"They say Butch go catch him": A study of imagined intergroup contact as constructed by informal settlers as abject partners in contact.

Nqobile Muthwa

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Science in Research Psychology in the School of Applied Human Sciences, University of KwaZulu- Natal Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my original work. All citations, data and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged as being cited from other authors. The work is being submitted for the degree of Master of Social Science (Research Psychology) in the College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu- Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. The research reported in this dissertation has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

Student Name	Nqobile Muthwa
Date	14/01/15
Supervisor	Professor Kevin Durrheim
Date	14/01/15

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my appreciation to my family and friends for their love, patience and support throughout the research process. I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Kevin Durrheim for the constant guidance, time and support given in writing up this dissertation. I would also like to extend my sincerest appreciation to the participants who opened up their homes to me and allowed me to gain access into their worlds.

Abstract

The imagined contact hypothesis has provided strong empirical evidence that positive mental simulations of intergroup encounters result in the same mediation benefits of direct intergroup contact (e.g. Turner, Crisp & Lambert, 2007). However, research on imagined intergroup contact has remained laboratory based with researchers providing predetermined imaginings of intergroup encounters. This methodology has resulted in literature that is devoid of participant's own constructions of imagined intergroup encounters. The main focus of the study was to explore how imagined intergroup contact is constructed by groups in real life contexts where issues such as racism and segregation are lived experiences. This study focused on the informal settlement of Nhlalakahle, which was constructed on open land in Northdale. The plight for basic resources has resulted in a racialized conflict between the residents of Nhlalakahle and suburban Northdale. The study drew on working models of contact as an analytical framework for understanding how imagined intergroup contact is constructed by groups in situations of inequality where they suffer the effects of being in the lower rungs of societal hierarchy. The study reported that intergroup contact was largely constructed as a threatening experience for ingroup members. Working models of contact with racist outgroup members were frequently used to advance discourses of victimisation and abuse where probable intergroup encounters would result in the abuse of ingroup members. Such working models of imagined contact allowed the informal residents to evade the prospect of intergroup encounters with Northdale residents. These working models of contact also justified ingroup members to informally segregate themselves as intergroup contact with Northdale residents would prove to be detrimental for Nhlalakahle residents.

Table of Contents

Appendices

Introduction

Intergroup contact theory has remained one of psychology's most influential interventions in the reduction of prejudice among groups. The theory is founded on the premise that when contact occurs under optimal conditions, it is effective in minimizing prejudice between conflicting groups and improves group relations (Allport, 1979). Although the theoretical components of the contact hypothesis are commendable, in principle, the problematic nature of intergroup relations results in conflicting groups rarely being afforded the opportunity to engage in meaningful contact (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). Developments in contact research have led researchers to theorise that direct intergroup contact may not be a requisite for prejudice reduction. Simply imagining contact with outgroup members can lead to positive consequences for intergroup relations (Turner, Crisp & Lambert, 2007). Although imagined intergroup contact theory emerged as an intervention mechanism aimed at salvaging contact in contexts of conflict and segregation, research in this field has largely remained laboratory based with researchers seeking utopian conditions that are likely to result in prejudice reduction (West, 2010). This utopianism has formed the foundation of a vast literature on imagined intergroup contact and resulted in researchers rarely considering the unforgiving realities of social life in which these imagined social interactions occur. Such studies have also focused on the researcher's conceptualisation of intergroup contact and as a result imagined contact literature has remained devoid of participants own constructions of imagining contact.

This thesis aims to understand the strategic nature of imagined contact in real world situations and the functions that are served by imagined contact. The context of the study was an informal settlement called Nhlalakahle which was constructed on open land in the suburbs of Northdale. A focus on Nhlalakahle-emanated after media reports of conflict between formal and informal residents. The context was suitable for understanding imagined intergroup contact as it was such conflict that the imagined intergroup contact hypothesis was developed to improve. The context was also one that failed to adhere to the utopian conditions of contact that have been sought after by researchers in the field. The study makes extensive use of

working models of contact in order to understand imagined contact not from categories determined by the researcher, but from the participants own constructions of imagined contact. Working models of imagined contact allowed for an understanding of the collective construction of imagined contact through which relations with outgroups were evaluated and maintained. Working models also gave the researcher insight into the rhetorical and ideological functions that were served by accounts of imagined contact with outgroups.

Chapter 1: Working Models of Imagined Contact

1.1. Intergroup contact

Intergroup contact theory has consistently remained psychology's panacea for producing social change in divided societies where under optimal conditions, interpersonal contact is effective in minimizing prejudice and anxiety between groups involved in conflict (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Intergroup contact theory is founded on the basis that contact between intergroup members improves relations (Allport, 1979). This contact is believed to reduce antipathies between groups. Also, the benefits of contact are maximized when this contact occurs under optimal conditions (Allport, 1979; Pettigrew, 1998). The exposure of the majority group to newly acquired information about the minority group leads to negative stereotyping by the prior being disconfirmed for more constructive views of the later (Allport, 1979).

A set of conditions were proposed by the theory as essential for favourable intergroup contact: Firstly, equal group status; common goals between groups; intergroup cooperation and lastly, the contact should present opportunities for equal status for both the parties involved in contact (Pettigrew, 1998). Contact theory suggests that prejudice is a cognitive error and situations of intergroup contact help to provide accurate accounts about the nature of outgroups. The process allows individuals to rectify previously learnt information about groups for more constructive views of outgroup members. Initially only perceptions of the individuals involved in contact may change, however, stereotype change may generalize to the rest of the group as a whole (Allport, 1979). The contact hypothesis has been shown to be widely applicable in a range of social relations and settings with its main assertion being that intergroup contact decreases intergroup prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Several mediational processes between conflicting groups have been identified as facilitated by intergroup contact. For example, early theorists (e.g. Allport, 1979) advocated that contact promoted knowledge about outgroups and as a result, this newly acquired information reduced prejudice. Developments in contact research have portrayed that contact has other mediating effects such as decreasing perceived threat among groups, and therefore, reducing anxieties

among groups (Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns & Voci, 2004). Researchers such as Batson and Ahmad (2009) have also demonstrated that coming into contact with outgroups has the ability to humanize out-group members, and as a result, enables individuals to empathize with outgroups. This is believed to reduce prejudice and promote solidarity among groups.

1.2. Lack of contact in intergroup relations

In spite of the strong correlation between intergroup contact and improved intergroup relations, the theory has its limitations. The benefits of intergroup contact can only be achieved if groups are afforded opportunities to meaningfully engage in contact. However, contexts characterised by conflict and segregation prove to be problematic for direct intergroup contact as there are often limited opportunities for different groups to engage in interpersonal contact (Husnu & Crisp, 2010).

1.2.1. Anxiety in intergroup interactions

Halperin, Crisp, Husnu, Trzesniewski, Dweck and Gross (2012) state that potential intergroup contact between groups with a history of conflict often lead to avoidance of intergroup relations. The anticipation of discrimination or victimisation from outgroup members during intergroup interactions results in anxiety around potential encounters with outgroups. Such fears consequently result in group members rejecting the notion of intergroup contact. Finchilescu (2005) refers to these perceptions as meta-stereotypes; where ingroup members believe that stereotypes held about their group by outgroup members hold a range of consequences for ingroup members. These result in heightened intergroup anxiety during probable intergroup encounters. Individual group members are convinced of being tainted with negative group attributions without being granted the opportunity to dismiss such group stereotypes. Durrheim and Dixon (2010) state that studies on patterns of racial contact in public spaces have shown that people of different races fail to integrate with each other. It is more likely that individuals will tend to cluster together with their own race groups. Lackey (2012) studied barriers that prevent interpersonal contact between black and white people. The study

concluded that both groups anticipate stigmatization by outgroup members due to the common stereotypes held about their groups. For instance, white people may avoid group interactions for fear of belonging to a group that may be perceived as racist. In contrast, black people may become concerned about contact making them prone to victimization from other groups. Finchilescu (2005) states that the rejection of intergroup contact in spaces that are meant to provide equal status interaction between groups depicts how the conditions emphasized as essential by the contact theory fail to promote meaningful contact between groups in contexts characterised by segregation.

The experience of anxiety over the prospect of interacting with outgroup members signifies that potential intergroup contact is threatening for ingroup members, and encourages negative constructions of outgroup members. This minimises the potential of future contact. Intergroup anxiety implicitly increases concerns about rejection on the grounds of the individual's group membership, and consequently such anxiety often results in the avoidance of contact for fear of rejection (West, Pearson & Stern, 2014). Lackey (2012) states that avoidance of intergroup interactions may become a coping mechanism between group members as it involves preventing the anticipation of prejudice during intergroup encounters, which subsequently results in the reduction of anxiety. West et al. (2014) show that the anxieties experienced by groups during probable encounters with outgroup members undermines the prospective benefits of direct intergroup contact. Ramiah, Schmid, Hewstone and Floe (2014) assert that our diverse social contexts provide many opportunities for direct intergroup contact with ethnically diverse individuals. However, such intergroup interactions are not always plausible as individuals often tend to associate with other ingroup members, and contact becomes limited to ingroup members.

1.2.2 The exclusion of outgroups in intergroup encounters

Despite Intergroup contact theory developing as one of psychology's most influential theories in promoting social change in previously divided societies (Hewstone & Swart, 2011), in reality

intricate patterns of avoidance are still inherent during encounters with outgroup members (Darden & Kamel, 2000). Dixon and Durrheim (2003) illustrate that in spite of the utopia of intergroup interactions between different racial groups, the process of desegregation has failed to result in the widespread integration of different groups. Segregation has continued to flourish not only in the form of societal norms, but also in the lived experiences of negative racial encounters that reinforce racial boundaries.

Finchilescu (2005) states that even though South Africa is a democratic country with no laws stipulating that races need to be segregated, the same acts of racial segregation that were inherent during apartheid years are still evident in the present. Individuals are informally segregating themselves around race and segregation remains an adaptable process that maintains the functioning of everyday social life. Such informal segregation is also evident in situations that confer equal group status for group members; however, interracial contact is constantly being rejected by groups. This is evident, for example, in a study conducted by Dixon and Durrheim (2003) which looks at the changing patterns of contact in South African beaches after the desegregation of leisure spaces in the country. The study focused on intergroup encounters on Durban's formerly white beaches and discovered that white people were more likely to arrive early and often leave when black people arrived on the beach. If contact was unavoidable, and the two races occupied the beaches at the same time, they characteristically preferred to be in separate spaces. Black people constructed this segregation as a result of racism on the part of white people, as well as white flight. White people accounted for this segregation as ensuing from the invasion of black people on the beachfront which resulted in a displacement of white people. The study signified how groups evade the possibility of intergroup contact and racial encounter even in supposedly multiracial public spaces. Dixon, Tredoux, Durrheim, Finchilescu and Clack (2008) show how such patterns of segregation are also evident in other countries such as the USA where, despite the lack of formal laws stating that groups need to segregate on racial lines, informal racial segregation remains fairly high.

Dixon and Durrheim (2003) refer back to the topic of invasion-succession sequences, which was originally used to refer to the situation as 'white flight' during situations of residential integration post desegregation in America. The process was characterized by two ensuing actions: Firstly, the infiltration of other races into the formal neighbourhood increased the odds that white people would relocate from the neighbourhood. Secondly, an increase in the number of black residents decreased white people's interest in residing in the neighbourhood. The re-emergence of intergroup boundaries and outgroup avoidance resulted in divided landscapes that do not develop from official policy and planning, but are perpetuated by ingroup preferences. Taylor and Moghaddam (1994) state that often even in contexts where groups appear to be well integrated, intergroup contact often appears to be rather imagined than actual.

1.3. Extended contact

The concept of reducing outgroup prejudice without employing direct forms of intergroup contact has been acknowledged from the end of the twentieth century with the introduction of the extended contact hypothesis. According to the theory, the mere knowledge that an ingroup member has positive relations with outgroup members is believed to result in more positive projections of outgroup members, thus resulting in more positive expectations for contact (Dovidio, Eller & Hewstone, 2011). Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe and Ropp (1997) state that the knowledge that ingroup members have positive intergroup relations with outgroup members has the ability to positively influence ingroup members perceptions of the outgroup. Harwood (2010) demonstrates that the mediational effects of extended contact are believed to impact on the perceived norms held about intergroup relations with outgroup members as they come to be evaluated more positively by ingroup members. The knowledge and observations of intergroup friendships allows one to survey relations with outgroup members without experiencing the high levels of anxiety inherent in most intergroup encounters. This extended contact effect occurs without requiring the observer of such intergroup relations to have any personal direct contact with outgroup members. Pettigrew (1998) states that extended contact allows ingroup members to view themselves as integrated with outgroup

members and fosters recategorization where intergroup similarities are accentuated and intergroup boundaries are diminished.

Crisp, Stathi, Turner and Husnu (2009) argue that the extended contact hypothesis has undoubted benefits in decreasing outgroup prejudice; however, it fails to fully address issues of limited contact between groups. While an individual does not need to initiate direct forms of contact with outgroup members, the extended contact hypothesis still requires social capital with at least one member that has direct contact with outgroup members. In situations where segregation is high it may become implausible to be acquainted with group members that have contact with outgroup members. In such situations of deep segregation, it becomes hard for group members to reap the benefits of extended intergroup contact.

1.4. Imagined Contact

While extended contact requires a positive interaction with at least one outgroup member to encourage positive perceptions of outgroup members, Turner et al. (2007) took this concept even further with the proposition of imagined contact. This is an indirect form of intergroup contact directly involving mental simulations of the self with outgroup members. A growing body of contact research has shown that simply imagining contact may impact behaviour as well as intergroup relations. This has been demonstrated by Garcia, Weaver, Moskowitz, and Darley (2002) who conducted an experiment on the effects of imagined social contexts on bystander apathy effects. The results of the study concluded that simply imagining contact may in actuality produce the behavioural and cognitive effect similar to those experienced in similar real life contexts. This concept was adopted by researchers such as Crisp & Turner (2009) and Turner et al. (2007) who showed that direct intergroup contact is not a necessity for transforming intergroup attitudes. Simply imagining intergroup interactions may result in the same positive benefits provided by direct intergroup processes, while improving implicit and explicit attitudes towards outgroups.

The components of imagined contact largely mirror the theoretical framework of direct intergroup contact where the underlying effects of imagined contact are believed to reduce anxiety as well as negative expectations from outgroups. Crisp, Husnu, Meleady, Stathi, and Turner (2010) show that while imagined contact may have similar benefits to direct intergroup contact, it may also have wider applicability as a pre-contact tool. Imagined contact prepares groups to engage with outgroup individuals without considering the outgroup in homogeneous terms, which increases the prospects to engage in contact in the future.

1.4.1. The conceptualization of imagined contact

While the powerful effects of mental imagery have been acknowledged and applied in a wide range of psychological domains, its potential as a prejudice reduction tool for intergroup relations is a recently explored terrain. A fundamental aspect to this proposition is that imagery fosters attitude change and impacts on behavioural intentions which may result in the alteration of negative perceptions of outgroups (Crisp et al., 2010). Advocates of imagined intergroup contact attempt to introduce contact interventions among groups with limited or no opportunities for direct intergroup contact, but rather in an indirect manner (Crisp et al., 2009; crisp et al., 2010). Numerous studies have demonstrated the prejudice reduction effects of imagined contact. For example, Turner et al. (2007) showed that straight male participants after imagining a conversation with a gay man were more likely to view gay men in a more positive manner. Similar effects were also confirmed in the same study when young participants were made to imagine contact with an elderly person. Harwood, Paolini, Joyce, Rubin and Arroyo (2011) showed in a study of imagined contact with illegal immigrants that positive effects of imagined contact not only effected behaviour with the outgroup members, but these positive perception also extended to similar outgroup members. This idea was also confirmed by Dovidio et al. (2011) who showed that imagined contact results in more positive perceptions and increased sensitivity towards ethnic and national outgroups. Researchers have also advocated for the use of imagined intergroup contact, not just as a prejudice reduction tool used in laboratory settings, but as an intervention technique in real world settings alongside

other forms of contact, such as before mediation talks between feuding nationalities, according to Bergeron (2012).

1. 5. Imagined contact as devoid of participants own imaginings

Imagined intergroup contact is founded on the premise that positive mental stimulations will eventually result in improved intergroup relations and reduced outgroup stereotypes (Crisp & Turner, 2009). Mental simulations are believed to elicit the same emotional and motivational responses that would be experienced directly in that specific context (Dadds, Bovbjerg, Redd, & Cutmore, 1997). The Imagining of a particular social context is believed to activate concepts that are associated with that environment and the accessibility of these knowledge structures has an influence on our consequent attitudes and behaviours (Turner et al., 2007).

Researchers such as Husnu & Crisp (2010) and Bargh, Chen & Burrows (1996) have however demonstrated that merely imagining contact with outgroups may result in the activation of negative mental associations associated with these groups. Turner et al. (2007), in contrast, provide a strong argument for Imagined intergroup contact as these imaginings do not simply comprise of social category priming. Rather, these mental simulations reflect lived social contexts and therefore require participants to consider outgroup categories. Moreover, they also require one to consider an actual intergroup interaction which consequently activates reactions that are attributed towards other interactional partners. This results in the activation of concepts that are associated with more positive intergroup interactions similar to those of direct intergroup contact. However, research on imagined contact has largely remained laboratory based where the basic paradigm consists of the researcher providing positive mental simulations for participants with the prospect that it will improve participants perceptions of outgroups. This has been evident in most imagined contact research (e.g. Crisp et al., 2009and Turner, West & Christie, 2013) who show basic instructional sets for intergroup imagined contact research.

"We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting [an outgroup] stranger for the first time. Imagine that the interaction is positive, relaxed and comfortable'', (Crisp et al., 2009, p5).

''I would like you to spend the next 2 minutes imagining yourself meeting and interacting with Tarafa [Sandra] for the first time. Tarafa [Sandra] is an asylum seeker from Zimbabwe who has recently come to the UK. Imagine that the interaction with Tarafa [Sandra] is positive, relaxed, and comfortable'', (Turner, West & Christie, 2013, p199).

The most important thing to note in such an instructional set is the positive tone of this imagined encounter. This is in contrast with the actuality that situations of intergroup encounters with outgroup members are often filled with anxiety (Halperin et al., 2012). There are different variations in these imagined contact scenarios where in the end, all participants are given time to describe the scenario they have imagined. The researcher creates the particular social context for the participants where certain intergroup relations are to be imagined. This means that such imagined contact strips participants of how they would have constructed such imagined intergroup encounters. Also inherent in such imagining are optimal contact conditions where the researcher persuades the participants to imagine ideal intergroup encounters which may not always be reflective of real world contact encounters with outgroup members.

