



arts and culture

Department:
Arts and Culture
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Date:

June 2012

Prepared:

Project Team

Version:4

**!KE E: /XARRA //KE: CREATING A CARING AND
PROUD SOCIETY**

A NATIONAL STRATEGY

FOR

DEVELOPING AN INCLUSIVE

AND

A COHESIVE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

7 JUNE 2012

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A NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR DEVELOPING AN INCLUSIVE AND A COHESIVE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

“For to be free is not merely to cast off one’s chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others”

Nelson Mandela

1. Introduction

This is a draft National Strategy on Social Cohesion and Nation-Building of the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC). Intended for public comment and revision, it responds to the ongoing and unfinished national project which began with the transformation of South Africa into a constitutional democracy in 1994 – this being the building of a just society which upholds and embodies the principles and values of an inclusive, non-racial democracy.

More specifically, it responds to Outcome 12 of the set of 12 Outcomes adopted by Cabinet in January 2012. It does so by taking to the national democratic project embarked on in 1994, further within the medium-term, a framework covering April 2010 to March 2014. As such it represents the most recent stage in the national democratic project.

This project obviously unfolds against the historical background of the stark divisions and inequalities produced by the exclusivist, oppressive and exploitative social systems of colonialism and apartheid which held sway over South Africa for most of its modern history. Although these systems were formally consigned to the refuse-bin of history in the wake of the democratic breakthrough in 1994, vestiges of the inequalities and divisions imposed on society over some three centuries are still persisting almost two decades after the democratisation of South Africa.

If left unchecked, this will continue indefinitely, to ultimately threaten the long-term sustainability of democracy in South Africa. To counter this, government, public and private institutions along with all the citizens of this diverse society have been working together to build an inclusive, just and cohesive society in which not just a privileged few, but all members of society live in peace and prosper together. To achieve this, an effective national strategy on social cohesion and nation-building is required.

This strategy is oriented towards the South African meanings of social cohesion and nation-building embedded as they happen to be in African social ideas and cultures and their dynamic interaction with other cultures. All human societies, at both local-community level and larger intercommunity- and national-life level, require sets of shared values, norms, visions and goals to secure co-operation and foster bonds of belonging.

In the context of South Africa, the concept of ubuntu articulates a social humanism of interpersonal care, sharing and a commitment to the greater social good. It posits the individual human being as a social construct in a public culture of human reciprocity and solidarity. In this view an individual is not an entity severed from other human beings. Rather, the individual is human by virtue of other humans. This unreserved humanist and inclusive social ethos places every individual in a social relationship with other individuals.¹

This interconnectedness based on valuing and respecting all human beings is the foundation of social solidarity. It constitutes a social compact of rights and responsibilities animating

¹ See Ramose, M, *The Philosophy of Ubuntu and Ubuntu as Philosophy. Philosophy in Africa: A Text and Readings*, edited by P.H. Coetzee & A.P.J le Roux. Oxford University Press. 2004.

and regulating social life.² This Strategy on Social Cohesion and Nation-building, then, is grounded in this.

2. Purpose

The purpose of this document is to propose a National Strategy on Social Cohesion and Nation-Building for South Africa, by:

- Proposing a theme for the strategy
- Propose a vision for social cohesion and nation building
- Outlining the Legislative Framework context related to social cohesion and nation-building
- Formulating a problem statement
- Contextualising social cohesion and nation-building
- Conceptualising social cohesion and nation-building
- Defining social cohesion and nation-building
- Proposing principles of social cohesion and nation-building
- Identifying Indicators threatening to social cohesion
- Proposing social cohesion and nation-building strategies and programmes

Driven by the DAC, this is a national strategy that, by its very nature, is intergovernmental and cross-sectorial. It surveys the terrain with a view to proposing contextually informed and measurable social cohesion programmes at all levels of social and public life in South Africa.

3. Vision

This national strategy aims to contribute to the creation of a caring and proud society informed by a vision based on:

Freedom, Democracy and Justice

² See Nkondo, G.M.: Ubuntu as National Policy in South Africa: A Conceptual Framework. *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies*. Volume 2. 2007

Rights and Responsibilities
Equality and Inclusion
Shared Values and Symbols
Unity and Diversity

4. Theme

The preamble to the Constitution of South Africa declares: “We the people of South Africa ... believe that South Africa belongs to everyone who lives in it, united in our diversity”.³

This is reiterated in the motto on the National Coat of Arms by the /Xam expression *!ke e: /xarra //ke* which literally means *diverse people unite*. It thus enjoins the citizens to unite in a sense of belonging and pride. It is combined with the DAC’s work on social cohesion embarked on under the theme “Creating a Caring Society” by adding “proud” it reads: “Creating a Caring and Proud Society”.

This is the proposed theme of the strategy. It marks – insofar as it speaks directly and in an ancient South African language and culture deeply woven into the fabric of many South African languages and cultures – the interconnections of the people, the languages and the cultures of South Africa.

At the same time, the theme underscores the transformative orientation of this strategy. This transformative thrust makes it explicit that the attainment of higher levels of social cohesion and national unity call for eradicating the inequalities, exclusions and divisions of the past in developing a new society.

In addition, the incorporation of the national motto as the theme for this national strategy has four further advantages:

³*Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*. 1996

- Firstly it connects the strategy and its proposed programmes to the constitution and the national symbols of the country;
- Secondly, it provides opportunities for popularising national symbols and their meanings;
- Thirdly, it connects the strategy to the founding principles, values and institutions of the Constitution; and
- Fourthly, it emphasises the fact that this strategy for social cohesion and nation-building is informed by South African history, realities, experiences and ideas.

In all these senses, then, the theme proclaims the specifically South African and African grounding of the strategy.

5. Problem Statement

In 1994 South Africa emerged from a long history in which race, ethnicity and culture were used as the basis for the imposition of a divided, unequal and hierarchical society that excluded the majority of the population from citizenship. This political and economic order had far-reaching ramifications.

Having established itself by force and maintained itself coercively, the colonial and apartheid dispensation impacted negatively on political, social, economic and cultural life. It shredded the social fabric and fragmented the body politic in the process of constructing a racially exclusive society in which only a minority enjoyed full citizenship.

At every stage in the history of this imposition, the majority of the population rejected and opposed this. At the same time an alternative democratic, non-racial, equitable, inclusive and united society was proposed, striven and worked for by successive generations.

In 1994 South Africa made a well-ordered transition to a non-racial democracy. One of the central achievements of the democratic breakthrough was the establishment of an inclusive citizenship. This realised the central political demand of the long struggle for democracy.

While society has overcome the deep political schisms of the past, social divisions, economic inequality, poverty and exclusion, however, still persist. Access to economic resources, education and work opportunities, as the National Development Plan (NDP) (2011:412) states, remains largely based on “race, gender, geographic location, class and linguistic” factors.⁴

After almost 18 years of democracy, despite the progress made in improving the quality of life of the vast majority of the population, the realities of poverty, inequality, unemployment, homelessness and landlessness remain stark. In some instances, such as unemployment and health, the situation has deteriorated sharply. In this context of economic underperformance and minority- and middle-class privilege, the phenomena of violent crime and abuse of women, children, the elderly and foreign nationals have taken on disturbing proportions.

Uneven and inadequate local government service delivery in historically neglected communities predates democracy. Its continued manifestation is now an enormous strain on the social fabric and public order. Presently, hardly a day goes by without violent upheavals in disgruntled communities, both in proximity to the historical centres of development and further afield. If left unattended, the escalation of these upheavals poses a direct threat to the long-term stability and prospects of democracy in South Africa.

A further effect of minority rule has been the long-standing exclusion of the majority of the population, on racist grounds, from participation in the nation-state. This flowed from the racial and ethnic exclusivity of the colonial and apartheid dispensations imposed on South Africa over some three centuries. Several interrelated consequences sprung from this:

- It divided the population along racial, linguistic and cultural lines
- It denied the majority of the population the right to representation in national government

⁴*National Development Plan: Vision 2020*. 2011. p. 412.

- It dispossessed the majority of the people of land
- It fragmented the country into ethnic enclaves designed to foster ethnicity and tribalism
- It reserved participation in all aspects of national life to a minority of the population
- It imposed an unequal, segregated and indoctrinating educational dispensation on the society
- It regulated and prohibited free intercultural social interaction
- It denationalised the majority of the population
- It criminalised and brutalised the majority of the population
- It restricted the free movement of the majority
- It disrupted the family and community life of successive generations
- It denigrated African languages and cultures
- It maintained minority rule by means of legalised suppression and force

The effect of all this was the systematic alienation of the majority of the population from national and local state institutions. This alienation was followed through at all levels of society, leaving in its wake a deeply divided society. While much progress has been made since 1994 on many fronts, social exclusions still persist.

The challenge, therefore, is to enhance social cohesion and foster the development of a shared South African identity which incorporates diversity in a democratic dispensation. This relates directly to the translation of the rights and responsibilities of both the state and its citizens into social reality.

