working. But the only problem is that they pretend like everything is well.. “*haha, nothing is*” he exclaimed. He says that black people bought those houses from white people prior 1994 as mentioned by Benson (2015). This was when Blacks started feeling free to move anywhere in South Africa after the release of uTata Madiba, and for “*this guy*” (the landlord), he left his job as a Police Officer saying he will not be ruled by another black person. “*I think he was a spy to the left wing. I mean, who does that?*” And so, sometimes ‘*mkhulu*²¹’ asks to watch the match with him because he hardly pays DSTV.

The only problem that Sbu is facing is that while mkhulu is there (in his cottage), he looks around the room and most times eats with him or share his beer on a nice match, he goes to the house and tells the ‘*jealous*’ wife what he has seen and eaten. Then the wife would ask to meet Sbu the following day to tell him he must put more money to his rent because rates

¹⁹ Re tla buwa hare ntse reja – we will talk while eating

²⁰ Unga bon’ ba hlala ku ma bazabaza, abant’ baya hlupheka - don’t be fooled by the big houses, owners are suffering.

²¹ Mkhulu – an old man (the owner).

always go up and they find it difficult to pay. Accordingly, as part of the household, he needs to contribute so that they do not all suffer the consequences of lights being switched off by the municipality. Sbu says that meetings like those may occur three to four times in a month whereby they may take place when a lady friend is seen going to his room, whether with him or his friends (*like today that you are here, I must get prepared*). He would be told about water, lights, even though he has his own main switch where he buys his own electricity units and takes care of his own geyser. But says his situation was better than Tebza's where he does everything in his room.

This echoes the vulnerability of tenants that Zweig (2015) was talking about. There, Tebza says, *"I sleep, cook, bath in a plastic basin in one room. If someone visits me, I do not bath until I'm alone or with my girlfriend. But the treatment is worst even though the owner doesn't stay there, but somewhere here in the suburb with aboSbu."* Tebza says he stays in a dusty RDP houses (in a small room without even a ceiling). In the two bedrooms small RDP house is a family of four (the couple with their boy and girl children). The lady behaves like a landlord because they were told to collect our rent money every month end. She would complain that she is treated as slave since she was put in charge of the place. She sweeps the yard and tells them that they must marry so that their wives will help to her to tidy up the yard and takes care of the dustbin which can be messed up by the dogs sometimes.

Tebza says that they have three outside rooms which two is occupied by a lady who works at Pick n Pay, and the other two by him and another guy. The lady occupying the one room may pay the lady in the house to clean on her turn, which changes weekly, and because of the excitement of getting to occupy the whole house, the lady of the house promised to look after everything, that men cannot be cleaning the yard before they go to work. But what surprise them is that she would want them to bring their girlfriends to help clean the yard. And when they are there, she would visit them and tells them that they are bringing other women. Not

only that, she would ask for food, spices, body lotions, to put her meat in their fridges and many things that they do not agree with. But when their girlfriends say she must wait until the guys come back, she would start hating them and talking bad to people around the township. Consequently, Tebza admired the place where Sbu was staying, but since problems also occur there as well, he thinks they must move to one of the residential complexes nearby where no one except the owners (from far in their offices) would email them and need their rent. He says that house landlords and other backyard dwellers are a pain because they do not have enough money to take care of their businesses, thus they become 'parasites' to suck out money and free food from others. He also said the fact that even though they do not earn enough, they believe that sharing a flat will be different from living in the backyard environment where the landlord would be angry when they see them with groceries and their future wives. They also said it was not only the case with them as men, but women were the worst cases where they would be told to sweep the yard, mop the stoops and put on the red or black polish and even make sure they put seven toilet rolls in the lavatory each week that they are cleaning. This might happen every morning before they go to work regardless of the time they have to leave. If one fails to do so, they need to pack their things without warning and suffer the problem of getting a place to stay.

The above problems are mostly met with the young tenants wanting to put their lives together after getting new hobs. Thus, Tissington (2011) states that the Rental Housing Act in its introduction says that rights of landlords and tenants need to be balanced there is a creation of mechanism that will protect both of them in the leasing. This is because unfair practices and exploitation may take place against either one of them. Moreover, the Act further states that mechanisms through which conflicts between tenants and landlords can be resolved speedily where both do not have to pay too much also need to be put in place. In that case, the provincial

Rental Housing Tribunals need to provide these mechanisms that are in the Act so that rental purposes can be done in a manner that favours both the tenant and landlord (Tissington, 2011).