While we do acknowledge the powerful effects of imagined intergroup contact in reducing prejudice, this paper argues that the top-down approach, where researchers are focusing on positive contact, currently being employed has fallen within the same utopian discourse of direct intergroup contact. Moreover, this type of approach has stripped participants of their own constructions of imagined contact. Dixon et al. (2005) showed how the conditions accentuated as essential for reducing prejudice among groups lead researchers to seek idealistic conditions for intergroup contact where opportunities for prejudice reduction among groups are at their highest. Research on imagined contact has developed within the same

utopian discourse that seeks ideal contact situations, as stated by Stathi and Crisp (2008), that the imagined intergroup interaction will be more effective if the imagining is depicted in a positive manner. However, despite numerous studies affirming the positive value of imagined contact as a prejudice reduction tool, there have been contradictory findings in imagined contact research that have demonstrated that imagined contact may not always produce the desired effects. This was demonstrated by Dermody, Jones and Cumming (2013) in their study looking at the effectiveness of imagined intergroup contact on both explicit and implicit measures when contact is with a homosexual male. The findings of the study contradicted the results of other imagined contact studies (e.g. Turner et al., 2007), in that imagined contact does not lead to explicit or implicit attitude changes and on its own, and may, in reality, have no potential benefits.

1.6. Working Models in imagined intergroup contact

While the powerful effects of mental imagery have been shown to activate feelings associated with that particular context (e.g. Garcia et al., 2002). The researcher argues that the top-down laboratory based approach to studying imagined contact where the researcher provides the positive imaginings for participants has neglected what participants are doing and why when they are imagining contact with outgroups. This paper also argues that research on imagined intergroup contact has focused on the researchers imaginings. As a result the laboratory based approach to studying imagined contact has failed to look at how ordinary people put together imaginings of social interactions with outgroup members. Consequently, imagined contact research has failed in understanding the purposes that these imaginings of contact are meant to serve.

There is a realisation that there is a gap in literature on imagined intergroup contact as research has always been conducted under laboratory conditions and neglected how most intergroup encounters already have an imagined element to them. Lackey (2012) demonstrated how the anticipation of being stigmatised during intergroup encounters results in group members

imagining how contact may result into their victimisation by outgroup members. The present study proposes that imagined intergroup contact research needs to move beyond experimentations conducted using predetermined mental simulations of intergroup encounters under laboratory conditions. However, imagined intergroup contact can be studied in real world settings where issues such as race and conflict exist and are as real as lived experiences of segregation. The study proposes the use of working models of contact in order to understand how groups in real life contexts construct imagined intergroup encounters with outgroup members. The use of working models of contact in the study will enable an understanding of participant's own construction of imagined intergroup contact as constructed by groups within diverse social contexts.

Durrheim and Dixon (2005) describe working models of contact as schemes employed by everyday actors to make sense of our encounters with others. These schemes allow us to comprehend and manage unfamiliar social encounters into more common frameworks that transform the unfamiliar into familiar systems that provide meaning to such encounters. Such working models cannot be understood in terms of reductionist methodologies that focus on generic categories, as these systems of meaning are contextually based and rooted in historical origins. Working models of contact will allow for an understanding of how individuals construct imagined intergroup contact and position themselves in their evaluations of encounters with outgroup members. Such constructions of imagined intergroup contact allow for an understanding of the positions of individuals during intergroup encounters. Therefore, such social and political positions help in understanding when and under what circumstances will contact be characteristically rejected or accepted.

Durrheim and Dixon (in press) state that working models of contact become systems that are positioned by individuals to make sense of contact with other groups and the kind of relations that occur during these interactions. It is within these working models of contact where individuals find a position to construct their reactions, feelings and attitudes about these intergroup contact encounters, as well as rationalise the type of behaviours that are formed in

these interactions. Following this notion, working models of contact will also be used in this study to highlight how the laboratory based manner in which research on imagined contact has been studied (e.g. Crisp et al., 2010; Crisp & Turner, 2009; Crisp et al., 2009; Harwood et al., 2011) has rendered participants as passive partners in imagined intergroup relations where social action is determined by the researchers imagining. Durrheim and Dixon (in press) argue that the conditions and outcomes of contact are actively determined by the partners involved in contact, and inherent in these contact encounter are power dynamics and the lived experiences of intergroup relations with particular groups.

A discursive inquiry into working models will allow for the appreciation of why individuals will create certain forms of imagined intergroup relations with groups and the conditions that foster such imaginings. Working models of imagined contact will also allow for an understanding of the actions that such imaginings are intended to encourage and rationalise. Through understanding the social construction of imagined contact, there can be recognition of the discourses used by groups to account for their social realities. Through understanding how imagined contact is socially constructed, an understanding of the constructs that provide meaning in situations of imagined contact and how they are used to justify as well as sustain either negative or positive group stereotypes is achieved (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005). The aim of the present study is to understand how imagined intergroup contact is constructed by groups in environments characterised by real intergroup conflict when imaginings of contact are not guided by premeditated stimuli given by the researcher, but are constructed by participants in real world situations.

Chapter 2: Informal settlements in imagined contact

The nature of the present study proposing to focus on imagined contact in real life situations led to the focus on the issue of increasing informal settlements worldwide. The present study hypothesises that informal settlements are places where imagined intergroup contact is likely to occur. In the South African context the spatial planning of the apartheid era succeeded in constructing racialized residential areas. While South Africa is still trying to overcome this unique housing challenge however the country is now confronted with a new spatial predicament with informal settlements rising drastically and uncontrollably throughout the country. These informal settlements are increasing throughout the country predominantly around affluent Metros and municipalities creating an internal refugee-like situation with people constructing settlements around privately owned properties (Sexwale, 2013).

Durand-Lasserve (2006) states that the United Nations Human Settlements Program has drawn attention to the quandary of the urban poor relying heavily on informal land and housing markets in order to obtain shelter. This advances the development of irregular patterns of spatial development in urban areas. This has largely resulted from the actuality that the global increase in urbanisation unfolds in an environment of accelerated globalization coupled with inadequate policies to regulate safety net policies. This has often resulted in the widening of the gap between the rich and poor due to the mounting inequalities in wealth distribution. Gaunt, Salida, Macfarlane, Maboda, Reddy and Borchers (2012) show that the prevailing character is that urban development in developing countries is frequently unplanned as the demand often surpasses the capacity of the national governments to proactively executive adequate infrastructure to meet the growing demands of urban migration. Durand-Lasserve (2006) states that this often leads to an expansion of informal settlements in urban settlements as informal housing develops into the only pragmatic alternative that meets the housing needs of low-income families. Lemanski and Oldfield (2009) illustrate how frequently situations of desperation become the driving force that leads to families invading land and constructing informal settlements on areas not designed to sustain such settlements. The

United Nations estimates that at least 10% of the world's population currently resides in slums or informal settlements (Huchzermeyer, 2008) with almost 70% of sub Saharan African urban population currently residing in informal settlements (UN- habitat, 2006). Pieterse (2009) states that the current exponential growth in urban areas has resulted into an estimation that by the year 2030 urban populations in Africa will exceed 750 million. This urban migration is anticipated to consequentially result in an increase of unplanned spatial expansions in the form of increasing informal settlements in urban areas.

2.1. Discourses of exclusion

In South Africa the political transition influenced the formation of the previously racially homogenized landscape, abolition of acts such as the Group areas act allowed affluent black people from the townships to move into suburban areas but it also afforded the urban poor opportunities to infiltrate urban settlements (Saff, 2005). The land reserved for African people was characterised by overcrowding plus deprivation and the land failed to sustain individuals in these areas. The end of apartheid provided poor black people the freedom to seek more sustainable living environments and this often meant looking for opportunities outside their immediate environments. This resulted into the mass exodus of African people moving from the homelands into urban areas (Durheim, Mtose & Brown, 2011). In South Africa urban migration alongside inadequate housing for the urban poor has resulted into approximately one-fifth of urban households comprising of informal settlements (Lemanski, 2009).

The country has experienced a substantial increase of informal settlements around black townships resulting into new informal settlements mounting onto land bordering the suburbs previously zoned as residential areas for other race groups. These settlements also arose within privately owned land and on the borders of affluent suburban areas (Saff, 2005).The construction of informal settlements is often met with opposition from formal residents and frequently develops into contentious struggles as property owners often resist the invasion of informal settlements into their borders (Saff, 2001, 2005). Ballard (2004a) states that these

groups are often met with resistance in the formal neighbourhood as they often infiltrate racially homogenous spaces or those that have been clustered around variables such as income.

Dixon and Reicher (1997) state that lay accounts of intergroup contact become essential in understanding how meaning is constructed in everyday practises. Such constructions of intergroup contact are able to accomplish particular political functions such as the maintenance of racial stereotypes. The discursive practices exercised by property owners to rationalize excluding black squatters were examined by Saff (2001) in the three suburban areas of Noordhoek, Hout Bay and Milnerton in Cape Town. Informal settlements were constructed on the boarders of these affluent suburban areas and the contrast of extreme affluence against abject poverty resulted in property owners expressing similar discontent about the behaviour and norms of the informal settlers. The discursive patterns used by residents to justify protesting for the eviction of squatters pertained using key terms to stigmatize the conduct of squatters as not aligned with those of the neighbourhood. Property owners portrayed their neighbourhood in homogenous terms and the squatters were depicted as imposters whom did not belong. The informal settlements were viewed as obliterating the serenity of the neighbourhood and would increase social pathologies such as drug dealings. Significantly, the formal residents were keen for their objectives to be viewed as being rational for maintaining harmony in the neighbourhood rather than being founded on racial or ethnic prejudice. Henry & Tator (2002) state that discourses of racism are often fuelled by assertions such as the behaviours of outgroup members being deviant from those held ingroup members. As result these groups will not conform to ingroup norms and values thus justifying the exclusion of such groups.

Dixon & Reicher (1997) state that these construction of contact lead to increased individual prejudice as opposed to contact endorsing optimal conditions. Racism becomes adaptable and operates within the shared social constructions that formal residents apply when making sense of their changing environment. Saff (2005) stated that in our contemporary societies it has become unacceptable to base residential exclusion on overt racial discourses and consequently

exclusionary discourses have become more subtle. In the case of informal settlements this language of exclusion has taken form in affirmations such as these will increase crime rates, decrease property values as well as desecrate the natural plus social environment. Their space is often seen as a defamatory to the space of the official residents and such discourses can be perceived as maintaining homogenous spaces along racial or ethnic boundaries. Durrheim and Dixon (2005) state that there are numerous ways in which these stereotypes are used to conceal their actuality as crude racism as they are ordinarily based on public discourses and not tied to race. This leads to the establishment of probabilistic stereotypes as opposed to categorical stereotyping of all black people. There is never an explicit suggestion that all black people have in them inherent these negative stereotypes however these concerns may become a reality when one has black neighbours.

Durrheim and Dixon (2005) talk about the principle-implementation gap where often people express support for the concept of desegregation however become apprehensive of the manner desegregation becomes implemented. The principle-implementation gap therefore becomes a tool that allows speakers to convey racial stereotypes and antagonism to the concept of racial integration while maintaining a non-racist stance. Working models will be used in the study in order to comprehend how the denial of racism is used in everyday language to converse stereotypes in a manner that is socially tolerable. Lemanski (2004) states that the exclusion of undesirables has however perpetuated the racist fear of integration and social division intrinsic during apartheid into the new democratic South Africa.

2.2. Shifting discourses in residential exclusion

Ballard (2002) states that the opposition to informal settlements and vagrants in the past was largely based on discursive practices such as greed being the driving factor which causes informal settlers to illegitimately occupy land that does not belong to them. However in such discourses linger remnants of both colonial and apartheid constructions of informal settlers. There is however a growing ideology that portrays informal settlers as victims of unjust political systems and of which raises sympathy towards these groups who were disadvantaged in the

past. This ideology leaves many suburban affluent residents unsupported and as such hostility towards informal settlers has now moved to public discourses such as informal settlements decrease property prices.

Ballard (2004a) states that Informal settlements have been branded universally with a mark of undesirability. Saff (2001) however shows that such discourses of exclusion are largely propelled by race. In its crudest form, racist propaganda is often employed to degrade outgroups as was evident in Nazi propaganda where the Jews were likened to vermin. Similarly the squatter problem in South Africa has resulted in the same propaganda where groups collectively compare squatter to pests destroying the serenity of the formal neighbourhood. In its more covert form the language of excluding undesirables in the context of informal settlers has largely resulted in formal residents voicing assertions such as squatters will increase crime levels while decreasing property values. Such discourses have allowed formal residents to gain sympathy and legitimize their concerns about decreasing property values and increasing crime rates as means of covertly excluding informal residents from their borders.

Ballard (2005b) states that even though white people do acknowledge that black people are also victims of crime in the country, the presence of a poor black mass still manages to invoke a fear of crime in white residential areas. However various studies such as Lemanski (2006) have illustrated that the perceived risks of residing near informal settlements in actuality largely stems without any form of direct contact with these informal residents. Saff (2001) demonstrates how the fear of crime and ecological concerns often become facades used to justify the formal resident's hostility towards the construction of informal settlements in their neighbourhoods. Most South African residents have negative perceptions on the spatial changes taking place in urban areas and these changes have been largely regulated by fear and anxiety. Lemanski (2006) states that the fear of crime is rarely the fear of victimization however it comprises of much wider processes such as the fear of racial encounters and integration.

Most research on the assimilation of informal settlers or immigrants on privately owned land or on the boarders of affluent suburban areas has focused on the viewpoints and reactions of the formal residents (e.g. Ballard, 2004a; Lemanski & Saff, 2010; Saff, 1998, 2001; Oelofse & Dodson, 1997 and Cleaveland, 2013). There has been very little interest paid to the constructions of contact from the viewpoints of informal settlers. Mainly research that has shown any form of attentiveness to informal settlers has focused on issues such as the inherent struggles of upgrading informal settlements (e.g. Huchzermeyer, 2009, Barry, 2006) and the difficulties of incorporating informal settlements into legal systems (e.g. Potsiou & Ioannidis, 2006). This study identified a need for research orientated at understanding the constructions of contact by informal settlers as groups who are often viewed as abject partners in contact. Tropp and Pettigrew (2005) state that the conditions proposed by the intergroup contact theory have significantly more positive consequences for majority status groups but the relationship between contact and prejudice reduction for minority groups is not so strongly correlated. Hewstone and Swart (2011) show that as a result experiences of contact may be different for minority groups with them being more likely to anticipate discrimination from more dominant groups. Moreover we have identified a need to identify the working models of contact that are evident and used by informal settlers to make sense of their conditions of living in abject poverty alongside affluence as well as their position as undesirables in the formal neighbourhood.

2.3. Working models of contact in understanding intergroup relations

The study of intergroup contact in South Africa is made particularly complex by the deep ethnic, racial and social dissimilarities present in a country marred by centuries of racial discrimination. The legacy of discrimination is still apparent in the form of one racial group still maintaining hold of the bulk of the country's wealth alongside deep poverty. Moreover all of these complexities occur in the midst of immense alteration of laws and social practices which are still taking shape (Pettigrew, 2010). The use of working models of contact in intergroup contact research in South Africa will give the researcher insight into how intergroup contact is

constructed in an environment categorized by centuries of segregation. Where intergroup relations are largely structured around the majority black population anticipating discrimination in the hands of the minority and where the minority fears that past privileges acquired by breaking the backs of black people will consequently result in ingroup members being persecuted for harboring racist sentiments (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005).

The fundamentals of employing working models of contact in this study of imagined intergroup contact unfolding in situations of conflict is largely to comprehend how the changing adaptations of race and class are articulated to construct a specific kind of intergroup contact. This contact is used to produce distinctive forms of violence, exclusion and Racialization. In this study working models will enable an understanding of the strategies employed by subjugated groups to account for the lived experiences of interracial contact. The study will attempt to draw attention to the conception of meaning and how it is socially constructed by discursive approaches. By employing working models of contact the study will comprehend imagined intergroup contact not from pre-determined categories but instead from accounts of participants own frameworks of understanding as they are constructed within diverse social contexts. Working models will be used in order gain an understanding of the voices involved in intergroup contact and to incorporate people's perceptions in the study of intergroup contact. Working models will also be employed to comprehend how place identity plays a fundamental role in situations of racial encounter (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005).

The quantifying of participants interpretations of contact has resulted in research that is devoid of participants own accounts of contact but on research focused on social psychologists' conceptualisation of contact (Dixon, Durrheim & Tredoux, 2005). However the use of working models of contact allows for an understanding of how collectively shared frameworks are mobilised to legitimise and justify the type of contact inherent in everyday social relations. For example, Durrheim, Jacobs and Dixon (2013) explored the paternalistic relationship between domestic workers and their employers in post-apartheid South Africa. While the relationship could have been identified as positive by prejudice scales the use of working models of contact

allowed for deeper understanding of how this relationship is constructed by partners involved in contact. While the madam's account for this relationship was rooted in helping their historically disadvantaged workers a closer look at such discourses allows one to understand how such paternalistic relationship are used to maintain racial exploitation while maintaining white privilege. For the black worker this nurturing relationship allows them to view their employers in high esteem which increased systems justification making it difficult to view their madams as beneficiaries of discrimination therefore making it difficult to effectively confront hierarchal systems.

Durrheim and Dixon (2005) state that the type of social relationships that become inherent between groups must not simply be perceived as individual beliefs however they must be understood as constantly evolving structures formulated by groups in order to provide meaning to their social relationships. For instance in South Africa influx control was used to regulate and exclude black people from urban areas. With the abolition of such laws white individuals are forming new discourses to make sense of situations of racial integration.

2.4. Imagined intergroup contact as action

As noted in section 2.2 that imagined intergroup contact is often constructed without any form of direct contact with outgroup members. This study argues that imagined intergroup contact is strategic and serves particular societal actions such as the mobilisation of ingroup members to create action among ingroup members. In order to illustrate this argument two extracts were taken from Ballard (2002) in order to illustrate how imagined contact was used to create an atmosphere of fear and panic as a means of defiance to the arrival of informal settlers and vagrants in the formal neighbourhood.

The two following extracts were taken from Ballard (2002) and focused on two newspaper articles with residents objecting the construction of informal settlements on their borders.

Extract 1

"But the biggest concern is our safety and security. The land that has been set aside for them is just opposite us. There are no fences. What is going to keep them out?" When asked why she considered blacks to be a threat, the woman appeared surprised by the question: "You don't know them – that's all I can say. You don't know them. They don't work, all they do is steal. If you're not wide awake, they'd steal the bed from under you" (Ballard, 2002, p178).

This extract shows how the imagining of future contact with their new neighbours is used to evoke anti squatter sentiments even before there is actual contact with the informal settlers. Through activating the stereotype that informal settlements increase crime rates and raising the issue of safety the speaker is able to justify their aversion to having informal settlements. By mentioning that there are no fences the speaker portrays the informal settlers as hoodlums who need to be kept out of the formal neighbourhood. The image of the fence also serves portrays the informal settlers as people who are animalistic and as such need to be locked away as one would lock away a wild animal. The words "what is going to keep them out" also helps to portray the informal settlers as primitive people with no self-restraint and allows the speaker to justify her position for wanting to exclude these residents as they will be a danger to the formal residents. We see that initially she used probabilistic stereotypes tied to increased crime rates when one has informal settlers as neighbours as opposed to categorical stereotyping of black people where she was voicing her concerns about their new neighbours this allowed her to hide the actuality of her concerns as anti-black sentiments.

