

Lessons Learned

PROMOTING SOCIAL COHESION AND COUNTERING VIOLENCE AGAINST FOREIGNERS AND OTHER 'OUTSIDERS'

A study of social cohesion
interventions in fourteen
South African Townships

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2012 | ACMS Research Report



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Acknowledgements

This report was produced by the African Centre for Migration & Society at the University of the Witwatersrand with funding provided by the European Commission through OXFAM GB as part of a project entitled “Strengthening access to justice and constitutional rights for non-nationals in South Africa.” The report is available on www.migration.org.za or through info@migration.org.za.

The field data was collected between May 2010 and April 2012 by Kathryn Takabvirwa, Tamlyn Monson, Ndangano Makongoza, Jessica Anderson, Duduzile Ndlovu, and Tara Polzer Ngwato, under the direction of Tara Polzer Ngwato. The initial full report was written by Tamlyn Monson, Kathryn Takabvirwa, Jessica Anderson, and Tara Polzer Ngwato. It was revised and updated to its final version by Iriann Freemantle.

The draft findings and tools were presented to stakeholders at a roundtable in May 2011 and through several feedback meetings in November 2011. This version of the report and tools has been extensively revised based on the valuable feedback from those meetings.

We would like to acknowledge the members of communities who agreed to participate in the research, the individuals who assisted fieldworkers in unfamiliar settings, and the staff of institutions who shared their vision and experiences. In particular, we would like to thank Harry Nakeng for his extensive assistance during the pilot study in Alexandra, Johannesburg.

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INTRODUCTION

There is much debate on what causes collective violence in South Africa. There is less focus on the other side of the coin: namely what contributes to preventing and mitigating violence. Yet every community has structures with the objective or mandate to resolve tensions and prevent violence, and many organisations carry out interventions with the explicit aim of building peaceful relations between groups. Since widespread violence targeted foreign nationals and other ‘outsiders’ in May 2008, there has been an increase in interventions aiming to build ‘social cohesion’ in communities where such violence took place.

This report aims to identify and draw lessons from the strengths and weaknesses of institutions and interventions whose goals relate to building social cohesion in diverse, poor urban areas of South Africa. The specific focus is on contexts in which there has been actual or potential violence against foreign nationals (often called ‘xenophobic’ violence), but the implications of the research extend to other forms of group-based ‘anti-outsider’ violence. The structure of this report is as follows:

- The introduction sets out the basic reasoning behind our study and how to use this report as well as the tools (checklists, sets of indicators, lessons learned) contained within it.
- A brief note on the scope and methodology of the study that this report is based on is followed by a section explaining why we chose our definition of social cohesion and how we developed our six indicators of social cohesion.
- A presentation of the findings of our research systematically addresses the spatial, social, political, and institutional **contexts** in which social cohesion interventions take place. We also present the types of **interventions** that have been implemented in a series of local cases.
- Finally, annexes provide our research instruments, a list of interviews on which this research is based, and a detailed bibliography.

The importance of social cohesion

As a country of racial, cultural, linguistic, economic, and many other forms of diversity and divisions, South Africa faces a complex task in building a cohesive society. Much of the official debate centers on the national level and how South Africans as a whole can be ‘united’ within a socially cohesive society. This report focuses on social cohesion at the local rather than the national level: how diverse people live together within a local space. Much of the group-on-group and interpersonal violence in South Africa has been concentrated in urban and peri-urban communities with high levels of diversity, mobility, and informal housing. Existing cultural, linguistic, and class diversity are further increased by ongoing migration flows, both within South Africa and from across its borders. Particularly in deprived, poorly governed informal areas, new arrivals enter a context in which existing

residents are struggling with issues of security and socio-economic opportunity. In these contexts, social fault lines are complex and multiple. Community residents often perceive diversity of all kinds is often perceived as a threat in these contexts, which can have devastating consequences. The widespread anti-outsider attacks of 2008, in which dozens of people were killed and tens of thousands displaced, stand out as an example of the possible consequences when diversity is feared and badly managed. Importantly, it is not only foreign nationals that become subject to (violent) exclusion but also South African citizens of different ethnicities, areas of origin within the country, minority languages or different political affiliations.

While the challenge of managing diversity has been on the South African agenda since before democratisation, the specific focus and terminology of social cohesion has only arisen recently, to some extent as a response to the violence against foreign nationals in 2008. At the level of national government, we have seen a reinvigorated debate on cohesion in 2011 and 2012, and the Departments of Social Development, Education, Arts and Culture, and Cooperative Governance all recently adopted mandates to build social cohesion.¹ Many civil society organisations, international and domestic, have also started using the terminology of social cohesion to describe a wide variety of interventions. However, these institutions' definition of social cohesion is not always clear nor is their understanding of how it can be built in practice, given the diverse and challenging conditions of South Africa. This report aims to contribute to clarify the meaning and practical application of social cohesion in South Africa.

How to use this report

This report primarily addresses institutions that plan to carry out interventions around social cohesion, are currently doing so, or have done so in the past. By interventions, we mean any activity that aims to bring about social change, including long and short term and preventative and reactive activities. The tools included here offer practitioners both conceptual considerations and practical observations that are applicable to the diverse, urban South African context with the goal of strengthening the implementation of social cohesion related activities.

This document includes three sets of tools:

1. A **definition** and set of **indicators** of social cohesion, which are clear and measurable, as well as a **poster** detailing the six indicators of social cohesion that can be printed out separately (for poster, see page 29);
2. A 5-point intervention **checklist** (see pages 9-11);
3. A set of **lessons learned** (at end of each chapter);

¹The Department of Arts and Culture is the national lead department on social cohesion. For DSD see Cloete and Kotze 2009. The Department of Education has a Deputy Director General for Social Cohesion. For Arts and Culture see: DAC. 2012. 'A National Strategy for Developing and Inclusive and Cohesive South African Society'; for CoGTA, see Department of Cooperative Governance. 2010. 'Business Plan 2010-2011,' 2, www.dplg.gov.za/index.php/.../doc.../749-dcog-business-plan-10-11.html.

4. Interview guidelines (Appendix II).

We formatted the tools to address several challenges identified in the course of our research:

5. Institutions are not basing their interventions on a clear or measurable definition or on explicit indicators of social cohesion, making it hard to plan and assess the impacts of their work. Our suggested indicators aim to assist institutions in clarifying which dimensions of social cohesion they aim to influence and to measure whether or not they have done so.
6. Because social cohesion is such a broad and complex process, institutions have many different mandates and approaches to building it. This is inevitable and indeed positive; a single 'one-size-fits-all' approach to social cohesion would not be appropriate to such institutional diversity. However, different institutions working in the same area and using different definitions of social cohesion hampers effective communication and collaboration. Our aim is that our definition and indicators will enable institutions to communicate and coordinate more efficiently with one another, such as by agreeing to focus on complementary indicators rather than duplicating work or working in isolation. This cooperation is especially important as one of our main findings is that coordination and collaboration between institutions, whether across national and local divides or across local political and social divides, is both the most effective and the most challenging characteristic of social cohesion interventions.
7. Many institutions, especially those operating in local communities, rarely have the opportunity to pro-actively plan interventions and/or reflect on their existing or past work. They tend to be reactive. Our 5-point checklist is a tool that helps institutions reflect on their own work.
8. Many institutions, including those entering a local community from the 'outside' and those based within a community, do not adequately adapt their interventions to the specific dynamics of the locality. Social cohesion challenges, and therefore solutions, are highly context specific. Our tools will help institutions analyse local dynamics in ways that enable them to target which local institutions and residents to work with, which venues to work in, and which types of tension to address.
9. Communities with social cohesion challenges tend to be characterised by fragmented and divided local institutions. Bringing these institutions together is an important element of many types of social cohesion building, but such meetings can increase rather than decrease tensions if there is no clearly structured framework for establishing dialogue around issues of mutual concern. Our 5-point checklist can be used as a tool for facilitating such dialogues.
10. Donors, including international and national, non-governmental and governmental agencies, typically do not have established baselines or tools for evaluating the impact of the organisations that they fund to conduct social cohesion work. The

government faces the same challenge in monitoring the extent to which local government actors are fulfilling their mandates in this complex area. Our tools can be used to judge the quality of project proposals as well as forming the basis of project evaluations during or after interventions.

5-Point intervention checklist

A key conclusion of this research is that there is no one-size-fits-all approach to building social cohesion: any intervention must be conscious of and adapted to local contexts and conditions. This report therefore does not offer concrete recommendations for how to plan or implement an intervention. It rather takes the lessons learned from this research and offers a checklist of questions that any institution wishing to address social cohesion challenges can answer for itself. Our 5-Point intervention checklist can be used as part of the planning phases of an intervention, as a means of on-going self-monitoring during the course of an intervention, or as a guideline for self-evaluation after the completion of an intervention.

1

Understanding the trigger and nature of the conflict

Why is this important?

Contrary to common belief, there are important variations across sites in the triggers, nature, and targets of xenophobic/anti-outsider violence. Organisations seeking to prevent conflict need to understand these variations to respond appropriately to the current conflict and to address the root causes of area-specific social tensions in a more sustainable manner.

Key questions to ask:

- What triggered the conflict in this specific location?
- Which individuals and groups were directly or indirectly involved in the conflict?
- What broader social cohesion weakness does this trigger reflect (which of the six dimensions of social cohesion is weak)?

2

Understanding social divisions in an area

Why is this important?

While different identity groups (such as those based on nationality, ethnicity, 'bona fide' resident status, political affiliations, socio-economic status, and livelihoods earning practices) can co-exist without social tension, such divisions frequently translate into varying degrees of mutual mistrust, negative social relationships, and conflict. For organisations planning to alleviate conflictual social divisions, it is thus important to know exactly between whom the fault lines run in a particular location and how these divisions manifest.

Key questions to ask:

- How is the target population divided into social/political groups, how are these groups led, and what are the relationships between these groups? Are your sources of information on group divisions neutral or might they have their own agendas in portraying community divisions?
- Do organisers and partners have access to the target groups in order to effectively disseminate information and recruit participants? How is the participant recruitment strategy adapted to reach foreign nationals and other 'outsider' groups?

- Are there political tensions in the area that could be worsened by the intervention (through partner choices, resource allocation, provision of mobilising platforms)?
- What are the appropriate protocols and processes for approaching sub-group leaders?
- Is the timing of the intervention appropriate to enable the target population groups to participate (for example, residents with jobs who can only attend in the evening)?

3

Mapping spatial divisions in an area

Why is this important?

Spatial divisions within townships are typically manifold but may not always be immediately obvious or ‘visible.’ For an organisation planning a social cohesion intervention, spatial divisions are important when it comes to determining the geographic reach of conflict and intervention as well as choosing intervention venues accessible to all targeted groups.

Key questions to ask:

- How is the targeted area spatially divided? Where was the conflict most severe?
- What spatial area does the intervention target? Is it defined by formal demarcations (e.g., township, ward, etc.) or by the trajectory of the conflict being addressed?
- Do organisers and partners have access to the target sub-areas in order to effectively disseminate information and recruit participants there?
- What organisations and activities usually use the venue chosen for an intervention? Do any groups not feel comfortable going there? How far is the venue (in distance and public transport costs) from where the targeted residents live?

4

Assessing the characteristics of your own and other institutions

Why is this important?

The characteristics of specific types of institutions – such as size, mandate, or history – can impact interventions in various ways. Before embarking on a social cohesion intervention, it is thus important to understand both characteristics of one’s own as well as those of other organisations, both for effective networking and coordination as well as to improve the scope and effectiveness of social cohesion interventions.

Key questions to ask:

- What internal and external institutions exist in the intervention target area, and what have these institutions already done in terms of social cohesion? Is there potential for collaboration regarding complementarities around resources, local knowledge, reach, and legitimacy?
- What are the official and unofficial links between institutions that are active in the intervention area?
- What are the constituencies of organisers and partners, and how do these constituencies relate to each other?
- What positive or negative incentives are built into the intervention to help encourage participation and change?
- What outcomes and inputs is the intervening institution promising (explicitly or implicitly), and what measures are in place to ensure those expectations are managed and promises are kept?

5

Understanding different types of interventions and their related challenges*Why is this important?*

When planning an intervention to build social cohesion, organisations have to decide what kind of approach they are going to choose (for example, hosting a community dialogue, building capacity for local conflict resolution, or initiating a poster campaign?) It is important to design an intervention very carefully, adapt it to the local context, and be aware of the specific challenges that might diminish its reach or success.

Key questions to ask:

- Which type of intervention/s is/are most appropriate for addressing the specific social conflict or cohesion weakness/dimension in the target location?
- Have existing institutional methods and intervention styles been adapted to fit the specific location context, the social cohesion challenge and the necessary target groups?
- How are local social and political divisions addressed in the intervention design, including through the choice of local partners, participants, venues, etc.?
- How are individuals or groups with discriminatory or violent agendas treated? Are they excluded or included in the intervention, and how?

Study focus and methodology

After the attacks targeting foreign nationals and other marginalised groups in May 2008, there was an explosion of interventions intended to address the causes of the violence and/or prevent a repeat of 2008's events. Many institutions and civil society organisations spent large amounts of money have been spent on these well intentioned activities, but their impact on the stated goals remains uncertain, because:

- This is a relatively new area of intervention in South Africa, with little local experience of what kind of intervention works and what does not. Extensive civil society experience with monitoring and mediating civic violence in the 1980s has remained largely untapped in recent interventions;
- There is rarely any evaluation of the impact of interventions, whether by the intervening institutions or independent bodies. Often, institutions are aware of the limitations of their work but do not have the capacity or time to document and reflect on this awareness; and
- There is limited understanding of the causes of the problem.

This study aims to address this gap by identifying and drawing lessons from the strengths and weaknesses of interventions whose goals relate to building social cohesion. This focus on what contributes to preventing and mitigating violence complements previous research by the African Centre for Migration & Society (ACMS) on the causes of violence against outsiders in South Africa (Misago et al. 2009; Polzer 2010; Segatti 2011).

For the purpose of this study, we use a definition of social cohesion that describes a minimum threshold on which others can be built (see poster on p. 29). We define social cohesion as a condition in which tensions and conflicts are dealt with in a manner that does not result in open violence, paralysing chronic tensions, or extreme marginalisation² among groups of residents in a specific area. It is a minimalist definition because we do not see social cohesion as a utopian, and therefore unachievable, state without tensions or conflict but rather as a realistic condition in which conflicts are appropriately managed. Our definition is action-oriented in that it hinges on the presence or absence of actions such as violence or marginalisation, not on the attitudes that may contribute to the presence or absence of these actions. Section 3 below explains in detail how we developed this definition and why we chose it over other possible approaches to social cohesion. In addition to the minimal definition, we establish six dimensions of social cohesion through which the minimum condition can be achieved and expanded to foster more substantive positive group relations.

² We use the term extreme marginalisation to refer to sub-groups whose life chances are lower than the rest of the residents of the same area, even where the majority of residents of that area are marginalised in relation to a national context.

We define social cohesion as a condition in which tensions and conflicts are dealt with in a manner that does not result in open violence, paralysing chronic tensions, or extreme marginalisation among groups of residents in a specific area.

Although the study aims to identify the strengths and weaknesses of interventions, it is not a classical institutional or intervention evaluation. The ingredients of diversity-related conflict differ across space and time (Misago et al. 2009). Therefore there is no one-size-fits-all recipe for social cohesion against which to evaluate interventions and no baseline of 'stability' against which to make a before-and-after comparison for each intervention. Instead, the study takes an exploratory approach, engaging with intervening institutions and local communities to understand institutional mandates, the internal logic of their interventions, the contextual factors at play in target areas, and the extent to which interventions effectively engage with these factors while also measuring up to the logic and mandate that underpins them.

