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School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies

Emerging patterns of social and spatial (dis) integration in Suburban South Africa: The case of Mokopane

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A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Science, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science.

Johannesburg, 2015.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Science at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

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(Signature of candidate)

_____day of

_____20_____in_____

Abstract

This dissertation examines the imaginations and use of space by black residents in Suburban South Africa, with a particular focus on the small town of Mokopane, in the context of urban desegregation and integration. Given the segregated spatial legacy of apartheid, the post-apartheid state has and continues to seek ways to create a non-racial and integrated society. However, twenty years after the demise of the apartheid regime and the country remains segregated along racial and class lines. In understanding some of the reasons why integration remains a challenge, this research investigates black residents' use of public spaces in the context of a supposedly desegregated space. It investigates the socio-spatial relations between residents of three adjoined suburbs, two of which are a product of apartheid and one a recent development of the state's spatial policy to create integrated communities. The study is not focused solely on the social and spatial relations within the confines of the study area but most significantly beyond that in order to comprehend people's relationship and meanings attached to space. Drawing from Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, imagined and psychoanalytical geographies, the study reflects on how people's identities, rooted in a history of colonialism and apartheid, affect the way they imagine and use space and, further, how the arrival of those considered as other reveals the symbolic meanings and boundaries that have been attached to space.

The study further draws from post-colonial literature on space to challenge prevalent notions of the relationship between race and space, with a particular focus on the rural-township-urban mobilities and what those mean in the construction of blackness. Thematic content and discourse analysis are used to decode meaning embedded in language in terms of how people relate to others socially and spatially. The dissertation reveals that, even in contexts where spatial desegregation has been attained, the use and imagination of space and the relationship to others are rooted within historical configurations of racial and class identities. Further, black residents' experience of historically white spaces remains rooted in their lived experiences and in their understanding of their belonging in urban spaces as inherently white. It is against this backdrop that this research argues that, in the quest to develop integrated post-apartheid communities, the state has given insufficient, if any, thought on the ways space, class and race are produced relationally.

“Montshipisha boshego, ke mo leboga bosele”.

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Chapter One: The quest for integrated communities in post-apartheid South Africa

1.1. Introduction

In modern society, there is a concern that collective life is in decline and people have opted for more individualistic lives, disconnected from engagement with other individuals collectively. This concern forms the major part of social policy in addressing social exclusivity through the creation of public spaces and shared experiences such as a shared "national" identity in fostering social integration and coherence amongst individuals. Despite all the efforts, however, society still remains highly divided and conflicts persist. This according to Amin (2008, 10), is because social interaction very seldom breaks historical "attitudes and practices towards the stranger". Under such circumstances, Amin offers a paradigm shift in creating an urban collective culture by emphasizing the daily negotiation of differences in urban public spaces. His work emphasizes the role of local micro-publics of social contact and encounter, their constitution and terms of engagement, as prime sites for reconciling and overcoming cultural differences (2002).

He suggests a shift from the prevailing "tradition of locating" and reducing "the culture and politics of public spaces in the quality of inter-personal relationships" (Amin, 2008: 5; 2012). Urban public spaces, he argues, offer a great opportunity to study social change for they remain significant formative spaces characterized by diverse and economic structures, diverse cultures and patterns of consumption. Harvey (cited in Brenner, 2004) argues that the urban space should be comprehended simultaneously as a "presupposition, a medium and an outcome" of the contested dynamic nature of social relations of capitalism. It is from this view that every historical configuration of urban spatiality reflects a merging of earlier patterns of social interaction with an evolving structure of possibilities and constraints for future social relations (Brenner, 2004). As such, particular spaces provide crucial sites in the daily negotiations of difference where groups of various cultural, racial and ethnic backgrounds recognize and engage their diversity (Allen and Cars, 2001 in Amin, 2002).

1.2. South African context

South Africa represents a multitude of ethnicities and races and it is this array of races that makes the country an optimal arena towards an understanding of the dynamics of social cohesion (Shaker, undated). Nearly two decades after the demise of the apartheid regime the promise of transformation and reconciliation still remains elusive (Shaker, undated; NSSC, 2012). Nearly two decades later and the "Rainbow Nation" romance has faded (Beall *et al*., 2005) and society still remains deeply divided and fragmented (Miraftab, 2007). The divisions of South Africa's society are deep, reflected in the country's class, racial and gender-stratified inequalities in the social fabric (GCRR, 2011). The 1994 election of Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first Black president led to the "grand" dissolution of apartheid where the nation embraced a non-racial democracy with civil, political and social rights extended to the main victims of apartheid and the bindings that held multiracialism, tribal affiliations, and class divisions in check removed. With the new non-racial democracy came the extension of rights and a "greater sense of belonging" for the majority of the black population (Tomlinson *et al*, 2003). Although the apartheid regime may be dissolved, South Africa still suffers from its legacies and some of it is evident in the continuities of post-apartheid city planning (NSSC, 2012) and the *de facto* racial segregation that still haunts the country's society (Shaker, undated).

One of the achievements of the African National Congress (ANC) post-1994 was the formal overcoming of the ethnic fragmentation through the integration and partial dissolution of the ethnic governments from the apartheid era. It hasn't, however, been as successful in the amelioration of spatial divisions of the apartheid regime legacy. Christopher (2001b in Shaker, undated) observed that the post-apartheid city, in many ways, mimics the apartheid city. As Foster (2005: 495) notes, "the spatial distribution of housing and communities in cities and towns remains relatively unchanged…from this perspective it would appear that racialized isolation and separation is being reproduced". Urban spaces present challenges of negotiating class, ethnicity, gender and/or racial diversity in close proximity and thus spatiality of the urban landscape plays a crucial role in negotiating multiplicity and difference (Amin, 2006). The democratic government has and continues to be engaged in efforts to create a "South Africa for all who live in it". Focus has largely been on the provision of basic services, housing, education and the creation of job opportunities through the reorganization of existing spatial patterns towards a more integrated conception of space.

In reimagining post-apartheid spaces, the discourse of integration remains largely influential in housing and policy planning. However, twenty years into democracy, research conducted in major cities such as Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town reveals that contact and spatial proximity in desegregated 'communities' have not necessarily led to increased social proximity (Oldfield, 2004; Popke and Ballard, 2004; Meny-Gibert, 2012). Other researchers argue that people are reluctant towards social proximity (Besharati and Foster, 2013, Meny-Gibert, 2012) and that racism takes a more subtle manner, requiring psychoanalysis to understand it (Hook, 2004). Increased research has focused largely on race to race relations, treating space as a mere container for those social relations. In addition to that, emerging interest in the spatiality of the new South Africa has focused largely on major cities as prisms of focus. Cities like Johannesburg have received endless attention in studying the apartheid and post-apartheid spatial configurations, they have become spectrums of analysis in questioning issues of the built environment and continuing inequalities (race, class, gender etc.) and identity politics and citizenship (Murray, 2008).

The urban geography of South Africa reflects the social and spatial segregation of the apartheid urban landscape and despite the new government's efforts to create inclusive cities, the apartheid spatial design continues to dictate who lives where and even in places where there is an emerging residential desegregation, the legacy of apartheid still dictates social relations amongst residents (Oldfield, 2004; Lemanski, 2006). Residential spaces and other micro-public spaces such as churches, streets, public parks, schools etc. are the multiple domains of socio-spatial and racial change capable of promoting or inhibiting integration (Lemanski, 2006; Battersby, 2004). As Lemanski (2006) notes, it is the everyday lived experience that requires attention in social integration research for social integration is not a fixed outcome but a continuous and dynamic process.

Research aiming to confront the challenging and dynamic nature of integration has focused largely on macro-processes of institutional change (Durrheim and Dixon, 2005b and Shaker, undated). Small towns as micro-ecological settings characterized by intimate encounters with difference in everyday spaces (Durrheim and Dixon, 2005b; Shaker, undated) and with spatialities that provide specific dimensions of sociality (Steyn and Ballard, 2013, 1) have received very little attention. It is against this backdrop that this research-focusing largely on people's engagement with space-seeks to understand social relations in the context of a small town where spatial proximity between different income and racial groups has been somewhat achieved.

1.3. Study site

The Chosen area of study is Mokopane, formerly known as Potgietersrus. The town was formerly named after Piet Potgieter, a voortrekker leader, to commemorate his death at Makapan's caves. In 2002, the town's name was changed to Mokopane, a "pedified", version of Chief Mughombane, the Ndebele (Northern Ndebele) chief of the Kekanas, a tribe responsible for Potgieter's death (Shaker, undated). The town is located just off the N1 highway in the Limpopo Province (Figure 1) and is one of the oldest towns in the Old Northern Transvaal, established on the basis of conflicts between local communities and the Voortrekkers (Du Plooy, 1995, in Shaker, undated). Mokopane is situated within the Waterberg District, located in the south-west Limpopo Province. The relatively small town is situated south-west of Polokwane, the capital city, and is represented by the Mogalakwena Local Municipality. Due to its location within the Bushveld Igneous Complex, the town's economy, like most of South Africa, is highly dependent on the mining sector (Skosana, 2013) and platinum mining in particular. It is one of South Africa's richest mining and agricultural areas and as a business area; it employs a significant percentage of the population of Mokopane. The town has a population of 19 394 (Mogalakwena IDP, 2014/2015) with three main racial groups including whites, blacks and Indians.

The town is surrounded by villages of which most remain highly marginalized and excluded from socio-economic opportunities. This, coupled with the poor provision of good educational facilities, exacerbates poor levels of education and "skills". Thus majority of the population residing in these villages is highly dependent on the limited and mostly exploitative opportunities that exist in the central business district and affluent suburbs of the town. It is these conditions that allow and reinforce further marginalization and exploitation of the communities. While the town has some legacies of the pre-1994 social improvements, it remains strongly racially and spatially segregated, like most South African cities (Goebel *et al*., 2010).

Mokopane town, particularly the central area, was developed in the mid-1800s (around 1852) and designated as a white area. The town's development led to the establishment of suburbs including Akasia (an Indian area under the Group Areas Act), Flora Park, Impala Park and Nyl Park which were all developed in the early 1970s (Figure 2). Central was a higher income area while the suburbs accommodated both the middle and upper income groups. As

the town grew, with the abolishment of the Group Areas Act in 1991, black people started moving into the central area. Although Impala Park and Nyl Park were established around the same time, while Impala Park was a densely populated white Afrikaner suburb, Nyl Park only became [densely] populated in the early 1990s when black middle class families, mostly nurses and teachers, moved into the area. Despite few changes in the population of Nyl Park, the suburb continues to house mostly employees of the public sector.

With the influx of blacks into the central area and suburbs, some of the rich white residents moved to Kameeldoring and Chroom Park, both located south of the central business district. Both areas continue to grow and are going through major developments including the construction of a golfing estate, the Kameeldoring Golf Estate. Situated next to these suburbs, on their west is Extension 12, an area for both upper-middle and higher income groups conceptualized around the same time as Extension 14, working class area. Although not a significant part of this study, it is still important that Extension 12 is mentioned just to understand some of the social dynamics taking place in Mokopane. According to property developers and municipal representatives, people who are moving into the town including Extension 12 are mainly from Johannesburg, Rustenburg and Polokwane. One major pull factor which has led to this is the local boom in the mining industry including the recent discovery of the Flatreef deposit in 2012 which has led to the Platreef Project, a venture between Ivanhoe (64%), a consortium of Itochu Corporation (10%) and Ivanplats B-BBEE partners (26%) (Raats, 2014). People have bought stands [approximately R100 000 each] to build their houses and/or for investment opportunities. Several residents from nearest suburbs including Impala Park have also relocated to Extension 12.

In 2008 and under the discourse of creating integrated and sustainable housing settlements, the Mogalakwena local Municipality adopted the *Breaking New Ground* strategy to establish a mixed income social housing development. Several villagers were given a presentation, prior to receiving houses, of the significance of treating their houses as resources and assets. During interviews with the housing department of the Mogalakwena municipality, it is clear that such protocol was followed. Mafinki, of the municipality, gave a presentation to residents of Tshamahansi (Hlongwane), one of the 178 (Mogalakwena IDP, 2014/2015) villages outside of the town. The presentation was mainly on government housing and consumer education in order *to "educate and capacitate housing consumers, both owners and rental users, on their rights and responsibilities".* This led to an extension of existing suburbs to incorporate the working class and to locate them in close proximity to the Central

Business District (CBD) in order *to "increase their access to social and economic facilities"*. Extension 12 and 14 are Extensions of Nylpark, a mainly Black middle class residential area developed in the early 1990s. While Extension 12 is a supposedly higher income residential area, Extension 14 is a predominantly working area and the focus of this paper along with Impala Park and Nyl Park.

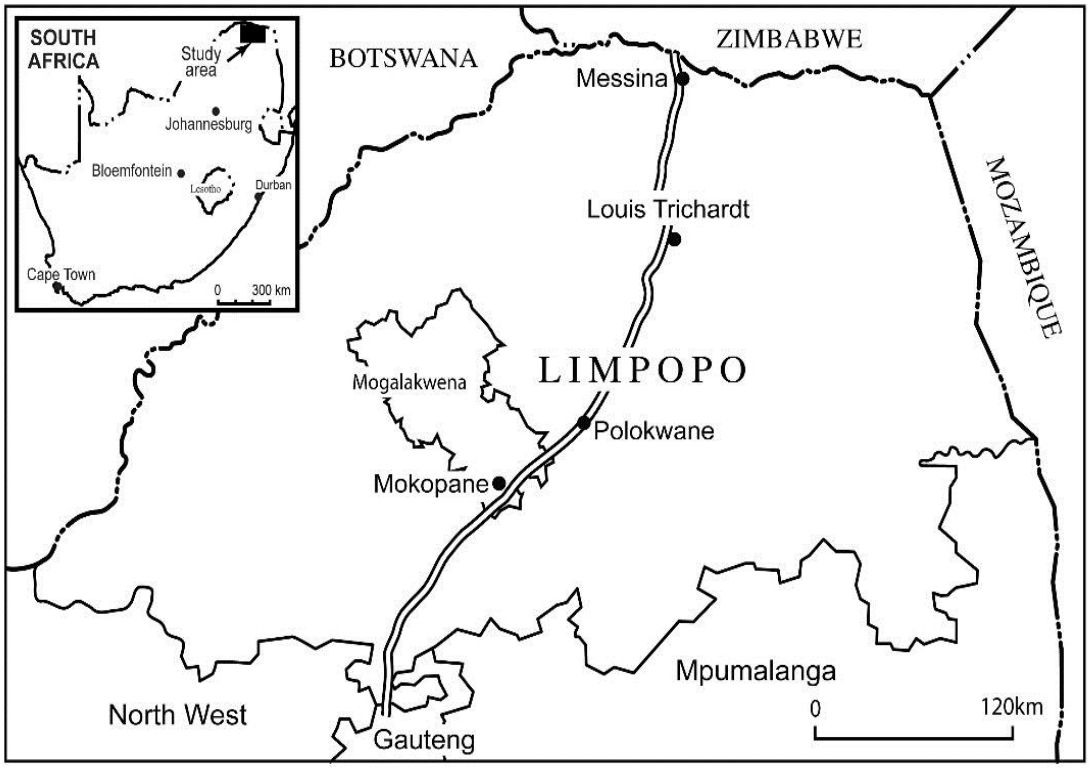


Figure 1: Map showing study site (Philips, 2013)



Figure 2: Image showing study site and key site areas including Extension 14, Impala Park and Extension 14. The image further shows the two buffer zones, one historical and new that characterize the landscape (Google Earth, 2015).

1.4. Rationale and Research Questions

1.4.1. Research Aim and objectives

This research provides a case study of everyday dynamics of social and spatial (dis) integration in the context of Mokopane between three adjoined suburbs which include

Extension 14, Impala Park and Nyl Park (Figure 2). The study is particularly interested in the micro-politics of everyday life and how they promote or inhibit social and spatial (dis) integration. The research will investigate the role of post-apartheid state policies including municipal by laws, national and provincial policy agendas in creating social and spatial integration. Everyday interactions and encounters are governed as much by state institutions as they are by non-state and informal institutions and practices therefore *public spaces*[1], as sites of encounter will be investigated to look at the ways in which individuals and groups, in their daily lives negotiate difference. This research particularly looks at the different ways in which people, in a supposedly desegregated[2] and mixed income town, engage with public spaces and how social relations are produced, reproduced and maintained.

The main aim of this research is to investigate patterns of social and spatial (dis) integration of suburban South Africa. Given the continued failure or ambivalence of South Africa's residents to integrate, this research deploys the case of three suburbs in Mokopane where the recent Breaking New Ground strategy, a policy towards creating integrated communities along racial and class lines, has been adopted.

The main research question of this study is:

> What does the use and imaginations of public spaces in Mokopane reveal about the challenges of creating integrated communities in post-apartheid South Africa?

The specific objectives are:

1. To assess state policy in creating integrated post-apartheid communities;
2. To assess the life histories of Mokopane suburban residents;
3. To assess the relationship between residents of the three suburbs under study;
4. To assess the socio-spatial rhythms of residents of Mokopane suburbs;

In reaching the above mentioned objectives, the following questions are posed:

[1] Although there various definitions of what constitutes public space have been proposed, the concept remains ambiguous and "pervades discussions in geography, planning and other related disciplines" (McCann, 1999). For the purpose of this research, public spaces will be conceived as those spaces that are open to the public regardless of the limitations that are, if any, posed.

[2] Desegregated in this case refers to historically white spaces which have been opened up to all races with the repeal of the Group Areas Act.

Objective 1

- How does the state conceptualize integration through spatial planning?

Objective 2

- Where do residents of Mokopane suburbs come from?
- How did they come to live in Mokopane?

Objective 3

- Given class difference, how do residents of the different suburbs perceive and interact with each other?

Objective 4

- What spatial rhythms characterize the everyday use of public space in Mokopane?
- What influences people's choice of use of space?
- With whom do residents interact?

1.4.2. Research argument

Research conducted in the post-apartheid period shows that the state's efforts to create integrated communities continues to fail even when spatial proximity amongst different racial groups has been attained. Using a geographical analysis of public spaces, this study reveals how people's class and racial identities influence their perception and use of space, challenging the project of creating integrated communities in post-apartheid South Africa. The argument posed by this research is twofold. Firstly, in critiquing the notion of community, this dissertation seeks to demonstrate how the state, in dealing with the issue of race, has homogenised difference, racial and otherwise, under concepts as class, national identity, rainbow nation and the likes. This, it is argued, has influenced the ways in which the state governs difference, economically, socially and spatially. Secondly, despite the significance of space in creating [racial] identities particularly in the context of South Africa, the conception of post-apartheid space as inert has led to problematic modes of spatial and

urban governance. By treating space as just a piece of land, there is a neglect of meanings attached to different places and the ways in which they shape people's understanding of self in relation to space and others.

1.5. Chapter Outlines

The following sections outline the different chapters that make up the thesis.

Chapter two begins with a brief review of the researcher's positionality and the implications it has for research. It then contextualises Extension 14 and the reasons for its establishment with a reflection on the responses from existing suburbs prior to its establishment. With that in mind it provides the social and spatial description of the spaces in the study area with a particular focus on the use of public spaces such as parks. In doing this, it seeks to reflect on the different rhythms that dominate these urban spaces at different times with a particular focus on who uses the spaces and for what purposes. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the methods used to collect and analyse data. These include observational analysis, rhythmanalysis, and qualitative interviews for data collection; and thematic content analysis and discourse analysis for data analysis.

According to Allport's (1954) hypothesis, contact between different social groups can either result in the decline or increase in prejudice. The latter, he contends, depends on the presence of optimal conditions including equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation and support from authorities. It is against this backdrop that chapter three seeks demonstrate how both the apartheid and post-apartheid spatial planning adopted the contact hypothesis in segregating people and in integrating them respectively. It shows how on the one hand, the former sought to segregate society through the establishment of a racial classification system and the demarcation of space for the different races. On the other hand, the latter sought to create integration through the creation of a national identity in order to unify the different races and through the desegregration of the apartheid landscape by opening up historically white spaces to other races and providing social housing to the historically excluded and marginalized. The chapter further critiques these approaches and how on the one hand they exacerbated class segregation and failed to create integration on the other, leading to the

adoption of the recent Breaking New Ground strategy which seeks to integrate society across racial and class lines.

Given the failure of the contact hypothesis in creating integrated communities and through the use various theories of the production of space, chapter four provides a theoretical framework which not only critiques the contact hypothesis but more importantly complexifies the concept of community in the context of creating integrated communities. Drawing from Henri's Lefebvre's spatial triad the chapter demonstrates how space is not a mere container but is imbued with meaning, constantly reproduced through social relations and itself producing social relations. To broaden the theory on space production, the chapter further draws from geographers who have adopted Said's *Orientalism* and Anderson's theorizations on imagined geographies to produce certain knowledges about the self and other, relationally and spatially. These help in understanding how people imagine themselves in relation to others and what the implications are in creating integrated communities.

Chapter five is divided into two sections. It draws from people's social and spatial mobilities to look at how their perception and use of space influences how they construct aspects of their identities and those of others. Drawing from Lefebvre's theory of the production of space and postcolonial theory, the first section looks at how black people, through their use of space, deconstruct and construct their racial and class identities, as articulations of aspects of blackness, spatially and socially, and what that means in terms of how we understand post-apartheid spaces. The second section, drawing from psychoanalysis, particularly Freud's concept of the *uncanny* and Kristeva's notion of *abjection,* it reflects on how people relate to difference and how that challenges the state's quest to created "integrated communities".

Chapter six, also drawing from Freud's notion of the uncanny, focuses on how the post-apartheid landscape has the potential to induce feelings of anxiety in those who were historically excluded leading to a retreat into familiar spaces and "empty urban public spaces". Further drawing from post-colonial theory and poststructuralist conceptions of resistance, it looks at how people appropriate representations of post-apartheid spaces as a way to affirm their own identities and to challenge representations of post-apartheid urban public spaces. It does this through an understanding of how through everyday practices, young adults and children's (re) appropriation and use of space, can be understood as representational spaces that seek to challenge the "ordered" and conceived nature of the post-

apartheid landscape, where individuals [unconsciously] challenge their othered position and affirm their identities through mundane activities of everyday life.

