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Exploring Social Cohesion in South Africa Within the Context of Post Apartheid Racial-Disparity

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Abstract

This study explores the state of social cohesion in South Africa amongst a small group of young people of different races. Social cohesion encompasses a variety of aspects, but this study focuses on racial social cohesion, which can also be thought of as racial integration. This study questions the importance of social cohesion in any society, examines the barriers to social cohesion in South Africa, explores potential solutions to those barriers. It also compares between racial disparity and economic inequality as potential causes of racial segregation. Social cohesion is a strong indicator of the general well being of a community and understanding the current perceptions of barriers is an essential step in improving social cohesion.

Information for this study was collected from open-ended interviews and conversations with young South Africans living around the Durban area. Each individual had unique responses and thoughts about the current state of social cohesion. However, a noticeable trend emerged of a need to become a more socially cohesive nation; although, individuals differed on what steps to take to improve racial integration. Since the study is primarily exploratory in nature, few conclusions were made. The one overarching theme that came up was the need to establish open and honest dialogue across race lines in order to start addressing some of the underlying issues that are stunting social cohesion.

Table of Contents

Introduction

In 1996, the Constitutional Court approved the new South African constitution, which guaranteed every person the equality of rights and freedoms, regardless of race or other distinguishing traits (South African Bill of Rights). However, I would argue that while areas and organizations are no longer segregated under legislation, many of them still show a strong connection to their apartheid past. That is not to say that democracy has not changed anything in South Africa; simply, the integration of races has been slow to progress for a multitude of potential reasons, which I will explore throughout this paper. Professor Jeremy Seekings of the University of Cape Town (2010, p. 9) furthers this point saying, "The 'post- apartheid' city should perhaps be viewed as a 'neo-apartheid' city, with the overwhelming majority of people living in mono-racial areas."

But South Africa is not alone in this struggle for racial unity. Overcoming more than a century of institutionalized racism and segregation is no easy task, even when there is the correct government legislation in place. As an American, I still witness the lingering effects of our country's racist history even 150 years after the end of slavery and more than 50 years after the Civil Rights Movement – neighborhoods are still informally segregated and racial integration is not a common sight. In the city of St. Louis, where I attend my university, the divide between races is painfully obvious. The infamous "Delmar Divide," a single street, marks the transition from the predominantly white and affluent city of Clayton to the much poorer and black area of Northern St. Louis. Only a couple miles separate these two neighborhoods, yet residents have

dramatically different lifestyles, not to mention life expectancies – the life expectancy in Clayton

is around 15 years higher than in the adjacent area of North St. Louis (Eligon, 2015).[1]

While St. Louis is one of the most segregated cities in America, it is not an outlier. In an

analysis of the 2010 U.S. Census, Drs. Logan and Stults discovered that Black-White segregation

nationwide maintained an index of dissimilarity of 59, considered very high (p. 3).[2] These results

come almost 50 years after the passing of the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which sought to rid the

country of discriminatory housing policies. Perhaps even more disheartening is the slow rate of

change – since 1980 segregation in America has only decreased by a modest 14 points, as

measured on the index of dissimilarity (Logan and Stults, 2011, p. 5). The path to racial

integration is neither straightforward nor is it easy.

Shifting the lens back to South Africa, which faces similar issues of informal segregation,

I found myself questioning whether racial integration was worth the effort. Should South

Africans have to endure the same 150-year struggle that America has gone through? What

benefits does that afford its people, especially when blacks make up 80 percent of the population

– Is racially integration even possible? (StatsSA, 2014). Should we still be focusing on race or

should we concentrate our efforts on economic equality instead? These are all questions that I

asked myself as I learned more about South Africa and began making comparisons to my

experiences back home in America.

These questions about race coalesced under the larger term: social cohesion. Social

cohesion is a broad term that refers to the general interconnectedness of a community. It seeks to

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[1] For a visualization of the segregation in St. Louis, readers can reference Appendix I, which shows the
stark divide between North and West St. Louis based on 2010 census data.
[2] The Index of Dissimilarity (D) is a standard of measurement for segregation in a city. (D) represents the
percentage of one group that would have to move into the area of the other group to achieve an even
distribution of races. Thus, a D score of 59 for black-white segregation means that 59% of either group
would have to move to a different area in order to produce an evenly distributed city.

determine the level of interaction between individuals in a group. A socially cohesive group of people might garner the praise of being a "tight knit community," where individuals engage regularly with one another and are able to maintain a certain degree of trust amongst each other. Given its broad scope, social cohesion has a plethora definitions and determinants which I will explore in subsequent sections. For the purposes of brevity, I will loosely define social cohesion as the "absence of social conflict" and the "presence of strong social bonds" (Berkman and Kawachi, 2000, p. 175). Similarly, the South African Department of Arts and Culture defines social cohesion "as the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression among individuals and communities" ("What is Social Cohesion?"). These definitions are both helpful in painting the image of a cohesive group of people –there are many factors involved – but this study is primarily focused on the racial aspects of social cohesion. Specifically, there are two main questions that guided me: what are the specific barriers to racial social cohesion? And, what are some potential solutions to explore? In conjunction, these two questions make up my general research question: How can South Africa become a nation that is socially cohesive, within the context of post-apartheid racial disparity?

Context and Literature Review

Defining Social Cohesion

As mentioned above, social cohesion is a broad concept referring to the general interconnectivity of a group. It is generally thought to be a critical aspect of prosperous societies. Put one way, "it is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together" (World Bank). More specifically, social cohesion relates to two important areas of social unity. Berkman and Kawachi, in their book Social Epidemiology (2000), write:

> Social cohesion refers to two broader, intertwined features of society, which may be described as: (1) *the absence of latent social conflict* – whether in the form of income/wealth inequality; racial/ethnic tensions; disparities in political participation; or other forms of polarization; and (2) *the presence of strong social bonds* – measured by levels of trust and norms of reciprocity; the abundance of associations that bridge social divisions; and the presence of institutions of conflict management. (p. 175)

As Berkman and Kawachi describe, the topic of social cohesion covers a spectrum of social issues and while their definition remains broad, it begins to name specific areas for focused research. Still, with so many different aspects to address, one must question whether striving for social cohesion is worth the effort. What measurable outcomes does it benefit a community?

To answer this question, one must look into the related idea of social capital. While social cohesion and social capital are often presented alongside one another – the World Bank even uses them interchangeably – many academics tend to reference social capital as an indicator of a socially cohesive group (World Bank). In this regard, social capital is a subset of social cohesion where an abundance of social capital is a determinant of social cohesion.

