

**CONTACT WITH THE FOREIGNER: A STUDY OF
INTERGROUP CONTACT WITH FOREIGN NATIONALS
AS CONSTRUCTED BY BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS IN
UMLAZI, G SECTION POST 2015 XENOPHOBIC
ATTACKS**

Nqobile Muthwa

210519277

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University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College

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 (Clinical Psychology) in the College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu- Natal, Howard College, South Africa. The research reported in this dissertation has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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ABSTRACT

In intergroup contact literature, the contact hypothesis has been proven to be an effective prejudice reduction tool when contact occurs under optimal conditions (for example: Pettigrew and Troop, 2006). However, research on this theory has continually focused on experimentally manipulated conditions of contact, resulting in research that is decontextualised and that fails to take into account the complex realities of contact in situations of conflict. In this study, intergroup contact was understood as a natural phenomenon and the focus was on understanding how group members constructed contact encounters in a context where issues such as conflict and intergroup violence were lived experiences. This study was conducted in Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal, an area that was largely affected during the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Working models of contact were drawn upon as an analytical framework for this study, in order to gain an understanding of how local residents constructed and made sense of their encounters with foreigners. Observations during the study revealed that local residents largely constructed intergroup contact as an exploitative process on local residents as foreigners were said to be constantly exploiting and taking advantage of local residents. Such a belief of contact allowed local residents to avoid encounters with foreigners; but also allowed group members to render actions, such as violence, towards foreigners as intelligible due to the threat foreigners posed to group members.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBD- Central Business District

IOM- International Organization for Migration

SANDF- South African National Defence Force

UKZN-University Kwazulu Natal

UNDP- United Nations Development Programme

INTRODUCTION

The intergroup contact theory has remained psychology's panacea for positive social change. The theory highlights that optimal conditions of contact result in more positive evaluations of outgroup members (Allport, 1954). Meta-analytic, experimental and longitudinal studies conducted on the contact hypothesis have continually supported the tenets of the theory: that contact results in prejudice reduction when contact is structured in a manner that will facilitate positive intergroup outcomes (Tropp and Pettigrew, 2006). Durrheim and Dixon (2005) highlighted that the theory provided a workable framework for understanding and improving intergroup relations, however, the centrality of the four contextual prerequisites has resulted in research that is decontextualised and that fails to take into account the harsh realities of intergroup contact in situations of conflict. Within the literature on this theory there appears to be paucity of research focusing on conditions that serve as a fertile ground for inter-group conflicts, such as the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. This study attempted to address this gap by investigating how different groups constructed intergroup encounters in situations that did not adhere to utopian conditions of contact.

The study explored how intergroup contact with foreigners was constructed by local residents and the type of action that ensued from such constructions. This study also focused on how language was constructed to create conditions that either facilitated or inhibited intergroup contact with foreign nationals. The context of the study was G section, Umlazi Township, KwaZulu-Natal. Umlazi was selected as the focus area for the study due to the township being one of the first communities to experience anti-immigration turmoil and violence directed towards foreigners in 2015. The environment thus became suitable for understanding intergroup contact in a setting where contact does not necessarily unfold under perfect conditions. Working models of contact were used in the study in order to understand how participants evaluated and made sense of contact encounters with foreigners. This allowed the researcher to recognise whether there had

been a shift in the discourses used to construct contact with foreign nationals after the 2015 xenophobic violence. The main focus of the study was on how the current language used may become a possible indicator of future solidarity or discord between the two groups.

CHAPTER 1: WORKING MODELS OF INTERGROUP CONTACT WITH FOREIGN NATIONALS

Intergroup contact has proven to be an effective tool in improving intergroup relations (Tropp and Pettigrew, 2006). However, previous studies on intergroup contact have always focused on idealistic conditions of intergroup contact while ignoring the problematic nature of intergroup relations in situations of conflict. In order to understand the dynamics behind intergroup encounters this thesis focused on the increasing xenophobic sentiments in South Africa. The study made use of working models of contact in order to understand the shared constructions of intergroup contact that everyday people use to evaluate their encounters with foreigners, as well as the ideological functions served by such constructions.

1.1 Intergroup Contact

The contact hypothesis has developed into one of the most influential theories for understanding intergroup relations and endorsing social change in previously divided societies. The theory is based on the basic premise that interpersonal contact is effective in reducing prejudice in conditions of conflict, when contact occurs under optimal conditions (Allport, 1954; Hewstone and Swart, 2011). This contact is deemed to minimise antipathies. In their meta-analytic review, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) reduced the findings of 515 studies to a simple message: that intergroup contact improves group relations and that the benefits are maximised when contact occurs under optimal conditions.

There is also a growing consensus amongst intergroup contact researchers (for example: Dovidio, Gaertner and Kawamaki, 2003; Hewstone and Swart, 2011) that intergroup contact has the ability to reduce intergroup conflict, resulting in greater acceptance of outgroup members. Studies conducted over the past two decades have demonstrated the

mediating effects of intergroup contact: such as the ability to reduce blatant forms of intergroup bias (Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger and Niens, 2006); ingroup reappraisal (Pettigrew, 1998); empathy enhancement (Finlay and Stephan, 2000); reduced negative affect towards outgroup members (Tausch and Henwstone, 2010); anxiety reduction (Turner, Crisp and Lambert, 2007); and the reduction of inbrahumanisation (Brown, Eller, Leeds and Stace, 2007). This wealth of supporting research highlights the overarching message that intergroup contact results in reduced prejudice between groups.

While Allport (1954) highlighted the need for sustainable intergroup contact between conflicting groups, there was also recognition that contact situations needed to exhibit optimal conditions in order to reduce group stereotypes and prejudice. The contact hypothesis was thus created with four essential conditions necessitated for favourable intergroup contact (Pettigrew and Troop, 2005). Pettigrew (1998) also stated that the accentuated conditions became an essential component for the application of the contact hypothesis in research groups.

These conditions include: equal group status in order to reduce prejudice and stereotypes between groups, common goals between groups, intergroup cooperation; as the introduction of conflicting interests may increase tension between the groups (Pettigrew and Troop, 2005). Lastly, contact needs to occur under conditions where intergroup contact is encouraged by relevant authorities (Pettigrew and Troop, 2005). Under these optimal conditions frequent intergroup contact results in negative stereotypical views being replaced by positive views of outgroup members; the result is the development of progressive attitudes towards the outgroup members which consequently disseminate to the whole group (Ellison and Powers, 1994).

1.2 The Quest for Utopianism in Intergroup Contact Relations

There is a plethora of social psychological research supporting the contact hypothesis (for example: Hewstone and Swart, 2011; Patchen, 1999; Dovidio, Gaertner, and Kawamaki, 2003), and the theory has been commended for providing a workable framework for understanding intergroup conflicts while rejecting the notion of intergroup conflict as a

naturally occurring process (Durrheim and Dixon, 2013). Nonetheless, the intergroup contact theory has also led researchers on a quest for optimal contact conditions by specifying ideal intergroup contact conditions. This has resulted in researchers often focusing on rarefied forms of contact often unfolding under controlled laboratory conditions. As a result the theory bears scant resemblance to everyday encounters. Although the optimistic nature of intergroup contact research helps one to envision a world of integration and unity, it fails to account for the persistence of informal segregation between groups despite frequent contact encounters (Durrheim and Dixon, 2013).

Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux (2005) further argued that the contact hypothesis' quest for optimal conditions of contact, in order for the mediating effects of contact to be experienced, has resulted in a reductionism that fails to account for situated meanings. Everyday encounters between group members are abstracted and decontextualised, with interactions in a setting being generalised from different communities with different socio-political and historical backgrounds (Dixon et al., 2005). The use of a conventional framework to account for complex social interactions has also resulted in the contextual specificity of intergroup contact being minimised (Dixon et al., 2005). Such generic conceptions constantly fail to account for why intergroup contact may fail to produce positive outcomes such as reduced prejudice. Dixon and Durrheim (2003) further illustrate how real life contact encounters rarely occur under optimal conditions, and as a result most research has focused on factors that are easily manipulated. The theory has detached itself from understanding contact encounters in the context in which they originate. Moreover the focus on contact under laboratory conditions has detached contact research from an understanding of real lived contact experiences.

Dixon et al. (2005) and Zuma (2014) highlight that this has resulted in research that is detached from the realities of social life in divided communities; such experiential research fails to hold true when the many facets of prejudice are taken into account in real life situations where issues such as race and racism exist. Jackman and Crane (1986) demonstrated how the optimal conditions described by the contact hypothesis are rarely

met in the real world. Dixon et al. (2005) state that in real world situations intergroup contact is often infrequent and superficial compared to the type of contact promoted by intergroup contact researchers.

Durrheim and Dixon (2013) also highlighted that the contact theory's stress on individual prejudices and stereotypes renders racialised power to be less detrimental than it is in reality. The result is that the structures which produce negative outcomes in intergroup contact situations are not challenged and are viewed as somewhat intrinsic (Durrheim and Dixon, 2013). This has resulted in Dixon et al. (2005) highlighting that even though the theoretical components of the contact hypothesis are commendable in principle, they conceal the unforgiving realities of social life, as optimal contact conditions are not characteristic of real encounters between groups.

1.3 The Pathway of Prejudice Reduction

While Pettigrew's (1998) review illustrated how Allport's theoretical framework has received substantial support from studies conducted in multiple settings, it was noted that most studies achieved positive contact effects despite the specified conditions of contact not being met. The study highlighted that there was often no clear pathway that determined how prejudice was minimised during contact encounters and as a result there was an incomplete understanding of the processes involved in influencing the outcome of contact between groups. Hughes (2007) also highlighted that the contact theory and subsequent research continually provide an oversimplification of the effects between contact and prejudice reduction between different groups. Durrheim and Dixon (2013) highlight that this has resulted in researchers failing to take into account how mediating factors in real life contact situations, such as anxiety, have an impact in how intergroup contact is perceived and experienced.

Connolly (2000) thus calls for one to realise that the effects of intergroup contact cannot be comprehended without an understanding of the social structures that help construct and maintain social divisions. Therefore, intergroup contact needs to focus on understanding the wider social contexts in which individuals interact, as well as the

dynamics that help construct and maintain racial as well as ethnic division in communities (Connolly, 2000).

Dixon et al. (2005) further critique the intergroup contact theory for its methodological and conceptual framework, which has resulted in a tendency within intergroup contact research to create idealistic conditions for intergroup contact. Dixon et al. (2005) argued further that the focus on unique outcomes in intergroup interactions have meant that there is a widening gap between theory and practice, as researchers continually focus on achieving prime contact conditions. Therefore, the majority of the intergroup contact research currently available has resulted in an obscurity of the realities of everyday interactions between intergroup members.

Dixon et al. (2005) further argued that racism is often sustained by boundary processes operating in everyday life spaces where contact encounters are brief and informal. Often, the collective population replicates obtrusive systems that promote segregation between different groups and come to shape everyday experiences of race. Durrheim (2005) also noted that the everyday practices of racial interaction give rise to racial difference and hierarchy. Connolly (2000) also highlighted that the theoretical individualism emphasised by the contact theory fails to take into account the social processes that maintain prejudice and segregation in communities.

1.4 The Contact Hypothesis and Xenophobia in South Africa

In South Africa, intergroup contact studies conducted post-apartheid have generally claimed that intergroup contact improves relations (for example: Holtman, Louw, Tredoux, and Carney, 2005; Gibson, 2004). In South Africa the study of intergroup relations is incredibly complex due to the country's long history of racism, violence and segregation (Durrheim and Dixon, 2013). The micro-ecology of informal segregation is a phenomenon that has been investigated by a number of intergroup contact researchers in South Africa (for example: Dixon, Tredoux and Clack, 2005; Foster, 2005; Alexander and Tredoux, 2010). A number of these studies have focused on informal segregation in South Africa, for example: Dixon and Durrheim's (2003) study which focused on the

resilience of segregation on South African beaches despite the abolishment of segregation laws. The study demonstrated how: on the surface, different race groups appeared to co-exist interracially on the beach; however, micro-spaces occupied by different groups had still remained racially segregated (Dixon and Durrheim, 2003). It has also been demonstrated how even in formal settings, such as Universities, groups informally segregated themselves along ethnic lines. Such racially motivated dynamics have remained a covert process in South Africa (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010). However, in the context of xenophobia, where racism and prejudice are socially acceptable and groups actively refuse the integration of foreigners into their communities, it becomes essential to understand the mechanism and action behind the overt discrimination of foreigners. Therefore, this study calls for a more comprehensive understanding of the participants' own construction of intergroup contact with foreigners. Drawing on intergroup contact literature, it thus becomes essential to understand intergroup encounters from people's real lived experiences of contact (Durrheim and Dixon, 2005).

In order to understand participants' own constructions of intergroup encounters with foreigners, the current study suggests a shift from an experimental focus to an understanding of real contact encounters in real life settings. In South Africa, intergroup contact studies have largely focused on informal segregation and the underlying mechanisms of such processes (for example: Durrheim and Dixon, 2013; Durrheim and Dixon, 2014). Durrheim and Dixon (2005) illustrate how informal segregation in the changing South African landscape remains a dominant pattern in the country's desegregation process. As a result, intergroup contact continues to occur superficially as racialised boundaries continue to regulate and limit contact in more intimate spaces (Dixon, Tredoux and Clack, 2005).

Research in South Africa has highlighted how informal and covert forms of racism and segregation prevail (for example: Alexander and Tredoux, 2010); however, the exclusion and discrimination of foreigners introduces new overt and blatant forms of racism (Matsinhe, 2016). This has resulted in local residents actively resisting the integration of foreigners into local communities (Matsinhe, 2016). As a result of the current dynamics

of xenophobia in South Africa, there is a need to understand the emerging discourses that result in segregation and racism becoming overt processes.

Durrheim and Kerr (2013) highlighted how the academic literature on xenophobia in South Africa had largely pathologised the violence associated with xenophobia, with most studies aiming at countering xenophobic myths. Xenophobia has continually been treated as a problem resulting from flawed perceptions, with the possibility of being rectified. Following this, academic literature has conceptualised xenophobia as a form of prejudice that results in unnecessary violence, perpetuated by faulty cognitions (Durrheim & Kerr, 2013). This problematising of violence is effective in creating anti-xenophobic discourse; however, it fails to take into account the dynamics of intergroup contact and broader societal dynamics that fuel xenophobia (Durrheim and Kerr, 2013). This study proposes the use of working models of contact as a means of understanding the political, social and economic dynamics that shape how laypeople make sense of and construct intergroup contact with foreign nationals. The study proposes an understanding of xenophobia from a standpoint that acknowledges the experiences of everyday contact encounters, rather than the individual shortcomings of the group members involved.