Chapter seven, the conclusion chapter, reflects back on the research and the key issues identified and the possible research gaps for further research. It offers a critique of the notion and construction of the post-apartheid city urban spaces and how the notion of community itself has been about creating a national identity, seeking to dissolve the diversity and hybridity of society. These representations of space, it is argued, have been conceived in ways that do not allow for difference and as such, this research shows that people engage with urban spaces in different ways, ways that evoke that difference. Their senses of identity are rooted in "imaginative geographies and histories" which speak to these differences. This is done through a reflection of how, despite having affluent lifestyles in suburbs and cities, black people continue to have 'nostalgia' for some aspects of township/rural life. The constant movement in-between and within these spaces allows for a negotiation of identities which help to intensify a sense of self. These further challenge the conceptualization of post-apartheid urban spaces of which most are buttressed on Western notions of integrated cities.

In the light of the above discussions, chapter seven further draws from cultural and feminist studies to reflect on South Africa's quest to create integrated communities and what that means given the country's socio-spatial legacy. The chapter draws from Young to demonstrate how South Africa's approach towards integration has been one of homogenising society and denying difference with the latter continually constructed as other. Rooted in their lived experience, the diverse of nature of South African society is not only reflected in its racial and ethnic makeup but also in its use and perception of space. It draws especially from Young and Amin's politics of difference and those of the stranger to look at how people in urban public spaces encounter and negotiate difference. Further drawing from the last three sections, this chapter weaves out the possibilities of a *right to the city* approach in the construction of post-apartheid spaces in allowing people to imagine themselves as belonging. The chapter argues that in the creation of integrated post-apartheid communities there has been a romanticization of face-to-face relations. Perhaps what is needed are spaces of difference, a hybridity where people can feel a sense of belonging.

Chapter Two: Research methodology

2.1. Introduction

This chapter begins with a reflection on the establishment of Extension 14 and what the general response was from residents of existing suburbs. In trying to understand responses to the establishment of the suburb and what the state's aspiration is in creating such spaces, I began a social and spatial analysis of the study site in order to get a sense of how people, in the context of a supposedly integrated space used public spaces. I provide a description of my experience of these spaces and in doing so the chapter follows with a review of the research methods that were adopted in doing various parts of data gathering process. The research involved an analysis of the use of space especially public spaces in the context of a supposedly integrated area and as a result, it involved long transects through chosen study sites to observe the changing rhythms of various uses of space. In order to understand the state's conceptualizing of post-apartheid spaces, interviews were conducted with municipal officials. Further interviews were conducted with residents and employees in the suburbs under study as well as employees and visitors to several public spaces in the town. Given that the area is a supposedly integrated space, the data gathering focused on the (perceived) issue of crime and safety when people of different class groups are mixed; second, the use of public spaces in order to understand how people perceive and use representations of post-apartheid spaces; and third, residents' everyday mobilities to understand how people relate to different spaces, topics which are discussed only in the preceding chapters.

2.2. Researcher Positionality

Recognizing that knowledge production, description and explanation are socially and politically situated, discourse analysts as Van Dijk (1993; 2001), Schiffrin *et al*. (2001) have noted the significance of reflecting on the role of scholars in society and polity. In knowledge production, it is important to acknowledge that meanings generated in any analysis are a product of the researcher's position, to acknowledge that the research outcome is influenced by the researcher's perspectives on the world. This is congruent with Kvale (2006, 480) who, in questioning the common misconception of interviews as "empowering dialogues", further

questions and highlights the asymmetries of power between the researcher and the respondent. Kvale (2006) argues that referring to interviews as dialogue is misleading as the latter entails mutual interests were as the former entails a power asymmetry favoring the researcher. Although the author highlights some of the "counter-control" measures used by respondents to gain control during the interview process, in most cases, if not all, power lies in the hands of the researchers.

This reflexivity is part of an established tradition in the feminist and critical geography, researcher, considered a central component in the qualitative research (Ganga and Scott, 2006; Hopkins, 2007). The epistemological, methodological and ethical issues surrounding the dynamic between the researcher and the participant have become a key site of research in qualitative research studies (Ganga and Scott, 2006) where researcher's multiple positions have been put to the fore in order to explore how these politics of position (Smith, 2003, 305 in Hopkins, 2007, 387) may shape and influence research encounters, processes and encounters (Valentine, 2002; Hopkins, 2007). Although this obsession with positionality and reflexivity has been critiqued as a "privileged and self-indulgent focus on the self" (Kobayashi, 2003, 347-348 in Hopkins, 2007, 387), the power relations between the researcher and participant, if ignored, have the potential to impair the validity of knowledge production (Kvale, 2006). As such, it is acknowledged that my positionality, as a young, black, female scholar had an influence on the research process.

2.3. Social and spatial patterns of Extension 14, Nyl Park and Impala Park

In 2008, working with the Department of Cooperative Governance, Human Settlements and Traditional Affairs (CoGHSTA), the Mogalakwena local Municipality adopted the *Breaking New Ground* strategy aimed at establishing mixed income social housing development. Several villages including Tshamahansi (Ga-Hlongwane), one of the 178 (Mogalakwena IDP, 2014/2015) villages outside of the town were given a presentation, prior to receiving houses, of the significance of treating their houses as resources and assets. The presentation was mainly on government housing and consumer education in order *to "educate and capacitate housing consumers, both owners and rental users, on their rights and responsibilities"* (Mogalakwena Municipality, BNG strategy presentation) with regards to housing. This led to an extension of existing suburbs to incorporate the (poor) working class and to locate them in

close proximity to the Central Business District (CBD) in order to *"increase their access to social and economic facilities"* (Mogalakwena Municipality, BNG strategy presentation). It is against this backdrop that Extension 14 was conceptualized.

Extension 14 is a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing suburb with a few extended and newly built houses. Contrary to what the Breaking New Ground strategy is aiming to achieve, integrated spaces, Extension 14 is spatially separated from Impala Park and Nylpark by a physical barrier, a piece of land about 20-30 meters wide (Figure 2). With lush vegetation growing, the buffer zone has created a wall of trees. Walking from the older suburbs into Extension 14 one goes from green grasses, trees, luscious gardens, concrete roads to dirt roads, thorn trees, brown square houses and barbed wire fences. Walking through the area, one comes across children playing in their yards and in the streets, men chilling in a local spaza shop, women chatting while fixing each other's hair and discussing local news items. Although the RDP is only applicable to those earning less than R3, 500 per month and that one can only demolish and rebuild their houses after 5 years, the area suggests otherwise. Big, tile-roofed houses, concrete walls, beautiful gardens are evidence to the "up-ward" mobility characteristic of Extension 14 residents.

Prior to the construction of Extension 14, residents of neighbouring suburbs including Nyl Park and Impala Park had a meeting with the Mogalakwena municipality and were told that the area would be used to establish a "*middle class*" housing project. However, later on the municipality had another meeting, which some residents claim were not told about, regarding the construction of RDP houses. This proposition was met by opposition and ambivalence. Those few residents who were not against RDPs had an agreement with the Municipality that they would be built 500m from the suburbs. Despite this, municipality went on and built Extension 14 only about 25 meters away. This led to rage and anger towards the municipality from residents in the suburbs whom amongst many other reasons argued that such a development would impact negatively on their property values.

According to one resident of Nyl Park, the former mayor (residing in Nyl Park), was threatened along with his family when he tried to move to Polokwane after he had approved the establishment of Extension 14. Joe[3], a black resident of Impala Park said *"I was so mad that I didn't even vote in the following municipal elections".* Paul, a white landscaper, said a

[3] Names of research participants have been changed to pseudonyms to protect their identities and in some cases, only quotations are used.

friend of his bought a house in Impala Park a long time ago for 1.2 million and [now] can't even sell it for half a million. He added "*it is nice if people stay with people of their social group. You don't want to stay next to a beggar, you know"*. According to one municipal representative, some residents, mostly whites Impala Park, moved out immediately after the construction of Extension 14. This is substantiated by the endless number of houses that are on sale in Impala Park more especially those closest to Extension 14.

To get a sense of the tensions that arose from this spatial organization, in the winter months of 2013, I began a spatial analysis of Mokopane, with a particular focus on the suburbs where the BNG strategy had been implemented. I began by taking long transects in the suburbs, taking notes of the spatial organization of and the activities that took place in the area. Developed in the 1970s, both Impala Park and Nyl Park have public and private open spaces including parks (two in each suburb), shopping centers and schools. Although the schools and shopping centers are situated in town, some are in close proximity to the suburbs. In Impala Park, both public parks are memoirs of a not-so-distant past, with dilapidated structures including swings, helicopters, horse rides while those in Nyl Park utter no sign of life, looking more like abandoned pieces of land. I found myself sitting in one of the parks in Impala, which remain mainly transitory spaces especially for those people who travel between the town and Extension 14 and other parts of the Mokopane. Children played in the streets or at their friends' houses especially in Nyl Park, sometimes they would visit the local swimming pool and the local Nyl Park shopping center. The parks however were hardly ever used; children even played soccer and other games in the streets right opposite the parks.

Besides these occasional sights of the uses of public spaces, one thing remains startling, the general emptiness of public spaces. When one thinks of public spaces, particularly parks, the first things that pops to mind is a space filled with people, swings, various facilities, families, children playing, green lawns in the summer or the beautiful golden hues of leaves scattered around in winter. However, after spending several weeks walking around the identified suburbs and spending hours in their parks, my images of parks didn't hold. Unlike the imaginations that spring to mind when one thinks of parks, the parks in Impala Park and Nyl Park are no different from their streets, empty. Leaves fall as I am sitting on an old and rusty helicopter structure. The pathway is dusty and filled with dried leaves that have fallen from the trees, a couple of rock boulders are scattered around and next to them are pieces of evidence to people that have at some point decided to have their lunch in the park, coke cans,

packets of sweets, nut shells, fecal matter etc. The scattered trees make it easier to see the surroundings.

Hoping that at-least one or two people would join me in the park, I spent more time while observing the surrounding areas. With the scorching sun above, I moved around with the scattered patches of shades. My umbrella itself did nothing much for the overwhelming heat and dryness in the air. Despite the emptiness and the almost-deafening silence of the space, in the distance, dogs barked, men's voices in a nearby construction site, the sound of a lawn mower and children's voices and laughter in the school bus that passes by. Once in a while a man on a bicycle, children on their way from school arguing, a donkey cart with a man standing, holding on to the a long string that is tied to the donkeys, rhythmically whistling and giving the donkeys a lash; a middle-aged woman carrying a handbag and a plastic bag walking past the park in a hurried manner.

After spending weeks walking around in empty streets and empty parks with the occasional passers-by, I became intrigued. It was this emptiness that became the point of departure for my research. I began to spend time in these deserted parks and empty streets at different times of the day, week and weekdays to observe the different rhythms that dominated these spaces. Besides dogs barking and the sounds of cars from a distance, the public spaces were dominated by the rhythms of capitalism, people going work in the mornings, construction workers, gardeners, children going to/from school. Besides these rhythms, I spent weeks and weeks of lonely breakfasts, luncheons and pre-evening snacks under barely shaded parks, long transects between Extension 14, Impala Park and Nyl Park in the blistering sun, I decided I would look for spaces where people went. If they were not in the streets or parks, surely they had to be somewhere. I began to look for any signs of social gatherings or any spaces that showed signs of life.

Employing various research methods, outlined below, following the unfolding nature of interviews this research focused on the perceptions of Extension 14 residents by residents of existing suburbs including Nyl Park and Impala Park. Further, given the emptiness of public spaces such as public parks and several other public and semi-public spaces, the research focused on residents' use of space, where they went, why and with whom they interacted especially during weekends and holidays. The last part focused on everyday mobilities and perceptions of the town, its social spaces, whether they use them or not and why, where people work, how they get there, what they think of the town and the people in the town in

terms of how everyone relates. This helped in understanding how people think and relate to space and others and what the implications are in the context of seeking to create integrated communities, revealing some challenges and possibilities towards (conceptions of) integration.

2.4. Research methods

2.4.1. Qualitative Research

The nature of research conducted determines the choice of research methods (Noor, 2008) and in order to get an in depth understanding of the social changes occurring in Mokopane, a qualitative study method was conducted to provide broader and multiple perspectives of the population under study. In social science research, qualitative research has become a powerful method of investigating society's public and private lives (Kvale, 2006). Qualitative research investigates human experience from the respondents' world perspective in order to understand the meaning embedded in their lived experiences (*ibid.,* 2006). Greenstein *et al.* (2003:49) describes qualitative research as "a broad approach in social research that is based upon the need to understand human and social interaction from the perspective of the insiders and participants in the interaction". Qualitative research comprises multiple methods including observational analysis and interviews where people interpret or reconstruct their life events.

For the purpose of this research, the production of (primary) data was done through the employment of observational analysis and formal and informal semi-structured and open-ended interviews. In understanding the spatial conceptualization of Mokopane suburbs and how it fits into the broader spatial framework of post-apartheid South Africa, Mogalakwena municipal representatives from various departments were interviewed. In order to get multiple perspectives on the use of public spaces in Mokopane, interviews were conducted not only with residents of Mokopane but also with other respondents who, according to researchers' perspective are familiar with the social and spatial rhythms of the town. These included gardeners, helpers (maids) and employees of the other public spaces as the local town pool, bars and shopping center.

2.4.2. Observational Analysis

The initial part of the research started with transects within and between the three suburbs to observe changes, if any, in how the space is occupied and consumed and whether there are restrictions or not in different communities. I spent a period of 4-5 weeks spread over a period of 9-10 weeks between 2013 and 2014 in order to observe the changing use of public spaces including public parks, streets, the local town pool, bars, local golf club and churches to investigate the ways that people use and imagine space. Observation research is when the researcher examines events as they unravel in a particular space. Marshall and Rossman (1995 in Kitchin and Tate, 2000: 220) state that observation "entails the systematic noting and recording of events and artefacts in a social setting". Observation studies assume that there is meaning attached to people's behaviours and that the behaviours are expressive of deeper values and beliefs (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). This study method thus depends on the researcher's ability to interpret events as they happen and the reason they do (*ibid.*, 2000). In noting and recording the events of everyday life, the main purpose of this method was to understand the daily rhythms that characterized Mokopane suburbs.

2.4.2.1. Rhythmanalysis

Rhythmanalysis is not so much a theory as it is a method of analysis. It is a type of observational analysis where one observes the spatial and temporal relations in order to see which rhythms dominate at which time and why. Developed by Henri Lefebvre (2004), this method allows for an analysis of the interrelatedness of the spaces of representations, representational spaces and spatial practices of the production of space in everyday life. It is important to note that the three spaces that Lefebvre's work presents do not exist in isolation, rather they co-exist at all times in a dialectical relationship. Rhythms are more than just observation; from observation to definition to rhythm and to the simultaneous and intertwinement of several rhythms, their unity in diversity (Lefebvre, 2004), rhythms move beyond just observation to include an explanation of events and how they are interlinked in their diversity.

Rhythms are inseparable from time and found everywhere, in towns, in cities, in urban life and in the movement through space. As such the analysis of rhythms provides insight into the question of everyday life, it allows the researcher to analyze the mundane and taken-for-granted events and their relationship to change and repetition; identity and difference; contrast and continuity (Lefebvre, 2004, xii). Rhythms of spaces, according to Tonkiss (2006), are manifestations of "tensions between different kinds of significations". Thus, understanding rhythms allows for a comprehension of the different meanings that have been attached to space. For this research, the initial three weeks were spent walking and observing the rhythms of Mokopane suburbs. I spent time in public parks, visited the local shopping centers, local town pool, bars and spaza shops at different times of day. This enabled me to pick up the different rhythms which characterized the suburbs at different times of the day, people's daily mobilities and their use of space. It also helped in meeting people and potential informants. Since I became a regular in other spaces, people became a lot less questioning of my presence and we could have daily chats about local news items. I attended several functions in the town, observing people's reactions to the presence of a stranger and their relationship to space. My participation in many of these spaces was limited to eating, talking, drinking and doing what everyone else seemed to be doing given the context.

This research sought to look at the different spaces that residents of Mokopane suburbs used. Given the time frame and the scope of the research, only spaces that were within the bounds of the research sites were visited. During observational analysis, several spaces including public parks, local town pool center, shopping centers, bars, spaza shops, churches and theme parks were visited. These were visited at different times of the day and year to allow an analysis of the kinds of rhythms that dominate them, who used the space, when, with whom and why. These questions were answered after potential respondents were approached and interviewed. In most cases, these interviewees were informal and took the form of everyday conversations that strangers would have in social spaces.

2.4.3. Sampling and data sources

After weeks of observational analysis and talking to people over a period of time, respondents as primary data sources were chosen given their familiarity with the town's socio-spatial mobilities. Techniques used to gather data are a neutral process but affect potential of the project (Habermas, 1979 in Thomas, 1993, 25). Data sources, where and from whom data comes, provides meanings that shape the analysis. The task is to identify the best respondents, particularly those directly related to the research topic (Thomas, 1993). The researcher's choice of informants is directly related to the research question, which determines the objectives on which the methodology will be based. Choosing informants based on judgment requires that the researcher is acquainted with the 'culture' in order to find knowledgeable and reliable informants (Snedecor, 1939 in Tongco, 2007). Research informants can also be chosen using multiple methods including previous studies and using qualification criteria (Allen, 1971 in Tongco, 2007).

Research respondents for this research were chosen after long periods of observational analysis and from attending various social events in the suburbs. Purposive sampling was used to select research participants and as a non-random sampling technique, the selection of respondents was mainly dependent on the researcher's judgment of what the best sources of information would be (Parfitt, 1997). Tongco (2007, 147) defines purposive sampling as a judgment sampling where "the researcher's deliberate choice of an informant is based on the qualities the informant possesses". There are various reasons how and why a researcher choses a particular research sample ranging from, but not limited to, its ability to represent a specific population to its generalizability to other research. However, purposive sampling does not choose respondents based on their capacity to represent of a larger population but as subjective representations of the larger economic and the socio-spatial history that affect the a particular group (Phadi and Ceruti, 2011).

In total, the number of respondents used in the study was approximately 30. The criteria of research informants were based on the following list of characteristics: first, in understanding the spatial organization of the town and the establishment of Extension 14, Municipal officials including town planners, housing and community services were interviewed. The town planners were chosen in order to get an understanding of the choice of location for Extension 14 in relation to the Breaking New Ground strategy. The housing service was

chosen in order to understand the basic demography of residents of Extension 14 and the criteria employed in the provision of social housing. This was supplemented by an analysis of secondary data sources as the BNG and RDP documents which outline some of the key objectives of the strategies. In line with the BNG strategy's objectives, the community services unit was chosen to get an understanding of the department's role in the provision of services including recreational spaces, health facilities, educational infrastructure and other basic services in the all three suburbs.

In comprehending the rhythms of the town, the informants had to be those people familiar with the suburbs of Mokopane more especially those who resided and/or worked in sites of interest. To supplement and to get a better understanding of the data obtained from rhythmanalysis in documenting the rhythms of public spaces, informal interviews were conducted with gardeners, helpers as well as people working in the local bars and shops. Residents of the suburbs under study were visited in their own homes and given that some of them would be at work, the choice of households interviewed depended on the availability of residents during the time of visit. Weekends were also used for interview schedules as residents would be available. Given this difficulty in locating residents during day time, respondents were not only limited to residents of Mokopane suburbs.

Employees of the spaces visited were also interviewed especially given their knowledge and better understanding of the rhythms that characterized their spaces of employment. Although they could not explain the reasons for people's behavior, they had perceptions of why some things happened the way they did. Gardeners and helpers played a significant role in understanding the socio-spatial patterns of their employer's daily lives. They knew when and where their employer would be at specific times, and to an extent, why they would be in those spaces. They knew when they left for work, when they dropped off and picked up their children from school, when they would be home, what time they went to church. Sometimes the helpers were invited and/or required to attend some social gatherings with the families that employed them especially those families with children. The difficulty in accessing respondents has largely influenced the sample data including characteristics of respondents such as occupation, gender and place of residence (See Appendix for a detailed breakdown of respondents).

Secondary data sources such as documents were further used to extract data about events in the suburbs included municipal documents, local newspapers and advertisements in the town.

Municipal documents including the national spatial planning documents were used to understand the developments that led to the establishment of Extension 14. The latter two were used to understand how Extension 14 was received by already established residents of Impala Park and Nyl Park. Several social events are also advertised in the local newspaper, the venue and nature of event, these were used to get an understanding of the nature of events, the language and the audience to which they are marketed. The newspaper articles were important in highlighting some of the social and spatial dynamics of the town. Although secondary sources are not equal in quality, they are able to "reveal the details and nuances of (cultural) meaning and process" (Thomas, 1993, 41).

2.4.4. Life histories

Life histories were employed to gather where individuals came from and how they came to be where they are now both socially and economically. Through the use life histories or narratives, the researcher is able to understand the socio-spatial changes of a particular context from the perspective of respondents. Life history interviews, according to Atkinson (1998 cited in DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006, 316), "reveal personal biography and provide a potentially powerful method for understanding of one's life story". Adding questions of everyday life and activities, the life histories approach further allowed for an investigation of patterns of residents' social and spatial engagement in everyday life, who they interact with and where they go etc. Thorough explanations for these relations allowed for an understanding of the meaning-making that is embedded in their life decisions. To understand these everyday socio-spatial complexities allowed for a reflection in terms of the post-apartheid state's aspirations and society's own aspirations particularly in the context of creating integrated communities. The following interview methods were used to collect data on life histories for residents of Mokopane.

2.4.4.1. Interviews: Semi-structured open-ended interviews

The interview continues to be the most common method of data collection in qualitative research (King, 2004) and various interviews are employed depending on the main theoretical

and methodological approach of one's research. The interview, according to Kitchin and Tate (2000) is the most commonly used technique in qualitative research as it allows the researcher to produce a rich and varied data set. The most common qualitative interviews include structured and un-structure or in-depth. Although these may be 'structured differently', all qualitative interviews are characterised by "a low degree of structure imposed by the researcher, open questions and a focus on particular situations and actions in the respondent's perspective" (Kvale, 1983, 176 in King, 2004, 11).

