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DEVELOPING A MEASURE OF SOCIAL COHESION FOR SOUTH AFRICA

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South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Developing A Measure of Social Cohesion for South Africa

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report proposes the use of an internationally benchmarked approach to, and index of Social Cohesion for South Africa. The index will enable the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) to be able to measure its progress in respect of the achievement of Social Cohesion, both longitudinally of time, as well as in comparison to the performance of other, similar countries. The use of this index will provide a more efficient alternative to the current set of 23 indicators within the Department (and 88 within government as a whole) as found in the National Development Indicators (DPME, 2014).

The value of the index is in itself not intrinsic, and is only useful to the DAC insofar as it is able to influence policy and programme evaluation, support performance measurement and contribute to evidence-based decision-making. The National Government has defined 14 National Outcomes, which together embody the long term strategic programme of government in attaining the ideals contained in the National Development Plan. These translate directly into the Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF), which defines the five year plan of government in this regard. The MTSF rallies government around the task to attain ‘a diverse (and) socially cohesive society with a common national identity’, which is also articulated as the fourteenth National Outcome. It admits that, despite significant progress since 1994, much of South Africa remains divided along the lines of race, class, gender and space, while *who you are* and *where you live* continues to impact on quality of well-being and services. The MTSF decries the fact that:

The social, psychological and geographic elements of apartheid continue to shape the lives and outlook of many South Africans. It is this inherited psyche of racial, gender and sexual orientation prejudices and stereotypes, breakdown in values, inequality of opportunity and massive poverty, as well as competition for scarce resources, which helps fuel racism, xenophobia and gender-based violence (MTSF, 2014-2019).

Government is not, however, singularly responsible for the transformation of South African society. It is a collective task that requires all sectors of society, and the citizenry as a whole, to engage themselves in.

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The role of government is to provide policy direction, implement, monitor and evaluate programmes that support the national vision of a socially cohesive society, and provide the conditions that are necessary to facilitate it. This research presents a significant contribution to the task, as it provides an empirical basis upon which to evaluate the current theory of change – that is, the logical framework of interlinking outputs and outcomes and their indicators - and thereby facilitate evidence-based decision-making within the state.

The report provides an overview of some of the more important ideas on Social Cohesion in the South African and international literature. We begin with a review of theoretical and definitional work on the concept. A scan of the growing body of work on Social Cohesion in South Africa is next presented. We note some tension between early work stressing the importance of social justice as a component of Social Cohesion, and a later emphasis on the importance of developing a value consensus in South Africa, and linking Social Cohesion to government's nation-building project. What we have found wanting in all of the existing research is a causal analysis between the objective realities of citizens and the subjective perceptions upon which the existing surveys are based. Self-reported levels of variables such as trust, identity, human security and inequality dominate the current indices, and we argue in the conclusion that there is a need for further surveys to address some of these shortcomings. It is beyond the scope of this research to embark on primary data collection of this nature, as it is a long-term investment in research that will require resources (human and financial) to, for example, develop constructs, concepts, instruments, coding and analysis on a longitudinal basis. We have included this as a recommendation in this report.

The need for the development of an empirical measure of the concept emerges in the international literature and in South Africa at much the same time. Internationally, it emerges as a response to the pressures associated with globalisation. We note that although there is a proliferation of different frameworks, there is within these an emergent similarity. Most of these approaches use existing data-sets, and rely on participants' perceptions, or a combination of their perceptions and economic and social data on the society being assessed.

We have singled out three specific approaches for closer examination here. These are the Social Cohesion Radar approach, focused on Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, based at Jacobs University in Bremen, and supported by the Bertelsmann Stiftung, the SCORE approach, which includes a measure of Conflict Resolution and is focused on societies in post conflict development, and based in Cyprus, and the Oxford-based Centre for Research on Peace and Development (CRPD) approach which has a specifically African focus. All of these frameworks have much to commend them, and could be used in South Africa to provide good policy support for this country, and also serve as a basis for comparison with other countries. The value of this piece of work is rooted in its focus on South Africa, which has been found lacking in the existing research. It therefore presents one of the first attempts to localise the measurement of Social Cohesion in the country.

There is an instrumental relationship between the index and the DAC's performance monitoring and reporting functions. While the index represents proxy indications of what (and whether) societal change is happening, DAC's own programme performance information can be examined in relation to whether

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its key interventions are making a positive impact to Social Cohesion (or not). It facilitates reflective thinking and learning about the kinds of interventions that are required by government and all stakeholders in a process of evidence-based decision making. It will be a critical tool that simultaneously acts as a barometer of the South African condition of Social Cohesion and provides a lodestar upon which policy direction, strategic interventions and programmatic planning can be based.

Drawing on the three international approaches mentioned above, we next propose a comprehensive, multi-indicator measure of Social Cohesion for the reader's consideration, and adjustments for variation among South Africa's different population groups and social strata. The index which we call the South African Radar for Social Cohesion (SARSC) is tested, using data from relevant social datasets, and yields scores that suggest its robustness and fitness for purpose. A value of **0.37**, placing SA close to the middle of the range of African countries for which data exist, is derived. An overview of the application of the South African Radar for Social Cohesion illustrates its ability to point up weaknesses and strengths in Social Cohesion in South Africa, as well as comparisons versus other African countries, and provides a graphic comparison with other countries, as well as an illustration of the variances between the different domains of Social Cohesion, and different levels of Social Cohesion among South African race groups, age cohorts, and income brackets, thus providing a powerful tool for assessing, in granular fashion the scope for policy development and improvement in Social Cohesion in South Africa. Presentation of results is greatly enhanced through the use of customised Radar Gauges. A way forward involving a 'workshopping' of the model, for optimal improvement and fine tuning with relevant scholars and the policy community is then sketched. The report ends with brief concluding remarks.

Key Words: social Cohesion, inclusion, exclusion, social capital, social justice, tolerance, trust.

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2. TERMS OF REFERENCE

The following constitute the terms of reference for a project to:

*Write a **Position Paper** on the development of a Social Cohesion Statistical Index - the purpose of which is to present an actual statistical framework with measuring instruments and indicators that could be used to produce a statistical index (similar to the Human Development Index) - this should be a very high priority output. The index will simplify, and standardise an index of social cohesion, for South Africa that will be useful, and user-friendly for the Government and people of South Africa, as an instrument for the achievement of increased social cohesion in the country.*

The team will consider the following in the execution of the project:

- A multi/transdisciplinary team will be established, which will
- Include a quantitative economist, statistician and social scientist.
- Take due cognizance of international best practice including the UNESCO work on culture and social cohesion, considering also the UNESCO work on Cultural Statistics.
- Take cognizance of previous work towards the development of a social cohesion measure for South Africa
- Refer to: The SACO-developed 'Towards a Cultural Statistical Framework' (Snowball and Collins) in which some useful material can be found.
- The project will pursue diversity/capacity building.

Key activities:

- Team Workshop in Port Elizabeth
- Travel for interviews and research in South Africa
- Writing of the position paper
- Review and final edit of the position paper
- Writing of a research article

3. INTRODUCTION

There is currently much discussion in South Africa, about Social Cohesion, or rather the need for it, or the lack of it. In general this should come as no surprise, given the high and increasing levels of animosity that are apparent in our society. Internationally and comparatively, the idea of insubstantial Social Cohesion has been linked to manifold social problems, including depressed public expenditure, poor economic growth and violent conflict. These are widely agreed to constitute 'pre-determinants' of Social Cohesion, and countries with higher measurements of Social Cohesion (such as the Nordic countries) also boast high measurements in some of the other development indicators, such as the Human Development Index (HDI).

For instance, Chidester et al. (2003: 323) make the point that the World Bank believes that Social Cohesion and integration are crucial for economic development. In South Africa, the commitment to the pursuit of a capable developmental state is premised on the attainment of *inclusive* economic growth, towards the eradication of poverty and inequality. Social Cohesion and the creation of 'a diverse (and) socially cohesive society with a common national identity' (MTSF 2014-2019) is a fundamental component of this strategy. It is contained in the National Development Plan, the country's blueprint and long-term strategic plan, and has been translated into 14 National Outcomes, outlined in government's five year Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF 2014-2019).

South Africa in 2016 witnessed accusations of racism and incidents of mutual intolerance in the country that are unparalleled since the beginning of its universal democracy, in 1994. Protests regarding a lack of service delivery are ubiquitous, and increasingly turn violent, resulting in destruction of property, burning of tyres, blocking of roads, etc. Student dissatisfaction, bubbling under for years, has also manifested in numerous protest marches and occupations. It has, moreover led to destruction of property, burning of artwork and buildings, and inter-personal violence. Even in parliament, party-political conflict regularly results in parties being ordered out of the house, as a consequence of the debate escalating beyond the generally accepted levels of hostility. Labour unrest continues unabated, resulting in a fractioning of the labour movement itself, over differences among leadership in respect of strategy, as inequality increases, resulting in an ever more marginalised labour force. Periodic outbursts of xenophobia result in violence against foreign shopkeepers and others. Increasing unemployment seems impervious to any government strategies to arrest it. At face value, therefore, it would appear that these are symptoms of declining Social Cohesion. However, the failure to see these conditions as part of the broader systemic issues of socio-economic transformation would fail to identify the root of their location, and their complexity as a 'wicked' problem. The 'divide and rule' legacy of apartheid and its associated deliberate under-development of the vast majority of the citizens of South Africa continues to haunt it, manifesting itself in cleavages that still exist today in respect of race, class, gender and space. The remedy to declining levels of Social Cohesion therefore does not lie with a single state department, the DAC, whose mandate it is to address only some – explicit – levers of Social Cohesion. One of the key roles of the DAC is to act as an *early warning system*, partly achieved by developing measures of Social Cohesion, and monitoring and evaluating the interventions of key stakeholders acting collectively in its pursuit. The indicators contained

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in the index developed in this initiative points us in the direction of the impact – rather than the performance – of actors' attempts to address both the systemic, structural issues of socio-economic transformation as well as the more indicative manifestation of cohesion (e.g. trust, identity and solidarity).

Much recent writing reflects on the above condition as a lack of certain elements of Social Cohesion: for instance, Von Fintel (2015: 55), citing Posel and Hinks (2013), writes that: "Some evidence of this breakdown in society is found by examining the levels of trust in South Africa. They find that South Africans have very low levels of reported trust compared with other countries, even when looking at trust among neighbours." Even to the casual observer, it stands to reason, therefore, that there would be a level of concern about the extent to which (to borrow from the title of some of the writing on the topic), we are 'held together' (Chidester, et al.). Studies by Gibson and Gouws (2003, 2004) also indicate that South Africa has remained an extremely intolerant society. Clearly then, Social Cohesion, or at least important elements of it, are lacking. South Africa's commitment to building a capable developmental state, as espoused in the NDP, provides us with an important point of departure in understanding this condition. Building a National Democratic Society is the fulcrum around which the building of a capable developmental state revolves, and it is understood in terms of the continuous, seamless transitioning of South African society from colonial and apartheid induced patterns of economic growth and development, to more inclusive development. Social Cohesion is viewed as part of this transitioning process, and can only be achieved in tandem with the eradication of poverty and inequality. Any measurement of Social Cohesion must, therefore, ensure that equal attention is paid to these structural issues of transformation and development, as part of addressing the National Question.

The Social Cohesion Summit held by the Department of Arts and Culture in Kliptown, Soweto, in 2012, identified the following as key issues to be resolved in order to attain Social Cohesion (<http://www.dac.gov.za/taxonomy/term/380>):

- Slow economic growth and transformation, which result in widespread unemployment, poverty, inequality, and exclusion based on race, age and gender.
- Landlessness and homelessness among many South Africans and the persistence of apartheid spatial divisions, which perpetuate patterns of disproportionate land ownership and segregation.
- The burden of disease, in particular HIV/Aids and tuberculosis, which exacts a heavy toll on communities and society at large.
- Uneven access to quality education and training, which deprives young people of the knowledge and skills needed for social and economic development.
- High levels of crime and the abuse of the elderly, women and children, which affect communities and threaten safety and security.
- Gender inequalities in households, the workplace and society, which hinder the advancement of women and gender mainstreaming.
- Racism and xenophobia, which perpetuate divisions and conflict in communities.
- Service delivery failures in local communities, which lead to social instability, disintegration and conflict.
- Perceived and actual corruption in the public and private sectors, which erode confidence and trust.

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These factors signify the complexity of the measurement of Social Cohesion in South Africa, and the intersectionality of variables and conditions which have an effect on it.

Writing in 2015, Langer et al. write that “... social cohesion is rarely quantified and measured. Yet measurement is needed if we are to investigate causes and consequences of social cohesion empirically.” From a South African perspective, a report of the Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (Mistra) indicates that the humanities and social sciences make “... a concerted and systematic effort ... to develop a set of indicators that can be used as a local, provincial and national barometer of progress” with regard to Social Cohesion. Understandably, we therefore need to develop a measure for Social Cohesion. Langer et al. (2015: 11) state further, that: “... a good composite indicator needs to:

- Summarise complex multidimensional issues to assist policy makers;
- Be easier to interpret than by looking at the components separately;
- Help rank countries at one time and progress over time;
- Facilitate communication with the general public.”

It is our intention that the index of Social Cohesion being developed for South Africa here should meet these criteria.

In what follows below, we provide an overview of Social Cohesion in theoretical perspective as it pertains to the international literature, and a critical analysis of South African writing on Social Cohesion. We specifically highlight the role of the Department of Arts and Culture in this regard. Furthermore, we provide a critical review of three prominent measures of Social Cohesion in use around the globe in order to establish international best practice going forward, and to serve as a solid foundation, or benchmark for our own construct, which we call the **South African Radar for Social Cohesion**, and which we present in section seven, setting out the three domains and multiple indicators that we choose for the South African measure.

The data are next prepared, with the reduction of the number of indicators using exploratory factor analysis, followed by the computation of indicator, domain and Social Cohesion scores for South Africa, using existing ‘big’ datasets including World Values, South African Social Attitudes (SASAS), and Afrobarometer. We next adjust the scores, using a ‘coefficient of variance’, reflecting differences in scores for race, income and age cohorts, in order to take cognisance of some of the social divides in South Africa.

In an illustration of the application of the Radar, the report next runs data through our instrument for various countries in addition to South Africa, indicating its ability to make international comparisons. In this regard, we include various OECD countries, a spread of African countries, as well as a member of BRICS. To facilitate comparisons, we have developed a graphic display – the ‘Radar Gauges’, which are able to display international comparisons, comparison by race, age and class in South Africa, and also comparisons based on the three domains of the South African Radar. We next illustrate the potential of the South African Radar to establish a longitudinal trend for Social Cohesion in South Africa, and to compare that trend with an improved curve which might result from well-conceived policy interventions.