Sbu mentioned the fact that 'poor' citizens may say that residential complexes are a dwelling place for criminality especially foreign drug dealers. This is because most of the cases recorded happened from there. But it is not entirely true even though it can be difficult for someone from outside the country to sweep someone else's yard and cater them with their food. This will give them the feeling of begging for a place to stay even though they are paying. The main point of staying in gated complexes is because most people, especially citizens are tired of being bullied by the landlords (Zweig, 2015). Therefore, because everyone works for a better life, and not in a state to afford their own houses, they resort to residential complexes for a peace of mind. And in their job situations, Sbu and Tebza think that sharing a unit and adding up rent money will make them get that peace of mind where they will have their braais and drink without sharing with the landlords whose wives just want to dig money from their pockets.

In our ordinary conversation where my friend Thulani intervened is when Sbu started talking about going to share a unit with Tebza. He said even though he stayed at home with his mother and two sisters, he thinks that renting a flat might come in handy for him as well. He mentioned the fact that in his *'kasi, there are many criminal activities where they can 'sweep you with anything you have' in the house while you sleeping. They sometimes take you out of bed and put you on the floor and steal your bed and blankets and realize it the following day when you wake up.'* Thulani says most people suspect the construction people that are building *'these'* never ending complexes. But for him, he thinks moving to the complex would be a good idea since he will be far from his mother and younger sisters that bring boyfriends and sometimes loud friends that want him to notice them. However, he thinks security in gated complexes is the best only to mind one's private life.

According to Thulani, gated complexes are good choices for foreign migrants from other countries as well as those from rural areas who are here for jobs, businesses or studies. It is not easy for non-nationals to stay in places like backyard rooms. This is because even if a person might have enough money to rent the whole house, it is much easier to get a unit in a complex than to occupy a house. Besides, people want to avoid Tebza and Sbu's problems that they encounter with their landlords who want a backyard dweller to stay without furnisher because he might buy a bigger TV than his, and therefore undermine him. That is how they are known to feel because the person who does not have a house in 'Jozi' does not have enough money to survive according to them. Hence, if a tenant is a foreigner, they are regarded as criminals and not hard workers even though the situation is the same. Therefore, if there is any criminal act, the foreign national dwellers are the first to be suspected even though they have what they have by virtue of also working hard. In this case, if they have valid passports and legal documents, they deem to sign short term leases and stay in secured complexes where xenophobic outbreaks could be far from them. Even though residential compounds are also found in townships nowadays, they are regarded as safe for every tenant regardless of their nationality. Thus, the misconception that the gated complexes are the dwellings for rich people is mistaken. In the cases of Tebza and Sbu, they are young and in the working class, but could not afford to rent each unit for themselves but had to join forces and stay together. According to both of them, it would be easier to pay what is on the paper or email than made up stories about rates and yard cleaning (Tissington, 2003). Therefore, the continual building of the complexes was a good thing since it gives foreign nationals employment in the security field. And for Thulani, Sbu and Tebza, they have trust in the security companies that for deploying workers to the complex site, tenants are in safe places of dwelling. This was contrary to the occupants in Phepha Estate who feel unsafe and most of them disregard the security officials for not doing a proper job.

5.3. A note Before Conclusion

Despite the young democracy, South Africa is well known to be a xenophobic country and since the study I conducted was about the migrant security workers guarding the South African citizens, I had strong hopes that something like that does not emerge, and fate ruled in my favour. Even though most my South African participants did not mentioned anything about the xenophobic attacks, some migrant workers brought it out but I could not follow it through since it was not an actual happening in the site during the time of my research. This gave the idea that not everybody is xenophobic. And that in the actual sense, people might feel hatred toward the immigrant but might be afraid to attack or not want to fight unless a heartless person starts the outbreak. Moreover, the study was conducted in the midst of a black population, they were the working class and do not dwell in the poverty stricken townships nor informal settlement. Therefore, the bitterness in most of the South African youths is mostly caused by lack of employment and lack of resources in other parts of the nation. And because Phepha Estate was occupied by blacks and the working class, it didn't show any resentment in the form of xenophobia and even though South Africa still has inequality and hierarchies when it comes to places to live, not all South Africans are hateful towards other African.

Chapter6. Conclusion

6.1. A clear conscious laughs at false accusations.

Based on the discussion thus far it is argued that the South African population in general is widely preoccupied with vulnerability to crime and violence. They choose to stay in gated communities in order to avoid regularly interaction with crime because a high proportion of citizens always manage not unrealistic sense of threat on a daily basis. This in turn contributes less enjoyment of daily living as well as the diminishing and trimming of social bonds. Thus, in order for people to live a secured and good life, they resort into moving into the complex

residences that are found in almost every corner of townships and suburbs recently. But what this study shows is the fact that not every compound is the same. Different preferences are visible when it comes to the place of location of the complex. In terms of the Phepha Estate, it is mostly preferred by the black population simply because it is affordable and has units with two and three bedrooms fit for the entire family. There are no 'bachelor' units which are known to accommodate only one person or just a couple. And the fact that houses were built opposite the flats/units sections also shows that Phepha is interested in serving the black low income families with inexpensive properties. During the research, I came to find out that not everybody who works and stays in Phepha appreciate it as an affordable place to stay. This is because the advertising of the place was the same as the expensive places since the advertisers did not mention the poor service that is protested about.