The repetition of the words "you don't know them" when asked why she considered black people a danger helps to portray the informal residents as individuals who are different from them and whom do not conform to societal norms and as such may partake in acts which one would not expect are outside the range of normality. By following this statement with the words 'They don't work, all they do is steal' she is able to show how the construction of the informal settlement will pose a threat to them as formal residents by increasing crime rates as these people don't work therefore they are likely to turn to crime for financial gain and as a

result pose a threat security threat for them. The same words also serves to show the parasitic nature of informal settlers who just come and invade the formal neighbourhood with little regard for the effects that their actions are going to have on other people. The statement "If you're not wide awake, they'd steal the bed from under you" highlights the threat to safety that informal settlers will pose to the formal neighbourhood and the image of the informal settlers stealing the bed from under you again shows how having informal settlers in their boarders will result into the invasion of private property and private spaces. The statement also shows the extent of crime that one can expect when they have informal settlers as their neighbours. Such discourses allow the formal residents to reject integrating with the informal settlers as contact with informal settlers is threatening for them as they are likely to become victims of crime. Such discourses also function to allow the formal residents to justify informally segregating themselves as contact with the informal residents poses adverse consequences for the formal residents.

Extract 2

''Val: When this started my son wouldn't go to school because, he said, he had to look after his pony in case the squatters came and tried to eat it'' (Ballard, 2002, p176).

This extract demonstrates how clearly imagined contact was used to create an atmosphere of fear and irrationality among formal residents in relation to the informal settlers on their borders. The horrific scenario of animal brutality portrays informal settlers as dangerous and animalistic beings who pose a threat to the formal residents. The actuality that the formal residents fear that the informal residents will eat their pets portrays how the values of the informal settlements are different from those held by property owners. The imagining of informal settlers eating their pets also portrays how the informal settlers cross the line distinguishing civilization and savagery. These violent constructions of contact with the informal settlers also afforded the formal residents opportunities to rationalise their aversions towards the construction of informal settlements on their frontiers. Such an imagining also allows the formal residents to accentuate differences between the two groups with the

informal settlers being primitive and the formal residents being more developed. This also portrays how integration between the two residential areas would also prove to be detrimental for these groups as the differences in group values would inherently result in conflict between these groups.

These imagined probable intergroup encounters afford formal residents the ability to rationalize antipathies towards informal settlers who are residing in their borders. The ability of residents to construct imagined intergroup contact as threatening in order to advance exclusionary discourses is also evident in other studies (e.g. Saff, 2001). Where antipathies towards the informal settlers are formed with little or without any prior contact with the informal residents. The construction of negative intergroup contact as a political tool that allows residents to perpetrate particular forms of ideologies permitting group to segregate themselves can also be evident in a study by Di Masso, Castrechini and Valera (2014) looking at how ideas, opinions and positions were used in Barcelona to camouflage xeno-racist sentiments towards minorities. Accounts of fear and insecurity were constructed by the local residents in order to convey the threat posed by immigrants to urban security. Such constructions of contact afforded residents the opportunity to perpetrate racism in a socially accepted manner and also portrayed immigration in the country as an incident with negative consequences for the local residents. The portrayal of a legitimate threat to urban insecurity afforded residents the ability to warrant the expulsion of immigrants not by virtue of their identity but because of the plausible threat they constitute to society. Such constructions of threat and insecurity also justify the exclusion of undesirable members from intergroup contact encounters as probable encounters with these group members may result in ingroup members becoming victims of crime and other social ills perpetrated by outgroup members. These imaginings allow residents to create racially homogenous spaces and informally segregate themselves from outgroup members without such actions being viewed as the result of racist sentiment but resulting from group members protecting themselves from perceived outgroup threats

Such constructions of imagined intergroup contact portray how imagined intergroup contact may not have a direct causal link to prejudice reduction. These negative imagined contact encounters also demonstrate how imagined contact on its own is not a mechanism that ensures that group members will change their initial views of outgroups for more positive perceptions as predicted by (e.g. Turner et al., 2007). These negative constructions of contact also portray how without researchers providing simulations of positive encounters imagined intergroup contact may fail to improve group dynamics. Moreover in real world settings imagined intergroup encounters may increase anxiety among group members over the prospect of intergroup contact and consequently result into negative expectations of contact with outgroup members.

2.5. Framing the study of imagined intergroup contact in Nhlalakahle

The current study aims to understand how people in the informal settlement of Nhlalakahle- which was constructed on open land in Northdale construct imagined contact with their neighbours from suburban Northdale. This informal settlement has resulted into a racialized conflict between the formal mainly Indian residents and informal predominantly black residents over illegal electricity connections that frequently interrupt power supply in the whole Northdale area. These connections are frequently removed by force by the municipality and residents of Nhlalakahle often retaliate by participating in violent demonstrations as a protest against the lack of basic service delivery in Nhlalakahle (Biyela, 13, 07/2012). Outraged residents in Northdale want the informal settlement of Nhlalakahle to be removed as it compromises the infrastructure of Northdale which results in the disruption of services in the whole of Northdale. Moreover the formal residents believe that they are victims of an unjust war between Nhlalakahle and the municipality (Biyela, 14/07/2012).

Gaunt et al. (2012) state that informal settlements remain the most rapidly growing household sector in South Africa however this sector also remains the most under resourced in the country. The predicament of supplying basic service delivery needs such as electricity in

informal settlements remains largely elusive because these settlements are fast growing and change rapidly. This often results in the partaking of illegal activities to acquire these services such as illegal electricity connections. When these get removed by municipalities to meet the government safety regulations of expelling electrocution hazards, street lights and conductors are stolen to substitute for the removed wiring in most cases illegal connections are reinstated within days of the clearance. Naidoo (19/03/2013) states that the problem of electrifying informal settlements has also led to a growing discontentment among residents in Northdale who are paying for electricity but frequently experience power disruptions resulting from illegal connections.

The ongoing conflict over illegal electricity connections has resulted into an aggravated hostile situation where formal residents are no longer only retaliating over decreasing property values but also the disruption of basic services in their neighbourhood as a result of having informal settlements in their frontier. We believe that this racialized conflict that has ensued between the residents of Nhlalakahle and Northdale minimize chances for direct contact between these groups and as a result we believe that Nhlalakahle is a place where residents are likely to imagine contact with their Northdale neighbours.

2.6. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an overview of the current literature on imagined contact and introduce the gap in literature on imagined contact befalling in real world situation. The chapter showed the applicability of working models of contact as a framework in understanding the construction of imagined intergroup contact in real life settings. This chapter also served by framing the background of the current discourses of exclusion that are constructed by groups during imagined contact with outgroups and how language is used to naturalize such discourses. The chapter also aimed to provide details of previous research both locally and internationally.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Aims and Rationale

The present study investigates the construction of imagined contact amongst residents in an informal settlement that was erected in a residential area historically zoned for Indian people. The study uses working models of contact to understand how intergroup contact is imagined in real life settings and the type of social functions that are served by these imaginings. While the study is influenced by concepts grounded in imagined contact research, the utopianism that is encouraged by imagined contact literature is rejected in the study. This study aims to explore how people actually imagine contact in real world settings and the social functions served by such imaginings of contact. The study aims to bring into attention the strategic nature of imagined contact and how it is strategically used to serve particular societal relations and mobilize groups thus constructing a shared identity.

While current research on imagined contact has focused on utopian contact, the present study aims to investigate how people actually imagine contact in real world settings. This study aims to understand when does contact with outgroups become imagined with the aim of comprehending the social functions that are served by these imagining. The current study will look at how imagined contact is framed in situations that do not meet the utopian conditions that are sought after by researchers focused on imagined contact. While most research on imagined intergroup contact has focused on improving the perceptions of majority groups towards stigmatized groups the study will look at how groups that are the objects of discrimination and prejudice construct their imagining of intergroup contact. The study will also focus on understanding the action that is being initiated by these imaginings. The present study also aims to understand how relations of power become ingrained into the social environment and how human settlements become the basis of ideologies plus political life. As a constructionist study there will also be a focus on how language plus discursive practices are applied when participants are giving their accounts of imagined contact. Additionally this study will seek an understanding of how language can be used as an emancipatory tool by

marginalized groups to undermine prevailing group identities therefore creating new prospects for solidarity between conflicting groups.

3.1.2. Research questions

- How do informal settlers as abject groups in contact construct their imagining of intergroup contact with majority groups?
- How do neighbourhoods become a figurative representation of people's identities?
- How do informal settlers respond when they are viewed as a threat to the formal neighbourhood?
- How are discursive practices created by group members in working models of contact to justify the kinds of relations that exist between groups?
- What are the functions served when informal settlers imagine contact with formal residents?

3.2 Theoretical approach and research design

The present study focused on the constructing of imagined contact by those who do not hold power in society. In order to understand such formulations a qualitative social constructionist approach was selected which focuses on the construction of social realities. This approach focuses on how these constructions of reality are assembled and maintained by active actors within a particular conceptual framework (Silverman, 2013; Schwandt, 2001). This methodology enabled an understanding of how language is carefully selected to construct meaning, position as well as how societal action is influenced by talk. A qualitative research paradigm allowed for an understanding of how imagined contact is constructed and embodied in specific contexts. A social constructionist approach was considered appropriate for the study as it would provide an understanding of how discourses used in imagined contact help to construct and maintain a type of social reality for the speaker. The social constructionist framework also complemented the study's theoretical framework of working models of imagined contact which was used to understand participant's negotiated understandings of imagining contact. Discourse and

conversational analytical approaches are both aligned with social construction investigations as both view rhetoric as action and focus on what is being accomplished through this talk (Silverman, 2013). Wetherell and Potter (1992) states that social constructionist discourse analysis becomes focused on what individuals are doing with discourses and the interpretive repertoires used to construct such discourses. Wetherell and Potter (1988) show that inherent in such interpretive repertoires are language and cultural influences which form the foundation in which such discourses are produced.

3.3 Context

The study was conducted in the informal settlement of Nhlalakahle which was constructed on vacant land in Northdale. The only entity that separates the informal settlement from the suburban area is a 2 lane road. There was media spotlight on the conflict between the formal Northdale residents and the informal Nhlalakahle residents over illegal electricity connections connected by Nhlalakahle residents. The researcher hypothesised that the context would be characterised by limited opportunities of contact between the formal and informal residents. However the close proximity of these residential areas made the researcher believe that Nhlalakahle was a place where imagined intergroup contact was likely to occur.

3.4. Sampling

A Purposive sampling approach was used in the study. Purposive sampling is theoretically driven (Silverman, 2013) and used when a researcher believes that a specific population will best answer the questions posed by the study (Given, 2008). In the present study participants were introduced to the researcher through the community leader at Nhlalakahle. Household interviews were conducted and all individuals present in the household were invited to participate in a household interview. In order to participate in the study participants had to meet the criteria of 1) they were over the age of 18: Studies that incorporate race trouble are still a sensitive topic in the South African context and at this age we believed that participants would have reached a stage where they are comfortable to talk about such issues. Participants also had to 2) be aware of the type of relations and attitudes that are dominant between residents in Nhlalakahle and Northdale. The sample collected consisted of 35 participants with ages ranging from 18-70.

3.5. Data collection

In the design of the study a combination of field notes and interview methods were deemed to be appropriate in the data collection of the study. Semi structured group interviews were conducted in the study and recorded using an audio recorder in order for data to be analysed in its natural form (Silverman & Marsvati, 2008). Thomas (2010) states that this method incorporates both the methods of structured and unstructured interviews and makes use of both closed and open ended questions. A pre-planned interview schedule (refer to appendix F) was set to guide the interview process. However the interview schedule remained flexible and the direction of the interviews was driven by issues which emerged during the interview process. In addition to the interview data field notes were taken and these included observations made by the researchers regarding participants.

The interviews were conducted in the participant's home environments and typically ranged from two participants to eleven participants per household. Conducting the interview in the

participant's homes allowed the researcher to gain insight of the context in which these imaginings of contact occurred. It was also believed that interviewing households would strengthen the reliability of the study as being in a familiar environment with familiar individuals would result in participants being more comfortable to give more reliable accounts of how contact is imagined by Nhlalakahle residents. In order to collect rich data filled with descriptions and contextual data the interviews were given the option to have the interviews conducted in either English or in the participant's vernacular. Participants were informed of the study and written consent to participate and for the interviews to be recorded were obtained from participants prior to conducting the interviews. Eleven household interviews were conducted in the study with the interviews on averaging 45 minutes. The number of participants ranged from 2 to 11 with 3 participants on average.

3.6 Data analysis

The study was focused on the construction of rhetoric and all recorded Interviews were transcribed in IsiZulu and then translated from isiZulu to English for presentation. As Edwards (2003) states that despite recordings being essential in the analysing of discourse this research tool does not encompass the complexities and multidimensional events occurring during the interactional process. To prevent the transcriptions being devoid of interaction the interviews were transcribed using the Jefferson method of conversation analysis (Jefferson, 2004. Refer to Appendix D).Transcripts included tone movement, pauses timed to the nearest second, elongated syllables, variances in volume and intonation, salient stress on words, noticeable inhalations and exhalations. IsiZulu audio recordings and transcripts were used in the analytical process in order to understand talk as it was carried out by research participants. This also enabled the data to be analysed as intended by the research participants. Analysing the data in the participants' vernacular also increased the reliability of the study as it ensured that the meaning of speech was not lost in translation and thus misinterpreted.

The analytical process focused on both conversational and discourse analytical processes. The

analytical process began with a period of immersion in the data with accounts evident of imagined contact being extracted from the data and subjected to a more rigorous approach (Silverman, 2013). The rhetorical devices used in these extracts were analysed for discourses and preceded by an analysis of the actions permitted by such discourses (Billig, 1991). The researcher focused on how language was being used in order to construct imagined encounters with Northdale residents and how versions of reality were being produced by such imaginings. The researcher looked at how Nhlalakahle residents were positioning themselves during imagined intergroup encounters and the positions that were imagined to be assumed by Northdale residents. Working models of contact were then used in order to understand the collectively shared constructions of imagined contact with Northdale residents and how such constructions are maintained by discourses that determine the conduct and behaviours of groups (Durrheim et al., 2011). This was followed by an analysis of sequence speech and utterances in references to the field notes in order to determine how discourse works within societal structures (Hodges, Kuper & Reeves, 2008).

3.7 Validity, Reliability and Generalisibility

The present study involved a purely qualitative design and the analytical approaches used in the study resulted in the researcher being an analytical tool in the study. While qualitative research can be subjective, Silverman (2013) shows that with methodological rigour and a clear outline of the processes used in the analytical processes the researcher can achieve valid and reliable results with minimal interpretations.

3.7.1 Reliability

Reliability refers to the consistency of data interpretation. Silverman (2013) shows that reliability can be greatly increased in qualitative research by trading summaries of data collected in the field for more detailed data presentations which do not encompass the researchers own interpretations of what was going on in the field. This process involves recording your data in a precise manner including verbatim accounts plus the use of detailed extracts that provide the reader with an understanding of what was going on during the

interviews. Antaki, Billig, Edwards and Potter (2003) also show that detailed extracts allow for the voice of the original speakers to be heard and prevents spurious claims from being drawn from the data. In the present study data is inclusive of verbatim accounts and presented in the form of detailed extracts rather than summaries or quotes. This process subjects the data to peer evaluations of the analytical process.

3.7.2. Validity

Validity relates to the credibility of the conclusions drawn by the researcher. Silverman (2013) states that qualitative researchers often become the tool of analysis and proposes that researchers should be aware of the dangers of posed objectivity as there are never any neutral position. The in-depth focus of qualitative researches on single cases often leaves researchers at risk of anecdotalism. Silverman and Marvasti (2008) state that the focus on a few well-chosen cases that support the type of conclusions the researcher's wants to draw from the data pose a threat to the validity of the results of most qualitative studies. Silverman (2013) proposes the use five data treatment strategies which are aimed at increasing the validity of research findings: 1) The refutability principle[1], 2) The constant comparative method[2], 3) Comprehensive data treatment[3], 4) Deviant-case analysis[4], 5) Using appropriate tabulations. In the present study data were subjected to four of these data treatment methods with an exception for tabulations. The analytical framework of discourse analysis resulted in the lack of a theoretical rational for using tabulations in the study.

---

[1] The refutability principle seeks to refute one's hypotheses at every stage of the research process (Silverman, 2013).

[2] The constant comparative method involves finding other cases through which to test out provisional hypotheses (Silverman, 2013).

[3] Comprehensive data treatment refers to inspecting and analysing all parts of the data collected during the course of a study (Silverman, 2013).

[4] Deviant case analysis involves actively seeking out and addressing anomalies or deviant caseswithin a dataset (Silverman, 2013)

The analytical stage included a period of immersion with data transcribed from all the interviews. From the eleven interviews Instances that were characteristic of imagined contact were then considered more rigorously. The immersion in data from all the interviews also allowed the researcher to look for instances that may lead to refuting initial hypotheses made about the data. Deviant cases were also allocated in the study where contact was perceived as actual by participants when in actuality the contact was imagined.

3.7.3. Generalisibility

Schofield (2002) specified that the classical view of external validity provides minimal support for qualitative research. Qualitative research focuses on small samples and so it would be unreasonable to generalise such research findings to the larger population. However Silverman and Marvasti (2008) show that despite qualitative research focusing on small sample sizes often participant selection is theoretically driven and encompasses cases that are relevant or occur within wider contexts. Participants in the study were competent members of society and the study context was similar to those in contact research studies between formal and informal residents in South Africa. Rhetoric was used by participants to construct imagined contact and such rhetoric incorporated discourses, concepts and labels. This allowed participants to make sense of social relationships and of their position within the formal neighbourhood. While the present study cannot make any statistical claims of generalizability it bears noting that rooted in such linguistic devices are systems of making sense of the world which are used in everyday interactions and imaginings of contact. For such reasons the results of the study should be transferable to individuals in similar contexts.

3.8. Reflexivity

While every step in this study was guided by theory, rigour and transparency there is awareness that there are factors that may impact on the objectivity of the study. I am aware that as a researcher going into a context of abject poverty I started questioning the dynamics of social

life such as unjust power systems and this may have influenced my position in the study to be somewhat subjective rather than being wholly neutral.

Even though every participant was informed of the purpose and objective of the study most participants believed that my research was an intervention meant to improve their living conditions with some participants even assuming that I had contacts within the government. Most participants had hope that my research was going to shed light on the issues that are faced on a daily basis by residents of informal settlements. I am aware that this placed me in a position of power and as such may have impacted on the manner that some participants responded to me as well as how they responded to the questions in the study. There were also times where the painful narratives of contact that most participants were constructing made me hold their accounts as true during the interview process instead of critically assessing the type of functions that such stories and accounts were serving. Such accounts left me sympathetic towards the informal residents and while the data were treated in a purely objective manner I am aware that such emotions may have influenced my analytical stance. Most of the analysis tended to depict the informal settlers as victims of racial inequality as a result I ended up taking a more political stance during the research process rather than being a purely objective researcher.