In order to gather life histories/narratives of Mokopane residents, semi-structured and semi-structured interviews were employed with different respondents to extract information regarding their life experience. There are various forms of interviews employed in research and for the purpose of this research semi-structured open-ended interviews were conducted. Such interviews are characterized by a list of questions where similar questions could be asked to each interviewee; however, additional questions may be asked (Kyale, 1996) depending on the flow of the interview process. As in-depth interviews, they allow for a thorough examination of experiences, feelings and opinions of the interviewees (Kitchin and Tate, 2000) and for respondents to express the complexities of their habits and behaviours (Valentine, 1997). They take what Valentine (1997) calls a "conversational, fluid form depending on the respondent's interests, experiences and views. The questions are open-ended in that they are designed in a way that respondents' responses are not constrained or limited and they can respond as they like (Kitchin and Tate, 2000; Kyale, 1996).

2.5. Data Analysis

2.5.1. Thematic content analysis

In analyzing the data collected, two main approaches were adopted, thematic content analysis and critical discourse analysis. Using the former method, the data was analyzed in order to identify recurring themes. Thematic content analysis is a method of investigating texts with a focus on the "themes" or "codes" that characterize the pattern of data analyzed. While the aim of this method is to understand the themes that emerge from the data, at the stage of identifying them, interpretation is kept minimal and the identified themes are "situated in relation to context and structure of participants" (Anderson, 1997, 1-2). Despite that the method is perceived as poor, it continues to be employed widely in qualitative research

(Braun and Clarke, 2006). Characterized as a tool rather than a method (Boyatzis, 1998 in Braun Clarke, 2006), thematic coding has been conceptualized as a process performed in various analytic traditions as grounded theory (Ryan and Bernard, 2000), however, other researchers argue that the concept should be considered as a method in its entirety (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

There are two main distinctions that are used in determining what constitutes a theme, deductive and inductive coding. For the purpose of this research, the latter was employed. According to Joffe and Yardley (2004, 58), in choosing and distinguishing between themes, the process "lies in whether the themes are drawn from the theoretical framework that the researcher brings to the data (deductive coding) or from the raw data itself (inductive coding). The former allows the researcher either to replicate, extend and/or refute existing findings (Boyatzis, 1998 in Joffe and Yardley, 2004). Although the researcher's knowledge and perceived notions will inevitably affect the thematic coding process, inductive coding, nonetheless, can be used to find and explore new areas of research. In decoding the meaning embedded in themes, inductive coding allowed for an exploration of Mokopane suburbs' residents' relationship between space and identity in the context of post-apartheid South Africa.

2.5.2. Critical discourse analysis (CDA): Decoding meaning in mundane activities

In interpreting events attended and the different rhythms of everyday life, one has to de-familiarize oneself with what one sees and to be able to translate that into something, to distance oneself from the taken-for-granted aspect of everyday life and to view it as something critical. This allows one to question the mundane practices of everyday life (Thomas, 1993, 43). The researcher must be able to decode everyday symbols of culture as they create asymmetrical power relations, constrain ideology, belief and norms that equally distribute social rewards, keeping others disadvantaged to the advantage of others. These cultural symbols cannot be entirely decoded without the information from respondents who are directly related to them. By interviewing people on the choices of their actions, the researcher is able to understand cultural symbols and to locate them in the broader schema of life (Van Dijk, 1993).

Discourse analysis and more specifically critical discourse analysis (CDA) was the approach chosen in the decoding the data collected for this research. Discourse analysis was developed in disciplines as linguistics, anthropology and philosophy, a growing and dynamic field which now spans a wide range of academic disciplines (Schriffrin *et al*., 2001.). Although the different disciplines have different meanings in terms of what constitutes discourse, all fall into three main categories, anything beyond a sentence, language use and a broader range of social practices including nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language (*ibid*., 2001). Discourse analysis has become popular in multiple analytical imaginations with such diverse works that the concept of discourse has become almost synonymous to language (*ibid*,. 2001, 3).

According to Thomas (1993), discourse is a form of power because the symbolizing (acts) events isolate and communicate one set of meanings by excluding others. Discourse analysis thus "is concerned primarily with the processes by which meanings are constructed through language and social interaction" (Chamberlain *et al.,* 2004, 70). According to Bourdieu (1977, 170-177), "the power to name things is the power to organize and give meaning to experience". As pre-naming shapes cognition and discourse, all linguistic interaction and exchange entail a form of symbolic domination (as cited in Thomas, 1993, 45). The late 1970s saw the emergence of CDA as a reaction to the dominant and uncritical paradigms of the early 1960s and 1970s. Although not so different from discourse analysis, CDA focuses primarily on the production and reproduction of social power and dominance through talk and text in social and political contexts (Van Dijk, 2001).

Multiple CDAs are theoretically and analytically diverse, however, despite this lack of a unified theoretical framework, CDAs have common aims and perspectives and thus overlapping conceptual and theoretical frameworks. Diverse as they may be, CDAs are "focused on the ways in which discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce or challenge power relations and dominance in society" (Van Dijk, 2001, 353). Two approaches, existing as a whole, constitute CDA, the macro-level and micro-level. The former include power, inequality and dominance whereas the former include language use, discourse, and interaction (*ibid.,* 2001). One of the multiple ways through which to analyze and bridge the gap between the two levels in order to reach a unified critical analysis is through personal and social cognition. According to Van Dijk (2001, 354) "Language users, as social actors, possess both social and social cognition i.e. personal memories, knowledge, opinions and

those shared with members of the group. Both cognitions influence interactions and discourse of individuals whereas the shared "social representations" govern actions of a group" (354).

Chapter Three: The state and the contact hypothesis

3.1. Introduction

Part of the democratic state's quest to establish "new human settlements", and in particular mixed income housing, is to "foster the achievement of an integrated and non-racial society" (BNG, 2004, 7). Implicit within this discourse is the assumption that spatial proximity between different racial and class groups can foster integration. Using the contact hypothesis as an approach to spatial and housing policy planning, there is an assumed homogeneity amongst blacks as well as space as a container, disregarding the colonial and apartheid meaning embodied within space. This has led to challenges of creating integrated communities across South Africa. Reflecting on both the apartheid and post-apartheid spatial planning, this chapter provides literature on how the two regimes adopted the contact hypothesis in segregating and integrating society respectively. The chapter begins with the theory of the contact hypothesis and how it has been critiqued by various scholars. This is followed by a brief historical account of the racial, spatial and class segregationist approach towards apartheid's separate development.

The chapter then reviews the post-apartheid spatial planning and the two main approaches the democratic state has adopted in desegregating society and space. These include the creation of a national identity in bridging the racial classification of apartheid under the rhetoric of a *rainbow nation* and the deracialization of space by opening up historically white spaces to all racial groups. In creating a non-racial democratic society, the chapter links the national identity to the (de) construction of space and meaning through toponymy in allowing those historically excluded to imagine themselves as belonging.

Further the chapter provides a brief literature on post-apartheid spatial change and how its class approach towards redressing spatial inequalities led to new forms of segregation. In doing this, the chapter reflects on how the desegregation of historically white spaces only led to the spatial integration of the black middle class whereas the provision of social housing, through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), with its in situ development approach, failed to spatially integrate the working class. This is followed by a literature of the failure of the RDP and the subsequent establishment of the Breaking New Ground Strategy as a way to enforce spatial integration along racial and class lines. In the context of

deracialization post-apartheid spaces, a brief literature review of studies done on the desegregation of space and how integration continues to be a challenge even in desegregated spaces will be provided in this chapter.

3.2. Contact Hypothesis

The end of World War II witnessed a surge of theoretical debates about intergroup contact (Watson, 1947 and Williams, 1947 in Pettigrew, 1998; Kadushin and Livert, 2002). In response to the consequences of racism embodied by the holocaust and the segregation and racial prejudice in the United States, social scientists sought to understand the contact relations between different social groups (Shelton and Richeson, 2007) in effort to mitigate discrimination (Kadushin and Livert, 2002). Nevertheless, there continues to be conflicting ideas regarding the nature of intergroup contact and the relationship to the reduction of prejudice. Academics such as William Graham Sumner (1906) believed not only that intergroup contact would lead to conflict but that conflict and hostility were in fact natural in situations of intergroup contact due to the increased hostility towards out-groups based on feelings of superiority (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2005). Some twentieth century writers held that contact between different racial groups, even under conditions of equality, would [only] breed "suspicion, fear, resentment, disturbance, and at times open conflict" (Baker, 1934, 120 in Pettigrew and Tropp, 2005, 236). Despite these views, other academics such as Lett (1945, in Pettigrew and Tropp, 2005) held a more positive view of intergroup contact and believed that it would lead to "mutual understanding and regard".

Sociologist, Robin Williams Jr., was the first to provide conditions under which prejudice between groups could be reduced during contact. He provided a review on intergroup relations and proposed that prejudice can be reduced when (i) two groups share similar status, interests and tasks (ii) the situation fosters personal, intimate intergroup contact (iii) participants do not fit the stereotypical conceptions of their groups (iv) the activities cut across group lines (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2005). Williams Jr.'s work provided the foundation for Gordon Allport's writings particularly the theory of contact hypothesis in relation to the nature of prejudice. In this hypothesis, Allport suggests that contact between different groups, under certain optimal conditions, can reduce prejudice and conflict (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2011; Everett, 2013).

In his book on the nature of prejudice, Allport first conceptualises the formation of "in-groups" from various scales from family, neighbourhood, city, nation to mankind etc. According to Allport, values are significant to maintenance of human lives and that those values are based on familiarity where the daily experiences of everyday life provide one with ground for their belonging to particular groups. It is through symbols that bind in-groups that one learns their traditions; nationalism and racial pride. Further, he argues that the process of symbolization [embedded in space] through symbols such as flags, parks, schools, historical documents etc. acts to cement the bond within in-groups. The definition and strength of these in-groups, he contends, change over time [and space]. In realizing the ideal of humanity as an in-group, Allport maintains that multiple differences including language, ideology and morals make it difficult to attain.

In his hypothesis, Allport proposed that contact between different groups can either result in the reduction of or exacerbation of prejudice. The former, he argued, depended on presence of the following four main conditions, (i) equal status between groups (ii) common goals (iii) intergroup cooperation and (iv) support from authorities, law or custom (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2005). Although Allport was aware of the ambiguity of his set of conditions, considerable debates still exist whether they hold. In his reading of Allport's theory, Pettigrew (1998) defines equal status within intergroup contact situations as dependent on both groups' expectation and perception of equal status. The concept of equal status itself is not described. Using examples of athletic teams (Miracle, 1981 and Patchen, 1998 in Pettigrew, 1998), common goals, themselves not defined, are goals that, through intergroup cooperation rather than competition, are attained. Support from authority comes from explicit collective social organisation between groups leading to "readily and more positive impacts" where authority support is the establishment of norms of acceptance. Examples used by several authors include military, business and religious institutions (Pettigrew, 1998, 67). These four conditions are used differently in different contexts and despite elaborate discussions on them, they remain broad and unclear.

3.2.1. Critique of the contact hypothesis

Although some of studies employing the contact hypothesis have produced correlating results, other studies have produced contradictory outcomes (Pettigrew *et al*. 2011), prompting several critiques. Pettigrew and Tropp (2005) offer a critique of Allport's theory particularly that the author disregards distal, societal causes and privileges proximity as a determinant of intergroup contact in reducing prejudice. Secondly, the authors argue that the continually expanding shopping list of 'conditions' under which prejudice decreases become impossible for groups to meet. Lastly, that the theory or hypothesis provides no specifications on the process involved in intergroup contact effects and how they generalize to other groups.

A host of studies conducted on the contact hypothesis have produced inconsistent results with a number of limitations (Dixon, 2001; Foster and Finchilescu, 1986 in Shaker, undated) and although the theory cannot be entirely discredited, much work needs to be done to prove its validity (Shaker, undated). Pettigrew and Tropp's (2005; 2006) meta-analytic studies suggest a need for great attention to the specific groups under study for contact varies substantially across intergroup contexts. This was proved by Cottrell and Neuberg (2005) whose work showed that people feel qualitatively distinct emotions toward different groups. The authors argued that the traditional conception of prejudice as a general attitude can obscure the rich texturing of emotions that people feel toward different groups. Mackie and Smith's (2002 in Pettigrew and Tropp, 2005) emerging research shows that these different reactions to out-groups depend on their perceptions of those groups and histories of relations with them.

Allport, in explaining in-groups and out-groups and in applying them to his own work in the contact hypothesis, does not critique the socially constructed meanings of these groups but takes them as given and unproblematic. Although he recognizes their dynamic nature, he still does not problematize their construction; and the change itself is not natural as it is inevitable, particularly given the unstable nature of group identities. The group norm theory, in conceptualizing groups as "characterised by codes, beliefs, standards and 'rivals' (i.e. out-groups) to suit their own adaptive needs" (Reference) further fails to question the basis of constructed codes, standards and the purposes they serve.

Allport recognises that the existence of an in-group implies that of an out-group but maintains that the latter is irrelevant since one's loyalty to an in-group might not necessarily mean hostility or negativism towards out-groups. Allport's assertion that out-groups are

insignificant is a flawed one. His examples of this claim are based on the use of family or children as in-groups to support the sometimes un-hostile nature of in-groups towards out-groups. The author treats alienation of strangers, out-groups, as just a classification of their [perceived] inferiority relative to in-groups, giving the example that a white stranger and a black stranger are treated differently by the same person. However, what Allport fails to do is not only to recognise but also to define the nature of these differences and the purposes they serve. Despite the limited success of the contact hypothesis in creating social mixing between in-groups and out-groups, it continues to be adopted both implicitly and explicitly within spatial planning discourses in order to encourage social proximity between different groups.

3.3. Apartheid spatial planning

Apartheid was a system of racial and class domination and one of governance and regulation (Chipkin, 2012), a hegemonic segregationist ideology (Marks and Trapido, 1987). Through the Population Registration Act of 1950 (Kotze and Donaldson, 1998) the apartheid government constructed and proclaimed the existence of four racial groups: Europeans (whites), Indians, Africans (blacks) and Coloureds (Wallerstein, 1987). The apartheid government further segregated the administration of the South African people and things through distinct and parallel organizations, thus, there was never a single South African society but multiple societies conforming to diverse regimes of government and governance (Chipkin, 2012). The South African identity, during apartheid, was created on the basis of racial classifications and this was perpetuated through the appropriation of space. It was through this spatial appropriation that the movement of black South Africans was regulated and controlled.

The establishment of the Group Areas Act (36 of 1966) saw the blacks, coloureds and Indians forcibly removed into racially-designated areas and their movement was restricted through urbanization policies (Kotze and Donaldson, 1998) including influx control and pass laws (Seekings, 2010, 1-2). This apartheid spatial planning was not only a regime of separate development but what Lipsitz (2007 in Neely and Samura, 2011, 1941) calls "the spatialization of race and the racialization of space". Dominated groups were not only defined but also confined and regulated through the control of space (Nelson, 2008 in Neely and Samura, 2011). As Lefebvre (1991, 22) has suggested, it is through the regulation of space

that people's social and economic reproductions are constrained. The racial classificatory system divided blacks, coloureds, Indians and whites with strict prohibitions on inter-racial contact and any form of boundary crossing. These acts were principal to development (Rule, 1989) and justification of residential segregation on the basis of race. Despite the apartheid government's efforts, however, racial segregation and the regulation of society was contested, a point which I explain in the following sections.

The purpose of racial segregation was not only to maintain racial hierarchy, white supremacy (Durrheim, 2005) and minimal and regulated contact between blacks and whites but also to constrain the upward economic and social mobility of blacks and as consequence shaped the range of possible class positions opened to them. Although there were class differences within the black population, the majority of them lived in the same areas as the poor working class. Nonetheless, due to the requirement of cheap labour, white South Africa could not completely maintain great distance with the undesired others. As the economy of the apartheid era flourished there was an increased demand for labour and skills shortage (Seekings, 2010) and for workers to live in close proximity to their work places (Rule, 1989). The racial regulations were steadily adjusted allowing black women and men to attain to better employment opportunities which led to changes in the class structure relaxed (Crankshaw, 1997 in Seeking, 2010).

This requirement for labour led to the establishment of an orderly urbanization, the establishment of townships and hostels at the peripheries of the cities as labour camps. Because blacks in these spaces were seen as temporary sojourners in white South Africa and would go back home to the native/rural areas, they were restricted on home ownership and construction. This led to a proliferation of backyard shacks and overcrowded conditions (Swilling *et al*., 1991 in Seekings, 2010, 3). This movement of blacks into white South Africa also led to racially mixed areas in the city especially in low middle class white areas with blacks occupying the backyard buildings and others employed in these houses as helpers, creating what Rule (1989, 201) calls 'grey areas'. These socio-spatial configurations contested the apartheid state's quest to create racial segregation.

This change in the class structure and the change in the apartheid socio-spatial landscape led to a weakening of the apartheid regime in the 1980s (Saff, 1994; Christopher, 2001). The continued racial segregation and low employment opportunities for the black population, however, resulted in the establishment of political alliances in townships leading to the revolt

against the apartheid state in the late 1980s (Seekings, 2010). As the imagined boundary, created to justify white supremacy, between blacks and whites became weakened, representations of blacks as violent, irrational and disorganized emerged, coagulated under the term, *swart gevaar* (black danger), threatening the symbolic order of things (Durrheim, 2005, 449). Nonetheless, the apartheid structure ultimately collapsed as inefficiencies created by its policies intensified with the changes in the economic, political (Lowenberg, 1997, 62) and social structures. The collapse of the apartheid structure, however, was not only a result of the inefficiencies of its policies but also, and perhaps more importantly, as a result of the social unrest that contested the nature of its governance.

3.4. Post-apartheid spatial planning

3.4.1. National identity project

Following the demise of the apartheid regime in the late 1980s, one of the dominant frameworks of rethinking the apartheid socio-spatial engineering has been around the creation of a national identity and deracializing the apartheid landscape. Central to the African National Congress's (ANC) creation of the national identity is "ideologies of solidarity and nation building" (Masenyama, 2005, 27). This construction of a national identity has been conceptualized through the notion of a "*Rainbow Nation"*, a phrase coined by Desmond Tutu in 1993 to signify unity of the country's diverse society (Moller *et al*., 1999), as exemplified by the national motto *"diverse people unite".* The concept continues to be part of the state's project to create a *"united political community with shared commitments and shared goals that transcend the divisions of racial and ethnic differences*" (Croucher, 1998, 647). Although the racial and ethnic identities continue to prevail, they exist under a "shared South African" identity.

Contrary to this, however, scholars as Ivor Chipkin, have demonstrated how this nation building project is a complex and exclusionary. For example, in his book "*Do South Africans Exist?"* (2007), Chipkin argues that the "modernity" which influenced the nationalist political consciousness constructed a citizenship which excluded workers, women and other rural dwellers (in Sweet, 2010, 143). According to Chipkin (2007, 60), "the measure of citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa is the degree to which one is the authentic bearer of the mark of national belonging: black, bourgeois, individual and male". The author uses the National

Democratic Revolution (NDR) and the Black Consciousness (BC) Movement to illustrate how the ideas and philosophies set forth in both the NDR and the BC Movement had an impact on the process of nation-formation (Chipkin, 2007, in Sweets, 2010, 144; Chipkin, 2007). Despite such complexities to the creation of a national identity, the state continues to seek ways to physically assert a united South African society.

Parallel to the creation of a national identity was the configuration of space, particularly the reconfiguration of the inherited spatial organization of apartheid. The creation of a cohesive society was thus conceived through the reconfiguration of the apartheid spatial legacy (Moodley and Adam, 2000, 51). Considering that the apartheid state's separate development was based on the physical segregation of different racial groups to regulate integration and/or racial mixing; the post-apartheid state, in rethinking the existing spatial landscape, has adopted the contact hypothesis, although not explicitly but implied in their policies, as a way of bridging racial segregation and quite recently to bridge the gap between various class groups. This has been conceptualised through the deracialization of space under the aegis of desegregating historically white spaces and the provision of low-cost social housing to the historically marginalized poor.

Although the Breaking New Ground strategy is largely focused on the development of "sustainable human settlements, one of its key objectives is to "enhance people's [particularly those previously excluded] and promote a non-racial, integrated society" (BNG, 2004, 18). According to the strategy, South Africa's "new human settlements plan reinforces the vision of the Department of Housing, to promote the achievement of a non-racial, integrated society through the development of sustainable human settlements and quality housing" (BNG, 2004, 9). Despite that the new housing plan does not explicitly mention race, to invoke the question of class, be it through residential housing market as does the plan, is to invoke the question of race. As such, tackling the issue of quality housing simultaneously deals with the issue of the inclusion of the historically marginalised black population into the urban fabric.

3.4.2. The deracialization and desegregation of historically white spaces

Central to the ANC government was the deracialization post-apartheid spaces from the early 1990s. The abolishment of urban segregation laws including the Group Areas Act allowed for the integration of blacks into historically white areas (Christopher, 2005; Durrheim, 2005). The black middle class who were restricted in townships (Khunou, 2013) and villages especially teachers and nurses (Ndletyana, 2014) could now move into historically white suburban spaces. Whereas some perceive South African cities as less segregated now (Saff, 1994), others argue that the deracialization of these spaces has only been limited to those who can afford to afford to live in the city and middle class suburbs (Seekings, 2010), leading to different and new forms of segregation. This "slow pace" of residential desegregation, has been linked to the inertia of the physical form and socio-economic base of South Africa (Christopher, 2005).

The state's approach towards spatial desegregation has also revealed the nature of assumptions made in conceptualizing spatial transformation. Kotze and Donaldson (1998) have argued that the desegregation of post-apartheid spaces has remained unidirectional, with blacks moving into historically white areas. This, they suggest, is because of the convenience to the central business district and for better services. This, however, reveals the post-apartheid state's presumed desirability of black people to move into historically white spaces and not the other way round. This has partly led to a limited transformation of the post-apartheid landscape, with major changes happening mostly in urban areas. Further, despite that not all black people have expressed a desire to move into urban and historically white areas, there continues to be a surge towards urban areas for various reasons including employment.