This study has found that the tenants of the Phepha Estate complained about the way the security company along with the Phepha did not care much about their safety. People needed more security officials on duty because they thought that was the reason the huge place was not safe to live in since crime was constantly reported. But for the security guards, complains were detailed as that the company or the developers failure in designing the place especially when it comes to the gate. They said that the gate was not fit to carry out a good access control which made the tenants put the blame on them. Thus, as big as the complex is, two lanes for residents and visitors were supposed to have been made before the leasing. This way, tenants would be able to work hand in hand in securing the premises because visitors cars would be easily identified and be searched going in and out.

The responses given by migrant workers in terms of mistrust gave a little consideration to the tenants who felt like they were not paying for what they bargained for when they signed the leases. They sounded more stereotypical towards the residents and that was because they as security guards were treated in a malicious manner. Immigrants say that black South

Africans run to the complexes to prove that they have money where they could buy very small cars. Therefore, whilst they are there, in a working class, they disregard other people especially foreigners by thinking they are much better. However, there was another notion that came forth where even security officials admitted that they can never make a place 100% safe. A story about the still existing murder case of Reeva Steenkamp by her paralympian boyfriend Oscar Pistorius was proof enough that they will not secure the gated complexes to the fullest. This is because even though it was false that Pistorius suspected an intruder, people had to believe it since the world itself is not safe. Even though complaints came from both sides, some residents of Phepha just like the security guards blamed the Phepha administration. They mentioned the facts that even though good intentions were made during the leasing of their units/flats, and failure to comply by the tenants makes them ill-treat the residents. They force them out and change the locks, which sometimes happen in the absence of the tenants. Therefore, some residents believe that it only happen at Phepha since it is particularly for the black people. Accordingly, the administration does not care if the belongings can be stolen from where they throw them. Moreover, because they are not taken out by the security, but by their own 'boys,' Podile security officials will not be obligated to watch over them until the owner comes back. In so doing, this shows that the Phepha administration are negligent towards their tenants which does not make them happy to be there but are forced to stay because unlike in the backyard, they only have an encounter with the administration during month end.

In terms of tight security to the complex, the investigation showed that Phepha has too little and very poor safekeeping. After visiting another complex where Podile Security Company deployed their staff, I thought Phepha was a risky place to live in. The way the gate system was in this complex serves an important role towards serving the tenants. As much as it is also situated near the shopping complex with security of its own, there's a strong guard of security and other walls of safety inside where there are smaller complexes. The gate has two

lanes as suggested by security guards at Phepha and a brilliant technological access control at the gate. One has to use their cell phones and other devices to communicate with the tenants inside. This will allow them to give access to the visitors on their own. If a tenant is inside but does not want the visitor to go through, they will press a certain number from their intercom system and the securities will alert the visitor about the decision (or the gate won't open). This way, I think Phepha Estate need to copy from older and much healthier securities found around Johannesburg. As much as it is still very new, it has some form of neglect when it comes to security and that is why tenants and security guards always blame one another.

This investigation shows that for South Africans citizens to run to gated complexes is not for show-off. This is because most of them, just like immigrants look for a better place to stay. When somebody, whether young or old get a job anywhere in South Africa they are always willing to relocate. This way, it is not easy to get a place to stay. Most people resort in staying in backyard rooms where they are always very close to their landlords. When time goes on, every move that the tenant makes, the landlord will always be watching, and complains will always be directed to them even though rules have already been said on the room occupation day.

Buying food and other essentials brings forth jealousy towards the tenant. And because everybody has their needs, they will be buying food or furniture more than the landlord who might be surviving only from the rent money. Thus, for them to settle better they think it is wiser to rent in residential complexes where their belongings will be secured and people mind their own businesses. Consequently, most of them around Rhula Park choose to stay in Phepha Estate so that they can apply for property in the house section when the development finishes. Thus, when they get to the complex, they find that the security system is poorly established, they feel frustrated that their cars and other valuable belongings are not as safe as they thought they will be. Therefore, since the nature of an Estate is to have a proper security, they throw

tantrums to the security personnel since they can't speak to the walls or electric fences. All in all, it is neither the security guards nor the tenants at fault that bring about mistrust, but the poorly developed complex. Furthermore, despite the complaints by the tenants, the Phepha administration does not increase the number of security guards to secure the place or change the gating system for the security of the people. This might remove the accusation that they neglected the place simply because it is mostly occupied by Black people.

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