Social capital, like social cohesion, refers to a range of social indicators that usually center on developing social networks and trust within a community. Dr. Robert Putnam, a Harvard political scientist, famously wrote in his essay "Bowling Alone" that, "'social capital'

refers to features of social organizations such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (1995, p. 66). Putnam is attempting to reify the intangible benefits of a close, trusting community into real resources for individuals. In essence, he is saying that a cohesive group of people transforms the community and its members into a tangible asset where a disjointed group would only have access to themselves as individuals. Other papers on social capital that preceded Putnam's touch upon similar themes of social relationships as a marketplace value, reciprocal relationships and strong civic engagement. These definitions are summed up in a table by Berkman and Kawachi (2000, p. 176).[3] I used this table to help narrow the focus of my study so that I could focus on the pertinent aspects of social cohesion and social capital. I used these definitions to guide my exploration of social cohesion in South Africa.

Measuring Social Cohesion

Given the broad and generally indefinable nature of social capital and to a larger extent social cohesion, researchers have struggled to measure social capital in a consistent quantifiable manner. Instead, numerous studies exist that look at specific aspects of social capital and their impact on outcomes such as economic welfare and health. For example, the World Bank cites a study by Narayan and Pritchett (1997) conducted in rural Tanzania where higher rates of social capital – measured through participants' trust in the community and its associations – correlated to higher household incomes (World Bank). Other studies have linked social capital to more successful immigrant integration in America, increased literacy rates and longevity in Kerala, India and better governance and development in Northern Italy (World Bank). While these

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[3] The full table is listed in Appendix II

studies show a clear positive correlation between measurements of social capital and benefits to the society, they were conducted in generally homogenous communities where social cohesion is naturally higher. I found it difficult to translate these results to South Africa given the huge diversity of the country.

In "Towards a Social Cohesion Barometer for South Africa," the authors attempt to lay out a comprehensive measurement system for gauging social cohesion in South Africa. They broke the concept down into three domains: economic, cultural and civic. Using these categories they discovered that across domains, people unified against social inequalities (Struwig et al, 2013, p. 418). Perhaps of most importance is that the 'born free' generation reported much more tolerance towards people other than themselves[4] (p. 417). This result is encouraging for a country that has continued to struggle with interracial issues. These are important results for the country to understand as they work to improve social conditions. The quantity and quality of the data presented in this study are extensive but they do not talk about the differences within groups or the reasoning behind the increase in tolerance amongst the younger generation. Nevertheless, this study provided important context in assessing the current state of social cohesion in South Africa.

Moving Past Apartheid

One of the most important events to understand in the context of social cohesion in South Africa is the legacy that apartheid left. Many of the persistent race tinged narratives relate back to apartheid. In *We Need to Talk,* Dr. Jansen of the University of the Free State writes about how to properly redress apartheid. He focuses on the lingering pain and trauma from apartheid that

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[4] 'born frees' are people born after the end of apartheid

people have repressed and the need to talk openly about these grudges in order to move past them. I used this source frequently in my analysis section because of its nuanced yet honest approaches to solving some of South Africa's most complicated problems. Dr. Jansen writes about talking honestly about how complicated the history of apartheid is. Often times there is no correct solution,

> We must tell our children that the perpetrators of apartheid were black and white, and that stories of interracial solidarity were as much a reality in the struggle against apartheid as the brute oppression by white minority government. And that history is more complex and messed up than we tell our inheritors, and that it must change (Jansen, 2011, p. 8).

Jansen is firm believer in communication as an essential element of redress.

Further complicating apartheid redress is current polices of affirmative action and the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) program aimed at prioritizing black and non-white workers and students. The program has come under scrutiny in recent years as people question whether a program - that inherently places value on individuals based on their race – belongs in South Africa. Alexander Neville of the University of Cape Town writes a well thought out argument against BEE, "By using the shorthand of 'race', we not only give advantage to middle class black people as against working class people, we also entrench – avoidably – the very racial categories that undermine the possibility of attaining a truly non-racial democratic South Africa" (2007, p. 103). Neville widens the scope of race and calls into question the role of class: should South Africa focus its efforts on achieving racial equality or economic equality? Neville's questioning of the role of class in the BEE program and other apartheid redress policies helped shape the complexity of the discussion section in shifting the focus away from a solely race-based lens.

Finally, in "Race, Class and Inequality in the South African City," Professor Jeremy Seekings, of the University of Cape Town, analyzes the current wealth and race disparity through

the impact of neo-liberal policies. He synthesizes that the ANC perpetuated the inequalities of apartheid through the assumption of neo-liberal values, "The ANC has adopted 'neo-liberal' policies that reproduced the inequities of the past…The racialised inequities of apartheid gave way to new 'market' inequities, as the post-apartheid political elite embraced (or was embraced by) global neo-liberalism" (Seekings, 2010, 5). Seekings, like Neville, expands the argument that class is a larger force in segregation than race alone. Seekings further illustrates the evolving complexities in creating a socially cohesive nation. Racial differences are only one factor influencing the current state of social cohesion.

Methodologies

Social cohesion in South Africa is a broad and complicated issue that has many points of discussion and often minimal concrete solutions. Because of the inherent exploratory nature of the study, I chose to conduct unstructured interviews which allowed participants to fully expand upon their thoughts in any direction they felt was relevant. Thus, as the study developed, I gained a better sense for people's response patterns and adapted the focus of the research to fit the trends of what people talked about. I then utilized secondary sources to expand upon ideas that participants brought up in interviews and to better analyze the findings.

Sampling Plan

Given the time constraints on the study, I primarily drew from existing relationships I had with people around Durban. Convenience sampling allowed me to know each individual beforehand which helped facilitate meaningful discourse but it also limited the quantity and diversity of participants I had access to. Regardless, participants came from a range of geographic areas around Durban including Chesterville, Pinetown, Glenwood and Durban North. While I knew each participant beforehand, I met each one under different circumstances in different locations which helped to preserve some of the diversity of opinions. Again however, the use of convenience sampling limited the scope of participants to people who I, as a young white American, would able to interact with in the first place. Recognizing the inherent restriction of participants I had access to, I sought to limit the variables amongst them as much as possible, besides their self-identified race. Thus, each participant belonged to the middle class and was between the ages of 26 and 30 at the time of interview.

While social cohesion is a nation wide issue that affects people of all ages, I chose to

focus on the younger generation for a number of reasons. As South Africans who were born around the end of apartheid, most of them were too young to experience the full effects of institutionalized racism and segregation. This fact puts them in a unique situation where they may dwell on the past or make a conscious effort to move forwards since it did not directly affect their lives – only the legacy it left behind. This decision is one that many young South Africans are dealing with today and indeed, it was a common point of discussion in my interviews.

A final limiting factor to the research is the need for relative fluency in English since the consent forms and interviews were conducted entirely in English. Under the limitations placed upon the sample of participants, the responses and findings of this study are not generalizable to the larger population nor are they necessarily reflective of each participants own racial group; nonetheless, each interviewee shared candid reflections on the state of social cohesion in South Africa, using their experiences around Durban to explain their perceptions.

Data Collection

Over the course of three weeks, I conducted five formal interviews with participants around Durban. When I introduced the idea to potential participants, I framed the interview as a conversation in order to create an atmosphere that catered to honest and open-ended responses. I prepared a set list of questions to help guide each conversation, which one can find in Appendix III, but there were also natural follow-up questions not listed that came up in conversation.