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Before we discuss Social Cohesion as a concept, we examine the role of the DAC in the pursuit of Social Cohesion in South Africa. The DAC is bound by a number of policies in the discharge of its duties, most importantly the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Section 16 [1], Section 30 and Section 32 [1]). The legislative framework from which the Department derives its work includes a number of Acts, including the Cultural Institutions Act, 1998 (Act No. 119 of 1998) and the Culture Promotion Act, 1983 (Act No. 35 of 1983), amongst many others (DAC, Strategic Plan 2011/2016). Whereas the legislative framework forms the “scaffolding” of the work of the DAC, it proceeds to build its work using the macro-planning frameworks of South Africa, the National Development Plan and the MTSF, as its “bricks and mortar”. Outcome 14 of the MTSF declares that,

this MTSF period will be characterised by universal knowledge of the Constitution and the values enshrined therein. Improved access to quality public services will greatly reduce inequality of opportunity. Instruments to optimise redress will be in place and government across the three spheres will be more responsive and thus ignite a citizenry positively engaged and active in their own development.

The translation of policy and legislation to implementation unfolds in the government strategic and annual performance planning processes, as regulated by National Treasury. These plans form the basis of budget allocation and expenditure as well as service delivery for the country as a whole. Indicative of the leading role the DAC plays in facilitating Social Cohesion in the country, the 2011/2016 Strategic Plan of the DAC states the following as its vision: “To develop and preserve South African culture to ensure Social Cohesion and nation building”. The DAC has taken its role seriously in leading the campaign for Social Cohesion, and has responded to the vision beyond the required minimum regulatory planning processes. The May 2016 Budget and Policy Statement by the Minister reported on a meeting of Social Cohesion Advocates in January 2016, which produced a set of 11 recommendations as well as a five year plan for the mobilisation of society towards nation-building. The plan includes the promotion and preservation of all indigenous cultures and knowledge, the persistent fight against all discrimination, the pursuit of human dignity and equality, as well as the expansion of national heritage (Mthetwa, Budget Speech May 2016). The plan also seeks to achieve consensus from all sectors in this endeavour through a series of sectoral consultations, resulting in a consolidated social compact and programme of action. There exists, therefore, a highly engineered and detailed process of planning for the attainment of the ideals set forth in the constitutional and strategic mandate of the DAC. The unique and critical role of the index that has been developed, and which is described in this report, is to provide guidance to the DAC in terms of policy direction, constituency focus, where sectoral support is most required, and which partnerships are essential in achieving its objectives. It does not, nor intends to, provide measurements for programmatic or service delivery performance, which remain within the realm of monitoring and evaluation activities. It does, however, provide an opportunity to refine, measure and adjust - in a virtuous cycle of enhancing the DAC’s theory of change, intervention logic and service delivery interventions - in relation to the domains and factors that form part of this index.

We conclude the report with a series of recommendations for a way forward.

4. THE ROLE OF CULTURE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF ARTS AND CULTURE IN THE PURSUIT OF SOCIAL COHESION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Since at least 2004 the South African Department of Arts and Culture has been tasked with monitoring and promoting Social Cohesion in South Africa. It has therefore commissioned a number of reports on Social Cohesion in the intervening years, such as its “Social Cohesion and Social Justice in South Africa”, edited by Chidester et al., and has sponsored summits and workshops on Social Cohesion, such as the Social Cohesion Summit of 2012, held at Kliptown, which also published a Social Cohesion and nation-building strategy (DAC 2012).

The Department of Arts and Culture recognises the role of cultural imperialism in the era of white domination, and its explicit emphasis on cultural difference as dividing, and undermining the solidarity of South African society. In view of our history, culture must therefore also be an important component in the promotion of Social Cohesion going forward, not in the sense of a cultural hegemony by some elite, as in the past, but rather in the sense of a recognition of diversity of cultures, and their protection as human rights, though never at the expense of the other rights enshrined in the Constitution (DAC: 2005).

According to the second draft of the revised White Paper on Arts and Culture, “... the 2010 World Cup period confirmed nationally and internationally, that high levels of unity, patriotism and prosperity, via ACH (Arts, Culture and Heritage) is within reach in South Africa.” It also confirmed that South Africa and the Continent are blessed with a wealth of ACH and that, if correctly harnessed, the Cultural and Creative Industries can engender Social Cohesion, enhance nation building and contribute to economic growth and development (DAC, White Paper 2016). The White Paper is liberally interspersed with allusions to Social Cohesion and nation-building. It takes its responsibility as the lead agent for Social Cohesion seriously, and underpins that responsibility with a commitment to support the equal right of all South Africans to express, and give effect to their culture.

Owing to the far reaching extent of culture, including as it does, not only music and the arts, but education and entertainment more generally, cultural activity presents enormous opportunities for the collaboration of diverse individuals in creative projects as producers and consumers of culture, which in turn stimulates unity and Social Cohesion. Participation in cultural and artistic activities is potentially a powerful source of ‘bridging’ social capital and Social Cohesion, because it brings diverse individuals together, participating in common tasks/events, such as festivals, plays, and music which by their very nature are creative, and contribute to the creation of trust “... associated with revealing one’s creativity to others” (NESF, 2007: 8). This kind of activity furthermore results in the creation of community cohesion, and solidarity, often associated with specific symbols associated with the community’s own culture and heritage, which is something associated with very few other kinds of activity. Additionally, such activity is not elitist; it is available to a very broad section of the community, and is especially accessible to the poor.

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Because of its potential for creativity and collaboration, Snowball (2016) has included in her matrix for the evaluation of cultural work prepared for the South African Cultural Observatory, a theme of 'social cohesion and community development', with indices such as 'diversity of producer demographics and origins', 'audience diversity' 'cultural offerings' such as language, 'audience motivation for attendance and opinions', 'quality of life', 'trust', and 'inclusiveness'. These promising indices may be productively utilised to improve the Social Cohesion outcomes of cultural work.

The South African government's National Development Plan (NDP) has as its Outcome 14, a focus on Nation Building and Social Cohesion, for which the Department of Arts and Culture exercises main responsibility. In respect of this outcome, the plan is focused on:

- The promotion of common values, "including the values contained in the Constitution".
- The promotion of an inclusive society and economy
- Increased interaction among South Africans from different social and racial groups, and
- Strong leadership across society and a mobilised, active and responsible citizenry (NDP Appendix 9).

Our focus next shifts to a review of the international and South African literature on Social Cohesion and related concepts. Though there is an impressive and growing literature on the notion of Social Cohesion, an interest in the development of data-based measures of Social Cohesion at the societal level has only emerged from about 2010 onwards. This is acknowledged by Langer et al. as recently as 2015, as they write that "Social cohesion is widely used as a way of describing societies, yet it is rarely measured" (2015: 23). Initiatives such as the Social Cohesion Radar (OECD), the SCORE Index, and the work of the Centre for Research on Peace and Development (CRPD) all date from after that year. The South African literature has followed a similar trend in this regard. This report next examines a cross section of international and South African literature dealing with some of the themes around which the writing on the topic has clustered.

Thereafter, we provide an overview of some of the more interesting international and South African efforts at developing multi-factor measures of Social Cohesion, noting particularly those aspects that make them more or less suitable for use in the development of a measure of Social Cohesion for South Africa.

Finally, drawing from the examples mentioned above, and adjusting for the special needs of this country, we construct the beginnings of a comprehensive measure of Social Cohesion for South Africa. We propose this only as a first step in a process - a starting point for consideration, to be workshopped with experts and stakeholders more broadly, before finalisation and application as an aid to enhanced analysis, policy improvement, and effective governance. There is an opportunity for the index, in itself, to be a facilitator of Social Cohesion if a more participatory, people-centred approach is adopted in the consultation process. This would depend on the resources (human and financial) available to ensure a consultative process that is as broad as possible, and considers the inputs of a representative and sufficiently large proportion of citizens in the rationalisation and finalisation of the index.

5. SOCIAL COHESION IN THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Social Cohesion has enjoyed the attention of a great many social scientists for a great number of years. We find some of its earliest antecedents in the work of eminent social science scholars such as Emile Durkheim, Charles Cooley, Kurt Lewin, Morton Deutsch, and Leon Festinger, and other early scholars (Friedkin, 2009). In fact, Social Cohesion and related concepts represent a fairly continuous thread in the writing on sociology and social psychology from the late nineteenth century until the present time. It is a complex concept, and as with many of the constructs in the social sciences, it is the site of some disagreement and contestation. We have to agree to some extent with Noah Friedkin (2004: 409) when he writes that, “social cohesion has become increasingly confused in proportion to the number of investigators researching it has increased”. Part of the problem is that a proliferation of definitions of Social Cohesion has occurred, that have sometimes proved difficult to reconcile, and scholars tend to reflect the preconceptions and theoretical assumptions of their own disciplines. Because of the complexity inherent in assessing Social Cohesion, most scholarly attention has been bestowed on small group cohesion, and correspondingly less on the level of the nation, or society as a whole.

At its core, Social Cohesion is a concept, or, according to Jenson (2010: 2), a ‘quasi-concept’ that describes ‘social connectedness’ (Hulse and Stone, 2007), the element that is most frequently captured in the various definitions. According to Kunene (2009: 1), the term “... refers to those factors that have an impact on the ability of a society to be united in the attainment of common goals”. This particular definition allows us to take into consideration those ‘pre-determinants’ of Social Cohesion that are located within the systemic and objective realities, in South Africa related to poverty and inequality. Similarly, others have defined cohesiveness as, “the resistance of a group to disruptive forces” (Gross and Martin, 1952:533-54). One of the most useful definitions we have come across, is Festinger’s (1950) classical description of ‘cohesion’ as “... the resultant of all forces acting on the members of a group to remain in the group.” This leads us in the direction of the greater complexity that we will revisit later – and the trend towards the development of multi-factor indicators of Social Cohesion. According to the UNDP (2015: 15), Social Cohesion refers to “... the nature of the coexistence between individuals within a given social group, and the institutions that surround them.”

Langer et al. (2015: 6) highlight the fact that there are two distinct approaches to the notion of Social Cohesion that have respectively been distinguished as being European and North American in their origins. They write that whereas Europeans emphasise the importance of social exclusion, inequality and marginalisation, and place great importance on fairness of treatment by government, North Americans tend to highlight the behaviour and beliefs of individuals in respect of their links with one another, shared norms, and trust in other people.

It is only relatively recently that the concept has been used in relation to the state. Historically, it has more generally been used to refer to a property of smaller groups. In recent years, some would argue that the concept has been superseded in its usefulness, by related concepts such as inclusion and exclusion (Cardo, 2014), although others would include measures of inclusion and exclusion in their conceptualisation of

Social Cohesion. That being so, a number of scholars note an increased emphasis on Social Cohesion in scholarship beginning at the end of the last century, especially on the part of governments, policy makers, scholars and others responding to the emerging disruptive effects of globalisation and neoliberal market policies on the fabric of society (Chiesi, 2004:2; Barolsky, 2013).

As with the articulation of any concept, it behoves us to begin with some definitional exercises.

5.1 DEFINITIONAL EXCURSIONS

There is a series of tensions in our understanding of Social Cohesion. In the first place, there is a “levels of analysis” problem. Whereas for some, operating in the domain of social psychology, Social Cohesion is best comprehended as a property of individuals, for others it is essentially about a property of groups. According to Friedkin (2004: 410), individual elements include individuals’ membership attitudes and behaviours, and correlate with their desires or intentions to remain in a group, their loyalty to, or identification with that group, and other, similar attitudes. The latter relates to decisions to terminate, weaken, maintain, or strengthen membership or participation in a group, their predisposition to influence, and “... other indicators of commitment and attachment to a group”.

For others, operating in the broader sociological field, they feel quite strongly that the concept of Social Cohesion is a property of the group itself. For instance, Hogg (1992) has argued that “...attachments to a group cannot be reduced to interpersonal attachments” (Friedkin, 2004: 414).

In all of this, there would be arguments about indicators of Social Cohesion, as well as antecedents of Social Cohesion. It is also clear that whichever position one takes, there are multiple indicators to these constructs. That raises the importance of recognising the complexity of social phenomena. Most of the recent work, bringing the notion of Social Cohesion to the study of nations recognises the multi-faceted nature of the concept. For instance, Friedkin (2004) writes that “The adoption of such a practice is also justified by the recognition that cohesion has multiple dimensions that are connected in a complex system of causal effects.”

5.2 HOW MUCH SOCIAL COHESION IS NECESSARY?

There are differing notions of the extent of Social Cohesion that is desirable, or indispensable for the health of society. One of the issues central to the focus of this report, therefore, is the degree of Social Cohesion that is ultimately necessary. This matter is addressed by Peter Berger (1998, 353) when he states that the degree of normative consensus that is required for social order is a disputed point of sociological interpretation. According to Berger, a central school of thought in sociology, most cogently represented by Emile Durkheim and his disciples, has always maintained that any society will fall apart

that does not have a 'collective conscience', that is, a common body of norms adhered to by most of its people." (Berger 1998). This position is echoed by Davidson and Rees-Mogg, who write that societies tend to experience the most successful periods in their history when the collective social morality is shared. They go on to write that "Such morality not only performs specific functions such as reducing crime, and helping to support family and social structure, but gives citizens a sense of purpose and direction" (1997: 359, cited in Bradshaw, 2008). Esterhuysen, writing on South Africa, supports this view, stating that "What is needed is a national consensus on, and commitment to, a set of legitimizing values that will underpin the process of transformation." (2004: 194). These ideas might be termed a 'moral consensus' model of Social Cohesion.