As black people moved into urban areas, perceptions of crime have also become prevalent and a climate of fear continues to pervade everyday life (Lemanski, 2004), with an increasing panic of fear of victimization at the hands of criminals (Hansen, 2006). Despite their unreliability, over the years, statistics have also reported increasing levels of crime, reinforcing the perceived *swart gevaar* characteristic of the apartheid era. This fear of the [black] other (Dirsuweit, 2006) remains a salient motivation masquerading as spatial separation on the basis of commercial and property market (Lemanski, 2004) where "discrimination is defended from a business perspective" (Du Bois in Sibley, 1995,146).

This fear of crime has influenced the engineering of spatial landscapes that seek to minimize crime, what Lemanski (2004) terms the "*architecture of fear*". These responses to crime and fear, unlike being led by the state during apartheid, are now driven by private forces and individuals (Lemanski, 2004; Chipkin, 2012) leading to new patterns of socio-spatial reconfiguration that seeks to keep out the undesirables.

3.4.3. Provision of housing: From Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to Breaking New Ground (BNG) Strategy

Under the apartheid/separate development regime, blacks, coloured and Indians lived in designated areas. Less control was imposed on the latter two groups and the former [black Africans] were forced to live in impoverished homelands. They were only given access into urban areas as a cheap labour and their movement into and through the urban spaces were administered and controlled (Bahre, 2001). Post-1994, with the abolishment of acts that restricted the movement of blacks into the urban areas, there was increased migration into urban spaces leading to an increase in the urban population and challenges to inequalities of the apartheid regime (Bahre, 2001, 33). In the wake of democracy the government found itself faced with a backlog of issues including the provision of housing to the historically oppressed majority of the country. In response to this shortage of housing, which began in the early 1980s as the apartheid regime began to crumble, (Moodley and Adam, 2000; Worby, 2009) and parallel to the desegregation of historically white spaces, was the adoption of multiple housing strategies especially for the working class blacks.

The provision of subsidised housing and other basic services to deal with the proliferation of informal settlements on the peripheries of cities, among other development goals, were consolidated through the national Reconstruction and Development Programme (ANC 1994 in Bahre, 2001), otherwise known as the RDP, of 1994. The RDP strategy sought to create an integrated political, social and economic framework towards building a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future for society (Wessels, 1999; Corder, 1997). To redress housing shortages, the policy framework compensated through the provision of rural housing and the upgrading of several housing typologies including informal settlements and hostels.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme was further envisioned as an important strategy towards community participation and involvement in the development of housing

(Corder, 1997; Bahre, 2001; Miraftab, 2003). However, scholars like Bahre (2001) have interrogated the conception of community in the development practices that sought to provide housing to the black population, an important aspect that Miraftab (2003), in her critique of participatory discourse within the post-apartheid housing policy, take as given. Bahre argues that community is far from homogenous and peaceful as conceived within the development of housing strategies like the RDP. The democratic government conceptualizes community participation as an "in-direct involvement of ordinary citizens in planning, governance and other development strategies at local and grass roots level" (Williams, 2006, 197). Williams (2006) contends that implicit within these conceptualizations is an already existing and democratic black community. Further, he argues, they are nothing more than a ritual, a necessary appendix required by various laws and policies operating at the local government level (*ibid.*, 2006, 198).

Marais (2005) provides further issues of the RDP strategy, firstly that the programme had limited clarity and mention of the regional distribution of housing, secondly, that it emphasized rural housing and thirdly the general lack of clarity of the programme; who are the "viable communities", what and where are the "economic opportunities". Although the RDP seemed like an effective framework, it began to crumble due to failure of its implementation. Within the context of housing development, the RDP's in situ development of already existing spatial developments exacerbated the socio-economic inequalities of apartheid as people remained at great distances from opportunities in the urban areas (Crankshaw and Parnell, 1996; Marais, 2005). This, according to Crankshaw and Parnell (1996), continued the migrant labour patterns created by the apartheid regime through the state's reluctance to establishing new forms of urbanization.

Perhaps one of the significant critiques of the early housing provision was the class approach of the strategies. The opening up of historically white, particularly suburban areas, meant that only the black middle class could have access to those places. The RDP on the other hand was aimed at the working class in the townships and rural areas, with an emphasis on the latter. The in-situ development of the RDP, as criticized by Crankshaw and Parnell (1996) changed little in terms of people's social and economic conditions as they spatially remained in the same marginal spaces as created by the apartheid spatial engineering. Bond and Tait related the RDP's failure to the democratic government's "market-centred" approach to housing policy and argue that nowhere in its aims does it mention a "people-centred"

development except for much later in Housing White Paper where it is mentioned in passing (1997, 31).

In 1996, the South African government adopted the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy framework, a macro-economic strategy adopted in 1996 to "strengthen economic development, broaden employment and redistribution of income and socio-economic opportunities" (Knight, 2001; Wessels, 1999). The strategy was seen by many as opposing the RDP goals of poverty reduction and equal redistribution of wealth. Not many of the goals set out in the strategy were met and the country's society remains unequal. Within the context of housing and development, the post-apartheid state continues to seek ways of fostering spatial, social and economic integration between the different racial groups. After the failure of RDP, with consideration of complaints from society, the democratic government developed a new housing strategy aimed at not just providing housing subsidies but also giving people access to socio-economic opportunities and creating integrated communities. This approach to housing linked race, class and place, which the simple desegregation of space and the RDP failed to do.

After 10 years of democracy, the Department of Housing and the USIAD commissioned studies to do a review of the democratic decade and amongst those studies was the 'beneficiary satisfaction with housing delivery' (Zack and Charlton, 2003 in Huchzermeyer, 2004). Studies provided evidence of increased poverty and a certain amount of dissatisfaction with housing delivery. One of the key developments in 2003 was the South Africa-Brazil-India intergovernmental cooperation which led to the discussion in Brazil of the informal settlement upgrading target. Thus prior to the 2004 national elections, a tender was put out for a study into the support for informal settlements. According to the terms and conditions of this, the emerging policy was emphasized toward a demand-driven, supply-negotiated delivery regime embedded in asset-based community development approaches. Inclusion, as one of the key policy objectives of informal settlement support led the ANC government to believe that, through appropriate public policies, the support of informal settlements as a developmental approach would be beneficial towards the eradication of poverty, inequality and discrimination to improving democracy, citizenship and a socially inclusive economic growth (DoH, 2004b, 1-2 in Huchzermeyer, 2004).

Out of the debates stated above, and through the reinforcement of international initiatives in response to the United Nations Millenium Development Declaration (UNMDD) addressed at

reducing poverty, emerged the establishment of South Africa's *Breaking New Ground* strategy, a subsidy mechanism as part of the refinement of the National Housing Policy (Huchzermeyer, 2004). The strategy's objectives are aligned with those of the Millenium Development Goals particularly its overarching goal of eradicating poverty through the eradication of slums/informal settlements (Groenewald, undated, Huchzermeyer, 2008). Citizens, however, were not able to give comments on the new housing plan and its informal settlement upgrading programme due to a tight schedule (Huchzermeyer, 2004). The BNG strategy, as an improvement of the RDP, seeks to create sustainable human settlements in order to achieve "a non-racial and integrated society" as well as to promote "social cohesion and improve the quality of life for the poor" (BNG, 2004, 7). Since its inception, the strategy has been adopted and implemented in provinces such as the Western Cape, Gauteng and Limpopo.

In creating a "non-racial and integrated society", the following section looks at the ways in which the post-apartheid state, using the contact hypothesis as its spatial framework, has neglected other significant facts of reconfiguring the apartheid landscape. The basic assumptions of the contact hypothesis are: firstly that space is a container waiting to be filled and secondly that by putting different social groups in spatial proximity, this will, under specific conditions, lead to the reduction of prejudice. However, as research has demonstrated, these assumptions do not, in most cases, hold. Further, in the context of South Africa, the integration of different class groups not only speaks to the issue of class but implicit within such statements is the question/issue of race. Because apartheid state impoverished black allocated settlements, homelands, leading to majority of the black population being at the lower end of the earning spectrum, it can be assumed that in the process of integrating lower to upper income groups, is the integration of different race groups as well.

3.5. Integration and the contact hypothesis

As in many parts of the world, Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis has been significantly adopted in South Africa's post-apartheid studies on the inevitable nature of inter-racial contact in studying the patterns of racial integration in historically white suburban spaces. Scholars, mainly from the field of psychology, have and continue to study the nature of inter-

racial contact in desegregated spaces. Research on racial segregation in micro-ecological settings, primarily began in the United States (Shaker, undated). Despite the legal end of the segregation policies in the 1960s and 1970s and the resultant political transformation, empirical research has demonstrated persistence in racial divisions (Massey and Fischer, 2000). Empirical investigations of racial integration conducted in the USA in public spaces including bus stops and supermarkets observed avoidance and limited inter-racial contact and 'mixing' respectively (Davis *et al*., 1966; Kaplan and Fugate, 1972).

Observational research on racial integration in a Chicago based Baptist Church demonstrated a tendency towards informal inter-racial interactions, however seating arrangements were racialized, reflecting subtle processes of re-segregation (Parker, 1968). This pattern of re-segregation was also highlighted by sitting arrangements during lunch in multi-racial school where students organized themselves according to race and gender (Schofield and Sagar, 1977; Shaker, undated). This is in congruent with Kokkali (2010) and Chamberdon and Lemaire's (1970 in Kokkali, 2010) studies which found that spatial proximity does not promote social proximity between two or more populations. More importantly, the significance placed on spatial proximity obscures the various forms of exclusions and marginalizations.

The contact hypothesis disregards historical relations and the impact they have had on group relations and how different groups perceive others. There is also a general tendency in the academic field for scholars to write about social relations between various groups without the consideration of the continued subtle ways in which difference is reproduced and the implications thereof (Hook, 2004). The 'post' in post-colonialism, in post-apartheid etc. does not necessarily mean that society has gone past that stage and everything associated with it has changed. While the segregation of different races may have been legal and overt in the apartheid era, the situation in the present has changed to include more subtle ways in which people are separated, ways that seem natural where 'otherness' can be cultivated under the masquerades of seemingly natural practices such as cultural difference. The assumption and argument that "greater contact", under some arbitrary conditions can lead to "liking and the subsequent decline of prejudice denies the significance of group realities and psychological aspects of identity formation (Moodley and Adam, 2000, 51).

3.5.1. Failure of the contact hypothesis

Research in the context of South Africa has and continues to be conducted on the creation of desegregated and integrated post-apartheid spaces. Research suggests that despite several efforts to transform the spatial organization of the apartheid segregationist geography, spatial planning and particularly housing remains a disconcerting responsibility for the South Africa's democratic government (Groenewald, undated). One of the many ways through which space has been re-imagined post-1994 has been through the provision of subsidized housing such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme, a social, political and economic transformation framework (Wessels, 1999). Despite that South Africa's history, particularly the apartheid era, was a racial and spatial project buttressed upon the exploitation of "non-whites", the democratic government, in transforming that legacy, seems to constantly brush aside the question of race especially when it comes to spatial planning.

Efforts to desegregate areas have largely focused on creating and opening up historically white neighbourhoods to the black population with the assumption that this will create non-racial and harmonious spaces where people of different races can co-exist peacefully (Meny-Gibert, 2012). However, apartheid and colonial regimes did not only have physical manifestations but psychological impacts as well. Research conducted in desegregated spaces has and continues to demonstrate that spatial proximity does not, in most cases, lead to social proximity (Besharati and Foster, 2013; Dixon, 2005; Pettigrew *et al.*, 2011). In fact, in some cases, this leads to increased feelings of prejudice (Pettigrew *et al*. 2011).

Many discursive approaches, particularly within the field of psychology, have been deployed in the analysis of racism in post-apartheid South Africa and have proven critical to understanding some of the dynamics around race and identity (Durrheim and Dixon, 2005; Dixon *et al*., 2010). However, such approaches, as argued by Hook (2004), are limited in understanding subtle forms of racism and *structures of oppression*[4] as they focus largely on overt structural forms of racism and in turn lose sight on the psychic aspect. Hook's (2004) work thus suggests that Kristeva's notion of abjection offers an approach through which to understand the more "insidious level of racism experienced in anxious reactions to bodily presence of other i.e. phobias of racial proximity" (681). This approach, he contends, does not serve to de-politicize racism by reducing it to the psyche but seeks to understand the

[4] Young I. M., 1990: *Justice and the politics of difference*, Princeton University Press, Princeton

abject and the identity it threatens through an understanding of the basis of their differences. Although not approached from Kristeva's abjection, several scholars have demonstrated some of the psychological impacts of racism.

According to Foster (2005, 498) "Various kinds of spaces either enable or constrain particular action. Places have specific meanings for people; they resonate with symbolic and emotional significance. We all carry with us various senses of place identity". Finchilescu's (2005b in Shaker, undated) work on meta-stereotypes i.e. how we perceive others to view us; can be used to understand continued segregation. This produces anxiety in contact situations causing people to retreat to their "comfort spaces" and thus hindering inter-racial contact. Schreiff *et al*. (2005) argue that people are more comfortable in certain spaces synonymous with the notion of "knowing ones place".

Spatiality is thus intertwined with power relations that hold people's "positionings", identities, in place. A particular space may be "owned" by a particular individual or group while others appropriate that space according to that claim (Shaker, undated). Richard Ballard's work in black communities in relation to white suburban communities in Durban explored this camouflaged segregation and found that when various racial groups live in close proximity, there is a perceived "threat" of destabilization of individual and collective identities. The work of Festinger *et al*. (1959 in Shaker, undated) on social pressure in informal groups found that spatial factors operate to mobilize group formation and shape intergroup identities through meanings and perceptions. Using descriptive and discursive methods, Durrheim (2005) highlighted the significance of historical occurrences of racialized spatial divisions that shape negative racial attitudes.

3.6. Conclusion

The intention of this chapter was to reflect on the how both the apartheid and the post-apartheid states in pursuit if creating racial segregation and desegregation respectively use the contact hypothesis as an approach to spatial organization. Congruent with the research done on the hypothesis, there continues to be less success towards the creation of integrated communities with the de-racialization and desegregation of historically white spaces. Further, the creation of mixed social housing itself has not necessarily led to [*social*] integration. The narratives of people's lived experience in suburbs reflect on the psychoanalytic aspect of

space which has been rarely researched in looking at the lack of integration and use of public spaces in post-apartheid South Africa. Despite scholarly work that illuminates the significance of and relationship between race and space (Ballard, 2002; 2004; Chari, 2006; 2012, Dirsuweit, 2007), the state has treated space as a container negating the meaning and language embedded within these spaces. It is against this background that this research seeks to understand how race, space and class intertwine to produce and reproduce people's positionings in place. Using Mokopane as a case study, the study looks particularly at how black people negotiate their identity and belonging in the liminal space between the margin and the center.

Chapter Four: Complexifying space, community and the contact hypothesis

4.1. Introduction

Various theoretical frameworks have influenced the ways in which space has and continues to be conceptualized. As the locus of lived experience, it is important to reflect on space and its impact on society's social relations. Drawing from Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, notions of place, psychoanalytic and postcolonial theories, this chapter seeks to complexify the concept of community as a way of critiquing the [state's] adaption of the contact hypothesis in creating integrated communities. Firstly, Allport's hypothesis, in treating of space as a container, does not allow for a thorough and nuanced understanding of social and spatial relations. Secondly, psychoanalysis complexifies the simplified differences between Allport's in-groups and out-groups and their relationship to social space. This reflects on situations where contact between groups, even under "optimal conditions", does not always lead to a reduction of prejudice and a creation of integrated communities. Black scholars as Fanon, hooks, and Du Bois further argue that the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized plays a crucial role in shaping how the relationship between space and identity are internalized and negotiated. This framework allows for a demonstration of how Allport's hypothesis and its insistence on commonness between different groups homogenizes society and negates the existence of difference. The chapter further draws from the work of Iris Marion Young and Ash Amin's critique of communitarianism and advocacy for the politics of difference and multiplicity in urban spaces.

4.2. The Production of Space

Implicit within Allport's contact hypothesis is the concept of space as a mere container, an open space waiting to be filled; a taken-for-granted milieu of everyday life (Foster, 2005). In doing this, he neglects the fact that space is not simply inherited from nature; it is produced and reproduced by humans through social relations (Molotch, 1993, 887). The signs and symbols Allport considers as familiar objects to different groups, are embedded within space

and are a part of what Lawson (2001) calls "*the language of space*". This language communicates with different people differently, influencing how they relate to that space. It is against this backdrop that it is important then to look at how space is produced in everyday life, depending on historic moments; how it plays a crucial role in producing and reproducing difference, allowing certain activities and actors to thrive while hindering those of others (Molotch, 1993, 888).

4.2.1. The social production of space

As the locus for lived experience, space is important to our comprehension of, and interaction with the world. The production of space is fundamental to our experiences of the world and as spatial beings; we are actively participating in the social construction of our spatialities. It is against this backdrop that various theoretical strands have been proposed to conceptualize and understand the concept of space. The dominant modern notion of space as geometrical, Euclidian and isotropic emerged from a traditional and Western Cartesian logic to produce a scientific space (Lefebvre, 1984, cited in Watkins, 2005) and it is this scientific perception that led to scientific method being approved of in the development of understanding society. The Western Cartesian logic imagined space as an "independent material reality existing in itself" (Schmid, 2008, 28); an empty vessel, waiting to be filled (Lefebvre, 1984).

Inspired by the material circumstances of everyday life (McCann, 1999), Lefebvre developed a theory of the (social) production of space to redefine space as alive, organic and fluid and not dead or inert. Although Lefebvre's pioneering work on space, difference and the everyday life is situated in the 20th century context (Kipfer *et al.*, 2008, 2), his theory of the social production of space has gained familiarity and popularity in the field of social sciences and in questions of space beyond geography (Schmid, 2008, 27). Combined with the processes of globalization and urbanization, his work further called for a rethinking of the concepts of space in understanding contemporary socio-spatial conditions (Kipfer *et al.*, 2008 and Schimd, 2008). Lefebvre's work provides a critical understanding of (the production) space and everyday life. His theory is focused on space, not as an a priori, or an ontological entity but on historicizing the production space, the processes and strategies involved (Kipfer *et al*., 2008, 9).

Space, he argued, can never be an epistemological starting point, it does not exist in itself, it is a product (Schmid, 2008, 28). He combined the three aspects of lived experience: the physical, mental and social milieu to provide an integrated notion of space. In his notion of space, Lefebvre developed a conceptual framework which shifted space from the realm of the mental into the basis of our engagement with the world (Lefebvre, 1984, cited in Watkins, 2005; Lefebvre, 1991). The production of space, he contends, can be divided into three dialectically connected dimensions, moments (Schmid, 2008). These dimensions are superimposed and exist simultaneously to create a 'present space' and it is this process of creation and being, the production of 'present space', that needs to be understood for a richer understanding of the world (Watkins, 2005).

In his spatial triad, Lefebvre argues that space is fundamental to our lived experiences and that each experience is made up of three interlinked aspects of that space: representations of space (conceived space), spaces of representation (perceived space) and spatial practice (lived space) (Schmid, 2008, Watkins, 2005, Lefebvre, 1991) i.e. the physical, mental and lived spaces respectively. The most dominant of these three is representations of space (conceived), the conceptualized and constructed space made out of abstract representations, codifications and symbols. It emerges at the level of discourse and is made up of definitions and descriptions (Schmid, 2008, 36). It is the space of planners, architects, capital etc. and embedded within this space are ideologies, knowledge and power.

The spaces of representation is the "inversion of representations of space…the symbolic dimension of space" (Lefebvre in Schmid, 2008, 37). It is space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, the dominated space which the imagination seeks to change and re-appropriate (Lefebvre, 1991; Knott, 2005). Spatial practice (lived space) is the everyday usage of space and it embraces the production, reproduction and the characteristics of each social formation in terms of location and spatial sets (Lefebvre, 1984, cited in Watkins, 2005). It is the material dimension of social activity and interaction, the system produced from the connection of activities (Schmid, 2008, 36). Spatial practice combines with the two other aspects of the triad to provide a level of cohesion and competence required for the everyday functions and spatial events of society (Watkins, 2005; Knott, 2005).

Lefebvre's spatial triad is a unifying theory of space that integrates the physical, the mental and the social. These three spaces exist dialectically as a "triad" where space is simultaneously a spatial practice, a representation of space and a space of representation. This

produced “present space” possesses its own dialectical moment. This “triad” is important to our understanding of space in terms of its manifestation as perceived, conceived and lived (Watkins, 2005). Space encompasses a complex aspect and infiltrates into social relations at all levels. It moves from being a physical environment that can be perceived, a semiotic abstraction informing us how citizens negotiate space and the space of planners, corporations etc. Finally it acts as a medium through which the body lives and interacts with other bodies. Social relations are spatial relations as well and we cannot treat them in solitude (Watkins, 2005).

Lefebvre (1991) views space as a representation of the political usage of knowledge where abstract spaces embody the intersection between power, ideology and knowledge. It is the hierarchical space relevant to those who are constantly trying to reign in and control social organization, the social space of everyday life. The representation of space is made out of abstract representations conceptualized by urban planners, scientists, architects and politicians. These conceptualizers and constructors of physical space-along with the state-are the ones who determine what is lived and perceived with what is conceived. Abstract representations are the spaces of capitalism and neo capitalism and incorporated in them are the world of commodities, worldwide strategies, power and the political state. To understand the workings of space, is thus to move beyond the “*illusion of natural simplicity*” (*ibid*., 29) where space is seen as naturally existing providing contexts where individuals conduct their daily lives rather we must question the existence of spaces through the conception of the dialectical moments of the spatial triad.