1.5 A Shift to Working Models of Contact

In this study, working models of contact were used as a means of understanding the experiences and discourses created by groups, as a means of creating positions and actions during intergroup contact situations. Durrheim and Dixon (2013) define working models of contact as situated theories that everyday people use to make sense of contact interactions and the type of realities that constitute such interactions. It is within this psychological phenomenon that the nature of intergroup contact is constructed and debated, and attitudes towards intergroup contact are created and sustained (Durrheim & Kerr, 2013). Therefore, this interpretive framework used by everyday people to understand and make sense of their experiences of contact is used by the individual to render their behaviour in contact situations intelligible (Durrheim and Dixon, 2014).

Durrheim and Dixon (2013) further describe how these schemes or interpretive frameworks help everyday individuals transform unfamiliar intergroup encounters into more common frameworks of understanding, thus providing group members with the ability to make meaning of such encounters. Therefore, such structures have historic origins and are contextually constructed, resulting in the use of universal and generalisable methodologies; often failing to account for how different groups come to evaluate intergroup encounters and how they position themselves in such encounters (Durrheim and Dixon, 2013).

Following this conception, this study has attempted to address how group members position themselves during encounters with outgroup members, and the type of discourses and action that ensues from such constructions of contact. Thus it becomes essential to investigate the construction of intergroup contact in everyday settings, not from predetermined scales measuring the effects of intergroup contact, but from people's own construction of intergroup contact in order to understand the implications of contact in real world settings (Durrheim and Dixon, 2013). Moreover this study takes notice of Dixon et al.'s (2005) argument: that the focus on utopian conditions has resulted in research that has lost touch with the social change agenda as well as the ordinary citizen's struggle for social change. As a result, there is a need for research on intergroup contact that will focus on how everyday encounters with outgroups are constructed by group members and the type of action that is rendered intelligible by these encounters. Furthermore, Dixon et al. (2005) illustrated how the mechanisms impelled by this theory to build social change, fail to understand or account for the underlying ideological beliefs that feed racial discrimination

Through an understanding of working models, the study made sense of the conditions that allow for group members to either reject or accept contact with outgroup members. As highlighted by Durrheim and Dixon (2014), intergroup contact conditions are actively determined by the groups involved in contact. The study will focus on how intergroup contact is socially constructed and explore the conditions that foster such constructions. Moreover, the study aims to understand how discourse becomes a driver for social

change that promotes action during intergroup encounters. Furthermore, a shift in focus towards more individual constructions of contact will result in a broader understanding of the type of contact being constructed and the action that such constructions are meant to achieve, such as maintaining ideologies of race (Dixon and Durrheim, 2013). In support of Dixon et al.'s (2005) critique of optimal contact research this study will focus on everyday encounters between local and foreign residents in Umlazi, which is believed to be reflective of common experiences of intergroup contact.

CHAPTER 2: WORKING MODELS OF INTERGROUP CONTACT WITH FOREIGNERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa the demise of apartheid signified the end of legislated identities in a country tainted by years of racial segregation (Moodley and Adam, 2000). Following the advent of democracy, the vision of a united, rainbow nation emerged; and the language of political transformation echoed an alternative to the previous interracial antagonism with reconciliation and equal rights for all citizens emphasised (Moodley and Adam, 2000). The promise of an equal and prosperous South Africa amidst a lack of: quality services, ethnic and religious harmony, economic and political stability in other African countries, resulted in the country experiencing a substantial increase in immigration (Rasool, Botha and Bisschoff, 2012). Although the country has a long history of immigration, towards the end of the twentieth century European immigrants were replaced by large numbers of African immigrants (Rasool, Botha and Bisschoff, 2012).

Sub-Saharan Africa is home to a large immigrant population that continually grew at 1.3 percent per annum between 2003 and 2013 (UNDP, 2013). Persistent conflicts coupled with economic and political instability, and frequent unconstitutional exchanges of power have resulted in instability in most African countries (SANDF, 2014). Additionally, factors such as poverty, disease and climate change increase the rate of refugees across the continent (Rasool, Botha and Bisschoff, 2012). This has resulted in a significant increase in foreign nationals immigrating to South Africa, which is also due to the country's history of receiving migrants from all over the world (Rasool, Botha and Bisschoff, 2012). Furthermore, due to its democratic principles, South Africa has ceaselessly remained a perceived safe haven from war torn and economically unstable homelands (SANDF, 2014).

The increase in international migration and asylum seeking has also resulted in an international increase of xenophobic attitudes (Grillo, 2005; Crush and Ramachandran, 2009). South Africa continues to report high levels of xenophobia, resulting in the country being classified as one of the most 'anti-immigration' countries in the world

(Crush and Ramachandran, 2010; Crush, 2001). While democracy was meant to replace the principles of the apartheid system and abolish legislated racism, there has been a re-emergence of discriminatory practices with public discourse becoming increasingly more xenophobic post 1994 (Harris, 2002). Reports of African foreigners being targets of abuse have increased since the 1990's, with xenophobic practices negatively impacting the ability of migrants to meet their basic socio-economic needs (Human Rights Commission, 1999; Human Rights Watch, 1998).

2.1 Democracy and the Emergence of New National Identities

The exclusion of different groups and the circumscribed ideas around citizenship have long existed in Africa (Crush, 2008). In spite of South Africa enjoying more than two decades of democracy, with a constitution that strives to achieve a non-racial society, the informal segregation of groups on the basis of race and class has remained a prominent feature of contemporary South Africa (Trimikliniotis, Gordon, and Zondo, 2008; Mabebera, 2017). Following the collapse of apartheid, the democratic state began nation building projects that were aimed at promoting a liberal and multicultural republic (Segatti, 2011). However, the increasing number of foreigners has resulted in South Africans becoming increasingly intolerant of foreigners (Segatti, 2011).

Increasing speculative estimates of the immigrant population in the country further perpetuates negative stereotypes of foreign nationals (Crush, Ramachandran and Pendleton, 2013). Maré (2011) engages with Appadurai's essay, "the fear of small numbers", to highlight how numbers can create anxiety, due to the relationship between increasing population numbers and the implied threat on state provided resources. The fear thus perpetrates the notion that immigrants coming into the country are threatening resources that belong exclusively to South Africans (Gordon, 2015). This is evident through the post-apartheid government's increasingly restrictive immigration policies which aim to limit the number of people entering South Africa (Pugh, 2014). However, such policies often going hand in hand with nation building projects and therefore the construction of new national identities in South Africa has emerged under policies of exclusion (Peberdy, 2009).

Dodson (2010) and Gordon (2017) further state that South Africa continues to have polarised racial communities with many of the structures that characterised the apartheid era still shaping the everyday life experiences of South African residents, despite progress in legislation and race relations. Racial profiling, prejudice and discrimination are still characteristic of the current South African landscape (Dodson, 2010 and Gordon, 2017). During the apartheid era, immigrants and black South Africans shared a common identity as secondary citizens and outsiders. These boundaries of exclusion have since been removed; however, democracy has led to the rise of a new nationalism among black South Africans (Landau, 2002). The emergence of South Africa as a democratic state encouraged a new nationalism, and the creation of identities that were exclusive of foreigners and rooted in exclusionary practices (Landau, 2012). Perceived uniqueness and group homogeneity bring rise to discourses that promote national identity and the construction of belonging (Dodson, 2010). This, in turn, portrays foreigners as the “other” and essentially different to South Africans, and therefore posing a threat to the ingroup (Dodson, 2010). In other words, the end of the democratic struggle resulted in the end of the solidarity between South Africans and other international groups, and led to the return of divisions between groups which consequently meant the re-emergence of the perceived threat from outsiders (Neocosmos, 2010).

Statistically representative surveys have demonstrated that South Africans, across race and class, hold deep anti-foreigner sentiments (e.g. Afrobarometer, 2009). However, these negative attitudes are largely reserved for African immigrants (Segatti and Landau, 2009; Afrobarometer, 2009; Crush et al., 2008). The Afrophobic nature of South African xenophobia highlights the racial nature of this phenomenon (Matsinhe, 2016). Authors such as: Young and Jearey-Graham (2015), Masenya (2017) and Dodson (2010) illustrate how current xenophobic attitudes and the exclusion of group members are perpetuated by race. The use of race has become an effective tool in reinforcing and creating discourses of exclusion that distinguish ingroup and outgroup members. Furthermore, the use of race in xenophobic discourses effectively portrays the invasion of South Africa by illegal immigrants whose presence in the country will prove to be detrimental to local residents (Neocosmos, 2010). Therefore, it becomes prudent to understand why contact with

African foreign nationals is constructed differently from contact with other foreigners. The purpose that such constructions of contact are meant to serve is also an important issue (Peberdy, 2001).

The negative construction of contact with African foreign nationals is also upheld in public discourses perpetuated by political figures; for example: in a speech in 1994, Mangosuthu Buthelezi highlighted the plight of South African people, claiming their security and economic security was threatened by foreigners. Other political members, including Nelson Mandela, have also been noted for making direct associations between illegal foreigners and criminal activity (Crush, 2008). The language used to construct contact with foreigners politically defines foreigners as individuals with no basis to their humanity, and creates pathways for human rights violations as evident in the waves of xenophobic violence experienced in the country (Jearey-Graham and Böhmke, 2013).

2.2 Xenophobic Rhetoric as Action in Intergroup Encounters

Dixon and Reicher (1997) stated that the construction of intergroup contact is essential in shaping how groups make sense of the intergroup encounters. Constructions of intergroup contact also serve political functions, such as: the exclusion of outgroup members and maintenance of racial practices. In South Africa, the growth of xenophobic discourses has largely been influenced by a sensationalist media, as highlighted by Danso and McDonald (2001); as well as political and influential figures that continually portray immigration as destructive to the country (Murray, 2003). McDonald and Jacobs (2005) illustrated how media reporting post 1994 has continually promoted anti-immigration discourse with published material continually stereotyping foreign nationals, especially those from African countries. Murray (2003) highlighted how terms such as “hordes” and “floods” create panic in South Africans as it gives the impression that they are under attack by foreigners.

Often unsubstantiated statements are made about how the high rates of immigration are linked to increasing crime rates (Crush 2008). There is also often a sensationalisation of criminal acts committed by African foreigners, with alarming headlines framing

immigration as a problem that needs to be addressed by local residents in order to protect their homeland against foreign invasions (Nyamnjoh, 2010). Moreover, foreigners are also portrayed as: being diseased, promoting moral decay among South African women, creating drug syndicates and further driving South Africans out of employment opportunities by accepting lower wages (Harris, 2002). The language of illegality and contamination thus feed national discourse and increases negative attitudes towards immigrants (Peberdy, 1999).

However, the increase in xenophobic political discourse in South Africa has emerged as part of general political unrest and dissatisfaction with service delivery, this has resulted in local residents often emphasising their autochthonous status in their plight to acquire service delivery while constructing foreign nationals as a threat to the wellbeing of the country (Gordon, 2015). Due to the perceived threat posed to the ingroup's social and economic position the result is the formation of prejudices against outgroup members (Blumer, 1958). This has resulted in negative discourse against foreigners being embodied in everyday life, with immigrants constantly being perceived as a threat to the safety, security and transformation of the country and its citizens (Landau, 2013).

Dodson (2010) further states that such constructions of intergroup contact highlights differences between groups and thus creating differences between "them" and "us". This depicts the impression that African foreigners are inherently different from local residents and therefore can be treated differently and more inhumanely (Dodson, 2010). Mamabolo (2015) highlights how the portrayal of foreigners as different is similar to the strategies devised by the apartheid government, where the portrayal of the African savage and constructions, such as "Swart Gevaar", were used to segregate different racial groups and maintain racialised policies. Continually, such constructions of intergroup contact allow local residents to reject contact with foreign nationals and justify refusing foreigners from integrating into local communities (Dodson, 2010). Moreover, the construction of the discourses of threat and contamination feed xenophobic violence, with conflict between immigrants and local residents becoming a feature of the post-apartheid state (Crush and Mattes, 1998). Wimmer (1997) further stated that xenophobia is often prominent when

the collective wellbeing is perceived as fragile. The continued construction of contact with foreigners as detrimental to the social and economic growth of South Africa influences the evaluation of intergroup encounters (Wimmer, 1997). This was highlighted by Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) in saying that the manner in which the ingroup evaluate their environment is largely influenced by the perceived threat posed by outgroup members. Gorodzeisky (2013) stated that this perceived threat results in the justification of excluding outgroup members from equal access to resources, and in prejudice and discriminatory attitudes towards outgroup members.

2.3. Xenophobic Violence in South Africa

South Africa has experienced a sequence of xenophobic violence; however, the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic outbreaks constituted the worst scenario of collective violence and political unrest since the advent of apartheid (Marongwe and Mawere, 2016; Neocosmos, 2008). Although violence directed at foreigners has become a part of the social landscape in contemporary South Africa these two episodes of xenophobic violence were unprecedented in intensity; the country received widespread condemnation from the international community (Buthelezi, 2009; Marongwe and Marawe, 2016). In May 2008 xenophobic violence started in Alexandra Township and quickly spread to other parts of the country (Buthelezi, 2009).

Following the violence, government officials assured the rest of the world that foreigners were safe in South Africa; the presidential spokesman at the time, Thabo Masebe, stated that there was unity between South Africans and foreigners, and that the country would never experience such senseless violence again (Landau, 2010). Whilst the South African government attempted to create a picture of unity between foreign nationals and local residents, community leaders continued to express their discontent about having foreigners in their communities (Hayem, 2013). Crush (2008) stated that elements that were already in place created the perfect conditions for xenophobic violence as the post-apartheid state had remained a highly racialised and exclusionary space.