There were also factors in the study that were not foreseen before the data collection phase such as that interviews were only conducted during the day which meant that our sample was largely made up of the unemployed demographic. This may have influenced the type of data that was attained. I am aware there is a possibility that the reliability of the study may have been compromised by this factor as how this demographic constructs imagined contact with the more privileged Northdale residents may be different from how the rest of Nhlalakahle residents construct contact.

3.9. Ethical considerations

The study used guidelines outlined by Emanuel, Wendler, Killen and Grady (2004) in order to meet standards for ethical research.

3.9.1 Informed Consent

Participants were informed of the general overview of the study and from then decided whether they wanted to participate in the study. Participants were given consent forms in their vernacular which stated that their participation was voluntary and had the option to withdraw from the study at any point without facing any repercussions. Participants also had the option to consent separately for the interview to be recorded.

3.9.2 Access

The ward 31 councillor which Nhlalakahle falls under was approached and authorization was given to conduct the study (refer to Appendix B). A community leader at Nhlalakahle was also approached for access into the informal settlement and access was granted.

3.9.3 Confidentiality and anonymity

During the interview process participants were assigned pseudonyms however there were instances where participants forgot to refer to each other using their pseudonyms and used their real names. To ensure confidentiality during transcription such instances where a participant used their real name or referred to another participant using their actual name were replaced with the participant's pseudonym. Any information identifying the participants was also stored separately from the field data.

3.9.4 Favourable risk to benefit ratio

Participants were informed about the benefits and risks associated with participating in the study. While designing the study few risks were anticipated to be associated with participation however there was awareness that a study that focused on issues of race in a context of unfair power relations may have changed the manner that Nhlalakahle residents viewed their

neighbours in Northdale. Nonetheless had any distress occurred as a result of participation in the study participants were advised to contact the Child and Family Centre (CFC) where free counselling had been arranged for participants prior to data collection (refer to Appendix C). A benefit of participation in the study was that the voices of individuals who do not hold power were heard and acknowledged in the study. Participation in the study also gave individuals an opportunity to reflect on how they engage with outgroups in their community.

3.9.5 Scientific Validity

Emanuel et al. (2004) states that in order to meet ethical research standards research needs to be responsive of the phenomenon under study. In the present study the research questions posed and study participants selected for answering the research questions were reflective of the phenomenon being investigated.

3.9.6 Fair selection of participants

Ethical research conduct requires participants to be fairly selected with a fair distribution of risks and benefits among participants. Participants need to be reflective of the target population while still being in a position to answer the questions posed by the research (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006).Participation in this study was voluntary and there was a fair distribution of risks and benefits among participants.

3.9.7 Independent ethics review

The present study was independently reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (refer to Appendix A).

3.9.8 Storage and dissemination of results

The data collected in this study will be kept with the supervisor of the study for a period of five years and will only be destroyed after the duration of the five year period or when the data is deemed to have no further value for research. The transcripts and interviews will be stored in a password protected folder in a computer by the supervisor. Consent forms will be stored

separately from transcript data. Only members of the research team (researcher and supervisor) will have access to the data.

The present study dealt with individuals residing in informal settlements and these settlements lacked residential addresses plus the changing nature of informal settlements may make it difficult to locate individuals who participated in the study. Therefore the research results will be disseminated to participants by writing a newspaper article in the local print media which will inform the study as well as the findings of the study. For the reason that we may not be able to get hold of the people who participated in the study the article with the research findings will be taken to the community leader.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter provided details of the research process. The results of the study are presented in chapter 4.

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter will present the working of models of imagined contact that are used by informal settlers to make sense of their social relationships with residents in the formal neighbourhood. The chapter aims to show how working models of imagined contact are used to produce political functions which help to mobilise ingroup members and develop a particular kind of politics in intergroup relations. While Imagined contact has largely been shown to results in positive consequences for the individuals involved in the imagining, this chapter will reflect on how individuals construct imagined contact in real world situations.

4.1. Imagined intergroup contact as a static account of outgroup racism

Extract 1

Interview 11: 11 Males, ages 28-70

IsiZulu

1   Interviewer: >uma uthi vele singabantu abamnyama abasifuni zikhona yini izinto
2   abakebazenza wabona ukuthike< (0.4) lana ngicwaseka ngokwebala la

3   Bab Dlamini: <kukh::ona>

4   Smanga: <awakwazi ukuthi ngo 1949 amandiya ayesishaya singabantu abamnyama>
5   (0.5) so nam:anje leyo apartheid angake ize iphele

6   Bab Dlaminni: = [ngeke iph::ele]

7   Smanga: [izohlala ikhona]

8   Bab Dlamini: uyazi ukuthi uhamba la emgwaqeni <u>kume imoto NSI</u>↑ kuphume obhushi
9   <u>ujahwe wena muntu omnyama</u>

10   Interviewer: into esenzeka leyo

11   Bab Dlamini: <u>isenzeka</u>

12   Bab Miya: kwake kwashawa

13   Bab Mzolo: <u>uma uhamba ebusuku la kumele uchaze</u>

14   Bab Dlamini: uma uhamba la ebusuku

15   Mdu: uyashawa

16   Bab Dlamini: imoto ima nse la (0.3) kuphume obhushi kujahwe abantu abamnyama

15   Interewer: imoto yamandiya

16   Bab Dlamni: imoto yamandiya kujahwa umuntu omnyama ujahwe >ubizwa nge kaffir
17   ubizwe ngayo yonke into<

18   Smanga: I apartheid ngeke ize iphele

19   Bab Dlamini: <u>kodwa thina asikwenzi lokho</u>

20   Bab Miya: <u>sihlalala nawo</u>

English

1   Interviewer : >if you say we are black people anyway they do not want us are there
2   some things that they have done that made you realized< (0.4) that I am being racially
3   discriminated here

4   Bab Dlamini: <<u>there ar::e</u>>

5   Smanga: <you can't say that in 1949 Indians were beating us black people> (0.5)so even
6   no:w that apartheid will not end

7   Bab Dlamini: = [it will not en::d]

8   Smanga: [it will always be there]

9   Bab Dlamini: you know that when you are walking on the road <u>a car stops </u>(makes a
10   screeching sound) ↑ and machetes come out <u>and they chase you as a black person</u>

11   Interviewer: that is something that still happens

12   Bab Dlamini: <u>it still happens</u>

13   Bab Miya: they once beat

14   Bab Mzolo: <u>if you walk at night here you have to explain</u>

15   Bab Dlamini: if you walk here at night

16   Mdu: you get beaten

18   Bab Dlamini: a car stops here (0.3) and machetes come out and they chase black
19   people
20   Interviewer: a car with Indians

21   Bab Dlamini: a car with Indians they chase black people they chase you and > call you a
22   kaffir they call you with all sorts of names <
23   Smanga: apartheid will not end

24   Bab Dlamini: <u>but we do not do that</u>

25   Bab Miya: <u>we stay with them</u>

Throughout this interview multiple references were made about Indian people harboring antipathies towards black people as a means of accounting for the lack of intergroup contact and conflict between Northdale and Nhlalakahle residents. In the previous turn one of the participants stated that Northdale residents are hostile towards Nhlalakahle residents purely on the basis that Indian people do not want to have poor black people in their frontier. In this extract the interviewer starts off by asking the participants whether they have been victims of such encounters with Northdale residents where they have experienced discrimination based on the colour of their skin. In line 4 Bab Dlamini responds with the words ''there are'' and these words are delivered in slowered speech as well as emphasised. In line 5 in order to give an account of their experiences of being racially discriminated by Northdale residents Smanga goes on to give an account that in 1949 Indians were abusing black people and as result such violent encounters can still be expected during situations of intergroup contact with Indian people. The imagining of Indian people being violent in the past infiltrates the present and creates a barrier between the two residential groups where if intergroup relations are to occur with Indian people victimisation is expected to become a reality for black people. Such negative past encounters become a basis where Nhlalakahle residents do not need to have personal experiences of being discriminated against or abused by Northdale residents. However mentally accessing negative past contact encounters allows Nhlalakahle residents as black people to

identify with experiences of racial discrimination in the hands of Indian people. From line 7-8 the speakers keep repeating that apartheid will not end and these words are subsequent to the notion that Indian people were abusing black people in the past. This shows how Nhlalakahle residents in the present can still expect being victims of abuse by Northdale residents as the horrific violent events that were inherent during apartheid can still be expected to occur as apartheid has not ended. The notion that apartheid will always exist also allows the speakers to perpetuate how their Northdale neighbours are likely to victimise black people since the unevolving nature of apartheid means that Indian people are likely to still hold racist sentiments towards black people.

From line 9-10 the speaker gives an account of how basic activities such as walking down the road become detrimental for Nhlalakahle residents when these everyday activities lead to interactions with Northdale residents. Bab Dlamini constructs a scenario where intergroup encounters between Nhlalakahle and Northdale residents result in Indian people chasing black people with machetes. Even though there is a racialised conflict between the two residential areas an actual account of Indian residents actually chasing black Nhlalakahle residents with machetes has never been reported and neither are such acts of violence acknowledged by other Nhlalakahle residents as occurring in this residential area. Honeycutt and Ford (1999) state that the difference between actual and imagined encounters can become somewhat indistinct however imagined interactions are characterised by a level of inconsistency. The more limited prior interactions are between members the higher the inconsistencies in the imagined interactions. The scenario of Indian people chasing black people with machetes is also one that is unqualified, in line 9 in constructing this scenario the speaker starts off by using the words ''you know that when you are walking on the road a car stops''. Such a statement is not located at any given time and as opposed to giving an actual account where Nhlalakahle residents were attacked with machetes this statement become one which is unqualified where being attacked with machetes becomes a probabilistic scenario where such acts can occur at any time if Nhlalakahle residents have contact Northdale residents. In line 11 the interviewer validates with the speaker whether such acts of violence are still occurring during interracial

intergroup relations in the present. This attends to the interviewer's disbelief over the constructed scenario but also the interviewer tries to determine whether the scenario given by the speaker was an actual occurrence or an implausible imagining.

In line 12 the speaker responds an emphasis on the words "it still happens". In line 13 Bab Miya starts off by giving an account of an individual that may have actually been victimised by Northdale Indians however the speaker does not continue with this statement and fails to provide such an account of Nhlalakahle residents being victimised by Northdale residents. Significantly the speaker uses the words "they once beat" and these acts of violence become inconsistent and downgraded from being chased down the streets with machetes to random acts of violence perpetuated by Northdale residents. In line 14 Bab Mzolo goes on to state that when you walk around at night you have to explain yourself. This notion that Nhlalakahle residents are likely to be victimised during contact encounters is also emphasised by the speakers giving similar statement in line 15- 16. These statements given by speakers from line 14-16 despite being descriptive in nature are also unqualified statements as they are not located at any given place or time but such victimisation could happen at any time during contact encounters. Edwards (2000) refers to extreme case formulations where the use of overstatements or exaggerations when referring to a particular scenario or object becomes effective in justifying a particular description given or position constructed by the speaker. The extremity of these formulations often demonstrates a certain form of investment in the type of discourses that the speaker is trying to negotiate and legitimise. However a close look at extreme case formulations reveals how these formulations becomes devices that allows speakers to maintain descriptions that cannot be accounted for as accurate but can be used to dismiss contradictory versions of reality. The use of such devices allows the speaker to transform figurative abstracts into literal accounts of reality. In such an imagining there resurfaces racial encounters of the past which are then expected to influence the present just as in line 5-6 the mistreatment of black people in the hands of Indian people in 1949 is expected to influence the manner in which Indians treat black people today. Similarly in the past where under apartheid laws black people had curfews and were harassed if they were in

urban areas after hours the speakers refer to similar encounters where they imagine that if they are on the streets at night they are likely to be subjected to abuse and mistreatment. From line 18-19 the idea that that if you walk around the streets at night as a black person you are likely to be a victim of abuse is again reinforced. The speaker refers back to the scenario of black people being chased with machetes if they walk on the streets at night. In line 20 the interviewer confirms with the participants whether the cars attacking black people at night are actually cars with Indian people. In line 21 the speaker assures the interviewer that it is cars with Indian people and the speaker goes on to state that the same Indians who are chasing them and beating them with machetes also refer to them as kaffirs and all sorts of racial slurs.

The fact that when the Indian residents are chasing them with machetes they are also referring to them as kaffirs shows that their actions are not accidental but Indian people are deliberately attacking black people in racist acts of violence. In line 23 the speaker goes on to state that apartheid will not end and this statement essentialises the actions of Indian people in that they will never change and will always harbor racist sentiments towards black people. The notion that apartheid will never end also works to gain sympathy for the speakers on the basis that the subjugation of Nhlalakahle residents in the hands of Northdale residents will never end. In line 24 there is a shift from the construction of violent racist Indians to the portrayal of Nhlalakahle residents as the more passive residents in the neighbourhood. The speaker states that "but we do not do that" which shows that despite the mistreatment and racism they endure from Northdale Indians they are subjugated partners and cannot do anything about the victimisation they experience from Northdale residents. In such a statement the speaker is also able to portray how despite the abuse they are subjected to by Northdale Indians Nhlalakahle residents are different from this group in that they do not hold any racist sentiments towards this group. In line 25 there is an emphasis on the words "we stay with them" which distinguishes Nhlalakahle residents from Northdale residents in that despite the racism and mistreatment they are subjected to the outgroup still integrates with outgroup members. In 24-25 there is a use of the pronoun we and this comes to represent ingroup solidarity by distinguishing between racist Northdale residents and ''we'' who despite ingroup subjugation are still willing

to integrate with Northdale residents. These imagined contact encounters become a form of self-presentation for Nhlalakahle residents that allows these residents to justify why they reject the notion of integration and intergroup contact with Nhlalakahle residents. This imaginings of contact also come to serve interactional functions where men in similar societal positions are able to come together and share stories about their subjugation. These imaginings of contact become form of comradery where group members are able to safely converse about their experiences with the racist other.

EXTRACT 2

Interview 11: 11 Males, ages 28-70

IsiZulu

1   Bab Mzolo: uthole ukuthi usebenza kuwo

2   Bab Dlamini: ingane ikhula ifundiswe ukuthi wena [muntu omnyama uyinunu
3   uyisi::lwane]

4   Bab Miya: [> kuthiwa Butch BAMBA Butch <u>hamba bamba yena</u><] ><u>KUSHUKUTHI WENA</u>
5   <u>UHLALA EHLATHINI</u><

6   Bab Dlamini: ubone ingane wena uma uqhamuka ><u>ihhayiza ibaleka iyakobambelela</u>

7   [<u>kumawayo</u>< ↑]

8   Bab Miya: [Isilwa::ne] kuqhamuke wena ↑

9   Bab Dlamini: kuqhamuke wena muntu itsheliwe lengane ukuthi <u>isilwane lesi</u>

10   Bab Duma: kuhlezi <u>kukhiyiwe</u> isango njalo

11   Smanga: umuntu omnyama uzohlezi <u>eyimfene njalo angithi</u> bathi siyi baboon °angithi°

12   (0.6) sizohlalasiyimfene kanje

13   Bab Mwelase: kodwa kwesinye isikhathi <u>siyabasiza labantu</u>↑

14   (2)

15   Bab Mzolo: bathole ibillion imali engaka

16   bab Duma: siyabasiza↑

17   Bab Dlamini: wena uthole [ufifty rand]

18   Bab Mwelase: [fifty rand]

19   Bab Duma: bagijima ngo BM nje ngathi

20   Mdu: izimali zethu

21   Bab Mzolo: sicindezelekile

English

1   Bab Mzolo: you find that you work for them

2   Bab Dlamini: a child is raised being taught that you as a [black person are a beast an
3   ani::mal]

4   Bab Miya: [>they say Butch CATCH Butch go catch him<] >THAT MEANS THAT YOU
5   LIVE IN A FOREST <

6   Bab Dlamini: you see a baby when you come by >screaming and running away
7   going to hold on to [its mother< ↑]

8   Bab Miya: [anim::al] you showed up↑

9   Bab Dlamini: you black person showed up the kid was told that this is an animal

10   Bab Duma: the gate is always locked

11   Smanga: a black person will always be a monkey always right they say we are baboons
12   °right° (0.6) we will always be monkeys like this

13   (2)

14   Bab Mwelase: but sometimes we help these people↑

15   Bab Mzolo: they get a billion so much money

16   Bab Duma: we help them ↑

17   Bab Dlamini: and you [get fifty rand]

18   Bab Mwelase: [fifty rand]

19   Bab Duma: they drive BM's because of us

20   Mdu: it is our money

21   Bab Mzolo: we are oppressed

Prior to this turn participants were asked to share their experiences of contact with Northdale residents. Participants stated that Northdale residents cannot be clustered into one category as there are Northdale residents who are able treat black people with respect and those who perceive Nhlalakahle residents as somewhat subhuman. The overall tone of the interview was however that majority of Northdale residents perceive Nhlalakahle residents inferior during intergroup encounters. This extract is an extension of the previous turn in which participants were giving accounts of their relationship with Northdale residents. In line 1 the words "you find that you work for them" imply that there is direct contact between Nhlalakahle and Northdale residents however a closer look at these words show that inherent in such a statement are elements of imagined contact. The experience of working for Northdale residents is one that may not be necessarily distinctive to the speaker however this statement becomes one of generalisation that comes to represent every workers experiences of working in Northdale. The statement is also one that is unqualified as it does not represent a scenario occurring at a given time however it will come to represent how working for Northdale Indian residents may be like. In such a statement there is also the construction of working models of exploitation where there are anticipations of exploitation whenever Nhlalakahle residents work for Northdale residents.

From line 2-3 the speaker states that Northdale children are brought up in an environment that conditions them to perceive black people as animals. The words "you as a black person are a beast animal" portray how black people are portrayed as subhuman by Indian residents. Such a statement is filled with underlying racist tones as Van Dijk (2004) states that the construction of

race by groups in dominant positions is often to accentuate group differences with the portrayal of ingroup superiority and the construction of outgroup members as inferior. However Goldberg (1993) demonstrates how race is a fluid category that that is able to adapt to a specific kind of politics distinct to particular environments at a point in time. However this statement is constructed from the position of the subjugated and is not meant to degrade outgroups however is meant to bring into light how racism functions to produce a form of contact that is designed to degrade them as black people. While the statement does enhance the problematic nature of contact with racist outgroup members however the hyperbolic extent of the statement makes the researcher argue that the statement is imagined rather than actual. As McCarthy and Carter (2004) state that the use of hyperbole allows the speaker to create extreme formulations and express counterfactuality in talk. The statement allows the speaker to inflate their expectations of racism among residents in Northdale and as a result this statement comes to be perceived as one that was imagined rather than an actual occurrence. The words ''beast'' and ''animal'' are also constructed in a metonymical manner in that they become a substitute for black people and come to represent all black people. Such metonyms also allow the speaker to portray Northdale residents as racist in that such derogatory views towards black people are not restricted to Nhlalakahle residents but extend to black people as a whole.