4.2.2. Imagined Geographies

Drawing from Lefebvre’s theory of space, it is clear that geography allows for a more nuanced understanding of the production of world views. Imagined geographies, as pioneered by Said, helps us understand how geographical epistemologies are produced and how those, in turn, affect the various ways in which people understand space and their relationship to it. Adding on to Lefebvre’s work, which is focused on historicizing the production of space, Said’s notion of imagined geographies offers a foundation for thinking about how power is produced in the production of different sets of [imaginative] geographies. This is important in

understanding how sameness and difference are produced and imagined, concepts which our significant to Allport's contact hypothesis but which he takes for granted.

Geography has been and continues to be used in moralizing and legitimizing particular world views/perspectives over others where "knowledge", as power and despite its uncertain and partial nature, is used to legitimize relations with other groups (Allen, 1999). The early 1990s witnessed increased interest in epistemologies of notions of community from a geographical perspective. Drawing from and building on Edward Said's (1977) work, geographers began to reflect on how people are responsible for 'inventing' places (Valentine, 1999) and people through the imaginative lens. Said's 1977 publication, *Orientalism*, was the major pioneer of the concept of imaginative geographies and how the imaginary, was a form of awareness and knowledge construction.

People's social lives, the foundation of their experiences which in turn shape their thinking, produce different sets of imaginative geographies. These geographies, however, are not necessarily products of local imaginations nor are they monumental in form (Allen, 1999, 44). These geographies become normalized such that they take the form of situations and knowledges that can only be understood through restricted meanings, making it difficult to imagine them in any other way than the one represented. The difficulty thus lies in comprehending the world in ways other than those presented to us as concrete (Allen, 1999), to contest and denaturalize them. It is through the understanding of the construction work that goes into the production and reproduction of these existing geographical knowledges that we can begin to view the world from multiple perspectives and shed light on some of the dynamics in the ontology of geographical epistemologies.

Although Said's work was on the production of nations and imaginations of nationalism, his work laid the foundation for thinking through everyday lives and how *spatiality*[5] is imagined, produced and maintained. The epistemology of imagined geographies is concerned with how space and its boundaries are imagined, whose space it is and the construction of 'self' and 'other', sameness and difference spatially. This very knowledge includes the 'taken-for-granted and mundane' knowledge of everyday life and geo-political imaginations through scholarly texts, historical narratives and periodicals. The power in this production of knowledge lies in constructing what *is* without raising doubts (Allen, 1999, 44) such that

[5] Spatiality, according to Keith and Pile (1993, 6), is "ways in which the social and the spatial are inextricably realised one in the other.

people take that knowledge as concrete. These ways of thinking are perceived as natural until a moment or situation arises where those perceived as other [subaltern/dominated] challenge and denaturalize the symbolic order of the dominant group (*ibid.).*

Writing about sameness and difference and how the two are imagined, Valentine (1999) invites us to think about how people, in their everyday lives, constantly position themselves in relation to others. It is within these frameworks of thinking, of imaginations, that sameness and difference is produced and reproduced. Both concepts, sameness and difference, can be articulated both relationally and spatially where values and status are attached to different forms of space. "The significance of these classifications and rules governing the production and reproduction of spaces lies in the fact that they play a fundamental role in our imaginings of self and other at different scales, dramatizing the boundary and distance between the two" (Valentine, 1999, 52). Within discourses of sameness and difference lies the core process of othering (Tekin, 2010) and it is within these broader constructions of the other that space became imbued with multiple subject positions where to speak of one was to invoke the other.

4.3. Psychoanalytic Geography

More recently, there has been an increased interest in psychoanalysis and its relationship the production and reproduction of difference within the field of geography. Within that framework has been an increased theorization of difference as an "*inherently social phenomenon*" (Wilton, 1998, 174). Embedded within these notions of difference are power relations, language and meaning (Kristeva in Frosh, 1995) where certain bodies and behaviours are perceived as inferior to those of dominant groups. This production and reproduction of difference between self and other occurs through the imposition of dichotomous conceptions (boundaries) where the existence of the self is dependent on the other. These boundaries are both inherently social and spatial such that the division of spatial patterns is a result of and an integral part to the production of perceived social differences

between the self and other (Wilton, 1998, 174). Thus meaning is only produced through difference where the self and other exist in a dyadic[6] relationship.

4.3.1. Unheimlich and Abjection

According to Frosh (1995), it is in this construction of the other, the reading of the other, that we construct ourselves, our own identities. Difference and sameness in this case become reduced to identity where identity is produced out of paradoxical binaries (Valentine, 1999). Identity itself is both fluid and complex, shifting in relation to various social and spatial situations (Phoenix and Tizard, 1996; Rattansi and Phoenix, 1997). It is against this backdrop that Wilton (1998) asks and seeks to understand how social and spatial differences are internalized and reproduced by individuals. The author draws our attention to the increasing interest among geographers who critically engage with the works of Freud, Lacan, Klein, Kristeva, Iragaray etc. in the field of psychoanalysis. Drawing largely from Freud's (1919) concept of the *unheimlich* (the uncanny) and Kristeva's (1982) notion of the *abject*, Wilton demonstrates how the division between the self and other/object world is reproduced and maintained.

According to Wilton (1998), psychoanalysis imparts identity with 3 significant characteristics: firstly identities are inherently social and dynamic such that social change, depending on its trajectory, may lead to uncertainty and a perceived threat to existing identities engendering a *"struggle for collective psychological survival"* (353). Secondly, identities are connected to the body and thirdly, subjectivity is, by its very nature, spatial, and as such individuals are situated spatially in relation to others (Soja, 1989, Blum and Nast, 1996 as cited in Wilton, 1998) where the self is in a constant negotiation of material and symbolic geographies of everyday life (Philo, 1991 as cited in Wilton, 1998). Schilder (1970, 212) argues that people attach meaning to their bodies and those of others and it is when these bodily images of others come near them that they feel as though they intrude their own bodily images".

Freud's concept of *unheimlich* has been adopted by geographers in expanding theories of space and people's use of space in relation to their individual and collective identities. Freud

[6] Dyadic relations between self and other mean that the self cannot exist without the other, they reinforce one another. *I am me because I am not you.*

(1919) proposed the concept of *unheimlich* or uncanny after he became aware of the psychological impacts of World War I on survivors. He did this in an attempt to conceptualize feelings that arose in situations of reminiscing about the horror of those experiences. Freud conceptualised uncanniness as a feeling that arose when something familiar which has been repressed reappears (Wilton, 1998 and Freud, 1919). He stressed uncanniness as being produced by primitive thoughts where memories become shelved away in the unconscious and can be triggered by the uncanny later in life (Wilton, 1998). Bleger (1967 as cited in Gampel, 2000) suggests the uncanny is not only familiar things but also the sudden appearances of the ambiguous in all that is familiar (e.g discriminated others, situations and individuals, abject others). Gampel (2000) further extends this and suggests that the uncanny can include the experiences and feelings that cannot be explained in words. She further argues that social violence, with its "radioactive effect", penetrates its victims and is unconsciously transmitted to next generations. Thus the uncanny can be experienced even by those who have not experienced a certain situation but were exposed to its victims.

In theorizing the abject, Kristeva (1982) argues that from infancy, people learn, through naturalized acts, that they are separated from the other, the object world. Society's feelings of repulsion correspond to the psychoanalytic notion of abjection, the desire to create and maintain separation between the propoer and objectionable (Popke and Ballard, 2004, 107). In seeking familiarity and order (Sibley, 1999), there is "a modern impulse to eliminate ambivalence", argued by Popke and Ballard (2004, 106) as not only a desire to create orderly spaces but also as a way to construct the subject, about the drawing of a boundary between the self and other. The presence of difference, of the other, thus "signifies a destabilization of not only the spatial order but as well as the boundary between self and other (*ibid.),* what Dixon and Durrheim (2000, 36) call a "dislocation of identity" (as cited in Popke and Ballard, 2004, 107).

The other, according to Kristeva (1982) is the abject. Unlike Freud's notion of uncanny, the abject is not confined to 'primitive' societies, the potential for abjection remains present if a symbolic system is called into question. It is through moments when the socio-spatial order (symbolic) is challenged that boundaries become blurred, the dividing lines between self and other become vulnerable, provoking anxiety [and violent attempts at expulsion-abjection] (Wilton, 1998). Boundaries, borders of the socio-spatial environment are symbolic of the

fragile division of identity and similar to Bourdieu's notion of *symbolic violence*[7], these boundaries are perceived as natural and unavoidable and thus reinforce the legitimacy of existing social, spatial and cultural inequalities and the oppression of groups marked as other (Wilton, 1998). In both Freud's conceptualization of the uncanny and Kristeva's (1982) abjection, however, space and place, are explicitly absent despite that the experience and encounter of difference, of the abject other, in everyday life takes place is spatial settings (Wilton, 1998).

4.3.2. Objects Relations Theory

According to Sibley, people want "familiarity, predictability, stable and orderly spaces". It is these desires that reflect people's anxieties that arise when there is a lack of understanding, unpredictable encounters, and changes to the local environment, which reduces the environment's aesthetic satisfaction (1999, 115). Sibley (1999) adopts the work of psych-analytical theorists to elucidate representations of sameness and difference which, he argues, contribute to the bounding of territories separating 'us' from 'them'. "Fragmented social space is marked by stereotypical views of places and of others rooted in the unconscious" (*ibid*., 116) and it is through theories of the self that the unconscious, the social and the material world are connected. Thus, the self can be placed and psychoanalysis provides not just another layer of understanding but also unravels the complex connections between people and place. Psychoanalysis, concerned with people's emotions and how they contribute to *distanciation*[8], the avoidance and/or attraction of certain people and places, is connected to and helps us understand the production of social space (*ibid*.).

In understanding how people produce and reproduce geographies of difference, Sibley draws from the Objects Relations Theory-developed by Melanie Klein-which looks at connections between the self, the social and the material worlds (1999). The theory, according to Kahane (1992:284), "assumes that, from birth, people engage in formative relations with objects,

[7] Symbolic violence according to Bourdieu (2001, 1-2) is that *"gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims*". It refers to *"processes whereby order and social restraint are produced by indirect, cultural mechanisms rather than direct and overt coercive social control*" (Toner, *et al.*, 2010, 32).

[8] According to Henning (2007), "**f**ace-to-face interactions lose their significance in everyday life, as modern media such as money or more recently the Internet step in between. The consequence for individuals is the process of distanciation. It has both a spatial and an emotional side: people who feel a sense of belonging can live far away from each other, and people sharing the same neighbourhood may not even talk to one another".

entities perceived as separate from the self…existing either in the external world or internalized as mental representations" (in Sibley, 1999, 117). According to Klein, the self is socially positioned and the (with) representations of 'others' as either 'good or bad', this process is called introjection. This positioning of the self in relation to others is followed by the projection of anxieties and pleasures being projected onto those others. The effect of introjection and projection creates a sense of border, the boundaries of self in relation to good and bad others (Klein in Sibley, 1999).

It is within this framework and in understanding the significance of place and identity that Sibley (1995; 1999) selectively broadened the OBT to include places as objects. People and places, he argues, in the social and material relationships can constitute good or bad objects, they can be depositories for feelings of pain and anxiety, pleasure and excitement. People's values and the values they attach to their physical environment reinforce each other where the physical landscape, *the language of space*, may communicate a desirable sense of order and boundaries that contribute to an individual's sense of being (Sibley, 1999, 118). Thus, the denial of difference is not just an indicator of anxiety about people who are "not like us" but also an expression of negative feelings about places which are "not like ours" (*ibid*., 117). The way people perceive and imagine spaces and places are an important part of reinforcing the self.

Sibley (1999, 118) contends that the images of place [may] evoke repressed memories about past experiences. Drawing from literary studies, Caracciolo's (2013) *experientiality*, a key concept in narratology developed by Fludernik (1996), helps in conceptualizing the experience of place and its potential to induce memories of past experiences. Caracciolo (2012; 2014, 6) argues that "experientiality of narrative arises from the tension and interaction between a narrative text and the past experience of its recipients". Stories, he contends, are always bound up with human experiences; they speak to human concerns and help to negotiate values that are part of everyday life. As such, experientiality is a complex and dynamic relation, where engaging with narrative not only taps into the repository of past experiences but can also produce shifts and changes their perception of reality. Adapting the concept of experientiality to geography, thus reflect on how space, as a narrative text, has the potential to tap into memories and remind people of past experiences.

4.4. Space, place and the concept of community

Space and place, according to Tuan (1979) are at the heart of geographical enquiry. Although Lefebvre's work is centred on the relations between space and the capitalist modes of production, his work has been extended and adopted in understanding how individuals, in their everyday lives, identify with certain spaces. In his writings on space and place, Tuan reflects on the various meanings attached to the concept of place. Firstly, place as location, a unit attached to multiple other units by a circulation net. He argues however, that place has more meaning, it has history and is symbolic-it embodies people's aspirations and experiences (1979, 387). Places, as "*unique ensembles of multiple traits*", have personality, a sense of identity (*ibid*., 409). The author particularly reflects on the ways in which space becomes place, when man begins to have this "sense of place" (387).

This sense of place, according to Tuan, is manifested when people employ their moral and aesthetic understanding to sites and locations. This sense of place, he argues, has two meanings, one visual/aesthetic and the other non-visual (1979, 410). The former is a place that is visual in the sense that it depends on image-ability, what he calls *public symbols*. This type of place demands attention from its viewers and comes in the form of symbols such as monuments, architecture, sacred places etc. The latter is based on long associations with place such that people begin to familiarize with its contours of nurture (410), what he calls *fields of care* (412). With low image-ability, these types of place evoke affection. They include places such as parks, towns, streets and neighbourhoods. Sometimes people are not aware of their attachment to particular places and it is when one is away that they become fully aware of the attachment they have to it. It is also the presence of the perceived 'other' in the familiar place which reveals this attachment by blurring the [unstable] identity of that place. As Suttles (1972 in Tuan, 1979, 419) argues, residents can sense and know that their place has an identity and a boundary when they feel threatened.

In his review of the history of place Etrikin (1991) tries to reconcile, although falling back into similar historical approaches himself, the divided notion of place into the objective and the subjective, i.e. the observer/observed dichotomy characteristic of the history of geographical thought (Hall, 1992, 1015-1016). Merrifield (1993), in his dialectical interpretation of place, critiqued Etrikin for this Cartesian approach. Drawing from Lefebvre's production of space theory, Merrifield argues that the Cartesian philosophical

approach fails to grasp with the everyday life experiences and their relationship to broader economic and political practices (517). As Massey (1994; 1999) argues place is socially constructed through multiple activities including social, political and economic processes and the language of representation. Drawing from Massey and other critical geographers, recent scholars as Jessop *et al*. (2008) argued for multidimensional approach towards an understanding of the inseparable and complex character of place (Saar and Palang, 2009).

Further drawing from Auburn and Barnes (2006), whose research sought to look at how people collectively understood place and how meaning-making is somewhat of a collective endeavour, Saar and Palang (2009) consider four ways in understanding how meaning is generated and attached to place: personal, local, national and supranational. They argue that meanings, embedded in and shaped by global politics, are constructed over time and through personal experiences. These divisions of the personal, local, national and supranational however must be understood in conjunction rather than as separate entities. Ideology, history and social transformation, they contend, influence place-making. Nationally, ideologies influence people's practices and social relations. Friedmann (2007) argues that place-making is orchestrated by the state through planning and the regulation of daily life. This is the conceived space of planners, engineers, capital etc. (Lefebvre, 1991). The state in this case is both visible and invisible and revealed through rules and regulations that influence the rhythms of everyday life. At a local level, Saar and Palang (2009), drawing from Paasi (2001), argue that place-making is a manifestation of people wanting to create boundaries between self and other.

As reminders of the past, places act as connections between the past and present, connecting individuals to memories and meanings in their lives. In their examination of place attachment, one of Low and Altmann's (1992) six ways in which people can symbolically connect to place is through history. Place naming-as one example of the symbolic ways through which places are [historically] imbued with meaning, symbolism and identity-is "*an outward manifestation of how people perceive themselves, their history and value system*" (Ndletyana, 2012, 89). Thus embedded within these meanings of place are identity politics. It is through the process of place-making that people, in understanding their relationship to place, create identities through and in relation to space (Saar and Palang, 2009). This creation of identities is influenced by historical associations and past social relations. Places thus provide people with a sense of belonging, security, self-expression and freedom (Smaldone *et al*., 2005 in Saar and Palang, 2009). Historical narratives in the form of texts, traditional

activities and cultural practices serve to reinforce people's understandings of their own identities in relation to others.

The relationship between space, place and identity problematizes the notion of community and how it is adopted in current policies on integration. Various conceptualizations of community have been provided and although the concept remains somewhat ambiguous and contested, it continues to prevail in contemporary writings and scholarly work (Clark, 1973). There is significant confusion and very little subsequent research and clarification of what the term actually means, leading to some scholars declaring it a "non-concept" (Stacey, 1969, 137) and as "confusing rather than illuminating" (Pahl, 1970, 107; Clark, 1973, 397). Despite the continued contestation of the term, it keeps re-emerging in various fields and, as such, an analysis of its employment therefore is important for future application (Clark, 1973). There are various perspectives from which the concept of community has been theorized, each with its own implications.

Theoretical debates around community as locality perceive the concept as a physical space with boundaries and territories, with space understood as dormant. According to MacIver and Page (1961, 9), locality is one of the most fundamental foundations of community where the relationship between community and the physical environment has implications for social relations. This notion of community, I argue, is not congruent with the Lefebvrian analysis of space as it views space from a Cartesian geometry where space is a mere container that needs to be filled and social relations viewed as a result of that. The metaphysical nature of a town, a community, according to this perspective is wedded to the land in a lasting union. Despite research which has suggested otherwise, there remains a strong belief that community is a reality that can be physically engineered, what Pahl (1970 in Clark, 1973, 398) terms "*the doctrine of architectural determinism*".

While this view may seem partly significant, differences, even minor ones, continue to mystify countless attempts to create "integrated communities". Even in seemingly "homogenous" areas, residents still prove reluctant to make more than superficial contact with community facilities that have been provided for their entertainment and "improvement" (*ibid.,*. 399). Recently, there has been a shift to relate community to certain types of social activity against studies which remain theoretically superficial. For example, community as a social structure emerged from studies that viewed community via groups and their social structure with emphasis placed on institutions and their roles, status and social class (*ibid.,*

1973). These too, however, fail to grasp with the complex and challenging nature of socio-spatial relations. Hebert (1963 cited in Clark, 1973) argues that the conception of society as intricate and involved is an overly simplified idea and that there is no simple mechanical determination of social life by the physical environment (Kuper *et al.*, 1953, 177 cited in Clark, 1973, 399).

Walsh and High (1999), highlight what they consider to be three elements which are fundamental to our understanding of the historical and present significance of community: first community as an imagined reality, secondly community as social interaction and thirdly community as a process. Like many other scholars, Walsh and High perceive community as occupying an omnipresent but ambiguous space, especially in historical narratives often to signify different meanings with very little critical reflection or explicit analytical attention given to the concept. The emphasis on the shared, physical environment, the neighborhood, the village, the suburb, downplays and often ignores the cultural and imagined elements that theorists like Benedict Anderson (1982) suggest have been central to the construction of communities.

In her work on city life and difference, Young (1990) promotes city life as a normative ideal where homogenous communities are replaced with diversified cities in order to assert the politics of difference. She provides a critique of communitarianism, adopted as an alternative political ideal to liberal individualism in the past three decades, for its exclusive and totalitarian implications (Young, 1986; Peng, 2004, 46). Young views the concept of community as depoliticized and characterized by bureaucratic domination where difference is denied through the fusion of identities (Young, 1990, 226; Peng, 2004, 47). Although she does not define the concept of 'city', she elaborates on the concept of city life by which she refers to "a form of social relations defined by the being together of strangers where individuals and groups can interact in spaces and institutions they experience themselves as belonging to, without those interactions [necessarily] turning into unity or commons. City life, she contends, is composed of clusters of people of various affinities including families, social networks and groups, neighborhood networks etc., a vast array of communities" (Young, 1990, 237; Peng, 2004, 47).

4.4.1. Complexifying the contact hypothesis

The above theoretical framework i.e. drawing from Lefebvre's social production of space, imagined geographies of difference and psychoanalytic theory allows for an understanding of the complex nature of creating integrated communities but also for a broader critique of the contact hypothesis. Through an understanding of people's relationship to those spaces and places imagined as other, the ambivalence of different social groups to integrate is reflected upon. The conceptual framework adopted allows for a complex analysis of understanding the concept of community and its relationship to integration. Understanding space and place, one has to think beyond social relations, beyond the contact hypothesis and to further consider how people create "*communities*" and what the concept of community itself entails within the realm of people's relationship to space and place.

Drawing from Lefebvre's theory of space production complexifies Allport's two dimensional understanding of space particularly his treatment of space as a container which does not allow for an understanding of the relationship between space and social relations. This is congruent with Dixon (2001 as cited in Foster, 2005, 498) whose most important concern with Allport's theory is the neglect of space where space or the spatial dynamic is treated as inert. Employing Lefebvre's theory of the production of space thus helps to develop a critique of the contact hypothesis by showing how space is significant to human interaction and how human interaction itself produces space.

Drawing from imaginative geographies and psychoanalytic theory allows for a broader understanding of how people understand their own identities in relation to others. Allport's contact hypothesis, in its understanding of social groups, fails to recognize the construction of difference as a way of claiming power and dominance (Said, 1977; Valentine, 1999; Tekin, 2010). His works fails to explain and takes for granted the nature of differences between in-groups and out-groups and the purposes they serve. This in turn limits our understanding of why the contact hypothesis fails to lead to a reduction of prejudice even in cases where spatial proximity has been attained. This is congruent with Finchilescu's work (as cited in

Foster, 2005) who, using *meta-stereotypes*[9] as a framework, contend that "people still 'do' racialized subjectivities" which has implications for racial desegregation.