Government officials constantly use rhetoric that highlights the illegality of foreigners, whilst also constantly using foreigners as scapegoats for criminal activity and

highlighting how illegal foreigners are putting a strain on already limited resources (Crush, 2008; Lefko-Everett, 2008). The 2008 xenophobic attacks resulted in the government being forced to deploy troops domestically for the first time following the demise of apartheid (Buthelezi, 2009). The aftermath of the 2008 violence resulted in the death of sixty-two people, of which approximately twenty-one of the deceased were South African citizens (Crush, 2008). Thousands of families were displaced and hundreds of shops were looted (Crush, 2008).

A similar sequence of violence played out in March 2015, as rumours erupted that local businesses were replacing local workers with foreigners following wage disputes (Bekker, 2015). The violence was perpetuated by a speech made by the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini Buthelezi which was made against the backdrop of rising tensions between foreigners and local residents. The king was calling for the deportation of foreign nationals in the country and making remarks that it was unacceptable that South Africans had to compete with foreign nationals for limited job opportunities and inconvenience local residents (Ngubeni, 2015). The speech was followed by the first series of violence against foreigners in Isipingo, an industrial and residential area in the south of Durban (Bekker, 2015). The second wave of violence occurred in the Durban Metro where foreigners were attacked and foreign owned shops looted and destroyed (Bekker, 2015). The unrest continued for a period of two weeks and included large numbers of South Africans marching on multiple occasions with the intent of driving foreigners out of their residential spaces (Bekker, 2015). In response foreign migrants also held demonstrations in the Durban CBD, which were met with clashes with the police (Bekker, 2015).

The violence quickly spread to other parts of the country (Bekker, 2015). After the two weeks of unrest in Kwazulu-Natal, local residents continued protesting and blocking roads purportedly to drive foreigners out of their communities (Bekker, 2015). Following the violence, thousands of displaced foreigners were moved to temporary shelters; with the attacks claiming the lives of seven more people and leaving many foreign nationals fearing for their lives (Bekker, 2015). There are striking similarities between the 2008

and 2015 xenophobic attacks: firstly, the localities of both the violent epidemics were largely restricted to informal settlements, urban townships and inner city residences. Rumours about the dangers posed by foreigners on the livelihood of local residents led to the justification of xenophobic violence in both incidents (Bekker, 2015). This highlights how discourses can become a form of action; as stated by Durrheim and Dixon (2013) that discourses serve political functions and permit societal action. In the case of South Africa, the construction of foreigners as a threat to the livelihood and resources of the country - amidst general dissatisfaction with service delivery - resulted in the justification of attacking foreigners as they were perceived as stealing resources that rightfully belonged to South Africans (Gordon, 2015).

The 2008 and 2015 attacks revealed that the post-apartheid state was still fraught with discriminatory practices and attitudes (Bekker, 2015). Foreigners in South Africa are often treated as homogenous with refugees, asylum seekers and illegal immigrants all clumped together under the term “amakwerekwere” (Mnyaka, 2003). These attacks, largely aimed at Africans, revealed that the South African society has remained plagued by racial division and social inequalities (Durrheim and Kerr, 2013). Localised attacks on foreigners have remained unabated with foreign owned businesses often being targets of violence motivated by xenophobia (Bauer, 2013; Evans, 2013). However, xenophobic attacks are often downplayed by politicians using common crime as the explanation for the assaults on foreign nationals (Landau, 2011; Bauer, 2013). Xenophobia does not readily fit into the discourse of the rainbow nation and African renaissance (Harris, 2002).

2.4 Relative Deprivation and Xenophobic Practices: Current Explanatory Mechanisms

Dodson (2010) argued that democracy created a culture of entitlement where resources are perceived to rightfully belong to South Africans; this resulted in most marginalized communities blaming foreigners for their socio-economic difficulties. Thus, xenophobic discourse is often rooted in the struggle for resources but also prompted by the country’s unique history and transformation following democracy (Valji, 2003). Therefore, the

violence becomes a manner to curb and control the “alien invasion” which is deemed as destructive to the livelihoods of local residents (Gordon, 2015). Foreigners are viewed as coming into the country in large numbers and therefore putting strain on an already crumbling economy and deprived population (Gordon, 2015). Often the violence feeds into official discourse, as government is perceived as failing to take care of the immigration problem and therefore resulting in increased unemployment rates and poverty (Gordon, 2015).

Hadland (2008) stated that feelings of relative deprivation, which stem from citizens not receiving what they believe they are entitled to, also compels citizens to commit xenophobic violence. A sense of exceptionalism emerges among South African residents, which encompasses a sense of superiority towards African nationals and thus ensuing groups to be able to justify disregarding the rights of others. Adam and Moodley (2000) stated that when groups feel helpless and threatened their need to marginalize and degrade those they feel are below them becomes greater. This is illustrated in the actuality that anti-immigrant sentiments are highest amongst the poor (Adam & Moodley, 2000). Neocosmos (2010) stated that exclusion from citizenship also meant the exclusion of the rights that come with citizenship; therefore, people considered outsiders are often denied the privileges and rights that come with belonging to a particular society.

Whilst there have been numerous efforts aimed at promoting tolerance between local residents and foreign nationals, the HSRC report (2010) illustrated that xenophobic sentiments are on the rise in the country with many migrant communities continually experiencing violence and losses to property, and at times even being killed. Although efforts have been made by the government to curb xenophobic sentiments and violence there has been minimal success. The violence and intimidation of foreigners and refugee communities continues to be a daily occurrence in South Africa (Odendaal, 2010; Randolph, 2012). The legacy of apartheid has also resulted in South Africa’s urban poor inheriting a culture of violence which is often used to resolve minor conflicts and dissatisfactions (Harris, 2001). This was also highlighted by the 2009 IOM study which claimed that xenophobic violence in the country should not be isolated from the general

culture of violence, which has become a socially legitimate manner of resolving dissatisfaction and conflicts (Misago, Landau and Monson, 2009).

Lester, Nel and Binns (2000) argued that while the poor hold the same formal political power as rich people, South Africa is still characterised by gross inequality. Despite South Africa progressing as a democratic state the country has maintained the structures and processes that maintain inequality; this problem dominates the nature of the post-apartheid economy (Lester et al., 2000). The increasing unemployment rates and mounting poverty amongst the majority (black residents) has consequently led to this group being suspicious of the activities of others, especially those of foreigners (Lester et al., 2000).

2.5 Framing the Study of Xenophobia in Umlazi

This study sought to understand the construction of intergroup contact with foreign nationals in Umlazi township. This was one of the first communities to experience anti-immigration turmoil and violence directed towards foreigners in 2015 (Naidoo and Tewari, 2015). Historically, Umlazi was a predominantly Zulu township; however, the township is experiencing a steady increase in foreign residents (Noyes, 2010). This has resulted in a political context of discord, as there are usually clashes between the foreign nationals and local residents (Noyes, 2010). Townships in South Africa have continually remained the first point of settlement for migration into urban spaces for South Africans as well as foreigners (Fauvelle-Aymar and Segatti, 2011). However, there has been a growing discontent among local residents over the increasing population of foreigners (Naidoo and Tewari, 2015). With townships often being the first point of settlement for residents there is a general belief that townships are the places where residents evaluate and attempt to make sense of intergroup contact with foreigners (Fauvelle-Aymar and Segatti, 2011).

Therefore, in the present study the use of the working model of contact will allow for an understanding of how local residents manage encounters with foreign nationals and transform them into familiar systems that, in turn, provide meaning for everyday

encounters with foreigners. Moreover, the move from understanding intergroup contact under utopian conditions of contact and allowing for an understanding of how ordinary citizens construct and make sense of intergroup contact, the present study explored the lived experiences of everyday encounters with foreigners. In this study there was a belief that in understanding the constructions of intergroup contact and discourses that emanate from such constructions, there would be a better understanding of the actions proceeded by such constructions.

2.6. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an overview of the current literature on xenophobic practices in South Africa. It also showed the rationale for conducting a study on intergroup contact with foreigners in a South African township; and tried to illustrate the applicability of working models of contact as a means of understanding the construction of intergroup contact with foreign nationals. This chapter also served as a backdrop which demonstrated current discourses in place, rhetoric that is often used during intergroup encounters with foreigners and the type of action that ensues from such constructions of intergroup contact.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Aims and Rationale

The present study aimed to understand the construction of intergroup contact with foreign nationals as constructed by the local residents of G section, Umlazi Township. The study focused on how different constructions of intergroup contact allowed for contact with foreigners to be rejected or accepted by group members. The study also concentrated on how the use of language influenced the type of social action that ensued between the groups. This study also looked at whether there was a shift in the discourses used to construct contact with foreign nationals after the 2015 xenophobic violence that affected many South African townships. There was a strong emphasis on how the current language used may become a possible indicator of future solidarity or discord between the two groups. This study was influenced by the intergroup contact theory as well as concepts grounded within the theory; however, this study proposed a shift to a more realistic understanding of intergroup contact through the use of working models of intergroup contact.

There is a belief that the move from predetermined scales of understanding intergroup contact, to understanding contact from participants own constructions of intergroup interactions will result in an understanding of the strategic use of the discourses formed from the constructions of intergroup contact. The present study also sought to understand collectively shared constructions of contact. This was an attempt to understand how the use of language influences how foreign nationals become evaluated; this research also enabled an understanding of established discourses that determine the quality of contact between local and foreign nationals.

3.1.2. Research Questions

1. How are discursive practices created by members of different groups, during intergroup contact, to justify the kinds of relations that exist between groups?

2. How is language adapted to influence group behaviour during intergroup contact with foreigners?

3.1.3. Research Objective

To understand the collectively shared constructions of intergroup contact with foreign nationals. This was an attempt to understand how the use of language influences how foreign nationals are evaluated. This project also sought to improve the understanding of the established discourses that determine the quality of contact between local and foreign nationals.

3.2 Theoretical Approach and Research Design

This study focused on the construction of intergroup contact in a context of political discord between local residents and foreign nationals. In order to understand constructions of intergroup contact a qualitative social constructionist approach was selected. The approach focuses on how knowledge is constructed and comes to form a jointly constructed understanding of reality by active actors within a particular context (Silverman, 2013; Leeds-Hurwitz, 2009). This methodology enabled an understanding of how participants made sense of their experiences through the creation of models of the social world, which were formed through the use of language (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2009). Furthermore social construction allows for an in-depth analysis of how language is used in the construction of position and how rhetoric becomes a form of action through its influence on societal behaviour. A social constructionist approach was also selected due to its theoretical alignment with the study's theoretical framework of working models of contact. A social constructionist framework often focuses on the use of rhetoric in the construction of reality; in the present study both discourse and conversational analytical approaches were used in order to capture how participants constructed their experiences of contact (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). It also enabled an understanding of the experiences and social influences that shape such interpretive repertoires (Wetherell and Potter, 1992).

3.3 Context

The study was conducted in Umlazi, a South African township located South-West of the city of Durban (Dlamini, 2005). Historically, Umlazi was a predominantly Zulu township (Mkhize, 2011). The township is currently experiencing a steady increase in foreign residents; this has resulted in political discord, as there are usually clashes between the foreign nationals and local residents (Mthethwa, 12/04/15). The most notable case of discord was the 2015 xenophobic attacks in which Umlazi was one of the first communities to experience anti-immigration turmoil (Mthethwa, 12/04/15). The aftermath of the violence was the destruction of property, displaced families and the brutal killing of an Ethiopian shop owner who was burnt alive (Mthethwa, 12/04/15). The researcher believed that since townships often served as the first settlement points for foreigners, intergroup contact between local residents and foreigners in Umlazi Township was inevitable. The interaction between foreigners and local residents allows these groups to evaluate each other, and thus giving rise to public discourses. Such discourses determine the type of contact that ensues between groups and the type of societal action that occurs during contact encounters. Umlazi Township was therefore a good context for understanding intergroup contact due to its current experiences of intergroup conflict. Umlazi is one of the largest townships in South Africa, as a result of its vastness there was a focus on one particular area of Umlazi called G-Section. This area was selected due to the reported increase in foreign nationals integrating into the community.

3.4. Sampling

The study used a purposive sampling approach. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method which involves selecting participants based on their knowledge or expertise of the empirical inquiry (Schutt, 2011; Silverman, 2013). The sample consisted of nine individuals who resided in Umlazi, G section. In order to participate in the study participants had to meet the following selection criteria: firstly, participants had to be aware of the type of relations and attitudes that are dominant between local and foreign residents; participants had to have had intergroup encounters with foreigners; and lastly, participants had to be over the age of 18.

The selected sample consisted of individuals who were well acquainted in the topic being studied, and who were also aware of the views held by the wider community. This ensured that the research participants were able to answer the questions posed by the study. Moreover, the selected sample was diverse in terms of education, occupation, socio-economics and age. It was assumed that diversity in research participants provided more insight on: how different members of the community constructed intergroup contact and the variations that existed in terms of experiences of contact with outgroup members. The ward councillor introduced the researcher to a politically active member in the community, who then took the role of introducing the researcher to participants who were aware of intergroup dynamics between foreigners and local residents in G section, Umlazi. The sample consisted of businessmen, academics, university students, unemployed community members and a taxi driver.

3.5. Data Collection

A combination of field notes and semi-structured interviews was used during the data collection phase of the study. An interview schedule was used to guide the interview process (refer to Appendix D); however, the structure and the questions of the interview remained flexible, with the interview process largely guided by the issues that emerged during the interviews. The interviews were audio recorded in order for the data to be analysed in its natural form. Additional data was collected through direct observations made by the researcher during the interview process. The interviews were conducted in Umlazi; the rationale behind this being the researcher's intention to understand the context where the constructions of intergroup contact occurred as well as the context where public discourses directed at foreigners originated. In order to collect contextually rich and meaningful data participants were given the option of conducting the interviews in their preferred language. Prior to the commencement of the interviews, the research participants were given background information on the study as well as the rationale for conducting the study. This was followed by obtaining written informed consent from the participants. Six individual interviews, and an interview that consisted of three individuals, were conducted in this study. The sample consisted of two females and seven

males. Participants in the study had an age range of 26-38. The interviews were an average length of thirty minutes each.