In line 4 the speaker gives a scenario of Indian people setting their dogs on black people. In the South African context the construction of dogs attacking black people introduces an element of racism by re-introducing a common belief that was accepted during the apartheid era. Often it was believed that the government was breeding Boerbuls which were believed to be racist watchdogs designed to attack black people. Such a statement is able to reinforce the notion that Indian residents hold racist sentiments towards Nhlalakahle residents and are oppressive towards black people as a whole. However this incidence does not occur at any given point in time but is one that meant to generalise to how Indians may react during encounters and Butch comes to represent all dogs that may attack black people. In line 4-5 there is an increase in the words "that means that you live in a forest" with this statement articulated in a very forceful

manner. Such a statement is able to stress the derogatory manner in which Nhlalakahle residents are perceived as primitive by Northdale residents but also being viewed as someone who lives in a forest emphasises how Indians see them as indistinguishable to animals that can be hunted with dogs.

From line 6-7 the speaker reintroduces the idea that from small Northdale residents condition their children to have negative perceptions of black people. The image of a small child crying because of an encounter with a black person shows how black people in the formal neighbourhood are seen as something strange, something unusual enough to make children cry. This statement also has undertones that are meant to emphasise that Northdale residents are racist in that the fear experienced by the child is purely based on the fact that child is having an encounter with a black person. This essentialises the notion that Indian people are racist and makes ineffective previous statements in the interview where Indian people were considered as different in the manner in which they perceive as well as treat black people. This statement accentuates outgroup homogeneity where all Indians young and old come to be perceived as racist individuals that fear black people, this is also emphasised by the increase in speed and rise in intonation in how this statement was articulated. The child finding solace by going to its mother also projects that outgroup members only perceive safety when they are with members of their own.

In line 8 again there is a re-emergence of the idea that Indians perceive black people to be animals and again such a statement helps in portraying Northdale residents as racist. While racism in South Africa has taken a more covert form such an imagining shows that Northdale Indians have failed to evolve and are still overtly racists. The construction of such working models of racism where Northdale Indians consider Nhlalakahle residents to have the same status as animals produce hostility where Nhlalakahle residents are justified in having antipathies towards the outgroup on the basis that Northdale residents think so lowly for them. Such working models of contact also produce segregation between the two residential areas as it becomes hard for ingroup members to reconcile with racist individuals who humiliate and

subjugate them as black people. In line 10 the speaker goes on to say that "the gate is always locked" and the image of the locked gates helps in symbolising how Northdale residents want to keep them out of the formal neighbourhood. The fact that Northdale residents are locking their gates also removes the blame for the lack of intergroup contact entirely from Nhlalakahle residents as the outgroup is consciously shunning and keeping out of the formal neighbourhood of which they have no control. In line 11-12 again the conceptualisation of black people as animals resurface again with the speaker giving an account of how Northdale residents consider them to be baboons and this again highlights the derogatory manner in which Northdale residents perceive people from Nhlalakahle. This is followed with the statement "we will always be monkeys like this" which signifies that the functioning of racism in how they are viewed by the formal residents will never end but also such a statement is constructed from the position of an individual that has lost expectations in that their position in the formal neighbourhood will ever change.

In line 14 there is an emphasis and rise in intonation in the words we help these people which shows that the derogatory manner in which Northdale residents treat them cannot be justified as they sometimes rely on the assistance of Nhlalakahle residents. The actuality that they sometimes help Northdale residents but they are still perceived negatively by Northdale residents shows the unevolving nature of racism in that despite being of assistance to these residents by virtue of being black they are still considered to be animals by Indian people. In line 15 states that Northdale residents get a billion at the expense of their labour. However the hyperbolic nature of the statement and the exaggeration in the amount of wealth acquired by Indian people makes the researcher argue that the statement is imagined. These billions made in exploitation produce a language of exploitation which shapes relations with others. Such an imagining also helps in accentuating the differences in financial status between the formal and informal residents. In line 17 the speaker states that they only get fifty rand in relation to the billion rand that is earned by Northdale residents. This introduces elements of injustice, oppression, racism as well as conditions similar to those experienced during apartheid where one group was able to acquire vast wealth at the expenses of another group. Such an imagining

is also able to highlight the ongoing subjugation of Nhlalakahle residents in the hands of Northdale residents. In line 19-20 the speakers convey how Northdale residents are able to acquire vast wealth by oppressing Nhlalakahle residents. However the words "it is our money" introduces an elements of justice and shows a form of social awakening similar to the ongoing redress initiatives in the country aimed at addressing past inequalities. In this instance Nhlalakahle residents are aware that since this wealth is acquired at their expense they also deserve to have a share in its distribution. Such a statement can also be used to justify their position in the formal neighbourhood as people who deserve a share in the wealth that has been acquired by Northdale residents.

4.2 Imagined contact to construction of the abject other in contact

EXTRACT 3

Interview 2: 1 Female, 2 Males, ages 32-45

<u>IsiZulu</u>

1   Interviewer: wena Themba yini ocabanga ukuthi idala ukuthi kungezwanwa

2   Themba: awuke ucabange <u>sengiyongena emzini yaleya bhoza</u> ha ha ha

3   Interviewer: =noma kungesekhona ukuya emzini yabo mhlampe uma sonke sihlangana
4   emgwaqeni yini edala ukuthi singazwani singabantu ngoba phela ningumphakathi
5   owodwa nina nabo <u>futhi nihlala edu::zane</u> <yini edala inking> (0.5) ekuzwaneni kwenu

6   Themba: cha sisi bona (0.6) kungathi basenawo lowomqondo wobandlululo kancane
7   (0.6) awukakapheli kubona

8   Interviewer : yinindaba usho lokho

9   (1)

10   Themba: ukwenza nje kwabo (0.5) ukwenza kwabo ake ngithi nje mina ngizibonela
11   intombi yendiya laphaya >ngithi ngizama ukuyishela manje< <u>ingamemeza manje</u>
12   sengiwumuntu omubi (0.4) angikhulumanga amagama amabi

12   Interviewer: amabi

13   Themba: ukuyicela nje uxolo (0.4) ingamemeza (0.5) so nje ngingathi alikapheli kubona

14   ubandlululo

14   Patrick: kodwa wona (0.8) <u>BAYAKWAZI</u> ha ha

15   Themba: [Bona bayakwazi] uyabona baziqe::dile ha ha

16   Patrick: [Bona bayakwazi uyabona] babaqedie

17   Themba: babaqedile osisteri baphelile ha ha ilaba

18   Patrick: abahlala nabo

19   Interviewer: wena Khethiwe ubona ukuthi yini edala kungabi khona ubumbano

20   [olukhulu namandiya ngaphesheya]

21   Patrick: [amandiya yazi ukuthini] mina angifuni ukukukhohlisa amandiya umuntu (0.6)

22   ngeke aze amuthembe umuntu >kwaphela kwaphela kwaphela<

23   Themba: ay awasithembi wona

English

1   Interviewer: and you Themba what do you think prevents you (0.8) from getting

2   along

3   Themba: just imagine me <u>getting into that bosses house</u> ha ha

4   Interviewer: =even if It is not going into their houses but when you meet down the

5   road what prevents you (0.5) from getting along as people because you are part of one

7   community with them and you stay <u>very cl::ose to them</u>>what causes a problem< (0.5)

8   in you getting along

9   Themba: no it is as if (0.6) they still do have that racist mentality a bit (0.6) it has

10   not ended among them

11   Interviewer1: why do you say that

12   (1)

13   Themba: because of what they do (0.5) what they do let me say that I see an Indian girl

14   here>and I try to ask her out now <she will scream now I am a bad person (0.4) while I

15   did not say anything bad

16   Interviewer: bad

17   Themba: just by talking to her (0.4) she will scream (0.5) I will say that it has not ended

18   among them

19   Patrick: but them (0.8) THEY ARE ABLE TO ha ha

20   Themba: [but they are able to] you see they have fini::shed them ha ha

21   Patrick: [but they are able to you see] they have finished them

22   Themba:they have finished them sisters have been finished haha by them

23   Patrick: they live with them

24   Interviewer: and khethiwe what do you think causes a lack of [unity with the Indians in

25   Northdale]

26   Patrick: [you know what Indians] I don't want to deceive you Indians a black person (0.6)

27   will not trust a black person and >that's the end of it the end of it the end of it<

28   Themba: ay they do not trust us

In this interview Patrick was a dominant speaker compared to the other two participants and in line 1 the interviewer was probing one of the less spoken participants Themba on the issues that he believes to be currently preventing Nhlalakahle and Northdale residents from getting along. The participant responds with "just imagine me getting into that bosses house" which is followed by a laugh. The participant refers to Northdale residents as bosses and this portrays that there is a very wide gap in hierarchical differences between Northdale and Nhlalakahle residents. The statement also portrays inferiority complexes where the speaker deems himself as abject and the idea of having contact with these ''bosses'' comes to be perceived as peculiar. The laughter at the end of the statement also enforces the absurdity of the concept of contact with these residents. Such inferiority complexes also able portray how intergroup contact

between the two residential groups will fail to result in equal status friendship as Northdale residents are placed on a high pedestal and Themba portrays how he perceives himself as inadequate to have contact with this group. The different positions held by these groups and the differences in how these groups are viewed in society may result in contact having positive benefits for one group while such benefits are minimised for the informal settlers. From line 4-8 the interviewer again probes the participants about the issues preventing Nhlalakahle residents from integrating with Northdale residents as these residential areas are in close proximity to each other. From line 9-10 the speaker accounts for the lack of intimate contact between these residents as a result of Northdale residents being racist. Such a statement puts the blame of minimal contact between the two groups entirely on Northdale residents because the outgroup still holds racist sentiments towards black people and as a result rejects integrating with Nhlalakahle residents. The construction of racism as a working model of contact allows Nhlalakahle residents to construct themselves as subjugated individuals that cannot shape contact relationships and therefore they cannot be accountable for how contact unfolds between the two groups.

In line 11 the interviewer asks the speaker if there are any reasons that make him say that Northdale Indians are still racist and the speaker goes to construct a scenario of a social encounter where he approaches an Indian girl with the intention of romance. Themba puts an emphasis on the detail that the girl would scream if she were to come across such a social encounter with a black person. This shows that the antipathy and prejudice held by Northdale Indians towards Nhlalakahle residents cannot be justified and is not based on actual negative encounters but any form of contact with people from Nhlalakahle is perceived as negative. At the beginning of this statement there is a repetition of the words "because of what they do'' with a pause in between these words and as Jucker, Smith and Lüdge (2003) state that the lack of precision in talk tends to be more effective in portraying the intended meaning of rhetoric as it tends to carry more contextual implications compared to clarified speech. However this elusiveness is followed by an elaborate construction of the scenario of the Indian girl being approached by a black man however such a precise scenario of contact occurring in the

background of limited or no intergroup contact allows the researcher to affirm that the scenario is imagined rather than actual. Husnu and Crisp (2010) state that elaboration enhances imagined contact and becomes a tool that effectively allows groups to base future intentions to engage in future contact with outgroup members. Such an imagined scenario is able to show the derogatory manner that Northdale residents perceive black people and while such a negative encounter is in the speaker's imagination such negative constructions of contact help in portraying contact as degrading experience for group members. These negative imaginings of contact prevent integration between the two residential groups from happening.

In line 19 Patrick goes on to state that while they are unable to pursue Indian girls however these groups are perceived differently by society with Indian men successfully being able to pursue black women in a romantic manner. There is an emphasis on the words they are able to and these words are followed by laughter and this gives a construction of Nhlalakahle women as up for grabs to Northdale men. This shows a hierarchy between the races and a form of perceived social permeability with Indian people rejecting contact with black people but black women wanting to associate themselves with Indian men. Tajfel and Turner (1979) state that in situations where group boundaries are permeable individuals may engage in a variety of activities and behaviours that are designed to improve the individual's societal position. These activities become largely dictated by perceived permeability of group boundaries and the type of intergroup relations that are to result. In this extract the perceived group permeability is in the form of black girls wanting to date Indian men. In line 20 the speaker states that black women have been finished by Indian men and the word finished is elongated and this statement is followed by a laugh. This statement loses its impact in translation however in IsiZulu the word *"babaqedile''* refers to overuse of the vagina and is the lowest form of insult that can be given to a woman. While such a statement encompasses elements of exploitation the manner in which such rhetoric is constructed is derogatory to Nhlalakahle women in that they are constructed as having opened and allowed themselves to be devoured by Indian men. From line 21-22 again the speakers put an emphasis on the issue that black women have been finished by Indian men and this constructs Northdale men as insatiable beings. However the

actuality of Northdale men having sex with all the women in Nhlalakahle is also an improbable scenario. This statement helps in portraying black women as objects of sexual exploitation by Northdale men. In line 22 the speaker refers to black women as sisters which symbolises a sense of unity among Nhlalakahle residents but also portrays a level of sympathy for these women. This statement is however followed by laughter which negates this sympathy and indicates that they are mocking these women for getting involved in relationships with Northdale men of whom the speaker perceives are purely based on the sexual gratification of Northdale men.

In line 24-25 there is a change in turn with the interviewer asking the female participant the issues that she perceives to prevent positive intergroup contact between the two groups. However before Khethiwe can reply Patrick answers this question and states that it is because they do not trust us. In line 26- 27 the speaker states that he does not want to deceive the interviewer and with such a statement the speaker indicates that his statement be considered as true and taken at face value. The speaker then states that it is because Indians do not trust them and that's the end of it with an emphasis and a repetition on the words the end of it. The speaker encourages the interviewer to believe him that Indian people will not change they will never trust black people as it is something that is inherent in all Indian people. This also prevents the interviewers from asking further questions as this is the final statement that is meant to make the interviewer realise the reasons for the lack of unity among Northdale and Nhlalakahle residents is because Indians do not trust them as black people. Such a construction also shows that there is nothing that they as Nhlalakahle residents can do to improve intergroup relations between these residential groups as the outgroup will always be suspicious towards black people. In line 28 the notion that Indian people do not trust black people is enforced by Themba repeating the words they do not trust us.

4.3 Imagined contact as a rejection of intergroup solidarity

EXTRACT 4

Interview 5: 2 Females, ages 23 & 50

IsiZulu

1   Interviewer: nicabangani ngabantu (0.4)abahlala ngale eNorthdale (1.2) >abantu
2   abangamindiya bala eNorthdale< nicabanga ini ngabo

3   Mam Bhengu: ey mina angicabangi lutho ngabo angifuni ukuqamba amanga ↑(0.4)
4   ayikho intoengiyicangayo ngabo

5   ZInhle: <u>kuncgono nje basiyeke nje</u>°siqhubeke nogesi siwuthathe nje ngoba vele nabo
6   bayawusebenzisa°so >kuncono vele siwu sherishe<

7   interviewer: kodwa awuboni lokho ukuthi akukho fair (0.4) angithi nithe bayawu
8   khokhela angani

9   Zinhle: bayawu khokhela bona

10   Interviewer: < mese niyawuthatha (h) nina>

11   zinhle: bahle::zi bengazofuna vele ukuthi siwuthathe° ngoba bayazi ukuthi sihlala
12   eNhlalakahle ° (0.5) ngoba vele nathi besizowukhokhela

13   Mam Bhengu: cha kona amandiya la::wa nje awasifuni ↑

14   Zinhle: ngoba abafuni ukusherisha >izinto eziningi nabantu abamnyama< (1.2)

15   Interviewer: < uma yini athi abasifuni uma kukhona izinto owake wazibona (0.4)
16   mhlampe uze uthi ayi abasifuni>

17   Mam Bhengu: ehhe kukhona okwenza ngisho loko ngoba uma bedlula ngezimoto zabo
18   bayakhuluma (0.4) namanzi uma egobhoza kugobhoza amanzi emgwaqeni bayakhuluma
19   bayakhuluma njesikhathini esiningi amandiya↑

20   Interviewer: kodwa kukhona kwesinye isikhathi la abake benze izinto ezilungile
21   emphakathini wase Nhlalakahle

22   Zinhle: cha

23   Mam Bhengu: cha bayakwnza phela okulungile ehhe kona bayakwenza okulungile
24   njengoba bengikade ngisho nje ukuthi ene°bayabuyake bazosiphakela ke sidleke°

25   interviewer: uZinhle yena uthe cha>yini indaba uthe ayi<

26   Zinhle: ukuthi kulula ukuthi basifakele ushevu kukona lokukudla

27   Mam Bhengu:> kona ku easy ukuthi basifakele ushevu ngoba phela abasifuni vele (0.5)
28   angithi< kodwa ke khona siyahamba siyokuthatha sidle nezinto (0.3)<babuye basinike
29   nezidwedwe uthathe ugqoke (0.5) manje angazike ukuthi ngingathinike> ngoba>noma
30   phela kungenziwa iwona wonke amandiya< lawa athi ayathandaza iwona akwenzayo
31   loko lawa athi ayathandaza

32   Interviewer 2: lawa akwazi ukuthi anisize

English

1   Interviewer: what do you think of (0.4) Northdale residents Northdale (1.2)>Indian
2   residents<what do you think about them Northdale residents<what do you think about
3   them

4   Mam Bhengu: I do not think anything about them I do not want to lie↑ (0.4) I do not
5   have any opinion of them

6   Zinhle: it would be better if they just left us and we °carried on taking the electricity
7   because they also use it° so >rather we share it<

8   Interviewer: but don't you think that it is not fair (0.4) because you said that they pay 9
        for it

10   Zinhle: they pay for it

11   Interviewer: <and then you take (h) it>

12   Zinhle: th::ey will always not want us to take it °because they know that we stay at
13   Nhlalakahle° (0.5) because we would have also paid for it

14   Mam Bhengu: no but Indians these on::es do not want us↑

15   Zinhle: because they do not want to share a >lot of things with black people<

16   (1.2)

17   Interviewer : <why does ma say that they do not want us have you seen (0.4) maybe
18   things that make you say that they do not want us>

19   Mam Bhengu: yes there are things that make me say that because when they go by with
20   their cars they talk (0.4) and water if the water is flowing on the road they talk
21   they talk most of the time Indians↑

22   Interviewer: but are there times when they do good things for the Nhlalakahle
23   community

24   Zinhle: no

25   Mam Bhengu: they do good things yes they do good things like I said that °they come
26   and give us food and we eat°

27   Interviewer : Zinhle said no >why did you say no<

28   Zinhle: because it is easy for them to poison the same food

29   Mam Bhengu: >it would be easy for them to poison us because they do not want us
30   (0.5) right< but we go and take it and eat and they also give us things (0.3) <and rags
31   and you take and you wear them (0.5) and now I do not know what to say >because
32   >even though not all Indians do it<those who say they pray are the ones who do it those
33   who say they pray

34   Interviewer : those who are able to help you

In line 1 the interviewer asks the participants what they think of Northdale residents and this is followed by a 1.2 second pause where the interviewer hurriedly adds on Northdale Indian residents. Despite the study being focused on imagined contact between Nhlalakahle and Northdale residents race quickly became interchangeably tied with these residential areas. In line 4 the speaker states that she does not think anything about Northdale residents and her

neutral position is enforced with the words that she does not want to lie. In maintaining a level of neutrality the speaker avoids having any form of responsibility that may be involved in stating how they feel about their Northdale neighbours. In line 5 the speaker yet again shows that she is a neutral party through the repetition of the statement that she does not have any opinion of them. In line 6 there is an emphasis on the words "it would be better if they just left us" which gives the impression that contact with Northdale residents is problematic for Nhlalakahle residents. The speaker then in a quieter intonation states that Northdale residents should just allow them keep on taking electricity because they also use it. This statement allows the speaker to portray Northdale residents as insincere in that they are denying Nhlalakahle residents access to something that is a necessity and of which they are also using. In line 7 in a rapid speech the speaker states suggests that rather they all share the electricity since both residential areas need it. In this the speaker introduces aspects of common sense whereby it makes sense that they all share the electricity since they all need it. In line 8-9 the interviewer asks whether they do not consider illegally connecting the electricity as unfair to Northdale residents on the basis that Northdale residents pay for electricity while they as Nhlalakahle residents do not pay for electricity.