As the *Delivery Agreement for Outcome 12* points out, while the constitution and its Chapter Nine Institutions have laid the foundations for an inclusive and just relationship between the citizens and the state at different levels of government, as well as with other public and private agencies, the effective realisation of the full participation of all citizens remains uneven.⁵ At both national and local government levels, from the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) and the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) to the Integrated

⁵*Delivery Agreement for Outcome 12*. 2010. pp. 82-83

Development Planning (IDP) of local government and its ward committee system, the impact of these bodies and processes is not optimal.

Widespread service delivery protests, the outbreak of violence against foreign nationals, high levels of crime, gender violence, child abuse, chronic diseases and corruption indicate a breakdown between the government and the citizens, on the one hand, and the disregard for peaceful democratic action and human rights values among citizens, on the other. In combination, these have resulted in the spread of dissatisfaction and volatility in many deprived communities across the country.

Evidence suggests that the constitutional recognition of citizenship along with the rights and responsibilities that go with this is not firmly embedded in society and concretised in everyday life. This gulf between formal citizenship and reality lies at the heart of the breakdowns between citizens and public institutions as well as within communities.

Accordingly, when this problem has been recognised, the challenge is to implement planned and outcomes-directed interventions that will fully empower citizens and foster the democratic norms and values of such citizenship. How to enhance social cohesion and nation-building and full democratic citizenship is outlined as follows in the *Service Delivery Agreement for Outcome 12 B*:

1. *Empowered Citizenship* means that South Africans understand what rights and responsibilities they have, what they can expect from public organs and from other citizens and are informed about the forums and processes available to them for exercising these rights.
2. *Fair Citizenship* means that the allocation of resources happens transparently and predictably and that the rules governing the allocation of rights apply equally and evenly to everybody.

3. *Inclusive Citizenship* means that everybody has an equal chance of exercising their rights in the various processes, forums and structures that are available.⁶

This is integral to building a cohesive society, working together to achieve shared values and objectives which in turn contribute to intercultural social solidarity and the crystallisation of a shared South African identity.

6. Advances in Social Cohesion and Nation-Building Since 1994

Since the attainment of a non-racial democracy in 1994, South Africa has, in relation to the problem statement outlined above, made enormous strides in overcoming the historically entrenched inequalities and exclusions of centuries of minority rule. The country has consolidated the process of building an inclusive, non-racial and democratic society over the last 18 years.

After protracted contestations, the formal exclusion of the majority of the population from fully participating in political, economic, social and cultural life in society at large, was historically and effectively ended with the first non-racial democratic elections held on 27 April 1994. The relatively peaceful transition achieved by the democratic break-through saw the free and fair election of representatives to national and provincial legislatures as well as to local government. This fundamentally transformed the political landscape from a racially exclusive dispensation into an inclusive non-racial democratic order based on the popular vote.

With each passing year and within the span of four elections, held on schedule and orderly, a democratic culture has been established and progressively consolidated. In the place of the illegitimate colonial and apartheid state a set of carefully crafted democratic institutions, grounded in human rights and public participation, are now firmly in place.

In addition, a range of public policies and programmes have been conceived and implemented. These seek to redress the injustices of the past and to transform all aspects

⁶*Delivery Agreement for Outcome 12*. 2010. p. 83.

and spheres of society in a drive to fully actualise the democratic vision enshrined in the Constitution and enhance the quality of life of all citizens. Particular emphasis is placed on those citizens who have been subjected to injustices, marginalisation and exclusions, and denied opportunities for advancement. In the light of this, since 1994, the following advances, as outlined in the *Millennium Development Goals Country Report 2010* and other official documents, have been made:

- A constitutional democracy, based on the rule of law, subject to the provisions in the constitution and the separation of powers, has replaced the racially exclusive and non-accountable parliamentary political dispensations of the past.
- Legislatures, at all three levels of government, have been established for which representation is contested in an unrestricted multi-party system.
- The once fragmented political geography of apartheid and the physical segregation of people along racial and ethnic lines no longer has any legal force. Even though the spatial imprints of the past are still visible, many communities have gradually become more integrated.
- As an independent African country made up of diverse peoples and cultures, South Africa has been hard at work in creating a society in which all its citizens are valued as equal human beings with the same rights regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, religion, language or location.
- Economic and property laws which once excluded the majority of the population have been abolished and access to resources and economic opportunities are no longer the preserve of a racial minority.
- The diverse languages, cultures and religions of the society enjoy constitutional protection and the right to development.
- A single national education system at primary, secondary and tertiary levels as replaced the system of segregated, ethnic-based and Bantu Education. This has resulted in the attainment of universal access to primary education well ahead of the 2015 target date of the Millennium Development Goals.
- In a drive to eradicate extreme poverty, as the basis for creating a caring society and secure the material well-being of its members, comprehensive measures have

been taken which combine cash grants with a range of social wages related to free primary health care for all, subsidised housing, electricity, water, sanitation, refuse removal and transportation, including the transfer of home ownership of to renting residents in urban communities historically segregated and designated as township. These interventions have resulted in the decline of absolute poverty from 11.3% in 2000 to 5% in 2006, dropping continuously.

- Equality, of persons, across race, gender and culture is a cornerstone of the South African constitution. In this regard, emphasis has been placed on accelerating the participation of women in political, economic, social, educational and cultural spheres of life. In terms of political participation, the representation of women in Parliament increased from 27.8 in 1994 to 43.3% in 2009. In provincial legislatures it in increase from 25.4% to 42.4% over the same period.
- Once the pariah of the world, South Africa has, from the inception of democracy become a beacon for the peaceful resolution of conflict at home, on the continent and globally. Participating in world affairs, South Africa has worked for the transformation inter-continental and intercontinental institutions.
- It has successfully organized and hosted major international economic, cultural and sporting events including the 2010 FIFA World Cup.
- The draft National Development Plan: Vision 2030 envisages an inclusive growth path through the improvement of education and skills; investment in science and technology; public infrastructure; industrial development; accelerated land reform and food security; the expansion of employment opportunities; safety and security; urban development; a national health-care system and the further reduction of poverty and inequality in the ongoing project of building a unified and cohesive society.

Advances made in relation to these and other critical areas of social cohesion and nation-building are further outlined in section 17 of this document which deals with the development indicators. All this indicates the commitment by government to work in partnership with the private sector, traded unions, civil society, communities and citizens to build a just, prosperous, inclusive and cohesive society at peace with itself and the world.

7. Principles of Social Cohesion and Nation-Building

This strategy on social cohesion and nation-building is based on the following principles:

- Constitutional Democracy
- Human Rights and Equality
- Non-racialism, Non-tribalism and Non-sexism
- Unity in Diversity
- Inclusivity and social justice
- Redress and Transformation
- Intergroup and Community Co-operation
- Social Solidarity
- Active and Participatory Citizenship
- Civic Responsibility
- National Consciousness

These principles serve as the touchstones of this strategy, and are aimed at fostering greater cohesion within diverse communities and national unity between them and across the country. As such they should be debated and given content by community members and citizens.

8. The Constitutional Basis of Social Cohesion and Nation-building

The Constitution of South Africa has a direct bearing on social cohesion and nation-building. As mentioned, the *Preamble* declares that “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity”. As underlined by the South African Human Rights Commission, this embraces every inhabitant of the country, both citizen and non-citizen.⁷

⁷See the *Report of the SAHRC Investigation into Issues of Rule of Law, Justice and Impunity Arising Out of the 2008 Public Violence against Non-Nationals*. 2010.

It further stresses the indivisible unity, under the Constitution, of the country's diverse people. It sets as one of its aims "to improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person". In this regard it is not a passive legal document replaced by a transformative one.

Section 1 affirms "non-racialism and non-sexism" as foundational values and principles. In the light of this Section 9(1) declares that "[e]veryone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law". Accordingly, Section 9 (3) stipulates: "The state may not unfairly discriminate against anyone on one or more grounds, including race". The same applies to gender. Section 10 enjoins: "Everyone has inherent dignity and has the right to have their dignity respected and protected".

These provisions along with the Bill of Rights and other provisions form the basis of laws and constitute the legal foundation of a democratic South Africa required to proactively correct injustices of the past.⁸

9. DAC Initiatives on Social Cohesion and Nation-Building

The arts, cultural, social cohesion and nation-building mandate of the DAC captures in its vision:

To develop and preserve South African culture to ensure social cohesion and nation-building.⁹

This mandate derives from its role as public custodian of the diverse cultures, languages and heritage of the people of South Africa and as the national leader in providing public support for the development of innovation across the full spectrum of the arts as creative, economic and social practices, and as bearers of a dynamic society. As a consequence, the department's programmes cover the administration of arts and culture in society, language, heritage promotion, national archives, records, libraries and heraldry.

⁸*Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Act 108 of 1996.*

⁹*Medium-Term Strategic Framework April 2010-March 2014.* Department of Arts and Culture:

These programmes, integral to the social and cultural life of society, are carried out within specified constitutional and legal frameworks of the country. Thus, in responding to the need for development of an inclusive and cohesive society, its efforts lead in contributing to overcoming the divisions and inequalities of the past, both in the spheres of culture, language, heritage and the arts as well as in social processes at large.

Hence, the DAC's *Baseline Document on Social Cohesion Version 5* (2010)¹⁰ points out that the DAC has over the years embarked on several research activities and projects related to social cohesion and nation-building. It is therefore important to provide a brief overview of this in order to contextualise this strategy and consolidate the work done up to this stage.

