Title: "We are not fully humans, we are half-humans": The study of how Nhlalakahle informal residents construct their own-group infrahumanization

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

Declaration

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

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Acknowledgement

I would like to extend my gratitude to my family especially my mother Tozi Sithole, my brother Phillip Sithole, my little sister Phindile Sithole and friends for their support throughout the research process. I would also like to thank my supervisor Professor Kevin Durrheim for his constant guidance, time and support given in writing up this dissertation and Tamaryn Nicholson who took her time to edit my work. Last but not least, I"d like to thank research participants who took their time to participate in this study, without them this dissertation would not be a success. Thank you and God bless you all.

I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me.

Philippians 4:13

Abstract

Informal settlements are sites of oppression where residents yearn for social, political and economic change. Informal residents live under harsh conditions, deprived of basic resources including water, electricity, proper dumping sites and sanitary toilets. Such deprivation makes them vulnerable to discrimination and mistreatment by formal residents, and this is perceived in a form of infra-humanization. Infra-humanization between out-groups and in-groups has been explored, but few studies focus on own-group dehumanization. This study aimed to explore intergroup relations between informal residents with formal residents as their neighbors in adjacent suburbs and how this manifest in own-group infra-humanization. To accomplish this, eleven interviews were conducted with residents of the Nhlalakahle informal settlement situated in Northdale, Pietermaritzburg. The results show that informal residents construct themselves as infra-humanized by their formal neighbors however; they preserve their human worth and dignity through resistance.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Historically, South Africa has been characterized by racial segregation and inequality. Blacks were denied access to resources such as education, land and profitable work. The abolishment of apartheid policies and political systems have not had significant effects on South Africa‟s economic structure and many blacks still live in dire poverty, unable to provide for themselves and their families. Gibson (2008) argues that poor people are still conditioned by "unemployment, landlessness, spatial exclusion, inferior education and violence" (p. 56).

Durand-Lasserve (2006) found that urban poverty and insecure property ownership are major concerns for poor people. Worsening access to secure shelter and surety of property is a main concern and many South Africans are homeless or are overcrowded in houses where continued settlement is uncertain. As people cannot afford accommodation in urban environments, they reside illegally in informal settlements (Shatkin, 2004). Although the government has tried to combat the challenge of shortage of housing by building formal townships for relocation, it has failed to eradicate informal settlements in urban cities due to increasing population numbers (Ballard, 2004; Durand-Lasserve, 2006). Such increasing numbers are associated with "low wages and high unemployment" (Crankshaw, Heron & Hart, 1992, p. 136; Boaden & Taylor, 1992, p. 1486).

Informal settlements are characterized by "(i) insecure residential status; (ii) inadequate access to safe water; (iii) inadequate access to sanitation and other basic infrastructure and service; (iv) poor structural quality of housing; (v) overcrowding" (Durand-Lasserve, 2006, p. 2). According to Barry and Ruther (2005) occupying land illegally involves residents disobeying the law openly in the hope of improving their lives. Despite the fact that informal residents do not have land ownership, they do have house ownership because they have built, occupied and maintained their dwellings (de Souza, 2001). The high demand for access to basic resources such as water,

electricity, sewerage and paved roads, however, is seen as a sign of desire for security rather than property ownership in a form of title deed (de Souza, 2001).

1.2 Lack of resources in informal settlements

Because informal settlements lack or have insufficient supplies of electricity, residents are forced to use alternative methods as a source of lighting such as burning firewood. These compensatory practices pose health risks to informal residents, by reducing air quality (Ballard, 2004). Cooking with firewood or paraffin stoves also exposes residents to toxic air which negatively impacts health (Muller, Diab, Binedell & Hounsome, 2003). Small houses and poorly ventilated rooms further expose residents to these health risks (Muller et al, 2003). Illegal electricity is also used as source of lighting but such connections are discouraged because they pose safety concerns for informal residents, especially children. Newspaper articles have reported on the high level of fire hazards in informal settlements due to these connections (Mercury, 1998) and residents have lost their lives through electrocution due to illegal connections.

In addition to concerns about electricity, health and hygiene are also of concern for informal residents. Informal settlements do not have sanitary toilets or dumping sites and solutions to these issues, informal rubbish is dumped in many places rather than one central facility and urination in public spaces is fairly common. Public areas are used for urination and defecation making informal settlements unhygienic places, thus informal residents are exposed to potentially harmful microorganisms (Ballard, 2004). Compounding this problem, residents" poor access to nutrition negatively impacts their immune systems making them more vulnerable to disease. The lack of dumping sites and facilities threaten human life as well as marine environments because refuse is washed down to nearby rivers during summer rains, resulting in large numbers of dead fish and other aquatic life (Mercury, 1998).

Ballard (2004) observed that formal residents believe that informal residents are a source of disease; "they are imagined as an infection, bringing disease and poison to healthy normal people and threatening the integrity of the modern city" (p.63). This makes it unlikely for formal residents to employ informal residents as „maids" or „gardeners" because they might spread „their germs". Formal residents are portrayed as hygienic people whose health is threatened by conditions in informal settlements, informal residents on the other hand, are perceived as uncivilized people who are comfortable living in unhygienic spaces; such differentiation further dehumanizes informal residents (Ballard, 2004). These attitudes highlight moral judgements formal residents hold towards their neighbors, degrading their social status further and portraying them as unworthy residents in urban cities. Jacobs (1996) argues that such perceptions portray informal residents as inferior and uncivilized, "thereby weakening their claim to citizenship" (p. 127).

1.3 Formal residents' reactions towards development of informal settlements

Ballard (2004) shows that formal residents do not approve of informal settlements in their urban cities, as a result, they view informal residents as invaders. Likewise, Saff (2001) argues that "[t]here is an attitudinal convergence across space when it comes to opposition to squatters, and that this can only be satisfactorily explained by referring to the mutuality of interests that relatively privileged groups, irrespective of race, have in protecting „their" space from the encroachment of those lower down the urban order" (p. 91). The above assertion signifies that urban residents, irrespective of race, do not approve of implementation or development of informal settlements because they are seen as threats to their neighborhoods by lowering their social standard and degrading their status in society (Ballard, 2004). He further argues that urban residents perceive themselves as Western modern people and the presence of informal settlements challenges such social identities, therefore, eradicating them protects their "material interest and property values" (Ballard, 2004, p. 49).

Along the same line of thought, informal settlements are said to decrease urban property values as even potential buyers hold the assumption that such places are associated with "disease, crime, drunkenness and vice" (Maylam, 1982, in Ballard, 2004, p. 10). This makes formal residents feel trapped in their surroundings because they cannot chase away squatters nor sell their properties and the government is unable to offer assistance in this dilemma. Likewise, Robinson (1996) argues that slums "make it very difficult for authorities to perform a wide variety of tasks, from service provision to policing and political control. And in South Africa, where detailed supervision of black people was considered the norm, shack settlements were a positive hindrance" (p. 159).

1.4 Solidarity

Informal settlements are characterized by dynamic social systems that are constantly changing. The political dynamics within informal settlements are characterized by either solidarity or disharmony. Researchers observed that residents mainly show solidarity when negotiating deals with the authorities, such as improving living conditions of people in informal settlements by upgrading their resources. In this case, community leaders play gatekeeper roles between external agencies and the communities and filter information for both parties (Cross, 1999). According to Barry and Ruther (2005) solidarity is then maintained amongst residents in order to pressurize the government to do something that will benefit the whole community.

1.5 Disharmony

Researchers have also observed that once the above-mentioned deals are implemented, conflict is most likely to present itself (Barry & Mayson, 2000; Fourie, 2003). Conflicts can take two dimensions; either between residents or between residents and external forces. According to Barry and Ruther (2005) schisms between residents are due to competition over resources, power and land, resulting in violence and intimidation amongst residents. One possible reason for such conflict might be that some residents may want to benefit more than others, or long term

residents may want to experience newly developed policies or benefits sooner than short-term residents. If the above-mentioned deals are not implemented, conflicts between residents and external forces are likely to resurface.

1.6. Informal residents' protests to demand resources from the local government

Zikode (2006) observed that if you humble yourself and ask for basic resources from your counsellor or municipality, the chances are you will be ignored and undermined; this leaves residents with little choice but to protest. Informal residents have also been promised but waiting for basic services for more than a decade and are taking action to demand what is rightfully theirs, thus there is "a culture tolerant of citizens taking the law into their own hands" (Monaghan, 2008, p. 84), this often manifests in protests, where residents gather together to confront government officials on service delivery.

Although officials have promised better life for all they have failed to deliver and residents have lost faith in them. Zikode (2006) observes that the municipality only listens to informal residents when they rally together to demand better services and improved living conditions. He further argues that residents are encouraged to rally on the streets because they have seen the results of these actions (Zikode, 2006). Protests are perceived as the only approach that informal residents can use to effectively communicate with their municipality in order to be liberated from their struggles (Zikode, 2006). These protests are not only implemented to demand resources from the municipality but also convey a message that informal residents are a deprived population but are still rational human beings who are aware of and reject their circumstances. The relationship between informal residents and their officials is therefore confrontational and residents are agents of social change (Roy, 2005) in the sense that they can and do challenge their local government to improve their living conditions.

1.6.1 Description of protests

Protests take different forms, Alexander (2010) notes that protests involve "mass meetings, drafting of memoranda, petitions, toyi-toying, processions, stay-aways, election boycotts, blockading of roads, construction of barricades, burning of tyres, looting, destruction of buildings, chasing unpopular individuals out of townships, confrontations with the police, and forced resignations of elected officials" (p. 26). Mottair and Bond (2012) note that protests involve "striking, boycotting and downing tools also featured prominently. Other tactics used frequently were barricading roads and burning tyres" (p. 313). Informal residents protest using a variety of these different forms, with the aim of challenging their local government to hear their demands.

Previous research shows that protests are the results of the democracy"s failure to account for their citizens and officials" ignorance towards their residents" grievances (Alexander, 2010; Booysen, 2009; Ngwane, 2010a; Richards, O"Leary, & Mutsonziwa, 2007). What is noticeable is that during election times government officials make a multitude of promises to residents which they do not fulfil when elected (Pithouse, 2007). Alexander (2010) also observes that during election times, the number of protests decrease and officials make promises about "better service for all" (p. 28), but these promises are left unfulfilled. This means that despite an urgent need for service provision, informal residents receive uneven and insufficient resources from government officials (Booysen, 2009). As is shown above, postcolonial South Africa is dominated by status/class division with the poorest being subject to living under extremely challenging circumstances, thus, in some places informal residents have united and rallied together to demand „better life for all" in the democratic South Africa.

1.6.2 Motives for protesting

Mottair and Bond (2012) argue that protests do not only address service delivery challenges, but also "highlight the lack of dignity suffered by the urban poor" (p. 311). Not only do informal residents fight for service provision, but they also want to be recognized as human beings who

have a right to these services. The overall aim of protests is to "challenge the status quo, resisting dominant power relations and advocating social change" (Miraftab, 2004, in Mottair & Bond, 2012, p. 315). Mottair and Bond (2012) point out that residents are no longer willing to cast their votes unless the state provide residents with basic resources namely, RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme), such as is characterized by the slogan "No House, No Vote" (p. 316). While protests have been proven to be effective during the past few years, they often have undesirable outcomes such as claiming human lives. Some examples of this include: the death of protest leader Andries Tatane in 2011 (Meyer, 2011) and those massacred at Marikana in 2012 (Mottair & Bond, 2012).