From line 12-13 Zinhle rationalises and justifies her previous statement where she wanted Northdale residents to allow Nhlalakahle residents to keep connecting electricity illegally by imagining that Northdale residents will never want them to have electricity anyway because they stay at Nhlalakahle. This statement is followed by a short pause and then speaker states that they would have also paid for the electricity had they been given the opportunity. This shows that if Northdale residents had allowed them to connect the electricity in the first place they would have shared the electricity expenses with them. Such an imagined scenario becomes useful in drawing conclusion about motives for action where Nhlalakahle residents are connecting electricity illegally from the imaginings that Northdale residents would not want them to have electricity. From such an imagining residents start initiating social action in the form of Nhlalakahle residents taking what Northdale residents are denying them by connecting the electricity illegally.

In line 14 there is a change in turn from Northdale residents not wanting them to connect electricity because they are from Nhlalakahle to an emphasis that Indians not want them. There is an emphasis and a rise in intonation on the words "these ones do not want us'' with the word ones prolonged by the speaker. In this statement there is a shift from the notion that all Indian's do not want them to the speaker specifically narrowing it down to Northdale Indians not wanting them. The use of race also helps in constructing Northdale residents as racist in that race comes to represent the manner in which they are evaluated by Northdale residents and the outgroup having aversions towards ingroup members largely comes to be viewed as stemming from Nhlalakahle residents being black. In line 15 Zinhle imagines that Northdale residents have aversions towards ingroup members because Northdale residents refuse to share resources with black people. Such an imagining is able to justify the speaker's position in that Nhlalakahle residents are justified in illegally connecting electricity as Northdale residents do not want to share resources with black people. However such an imagining is also able to bring back unfair power systems that were inherent in the past into the present where one group was able to harbour resources for ingroup members while depriving outgroup members with black people being on the receiving end of this unjust system.

This is followed by a slight pause and the researcher goes to asks Mam Bhengu if she has reasons or experiences that allow her to justify her position of constructing Northdale residents as have antipathies towards Nhlalakahle resident. There is an emphasis on the word yes and then the speaker gives a scenario where if Indians are going past Nhlalakahle with their cars they make comments about the state that the informal settlement is in. In line 22-23 the interviewer asks the participants whether Northdale residents have provided any form of assistance to Nhlalakahle residents. In line 24 Zinhle responds with a no but is contradicted in line 25 by Mam Bhengu who responds with a yes and shows that they do get some assistance from the Northdale community. The words "they come and give us food and we eat" are spoken more softly compared to the surrounding speech. This may indicate that that the

speaker is aware that this statement is a contradiction to the speaker's previous statements about Northdale Indians having aversion for Nhlalakahle residents.

In line 27 the interviewer asks Zinhle to go into detail on why she believes that Northdale residents do not provide any form of assistance for the Nhlalakahle community. In line 28 Zinhle gives a scenario where despite Northdale residents assisting them by providing them with food there is always that probability that they could poison the same food. However such a statement is filled with imagined elements as the speaker is imagining the possibility of Nhlalakahle residents being poisoned by Northdale residents. There is an emphasis on these words and such an imagining portrays a level of distrust between residents in these two residential areas. These imaginings become a form of action that justify residents evading contact with Northdale residents as contact is likely to have detrimental effects for ingroup members. Mam Bhengu then goes on to reinforce the notion that it would be easy for Northdale residents to poison the food they give them on the basis that they do not want them. These words are spoken in speeded speech plus emphasised then followed by a slight pause and the utterance ''right'' which portrays that the speaker is seeking a form of approval on her statement. The speaker goes on to state that despite Northdale residents having aversions towards ingroup members however they still accept the assistance being offered by outgroup members. In illustrating that despite ingroup members being aware of the probability that the assistance being provided by Northdale could have detrimental effects for ingroup members with the probability of concerns such as being poisoned however they still accept this assistance the speaker is able to portray the destitute conditions that ingroup members are living under. This also portrays how their position of being in the lower rungs of societal hierarchy places them at risk of victimisation by more prominent groups during situations of contact.

The construction of working models of victimisation where contact encounters have the prospect of resulting into the victimisation of ingroup members allows ingroup members to

evade contact with outgroup members as such contact encounters have the probability of having negative consequences for ingroup members. In slowed speech the speaker then goes on to state that they get rags and they take them and wear them. The image of them getting rags from Northdale residents trivialises the help that they get from these residents and constructs a situation where the help Northdale residents are offering Nhlalakahle residents comes in the form of this group disposing items that are no longer of use to them. The speaker then goes on to state that she does not know what to say because it is not all Indian people who help them but some do. This shows a level of confliction and uncertainty about her position in regards to her conception of Northdale residents. This confliction also stems from the fact that this statement was able to portray outgroup heterogeneity where Northdale residents are not just clustered as Indian people who despise black people but the statement is able to show differences in the characteristics of outgroup members. Mam Bhengu states that ''those who say they pray'' are those who are able to help them and this statement helps in differentiating between Northdale residents in that those who pray become an exception to the rest of Northdale residents.

4.4 Conclusion

The construction of imagined intergroup contact was largely to construct racism as a working model of contact where the imaginings of outgroup racism allowed ingroup members to draw conclusions that integration with outgroup members would likely result into unequal contact, degradation and violence for ingroup members. These working models of contact allowed the informal settlers to construct a platform where they could reject intergroup contact with Northdale residents on the basis that intergroup encounters were likely to result in the victimisation of Nhlalakahle residents. These working models of contact with racist outgroup members were largely advanced by discourses centred on the subjugation of ingroup members in the hands of Northdale residents. The use of such working models of contact allowed ingroup members to justify informally segregating themselves as integration between the two residential areas would have detrimental effects for ingroup members. It becomes practical for

ingroup members to evade intergroup contact as it becomes imprudent to initiate intergroup contact if the consequence will be the victimisation of ingroup members.

Such discourses of subjugation also allowed ingroup members to accentuate group differences with Narratives of oppression used to symbolize ingroup characterisation in contrast to the construction of outgroup membership which was categorised by racism and Indian oppressors. Such working models of contact were also formulated based on the history of the two groups where past negative encounters with Indian people shaped anticipations of contact with outgroup members in the present. Mental simulations of contact became largely constructed to produce Northdale residents as harboring the exploitative mentality and racist sentiments perceived as evident among Indian people during the apartheid years in South Africa. As evidence in extract 1 the perceived racism from outgroup members is largely rooted in the history of these two groups. The imagining of contact with Northdale residents thus becomes largely centred on the negative racial events of the past in which Nhlalakahle residents believe will still be inherent among Northdale residents in the present. These expectations of racism from the outgroup results in situations of distrust and fear of abuse without direct intergroup contact with Northdale residents. The static accounts of racist Indian residents are also portrayed in extract 2 though the imagining that from childhood Indians are conditioned to hate black people. The participants define themselves as abject individuals in contact through images of brutality where they are referred to as baboons and Indian residents are setting dogs at them because they are black people. Participants also define themselves in relation to being disadvantaged where they are exploited by Northdale residents for financial gain with Northdale being able to acquire tremendous wealth at their expense and Nhlalakahle residents being denied a share in this wealth.

In Extract 3 again there are narratives of Northdale residents as racist however in this extract the speakers are able to show that the antipathies help by Northdale residents are not based on negative encounters but Northdale residents despise them purely because they are black people. The speakers show the exploitation of Nhlalakahle residents by portraying how

Nhlalakahle women are sexualised and used by Northdale men for their sexual gratification. In extract 4 the participants are able to portray how the subjugation of the ingroup puts them in a position of vulnerability where contact is likely to result in negative consequences for ingroup members. The informal settlers largely imagined contact with Northdale resident in order to define themselves as abject partners in contact. These imaginings of contact allowed residents to advance ideological and political function by allowing groups to informally segregate themselves around racial lines as contact with outgroup members would result in their degradation and abuse as Nhlalakahle residents.

Chapter 5: Racism as a working model of contact

In situations of deep ethnic or racial conflict the concept of establishing direct intergroup contact often becomes illusionary as it often becomes implausible to integrate conflicting groups under what Allport (1979) calls optimal conditions of contact. Researchers such as Turner et al. (2007) recognised the value of introducing indirect forms of intergroup contact as a means of prejudice reduction between groups in situations where direct intergroup contact was improbable. However the biggest critique outlined by this study on the imagined contact hypothesis was that research in this field has largely remained lab based. Instructional sets focused on positive social interactions provided by the researcher (e.g. Crisp, et al., 2009) are often perceived as effective in reducing outgroup bias among participants. The experimentalism encouraged by imagined contact researchers has stripped intergroup contact of issues such as the existence of race and prejudice.

The current study focused on how imagined intergroup contact was constructed by groups in real world situation characterised by intergroup conflict when mental simulations of social interactions are not provided by the researcher. Conducting a study on imagined intergroup contact in an environment characterised by real intergroup conflict and anxiety was important as imagined contact theory was developed as an intervention mechanism for groups with limited opportunities for direct intergroup contact. However these are not the populations that research on imagined intergroup contact has concentrated on and the literature is saturated by experiments between groups that initiating contact between would not prove to be problematic (West, 2010).

The construction of imagined intergroup contact by participants was as follows

5.1. Working models of contact with the racist other
Van Dijk (2004) states that the first practice that surfaces in racist discourses is the discriminatory form that dominant groups verbally degrade outgroup members with the use of

insult, derogatory slurs and other forms of inadequate address. Such discourses are often used to express racial superiority as well as a lack of respect for outgroups. In the present study participants centred their imaginings of intergroup contact around such discourses however these discourses were initiated from the position of the oppressed in order to portray group members as victims of such discourses. The use of such discourses allowed Nhlalakahle residents to construct themselves as victims of subjugation and degradation in the hands of racist outgroup members. Participants made use of hyperbolic statements to construct extreme cases of racial oppression and abuse. Such statements came to represent the informal resident's expectations of contact with the formal residents. Vivid images of racial degradation were also used to construct the demeaning manner in which Northdale residents perceive them. Images of baboons and monkeys became metonyms that came to represent the degradation that black people are subjected to in the hands of outgroup members.

Durrheim and Dixon (2005) state that working models of contact are historically dependent resources used by different actors to advance particular ideological and political functions. The mental simulations of group members being perceived as monkeys allowed group members to rework historical ideologies where the association of black people with primates was used to justify atrocities such as slavery on the basis that black people were more simian than human. Such working models of contact afforded residents the opportunity to portray outgroup members as racist however they also highlighted the probability of how intergroup victimisation may become a reality during contact encounters with Northdale residents.

In the study the construction of discourses of victimisation and abuse was constantly recurring and while Durrheim & Dixon (2005) state that racist discourses have become covert with groups often keen for commonly held stereotypes to not be inherently tied to race this did not hold true in the study. Participants in the study did not cover commonly held ingroup stereotypes such as those of Northdale residents being exploitative and abusive on the grounds that they were Indian people and therefore being expected to abuse black people. However these discourses were portrayed in a manner that highlighted ingroup subjugation and re-directed

attention from Nhlalakahle residents in that such negative constructions of contact may stem from ingroup members holding racist sentiments towards the outgroup. However these working models of contact served to portray intergroup contact as threatening for Nhlalakahle residents where contact with racist Indians will result in them as black people being victims of abuse. While researchers such as Turner & Crisp (2010) and Turner et al. (2007) have demonstrated that imagined intergroup contact has the ability to reduce prejudice against outgroup members in the study imagined intergroup contact was largely constructed to perpetuate group stereotypes. Also evident in such imaginings was the use of discourses meant to portray outgroup polarisation where Northdale residents come to represent all racist Indian people. The construction of racism as a working model of contact allowed residents to informally segregate themselves as it became functional for ingroup members to avoid encounters that will subject them to abuse.

West, Pearson and Stern (2014) state that probable intergroup contact prompts a sense of threat for group members and such anxiety may result in apprehensive expectations of contact with outgroup members. In this study the construction of imagined intergroup contact was largely formulated by Nhlalakahle residents to portray intergroup contact as a threatening experience. Ingroup members were likely to be victims of abuse if contact was initiated with outgroup members. The construction of racial threat was a recurring phenomenon throughout the interviews with participants constructing varying accounts of negative imagined encounters of which were all intrinsically tied to the anticipation of victimisation from Northdale residents. The basis for anticipating victimisation from Northdale residents ranged from the expectations of exploitation by employers to the expectancy of deprivation and physical exploitation. As evident among narratives where participants illustrated that Northdale residents are able to acquire vast wealth by exploiting black people and how Nhlalakahle women become objects to be sexually exploited by Indian men.

Such discourses of exploitation and victimisation were also advanced by historically significant encounters with Indian people where past violent encounters still determine the types of

relations expected during contact encounters. Desai (2014) demonstrates how the fear of victimisation by Indian people is engrained in public discourses and results into negative expectations of contact with Indian people. This is evident in a song by popular South African artist Mbongeni Ngema titled *AmaNdiya* (Indians).The song is meant to encourage strong Zulu men to stand up and fight the abuse, racism and exploitation that black people are subjected to by Indian people. The song also highlights how Indian people in South Africa throughout history have failed to acknowledge black people as equals.

Participants in the study constantly referred back to the year 1949 where violence aimed at black people in the past formed the basis of how Indian people were evaluated before the prospect of intergroup contact with was even considered. However in South Africa the violence that resulted between Indian and black people often termed the Durban riots is comprehended differently by different groups. Those who sympathised with Indian people stated that the Durban riots were fuelled by anti-Indian sentiments and the outcome was the massacre of Indian people. Nowbath (29/01/1949) states that the 2 day Durban riots cannot be considered as a race riot as Indian people were unaware of what was happening."The Indians did not fight back. When violence descended on their person they took cover and remained under cover, from where they were later hounded out and killed or burnt inside their homes". However those who sympathized with African people such as the Ilanga Lase Natal, a newspaper catering to a large African demographic in KwaZulu Natal showed how history has centred the Durban riots on the victimisation of Indian people. This deviated attention on how Indian people attacked black people in 1949 with the support of Boers (Mfeka, 26/05/2013). These differences in the recollection of history shaped the kind of imaginings of intergroup contact that resulted in the study. While imagined contact theory asserts that imagining contact improves intergroup dynamics (Turner et al., 2007) however in real life contexts such assertions are disconfirmed. In the study when Nhlalakahle residents imagined contact it was largely to reinforce commonly held antipathies and stereotypes of Indian people as abusive towards black people.

The referral to historical events became a manner in which Nhlalakahle residents were able to evade changing commonly held stereotypes about Northdale residents. It allowed them to not focus on present events and intergroup relations with Northdale residents in the present but maintain discourses of the subjugation and victimisation of black people that were inherent in the past. While imagined intergroup contact has been proven to improve implicit and explicit attitudes towards outgroup members (Crisp & Turner 2009; Turner, Crisp et al., 2007), in this study imagined contact largely became a tool that allowed Nhlalakahle residents the opportunity to avoid cognitive changes in the manner that they perceived Northdale residents. By holding on to discourses inherent in the past Nhlalakahle residents diminished opportunities of rectifying these negative conceptions of contact for more constructive views of the outgroup. Barriers preventing positive intergroup contact between the two groups were maintained by expectations of abuse from Northdale residents.

These Imagining of intergroup contact also appeared to exacerbate outgroup stereotypes as well as the conception that they are unwanted in the formal neighbourhood by Northdale residents. Participants in the study used brutal images in their imaginings of contact to show the brutality that they are subjugated to by Northdale residents. Participants imagined scenarios such as being chased with machetes and Northdale residents setting their dogs on them in order to reinforce discourses of victimisation. In extract 4 one of the participants goes on to imagine the possibility of being poisoned by Nhlalakahle residents such an imagining is able to signify the antipathies that Northdale residents are believed to hold about Nhlalakahle residents in that Northdale residents would be willing to poison them as a means of removing them from their frontier. Imagined intergroup contact also became a manner in which Nhlalakahle residents held the formal residents responsible for the impoverished living conditions in. Participants imagined how the lack of resources in Nhlalakahle was a consequence of Northdale residents denying them opportunities of accessing resources such as electricity.

While public discourses such as informal settlers increase crime rates (Ballard, 2004a) are evident in literature on contact with informal settlers these are perspectives of the formal residents. Such discourses are often employed as a means of minimizing opportunities of contact with informal settlers. The study found that informal settlers also employ public discourses such as contact would result in the abuse and exploitation of ingroup members as a manner of evading direct contact with formal residents. In this study the construction of intergroup contact as a threatening experience largely shaped anticipations and perceived consequences of intergroup contact. The anticipations of victimisation during probable intergroup encounters allowed Nhlalakahle residents to justify lack of intergroup contact between the two residential groups.

5.2. Implication of the study on the imagined contact hypothesis

In this study the researcher argues that outside of laboratory setting the imagined intergroup contact hypothesis does not have any applicability as a prejudice reduction tool. In real life situations such as the one studied here where researchers are not providing mental simulations of positive intergroup encounters imagining intergroup contact does not prove to have any positive consequences for intergroup relations. Allport (1954) stated that at the fantasy level contact may have the ability to improve intergroup contact with outgroup members. In the present study, imagined intergroup contact provided groups a safe haven where ingroup members were able to converse and share stories of imagined contact with outgroup members. This created a shared ingroup identity where group members were able to grant certain positions to their group of which were perceived as different from the position held by ingroup members. This afforded groups the opportunity to accentuate differences between ingroup and outgroup members and this consequently resulted into the emphasis of outgroup stereotypes. In this study the emphasis of outgroup stereotypes became a technique where ingroup members were able to justify their rejection of intergroup contact. Whereas Crisp et al. (2010) illustrate that imagined intergroup contact increases prospect for future contact between groups the results of the study contradict such assertions and demonstrate that in real world situations contact is largely imagined to diminish the prospect of intergroup contact. The focus

on perceived threat in probable intergroup encounters was largely meant to increase anxiety over the prospect of contact and as a result diminish any possible conditions that may provide opportunities for groups integrating.