This study focusses on both organisations (to understand their mandates, internal logic, and intervention process) as well as on the residents of targeted communities (to understand local logics and the impact of interventions). In terms of organisations, we have a dual focus: on institutions with a national or international scope, which enter local communities to carry out specific social cohesion interventions, sometimes in a number of different settings ('external' interventions); and on institutions based in local communities which actively or potentially contribute to the creation of social cohesion, regardless of whether or not they have a mandate to do so ('internal' interventions). We also include governmental interventions in our study, most of which are internal (such as activities by ward councillors or the police) and some of which are more external (such as speeches and imbizos by Provincial and National political leaders to a community). Some, such as the Migrant Help Desk (MDH) of the City of Johannesburg, are in between, as the MDH has a regular presence in all city regions although it does not necessarily have regular activities in all local communities.

In total, we interviewed fifteen 'external' organisations (see Appendix II: List of Interviews). We designed qualitative, open-ended, and semi-structured interviews to understand the selected organisations' mandates, objectives, understanding of root causes, and activities used to promote social cohesion. We then conducted individual interviews with staff members from these institutions. Some organisations were interviewed several times in order to capture specific perspectives that reflect the range of organisational structures, histories in South Africa, and approaches to xenophobic violence and social cohesion. The staff members whom we interviewed ranged from directors and programme coordinators to fieldworkers and other junior project officers. We collected documents, such as reports, event literature, advocacy material, monitoring data, and other internal programme literature, from each of the participating organisations.

We conducted detailed case studies of 'internal' interventions and resident perspectives both within and outside of Gauteng. Within Gauteng, the sites included Alexandra, Atteridgeville, Itireleng, Olievenhoutbosch, Khutsong, Orange Farm, Ramaphosa, Freedom

Park, and Diepsloot. Outside of Gauteng, research was conducted in Masiphumelele and Khayelitsha (Makhaza) in the Western Cape, in Siyathemba in Mpumalanga, as well as in Freedom Park and Nkaneng in North West. We chose these places because they had experienced communal violence in 2008 or had the potential for violence but avoided it (Khutsong, Orange Farm, and Nkaneng). They were, to a large extent, areas in which the ACMS had conducted previous research, so that we could gain a sense of institutional developments over time.

Case Study Communities Gauteng

Alexandra, Johannesburg

- commencement point of May 2008 violence
- violence confined to one area; resisted in another
- site of several external interventions

Atteridgeville, Tshwane

- site of historical ethno-political conflict
- violence against foreigners in early 2008
- site of several external interventions

Itireleng (Laudium), Tshwane

- close neighbour of Atteridgeville
- site of several conflicts, including violence against foreign nationals in early 2008
- no known external interventions

Olievenhoutbosch, Tshwane

- neighbour of Atteridgeville and Itireleng
- communal violence against foreign nationals in 2005, sporadic attacks in 2008, taxi violence in 2009 and 2010
- external intervention only by provincial government

Khutsong, Merafong

- no communal conflict in 2008
- no external interventions

Orange Farm, Johannesburg

- no communal conflict in 2008 but sporadic incidents of violence in one particular sub-area
- site of several external interventions

Ramaphosa, Johannesburg

- communal violence against foreign nationals in 2008
- mobilisation against foreign traders in 2011

Freedom Park, Johannesburg

- communal violence against foreign nationals in 2008
- mobilisation against foreign traders in 2011

Diepsloot, Johannesburg

- violence against Somali shops in 2006
- communal violence against foreign nationals in 2008
- mobilisation against foreign traders in 2011
- videotaped mob murder of Zimbabwean national in 2011

Case Study Communities North West, Mpumalanga, and the Western Cape

Freedom Park, Rustenburg

- mine worker strikes and violence in 1996, 1998, and 2012
- no communal conflict in 2008 but 'ethnic'/anti-outsider violence in 1996 and 2004
- violence against foreign shop owners in 2012
- site of several external interventions

Nkaneng, Rustenburg

- no communal conflict in 2008
- on and off mine violence in 1996, 1998, and 1999
- service delivery protests and looting of foreign shops in 2011
- one known external intervention

Siyathemba, Balfour

- recurrent violence against foreign nationals in 2008, 2009, and 2010
- violent service delivery protests in 2009
- one external intervention by national and provincial government

Masiphumelele, Cape Town

- violence against foreign nationals in 2006 and 2008
- no violence against foreign nationals since 2008
- community of Masiphumelele received a 'Reconciliation Award' in recognition of its efforts to live peacefully with foreign nationals in 2008
- site of several external intervention

Khayelitsha-Makhaza, Cape Town

- violence against foreign nationals in 2008
- looting of foreign shops in 2010
- several external interventions

At case study site, we used a three-pronged methodology:

- Participatory community mapping with up to three residents, helping to scan local institutions and gain insight into issues of social cohesion.
- Institutional interviews with up to 12 key informants working in local institutions. Not all institutions were present or reachable in each community.

Two focus group discussions with residents of the identified study sites – one with South African nationals and one with foreign nationals.¹

All research instruments can be found in Appendix.

DEFINING SOCIAL COHESION AND KEY INDICATORS

Defining social cohesion³

Social cohesion is an extremely flexible and multidimensional concept that means different things to different people. However, broadly speaking, we can understand social cohesion (from the Latin *cohaerere*, meaning to stick together or to form a united whole) to be about the positive nature of relationships between individuals, groups, and institutions within a shared space, community, or society. Concepts commonly associated with social cohesion are inclusion, social trust, equality, solidarity, political and social participation, the legitimacy and transparency of institutions, and the recognition of and tolerance for difference and diversity. Most commonly, social cohesion is understood to be linked to common values, consensus, and the absence of conflict within a society or community.

How do YOU define social cohesion? Definitions given by people attending the stakeholder roundtable on 5 May 2011 at which the first draft of this report was presented:

Conditions that allow people from different cultures and communities to live together and not feel threatened

Harmony between groups

Respect and understanding among groups

I don't know what social cohesion is

People's ability to cooperate

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However, we argue that a cohesive community is not necessarily one in which everyone likes, trusts, or agrees with everyone else. Instead, distrust, tension, and conflict will always exist between various in-groups and out-groups. Therefore, rather than seeing social cohesion as a – somewhat unrealistic – state in which conflict and dissent are eradicated, we consider social cohesion – at its most fundamental level – to be about the way in which a community of diverse sub-groups deals with (inevitable) social tensions and conflicts.

³ This section distils insights from a wide range of academic sources on how to think about and define social cohesion. Since the aim of this report is to be a practical resource for practitioners, we do not discuss or reference the sources in detail but rather summarise the key points.

We thus consider a minimally cohesive community to be one which is able to deal with its tensions and conflicts in ways that do not result in violence, paralysing chronic tensions, or extreme marginalisation⁴ of certain sub-groups.

We chose to use a minimal definition for the purpose of establishing a measurable baseline threshold in a specific location against which the impacts of a specific intervention can be judged. As noted in the Introduction, this definition has three key characteristics:

- It is minimalist in that it does not see social cohesion as a condition *without* tensions or conflict but rather as a condition in which conflicts are appropriately managed. It is also minimal in that the absence of violence and extreme marginalisation is only where social cohesion starts – beyond this there are many forms and degrees of social cohesion based on varying forms and levels of group interaction and trust.
- It is process-oriented in that it sees social cohesion as a continuous process of negotiation and interaction among groups, managed by institutions of various kinds, rather than as a supposedly stable final outcome.
- It is action-oriented in that it hinges on the presence or absence of actions, such as violence or marginalisation, not on the attitudes that may contribute to the presence or absence of these actions.

⁴ We use the term extreme marginalisation to refer to sub-groups whose life-chances are lower than the rest of the residents of the same area, even where the majority of residents of that area are marginalised in relation to a national context.

Action or Attitudes?

Many organisations see both ‘xenophobia’ and ‘social cohesion’ as a matter of attitudes – how individuals think and feel about other individuals or groups. We have taken the decision to base our definition of social cohesion on **actions rather than attitudes**: whether or not tensions result in violence and whether or not there are institutional processes in place to prevent tensions resulting in violence. There are several reasons for this:

- Negative effects (violence, exclusion, and discrimination) at a social level are the result of people’s actions rather than the attitudes they hold internally.
- Attitudes are not highly correlated with actions. One cannot predict what a person is likely to do based only or mainly on attitudes.
- Research has shown that negative attitudes about foreign nationals are similarly strong across all race, income, gender, and educational groups in South Africa, but the manifestations of violence and/or acts of discrimination differ significantly. Attitudes therefore cannot explain why certain forms of violence tend to happen in certain types of community and not in others.

Violent and discriminatory actions can have various motivations, including self-interest and perceptions of impunity, other than discriminatory attitudes.

Our choice of definition does not mean that institutions should not design interventions aimed at fostering more substantial forms of social cohesion, for example, going beyond an absence of violence towards increasing trust and positive interactions between groups. The indicators of social cohesion listed below outline the various practices through which substantive social cohesion can be achieved beyond the minimal threshold of our basic definition. Our action-oriented perspective on social cohesion does not mean that attitudes are not important in themselves or that institutions should not design interventions aimed at changing discriminatory perceptions and attitudes. We are merely arguing that an exclusive focus on attitudes is insufficient for understanding and therefore impacting on violent and discriminatory practices.

A concept closely related to social cohesion is the idea of ‘community’. Institutions often see residential areas as communities with a shared identity and common interests, but this perception obscures the diversity of different sub-groups that coexist in any residential area. We define a community as a collection of sub-networks which are joined through weaker and stronger ties. The kinds of ties include:

- smaller, *bonded* networks with thicker forms of trust, connected by family, friendship, or broader similarities, such as nationality;
- larger, *bridging* networks that bring two or more distinct in-groups together within one larger sub-group; and

- *linking* ties to people, organisations, or networks that have information, power, or other resources that allow community networks to ‘scale up’ to a politically and economically effective level (Sabatini 2009, 430).

It is important not to assume that any collection of people living in close proximity in a particular space is automatically a community or that any community is internally homogeneous. As noted in more detail below, part of the process of preparing for an effective social cohesion intervention is to map and understand the divisions and links within a specific ‘community.’

The Notion of *Ubuntu*

In the African and South African context, social cohesion is often related to the concept of Ubuntu. Ubuntu is the philosophy that an individual only exists in relation to a community: ‘I am, because we are, and since we are, therefore I am’ (Mbiti 1970). This philosophy brings with it values of mutuality and shared humanity. Ubuntu is seen either as a means of achieving social cohesion or as the condition of social cohesion itself – where there is Ubuntu there is social cohesion. While Ubuntu is a valuable ideal, both as a process and an outcome, we have decided on a more minimalist definition of social cohesion as a means of describing and evaluating actual relationships on the ground.

Firstly, we chose our approach because the vast majority of interpersonal violence in South Africa occurs between people who are closely connected, indeed within families, suggesting that there is often a lack of Ubuntu within in-groups even before considering inter-group relationships. Secondly, it remains unclear where the boundaries of the community lie within which Ubuntu is felt and practiced. As noted above, a highly cohesive and internally supportive group may maintain this cohesion precisely through the exclusion of ‘outsiders.’

Indicators of social cohesion in South Africa

Social cohesion is a complex concept with many elements or ‘dimensions.’ Different institutions may therefore choose different definitions depending on their mandate and approach. However, any useful definition of social cohesion must fulfil the following criteria:

- It must be realistic;
- It must be applicable; and
- It must have measurable indicators and be adapted to the relevant context.

Without such indicators, it is not possible to assess whether or not or to what extent social cohesion has been achieved or to determine what kinds of social cohesion weaknesses need to be addressed. Designing interventions and assessing whether interventions are effective

in achieving their goals or not are difficult without indicators. ‘Fuzzy’ and contextually inappropriate definitions and indicators are part of what has, to date, made the implementation and evaluation of governmental and civil society social cohesion mandates difficult.

While the international literature on social cohesion suggests various ways of defining and measuring each dimension, we have prioritised and adapted them to the context of diverse urban South Africa. Broadly, indicators of social cohesion can be categorised within six dimensions, not all of which are necessarily present at the same time and in the same place (see Figure 1 below). Guided by the findings of previous research by the ACMS, which showed how systemic prejudice, impunity, and ineffective institutions created a context for the communal violence of May 2008 (Misago et al. 2009), we propose that **three of the six dimensions of social cohesion take precedence** over the others in the context of South African urban communities: **the practice of non-violence** (which constitutes the ‘minimum’ threshold for social cohesion) followed by **inclusion and tolerance of difference** as well as **legitimate and effective institutions**. We therefore define these as prerequisites for the other aspects of social cohesion.



Figure 1: Dimensions of Social Cohesion

The practice of non-violence means that all groups positively value and practice non-violent coexistence and resolve conflict in a peaceful way through inclusive, open dialogue and debate.

Inclusion and tolerance of difference means that all groups are recognised and treated as part of a community, regardless of their 'differences' (e.g., nationality, origin, age, ethnicity, gender, disability, culture, sexual or political orientation, or language). Inclusion and tolerance are important pre-conditions for other dimensions of social cohesion because when some groups are not included (i.e., excluded) and their differences not tolerated, life chances will, by definition, be unfair, participation will be unequal, and bridges and positive social relationships will be few. Without bridges between different groups, there will be a lack of avenues to deal with tensions and conflicts that arise.

The attitudinal indicator of belonging (i.e., the feeling of being part of a place or group of people or the recognition that others are part of the group) is often associated with inclusion. Belonging can certainly facilitate inclusion, but it is important to note that inclusion can also happen without this attitudinal dimension. Effective inclusive practices can provide the opportunities necessary to ensure fair life chances, participation in the social and political life of one's community, and positive social relationships, even when attitudes or perceptions are largely negative initially.

Substantive, active citizenship can promote inclusive social cohesion (Reeskins 2007), especially in a country with a history like South Africa's in which the majority population was excluded from full citizenship. However, the practice of citizenship can also foster exclusion and structural inequality within a society in which communities comprise both citizens and non-citizens. Developing a common civic identity that embraces both citizens and non-citizens is necessary to provide a perspective from which all persons – regardless of nationality or immigration status – may be considered to have a legitimate legal and social existence, at least at the level of basic rights (De Wit in Cloete and Kotze 2009).

Another important fundamental dimension of social cohesion is the presence of legitimate and effective institutions, both informal and formal. Legitimate and effective institutions value non-violent conflict resolution and are accessible and considered legitimate by all groups within a community. Legitimate and effective state institutions serve clear public agendas, uphold the rule of law, and ensure that they are accessible and considered legitimate by all groups within a community. Previous research by the ACMS has shown an absence of institutional trust – identifiable in the perceived absence, indifference, or illegitimacy of local government – to be an important contextual factor in whether or not communal violence occurred in a specific area (Misago et al. 2009). In contrast, areas in open conflict and those coexisting without violence had similar levels of interpersonal distrust, such as a general distrust of foreigners, showing that this was not a factor explaining why some areas took up violence and others did not.

Fair life chances mean that all groups receive equivalent treatment by government institutions as constitutionally mandated (apart from legislated exceptions such as some categories of non-citizens being ineligible for government housing or social grants). It also means that all groups within a community have a fair chance of making a decent living through employment or self-employment based on their skills and abilities.

A common culture of civic engagement and participation is important because it facilitates the development of ties and norms across groups in a manner that promotes a sense of civic unity and the inclusion of all groups. For this to happen, it is vital that all groups within a community link with and participate in decision-making forums and the exercising of power (apart from legislated exceptions such as the exclusion of non-citizens from the right to vote).