Understanding the complex relationship between space, place and identities, it is thus important to understand how people, in these complex interrelations, negotiate their self-identity both relationally and spatially. Finchilescu (as cited in Foster, 2005) states that despite the "continuation of racialized subjectivities, there is very little understanding of meanings of blackness and whiteness in democratic South Africa" (502). It is against this backdrop that the following section, drawing from post-modernist understanding of resistance and postcolonial theory, seeks to unpack the ways in which space and race are produced in relation to one another. Drawing from scholars as hooks and Fanon, it looks at how black people in particular, negotiate their identities through space. The section does not offer an extension of the critique of contact hypothesis but seeks to understand how people negotiate their own identities in colonial and in particular [historically] white spaces.

4.5. Resistance and postcolonial spaces

The identity of space and place shapes the ways in which different axes of identity including race, class, age, sexuality and gender and their relations are played out, reproduced and transformed (Bondi and Rose, 2003, 232). Intersectionality studies, for example, emphasize the dynamism of individual experiences between different subject positions and how identities emerge in interactions with specific socio-spatial contexts (Valentine, 2007, 18). The 1990s development of critical approaches within feminist geography presented significant ways of looking at the implications of physical and representational aspects of urban public space on social identities where public space was understood as composed of impositions, contestations and negotiations (Bondi and Rose, 2003, 234). Inspired by Henri Lefebvre's writings on the body and the experiential difference within struggles for a "right to the city" (Varma, 2012), inspired feminist scholars began to shift away from the polarity of spaces as either constraining or enabling towards a focus on resistance and appropriations (Bondi and Rose, 2003, 234).

[9] Meta-stereotypes, according to Foster's (2005, 501) understanding of Finchilescu, is "how people think or imagine others view them which can induce anxieties in contact situations, causing a retreat to particular spaces of [perceived] safety".

Resistance, like many other concepts, remains a contested and fluid concept. Others as Sharp *et al.* (2000) are concerned that the term has become so widely applied that it has become almost meaningless. Raby (2005), contrasting between modernist and post-modernist notions, argues that conceptualizations of resistance hinges on one's theoretical understanding of power and subjectivity. On the one hand, modernist approaches understanding in binary oppositions between the dominant and the submissive, where resistance, as deviance, arises from agency emanating "from a rational, pre-discursive and internally coherent subject" (McDonald, 1991 in Raby, 2005). Post-modernists, on the other hand, conceptualize resistance as not against power but enveloped within it (Raby, 2005), as Foucault (1978) writes "where there is power, there is resistance. Agency, in this instance, manifests itself as resistance and emerges through the experiences of the oppressed (Giroux, 1983).

Although the concept of resistance continues to be understood as collective and directed actions of the oppressed towards the dominant (Raby, 2005) such as social movements and contentious politics (Kiely and Leane, 2012), it is important to think of the concept as not always leading to change, as one that merely appropriates dominant representations. West (1991) conceptualises this kind of resistance as "thin oppositions that are located in everyday micro-politics". These thin oppositions, appropriations, understood as representational space (Lefebvre, 1991), speak to how individuals, through their re-imagination and re-appropriation of conceived spaces gain agency over representations of their own identities in daily life. Michel Foucault conceptualizes domination not as "a *system of domination which controls everything leaving no room for freedom*" but one of "*relations of power where there is necessarily the possibility of resistance*" (Foucault in hooks, 1992, 116), spaces "*on and through which agency can be found"* (hooks, 1992, 116). Building from Foucault's work, hooks urges scholars to look for spaces where individuals in their everyday lives have agency over the construction of their identities and spaces.

Resistance, however, continues to be written from the perspective of the relationship between subjects and urban space, particularly how the other negotiates their way in the center. In her work on marginality, bell hooks (1990), invites us to think of resistance as existing even in marginal spaces. Marginality, she argues, as a space for the other, can also be a place of resistance, creativity and power, an inclusive space where the othered can recover themselves and to erase the category of colonizer/colonized (*ibid,*. 343). Hooks (1990) offers a compelling argument of marginal spaces as more than just spaces of deprivation but also spaces of radial possibility, spaces of resistance. Central to these spaces is the production of

counter [hegemonic] discourses founded in everyday habits of being and living. Marginality offers radical perspectives from which to view and create different world views. It is the space of refusal, where one can say no to the colonizing gaze, "No to the oppressor and when one leaves these places, alive in them is a way of knowing reality which affirms continually not only the primacy of resistance but the necessity of resistance that is sustained by the remembrance of the past (hooks, 1990, 342).

Not marginality one wishes to lose, to give up as part of moving into the centre, but rather as a space one embraces as it nourishes one's capacity to resist; offering one the possibility of radical perspectives from which to see and create, to imagine alternatives, new worlds (hooks, 1990). Marginality is a space of refusal, where one can say no to the colonizer/colonizing gaze, no to the oppressor. One's othered position is made visible and scrutinized in the centre whereas in the margin, the lived-in segregated spaces of their past and present, they are not other. Hooks does not intend to romanticize the space of marginality as "pure" but to re-inscribe marginality as both a space of repression and resistance. Memory making and place attachment to this marginal space ensures that even "when one leaves the margin, alive in them is a way of knowing reality which affirms continually not only the primacy of resistance but the necessity of a resistance that is sustained by a remembrance of the past" (hooks, 1990, 342).

Writing about difference, Hall (1990, 228) notes that the Other, "whom to the West are the 'same', belong to the margin, the periphery, the edge of the metropolitan world". The othered's relationship to the centre is different, "each individual has negotiated its economic, cultural and political dependency in various ways. This difference is [already] inscribed in their cultural identities, thus it is the negotiation of identity which makes us" (Hall, 1990, 228). At different times and in different spaces, the boundary between the self and other, past and history becomes complexified and re-sited (*ibid*.). As such, being either in the margin or the centre, one re-sites and imagines a different kind of boundary between the self and other. For example, blackness, as a subject positioning, takes on different meanings and positions.

Bell Hooks' margin-center perspective, this being part of a whole but outside the main, relates to W. E. B. Du Bois' (1903, 1) concept of double consciousness, "a phenomenon that arises both from being a part of the dominant society and yet distinct from it". According to Du Bois, the colonized, the "*Negro",* is equipped with a double consciousness, that of the self and the dominant society. Although the colonized, acknowledges the self-consciousness, he

moderates it, privileging the dominant consciousness. The colonized perceives oneself through this dominant consciousness, measuring oneself by the type of world that looks on in amusement and contempt; the wish, nonetheless, being to reconcile this double consciousness into a truer-self (*ibid*., 9). Despite the similarity between hooks' margin-center and Du Bois' double consciousness, hooks, unlike Du Bois, seeks to give the colonized agency in determining how they choose to perceive themselves in relation to the center. As she argues, being in the margin is to develop a particular way of seeing reality, to be able to look from the outside-in and from the inside-out. Her work deconstructs Fanon's analysis of the degrading impacts of colonial oppression, of how and where forms of oppression are experienced (Varma, 2012, 10).

The notion of marginal spaces as spaces of resistance transforms Fanon's (2001, 30) conception of the colonized space as just a space of social ill and starvation to one where the colonized can resist the colonizing gaze of the center. The notion of the margin and centre does not entail a binary between the two concepts; rather the two are inextricably linked to each other. As hooks writes, "To be in the margin is to be a part of the whole but outside the main body" (1990, 341; 1984, ix). As Varma (2002, 2) contends, "Spatial practices and collectivities are negotiated in the interconnected location of the post-colonial city in which the rural, urban, national and transnational are simultaneous geographies. Her work, rather offers a critique of Fanon's Manichean understanding of the colonial world; "a world cut in two; the settler's town, strongly, all made of stone and steel, its belly always full of good things….the native space, the negro village, the reserve, as a place of ill, hungry, starved, a place of wallowing in the mire" (Fanon, 2001, 30; Varma, 2012, 8-9).

To be in the centre is to transform that space from being an instrument of colonialist into a space of rebellion and self-fashioning for the colonized (Varma, 2012, 13). It is in mundane everyday acts of resistance that the fractures of a capitalist culture are revealed (*ibid.* 2012, 3). For Benjamin (as cited in Varma), the urban street became the place of the collective and new possibilities that emerge from the same logic of commodities and fragmentation constituting capitalism (2012, 4). In conceptualizing the metaphorical city, De Certeau constructs *citadin*'s movements through the city, the streets, as resisting and evading authorities' disciplinary gaze, rewriting the city and transforming each space in the process (Herbert, 2014). Further, he suggests that the act of walking reveals the textuality of metaphorical cities in which stories and experiences cross each other's paths, weaving together an urban text. Walking becomes an affirmative act and transgresses authorized

routes of Fanon's concept city, an "ordered and rational city, weaving together the diverse fragments of the city.

In the metaphorical city, efforts to regulate space are constantly negotiated, subverted and resisted in the everyday practices of citadins (as cited in Herbert, 2014, 202). Unlike Fanon's "unseen, unknown" inhabitants of the colonized town, visible and invisible histories and bodies, as adopted in post-colonial narratives (Herbert 2014), attempt to re-formulate the relationship between colonized subjects and space (Varma, 2012). It is through the representational space, the imaginations of space that individuals are able to transform the "ordered" urban landscape as conceived by the state (Lefebvre, 1991).

4.6. Conclusion

Drawing from multiple theories including the Lefebvre's production of space, imaginative geographies and psychoanalysis, this chapter sought to reflect on the ways in which identity and space are produced relationally and to thus provide a critique of the contact hypothesis. The complexity of space, place and community in the context of integration studies further complexifies the contact hypothesis in which Allport, with his treatment of space as inert, fails to grasp the dynamic nature of social and spatial relations in contact situations. His conceptualization of in-groups and out-groups fails to engage with the ways in which identities and difference are constructed and how, people, in understanding their [sometimes perceived] socio-spatial relations respond to contact situations beyond his "optimal conditions". Drawing from post-modernist conceptions of resistance and postcolonial theory, the chapter further complexifies how the 'other' relates to the margin and center space, what Fanon calls the "native's space and the settler's town" respectively. It particularly reflects on how the other's re-imagination of the representations of space can be read as resistance and how even the marginal, native space itself can be a site of resistance through which black people negotiate their identity.

Chapter Five: Blackness and class identity

5.1. Introduction

This chapter looks at how the attainment of a middle class identity by black people from apartheid into post-apartheid South Africa was a way they could escape identity impositions of the apartheid state. Space became and continues to be one of the most significant ways in which individuals gained a sense of agency over their lives. In asserting this class identity, however, blacks themselves have been perceived as reproducing the colonial and apartheid gaze (hooks, 1992) of seeing poor and working class blacks as the abject other. From a Fanonian perspective, this has been constructed as an inferiority complex where blacks, in hating their own blackness, try to attain "whiteness", as exemplified by Kopano Matlwa's main characters, Ofilwe and Fikile, in *Coconuts*. However, the attainment of a middle class identity, I argue, is not just about the attainment of "whiteness" or indexing (Sefalafala and Makakule, 2014) oneself in a different and supposedly better position but within that is a constant struggle to maintain a solid boundary between the self and other, a negotiation between one's [self] consciousness and the consciousness of the dominant culture (du Bois, 1903). This is further reflected not only in their use and imagination of space but also in how they engage with difference in the context of a supposedly integrated space. Drawing from the notion of *abjection*, this chapter further unpacks the discourse that is used in understanding the relationship between residents of existing suburbs and those of Extension 14. I suggest that reasons for the treatment of the "working" as other is beyond just the criminalized perceptions of the poor but beyond that is the need to maintain a boundary between the self and other, presenting challenges for the quest to integrated communities.

5.1.2. Intersections of class, race and space

One of the many ways in which black people thought they could escape this imposed identity and the throes of living under an oppressive state has been through the attainment of different class positions from one they had been limited to under apartheid. Through the attainment of better paying jobs, blacks had the opportunity to move up the social ladder by attaining a middle class identity. Prior to its crumbling days, part of the apartheid state was to constrain

the possible growth of a black middle. Although contested, [middle class] identities are inscribed in space through material representation including the type of space you live in, material possessions and, but not limited to, the type and size of house you live in. In the context of post-apartheid South Africa, given a long history of deprivation and denial of class mobility, one of the ANC's development goals was and continues to be the creation of a black middle class. This has and continues to be conceived through quality education, the creation of job opportunities and opening up spaces for black entrepreneurs amongst other things.

The concept of black middle class has and continues to be a popular discourse in the country's public and scholarly debates (Ndletyana, 2014) for the past decades. On the one hand multiple articles are published in popular media in producing statistics of an "increasing" black middle class and its consumption patterns. Due to the racialization of the middle class position as white, the black middle class continues to be constructed as displaying wealth and purchasing power through consumption (Mason, 2007, 26). Perceived as the most important driver of the country's economy, the black middle class, especially in popular media, has been characterised as crass consumers with "elitist and white tendencies" (Chriso, 2014, Wa Azania, 2013) and with little or no interest in long term investments (Steyn, 2013; Durr, 2013; Chriso, 2014). However, others have weaved out the lived experiences of the black middle class and how these complexify our understanding of being black and middle class including significant challenges faced by the black middle class such as family responsibilities and pressure to support those less fortunate (Wood, 2010).

Given these complexities, scholars continue to debate notions of the black middle class and various dynamic characteristic have been pulled out. Congruent with Coner-Edwards and Edwards (1988), the black middle class in South Africa has been accused as embracing the 'Western'/dominant culture at the expense of their 'black' values and activities. According to Ndletyana (2014) has followed a typical suburban way of life with values and lifestyle. However, Ndletyana further reflects on the black middle class's relationship to the working class and how they continue to be tied by familial relations and cultural values and lifestyle (*ibid*., 14). He further illuminates the political impacts of the black middle class on the country's democracy arguing their engagement in politics as "progressive and its active involvement in the country's politics for it seeks to ensure that the state remains transformative" *(ibid*., 15). Apart from discourses of the black middle class and its implication on the country's economy and political spheres, other scholars have taken the

debate further to talk about the intersections between race and globalisation to complexify the understanding of blackness and consumption.

Arguing that there has been a negation of black lived experiences in understanding blackness, Gilroy (2001, 2010), using the political economy of the auto-mobile, reflects on the connections between race, commodity and globalisation (el-Malik, 2011, 63). The author argues that beyond consumption, the car culture "reordered and reorganized social and cultural relationships where the car signified freedom and mobility in black culture" (Gilroy, 2001, 82). Drawing from Adorno's (1974) work, Gilroy suggests that the "pleasures of auto-autonomy can be understood as a means of escape, transcendence and perhaps even resistance for African Americans who were historically confined and coerced into labour. It allowed them to get over the fear of being tied to one place" (*ibid,*. 84-86). Although he does not deny the consumerist nature of the capitalist society, he argues that this consumerism is also tied to the recognition of humanity (el-Malik, 2011, 64), "the capacity to purchase relates to one's humanness. To drive was associated with the desire to control one's destiny…deeply attractive to black Americans for whom such a control has been so distant" (Gilroy, 2010, 21). As such, to consume things associated with whiteness does not only speak to the black middle class' consumerism but the idea of freedom determined by one's capacity for choice, the choice to engage in lifestyle activities historically denied them.

Beyond the state of politics in post-apartheid South Africa, Chipkin (2012), drawing from Gilroy, has elaborated on the black middle class and the construction of blackness in post-apartheid South Africa. He contends that beyond crass consumption, living in gated communities has given blacks a way to negotiate their relationship to the working class family ties that Ndletyana (2014) reflects on. Through spatial distance, he states, the black middle class living in gated communities are able to negotiate their relationship with the working class relatives living in townships. Lacy (2007) and Krige (2012) also argue that there is a need to look beyond this income, wealth, education etc. in order to understand the more complex and nuanced meanings of consumption in relation to blackness. Phadi and Ceruti (2011) demonstrate how complexities of language and individual experiences and their understanding of class influence how they position themselves in relation to class. They argue that (black) people define and describe themselves as "middle class" on the basis of their ability to afford basic goods (*ibid.,*. 88). Drawing from scholars as Phadi and Ceruti (2011) and Krige (2012), Khunou (2013) notes that being black and middle class is a constant and complex negotiation within the black working class spaces and historically white [middle

class] spaces. This illustrates how black lived experiences and meanings of class are significant to the way individuals position themselves. These complexities arise from the socio-economic and political impermanence from this social position, resulting from a constantly shifting membership to this class.

Initially, the concept of a black middle class was not a part of the research questions, however, it became quite clear during interviews that race, space and class were dialectically intertwined and to understand one was to interrogate all three. The idea of a black middle class identity has and continues to be a highly contested one. From a Fanonian perspective of the relationship between colonizer and colonized, the black middle class has been constructed as conspicuous consumers and in pursuit of whiteness. Along with education and occupation from interviews with residents of Impala Park and Nyl Park, lifestyle seems to be a significant factor in the construction of a black middle class identity. Discussing their lifestyle patterns, residents' consumption of leisurely activities such as golf, visiting malls, casinos etc. is congruent with research that has characterized the black middle class as consumers (Seekings and Natrass, 2005; Durr, 2013; Steyn, 2013; Ndletyana, 2014) of things associated with the western notion of a middle class identity.

As one interviewee responded *"when blacks begin to earn more money…,standards of living change, morals, we use fork and knife and see others as without style".* Morals and style in this case signifies the western ideas of what it means to be civilized and middle class. This had led to accusations of the black middle class as exhibiting "elitist and white tendencies" (Wa Azania, 2013; Chriso, 2014) through their consumption patterns (Mason, 2007). These arguments drawing from Fanon's Manichean perspective between the colonizer and the colonized, have conceptualized black people's attainment of a middle class identity as an endeavour towards whiteness suggesting a lack of agency within the black populace. Undeniable as they may be, they represent fraught exaggerations of an entire group. As Gilroy's (2001, 2010 in el-Malik, 2011) work suggests the consumption of the black middle class is tied to commodity and globalization beyond crass consumption.

5.2.2.1. Rural-township-urban mobilities and the negotiation of identity

Geographers within a Lefebvrian understanding of the production of space (Ballard, 2004; Dirsuweit, 2007; Chari, 2012) have made important contributions to South African debates by highlighting the spatial aspects of the intersections of race, class and how space is shaped in relation to them. Along with educational and occupational positions, space has and continues to be central to the question of race and class identities. Racial segregation ensured that one's race shaped their range of class positions, leading to ghettoization where blacks lived in townships with minimal infrastructure in view of them as temporary visitors in "white" South Africa and would return to their rural areas in due time (Ballard, 2002; Seekings, 2010, 3). As a consequence, townships and rural areas became 'othered', conceptualised as geographies of doom and gloom. Consequently, space and class identity became very crucial to black people in how they perceived themselves and others, where living in the township or in a village became synonymous with living in a never-ending state of impoverishment and chaos. This is exemplified by the life [spatial] histories of interviewees from all Impala Park and Nyl Park that make up the case study.

Congruent with Ndletyana's (2014) work, the early 1990s, with the abolishment of acts that restricted their movement, black people-especially the middle class strata of teachers, nurses and clerks-moved into suburban areas. Moving out of townships and rural areas was a way to inscribe their middle class identity and to resist the "black working class" identity imposed on them by distancing themselves from spaces and places associated with that identity. Upward class mobility became intertwined with a symbolic 'upward' spatial mobility where living in urban areas became associated with one's sense of advancement and freedom. Living in town and suburbs became a significant part and feature of the burgeoning black middle class. The opening up of historically white spaces in the early 1990s saw many black middle class individuals and families move into suburbs like Impala Park and Nyl Park. As demonstrated by respondents, *"Go dula toropong"* [to live in town] was and continues to be an important signal of upward social mobility. Teachers and nurses especially were the first to move into Mokopane's suburbs. The need to detach oneself from the space and identity associated with the ills of apartheid was and continues to be important. To move to suburbs, as a symbol of power and autonomy, signifies the political history of spatial position in the culture of black people. As with other commodities such as cars (Gilroy, 2001), black South Africans were

denied access into urban spaces, as such to move out of villages and townships into suburban areas became synonymous with freedom and autonomy.

The use of space by residents of Impala Park and Nyl Park suggests more nuanced understandings of the relationship between blackness and being middle class. Apart from this need to move away from townships and villages, blacks have not been able to remove themselves from these areas completely. Congruent with Phadi *et al*. (2011), Ndletyana (2014), Chipkin (2012) and Khunou (2013)'s work on the experiences of the black middle class, residents of Impala Park and Nyl Park continue to be bound to rural areas and townships, to the working class, by familial responsibilities and friendships. Interviewees as Mr Kekana, especially first generation middle class, continue to be tied to the working class areas because they are responsible for their families (Wood, 2010; Chipkin, 2012; Ndletyana, 2014). According to Chipkin (2012), space in this instance, represents a strategic way in which black people negotiate their family responsibilities. By living far from home, the black middle class can determine how they relate and engage with those seen as 'left behind'. From a Lefebvrian analysis, however, this research shows that the use of space is beyond just the negotiation of familial relations.

Beyond the relationship between class and race from an economic perspective, little has been researched on the black middle class and rural and township spaces beyond just family and friends; particularly how these spaces (rural/township), as places, evoke memories of lived experiences in those who have moved to the centre (urban). Individuals continue to move between the suburbs, townships and villages because these places continue to embody significant memories of childhood and growing up, as one respondent from Nyl Park said "*I remember growing up in the rural areas, playing in the river, eating fruits from fields"*. Like many middle class residents of South Africa who have moved from villages and townships into urban spaces, Impala Park and Nyl Park residents continue to go back to these places not only to "*visit family and friends",* but also to visit familiar spaces like *"chisa nyama and taverns"* as well as for spiritual reasons. The latter particularly speaks to the relationship between ancestors and rural areas. As one respondent from Impala Park said *"I go back home go phasa (ancestral ceremony), ebile (and) my father wants me to move back home when he dies because that is home, where my ancestors are"*.

Despite that the respondent did not envision himself going back to the village; he acknowledged the significance of the rural home and its relationship to his ancestors. He

further added that he would maintain the rural-suburb link so that his children and grandchildren know *where they come from*. Further, it is also important to note that the black middle class themselves are not a homogenous group. There is an assumption, especially in policy circles and in conceptualizing post-apartheid spaces that black people want to move to urban areas. Irrefutable as this maybe, this research shows that not all black want to move to the urban areas. One of the respondents, a Nyl Park resident said that he prefers to live in the rural areas, especially given its sense of community where *"neighbours greet each other and children respect their elders"*, a rarity in the suburbs. The only reason he lived in the urban areas, he said, was because of job opportunities.

