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The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear

Across America, middle-class and upper-middle-class gated communities are creating new forms of exclusion and residential segregation, exacerbating social cleavages that already exist (Blakely and Snyder 1997; Higley 1995; Lang and Danielson 1997; Marcuse 1997). While historically secured and gated communities were built in the United States to protect estates and to contain the leisure world of retirees, these urban and suburban developments now target a much broader market, including families with children (Guterson 1992; Lofland 1998). This retreat to secured enclaves with walls, gates, and guards materially and symbolically contradicts American ethos and values, threatens public access to open space, and creates yet another barrier to social interaction, building of social networks, as well as increased tolerance of diverse cultural/racial/social groups (Davis 1992; DeVise 1996; Etzoni 1995; Judd 1995; McKenzie 1994).

In this paper, I explore how the discourse of fear of violence and crime and the search for a secure community by those who live in gated communities in the United States legitimates and rationalizes class-based exclusion strategies and residential segregation. I examine whether residents of cities experiencing increasing cultural diversity are fleeing neighborhoods because they have experienced a "loss of place" and therefore feel unsafe and insecure (Altman and Low 1992). Some people are responding to this loss by choosing to buy into a defensive space, a walled and guarded community that they can call home. [*gated communities, United States, urban fear*]

Contemporary anthropological studies of the city focus predominantly on the center, producing ethnographies of culturally significant places such as markets, housing projects, gardens, plazas, convention centers, waterfront developments, and homeless shelters that articulate macro- and micro- urban processes (Low 1999). These studies illuminate both the material and metaphorical power of spatial analysis for theorizing the city. One problem, however, is the perpetuation of an uneasy relationship between suburban and urban studies. The historical division between "rural" and "urban" exacerbates this tendency by sorting researchers into separate disciplinary and methodological camps.

The shift to a spatial analysis of the city requires reconsidering this separation in that contradictions and conflicts at the center are often drawn more vividly at the edge.¹ So we find that the suburban "malling of America" is a spatial counterpart of economic restructuring and the de-industrialization of central cities (Zukin 1991); and the cultural diversity and racial tensions of the center are reflected in the segregation and social homogeneity of the suburbs (Massey and Denton 1988). The gated residential development is particularly intriguing, mirroring changes in social values that accompany rapid globalization. Understanding this spatial form, its historical and cultural context, and

why residents choose to live there provides an important perspective on the central city that is often overlooked.

For a majority of Americans the distance from suburb to city, or from work to home, is maintained through a complex social discourse. Anti-urban sentiment is often expressed as fear of violence and crime that is said to pervade the city. Within gated communities, though, the intensity of the discourse of urban fear suggests other underlying societal explanations. In this study, I explore the complex interconnections between this discourse, loss of a sense of place, and increasing class separation. I suggest that adding walls, gates, and guards produces a landscape that encodes class relations and residential (race/class/ethnic/gender) segregation more permanently in the built environment (Low 1997). Understanding how this landscape is legitimated by a discourse of fear of crime and violence helps to uncover how this design form is materially and rhetorically created.

I use thematic content analysis to document the existence of urban fear in its many forms and its influence on residents' residential narratives. Critical discourse analysis provides a complementary methodology for decoding talk about urban fear as an acceptable, socially constructed discourse about class exclusion and racial/ethnic/cultural bias. The use of urban fear discourse reinforces residents' claims

Gated Communities And The Discourse Of Urban Fear Center

Tao Wei



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