5.3. Implications of imagined contact for intergroup relations between Nhlalakahle and Northdale residents

In the present study the imagining of contact with outgroup members largely became a technique used by ingroup members to evade the prospect of intergroup contact with outgroup members. However most studies on contact with informal settlers in South Africa have remained focused on the invasion of suburban areas previously zoned as white residential areas in the country. During apartheid ''whiteness'' allowed individuals privilege in the hierarchical system of apartheid South Africa and the opportunities afforded to white people allowed them to lead opulent lifestyles. However in this study the power of the privileged rested on Indian residents and both these groups in the apartheid era were treated as second class citizens under the white supremacy of apartheid. In spite of Indian people ranking higher in the social hierarchy and being afforded more economic privileges compared to African people this group never acquired vast wealth under the apartheid regime. However by being classified as racially superior to African people a division was created between Indians and black people.

The divisions of the past still haunt the present with Indian people as benefactors of apartheid being viewed as oppressors of black people. In this study the informal settlers' imaginings of contact largely became a manner in which they were preventing intergroup contact and consequently shielding ingroup members from such perceived abuse from Indian people. However these imaginings are meant to decrease the prospect of these groups integrating and this creates the same racial divisions that were inherent in apartheid South Africa. The situation between Nhlalakahle and Northdale residents has become one where instead of the two groups coming together and challenging the municipality for better resources there is suspicion

and hostility between the two groups. Nhlalakahle residents view their depraved living conditions as resulting from Northdale residents denying them access to resources and Northdale residents rally against activities where Nhlalakahle residents are taking resources such as electricity by force. Such actions put strain on the already limited resources in Northdale of which disrupt services in the whole of Northdale and the outcome is groups developing antipathies as opposed to developing solidarity and demanding better resources for these two residential areas. This result into the reworking of the past ideology of divide and rule where the lack of solidarity between different groups resulted in unjust power systems remaining unchallenged. This self-segregation and conflict results into a situation where individuals in power become unaccountable for the lack of service delivery in these residential areas but the different groups hold outgroup members as responsible for group members not having access to resources such as electricity.

Intergroup relations improve intergroup contact (Allport, 1979) however when groups imagine intergroup contact as a tool for evading probable encounters with outgroup members such opportunities for improved intergroup relations are diminished. While avoiding intergroup encounters may be an act of group preservation for the informal settlers who feared victimisation by the formal residents the lack of contact between these groups result in the negative stereotypes often held about informal settlements failing to be disconfirmed. In avoiding intergroup contact the informal settlers never granted formal residents the opportunity to interact with ingroup members and as a result the suspicion of groups having informal settlements in their frontier is never diminished.

While the results of the study cannot be generalised into other contexts as Cresswell (1998) states that qualitative research focuses on small samples and therefore such studies typically refrain from making claim of generalizability about research findings. However if there are similar trends in segregated contexts where groups experience anxiety over probable intergroup contact and contact is constructed as a threatening experience then informal segregation can be expected to persist in the country. Studies such as (Ballard, 2004a; Saff,

2001; Dixon & Reicher 1997 and Lemanski, 2004) have demonstrated that affluent members of society reject direct intergroup contact with those in the lower rungs of hierarchy in society. However the findings of the study showed that underprivileged groups also evade potential intergroup contact with outgroup members as a means of avoiding experiences of victimisation by more dominant groups. The notion that groups in different positions of power in society are all rejecting the notion of contact and integrating with outgroup members may mean that intergroup relations in South Africa can still be expected to be characterised by racial homogeneity and the prospect of an integrated South Africa may in actuality become illusionary.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Summary of research findings

In this study imaginings of intergroup contact produced racism as a working model of contact where the construction of racial threat allowed residents to evade prospects of intergroup contact with the formal residents. The informal settlers imagined intergroup encounters as having negative consequences for ingroup members where working models of contact with racist outgroups were advanced through the construction of discourses of abuse, victimisation and degradation. Such discourses were used to portray how contact encounters with the formal residents would result into the victimisation of Nhlalakahle residents. The informal settlers largely made use of such working models of contact as a means of presenting commonly held ingroup stereotypes about Indian people being abusing towards black. Therefore by virtue of being Indian Northdale residents were perceived to be abusive towards Nhlalakahle residents. The use of such working models of contact allowed Nhlalakahle residents the opportunity of rejecting intergroup contact with Northdale residents on the basis that such encounters would prove to be detrimental for Nhlalakahle residents.

The use of race in the study came to distinguish those who belonged from those who are perceived as oppressors. Imaginings of intergroup contact ceased to be imaginings of contact between Nhlalakahle and Northdale residents however such imagining became centred on race with Nhlalakahle residents being victims of abuse in the hands of Indian people. Participants made use of common stereotypes that portrayed Indian people as racist and exploitative with imaginings of events occurring in the past forming the basis in which Northdale residents came to be evaluated. Imagined intergroup contact became a manner in which Nhlalakahle residents polarised Northdale residents with imagined contact largely shifting from encounters with groups of racist Indian people to all Northdale residents being categorised as racist.

The construction of racial threat in the study not only afforded Nhlalakahle residents the opportunity to construct intergroup contact as a threatening experience for ingroup members but the use of race allowed Nhlalakahle residents to construct themselves as victims of abuse during intergroup relations with Northdale residents. These discourses of victimisation were largely formulated on past historical events where past encounters with Indian people influenced the anticipations of intergroup contact in the present. The imagining of intergroup contact was largely to aggravate outgroup stereotypes of Indian people being abusive towards black people. Participants accessed violent situations that may have occurred in the past such as black people being attacked by with machetes and these by other race groups and these were transported into the present where imaginings of contact with Northdale residents were believed to result into similar encounters in the present. Working models of victimisation allowed Nhlalakahle residents to justify the rejection of intergroup contact with Northdale residents as intergroup contact was likely to result in the victimisation of Nhlalakahle residents.

The results of the study demonstrated that when groups are not provided positive mental simulations of intergroup encounters the imagined contact hypothesis fails to result into the same positive consequences for intergroup relations as evident in direct intergroup contact. In the study imagined intergroup contact was largely constructed as a means of reinforcing outgroup stereotypes. The negative portrayals of outgroup members allowed ingroup members to construct possible intergroup encounters as a threatening experience for ingroup members and in this study this was advanced by discourses of abuse and victimisation where intergroup encounters made ingroup members susceptible to abuse. The rejection of intergroup contact by Nhlalakahle residents results in a state where there are limited opportunities for improving intergroup relations between Nhlalakahle and Northdale resident. While past research on imagined intergroup contact has aimed at improving reducing the stereotypes of dominant groups the results of the study indicate that groups that do not hold any power in society largely imagine intergroup contact as means of reject the notion of intergroup contact. The results of the study indicate that imagining intergroup contact in real world situations does not

have any mediational benefits. Conversely the imaginings of intergroup encounters may encourage informal segregation between groups as such imaginings afforded groups the opportunity to perpetuate outgroup stereotypes and construct probable intergroup encounters as threatening for ingroup member.

6.2 Limitations of the study

The study made use of a qualitative design and while this methodology allowed the researcher to study the construction of imagined intergroup contact with wider lens, Silverman (2013) states the use of small sample sizes in qualitative research makes it challenging to make claims of generalisability. While the working models of imagined contact used by participants in the study reflect an on-going phenomenon of spatial desegregation the study does not make claims of generalisability. The study was focused on the construction of imagined intergroup contact in real world situation by marginalised groups and there is a lack of prior research in this topic which meant that there is limited prior research that can be used to support or falsify the results of the study. The study is also limited in scope in terms of geographical coverage as this study was only conducted in one informal settlement and different group dynamics may come to play in the imagining of intergroup contact in other informal settlements.

6.3 Recommendations for future research

Probable intergroup encounters often become situations characterised with anxieties for groups involved in contact. There are many questions that still need to be addressed as to why imagined intergroup contact fails to improve intergroup dynamics when participants are allowed to construct their own imaginings of contact. Future research may wish to explore this phenomenon further. This study was also focused on the perspectives of groups that are perceived to be subjugated partners in contact encounters. In the future, studies on imagined intergroup contact in real world situation can also focus on the perspectives of more dominant groups in order to determine differences in the constructions of imagined contact between minority and majority groups.

6.4 Conclusion

In real world settings where participants are not given predetermined positive simulations of intergroup encounters the imagined contact hypothesis does not have any mediational benefits for improving intergroup dynamics. However the results presented in this study show that in contexts characterised by conflict and segregation groups construct imagined intergroup encounters as a means of reinforcing outgroup stereotypes. This results into groups evading prospect intergroup encounters as these are perceived to have detrimental effects for ingroup members and as a consequence informal segregation becomes justified.

References

Allport, G.W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading: Addison-Wesley Blackwell.

Allport, G. W. (1979). *The nature of prejudice*. Basic books

Antaki, C., Billig, M., Edwards, D. & Potter, J. (2003). Discourse analysis means doing analysis: a
   critique of six analytic shortcomings. *Discourse Analysis Online, 1.*
   Retrieved 4 October, 2014, from:
   http://www.shu.ac.uk/daol/articles/v1/n1/a1/antaki2002002-paper.html

Ballard, R. (2002). *Desegregating minds: white identities and urban change in the New South
   Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Wales, Swansea).

Ballard, R. (2004a). Middle class neighbourhoods or 'African kraals'? The impact of informal
   settlements and vagrants on post-apartheid white identity. *Urban Forum*, 15(1), 48-73).

Ballard, R. (2004b). Assimilation, emigration, semigration, and integration:"white" people's
   strategies for finding a comfort zone in post-apartheid South Africa'.*Under
   Construction: 'Race'and identity in South Africa today. Johannesburg: Heinemann*.

Ballard, R. (2005). Bunkers for the psyche: How gated communities have allowed the
   privatisation of apartheid in democratic South Africa. *Dark Roast Occasional Paper
   Series*, *24*, 1-19.

Bargh, J. A., Chen, M., & Burrows, L. (1996). Automaticity of social behavior: Direct effects of
   trait construct and stereotype activation on action. *Journal of personality and social
   psychology*, *71*(2), 230-244.

Barry, M. (2006).Formalising informal land rights: the case of Marconi Beam to Joe Slovo Park.
   Habitat international, 30(3), 628-644.

Batson, C. D., & Ahmad, N. Y. (2009). Using empathy to improve intergroup attitudes and

      relations. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, *3*(1), 141-177.

Bergeron, C. J. (2012). *Imagine a Better World: Two Studies of Imagined Intergroup Contact.*

Billig, M. (1991). *Ideology and opinions : Studies in rhetorical psychology*. London: Sage.

Biyela, L. (2012, July 13). We'll cut down lights …'.*The Witness*. Retrieved 20 February, 2014,
from:www.witness.co.za/index.php?showcontent&global%5B_id%5D

Biyela, L. (2012, July 14). Jika Joe: War on power theft goes on. *The Witness*. Retrieved

      20 February, 2014, from:

      www.witness.co.za/index.php?showcontent&global%5B_id%5D=84428

Cleaveland, C. (2013). 'Mexico City North': Identity and anti-immigrant sentiment. *Qualitative*

      Social Work, *12*(3), 270-288.

Creswell, J. (1998). Standards of quality and verification. In *Qualitative inquiry and research*

      design: choosing among five traditions. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Crisp, R. J., Husnu, S., Meleady, R., Stathi, S., & Turner, R. N. (2010). From imagery to intention:

      A dual route model of imagined contact effects. *European review of social*

      psychology, *21*(1), 188-236.

Crisp, R. J., Stathi, S., Turner, R. N., & Husnu, S. (2009). Imagined intergroup contact: Theory,

      paradigm and practice. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *3*(1), 1-18.

Crisp, R. J., & Turner, R. N. (2009). Can imagined interactions produce positive perceptions? Reducing prejudice through simulated social contact. *American Psychologist*, *64*, 231–240.

Dadds, M. R., Bovbjerg, D. H., Redd, W. H., & Cutmore, T. R. (1997). Imagery in human classical conditioning.*Psychological bulletin, 122(1),* 89-103.

Darden, J. T., & Kamel, S. M. (2000). Black residential segregation and in the cities and suburbs of Detroit.*Journal of Urban Affairs, 22,* 1–13.

Dermody, N., Jones, M. K., & Cumming, S. R. (2013). The failure of imagined contact in reducing explicit and implicit out-group prejudice toward male homosexuals. *Current Psychology*, *32*(3), 261-274.

Desai, A. (2014). *The eye of a violent storm: Inanda, 1985.*

Di Masso, A., Castrechini, A., & Valera, S. (2014). Displacing xeno-racism: The discursive legitimation of native supremacy through everyday accounts of 'urban insecurity'. *Discourse& Society, 25*(3*),* 341–361.

Dixon, J. A., & Durrheim, K. L. (2003). Contact and the ecology of racial division: Some varieties of informal segregation. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 43*, 1 – 23.

Dixon, J. A, Durrheim, K., & Tredoux, C. (2005). Beyond the optimal contact strategy: a reality check for the contact hypothesis. *American Psychologist,60*(7), 697-711.

Dixon, J. A., & Reicher, S. (1997). Intergroup contact and desegregation in the new South Africa. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *36*(3), 361-381.

Dixon, J., Tredoux, C., Durrheim, K., Finchilescu, G., & Clack, B. (2008). 'The Inner Citadels of the Color Line': Mapping the Micro-Ecology of Racial Segregation in Everyday Life Spaces. Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 2(4), 1547-1569.

Dovidio, J. F., Eller, A., & Hewstone, M. (2011). Improving intergroup relations through direct, extended and other forms of indirect contact. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 14*(2), 147-160.

Durand-Lasserve, A. (2006). Informal settlements and the Millennium Development Goals: global policy debates on property ownership and security of tenure. *Global Urban Development*, *2*(1), 1-15.

Durrheim, K., & Dixon, J. A. (2005). *Racial Encounter: The Social Psychology of Desegregation*. London, UK: Routledge.

Durrheim, K. & Dixon, J. (In press). Intergroup contact and the struggle for social justice.In Phillip L. Hammack Jr. (Ed) *Oxford Handbook of Social Psychology and Social Justice*. OUP.

Durrheim, K., & Dixon, J. (2010). Racial contact and change in South Africa.*Journal of Social issues*, *66*(2), 273-288.

Durrheim, K., Jacobs, N., & Dixon, J. (2013). Explaining the paradoxical effects of intergroup contact: Paternalistic relations and system justification in domestic labour in South Africa. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*.

Durrheim, K., Mtose, X. & Brown, L. (2011). *Race Trouble*. Pietermaritzburg: UKZN Press.

Edwards, D. (2000). Extreme case formulations: Softeners, investment, and doing nonliteral. *Research on language and social interaction*, *33*(4), 347-373.

Edwards, J. A. (2003). 17 The Transcription of Discourse. *The handbook of discourse analysis,* 321.

Emanuel, E. J., Wendler, D., Killen, J., & Grady, C. (2004). What makes clinical research in developing countries ethical? The benchmarks of ethical research. *Journal of Infectious Diseases, 189*, 930 – 936.

Finchilescu, G. (2005). Meta-stereotypes may hinder inter-racial contact. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *35*(3), p-460.

Garcia, S. M., Weaver, K., Moskowitz, G. B., & Darley, J. M. (2002). Crowded minds: the implicit bystander effect. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *83*(4), 843-853.

Gaunt, T., Salida, M., Macfarlane, R., Maboda, S., Reddy, Y.,&Borchers, M. (2012). *Informal electrification n South Africa: Experience, Opportunities and Challenges*. Retrieved 04 February, 2014, from: http://relaunch.citiesclimateregistry.org/

Given, L. M. (Ed.).(2008). *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods*. Sage Publications.

Goldberg, D. T. (1993). *Racist culture: Philosophy and the politics of meaning*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Halperin, E., Crisp, R. J., Husnu, S., Trzesniewski, K. H., Dweck, C. S., & Gross, J. J. (2012). Promoting intergroup contact by changing beliefs: Group malleability, intergroup anxiety, and contact motivation. *Emotion*, *12*(6), 1192.

Harwood, J. (2010). The contact space: A novel framework for intergroup contact research. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *29*(2), 147-177.

Harwood, J., Paolini, S., Joyce, N., Rubin, M., & Arroyo, A. (2011). Secondary transfer effects from imagined contact: Group similarity affects the generalization gradient. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *50*(1), 180-189.

Hewstone, M., & Swart, H. (2011). Fifty-odd years of inter-group contact: From hypothesis to integrated theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *50*(3), 374-386.

Hodges, B. D., Kuper, A., & Reeves, S. (2008). Qualitative research: Discourse analysis. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 570-572.

Honeycutt, J. M., & Ford, S. (1999). Imagined interactions (IIs): More than a decade of research and current developments. *In annual conference of the National Communication Association*, Chicago, IL.

Huchzermeyer, M. (2008). Slum Upgrading in Nairobi within the Housing and Basic Services Market A Housing Rights Concern. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, *43*(1), 19-39.

Huchzermeyer, M. (2009). The struggle for in situ upgrading of informal settlements: a reflection on cases in Gauteng. *Development Southern Africa, 26*(1), 59-73.

Husnu, S., & Crisp, R. J. (2010). Imagined intergroup contact: A new technique for encouraging greater inter-ethnic contact in Cyprus.*Peace& Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *16*, 97–108.

Jefferson G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. *In Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation (Lerner G.H., ed.),* John Benjamins, Philadelphia, PA, 13–23.

Jucker, A. H., Smith, S. W., & Lüdge, T. (2003). Interactive aspects of vagueness in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 35*(12), 1737-1769.

Lackey, S. (2012). *It takes two to tango: Stigma consciousness, intergroup anxiety, and avoidance of interactions between Blacks and Whites*. ST. John'S University (New York).

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

Lemanski, C. (2006). Residential responses to fear (of crime plus) in two Cape Town suburbs: implications for the post-apartheid city. *Journal of International Development*, *18*(6), 787-802.

Lemanski, C. (2009). Augmented informality: South Africa's backyard dwellings as a by-product of formal housing policies. *Habitat International*, *33*(4), 472-484.

Lemanski, C., & Oldfield, S. 2009: The parallel claims of gated communities and land invasions in a southern city: polarised state responses*. Environment and Planning A 41, 634–648.*

Lemanski, C., & Saff, G. (2010). The value (s) of space: The discourses and strategies of residential exclusion in Cape Town and Long Island. *Urban Affairs Review*, *45*(4), 507-543.