This lack of structure helped maintain agency for the participants and their responses, as opposed to a traditional questionnaire, which might direct participants to respond within the parameters of pre-determined categories. The minimal structure of the interviews also meant that

conversations often developed into discussions between the participant and myself where we could bring together our own separate experiences dealing with racial cohesion in an effort to brainstorm possible solutions.

Knowing each participant also aided the interview process. Because I already had rapport with each individual, we were able to have meaningful conversations as soon as we began the interview. The pre-existing relationship between each participant and myself also allowed each person to give me honest answers from their own experience as opposed to rehashing general statements that they assumed I was looking for.

Interviews took place in convenient locations for both myself and the participant. Common locations included local cafes and outdoor seating areas. While these spaces are not considered private, the nature of the questions in each interview were not particularly invasive or personal; thus, I deemed it unnecessary to conduct interviews in a private space. The atmosphere of the public setting also helped contribute to an air of informality during the interviews as opposed to the formality associated with a private one-on-one interview.

In terms of data collection instruments, I recorded all interviews on my cell phone with the permission of the participants. I also took sporadic notes in a journal during the interview to remind myself of particularly pertinent points of focus. By combining these two methods of collection, I was able to stay engaged in the conversation whilst still having access to direct quotes afterwards. I transcribed each audio recording and only used quotes when I was confident my transcription matched the precise words of the participant. In some cases, I made minor edits to quotes in order to maximize their readability; I made sure to edit only for structure and only when necessary to ensure the preservation of the participant's original intention.

Secondary Sources

I supplemented the findings in my interviews with data I gathered from secondary sources. Sources came from a variety of areas. My advisor, Dr. Rama Naidu, provided a number of useful books that had contemporary writing on social cohesion in South Africa. The Human Sciences Research Council was a similarly important source of relevant research pertaining to the topic of social relations in South Africa.

Data Analysis

Qualitative analysis was the primary tool of data analysis that I used. Given the small sample size of interviewees and inherent open-endedness of each interview, qualitative analysis made sense. After transcribing each interview, I looked for similar themes that came up in response to the general questions that I asked. Once I identified these trends, I crystallized the results by bringing in secondary sources to further explore similarities and differences. Crystallization is the preferred method of analysis since, according to Sarah Tracy (2010, p. 843 – 844), "it assumes that the goal of doing so [of using numerous theoretical frameworks] is not to provide researchers with a more valid singular truth, but to open up a more complex, in-depth, but still thoroughly partial, understanding of the issue." The goal of the research was not to discover if there is a single narrative or potential solution towards social cohesion and instead, it focused on finding the multiplicity of beliefs across race lines; thus, crystallization made sense as a method of understanding the complexity of the issue at hand.

Ethics

All research conducted for this study complies with the SIT Study Abroad Statement of Ethics, SIT Human Subjects Policy and the program's additional Human Subject Research Guidelines. John McGladdery, the Academic Director for the SIT South Africa: Community Health and Social policy program, reviewed this research project for ethical concerns and found that it followed all ethical protocols for human subject research.[5] Additionally, I made sure that every participant gave informed consent to be interviewed. I explained in-depth the steps I would take to ensure their privacy, confidentiality and anonymity and had them either review and sign or verbally acknowledge a consent form.[6]

The open-ended interview style helped maintain ethical protocol between myself and the interviewees. Since the interview was informal and not structured, participants could relax more and understand the interview as a casual conversation; this helped offset the potential of an unbalanced power relationship that can accompany interviewer and interviewee. Thus, as each interview progressed into an informal discussion, my role as the interviewer slowly adapted into that of a learner. By the end of most of the interviews, interviewees were asking me some of the same questions that I asked them, in order to find out about my own experiences dealing with racial integration in America.

I did not include any names of participants in this study in order to maximize the anonymity of each interviewee. I included each participant's self-identified race, gender and age with their permission in order to look at any trends across race.

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[5] See Appendix IV for the official ISP Ethics Review page.
[6] See Appendix V for an example consent form

Findings

How can South Africa become a more socially cohesive nation? In order to pose this broad question to participants, I first allowed them to tell me their general thoughts about social cohesion. Is social cohesion an issue in South Africa? Is there any reason to strive for racial integration or is the current state of informal segregation acceptable?

Each respondent answered that they believed social cohesion in South Africa was an important issue to discuss. People varied in the degree that they thought it was a pressing issue. One participant summed up many other's sentiments by referencing her recognition of ongoing racial segregation but her lack of a solution:

> This beachfront, there's a whole bunch of different races, everyone comes down here, this is a place where everyone [can be] - there's definitely still so much segregation going on but it just happens because everyone just gravitates towards their own race and I don't know the reason why, I presume its just comfort and because there are big differences in the cultures…. We want to start connecting more regardless of race and there just seems to be these invisible barriers around. (Anonymous 1, White, Female, 28)

These "invisible barriers" include a range of both physical, cultural and historical barriers to social cohesion. As I interviewed more people, I began to notice patterns in the issues that people brought up. These barriers can be broadly grouped into four categories: The legacy of apartheid, the failure of the government, differences in culture and differences in language. These four categories are also accompanied by potential solutions that participants brought up. Finally, participants shared some of the positive experiences they have had interacting with other races and why they believed in the need for a socially cohesive nation.

The Legacy of Apartheid

One of the most frequently mentioned barriers to social cohesion was the legacy of apartheid. Across races, people brought up the lingering effects of apartheid, even 22 years after its formal end. A couple people talked about the deep pain that people who lived through apartheid were still dealing with and how that pain prevented people from people from talking openly about such difficult issues of race and equality.

One participant brought up the difficulties in talking with someone about apartheid who is from a different race:

> I think there's a lot of animosity still around because of apartheid. Speaking as a white person, we do kind of hold back a little bit because we worry, "do they hate us? Do they not want to speak to us at all?" you don't know where you stand. It's not that we don't want to communicate, I just don't know if they want me to be talking to them. It does sort of stop you from being who you really are and going up to someone and just having a conversation like you would anyone else. (Anonymous 1, White, Female, 28)

This topic of ongoing animosity between races, even amongst people who may not have even experienced apartheid is corroborated by another participant:

> Racism is taught at home and I think that the pain of apartheid was taught to young black people at home. So when we started dealing with the Fees Must Fall effort to remove statues, I saw such anger and hate towards white people instead of at the unjust university fees. The pain of apartheid was relayed to my generation even though we didn't actually feel it. (Anonymous 2, Black, Male, 27).

One reason for the continuing barrier of communication between races is the sheer amount of pain and loss that some experienced under apartheid.

> [Racism] won't be over with some people because some people are still holding grudges, some people lost a loved one through a black person. You get those people who want to blame everybody for what one person does…you can't change people. You can teach people, you can advise them but you cannot make them do anything. And even if we teach people, it's very very hard to change when you come from pain. (Anonymous 3, Coloured, Female, 28).