This 'moral consensus' viewpoint is offset in the literature by an opposing position, however, that argues that "... a modern society cannot aspire to such normative unity and can function well without it, as long as there is agreement on a set of procedures by which conflicting interests and ideologies can be adjudicated." In fact, many pluralist theorists of politics regard diverse norms and values positively, as a source of social strength, as long as these take the form of "cross-cutting social cleavages" (Apter, 1977: 302). Reflecting upon such a context, Berger (1998: 353, 354) writes of an alternative approach that he calls a "traffic-system" model of social order, where citizens adhere to the procedures which adjust the competing norms and values in society. In this sense there is a normality which is an aspiration for any society, and which may be realised while the society is economically prosperous and its political stability remains relatively unthreatened. However, 'normality' is unfortunately rarely a permanent state of affairs. When it becomes threatened, for whatever reasons, the question of shared norms quickly attains a new urgency. Post-conflict societies (and indeed postcolonial Africa in general) are left to attend to another piece of complexity in defining Social Cohesion: the impact of the historical manufacturing of divisions and dehumanisation of entire generations through slavery, and the ravages of political conflict and deliberate under-development of particular sectors of society. These may not necessarily be given sufficient attention in some of the international benchmarks of Social Cohesion, neither do they necessarily feature in comparative reports on the extent of Social Cohesion across various countries. They may therefore also not be taken into consideration in 'Western' indices and definitions of the concept.

When we look at the various approaches to indicators of Social Cohesion, there is, in the tradition discussed above, indeed a common, emerging trend, often highlighted in the narrative proposed, especially by self-identified 'multicultural societies', that underscores social diversity as a societal strength and source of Social Cohesion.

As will be made explicit below, there are two positions on the state of Social Cohesion and concomitantly, the extent of conflict resolution in South Africa. There are those who are concerned about a lack of shared norms in South Africa, and then again, there are those for whom the country should be able to sustain tolerable levels of social conflict, so long as the institutional 'traffic system' works. This tension has been picked up in the work of Barolsky (2013), Palmay (2015) and Abrahams (2016) in their critique of government's 'consensus' view of Social Cohesion, and is also reflected in our discussion below.

5.3 THE COMPLEXITY AND MULTI-DIMENSIONALITY OF SOCIAL COHESION

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Inevitably, we have to accept that Social Cohesion is a multi-dimensional concept. Some of the dimensions and indicators that scholars have typically proposed to capture the essence of that concept relate to the following, which is adapted from work done on Social Cohesion in Australia:

Dimensions

Indicators

Belonging :	Pride in a national way of life & culture, a sense of belonging, the importance of maintaining the national way of life
Social justice and equity:	Views on adequacy of financial support for people on low incomes, the gap between high and low incomes, SA as a land of economic opportunity, trust in the SA government
Participation:	Whether an individual has participated in an election, signed a petition, participated in a boycott, attended a protest
Acceptance & rejection legitimacy:	Rejection indicated by a negative view of immigration from many countries, reported experience of discrimination in the last 12 months, disagreement with government policies relating to support for ethnic minorities for maintenance of customs and traditions, expectations that life in 3 or 4 years will be worse
Worth:	Assessment of satisfaction with present financial situation and indication of happiness over the last year

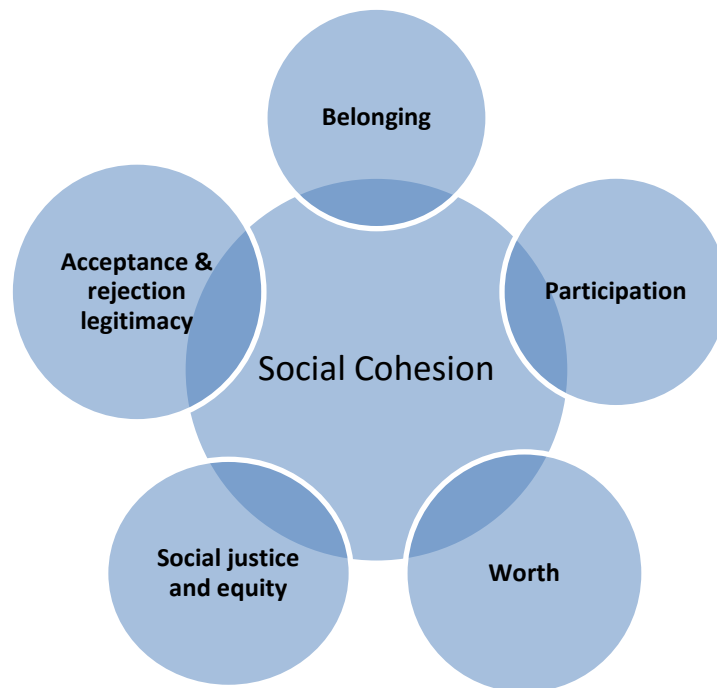
Adapted from the Australian Social Cohesion Index: (Scanlon-Monash Index of Social Cohesion)

As noted previously, issues of social justice may be under-represented, or under-weighted, in many existing indices.

These dimensions reflect similarities with the approaches of the three Social Cohesion measures that we have selected for closer examination below, as well as with instruments used in other countries such as Singapore.

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This model could be graphically depicted as follows:



Before we delve into the construction of our own indicator of Social Cohesion, however, we need to examine the specifically South African literature on the topic, in order to facilitate the inclusion of appropriate indicators for our own context.

6. SOCIAL COHESION IN SOUTH AFRICA

In this section we provide a brief overview of some of the writing; especially the most influential, often associated with the Department of Arts and Culture and the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC,) on Social Cohesion in South Africa, an overview of various measuring instruments of Social Cohesion, and the development of a multi-dimensional model for South Africa. We begin with a general overview.

6.1 WRITING ON SOCIAL COHESION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Unsurprisingly, for a country emerging from deep-rooted social conflict, there has since the advent of democracy in South Africa, been quite a strong focus on Social Cohesion, especially since the fading of the sheen of the 'rainbow nation' discourse in the immediate aftermath of 1994. Much of this writing has been stimulated and encouraged by the Department of Arts and Culture, which was tasked with the responsibility of promoting and monitoring Social Cohesion in South Africa. Government's focus on the

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issue of Social Cohesion is driven by an “... understandable concern with the state of South Africa’s social fabric as well as an important insight that social networks and social relations remain important even in a complex modern society” (Barolsky, 2013: 191). One of the most important pieces of research is the very substantial 2004 multi-authored work edited by Dexter, Chidester and James, which, after some early South African forays, such as that of Anne Bernstein in 1998, set the ball rolling and provided a reference point for much other writing on the topic. This report focuses on some of the more important efforts in this regard. We provide a matrix overview of a number studies, before discussing the more influential publications at greater length, below. We should note that not all of the writing on the subject is prefixed as ‘Social Cohesion’, but sometimes rather resorts under headings such as trust, tolerance, or participation, which are all elements of Social Cohesion. With the passage of time, the work has also diversified, often examining one, or only a few aspects of cohesion, and perhaps as they relate to specific areas, projects or initiatives. The table below provides a brief delineation of some of the more important work in this regard.

Authors	Title	Year
Bernstein, A.	The Limits of Social Cohesion: Conflict and Mediation in Pluralist Societies	1998
Esterhuyse, W.	<i>Recovering the Soul of the South African Nation</i> , in Sicre, F., South Africa at 10	2004
Chidester, D., Hadland, A., James, W., Dexter P, Gastrow, S. & Mellett, T.	Social Cohesion and Social Justice in South Africa,	2004
Bradshaw, G.	Social Cohesion in a Post-Conflict Context: A Case Study of South Africa Twelve Years on, International Social Science Journal, 192 June, 2008	2008
Cloete, P. & Kotze, F.	Concept Paper on Social Cohesion/Inclusion in Local Integrated Development Plans	2009
Kunene, Z.	Social Cohesion: A South African Perspective	2009
Struwig, J., Roberts, B. and Davids, Y.D.	From Bonds to Bridges: Towards a Social Cohesion Barometer for South Africa	2011
Hirsch, A.	Can You measure Social Cohesion in South Africa? And can you fix what you don’t measure?	2012

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Barolsky, V.	Interrogating Social Cohesion: the South African Case, in Moore, C.. 2013, Regional Integration and Social Cohesion: Perspectives from the Developing World	2013
Mattes, R.	Asocial Cohesion: Political Community and Social Capital in Africa's Democratising Societies in Moore, C. 2013, Regional Integration and Social Cohesion: Perspectives from the Developing World	2013
Oliphant, A. et al. (Mapungubwe Institute)	Nation Formation and Social Cohesion: An Enquiry into the Hopes and Aspirations of South Africans	2014
Isaacs-Martin, W. and Mpofu, B.	Identity: Does Social Cohesion Exist? Engaging Issues of Diversity and National Identity in South Africa	2014
Palmary, I.	Reflections on Social Cohesion in contemporary South Africa, Psychology in Society, 49: 62 – 69	2015
Abrahams, C.,	Twenty Years of Social Cohesion and Nation-Building in South Africa, Journal of Southern African Studies, 42:1 95-107	2016
Langa, M., Masuku, T., Bruce, D. and Van der Merwe, H.	Facilitating or Hindering Social Cohesion: The Impact of the Community Work Programme in Selected South African Townships	2016

We next provide some insight into the content of the most important of these publications.

6.1.1 Social Cohesion and the social justice report, 2004

We have mentioned above that the first major report on Social Cohesion in South Africa was commissioned by the South African government and appeared as *Social Cohesion and Social Justice* in

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2004. The very comprehensive report, running to some 350 pages, was edited by Philip Dexter, David Chidester, Wilmot James and Thomas Alberts, and flowed from earlier collaboration between these authors, and the HSRC at a 2002 NEDLAC conference, which also resulted in the publication of a book entitled *What Holds Us Together: Social Cohesion in South Africa* (HSRC Press, 2003). In investigating the social “health of the nation”, this report employed three key terms: social cohesion, social capital and social justice.

The content of the report is extremely detailed and deals with numerous elements of the South African social reality, from family data, and educational statistics, through the prevalence of crime, youth marriage, the state of civic and religious organisations, to values, media and the music industry, and the state.

The chief methodology used in the report was the mining of existing data, and an attempt to identify its shortcomings. The authors indicate that “... in the process ..., a framework for assessing social cohesion, social capital and social justice has emerged that will be useful in further research.” They claim further that although there are no established indicators of Social Cohesion, there are extant indicators of social processes in society that are useful in giving an account of Social Cohesion. In this regard, they write:

Participation can be observed and measured in elections, campaigns, programmes, organisations, networks and institutions. Cooperation and partnerships can be observed and measured in institutions, in formal agreements such as the Growth and Development Summit, in collective bargaining and in various networks. Solidarity can be observed and measured in policy choices, philanthropy, and corporate social investment and in the programmes of various non - governmental organisations and not-for-profit organisations and networks. Dialogue can be observed and measured in the political arena, in institutions such as Nedlac, the Presidential Working Groups, the Millennium Labour Council, Provincial Development Forums, and Local Economic Development Forums and in processes of interfaith exchange and cooperation.

In its findings, the report stresses, based on its own triple focus (social inclusion, social capital, and social justice), the need to study Social Cohesion in a “... multi-dimensional way and for research to be coordinated to provide a framework for analysing social cohesion that will assist government in evaluating its policies and their impact, and which will also assist civil society in deciding on what its priorities should be ...” (Dexter et al., 2004: viii).

The report also indicates that South Africa is challenged to build Social Cohesion while simultaneously recognising, protecting and giving expression to difference. Both vertical, or ‘bridging’, social capital, and ‘horizontal’, bonding social capital are therefore essential. The report also notes the continuing challenges posed by a service delivery gap, and ongoing high levels of unemployment.

The report mentions that incidents of discrimination remain a problem in the country, as do instances of xenophobia, and argues for the necessity of the further development of indicators of Social Cohesion and social capital. Writing of the challenges that continue, the report states that, “There is a need to contribute to a better understanding of these challenges by creating a reliable barometer of social cohesion, social capital and social justice and by contributing to debates on how to address our challenges by looking at

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what holds us together” (Dexter et al. 2004: x). It is from this early impetus that this current report ultimately flows.

In summary, Dexter et al.’s 2004 report discovers a mixed picture in respect of Social Cohesion with some encouraging signs, often in the less formal and more rural settings, as people display “... widespread popular support for the Constitution, the government or our sports teams, extensive social dialogue and even social partnership between government, business, labour and other sections of civil society, ... and there are also significant processes of building social cohesion that are ongoing, such as reconciliation processes, policies that seek to address differences and inequality”, yet “... there are also clear signs of weak social cohesion, in terms of race, class, high crime, inequality or any other measure”.

Within its recommendations, the report sensibly includes the following passage, stressing the importance of the hard-won democratic elements:

In the South African context it is clear that any notion of social cohesion must be a broad, democratic and progressive one. It must include the principles of unity, non-racialism, and non-sexism that have been the cornerstone of the national liberation struggle and that are now central to the Constitution. These might be termed indicators of national well-being, that include the sense of belonging people have to various communities, positive relationships, including the notion of partnerships, plurality and diversity, the mediation of conflict and the reduction of inequality (Dexter et al. 2004: xi).

This work bears this in mind as we take the next steps in the construction of a ‘reliable social barometer’ for South Africa.

6.1.2 Kunene

In 2009, Zandile Kunene of the Mathew Goniwe School of Leadership and Governance produced a paper entitled, *Social Cohesion: A South African Perspective*. After providing an overview of the main themes in the writing on the field of Social Cohesion, such as what he calls the positive and negative approaches, the social capital approach, the quality of life approach, and the access to rights approach, he states that these approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and that though they may differ in their emphasis, they may be used to complement each other “... to determine whether the quality of life of the citizens is of an acceptable standard or not” (2009:10).

Drawing from the Council of Europe Methodological Guide for Concerted Development of Social Cohesion Indicators, he goes on to present a four-level framework for the measurement of Social Cohesion.

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1st Level: Assessment of the General Trends of Social Cohesion	• Equity in the enjoyment of rights • Dignity/Recognition • Autonomy/occupational, family & personal development • Participation/commitment
2 nd Level: Assessment of Social Cohesion as a Whole	• Ability of society to ensure equity in enjoyment of rights & access to fundamental rights • Ability of society to ensure dignity & recognition of diversity • Ability of society to ensure autonomy & personal development • Ability of society to ensure participation & involvement
3 rd Level: Assessment of Social Cohesion by Area of Life	• Employment • Income/purchasing power • Housing • Health & social cover • Nutrition • Education • Information/communication • Culture
4 th Level: Assessment of Social Cohesion by Vulnerable Group	• Minorities • Migrants • Children • Elderly people • People with disabilities • Women

Kunene goes on to provide an overview of the historical development of South Africa, and follows this up with an assessment in respect of each of the indicators listed above for his 'level one'. In respect of the situation concerning equity in enjoyment of rights, for instance Kunene uses national statistics on income, inequality, unemployment, life expectancy and unemployment among others. For dignity/recognition, he looks at gender equality in political leadership and managerial positions. He includes an examination of the situation in respect of social grants to assess the position of the aged, debt levels in households, educational sufficiency via the school dropout rate, and educator to learner, and enrolment ratios, and the grade twelve pass rate. In respect of participation/commitment, he includes voter participation, social budget and spending, numbers of citizens in voluntary organisations, confidence in a happy future, pride in being South African, the corruption index, and anti-corruption measures.