3.6 Data Analysis

The study focused on the construction of intergroup contact with foreigners as well as the discourses that emanated from these constructions of intergroup contact. Interview data was transcribed in its original form and then translated into English for presentation purposes. The study proposed that intergroup interactions give rise to a particular form of rhetoric that, in turn, gives rise to societal action. As a means of ensuring that the interview data was able to capture this, interviews were further transcribed using a simplified version of Jeffersonian conversational analysis (Silverman, 2013; refer to Appendix F). Transcripts were thus inclusive of features such as: tone movement, variances in pitch and volume, pauses, audible inhalations and exhalations, salient stress on words and elongated syllables. Interviews and transcripts were analysed in their natural form as a means of understanding the rhetorical devices used and intended by participants. Analysis of the transcripts and interview data was based on analytical conversation and discourse techniques.

The initial phase of data analysis began with a thorough examination of the data; accounts given of contact with foreign nationals were extracted from the data and transcribed in greater detail (Silverman, 2013). The rhetorical devices noted in these extracts were analysed for discourses and used to provide a framework for further analyses. This was followed by an analysis of the type of societal action that was rendered intelligible and permitted by such discourses (Benwell, 2006; Durrheim and Dixon, 2013; Hodges, Kuper and Reeves, 2008). Research data was mutually analysed with the researcher's field notes in order to understand the functions served by such rhetorical devices. The researcher focused on the type of language used to construct foreign nationals residing in Umlazi, as well as how the conduct of foreigners was depicted. Working models of contact were then used as a means of making sense of the

collectively shared constructions of intergroup contact that were constructed by Umlazi residents (Durrheim and Dixon, 2013).

3.7 Reliability, Validity and Generalisability.

This study had a purely qualitative design. Qualitative research is often critiqued for its subjectivity, as the researcher becomes a tool that plays an active role in influencing the analytical process (Starks and Trinidad, 2007). However, Silverman (2013) illustrated that methodological rigour and theoretical sophistication during the analytical process minimise the interpretations of qualitative data. Additionally, he noted that a clear outline of the research process can help the researcher to achieve more reliable, valid and generalisable results in qualitative research.

3.7.1 Reliability

Reliability refers to the consistency of data treatment and interpretation (Silverman and Marvasti, 2008). Silverman (2013) proposed that reliability in quality research can be improved by the level of detail provided in the presented data. In order to meet this requirement Silverman (2013) proposed trading summaries of data collected for more detailed transcripts that encompass statements made by both the interviewer and interviewee(s). Moreover, presented data should be able to provide the reader with a context of the extracts or quotes selected. The provision of appropriate and extensive detail thus allows the reader to evaluate the reliability of data interpretations. Antaki, Billig, Edwards and Potter (2003) also argue that this type of approach limits the decontextualisation of research data and prevents spurious claims being deduced from the data. In this study data is presented in the form of detailed extracts rather than summaries or quotes. As a final measure of ensuring reliability and the accurate interpretation of data by the researcher, there was a process of data validation; this involved the researcher going back to the research participants to validate or refute the interpretations of discourses identified from the data (Cutcliffe and McKenna, 1999).

3.7.2. Validity

Validity in qualitative research refers to the suitability of the research methods used to allow the researcher to draw credible conclusions from the data collected (Leung, 2015). Silverman (2013) noted that interpretation is inherent in all research, this process in itself is not problematic; however, for qualitative researchers (as analytical tools themselves) it becomes vital to understand the dangers of posed objectivity. It is also essential for the researcher to understand the inferences drawn from research data (Silverman, 2013). Silverman (2013) therefore highlighted that in order to achieve validity in qualitative research it is incumbent upon the researcher to ensure that the data provided in the study is representative of the data collected, and that the conclusions drawn are supported by the data provided. Silverman (2013) further illustrated how anecdotalism poses a threat to the validity of qualitative research; researchers often focus on a few examples that are reflective of the phenomenon under the study and thus pose a threat to the validity of the research results. In order to minimise the risk of anecdotalism, and increase research validity, this study used four of the five data treatment strategies proposed by Silverman (2013) as deemed appropriate for the present study. These included: the refutability principle¹, the constant comparative method², comprehensive data treatment³ and the deviant-case analysis⁴. The analytical framework of discourse analysis resulted in the lack of a theoretical rationale for using tabulations in the study, the fifth treatment strategy.

3.7.3. Generalisability

Creswell (1998) and, Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (2015) stated that the small samples commonly used in qualitative research often result in researchers refraining from making claims of generalisability regarding their research findings. Furthermore, Schofield (2002) further elaborated on how the classical view of external validity does not provide support for the generalisability of qualitative data. However, Silverman (2013) highlights that qualitative research is theoretically driven; the role of qualitative research is to provide a wider lens to particular events which are likely to appear in the wider social

context. The context selected in the study is believed to be reflective of wider societal processes in South African Townships that have been experiencing an increase in xenophobic sentiments. As a result, there is a belief that the results of the study should be generalisable to similar contexts. Furthermore, the participants used in the study were informed members of society who made use of a range of rhetorical devices, and it is within such rhetorical frameworks that participants in the study constructed intergroup contact with foreign nationals. Such devices are influenced by experiences and language, which are constantly used to make sense of social interactions. It is thus believed that people with similar experiences of intergroup contact will make use of similar rhetorical devices as a means of understanding intergroup contact with foreigners.

¹ The refutability principle is a process which focuses on disproving 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 one's 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 cases within a dataset (Silverman, 2013).

3.8. Reflexivity

Every step in the research process was guided by self-reflection, rigour, theory and transparency. The researcher is nevertheless aware that the sensitivity of the topic being investigated may have impacted on the objectivity of the study. The researcher was also conscious that entering the world of the research participants, and understanding how they were affected by dynamics in their environments, could possibly change her previously held views about xenophobia in South Africa. Most of the participants were frustrated about continually being given platforms to share their experiences of having foreign people integrated into their communities, but never being given platforms to address their concerns. Conceivably, these frustrations may have resulted in the participants holding extremist views, which may not necessarily be reflective of the views held by other community members. Some of the participants believed that the

dissemination of the research results could bear influence on policies around migration; the investigator was aware that this may have also shaped the type of responses given by the participants. There were also intense and emotive recounts of encounters by participants, such as those referring to the initiation of young children to drugs by foreign nationals. There were instances where these statements were held as the truth instead of being critically assessed as constructions of contact (and as serving a particular function). Most of the accounts given by participants were contradictory with the researcher's personal stance on xenophobia; nonetheless, the data was treated in a purely objective manner. The research was mindful that working with information that was contradictory to her own personal beliefs may have bared an influence of her analytical stance and the manner in which data was presented. Although steps were taken to ensure variability in the research sample, most of the participants were male. While the role of gender is not perceived to affect the responses received in the study there is awareness that the gender ratio may have influenced the responses received in the study.

3.9. Ethical Considerations

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

3.9.1 Informed Consent

Participants were informed of the scope and objectives of the study prior to consenting to participate in the study. Consent for being interviewed and for the recording of the interviews was requested separately. The informed consent forms given to the participants were written in the participants' preferred language in order for participants to understand what they were consenting to; the informed consent form detailed that participation in the study was confidential, voluntary and participants could withdraw from participation without facing any consequences (refer to Appendix E).

3.9.2 Access

The ward councillor in Umlazi G section was approached for consent in order for the study to take place in the ward; authorisation was given to conduct the study (refer to Appendix B).

3.9.3 Confidentiality and Anonymity

In order to ensure anonymity and confidentiality, participants in the study were assigned pseudonyms. During transcription, any information that identified participants was replaced with a pseudonym. Furthermore, documents that contained the participant's information such as consent forms were stored separately from the field data.

3.9.4 Favourable Risk to Benefit Ratio

Participants in the study were informed about the risk and benefits of their participation in the study. In the design of the study there were minimal risks anticipated to be associated with participation. However, should any distress have occurred as a result of participation they would have received counselling at the Howard College Psychology Department (refer to Appendix C). Participants were informed that the possible benefits in the study included giving participants an opportunity to reflect on how collective discourses have shaped their perception and conduct towards foreigners. Participation in the study also ensured that the voices of individuals who may be perceived as perpetrators were heard and acknowledged, which is often ignored in academic literature.

3.9.5 Scientific Validity

Emanuel et al. (2004) proposed that a study can be regarded as scientifically valid if it is responsive to the phenomena that are being studied. In the present study, the questions posed and sample selected were suitable in addressing the phenomena under investigation.

3.9.6 Fair selection of participants

Ethical research standards require an impartial selection of research participants that is reflective of the target population (Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2006; Wassenaar and Slack, 2016; Mouton, 2011). In this study, participation was voluntary with 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 and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (refer to Appendix A).

3.9.8 Storage and dissemination of results

The data collected in this study, as well as the interview transcripts, will be stored on a secure password protected computer. Additional hardcopy documents such as consent forms and field notes will be stored separately in a locked cabinet. The data will be destroyed after a statutory period of five years through permanently deleting the data from the computer's hard drive and through shredding the documents used in the study. Only the members of the research team will have access to the research data. As a form of research dissemination the published study will be available at the UKZN library and a local newspaper in Umlazi will be approached in order to share the research results with a wider audience.

3.10 Conclusion

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

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter will present how intergroup contact is constructed by residents in Umlazi to account for their lived experiences with foreign nationals. The presented transcripts were analysed in IsiZulu and English; transcriptions included Jeffersonian conversational analysis in order to ensure that the data was presented as it was intended by the research participants. Constructed accounts of contact with foreigners were extracted from the data, subjected to further analysis and presented in this chapter. Working models of contact were used to comprehend how local residents made sense of contact encounters, as well as to provide contextual meaning to these constructions of contact. The chapter also looked at the political functions and societal actions that such working models of contact are meant to ignite and perpetuate. While intergroup contact has been shown to result in improved perception of outgroup members, this chapter will look at whether this is an accurate assumption in the case of Umlazi Township.

4.1 Intergroup Contact as Detrimental to the Moral, Social and Economic Development of South Africans

Extract 1 (IsiZulu): Interview 3; Black male, age 39

1. Mandla: Lendawo sengihlale kuyona for a long time since 1994 (0.2) isishintshile
2. Interviewer: Uma uthi isishintshile maybe what do you mean by isishintshile
3. Mandla: Isinama brothels amaningi acontrollwa ama foreign nationals. Kunama prostitutes (.) kunama drugs kunokungcola ezistradini since egcwele wona se:::kunezitamkoko eziblockayo into ebesingayazi
4. Interviewer: [So zonkelezizinto] sorry just to cut you do you think ingenxa yokufika kwabantu bakwamanye amazwe
5. Mandla: [Yebo↑]

6. Interviewer: [Eyenza] yonkelento
7. Mandla: Uyabona sisiukusuka kwomuntu osuka kumabunduz akoMozambique akoZimbabwe akoNigeria azohlala edrobheni (.) ihygiene yakhe ayifani nomuntu walakunezinto azidisposa etoilet ekungamele engabe uyazi disposa kodwa uyazidisposa yena kunabantu bangaphandle abafike lana ngokungekho emthetweni bajombe amabhoda abanawo ama documentations aright (.) yah izinto ezinjalo bese uba nama issuesemise::benzi ama entry level jobs (.) engaba athathwa abantu bala abangekho skilledanjengo waiter::ng and what not akwi commercial catering sebewa banga nawouyayibona lonto ngoba wona avuma ukuthatha amawages alow so izinto ezinjenga lezo

Extract 1 (English)

1. Mandla: I have stayed in this place for a long time since 1994 (0.2) it has changed
2. Interviewer: When you say that it has changed maybe what do you mean by it has changed
3. Mandla: It now has a lot of brothels that are controlled by foreign nationals. There are prostitutes (.) there are drugs there is dirt on the streets since they are all over th:::ere are sewers that are blocked things that were unheard of before
4. Interviewer: [So all these things] sorry just to cut you do you think that they are the resultof foreign nationals coming into this place
5. Mandla: [Yes ↑]
6. Interviewer: [That causes] all of this
7. Mandla: You see sister a person from the rural areas of Mozambique and Zimbabwe and Nigeria leaves and comes to stay here in the city (.) their hygiene is not the same as someone from here there are things they dispose in the toilet that should not be disposed but they dispose them there are foreign people that come here illegally and cross the border they do not have documentation right (.) yeah things like that and then there are issues of jo::bs entry level jobs (.) that should be given to local people that are not skilled like waiters and what not that

are in commercial catering but they are competing with them you see that because they agree to take low wages so it is things like that

Throughout this interview multiple claims were made about how the influx of foreign nationals, and their integration into South African communities, has resulted in the moral decay of South Africans particularly women. The presence of foreigners was also constructed as detrimental to the economic stability and social development of South Africans. Prior to extract 1 the interviewer had asked the participant, Mandla, if there have been changes in the community following the reported increase of foreigners living in the community. In the first comment the participant states that he has lived in the area for a long time and puts an emphasis on the words, “it has changed”. In order to give an account of the changes in the community Mandla (in comment three) says negative factors such as prostitution, drugs and brothels are on the rise as a result of the presence of foreigners. As the third comment continues, Mandla constructs his community as literally dirty by portraying the filth that is erupting in the community, providing the image of blocked sewers and dirt on the streets. He states that the deterioration of the community started when the foreigners were integrated into the community. Mandla’s statement gives one the impression that foreigners have damaged the community; it also serves to construct the image that the community was autopia which was destroyed upon the arrival of foreigners, who have supposedly introduced both moral and environmental filth into the community.

In the fourth comment the researcher tries to gain clarity on whether the changes evident in the community are really a direct consequence of the increase of foreigners or as a result of other factors. But, Mandla does not allow the interviewer to finish her question before answering “Yes!” and affirming that the changes are a direct result of foreigners being included into the community. This allows Mandla to portray a level of certainty in that he can undoubtedly attribute the change in the community to foreigners. In his last comment, he begins by stating that foreigners are coming from the “bhunduz” into the city. The term “bhunduz” in South Africa is a colloquial term used to describe backward

rural communities without any technological advances or modern comforts such as running water and electricity. Such constructions allow the participant to both construct South Africa as more progressive compared to other African countries and then to subsequently portray foreigners as backwards compared to their South African counterparts. This serves to demonstrate intergroup heterogeneity but also creates a hierarchy where foreigners are portrayed as inferior and backwards compared to South Africans. Mandla then proceeds to describe Umlazi as a city and not a township. In doing so the participant is able to highlight the vast contrast between the rural homelands that foreigners come from and South Africa, whereby even townships are perceived as cities by foreigners. In this comment, he also informs the interviewer that foreigners have poor hygiene and fail to understand basic social norms that are common sense to most people, such as not disposing non-disposable items down the toilet. This not only stigmatises the conduct of foreign nationals but also highlights the re-emergence of the theme of foreigners bringing filth into the environment. Moreover, the construction of such negative practices serves to differentiate foreigners as the “other” or “them”. Kite and Whitley (2016) highlighted that the distinction between the ingroup and outgroup, and the portrayal of outgroup homogeneity continually serve the function of perpetuating outgroup prejudice.