> I would love it if we could move on from our past...It would be amazing if we could put the past behind us but how do you say that to people who have lost families and loved ones who are still suffering because of it. (Anonymous 1, White, Female, 28).

It is clear that the legacy of apartheid is still prominent in shaping racial discourse, even 22 years after its abolishment. However, respondents differed on their response to the current role of apartheid in racial discourse. Should we continue to talk about apartheid since many of its effects on society are still relevant or should we try to move past apartheid and stop worrying about what happened two decades ago?

Four out of five participants believed that it is necessary to keep talking about apartheid, with each of the three races interviewed reporting such a belief. For these respondents, talking openly about apartheid was a potential solution to working out inter-racial differences. Until people addressed the pent up emotion associated with apartheid, there would be no racial equality. Although even within this group of participants, people disagreed about the extent that apartheid should be talked about.

One participant noted that educating the young generation about apartheid was an essential aspect of not repeating the past. Once people stop talking about it, they are likely to revert back to past ways.

> Racism should be remembered, it should be acknowledged, and it should be taught. When you teach a generation, they will see the difference between then and now, they'll know the difference. [Apartheid] is not something to be ignored, it must be spoken about. It's a topic never to be forgotten because the minute it's shut down, it will start over and over again...education starts at home, you can never stop talking about it. (Anonymous 3, Coloured, Female, 28).

Two other participants conveyed this sentiment. Like the participant above, they both believed that failing to fully talk about and address the painful past of apartheid would prevent future

racial cohesion, "It needs to be spoken about until it's sorted out. If you just ignore the fact, I think there will still be a lot of animosity…until you get down to that core issue and sort it out, talk about it and get over it, I don't think we can move on" (Anonymous 1, White, Female, 28).

But even amongst those who agreed it was important to continue discussing apartheid, people were not sure how long this would be necessary, "I'm a firm believer that there needs to be redress but how long is it supposed to last? I'm not even qualified to say that - I don't understand the pain because I didn't live through it. I don't know if people actually found that justice they were looking for. (Anonymous 2, Black, Male, 27). While this participant believed in the "need for redress," he also held a more critical view of the continuation of discussions centered around apartheid. He went on to speak about the "hierarchy of suffering" introduced in apartheid that has persisted amongst many people today and the need to move away from that paradigm of thinking:

> It [continuing to focus discussions on apartheid and race] certainly does hinder us - it hinders progress, it hinders South African integration even amongst black communities themselves. There has to be a hierarchy of suffering. We believe that blacks suffered the most, followed by the coloureds, then the Indians so when it comes to government resources, blacks always feel... I don't want to use the word entitled but it creates... a whole lot of animosity [amongst races]. (Anonymous 2, Black, Male, 27).

The sentiment that racial redress post-apartheid is not always the best solution is also shared by another participant who said, "Our generation is like, 'we don't care. We want to surf, we want to walk on the promenade, we don't care who it's with.' Just give it a few years and it'll happen by itself. Twenty years is the blink of an eye. This stuff has been going since the 1600s" (Anonymous 4, White, Male, 26).

The legacy of apartheid is an obvious influence on current social interactions in South Africa. The solution to how best to deal with such a pervasive aspect of society is one that has no

clear answer – should we continue talking about it or move on?

The Failure of the Government

When talking about current barriers to social cohesion, participants across each race frequently mentioned their frustration with the current government and its inability to mend some of the wounds left by apartheid. Every person interviewed described their discontent with the state of the government and many believed that if there was a more competent government in place, South Africa would be much better off than where it is now.

> [The government] focused on pain and because they're focused so deeply on pain, they don't know anything else but to react to it. If they could let go of the pain [of apartheid], and put their differences aside, best believe we'd have better ideas in this country and change. (Anonymous 3, Coloured, Female, 28).

> They're just not looking out for anyone, regardless of their race, in the country. I think if we had the right government in place a few years ago, our country would be worlds apart from where it is now. (Anonymous 1, White, Female, 28).

One participant even discussed the idea that the apartheid government was better than the current government because at least they had a better grasp of the economy.

> I think the color of the government has changed but its still government - its still 8000 people at the top looking after themselves. I don't think anything has changed because there's still a flawed system... At it's core, its still a controlling government.... if you talk to old Zulu guys, they say apartheid was better economically - there were more jobs, everybody had a job. (Anonymous 4, White, Male, 26).

This idea that the government of apartheid was better than the current one was a relatively common sentiment that I heard from a number of people in informal conversations outside of the scope of the research study.

Other than a general disapproval of the government, a number of participants also

expressed a belief that the government had the power to change some of the current racial

divides if they enacted the right measures, "Leadership is very important …if the government

doesn't change, how will you get anything done. The government actually has power to put this

in order. We can talk and talk but its not going to get that far without government help."

(Anonymous 3, Coloured, Female, 28).

I proposed the idea of government built multi-racial housing and neighborhoods as a

potential solution. It is a concept that has been implemented with varied success in America.

Responses were mixed; participants tended to respond similarly to how they felt about the role of

government in general. They thought it was a good idea if they supported government

intervention and a poor idea if they were against the government.

> [The government] has the most policy in the world but when it comes to practicality they
> don't even try. When they build houses, they build houses for blacks, they still continue
> where apartheid left off. If they are to be honest and serious about creating those kinds of
> [multi-racial] neighborhoods and integration, I think it has to start with the poor people.
> (Anonymous 2, Black, Male, 27).

Another participant talked about her support for mixed race communities as positively affecting

social cohesion:

> When you can knock on your neighbors door and ask for some sugar, and you come from
> two different race groups – the same two different race groups that were not allowed to
> be together before – that's when you know you are living with *people…* That's the only
> time you know there's real *ubuntu*. (Anonymous 3, Coloured, Female, 28).

A different participant was less enthused about the idea of government intervention but still

believed in a need for spaces where people of different races could interact:

> I don't particularly like government, they're controlling our lives. I think forcing that
> stuff [government multi-racial housing] will never work, people like freedom…But there
> needs to be opportunity [to interact with one another]. In terms of mixed living spaces,

that will happen by itself. Apartheid separated everyone apart but they will go back to each other because race is a non-thing – we are all humans in the end. (Anonymous 4, White, Male, 26).

Differences in Culture

Another common barrier to social cohesion that came up amongst every participant was culture. South Africa is a diverse country full of many different sub-cultures with many different beliefs and values. The differences that arise between cultures of different races, even within races, make it tougher to create a more socially cohesive nation. The concept of culture I am using here is a loose term as it often refers to differences in lifestyle based on economic status. One participant described the impact of each race's different culture on protesting saying, "White people complain, and don't do anything. Black people complain in a different way and strike and break everything. But we don't meet together. We don't meet together and make something bigger and more powerful, even if it's for the same cause" (Anonymous 4, White, Male, 26).