This place-attachment forces us to think of the rural-township-suburb mobilities as more than just obligatory relations on the basis of familial relations but to acknowledge the significance of these places to black lives and black experiences in constructing their identities. Visiting townships and villages, beyond visiting families and friends, thus speaks to a kind of nostalgia of things associated with those spaces and places. Having grown up and lived in these spaces for most of their lives, black people created places in what were meant to be labour camps during apartheid. Despite the surveillance of the oppressive state, spaces like taverns and shebeens became significant sites of socialization imbued with different meanings for different people (Chairman *et al.*, 2014). As such, those spaces have come to characterise the post-apartheid landscape, not only as a legacy but perhaps more significantly as spaces that speak to black lived experiences. The black middle class, despite their new class position, with its cultural and social, continue to share similar cultural values and practices with the low middle class (Modisha, 2007 in Ndletyana, 2014) which are attached especially to the rural and township places.

What this research suggests is that mobilities between the rural, township and the urban not only speak to familial ties and responsibilities but also a nostalgia for meanings attached to village and township spaces, one for meaningful spaces of everyday life and socialization that were created by black people even under the throes of a repressive state, memories synonymous with black lived experiences and memories that humanised black history and black lives. This neither serves to depoliticize and/or romanticize black lives during apartheid, nor does it serve as a "sense of loss or dissatisfaction with the present" (Moonsamy, 2014, 9-10), rather it speaks to aspects of black life that remain important in constructions of blackness in post-apartheid South Africa. Because these memories are

inscribed in townships and village spaces, by simply being in those spaces black people feel a sense of belonging as the language of those spaces speak to their lived experience.

This being back in the village and township spaces is negotiated in different spatial settings. The car wash and taverns become spaces where the black middle class, while displaying their power through consumption (Mason, 2007) and the freedom of mobility (Malik, 2011), they can still enjoy the sense of attachment to these places without the fear of being attached to them (Gilroy, 2001). Residents of Impala Park and Nyl Park are able to negotiate their black and middle class identities in-between and within the rural-township-urban spaces. While in the villages and townships, their capacity and power to purchase, to consume a lifestyle historically denied them, allows them to "index" their middle class-ness, positioning them in a way that earns them respect and recognition beyond their ability to consume (Gilroy, 2001). This way, they are not tied to the imposed, although contested, black identity of apartheid; they have the power and freedom to choose when to go into the township and villages without the anxiety that arises with the fear of being tied to those places (Gilroy, 2001, 86).

Beyond just visiting families and friends, section 5.2.2.1 argues that central to these mobilities (rural-township-urban etc.) characteristic of post-apartheid South Africa is the deconstruction and construction of a black middle class identity where individuals, moving between spaces and places, negotiate their identity to one imposed (albeit with little success) by colonialism and apartheid. This negotiation is characteristic of W.E.B du Bois' double consciousness where black people are constantly negotiating their identity between their own self-consciousness and the consciousness of the dominant culture. An in-between, liminal space where "one can infer a certain materiality and located-ness, a space one can inhabit and navigate one's way in an embodied sense" (Andrews and Roberts, 2012, 1). Going back into townships and villages, people's sense of place and identity are negotiated in what they choose to or not to identify with. Moving between those spaces perceived as black (village, Chisa Nyamas, taverns etc.) and those perceived as Western (suburbs, shopping malls, casino, 'fancy' restaurants etc.) by the dominant culture, there is a constant negotiation of one's identity. It is, as argued by Hall (1990, 228), within this negotiation of identity which makes us.

5.1.3. The uncanny 'Other'

Becoming middle class gave black people a sense of agency over where they could live and afforded them a better lifestyle to one prescribed by apartheid. They could become the "civilized" or "better" blacks in the eyes on the oppressor. Although there was, as there is now, consciousness in black people that their condition as oppressed subjects was beyond class position, many still sought to become middle class in order to escape the conditions of living in impoverished areas. The perks of attaining a middle class position are undeniable and in fact brought hope and a sense of agency in many black lives. The perception of the working class of Extension 14 as abject other reveals the black middle class' anxiety about the boundary between the self and other, presenting potential challenges for their state's quest to create integrated communities between different class groups. What may seem like a reproduction of the colonial and apartheid construction of blackness, I suggest, is an uncanniness evoked by the other's potential to remind the black middle class residents of Impala Park and Nyl Park of memories of their past working class position and the associated struggles.

This idea, however, does not intend to universalize the black middle class and their relationship to the low-working class. Not all of them are from a low-working class position, as already mentioned in the first section; there were black middle class families even during apartheid. It merely seeks to present an interpretation which has not been sufficiently developed in existing debates. Drawing from Wood's (2010) documentary on the black middle class, one of the participants states that "*I can never go back where I come from, it would kill me. I worked very hard to be where I am because I know what it's like not to have stuff"*, the fear of going back to a poor position as one of the motivations which propels her to work hard. In the context of my research, one of the respondents said that, the reason for the reluctance to live next to the working class is because they have worked hard to get out of the rural areas and the townships and to have Extension 14, perceived as an area of the poor, is putting them back in a similar position. In fact, during the interview process, he had already bought a stand in Extension 12, an upper-middle class suburb, and was planning to build a house and move there.

People position themselves relationally and spatially where values and status are attached to different spaces to reinforce the division between self and other. In the process of place-making, individual and collective identities signify an important role in the creation of place

and meaning (Ballard, 2004). It is through the presence of the other, as seemingly out-of-place (Wilton, 1998), that this meaning of place is threatened. Residents of Impala Park and Nylpark perceive Extension 14 residents as a threat to their neighbourhoods, not only to their *"property values"*, but also to their moral values and their perceived symbolic order attached to their neighbourhoods, their *sense of place* (Tuan, 1979; Ballard, 2004). There are specific connotations which have been attached to RDP houses and the people who reside in them, a perceived fear that is attached to poor and low-working class residents. The use of metaphors such as *"high levels of crime", "safety"* and *"fear"* of not only being in public spaces but also of what could possibly happen to them while they are in their homes is suggestive of the uncanny that is invoked by Extension 14 residents as the other.

Their presence as others challenges the perceived socio-spatial order of the existing suburbs, blurring the boundary between other and self, "*dis-locating their identities*" (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000, 36; Popke and Ballard, 2004). The encounter with Extension 14 residents in the everyday lives of Impala Park and Nyl Park residents results in unsettling feelings which provoke anxiety, as the different other, is seen as *"somehow out-of-place"* (Wilton, 1998, 177). By simply *being* next to and walking in the streets of existing suburbs on a daily basis, Extension 14 residents challenge the claims (often symbolic) to spaces made by middle class residents of Impala Park and Nyl Park. The presence of RDP houses and the low-working class who dwell in them further challenge the individual and collective identities of the black middle class residents of Impala Park and Nyl Park residents, *"their perceived lifestyles as western, modern and civilised people"* (Ballard, 2002; Ballard, 2004, 49). During a visit in Nyl Park, one of the residents I spoke to said that "*it is not that we don't want them (Extension 14 residents) but the cows that come and graze next to and in our yards, those belong in the rural areas, they are not for the suburbs*". Cows to her, symbolize the "backward" lifestyle of the rural areas and having them in her area destabilizes her "modern and civilized" perception of the suburban area.

Besides being historically ingrained in people's psyches, the othered representation of blacks as disordered and violent continues to prevail in the media and has moved beyond racial cleavages and is reproduced in class identities amongst blacks. Blacks themselves consume and reproduce images of the poor and working class through the colonial and apartheid gaze (hooks, 1992). For example the criminalization of the black body as a material inscription of racism [which acts to reinforce the unjust systems around blackness and criminality] has been adopted by some blacks, from a class perspective, in the construction of poor and working

class black males as criminals, informing their relation to them. As such, residents of existing suburbs especially those from Impala Park avoid the use of public space for fear of their safety. As several interviewees responded *"you'll be scared you'll be getting raped*", *"my neighbor was constantly afraid of what would happen to his wife while he was at work and then they moved"*. One respondent from Impala Park, like many others, does not let his children play in the streets and when he leaves the house, he lets his dogs loose.

Although general perceptions of increased crimes have been attributed to the arrival of Extension 14 residents, not everyone has retreated from the use of public spaces. Given that the public parks in Nyl Park look deserted and unattractive, with no tell-tell signs that they are parks besides being designated as such, residents, especially children and young males and females, use streets to play soccer and to 'hang out'. However, even within these spaces, difference and the boundary between self and other is still produced and maintained. Children and other groups from Extension 14, apparently, can be noticed by the way they look, "*dirty and poor*". These children get stopped and interrogated by young groups and elders from Nyl Park. Mashiane, a Nyl Park resident, claims that their presence is questioned and they are accused of stealing things. Class, not necessarily replacing race, in these spaces is used to draw the boundary between the self and the other.

This spatial proximity blurs their negotiated identity between their self and working class other. As such material possessions and class practices become extremely important in the maintenance of the boundary between the self and other. As Mashiane (Nyl Park resident) claims, *"when blacks begin to earn more money, other blacks [the poor working class] are regarded as lesser humans, we forget where we come from, standards of living change, morals, we use fork and knife and see others as without style".* Style in this instance signifies particular lifestyle activities that are associated with being middle class. These "pleasures" can be understood as a means of escape and even resistance for blacks who's choice of activities were historically confined (Gilroy, 2001). Thus space is significant to the black middle class as a way to create and maintain a boundary from the working class. A significant measure of respect and recognition capable of mediating the effects of subordination associated with township and rural areas can be attained through socio-spatial mobility where living in suburbs gives one freedom and autonomy (Gilroy, 2001).

Their treatment of the working class as other is related not solely to the simple reproduction of the colonial gaze of blackness but to the need for the black middle class to move away

from those people and spaces associated with apartheid and its tragedies. The choice to go back in the township and village means they can negotiate their socio-spatial relations beyond family ties within those spaces but they do not want to 'permanently in those areas', the fear of being confined to those spaces. The presence of Extension 14, however, as a space of the low-working class is representative of those spaces that Impala Park and Nyl Park residents do not want to be in. As one interviewee responded, "*they (the black middle class) want to be in the "ghetto", but they don't want the ghetto near them".* This follows a question on why the black middle class visit Chisa Nyamas and shebeens in the township but contest the establishment of Extension 14. By being in close proximity, Extension 14 makes it difficult to negotiate the relationship with the working class other.

5.2. Conclusion

This chapter sought to reflect on the way in which blackness through the intersection of class and space is negotiated and constructed. Drawing from and expanding the literature on conceptions of the black middle class and lived experiences, it added a spatial element in understanding how blackness is negotiated through different spaces. With that in mind, it sought to reflect on the challenge faced by the state in seeking to create "integrated communities". Part of the negotiation of blackness has been to move out of the rural and township spaces as a way to not only signal ones middle class identity but further to allow one to negotiate their own identity as to the one imposed. Although challenged, by the apartheid state. Despite the changing nature of rural and township landscapes and meanings, these spaces were constructed as spaces of deprivation and anarchy. As such, in seeking to create mixed-income spaces, this spatial proximity to the low-working class, a relationship which the middle class want to negotiate on their terms, blurs their identity as modern and sophisticated presenting a challenge towards the creation of "integrated communities".

The following chapter reflects on how, given the sometimes perceived differences between the working class and the middle class, their experience of historically white spaces is similar to an extent and how individuals and groups continue to challenge the modern conceptions of post-apartheid urban spaces, creating nuanced spaces that speak to part of South Africa's black lived experience. This, it is argued, should be the part of the approach towards the

conceptions of post-apartheid space, a conception that recognizes and considers different aspects of history.

Chapter Six: Rhythms of Emptiness: The uncanny character of post-apartheid spaces

6.1. Introduction

This chapter is made up of two sections. The first reflects on the rhythms of emptiness which characterize the public spaces in Mokopane. Drawing from psychoanalytic theory and in particular from Sibley's broadened understanding of the *Object Relations Theory*, it reflects on how spaces have the potential to induce uncanny (Freud, 1919) feelings in individuals. Congruent with Finchilescu's (2010) work on meta-stereotypes, who argues that contact situations have the potential to induce and anxiety and thus a retreat into familiar spaces, it argues that black people's experientiality (Caracciolo, 2013) of historically white spaces can act as sources of uncanniness where an individual's *ontological security*[10] becomes threatened causing a retreat from those spaces. This, it is argued is because historically white spaces have the potential to invoke feelings of uncanniness by acting as sources of remembrance to memories of black oppression under apartheid. Thus by merely opening up historically white spaces to other racial groups, the state does not give them the right to imagine themselves as belonging. By being not being able to recognize themselves within those spaces, black residents find themselves unable to re-imagine those spaces as they imagine themselves, thus unable to change that space as they change themselves. As such, residents live their social and cultural lives in imagined elsewheres or back in familiar spaces where they came from leaving urban public spaces that are devoid of human interaction, rhythms of emptiness.

The second section looks at the different ways in which individuals, despite the uncanny nature of historically white spaces, especially those perceived as other, challenge meanings of public spaces; creating the interstitial spaces of contact, if not of integration, that have emerged out of the various imaginations and uses of the public space. Given what these spaces reflect about aspects of black lived experiences, I argue that in re-imagining post-apartheid spaces, the state needs to move beyond the mere opening up of historically white spaces towards a de-racialization of these spaces by inscribing experiences of those

[10] According to Croft (2012) *ontological security* depends on some level of familiarity and predictability in one's everyday live and routine. When these two are absent, individuals may find themselves in a state of precarity, anxiety and dread.

historically excluded regardless of the material gains. To neglect that, as is already happening, is to inflict symbolic violence on black lives by denying them the right to that space, the right to imagine themselves as belonging, through the regulation of their engagement with that space.

6.2. Apartheid landscapes as provoking the uncanny

In building a democratic national identity and to enforce a sense of unity across racial, class and gender lines, one of the recommendations in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is the construction of monuments, memorials, and museums to commemorate historical events. Moodley and Adam (2000), however, argue that such an approach, because of different life experiences, subsumes individual and group identities, values and perspectives under reconciliatory politics thus denying difference and contestations to exist. Such an approach also entails the privileging of certain histories over others in fostering unity amongst citizens which could possibly lead to rage in others. This has been demonstrated in the post-apartheid reclaiming of certain spaces and building through name changing which led to anger and conflicts between members of society.

Memory is attached to space and symbolized by the name given to that space. In the process of memorialization, names carry symbolic value giving spaces identity and meaning. Place names (toponymy) are [directly] related to inhabitants included in and/or excluded from particular spaces and the "*ideological and nation-building constructions"* (Horsemann, 2006, 279 in Guyot and Seethal, 2007, 3). Place naming acts as a form of territorialisation that contributes to the identity of places at various scales (Guillorel, 2003). As such place renaming has been adopted to restructure the apartheid landscape in the context of nation building (Ndletyana, 2012). In conceiving the post-apartheid landscape, particular spaces and places have been reclaimed through the changing of street and provincial names as well as the construction of buildings, monuments including public parks to engender historical memories of black lived experiences of the struggle against the apartheid state and oppression. This has not only enraged some residents but more importantly has re-appropriated the post-apartheid landscape, to some extent, and has created different ways in which blacks can identify with those spaces themselves as belonging. Reclaiming post-apartheid South Africa through place renaming, however, is only a tip of the ice berg.

A drive through many of South Africa's small towns, one is showered not only with colonial buildings but also street names, buildings and monuments commemorating Colonial and Afrikaner leaders as well as spires of Afrikaner Christian and Protestant churches, a spatial language of conquest and domination. These place names, as containers of memory and legitimizing tools, reflect colonial and apartheid values and ideology and thus it is through renaming that apartheid identities and legacies become destabilized (Ndletyana, 2012). As part of the re-imagination of post-apartheid spaces, several towns like Mokopane, have been partially reclaimed through the process of place (re) naming, *toponymy*[11]. The town, historically known as Potgietersrus, in commemoration of the Voortrekker leader Piet Potgieter, and several other streets especially main streets have been renamed as part of creating a democratic and non-racial South Africa (Ndletyana, 2012). The process has allowed black people to identify with spaces and places that were historically denied to them. Nonetheless, place renaming, as a way to de-racialize the apartheid landscape, has and continues to be met with great opposition and contestation across the country.

Despite these and several other changes in the town, more spaces and places remain the same. One of the places which still communicate a historical narrative of colonial and apartheid conquest is the Arend Dieperink Museum. Although the history of the town is one of contestation and resistance between different groups, the museum tells only one part of the story. From tractors and ox-wagons to the everyday [historical] lives of Afrikaner families, the history represented, as conveyed by the cultural and historical artifacts in the museum, is one of white supremacy and conquest during the apartheid period. This is a long standing tradition of representing Africa and the dispossession of black people through historical narratives. Such representations are what Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie calls "*the danger of a single story"*[12] where the construction of geographical knowledges become so normalised that, as Allen (1999) contends, they can only be understood through those restricted meanings, making it difficult to imagine them in any other way than the one presented. Thus by continually producing narrative texts of spaces and places that negate certain experiences, such representations continue to oppress those whose lives are negated.

[11] Toponymy (place naming) imbues meaning over space to enforce claims of ownership and ideological legitimation and as a language of space, "communicates and affirms public identity, a public message whose content is prefigured by the political orientation of the state" (Ndletyana, 2012, 91).

[12] According to Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, "a single story creates stereotypes, not necessarily untrue but incomplete, making one story the only story. Such stories rob people of dignity and dispossess, making the recognition of equal humanity difficult" (Ted Talks, 2009)

Because of the lack of personal identification with these spatial representations, the colonial and apartheid language of the 'post'-apartheid spaces continue to influence the ways in which those historically excluded engage with them. These spaces induce feelings of uncanniness in black people as they invoke memories of social violence experienced under apartheid. During interviews with gardeners, they told narratives of their experiences of the apartheid regime and the constant and rigid control imposed on black people. The use of the "*dompas"* to get into town from Sekgakgapeng signifies to them a memory of the constant reminder of black people's belonging into urban spaces. There is also a continued perception of *"Maburu*[13]*"* as symbolic of apartheid, signifying a relational boundary between blacks and whites. As one gardener said, "*I remember coming from Sekgakgapeng keya toropong* (going to town), *they would stop us and demand gore re ba bontshe* (to show them) *di* '*dompas*[14]*'*." Further claiming that, "*They (Afrikaners) have locked themselves in their houses and they are scared of black people. They still don't want black people. This is apartheid".* The trauma of the apartheid landscape, as bell hooks (1992) argues, continues to shape black lives, symbols of whiteness in daily life continue to engender fear *"carried in black people's psyches, shaping and reshaping their world views and social behavior*" (*ibid,*.187)

These narratives and memories are not only confined to those who experienced apartheid, as Malaika Wa Azania's book, *"Memoirs of a Born-Free: Reflections on the Rainbow Nation"* demonstrates, in which she contests the emancipation and mental liberation of the so-called "born frees", those born in the country's first democratic elections. Rather, experiences of apartheid are passed on from generation to generation, instilling in them an understanding of their relationship to some spaces and places and those associated with them. Gampel's suggestion that social violence has a "radioactive" effect and can be unconsciously transmitted from its victims to the next generation offers a lens through which we can further extend the argument to those who did not experience the social violence of apartheid but had it narrated to them by those close to them and through media representations of historical events and other forms of narrative counts.

One resident of Impala Park perceived racism as reduced especially amongst the younger generation, to which he called his son (between 10-12) to tell me how he has white and Indian friends and sometimes goes to visit them at their houses. Despite these perceived

[13] Maburu translates into Boere and is a term used amongst black people to designate white Afrikaners, both male and female.

[14] A dompas or pass book is a permit that was used by black people during apartheid in accessing and as a "condition for employment in 'South Africa'" (Murray, 1987, 321).

notions of reduced racism, perceptions of Mokopane as still a white space seem to influence people's engagement with it. When asked why he and family attended church in Mahwelereng, he responded that because of the apartheid past, his family and many other black families in Impala Park and Nyl Park do not attend churches in town as they are still mainly Afrikaans. Several other residents spoke similarly of different spaces. Solomon, the local town pool lifeguard said he does not go the local, mainly white, bar not because he knew exactly why but because "*it just not the same"*. These responses suggest the ways in which images of place may evoke memories about past experiences of place (Sibley, 1999, 118). Suburbs, as representatives of historically white spaces remind those historically excluded of the past and the unfamiliarity of those spaces serve as a source of uncanniness by invoking anxiousness in individuals.

Like those respondents who experienced an uneasiness of being in historically white spaces, as a young, black woman who grew up in Ga-Madiba village, about 15 km outside of town, I also experienced this sense of uneasiness and anxiety. Being in spaces as the Afrikaner church (NHK) and rattle cage bar, one begins to think the space and what the space represented and given that some of these spaces remain predominantly white and Afrikaner, it becomes difficult to feel "*at home"* in a space where you feel as though your presence is questioned. The stares and the continued use of Afrikaans in presenting everything from the menu to the use of the language as the medium of instruction, it became difficult for me to engage with anyone. Although spaces like the church cannot be changed much in terms of the medium of instruction, in the broader context of the town, most spaces continue to speak only to a white, Afrikaner history, making difficult for others to engage and feel a sense of welcome and belonging.

The uncanny is further reinforced through the symbolic violence of the socio-spatial organization of the town. It is through every day symbolic objects such as the use of a foreign language, spatial organization etc. that people come to feel out of place. It is through this constant reminder that people in historically white spaces keep going back to familiar spaces, spaces familiar to their lived experiences. Bourdieu (2001) and Young's (1990) conceptualizations of domination and order reveal the processes of ordering beneath a surface that looks unruly and fragmented, pointing towards deep continuities of domination derived from South Africa's colonial and apartheid pasts. For example, the subtle ordering produced in language is a precise consequence of symbolic violence. Aside from the already existing spatial organization of the town and its architecture, the language still used in town remains

predominantly Afrikaans, from advertisements, school curricula to other spaces of consumption as shopping centers and restaurants. The taken-for-grantedness of these "realities", as unavoidable and normal, produces, reproduces and maintains social order and control (Toner *et al*., 2010; Murphy and Esposito, 2002). Space itself, as Lefebvre's work demonstrates, is not without symbolic violence.