Positive social relationships mean that different groups within a community have sufficient regular interactions to build mutual trust and understanding of shared challenges and that social networks across groups are sufficiently common and strong to prevent in-groups from mobilising against the legislated rights of out-groups. Studies in South Africa and elsewhere show that stereotypes and negative attitudes towards foreigners are rarely based on first hand contact or personal experience (Mattes et al. 1999). Bringing foreign and local community residents together in debate and dialogue is a powerful tool to counter stereotypes and provide the opportunity to develop an awareness of shared challenges and solidarity with other members in the community.

Xenophobia: A Clear Weakness in South Africa's Social Cohesion

Inclusion and Tolerance of Difference

While local leaders may publically deny the exclusion and intolerance of non-South Africans and other outsiders in their areas, public opinion is often far less tolerant of non-nationals and difference than local elites claim. There is little if any inclusion of foreign nationals in South African local structures, and South African interviewees in this research often did not consider foreign nationals as members or part of 'the community.' Instead, foreigners were often referred to as outsiders of the community and as people who 'just work here and make money.'

I am trying to make the community aware that the [foreign] business owners are a part of the community. But the community has not reacted as I expected to this because no one stood up for the shop owners when their shops were looted, which leads me to think the community does not view the Somali and Chinese as a part of them. (Local Business Forum, February 2012.

How can this weakness be addressed?

Interventions educate all residents of a community about the inclusive nature of constitutional rights and obligations. Local institutions define their constituencies to include all residents of an area, irrespective of nationality or other differences. Interventions educate all residents about South African and African history and current affairs to enable mutual understanding.

We go slowly through the bill of rights, the SA constitution, how these rights apply to everyone in the country - Slowly we show them how those rights apply to each person living in SA. (Africa Unite, July 2012)

The Practice of Non-Violence

Violence of various types, both interpersonal and group-based, is an endemic and structural feature of most poor urban settlements in South Africa. While the 2008 attacks against foreigners and other 'outsiders' were unprecedented and unsurpassed in scope and intensity, incidences of violence towards migrants or their properties have been recorded ever since 1994 and continue to happen (Valji 2003; Sowetan 2011; Star 2012; BBC 2010; Segatti 2011).

How can this weakness be addressed?

Local leaders (including elected, religious, traditional, and informal leadership) and their respective constituencies support and advocate for non-violent approaches to resolving tensions in the community. Interventions educate all residents about South African and African history and current affairs to enable mutual understanding.

Legitimate and Effective Institutions

In cases in which public officials in places such as the police, municipal officials, clinics, and schools discriminate against foreign residents, their actions may further support views by some South African residents that foreign residents do not or should not have rights to basic services. On the other hand, in cases in which officials serve and protect foreign nationals, as mandated by law, their actions may be considered illegitimate by some South African residents, decreasing trust in those institutions and increasing vigilante actions against foreign residents.

In Laudium, the police go door to door collecting money from foreigners. The foreigner has nowhere to report such abuse. Other people see that foreigners have nowhere to report such violations they see the police committing, and so they go and rob foreigners, acting on the cue from the police. (Laudium resident, ACMS Social Cohesion Roundtable, May 2011, translated from Zulu)

How can this weakness be addressed?

Police arrest those who threaten to and/or commit violence against foreign nationals on the charge of intimidation, and the courts prosecute them. Municipal inspectors monitor by-law compliance of all local businesses, irrespective of the nationality of their owners, and are perceived to conduct their monitoring impartially. Ward councillors and/or CPFs and/or traditional leadership structures and/or political party structures aim to resolve local tensions peacefully and are considered accessible and legitimate arbiters by all groups in the area. External interventions support and monitor the inclusivity of such state and local institutions.

Civic Engagement and Participation

Non-nationals, especially Somali shop owners, are widely identified as reluctant to participate in local activities. There is disagreement between South African and foreign residents about the meaning of this lack of participation. South African leaders and residents interpret it as a sign of lacking the will to integrate. Foreign residents note that their lack of participation is due to structural exclusion (use of only indigenous languages, mobilisation around services such as housing for which foreigners do not qualify, etc.), logistics (the need to work during the day), and fear (threatening statements at meetings, the danger of arrest during public protests, experiences of repression by government in their home countries, etc.).

I did not dare attend a local meeting that had been called to discuss xenophobia because I was afraid of being beaten at that meeting, that the xenophobia might start on me. (Foreign-born Atteridgeville resident, Focus Group Discussion, 2011, translated from Shona)

How can this weakness be addressed?

Foreign residents are integrated into structures such as community policing forums, ward committees, etc.

Positive Social Relationships

Social networks among foreigners are largely invisible to South Africans and South African leaders. Regular interactions that exist between foreign nationals and South Africans are often business transactions, such as tenant/landlord or shopkeeper/customer relationships, and do not necessarily result in a broader sense of inclusion. Typically, there are few spaces for dialogue and debate involving both foreign and South African residents, which limits the opportunity of developing an awareness of shared challenges and solidarity with other members in the community. Often, the only spaces commonly identified as shared by South Africans and foreigners alike are certain churches; however, even here, opportunities for building genuine positive relationships can be limited.

How can this weakness be addressed?

South African and foreign residents of an area share activities in street committees, churches, stokvels, cultural or sports activities, etc., resulting in sufficient mutual knowledge and respect so that all residents resist generalised stereotyping and mobilising against the basic rights of one group.

We have people who live in communities adjacent to each other, but don't engage otherwise. They're acting on a level that's quite purposeful and meaningful in these workshops. People are encouraged to share their stories. In some of the conversations I've been a part of, they're saying I come from a white community, I don't have any insight to the colored community. They say they realize how many similarities there are. That is a huge advantage to breaking down preconceived ideas about how other people do things. It goes towards building bridges and connections. (Symphonia, July 2012)

Fair Life Chances

Foreigners are often discriminated against or denied services that they are entitled to by local service providers as well as the police.

How can this weakness be addressed?

All residents of an area have equal access to basic services such as clinics, schools, and police protection. All residents of an area are served equally by mandated representatives of the area, including ward councillors, ward committees, CPFs, etc.

INCLUSION AND TOLERANCE OF DIFFERENCE

All groups are recognised and treated as part of a community regardless of their differences (such as their nationality, origin, ethnicity, culture, disability, political or sexual orientation, or language).



EFFECTIVE AND LEGITIMATE INSTITUTIONS

Community-based (formal and informal) institutions value non-violent conflict resolution and ensure that they are accessible to and considered legitimate by all groups within a community.

State institutions serve clear public agenda and ensure that they are accessible to and considered legitimate by all groups within a community.

PRACTICE OF NON-VIOLENCE

All groups positively value and practice non-violent coexistence and the resolving of conflict in a peaceful way through inclusive, open dialogue and debate.

POSITIVE RELATIONSHIPS

Different groups within a community have sufficient regular interactions to build mutual trust and understanding of shared challenges.

Social networks across groups are sufficiently common and strong to prevent in-groups from mobilising against the legislated rights of out-groups.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND PARTICIPATION

A common culture of civic engagement facilitates the development of ties and norms across groups in a manner that promotes a sense of civic unity and the inclusion of all groups.

All groups within a community may link with and participate in decision-making forums and the exercise of power (apart from legislated exceptions such as the exclusion of non-citizens from the right to vote).

FAIR LIFE CHANCES

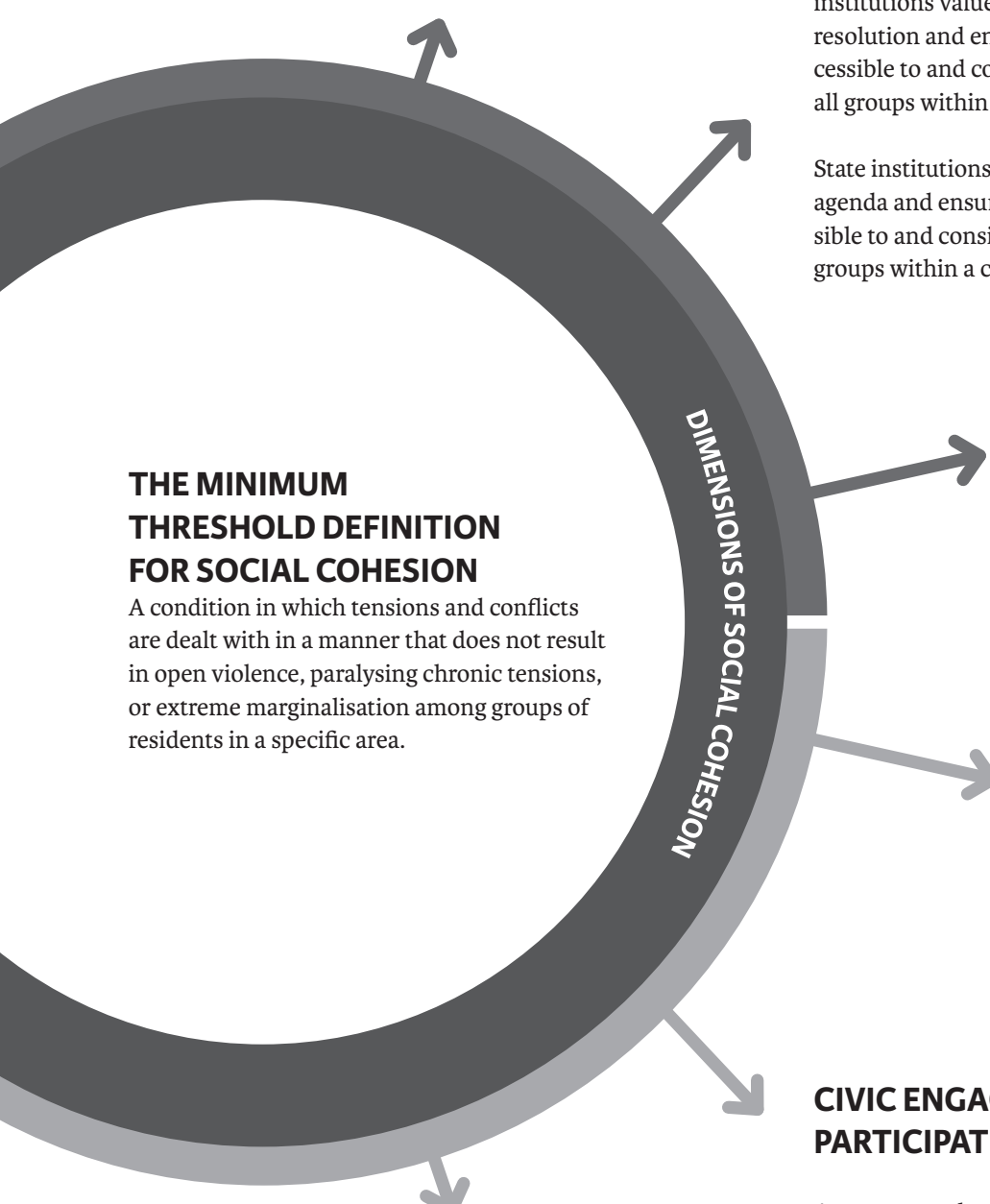
All groups receive equivalent treatment by government institutions as constitutionally mandated (apart from legislated exceptions such as the ineligibility of some categories of non-citizens for government housing or social grants).

All groups within a community have a fair chance of making a decent living through employment or self-employment based on their skills and abilities.

THE MINIMUM THRESHOLD DEFINITION FOR SOCIAL COHESION

A condition in which tensions and conflicts are dealt with in a manner that does not result in open violence, paralysing chronic tensions, or extreme marginalisation among groups of residents in a specific area.

DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL COHESION



Breaking social cohesion down into different dimensions is valuable for multiple reasons:

- It illustrates that social cohesion is complex and unlikely to be ‘created’ or ‘strengthened’ with only one kind of intervention.
- Every community has its specific cohesion challenges, with greater weaknesses in some dimensions than others (see next section on context). Interventions should be appropriate to the dimension/s of social cohesion which is/are most important in a specific local context. For example, if tensions arise over the allocation of public housing in a community with a long history of integrated migrant mine workers, an intervention around legitimate institutions would be more appropriate than one focussed on building social capital.
- Institutions have different mandates and capacities so some are more oriented towards addressing certain dimensions of social cohesion than others. A religious organisation may focus on promoting the practice of non-violence and positive social relationships, and a government institution may be able to focus on legitimate institutions, fair life, chances and civic participation. While such institutional preferences and comparative advantages are inevitable, an awareness of multiple dimensions of social cohesion can make institutions look beyond their own biases towards partnerships with institutions that can address complementary dimensions.

A single activity may reflect several different indicators. The involvement of foreign businesspersons in a local business forum, for example, can be an example of inclusion, effective and legitimate institutions (if the business forum is considered a legitimate and binding arbiter of business-related disputes in the area), positive social relationships (through regular social as well as professional interactions), and civic engagement and participation (through joint decision-making on issues of community concern).

Having discussed the concept of social cohesion and its indicators in the context of urban South Africa, we now turn to an exploration of the contexts and approaches to social cohesion interventions documented in this study.

INTERVENTIONS: CONTEXTS AND APPROACHES

Every intervention to promote social cohesion occurs within multi-layered contexts that must be considered in order to determine:

- The nature of the problem to be solved (identifying the problem);
- The type of intervention that will address the identified problem (doing the right things);
- The process required to ensure the intervention will be effective in the context (doing things right).

In the following four sections we examine the contexts within which the social cohesion interventions studied here were/are carried out. We discuss the implications of conflict, social, spatial, and institutional contexts for achieving social cohesion in a community and for the interventions undertaken to strengthen it.

1. **Conflict context.** The interventions examined here were implemented as a response to ‘xenophobic’ or other forms of ‘anti-outsider’ violence, whether before, during, or after May 2008, in which South Africans attacked non-nationals and other outsiders and/or their property. However, the problem underlying xenophobic and other forms of anti-outsider violence is not the same in all places or at all times. Organisations seeking to prevent conflict need to understand these variations not only to respond appropriately to the current conflict but also to address the root causes of area-specific social tensions in a more sustainable manner.
2. **Social context.** Residents of an area are often divided into different identity groups, whether by nationality, language, political affiliation, length of stay in the area, religion, or other social attributes. This context is relevant to decisions about whom to recruit as point-persons or participants, the manner in which to recruit these people, and possible strategies to address tensions that might otherwise undermine the intervention.
3. **Spatial context.** Residential areas, whether large or small, are often fragmented, with different groups of residents living in different sections or frequenting different institutions and meeting places. This context is relevant to decisions about the space/s in which an intervention takes place and the manner in which appropriate participation is promoted.

4. ***Institutional context.*** The findings of this study show that the characteristics of specific types of institutions – such as size, mandate, or history – can impact on interventions in various ways. The institutional context is important to assess both for effective networking and coordination as well as to improve the scope and effectiveness of social cohesion interventions.

In the fifth and final section of this report, we present the types of interventions used by institutions in this study and their respective key challenges.

Identifying the nature and triggers of conflict

The problem underlying xenophobic and other forms of anti-outsider violence is not the same in all places and at all times. Instead, there are important variations across sites in the triggers, targets, and nature of this type of violence. For example, a certain group might be targeted because other residents believe this group is responsible for crime. In other instances, conflict might erupt between local and foreign business owners. Organisations seeking to prevent conflict need to understand these variations not only to respond appropriately to the current conflict but also to address the root causes of area-specific social tensions in a more sustainable manner. To help organisations identify the specific problems in their own context of operation, the following section presents the findings of the diverse types of triggers and forms of violence documented in this study.