In his assessment of the factors listed above, in 2009, Kunene was of the opinion that, on the whole, the country was "... heading in the right direction", though still racially divided, with unemployment and HIV/Aids presenting the greatest challenges (Kunene,2009: 52). If anything, however, in the immediate aftermath of the 2010 Football World Cup held in South Africa, and given the ongoing effects of the world financial crisis, the country was to experience one of the most fractious periods for Social Cohesion in its recent history, as service delivery protests and labour and student unrest all peaked. This illustrates the dangers of using largely 'proxy' values to measure Social Cohesion.

Kunene's approach combines mainly quantitative statistics with some opinion survey results. It does illustrate some of the weaknesses of a heavy reliance on economic statistics, however. Social Cohesion is in the final analysis the attraction that individuals, groups and governments have for each other. Although we might believe that greater economic equality might positively impact on Social Cohesion, it is not the same thing as Social Cohesion itself. Measuring Gini coefficients and school leaving pass rates, is not the same as measuring Social Cohesion directly. For Langer et al., therefore, it is the perceptions themselves, rather than the objective reality that ultimately counts for an understanding of Social Cohesion (2015: 2, 10).

In very comparable vein, in his (n.d.) presentation on Social Cohesion in the wake of the Marikana tragedy, Allan Hirsch provides a similar impression. After presenting numerous sets of data on steady improvements in factors (which should improve Social Cohesion) such as pre-school attendance, improving infant mortality, access to electricity, public employment programmes, and gender equality, Hirsch is forced to rely on 'negative indicators' of Social Cohesion such as increases in service delivery protest, and increasing unemployment, to explain the phenomenon of Marikana. So, despite all the positives that the statistics indicate, he writes that there is a need to deal with issues such as the old-fashioned migrant labour system, poor forms of political representation and accountability, extreme inequality, and the inequality of social services. He concludes that "... there are structural faults in the society that won't be repaired by general programmes, and they are not reflected [in] traditional aggregated indicators. Suitable indicators are important, but so are policies which accept that there is a lot that benchmark social programmes can't fix."

6.1.3 Barolsky and others

Vanessa Barolsky is concerned about an interpretation of Social Cohesion which emphasises a consensus of values to too great an extent. She writes: "The emphasis on consensus in the realm of values in South African policy runs the risk of devaluing democratic forms of dialogue and institutional mediation of plurality and difference."

In her chapter in Moore's (2013) book, she focuses specifically on the evolution of the concept of Social Cohesion in the South African policy discourse. She is concerned about an interpretation of Social Cohesion which emphasises a societal consensus of values to too great an extent. She cites contemporary social philosophers Mouffe (2000), Žižek (2008), and Derrida (1994) among others who have all called attention to the fact that a politics based on consensus can disguise hegemonic forms of power. She cites Jensen (1997) as she makes the point that the discourse of Social Cohesion tends to, "result in a theoretical downplaying of democratic mechanisms for resolving conflict. Those concerned with Social Cohesion tend to turn to governments to foster consensus rather than resolve conflict" (Jensen, 1997: 10). She continues that this accentuation of consensus can lead to the shutting down of the space for robust and eloquent opposition, and can "... give rise to dangerous forms of anarchy and violence as citizens struggle to articulate themselves meaningfully within the polity". In South Africa, as we have noted in our

introduction above, these forms of violent expression have in recent years manifested themselves thousands of times in community and similar protests. Barolsky cites Etienne Balibar (2001: 15) who has written that:

‘Civility’ does not necessarily involve the idea of a suppression of ‘conflicts’ and ‘antagonisms’ in society, as if they were always the harbingers of violence and not the opposite. Much, if not most, of the extreme violence we are led to discuss is the result of a blind political preference for ‘consensus’ and ‘peace’, not to speak of the implementation of law and order policies on a global scale. Therefore, the focus on consensus in the absence of an equivalent emphasis on liberty and equality, can lead to dangerous forms of authoritarian populism, that allow social actors little room to assert their own authority on the form and nature of solidarity that the society requires.

Barolsky proceeds with an analysis of the South African government’s official pronouncements on Social Cohesion. Her approach is “... informed by an understanding that knowledge produces power and that the ways in which we “state” the state of social cohesion leads to conceptualisations that are either marginalising or inclusive” (2013:192). She notes changes in government’s emphasis around 2007, which then tend to highlight value consensus above the other dimensions of Social Cohesion. She notes that in the first major policy study on Social Cohesion entitled *Social Cohesion and Social Justice*, commissioned by Cabinet in 2004, the concepts of social cohesion, social capital and social justice were used to analyse the “social health of the nation”. It defined Social Cohesion essentially as a broadly positive outcome i.e. “the extent to which a society is coherent, united and functional, providing an environment within which its citizens can flourish. In other words, social cohesion is what holds societies together” (The Presidency, 2004: i). Barolsky emphasises that at that time, the notion of Social Cohesion was quite explicitly linked to a normative concern around social justice rather than nation building i.e. the “extent of fairness and equity in terms of access to and participation in the political, socio-economic and cultural aspects of society” (2004: iv).

Things changed, however. Citing various statements since 2004, she illustrates how government’s discourse has shifted, to almost pathologise contention and disagreement, in its emphasis on the need for national unity, or ‘broad national consensus’ in its quest for a developmental state. The protest-related disorder in the state is portrayed by government as somehow separate from its ideological and economic context, and ignores the central role of power, especially what Barolsky terms “... the exercise and production of state sovereignty” in constituting society. In this, it ‘blames’ society at large, and often family life in particular, and absolves itself from all responsibility for social disorder. According to Barolsky (2004: 196), this way leads to tendencies towards social engineering.

In her conclusion, she appeals for an emphasis on an “equality in differences”, rather than a consensus of values. She (2013: 214) writes that “The emphasis on consensus in the realm of values, while understandable in the light of South Africa’s fractured past and fragmented present, risks stifling critically important plurality and failing to incorporate it meaningfully into the democratic polity in ways that would deepen and expand democratic forms of citizenship”.

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Barolsky's work has found echoes in other South African writing on Social Cohesion. Authors such as Abrahams (2016) and Palmary (2015) note how, quite unusually in the South African literature, an association has emerged, especially in the publications emanating from the Department of Arts and Culture reports on Social Cohesion, between the concepts of social cohesion and nation-building. A number of these authors warn that such an association is also highly focused on loyalty to symbols of state, such as the flag and the national anthem. It also tends to place an onus on the citizen to display Social Cohesion. Palmary (2015) goes further and warns, for instance, that some forms of Social Cohesion can have negative outcomes, such as the criminal activity of the Mafia which stems from a particular form of solidarity, or Social Cohesion. She goes on to state that her own research has discovered some strong correlations between feelings of cohesion, and the 'punishment' meted out to outsiders in the xenophobic outbursts that have taken place in South Africa. This concern echoes the unease raised by Schmitt elsewhere (2000), citing Jenson (1998) that "The issue of a strong social cohesion within a community which itself is exclusive has led to the question "Can social cohesion be a threat to social cohesion?" She argues further that this underlines the importance of taking the two dimensions of Social Cohesion, being disparities/inequalities/social exclusion, as well as social relations/ties/social capital into consideration when developing a measure of the Social Cohesion of a society. This also reflects the early thinking reflected in Chidester et al.'s 2004 report which avers that "Social cohesion that excludes certain people ... may well create conditions for cooperation, networking, and in general build social capital but it will be a highly limited kind of cohesion and ultimately be problematic and lead to its own breakdown."

These tensions reflect the complexity inherent in the concept of Social Cohesion, and the different emphases that may therefore be placed on it. They must all be taken into consideration in the construction of any measure of Social Cohesion.

LESSONS FROM THE LITERATURE

There are a number of obvious points to take away from the literature on social cohesion in South Africa as we go about constructing our own index. We note from the work of Dexter et al., their emphasis on largely 'objective' variables, such as the progress in the delivery of housing, and similar measures, and the vast number of such variables. Their ultimate call is for the development of an index of social cohesion for South Africa, perhaps indicating the need for something simpler to guide policy in this regard. The work of Kunene concentrates on both objective and more subjective variables, which highlights the complexity of the concept. Kunene and Hirsch's work illustrates the danger of placing too much emphasis on the kinds of variables that are ultimately only proxies for social cohesion.

The work of Barolsky and others stresses the dangers of placing too much emphasis on single factor, or uni-dimensional approaches to social cohesion.

6.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIAL COHESION INDICATOR FOR SOUTH AFRICA

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As has been highlighted above, especially since 2010, there has been much scholarly activity concentrating on the development of measures and indicators of Social Cohesion internationally. Much of this activity has been focused on the Social Cohesion of regions, and cities, but there has also been a substantial interest in developing instruments for the measurement of Social Cohesion at the level of whole societies.

In this regard, some work has already been done in South Africa, by Struwig, Roberts and Davids, (of the HSRC's South African Social Attitudes Survey, Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery research programme) who have conducted a three-domain measure of Social Cohesion, distinguishing civic (common values and 'lively' civic culture), economic (economic development and inequality reduction), and sociocultural (including social capital, social networks, civic participation, belonging, trust, shared identities and tolerance) cohesion (Struwig et al., 2011: 10). This work has enabled the authors to compare specific aspects of cohesion by age cohorts and race groups, yielding quite interesting results: the 'born free' generation is more socio-culturally cohesive, but less civically cohesive than other groups, and Coloureds scored highest in respect of sociocultural cohesiveness, with Whites displaying highest levels of intolerance and feeling more discriminated against and fearful than all the other racial categories. With respect to the civic domain, Coloureds, Indians and Whites are much less civically active than Black South Africans. They are less likely to vote, have less trust in institutions, and are less likely to express satisfaction with service delivery. It was also found that people from urban informal settlements and rural traditional authority areas are more economically cohesive than people in formal, urban settlements.

6.2.1 Comparative approaches

In the search for an instrument for the measurement of Social Cohesion in South Africa, a number of decisions have had to be made. There have been questions of granularity – how much detail is required? What kinds of information to use? Whether to use existing data sets or to conduct surveys. Should the data be subjective (how people feel about each other), or should it be based on 'objective' criteria such as crime levels, income disparity etc.?

6.2.2 Choice of database

Also, the question of whether to establish a new measuring instrument, or whether to use existing measures that are being used for other countries and regions, comes to the fore.

In our thinking, the international work on Social Cohesion has matured, and there is a crystallisation of thought in the literature around certain aspects. In a sense, there is therefore a level of 'saturation', or agreement on what to include in measures of Social Cohesion, that steers us in the direction of using existing methodologies, rather than attempting to 'invent the wheel' anew. That does not preclude us however, from adapting any of these existing measures, perhaps by the addition of a particular indicator,

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or indicators, or the modification thereof by a factor, to take prevailing socio-economic conditions into account.

Secondly, sufficient data exist in the South African Social Attitudes (SASAS) database, Afrobarometer, World Values, and Stats SA databases, that largely obviate the need for further primary data collection, and it is our contention that a composite measure of Social Cohesion can be constructed, which is consonant with ongoing work done elsewhere, and for which sufficient data currently reside in accessible South African datasets.

We will provide a brief overview and evaluation of some of the more pertinent efforts to create measures of Social Cohesion in other contexts below.

6.3 THE SOCIAL COHESION RADAR

To give it its full title, the Social Cohesion Radar - An International Comparison of Social Cohesion represents an assessment of levels of Social Cohesion in 34 'advanced' societies including European and North American countries, Australia, New Zealand and Israel. Supported by the Bertelsmann Stiftung, and carried out by a team associated with the Jacobs University in Bremen Germany, the approach defines Social Cohesion thus: "A cohesive society can be characterised by reliable social relations, a positive emotional connectedness of its members to the entity and a pronounced focus on the common good" (Dragalov et al., 2015: 5). These three domains are each in turn comprised of three dimensions which are measured separately, to give the following nine-fold breakdown:

Social Relations	➤ Social Networks of the members of the entity ➤ The level of trust in others ➤ Degree of acceptance of diversity
Positive emotional connectedness	➤ Strength of identification with the entity ➤ Level of trust in institutions ➤ Perceived level of societal fairness
Focus on the common good	➤ Level of solidarity ➤ Extent to which people recognise social rules ➤ Degree of civic participation

This approach relies entirely on secondary data analysis, and is also exclusively perceptions-based. According to the authors, the use of secondary data analysis "... allows us to measure the dimensions of Social Cohesion with valid and reliable indicators from representative large-scale comparative surveys,

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expert ratings, or data from international institutions.” One of the chief aims of the Radar is to enable comparisons to be made among the 34 countries included in their study, as well as to examine changes in Social Cohesion over time. The approach sources data from the following surveys:

- World Values Survey
- European Values Study
- Gallup World Poll
- European Social Survey
- European Quality of Life Survey
- International Survey Programme
- International Social Justice Project
- Eurobarometer

Additional information is sought from expert ratings including:

Shadow Economy in OECD Countries, and *Index of Democracy*, and two international Institutes, being *International Crime Victim Survey*, and *International Country Risk Guide*.

Pros and cons of the Radar approach:

- This approach has the advantage of being based on available data in accessible databases.
- It is, additionally reasonably elegant, and not at all cumbersome, with its nine dimensions and three domains, but does provide additional granularity and therefore perhaps more reliability in its measure of Social Cohesion.
- It would provide direct comparison with the work being done on other countries by the Jacobs University group in Germany, though those are all OECD and EU members only, and there is currently no African participant.
- The downside of the Radar approach is that it is more complex than some of the other approaches, and
- Some of the data necessary for South Africa may be more difficult to source from existing databases.
- It has been developed for a non-South African/non-African context, though as has been indicated above, all of the approaches under review do have a high degree of similarity.

6.4 THE SCORE APPROACH

The SCORE approach, developed by an international group of scholars, working within the ambit of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), seeks to develop an index that includes both Social

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Cohesion and reconciliation (SC+REC), hence SCORE. This composite measure has some obvious relevance for South Africa, which is a state long recognised as being an example of deep rooted social conflict, and with the recognised interplay between conflict and Social Cohesion. The SCORE group aim, through the creation of their index, to create an instrument that can:

- Map social cohesion and reconciliation
- Track levels of social cohesion and reconciliation over time
- Assess social cohesion and reconciliation as predictors of various outcomes

In a process leading to a conference in 2012, a multidisciplinary team proposed the adoption of a generalised methodology, that they hoped would allow the SCORE index to “... become an internationally applicable tool” (UNDP, 2015:20).