Multi-racial schools are one potential solution to help dissolve racial tensions; but even in multi-racial schools, the larger differences in cultural background prevent people from creating a truly socially cohesive space. Two of the people interviewed referenced their multi-racial school as a place of racial mixing; however, as soon as they left school, they spent time with their close friends – usually of the same race/culture – and rarely saw their friends from other races:

> The school that I went to was very multi-cultural, it was probably one third white, one third Indian, one third African people. I made friends with a lot of different race groups. In school we were [friends] but when you leave school I suppose you stay with your core group of friends who the majority of those were white. (Anonymous 1, White, Female, 28)

> You go through five years of high school and after that you never ever meet your [diverse] friends again. The culture gets in the way…It happens in the high schools and to a certain degree, even the universities but I don't see interaction...For one race to hang

out with another, it first has to be comfortable and have similarities with each other – they gotta be almost like me. (Anonymous 2, Black, Male, 27).

The second participant quoted above also mentions the idea that even in spaces where there are multiple races, it does not necessarily mean that the races will interact. People often prefer to spend time with those who they are comfortable with, as the second quote above articulates.

As much as multi-racial schools may be inauthentic multi-racial spaces, where people make surface level friends only, there are still people who see the benefit in them. One participant talked about how her school experience allowed her to truly understand people from another race:

> The same kids who are black [from multi-racial schools] are the same people who are in relationships with white people because they've been through with whites, they know how they are and they understand them. You cannot be in a relationship with someone who is different from you if you do not know them, if you have no experience being with them. I understand coloreds because I've been to a coloured school so I understand them completely. (Anonymous 5, Black, Female, 30).

Similarly another participant talked about how his multi-racial school experience allowed him to better understand white people and see them more as equals:

> When I think of people that went through the full public school system, I realize that they never have the chance to get out of the "us and them" mindset. My schooling provided me with a different insight toward white people and it was hard to explain that to my township friends. It's not just about being racist. It's more about what you're taught and what you see. These young black adults didn't have the chance to interact with white people and so they have this preconceived notion that all white people are bad… All it takes is one bad act from a white person to confirm those racist conceptions of white people. (Anonymous 2, Black, Male, 27).

Differences in Language

South Africa has 11 official languages. The ability to communicate with other people is essential to create personal connections that characterize social cohesion; yet, with so many

different languages, people may struggle to talk to those who do not speak their mother tongue.

In the interviews I conducted, language did not necessarily manifest itself as a barrier – likely

because four out of the five interviewees spoke Zulu and English fluently - rather, it showed

many of the positive outcomes of social cohesion. One interviewee talked about language as a

barrier but also recognized how powerful it can be to communicate with someone in their mother

tongue:

> I definitely feel that language [is a barrier]. I feel like everyone in our country, or especially this province, needs to be able to speak Zulu. That's been on my bucket list for this year, I need to learn how to speak Zulu… I want to be able to communicate in their own language, its only right. (Anonymous 1, White, Female, 28).

Her desire to communicate in the mother tongue of Zulu speakers is one step towards crossing

the race line and developing more meaningful multi-racial connection. Other participants who

spoke multiple languages agreed on the importance of language in making connections to people

from other races. One participant spoke about the positives of having someone from a different

race address you in your own language:

> If you are a white person and someone says to you, 'O kae?' and you respond 'Ke Teng,'[7] my word, I think they would take your hand and shake it. That brings a lot of joy to us when someone speaks our language and you're coming from a totally different race" (Anonymous 3, Coloured, Female, 28).

> Similarly, one of the participants, a white male, speaks Zulu fluently. He spoke about

how influential Zulu has been in his life and how it deepened his connection to Durban and

South Africa as a whole.

> Zulu has played such a ridiculously massive role in who I am because I feel so at peace and just part of especially the Durban community and the Zulu community. Zulu people are 100 times more socially and emotionally advanced than the west. They just

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[7] *O kae* and *ke teng* are part of a basic Sotho greeting, meaning "how are you?" "I'm fine," respectively. Sotho is one of the 11 official languages of South Africa.

understand – you respect people. Like if I hang out with white people now, I don't know how to behave socially now. Language has deepened the South African thing for me. (Anonymous 4, White, Male, 26).

Finally, it's important to note the role of English as a facilitator in conversation and culture. While still only one of 11 official languages, the presence of English in major cities around the country speaks to the ubiquitous of the language, especially with the rise in globalization. One interviewee spoke about the prevalence of English and its use in bridging cultural gaps:

Western culture and more specifically English as a language has provided the divided cultures of South Africa with a way to communicate. For example, I can now listen to Sotho hip hop because it has English, letting me enjoy it while being exposed to a new language like Sotho. And it's the same for Sotho people when they listen to Zulu-English hip hop. English is always the mediator and allows for young people to listen and learn about other people's languages. (Anonymous 2, Black, Male, 27).

Discussion

How can South Africa become a socially cohesive nation in the context of post-apartheid racial separation? I now return to my original question in order to discuss some of the potential solutions that participants brought up in interviews. While there was no overarching theme or solution that participants agreed upon, there are a number of areas mentioned that are worth delving into.

A Need to Talk

One of the overarching trends that linked all the findings is "communication" and the barriers that prevent it. Whether they were physical barriers like neighborhoods, language barriers or sociopolitical barriers like the legacy of apartheid, it became clear that communication across race lines is not easy. It is naïve to think that simple communication can overturn more than a hundred years of oppression and disparity but simply talking about the issues at hand is the first step. Dr. Jonathan Jansen, of the University of the Free State, writes in his book, *We Need to Talk*, that peaceful reconciliation through open and honest discussion is the only method for South Africa to move beyond apartheid toward a future of social cohesion. He believes that talking about the past is a crucial element of reconciliation, "There is only one way out of this moral and political quagmire. We must talk. We must talk about our troubles. Too many south Africans murmur the words of that Negro spiritual: 'nobody knows the troubles I've seen.' That's the problem; nobody knows" (2011, p. 7). Dr. Jansen goes on to write that open discussions of the manner that he is suggesting must allow blacks and whites to be on the same level, regardless

of their race and the history of apartheid. People must see each other as individuals and as

equals,

> The only way out of this mess is together; yet the terms of engagement at the moment
> assume that the moral high ground belongs to the pure, unadulterated black victim laying
> material and symbolic claim and control over the impure, adulterated white perpetrator.
> That is a recipe for mutual annihilation of co-inhabitants of a common geographical
> space; of mutual burden-bearers of an intertwined trauma. (Jansen, 2011, p. 6)

Dr. Jansen speaks of a coalition across races to move South Africa past the legacy of apartheid.

From the responses of the people I interviewed, it seems that Dr. Jansen is not alone in the

pursuit of this ideal. People genuinely want to interact and talk to people from other races; they

want to move past the apartheid definitions of race. Talking honestly about these topics is

important but how can people talk openly and as equals about such charged issues? In the words

of one participant, "There's a lot of animosity still around because of apartheid. Speaking as a

white person, we worry, 'do they hate us? Do they not want to speak to us at all?'" (Anonymous

1, White, Female, 28).