After the 2008 violence against foreign nationals and other outsiders in 2008, the term “xenophobic violence” became a popular catch phrase in media, state, academic, and advocacy debates in South Africa. The term is often used to encompass any violent incident in which one or more foreign nationals are victims as if the nature of the problem underlying such violence is the same in all places and at all times. However, in keeping with prior ACMS research, this study shows that there are important variations across sites of “xenophobic violence” – variations in the triggers, targets, and nature of violence. For organisations seeking to strengthen social cohesion to prevent future violence, it is critical to understand these variations so that they can design interventions that appropriately address area-specific problems. This section of the report presents the findings of the diverse types of triggers and forms of violence documented in this study.

As the examples from our case study areas show, many different factors trigger violence that targets foreign nationals or other outsiders and takes many different forms:

Diverse Triggers and Forms of Violence

Service delivery protest and opportunistic looting

In 2009 in Atteridgeville, some individuals detached from a group of protesters who were marching about service delivery. They took advantage of the generalised unrest to loot shops owned by foreign nationals.

Perceptions of a lack of participation in the community

In 2012 in Freedom Park (NW), striking South African mineworkers looted foreign-owned shops because they felt that foreign business owners did not show solidarity with the community by not 'supporting' the striker with donated food and drinks.

Perceptions of crime and vigilante violence

In 2010 in Khutsong, a foreigner was shot dead in the informal part of the settlement because he was said to be stealing electricity cables from the residents of the formal section, disrupting their power supply.

In Diepsloot in 2011, a foreign national was bludgeoned to death after a group of South African residents accused him and all other residents of his specific national origin of committing crimes in the community.

Perceptions of unfair business practices and competition

In Siyathemba, South African residents who felt that foreigners were putting locals out of business looted foreign-owned shops, accusing foreign businesses of failure to comply with local by-laws and tax registration requirements.

Dispute between individuals and collective punishment

In 2005 in Olievenhoutbosch, wide-scale violence against foreigners started as a dispute between two individuals that escalated into a conflict between two groups, one mobilised around a South African ethnic group and the other around a group of non-South Africans.

Distrust of official housing allocation systems

In Orange Farm, South African residents began shouting abusive language ('Phuma kwerekwere!' – 'Get out, kwerekwere') at foreign residents after rumours spread that foreigners were being illegally allocated houses in one of the residential extensions.

Sometimes, violence erupts due to multiple simultaneous triggers.

Violence often begins with an issue or event that is unrelated to citizenship or national identity, such as service delivery protests, perceptions about housing allocation, fights between individuals, and mob justice after (alleged) individual criminal acts. Almost all of these triggers are symptoms of broader weaknesses in one or several dimensions of social cohesion:

- Vigilante violence and violence relating to housing allocations are symptoms of a lack of trust in local government and the institutions of justice? Claims that attacks on foreign residents were meant to attract government attention for service delivery reflect South Africans' feelings of being excluded from peaceful forms of political participation through which to communicate with government.
- The escalation of individual disputes into group conflict reflects a lack of legitimate or effective local institutions that can mediate between people and groups.
- Violence against foreign shopkeepers and their shops due to the perception that foreigners feel no sense of solidarity with the community shows a lack of a common sense of inclusion and absence of positive relationships amongst all residents in an area.

The fact that foreigners are disproportionately targeted these violent situations, even when tensions start as something else, does not in all cases indicate hatred or fear of foreigners. Rather, it illustrates that foreigners and other outsiders are easy targets of violence by virtue of being excluded from the broader civic identity of the locality in which they live, which means that residents are less likely to protect them and that the institutions that should function to prevent or mitigate recourse to violence are not managing to do so.

Lessons learned

- Before designing an intervention in a particular locality, research the history of conflict and violence. Identify which dimensions of social cohesion are weak, indicated by the triggers and type of violence.
- Design the intervention to address the broader social cohesion weakness rather than only the specific trigger event.

Key questions to ask about conflict triggers and contexts

- What triggered the conflict in this specific location?
- Which individuals and groups were directly involved in the conflict? And which indirectly?
- What broader social cohesion weakness does this trigger reflect (i.e., which social cohesion dimension is weak)?

Understanding social divisions in an area

Residents of communities typically group themselves according to a variety of 'identities' such as nationality, ethnicity, 'bona fide' resident status, political affiliations, socio-economic status and livelihood earning practices. While different identity groups often co-exist without social tension between them, such divisions frequently translate into varying

degrees of mutual mistrust, negative social relationships, and conflict. Importantly, the fault lines in a community do not always run only between ‘foreigners’ and ‘citizens,’ but within these groups as well. Importantly, divisions are simultaneously an indicator of a lack of community cohesion and a challenge to implementing an effective social cohesion intervention (due to the difficulty of getting different identity groups to participate in an intervention). For organisations planning to alleviate (potentially) conflictual social divisions, it is important to know exactly what kinds of social divisions exist in a particular area, between whom the fault lines run, and how they manifest. The following section provides a brief overview of the varying types of divisions this research encountered and their relevance for planning and conducting social cohesion interventions.

If a targeting strategy does not consciously address social divisions within an area, an intervention is unlikely to reach everyone involved, especially not invisible outsiders who might avoid involvement in public events. Before addressing the types of social divisions we encountered in our case study areas in more detail, we briefly outline some of the most common challenges encountered by institutions interviewed in this study with regard to appropriate targeting:

- People from the sub-sections of a township most affected by violence or the most affected population groups are often not included in interventions because they are not appropriately recruited or because they are consciously excluded by local organisers.
- Interventions often do not target the appropriate groups or individuals needed to address the original conflict or cohesion deficit. For example, dialogue interventions aiming to improve communication between South Africans and foreign nationals may include virtually no foreign nationals or only South Africans who already believe in positive co-existence.
- Interventions sometimes focus more on *how* to obtain the *highest* or broadest community-wide participation rather than on who *the most relevant* participants might be.
- Some larger organisations also tend to suffer from an ‘institutional convenience syndrome,’ targeting individuals and groups based on their previous work rather than on the specific needs of the conflict or location at hand.
- Some organisations expressed the frustration that they were often ‘preaching to the converted.’ However, interventions that mainly target people who already agree that violence is not desirable can be highly effective if the intervention mobilises these people to actively work against violence and discrimination rather than being passive by-standers.

Inappropriate Targeting

An international organisation and a local government unit collaborated to hold a ‘community dialogue’ on xenophobia in Alexandra in 2011. Local officials, local NGOs, and external non-Alexandra-based organisations were invited. Only two of the locally based institutions attended, and the resultant dialogue occurred mainly among representatives of non-Alexandra institutions with very limited participation and input from Alexandra residents or institutions.

A local government institution had over 900 participants at a community workshop, which was deemed a success by monitoring standards. However, the people that attended were almost all South African, and foreigners did not feel comfortable speaking.

When you think you’ve hit the nail on the head, you get a disappointment. The Human Rights Commission did a human rights workshop. There was a poor turnout That’s where we reach a stumbling block. The people we need are not attending these workshops. (Migrant Help Desk, October 2010)

Lessons learned

- Take a ‘key people’ and ‘more people’ approach to participation. Key people are usually community leaders, and they tend to present social cohesion optimistically—sometimes because they realise that this is considered ‘good’ by external institutions. Key people may adopt a pro-foreigner approach due to exposure to training on migration and rights or because that stance has political and/or financial rewards; therefore, their attitudes are not necessarily representative of the broader community. Relying too heavily on key people can mislead organisations with regard to the nature of the social cohesion problem and the extent of local mobilization against intolerance. Involving a broader range of people will allow key individuals’ claims to be assessed against the view of the average person, allowing better problem and solution identification.
- Acknowledge that local contacts may deliberately or inadvertently sideline certain groups due to fear; distrust the assumption that they will refuse to participate or that local contexts lack knowledge of and contact with those groups.
- Conduct preliminary research into the identity and political divisions of an area, then decide which groups in the community need to be targeted specifically and how.

Types of social divisions

Divisions based on nationality

Even when there is no open conflict between South Africans and residents of other nationalities, non-South Africans often remain ‘outsiders’ in an area. In many communities,

hostilities towards foreign migrants are pervasive, typically based on the assumption that foreigners take away jobs, opportunities, businesses, security, and space from more deserving South African citizens.

The treatment of Mozambican and Zimbabwean thieves is different from the way South African criminals are treated. If someone screams that this person is stealing from me people respond but if the screamer specifically says ‘this Mozambican is stealing from me’ then the community comes in and does not verify if this is true or not but will just attack the person accused. South Africans also commit crimes but are not treated in the same way. (ANCYL, February 2012)

The sentiments of people, not only in Diepsloot, are that they still have hatred for the foreigners. (CPF, August 2011)

However, it is important to consider that there are important differences within and among foreign national groups as well as variations in how they may be perceived by South Africans: differences between regional neighbours who speak local languages and people from further away; differences between those who have lived in South Africa for many years and recent arrivals; differences between those with legal immigration status and those without; differences between those who have intermarried with South Africans and those who remain in relatively isolated national groups. Levels of integration or exclusion vary based on these differences and on personal choices. It is also important to not assume that all members of a particular nationality consider themselves and act as part of a collective or community (as ‘the Somalis’ or ‘the Bangladeshi’) or have the same interests. In Diepsloot and elsewhere, for example, established traders from a particular country of origin are trying to prevent newly arrived foreign nationals (including those from the same country of origin) from opening businesses in the area.

I am not ashamed to say that we want the foreign business people to go. When I say foreign I mean Somali and Pakistani and not Mozambicans, Malawians, or Zimbabweans. Those are part of the Freedom Park community because they can become citizens of South Africa after residing in the country for eight years. The Somali cannot become citizens of South Africa, and I also don’t want them to because I don’t hate them but I hate the way they operate. The Somali are pirates and also did not come into Freedom Park the right way; they should have stated their intention of opening shops. (Local Business Forum, September 2011)

Finally – and this point is particularly important for external institutions – when it comes finding out about the most salient social divisions in an area, one must keep in mind that the individuals or groups one speaks to often have their own interpretations (or even potential biases) when it comes to portraying sources of conflict and the state of an area’s inter-group relations. A number of respondents in this study, for example, categorised all attacks on foreign shops as merely ‘criminal’ behaviour while considering the extent of xenophobia in their area as small or non-existent. In other communities, residents felt that

they would be disadvantaged when people heard about where they lived and that they thus needed to counter the ‘bad reputation’ of their area, which might lead them to ‘downplay’ the extent of any tensions and conflicts in their area.

The youth would be called for interviews and everything would be in order until potential employers found that the person is from Ramaphosa and they would then not give them the job. [They would see] people of Ramaphosa as killers, rioters and people who are uncontrollable. (Concerned Residents Task Team, August 2011)

Lessons learned

- In advance of an intervention, map the places where non-South Africans can be found and recruit and disseminate information at these places. Non-nationals often work in local businesses or attend specific local churches, and their social networks might be more accessible through these entry points than through local South African leaders.
- Communicate a participation incentive that will appeal to non-nationals. Non-South Africans have a number of disincentives for participation in local initiatives. Greater efforts are therefore required to draw them into an intervention.
- Ensure that your sources of information on divisions within and among national groups are as accurate and un-biased as possible.

Divisions based on ethnicity

Due to the apartheid history of the case study areas, ethnic divisions often remain relevant to everyday life to a greater or lesser extent when it comes to social and economic interactions as well as the possibility of tension and conflict. In most of the case sites for this study, spatial aspects (for example, divisions between groups living in formal and informal areas) were more important than ethnicity, although the two were often linked.

Conflict between Members of Ethnic Groups

In Freedom Park (NW) in the late 1990s, a dispute between two individuals of two different South African ethnic groups over a refund for an expired milk carton resulted in the mass mobilisation of resident groups along ethnic lines and deaths on both sides.

Divisions based on ‘bona fide’ resident status

In most case study sites, there were particular groups considered to be authentic (‘bona fide’) residents of the area and others who were seen as relative outsiders, usually by virtue of being more recent arrivals in the area. South African citizens who are recent arrivals in the city or in a particular settlement are often considered outsiders by residents who have lived there longer. In some cases, the authenticity of one’s claim to a local space depends on

the place from which one migrated; in Orange Farm, for example, those who are originally from Soweto are seen as having higher status than others. Because informal settlements are largely a product of in-migration, shack dwellers often fall outside the boundaries of the 'authentic community,' and their outsidership is sometimes used to justify their marginalisation by leadership structures such as ward councillors.

Bona Fides, they're saying, they want to occupy the house, they believe they're locals; they're born and bred there. And they want to do what they want. (SAHRC, July 2012)

'Bona Fide' and 'Outsider' Residents

In Atteridgeville, there are social and political tensions between people who are originally from Atteridgeville and those who are from Limpopo. The Atteridgeville Concerned Residents Association has a leader who often says that 'we cannot be ruled by people from other provinces.' The ANC Youth League Zonal Chair noted that Atteridgeville had questioned his ability to lead because he only arrived in the area from Limpopo in 1999.

Lessons learned

Design interventions to recruit participants within and outside of bona fide social groups. It is often the non-bona fide populations who participated in and suffered from the attacks of 2008. If local contacts tasked with recruiting or disseminating information to participants disregard people whom they do not see as bona fide, the most important populations to reach will be excluded from the intervention.

Divisions based on varying levels of community participation

If a particular group of residents is (or is not seen) as participating in community events such as meetings or mobilisations around services, those residents may be seen as illegitimate outsiders by leaders and by participating residents. In Siyathemba, a number of interviewees spoke about the refusal of foreign shop owners to donate money or goods to the community for funerals or sports events. This criterion for exclusion is often leveled against foreign nationals but is also directed at some South African ethnic groups such as those residing in shack areas. Differences of participation by different sub-areas or groups may also be due to leadership styles or divisions, as noted above, which mean that constituencies do not take part in collective events.

Divisions based on political affiliations and leadership practices

Politics is another important line of division that can have an effect on social cohesion and related interventions. Under 'politics' we include not only formal political party affiliations but also other leadership structures and the relationships between leaders and their

constituencies. Political divisions often keep in-groups⁵ and their leadership separate from out-groups and function to spread distrust and misinformation, which drives these groups further apart and further into conflict with one another. These divisions present organisations planning social cohesion interventions with many challenges: distinguishing between leaders' self-presentation as legitimate community representatives and other portrayals of them as self-appointed and self-interested actors; potentially undermining the process' reach and sustainability by only including one or two of the leaders versus having to manage the relationships between the leaders if including them all.

Political Affiliations and Informal Leadership Practices

In Atteridgeville, there are several overlapping and competing leadership systems. This competition can be violent; one of the ward councillors in Atteridgeville has had her shack torn down and her possessions destroyed three times in recent years. She feels that her opponents aim to have her killed. In addition to the councillor, there are two 'offices' (established as civic organisations under the direction of self-appointed leaders), which have taken on the provision of certain 'services' to residents, including the (illegal) allocation/selling of land for building shacks and the mediation of conflicts for a fee. While the three 'leaders' do not trust each other and are sometimes in open conflict with each other, the councillor and other official structures such as the CPF acknowledge the influence of the 'offices' over residents of their respective areas. According to the CPF chairperson (interviewed in 2008), "They are influential in the community; you need to get a buy-in from them. You can't do anything in the community without involving the leaders. The problem is that they are parallel structures operating parallel to the government. They are like a government on their own" (Misago et al. 2009, 131). One of these self-appointed leaders also played a key role in inciting violence against foreigners in May 2008.