In this final statement, Mandla also states that there are foreigners that are in the country illegally, implying that most foreigners have no basis for being in the country. Banda and Mawadza (2015) illustrated how the construction of illegality in the context of foreigners comes to signify people who have no basis to their humanity; this often gives rise to human rights violations as foreigners come to be perceived as being outside the protection of the law. Towards the end of the paragraph Mandla highlights that local residents, particularly those in the unskilled labour force, no longer have job security because they are forced to compete for jobs with foreigners. He goes on to state that such jobs are meant to be reserved for local residents. This illustrates how discriminatory practices are continually masked by discourses such as the prevention of unjust competition for cheap labour, which were often used during apartheid in order to oppress

black people (Hepple, 1963). In South Africa foreigners work in both skilled and unskilled markets, the fact that the participant chose to highlight that they are competing for unskilled labour symbolises that he is speaking for people who have limited options, and whose security is further compromised by the presence of foreigners who push them out of the labour market by accepting low wages. Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) highlight that the perceived threat on people's livelihoods in the context of deprivation and diminishing resources ignites antagonism towards outgroup members, and creates lines between local residents and non-citizens who should not benefit from resources provided for local residents.

Extract 2 (IsiZulu): Interview 4; Black female, age 31

1. Interviewer: Ngiyewake amaviews akho but how do they perceive foreigners (0.3) now after the attacks kuke kwashintsha
2. Sma: babazonda ukufa kuworse manje↑
3. Interviewer: Mmm
4. Sma: Into eyavele yakwenza kwaba worse UKUTHI sekukhona since kwavelale whoonga lena ziningi izingane ezingasahlalali emakhaya↑ and zonke imost yazo ziphuma<koMashu koMlazi koLamonti>.So njengoba nje Umlazi umngaka shuthi ziningi eziphume khona. So omama obaba oaniti ezinye izingane sezikhuliswe ogogo↑. Ngoba phela manje umamausebusy usebenzela lababantu bokuhamba manje as a PROSTITUTE so nje ababathandi okwangempela sekuvele kwa worse.

Extract 2 (English)

1. Interviewer: I hear your views about how they perceive foreigners (0.3) now after the attacks has there been change
2. Sma: They hate them to the core it is worse now↑
3. Interviewer: mmm

4. Sma: What made it worse is that SINCE there has been an introduction of Whoonga herethere are a large number of children who no longer stay at home↑ and most of them come from <Kwamashu, Umlazi and Lamontville> so since Umlazi is so big that means that a large number of children affected come from Umlazi so mothers, fathers, aunts children are now being raised by their grandmothers. Because now the mother is busy working for these foreign nationals as a PROSTITUTE so they really do not want them things have become worse

Before the aforementioned segment took place the participant was giving an account of the quality of intergroup contact between foreigners and local residents in Umlazi. Constructions that foreigners are exploitative to women and discourses of criminality were constantly given throughout the interview. In this segment the interviewer wanted to understand whether there were changes in how foreigners were perceived in the community following the 2015 xenophobic attacks. In her first comment, the research participant Sma emphasises the deterioration of relations between foreigners and local residents; as well as how local residents have deeper ingrained hostilities towards foreigners after 2015. At the beginning of comment four, Sma accounts for the increase in antipathies towards foreigners as a result of the increased usage of the street drug “whoonga” in the community. She then goes on to attribute the increased availability of drugs to the increasing number of foreigners in the community who are said to be supplying drugs in the community. In this comment Sma places an emphasis on the words “there are a large number of children who no longer stay at home”, and there is an increase in her tone when she links the breakdown of families and the estrangement of children from their families to the presence of foreigners in the community. The emphasis on these words shows that there is a lot of emotion tied to the subject of drug use in the community. The participant however does not limit the breakdown of families to Umlazi but also mentions several Durban townships, highlighting the magnitude of the problem of drug use and the disintegration of families.

Sma then makes the researcher aware of the fact that Umlazi is a huge area, which means that more residents in Umlazi are affected by this epidemic. The construction of large numbers of residents being negatively influenced by foreigners allows Umlazi residents to have antipathies towards foreigners, due to the constructed reality that their presence is increasing drug use among children in the community. Furthermore, such constructions serve to create panic within the community; drug use in a mass of young people will ultimately destroy the future of the whole community. Sma highlights the magnitude of the problem by showing that both young and old are susceptible to this drug epidemic. The image of the absent mother who is now prostituting herself and working for foreigners brings up the themes of the disintegration of families and the moral deterioration of South Africans as a result of the presence of foreigners. Moreover, this reintroduces the themes of the exploitation and manipulation of women, as these women are allegedly introduced to drugs by foreigners and then in order to support their drug addiction are subsequently forced into prostitution (also by foreigners). The construction of intergroup contact as posing dire consequences for Umlazi residents renders action such as violence towards foreigners as intelligible.

Extract 3 (IsiZulu): Interview 3; Black male, age 39

1. Interviewer: But do you think ukuthike (2) I understand zonkelezizinto ozishilo to>improve ama conditions okuhlala ase South Africa< but do you think that ukuzwana kwenu akushiye kanje or there should be something done to improve ama relations ase South Africa nabantu bokufika (0.6) or ku right kukanje akushiye kanje
2. Mandla: Yini into ongayenza to improve ama relations (.) if because if labantu are still busy with criminal activities that's their (0.3) mostly (0.4) into e-igniter yonke>lento this malice and anger< ilento engizichazile ukuvuma kwabo ukusebenzela ama slave wages ayikhoke lapho into esizoyizwana umawena uvuma ueighty rand kubekumele uthathe uone fifty iwage UYANGTHOLA
3. Interviewer: Yebo

4. Mandla: Yinike lapho esizoyi zwana (.) ngoba wena uyigundane uhambe uyovuma lento engekho right udayisa amadrugs wenza yonke inhlobo yobulelesi wakha amaID afake uthatha izingane zethu uzoziqwayizisa ngoba zihlupheka emalokishini uzoziqwayizisaamadolobheni sizi intergrator ukuthi KUBE NJANI usaqhubeka wenza lezizinto ozenzayo

Extract 3 (English)

1. Interviewer: But do you think that (0.2) I understand everything that you have said about>improving living conditions here in South Africa< but do you think that relationsbetween you should be left as is or there should be something done to improve relationsbetween South Africa and foreign nationals (0.6) or it is alright as is things must be left like this
2. Mandla: What can you do to improve relations if because if these people are still busy with criminal activities that's their (0.3) mostly (0.4) what ignites all of >this malice andanger< it is the things that I explained it is them agreeing to work for slave wages then we will not get along if you agree to take eighty rand when you were supposed to takeone FIFTY as a wage YOU GET ME
3. Interviewer: Yes
4. Mandla: How can we then get along (.) because you are a rat you agree to all of these conditions that are not alright you sell drugs you do all types of criminal activities you do fake IDs you take our children and prostitute them because they are poor in the townships and you prostitute them in cities so we are integrating ourselves FOR WHAT when you are still doing all the things you are doing.

Throughout this interview the research participant, Mandla, gave multiple suggestions about programmes and actions that need to be implemented in South Africa in order to stop the social and financial deterioration of the country. These included actions such as: South Africa having refugee camps in order to prevent undocumented foreigners from scattering and eventually living in the county illegally, thus draining the country's already limited resources. During the interview Mandla also constantly referred to how African

immigrants come to the country in multitudes without any specialised skills and compete for unskilled labour jobs with South Africans, ultimately stealing the livelihoods of South Africans. At the beginning of this excerpt the researcher asks the participant whether, in spite of all the accounts that have been given and methods suggested to improve the country, there is something that needs to be done in order to improve intergroup relations and the quality of intergroup contact between the two groups. In his reply the participant responds with “what can you do?” strongly emphasising these words and indicating a form of resignation that nothing can be done to improve relations with these people. He then goes on to show how quality relationships with foreigners cannot be formed because foreign nationals have no intention to stop engaging in criminal activities.

Through the construction of foreigners as criminals the participant is not only successful in perpetuating stereotypes popular in public discourses, but is also able to successfully shift the blame of poor intergroup relations from local residents. In portraying poor intergroup relations as a direct consequence of foreigners engaging in criminal activities he is able to absolve South Africans of the responsibility of the current state of intergroup relations; additionally, he also justifies their lack of commitment in attempting to improve intergroup contact. He continues to hold foreigners accountable for the behaviour that ensues during intergroup contact by claiming that the malice and anger displayed by South Africans is a direct consequence of the criminal behaviour of foreigners, as well as their tendency to accept lower wage prices. Such a construction fails to see the low wage paying employer as exploitative, but rather chooses to view the foreigner as such. Foreign nationals are perceived to be intentionally scheming and betraying South Africans by working for lower wages, and thus ensuring that they are securing employment at the expense of local residents.

In his last comment Mandla emphasises that intergroup relations cannot currently improve due to the way foreigners conduct themselves. There is an increase in his tone and a strong emphasis when he utters the words “you get me?” This is meant to convey that avoiding intergroup relations is a rational choice and that these relations cannot be improved. Mandla is keen to highlight that the poor quality of contact with foreigners is the result of foreigners conducting themselves negatively, as opposed to local residents

harbouring antipathies towards foreigners. Mandla makes multiple attempts to portray the actions that ensue during intergroup encounters, such as violence, as being motivated by the real threats posed by foreigners in the community rather than being motivated by racial or ethnic prejudice.

4.2 Intergroup Contact as a Tool to Stigmatise the Conduct of Foreign Nationals

Extract 4 (IsiZulu): Black male, 29; Black male, 32 and Black female, 29

1. Philane: Enye into eyinkinga ngalababantu awubaboni uma sebeshonile. BANEMFIHLOYabo bodwa (h) serious angikaze ngizwe ngomngcwabo walabafwethu
2. Mtho: Ey nami angikazengizwe
3. Sne: Eyyazi ngempela
4. Philane: WENA ungashouma wake wezwa yini kukhona into engake ngayizwa ukuthi <bangcwabana endlini↓>
5. Sne: Wh::::at
6. Philane: Angazikodwa
7. Mtho: Nami ngake ngayizwa leyo
8. Philane : [Angazikodwa]ugovernment uthi
9. Mtho [Labantubavelebanyamalale]
10. Philane: Uthi abatranspothwe baphindele lena kubo kushoukuthi inkinga ileyo angazi kuzo kwenziwa njani
11. Sne: Ye::::ses↑

Extract 4 (English)

1. Philane: Another thing that is an issue with these people is that you never see them when they die they have their own SECRET (h) seriously I have never heard of a funeral held for these people

2. Mtho: Ey me too I have never heard
3. Sne: Yes seriously
4. Philane: You can tell us if you have heard of it there is something that I heard that
<theybury each other inside the house↓>
5. Sne: Wh::::at
6. Philane: But I do not know
7. Mtho: I have also heard that
8. Philane: [But I do not know] the government says
9. Mtho: [These people just disappear]
10. Philane: They must be transported and go back home which means that is a
problem I do not know what we will be done
11. Sne: Ye::::ses↑

In this interview it was noted that the discursive patterns followed were largely used in order to stigmatise the conduct of foreigners and portray them as different from the local residents. The conduct of local residents was largely described in homogenous terms while the behaviours of foreigners was constructed as deviant from socially acceptable norms and often described as nonsensical. Due to foreigners being unable to conform to socially acceptable norms local residents were able to defend their suspicions of foreign nationals and the exclusion of the outgroup. In this extract there is a continued stigmatisation of the behaviours of foreigners. Philane starts by stating that yet another problem with foreigners is the mystery of their deaths; he claims to have never have heard about a funeral being held for a foreigner. This creates a mystique around foreigners and Salewi (2011) highlighted that the construction of outgroup members as mysterious often leads to stereotypes as well as their inhumane treatment. Van Dijk (2014) underlines that the construction of the differences between ingroup and outgroup members often serves as a foundation for racist discourses. After Philane's initial statement the other research participants also agree that they have never seen a foreigner's funeral. Philane then seeks confirmation and validation regarding what he is saying from the interviewer, and then continues to state in a slower and lower tone that he heard that foreigners bury each other inside their homes. The participant whispers when

he mentions this indicating the bizarreness of scenario; the perceived conduct of foreigners vastly deviates from socially acceptable norms and such issues are not generally openly discussed in a public setting. These sentiments serve to construct foreigners as savages; such constructions continue to stigmatise the behaviours of foreigners. Sne is shocked, as evident in the emphasis and elongation of the word “What” illustrating that such actions are unheard of in what is considered to be societal norms.

In comment six Philane withdraws his statement thus absolving himself of his controversial statement. However, Mtho reassures Philane of his previous claim by stating that he has also heard that foreigners bury each other in their homes. Again the nature of the statement and the implications it holds makes Philane absolve himself of his statement by restating that he does not know whether it is true or not. Mtho continues with the construction of mystery by stating that no actually one knows what happens to foreigners, whether they actually die or just disappear. Such constructions make foreigners appear as mystical, different from ingroup members and to a certain degree not human. Castano and Giner-Sorolla (2006) illustrated that when outgroup members are viewed as less than human beings such constructions give right to the subjugation of the outgroup members, they also allow for human rights violation and violence. Plous and Williams (1995) highlighted that such stereotypes have been successful in suppressing and violating outgroup members in the past; for example: the construction of black people as supernatural during slavery allowed slave owners to justify slave ownership, black people were constructed as possessing supernatural powers which suited them for slavery. In his final statement, Philane highlights that there is nothing that can be done to prevent the foreigners unseemly conduct in South Africa, he believes the solution is to deport foreigners back to their homelands. In the last comment Sne is still clearly shocked at the conduct of foreigners which is evident in her exclamation of the word “yeses”, which is a colloquial South African term used to express shock.