Dr. Jansen believes that the people in power – the leaders of South Africa, both political

and academic – have a responsibility to facilitate these spaces of discussion. He writes that:

> The task of leadership is to prepare the ground for black and white students to engage
> with such an important film in ways that deal with our ghosts, and lay them to rest - as
> Mamphela Ramphele's metaphor so powerfully communicates.[9] But this requires the
> creation of a non-judgmental setting in which white students also come to confront the
> past. This kind of pedagogy does not exist in our schools, our universities or our society
> as a whole. (2011, p. 240)

One point sticks out in Dr. Jansen's description: the need for a "non-judgmental setting." As has

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[8] The film in question is *Skin,* a biographical movie that follows Sandra Laing, a white South
African who was classified as coloured under apartheid due to a genetic defect in her skin
pigmentation and was ostracized from her community (Skin the Movie, 2009).
[9] Mamphela Ramphele is a politician and activist. She was a partner of the late Steve Biko.
"Laying ghosts to rest" comes from the title of her book of the same name which talks about
what South Africa must do to overcome the ghosts of apartheid.

been mentioned previously, discussions about how to redress the crimes of apartheid are never easy because of the deeply rooted pain and prejudice left behind. Thus, the creation and upholding of a safe space for discussion is paramount to any productive discourse. People must be able to speak about their own emotional experiences – however traumatic they may have been. One participant spoke about how deeply rooted apartheid runs, even for those were born after its end, "Racism is taught at home and I think that the pain of apartheid was taught to young black people at home…The pain of apartheid was relayed to my generation even though we didn't actually feel it" (Anonymous 2, Black, Male, 27). Setting the grounds for this discourse is an important first step in redress.

Similarly, another interesting solution is the concept of the third place. Coined in 1989 by the American urbanist, Ray Oldenberg, a third place refers to a public space outside of one's home or work. Some examples of third places are bookstores, bars, salons and cafés. Third places are defined less by the space itself and more by the qualities of the conversations that people have. Oldenberg writes, "Third places exist on neutral ground and serve to level their guests to a condition of social equality. Within these places, conversation is the primary activity and the major vehicle for the display and appreciation of human personality and individuality." (1989, p. 42). In that sense, a third place is similar to the "non-judgmental setting" that Dr. Jansen mentioned earlier, an essential element to productive discourse. Oldenberg also writes that third places "serve to level their guests to a condition of social equality," which is another element that Jansen brought up when he talked about the need for "the terms of engagement" to be more equal across races. While Oldenberg did not conceptualize the idea of the third place as a place for racial discourse, many elements link the two together.

What Oldenberg did design the third place to do was to increase social cohesion. As

informal and public settings, a third place is meant to be accessible to everyone to allow people from all over to talk openly – free expression of ideas outside the privacy of home is a marker of a socially cohesive community. Essential to the development of such a space is the idea of a *leveler*. Oldenberg defines a third place as a *leveler* in that, "Third places counter the tendency to be restrictive in the enjoyment of others by being open to all and by laying emphasis on qualities not confined to status distinctions current in society" (1998, p. 24). Essentially, a third place attempts to even out its patron's statuses in society so that they may connect to each other on equal footing. This characteristic is crucial both to open discussions about race and to developing a socially cohesive community. South Africa could benefit from the introduction of third places.

In my exploration of social cohesion around Durban, I kept an eye out for third places around the city – places where different races came together organically just to talk and share a space as equals. A couple participants brought up the Durban beachfront as a publicly accessible area where every race could interact and share the space. While on the surface this appears to be true, closer inspection reveals a darker truth: yes, every race was equally present on the beachfront but that was the extent of their interactions. For the most part, people tend to stay within their own sociocultural group – there is no engagement across race lines. These observations are shared by one participant who said, "This beachfront, there's a whole bunch of different races, everyone comes down here - there's definitely still so much segregation going on but it just happens because everyone just gravitates towards their own race" (Anonymous 1, White, Female, 28).

In contrast, there were two clubs that three of the participants brought up when prompted for a space of multi-racial interaction. One is "Cool Runnings," a Rasta-style bar that features a drum circle on Thursday nights which is open to anyone. While the club does cater to tourists, it

still serves as a viable third place for locals. As one participant said, "When you go to a multi-racial place [like Cool Runnings], that's where your democratic country actually comes in – Now you are living a democratic life" (Anonymous 3, Coloured, Female, 28). Another place of multi-racial interaction is The Chairman, an upscale jazz bar situated in a run-down part of town. Ndabo Langa, the owner of the venue, talks about how the space allows people to interact from different backgrounds:

> We're slowly seeing stereotypes being broken. So for example, we do get packed and we encourage people to share spaces. You end up interacting with people you would not have imagined interacting with, be it a fellow South African of a different race or someone from a different country. The space somehow allows for that interaction to happen. (Hennig, 2015)

Langa's description of The Chairman fits almost exactly with that of other multi-racial third places. One interviewee who visited The Chairman talked about her positive experience there:

> It was so amazing. Everyone there got on so well, I found myself having conversations with everyone of every different race group. The way I felt of why it was such a good vibe there is because everyone was just mixing, it felt incredible, not forced at all - it was so divine!... That was the first experience in Durban that I've had of that sort and we were all buzzing because of it because that's what we all really do want - we want everyone to connect, we don't want this segregation, we're done with that years ago, we all need to start integrating. (Anonymous 1, White, Female, 28).

Clearly, the introduction of multi-racial spaces can have hugely positive impacts on the community. They promote social cohesion by being a third place to host open conversations amongst community members and begin to break down racial barriers simply by exposing races to one another.

Is Race Really the Issue?

Another concept that came across in a number of interviews was whether the lack of social cohesion was because of inherent racial differences or simply differences in economic status. It is an issue that has increasingly come to the public's attention as the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) program is questioned. BEE is a form of affirmative action installed by the government that is meant to redress the disparities of apartheid by affording blacks and other non-white members economic opportunities that they would not otherwise have access to (Alexander, 2007, 93). While potentially beneficial in the immediate wake of apartheid, many people are against this now potentially outdated policy. One participant spoke to her frustration with the policy:

> It hasn't had a massive impact on my life but I do feel that now we are so far past. I understand at the beginning why it was introduced but why the hell are we still doing it now. I feel like things should theoretically start to even out now – it has been long enough....I know a lot of people who are struggling to find jobs because they are only looking for a black male or black female. (Anonymous 1, White, Female, 28).

While as a white person, she is disadvantaged by the continuation of BEE, she is not alone in her sentiments, even across races. Another participant, who is black, expressed similar issues to the ineffectiveness of the policy, "The South African government needs to strike a balance between poor blacks and poor whites, poor coloureds and poor Indians. It can't say that the blacks are the only ones who suffered and thus are the only ones that need help" (Anonymous 2, Black, Male, 27). Both participants are calling into question whether race or class should be the priority in terms of apartheid redress.