In 2004, the DAC commissioned the *Social Cohesion and Social Justice in South Africa*¹¹ study conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). Although this is not listed in the activities of the DAC's *Baseline Document*, this extensive study, along with the Macro Social Report, *A nation in the making: Macrosocial trends in South Africa*, developed between 2004 and 2006 by The Presidency¹² introduced the concepts of social cohesion, social capital and social justice into policy discourse. The report has served as a key text in the department's policy work and programmes on social cohesion and nation-building.

The July 2007 Cabinet Lekgotla approved a macro-social strategic framework aimed at addressing the negative indicators of social cohesion identified in *A Nation in the Making*, such as chronic poverty, high unemployment, the persistence of racism, the spread of xenophobia, high levels of crime, and other manifestations of social fragmentation and underdevelopment.

In October 2009 a Social Cohesion Colloquium with the theme "Building a Caring Nation" was held to discuss the state of social cohesion in South Africa. One of its recommendations was that a National Social Cohesion Conference be held in 2010, with the objective of

¹⁰ Social Cohesion Team: Arts and Culture: *Baseline Document on Social Cohesion Version 5*. 2010. Department of Arts and Culture.

¹¹ Social Cohesion and Integration Research Programme: *Social Cohesion and Social Justice in South Africa*. Human Sciences Research Council. October 2004.

¹² *A nation in the making: Macrosocial trends in South Africa*. The Presidency, 2006

stimulating debate on and awareness of the importance of social cohesion and the need to develop a national strategy.

Coupled with this, community participation aimed at promoting discussions and co-operation at grassroots level between citizens and public officials on social cohesion matters ranging from community consultations on place names to the popularisation of nation symbols was proposed.

A perception survey on social cohesion was conducted in KwaZulu-Natal in the communities of KwaCeza, Nquthu, Umbumbulu and Zwelinzima.¹³

These initiatives, activities and plans aimed at promoting social cohesion and nation-building, assumed a new urgency after 12 Outcomes were adopted at the 20-22 January 2010 Cabinet Lekgotla. As a whole, the 12 Outcomes constitute a comprehensive implementation and delivery model that requires departments and institutions across government and public institutions to lead effectively and to deliver high-impact outputs within the framework of the strategic policies, plans and priorities of government.

While the 12 Outcomes mentioned above pertain to the implementation of the electoral mandate of the current government over the medium term, all outcomes are rooted in the historical, current and future challenges facing South Africa. As such they are both medium-term and long-term initiatives insofar as their effective implementation is critical for future policy directions and developments.

As the communiqué by the South African Government Information Service (2010) states, the Delivery Agreement on the implementation of the 12 Outcomes specifies who will do what, when and with what resources. Co-ordinating structures have been established to ensure that the partners of the delivery agreement work together to implement monitor and review progress.

Outcome 12, which directly pertains to the DAC, is focused on developing

¹³ Department of Arts and Culture: *Assessment of the Promotion of Identity and Social Cohesion in Selected Sites in KwaZulu-Natal*. August 2009.

[a]n efficient, effective and development oriented public service and an empowered, fair and inclusive citizenship.

The delivery agreement for this outcome consists of seven strategic areas of output:

- Service delivery quality and access
- Human resource management and development
- Business process, systems, decision rights and accountability
- Tackling corruption effectively
- Nation-building and national identity
- Citizen participation
- Social cohesion

The outputs specific to the DAC are the last three in the list above. In the Delivery Agreement (2010: 84-85), these outputs, designated as Outcome 12B has been assigned to the Department of Arts and Culture. Outcome 12A, comprising the first four listed, has been assigned to the Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA).

Output 1: Nation-Building and National Identity

Apartheid-era conceptions of nation-building and national identity held race and ethnicity as core values of political belonging and of social solidarity. Democracy in South Africa is associated with a rejection of ethno-nationalism and a move towards placing the norms and values of citizenship at the heart of national identity. Efforts at nation-building, therefore, have to place citizenship education and citizenship empowerment at the core of government's efforts. Concretely, this means encouraging awareness amongst South Africans about the constitution, their rights as well as their responsibilities as citizens.

Embracing civic nationalism also means recognising the great diversity of South Africans in their roles and positions in society, in terms of culture and religion, of

sexual orientation and also of political opinions. It is important, therefore, to make South Africans aware of this diversity as part of a broader message about citizenship, namely that South Africans are socially diverse, yet common in their citizenship.

Output 2: Citizen Participation

Making citizenship central to South African national identity means empowering South Africans to behave as citizens in their vertical relationships with public bodies and with respect to the law. In order for citizenship to be fair and inclusive, citizens will need access to accurate, up-to-date information about government and its activities. For this purpose it is crucial that government make information available through a variety of media, not just internet. In addition, government departments and agencies at all levels need to build the institutional capacity to respond accurately and quickly to information requests from the public.

Citizens will also need to know what processes exist, where they are and how they operate. The fairness and the inclusivity of such processes are also measured by the degree to which they are accessible to all, especially to women, the disabled and the poor. In this regard, special attention is to be paid to issues of *institutional or process design* so as to maximise participation. What powers and functions do these bodies have? Are their meetings more than talk shops? What time are meetings held? Is this time convenient to most people or does it, effectively, discriminate against certain potential stakeholders? Where are these meetings held? Is there accessibility for people with disabilities? How are meetings conducted? Are they held in a language that is understandable to most people? Are they chaired in a manner that encourages participation, especially by women or people who are less formally educated than others?

Output 3: Social Cohesion

One of the key measures of nation-building is the degree to which there are strong horizontal relationships between South African citizens. A socially cohesive and democratic society is one where individuals treat each other on the basis of norms and values of citizenship, that is, with fairness, respect and as equals. The key challenge here is to develop democratic social capital.

It will be important for government to support activities that build democratic social capital. In this regard, there are strong links between volunteerism in civic society organisations and the emergence of generalised social trust. Participation in effective, democratic organisations has also been shown to develop understanding of and commitment to democratic norms and values. Support for volunteerism and active citizenship needs to be accompanied by campaigns to educate South Africans regarding their responsibilities to each other in everyday situations.

There are several key measures of the degree to which the norms and values of citizenship are permeating into social relations. Foremost among these is the way that women and children are treated in society. South Africa has very high levels of violence against women and children and the challenge for this sub-output is to develop ongoing programmes to reduce such violence.

These three outputs are interrelated and complementary. They are also related to the other outputs of Outcome 12, as well as to, of course, the other 11 Outcomes and their respective outputs.

These Outcomes are linked to all the others aimed at improving the quality of education; enhancing access to health, safety and security; decent employment; skills development; infrastructure and rural development; food security; constructing sustainable human settlements; improving the quality of household life; providing responsive, effective, accountable and efficient local government; ensuring environmental protection; and regional and global co-operation for peace and stability.

10. Conceptualising Social Cohesion and Nation-Building

This section proposes a rethinking of the conventional assignment of social cohesion and nation-building as secondary and intangible by-products of the primary process of economic development. It conceptualises social cohesion and nation formation as interrelated and society-wide processes. They operate at both vertical and horizontal levels of society in relation to economic and social factors and are directed towards achieving maximum inclusion at all levels of society, in a particular context.¹⁴

If coordinated, they should combine to create social cohesion at community, provincial and national levels. The optimisation of social cohesion and nation-building is therefore indispensable for the attainment of long-term social and political stability. Without this, sustainable economic development – in which all members of society, whether citizens or not, have fair and equal opportunities to contribute to, participate in and benefit from – becomes difficult to attain.

In terms of this, all spheres of society – economic, social, legal, cultural and environmental – are to be understood and treated as social processes. They garner legitimacy and impact in direct relation to the extent to which they contribute, directly and indirectly, to enhance the material, social, cultural and physical quality of life of a society, both its citizenry and other members.

This conceptualisation of economic development permeates the Declaration and Programme of Action of the 1995 World Summit for Social Development (WSSD).¹⁵ The first four paragraphs declare:

1. For the first time in history, at the invitation of the United Nations, we gather here as Heads of State and Government to recognize the significance of social development and human well-being for all and give these goals the highest priority both now and in the twenty-first century.

¹⁴ Abugre, C.: *The Financial Crisis and Social Development in Africa: An Opportunity for Strategic change*. 2011.

¹⁵ *Declaration and Programme. World Summit on Social Development*. Copenhagen. 1995.

2. We acknowledge that people of the world have shown in different ways an urgent need to address profound social problems, especially poverty, unemployment and social exclusion, that affect every country. It is our task to address both the underlying and structural causes and their distressing consequences in order to reduce uncertainty and insecurity in the life of people.
3. We acknowledge that our society must respond more effectively to the spiritual and material needs of individuals, their families and the communities in which they live throughout our diverse countries and regions. We must do so as a matter of urgency, but also as a matter of sustained and unshakable commitment through the years ahead.
4. We are convinced that democracy and transparent and accountable governance and administration in all sectors of society are indispensable foundations for the realisation of social and people-oriented development

South Africa, having become a democracy in 1994, emerged from its long international isolation and joined the community of nations at this very historical juncture. When the declaration is read in relation to the Freedom Charter, the Reconstruction and Development Programme and the Constitution of South Africa, it is evident that this conception of social development had already been fully inscribed in key South African documents before and at the moment of its founding as a democracy.