1.7 Conclusion

After twenty two years of democracy, it is clear that poor, black South Africans are still colonized. Gibson (2008) defines colonialization as the "experience of spatial confinement, of restraint and prohibition, a narrow world of poverty, oppression and subjugation" (p. 54). Living in informal settlements is only one example of how people are still experiencing the effects of colonization. Informal settlements are the only alternatives for poor people but residents are constructed as invaders who threaten formal residents" sense of place (or belonging). Living in such dire circumstances forces informal residents to fight for their democratic rights and demand basic resources from their local government in an attempt to improve their living conditions. Given the proportion of the population that is confined to informal settlements, the prevalence of poverty and a lack of access to basic human rights in contemporary South Africa, it is crucial to explore how informal settlement residents construct their own identities in the face of tensions between government officials and formal neighbours. The present study will give insight of intergroup relations between informal residents with their formal neighbours in adjacent suburbs. In this study, eleven interviews were conducted with informal settlement residents. The following chapter investigates the relations between informal and formal residents and examines the impact of living in informal settlements on residents" social identities.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This study looks at two historically disadvantaged groups, namely Indians and Blacks, (in the context of this study, Indians are formal residents where Blacks are informal residents) who were denied access to resources under apartheid government. This chapter aims to explore how these two racial groups relate to each other and how this impacts on their group identities. Given both groups" past histories of oppression, it could have been better if both groups unite to fight the injustices of the past, but evidence indicates otherwise; each group is striving for its survival.

2.2 Intergroup contact

Intergroup relations research has been a significant topic in social psychology mainly because of our collective political histories (to name a few; apartheid, slavery and colonialism). Multiple studies demonstrate evidence of social discrimination across groups, resulting from various dimensions such as power, social class, etc. (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In South Africa, after the abolishment of apartheid policies, previously oppressed groups have been given preference (in a form of Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment) in order to counteract previously unfavorable political policies. Black South Africans, for instance, are prioritized for recruitment into many job vacancies; this is usually done to normalize the ratio of Blacks to other groups in corporate industries so that it begins to be reflective of the population.

These new policies evoke different responses amongst members of particular racial groups, especially those who do not benefit from the policies. For example, other racial groups may feel excluded from the new political system as their privileges are slowly challenged and dismantled. The above-mentioned policies have been implemented in order to empower Blacks in many countries, but, Whites particularly often misconstrue black power as racism against Whites; this is explained as a "myth created by white people to ease their guilt feelings" (Cone, 1997, p. 15) over what happened during the past. As such, new policies are sufficient to stir antagonistic behaviour between groups.

2.3 Intergroup conflict

Previous studies discovered that intergroup conflict manifests in intergroup hostility and competition amongst members of different groups (Deutsch 1949). Researchers define intergroup hostility and a theory of competition to be "realistic and instrumental in character, motivated by rewards which, in principle, are extrinsic to the intergroup situation" (Deutsch, 1949). Campbell (1965) argues that intergroup conflict is an outcome of contradictory interests between groups. Despite the fact that intergroup competition enhances in-group cooperation and cohesiveness (Fiedler, 1967; Vinacke, 1964), Dizard (1970) observed that competition for scarce resources can re-awaken antagonistic behaviour between groups. Tajfel and Turner (1979) add that intergroup conflict makes people behave towards each other as representative of their respective groups rather than individual entities. Furthermore, it can maintain or create social relations between groups whereby one group occupies a dominant social position and the other a subordinate social position. How the groups are socially positioned with reference to one another dictates which positon (high/low status) the group will occupy (Gibson, 2011). For instance, high-status groups will be regarded as dominant while low-status groups will be regarded as subordinate.

Under real social conditions, intergroup differentiation occurs provided that: 1) individuals subjectively identify with their in-groups, and, 2) other groups are perceived as out-groups; this

is done to safeguard intergroup comparisons (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Such comparisons can lead to intergroup competition that arises from the "mutual comparison and differentiation amongst the groups on a shared value dimension" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 17) in order to establish the superiority of one group over another. For instance high and low social status groups have unequal access to resources like money or education; members from the high-status group are likely to perceive themselves as superior compared to those from the low-status group, in this case, social status becomes the relational and comparative dimension between these two groups. For example, in the context of this study, Indians who are formal residents of Northdale are better resourced compared to Blacks residing in informal settlements; as such they may consider themselves superior to Blacks as they perceive themselves as having been more resourceful than Blacks. Thus, access to resources becomes a relational and comparative dimension between Indian and Black people and disparities in access to these resources further accentuate intergroup conflict.

On the same line of thought, realistic group conflict theory (RCT) proposes that low status among subordinate groups is the driving force of antagonistic behaviour directed towards dominant groups (Thibaut, 1950). Researchers argue that social status has significant impact on subordinate groups" identity problems compared to their counterparts (Gregor & McPherson, 1966; Milner, 1975; Morland, 1969). Previously, Blacks were unable to acquire the same social status as other racial groups and this negatively affected their self-perceptions. As a result, they are argued to have internalized their degraded status and accepted their racial inferiority. Such negative self-perceptions manifest in feelings of powerlessness over one"s situation, dissociation of oneself from the rest of other groups as a result of being shameful over one"s social status.

In-group bias also has a significant effect on intergroup conflict. Researchers have demonstrated that the presence of an out-group is sufficient to trigger discrimination and intergroup competitiveness favoring the in-group (Deutsch 1949). Intergroup categorization plays a significant role in in-group favoritism and out-group discrimination; in-group favoritism refers to positive views about one"s own group, while out-group derogation refers to negative evaluation

of the out-group (Brewer, 1999). These aspects of group behavior including in-group favoritism, bias and their effects on the individual members of groups are explored in further detail and expanded on by contemporary social identity theorists.

2.4 Social identity theory

According to Ballard (2004) people's behaviors are shaped by their own surroundings, thus the intergroup relations may have significant effects on individuals' social identities. People tend to assume collective roles within their societies provided that all group members are striving towards the same goals. Social identity theory provides insight into how one's surroundings and group memberships influence individuals' behavior. The next section will highlight the underlying principles of this theory.

According to Terry, Hogg and White (1999) identity is "a construct that mediates the relationship between the self and the broader social structure of groups and categories" (p 228-229). It focusses on how self stems from group affiliation because social identity goes beyond individual-level identity (me) "because they reflect the definition of self as a person who performs a particular social role" to group-level identities (we) "because they reflect identifications of the self with a social group or category" (Thoits and Virshup, 1997, p. 229-230).

Social identity theory is underpinned by these three concepts; first, individuals strive to maintain positive social identity, positive evaluation by community members. Second, positive social identity is rooted in favorable comparisons between in-groups and out-groups whereby in-groups must be positively distinct from the out-groups. Lastly, should people perceive their social

identities are unsatisfactory; individuals are most likely to leave their groups and join the positively distinct groups or strive to change in-groups to achieve positive distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

This section will look at the ways in which group members achieve positive distinctiveness. According to Tajfel and Turner (1986) one way of achieving positive distinctiveness is to alter the comparison value between groups such as changing previous negative evaluations to positive ones, for example, „black is beautiful‟ or removing social status as a comparative frame of reference. In such situations, intra-group comparison will likely be preferred to inter-group comparison; this allows groups from similar social statuses to compete against each other (Rosenberg & Simmons, 1972). This is considered fair and is likely to motivate people to achieve exceptionally in life. Likewise, Runciman (1966) argues that underprivileged people are likely to tolerate their poor conditions provided that they are being compared to individuals in lower status similar to them instead of being compared to well-off individuals. Intra-group comparison creates a sense of security and acceptance of one‟s situation without yearning for statuses to which one might not appear accessible.

2.5 Mobility

Another way of achieving positive distinctiveness is through social mobility. According to Jost, Pelham, Sheldon and Sullivan (2003) people exercise mobility options or individual exit in order to escape the implications of their group membership. In other words, once the group identity is damaged, some people exclude themselves from their social groups in order to preserve their individual identities. Similarly, Lord, Ross and Lepper (1979) observed that once group members view their social identities as abject, it is expected that they will move to join other groups that have already achieved positive distinctiveness.

Individuals are also likely to engage in social mobility tactics when their group condition appears stable and unlikely to be changed. In these conditions, they have few options other than changing the group to which they belong. For example, people cannot endure unbearable living conditions and may seek to improve their social or financial standing to improve their lives. On that note, Jost et al., (2003) argued that when mobility options are impossible, individuals are more likely to engage in identity development approaches of resistance and competition.

Most people strive towards positive distinctiveness; but it success depends on people"s social settings. For example, if our social settings allow us to move from one group to the next, our social identities will improve for the better, but if we lack such resources; our social identities are more likely to become abject. In other words, people from poor settings can pursue positive distinctiveness by joining advantaged groups only when their resources allow them to do so.

2.6 Psychological inferiority

When individuals fail to achieve positive distinctiveness via mobility, they are likely to experience psychological inferiority. According to Biko (1979) psychological inferiority is a commonly cited psychological effect of oppression, experienced by previously and currently marginalized groups. He defines an inferiority complex to be "the result of 300 years of deliberate oppression, denigration and derision, and to expect mutual respect between Whites and Blacks would be like expecting the slave to work with the slavemaster"s son to remove all the conditions leading to the former"s enslavement" (Biko, 1979, p. 35). From the above definition, mutual respect and non-racial South Africa cannot be attainable when conditions of oppression are still present because oppression has taken hostage the minds of the oppressed (Biko, 1979).

As Biko (1979) once said "the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" (p. 68), thus oppressed minds need to be liberated. Likewise, Gibson (2008)

argues that previously oppressed groups need mental emancipation from the inferiority complexes caused by apartheid and colonization in South Africa. Additionally, colonized people constantly yearn for political liberation as well as liberation from these negative perceptions of self and life as a whole. The same can be said about people living in informal settlements; they also yearn for emancipation from psychological inferiority and intervention from their current state of living (Gibson, 2008).

2.7. Social change: Black consciousness

Social change is a substitute technique for people unable to escape the conditions of oppression. Black consciousness "therefore seeks to give positivity in the outlook of the black people to their problems. It works on the knowledge that „white hatred" is negative, though understandable, and leads to precipitate shot-gun methods which may be disastrous for black and white alike" (Biko, 1979, p.30-31). As Fanon (1967) points out, black consciousness is most concerned about self-liberation, the fight against oppression, and "to fight collectively for survival against injustice" (p. 224) for the united nation to be formed, thus promoting solidarity among South African citizens (Gibson, 2008). Social change allows subordinate groups to deny or reject it is previously accepted and consensually negative self-image and the status quo, striving towards building new positive group identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In the case of poverty, this could mean working on rejecting and resisting the idea that people are poor because they are destined to be, but that poverty is an outcome of apartheid and colonization (Gibson, 2008).

Psychological maturity and individual growth are essential for social change. Biko (1978) argues that the essence of social change lies in the "realization by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of oppression – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them perpetually to servitude" (p. 92). People will then see themselves as agents of resistance and social change, making oppression an outcome of collective oppression by dominant groups instead as a result of individual deficiencies.

2.7.1 Social change: Self-liberation

Liberation encompasses political, economic and cultural aspects of life and also takes into consideration psychological aspects, such as identity. Thus, through emancipatory efforts, identities are changed. People can change their negative self-perceptions to those of being social activists fighting for their emancipation. For instance, Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) fights for the rights of people living with Human deficiency Immune Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) and through this movement, a new positive social identity was created for people living with HIV/AIDS (Friedman & Mottair, 2004).

2.7.2 Social change: Abahlali baseMjondolo movement

One example of the intersection between social change and identity and how people can overcome oppression is the Abahlali baseMjondolo movement. Abahlali baseMjondolo is a shack dweller organization developed in 2005 by Kennedy Road informal settlement in Durban (Zikode, 2006). Informal residents formed an organization to fight injustices and improve their lives. The movement is comprised of poor residents who actively participate to overcome their struggles.

As a result of the movement, there has been a noticeable difference in shack settlements, "there has emerged a new self-conception and a new dignity that has challenged the common view that sees the poor as generally useless, dirty and ontologically poor, and the shack dwellers as mindless, antisocial mass, a formless ,,sack of potatoes" incapable of acting as social individuals" (Gibson, 2008, p. 704). Abahlali baseMjondolo movement wants informal residents "to be recognized as human beings" (Zikode, 2006, p. 187), and for their voices to be heard by the government officials but mostly for them to be able to enjoy the benefits of independence like every other South African citizen.