Extract 5 (IsiZulu): Interview 2; Black male, 30

1. Interviewer: So yini ocabanga ukuthi kumele yenzeke ukuze <kuimpro::vwe> ukuzwana kwenu nabantu bokufika
2. Spha: Okwamanje akukho engiku cabangayo (.) konke ngikubona kunzima ngoba ngisho >uhleli etheksini naye kusuke kunzima ngoba iphunga eliqhamuka kuyena alimandi<somanjeke lowo muntu abukho ubudlelwane ongabakha naye ngoba njalo uma uhlezinayekubakhona lolo XHIFI nje

Extract 5 (English)

1. Interviewer: So what do think needs to be done in order <to impro::ve> relations betweenyou and foreign nationals
2. Spha: Right now there is nothing I can think of (.) I see everything as difficult even >when you are sitting in a taxi with them it is difficult because the smell coming out of them is not pleasant <so now that person there is no relationship you can build with them because every time you are with them there is that DISGUST

In this extract the interviewer starts by asking the research participant about what he believes needs to be done in order to improve relations between local residents and foreigners. Throughout the interview the research participant gave multiple accounts and scenarios about how improving intergroup relations with foreigners was improbable. In his abovementioned reply, Spha accounts for his lack of initiative to engage with foreigners as a result of foreigners having poor personal hygiene, which apparently makes it difficult to engage with them. Such constructions stigmatise the conduct of foreigners as well as create a strong sense of difference between the two groups. Like his previous counterparts, Spha blames the foreigners for the lack of quality intergroup contact encounters. He claims that interacting with foreigners in public spaces is difficult due to the bad odours that emanate from foreigners. This portrays foreigners as people who are incapable of performing basic tasks such as taking care of their personal hygiene. Furthermore, such constructions are inherent in the public discourses of racism where the

conduct of outgroup members is stigmatised in order to justify their exclusion and subjugation. Ballard (2004) drew attention to how hygiene has always played an important role in perpetuating racial stereotypes; where perceived risks of contamination from poor hygiene practices have justified the exclusion of outgroup members.

4.3 Intergroup Integration as Idiocy on the Part of Local Residents

Extract 6 (IsiZulu): Interview 5; Black male, age 32

1. Interviewer: >But ke uma ubabheka labantu do you think that they are different kunabantubase South Africa or we are all Africans<
2. Siphso: Mmm
3. Interviewer: Do you think they are different kunabantu balana eSouth Africa
4. Siphso: Indlela abaziphethe ngayo ba different ehh bathi uma sebhlezi lana sebe settled babe ne(.)feeling of superiority (0.2) to thina abantu baseSouth Africa ihospitality yethu bayibukisa okwe stupidity on our part basitshele ukuthi izintombi zethu ZILULA mmm (0.3) basitshele ukuthiziloose ziyafeba
5. Interviewer: So kuhamba kuhamba ev:::en though benibaphethe kahle kodwa bagcina sebenijikele in the end once sebhleli lana
6. Siphso: Ungatshelwa ngisho nangama students eskoleni sakho ukuthi kunama LECTURERS and PROFESSORS abo abatshela ukuthanda kwabo emalecture rooms ngobusuperiorbabo uyayibona lento
7. Interviewer: Mmm
8. Siphso: (.) Uyayibona lonto uyabona you don't even need to go far ngalento ungabuza ngisho your own peers eskoleni ukuthi othisha laba abangama foreign nationals baniphethe kanjani you will get some answers there very interesting

Extract 6 (English)

1. Interviewer: > But then if you look at these people do you think that they are different from people from South Africa or we are all Africans<
2. Sipho: Mmm
3. Interviewer: Do you think they are different from people here in South Africa
4. Sipho: The way they conduct themselves is different ehh when they have settled here they have feelings of superiority (0.2) towards us South Africans they look at our hospitality as stupidity on our part they tell us that our girlfriends are EASY mmm (0.3) they tell us that they are loose they are whores
5. Interviewer: So after a while ev::en though you treated them well but in the end they turn against you once they have settled
6. Sipho: You will even hear this from students in you school that their LECTURERS and PROFESSORS tell them whatever they want in the lecture rooms about their superiority you see that
7. Interviewer: Mmm
8. Sipho: (.) You see that you see you don't even need to go far about this you can even ask your own peers at school about how teachers that are foreign nationals treat them you will get some very interesting answers.

Prior to this section, the participant made remarks about how he did not consider foreign nationals as part of his community on the basis that foreigners isolated themselves and made no attempts to involve themselves in events of the community, such as community meetings. In this extract the researcher asks Sipho if he considers foreigners to be different from or similar to local residents. Sipho responds by saying that foreigners are different on the basis of how they conduct themselves. He constructs foreigners as ungrateful; he claims that once they have settled in this country their behaviour changes and they start viewing themselves as superior to the local residents. He continues to explain how being hospitable to foreigners is perceived as stupidity because once foreigners have settled in the country they start demeaning South Africans. He also states that foreigners verbally degrade local women and continually perceive them as loose. Tafija (2010) highlighted that the perceived exploitation of South African women by foreign men has continually been a subject matter that has been used to ignite hatred

towards foreign men. Maylam (2017) illustrated how such discourses have were used during apartheid to maintain discourses of exclusion and fuel racist sentiments; the fear of the exploitation of white women by African men was successful in maintaining racial segregation and in keeping black people away from white communities.

In order to highlight the apparent condescending attitude that foreigners have towards local residents Siphso uses words such as “whores” in order to portray the disregard that foreign men have towards South African women. After Siphso’s statement, the interviewer tries to verify if Siphso is trying to construct foreigners as people who are ungrateful and turn against local residents once they have settled in South Africa. Siphso responds by agreeing with the statement and claiming that the problem is also evident in professional settings where employed foreigners start perceiving themselves as superior to South African residents. The interviewee then tries to make the researcher look at this issue through a wider lens by demonstrating that within the same University that the researcher is a part of, foreign professors demean local students due to their perceived superiority. In his final comment Siphso portrays this issue as one that affects everyone, even the interviewers own peers are supposedly said to be affected by the presence of foreigners in universities. Through such constructions he is able to create a political agenda which questions the presence of foreigners in lecturing positions as the education of local residents is seen to be compromised by foreigners. Moreover, by highlighting how the researchers own peers are affected Siphso attempts to create ingroup solidarity with the interviewer through common ingroup identity.

While Brewer (2001) highlights that ingroup identification is not a direct causation of outgroup hostility, a strong identification with one’s own group tends to perpetuate prejudice towards other outgroups.

4.4 Working Models of Exploitation

Extract 7 (IsiZulu): Interview 3; Black male, age 39

1. Interviewer: But do you feel like kukhona uku improva eSouth Africa abakwenzayo (0.3) or its only negative izinto abazenzeyo (0.2) ukubakhonakwabo do you think ikhona ibenefit kukhona eniku benefitayo
2. Mandla: AY SO FAR AKUHAMBI KAHLE ngoba one labantu bavule ama business bakhokha ama slave wages. Kusandu kutholakala ePoyinti ukuthi ba trader benganama license okutrader ezitolo zabo badayisa nokudla okuekspayile kwezingane (.) ibaby formula sonje CHACHA akuhambi kahle wena ma akukho improvement lapho nakancane ngisho namaChinainmbala
3. Interviewer: So awucabingi ukuthi ilababako Africa kuphela nama China nawo
4. Mandla: AW AW kunini nama China esibulala esidayisela izinto ezifayo asitshele ukuthi no return (0.3) amanye asayizama leyonto ezitolo zawo yokungabi nama return kuma defective goods↑ yokungabi na cash back return yonke leyo MFISHIMFISHI yonke lento iphambana nemthetho yase South Africa↑ la eSouth Africa sinama consumer rights ne consumer commission baphambana nayo YA bayayi violator NABA ABA VIOLATOR bo ehh

Extract 7 (English)

1. Interviewer: But do you feel like there is some improvement that they are doing in South Africa (0.3) or the things they are doing are only negative (0.2) their presence here do you think it benefits you in any way
2. Mandla: AY SO FAR THINGS ARE NOT GOING WELL because firstly these people opened businesses and they pay slave wages it was recently discovered in Point that they are trading without licences in their stores and they sell expired baby food (.) baby formula so NO NO things are not going well ma there is no improvement here even the slightest even the CHINESE
3. Interviewer: So you do not think that it is only people from Africa but even Chinese
4. Mandla: AW AW for how long have Chinese been killing us and selling us goods that breaktelling us that there are no returns (0.3) some still try doing that in their stores not having returns on defective goods↑. Not having cash back returns all of

that CRAP all of that goes against the laws of South Africa↑ here in South Africa we have consumer rights and commission and they are going against it YA they are violating it THESE VIOLATORS yes

In this extract the interviewer starts by asking the research participant if the presence of foreigners has been beneficial to local residents in any manner; or if the presence of foreigners has only been detrimental as constructed by the research participant throughout the interview. In an increased tone the research participant states that their presence so far has not been beneficial to the country in any way. Again the discourse of exploitation comes up with the research participant stating that even though foreigners are opening businesses in the country, it does not benefit local residents as foreigners are exploiting South Africans by paying them low wages. The use of the words “slave wages” also plays into the discourse of exploitation by highlighting how little local residents are reportedly being paid by foreigners. In his first reply Mandla also claims that foreigners in the Point area of Durban were recently caught running businesses without licences. This statement supports the common public discourses where foreigners are associated with criminal activities. Neocosmos (2010) stated that discourses of criminality in the context of foreigners continually dehumanises foreigners, and leads to deeper social exclusion and violence towards foreigners.

Towards the end of his first comment Mandla states that foreigners are selling expired baby food – this indicates that foreigners are unconcerned about endangering the lives of their customers. There is an emphasis on the words “baby formula” which highlights those very young children are also placed at risk by foreigners. Furthermore, this underlines how most people consider protecting young children as a basic sign of humanity; however, foreigners are constructed as lacking this quality and only being concerned with financial gain.

As a result of the aforementioned it thus becomes logical for local residents to avoid contact with foreigners, as contact is not beneficial to local residents and has the potential of being exploitative for the host community. Mandla again continues to elaborate on the fact that there is no improvement in the community and emphasises that even the Chinese

do not have a positive impact in the lives of South Africans. Throughout this interview there was a large focus on the supposed negative aspects of African foreigners; moreover, there were a lot of complaints and hostilities expressed regarding African foreigners. In his closing statement Mandla clumps foreigners together and highlights that the presence of all foreigners is detrimental to the community. While xenophobic sentiments in South Africa have largely targeted African foreigner such constructions portray that all foreigners as viewed as exploitive to South Africans. Such constructions have the potential of making exclusionary practices to be inclusive of all foreigners as opposed to just African foreigners.

Extract 8 (IsiZulu): Interview 4; Black female, age 31

1. Interviewer: Okay so ibehaviour yalaba abahlala>eMlazi, koPointi, Durban kephi nakephi and other parts of the country< do you think ibehaviour yalaba abahlala eMlazi ihlukile kunale yabanye or do you think ukuthi iyafana to the way that laba abanye abaziphatha ngakhona
2. Sma: I wou::ld say ihlukile ngike ngahlala ePretoria ecentral eh (.) Abantu bokuhambaabahlala lapha ecentral bayazazi ukuthi ibona abaphethe ngoba most of the girls zala eMzansi ziphelele kubona↓. Ngoba bona bayakwazi ukukhipha one thousand like a weekevery week anikeze lentombazane ehh>Ngobani futhi nakhona use strategile ukuthi into yakhe afuna ukuyenza<ukuthola igreen ID yalana so babauser in different ways so nje ePretoria ecentral bayazi ukuthi vele vele there is a large number of South African girlsabaphuma emakhaya aright kodwa ngoba umuntu efuna ukuziphatha ayohlala khona and END UP engesenamali ehlupheka so agcine esegcine esephelela kulabantu bokuhamba ikhona futhi lana abathola khona ama drugs abathola khona notshwala kulomuntu aphinde futhi athole lelithousand uyabona. Abanyeke baze benziwe ama mules they fly to all places behambisa lezinto they swallow them (.) benziswe all types of things.

3. Interviewer: So kuqalekube engathi you are getting into a relationship with someone<but kugcinesekuenye into>
4. Sma: Yes yes

Extract 8 (English)

1. Interviewer: Okay so the behaviour of those that stay here in >uMlazi, Point, Durban and elsewhere and other parts of the country< do you think the behaviour of the foreigners that stay in Umlazi is different from the behaviour of other foreigners or do you think that it is similar to the manner in which other foreigners conduct themselves.
2. Sma: I would say it is different I have stayed in Pretoria central eh (.) foreigners that stay there in central know that they are in charge because most girls that are South African end up with them ↓ Because they are able to give out like a thousand a week every week and give it to this girl yes >because even then he has strategised that he what he wants to do< is to get a South African green ID. So they use them in different ways so in Pretoria central they know that there is a large number of South African girls that come from good homes but because they want to be independent they go and live there and END UP without money and poor so they end up in the end ending up with foreigners and that is where they get drugs and alcohol from this person and then get a thousand rand you see some end up as mules they to all places smuggling these things they swallow (.) them they make them do all types of things
3. Interviewer: So in the beginning it is as if you are getting into a relationship with someone<but in the end it is something else>
4. SMA: Yes yes

In the beginning of this extract the researcher tries to get a sense of whether the participant has a perception of outgroup homogeneity. The intent was to get a sense of how general stereotypes held about foreigners may have an effect on how foreigners are

perceived in Umlazi. Furthermore this would give insight on whether the construction of foreign nationals in Umlazi is based on real intergroup interactions or whether they are based on general stereotypes already held about foreigners. In her reply Sma talks about outgroup heterogeneity; the participant goes on to emphasise that foreigners in Pretoria know that they control Pretoria on the basis that most women end up dating the foreign men. The participants tone lowers when she mentions that South African girls end up with them and it appears that there is a lot of negative emotion over this phenomenon. She then goes on to state that the only reason that they get women is because girls are lured by using money and regular allowances. Once more, the discourses of the exploitation and subjugation of South African people in the hands of foreigners are examined. She then goes on to describe how young girls are lured into starting relationships with foreigners; but, then the foreigners just use these relationships as a quick strategy to acquire South African citizenship.