Political entrepreneurs sometimes deliberately capitalise on distrustful climates to sow suspicion and build their own support base. There were several examples in our case study areas in which local leaders either acted to incite or to prevent violence against members of other groups based on personal political interest rather than on a principled stance for rule of law or tolerance. Local leaders or institutions (whether formal or informal) can often make political or economic gains from violence, for instance, by garnering support for local government elections or offering subsequent protection to foreigners at a cost. Others find it more advantageous to oppose violence, fearing the disrepute or political disadvantage that would result from an association with 'xenophobic' acts. Institutions planning social cohesion interventions should therefore not assume that local leaders share the same vision of a cohesive community, even if they speak publically against violence.

⁵ The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology defines '[a]n in-group as "a social unit an individual belongs to, interacts with, and shares a sense of 'we-ness' with. An out-group, on the other hand, is a social unit or group of people that an individual neither belongs to nor identifies with.'

Exploiting the Vulnerability of Foreigners

In Itireleng, an international organisation started a project of small grants to bring South African and foreign business people together in joint developmental activities. A local organisation, including self-appointed local 'community leaders,' applied for funding from the organisation to provide a security service to foreign businesses. When the funding was not immediately forthcoming, the group made it clear that their 'protection' could just as easily be withdrawn, implying violent consequences for foreign businesses.

For institutions conducting social cohesion interventions in such contexts, the challenge is whether or not and how to interact with or include informal leadership structures that are known to have discriminatory or violent agendas or have incited violence in the past. In our case study areas, such individuals or institutions were sometimes actively excluded from interventions such as dialogues or mass meetings so that they would not be given the opportunity to hijack the proceedings. In other kinds of interventions, such as community policing initiatives, they were actively included so that they would have to take responsibility for the interventions' outcomes and so that they could be monitored by other local actors, including the police.

Political divisions are also important to understand when selecting local residents or local internal institutions with whom to partner. External institutions often discuss working with 'locals' as if all local residents represent and can mobilise 'the community.' However, having a residence or institutional presence in a particular space says little about one's local knowledge, networks, legitimacy, and power, which are crucial issues in selecting appropriate local partners.

Several organisations interviewed for this study underestimated the complexity of mobilising a representative range of 'locals' in a large and divided community, which led to weak or biased turnouts at interventions. Similarly, it is important not to oversimplify the legitimacy of any local internal intuition or take it for granted. Local institutions may exaggerate their own legitimacy and local knowledge, believing themselves to be the only legitimate representatives of the entire community and dismissing those they do not represent as illegitimate (not bona fide) residents of the area or not considering them in the first place. For example, while local institutions may be aware of the presence of foreign nationals in their areas, they often do not think of them when considering the 'all' they purport to represent. When interacting with external institutions, internal institutions may contribute to this tendency by claiming to represent all residents of an area (sometimes because of the limited way in which they themselves conceive of their constituencies) or underplaying local divisions.

Given the cynicism and frustration that often prevails with regard to official institutions, some communities see local, non-state, 'informal' leadership structures as the primary

point of reference for conflict resolution (such as cases in Alexandra, Atteridgeville, and Olievenhoutbosch in this study). Leadership structures of an official nature (such as ward councillors or other local government officials) often merely exist ‘on paper’ and have little legitimacy and trust within certain areas or among certain groups within a community. In Alexandra for example, there are areas such as the RCA that lie within the boundaries of a ward but where the ward councillor has little authority. Reaching the residents of this conflict-affected area requires engaging with leadership structures that are not present ‘on paper’ as part of local government.

Finally, leadership structures may also have specific expectations regarding how they are approached to participate in interventions. This may especially be the case for traditional leaders. Approaching leaders too late, in the wrong order, or in a culturally and politically inappropriate manner may result in their refusal to participate or their obstruction of the process, which would exclude their constituencies from the intervention as well. Variation in the range of institutions that are considered legitimate across different localities impacts whom should be selected as local partners for social cohesion interventions.

The first step is issues of hierarchy. There are issues of formal and informal authority that need to be negotiated. You fail if you [only] go through the ward councilor because they have no power. The complexity of informal/formal power structures is significant. They’re competing for access to services, local leadership. We had to mobilise within this. In traditionally settled communities this was easier, but in unstructured communities, there is a vacuum of power. (Nelson Mandela Foundation, October 2010)

Taking for granted or Oversimplifying ‘Local’ Legitimacy

There are two unofficial ‘local offices’ in Jeffsville, an informal settlement in Atteridgeville, one of which is seen as promoting social cohesion while the second is accused of organising a 2009 march which led to the looting of foreign shops. After the violent incident, several external institutions partnered with the first office during an intervention to promote social cohesion. Soon after that collective effort, another external institution came into the area and ‘continued’ the efforts with the second office, giving them money and goods to use to assist the victims of the violence. This action was most likely taken because the external institution did not realise the reputations of the two offices with regard to violent mobilisation against foreigners are different.

A local government institution tried to hold a cultural event in Alexandra on short notice. Despite the institution’s attempts to engage with local leaders and publicise the event, very few people came. The organiser was a resident of Alexandra but was not ‘local’ enough in this context; the organiser could not mobilise effectively due to the fractured nature of the community and competing power structures.

Lessons learned

- Consider the risks of being seen to give special attention or encouragement to certain groups over others. Be sensitive to the effect that the choice of local partners might have on existing political tensions. There may be tensions between ward councillor and ward committee or between members of a political party, which could be inflamed if certain individuals are chosen over others as participants.
- Ensure your choice of local contacts, stakeholders, or participants does not appear to favour a particular political in-group.
- Be aware of how your intervention might be used as a resource for the consolidation of political power or economic advantage. Bringing new resources into an area may create competition for these benefits, including the manufacture of new threats to create a market for negotiators, security patrols, and others.
- Be aware that individual political agendas might interfere with the credibility and success of the intervention. Petty politicking within a locality can undermine an intervention if the intervention is associated with a particular leadership or population group.
- Be sensitive to sub-group leadership protocols and expectations. The value of leadership protocols and expectations may not be immediately apparent, especially when the groups in question do not appear to have a clear stake in the intervention or are seen as illegitimate. Nevertheless, accommodating sub-group leadership demands can be in the best interest of an intervention. In some areas, informal authorities have been given a central role in peace-building activities in part to obtain buy-in and in part to render them accountable for the outcomes. On the other hand, including leaders who incited or organised violence can increase distrust in the intervention by affected residents.

Divisions/differences of housing, income, and livelihood-earning

Access to time and money differs in a community, resulting in differential abilities to take part in interventions.

- Those without access to an income may not be able to afford transport to an intervention.
- Those who are employed will not be available to attend an intervention on a work day.
- South Africans who are unemployed but receiving government support will find it easier to attend an intervention than non-nationals who do not have access to government grants and are entirely dependent on hawking in order to survive each day.

There might also be social divisions and distrust between people living in informal and formal sections of a settlement.

Those in the formal settlement have an assumption that those in the informal settlement are poor, they are criminals. And those in the informal settlement regard themselves as the only beneficiaries of the housing programme so they used to say we can't build houses for those in the formal settlement. Those are our houses. (Ward Councillor, September 2010)

Lessons learned

Be aware of who will be unable to participate in an intervention due to their income or livelihood. Plan the venue, date, and time to accommodate the work schedules and budgets of those participants who will be key to achieving the objective/s of the intervention.

Key questions to ask about social divisions

- How is the target population divided into social/political groups? How are these groups led, and what are the relationships between these groups? Are your sources of information on group divisions neutral or might they have their own agendas in portraying community divisions?
- Which sub-groups in a population does the intervention aim to target specifically?
- Do organisers and partners have access to the target groups in order to effectively disseminate information and recruit participants?
- How is the participant recruitment strategy adapted to reach foreign nationals and other 'outsider' groups?
- Are there political tensions in the area that could be worsened by the intervention (partner choices, resource allocation, provision of mobilising platforms, etc.)?
- What are the appropriate protocols and processes for approaching sub-group leaders?
- Are the venue and timing of the intervention appropriate to enable the target population groups to participate?

Mapping spatial divisions in an area

Most townships and informal settlements have a host of spatial divisions, many of which may not always be immediately obvious or 'visible.' For an organisation planning a social cohesion intervention, spatial divisions are particularly important when it comes to choosing inclusive venues accessible to all targeted groups and to determining the geographic reach of conflict and intervention. The following section documents the types of spatial divisions encountered in this study.

Both ‘external’ and ‘internal’ interventions generally claim to reach all members of a community. However, recruitment of stakeholders for interventions targeting ‘everybody’ are likely to only reach some sub-groups unless the spatial lines of division (and often, associated cultural and political lines) are consciously addressed. In our case study areas, we found that space was divided along various lines, for example, into sub-areas relating to groups with different economic status, housing type, ethnicity, nationality, or political affiliation. In some cases, these different groups had little contact or were even in conflict with each other. Sub-areas may also have entirely different experiences of conflict and violence as well as different governance structures (whether formal or informal). Importantly, the ways in which space was divided were different in each of our case studies, demonstrating the importance of understanding local particularities.

Many interventions fail to establish in advance the boundaries of the community that they are targeting, or the interventions claim to target an entire neighbourhood, township, or settlement. However, formally defined residential areas often have social and spatial divisions that may not be immediately obvious, which affects the reach and the impact of interventions. In addition, interventions are often located in convenient parts of a community rather than in the area most affected by conflict (which is often an informal settlement with little infrastructure). If the affected sub-community is not defined in advance and strategically targeted, interventions can end up bypassing the most affected residents. Finally, external institutions often overestimate the power of their local contacts to disseminate information across spatial boundaries. Councillors or other local leaders may choose not to disseminate information to certain areas due to political or social differences, or they may be denied access to such areas.

When external interventions accept the official spatial boundaries without question in the design of interventions, they may miss important constituencies or misunderstand conflict dynamics. For instance, interventions may be designed to focus on city regions or wards even when the trajectory of a conflict cuts across such demarcations. On the other hand, internal institutions and actors such as ward councillors, CPFs, or SAPS officers may also be bound to formal boundary and mandate demarcations, even when these do not reflect how residents of an area actually function or how a conflict has developed. External interventions may try to access communities through local government structures such as councillors and ward committees, unaware of local dynamics that may limit the reach and impact of these actors.

When it comes to choosing a venue for an intervention, organisations need to be aware that some venues/sub-areas might have an ethnically, politically, or otherwise **exclusive identity** that may make them unsuited to being used as a shared space for dialogue across social divisions. Their association with a particular in-group may alienate members of other groups, either by making the intervention appear biased or simply by intimidating out-group members and thus preventing them from attending. This is sometimes the case for

venues that are supposed to serve the entire community, such as community centres or places where group affiliation is not immediately apparent, such as a school. Furthermore, poverty and physical distance can interact to exclude certain stakeholders from participating in interventions when the venue is so far away that transport costs are too high.

The RCA area in Alex is taken as an island; it is not considered a part of Alexandra... . People in hostels and those who are not do not really mix. The RCA is mostly inhabited by Zulus, and since the 90s there has also been a political division and association of language with party there... when problems happen in Alexandra, people from the different groups do not mix. If one calls a meeting... either they will get people from the hostels, and no one from outside the hostels, or they will get people who are not from the hostel and no one from the hostel.” (Alexandra Resident ACMS Social Cohesion Roundtable, May 2011, translated from Zulu)

Exclusive Spaces

A foreign resident of the RCA area in Alexandra reported that he has never attended a community meeting because these are held at the Madala hostel and he is afraid of fighting or of people badmouthing foreigners at the meeting. He claimed that both foreigners and ‘people from Limpopo’ do not attend meetings at the hostel.

In Itireleng, a crèche that is often used as a venue for meetings by NGOs is strongly identified as an ANC stronghold by those who oppose the local ANC.

In Atteridgeville, residents of Brazzaville, a violence-affected settlement in the far west of the area, did not participate in dialogue sessions held at the community hall in the formal area of the township because they could not afford the taxi fare to get there.

[For public events like Freedom Day] Why must it be necessary to bus people from Olievenhoutbosch to other places? Why can’t a cow be killed there in Olievenhoutbosch so we can celebrate there behind our shacks... so that everyone can participate? (Olievenhoutbosch resident and local government official, May 2011)

Lessons learned

- Before designing an intervention in a particular locality, map the formal and informal, visible and invisible spatial divisions in the area to understand the variation among possible stakeholders and plan to promote participation and dissemination across social networks. Determine the most relevant scale for the intervention and the area where change would be most beneficial. As informal areas

are more strongly associated with communal violence, it is likely that areas of informal settlement will be most relevant.

- Recruit and disseminate directly through the leaders of spatially distinct areas.
- Use venues that are in walking distance of the targeted groups or provide free transport to the venue.
- Find inclusive and accessible spaces; each area has prospective venues that are inclusive and that act (or could potentially act) as shared ‘bridging’ spaces. Often, however, these are not considered as spaces in which social cohesion interventions may be carried out. Minibus taxis, for instance, are generally a space in which members of every group share space in a non-confrontational manner, making them well suited to communication campaigns. Taxi ranks, shopping malls, clinics, and most schools have a similarly neutral and shared identity.

Key questions to ask about spatial divisions

- What spatial area does the intervention target? Is it defined by formal demarcations (e.g., township, ward, etc.) or by the trajectory of the conflict being addressed? Does the intervention’s target area include the spaces in which the conflict/violence was most severe?
- How is the targeted area spatially divided? Are there sub-areas that differ by housing type (formal/informal), political affiliation, ethnicity, length of existence, etc.?
- Do organisers and partners have access to the target sub-areas in order to effectively disseminate information and recruit participants there?
- What organisations and activities usually use the venue? Does the venue have an exclusive reputation in the area? Do any groups not feel comfortable going there? How far is the venue (in distance and public transport costs) from where the targeted residents live?

Assessing the characteristics of your own and other institutions

Each type of institution has a range of strengths and weaknesses when it comes to undertaking social cohesion work. The characteristics of specific types of institutions can impact on interventions in various ways. Before embarking on a social cohesion intervention, it is important to understand both characteristics of one’s own as well as those of other organisations in one’s focus area and to understand how effective networking and coordination can improve the scope and effectiveness of social cohesion interventions. The following section gives an overview of the different types of institutions encountered in this research and their various characteristics, strengths, and weaknesses.

Internal and external institutions

This study included representatives of two different types of institutions.⁶ There were what we can call **‘external’ organisations, which** work in multiple sites, and/or at an international, national, provincial, or regional level. External organisations tend to either be higher level government institutions such as the City of Johannesburg or donor-funded non-state organisations such as the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) or African Diaspora Forum (ADF). The other type of institution is what we can call **‘internal’ organisations**. These are institutions that are based and operate in a particular local area. Internal organisations include institutions that are politically affiliated (e.g., local branches of political parties, such as an ANC Branch in a particular ward), civic (e.g., a local SANCO branch), governmental (e.g., SAPS at the level of the station), community-based (e.g., a residents’ association), and non-governmental (e.g., a local developmental NGO).

External institutions

Although internal institutions may conduct more work that impacts concretely on social cohesion, the work done by external organisations is more visible because, on the one hand, they are more likely to explicitly frame their interventions in terms of ‘building social cohesion’ or ‘countering xenophobia’ and, on the other hand, these organisations often have established networks and avenues for publicity. Of the larger institutions in this study, almost all organisations became involved in xenophobia-related work and social cohesion as a consequence of the May 2008 attacks on foreign nationals. However, each organisation’s approach to social cohesion is markedly different. Several institutions focus on humanitarian assistance and the prevention of future attacks through police networks, mediation, and rapid response to threats (DMPSP, UNHCR). Others only target their own constituency in their interventions, seeking to address xenophobia within the workplace (COSATU, StreetNet International). Still others have few ongoing relationships with the ‘hot spot’ communities and must grapple with how to gain access and legitimacy in these spaces (IOM, Caritas International, MHD, Afuraka, Scalabrini, Nelson Mandela Foundation, JRS, SAHRC).