The movement defines freedom as "a way of living, not a list of demands to be met. Delivering houses will do away with the lack of houses but it won't make us free from its own" (Abahlali baseMjondolo, 2008b, in Gibson, 2008, p. 706). Freedom is conceptualized as a way of living where everyone is significantly valued and their experiences and intelligence are taken into consideration (Abahlali baseMjondolo, 2008b). Pithouse (2009) noted that the poor are excluded from political decisions pertaining their lives, thus they are "foreigners in their own land" (p. 252). He further points out that people are pleading for recognition as South African citizens, which is understood to be the "material benefits of full social inclusion in the material and spatial senses as well as the right to be taken seriously when thinking and speaking through community organizations" (Pithouse, 2009, p. 252). Therefore, Abahlali baseMjondolo demand to be heard like the rest of citizens and their demands to be met by their officials.

2.8 When mobility can be difficult

In cases where informal residents are being ignored or abandoned by their local government, social mobility becomes their reasonable resort as social change is unlikely. However, if Abahlali baseMjondolo have limited chances for social mobility, they are left with no choice but to accept their social conditions or change their social conditions. As much as informal residents may yearn and fight for adequate resources, nothing will change their physical living conditions unless the government decides to come to their rescue. This perpetuates negative assumptions about the social hierarchy and the possibility of social change in their communities. For instance, low-status groups may start to perceive the current social system as stable and legitimate. Consequently, disadvantaged people may believe that they are destined to be in their poor social standings and advantaged groups are fortunate because they had opportunities to empower themselves (Zikode, 2006). Given the above condition of constrained mobility and cognitive alternatives, internalized inferiority is most likely to manifest.

2.9 Internalized inferiority - Internalized oppression

Poor people are most likely to perceive themselves as inferior compared to the rest of the world because of their impoverishment. In this context, „inferior" refers to people from low socio-economic status. Disadvantaged poor are the ones to determine the psychological meaning that they will attribute to their existence (Leach & Livingstone, 2015) and the low status positions further promote their degradation (DeLuca-McLean and Castano, 2009). Leech and Livingstone (2015) argue that in cases where disadvantaged people are unable to alter the „societal system", they are forced to preserve the "subsistence level of psychological well-being" (p. 615). This is often achieved by endorsing one"s unfavorable conditions via system justification.

2.10 Legitimacy

From the above assertion, people from low-status groups may perceive their situation as legitimate because they cannot alter it and it is deemed an effective practice to ease pain and suffering that resulted from their unfavorable situations. Legitimacy is a "stalwart of social order" (Jost & Major, 2001, p. 93). It is theorized to be the "the ways in which people construct ideological rationalizations for their own actions and actions of others taken on behalf of valued groups and systems" (Jost & Major, 2001, p. 93). It is characterized by "internal psychological justification of the status quo" to self or to others (Spears et al, 1997 in Jost & Major 2001, p.340). According to Taylor and Brown (1988 in Jost & Major 2001) legitimacy occurs when people start to feel obliged to follow social rules and to obey social authorities.

In other words, something is perceived as legitimate if it is concurrent with the social norms, values, beliefs, practices and procedures accepted by a group (Zelditch 2001, in Jost & Major, 2001). Jost, et al., (2003) illustrate this assertion by pointing out that people who are

disadvantaged by the status quo have the greatest psychological urge to reduce ideological dissonance, as a result, they will be more inclined to defend and justify the existing social system. The following section will help understand why those who do not benefit from the status quo might still endorse it. In other words, it seeks to understand why disadvantaged groups support the system that is responsible for their disadvantages (Jost et al., 2003).

2.11 System justification theory

Social justification theory is constructed on the assumptions of social identity theory that individuals accept their degraded social position to the degree that they perceive the system to be stable or legitimate (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), but this is done even if the system is contradictory to individual and group interests and motivations. According to social justification theory, people are inclined to believe that the social system is fair, justifiable, legitimate and necessary, and it holds the assumption that people are inclined to provide ideological and cognitive support for the existing status quo (Jost & Banaji, 1994), this means that inequalities amongst the groups are perceived as legitimate. Jost et al., (2003) argue that such differences are deemed necessary because they motivate individuals (especially the disadvantaged groups) to put an effort and work hard like the advantaged groups.

All the economic outcomes are assumed to be legitimate and well deserved because high-status groups have worked hard for their earning compared to low-status groups. Such justification provides disadvantaged groups with the soothing ideology that makes them feel better about their social status and reduce guilt and discomfort through status quo rationalization (Chen & Tyler, 2001). Furthermore, minority groups may think that they are bound to suffer because they have limited or no educational qualifications, whereas others are destined to privileges because they have worked hard to be where they are today and deserve all the privileges they have access to.

Jost, Banaji and Nosek (2004) argue that system justification theory predicts that disadvantaged groups are more likely to show less in-group favoritism compared to the advantaged groups, however, this is often grounded on the assumption that a system justification motive outweighs motives for positive in-group identity. They further point out that out-group favoritism signifies that disadvantaged groups have internalized their degraded position and thus perceive themselves negatively (Jost et al, 2004). Similarly, Leech and Livingstone (2015) argue that out-group favoritism often manifests through "self-hatred, inferiority complex, or internalized prejudice" (p. 619). The following section will explore the socio-psychological consequences of internalized inferiority.

2.12.1 Infra-humanization

The effects of infra-humanization are discussed here as the socio-psychological outcome of internalized inferiority and provide insight into how individuals infra-humanize out-groups. According to Demoulin et al. (2007) infra-humanization refers to "the tendency to reserve the human essence for one"s in-group" (p.418). It is mainly concerned with the attribution of primary and secondary emotions. A primary characteristic refers to basic feelings that are experienced by both humans and non-humans (animals) such as happiness, whilst the secondary characteristic refers to the deep, complex feelings that are only experienced by humans such as remorse, love, guilt, etc. (Demoulin et al., 2007).

In-groups are believed to have primary and secondary human characteristics whilst out-groups on the other hand are assumed to be sub-humans because they, like animals, are portrayed as lacking secondary and more complex human characteristics. Thus, uniquely human characteristics are seen as acquired by the in-groups and not shared by the out-groups. Likewise, Demoulin et al., (2005) observed that infra-humanization occurs when individuals favor their in-groups while derogating out-groups, therefore, claiming more humanity for one"s own group than the other. In this way, the in-group "supra-humanizes itself" while it "infra-humanizes the out-group" (Demoulin et al., 2007).

Demoulin and colleagues (2005) point out that these human characteristics cannot be explicitly measured between groups, but the attribution of these characteristics to different groups can be judged from how people perceive each other and which characteristics individuals think they share with members of different groups. Infra-humanization is a powerful measure of intergroup discrimination. Demoulin and colleagues (2005) further point out that the presence of conflict does not necessitate infra-humanization, but the social status of the in-group can possibly cause infra-humanization of an out-group. This serves an important function in legitimating the status quo as it portrays high status groups as more human and therefore more deserving of human rights than those in low status groups (Demoulin et al, 2005). Demoulin et al. (2007) observed that intergroup comparison triggers infra-humanization in the sense that low-status group are not only negatively evaluated by their counterparts but also infra-humanized by them.

2.12.2 Triggers for infra-humanization

Previous studies show that socio-economic status is one of the significant triggers of infra-humanization because one group is always well-off compared to the other one (Demoulin et al, 2005; Demoulin et al., 2007). However, accepting one's status as legitimate makes them vulnerable to infra-humanization. In other words, under certain circumstances, disadvantaged groups tend to accept social status by justifying the current social system of inequality. For instance, dating back to apartheid policies, blacks may think that whites are well-off because they have more education than them and that they were given opportunities to empower themselves compared to them and believe that they are destined to be privileged compared to the poor.

It might also be the case that disadvantaged groups allow advantaged groups to feed them distorted information about their social status. Advantaged groups on the other hand, do not

attempt to change the system they benefit from and they also perceive it as legitimate. For instance, privileged people may tell their counterparts that they are rich because they have worked hard to be where they are in the social hierarchy or they are smart than anyone else. However, this leaves disadvantaged groups to fight for social transformation on their own without any assistance from such groups.

2.13 Psychological resistance

Fighting for social transformation signifies that disadvantaged groups try by all means to resist and reject infra-humanization whilst preserving their group worth and dignity. Similarly, Leech and Livingstone (2015) argue that disadvantaged groups often resist internalized inferiority through collective action and it "enables people to maintain that poverty of the purse does not equate to poverty of the spirit (p. 617). This aligns with Zikode"s (2006) assertion that people may be poor, but they are not poor in mind or spirit. It is important to note that psychological resistance is the "myriad ways in which the disadvantaged assert their own view of themselves and the world despite dominant pressures to accept societal messages to the contrary" and it is a "more practical exercise of power than most psychological treatments allow" (Leech & Livingstone, 2015, p.617). Unfortunately, researchers have found that advantaged groups often do not show "willingness … to participate in collective action on behalf of subordinate groups" (Mallet et al., 2008, in Leech & Livingstone, 2015, p. 580). In other words, instead of advantaged groups joining the less-fortunate and challenge the status quo and social injustices, they turn a blind eye to their struggles and hardships, since they are concerned about their individual well-being (it"s every man for himself).

2.14 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter highlighted how post-colonial South Africa is still characterized by class or status inequalities, but "the postcolonial city of Black Skin, White Masks", have developed a desire to become rich (Gibson, 2008, p. 701). Gibson (2008) further points out that

postcolonial South Africa is has replaced race with class where economic inequality still prevalent because "Black poor has remained the same, conditioned by unemployment, landlessness, spatial exclusion, inferior education and violence" (p. 702).

Informal settlements are used as one instance of places of oppression, which are characterized by limited or insufficient infra-structure. As much as the less-fortunate try to escape their poor conditions via social mobility, this depends on how resourceful they are and what resources they have access to. In cases where individual exit is proved difficult, individuals are left with no choice but to accept their condition as stable and legitimate. Furthermore, less-fortunate groups often defend, support and justify the status quo and deem it legitimate in order to feel better about themselves whilst reducing feelings of guilt and discomfort over their situation. Thus, such acceptance signifies that individuals have internalized their degraded position in society and as a result, can do nothing to change it.

Infra-humanization is grounded on the distribution of human characteristics among advantaged and disadvantaged groups. In-groups are believed to possess both primary and secondary human characteristics while out-groups only possess primary characteristics which are shared with animals, thus are often referred as sub-humans (Demoulin et al., 2007). However, researchers discovered that disadvantaged groups have the power to resist infra-humanization (Leech & Livingstone, 2015). This is often through collective action aimed at rejection of the existing status quo. Chapter 3 will present techniques that were used to answer the research questions.

Chapter 3: Methodology

i) Aims and rationale

The current study looked at intergroup relations between formal and informal residents in Northdale area (Pietermaritzburg). It was previously highlighted that, as members of low status groups, informal residents may perceive the status quo as legitimate and stable or as a status quo that must be actively resisted. The present study sought to investigate the relations between informal residents and their formal neighbours in adjacent suburbs.

ii) Objectives

- To explore how residents construct their living conditions in informal settlements
- To explore the discourses used by residents to describe their relations with their neighbours
- To explore the discourses used by informal residents to construct their social identities

iii) Research questions

1. How do they construct their living conditions in informal settlements?
2. How do residents respond to these constructs?
3. How do residents construct their relations with their neighbours?
4. How do they construct their social identities?

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will give a full description on how the research questions were answered; it will also highlight how the study ensured its credibility, dependability, transferability and comment on ethical issues of the study.

3.2 Research design

This study adopted a qualitative research design because it focusses on human experiences as they describe them (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006). Rossi, Lipsey and Freeman (2005) argue that qualitative research is essentially useful for obtaining "detailed, textured knowledge" of the question at hand (p. 127). Likewise, Babbie and Mouton (2005) argue that qualitative research design is convenient for "describing and understanding" human behaviour. Qualitative research aims to uncover meaning embedded in the studied phenomenon; this includes how people interpret their life experiences, the way they attribute meaning to those experiences and the way they construct reality among themselves (Merriam, 2009). Qualitative inquiry acknowledges that people are unique and cannot be aggregated to explain the phenomenon at hand.