The SCORE index has been developed to have two dimensions, being Social Cohesion and Reconciliation. These are underpinned by a number of indicators. In the case of Social Cohesion, there are three key indicators, which are: trust in institutions, human security, and satisfaction with civic life. These were extended to also include the representational capacity of public institutions, and perceived corruption, for a total of five indicators.

Where reconciliation is concerned, its measure is comprised of six indicators as follows: negative stereotypes, intergroup anxiety, social distance, social threats, active discrimination, and positive feelings. These indicators are, in turn underpinned by a number of sub-indicators, or ‘observed items’ in each case (UNDP, 2015:28).

We can portray the components of the SCORE measure as follows:

This approach conducts its own surveys, using an instrument designed to provide a composite measure of Social Cohesion and Reconciliation, and a randomly selected representative sample. It is intended specifically for countries newly emerged from deep-rooted social conflict, and – to use their own terminology – where conflicts have become ‘frozen’. The measures of Social Cohesion display a similar degree of granularity to most other approaches.

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Pros and Cons of the SCORE Approach:

- The SCORE approach includes measures of Social Cohesion as well as of reconciliation. If we accept that South Africa is a 'post-conflict' society, then this measure, including as it does a measure of reconciliation, may be particularly appropriate for the South African situation.
- As with most of the other approaches, this is also a perceptions-based approach.
- It would allow for direct comparison with international work being done on other 'post conflict' societies, such as Cyprus and Bosnia-Herzegovina, among others. In some respects this would allow us to compare ourselves with a smaller group of similar countries, but may exclude comparison with others.
- The score approach has been developed by a respected group of international scholars including a South African input, with the collaboration of the South African 'Reconciliation Barometer'
- An interesting, and not necessarily negative aspect is that unlike most of the other approaches under evaluation here, this approach includes the conducting of its own surveys as a means of data collection. It does therefore not make use of 'available data' in the form of existing data bases, such as those supplied by Stats SA, the HSRC, etc. , although some of the measures would be available via the South African Reconciliation Barometer.

6.5 THE CENTRE FOR RESEARCH ON PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT (CRPD) APPROACH

In a CRPD working paper Langer et al. (2015) present a proposal for measuring Social Cohesion in Africa. The approach is unashamedly perceptions-based, and eschews the use of so-called 'objective' criteria such as the Gini-coefficient for their model. Their reasoning is that it is the perceptions, rather than the objective reality that counts for an understanding of Social Cohesion.

This approach seeks to capture both the European (social exclusion, marginalisation and the role of government in achieving Social Cohesion) and American (behaviour and beliefs of individuals towards each other and their links with, and trust of each other) elements of Social Cohesion. The focus is on an application at the national level in a number of African countries. Social Cohesion is operationalised "... by identifying perceptions of three critical components of societal relationships and attitudes: inequalities, trust, and identities" (CRPD, 2015:7).

Inequalities enjoy attention, because they are seen as being particularly salient in multi-ethnic societies. It is not only perceived group inequality that is seen to be relevant here, but also the perceived inequality of treatment of groups by government. Inequalities among individuals, so-called vertical inequality, is also seen as significant, "... since high, and rising vertical inequality can undermine bonds among people" (Uslaner, 2008, cited in Langer et al., 2015).

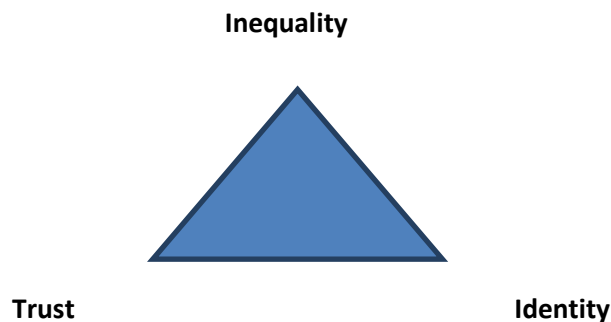
The second element used is perceptions of trust among people generally, among groups in the state, and in relationships with the state. According to Langer et al., this is an important indicator of the "... strength

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

of the glue that binds people together within a particular society” (2015: 7). It is proposed that conflict is more likely, and impediments to economic progress are to be expected, where trust is low. There is also a negative correlation between trust in the institutions of state and low Social Cohesion.

The third element that this approach seeks to capture, is the “... strength of people’s adherence to national identity in relation to their group (or ethnic) identity”. This is seen to be particularly important in Africa, where state borders have been imposed across pre-existing habitats. It is felt that Social Cohesion would be impaired in situations where group identity is perceived as strong in comparison with national identity.

The approach is graphically depicted as a Social Cohesion Triangle thus:



Adapted from Langer, et al.. 2015

The approach introduces a further interesting dimension, by modifying the Social Cohesion index by the coefficient of variation among the groups in society. To achieve this, the Social Cohesion scores of the component groups in society are compared, and the degree of variance among them is used to modify the Social Cohesion score of the national entity. This is done in order to arrive at an ‘inequality-adjusted’ national Social Cohesion measure. The authors report that in practice, this does not deliver any significant deviation from the unmodified Social Cohesion score.

Pros and Cons of the CRPD Approach:

The approach has a number of attractions for use in the South African context.

- Firstly, it has been developed by a group of academics for specific African applications – with a strong focus on identity, for instance.
- Secondly, it will therefore stand up to comparative analyses with other African states.
- Thirdly, it is a relatively simple, and therefore elegant instrument, producing easily readable and understandable readout for the layperson.
- Fourthly, it is structured around available and accessible data sets in the form of the Afrobarometer data.

On the downside,

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

- The authors acknowledge that their approach is as yet not tried and tested, and therefore may still need some adjustment.
- Another criticism which may be brought to bear is that this is ultimately only a perceptions-based approach that ignores important 'objective' aspects, such as Gini coefficient scores etc.
- Perhaps the relatively few component indicators also constitute a weakness in capturing the full complexity of the Social Cohesion concept.

These three measures of Social Cohesion provide us with much food for thought. We note the similarities among them, as well as their differences, and now proceed to the construction of a suitable measure of Social Cohesion for South Africa that has been appropriately benchmarked against international best practice.

7. A PROPOSED SOUTH AFRICAN INDEX FOR SOCIAL COHESION

We begin the construction of our index by making a selection of domains and indicators for South Africa. We have attempted to benchmark against the common elements found in the German Radar, the CRPD index, and the SCORE approach. This is not a simple emulation of the German Radar, however. Our indicators cannot be exactly the same, due to:

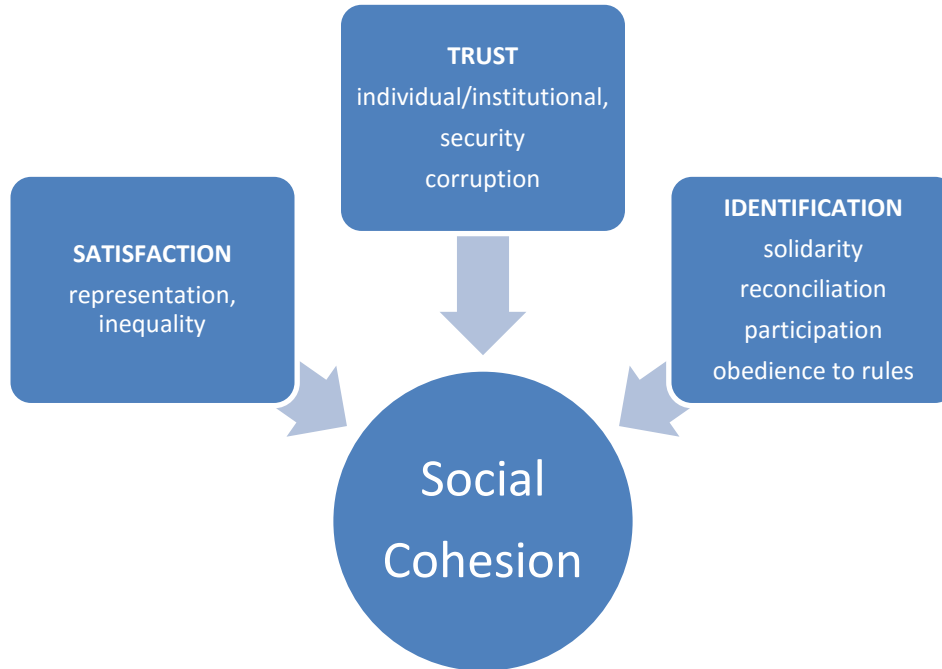
- the unavailability in South Africa of the extensive datasets available to the Jacobs University group.
- the fact that we have brought in indicators relating to post-conflict reconciliation (as in the SCORE approach), and
- the fact that we included a coefficient of variation (as in the CRPD approach), to reflect South Africa's multi-ethnic makeup.

In learning from other measures of Social Cohesion, we have decided to include the domains of *trust* (in fellow individuals, as well as in institutions), *strength of identification with South Africa* (especially in comparison with other affiliations), and *general sense of civic satisfaction*.

In common with other prominent measures of Social Cohesion, we have taken the view that the concept is sufficiently perceptions-based, to allow us to base our measure on individual perceptions, and to draw our data from available datasets, including the HSRC's SASAS dataset, Stats SA, ICVS, the Afrobarometer data, and the World Value Survey data, which cover most of the domains under consideration. We have introduced a measure of reconciliation (included under identification), reflecting the conflict-ridden history of South Africa, and the fact that many see us as a post-conflict society.

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

We could graphically represent our measure of Social Cohesion as below.



South African Radar for Social Cohesion

To illustrate our choice of indicators for the South African Radar, in the tabular, side-by-side comparison of our three chosen measures of Social Cohesion below, we indicate our selection of elements from the three 'parent' indices for inclusion in our South African measure, by shading, as follows:

Social Cohesion Radar	CRPD	SCORE
-Social Networks of members of the entity	-inequality	-Trust in institutions
-The level of trust in others	-trust	-human security
-Degree of acceptance of diversity	-identity	-satisfaction with civic life
		-representational capacity of public institutions
		-perceived corruption
-Strength of identification with the entity		-negative stereotypes
-Level of trust in institutions		- intergroup anxiety
-Perceived level of societal fairness		-social distance
		-social threats
		-active discrimination
		-positive feelings
-Level of solidarity		
-Extent to which people recognise social rules		
-Degree of civic participation		

The shaded areas above have all been selected for inclusion in the South African Radar for Social Cohesion.

We next present our own proposed measure in the form of the indicators, and questions with possible answers, as well as the data sets from which these questions, and the resultant data will be drawn.

Indicator	Questions & possible answers	Source
Identification/participation/civic culture	Citizens should have the right to form or join organisations freely, such as political parties, business associations, trade unions and other interest groups. [Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree]	SASAS 2014 Q38
	How proud are you to be South African?	World Value Survey Q 211

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

[Very Proud, quite proud, not very proud, not at all proud, I am not South African]		
Identity	Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a South African and being a (ethnic group), which of the following best expresses your feelings?	Afrobarometer Q88B
	[I feel only (ethnic group), I feel more (ethnic group) than South African, I feel equally South African and (ethnic group), I feel more South African than (ethnic group), I feel only South African]	
	You would want your children to think of themselves as South African.	Afrobarometer Q88C1
	[Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree]	
	Being South African is a very important part of how you see yourself.	Afrobarometer Q88C2
[Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree]		
Trust		
Trust in others	How comfortable would you be asking a neighbour to lend a cup of sugar if you needed it?	SASAS 2014 Q138
	[Very comfortable, fairly comfortable, fairly uncomfortable or very uncomfortable]	
	If you were short of money, how comfortable would you be asking a neighbour if you could borrow R20?	SASAS 2014 Q139
	[Very comfortable, fairly comfortable, fairly uncomfortable or very uncomfortable]	
	How much do you agree or disagree that, in your neighbourhood, people generally treat each other with respect and consideration in public?	SASAS 2014 Q140
	[Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree]	
	Tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much, or not at all	World Value Survey V102-V107
- Your family - Your neighbourhood - People you know personally - People you meet for the first time - People of another religion - People of another nationality		

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Trust in Others	- When I come into contact with other race groups we almost always interact as equals [Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree] - When I come into contact with other race groups, contact is almost always friendly [Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree]	SASAS 2014 Q109 SASAS 2014 Q110
Trust in Institutions Police, courts, etc.	- Indicate the extent to which you trust or distrust the following institutions in South Africa at present. - National Government - Courts - Independent Electoral Commission - The SABC - Parliament - The police - Defence Force - Your local government - Churches - Traditional authorities/ leaders - Political Parties - Politicians - Trade unions [Strongly trust, trust, neither trust nor distrust, distrust, strongly distrust, do not know]	SASAS 2014 Q9 – Q21
Human Security	- How satisfied are you with how safe you feel? [Choose 00 to 10, with completely dissatisfied (00), completely satisfied (10)] - Could you tell me how secure you feel in your neighbourhood these days? [Very secure, quite secure, not very secure, not at all secure] - How safe would you feel walking alone in your area when it is dark? [Very safe, fairly safe, a bit unsafe, very unsafe]	SASAS 2014 Q 146 World Value survey questionnaire 2013 Q170 ICVS 2010

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Inequality	- In general, how do you rate your living conditions compared to those of other South Africans? [Much worse, worse, same, better, much better] - How often are (own race/ethnic group) treated unfairly by the government? [never sometimes, often, always] - People of other race groups in South Africa are trying to get ahead economically at the expense of my group. [Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree, don't know] - People of other race groups in South Africa tend to exclude members of my group from positions of power and responsibility. [Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree, don't know] - The traditions and values of that are important to people of my race are under threat because of the influence of other races in this country [Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree, don't know] - How satisfied are you with feeling part of your community? [On a scale of 00 to 10, with 00 being completely dissatisfied, and 10 being completely satisfied]	Afrobarometer Q5 Afrobarometer Q88A SASAS 2014 Q 73 SASAS 2014 Q74 SASAS 2014 Q75 SASAS 2014 Q 147
Participation in Public Life	- It is the duty of all citizens to vote [Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree] - I'd like you to tell me for each one of the following, whether you have done any of these things, whether you might do it or whether you will never under any circumstances do it - Sign a petition - Joining in boycotts - Attending peaceful/lawful protests - Joining strikes - Occupying buildings/factories	SASAS 2014 Q 44 World Value: Q 84 -89 Q 84 Q 85 Q 86 Q 87

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

	Any other act of protest [Have done, might do, would never do]	Q 88 Q 89
Reconciliation	- In your opinion, does South Africa still need reconciliation after more than 20 years of democracy? [Yes, no, don't know] - How would you say the following has changed since the transition in 1994 [Much worse, worse, same, better or much better] Relations between members of different race groups? The gap between the rich and poor? - In your opinion, how often in this country are people treated unequally because of their race by [always, often, rarely, never] The courts? Their current or prospective employers? Potential landlords?	Afrobarometer, Q 85B-SAF Afrobarometer Q84D & Q84E Afrobarometer Q86A, Q86B & Q86C
Respect for rules and laws	Tell me for each of the following actions whether you think it can always be justified, or something in between. Claiming government benefits to which you are not entitled Avoiding a fare on public transport Stealing property Cheating on taxes if you have a chance Someone accepting a bribe in the course of their duties Violence against other people [Never justifiable 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10 Always justifiable]	World Value Survey, Q198 - Q 210 Q 198 Q 199 Q 200 Q 201 Q 202 Q 210
Corruption	- In your opinion, over the past year, has the level of corruption in this country increased, decreased, or stayed the same? [Increased a lot, increased somewhat, stayed the same, decreased somewhat or decreased a lot] - Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption.	Afrobarometer Q54 Afrobarometer Q71A

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

[Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree or strongly agree]

SASAS 2014 Q36

- Politicians found guilty of bribery or corruption should resign from public office immediately.

[Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree or strongly agree]

Solidarity

- Helping people, whether by sharing time, money or possessions, is ...

SASAS 2014 Q137

[An important part of my life, not an important part of life, neither important nor unimportant]

- It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes.

SASAS 2014 Q161

[Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree or strongly agree]

- The government should provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed.

SASAS 2014 Q162

[Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree or strongly Agree]

7.1 Overview of Statistical Method for the South African Radar

The method followed in the computation of statistical scores for the South African Radar for Social Cohesion is set out in the table below.

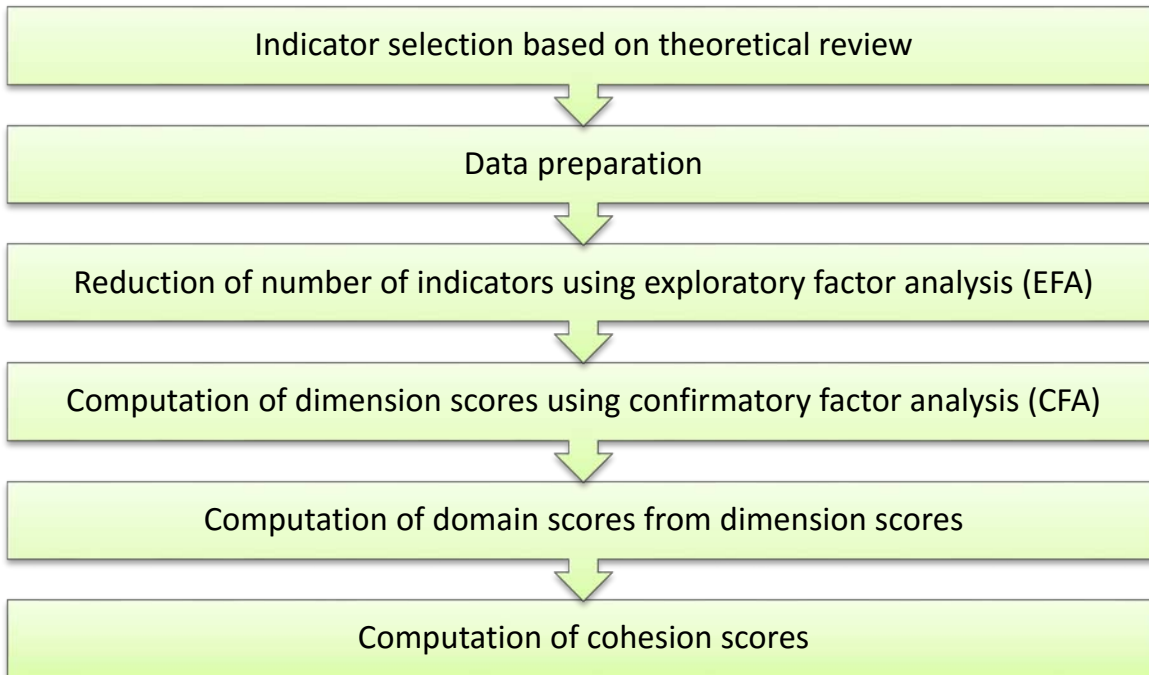


Figure 1 Overview of method used

Indicator selection

The items selected for use with this study were based on a theoretical review of the literature available on Social Cohesion in respect of South Africa. The items were selected from four surveys, namely the South African Social Attitudes Survey 2014, the World Value Survey 2013, Afrobarometer (round 6) 2015 and the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) 2000.

Data preparation

Secondary data were used in this study and therefore several indicators needed to be recoded so as to follow a consistent pattern. Indicators found to be asked in the incorrect direction were reversed in order to ensure a consistent directionality. The data were then cleaned to treat missing values and identify outliers. Once cleaned, the final dataset consisted of 2390 respondents and 64 indicators, satisfying the statistically acceptable ratio of three respondents to one indicator (Hair, Black, Babin & Anderson, 2014).

Reduction of indicators using exploratory factor analysis (EFA)

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Exploratory factor analysis was performed for each dimension to identify indicators that loaded significantly. This was used to assess whether the indicators selected do belong to the latent construct originally assumed. The criteria used to decide on which indicators to retain were the factor loadings produced by the EFA. The absolute value of the factor loadings of each indicator had to be greater than or equal to 0.25 to be included.

Computation of dimension scores using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA)

In order to compute the final dimension scores, CFA was used to fit a uni-factorial structure on the data based on the factors identified in the EFAs conducted in the previous step. The dimensions (factors) identified were fitted. The estimation method used was maximum likelihood and the standardised factor loadings were taken into consideration. Once again, the absolute value of the standardised factor loadings for each indicator needed to be greater than or equal to 0.25. The final factor solutions for each dimension can be found in Tables 1 to 9 below. The Cronbach's alpha coefficients for each dimension can also be found in Tables 1 to 9. The Cronbach's alpha coefficients are used as a reliability measurement for each dimension (factor). The alpha coefficients indicated reliable measurements in all cases except for Solidarity and Identity.

Once the dimensions (factors) had been fitted, the factor scores for each dimension were computed. This was done through the software package used (SPSS Amos).

Rationale for using Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) methodology

The methodology used, which consisted of using exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), was chosen for two important reasons. Firstly, Social Cohesion is not a measurable factor, it is a latent factor. Therefore, to measure the level of Social Cohesion within a country one needs to use a method of data analysis that enables one to measure Social Cohesion using indicators (or items) that are on a rating scale from, for example, 'disagree' to 'agree' with differing levels of intensity. These are called Likert scales. One of the best methods is using the SEM methodology. Therefore, this was the methodology chosen for to be used when developing this index. Finally, this methodology is an internationally accepted practice. It was used by researchers at the Bertelsmann Stiftung on a project entitled "Social Cohesion Radar, Measuring Common Ground". When developing an index such as the Social Cohesion Index, it is essential that it follows an internationally accepted methodology to be able to make comparisons to work done in other countries.

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Computation of domain scores from the dimension scores

Once the dimension scores had been calculated, the domain scores were calculated by taking the arithmetic mean of the dimension scores found within the respective domains. These scores can be found in Table 10 below:

Table 1 Final Domain Scores

Domain	Factor Score
Trust	0.693
Satisfaction	0.252
Identification	0.167

Once the domain scores had been calculated, the cohesion score was calculated by taking the arithmetic mean of the domain scores. The cohesion score calculated was **0.37** (see the breakdown in tables 2-11 below). This result was then compared to the CRPD Social Cohesion results for South Africa found in the paper “Conceptualising and Measuring Social Cohesion in Africa: Towards a perceptions-based index”. The Social Cohesion value calculated in the CRPD paper for South Africa was 0.442 (2005), 0.397 (2008) and 0.468 (2012). These values are relatively close to the cohesion score calculated in this study, and may indicate a level of robustness for this measure.

Results for the South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Table 2 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Inequality

Inequality		
Variable	Label	CFA Loading
Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.723$		
INQ1	People of other race groups in South Africa are trying to get ahead economically at the expense of my group.	0.717
INQ2	People of other race groups in South Africa tend to exclude members of my group from positions of power and responsibility.	0.777
INQ3	The traditions and values that are important to people of my race are under treat because of the influence of other races in this country.	0.566

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Table 3 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Trust

Individual/Institutional Trust		
Variable	Label	CFA Loading
Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.836$		
T12	National government (Indicate degree of trust for each)	0.682
T13	Courts	0.575
T14	Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)	0.524
T15	The SABC	0.517
T16	Parliament	0.684
T17	The police	0.603
T18	Defence force	0.368
T19	Your local government	0.554
T20	Churches	0.254
T21	Traditional authorities/leaders	0.302
T22	Political parties	0.717
T23	Politicians	0.712
T24	Trade unions	0.457

Table 4 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Security

Security		
Variable	Label	CFA Loading
Cronbach's $\alpha = \text{n.a.}$		
SEC2	Could you tell me how secure you feel in your neighbourhood these days?	0.722

Table 5 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Corruption

Corruption		
Variable	Label	CFA Loading
Cronbach's $\alpha = \text{n.a.}$		
COR1	In your opinion, over the past year, has the level of corruption in this country increased, decreased, or stayed the same?	0.506

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Table 6 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Solidarity

Solidarity		
Variable	Label	CFA Loading
Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.288$		
SOL1	It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes	0.236
SOL2	The government should provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed	1.671

Table 7 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Reconciliation

Reconciliation		
Variable	Label	CFA Loading
Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.774$		
REC4	How often in this country are people treated unequally because of their race by the courts?	0.681
REC5	How often in this country are people treated unequally because of their race by their current or prospective employers?	0.789
REC6	How often in this country are people treated unequally because of their race by potential landlords?	0.725

Table 8 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Participation

Participation		
Variable	Label	CFA Loading
Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.847$		
P2	Sign a petition	0.608
P3	Joining in boycotts	0.771
P4	Attending peaceful/lawful demonstrations	0.748
P5	Joining strikes	0.760
P6	Any other act of protest	0.743

Table 9 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Identity

Identity		
Variable	Label	CFA Loading
Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.045$		
I3	You would want your children to think of themselves as South African.	0.646
I4	Being South African is a very important part of how you see yourself.	0.844

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Table 10 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Values

Value of honesty		
Variable	Label	CFA Loading
Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.946$		
V3	Claiming government benefits to which you are not entitled	0.834
V4	Avoiding fare on public transport	0.845
V5	Stealing property	0.927
V6	Cheating on taxes if you have a chance	0.920
V7	Someone accepting a bribe in the course of their duties	0.884
V8	Violence against other people	0.776

Domain Scores

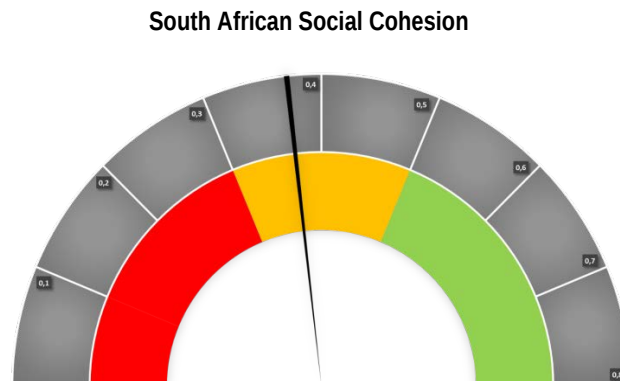
Table 11 Final Domain Scores

Domain	Factor Score
Trust	0.693
Satisfaction	0.252
Identification	0.167

(For the full analytical statistical process, see addendum A below)

South African Social Cohesion Score = 0.37

The above could be portrayed graphically using the Radar Gauge as follows:



South African Radar for Social Cohesion

The Radar Gauge has been specifically developed for this South African index, with the needle indicating a specific value of Social Cohesion against a background of red for low social cohesion, yellow for moderate Social Cohesion and green for the more desirable high Social Cohesion.

SA Radar for Social Cohesion Radar scores by race, age and income bracket

Table 12: SCI according to demographics

Demographics	SCI
Race: Black	0.2843
Race: Coloured	0.6645
Race: White	0.1460
Race: Indian	0.1374
Age: less than 30	0.1501
Age: 30 – 39	0.1558
Age: 40 – 49	0.1464
Age: 50 – 59	0.1422
Age: 60 – 69	0.1306
Age: 70 – 79	0.1650
Age: 80 – 100	0.1327
Economic class 1: Upper class	0.1865
Economic class 2: Middle class	0.1446
Economic class 3: Working class	0.1460
Economic class 4: Lower class	0.1515

From the above table, it can be seen that when looking at the SCI values according to different demographic groups, there is little difference, except when comparing race groups. This lack of difference could be due to the sourcing of the data and one would expect to see better results if all the data are obtained from a common source. The particular difference in Social Cohesion among race groups, however is not unexpected given the long history of racial politics in the country. It is interesting to note that our (SARSC) index of Social Cohesion provides a much higher level of Social Cohesion for the 'Coloured' demographic group, which is also similar to the findings of Struwig, Roberts and Davids, mentioned on page 21 of this report., which again points to this being a robust measure.

Table 13 Coefficient of variance adjusted SCI

Race	SCI	(1-CV)*SCI	Difference
Black	0.2843	0.2421	-0.0422
Coloured	0.6645	0.5658	-0.0987
White	0.146	0.1243	-0.0217
Indian	0.1374	0.117	-0.0204
Overall Country	0.37	0.315	-0.0550

The SCI was recomputed according to race group in order to identify whether group clustering is present. The variation across the race groups was summarised and used to construct a variation-adjusted index. It

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

can be seen from the table above that the group clustering led to a reduction of 5.5%, which is a significant decrease. This indicated that this adjustment is a necessary component to consider in order to obtain a better view of Social Cohesion.