Professor Neville Alexander of the University of Cape Town agrees with these sentiments. He firmly believes that race should have no place in judging potential employees or

students. Race should not be a deciding factor,

> The acknowledgement of superficial differences should not become, even potentially, a
> lever for marginalisation or exclusion of any individual or group of people. This is the
> essence of a non-racial approach to the promotion of national unity and social integration
> and cohesion. (Alexander, 2007, 103).

In fact, Alexander believes that moving away from the race based policies like BEE can help

improve social cohesion. That is because favoring one race over another, simply based on

complexion, is an inherently divisive strategy, regardless of history. Alexander writes, "The

more important, issue in this entire question of affirmative action and black economic

empowerment is the unavoidable perpetuation of racial identities which is implicit in its very

conceptualisation and evident in the day-to-day expression of the policy in practice" (2007, p.

101). Dr. Jansen phrased it similarly when he disagreed with the University of Cape Town's

affirmative action policy,

> The central question in the UCT debacle is whether we can correct apartheid's wrongs by
> invoking the very racial categories that had offended and divided us in the past. I cannot
> think of anything more bizarre, for the manner in which UCT approaches the question of
> redress is the best way of keeping apartheid thinking alive and well in the consciousness
> of most South Africans. (2011, p. 120).

Both Dr. Jansen and Alexander make compelling arguments against BEE and seem to hint that

South Africa does not have a race problem, rather, it has an issue of wealth disparity. Dr. Jansen

goes on to write:

> The problem is class, not race. There is a much greater disparity between black students
> in the Cape than between a white or a black student from Wynberg Boys or Girls High
> school. Where you have studied matters; where you live matters…The student's degree of
> pigmentation is, to be honest, irrelevant. (2011, p. 121).

On the one hand, they are not wrong. South Africa has the highest rate of income inequality in

the world, as measured by the Gini Coefficient (World Bank, 2011). There truly is a class

problem and BEE does not seem to be fixing it. But just as it is arguably inaccurate to portray South Africa's lack of cohesion as a race issue, is it not equally inaccurate to portray them as a class issue? Race and class have a large degree of overlap and it may be difficult to focus on one while neglecting the other, as BEE has shown. If South Africa were to fix the income inequality, would there also be racial integration? At this point, one can only speculate.

However, an interesting comparison can be made to America. In *American Apartheid,* Princeton Sociologist Dr. Douglas Massey argues that race is a much stronger force than class in its influence of current segregated cities. His data looks at residential segregation in different income brackets in major cities across the country. He found that class had minimal impact on racial segregation, "The most affluent African-Americans are nearly as segregated from whites as lower-income African-Americans are, and surveys show that up to 20 percent of whites say their ideal neighborhood would contain no black residents" (Massey & Denton, 1993, p. 85; Roth, 2006). Of course, there are many limitations to this comparison. Namely, the data was collected in 1980 and pertains only to American cities; however, there are important ideas to consider. If South Africans were to make the same amount of money, would they live together and interact equally with one another? One might be optimistic about such a proposition but it is also hard to imagine such a scenario given the current residential segregation.

In terms of answering the question – is it a race issue or a money issue that is keeping South Africa divided? – there are multiple arguments for each side. But again, it's difficult to choose one since these issues are so complicated and overlapping. Indeed, one must widen the scope of his research to grasp the full set of factors preventing South Africa from becoming a socially cohesive nation.

Conclusions

Given the small sample of people interviewed and the unrepresentative nature of the participants to the larger population, I cannot draw any concrete conclusions about social cohesion from the data collected. Rather, the study was exploratory in nature to examine and discuss perceptions on race and possibilities going forward. From the study, it was clear that each participant was enthusiastic about South Africa achieving a state of social cohesion where races interact naturally and the effects of apartheid are comfortably in the past. However, given the complexity of the issue, few people had actionable solutions. The one theme that did emerge was the need and want to communicate across race lines. The simple act of talking – especially if one person makes an effort to communicate in the other's mother tongue – was an important first step in understanding other people.

South Africa is approaching another turning point in it's history as frustration with the government and its failure to deliver services to the public grows. Skeptics talk about the lack of change since democracy. But hearing the voices of the younger generation in this paper, it is clear how different the situation is now; people can interact and share spaces with other people from any race. Yes, there are barriers to overcome but people are optimistic about the future. They still hold onto a hope for *ubuntu* – of every South African coming together as one, regardless of race.

Recommendations for Further Study

This study gives only a brief look into some perceptions and barriers around social cohesion. The small sample size, limited amount of time for research, access to a select group of participants and limited geographic location were all limitations that prevented more comprehensive data collection. This study is exploratory in nature meaning that the goal was to open up new avenues for exploration on the topic of social exploration. Here are some potential areas for future studies:

- **Sampling from a different demographic:** The participants in this study all belonged to the middle class. Many of them went to multi-racial schools or simply interacted with other races in the middle class. A comparative study that sampled participants from a lower income would help distinguish between the role of race versus the role of economic status on racial integration.

- **Multinational comparative study to American perceptions of social cohesion:** To further elucidate the similarities and differences between the two countries, a similar study conducted America would provide interesting insight on the unique role of apartheid or lack thereof. The study could also examine potential solutions to racial segregation in America that might work in South Africa and vice-versa.

- **Comparing across generations:** One factor that distinguished the participants in this study was their age. Since they all were born near the end of apartheid, they likely have different perceptions of the current state of race relations than their older counterparts who lived through apartheid. Talking to older generations would provide a potentially interesting contrast that might reveal certain insights about the current situation.

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Appendix I: Visualizing the racial divide in St. Louis, MO