According to Lapan et al. (2012) research inquiry is significant as it gives voice to the voiceless and allows researchers to study particular phenomena from the insiders" perspectives. Lapan et al. (2012) argued that social scientific information is important as it studies the interaction between people and their environment. Through this exchange researchers are able to uncover how reality is configured amongst people. Both participants and researchers engage in a process of knowledge generation, making them co-authors of reality. As qualitative research focusses on generating contextually-bound knowledge its results cannot be generalized to the whole population (Lapan et al., 2012) because knowledge is time-specific and changes due to different contexts and events.

3.3 Research model

Social constructionists are concerned with how people use language to position themselves in the social world. As power is also embedded in the social context, this makes social hierarchy a central interest in discourse analysis (Lapan, et al., 2012). According to Silverman (2013) people use language in their daily dialogues to create meaning about themselves and for themselves. This present study looked at how participants used language as a platform to construct their subjective experiences in relation to the investigated topic. This model was deemed fit for this study because it gave an insight on how people construct themselves through social interactions.

3.4 Sampling

According to Miles and Huberman (1994) qualitative research involves recruiting a small portion of people who are studied using various techniques; these include in-depth face-to-face interviews, semi-structured interviews or focus group discussions. This study adopted a non-probability sampling method as it does not aim for statistical generalisability (Terre Blanche, et al., 2006). The sampling approach used was convenience sampling, a sample generated by recruiting those who self-select and are willing to partake in the study (Terre Blanche et al., 2006).

Marshall (2006) points out that in qualitative research sample sizes are determined by the number of interviews the researchers anticipated to answer the research questions. It was anticipated that eleven group interviews would be sufficient for this study and would fit the time frame of the project. Interviews were held at participants" households as this created a safe and comfortable environment for them to speak freely about the contact they have with their neighbours.

3.5 Description of the sample

The study focused on how participants spoke about intergroup contact between formal and informal residents in Northdale. This was examined through talk generated around how residents viewed themselves, each other and their space. Northdale residents from the Nhlalakahle informal settlement were recruited as research participants. The community member was used as a gatekeeper, he introduced us to residents, and we then asked them if they would like to participate in our research study. In total, thirty participants volunteered to participate in the study. Sample size per group interview ranged from two to six participants; their ages ranged between 18-65 years (see Appendix 6: participants" demographics). Some interviews were conducted with males only, some with females only and others were mixed. Each focus group was made up of participants from the same household, provided that they were above eighteen years old.

3.6 Context

Nhlalakahle informal settlement (pictured in image 1 below) is situated across the road from Northdale, a suburb of Pietermaritzburg. The only separation between formal and informal residences is a road. Nhlalakahle dwellings are made of various materials such mud and wood, cardboard and plastic sails and roofed by corrugated iron or plastic. The settlement lacks basic infra-structure such as taps, electricity, sanitary toilets and dumping sties. Formal residents on the other hand have everything a human being needs to thrive. Thus, between these two neighbours, there is an imbalance of infra-structure. People in authorities are aware of this, but it seems as if they are not doing anything to change the situation especially for informal residents. Some of the participants have lived in Nhlalakahle informal settlements for more than a decade, but their living conditions are still the same; they are still suffering like before.

In cases like these, informal residents often take actions to improve their living conditions. Although informal residents share a public tap but they do not have electricity, as a result, they steal it from their neighbours. Most of the dwellings have illegal electricity connections which are commonly known as „izinyokanyoka" (snakes-snakes). Izinyokanyoka refers to stolen electricity by informal residents from the meter boxes in their neighbours" area. Although

informal residents steal electricity in an attempt to improve their conditions, but it's a violations of the property rights for their neighbours.

Usually, formal residents normally gets the monthly bills of the electricity used, that they ought to pay and these bills are normally high because they share electricity with their underprivileged neighbours. Thus, it is unfair for formal residents to pay the electricity bills by themselves whilst they „share" it with their informal neighbours. However, the sharing of resources is non-consensual; as a result, this evokes hatred feelings towards informal residents. To avoid further stealing of electricity, formal residents often phone the police whenever they see someone near their meter boxes. As much as the closeness of these formal and informal residents allows intergroup contact, but different views over izinyokanyoka makes it almost impossible for friendly contact to take place.

Image 1- Nhlakahle informal settlement

3.7 Recruitment

Social science research uses various strategies for recruiting participants; the current study used door-to-door recruiting. We went from household to household looking for potential participants who were willing to take part in the study. This method was deemed suitable because residents in informal settlements do not have addresses or house numbers. We did, however, recruit one

member of the ward committee as our key informant (through the councillor‟s permission, see Appendix 1) and he accompanied us to recruit participants from their households. His presence was influential as he is well-known by the informal resident community and this made residents more comfortable and willing to participate in the study.

During recruitment, potential participants were told about the study and its purpose, and those who were willing to participate were given an informed consent form (see Appendix 2) to sign before the interviews started. Prior to this, researchers took time to go through the informed consent form with potential participants. Participants were also asked to consent to the use of the audio-recording. The informed consent contains all necessary information regarding the study as well as important contact details for people they could contact should they wish to do so.

3.8 Data collection and analysis

This section focuses on data collection and analysis. The methods and techniques used to answer the research questions of this study are discussed.

3.8.1 Data collection

According to Terre Blanche et al., (2006) qualitative research uses data collected from spoken and written language. For this specific research topic, semi-structured interviews were suitable as they give researchers insight on informal residents‟ experiences on the studied topic. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) interviews are "conversation with a purpose" (p. 249). The interview schedule (see Appendix 3) was designed to highlight aspects of intergroup contact between formal and informal residents, these included topics like; place, groups, contact and the possibility of change in the Northdale area. Data were collected in the form of interviews, where we requested every (adult) member of the family to be participants in the research study.

Focus groups interviews using households were chosen as a data collection technique because researchers anticipated that they would heighten the interaction levels amongst participants and provide the opportunity for participants to speak freely about their subjective experiences on contact with each other and formal residents. Participants were also provided compensation for taking part in the study in the amount of fifty rand. The incentives were effective in the sense that participants felt appreciated for participating in this study. Some participants felt that the amount paid was small but we assured to them that it was not for „buying" their consent but was a token of appreciation instead.

The data collection process took three days starting from the 17th (seventeenth) until the 19th (nineteenth) of June 2014. On the first day the researcher conducted three household interviews and four household interviews on the second and third days, adding up to eleven household interviews. The time range for all interviews was between thirty and ninety minutes. All interviews were conducted in IsiZulu, this heightened the levels of participation amongst participants as they were relaxed enough to express their feelings on the topic at hand in the language they are familiar with.

The interviews were audio recorded and researchers took field notes of everything that happened during the course of the interviews; these included their surrounding and their reactions towards the interview questions. This gave researchers an insight on how participants felt about the studied topic and enabled them to give context to participants" talk in relation to intergroup contact. Researchers made it a priority to write brief summaries after every interview highlighting prevalent themes that arose during the discussion. This was done to assist researchers to easily identify most relevant themes that are most likely to be used in the analysis phase.

3.8.2 Transcription and translation

Neuman (2006) argues that transcription is an important feature of the data collection phase. Transcription involves the process of transforming audio recorded data into written form; this allows raw data to be developed and transformed into data set for subsequent and more detailed analysis (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). All recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim for data analysis.

The researcher personally engaged into the process of transcription to produce a full account of each interview (full transcripts are stored in a secure place indefinitely but they are available per request). The interviews were translated from IsiZulu into English for analysis. Translation was done by the researcher. In cases where translation was complex, synonyms that are closely related to the IsiZulu were used to ensure that the whole interview remained close to its original meaning.

3.8.3 Data analysis

Discourse analysis was used to analyse the interviews. According to Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2011) discourse analysis pays attention on language taking into account the historical and social embeddedness of the studied phenomenon. Similarly, Hodges, Kuper and Reeves (2008) argue that it focusses on "studying and analysing the uses of language" (p. 570).

During analysis, discourse analysis was used to produce accounts of all spheres of life inclusive of individuals, institutions and social practices; this allowed researchers to reach conclusions about what informal residents constructed as "true". Such critical analysis ensured that researchers not only focussed on what participants discussed but explored issues of power and how people position themselves in the social world in and through their daily discourse.

The main focus was on informal residents but we also considered the frames of communication and "the inner working systems of power that construct what is „true‟" about intergroup contact between informal residents and their neighbours (Hodges, et al., 2008, p. 572). This was done under the assumption that people hold different meanings for a particular phenomenon depending on their social position. Let‟s take for instance the word „madness‟, people may define madness as a mental illness or social deviance. To use this word, people need to occupy cultural and historical positions that deem this a meaningful and acceptable label and, to understand how the word is being used and the meaning being attributed to it.

Thus, during the analysis phase, special consideration was taken to examine how respondents made sense of contact they have with their neighbours, but more specially to the meaning attributed to their daily encounters (Dixon, Durrheim & Tredoux, 2005). The verbatim transcription method was used for making sense of the interview transcripts. To ensure the quality of transcriptions, I repeatedly listened to the audios to familiarise myself with the interviews. Listening to the audio together with the brief summaries of each interview helped identify the prominent themes relevant to the study.

The analysis was enabled by field notes that were taken during data collection phase. They provided supplementary evidence of participants‟ feelings and meaning about the studied topic. For instance, some participants were actually displeased by service delivery and unhappy with their living conditions. I also searched for commonalities and discrepancies across all the transcripts in relation to the studied phenomenon. This was done to ensure flexibility and sincerity of data whilst preventing the researchers‟ point of view from distorting the study results. This is in line with recommendations by Silverman (2013) who argues that researchers need not focus on data that supports their preliminary hypotheses but should also look for deviant cases - extracts that are contrary to the study themes.

3.9 Ethical issues

In social science research, researchers are bound by ethical obligations that oblige them to conduct ethically plausible research. According to Lapan et al., (2012) the role of ethics in social science research is to ensure study results are for the social good and that participants are protected from potential harm during the course of their participation in the study. Prior to data collection, researchers wrote a proposal of the intended study, this stated research topic, the importance of the study and the research methods which the researcher intended to use to answer the research questions. This incorporated a brief background of the study, research objectives, methodology, data collection and analysis techniques.

3.9.1 Ethics review

The proposal was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) to ensure that the proposed study abides by these four ethical codes of conduct, namely: beneficence, maleficence, justice and social value. Prior to data collection, ethical clearance was obtained (see Appendix 4, protocol reference number: **HSS/0357/014M**) to allow researchers to proceed with data collection.

3.9.2 Consent

Ethical codes of conduct allow participants to exercise their rights during their participation in the study. Participants were informed of the aim and scope of the study and that they were free to withdraw from the study should they wish to do so and they need not provide justification for their action. Furthermore, informal residents were not coerced to participate in the study and potential participants were eager to participate in the study. Researchers ensured that all participants were above the age of eighteen in order to give full and independent consent to take or not take part in the study.

3.9.3 Anonymity and confidentiality

Researchers assured participants that everything discussed during the data collection phase would remain confidential and that no one would be able to trace shared information back to participants. The researcher assigned pseudonyms to protect participants" true identities in the transcripts and it was made clear to participants that everything that was discussed in the interviews would remain amongst participants. The study results were, however, discussed with the project supervisor.

3.9.4 Maleficence

It was anticipated that the present study do not have potential risks, but due to the sensitivity of the topic, participants may experience distress during the course of the interview. Thus, free counselling was arranged to assist participants that might experience distress or harm during the course of the interview (see Appendix 5). This service was offered to participants by the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Child and Family Centre (CFC) situated at Scottville, Gold Road within Pietermaritzburg (PMB) Campus.

3.9.5 Beneficence

There are no direct, immediate benefits anticipated from this research study, but data collected from participants was used to write this thesis dissertation. Participants were made aware that they would not directly benefit from the research.

3.9.6 Data storage

Participants were also told that the audio-recordings will be kept in a safe place, which can only be accessed the project supervisor, researchers and participants as per request. The data will be kept for five years at minimum.