Thus, this strategy is grounded in two historical documents. The first is the Freedom Charter, which, over many decades, served as a lodestar for a future South Africa. Its inclusive declaration, quoted below, predates the declaration of the World Summit on Social Development by half a century:

We, the people of South Africa, for all our country and the world to know: that South Africa belongs to all the people who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people; that our people have been robbed of their birthright, to land liberty and peace by a form of government founded on

injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood enjoying equal rights and opportunities; that only a democratic state, based on the will of the people, can secure to all their birthright, without distinction to race, sex or belief; and therefore we, the people of South Africa, black and white together – equals, countrymen and brothers – adopt the Freedom Charter.¹⁶

Carried forward, aspects of the Freedom Charter were incorporated into the Constitution. Together, these documents encapsulate and foreshadow much of what is contained in the Declaration and Programme of Action of the 1995 World Summit for Social Development.

The Freedom Charter forms the basis of the long struggle for a non-racial and non-sexist democracy of equal rights attained in 1994. Its opening declaration is now enshrined in the Preamble of Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996, cited early:

We the people of South Africa ... believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.¹⁷

These two documents and the Bill of Human Rights set out in Chapter 2 of the Constitution, along with the founding principles of human dignity, democracy, freedom, non-racialism and non-sexism in the Constitution, inform this strategy and its objectives.

In these iconic documents, social cohesion and nation-building are not conceptualised in any rigid homogenising terms. In an innovative and reasoned departure, the well-known homogenising precepts of social cohesion associated with mono-cultural societies, are abandoned. At the same time, the colonial practice of enlisting cultural diversity as a justification for inequality, exclusion and the systematic division is rejected as conceptually inappropriate and ethically undesirable.

11. Convergence of Social Cohesion and National Development Priorities

¹⁶Meli, F.: *South Africa Belongs to Us: A History of the ANC*. Zimbabwe Publishing House. 1988.

¹⁷*Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*. 1996

The policy environment within which this strategy must be situated is complex. It involves a set of interrelated and overlapping initiatives at national level to which it has to be aligned for optimal impact. The following are the most important initiatives:

In order to effect the repositioning of Social Cohesion and Nation-building to articulate and align with economic and social development strategies and policies, it is necessary to establish the extent of convergence or non-convergence.

To this end convergence tables are constructed to gauge the following policies and their priorities:

- Electoral Mandate: 2009-2014
- Draft National Development Plan: Vision 2030 (NDP)
- New Growth Path: 2010-2014: (NGPP)
- Industrial Policy Action Plan 2010-2014 (IPAP)
- The Millennium Development Goals: 2000-2015 (MDGS)

The Electoral Mandate of 2009-2014

MANDATE	Yes/No
Decent work and sustainable livelihoods	Yes
Education and skills development	Yes
Health	Yes
Rural development, food security and land reform	Yes
Combat corruption	Yes
Convergence rate	100%

The 12 Outcomes related to the Electoral Mandate

OUTCOME NUMBER	Yes/No
1. Improved quality of basic education	Yes
2. A long and healthy life for all South Africans	Yes
3. All people in South Africa feel and are safe	Yes
4. Decent employment through economic growth	Yes
5. A skilled and capable workforce to support an inclusive growth path	Yes
6. An efficient, competitive and responsive economic infrastructure network	Yes
7. Vibrant, equitable and sustainable rural communities with food security for all	Yes
8. Sustainable human settlements and improved quality of household life	Yes
9. A responsive, accountable, effective and efficient local government system	Yes
10. Environmental assets and natural resources are enhanced	Yes
11. Contributing to a better and safer South Africa, Africa and the world	Yes
12. An efficient, effective and development-oriented public service and an empowered, fair and inclusive citizenship	Yes
CONVERGENCE RATE	100%

The Medium-Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) 2009-2014

OBJECTIVES	Yes/No
1. Halve poverty by 2014	Yes
2. Equitable distribution of the benefits of economic growth to reduce inequality	Yes
3. Improve the nation's health profile and skills base and ensure universal access to basic services	Yes
4. Build a nation free of all forms of racism, sexism, tribalism and xenophobia	Yes
5. Improve the safety of citizens by reducing incidents of crime and corruption	Yes
STRATEGIC PRIORITIES	
1. Speeding up growth and transformation of the economy to create decent work and sustainable livelihoods	Yes
2. Massive programmes to build economic and social infrastructure	Yes
3. Comprehensive rural development strategy linked to land, agrarian reform and food security	Yes
4. Strengthen the skills and human resource base	Yes
5. Improve the health profile of all South Africans	Yes
6. Intensify the fight against crime and corruption	Yes
7. Build cohesive, caring and sustainable communities	Yes
8. Pursuing African advancement and enhancing international co-operation	Yes
9. Sustainable resource management and use	Yes
10. Building a developmental state, including improvement of public services and strengthening democratic institutions	Yes
CONVERGENCE RATE	100%

Millennium Development Goals

GOAL	Yes/No
Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	Yes
Achieve universal primary education	Yes
Promote gender equality and empower women	Yes
Reduce child mortality	Yes
Improve maternal health	Yes
Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases	Yes
Ensure environmental sustainability	Yes
Develop global partnerships for development	Yes
COVERGENCE RATE	100%

Draft National Development Plan: Vision for 2030

Plan	
Achieve full employment	Yes
Promote health	Yes
Infrastructure development	Yes
Focus on rural development	Yes
Improve education	Yes
Extend social protection	Yes
Secure safer communities	Yes
Efficient and anti-corrupt state	Yes
Enhance national unity	Yes
CONVERGENCE RATE	100%

This high correlation between national development policies and social cohesion and nation-building also applies to the New Growth Path and the Industrial Policy Action Plan. It therefore confirms the fundamental social imperatives of development.

In this regard, DAC, through *Mzansi's Golden Economy* (MGE) has established a policy framework and large-scale high-impact programmes to facilitate growth in the cultural and creative industries to maximise the economic growth and employment potential of this sector.¹⁸ This strategy on social cohesion and nation-building similarly is a response to new priorities and policy directions for development in the country.

12. Defining Social Cohesion and Nation-Building

The concept of social cohesion was popularised in the 1990s. This is, at a time when the effects of globalisation unsettled societies across the world. However, a concern with the stability and integration of communities and societies dates back to the advent of industrialisation and urbanisation and the disruptive effects of this on closely bonded and well-integrated local community life.¹⁹

In the context of South Africa, it may be said that a concern with social cohesion dates even further back to the advent of colonialism and its disruptive and destructive effects of dispossession and exclusion on local communities and society at large, as well as the social upheavals this system spawned. The issue of social cohesion was pertinent throughout the 20th century in the wake of urbanisation and forced removals.

Modern nation-building, on the other hand, dates back to the struggles for national liberation in the 19th century which saw a spirit of nationalism inspired by struggles for independence across the globe. So, just as the disintegration of local communities dates back to the violent contact of local communities with advancing colonists, the South African struggle for national liberation and national unity is not something new or recent.

Recent, however, are the new conditions and challenges which have been facing South Africa since it became a democracy. Located in a rapidly changing world, where there are

¹⁸ Department of Arts and Culture: *Mzansi's Golden Economy: Contribution of the Arts, Culture and Heritage to the New Growth Path*. 2011.

¹⁹ Elisabeth King. *Interventions to Promote Social Cohesion in Sub-Saharan Africa*. New York: International Initiative for Impact Evaluation. 2009.

many widely differing definitions of social cohesion and nation-building, the definitions given here are formulated with reference to South Africa.

12.1. Definition of Social Cohesion

Social cohesion is defined as the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression itself among individuals and communities.

In terms of this definition, a community or society is cohesive to the extent that the inequalities, exclusions and disparities based on ethnicity, gender, class, nationality, age, disability or any other distinctions which engender divisions distrust and conflict are reduced and/or eliminated in a planned and sustained manner. This, with community members and citizens as active participants working together for the attainment of shared goals designed and agreed upon to improve the living conditions for all.

12.2. Definition of Nation-Building

Nation-building is the process whereby a society of people with diverse origins, histories, languages, cultures and religions come together within the boundaries of a sovereign state with a unified constitutional and legal dispensation, a national public education system, an integrated national economy, shared symbols and values, as equals, to work towards eradicating the divisions and injustices of the past; to foster unity; and promote a countrywide conscious sense of being proudly South African, committed to the country and open to the continent and the world.

Nation-building in this sense, and in the context of South Africa, cannot be the perpetuation of hierarchies of the past. based on pre-given or ethnically engineered and imposed divisions of people rooted in prejudice, discrimination and exclusion. It calls for something else; that is, a rethinking, in South African terms, of what social cohesion, linked to nation-building, should be. It should, no doubt and in essence, be directed towards the practical actualisation of democracy in South Africa.