There is an emphasis and quickened pace when the participant describes the abovementioned scenario, this highlights that there is a lot of emotion tied to the lives of young girls. Again the participant continues to describe the exploitative nature of relationships with foreigners by describing that not only are young girls used for acquiring South African identity documents, they are also exploited in other ways such as being made into drug mules. In the excerpt Sma constructs a scenario in which foreigners are predators who prey on young vulnerable girls who are in the pursuit of independence, but find that they are unable to provide for themselves in the city upon leaving home. As a result they become targeted by foreigners who exploit them. The participant claims that not only are foreigners funding the lifestyles of these young women, but they are also then introducing them to a lifestyle of drugs and alcohol. Sma continues to state that foreigners make young women do all types of things; this prompts the reader to imagine the different atrocities that these young girls are subjected to at the hands of foreigners. Husnu and Crisp (2010) stated that the imagined outcome of intergroup contact becomes an effective tool on which the future expectations of contact can be based. If group members imagine that contact will have dire consequences for its members they become less likely to engage with outgroup members. In her last statement the interviewer tries to

verify her understanding of the constructions made by the research participant, and clarify whether these relationships are always exploitative. There is then a repetition of the word “Yes” showing that the research participant agrees with the deductions made by the researcher. In this extract even though outgroup heterogeneity is introduced, with foreigners being perceived as different from each other, there is still an assertion made that foreigners are exploitative to South Africans, especially South African women.

4.5 Conclusion

The constructions of intergroup encounters made by Umlazi residents were largely focused on constructing intergroup contact as an exploitative process to ingroup members. The construction of exploitation and abuse of local residents by foreigners allowed group members to justify the poor quality of contact between outgroup members; they claimed that contact had the potential of resulting in the subjugation, abuse and maltreatment of local residents. Such constructions are evident in extracts two, three, seven and eight where foreigners are blatantly constructed as prostituting South African women and introducing drugs into host communities - which ultimately results into the breakdown of families. The participants constantly constructed themselves as individuals who were hospitable to foreigners; however, foreigners constantly took advantage of this and it ultimately resulted in the abuse of local residents.

In extract six the participant highlights how foreigners sleep with local women and then afterwards use derogatory terms such as “whore” to refer to these women. Moreover, in extract one, two and three there is a continued portrayal of how women become prostitutes as a result of intergroup encounters with foreigners. As evident in extract seven, the construction of exploitation by foreigners is not limited to just individuals or communities; however, foreigners are constructed as defying the very laws that lay the foundation of this country in order to exploit all South Africans. The use of working models of abuse and exploitation allowed local residents to not only reject intergroup contact with foreigners but also to make the actions of local residents, such the perpetuation of violence towards foreigners, intelligible as foreigners were perceived as filth in the community. These working models of contact, with individuals that were seen

to be taking advantage and exploiting group members, fed into public discourses where foreigners were continually viewed as exploiting South African women in order to gain South African citizenship.

These discourses are also evident in the labour markets where there are often complaints that foreign business owners pay local residents low wages; furthermore, they provide unwanted competition by offering to work for lower wages, therefore threatening the economic freedom of local residents. The exploitive nature of intergroup contact is also examined when young people are constructed as having their futures erased by foreigners who make them slaves to substance abuse at a young age. Such discourses also allowed group members to stigmatise the conduct of foreigners; the conduct of foreigners was often viewed as divergent from socially acceptable norms. Although these working models of contact were often founded in past public discourses about foreigners, they shaped present discourses and influenced future expectations of intergroup contact with foreigners. The construction of intergroup contact as an exploitative process to local residents allowed residents to advance political and ideological functions, such as: justifying malice and violence towards foreigners. Such constructions also allowed local residents to avoid integrating themselves with foreigners, and to remorselessly justify their poor treatment of foreigners in their community.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The intergroup contact theory has continually remained psychology's formula for improving intergroup relations between conflicting groups (Christ, Schmid, Lolliot, Swart, Stolle, Tausch and Hewstone, 2014; Dovidio, Love, Schellhaas and Hewstone, 2017). In their meta-analysis, Pettigrew and Troop (2006) affirmed that the implementation of the contact theory led to positive intergroup contact outcomes and reduced prejudice between groups. A further meta-analysis by Pettigrew and Troop (2008), which examined the conditions that led to intergroup contact reducing prejudice, concluded that Allport's four prerequisite conditions for effective contact were not independent of each other and that all four factors operated together to reduce prejudice.

However, a critique outlined on this study was that intergroup contact research often led to researcher seeking out optimal contact conditions whilst ignoring the complexities of real world settings where conflict situations occur (Dixon, et al., 2005). Furthermore, the theory neglects the reality that intergroup contact does not occur under optimal conditions of contact when there is conflict present (Dixon, et al., 2005). Research in this field has also largely remained empirical, thus failing to understand the contextual factors and dynamics that occur during intergroup encounters. The present study made use of working models of contact in order to understand how people in Umlazi G section made sense of their everyday contact encounters with foreigners, as well as the type of action that ensued from such constructions. In the present study intergroup contact was largely presented as an exploitative process to group members. Different accounts were given as to how local residents were exploited by foreigners, these ranged from: financial control, foreigners introducing local residents to drugs, local residents being used as drug mules and foreigners prostituting South African women.

5.1 Working Models of Contact with Exploitative Outgroup Members

Vohs, Baumeister and Chin (2007), and Harth, Kessler and Leach (2008) state that feeling exploited during interpersonal transactions, or the evaluation that members will be disadvantaged during unfair contact encounters, results into group members developing negative emotions towards outgroup members. In this study group members were keen to highlight how local residents were hospitable to foreigners during initial contact encounters; however, once foreigners had settled in the country they apparently started perceiving themselves as superior. Participants highlighted that this perception of superiority leads to the subjugation and exploitation of ingroup members.

Scenarios were constantly given throughout the data collection period as to how foreigners were exploiting local residents, which included: foreigners using local women for sex and then using derogatory terms to refer to these women. Multiple research participants illustrated how foreigners were introducing drugs into the community, which ultimately resulted in local residents becoming slaves to foreigners. Numerous scenarios were recounted of local residents who were forced to leave their families in order to prostitute themselves or engage in criminal activities, in order to keep attaining drugs from foreigners. Participants also accentuated the cunning nature of foreigners expressing how foreigners only engaged in interpersonal relationships with local residents if the relationship was going to be beneficial for them. Scenarios of young women who were in relationships with foreigners who ultimately discarded these women after acquiring South African documentation were constantly constructed by participants throughout the study.

Additionally, the scenarios of foreigners providing services in the community, that were given by participants, were often marred by the participants highlighting how foreigners were offering defective goods and services to the community. In this study, Duponchel's (2013) illustration of the dominant contact narratives with foreigners in South Africa being constructed to stigmatize them was evident throughout the study. The conduct of local residents was often portrayed in a non-harming terms, whilst foreign nationals were derogatively depicted as imposters perpetuating social ills in the country.

Foreigners were not only constructed as taking advantage of community members but the state as a whole, draining state resources which are meant to be reserved for local

residents. Duponchel (2013) states that the construction of economic threat, where foreigners are constructed as depriving South Africans of job opportunities and illegally attaining state resources, breeds animosity towards foreign nationals. Despite local residents continually constructing themselves as individuals who had to always be vigilant of possible exploitation by foreigners the language used by individuals in the study was filled with racist undertones. Van Dijk (2004), and Wodak and Reisigl (2015) state that inherent in discourses of racism is the use of language that often degrades outgroup members accompanied by discriminative social norms. The rhetoric used to describe outgroup members constantly had undertones of racial superiority, where local residents placed themselves higher in the social hierarchy than their foreigner counterparts.

Throughout the study the construction of the discourses of subjugation and the exploitation of residents was made; the South Africans depicted themselves as individuals with the potential of being exploited during intergroup encounters. On the other hand, residents were keen to describe how they were superior to foreigners. Durrheim and Dixon (2005) brought light to how working models of contact are interpretive frameworks used to advance ideological and political functions. Such discourses allowed local residents to reject intergroup contact with outgroup members under the guise of the fear of being exploited. West, Pearson and Stern (2014) highlight how the construction of threat during intergroup encounters allows group members to avoid, and justify, not engaging in meaningful contact with outgroup members. Furthermore, the contradictions given in the study allowed local residents to maintain their perceived superiority to foreigners while allowing residents to segregate themselves from foreigners.

Working models of exploitation were used to make sense of intergroup contact in this study; however, such constructions were constantly drawn from public discourses. In South Africa xenophobic sentiments are held in everyday public discourses. For example: Tagwirei (2016) highlighted how President Zuma's son Edward Zuma, in a public statement, highlighted how illegal foreigners without any documentation continually commit crime in the country and abuse South African women. While Zuma did

acknowledge that foreigners were of assistance during the liberation struggle, he persistently claimed that foreigners in this country fail to abide to South African laws (Tagwirei, 2016). Foreigners were also continually constructed as doing as they please in this country without any repercussions (Tagwirei, 2016). He further made a plea to South Africans to stop unnecessarily accommodating foreigners in this country as they were draining the country's resources (Tagwirei, 2016).

Academic literature has continually portrayed foreigners as victims of abuse, victimisation and prejudice in South Africa (for example: Adjai and Lazaridis, 2014; Crush, Skinner and Stulgaitis, 2017). In this study, however, participants did not construct foreigners as victims; instead foreigners were constructed as individuals, who once settled in the country, viewed the hospitable nature of local residents as a weakness and started exploiting these residents. The use of discourses where foreigners were perpetrators of social ills allowed group members to evade intergroup encounters with foreigners, they believed that contact would likely result in negative consequences for ingroup members. Such constructions allowed local residents to shift the blame for the deteriorating state of intergroup relations; this corrosion was perceived to be a direct consequence of the action of foreigners, as opposed to local residents harbouring xenophobic sentiments. Furthermore, such constructions in this study rendered the actions of ingroup members, such as violence and deep seated antipathies, as intelligible because of the threat posed by foreigners to local residents. It was also strongly emphasised how antagonism towards foreign nationals in South Africa is embedded in everyday public and political discourse; these discourses shape our working models of contact therefore influencing our evaluations and perceptions of foreigners (Monson, 2015; Steenkamp, 2009).

5.2. Implication of the Study on the Contact Hypothesis

In this study the researcher's main argument was that: despite the contact hypothesis being an effective tool in improving intergroup, the quest for utopian contact conditions has resulted in research that fails to understand the complexities of contact

encounters in situations of conflict. As a result there is a need for research that makes sense of how everyday individuals perceive intergroup contact, as well as the constructed reality that groups develop from these encounters. In the present study there was ongoing conflict between Umlazi residents and foreigners residing in Umlazi. Even though there was potential for meaningful intergroup interactions, the shared negative constructions in the local community regarding foreigners resulted in local residents rejecting intergroup encounters. Nyamnjoh (2006) highlighted that the constructions of threat rationalise the exclusion of outgroup members and serve to exacerbate insecurities and anxiety among South Africans, this results in residents opposing the integration of foreigners into their communities.

What this study underlined was that, in situations of conflict contact encounters rarely unfold under optimal contact. In such contexts Allport's four requisite factors of contact are also rarely met. The study illustrated how groups draw upon popular discourses in order to make sense of and provide meaning to their realities of intergroup encounters; contact with outgroup members did not result in cognitive shifts. In the study, the construction of intergroup contact became a manner for ingroup members to perpetuate stereotypes which are popular in public discourse; it also became a technique that allowed ingroup members to segregate themselves from foreigners, while consequently blaming foreigners for the poor quality of contact. Pettigrew and Troop (2008) concluded that intergroup contact has mediating factors that reduce prejudice; however, the present study illustrated that in situations of conflict contact becomes a tool that allows group members to perpetuate outgroup stereotypes. The results of the present study supported Allport's 1954 argument that: without optimal conditions of contact, groups are sensitised to recognise signs that confirm outgroup stereotypes and perpetuate conflict between groups.

5.3. Implications of the Study on Intergroup Relations between Foreigners and Local Residents of Umlazi G Section

The construction of intergroup contact in the present study largely became a tool that allowed outgroup members to justify having aversions towards foreign nationals, as well as to reject any possible intergroup encounters with foreigners. Intergroup contact has been shown to be effective in improving perceptions of outgroup members (for example: Pettigrew and Troop, 2008); nonetheless, in this scenario contact between the two groups proved to have no mediating factors between the groups. Individuals in the study constantly made reference to negative group encounters and drew upon stereotypes in public discourses to evaluate present encounters with foreigners. These constructions also shaped anticipations of future interactions with foreigners. In the present study public discourses around foreigners impacted on how foreigners were evaluated. Researchers such as: Solomon and Kosaka (2014), Harris (2001), and Crush and Pendleton (2004), continually highlighted how the increasing frustration and disappointment among local residents, regarding how democracy has not improved the lives of the marginalised, has increased antipathies towards foreigners. Increasingly, the use of foreigners as scapegoats for the social ills in the country has become ingrained in public discourses – this affects local resident’s expectations of intergroup encounters. These discourses come to influence and shape the evaluation and perception of intergroup encounters. The study illustrated that individual working models of contact are not altered when contact does not occur under optimal conditions; but demonstrated that individuals continually draw upon established discourses in order to construct and make sense of their lived experiences of intergroup contact. As Gordon, Roberts and Struwig (2015) highlighted, public discourses are becoming increasingly more xenophobic in South Africa, and the manner in which contact with foreigners is constructed will continually be fuelled by prejudice. From such constructions xenophobic violence and human rights violations can be expected in the future; as highlighted by Neocosmos (2008), these constructions of contact increase individual prejudice and consequently lead to hostility directed toward foreign nationals. Monson (2015) and Jearey-Graham and Böhmke (2013) also state that when contact is constructed to fuel animosity it breeds violence and creates human rights violations. Based on the current consecutions of contact, the manner in which foreigners in South Africa are perceived has not improved; such constructions of contact indicate the possibility of violence directed towards foreigners in the future.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary of Research Findings

In the present study working models of exploitation came to define how local residents perceived and made sense of intergroup encounters with foreigners. These interpretive frameworks determined how foreigners became evaluated; these frameworks also influenced the quality of contact between local residents and foreigners. The construction of intergroup contact as a phenomenon that has the potential of being exploitative and detrimental to ingroup members allowed Umlazi, G section residents to evade intergroup encounters with foreigners, and to blame foreigners for the poor quality of intergroup contact. These working models of exploitation were largely advanced through the construction of foreigners as people whom when settled in the country start introducing drugs into host communities.