3.9.7 Dissemination of Results

It was anticipated that a newspaper or journal article would be a suitable way to disseminate the study results to the public sphere and this will be done after the thesis is completed. Participants were told that the results of the study would be used to write a Master's Thesis and might be presented at conferences or shared in the form of an article about the study. Once the newspaper or journal article is written, the researcher will give gatekeeper copies for participants to read, it is anticipated that this strategy will enable participants to have access to the outcomes of this research results.

3.10 Credibility, dependability and transferability

In qualitative research validity, reliability and generalizability are substituted by credibility, dependability and transferability respectively (Terre Blanche et al., 2012).

3.10.1 Credibility

According to Terre Blanche et al. (2012) research results are credible provided that they are convincing and believable by readers. Credibility was ensured in this study in a sense that all interviews were conducted in an environment where participants were able to share their experiences in the presence of their family members. Credibility was also ensured during data collection where both the interviewer and interviewees engaged in a process of meaning making, in which both parties were able to construct themselves and produce constructions of the topic at hand.

Some researchers argue that researchers should remain as objective as possible during data collection (Yin, 1994), this research followed procedures outlined by Silverman (2013) who argues that the interview is an interaction and should be studied as such; this means that the interview is treated and analysed as constructed by all participants including the researcher. During data analysis, researchers did not focus on extracts that supported research assumptions but also looked for deviant cases. Silverman (2013) argues that researchers should also look for deviant cases whenever they analyse research results in order to prevent potential biases from distorting results.

3.10.2 Dependability

Study results need to be consistent in a sense that are transferable to other contexts in case the same study was to be repeated, this ensures dependability (Terre Blanche, et al., 2012). The present study maintained dependability by giving an explicit description on how the study was carried out to answer the research question and the context in which it took place; this allows others researchers to replicate the same study in other contexts. The use of recorders and transcription also informs the dependability of the study as it provides a context rich and exact account of the interview proceedings.

3.10.3 Transferability

In qualitative research results cannot be generalised to broader context, instead they are transferable to similar contexts (Silverman, 2013). As the full description of the study methods was discussed, the study can be replicated in other contexts. Thus, research results will become a platform for other researchers interested in studying similar situations (Silverman, 2013).

3.11 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter highlighted how the present study was conducted. Silverman (2013) argues that research design must be allied with research questions. A qualitative research question was deemed appropriate for this study because it is useful for answering „why" and „how" questions aiming to give insight and understand deep psychosocial issues related to human behaviour. The constructionist stance offered by discourse analysis is also useful in that it provides a means of engaging with how these participants might construct themselves and others in relation to group contact. Chapter 4 presents the study results exploring how psychological oppression is manifest in talk corresponding with system justification and own-group infra-humanization or resistance and rejection of own-group infra-humanization.

Chapter 4: Results

4. 1 Introduction

In this section extracts from the interviews, the results of the analysis are presented. The focus is on how participants position themselves with reference to their neighbors. This section aimed to answer the following research questions:

1. How do they construct their living conditions ion informal settlements?
2. How do residents respond to these constructs?
3. How do residents construct their relations with their neighbours?
4. How do they construct their social identities?

Informal residents" deprivation denies them humanity. In other words, informal residents are argued to internalize their degraded position in society and the perceptions their Indian neighbors hold about them; this affects their social identities. Given the above description, this chapter aims

to explore how psychological consequences of living in informal settlements and how this impacts of informal residents" social identities.

In the extracts that follow, the IsiZulu and English excerpts are presented. To provide the reader with context, each extract is preceded by a brief introduction to the interview or interviewees.

4.2.1 Mistreatment of informal residents

In this specific interview, participants disclosed their HIV positive statuses and said that they were on antiretroviral (ARV) treatment. Shortage of food is a health risks to informal residents especially those on ARVs as proper nutrition is required for the medication to work effectively. However, most informal residents are unemployed and some cannot be employed due to their poor health. Thus, they depend on their Indian neighbors to assist them with food parcels.

Throughout this interview, participants highlighted that whenever they go to their Indian neighbors for food parcels, they are not given proper food. But due to their desperation, informal residents are left with no choice but to be grateful for everything they received. This extract highlights how informal residents are treated by their Indian neighbors and how this impacts on their self-constructions.

Extract 1

Interview 10: 4 males and 2 female participants, ages between 30 - 40 years.

IsiZulu

1. P1: ngesikhathi engekho amandla, uke uthi ake ngiyekhona ngoba awuwaphuzanga

2.   amaphilisi izolo okuthi ngibuyile igazi.

3. T: ngiyazwa kahle. Kodwa bona-ke banipha bengenankinga noma mhlambe yingoba

4. sebejwayele ukuthi bazokifa ngoLwesine?

5. P2: bazohlupha

6. P1: noma yini noma amakhekhana … ama apula

7. P2: mhlambe mangabe enozuka (5c) akuphe wona. Uzothengani ngo5c? ngoba noswidi

8. washeleni (10c) awusekho? Ungenzani ngo5c?

9. P3: ulahlwa phansi

10. T: uke waveza ubhuti (esho kumbambiqhaza) ukuthi abanye bakupha nokudla okubolile,

11. okukade kwahlala?

12. P1: yebo, mawuthi uyakufudumeza, izingane zilambile, uthi uyakufudumeza kuvele

13. kubile. Yini kodwa lapho basuke bekunika njengenja. Uyayibona lento mfethu? Ngoba

14. uxakekile uzokwenza njani!

English

1. P1: by the time you feel weak; you think because I did not take my medication yesterday,

2. let me go there and ask for something to boost my energy.

3. T: I hear you. But do they give you without any issues or maybe it"s because they are

4. used to you coming every Thursday they will be expecting you?P2: You will be

5. bothering them

6. P3: Anything or just cakes … apples

7. P1: maybe sometimes they have five cents (5c), they give you. What are you going to do

8. with 5c? Because now you can't even get a ten cents (10c) sweet. So what are you going

9. to do with 5c?

10. P3: you throw it away

11. T: my brother (referring to participant) earlier you mentioned that others give you rotten

12. food? Food that has been stored for a long time

13. P1: Yes, Yes, when you warm it up, it's rotten. Kids are hungry, but it's rotten. Why is

14. that? <u>They are treating you like a dog.</u> You see that? But what can you do because you

15. are desperate!

In lines 1 to 2, Participant 1 constructs his neighbours as a potential source of assistance to be accessed when he needs to "boost [his] energy" or "feel[s] weak" (line 1-2). The researcher responds by asking about how this assistance is given (line 3-4). P2 constructs these requests for assistance as "bothering" their Indian neighbours (Line 5). P3 follows this by constructing their neighbours as responding to their requests by giving them "just cakes… apples" (Line 6), small sums of money (Lines 7-9), indicating that formal residents are seen as supplying unneeded and useless items. The researcher notes that one of the participants had "mentioned that others give you rotten food" (line 10-11). P1 responds in the affirmative saying "Yes, Yes, when you warm it up, it's rotten. Kids are hungry, but it's rotten" (Line 12), further demonstrating the lack of value that this form of charity has for informal residents, before going on to say "Why is that? They are treating you like a dog" (Line12-13). This indicates: 1) that residents associate their worth and value (to the formal residents) with the value of the items being given, and, 2) that the informal residents are attuned to the way in which their neighbours are positioning them, as animals like dog. However, P1 constructs these types of interactions as unavoidable as informal residents "are desperate" (Line 14).

4.2.2 This is not a place for human beings

Informal settlements are not seen as ideal places for human beings, the reason being, they do not develop or improve. Some residents have been at Nhlalakahle informal settlements for more than five years but they have not seen significant changes in their place. For this particular interview, participants highlighted that although it is a new democratic South Africa, they have seen no development in years. This lack of development is attributed to neglect by local government.

Extract 2

Interview 9: 2 males and 1 female participants, ages between 30 - 40 years.

IsiZulu

1. T: ngabe-ke ngokubuka kwenu , njengoba le ndawo ingakathuthuki, ngabe nicabanga

2. ukuthi nifanelwe ukuba kule ndawo?

3. P1: cha sisi (usho umcwaningi). Akekho umuntu ofanelwe ukuhlala kanje. Nawe uyawazi

4. umlando wethulasiphuma khona, silwa namaBhunu (Boers) silwela ukuthuthuka nokuba

5. nekusasa elihle,

6. uyabona? Akekho umuntu ofanele ukuthi ahlale la. Akuyona indawo yokuhlala umuntu

7. ingoba sihluphekile. Kodwa mawuthi uyabheka, banaingi bayafa babulawa yizifuba,

8. abanye babulawa I „health‟ ekade ngikutshela ngayo, ama „toilets‟ ayanuka, I „dump‟

9. ilahlwa kanje.

10. T: mmm

11. P1: amanabukeni ezingane alahlwa noma ikuphi, uyabona nje? Ayikho inqubekela

12. phambili kahlekahle.

1. T: by the look of things, since this place has not developed, do you think you deserve

2. to be in this place?

3. P1: no sister (referring to the interviewer). <u>No one deserves to live like this</u>. You also

4. know our past history, we were fighting the

5. Boers for development so that we can have a brighter future, you see? <u>No one deserves to</u>

6. <u>live here</u>. <u>This is not a place for humans to live in</u>; we live here because of destitution.

7. But if you look, people die because of chest issues and other it‟s because of health issues

8. I was talking about, that toilets are smelly and the dumping site is nearby.

9. T: mmh

10. P1: baby napkins are dumped anywhere, actually there is not progress in this place.

The interviewer asked participants if they deserve to live in this place (Lines 1-2). P1 responds "no sister. <u>No one deserves to live like this</u>" (line 3), constructing the settlement as a place unfit for human inhabitation. He then continues "You also know our past history, fighting Boers for development so that we can have a brighter future, you see?" citing the past and Black South Africans‟ fight for freedom as futile and having not had the expected results. He then goes on to say "No one deserves to live here. This is not a place for humans to live in; we live here because of destitution" (Lines 4-5) constructing the informal settlement as place of last resort, a place not fit for human beings and a place where the destitute are forced to live through lack of alternatives. This equates destitution with a lack of humanity. He lists the reasons for why this is not a place for humans to live, saying that "people die because of chest issues and other it‟s because of health issues I was talking about, that toilets are smelly and the dumping site is nearby... baby napkins are dumped anywhere (lines 6-9). He finishes by saying that "actually

there is not progress in this place" (line 11), producing an overall account of a lack of progress despite political shifts and struggle efforts.

4.2.3 Infra-humanization

Participants distinguished formal residents into types, those who like them and those who do not and this was measured by how formal residents treat them. Although some formal residents are helpful towards their neighbors, but others mistreat and discriminate them. Apartheid is assumed as the main reason for such mistreatment and discrimination. The extract highlights how informal residents identify themselves in relation to possession of resources. Therefore, unless they have improvements in their place, they cannot perceive themselves as fully human. The lack of resources makes them incomplete.

Extract 3

This interview was made up of two female participants, ages between 29 – 50 years.

IsiZulu

1. T: okay. Ngizocela ukuthi ungizekelise la wabona khona ukuthi bayasithanda la bantu,

2. noma bake benza something la wabona khona ukuthi impela bayakuthanda

3. P1: mhlambe ungasuka la ungadlile, uhambe uye kuleli Ndiya, uthi *makoti* (igama

4. okubizwa ngalo abaqashi bamaNdiya) mina nezingane zami asidlile.

5. T: mm hhu

6. P1: uyakwazi ukuthi akunike anakho

7. T: okay, laba aba…

8. P1: ukuze udle

9. T: kulaba abanganithandi?

10. P1: uzovele abathi anginakho

11. T: Awu bakithi! Mm hhu. Mhlambe kulaba abanganithandi, kungenzeka yini ukuthi

12. ingenxa yobandlululo? Manicabanga ngabe abanye basabambelele kulona?

13. P1: sijwayele ukusho ukuthi ubandlululo

14. T: mmm

15. P1: bayasibandlulula sisi kodwa siyakwazi ukuphuma ezindlini zethu siyobasebenzela,

16. sisebenze kanzima.