This map, based on 2010 census data, shows the current segregation of St. Louis, MO, a major U.S. city. The green dots in North part of the city represent the residences of black people while blue dots to the West and South represent white residences.
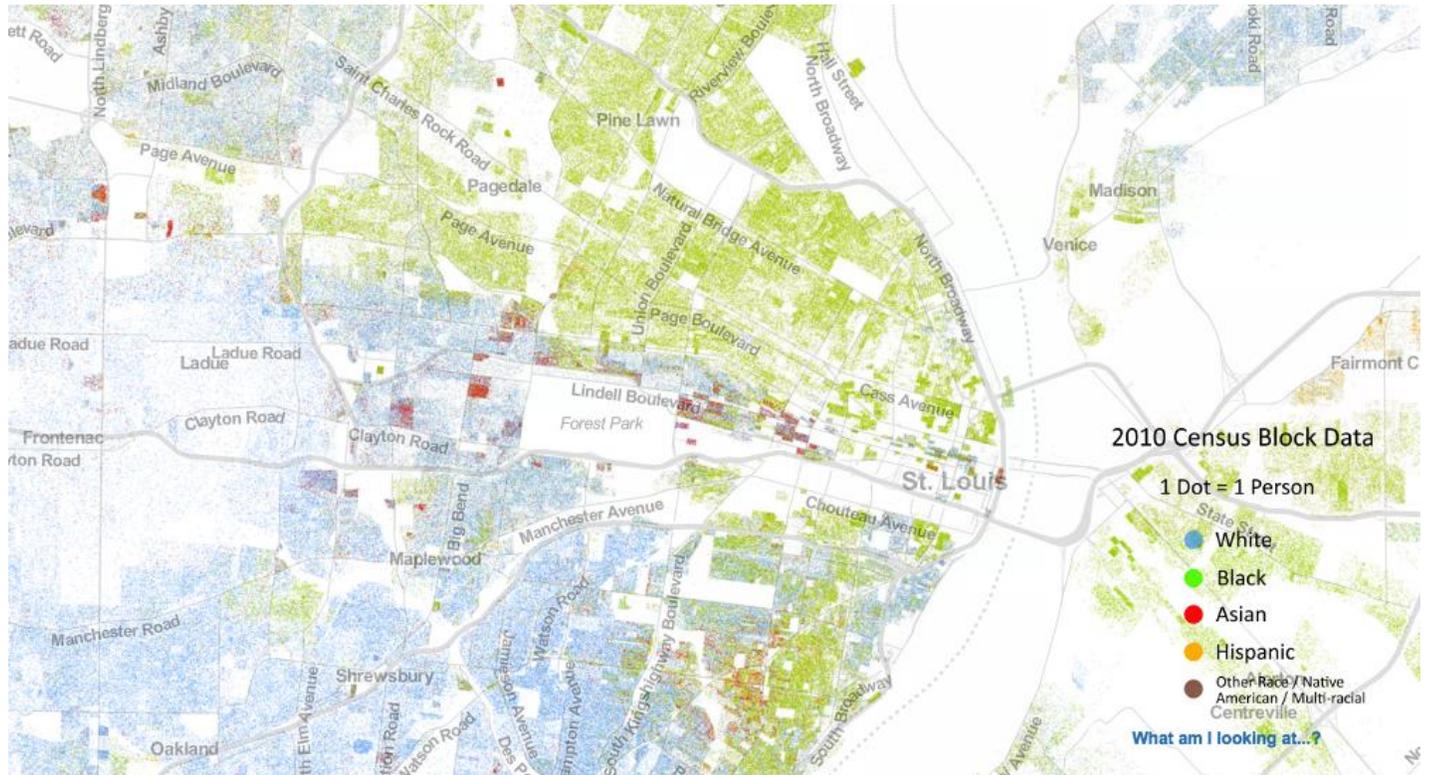
Appendix II: Definitions of Social Capital

Table 8–1. Definitions of Social Capital

Author	Definition
James Coleman, 1990	"Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence." (p. 302) *Examples:* Level of trustworthiness, extent of obligations, norms and effective sanctions, appropriable social institutions, information channels
Pierre Bourdieu, 1986	"Social capital is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition." (p. 119)
Glenn Loury, 1992	"[Social capital refers] to naturally occurring social relationships among persons which promote or assist the acquisition of skills and traits valued in the marketplace." (p. 100)
Robert Putnam, 1993a	"Social capital . . . refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions." (p. 167) *Indicators:* Levels of trust, perceived reciprocity, density of membership in civic associations.

Appendix III: Sample Questions

1. Is it necessary to focus on creating a socially cohesive nation where races intermix or is it fine how it is now? Why change?

2. What do you see as the biggest obstacle towards developing a nation that is socially cohesive?

3. Do you think it is possible to have a national identity/social cohesion whilst maintaining strong individual cultural ties? Does there have to be a compromise?

4. Do you believe that economic inequality or racial inequality plays a bigger role in the current state of social cohesion?

5. What steps do South Africans need to take as individuals to help build a nation that is socially cohesive?

6. What role should the government play in promoting social cohesion?

Appendix IV: Official LRB Action Form

IRB Action Form

Circle Action Level:

AD / Local RB / Full SIT IRB

Cover Sheet for Review of Research with Human Subjects
World Learning, Brattleboro, VT 05301

ACTION TAKEN: Form below for AD/LRB/IRB use only

Name of Student ___Peter Schneider___

Title of ISP Proposed Research___ An exploration of what it means to be "South African" in the context of nation building & social cohesion.

Study Abroad Program ___-SFH 442_____ SPRING 16___

Name of academic director ____John McGladdery___

Names of LRB Members_ Clive Bruzas (PhD), Frances O'Brien (PhD)___

Identifying project number SP16/17

Research exempt from federal regulations. Action taken:

_ approved as submitted _ approved pending revisions

_ requires expedited review _ requires full IRB review _ not approved

Research Expedited Review. Action taken:

_ approved as submitted _ approved pending revisions

_ requires full IRB review _ not approved

Research requiring Full IRB review. Action taken:

_ approved as submitted _ approved pending submission or revisions _ not approved

_____   6 April 2015

LRB/IRB Chairperson's Signature   Date

_____   6 April 2015

LRB/IRB Member's Signature   Date

Student Name:___Peter Schneider_____

Appendix V: Example Consent Form

SIT Study Abroad
a program of World Learning

CONSENT FORM

1. Brief description of the purpose of this study

The purpose of this study is to explore what it means to be "South African" amongst the younger generation of South Africans. Particular attention will be paid to differences in responses across races. Given South Africa's complex racial history, the researcher is primarily interested in how South African identity is perceived by people from different cultural backgrounds; however, responses that do not mention race are equally accepted. Through open-ended interviews, participants will be able to guide their own response to the question in a manner that suits them. The study will adapt over time to delve deeper into trends that appear during the earlier interviews.

2. Rights Notice

In an endeavor to uphold the ethical standards of all SIT ISP proposals, this study has been reviewed and approved by a Local Review Board or SIT Institutional Review Board. If at any time, you feel that you are at risk or exposed to unreasonable harm, you may terminate and stop the interview. Please take some time to carefully read the statements provided below.

    a. *Privacy* - all information you present in this interview may be recorded and safeguarded. If you do not want the information recorded, you need to let the interviewer know.

    b. *Anonymity* - all names in this study will be kept anonymous unless you choose otherwise.

    c. *Confidentiality* - all names will remain completely confidential and fully protected by the interviewer. By signing below, you give the interviewer full responsibility to uphold this contract and its contents. The interviewer will also sign a copy of this contract and give it to you.

I understand that I will receive **no gift** or direct benefit for participating in the study.

I confirm that the learner has given me the address of the nearest School for International Training Study Abroad Office should I wish to go there for information. (404 Cowey Park, Cowey Rd, Durban).

I know that if I have any questions or complaints about this study that I can contact anonymously, if I wish, the Director/s of the SIT South Africa Community Health Program (Zed McGladdery 0846834982.)

_____   _____
Participant's name printed   Your signature and date

_____Peter Schneider____   _____
Interviewer's name printed   Interviewer's signature and date

I can read English.