External institutions have the advantage of greater financial resources than internal institutions and the institutional structure necessary to carry out more clearly conceptualised, proactive interventions and to retain institutional memory to inform and improve future work. They may also be able to act as ‘linking’ capital for local actors wishing to bring about change but not having the local resources or legitimacy to do so on their own. This is especially the case when external institutions are able to impact on the effectiveness and legitimacy of local institutions (such as ward councillors, police, or party branches) by monitoring or capacitating them.

⁶ See Appendix 2 for a list of all the external and internal institutions consulted in each case study locality.

On the other hand, while large professional development institutions theoretically have the capacity to plan well conceptualised interventions, this study found that, in practice, most institutions simply adapted their existing approaches and methodologies to the new field of social cohesion work without adequately considering the specific thematic and local contexts. Generally speaking, the external institutions interviewed for this study have indirect rather than direct mandates to address social cohesion. Most organisations address other forms of social conflict in their work and felt compelled to ‘do something’ following the May 2008 attacks. For example, organisations that addressed street trading or workers’ mobilisation were affected by xenophobic violence since there are foreigners among traders and workers. Other organisations that were specifically concerned with the rights and welfare of migrants had rarely worked with South African communities, which became necessary in relation to new social cohesion interventions. Therefore, as a result of the new focus on social cohesion, each organisation broadened the scope of its intervention, while still retaining a strong dependence on approaches learned through pre-existing work. Organisations addressed xenophobia similarly to how they previously addressed service delivery issues, training and programming around human trafficking, refugee protection, and HIV/AIDS, using familiar methodologies and networks.

Another more systemic weakness of external institutions is that local populations may view them as uncommitted since their interventions are often short-lived, if not once-off. For example, a major South African external organisation that organised several interventions in the Rustenburg area (including Freedom Park and Nkaneng) in 2006 and 2008 has had no further engagement in these communities since then despite on-going, sporadic mining violence and service delivery protests during which foreign shops are looted.

External institutions that are not governmental or politically aligned and have no pre-existing relationship with residents are sometimes seen as favouring a subset of the population. However, even governmental interventions can be perceived as biased.

‘Privileging’ Foreigners

After intense service delivery protests in 2009 and the subsequent looting of foreign owned shops in Siyathemba, the government deployed a task team at the local level. In collaboration with SAPS and the SACC, the task team organised a ‘reunion event’ at the local stadium to welcome foreign shop owners back into the community under the promise of safety from now on. While some foreign nationals appreciated the gesture, the event had very low attendance by locals as they interpreted the event as evidence that the government ‘privileged’ foreigners over citizens.

This perception of bias interacts with local residents’ ongoing frustrations over the lack of political commitment to addressing local challenges, which creates distrust among parts of the target group for any kind of interventions and thus deters participation. In terms of the

indicators of social cohesion set out above, external institutions that are not seen to ‘belong’ to a community or which do not have their own positive social capital in an area may not be recognised as having a legitimate say over who should be accepted as ‘belonging.’

Internal institutions

The same state, civic, and political institutions were present in all the case study sites because many of them are constitutionally and legally mandated for each ward (ward councillors and committees, Community Development Workers (CDWs), SAPS, CPFs, etc.) or because they are part of institutions with national reach (political party branches, the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), etc.). None of the local institutions interviewed had explicit social cohesion mandates, with the exception of a City of Johannesburg ‘social cohesion’ office in Orange Farm. The other local institutions in this study were selected because they work or have in the past worked indirectly on social cohesion (for example, by promoting inter-group tolerance as part of a broader mandate) or they have the potential to impact on one or more of the indicators of social cohesion. Our findings in this regard echo prior ACMS research into local governance, which indicates that there is little or no direct consideration of social cohesion (i.e., a clear plan of what is required to strengthen the indicators we have identified and improve the ability of a community to manage tensions and conflicts in a non-violence manner) in state or non-state local institutions’ mandates or the implementation of those mandates (Landau and Segatti 2010).

Our study suggests that the absence of direct consideration of social cohesion by internal institutions has several contributing causes:

- Lack of an explicit social cohesion mandate from law or national bodies (although this may be changing, with the Departments of Social Development, Department of Arts and Culture and Cooperative Governance introducing social cohesion into their mandates);
- The predominance of reactive rather than proactive conflict-response activities (activities are generally carried out as an urgent response – for instance, mass meetings called during or in the wake of communal violence – tend to be conducted in an ad-hoc manner with limited deliberate reflection or design, and are often constrained by an agitated social climate and imminent danger);
- Lack of capacity to design and resource pro-active and preventative interventions; and
- Poor record-keeping on interventions/activities and resultant loss of institutional memory.

Although these actions are usually ad hoc and seldom recorded or publicised unless in collaboration with an external institution, internal institutions do a considerable amount of

work that contributes to building social cohesion.. For example, in almost all the sites for this study, the same range of local actors (the ANC – and IFP in Alexandra’s RCA area – SANCO, other alliance structures, SAPS, and the local CPF) came together to hold mass meetings in the wake of xenophobic violence or threats in 2008 and 2010. By conveying an Africanist message, referring to non-nationals as ‘African brothers and sisters,’ and by citing the hospitality neighbouring countries showed to exiles during the apartheid era, the focus of these interventions was on building the indicators of positive social capital and a common vision.

Like external institutions, internal institutions have strengths and weaknesses. On the positive side, internal institutions have area-specific knowledge, are often well known by residents of an area, and may have social capital and history that gives them legitimacy in the eyes of the local population. However, internal institutions may be part of what creates social cohesion challenges in an area by being exclusive to particular groups of residents, by being perceived as ineffective or illegitimate, by actively limiting popular civic engagement and participation through gatekeeping, or by actively inciting discrimination and violence. In addition to institutional policies and practices, individuals within institutions can be motivated by political and personal agendas which can undermine social cohesion and interfere with social cohesion interventions.

Understanding the official and unofficial links between institutions

There are often bridging lines between external and internal organisations. It is important to understand these connections as they determine the potential impact that an organisation or individual leader may have if selected as a local partner publicising and supporting an intervention.

In some cases, the connections between institutions are official, institutional ties. For example, local branches of political parties are part of and connected to larger overarching structures extending from the local to the national level, connected through zonal, regional, and provincial structures. Community Development Workers, while working at a very local ward-level, are employed by and accountable to provincial government, which in turn is under its corresponding ministry in national government. There are also lines of connection between different internal organisations, which have implications for collaboration between and within institutions. There are official and unofficial bridging relationships, as discussed below.

Official, formal connections are easy to anticipate given a general grasp of state-associated South African institutions. Since the government is made up of an ‘alliance’ of political parties and trade unions, some local connections reflect this umbrella; for example, local SANCO, ANC, COSATU, and SACP branches are expected to have cooperative relationships as ‘alliance structures.’ Similarly, a local CPF and its patrollers are attached to their local SAPS station, and ward committee members to their chairperson, the local ward councillor.

Other, unofficial relationships are less readily anticipated and require detailed knowledge of a specific locality. They are, however, extremely important to understanding the state of social cohesion in an area and to planning effective social cohesion interventions. Local actors that come from a formal perspective and should cooperate can in reality have hostile and obstructive relationships. For example, a ward councillor may not be on good terms with the local branch of his or her party or ward committee members. These informal relationships impact on the ability of local partners to contribute positively to an intervention.

'Bad Blood' between Members of Institutions

In Nkaneng, there is constant tension between members of the two main political parties in the area, which reflects in tensions between the ward committee and the local CPF. The councillor is now too afraid to enter Nkaneng because he has received death threats that he believes to be issued by the CPF.

Unofficial, cross-institutional links also often exist due to the multiple affiliations of their members. While an individual may represent a given institution officially, she or he may also be a member of or even actively serve in another institution. For example, the ruling party's alliance structures are not only institutionally connected but also their membership and office-bearers often overlap. One individual may be a vocal member of the local ANC branch, an office-bearer in the local SANCO, and a shop steward within one of the COSATU unions. Similarly, an individual can hold a position at the local branch level in one organisation and a post at the zonal or regional level of another. Thus, it is never a simple matter to determine what perspective an individual will take on a particular issue and which institutional interests she or he will pursue in a given situation. Another potential drawback of these multiple affiliations is that during particular periods in the political calendar – for instance around election times – gateways to multiple organisations may be shut off if their office-bearers are also active in the party politics of the ward. Thus, during the run-up to local elections, which lasts for weeks in South Africa, it is not only the ANC branch, zonal, and regional chairpersons and secretaries who become unavailable along with the ward councillors, but also the office-bearers of SANCO, the SACP, CoSATU, and, in many cases, the leaders of the CPF, residents' associations, and School Governing Boards (SGBs).

Furthermore, connections between institutions do not always mean solidarity. Two leaders may share an institutional loyalty but be deeply divided by personal animosity.

Alternatively, they may both serve a single umbrella body but work in opposition at the local institutional level. The existence of multi-layered official and unofficial institutional connections has the potential for creating bridging institutions, providing opportunities for collaboration and cooperation. It also has the potential to introduce biases and political or interpersonal tensions into an intervention.

Business as Usual Approaches

Locally based political parties and ward councillors, who periodically call meetings as part of their general operations, use the same methods when organising meetings to discuss xenophobia as they do when organising and recruiting for their regular meetings. This can be termed a ‘business as usual’ approach – an approach to social cohesion that perpetuates similar programming and activities to an institutions’ past work on related issues.

In Yeoville in 2010, the local ANC branch called a public meeting to discuss xenophobia. Those recruited for the meeting were draped in ANC flags and chanted ANC slogans; posters for the meeting had a large ANC logo on them. It looked as though the meeting were an ANC meeting for ANC members to discuss ANC-related issues. A person who would not ordinarily attend an ANC meeting but would have wished to attend a meeting on xenophobia may have been excluded due to the recruitment methods used.

We began doing this work in the face of calls to do something. We were already doing conversations with HIV/AIDS using the same methodology. (Nelson Mandela Foundation, October 2010)

Business as usual approaches were also common among external interventions. This affects how the ‘problem’ to be addressed is conceptualised and how participants are recruited. Institutions may be accustomed to working with simple concepts of victims and those who victimise them. Interventions that adopt these categories may find themselves unprepared to deal with the plight and emotions of those who, in the intervention’s terms, are ‘the problem.’ The UNHCR, in particular, has come to acknowledge that change is needed among both South Africans and foreigners. There should not be a separate ‘victim group’; instead, everyone should participate as part of a community that is experiencing problems.

Our counter-trafficking work has been very helpful for this upcoming initiative. We are going to expand our capacity-building with this new programme. We can use the counter-trafficking programme and the way we engaged with children [to deal with xenophobia]. (IOM, October 2010)

In terms of ‘business as usual’ participant recruitment processes, external institutions often fail to grasp the local specificities of how a community is sub-divided into groups and how different groups have reasons for not participating. Without an understanding of local dynamics, including the specific vulnerabilities and incentives facing foreign nationals, external interventions may blame non-participation entirely on a lack of interest or commitment by ‘outsider’ residents (including but not limited to foreign nationals) rather than questioning the local appropriateness of their own recruitment practices. While internal institutions generally have a better understanding of local divisions and dynamics, a lack of planning and reflection preceding interventions tends to lead to the use of familiar intervention forms without appropriate adaptation. For example, mass meetings may be held in the same indigenous languages as used to discuss other community matters, even if these languages exclude a key constituency with regard to social cohesion.

Characteristics of institutions

Size

In general, small organisations have the disadvantage of limited staff, resources, and mandates and the advantage of being swifter and more flexible in their activities. While large organisations have bigger budgets and more staff, they are often slowed and constrained by bureaucratic procedures and protocols. On a local level, organisations are generally small and operate without budgets. Even locally based organisations that are part of larger institutions, such as local branches of the ruling party, do not have programme budgets for social cohesion interventions. Their small size dictates that they intervene in immediate, short-term, resource-light ways, such as calling ad-hoc mass meetings to discourage violence. Smaller organisations also tend to use their resources for action rather than reflection. One drawback of this is that record keeping and institutional memory is inconsistent or absent and lessons learnt are not documented.

External organisations are usually larger and better resourced; however, the extent of resources available for social cohesion work depends on whether or not it is a part of the institution's normal mandate. These organisations are often more visible and credible, and they are likely to have better success attracting external funding for planned interventions. Because of their additional resources, larger organisations may be able to launch longer-term, ongoing programmes, such as the Nelson Mandela Foundation's dialogue series or the Department of Home Affairs' awareness raising drama series at Gauteng schools. They are also better positioned to engage in the reflection for which smaller organisations are not equipped.

Lessons learned

- Small and large institutions have complementary characteristics but often do not work together optimally.
- Larger institutions with larger budgets may be able to fill the gap in longer-term, sustained interventions that are beyond the capacity of smaller institutions.
- Large and better resourced institutions may be able to shape and support short-term interventions by local institutions and assist local institutions in implementing longer-term interventions that are built around the normal activities of the local institutions such that the interventions do not necessarily strain local institutions' limited resources.
- Larger institutions need to be aware of what interventions have been done by smaller local organisations in order to avoid duplication of work and participation fatigue by their audience.

Mandate

Regardless of its size, the mandate of an institution can impact on the nature and extent of its intervention/s. There are almost no small local organisations that view social cohesion as part of their normal mandate. Where aspects of their work have a bearing on social cohesion, these institutions may not recognise the link. Therefore, local institutions may have little understanding of the problem of social cohesion and little basis to design an effective intervention to address it when an urgent need arises. For example, CPFs are locally based entities in which community members partner with the SAPS to prevent and fight crime. In all of our case study areas, we found that the CPF is one of the main local actors in ad-hoc mass meetings held during xenophobia crisis times. The CPF's patrollers are also among the first to intervene in cases of mob justice, along with the police. In this way, the CPFs already play a key role in managing violence. Their ability to partner with local political, civic, state, and non-state actors adds to their potential to play a more active and direct role in promoting social cohesion. Yet social cohesion is not a direct mandate of the CPF nor is it discussed on an ongoing basis in this forum.

Meanwhile, larger organisations can get trapped in what has been termed an 'institutional convenience syndrome,' in which institutions struggle to adjust to new issues and dynamics that do not fit easily with long-established traditions of programming (Refstie et al. 2010). Civil society in South Africa has commonly adopted 'business as usual' approaches to the relatively new dilemma of xenophobic violence and building social cohesion. Organisations ultimately end up addressing social cohesion in a proximate way, often based on past experience with other social issues such as poverty alleviation or race relations.

Lessons learned

- Small local institutions generally do not recognise social cohesion as an explicit mandate.
- Rather than investing in independent interventions, large institutions may effect more change by shaping and supporting the activities of smaller organisations with a more explicit social cohesion or conflict resolution mandate and the small-organisation advantage of flexibility and speed. Even more advantage could be gained from the involvement of organisations with the intellectual resources to monitor and evaluate these interventions.

Capacity

Organisations have different capacities related to their size and mandate. An organisation without a social cohesion mandate is unlikely to have any expertise in this area. This is especially notable at the level of small local institutions, which lack the expertise to promote social cohesion beyond 'common-sense' arguments or warnings of arrest and imprisonment. While small local organisations often lack financial and conceptualisation capacities, larger external organisations often lack the capacity to see and work with local

dynamics. The ability to see how things work locally is key to designing an effective intervention process.