17. T: yebo

18. P1: sibasebenzele

19. P2: bayabandlulula sisi (usho kumcwaningi) ngoba ngoba yabo mangingasuka la,

20. ngiyofuna umsebenzi le. Uzofika angibuze ukuthi ngihlalaphi, ngithi ngihlala

21. eNhlalakahle. Athi hhayi nihlala *squatter camp*, kodwa uyabo? Njengoba sihlala

22. endaweni enje, angazi. Basibukisa okwezilima noma yini, angazi.

23. T: mm hhu

24. P2: ngoba uvele athi nihlala e *squatter camp*, ngeke ngikwazi ukuninika umsebenzi.

25. Angazi yini bayibuka kanjani le ndawo enje, angazi yini bengayithandi.

26. T: ngiyezwa

27. P2: ingoba bacabanga ukuthi baningi ngoba imijondolo isanda kuthuthuka (akucacile).

28. Mhlambe manje isithuthukile, angazi. Sifike vese seyakhiwe, mhlambe nathi ngelinye

29. ilanga siyothuthuka futhi sigcina sesinga bantu. Njengoba nathi sihlezi la, asithandi

30. ukuhlala endaweni enje.

31. T: mawuthi „sizothuthuka sibe abantu", njengoba ningathuthukile, aniziboni ningabantu?

32. P2: siyibona abantu kodwa eish

33. T: aniphelele?

34. P1: asisibona abantu abagcwele, sabantu abawu „half"

35. P2: asiphelele nje

English

1. T: okay. Can you please make an example for me where you actually seen that these
2. people really like me or they did something where you noticed that they really like
3. you
4. P1: maybe you can go from here without eating, go to an Indian and say *makoti*
5. (name referring to female Indian) me and my children have not eaten
6. T: mmh
7. P1: she will be able to give you something, for you to eat
8. T: okay, those that
9. P1: for you to eat
10. T: to those who do not like you?
11. P1: she will say I do not have
12. T: oh people! Mmh. Maybe to those who do not like you, do you think it because
13. of Apartheid? Do you think maybe others are still holding on to it?
14. P1: we often say its apartheid
15. T: mmh
16. P1: they discriminate us but we able to come out from our houses and work for them,
17. we work hard
18. T: yes
19. P1: for them

20. P2: they are discriminative sister (referring to the interviewer) because you see if

21. you go and look for a job there, she'll ask me where I stay, I'll say at Nhlalakahle.

22. She'll say you live in *squatter camp*, but you see? Since we are staying in the

23. place like this, I don't know, they look at us like we are fools or what

24. T: mmh

25. P2: because she'll say you stay in squatter camp, I won't be able to give you a

26. job. I don't know how they perceive a place like this, I don't know why they don't

27. like it

28. T: okay

29. P2: because they think they are many because informal settlements just

30. developed. It developed maybe now I don't know. We arrived here when it has

31. already been built, maybe one day we'll develop and end up humans. Although

32. we stay here, we don't like to stay in the place like this

33. T: if you say, „we'll develop and be humans", now being undeveloped you don't see

34. yourselves as humans?

35. P2: we are eish

36. T: incomplete?

37. P1: we are not fully humans, we are half humans

38. P2: we are just not complete.

The researcher initially asks how informal residents categorized their neighbours from those who like them and those who do not (line 1-3). P1 responds by highlighting that they often tell their neighbors if they do not have something to eat; "me and my children we have not eaten" (line 4-5). P1 further points out that "she will be able to give you something …"for you to eat" (line 7-9). The researcher changes that question and asks about those "who do not like you" (line 10). P1 responds by saying that their neighbours often say "I do not have" (line 11). The researcher explores the reasons behind refusing to assist their underprivileged neighbors, if it has something to do with apartheid and residents "think maybe others are still holding on to it?" (line 12-13). P1 confirms that they "often say its apartheid" (line 14) despite that fact that informal residents work hard for their Indian neighbours, but "they discriminate us" (line 16). P2 affirms that their

Indian neighbors "are discriminative sister because you see, if you go and look for a job there, she will ask me where I stay. I will say at Nhlalakahle. She will say you live in squatter camp". She further points out that formal residents "look at us like we are fools or what" (line 20-23).

Living in informal settlements ruins the chances of informal residents from finding employment from their Indian neighbors, as they "will say you stay in squatter camp, I won't be able to give you a job" (line 25). I do not know how they perceive a place like this; I do not know why they do not like it" (line 26-27). Formal residents construct informal settlements as the developed place by judging from the increasing number of occupants, but informal residents believe that "maybe <u>one day we will develop and end up humans</u>. Although we stay here, we do not like to stay in a place like this" (line 31-32). The interviewer asks for clarification especially when P2 says that "we will develop and be humans" (line 33), whether being underdeveloped cloud their judgement from seeing themselves as humans. In line 33, P2 reassures the interviewer that "we are" (line 35) indeed humans, but P1 affirms that they "<u>are not fully humans, we are half humans</u>"... "we are just not complete" (line 36-37).

4.2.4 Witness of infra-humanization

Participants were discussing how lacking resources affect their lives. They highlighted how they survive with inadequate resources in informal settlements. Water, electricity, sanitary toilets and dumping sites were their most main challenges. They mentioned that only have one tap that is used to cater for all residents. Although others use illegal connections, but some residents use firewood for their entire house cooking purposes. Informal residents are forced to endure these challenges on their daily basis, thus, they urge the government to liberate them from their misery.

Extract 4

The interview was done with one male and one female participant, ages between fifty and sixty years old

<u>IsiZulu</u>

1. T: manje ngokwenu baba ninomama, ngokubheka kwenu, ngabe nina nikholelwa ukuthi

2. nifanelwe ukuba kule ndawo?

3. P2: kahle kakhulu

4. T: ukushiso yini lokho baba?

5. P2: ngisho ngokuthi asinamuva asingaphinde siye kulona, sesithembele kuyona le ndawo.

6. Kungemina ngedwa, ya kukhona imbijanyana engenalo imuva

7. T: mm h

8. P2: kukhona imbijanyana engenalo ngempela, ehtembe la kule ndawo, njengoba name

9.   ngithembe la kule ndawo. Ngiyacela nje uhulumeni ukuthi asisize, asicabangele.

10. T: mm hhu, ngabe

11. P2: singaba abantu nathi manje asikakabi ibona abantu. Abanye abantu sebakhishwa

12. emahlathini, thina, ngala asikhishiwe ehlathini.

13. T: manje baba ngizwa indlela osho ngayo othi, singaba abantu, ngokwakho manje

14. awuziboni ungumuntu?

15. P2: ngiwumuntu kahle hle. Ngingumuntu ngoba ngiyahamba

16. T: mm hhu

17. P2: kodwa ngesimo nje hhayi, angikakabi uyena umuntu, ngisakhala impela kuhulumeni

18. ukuthi siyacela athi azosicabangela thina la.

55

1. T: so in your views mother and father, do you believe you deserve to be in this place?

2. P2: yes indeed

3. T: why do you say that father?

4. P2: I say that because <u>we have got no other place to go to</u>, we have placed our hopes in

5. this place. Not only me, some residents also have nowhere to go to

6. T: mmh

7. P2: there's few residents whose got nowhere to go really, who have hope in this place

8. just like me I has hope in this place. <u>I beg for government assistance</u>, to consider us

9. T: mmh

10. P2: we can also be people now, but we haven't been people. Others have been taken

11. out of the forests, we on this side <u>we are not yet taken out of the forest</u>.

12. T: so father based on how you say this „we can be humans", in your views, you don't see

13. yourself as a human?

14. P2: I'm a human indeed. I am a human because I am walking

15. T: mmh

16. P2: <u>but based on our circumstances, no, I am not a human yet</u>. I beg the government to

17. assist us here

The interviewer asks if informal residents deserve to live in informal settlements (line 1). P2 affirms that "yes indeed" we deserve to live in this place (line 2). Interviewer responded by asking why P1 confidently says he deserves to be in this place (line 3) due to lack of alternatives. P2 further constructs informal settlements as their last resort for informal residents because "<u>we have got no other place to go to</u>, we have placed our hopes in this place. Not only me, some residents also have nowhere to go to" (line 4-5). P1 constructs informal settlements as the last resort for "residents who got nowhere to go really, who have hope in this place just like me I have hope in this place" (line 7-8) and given their situation, P1 actually "<u>beg the government to assist</u>" (line 8) them out of their misery, thus constructing the government as the only significant intervener that can actually emancipate them. And with such assistance, P2 constructs informal residents as beings who are still in the process of becoming humans or people. Others have been taken out of the forests, we on this side; <u>we are not yet out of the forest</u>" (line 10-11). The interviewer then asked P2 to clarify how they construct „humanity" (line 12-13). P2 points out that he is a human because he is "walking" (line 14); however, "<u>based on circumstances, no, I am not human yet</u>. I beg for government to assist us here" (line 16-17).

4.2.5 Resistance and rejection of infra-humanization

Throughout the interviews, participants highlighted the relations they have with their Indian neighbors. Although some participants complemented their neighbors most of them highlighted that they have suffered ill-treatment from their neighbors. Such treatment is mostly experienced by informal residents who once worked for and also those who are currently working for them either as garden attendants or home keepers. Informal residents noticed that they are not treated as human beings in their neighbors" houses. However, this has changed the way informal residents perceive their neighbors, in a sense that they now view them as „bad" people.

Extract 5

<u>IsiZulu</u>

This interview was made up of three female participants, ages between 26-30 years.

1. T: esimeni sakho sisi (usho umbambiqhaza), kungenzeka wakubona lokho noma

2. wahlangabezana nakho,

3. wazizwa kanjani ngalokho noma uzizwa kanjani manje?

4. P3: ngayeka ukusebenza

5. T: mmh huh

6. P3: ngazihlalele ngoba ngavele ngabona nje ukuthi le mpilo engiyiphila la,

7. yokufukuziswa. INdiya lizokufukuzisa, qede likunike amakhulu amahlanu amarandi

8. (uR50).

9. P1: akuphendule inja umuntu

English

1. T: in your situation sister (referring to P3), you might have witnessed this or came across

2. this issue, how did you felt? Or how do you feel now?

3. P3: I quitted working

4. T: mmh

5. P3: I'm just unemployed because I realized the kind of life I was living there, being

6. slaved. The Indian will slave you and then give you fifty rands (R50)

7. P1: a person can turn you into a dog

Given the above description, the interviewer asked how participants feel when they are mistreated by their Indians employers. The interviewer asks participants about their feelings towards mistreatment suffered from the hands of their Indian neighbours (line 1-2). P3 could not

possibly endure mistreatment from formal residents, as a result, she "quitted working" (line 3). P3 goes to by highlighting that she came to the realization that she was "being slaved. The Indian will slave you and then give you fifty rands (R50)" (line 5-6). P1 constructs their Indian neighbours as people who can push you into an edge where they "can turn you into a dog" (line 7).

4.6: Conclusion

Participants view the social inequalities as the injustices of the past, and thus, they yearn for basic resources through government's assistance. Although the government has tried to improve the quality of life for poor people but informal residents are still living under impoverished conditions; thus this denies them their rights to human dignity (Ramutsindela, 2002). Some residents have lived in the informal settlements for over a decade, but they have not seen improvements with their living arrangements, they are still suffering like before. Informal residents are still depended on their formal neighbours for food parcels and employment, thus, their neighbours are the ones who know their struggles and they often assist where they can. However, informal residents have mixed feelings regarding such; although they depend on their formal neighbours but they believe they are mistreated by them. One of the possible reason formal residents mistreat their neighbours is that informal settlements are seen as threats to the peaceful suburbs (Ramutsindela, 2002) due to their overcrowding numbers. Saff (1998) leaned that formal residents are most likely to believe that informal settlements in their adjacent suburbs cause a decline in their property values, cause environmental degradation and increase crime rates; as a result potential buyers may be reluctant to purchase houses near informal settlements.

Despite all the challenges they face, participants still have positive beliefs about the future. In other words, informal residents do not perceive their situation as permanent and through social transformation; their lives will never be the same again. Furthermore, as much as residents are conscious about being infra-humanized by their Indian neighbors, but they still have the will to resist such. Hence, participants do not internalize their degraded conditions, instead their act as social activists who will do anything to preserve their self-worth and dignity.