Foreigners were also constructed as: prostituting women, dating women for the purpose of acquiring citizenship, taking jobs that rightfully belonged to local residents and cheating South Africans out of their money by selling local residents defective goods. Moreover, the constructions that were made in the study were used to underline differences between the two groups; with differences being accentuated in order to advance stereotypes against foreigners as well as to highlight group superiority. In this study the construction of intergroup contact was based on the local evaluations of intergroup contact; however, such constructions were often influenced by stereotypes about foreigners that were held in public discourse. Such discourses resulted in constructions being made by participants which largely served the function of aggravating hostilities towards foreigners and allowing the justification of undesirable actions, such as violence towards foreigners due to the perceived threat foreigners posed on expected future intergroup contact.

6.2 Limitations of the Study

The study was qualitative in nature and as noted in section 3.7.3 qualitative research allows the researcher to study a particular topic in-depth; however, due to the small

sample sizes used, qualitative researchers do not make claims of generalisability on their research findings (Silverman, 2013). While the constructions of intergroup contact encounters was reflective of common discourses and ongoing processes within the country the study refrains from making claims of universal generalisability. However, it is argued that the frameworks used by the participants in the study to make sense of their realities of having foreigners in their communities are comparable to other South Africans (in similar situations) who construct their experiences of having foreigners in their communities. Another limitation in the study is the geographical coverage of the study; the study was conducted in one section of Umlazi, and the dynamics inherent in Umlazi G section may not be reflective of intergroup encounters in other parts of Umlazi or other parts of the country.

6.3 Recommendations for Future Research

More research is needed; primarily research that does not focus on easily manipulated conditions of contact or optimal contact encounters, but research that will focus on real world contact encounters in situations of conflict. This will result in a better understanding of the implications of intergroup contact as a prejudice reduction tool. More social constructionist studies are needed in intergroup research in order to comprehend how people in situations of conflict make sense of their realities, and how intergroup encounters can be improved when contact does not unfold under optimal conditions. The present study also focused on dominant group members in South Africa, in the future studies should also focus on how minority groups construct contact encounters with dominant groups in the context of xenophobia.

6.4 Conclusion

In situations of conflict where Allport's four conditions of contact are not met, intergroup contact has few mediating effects and fails to result in improved intergroup relations as contact does not positively modify people's working models of intergroup contact. This study highlighted how public discourses influence the evaluation of intergroup encounters and shape the expectations of future encounters. In the present study the construction of intergroup contact became a tool that allowed group members to evade

contact encounters with outgroup members, through the construction of intergroup contact as a potentially exploitative process towards ingroup members. This not only justified the evasion of contact and mistreatment of foreigners but it also successfully shifted the blame for the poor quality of intergroup contact with outgroups.

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APPENDIX A



20 December 2016

Ms Nqobile Muthwa 21051977
School of Applied Human Sciences - Psychology
Howard College Campus

Dear Mrs Muthwa

Protocol reference number: HSS/1323/016M

Project title: Crossing the frontier: A study of intergroup contact with foreign nationals as constructed by black South Africans post 2015 xenophobic attacks.

Full Approval- Full Committee Reviewed

In response to your application dated 22 August 2016, the above mentioned project was discussed at the HSSREC Meeting held on 28 September 2016. It has been granted FULL APPROVAL.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. 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.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/px

cc Supervisor: Lucinda Johns & Professor Duncan Cartwright
cc Academic Leader Research: Dr Jean Steyn
cc School Administrators: Ms Ayanda Ntuli

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 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymenm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunro@ukzn.ac.za

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APPENDIX B



Date: 18 May 2016

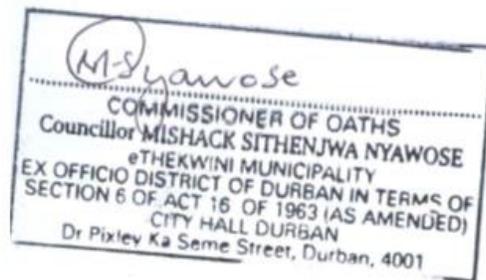
Our Ref : Cllr M.S Nyawose

Your Ref : 079 3389 939

031 906 5565

Dear Madam/Sir

I, Sthenjwa Nyawose give permission to Nqobile Muthwa, ID no [REDACTED] to conduct the study *Crossing the frontier: A study of intergroup contact with foreign nationals as constructed by black South Africans post 2015 xenophobic attacks at Umlazi G section.*



APPENDIX C



Psychology, School of Applied Human Sciences

PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL, DURBAN 4041, SOUTH AFRICA. TEL: +27 (0)31 260 2527 FAX: +27 (0)31 260 2618.

20 June 19, 2016

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This letter serves to provide the assurance that should any participants require psychological assistance as a result of any distress arising from participating in the study *Crossing the frontier: A study of intergroup contact with foreign nationals as constructed by black South Africans post 2015 xenophobic attack* it will be provided by the UKZN psychology clinic at Howard College. This project is conducted by a Masters' students in the School of Applied Human Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal Howard campus under the supervision of Miss Lucinda Johns.

Duncan Cartwright, Ph.D.

Assoc Prof and Head: Centre for Applied Psychology/ Psychotherapist
Psychology
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Howard College Campus
P. Bag X54001
Durban 4000
031- 260 2507 (Work)
031- 260 7211 (Fax)

APPENDIX D

1. How would you describe living in Umlazi? 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
2. What are the challenges of living here? How do people cope with the challenges of living here?
3. What changes would you like to see in this place? What action could you take to improve the place?
4. What do you think of the foreign nationals living in Umlazi?
 - a. How would you describe them? Explain why.
 - b. Are they different from you? How would you describe them?
 - c. Are they different from the foreign nationals living in other parts of the country?
 - d. Do you consider them as part of the community? Why?
5. Have there been any changes in Umlazi since the foreign nationals started living here? Please describe. Are these changes good or bad for the community?
6. Do you have any friends among the foreign nationals?
 - a. What interactions do you have with them? (do you ever see them, hear them, speak with them?)
 - b. How are they different from the other foreign nationals?
 - c. Please give an example

7. Do you think the behaviours and conduct of all foreigners is the same or is it different? Please describe
8. What would it take to change/improve your relationship with them?
9. Do you think you and the foreign nationals could join forces to create a better community? Explain why
10. Over the past years, there have been a number of attacks directed at foreign nationals in the country. What is your view about these attacks? Do you support them? Why or why not?
11. What do you think was the cause of last year's attacks on foreigners? What do you think the community was trying to achieve?
12. After the 2015 attacks on foreign nationals here in Umlazi has your perception of foreign nationals changed living in the community changed? How?
13. Do you think the government should be doing more to promote solidarity between local and foreign nationals? if so what should government be doing

IsiZulu Translation

- 1) Kungabe kunjani ukuhlala eMlazi? Ngobani?
 - a. Yiziphi izinto ozithandayo ngokuhlala kulendawo? Yini enye? Sicela uchaze kabanzi?
 - b. Yiziphi izinto ezingekho zinhle ngokuhlala kule ndawo? Yini futhi? Sicela uchaze?
- 2) Iziphi izingqinamba ezikhona ngokuhlala lalapha? Kungabe abantu babhekana kanjani nezingqinamba zokuhlala lana?
- 3) Iziphi izinguquko ongathanda ukuzibona kulendawo ? yikuphi ongakwenza ukuze uguqule lendawo ukuzi ibengcono
- 4) Yimiphi imicabango yakho mayelana nabantu bakwamanye amazwe abahlalala emlazi?
 - a. Ungabachazanjengabantuabanjani? Ngobani?
 - b. Ngabe labantu bahlukile kunani? Ungabachaza kanjani?
 - c. Kungabe bahlukile kunabanye abantu bakwamanye amazwe abahlala kwezinye izindawo zakuleli?
 - d. Kungabe ubababona beyingxenye yomphakathi? Ngobani?
- 5) Kungabe zikhona yini izinguquko lapha Emlazi selokhu kwafika abantu bakwamanye amazwe? Sicela uchaze kabanzi? Kungabe lezinguquko zinhle noma zimbi emphakathini?
- 6) Kungabe unabo abangani ebantwini bokufika bakwamanye amazwe?
 - a. Kungabe nixhumana kanjani nabo (uke ubabone, noma ukhulume nabo)
 - b. Kungabe bona bahluke kanjani kwabanye abantu bokufika bakwamanye amazwe?
 - c. Sicela usiphe isibonelo

- 7) Kungabe ucabanga kuthi ukuziphatha kanye nokwenza izinto kwabantu bakwamanye amazwe kuyafana noma khlukene? Sicela uchaze
- 8) Kungabe yini engase ishintshe nomayenze ubudlelwane benu nabo bubengcono?
- 9) Uyacabanga ukuthi nina nabantu bokufika ningase nibe imbumbane ukuze nikwazi ukwakha umphakathiongcono? Sicela uchaza?
- 10) Kuleminyakaedlule, bekubanodlameoluqondisweebantwinibokufikalaphaeningizimu Africa, kungabeucabangani ngaloku kuhlasela? Kungabeubukweseka? Ngobani?
- 11) Kungabe ucabanga ukuthi yini eyadala ukuhlaselwa kwabantu bakwamanye amazwe ngonyaka odlule? Ucabanga ukuthi yini umphakathi owawuzama ukukufeza?
- 12) Emva kokuhlaselwa kwabantu bokufika ngo 2015 kungabe indlela obuka ngayo abantu bokufika abahlala lapha eMlazi yashintsha? Kanjani?
- 13) Kungabe ucabanga ukuthi uhulumeni kumele ukugququzele ukuzwana phakathi kwabantu bakulelili nabantu bokufika? Uma kunjalo ucabanga ukuthi yini ekumele engabe uhulumeni uyayenza?

APPENDIX E

Informed Consent

Dear participant,

My name is am NqobileMuthwa a 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 local Umlazi residents relate to foreign nationals during intergroup contact in Umlazi.

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 Howard College Psychology clinic for counselling.

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 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

Ms Lucinda Johns 031 260 7620

Supervisor

UKZN Psychology Clinic 031 260 2618

Ms Phumelele Ximba 031 260 3587

Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics

IsiZulu translation

Uhla lokuvuma ukuba ingxenye yocwaningo

Obambe iqhaza,

Igama lami uNqobile Muthwa ngingu mfundi we Masters kwi Psychology eNyuvesi yaKwaZulu Natal. Senza ucwaningo olubheka uxuxhumana nokuzwana kwabantu base Mlazi Kanye nabantu bokufika bakwamanye amazwe.

Ukuba ingxenye yalolu cwaningo akuphoqelekile futhi unghoxa noma inini uma ungasafuni ukuqhubeka. Uma kukhona into ongayizwisanga kahle ngizocela ukuthi ungimise ukuze ngiyichaze kabusha. Kuzosetsenziswa inkulumongxoxo kulolu cwaningo, lenkulumo ngxoxo ingase ithathe imizuzu ephakathi kuka 45 kuya kwihora.

Ukuze igama lakho kanye nezimpendulo zakho zihlale ziyimfihlo sizocela ninga siniki amagam aenu oqobo. Yonke iminininingwane enizosinika yona kulolucwaningo izohlala iyimfihlo. Amarekhodi ocwaningo azohlala kwifayela ukhiyiwefuthi abantu abathinteki kulolucwaningo kuphela abazokwazi ukufinyelela amarekhodi akho.

Izingozi kanye nezinzuzo

Ngokuvuma ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo izinto ezingaba ingozi zingahlanganisa ukucindezeleka kanti ezinye zezi nzuzo zingase zihlanganise ithuba lokuqonda indlela abantu abaphathana ngayo emphakathini. Uma uthola ukucindezeleka ngenxa yocwaningo ungaxhumana ne Psychology Clinic eHoward College ukuze uthole ukwelulekwa.

Ngiyaqinisekisa ukuthi ngifundile ngokuqonda iminininingwane emayelana nalolucwaningo futhi ngaba nethuba lokubuza imibuzo

Ngiyaqonda ukuthi ukuba ingxenye yalolu cwaningo akuphoqelekile futhi ngingahoxa noma inini uma ngingasafuni ukuqhubeka

Ngiyavuma ukuba ingxenye yalolu cwaningo

Ngiyavuma ukuthi izimpendulo ziqoshwe ngesiqopha mazwi

Ngiyavuma ukuthi kusetshenziswe izimpendulo zami uma kushicilelwa imibhalo.

Ngiyaqinisekisa

Mina..... (Amagama aphelele lobamb eiqhaza)
lapha ngiyaqinisekisa ukuthi ngiya kuqonda okuqukethwe ilombhalo Kanye nohlobo
lalolu cwaningo. Futhi ngiya vuma ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo. Ngiyaqonda
ukuthi ngikhululekile ukuhoxa kulolucwaningo noma ingasiphi isikhathi, uma ngifisa
ukwenzanjalo.

Uma unemibuzo noma ukukhathazeka ngalolu cwaningo sicela uxhumane nathi
kulezinombolo ezingenzansi.

Imininingwane yokuxhumana

Contact details

Ms Lucinda Johns Supervisor	031 260 7620
UKZN Psychology Clinic	031 260 2618
Ms Phumelele Ximba	031 260 3587
Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics	

APPENDIX F

Jeffersonian Transcript conventions

Symbol	Description of symbol	Meaning of symbol in transcribed text
[...]	Brackets	Start and end of points of overlapping speech
=	Equal sign	There was no apparent pause between two speakers' turns
(.)	Period surrounded by brackets	Short pause
(5)	No. of seconds enclosed in parentheses	Pause in speech timed in seconds
↑	Up arrow	Rising intonation
↓	Down arrow	Falling intonation
°word°	Degree symbol to quote	Quiet speech
CAPS	Uppercase	Increase in volume
:::	Colons	Prolongation of a sound.
<u>Word</u>	Underlined text	Emphasis on a word or syllable
<>	Outward arrows	Speech was delivered more slowly
><	Inward arrows	Speech was delivered more rapidly
-	Hyphen	interruption in utterance
(hhh)	Triple "h" in brackets	Audible exhalation
(.hhh)	Triple "h" in brackets, preceded by a period	Audible inhalation
()	Parentheses	Unclear speech

(())	Double parentheses	Nonverbal activity
(h)	“h” enclosed in parentheses	Laughter within speech
Ha ha		Loud laughter