Accordingly, a nation is conceived as a social formation based on the unity and equality of its members consisting the following shared and recognised attributes:

- Shared Origin and history
- An internationally recognised territory
- A unitary sovereign state
- A single judicial system
- Single public education system
- Nationally recognised languages
- Nationally recognised cultures
- Nationally recognised religions
- Shared values
- Shared Symbols
- A shared national consciousness

In South Africa, the diverse cultures, languages and religions should not be seen as impediments to national unity given the statutory equality accorded to all citizens.

13. Dimensions of Social Cohesion and Nation-Building

According to Cloete and Kotze, following De Wit, social cohesion consists of five dimensions.²⁰ These are the first five listed below to which an additional three are added:

- **Belonging:** To be part of and to experience a sense of affiliation to the community and the larger society. It involves processes of identification and acceptance within a community and larger society. In a diverse society such as South Africa, it requires identification with and acceptance of groups.
- **Inclusion:** To be included on an equal basis in all social activities and rights and to have equal access to all life opportunities.

²⁰ Pieter Cloete & Frans Kotze: Concept Paper on Social Inclusion in Local Integrated Development Plans. 11-12. 2009

- **Participation:** This, unhindered, means active involvement in community and social activities, programmes and events.
- **Recognition:** To recognise, acknowledge and value differences without discrimination.
- **Legitimacy:** Refers to the integrity and social legitimacy of public bodies and leaders representing community members and citizens.
- **Shared values:** In societies with diverse cultures it is to be expected there will be diverse and even divergent values. It is thus important for citizens to subscribe to a basic set of shared values such as democracy, freedom, equality, justice and mutual respect.
- **Co-operation:** A willingness to cooperate and work on community and social projects with diverse citizens.
- **Belief:** In self-help and confidence in the future of the community with the conviction that the future of the community depends on the action of the community members.

14. Resources of Social Cohesion and Nation-Building

According to Emery & Flora²¹ and Jim Cavaye²² community and social development is based on eight resources referred to as forms capital: These are:

Environmental Capital: This is the natural environment and geographical location of a community and society along with its land, climate and natural resources. South Africa's geographic environment is diverse, supports a diversity of natural life and is rich in natural

²¹ Mary Emery & Cornelia Flora: Spiraling –Up: Mapping Community with Community Capital Framework. *Journal of the Community Development Society* 27(1)19-35.2006

²² Jim Cavaye: *Understanding Community Development*. Cavaye Institute. 2002

resources. Historically the natural resources and most productive part of the land were controlled by a minority and still remain so. In the present context the development of natural resources has to be conducted within a framework of environmental protection.

Cultural capital: This refers to the customs, traditions, language and religion of a community. It includes the community's outlook on and understanding of the world, and encapsulates the way of life of a community, its heritage and its creative, inventive and aesthetic modalities. South Africa is a culturally diverse society consisting of African, Asian and European cultures. Under colonialism and apartheid, African and Asian cultures were marginalised, while European cultures were privileged. A transformed and inclusive community will redress the cultural imbalances of the past on the basis of equality. It will further seek to bridge the divides erected between cultures under segregation.

Human capital: This refers to the knowledge and skills of community and society needed for economic, technological and scientific development. Quality Education and Training in South Africa was designed to serve a minority. As a consequence the country suffers from a skills deficit as it works to repair the primary school system and to achieve universal primary education access which is Millennium Development Goal 1 and Output 1.

Social capital: This refers to the bonding capital which ties individuals and communities together and the bridging nexus of solidarities that connects groups, organisations, associations and communities.

Political capital: Refers to the access members of the community have to public and representative bodies where policies are developed and decisions made on programmes and resource allocations.

Financial capital: This refers to the financial resources at the disposal of the community and society for investment in development directed towards capacity-building, local and national economic initiative businesses.

Construction capital: This is the constructed environment of houses, buildings and infrastructure or roads, railways, ports and telecommunication networks and energy-generating and supply grids of a society.

In the light of the above, a society such as South Africa as a cohesive and unified society should be characterised by:

- A sense of belonging for all its diverse citizens and members
- A shared vision among diverse citizens on the future of their community and society
- A broadly shared set of public values and norms for social conduct
- Equal opportunities for development and advance for all people, regardless of their culture, gender, status, age, ability and region
- Positive valuation of diverse cultures, languages and religions
- Respect and tolerance for political and ideological differences
- Regular interaction, exchange and co-operation among its diverse members
- Respect for constitutionally-based laws, international law and local regulations complying with such laws
- A high level of awareness of the rights and obligations of citizens
- A proud consciousness of being South African
- Active participation of citizens in public institutions, decision-making processes, projects, events and celebrations at all levels of society
- Democratical and peaceful resolution of disputes and disagreements
- Welcome and integration of immigrants into society
- Transparent and accountable handling of public affairs by public representatives and government officials

15. Interrelationship of Social Cohesion and Nation-Building

Therefore, it is necessary to locate social cohesion and nation-building at the specific levels of their practical operationalisation in public life. At the same time, it is important to draw

attention to their interconnections and mutually reinforcing and potential disrupting effects.

Accordingly:

- **Social cohesion** is generally **community-based** and located at a **micro-social** level, while it is, at the same time, underpinned by a national sense of belonging and the extent of legitimacy of social institutions.
- **Nation-building**, on the other hand, is **nationally oriented** and thus located at the **macro-social level**.
- **Intercommunity cohesion**, since the gap between the two levels above, in a country the size of South Africa, is relatively vast, and an intermediate level of social cohesion is necessary. This relates to the provinces that constitute the **district and provincial or meso-levels** of intercommunity life.

An integrated strategy of social cohesion, therefore, must engage and link up with all three levels of public life. In this regard, social cohesion and national unity is a layered and integrated approach. The macro-level of nation-building depends for its success on the performance of micro- and meso-coordination and performance. Likewise, the effectiveness of the meso- and micro-levels depends on the performance at macro-level.

Put plainly, national, provincial and local policies and their effective implementation are interdependent and interconnected. Any gap between these levels in critical jurisdictions will result in the fragmentation of governance and with it, the fragmentation of society.

While this is not a diagnostic of breakdowns in relation to co-operative governance, the crises in provincial and local government which manifested in the country soon after the advent of democracy, and find even sharper expression today, point towards structural and operational fragmentation at all levels of governance. The severe social and other consequences of these crises are openly acknowledged by government and attempts are made to address them – hence, among other initiatives, this strategy for social cohesion and nation-building.

These are the historical and present contexts in which this strategy is located. Informed by this, it is directed towards the progressive realisation of a South African society as an inclusive, cohesive, sustainable, dynamic and durable society fully integrated into Africa and the world. To actualise this calls for concerted and coordinated work on several interfacing domestic, regional and global developments. This work must, per definition, begin at home.

16. Measuring Social Cohesion and Nation-Building

To monitor and measure the impact of social cohesion and nation-building policies and programmes, indicators are needed. To this end, Atkinson and Marlier recommend that the design indicators adhere to five basic principles.²³

These have been adapted for South African purposes and recast as eight features, rather than principles, to be built into the indicators. They must therefore:

1. Clearly determine the nature and extent of the specific problem of inequality and social exclusion
2. Be both quantitatively and statistically validated as well as qualitatively and experience based.
5. Be generally agreed upon and accepted by policy-makers, programme managers, community participants;
4. Be context-specific and adaptable;
5. Be aligned to the patterns, tempo and direction of change;
6. Be revised and adjusted in response to new and unforeseen developments;
7. Be attainable and adequately resourced and supported;
8. Be benchmarked and interpreted for comparative purposes, locally, nationally and internationally.

It requires drawing on quantitative indicators, that is, objective, national, provincial and local development indices, combined with experiential personal data, analysis and

²³ A.B. Atkinson & E. Marlier: *Analysing and Measuring Social Cohesion in a Global Context*. United Nations 2010. pp. 20-27.

interpretation. The design, while attentive to global benchmarks, must be rigorously grounded in the particularities of South Africa.

This is to ensure that development indicators are socially contextualised. Directly related to this, is the necessity to ensure that experiences of social inclusion and well-being specific to South Africa are measured.

17. Building Consensus on a National Strategy for Social Cohesion and Nation-building

This section outlines the steps required to ensure maximum support for a national programme on social cohesion and broad support for the principles and indicators of the programme. It is concerned with actualising the strategy. The following steps are widely recommended:

1. Mainstreaming social inclusion and nation formation in development plans and initiatives nationally, regionally and locally
2. Mobilisation of all the key participants, stakeholders and institutions
3. Building national support for the strategy and its objectives
4. Involving communities at all stages of planning and implementation
5. Building the requisite capacity and skills
6. Ensuring transparency and accountability
7. Combating nepotism, patronage and corruption

18. Indicators of Social Cohesion and Nation-Building

This section draws on the Development Indicators for 2010²⁴, South Africa Survey 2010-2011²⁵ and National Statistics 2010-2011.²⁶ These consist of both quantitative and qualitative data.

²⁴*Development Indicators* The Presidency. 2010.

²⁵*South Africa Survey 2010-2011*. Institute of Race Relations: Johannesburg. 2012

²⁶*National Statistics 2010-2011*. Statistics South Africa. Pretoria. 2012.