CHAPTER 5: Discussion

5.1 Informal residents mistreatment

It was highlighted above that people in informal settlements have scarce resources and this endangers their health. According to Durand-Lasserve (2006) informal residents are characterized by poverty because many residents are unemployed and cannot afford to support their families let alone maintain good health. However, this is a global challenge especially for the chronically ill patients who reside in informal settlements. They are supposed to consistently take their medication, but this is not possible if they have nothing to eat. In such cases, informal residents often rely on their neighbors for assistance in the form of food parcels before they take their medications, but Extract 1 indicates that help is not received. In other words, informal residents are highly dependent on their neighbors for everything and expect them to respond to their needs.

From a younger age, we were taught to be always thoughtful of other people especially those in need. For instance, if one has plenty of food, he or she ought to give the less fortunate (the one who gives is more blessed than the one who receives). Paradoxically, the formal residents are constructed as giving informal residents useless items; this indicates that they may not care about their neighbors" needs. Thus, they give rotten food for the sake of giving and to ease guilty feelings instead of landing a hand to the less advantaged.

Although participants are aware that rotten food is not good for their health, due to their desperation, they eat it. Muller et al., (2006) argued that slums are associated with low levels of hygiene and cleanliness, as such, participants construct a perception that Indian neighbors hold an assumption that no human lives in such dirt, only the non-humans. Giving items of food that are not fit for human consumption to informal residents is constructed as an act of

dehumanization by informal settlement residents as it is assumed that the food deemed inappropriate for human consumption is nonetheless fit for informal residents.

This demonstrates that informal residents acknowledge the way in which their neighbors treat them and associate it with infra-humanization (they are dogs). They do not identify with the position of sub-human, this can be seen by their rejection (if not physically, then rhetorically) of these "gifts" of rotten food and useless items. However, their desperation makes them accept these "gifts" from their neighbors.

In the Extract 1, it is evidenced that informal residents assume an identity judging from how their Indian neighbors treat them. Participants here have the perceptions that rotten food is only eaten by dogs, so if they are also given rotten food, it means that they are dogs as well. Such an association implies that informal residents may have internalized their needy position that resulted in their new self-perceptions.

Indians are not constructed as showing empathy to their neighbors. Despite the fact that Indian residents know and have seen the struggles and hardships of their neighbors, they are constructed as unwilling to lend a hand. Learning about their neighbors" struggles may have encouraged Indians to engage into collective action to urge the government for informal residents" economic, political and social liberation. Through collective action, both neighbors will be most likely to trust and respect each other as fellow neighbors and this will promote a united neighborhood in the Northdale area.

5.2 This is not a place for human beings

Despite challenging the Apartheid government, members of informal settlements are still in the same position as they were prior to 1994. It has been twenty-two years since apartheid policies

were abolished, but people are still struggling and Black people are still a nation neglected by its own government. The reason being, their lives have not changed for the better as expected, instead it is deteriorating. This is evidenced by the increasing number of people residing in informal settlements worldwide (Ballard, 2004; Durrand-Lasserve, 2006). Researchers have highlighted that informal settlements are bombarded by massive challenges such as lack of infrastructure (Durrand-Lasserve, 2006, Zikode, 2006), but still no significant change has been noted by informal residents.

Despite political change, informal residents are discontent with the lack of resources. Ballard (2004) pointed out earlier that informal settlements are unsafe and unhygienic. The reason being, it is characterized by uncleanliness which is likely lead to increases in disease. Shack dwellers are clustered together; this makes it hard for residents to move around and can be a fire hazard. Also, the limited space between dwellings reduces the flow of air and therefore quality, thus, residents are exposed to toxic air (Muller et al., 2003). Given such conditions, informal residents are vulnerable to different sorts of diseases (Mercury, 1998).

Informal settlements have not developed and participants in this regard feel like they have to fight for development. Dating back to the apartheid system, Blacks had to fight for their human rights in order to be equal South Africa citizens. The apartheid system sort of emphasized that whenever they encounter challenges, they have to fight for government"s intervention and this is often achieved through protests. In other words, until they demand resources from the government, they will not see improvement in informal settlements. In this case, improvement or development is judged by how many resources residents have in informal settlements. For instance, informal residents still do not have electricity, proper houses and sanitation; as a result, they believe their living conditions will improve in future.

Participants highlighted that their living conditions make them vulnerable to diseases and illnesses because it is unhygienic. Since they do not have proper dumping sites and sanitary

toilets, informal residents are forced to dump their unused goods anywhere they deem fit and also, some residents still use firewood for cooking purposes. As a result, they inhale toxic air which is not good for their health (Muller et al., 2003). Participants highlighted that they are ill and they often rely on their neighbours for food parcels in order for them to take their medication; as they cannot provide for themselves and they no longer have strength to carry out heavy duties due to their health. As much as people from informal residents are conscious about their living conditions and the vulnerability of their health due to diseases, but their limited mobility options forces them to endure harsh conditions, hoping for a better tomorrow. Indeed informal settlements are not fit for human occupation.

5.3 Infra-humanization

Informal residents constructed „good" and „bad" Indians based on how their neighbors treat them. Informal residents constructed themselves as victims of discrimination from their neighbors. Good people are constructed as those who are always willing to land a hand when it"s due, who are compassionate about humankind, who respect and treat other with dignity. However, bad people refer to those who do not care about others and fail to empathize. They are often uncaring, unloving. As much as „good" formal residents assist their neighbors, „bad" formal residents force informal residents to endure their ill-treatment for the sake of employment and wages. Despite the fact that both Indians and Black people were previously discriminated against during the apartheid system because of their skin color, these two communities are not constructed as equal or united in overcoming the injustices of the past, instead they compete with each other.

Informal settlements are constructed as places that no one wants to be associated with, inclusive of their residents. One possible reason for this might be the fact that informal settlements are associated with crime, violence and vice (Maylam, 1982, in Ballard, 2004). According to Durrand-Lasserve (2006) informal settlements are characterized by inadequate resources and they are not catered for human inhabitation, thus, everyone distance themselves from them.

Given the poor living conditions in informal settlements, people do not want to assume the degraded social identity that is associated with informal settlements. As such, through social comparison, Indians perceive themselves as superior and better than their neighbors; employing individuals from informal settlements is constructed as a potential threat to his or her social standing in the society.

Refusing to employ people from informal settlements may be based on many possible reasons. Firstly, informal settlements are seen as unhygienic (Ballard, 2004), thus, its residents may be perceived in the same way. In other words, Indians may construct their informal neighbors are carrier of filth to their „clean" houses. Also, Indians may be more inclined to construct informal residents as animals because of their living conditions. On the same line of thought, informal residents" poor living conditions makes them vulnerable to discrimination by people in power, this could be their Indian neighbors of their local government and often negatively impacts their social identities (Jost et al., 2004). As their conditions are deemed stable and legitimate (Jost & Major, 2001), they are more inclined to internalize their degraded identity. Hence, this signifies the significant impact of people"s living conditions on their humanity. In support of the above assertion, (Ballard, 2004) argues that one"s surroundings have massive impact on individuals" identities. Informal residents" living conditions change their self-perceptions and their social identities, as a result; they deny themselves the secondary human characteristics. As expected, in-group often supra-humanizes itself whilst infra-humanizes the out-group (Demoulin et al., 2007), but this is not the case as informal residents engage their own-group infra-humanization.

5.4 Witness of infra-humanization

Participants confirmed that informal settlements are the last resort for people who do not have any other place to reside in. Due to their limited resources, participants are unable to exercise social mobility in order to escape their miserable conditions (Jost et al., 2003) and they cannot change their conditions because they do not have means to do so. They also pointed out that they face challenges of insufficient resources in their place and propose that the government should

come to their rescue. Informal residents position themselves as helpless and powerless because they cannot do anything about their conditions, instead they are forced to wait for the government to liberate them from their struggles.

Consequently, they have internalized their degraded conditions in such a way that they do not see themselves as agents of change, but as powerless residents who are pleading for government assistance. Furthermore, their circumstances have denied them human rights and this has a negative impact of their self-perceptions and social identities. Hence, participants construct themselves as sub-humans (not fully humans) because they lack resources. Hence, humanity is defined by is the access to resources one has within a society. As they wait for government's assistance, their struggle for humanity is still in progress, but it has not reached it completeness.

5.5 Resistance and rejection of infra-humanization

From a younger age, I was taught to respect all humankind, but contemporary society values people for what role they occupy. Based on my observation, a janitor does not receive the same respect as the Chief Executive Officer (CEO). The reason being, no one will not benefit from the janitor as much as s/he would benefit from the CEO. Hence, respect is judged by material possessions and how dependent others are on you.

Indians as employers, holding a superior position compared to their employees, having their employees dependent on them for financial benefits, are constructed as treating their employees without respect, or even worse, mistreating them. Such mistreatment may be done because Indian employers are „masters" and over their „slave" employees. They are constructed as taking advantage of informal residents because they know their neighbors need the money more than anything and this will force them to endure mistreatment as long as they are getting paid. Thus, according to participants, people who are less-fortunate are supposed to endure every hardship or challenge they come across as they are dependent on advantaged individuals and groups. From

my observation, this is often the case for people who hold the least recognized jobs worldwide; this includes domestic workers, taxi conductors, etc. In this sense, such workers are positioned as inferior compared to their employers who hold power over them.

Despite the fact that informal residents are poor and unemployed, they still have the courage to exercise choice. By quitting her job, P3 was able to practice her freedom to walk away from her miserable situation. She was able to exercise individual exit in order to escape unsatisfactory conditions (Jost et al., 2003) and also to preserve her human dignity and worth via social mobility. When group image is tarnished, people are likely to exercise social mobility in order to achieve social positive distinctiveness (Jost et al., 2003). In other words, people attempt escape from situations that place their individual and social identities at risk of degradation. Also, people opt for mobility provided that they perceive their situation as stable or unchangeable. Thus, if P3 did not quit her job, she may have suffered psychological inferiority due to the internalization of her degraded position and she could have learned to accept her new degraded identity.

Furthermore, informal residents are conscious of how their neighbors perceive them. P3 constructed Indian employers as people who are cruel in such a way that one can actually lose her sense of self and belonging. Thus, their employers" mistreatment is constructed as a lack of serious consideration for their employees through treating them as animals that do not deserve respect and dignity, who are merely means to an end.

Chapter 6: Conclusion, limitations and recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

In conclusion, the study demonstrated that service delivery is a significant concern for people in informal settlements. Informal residents live under impoverished conditions and each day has its own challenges that residents must overcome. Informal settlements are abandoned places with limited or no basic resources such as water, electricity, dumping sites and sanitary toilets and residents are left to find means to provide for themselves and their families. Informal dwellings are clustered together making it difficult for residents to move around or have breathing space. Their living conditions pose a huge threat to their well-being, in a sense that informal settlements are disorganized and can be dirty due to lack of infrastructure (Ballard, 2004).

Such mistreatment makes put informal residents in a vulnerable position, as much as they do not approve of their mistreatment but they are forced to wake up every morning and work for the very same person who ill-treats them. Furthermore, other than living in impoverished conditions, informal residents do not receive social aid from their local government or the municipality, as a result, they are forced to endure hardship and hope for a better tomorrow. As South African citizens, they are supposed to receive assistance from the government; instead the very same government who are supposed to take care of them makes their lives miserable. For instance, as much as informal residents try by all means to improve their lives by building their dwellings, their government demolishes them (Durand-Lasserve, 2006).

The government‏'s failure to respond resourcefully to black people‏'s needs (Zikode, 2006) further disadvantages the poor. According to Gibson (2011) residents cast their votes hoping for social, economic and political change, but they are scarcity of resources is still a challenge in informal

settlements. Zikode (2006) pointed out that Abahlali baseMjondolo engaged into protests in order to be heard and to demand infra-structure from their local government. In addition, such protests give informal residents voice in order to fight the injustices of the past and this gives them a platform to claim back their humanity. In order words, protesting is the powerful weapon for informal residents to liberate themselves from their oppression.