7.2 APPLICATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RADAR

We are in danger of stating the obvious when we write that countries differ in respect of their levels of Social Cohesion. Some countries therefore score high on the range of Social Cohesion, and others score low. Generally speaking, one would expect countries with a history of deep-rooted conflict, and multi-communal make-up to score lower than their counterparts. In various measures of Social Cohesion – for instance, in the OECD Social Cohesion Radar, the Nordic countries occupy the top spots, with Greece, Bulgaria and Romania towards the bottom. If one looks at countries in Africa, for instance, we find that Senegal consistently scores at the very highest level, and countries such as Nigeria and Uganda tend to languish towards the bottom of the scale. South Africa occupies a position towards the bottom of the middle grouping, indicating that there is still plenty of room for improvement. Using the SARSC index, and applying it to other countries for which similar datasets are available,¹ we derive an index of 0.201 for Nigeria, 0.182 for Zimbabwe and 0.156 for Egypt, which are all far lower than South Africa, and this is what we would have expected.² We can portray the relative positions of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Egypt, and a selection of OECD countries in tabular form as follows:

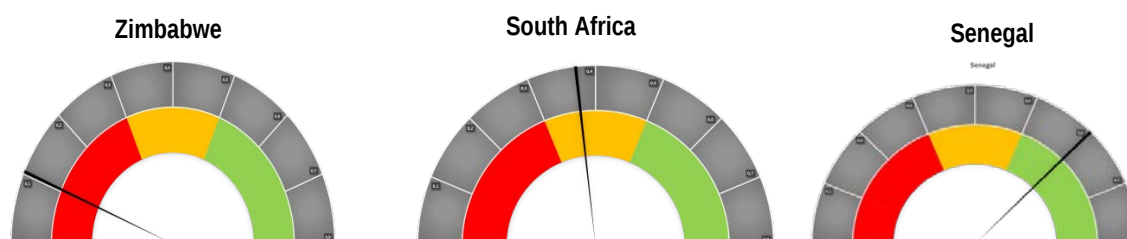
¹ We can only directly compare countries for which data have already been collected.

² Please see Appendices B,C & D for full statistical analyses of Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Egypt.

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Country	Domain 1 (Trust)	Domain 2 (Satisfaction)	Domain 3 (Identification)	Social Cohesion
Sweden ³	0.795	0.863	0.884	0.740
United States	0.771	0.695	0.757	0.868
Germany	0.695	0.704	0.650	0.638
Great Britain	0.668	0.683	0.696	0.596
Italy	0.538	0.508	0.613	0.588
Greece	0.400	0.356	0.457	0.502
Romania	0.396	0.392	0.671	0.424
India	0.189	0.173	0.182	0.181
Senegal	0.572	X	0.541	0.604
South Africa	0.693	0.252	0.167	0.37
Nigeria	0.206	0.233	0.164	0.201
Zimbabwe	0.158	0.248	0.140	0.182
Egypt	0.176	0.098	0.194	0.156

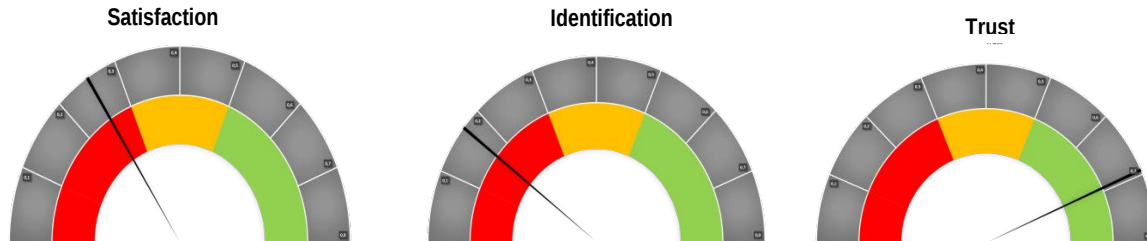
Again, we can use our Radar Gauge to graphically illustrate a comparison among specific countries as below.



How then can the SARSC assist policy research and development? The Radar provides a breakdown in respect of three domains of Social Cohesion, so that not only can we see the performance on Social Cohesion as a whole, but it can be disaggregated, so that we see that for instance, although trust, both towards institutions, as well as towards each other, is relatively high, the bigger problem relates to levels of satisfaction, and identification with South Africa. See the Radar Gauges below in this regard. Government may therefore act on such information, by putting greater efforts into policies, events, statements and discussions that promote identification, rather than into the other domains.

³ Please note OECD country statistical values are normed for our index from different instruments and therefore not mathematically comparable, but merely indicative.

South African Radar for Social Cohesion



On the other hand, SARSC also disaggregates SC in respect of different races, age cohorts and income brackets. In the case of race and the degree of Social Cohesion among different race groups, these may be graphically represented as follows:



Analytically, this enables us to identify more precisely where efforts need to be concentrated for best effect. So for instance, we note that Social Cohesion in respect of the Coloured group is at a much higher level than the other groups. Again, we know where to put our efforts in, to achieve the most cost-effective results. Additionally, we can dig down into each race group, each age cohort and each income level, to establish whether shortcomings exist in any of the specific Social Cohesion domains of trust, satisfaction or identity.

7.3 LONGITUDINAL APPLICATION OF THE RADAR

The Radar instrument can be used retrospectively, to establish trends in the movement of Social Cohesion in the country, over time, as well as to make projections into the future. Such trends can be graphed,

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

providing a curve, to serve as a target toward which the country can aspire, and which can inform policy development and implementation. We provide an example of such longitudinal application below.

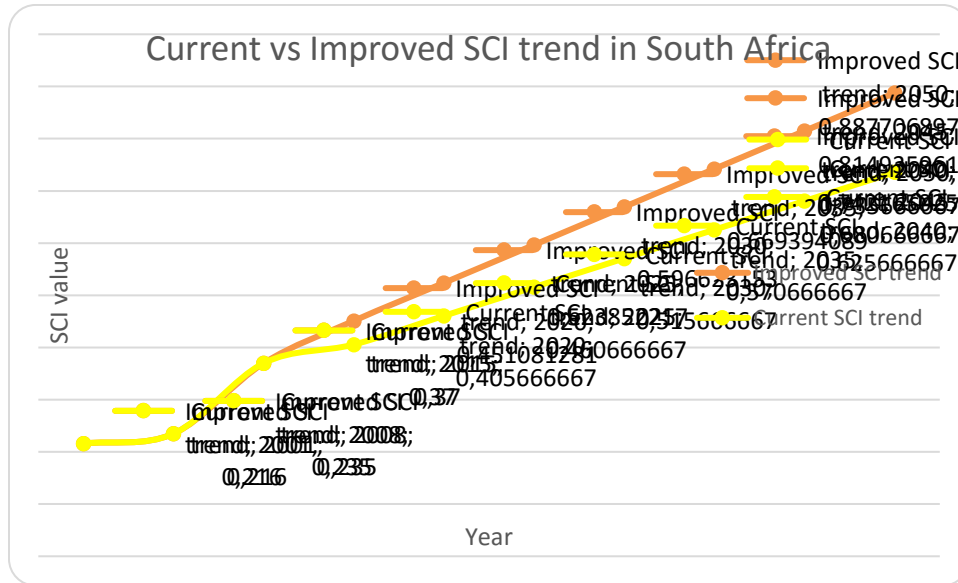
Trend for SCI in South Africa

Table 14 Comparison of current versus improved SCI trends

Date	Improved SCI trend	Current SCI trend
2001	0.216	0.216
2008	0.235	0.235
2015	0.370	0.370
2020	0.451081281	0.405666667
2025	0.523852217	0.460666667
2030	0.596623153	0.515666667
2035	0.669394089	0.570666667
2040	0.742165025	0.625666667
2045	0.814935961	0.680666667
2050	0.887706897	0.735666667

The Improved SCI trend was calculated using a linear time series analysis if South Africa were to reach the same level as the USA. The Current SCI trend is based on the linear relationship of the SCI for South Africa over the past 15 years. The improved trend – as a result of policy interventions, or an improved economy is possible, as the USA is not an outlying country in terms of its Social Cohesion in the long term. This is depicted as a graph below.

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8. THE WAY FORWARD FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN RADAR

This report represents phase one of the three phases of this project. It is the result of a literature-based investigation, and extensive discussions with colleagues at the South African Cultural Observatory, and at the Department of Arts and Culture, and has the aspiration to serve as a foundation for the further development of a South African measure of Social Cohesion. Hirsch (2012) asks the questions: “Can you measure Social Cohesion in South Africa? And can you fix what you don’t measure?” Although we think we know the answers to those questions, it is important that we do get that measure right.

The index presented above has been benchmarked, based on prominent international examples, and bears a strong resemblance to these in the make-up of its various indicators, but has some hallmarks of its own, with its ‘coefficient of variance’ to accommodate South Africa’s diverse population, the inclusion of indicators of reconciliation, to accommodate our deep-rooted conflict, and post-conflict status, as well as the ‘Radar Gauges’ for ease of use. The live work-up of the data, using various big data sets yields values in the same ballpark as for other international measures, and positions South Africa where we would expect, among similar countries. That is an indication of the robustness of our index, and its fitness for purpose. We believe that this index will provide the Department of Arts and Culture with a suitable tool for the measurement of the Social Cohesion for which it bears prime responsibility. Because it is based on a manageable set of indicators and sub-indicators, it will permit a sensitive and reliable measure of Social Cohesion that provides for ease of comparison with other countries, as well as for longitudinal comparison. It also provides for comparison among the components of the South African population,

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

based on race, age and economic class, making an extremely granular analysis of Social Cohesion possible; which is very helpful for policy evaluation purposes. We further note that:

- The triangulation of data generated by the Department of Arts and Culture with available national and international datasets will provide the Department with the opportunity to test its own findings against reliable, international best practice on a regular basis.
- The questionnaire which underpins the SARSC is an important component of this report. The quarterly collection of data, using the questions of the SARSC instrument, will enable the DAC to regularly assess the impacts of its efforts in respect of Social Cohesion. Use of the Radar Gauges will facilitate 'at a glance' comparison over time, across race groups, age cohorts and economic classes.
- As it stands, this report is not the last word. The index may be refined and strengthened over time, with use, and with subtle adjustments.
- Because there are cultural components of Social Cohesion, it would be in the interests of the Department of Arts and Culture to include cultural indicators of Social Cohesion in the index. Unfortunately, such indicators are not available in any of the big datasets that are currently available for South Africa. We suggest the development of an instrument to use in conjunction with this index, or to integrate such into this index. It will require an initial development phase, and the running of a separate set of surveys on a regular basis, however, but will be worth the effort in the long run.
- It is therefore our intention, as phase two of the project, to workshop the ideas represented here, with stakeholders and interested parties, including the range of academicians who have already ventured some way along this path, as well as colleagues at the DAC and the other stakeholder government departments, and to seek support for a South African Social Cohesion instrument/measure. After adjustments, we will again run the instrument (using big datasets, or via surveys) to test Social Cohesion in South Africa.
- In order to appropriately assess Social Cohesion, it would be ideal to run a full survey based on the dimensions identified with a greater span of indicators. The survey should then be repeated over time.

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Appropriately, I am solely and entirely responsible for any shortcomings in the report.