These indicators are applied to establish their cumulative impact on the specific and general forms of social exclusion and the effect of this on social cohesion and national unity. At the same time, the direct and indirect relations of the arts, culture and heritage to these are highlighted, the purpose being to interconnect different spheres and aspects of society in an effort to arrive at an integrated strategy.

18.1. Slow Economic Growth and Transformation

Over a 16-year period, from 1993 to 2010, the highest Gross Domestic Product Growth (GDP) was 5,6% in 2006. It fell to 5,5% in 2007. The lowest was -1,8% in 2009. This is attributed to the global financial and economic crisis. This rose to just over 3,2% in the first quarter of 2012 and is expected to drop below 3% in 2013. This means the much-needed expansion of the economy to drive down unemployment is not materialising.

Consequently the real per capita growth has averaged 3% in the period from 1994 to 2009. The highest growth was in 2006 and 2007 at 4,2%. The lowest was in 2002 at -2,8%.

Black economic empowerment (BEE), aimed at economically empowering historically disadvantaged South Africans, peaked in 2003 and 2004 when it was in the region of 660 billion rand. This was in the wake of the publication of the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) Act which had just been passed at the time. In 2009 it slowed down and dropped to approximately 160 billion rand. Fast-tracking sustainable BEE is considered a high priority for inclusion. This is besides the fact that most such deals do not in any meaningful way empower workers and communities.

The percentage of black top managers rose from 12,7% in 2000 to 32,2% in 2010. Senior black managers rose from 18,5% to 35,5% over the same period. Top managers who are female rose from 12,4% in 2000 to 18,0% in 2009 while senior female managers rose from 21% to 26,7% over the same period. While there is a positive trend in the employment of black managers it is less so in the case of black females. This calls for

intensification of transformation and expansion of representivity in senior management.²⁷

The slow pace of economic growth and transformation impacts directly on the capacity of the state to expand economic participation and inclusion for all South Africans. It therefore relates directly to continued economic exclusion, unemployment, poverty and inequality for those historically excluded from productive and gainful livelihoods. It is further linked to many of the other social problems and the material and cultural deprivations inflicted on historically excluded communities. This slow economic growth and transformation is, however, also a consequence of the policies followed until recently. In this regard, the Industrial Policy Action Plan incorporates the cultural industries as potential contributors to economic growth.²⁸

18.2. Unemployment and Social Exclusion

The employment figure increased from 11,2 million in 2001 to 13,8 million in 2008. It declined to 12,7 million in 2010 due to the global economic crisis resulting in massive job losses. Unemployment (narrow definition as in official statistics) which peaked at 31,2% in March 2003 dropped to 23% in 2007, to rise again to 24,2% in 2009. For 2011 the official unemployment rate was at 25%, while the expanded definition of the South African Survey was pegged at 36,5%. According to available information (given the fragmented data of the early years of democracy inherited from the apartheid era) the unemployment rate increased between 1994 and 2010.

It is estimated that unemployed Blacks as a proportion of the total unemployed in 2011 was as high as 85,7%, or 3 740 000 out of a total of 4 364 000 unemployed. Unemployment increased from 2 million in 1995 to 4,4 million in 2003 and dropped to 4,1 million in 2009. It is estimated that this decline will continue since the number of jobs created since 2003 outstripped the growth of the workforce.²⁹

²⁷ Source: Development Indicators. The Presidency. 2010.

²⁸ See *Mzansi's Golden Economy*. 2011.

²⁹ Source: Development Indicators. The Presidency. 2010

High levels of unemployment are both a historical phenomenon in South Africa and a consequence of the aggravated current global conditions. It is also a consequence of a resource-based economy reliant on the export of raw materials with little if any beneficiation. The shift to beneficiation will create opportunities for designers, crafters and other creative industries to contribute to the economy and job creation.

18.3. Poverty, Inequality and Social Exclusion

Poverty is the consequence of social and economic exclusion and a product of inequality produced in a society where wealth is concentrated in the hands of a minority. It serves to exclude the poor from participation in the mainstream economic, social and cultural life of a society. It assaults the dignity of the individual and curtails life chances for personal advancement.

GDP per capita growth averaged less than 1% per annum for the period 1994-2003. Since 2003 it has averaged 3,7%. The monthly income of the poorest 10% of the population increased from R783 to R1041 during that period. The richest 10% of the population income increased from R71 005 to R97 899. This points to huge inequalities in income with 70% of the income going to the richest 20% of the population while the poorest 10% receive less than 0,6%. This inequality remains racial with mean income for Africans at R775.46 compared to the mean income of R7 645.58 for whites.

Poverty and inequality remain major challenges for South Africa. The Gini coefficient indicates that inequality worsened from 0,64 to 0,66 in 2008. Using a R524 per month poverty line, the poverty headcount decreased from 58% in 2000 to 49% in 2008. Using a R283 per month poverty line, the poverty headcount decreased from 38% in 2000 to 22% in 2008. This decline in poverty is attributable to an increase in the uptake of social grants. Despite this decline in poverty levels it is still widespread and inequality remains severe.³⁰

³⁰ Source: Development Indicators. The Presidency. 2010

18.4. Households, Land and Social Exclusion

It is estimated that approximately 76,2% of South African households live in formal dwellings. This is 12.2% up from 64,4 in 1996. Since 1994 a total of R3 million subsidised houses have been built for the poor. However, 24% of the population is still living in informal settlements.

The percentage of households with access to water increased to 93,3% by March 2010. It therefore indicates that South Africa is likely to achieve its Millennium Development Goal of universal access to potable water in 2014. Access to sanitation has increased to 79,9% per cent with 8 421 houses still dependent on the bucket system. The number of households with access to electricity has increased from 4,5 million in 1994 to 9,4 million in 2010.

Since 1994 79 696 land claims have been lodged. By 2010, 95% per cent had been settled at a cost of R12 billion to land cost and R1,6 billion to beneficiaries. Since 1994 3.1 million hectares of land have been distributed against the goal of redistributing 30 per cent of the country's agricultural land over a period of 15 years from 2000 to 2015.³¹ Only 8% has been achieved. Sustainable urban and rural settlements and access to land are important for family life and community life as well as for economic development.³²

18.5. Health and Social Exclusion

Life expectancy rates have declined from 54,9 years in 2001 to 50,5 years in 2010. Infant mortality rates declined from 46 per 1000 live births in 1994 to 32 in 2010. Live births are well above the MDG target of 18 deaths due to HIV and Aids and other infant infections.

³¹ Source: National Treasury. Budget Speech, 2012

³² See Mcebisi, N. & Ndabeni, N.: *Social Cohesion*. 2008.

Severe malnutrition measured in lower weights estimated for age, has declined by 70% from being close to 90 000 in 2001 to just over 25 000 in 2008.

Although South Africa makes up only 0,7% of the world population, in 2010 it accounted for 16,8% of the world HIV/AIDS infections. In July 2011, an estimated 11% of South Africa's population was living with HIV/AIDS. In addition, South Africa's tuberculosis rate was 931 per 100 000 people, which after Swaziland is the second highest in Africa. Thus the goal of building a healthy nation with a longer life expectancy remains a challenge.

It is important to note that diseases such as HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis are stigmatised in many communities across the country and effectively serve to exclude persons affected by these illnesses from society. The effect of this exacerbates the physical and psychological suffering of those affected.

18.6. Uneven Access to Quality Education and Social Exclusion

The goal of educational development is to provide access to quality education framed in national needs and global standards. Access to quality education is critical for participation in contemporary information and knowledge-based societies. The learner: educator ratio is an education quality indicator. Nationally the ratio stabilized in 2009 at 31.1, which is below the target of 32:1. However, disparities exist between schools in poor communities and underdeveloped provinces. Hence the Western Cape and Gauteng, which do not have the lowest ratio and both of which are at 32 are also the best performing provinces.

Gross enrolment rates and gender parity have been reached at both primary and secondary education. In 2009 it was at .980 for primary education and 1.020 for secondary education. The measure for parity being between 0.7 and 1.3. However, there is a sharp decline in the gross enrolment of both genders at secondary school level. This calls for efforts to ensure that both genders complete at least their primary education to enable them to participate in the economy when they reach working age. Adult literacy

rates have also increased since 2002 but the level still remains very high with 25% of the adult population unable to read. The South Africa Survey for 2010-2011, however, indicated that 34.5% of the number of people who completed secondary education were unemployed in 2011, that is 1505 000 out of 4 364 000.³³

Equally stark is the under performance of the educational system for as early as grade three leaving learners well below the literacy, numeracy and overall level of achievements they should have reached.

18.7. Crime, Safety and Security

Any kind of crime experienced by citizens was 22,5% in 1998; 22,9% in 2003; and 22,3% in 2010. The percentage reduction over this time is 2,2%. However, almost a quarter of adults polled for these periods have experienced some crime. Even though detection rates are below 50% there has been an 18% increase in reported crimes with a conviction rate of 81,5% in 2002 and 88,6% in 2008.³⁴

Unsafe communities create fear and distrust among citizens. It hinders free and open social interaction as people retreat and hide behind high walls and security gates. Personal experience of crime has a traumatic effect on individuals and families. This renders crime a threat to social cohesion and nation-building.