The production of post-apartheid spaces, despite being perceived as progressive and democratic, facilitates state power, produce and maintain social order (Lefebvre, 1991). For example, the conceived nature of Extension 14, despite seeming as good for those historically marginalized, subjects others to systematic violence. The lack of social and economic facilities as schools, shops, entertainment and public spaces etc., subjects residents to an order where they are forced to go back to villages and townships in order to have access to these facilities. Despite the *"feminization of migration"*[15] which came to characterize internal migration patterns of post-apartheid South Africa, the state continues to fail to recognize the various ways in which different identities are impacted upon by its conceptualization of post-apartheid spaces. The general lack of space available to residents in creating their own forms of social spaces has led to "informal" establishments of facilities and manifestations that are a result of this lack, a result of the state's decisions and plans. The creation of post-apartheid spaces, by privileging the economic to the social and cultural aspect of those historically excluded from certain spaces, subjects other social groups to a form of symbolic violence, where the very people whom the policies seek to "include" and "integrate" are not given a meaningful *right to the city*, the right to reimagine and change the city, as they change themselves (Harvey, 2005).

The main argument made is that unfamiliar spaces, in relation to one's lived experience, can act as sources of uncanniness where an individual's *ontological security* (Dirsuweit, 2007; Croft, 2012) in that space becomes threatened. The lack of conviviality and multiplicity in [some] post-apartheid spaces leads to people's avoidance of them and those perceived as associated with them. Representations of space, imbued with discourse and power serves to (re) create spatial identities as well as boundaries between those that belong and those that don't. People's imaginations, shaped by their social lives, further perceive these physical spaces and how they relate to them and others. Historical narratives and scholarly texts of the

[15] The *feminization of migration*, according to Balbo and Marconi (2006, 709), is the "increasing number of women with children trying to escape the 'dependency' conditions and provide for their children". In the post-apartheid context, Debra Posel (2003) speaks of how the temporary labour migration id driven particularly by the rise in female labour migration.

colonial and apartheid era (white supremacy) continue to reinforce and legitimize these knowledges such that people come to understand and position themselves in relation to others through them.

Implicit within discourses of social integration is the "inclusion" of the other in mainstream (western) modernity. Thus at policy level, the discourse of integration as an inclusion of the 'other' reinforces the perceived lack of social organization of those perceived as other and reaffirm the (opaque) social organization of dominant groups. The unfamiliarity of spaces where the other is included, to an extent, determines how they position themselves both relationally and spatially. The so called post-apartheid communities have been imagined via the lens of including blacks into historically white neighborhoods. These spaces, far removed from their lived experiences, and through the telling and re-telling of historical narratives of the colonial and apartheid pasts, crucial as they may seem, serve as constant reminders of parts of their constructed identities and memories of struggles and the social violence experienced. When confronted with situations that remind them of the past or invoke anxieties about their social positioning, they are overwhelmed by feelings of uncanniness and avoid interaction and retreat back into familiar spaces (Finchilescu, 2010).

These familiar spaces, these villages and townships, as spaces of marginality, become more than just sites of deprivation but also spaces of resistance. The rural and/or the township as suggested by hooks (1990) become spaces of refusal, spaces where one can say no to the colonizing gaze. In the suburbs, white spaces, black residents encounter difficulties in the development of their bodily make up and their bodies are surrounded by an atmosphere of uncertainty where they become aware and responsible for their bodies and their race (Fanon, 2000, 258-259; Fanon, 2008). This position is made visible and scrutinized. In the townships and villages, their lived-in segregated spaces of their past, they are not other (hooks, 1990), they do not have to account for the fact of their blackness. To be in the township and/or the village is to actively produce counter [hegemonic] discourses (*ibid.*,. 1990).

The case of Mokopane reveals that post-apartheid communities as conceived by the state only gives people access to urban spaces in so far as they can afford them and the access to possible job opportunities for the black middle class and working class respectively, privileging the economic over their social and cultural lives. These urban spaces, unfamiliar to their lived experience, in turn lead them living their social and cultural lives elsewhere. The significance of people's ties with these socio-cultural elsewheres is reflected in section

6.2., and by no means does section claim that people only go back to these places (villages, townships etc.) because their immediate spaces provide no social spaces, the argument is that by continually creating spaces that do not allow for difference and for people to imagine themselves as belonging and exercise their rights in engaging with those spaces, we are further reinforcing stereotypical understandings of those perceived as other. It is against this backdrop that I pose this question, how then do we rethink post-apartheid communities in ways that ensure that people feel a sense of belonging?

6.3. The re-appropriation of Suburban spaces and meaning

Contrary to the state's pursuit of "integrated" post-apartheid spaces, some elements, if not most, of its spatial planning continue to mimic the apartheid spatial engineering. Most research has focused largely on the establishment of urban fortresses and other socio-spatial enclaves as new forms of spatial segregation. In the context of Mokopane, given the resistance and ambivalence towards the establishment of Extension 14 from residents of Impala Park and Nyl Park, the municipality, in agreement with residents, established a buffer zone, a direct reconstruction of apartheid's physical barriers meant to establish a division between different racial groups. Other buffer zones, from the apartheid era, can be found in other suburbs of the town. For example, the suburb of Akasia, a historically and still predominantly Indian suburb, established during apartheid has a similar buffer zone separating it from Flora Park, a historically white suburb.

In addition to the spatial order and regulation imposed on Extension 14 residence, very little availability of public and spaces also ensures that, as a form of governance, Extension 14 residents have very little social spaces as a way of moral regulation, governing their movements and behavior within the surrounding suburbs. This way, residents' mobilities become organized in such a way that their movement within the suburbs is limited to work and for most of their social lives, they are forced to go back into other social spaces usually located villages and townships. However, contestations over space and meanings have come to be a feature of Extension 14's rhythms of daily life where residents, in their daily lived experiences reimagine and remake the public space, constantly redefining the public realm (Crawford, 1995).

Apart from serving immediate needs of residents, spaza shops have become more than just informal enterprises. Given the lack of public spaces in Extension 14, they have also become publicly open and accessible spaces. Individuals and groups, children, walk in and out throughout the course of the day, engaging in a myriad of social interactions where the spaza shops serves simultaneously as a space of informality, enterprise and sociability (Chairman *et al.,* 2014). Despite their embedded-ness in black lived experiences, spaza shops and taverns continue to be portrayed as negative spaces, for example the Department of Planning and Urban Management has reported that "these businesses do not comply with the town planning scheme and related by-laws, and cause unnecessary crime, noise and other disturbances." (City of Johannesburg).

The buffer zone, imagined by the municipality, Impala Park and Nyl Park residents as a physical zone of separation, of governance, between them and those perceive as "other" (Extension 14 residents), has been and continues to be used and re-appropriated by children as playgrounds and by young adults as a commercial space where they have erected a small tuck shop serving both residents from Impala Park, Nyl Park and Extension 14. Not only the buffer zone has been re-appropriated but children have also encroached onto private land to create soccer and netball fields. These reflect resistance and contestation over the meaning of public and social spaces, moral regulation and governance (Walsh and High, 1999), challenging meanings and perceptions of their othered identity and the symbolic borders between them and the residents of other suburbs. Although the appropriation of spaces like streets as playgrounds is focused on Extension 14 residents, even children in Nyl Park play soccer and other games in the streets despite the availability of open and [unflattering] pieces of land designated as parks. These re-imaginations of space changes the representations of the urban as conceived by the state, weaving in and creating spaces that resonate with their lived experiences (Lefebvre, 1991),

Apart from the re-imagination and appropriation of several spaces, young people, especially men, have taken to the streets where mundane activities such as walking lazily i.e. taking a stroll, have allowed them to reclaim public space and assert their identity. Constructed as criminals and a nuisance, the simple act of, *"going nowhere slowly"* as contestation allows them to "reconstruct and redefine meaningful spaces for themselves" (Hil and Bessant, 1999, 49). As Fitzgerald and Threadgold (2007, 108) contend "walking the city can make the city as much as the walker". The presence of children and young people [especially those from Extension 14] in public spaces speaks to their demand to be recognized by those who

perceive them as the other, asserting their right to urban public spaces beyond access to include their right to re-imagine and re-appropriate that space as they re-imagine themselves (Harvey, 2005; Lefebvre, 1996).

Through the act of walking, not only children but also individuals from Extension 14, using Nyl Park and Impala Park as a transitory space, rewrite and transform these spaces (Herbert, 2014). It is through these movements in the streets that residents of Extension 14 assert their own identities beyond how they are perceived by the Nyl Park and Impala Park residents. The presence of gardeners, commuters, maids, children, construction workers in the streets, as their stories and experiences intersect; provide a textuality of post-apartheid urban spaces beyond one that romanticizes a particular idea of "modern" urban landscapes. It transgresses the "ordered and rationality" of urban centers as defined by Fanon where invisible histories and bodies become visible, weaving together the diverse fragments of the urban landscape (De Certeau in Herbert, 2014, 202). Despite the boundaries that exist between the three suburbs, children have also created interstitial spaces which blur the boundaries. For example, children from Extension 14 went cycling on the tar roads of Impala Park and Nyl Park.

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter sought to reflect on the rhythms of emptiness characteristic of the public spaces in Nyl Park, Impala Park and several parts of Mokopane. The first section looked at the uncanny nature of historically white spaces and how they have the potential to induce anxiety in those historically excluded, causing a retreat from those spaces. It further argued that familiar spaces like the rural and township spaces in this instance, beyond the argument made in chapter five on their embeddedness in black lived experiences and a negotiation of blackness, serve as spaces of resistance against the colonizing gaze of historically white urban and suburban spaces. Despite the uncanny character of these spaces, however, it reflected on the imagination and re-appropriation of post-apartheid spaces. It particularly focused on individuals, especially children and young adults' use of public spaces in ways that challenge the state's conception of the post-apartheid landscape. Further it looked at interstitial spaces of contact where difference is encountered and negotiated arguing that

these lived experiences should inspire the approach towards thinking through the construction of integrated post-apartheid communities.

Chapter Seven: Reflections on the construction of integrated communities in Post-apartheid South Africa

7.1. Introduction

This dissertation sought to understand everyday dynamics of social and spatial relations in the context of a supposedly desegregated post-apartheid town of Mokopane. The study began by trying to contextualize the case study area in the context of post-apartheid South Africa and its quest to create integrated communities through spatial organization. Given the establishment of Extension 14 as part of the state to create integrated post-apartheid communities, the study sought to understand the social dynamics that emerged in everyday encounters and how people negotiated difference in public spaces. In understanding the everyday use of space by residents of the three suburbs under investigation, the dissertation reflected on the way space, race and class continue to shape each other. As such, by focusing on attempts to fashion integration through spatial planning, this dissertation reveals several challenges faced by the state in creating integrated post-apartheid communities.

In conclusion, this chapter provides a critique of the post-apartheid state and its quest to create integrated communities. It focuses not only on the conceptualization of "integration" and "community" but more significantly on the key assumptions made in the spaces of representation of post-apartheid South Africa including the homogenization of racial and class groups and the subsequent denial of difference; treating space as devoid of meaning, the adoption of Western notions of integration and denying certain groups a *right to the city*[16]. Further, it highlights possible ways in the configuration of post-apartheid spaces and how these may be possible approaches towards integration.

[16] According to Lefebvre, the right to the city is centered on the production of urban space, thus the right to the city is essentially the right to urban life. It involves two principal rights, the right to participation and the right to appropriation (Purcell, 2002), thus the right not only of access but also to belong, to imagine and reimagine oneself while reimagining the city itself (Harvey, 2003).

7.2. Integrated communities in post-apartheid South Africa: A possibility?

Within discourses of integration, with their inclusion of the other in the "dominant" sphere of life, is the assumption that 'others' have no social organization and/or even if they do, it is not worthy of recognition and acknowledgement in the creation of integrated societies. South Africa's quest to create a non-racial democracy unfortunately falls under the crevices of reinforcing the black/white racial dyads. The country's denial to recognize diversity has led to policies that do not embrace multiplicity but those that privilege other social experiences over others. By creating spaces that do not speak to other groups' lived experiences is to exclude them by stripping them of the right to engage with that space beyond just giving them 'access' to resources and opportunities available in that space.

Broadly, this dissertation sought to understand why the mere reorganization of post-apartheid spaces has not led to integration between different social groups. In doing so and in answering the broad research question, it focused primarily on black people's use and imagination of space and what that revealed in terms of challenges faced by the state in creating integrated communities. Empirically, the research focused on the spaces and people that residents of Mokopane engaged with and why in everyday live. Given the emptiness of public spaces such as public parks, the focus was on understanding where people spent their time and what their perceptions of the urban public spaces were.

Firstly, the dissertation demonstrates that the conceived apartheid and post-apartheid spaces adopted the contact hypothesis in segregating people and in integrating them, respectively. Focusing on the post-apartheid's state conceived spaces of integration, it demonstrates how the contact hypothesis, as a policy approach in spatial planning, has failed to create integration amongst different social groups. Current efforts to create integration have focused largely on creating spatial proximity between racial groups and recently between different class groups. This conception of integration is based on the assumption that contact amongst different social groups will result in the reduction of class and racial prejudice. This approach, however, has been shown to fail not only internationally but also in the context of post-apartheid South Africa.

Drawing from Lefebvre's theory of the social production of space, imagined geographies and psychoanalysis, spatial proximity between different social groups does not necessarily lead to integration. This, it is argued, is due to the naturalised social and spatial differences that have

been produced by colonialism and apartheid which have now become part of the taken-for-granted activities of everyday life. The state's conception of space as a container neglects to consider the psychological implications of particular spaces in the production of social relations. Further the dissertation reflects on the relationship between race, class and space and how much of it is still mediated by historical socio-spatial mobilities.

Congruent with MacIver and Page's (1961) conception of community as locality, the post-apartheid state continues to believe that integrated communities are realities that can be engineered through the reorganisation of physical space, what Pahl (in Clark, 1973) refers to as the "*doctrine of architectural determinism*". However, as more and more research suggests, attempts to create these communities continue to fail (Shaker, undated; Meny-Gibert, 2012). This, as Hebert (1977, cited in Clark, 1973) argues, is because the physical landscape is too simplistic in determining social life. This "ideal of community" as argued by Young and others homogenises society and denies the existence of difference. In the context of post-apartheid South Africa, particularly in policy planning circles, blacks have and continue to be homogenised under a single category, the racial category. The democratic state, by focusing only on material redistribution, fails to recognise the disadvantages and injustices suffered by some social groups due to everyday practices of a *"well-intentioned"* society (Young, 1990).

Secondly, through an analysis of the everyday dynamics of social and spatial patterns in a supposedly desegregated space and despite changes in the South Africa's class strata, it is clear that the everyday mobilities and social interactions of residents continue to be influenced by the social and spatial histories of apartheid. Using the black middle class of Mokopane as an example, and reflecting especially on their socio-spatial mobilities, this research reflects on how blackness continues to be negotiated and shaped by trajectories that were characteristic of the apartheid landscape. Black people continue to negotiate aspects of their subjectivities between the rural-township and urban landscape. This, it is argued, speaks to hooks' idea of the margin as a space of resistance as well as to Du Bois's notion of double consciousness. Being in the rural and township spaces equips black people with a certain way of seeing and relating to the world and being in the urban also equips them with a different perspective. Moving in-between within and in-between these spaces allows them to negotiate their own identities beyond ties that they may have to them.

This research particularly reflects on the relationship between class, race and space. The black middle class, conceptualised in popular media discourses as conspicuous consumers, in their use and imagination of public space reflect on the relationship between class and race. The rural-township and urban reflect on how the lived experiences continue to shape and influence the black middle class' engagement with public space. There is, in these mobilities, the constant negotiation of identity within and in-between the different space and places. In the context creating integrated communities, the spatial proximity of those perceived as other, particularly the low-working class, blurs the boundary between the self and other, influencing how social relations are (re) produced and maintained. The treatment of the low-working class is not a mere reproduction of the colonial gaze but a way in which historically low-working class who have now moved into the suburbs can assert their identity as middle class, a position which was denied them during the apartheid era. To move out of the rural areas and the township is a part of this assertion of a new identity, allowing them to negotiate their identity through an interaction within the different spaces and peoples.

Thirdly, the language of post-apartheid spaces and the historical relations associated with it continue to shape the way black people engage with those space. As different people read this spatial narrative, with its signs and signifiers, it shapes the social (re) production of identities. The language of historically white spaces, as inherently white, induces uncanny feelings in those who were historically excluded. It is argued that the conceived spaces of post-apartheid South Africa continue to be that of colonialism and apartheid, the conquest of blacks by the white settlers and Afrikaners. The historical narrative of post-apartheid spaces continues to tell a "single story", negating the black lived experience in the process. As such, in their encounter and interaction with these spaces, the ontological security of blacks is threatened. To negate their lived experiences is to deny them the right to imagine themselves as belonging as well as the right to engage with space in meaningful and productive ways.

Nonetheless, even in the midst of trauma and uncanniness evoked by the apartheid landscape, as opposed to disengaging from the use of public spaces, there are several ways in which black residents of Mokopane, especially children and young adults, through every day spatial practice, challenge the state's conception of urban public spaces. Despite the avoidance of several public spaces in Mokopane suburbs, individuals, especially children, in their everyday lives, have carved out interstitial spaces of interaction with the stranger. The cycling and biking in-between Extension 14, Nyl Park and Impala Park demonstrate ways in which individuals rewrite the urban landscape, transforming each space in the process where the

othered in this process becomes "known and seen". Different individuals from different socio-economic backgrounds including gardeners, maids, workers and children, transform the urban landscape as is imagined by the state and others. Through everyday practices such as being and walking, they negotiate and subvert efforts to regulate the urban public realm; spaza shops, as spaces that speak to black lived experience, but more importantly as spaces that provide simultaneously micro-public spaces of contact and engagement between strangers.

The dissertation thus highlights the significance of researchers focused on people's lived experiences and meanings attached to different spaces in understanding the social production of space and social relations in post-apartheid South Africa. Such studies must interrogate not only social relations between different groups but also spatial relations in order to understand how those produce and are produced by social relations. The dissertation further suggests a possibility in creating post-apartheid South Africa through the politics of difference. Despite the significance of the national identity, elusive as it may seem, instead of trying to foster integration through a single identity and "common values" shared by all South Africans, the state should recognize, as opposed to denying, the diversity of South Africa's society. Drawing from Young and Amin the state ought to create spaces that allow for difference and situated multiplicity to exist in urban spaces; to allow for agonistic politics of difference to exist as opposed to treating difference as a problem that needs to be solved. The recent "Rhodes must fall" event demonstrate the need to firstly recognise black history and black lived experience in the production of post-apartheid spaces and the need to allow for difference to exist in the country.

Drawing on contemporary social theories in rethinking and problematizing the "politics of and negotiating difference", Young and Amin provide an approach to creating integration in public spaces. They argue that politics cannot be based solely on principles of recognition and community as such policies that emphasize the notion of an *"ideal community"* entail a *"shared identity which denies, and devalues the ontological difference of subjects…seeking to dissolve vastness into…a self-enclosed whole"* (Young, 1990: 229-230). This view, they contend, presents problems in diverse societies particularly in those societies where different social groups share very little in terms of their lived experiences. Despite that the nature of difference itself is political and politicized; it remains arguable that Young and Amin's work on the politics of difference remains fruitful in providing ways in which to think about the construction and production of post-apartheid spaces.

The production of post-apartheid spaces should aim not only at "integrating" the historically marginalised but aim also to deconstruct existing epistemologies of the South African landscape, those of conquest and western ideologies and instead to allow for difference. In understanding contemporary African cities, certain aspects such as the [informal economy] have come to be understood as not belonging and in need of construction, however, as AbdoulMaliq Simone (2004) argues in his book "*For the City Yet to Come: Changing the African Life in Four Cities",* in reimagining African cities, one needs to grapple with and "*acknowledge the particular histories of each and incorporate the local knowledge already existing in informal urban economies and social systems"*. In understanding urban governance, thus, one needs to understand the local histories and present realities that are characteristic of contemporary African cities. Even so, it is crucial not to privilege "structures" as completely deterministic of human behaviour but to recognise contestations as resistance to structural impositions where individuals carve out and define other forms of space (Hil and Bessant, 1999).

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Appendix

Respondent	Occupation	Gender	Resident	suburb
1	Safety Manager (mine)	Male	Yes	Impala Park
2	Garderner I (Church)	Male	No	
3	Gardener II (Church)	Male	No	
4	Townpool lifeguard	Male	No	
5	Garage worker	Male	Yes	Extension 14
6	Wife of Garage worker	Female	Yes	Extension 14
7	Town Planner	Male	No	
8	Town Planner	Male	No	
9	Church secretary	Female	Yes	Impala Park
10	Creche Owner	Female	Yes	Extension 14
11	Spaza visitor	Female	Yes	Extension 14
12	Spaza visitor	Male	Yes	Extension 14
13	Business owner	Male	Yes	Extension 14 and Nyl Park
14	Wife of 13	Female	Yes	Extension 14
15	Self-employed (construction)	Male	No	
16	City to City official	Male	Yes	Nyl Park
17	Graduate	Female	Yes	Nyl Park
18	Garderner (Impala)	Male	No	
19	Landscaper	Male	No	
20	Spaza owner I	Male	Yes	Extension 14
21	Spaza owner II	Male	Yes	Extension 14
22	Helper	Female	No	
23	Gardener (Bar)	Male	No	
24	Migrant		Yes	Nyl Park
25	Housing	Female	No	

	official			
26	Community services official	female	Yes	Nyl Park
27	Father	male	Yes	Impala Park
28	Guesthouse owner	female	Yes	Impala Park
29	Geologist	Male	Yes	Impala Park
30	Church visitor	Male	Yes	Impala Park
31	Church visitor	Female	Yes	Impala Park