Gavin Bradshaw

Appendix A: Statistical Analytical Process for South Africa

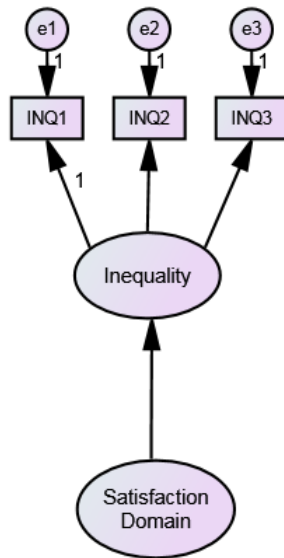


Figure 1

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

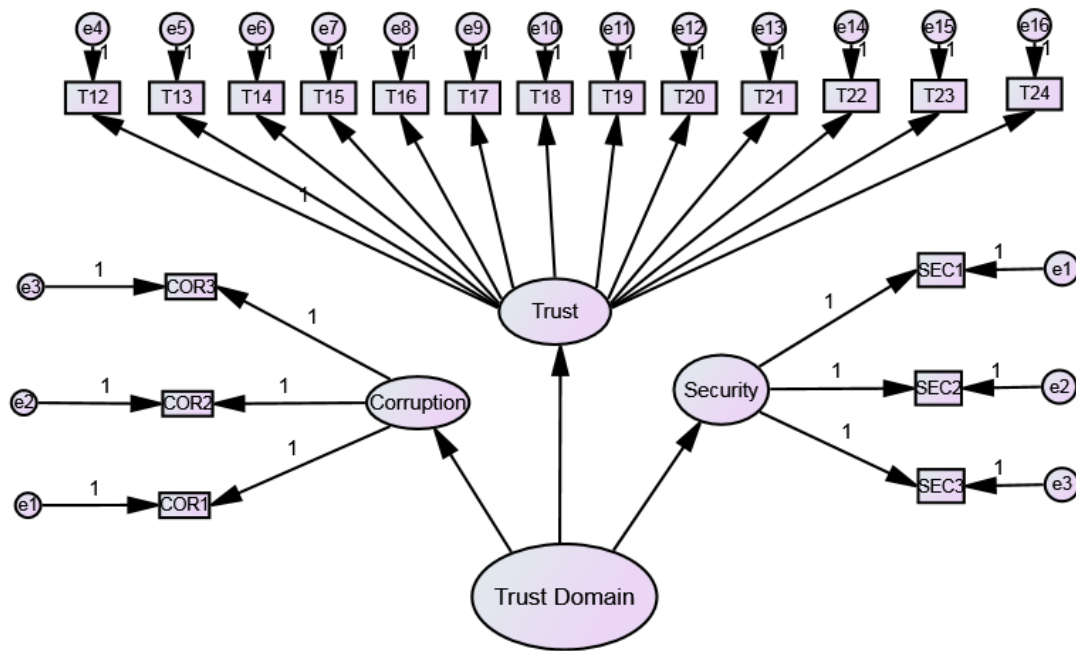


Figure 2

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

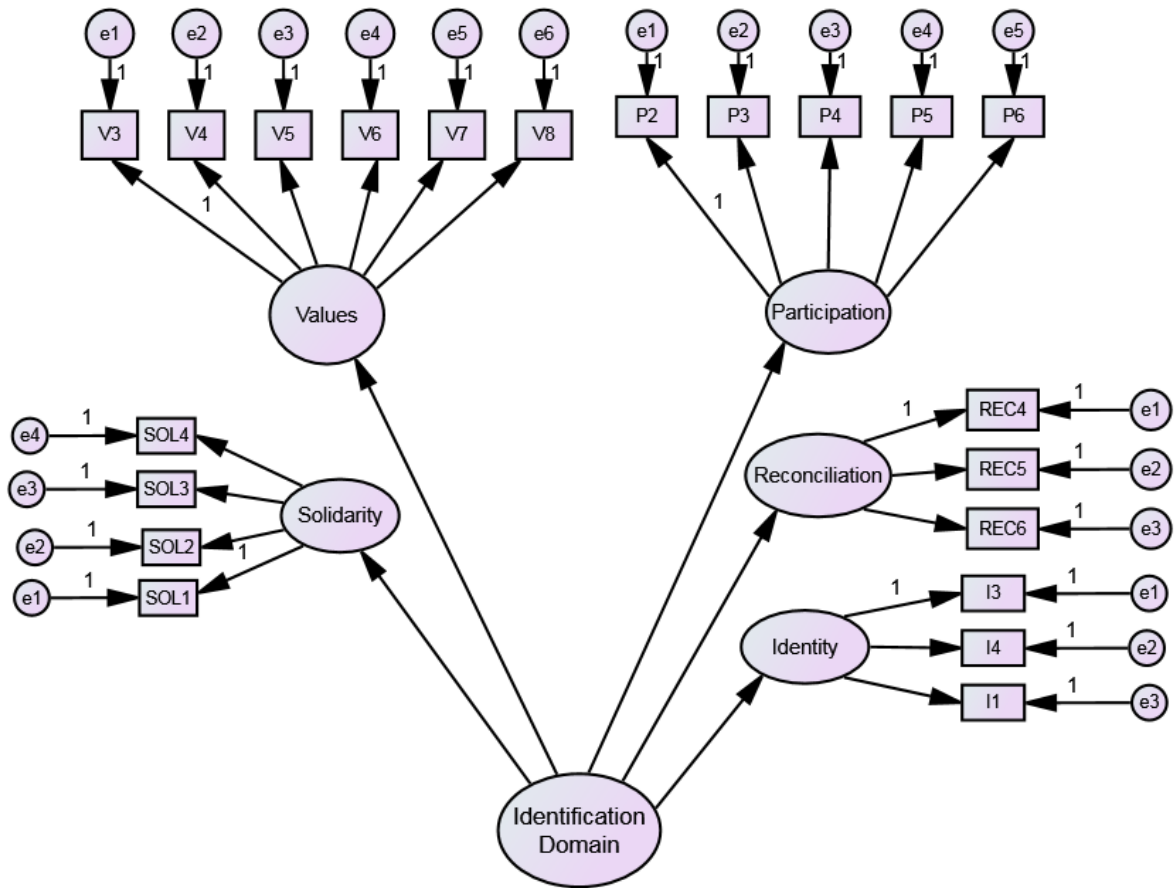


Figure 3

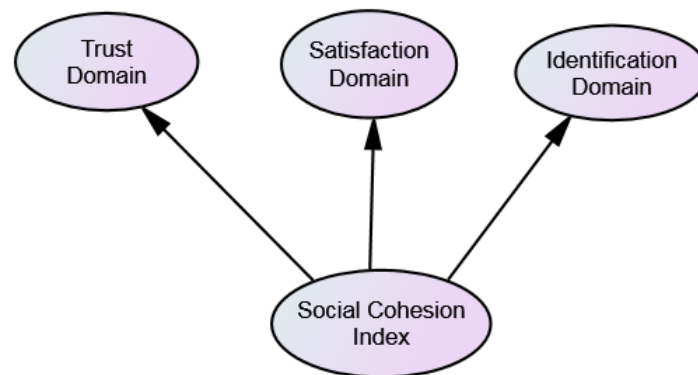


Figure 4

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

$$SCI = a_1 Trust + a_2 Satisfaction + a_3 Identification$$

$$SCI = \frac{1}{3} * Trust + \frac{1}{3} * Satisfaction + \frac{1}{3} * Identification$$

$$SCI = \frac{1}{3} * Trust + \frac{1}{3} * Satisfaction + \frac{1}{3} * Identification$$

$$SCI_{adjusted} = (1 - CV) * SCI$$

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

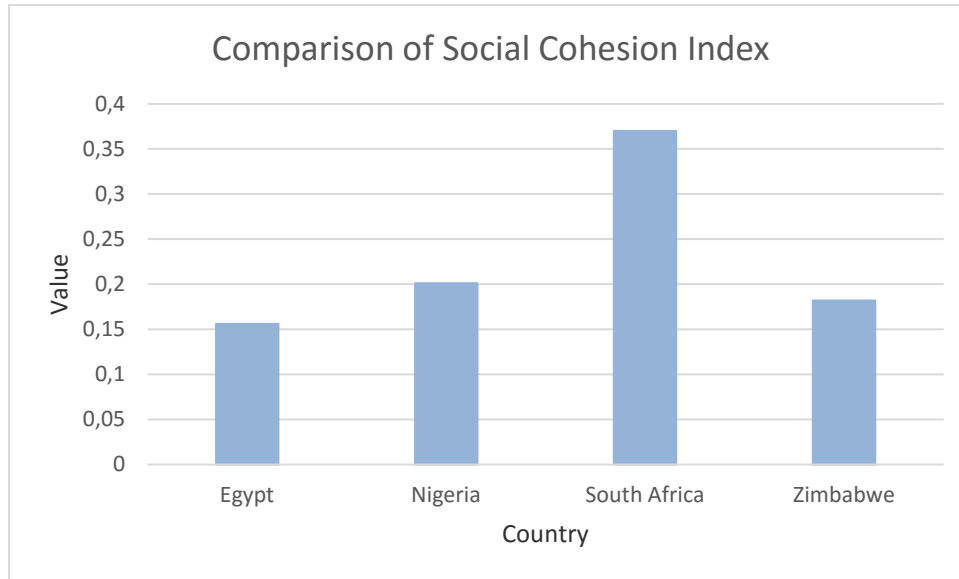


Figure 5

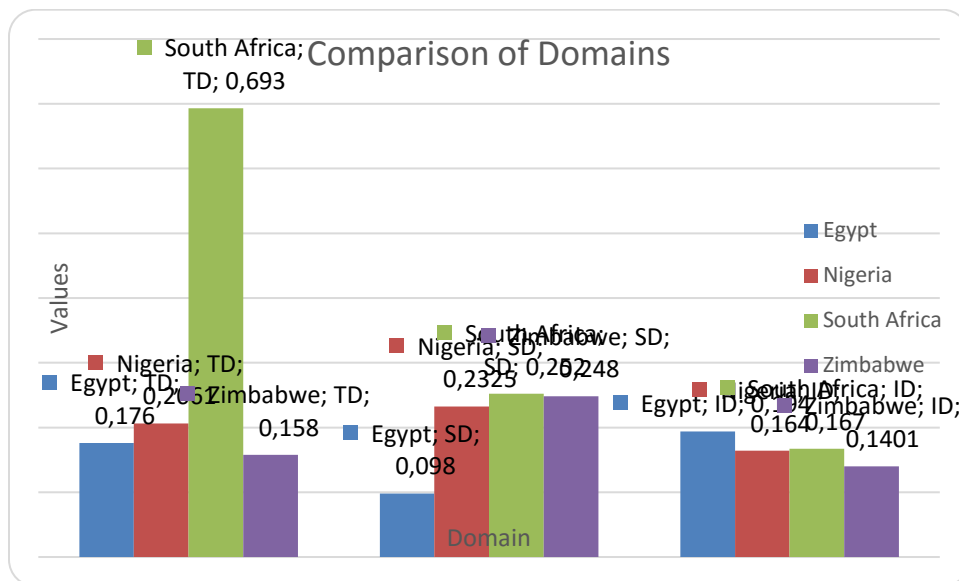


Figure 6

Appendix B: Results for Nigeria

Table 15 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Inequality

Inequality	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q4B	0.578
Q5	0.518
Cronbach's α = 0.459	

Table 16 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Trust

Trust	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q52A	0.531
Q52B	0.696
Q52C	0.651
Q52D	0.563
Q52E	0.724
Q52F	0.676
Q52G	0.615
Q52H	0.599
Q52I	0.645
Q52J	0.660
Q52K	0.610
Q52L	0.533
Q52M	0.586
Cronbach's α = 0.886	

Table 17 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Security

Security	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q10A	0.810
Q10B	0.839
Cronbach's α = 0.809	

Table 18 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Corruption

Corruption	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q51A	0.506
Q51C	0.480
Q51D	0.444

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Cronbach's α = 0.463

Table 19 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Solidarity

Solidarity	
Variable	CFA Loading
V108	0.126
Cronbach's α = na	

Table 20 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Reconciliation

Reconciliation	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q4A	0.572
Q6	0.564
Cronbach's α = 0.488	

Table 21 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Participation

Participation	
Variable	CFA Loading
V103	0.088
V104	1.212
V105	0.088
Cronbach's α = 0.195	

Table 22 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Identity

Identity	
Variable	CFA Loading
V180	0.618
V181	0.654
Cronbach's α = 0.575	

Table 23 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Values

Values	
Variable	CFA Loading
V169	0.776
V170	0.687
V171	0.676
Cronbach's α = 0.753	

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Domain Scores

Table 24 Final Domain Scores

Domain	Factor Score
Trust	0.206
Satisfaction	0.233
Identification	0.164

Cohesion Score = 0.201

Appendix C: Results for Zimbabwe

Table 25 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Inequality

Inequality	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q3B	0.685
Q4	0.613
Q5B	0.418
Cronbach's α = 0.589	

Table 26 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Trust

Trust	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q88A	0.531
Q88B	0.696
Q59A	0.657
Q59B	0.704
Q59A_ZIM	0.483
Q59C	0.642
Q59D	0.561
Q59E	0.569
Q59F	0.673
Q59G	0.460
Q59H	0.596
Q59I	0.629
Q59J	0.591
Cronbach's α = 0.844	

Table 27 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Security

Security	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q9A	0.835
Q9B	0.777
Cronbach's α = 0.786	

Table 28 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Corruption

Corruption	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q60A	0.542
Q60B	0.847

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Q60C	0.881
Q60D	0.703
Q60E	0.611
Q60F	0.552
Q60G	0.567
Q56F	0.411
Cronbach's α = 0.832	

Table 29 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Solidarity

Solidarity	
Variable	CFA Loading
V141	0.277
Cronbach's α = na	

Table 30 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Reconciliation

Reconciliation	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q3A	0.513
Q5A	0.611
Cronbach's α = 0.472	

Table 31 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Participation

Participation	
Variable	CFA Loading
V134	0.657
V135	0.788
V136	0.751
V137	0.764
V138	0.704
Cronbach's α = 0.852	

Table 32 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Identity

Identity	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q85C	0.344
Cronbach's α = na	

Table 33 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Values

Values	
---------------	--

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Variable	CFA Loading
V204	0.318
V205	0.656
V206	0.458
V207	0.501
Cronbach's α = 0.518	

Domain Scores

Table 34 Final Domain Scores

Domain	Factor Score
Trust	0.158
Satisfaction	0.248
Identification	0.140

Cohesion Score = 0.182

Appendix D: Results for Egypt

Table 35 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Inequality

Inequality	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q39_NAF_B	0.298
Q51B	0.740
Q51D	0.755
Cronbach's α = 0.6	

Table 36 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Trust

Trust	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q52A	0.546
Q52C	0.656
Q52D	0.605
Q52E	0.576
Q52FEGY	0.623
Q52G	0.613
Q52H	0.553
Q52I	0.549
Q52J	0.540
Cronbach's α = 0.809	

Table 37 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Security

Security	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q10A	0.899
Q10B	0.722
Cronbach's α = 0.776	

Table 38 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Corruption

Corruption	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q46	0.381
Q51C	0.396
Q53AEGY	0.649
Q53C	0.756
Q53D	0.757
Q53E	0.679

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Q53F	0.628
Q54	0.434
Cronbach's α = 0.810	

Table 39 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Solidarity

Solidarity	
Variable	CFA Loading
V116	0.737
V117	0.730
V118	0.662
Cronbach's α = 0.751	

Table 40 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Reconciliation

Reconciliation	
Variable	CFA Loading
Q4A	0.706
Q6	0.769
Cronbach's α = 0.702	

Table 41 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Participation

Participation	
Variable	CFA Loading
V96	0.293
Cronbach's α = na	

Table 42 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Identity

Identity	
Variable	CFA Loading
V89	0.248
Cronbach's α = na	

Table 43 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Values

Values	
Variable	CFA Loading
V198	0.569
V199	0.752
V200	0.810
V201	0.877
Cronbach's α = 0.819	

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

Domain Scores

Table 44 Final Domain Scores

Domain	Factor Score
Trust	0.176
Satisfaction	0.098
Identification	0.194

Cohesion Score = 0.156

South African Radar for Social Cohesion

APPENDIX E: RESULTS FOR INDIA

India (2006)

Table 45 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Inequality

Inequality	
Variable	CFA Loading
INQ37	0.465
INQ35	0.447
Cronbach's α = 0.344	

Table 46 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Trust

Trust	
Variable	CFA Loading
T131	0.595
T132	0.669
T133	0.702
T134	0.485
T135	0.567
T136	0.679
T137	0.767
T138	0.768
T139	0.764
T140	0.756
T141	0.664
Cronbach's α = 0.899	

Table 47 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Corruption

Corruption	
Variable	CFA Loading
COR1b	0.716
COR1e	0.658
Cronbach's α = 0.639	

Table 48 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Solidarity

Solidarity	
Variable	CFA Loading
SOL84	0.580
SOL116	0.297
SOL117	0.239
SOL118	0.452
Cronbach's α = 0.523	

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Table 49 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Participation

Participation	
Variable	CFA Loading
P96	0.870
P97	0.945
P98	0.903
Cronbach's α = 0.932	

Table 50 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Identity

Identity	
Variable	CFA Loading
I89	0.316
I209	0.466
I211	0.724
Cronbach's α = 0.477	

Table 51 CFA for Final Factor Solution, Values

Values	
Variable	CFA Loading
V198	0.795
V199	0.834
V200	0.884
V201	0.793
Cronbach's α = 0.895	

Domain Scores

Table 52 Final Domain Scores

Domain	Factor Score
Trust	0.189
Satisfaction	0.173
Identification	0.182

Cohesion Score = 0.181

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