18.8. Gender Equity and Social Exclusion

Although South Africa has the highest percentage of women in legislative bodies at all levels of government, the position of women in society remains beset with inequality, exclusion and discrimination. Women are still more vulnerable to unemployment, exclusion from access to resources, decision-making and the unhindered exercise of their constitutional rights and opportunities within the family, at work and in the public domain. In this regard, the Commission for Gender Equality identifies what is referred

³³ Institute of Race relations: *South Africa Survey* 2010-2011.

³⁴ Source: Development Indicators. The Presidency 2010

to as “ten top stumbling blocks in the way of the empowerment of women in South Africa.”³⁵ These are:

- Patriarchy as a source of oppression in the family and society
- Poverty which is higher in female-headed households than in male-headed ones
- Women being excluded from domestic power-sharing and decision-making
- Violence against women, which remains a serious problem
- Access to land economic resources remains gender-restricted for women
- HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and other chronic diseases which affect women and men differently
- Underfunding of public agencies to promote gender equality;
- Inadequate service delivery of housing, water, sanitation and electricity affecting women most adversely
- Exclusion of women from traditional authority
- Low involvement of men in gender equality matters

These curtailments reside in the social and economic structure of a society which confines many women to reproductive and domestic roles in the family and to temporary and substance productive roles. It results in sharp differentiations in the social and livelihood assets of women and men as well as in their asymmetrical power relations. Sustained by discriminatory, restrictive and even sexist ideologies and practices, the construction of a fully non-sexist and non-racial democracy requires programmes and interventions aimed at empowering women.

³⁵*Ten Top Stumbling Blocks that Remain in the Way of Women's Empowerment in South Africa*. Commission for Gender Equality. 2010.

18.9. Discrimination: Racism, Tribalism, Xenophobia and Social Exclusion

Racism

This refers to the institutionalisation of racist policies and practices based on the ideologies and beliefs of racial superiority. It was practiced throughout the colonial era in South Africa and systematically institutionalised under Apartheid. In accordance with this ideology, the South African population was divided into two main “racial” groups based on pigmentation and conceived as exclusive biological entities, classified as “whites” and “non-whites”. Based on this, the society was constructed to impose and institutionalise white superiority and supremacy in every sphere of life. It was done in such a manner that the human rights of the majority of the population, classified as “non-whites” were flagrantly denied.

While racism was outlawed in 1994 with abolition of Apartheid, social attitudes, access to resources and life opportunities in South African still remains largely race-based. In addition, minority and extremist right-wing groups, organisations and members of such communities, continue to harbour and cultivate racist ideas and promote behaviour which results in acts of racist abuse in public and work places, on sport fields, as well as in and between communities. It is wide-spread in social and other informal media. The remnants of racism remains visible in the spatial divisions of human settlements.³⁶. The eradication of racism is therefore critical for achieving human equality as the basis of social inclusion and solidarity.

Tribalism

In addition to the racial divisions, the diverse linguistic and cultural groups in South Africa were further subdivided into ethnic and tribal groups, primarily as a means of dividing the majority of the population as an effective strategy in maintaining white minority rule. On the basis of these divisions educational and cultural practices were promoted which fostered tribal prejudices, identities and rivalries.

³⁶ Thomas C. Fox: Remnant of Racism in South Africa, National Catholic Reporter, 20 January 2012

Used as power-bases and sites of patronage tribalism, like racism, undermines equality and merit. As such it often becomes a source of conflict and disunity which impedes and threatens social cohesion and nation building. It should therefore be discouraged and not rewarded in public life.³⁷

Xenophobia

The concept “migration” is used to denote movements by people from one legally defined geographical space to another. South Africa experiences two forms of migration: internal or in-country migration and external migration; the latter, both legal and illegal, from outside South African borders.

Both forms of migration, generally into urban areas, contribute to the spread or formation of informal settlements and result in competition for limited resources and work opportunities and under conditions of widespread poverty, frequently resulting in violent confrontations.³⁸ This was the case in 2008 when, as the Human Rights Commission reported, “community members from African countries were targeted, leaving 62 people dead, hundreds wounded and contributed to the displacement of at least a 100 000 people or more.”³⁹ The attacks were marked by intense ethnic stereotyping, intolerance and violence reminiscent of racist brutalities of South Africa’s past.

Although this was not the first incident of violence against foreign nationals, the scale and the brutality of the attacks were unprecedented. In this regard, the xenophobic attacks and the continued tension between locals and immigrants pose a challenge to social cohesion to integrate both local inhabitants and foreigners into communities on the basis of equal human rights and respect for international law protecting immigrants to which South Africa is a signatory.

³⁷ William Gumede: Rising Tribalism in South Africa. *The Michigan Citizen*. 20 May 2012

³⁸ *Baseline Report on Social Cohesion Version 5*. DAC 2010.

³⁹ *SAHRC Investigation into Issues of Rule of Law, Justice and Impunity Arising out of 2008 Public Violence against Non-Nationals*. 2010. pp. 11-21.

To prevent this from recurring, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) Report makes wide-ranging recommendations aimed at ensuring that the following general principles are translated into programmes across several government departments, public agencies and civil society. These must “ensure that all social conflict disaster plans and integration plans include clear and transparent policy on reparations” which would “include all persons regardless of immigration status to reparations”, constitutional protection, justice and safe reintegration or humane repatriation.

18.10. Youth Development and Social Inclusion

The National Youth Policy (2009-2014), developed to identify gaps and accelerate the development of youth, states:

Youth development should be viewed as an integral part of addressing the challenges of South Africa’s development. It should also be seen as a central process of building a non-sexist, non-racist democratic society and must be approached with the same vigour as all other processes of transformation. The development of young people must also be aligned to government’s approach to addressing poverty and underdevelopment, as well as a mechanism for social adjustment, social cohesion and economic emancipation...⁴⁰

The policy acknowledges the diversity of youth in South Africa and identifies the following as priorities:

- Young women
- Youth with disabilities
- Unemployed youth
- School-aged and out-of-school youth
- Youth in rural areas
- Youth at risk

The latter category is further specified to include youth living with HIV/Aids, youth-headed households, youth in conflict with the law, youth abusing dependency-creating

⁴⁰*National Youth Policy*. March, 2009. p. 7.

substances. It also spells out the rights and responsibilities within a democracy and proposes a range of policy interventions in relation to education, economic participation, health and well-being, social cohesion and civic participation and national youth service.

The National Youth Policy is very closely aligned to national priorities and includes the youth's right to cultural expression. The unemployment rate among the youth aged 15 to 24 was estimated to be at 51.3% in 2010. The *Diagnostic Overview* of the NPC point out that "[u]nemployment is mostly experienced by the youth" with approximately "two thirds below the age of 25".⁴¹ In addition, "86% of unemployed youth not having gone beyond Grade 12 and two thirds have never worked".⁴² A youth-focused strategy of inclusion, skills training and employment is thus of critical importance for the arts, culture and heritage sector and, need it be said, for all other sectors.

18.11. Perceptions of Corruption and Basic Service Delivery

Perceptions are that corruption has increased between 2007 and 2009. This pushed South Africa from 43rd in the Corruption Perception Index in 2007 to 55th in 2009. Anti-corruption measures that have been taken to counter this include the establishing of an Interministerial Committee on corruption, an anti-corruption unit by the DPSA and a tender compliance unit in the National Treasury.

Along with this has been the sharp decline in positive public opinions from 2006 to 2010 from approximately 72,0% in 2000 to 52,0% in 2010. This coincided with the widespread service delivery protests in local communities.

Widespread incidents of corruption fuel negative perceptions and serve to undermine public confidence and trust in public representatives, officials and institutions. It can lead, on the one hand, to withdrawal from participation in public life, or to the spread of

⁴¹ Source National Planning Commission: *Diagnostic Overview*, 2011.

⁴² Source; STATSA QLFE 1209(INT)

corrupt practices on the other hand; both of which invariably result in social disorder, conflict and fragmentation.

18.12. Social Support

South Africa has an extensive social assistance support network that involves the following:

The social assistance programme covers close to 15 million South Africans, the majority of which are 9,57 million recipients of the Child-Support Grant (CSG) which is provided to children in need up to their 18th birthday. The Child Foster Care Grant (CFCG) is extended to families who take care of orphaned children. There is also the Old Age Grant (OAG), the War Veterans Grant (WVG), the Disability Grant (DG) and the Child Dependency Grant (CDG) and the Grant-in-Aid.

In 2010-2011 government spent R89 billion on social grants in response to the rising unemployment cause by the global recession. This was coupled to the War on Poverty Campaign and a comprehensive Anti-Poverty Strategy targeting the most deprived local communities to empower households to lift themselves out of poverty by linking the social grants to economic development.

18.13. Active Citizenship and Identity

The strength of civil society in South Africa, measured by affiliation to voluntary religious, sport and recreation, music, labour, political, environmental, professional and charitable organisations, indicates a high level of civic participation and a considerable desire to hold government and public bodies accountable. This further suggests that the potential for participatory government at local level is relatively good for a middle-income country.