Lessons learned

- Both internal and external institutions have different capacity constraints.
- Larger better-capacitated institutions can benefit from deep engagement with smaller local organisations that can provide a capacitating view of local dynamics and risks.
- Smaller organisations with limited financial or conceptual capacity could benefit from partnerships with appropriately capacitated institutions that can provide guidance to shape local interventions.

Linking relationships/reach

The ability of organisations to reach large and varied constituencies is not always related to the institution's size. For instance, the reach of many local organisations is very limited, but certain institutions, such as ANC branches, can have a wide reach due to their political identity. Networks of institutions, through which activities are coordinated, can extend the reach of a single institution across local boundaries and spheres of government. For instance, the Protection Working Group established communication networks between SAPS, the UNHCR, and associations of foreign shop owners, enabling a swift response to threats of violence and avoiding loss of life and property in Itireleng and Atteridgeville in 2010 and 2011. This would not have been possible had each institution acted on its own.

Lessons learned

- Both internal and external institutions have limitations in terms of reach.
- Partnerships and coordination can use the varying reach of institutions to great advantage.

History

The history of an institution within a particular area or within a particular network can affect its perceived legitimacy and its effectiveness. Memories of apartheid-era violence and displacement may still affect levels of trust between ethnic groups or forms of leadership today (such as in Alexandra), impacting on interventions that aim to reach all residents of an area. External organisations with no history in an area may be viewed with suspicion or indifference unless they partner with longer-established institutions in the local area.

Lessons learned

- An institution's history can affect how legitimate it is considered to be in a community.
- When planning an intervention, be aware of the histories, or lack of history, of partner or participating institutions and the effects on their local reputations and relationships.

Constituency

Constituency is usually associated with political parties, but it can also be understood in relation to other institutions, including informal ones. Constituencies are not always obvious – a ward councillor may not actually represent all groups in a ward or an NGO may have an office but no grass-roots support in an area. Officials occupying the same or similar posts do not necessarily have the same relationships with their constituencies as relationships sometimes depend on actual effectiveness rather than formal representational mandates.

Constituency has two main implications for institutions. First, it determines the social group/s with which local people associate the institution. If the institution is strongly linked to a particular social group, members of other groups may assume its activities will be biased, and this will affect participation. Second, constituency reveals something about an institution's susceptibility to public approval. A political institution whose existence depends on the support of its constituency will resist mobilising for changes that would be unpopular with that constituency.

Lessons learned

- An institution's constituency determines which social groups it can reach and the extent to which it will be seen as biased by other groups.
- Interventions that need to cross constituencies can benefit from partnerships between institutions.
- When partnering with a local institution, consider how its constituency might bias participation or credibility across the greater population being targeted.

Power to provide incentives and deliver on promises

A recurring question communities ask when an intervention is launched is 'what's in this for us'? There is a great deal of fatigue and resistance to participating in activities that require an investment of time and raise hopes only to result in no real change. Hence, an institution's ability to provide what people really want and need can greatly impact participation in its intervention. This is the case even if the specific intervention does not promise or provide real incentives, but the intervening institution is seen as having other practical impacts in the community. Government-backed interventions or interventions by political parties with strong constituencies in an area are more likely to attract participation

because residents make the link with resources brought into the area by those institutions at other times.

A related characteristic that impacts on institutional legitimacy is an institution's ability to deliver on the promises they make. The perceived ability to fulfill promises adds credibility to any incentive offered. However, it can also lead interventions to be hijacked by what participants consider to be their more immediate or important needs because individuals can use the intervention as a rare platform to raise other local issues in the hope of prompting action. In the end, many issues are discussed without clear next steps. If many similar interventions, such as discussion forums, are conducted in a given area, frustration can build when no tangible action takes place. External NGO-organised events and interventions have a reputation for being 'talk shops' with no ability to implement practical action, and this affects locals' motivation to attend.

Another important factor in promoting participation is the perception that the intervening institution is committed to making a sustained effort to assist the community. Part of the participation-fatigue in case study areas is the fact that institutions are seen as coming into a place only for a short time. Some respondents felt that institutions merely make a show of intervening in order to continue securing donor funding.

Apart from providing positive incentives, police can be effective in quelling the worst manifestations of conflict by providing negative incentives, such as proclaiming their determination to arrest any perpetrators of violence. Local institutions working with police have stated that the incentive to avoid arrest and imprisonment was an important part of their preventive efforts.

Lessons learned

- Participation fatigue occurs when people see no positive incentives nor feel the risk of negative sanctions.
- Consider the types of incentive that might build consensus and participation while being aware of the risks inherent in certain incentives.
- Partnerships between government and non-government organisations have the potential to produce both an effective intervention and the incentive to promote participation.
- Lack of clarity on outcomes and the input of intervening institutions can contribute to the disillusionment of participants, undermining current and future interventions.
- Institutions need to plan for post-dialogue and meeting action plans.
- Interventions should be understood as part of a longer process of relationship-building instead of isolated events.

- A pattern of sustained involvement should be promoted in which participants are involved as regularly as they can be and there is an understanding of expectations and outcomes for the intervention.
- Communication about possible ‘promises’ needs to be clear and discussed broadly in order to avoid rumours and negative perceptions in the community. The unintended consequence of failing to deliver on promises is that any continued engagement in the community is jeopardised.

Ability to mobilise

An institution’s ability to mobilise people to action depends on its constituency, history, and ability to provide incentives and/or deliver on promises. For example, provincial or national political figures can mobilise large numbers of people for a meeting because they represent the power to implement promises and allocate resources. For other institutions, mobilisation of participants to attend an intervention can be extremely difficult in light of the fragmented nature of communities. Mobilising foreigners and other outsiders is also extremely difficult since they often try to remain ‘invisible’ and fear harassment when speaking out in public. Successful mobilisation depends on a sustained network of individuals from throughout a community as well as the local knowledge and insights (which change rapidly) to use these networks effectively.

Lessons learned

- The ability of individuals and institutions to mobilise participants for an intervention depends on their legitimacy, constituency, and perceived power in an area.
- When selecting partners and determining how to recruit local participants, institutions should seek to understand who is able to mobilise which parts of the target population, bearing in mind that local partners may be unaware of or unwilling to admit to the limitations of their abilities to mobilise.
- Successful mobilisation depends on a range of contacts and information. A sustained relationship in a given space is the best way to have both the networks of contacts and local knowledge about informal and formal leadership structures and their effects in that space.

Grasp of local dynamics

An understanding of the social dynamics and power relationships in an area can result from an institution’s history in a particular location, from well-chosen partnerships, or from sound local field research before a project begins. As noted in the section on local context, without a grasp of local dynamics, it is unlikely that an institution will correctly identify the causes of and contributors to conflict in an area; any intervention is, therefore, likely to be unsuited and ineffectual. An evaluation of the contributing factors will affect which partners are most appropriate, what the nature and duration of the intervention should be,

and what resources should be allocated. It may even affect the decision as to whether or not to intervene.

Lessons learned

- One-size-fits-all interventions without consideration of local dynamics are likely to be ineffective or counterproductive.
- Interventions that operate in fragmented communities need to continually assess the conflict dynamics in the area and remain flexible in how they engage with key leaders and residents. Interventions should rely on extensive networks and continually updated assessments of the conflict trends in order to ensure that they understand local dynamics sufficiently.

Key questions to ask about the characteristics of your own and other institution

- What internal and external institutions exist in the intervention target area, and what have these institutions already done in terms of social cohesion? Is there potential for collaboration regarding complementarities around resources, local knowledge, reach, and legitimacy?
- What are the official and unofficial links between institutions that are active in the intervention area?
- What are the constituencies of organisers and partners, and how do these constituencies relate to each other?
- What positive or negative incentives are built into the intervention to help encourage participation and change?
- What outcomes and inputs is the intervening institution promising (explicitly or implicitly), and what measures are in place to ensure that those expectations are managed and promises are kept?

Understanding different types of interventions and related challenges

When planning an intervention to build social cohesion, organisations have to decide what kind of approach they are going to choose - for example, hosting a community dialogue, building capacity for local conflict resolution, or embarking on a poster campaign. It is important to select and design an intervention very carefully and be aware of the specific challenges that might diminish its reach or success. The following section provides an

overview of the types of interventions that we documented in this study and summarises their features and potential key challenges.

The social cohesion interventions included in this study represent a wide range of approaches and philosophies. Since this study did not set out to evaluate the effectiveness of individual interventions, this section does not discuss the impact of any particular case or any type of intervention in increasing social cohesion in an area. This is the reason we have not profiled the activities of specific institutions in detail. Where we describe an institution's activities, the purpose is to make a broader point about similar types of intervention rather than to evaluate that institution specifically. Most of the challenges we list here were observed by the institutions and residents we interviewed. By describing common problems and challenges experienced in different intervention types, we are not claiming that they did not also have positive effects – only that these effects are more difficult and take longer to document.

This section links particular intervention types to the list of indicators of social cohesion discussed in Section 2, even if the intervening institution may not have consciously conceptualised the intervention in that way. This allows us to consider which aspect of social cohesion each intervention type is suited to address. It also reveals that most interventions focus on certain indicators only. The most common indicators addressed by the social cohesion interventions that we documented were inclusion/belonging and common vision. The other indicators were largely un-addressed. For instance, few interventions address fair life chances in the sense of impacting on discriminatory treatment by public officials and institutions in the intervention area or by sustainably increasing the ability of all affected sub-groups in an area to contribute to local decision-making. Still fewer interventions target effective and legitimate institutions and civic engagement and participation. While there have been some attempts to engage with community police forums and to include local government leadership in dialogues or other events, these types of interventions remain the exception. Meanwhile, institutions often target similar indicators with similar interventions, which means that interventions such as dialogues, public meetings, and awareness raising might be redundant while other important issues are not targeted at all. Ideally, more efforts should be put towards promoting fair life chances, effective and legitimate institutions, and civic engagement and participation.

Types of interventions

Public meetings

Public meetings were the most common form of intervention we documented. They were organised by both external and internal institutions. Typically, a public meeting brings together residents of an area so that the organisers can make a statement or disseminate information, either aimed at preventing violence or at addressing issues following violence. These meetings range widely in size, format, and scope of discussion. Some include invited speakers from outside the community (including high profile political leaders) while others

include only local actors. Some are interactive while in others the communication is strictly one-way. The size of meetings can vary from a small group to several thousand people. Some meetings were called explicitly to discuss ‘xenophobia’ while others had broader agendas and included discussions of violence as one among many other topics.

In reaction to rumours of attacks on foreigners after the 2010 World Cup, SANCO called a meeting in Olievenhoutbosch, in association with other leaders, SAPS and the CPF, and told residents: “they have a right to be here; we are all Africans. (SANCO, November 2011)

Public Meetings

During Merafong’s 2008 protests to be re-demarcated from North West Province into Gauteng Province, the Merafong Demarcation Forum (MDF) held regular public meetings in Khutsong to discuss the re-demarcation efforts. The MDF was an amalgamation of various structures including political parties, teachers’ associations, civics, and others. When the 2008 xenophobic violence started, the MDF called a mass meeting in Khutsong – to which they invited the police – and informed residents that the MDF would not support violence against foreigners and that perpetrators would be turned over to the police. MDF leaders reflected that meetings concerning xenophobic violence were best kept brief and with minimum room of public inputs and feedback in case ‘xenophobic elements’ attempted to hijack the debate.

Local leaders organised a public meeting and informed a visiting Cabinet Minister that the community would sign a declaration to protect foreigners. However, the declaration had not been discussed with residents attending the meeting, who felt it did not reflect their views, and it resulted in attacks on the meeting organisers and the Minister, who had to be removed from the meeting by security personnel.

In 2010, the ANCYL, at the national level, issued an instruction to local chairpersons that the ANCYL was to ensure that xenophobic attacks did not happen again. The Atteridgeville ANCYL called a meeting with the CPF, police, and ANC structures before the end of the World Cup to pass on this message to residents, especially residents of the informal areas of Atteridgeville. The Atteridgeville ANCYL deliberately used only the word ‘Africans’ to describe people at the meetings and made no distinction between South Africans and foreigners.

When a rumour started in late 2008 in Masiphumulele that a foreigner was involved in the murder of a young South African child, a coalition of local youth leaders and NGOs organised a peace rally and several follow up meetings for residents to voice their concerns and to pre-empt large-scale violence from erupting. No violence occurred.

The last toyi toyi was addressed by calling a public meeting where they announced as the leadership that they would deal fairly with both South Africans and foreigners. They called all business people to come together and ask the councilor for advice. (ANC, September 2011)

The police held a meeting with the local business owners and explained that it is a crime to attack the Somali owners and if they did this they would be arrested. It's about telling people we are not going to tolerate it. You have to warn people in time before they do it. (SAPS, August 2011)

After the initial violence against foreigners in Itireleng, the MEC for Community Safety came with two artists and SAPS and Metro Police for a one hour event where they communicated the message that it is OK to live with foreigners. They also announced that anyone 'doing nasty deeds' would be locked up. As a result, no-one attacked foreigners again because no-one wants to be locked up. (CDW, September 2010)

Indicators: Public meetings most commonly try to address issues of *belonging & inclusion* and *common vision*, usually by communicating the official position of a powerful institution such as the government, the ANC, COSATU, or SAPS. It is also possible for public meetings to address *effective institutions* by showing residents a fast response by political parties or other groups or *civic engagement and participation* by being a venue through which groups and individuals can showcase their involvement in the community.

Key challenges

- The nature of participation might not be very deep or meaningful for most residents if communication is mainly one-way, from organisers to residents.
- The most relevant participants, foreign nationals and other outsiders, are often not represented.
- Meetings can be easily hijacked to focus on other issues, such as service delivery, or can become a platform for expressing and mobilising anti-foreigner attacks. A meeting that has brought hundreds or thousands of people together can turn into a riot if the expectations of participants are disappointed or emotions are raised. Several internal institutions actively avoided discussing 'xenophobia' at public meetings for fear of losing control over the debate. Other internal institutions, on the other hand, ensured that SA-foreigner relations was a standing agenda item at all regular public meetings over a period of time, thereby setting the agenda of discussions.
- Once-off meetings can raise expectations but not provide any avenues for follow up.
- Venues for public meetings may be inaccessible to important stakeholder groups due to distance and cost of travel or because of the association of the venue with a particular sub-group or institution.

Leaders were saying to people: if you go out and instigate violence, I understand your frustration, but you're on your own. People are tired of being labelled as violent and the cause of violence. (Migrant Help Desk, October 2010)

Dialogues

Dialogues aim to be more interactive than public meetings by bringing residents together in a format that allows for engagement among participants rather than one-directional communication from organisers to participants. Dialogues often seek to move beyond a specific conflict event and towards sustained relationships in everyday life. The size of a dialogue is often smaller than a typical public meeting. There is significant variation in the depth of methodology used and the periods of time dialogue processes last (from once-off meetings to several months or years). Dialogues are carried out by internal and external institutions.

The group indicated that previously the Nelson Mandela Foundation conducted a dialogue on community conversation and AFURAKA conducted a workshop on Afrophobia and xenophobia and then trained ten people as fieldworkers on migration and xenophobia issues. The participants' concern was that there was minimum implementation of what was learnt. The main concern with such structures was the fact that there was no coordinated implementation strategy. (JRS Report on Workshops on Xenophobia, July 2010)

Dialogues

A large South African NGO held a series of community dialogues on social cohesion. Members of 22 organisations, including foreign nationals, were trained as facilitators. At least two dialogues were held in each location. The dialogues aimed to identify and address the root causes of violence and to contribute to building better relations between host and migrant communities, including by illustrating forms of non-violent dialogue between groups. By seeking to include all involved groups in the dialogues, local conflictual politics sometimes threatened to derail the processes.