McCarthy, M., & Carter, R. (2004). "There's millions of them": hyperbole in everyday conversation*. Journal of pragmatics, 36(*2), 149-184.

Mfeka, P. (2013, 26 May). Are we strangers in a strange land?: City Press. Retrieved 05 October, 2014, from: http://www.citypress.co.za/columnists/city-press-debate-are-we-strangers-in-a-strange-land-phumlani-mfeka/

Naidoo, N. (2014,19 March). Resident shot in another power theft-related incident*. The witness.*

Nowbath, R. S. (1949, 29 January). The Forum. In *The Durban Riots, 1949*. Retrieved, 5 October, 2014, from: http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/70-durban-riots-1949.

Oelofse, C., & Dodson, B. (1997). Community, place and transformation: a perceptual analysis of residents' responses to an informal settlement in Hout Bay, South Africa. *Geoforum*, *28*(1), 91-101.

Paolini, S., Hewstone, M., Cairns, & Voci, A. (2004). Effects of direct and indirect cross-group friendships on judgments of Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland: The mediating role of an anxiety-reduction mechanism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 30,* 770–786

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual review of psychology,49*(1), 65-85.

Pettigrew, T. F. (2010). Commentary: South African contributions to the study of intergroup relations. *Journal of Social Issues*, *66*(2), 417-430.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual review of psychology,49*(1), 65-85.

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of personality and social psychology,90*(5), 751-783.

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2011). *When groups meet: The dynamics of intergroup contact*. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.

Pieterse, E. (2009). Post-apartheid geographies in South Africa: Why are urban divides so persistent. *Interdisciplinary Debates on Development and Cultures: Cities in Development—Spaces, Conflicts and Agency.* Leuven University, 15.

Potsiou, C., & Ioannidis, C. (2006). Informal settlements in Greece: The mystery of

    missing information and the difficulty of their integration into a legal framework. *In*

    Proceedings of the 5th FIG Regional Conference, Accra, Ghana. Retrieved September 8,

    2014, from: http://www.fig.net/pub/accra/papers/ts03/ts03_04_potsiou_ioannidis.pdf.

Ramiah, A. A., Schmid, K., Hewstone, M., & Floe, C. (2014). Why are all the White (Asian) kids

    sitting together in the cafeteria? Resegregation and the role of intergroup attributions

    and norms. *British Journal of Social Psychology*.1-25.

Saff, G.(1998). Exclusionary discourse in New York City and Cape Town, South Africa.*Middle*

    *States Geographer.*1998,31: 64-72.

Saff, G. (2001). Exclusionary discourse towards squatters in suburban Cape Town. *Cultural*

    Geographies, *8*(1), 87-107.

Saff, G. (2005). The language of residential exclusion: Comparisons between Cape Town and

    Farmingville, New York. *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American*

    Comparative Studies, *6*(3), 1-20.

Schofield, J. W. (2002). Increasing the generalizability of qualitative research.*The qualitative*

    researcher's companion, 171-203.

*Schwandt, T.A. (2001). Dictionary of Qualitative Research.*California: Sage, Thousand Oaks*,*

Sexwale, T. (2013). *Speech by Human Settlements Minister, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, on the occasion*

    of the establishment of the Chair for Education in Human Settlements Development

    Management at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. Retrieved 10 April, 2014,

    from: www.dhs.gov.za/sites/default/files/speeches/HS_Chair_Speech.

Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook*. SAGE Publications Limited.

Silverman, D., & Marvasti, A. (2008). *Doing qualitative research: A comprehensive guide*.Sage.

Stathi, S., & Crisp, R. J. (2008). Imagining intergroup contact promotes projection to outgroups. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *44*(4), 943-957.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict.*The social psychology of intergroup relations*, *33*(47), 74.

Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1994). *Theories of intergroup relations: International social psychological perspectives* (2nd ed.).London: Praeger.

Blanche, M. J. T., Blanche, M. T., Durrheim, K., & Painter, D. (Eds.). (2006*). Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences.* Juta and Company Ltd.

Thomas, P. Y. (2010). *Towards developing a web-based blended learning environment at the University of Botswana*, Doctor of education dissertation, University of South Africa.

Tropp, L. R., & Pettigrew, T. F. (2005). Relationships between intergroup contact and prejudice among minority and majority status groups. *Psychological Science*, *16*(12), 951-957.

Turner, R. N., Crisp, R. J., & Lambert, E. (2007). Imagining intergroup contact can improve intergroup attitudes. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*,*10*(4), 427-441.

Turner, R. N., West, K., & Christie, Z. (2013). Out-group trust, intergroup anxiety, and out-group attitude as mediators of the effect of imagined intergroup contact on intergroup behavioral tendencies. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology,* 43(S2),196–205.

UN-Habitat.(2006). *Urban governance.* Paper delivered at AMCHUD, Durban.

Van Dijk T (2004). Discourse and racism.*In Goldberg D, Solomos J (Eds.).The Blackwell Companion to Racial and Ethnic Studies.* Oxford: Blackwell.

West, T. V., Pearson, A. R., & Stern, C. (2014). Anxiety perseverance in intergroup interaction: When incidental explanations backfire. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *107*(5), 825.

West, K. (2010). *Effects of real and imagined contact under conditions of socially acceptable prejudice* .DPhil. University of Oxford.

Wetherell, M.,& Potter, J. (1992*). Mapping the language of racism: Discourse and the legimation of exploitation.* Columbia University Press.
.

Wetherell, M.,& Potter, J. (1988). Discourse analysis and the identification of interpretive repertoires*. In Charles Antaki (Ed.), Analysing everyday experience: A casebook of methods.* London: Sage.

Wright, S. C., Aron, A., McLaughlin-Volpe, T., & Ropp, S. A. (1997). The extended contact effect: Knowledge of cross-group friendships and prejudice.*Journal of Personality and Social psychology*, *73*(1), 73-90.

Appendix A

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

28 May 2014

Ms Nqobile Muthwa 210519277
School of Applied Human Sciences – Psychology
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Protocol reference number: HSS/0372/014M
Project title: Being in the frontier: A study of the psychology behind contact with informal settlers

Dear Ms Muthwa

Full Approval – Expedited

This letter serves to notify you that your application in connection with the above has now been granted full approval.

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach/Methods must be reviewed and approved through an amendment /modification prior to its implementation. Please quote the above reference number for all queries relating to this study. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/px

cc Supervisor: Professor K Durrheim
cc Academic Leader Research:
cc School Administrator: Mr Sbonelo Duma

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 2587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbep@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

1910 - 2010
100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Founding Campuses: ■ Edgewood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville

Cllr Rooksana Ahmed

WARD 31 COUNCILLOR

PRIVATE BAG X321
PIETERMARITZBURG
TEL: 033 - 397 2162
CELL: 079 – 3786 958

DATE: 8th April 2014	REF:

Dear Professor Durrheim

UKZN
Pietermaritzburg
3201

Dear Sir

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted for you to conduct research interviews in Northdale and Hlalakahle informal settlement, provided ethical clearance has been obtained from the University of KwaZulu-Natal Humanities and Social Science Ethics Committee. We note the title of your project is: *Being in the frontier: A study of the psychology behind contact with informal settlers.* We note also that this research will be conducted by a number of postgraduate students, who will obtain ethics approval for their individual projects and who will be supervised by Professor Kevin Durrheim and Mr Thabo Sekhesa.

Yours sincerely

_____

Councillor R. Ahmed
(Ward 31 Councillor)

Appendix C

2014 March 12

To whom it may concern

This letter serves to provide the assurance that should any interviewee require psychological assistance as a result of any distress arising from the approved research processfor a study on *place attachment as well the psychology behind contact with informal settlers* it will be provided by psychologists and intern psychologists at the UKZN Child and Family Centre. This projectis conducted by a research team of Honours and Masters' students at theSchool of Applied Human Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal Pietermaritzburg campus.

Yours sincerely,

Nontobeko Buthelezi

Child and Family Centre Manager

Child and Family Centre
School of Applied Human
Sciences: Psychology
P/Bag X01 Scottsville
PIETERMARITZBURG, 3209
South Africa
Phone: +27 33 2605166
Fax: +27 33 2605809

Founding Campuses:

- Edgewood
- Howard College
- Medical School
- Pietermaritzburg
- Westville

Appendix D

Jeffersonian Transcript conventions

[...] Brackets	start and end of points of overlapping speech
=Equal Sign	There was no apparent pause between two speakers' turns
(.) Micro pause	Short pause
(no of seconds)	Pause in speech timed in seconds
↑up arrow	Rising intonation
↓ Down arrow	Falling intonation
°word° Degree symbol	Quiet speech
CAPS	Increase in volume
::: Colon(s)	Prolongation of a sound.
___Underlined text	Emphasis on a word or syllable
<>	Speech was delivered more slowly
><	Speech was delivered more rapidly
- hyphen	interruption in utterance
(hhh)	Audible exhalation
(.hhh)	Audible inhalation
() Parentheses	Unclear speech
(()) Double parenthesis	Nonverbal activity
(h)	Laughter within speech
Ha ha	loud laughter

Appendix E

Informed Consent

Dear participant,

My name is am Nqobile Muthwa a registered Masters Psychology student at the University of Kwazulu Natal. I am conducting a study as part of my Masters programme in psychology. The aim of the study is to understand the common frame of reference, evaluation and how Nhlalakahle and Northdale residents relate to each other during intergroup contact in Northdale.

Participating in the study is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time that you feel uncomfortable. If there is something that you do not understand regarding the study please ask me to stop and I will take time to explain. The method used in this study will be an interview and we expect your participation to take about 45-60 minutes.

To protect your anonymity and your confidentiality, pseudonyms will be used during the interview and no one will be able to link you to the answers you give. All individual information will remain confidential. Research records will be kept in a locked file and only the researchers will have access to your records.

Risks and benefits

By agreeing to take part in the study some of the potential risks may include distress and some of the potential benefits may include an opportunity to reflect on how ones engages with others in the community. Should you experience any distress because of the study you can contact the child and family centre where counseling has been prearranged.

I confirm that I have read and understand the informed consent form for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. ☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason. ☐

I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

I agree to the interview being audio recorded ☐

I agree to be interviewed in the presence of another adult that lives in my house as part of a group interview. ☐
I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications ☐

Declaration

 I …………………………………………………………… (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the project. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, should I so desire.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study please contact the numbers below.

Contact details

Researcher   0000000000

Supervisor   033 2605348

Child and family centre   033 2605166

Uhla lokuvuma ukuba ingxenye yocwaningo

Obambe iqhaza,

Igama lami uNqobile Muthwa ngingumfundi we Masters kwi Psychology eNyuvesi yaKwaZulu Natal. Senza ucwaningo olubheka uxuxhuma nokuzwana kwabantu base Northdale kanye nabantu base Nhlalakahle.

Ukuba ingxenye yalolucwaningo akuphoqelekile futhi ungahoxa noma inini uma ungasafuni ukuqhubeka.Uma kukhona into ongayizwisanga kahle ngizocela ukuthi ungimise ukuze ngi yichaze kabusha. Kuzosetsenziswa inkulumo ngxoxo kulolucwaningo, lenkulumo ngxoxo ingase ithathe imizuzu ephakati kuka 45 kuya kwi hora.

Ukuze igama lakho kanye nezimpendulo zakho zihlale ziyimfihlo sizocela ningasiniki magama enu oqobo. Yonke imini niningwane enizosinika yona kulolucwanino izohlala iyimfihlo. Amarekhodi ocwaningo azohlala kwifayela ekhiyiwe futhi abantu abathinteke kulolucwanino kuphela abazokwaziukufinyelela amarekhodi akho.

Izingozi kanye nezinzuzo

Ngokuvuma ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo izinto ezingaba ingozi zingahlanganisa ukucindezeleka kanti ezinye zezinzuzo zingase zihlanganise ithuba lokuqonda indlela abantu abaphathana ngayo emphakathini. Uma uthola ukucindezeleka ngenxa yocwaningo ungaxhumana ne Child and Family Centre isikhungo lapho ukwelulekwa kuhlelwe kusengaphambili.

Ngiyaqinisekisa ukuthi ngifundile ngokuqonda iminininwane emayelana nalolu cwanino futhi naba nethuba lokubuza imibuzo

Ngiyaqonda ukuthi ukuba ingxenye yalolu cwaningo akuphoqelekile futhii ninga hoa noma inini uma ningasafuni ukuqhubeka

Ngiyavuma uuba ingxenye yalolu cwaningo

Ngiyavuma ukuthi izimpendulo ziqoshwe ngesi qopha mazwi

Ngiyavuma ukuthi kusetshe nziswe izimpendulo zami uma kushicilelwa imibhalo.

Ngiyavuma ukuthi lolucwaningo luqoshwe ngaphambi komunye umuntu njengengxenye yenkulumo ngxoxo yeqembu

Ngiyaqinisekisa

Mina………………………………….. (Amagama aphelele lobambe iqhaza) lapha ngiyaqinisekisa ukuthi ngiyakuqonda okuqukethwe ilombhalo Kanye nohlobo lalulo cwaningo, futhi ngiyavuma ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi ngikhululekile ukuhoxa kulolulcwaningo noma ingasiphi isikhathi, umangifisa ukwenza njalo.

Uma unemibuzo noma ukukhathazeka ngalolu cwaningo sicela uxhumane nathi kulezi nombolo ezingenzansi.

Imininingwane yokuxhumana

Researcher   0000000000

Supervisor   033 2605348

Child and family centre   033 2605166

Appendix F

Interview Schedule - English

1. How long have you lived here? Do you consider this place your home? Why? Where did you live before?.

2. What is it like living here? Do you like living here? Why?.

a. What are the best things about living here? What else? Please describe.

b. What are the worst things about living here? What else? Please describe.

c. Does living in this place affect the way you perceive yourself? How? Why?.

d. Do you think you deserve to be in this place? Why?.

3. Describe the differences in resources between the formal and informal areas of Northdale. How do you feel about this?.

4. Would you like to leave this place? Why? Where would you like to go?.

   a. What changes would you like to see in this place? What action could you take to improve the place?.

5. What do you think of the residents of Northdale?.

   a. How would you describe them? How do you feel about them? Explain why. What are they like? How do you know? Give examples.
   b. Do you feel part of one community? Why?.

6. Have you had any contact with Northdale residents?.

   a. What kind of contact have you had? Please give examples.
   c. Would you say the contacts you have had were friendly? Why?.
   d. How would you describe your experience of meeting with or talking with residents of Northdale? Give examples.

e. Have you had any negative experiences? Give examples/describe these.

7. Would you say that you have any friends among Northdale residents?.

a. Why Not? Please explain what makes it hard to be friends with them.

   AND/OR

b. How would you describe your interactions with them? Please give examples.

8. Over the past few years, there have been a number of protests about conditions in the informal settlements in Northdale. What is your view about these protests? Do you support them? Why or why not?.

9. Do you think that it is right that people protest to improve conditions in informal settlements? If so, would you support such protest actions in the future?.

10. Do you feel solidarity with the people of Northdale and do they sympathise with the political struggles of residents in the informal settlements ?.

 11. During apartheid, the government tried to keep Indian and African communities segregated. Why do you think they did so? Do you think this policy has affected relationships between these two communities?.

12. Do you think the government should be doing more to promote integration of the two communities? If so, what should they be doing? What challenges stand in the way of integrating Indian and Black African communities?.

Interview Schedule - IsiZulu

1. Kungabe singaka nani isikhathi osusihlale lana? Kungabe lendawo uyibona iyikhaya? Kungani? Kungabe ubuhlala kephi nendawo ngaphambili.

2. Kungabe kunjani ukuhlala lana? Kungabe uyakuthanda ukuhalala lana? Kungani.

   a. kungabe iziphi izinto ezinhle ngokuhlala lana? Nani enye? Sicela uchaze.
   b. yiziphi izinto ezinge zinhle ngokuhlala lana? Yini enye? Sicela uchaze.
   c. Kungabe ukuhlala kule ndawo kunomthelela yini kwindlela ozibheka ngayo? Kanjani? kungani.
   d. Ucabanga ukuthi ufanele ukuba kulendawo? Kungani?.

3. Chaza umehluko phakathi kwezi nsiza zomphakathi zase Northdale nezaese Nhlalakahle? Uzizwa kanjani ngaloku?.

4. Kungabe ungathanda ukuyishiya lendawo? Kungani? Ungathanda ukuya kephi?.

   a. Iziphi izinguquko ongathanda ukuzibona kulendawo? Iziphi izinyathelo eningazithatha ukuthuthukisa lendawo?.

5. Ucabangani ngabahlali base Northdale?.

   a. Ungabachaza kanjani? Uzizwa kanjani ngabo? Chaza ukuthi kungani.Bangabantu abanjani? Wazi kanjani? Sicela usiphe izibonelo.
   b. Engabe uzizwa engathi ningumphakathi owodwa? Kungani ?

6. Uke waba nokuxhumana nabantu abahlala eNorthdale?

   a. Kungabe kwakuwu kuxhumana okunjani? Sicela usiphe izibonelo.
   b. . Ungasho ukuthi ukuxhumana kwenu bekukuhle? ngobani?
   c. Ungakuchaza kanjani ukuhlangana kwakho noma ukuxoxa nabantu abahlala eNorthdale? Sicela usiphe izibonelo.

d. Kungabe uku waba nokuxhumana okungekuhle? Sicela usiphe izibonelo/uchaze kabanzi.

7. Ungasho ukuthi uke waba nabangani ebantwini abahlala eNorthdale

a. Ngobani? Sicela uchaze ukuthi yini eyenza ukuthi kube lukhuni ukuthi nibe ngabangani nabo

FUTHI/NOMA

b. Ungakuchaza kanjani ukuxhumana nabo? Sicela usiphe izibonelo.

8. Eminyakeni eyedlule kube nemibhiskisho emayelana nezimo zokuhlala la eNhlalakahle. Ucabangani ngalemibhikisho? Kungabe uyayisekela? Kungani uyisekela noma ungayisekela?.

9. ucabanga ukuthi kulungile ukuthi abantu babhikishele izimo ezingcono emikhukhwini? Uma kunjalo, ungayisekela eminye imibhikisho ngesikhathi esizayo?.

10. Kungabe nibumbene nabantu abahlala eNorthdale futhi kungabe bayazwelana yini nezinkinga zepolitiki ezikhungathe abantu base Nhlalakahle?.

11. Ngesikhathi sobandlululo, uhulumeni wazama ukuhlukanisa imiphakathi yamandiya nabantu abamnyama. Ucabanga ukuthi kungani babenza lokhu? Ucabanga ukuthi loku kunawo umthelela kubuhlobo phakathi kwalemi phakathi?.

12. Uyacabanga yini ukuthi uhulumeni kukhona ekumele ukwenze ukuzama ukugqugquzela ubumbano phakathi kwalemiphakathi emibil? Uma kunjalo yini ekumele engabe bayayenza? Yiziphi izinkinga ezivimba ubumbano phakathi kwemiphakathi yamandiya neyabantu abamnyama?