This is underscored by the high levels of participation in national, provincial and local government elections. However, from the height of 98,3% participation of registered voters in 1989, it fell to 65% per cent in 2009 for the national and provincial elections. The turnout of registered voters for local government election was much lower with 37,7% in 2000 and 40,2% in 2006, which corresponds to global trends.

The percentage of women who are members of the legislative bodies at all three tiers of government increased from 27,8% in 1994 to 43,3% in 2009. This exceeds the 1997 SADC target of 30%. Civil society organisations are campaigning for a mandatory 50% representation.

Confidence in a positive future for all in South Africa was at 24% in 2000; it rose to 85% from 2003 to 2005; it plummeted to 60% in 2008; and rose slightly in 2010 to 67%. This decline is attributed to the economic crisis and the negative growth of -1,8% in 2008-2009. Overall optimism about an inclusive future for all periods was above 50% for all races.

However, indicators concerning the direction South Africa is headed towards plummeted from 79,5% in 1994 to 38,4% in 2009. Public opinion on race relations was at 73% in 2001. It dropped to 40% in 2001 to rise to 60% in 2004. In 2010 it was 46%. This should be of concern since it relates directly to the objective of eliminating racism and building an inclusive non-racial society and nation.

Related to the above is the identity of citizens based on self-description. Citizens who see themselves as African rose from 18,4% in 2004 to 25,8% in 2007; 32,6% in 2008; and 30,2% in 2009. This points to a growing identification with Africa. Citizens who see themselves as South African averages at 51,3% during this period. Those who describe themselves by race average 8,1%. Language self-descriptors were on average 5,3%. This points to a decline in ethnic identification and the slow development of overarching South African and African identities.

Although the self-descriptions as South African are used by only half the population, pride in being South African rose to 90% between 2004 to 2006. It dropped to 65% in 2008 and rose to 75% in 2009. This points to a paradox in the data on identity or to the fact that self-description and national pride do not necessarily always correlate or coincide.

Taken together, these indicators provide an overview of all the threats related to building a cohesive and united society. The relative degree of the threat posed by each can now be rated to assist with deciding on what to focus and where strategic interventions are needed.

MATRIX OF THREATS AND CHALLENGES TO SOCIAL COHESION AND NATION-BUILDING

THREATS & CHALLENGES	EVIDENCE	SOURCE	EXPLANATION	RANKING
SLOW ECONOMIC GROWTH AND TRANSFORMATION	Averaging 3,7% over the last decade and dropping	Development indicators and 2011 Budget Speech	Structural resource-based constraints and global downturn	HIGH
UNEMPLOYMENT	At 29,9% last quarter 2011 and decreasing from 30% highs	Development Indicators and national statistics	Job recreation initiatives outstripping labour growth	HIGH
POVERTY & INEQUALITY	At a mean Africans earn \pm 10% of the mean income of whites	National development indicators and South Africa Survey	Persistence of race-based disparities	HIGH
HEALTH	HIV/AIDS Tuberculosis Life expectancy	Development indicators	Poverty, hunger lifestyle, inadequate service	HIGH
EDUCATION	Low primary performance and secondary completion	Development indicators South Africa Survey	Inequalities in learning conditions and teaching skills	HIGH
HOUSING&LAND		Development indicators South Africa Survey	Cost of land Redistribution	MEDIUM

CRIME & SAFETY	25% of citizens polled experiences crime	Development Indicators South African Survey	Unemployment, poverty, social disaffection and low detection rates	HIGH
GENDER	Discrimination abuse Violence	Commission for Gender Rights	Patriarchy, poverty, power-sharing	HIGH
YOUTH	Unemployment Out-of-school At risk Abuse	National Youth Policy	Social fragmentation and alienation	HIGH
XENOPHOBIA	Violence against foreign nationals	SACHR Report HSRC Report	Competition for and employment	HIGH
CORRUPTION AND SERVICE DELIVERY	Ranked 55th Service delivery Protests	Development indicators	Ineffective anti-corruption campaigning Local government lack of capacity	HIGH
SOCIAL SUPPORT	Social grants of R88 billion in 2010/2011	Development indicators Department of Social Development	Orphaned children and disease, unemployment, poverty	HIGH

19. Conclusion

The above indicates that while the prospects of building a caring and proud society in South Africa are not completely hopeless. Even so, there are significant impediments and challenges which have to be tackled in an urgent and sustained manner. If this is not done, the spectre of social disintegration and conflict could become a reality.

South Africa and its people have over the centuries shown remarkable capacities to overcome obstacles and adversity by working together to find solutions to complex challenges and problems. Endowed with a diverse, resilient and creative people, immense natural resources and a new-found democracy in a beautiful land, the country and its people are now faced with the task of building a unified, caring and proud society of equality and property in which all will feel and be at home. Diverse people, come together: unite and work for a better South Africa and world!

20. RECOMMENDATIONS

To effectively deal with the challenges posed by the indicators above, the following recommendations are made:

Recommendation 1

That social cohesion and nation-building be retained as medium- to long-term national, provincial and local government priorities coupled to an integrated economic, educational, health, human settlement, land and rural development, social development safety and security, youth development, gender equality, immigration policies and programmes, arts, culture and heritage development and other strategic programmes.

OBJECTIVE →	PROGRAMME →	INDICATORS →	TARGETS →	OUTCOMES
Continuity over several terms	To be decided	Widespread and persistent exclusion	To be decided in consultation	Reduction of exclusion and higher levels of inclusion and cohesion

Recommendation 2

That social cohesion and nation-building be conceptualised and coordinated for higher impact in full alignment with economic and social development policies and programmes at national, provincial and local levels and not as separate stand-alone activities.

OBJECTIVE →	PROGRAMME →	INDICATORS →	TARGETS →	OUTCOMES
Integrate social cohesion and nation-building in economic and social development	National, provincial and local policies and programmes	Lack of intergovernmental Coordination	To be decided in consultation	Higher impact

Recommendation 3

That community conversation be held to mobilise support for social cohesion and nation-building as a national priority.

OBJECTIVE →	PROGRAMME →	INDICATORS →	TARGETS →	OUTCOMES
Create awareness and mobilise communities	Community conversations	Community unrest and exclusion	To be decided on in consultation	Higher levels of active citizenship

Recommendation 4

That existing national campaigns championed by the DAC, other government departments, agencies and organisations be expanded to promote:

- Human rights and responsibility values
- National symbols
- Inclusive geographical and public names
- Inclusive participation in national days
- Inclusive participation in all sporting codes
- Active citizenship
- Women's rights
- Children's rights

- Rights of the disabled
- Marginalised and vulnerable groups
- Health and rehabilitation
- Representative and inclusive heritage institutions and programmes
- Intergroup co-operation and exchange
- Education for democracy, non-racialism and non-sexism
- Anti-corruption
- Safety and security
- Integration of foreign nationals
- Media and information campaigns on social cohesion and nation-building

OBJECTIVE →	PROGRAMME →	INDICATORS →	TARGETS →	OUTCOMES
Public education participation and change	Programme-specific	Programme-specific	To be decided in consultation	Higher levels of cohesion and unity

Recommendation 5

That existing national, heritage and other honours and awards make provision for recognising individuals, organisations and communities who have contributed significantly and over a period to social cohesion and nation-building

OBJECTIVE →	PROGRAMME →	INDICATORS →	TARGETS →	OUTCOMES
Recognise contributors to social cohesion and nation-building	Public honours and awards	Absence of high-profile specific recognition	To be determined by annual themes	Public role models

Recommendation 6

That a Social Cohesion and Nation-Building Project Management Manual and Toolkit for application at all levels be developed for use by practitioners.

OBJECTIVE →	PROGRAMME →	INDICATORS →	TARGETS →	OUTCOMES
Build planning and management skills	Capacity building	Service delivery protest	Provincial and local officers and citizens	More effective project management and results

Recommendation 7

That public and other research institutions be encouraged to conduct regular cross-sectorial research and monitoring into social cohesion and national building developments and trends in

OBJECTIVE →	PROGRAMME →	INDICATORS →	TARGETS →	OUTCOMES
Effective planning and monitoring	Research, data analysis and evaluation	Little impact information available	To be decided in consultation	Effective planning, monitoring and evaluation

Recommendation 8

That National Social Cohesion Report Back Summits be convened at five-year intervals to:

- Report on and assess progress made in the medium term
- Identify new challenges
- Adapt indicators
- Set new targets

OBJECTIVE →	PROGRAMME →	INDICATORS →	TARGETS →	OUTCOMES
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Acronyms and Abbreviations

BEE: Black Economic Empowerment
BBEE: Board-based Black Economic Empowerment
CDG: Child Dependency Grant
CFCG: Child Foster Care Grant
CSG: Child Support Grant
DG: Disability Grant
DAC: Department of Arts and Culture
DPSA: Department of Public Works and Administration
IDP: Integrated Development Plan
IPAP: Industrial Policy Action Plan
HSRC: Human Sciences Research Council
MDGS Millennium Development Goals
NDP: National Development Plan
NYP: National Youth Plan
OAG: Old Age Grant
MGE: Mzansi's Golden Economy
SAHRC: South African Human Rights Commission
SADC: South African Development Community
WSSD: World Summit on Social Development
WVG: War Veterans Grant