Informal settlements are not ideal for people because of its limited resources and individual or group mobility does not seem to be an alternative for residents. Although, Nhlalakahle residents demonstrated a desire to move out of their living conditions throughout the interviews but they have no means to do so, thus, they are 'trapped' by their conditions until someone brings them aid. Furthermore, the study results revealed that informal residents suffer infra-humanization from their Indian neighbors because of their degraded living conditions. Hence, informal residents construct Indians as cruel people who mistreat them to the point where they no longer perceive themselves as humans, but this is often experienced by informal residents who work as maids or garden men for their Indian neighbours. However, participants are strong enough to resist infra-humanization from their Indian employers, as such; they rather quit their jobs rather than enduring mistreatment.

Furthermore, the study results showed how informal residents construct themselves as individuals deserve all the benefits just like any other citizen in this country. As much as informal settlement is not an ideal place for human beings, but informal residents feel that their government should help them develop and improve their living conditions. In such cases, informal residents urge their officials to liberate them from their struggle and through such assistance; their dignity and self-worth will be preserved.

6.2 Limitations of the study

The present study only used Nhlalakahle informal settlements to explore infra-humanization and the residents" responses to infra-humanization; the results may not be generalized to other informal settlements because they may not have Indian neighbors as their neighbors. Also, in qualitative research, results are not generalizable to a wider context due to its small sample which is not representable of the whole population but is rather considered transferable. Since the focus groups were done in IsiZulu, the researcher was responsible for translation, however, some words do not have direct IsiZulu to English translation, and therefore, synonyms were used. Due to the time allocated to write this research project, the researcher was the sole transcriber and translator of the transcripts, therefore, the results may be biased.

6.3 Recommendations for future research

For future studies, researcher needs to have qualified person to validate the transcripts to avoid researcher bias. A comparative study is needed to assess how formal residents perceive their neighbours.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Councilor letter

CLLR Rooksana Ahmed

WARD 31 COUNCILLOR

PRIVATE Bag X321

PRIVATE BAG X321

PIETERMARITZBURG

TEL: 033 - 397 2162

CELL: 079 – 3786 958

DATE: 8th April 2014

Dear Professor Durrheim

UKZN

Pietermaritzburg

3201

Dear Sir

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

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

Yours sincerely

_____

Councilor R. Ahmed

(Ward 31 Councilor)

Appendix 2 – informed consent

English

Dear Participant

My name is Thandiwe Sithole a registered Masters Psychology student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am conducting a study as part of my Masters programme in Psychology. The aim of the study is to understand the common intergroup contact between Northdale and Nhlalakahle residents.

Participating in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study anytime should you wish to do so. If there is there is something that needs clarify, do not hesitate to stop me and I will explain. We anticipated that the interview will last for the duration of 40-60 minutes.

To protect your anonymity and confidentiality, pseudonyms will be used through the interviews, so no one will be able to link your answers to you and all information will remain confidential. Research records will be kept in a locked file, only the researchers and supervisor will have excess to them.

By agreeing to participate in this study, we anticipated no risks. But should you experience distress or some kind of discomfort during the course of the interview process, you can contact Child and Family Centre for counselling. Although the study does not have benefits, but we hope that the information obtained will help change people's perceptions towards informal settlements.

Declaration

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

If you have any questions regards the study, please contact any of the numbers below:

Contact details

Researcher: 0... … ….

Supervisor: 033 260 5348

Child and Family Centre: 033 260 5166

Ukuvuma ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo

Obambe iqhaza

Igama lami nginguThandiwe Sithole owenza iMasters kwiPsychology eNyuvesi yaKwaZulu-Natali. Senza ucwaningo olubeke ukuxhumana phakathi kwabahlali baseNorthdale naseNhlalakahle.

Ukuba ingxeyne yalolu cwaningo akuphoqelekile futhi ngingahoxa noma inini umangabe ngifisa. Umangabe kukhona enidinga incazelo yakho, ningasabi ukuthimisa, ngizochaza. Le ngxoxo ingase ithathe imizuzu engamashumi amane kuya kuhora.

Ukuze igama lakho Kanye nezimpendulo zakho zihlale ziyimfihlo sizosebenzisa amagama okuzakhela kulolu cwaningo, ukuze kungabi khona ozobona ukuthi ubani utheni. Amarekhodi ocwaningo azohlala kwafayela ekhiyiwe, abacwaningi nomqondisi wocwaningo ibona bantu kuphela abazokwazi ukufinyelela kulawo marekhodi.

Ukuvuma ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo, sibone ukuthi azikho izingozi ezingaba khona. Kodwa umangabe uhlangabezana nengcindezi noma ukungaphatheki kahle, ungaxhumana nesikhungo seZingane noMndeni ukuze bakunike ukwelulekwa. Noma kungekho nzuzo kulolu cwaningo, sithemba ukuthi ulwazi esizoluthola lapho luzisisa ukushintsha imicabango yabantu ngendawo yaseMjondolo.

Ukuqinisekisa

Mina ……………………… (amagama aphelele lobambe iqhaza) ngiyaqinisekisa ukuthi ngiyaqonda okuqukethwe ilombhalo kanye nohlobo lwalolu cwaningo. Ngiyavuma ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi ngikhululekile ukuhoxa kulolu cwaningo noma ngasiphi isikhathi umangabe ngifisa.

Uma unemibuzo mayelana nalollu cwaningo, sicela uxhumane nanoma iyiphi kulezi zinamba ezingezansi:

Imininingwane yokuxhumana

Umcwaningi: 0.. … ….

Umqondisi wocwaningo: 033 260 5348

Isigungu seZingane noMndeni: 033 260 5166

Appendix 3 – interview schedule

<u>English</u>

1. How long have you lived here? Do you consider this place your home? Why? Where did you live before?
2. What is it like living here? Do you like living here? Why?
a. What are the best things about living here? What else? Please describe
b. What are the worst things about living here? What else? Please describe
c. Does living in this place affect the way you perceive yourself? How? Why?
d. Do you think you deserve to be in this place? Why?
3. Describe the differences in resources between the formal and informal areas of Northdale. How do you feel about this?
4. Would you like to leave this place? Why? Where would you like to go?
a. What changes would you like in this place? What action could you take to improve the place?
5. What do you think of the residents of Northdale/residents of the informal settlements in Northdale? (outgroup)
a. How would you describe them? How do you feel about them? Explain why. What are they like? How do you know? Give examples.
b. Do you feel part of one community? Why?
6. Have you had any contact with residents of any of the informal settlements in Northdale/Northdale residents? (outgroup)
a. What kind of contact have you had? Please give examples.
b. Would you say the contacts you have had were friendly? Why?
c. How would you describe your experience of meeting with or talking with residents of the informal settlements/Northdale residents? Give examples.
d. Have you had any negative experiences? Give examples/describe these.
7. Would you say that you have any friends among residents of the informal settlements in Northdale/Northdale residents? (outgroup)
a. Why not? Please explain what makes it hard to be friends with them.

AND/OR

b. How would you describe your interactions with them? Please give examples.
8. Over the past years, there have been a number of protests about conditions in the informal settlements in Northdale. What is your view about these protests? Do you support them? Why or why not?
9. Do you think that it is right that people protests to improve conditions in informal settlements? If so, would you support such protest actions in the future?

10. Do you feel solidarity with the people and political struggles of residents of the informal settlements in Northdale/Northdale residents? (Outgroup). Why?

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

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

IsiZulu

1. Kungabe singakanani isikhathi osusihlale lana? Kungabe le ndawo uyibona iyikhaya? Kungani? Kungabe wawuhlala kephi ngaphambilini?

2. Kungabe kunjani ukuhlala la? Kungabe uyathanda ukuhlala kule ndawo? Kungani.

a. Kungabe iziphi izinto ezinhle ngokuhlala kule ndawo? Sicela uchaze.

b. Yiziphi iziphi iznto ezimbi ngokuhlala kule ndawo? Sicela uchaze.

c. Kungabe ukuhlala kule ndawo kunomthelela kwindlela ozibheka ngayo? Kanjani? Kungani.

d. Ucabanga ukuthi ufanele ukuba kule ndawo? Kungani.

3. Chaza izinsiza zomphakathi zaseNorthdale nezaseNhlalakahle? Uzizwa kanjani ngalokho?

4. Ngabe ungathanda ukuyishiya le ndawo? Kungani? Ungathanda ukuya kuphi?

a. Iziphi izinguquko ongathanda ukuzibona kule ndawo? Iziphi izinyathelo ongazithatha ukuthuthukisa le ndawo?

5. Ucabangani ngabahlali baseNorthdale?

a. Ungabachaza kanjani? Uzizwa kanjani ngabo? Chaza ukuthi kungani. Bangabantu abanjani? Wazi kanjani? Sicela usiphe izibonelo.

b. Engabe uzizwa engathi ningumphakathi owodwa? Kungani?

6. Uke waba nokuxhumana nabantu Abahlali eNorthdale?

a. Kungabe kwakuwukuxhumana okunjani? Sicela usiphe izibonelo.

b. Ungasho ukuthi ukuxhumana kwenu bekukuhle? Ngobani?

c. Ungakuchaza kanjani ukuhlangana kwakho noma ukuxoxa nabantu abahlala eNorthdale? Sicela usiphe izibonelo.

d. Kungabe uke wabanokuxhumana okungekuhle? Sicela usiphe izibonelo.

7. Ungasho ukuthi uke waba nabangani ebantwini abahlala eNorthdale.

a. Ngobani? Siclea uchaze ukuthi yena eyenza ukuthi kube lukhuni ukuthi nibe abangani nabo.

FUTHI/NOMA

b. Ungakuchaza kanjani ukuxhumana nabo? Sicela usiphe izibonelo.

8. Eminyakeni eyedlule kube nemibhikisho emayelana nezimo zokuhlala la eNhlakahle. Ucabangani ngale mibhikisho? Kungabe uyayisekela? Kungai uyisekela noma ungayisekeli?

9. Ucabanga ukuthi kulungile ukuthi abantu babhikishela izimo ezingcono emijondolo? Uma kunjalo, ungayisekela eminye imibhikisho ngesikhathi esizayo?

10. Kungabe nibumbene nabantu abahlala eNorthdale futhi kungabe bayazwelala yini nezinkinga zepolitiki ezikhungathe abantu baseNorthdale?

11. Ngesikhathi sobandlulolu, uhulumeni wazama ukuhlukanisa imiphakathi yamaNdiya nabantu abaMnyama. Ucabanga ukuthi kungani babenza lokho? Ucabanga ukuthi lokhu kunawo umthelela kubuhlobo phakathi kwalemi phakathi?

12. Uyacabanga yini ukuthi uhulumeni kukhona ekumele akwenze ukuzama ukugqugquzela ubumbano phakathi kwalemi phakathi emibili? Uma kunjalo, yini ekumele bayenze? Yiziphi izinkinga ezivimba ubumbano phakathi kwemiphakathi yamaNdiya neyabantu abaMnyama?

Appendix 4 – ethical clearance

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

20 May 2014

Ms Thandiwe Sithole (209510178)
School of Applied Human Sciences – Psychology
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Protocol reference number: HSS/0357/014M
Project title: The social psychology of the frontier: Working models of intergroup contact on the frontier between formal and informal residents in Northdale

Dear Ms Sithole,

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application dated 23 April 2014, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have 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)

Appendix 5 – CFC letter

2014 March 12

To whom it may concern

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

Yours sincerely,

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Appendix 6: Participants' demographics

No. of participants	Gender	Age	No. of years in informal settlements
1. two	Male & female	50 - 60	23 years
2. two	Males	25 - 30	19 years
3. two	Females	18 - 24	9 years
4. three	Females	26 – 30	Between 8 – 10 years
5. two	Male & female	19 - 21	2 years
6. two	Males	25 - 35	Fifteen & five years
7. two	Females	29 – 50	2 years
8. four	Males	30 - 39	Between 3 - 6months
9. three	Males & female	30 - 40	Between 6 – 17 years
10. five	Males	30 -40	Between 1 – 19 years
11. two	Male & female	25 - 45	8 years