A local government institution carried out a range of dialogues and meetings in communities affected by the May 2008 xenophobic attacks. Community residents were invited to discuss the xenophobic violence and grievances in the area and thereby to inform local government about what it should be doing to address tensions. The pressure to conduct these meetings distracted the institution's staff from its usual work. Additional staff were hired or seconded to the unit, including community development and social workers and child care officers without training on conflict management or methods for conducting dialogues. The meetings did not go well. Residents were still angry, and foreigners who attended the meetings were alienated further. The organisers feel that the dialogues often do not reach foreigners or promote meaningful dialogue between groups but have scheduled more of the same events for the future.

Indicators: Dialogues most commonly try to promote *belonging and inclusion* and *common vision* by seeking to move participating residents towards greater understanding of each

other. A dialogue can also seek to promote *positive social capital* among participants, but this is likely to happen only if the dialogues are sustained over time. Similarly, *civic engagement and participation* can be promoted through dialogues if government and other leadership structures are involved.

Key challenges:

- Local divisions among leaders and residents influence who attends dialogues and how groups within the dialogue process interact with one another. Dialogues may seek to actively overcome such divisions by including and addressing different groups, but entrenched and violent divisions may be difficult to handle.
- Only a small number of residents of an area are reached directly through dialogues, and often there is no clear strategy for spreading the results of a dialogue process beyond its immediate participants.
- The nature of participation might not be very deep or meaningful for most residents, depending on the length of time of the process.
- The most relevant participants, foreign nationals and other outsiders, are often not represented.
- If dialogues are not sustained over time and do not result in concrete actions, the intervening institution can appear uncommitted.
- Multiple dialogues from different institutions in the same space can lead to frustration among participants and residents.
- Venues for dialogues may be inaccessible to important stakeholder groups due to distance and cost of travel or because of the association of the venue with a particular sub-group or institution.

The dialogues reflect existing political tensions. It’s brewing and there is bigger violence coming. That’s where we reach a stumbling block. The people we need are not attending these workshops. When you go back, what do you say? It’s not working. (Migrant Help Desk, October 2010)

Sports, cultural and other events

An international organisation organised a soccer tournament, aimed at promoting social cohesion by bringing South African and foreign teams to play against each other, had a significant cash prize. While the actual tournament was a success, conflict and fighting ensued after the tournament due to the prize money. The tournament ultimately increased tensions in the area.

An international faith-based organisation promoted local soccer tournaments initiated and organised by interested community members. There was no prize money for ‘winners,’ and peace building education and activities were held after the soccer games.

A local government task team in collaboration with SAPS organised a ‘welcome back’ event (‘Ukucola amapakistan’) for foreigners whose shops had been looted in 2008. The event was poorly attended by South Africans as they felt that the government was now ‘favouring’ foreigners by prioritising their needs while ignoring the grievances of the local population.

Sports and cultural events can range from soccer tournaments and leagues to Pan-African celebrations and activities. The events often have high public profiles and are remembered by residents, although often they are not associated with specific institutions in resident’s recollections. These events are supposedly non-political and, therefore, more easily organised by external institutions, sometimes in collaboration with local, internal partner institutions.

We have a group of young people in Pretoria, they set up street soccer. I asked for the concept note and they did it on their own. Afterwards, they link soccer with peace building. That soccer tournament in Randburg, with the R80,000 [prize money], they’re fighting over it, it’s horrible. (Caritas, October 2010)

On Africa Day, even though it was a celebration of culture, it started a debate. People explained their roots and their relationships with Africa. But it just infuriated people more. (Migrant Help Desk, October 2010)

Indicators: Sports and cultural events most commonly address the indicator of *belonging and inclusion* by showcasing and valuing the contributions of different groups of residents. They can aim to create *positive social capital* by facilitating friendly interactions among groups who normally rarely meet. By involving marginal groups in public activities in a ‘safe space,’ sports and cultural events can promote *civic engagement and participation* as well.

Key challenges:

- Sports and cultural events can become highly politicised when financial and other resources are involved. Even seemingly non-political cultural exchanges can be politically charged and require careful management to avoid the escalation of tensions.
- Once-off events without follow-up activities are unlikely to build social capital or a sense of belonging.
- The most relevant participants, foreign nationals and other outsiders, often are not represented, especially if the activities require a significant time investment.

Awareness raising

A group of organisations held events to promote the rights of migrants. However, very few migrants attended the events, and it is unlikely that those who most commonly violate the rights of migrants attended either.

An international civil society organisation created a pledge to promote unity and raise awareness about xenophobia. The pledge proved difficult to implement nationally due to the need for a range of local partners and the translation of the pledge for it to be understandable and relevant in each language and cultural context.

Awareness-raising can take on many different forms: public pledges against xenophobia, school classroom information sessions, and public road shows. This type of intervention assumes that the problem behind xenophobic violence is lack of information and knowledge.

Sometimes, the discussion on the film would veer into antforeigner sentiments, but I'm trying to focus not on foreigners. If you introduce it as a film on xenophobia, that's what they'll talk about it. But the way around that is facilitating well. You have to acknowledge it and people's thoughts, but then change the direction of the conversation" (Interview with the maker of a film that was screened at a local youth programme, July 2012)

I think in observation at the end, say we didn't know , gradually attitudes will change, it won't change overnight, but here's the situation, your decision should be made from an informed place. From human rights point of view, all of us are humans, there shouldn't be discrimination based on nationality, race, religion, etc. also, they know, service delivery protests, they know it's supposed to be delivered by the municipality, it doesn't make sense to attack the foreigners. Some of them are very receptive, I hope they'll change, one day they'll call and discuss issues of social cohesion."(SAHRC, July 2012)

Indicators: Overall, a common vision of non-violence and tolerance of difference is a typical goal of awareness raising interventions. However, depending on the nature of information being shared, other indicators can be addressed as well. For instance, robust awareness-raising in schools could lead to *belonging and inclusion*, and *fair life chances* could be promoted if an intervention informs residents of migrant rights to services.

Initially I suggested lets have different pledges with different voices for different groups of people. It became quite difficult. We went for standard English. I think the language is not in the correct voice for our target. It requires mediation. As soon as it is mediated, it becomes almost a prayer. Then it does have an impact. (Scalabrini Centre, August 2010.)

Key challenges:

- It is not always clear how awareness raising addresses the root causes of xenophobic violence or the dimensions of social cohesion apart from shared values.
- The venues and target populations for awareness raising activities often do not reach the groups most affected by violence (including perpetrators and victims).
- Awareness-raising activities and materials are often uniform and do not adopt context-specific approaches.

Poster campaigns

Poster campaigns generally publicise slogans expressing the position of institutions on violence or discrimination. They can also impart factual information such as documentation options or basic rights to access services such as health care, education, or justice.

It goes back to communication, and the medium for communication. If they get the right information at the right time in the right way, you'll create social change. (IOM, September 2010)

Posters and Pamphlets

A large anti-xenophobia poster bearing the logo of an international organisation hangs in the office of a local informal 'leader.' When the person in the office was asked where he got the poster and what he thought of it, he said that the posters had just been given out by 'some people,' but that he found the message on it confusing and misleading.

In Atteridgeville, 'No to Xenophobia' posters are highly visible but mainly on police vans and in foreign-run shops. The posters use yellow, green, and black colours, with are associated with the African National Congress ruling party. As South African participants of our focus group noted, residents of the area do not only read the posters according to their explicit content (i.e., that one should say no to xenophobia) but also draw conclusions based on which institutions and groups are displaying them. Because the posters are shown only by the police and foreign shops, the focus group participants believed that police were being paid by foreigners to protect them.

Prior to the attacks the provincial office and the police had campaigns in which there was a drama, pamphlets and motivational speakers on xenophobia. After the violence he says there

were door to door campaigns in order to reach more people. The campaigns are not really effective as the foreigners are continuing to be blamed for different ills in the community. (CPF, August 2011)

The community does not have a choice to observe those posters because they are all over. The police are now protecting foreigners because they are getting bribe money from them so they do not care about us as South Africans. (Respondents in a focus group discussion, January 2011)

Indicators: Posters and pamphlets with slogans seek to promote a *common vision* while factual posters and pamphlets aim to improve *fair life chances* and *effective institutions*.

Key challenges:

- Posters can impart very limited information, and the communication is one-directional. While a poster in the right location may theoretically be seen by a large number of residents of an area, they may not notice it or not interpret the slogan as intended by the organisers.
- Posters may become associated with the institutions in whose spaces they are hung rather than with the institutions that produced them. If residents associate the institutional spaces with exclusion or violence, the poster messages may also be interpreted in that light.

Institutional capacity building

Institutional capacity building includes efforts to improve the functioning of local structures such as community policing forums, street committees or other local associations, and governance structures and to orient them towards violence prevention and effective conflict mitigation. Some interventions of this type try to incorporate foreign nationals into local structures in order to increase their inclusiveness and representativity. Institutional capacity building is usually carried out by external interventions.

Institutional Capacity Building

A small South African NGO focuses its efforts on building the capacity of the community police forums in areas such as Khutsong and Orange Farm. They work on building a relationship with existing members and carry out trainings to promote greater resident ownership of policing and governance in their area. Their focus is not explicitly or predominantly on increasing the inclusion of foreign nationals or on preventing xenophobic violence but more generally on increasing the confidence of CPF members.

A South African NGO based in Masiphumelele runs a ‘train the trainer’ programme on constitutional rights. In this programme, they train township residents with different language and cultural backgrounds in order to reach most of the township’s diverse local and migrant population.

We talk about how to motivate the CPFs, how to get the street committees involved, how to make everything more local... The power is in your hands to exclude/include, we say. It gives people motivation. They feel helpless at the moment. This provides them with control in their little space...It makes them feel confident, like they can manage the situation themselves. (Displaced and Migrant Persons Support Programme, October 2010)

Indicators: Participation and effective and legitimate institutions are the two most common indicators for capacity building interventions. They can also result in building positive social capital if they bring South Africans and foreign nationals into sustained working relationships on broader community issues.

Key challenges:

- Local institutions need to be willing to engage with external interventions and reflect on their past practices and weaknesses.
- Local institutions need to be sufficiently interested in working alongside foreign nationals.
- Effective capacity building interventions require relatively long-term engagement by an external institution.

Active policing

In all case study areas, the police and CPFs introduced active measures to deter violence. This included increased visible policing and, in some cases, addressing residents in public meetings or on loud hailers from the street that the consequences of attacking foreigners were arrest and imprisonment.

Active Policing

In Alexandra and Atteridgeville, the police increased visible policing patrols at the end of the World Cup in 2010, using loud hailers to inform residents that any violence against foreigners (and any other criminal activity) would be met with arrest and imprisonment. The ANCYL meeting also encouraged residents to activate their CPF structures, form street committees, and do night patrols. This reflected a belief that ‘xenophobia is organised by criminals’ and that general security at night would prevent any attacks. Non-nationals in Atteridgeville and Alexandra identified those police and community patrols as the main reason they believe attacks against foreigners did not become widespread.

Indicators: Active policing counters public perceptions of impunity and disillusionment with law enforcement institutions, thereby contributing to a belief in effective and legitimate institutions.

Key challenges:

- It may undermine trust in police structures even more if suspected perpetrators are arrested and then released again quickly or if locally well-known inciters of violence are not arrested.
- It may undermine trust in police structures and trigger vigilante justice if the police are seen to 'protect' foreigners who are seen as illegitimate by other residents.

Conflict management

Conflict management seeks to resolve local level disputes between individuals or groups of residents before such disputes escalate into collective violence. Conflict management training seeks to provide existing local institutions and respected individual residents with the skills needed to successfully resolve conflict in a non-violent manner. This kind of training is done by external interventions. Conflict mediation can be done by either internal or external institutions but requires early information about disputes to enable timely preventative interventions as well as context knowledge to know what approaches are likely to diffuse tensions.

We advocate that people sit and talk through issues and come up with solutions without resorting to violence or killing each other. (Bambanani, April 2012)

Indicators: Conflict management seeks to promote fair life chances if the training is conducted with service providers and leaders. It also promotes a common vision of peaceful co-existence and could promote effective and legitimate institutions if conflicts are effectively managed by the appropriate institutional stakeholders.

People have engaged with the non-violence training. Youngsters warned the Ethiopians in Balfour that their shops would be looted. The Ethiopians brought the youth together and trained them in running a shop. They saved money, took vehicles, bought stock, enabled one young person with stock. Now six South African youth are with small businesses. I couldn't believe it. (Caritas, August 2010)

Conflict Management

An international faith-based organisation conducts trainings on non-violence and conflict mediation with small groups of diverse volunteers from the community. These groups constitute themselves independently, based around self-identified collective activities (such as starting a business or making a film), and then request assistance and training from the international organisation. They then receive on-going support as part of a network of similar groups in different communities around the country. When members of the local group hear about rising tensions in their area, they can either engage the organisers or participants themselves or seek support from the wider network of non-violence groups. Because the organisation depends on local groups to identify themselves and request assistance, it may not have a presence in all hotspot areas.

A small South African NGO has monitors who are based in communities with conflict potential. When these report tensions rising, the NGO attempts to engage directly with the individuals or groups mobilising for violence. If necessary and if the mobilisers are contemplating illegal or violent actions, the NGO facilitates the involvement of the CPF or SAPS.

An international organisation is asked to become involved in an escalating dispute between a foreigner and a South African in one community. Following a death, the organisation's representative makes a house call, mediates between the two parties, and negotiates how the perpetrator should apologise for their actions. The victim's family then convinces other community members not to take the matter further by targeting other groups in retribution.

In Masiphumulele, a local neighbourhood watch programme with members of both South African and foreign origin functions as a general conflict resolution institution, dealing with both domestic and inter-group conflicts of all resident groups. The programme explicitly encourages foreign nationals to become members in order to reach out to foreign residents in the community.

In Siyathemba in 2011, violence erupted among unemployed miners who were angry with the mining company for not employing them but people from 'outside' the area. A forum for local unemployed miners was formed with the idea of establishing a data base of both unskilled and skilled workers and a raffle to allocate jobs to unskilled workers in the mines; the people find this is the best way that is transparent and avoids nepotism.

Key challenges:

- Conflict management training might affect only a small part of a 'hot spot' area and not reach the most divided areas or institutions of the community.
- Training is only effective with appropriate follow-up and monitoring as well as continued support to trainees.
- Conflict management interventions are most effective when they are preventative rather than reactive, but this requires the ongoing monitoring of tension levels or an effective early warning system to enable a fast response.

Institutional cooperation/collaboration

In order to gain access to hostel residents in Alexandra, institutions like SANCO, SACP, and the SAPS partnered with the IFP and traditional leaders (izinduna), who already had credibility and authority among the target group. An anti-xenophobia message was well received when presented with the evident agreement of the two respected leadership structures, the IFP and izinduna.

In all case study areas, local institutions came together to discuss and present a unified response to the threat of violence. Institutions that generally coordinated their approaches (including the ANC branches, the CPF and SAPS, civics such as SANCO), local business forums, and local development forums) were already linked through previous political partnerships and/or standing local institutional forums. Through such coordination, these internal institutions were able to reach more residents with the same message.

Indicators: Institutional coordination and collaboration can result in a *common vision* and can increase public perceptions of *institutions as effective and legitimate*.

Key challenges:

The institutions included in such collaborations are usually already linked and represent powerful, mainstream ‘in-groups.’ While large external institutions may easily approach and access such locally linked networks, marginal internal institutions that are not part of the existing network are often excluded. Where internal institutions are divided into two or more forums or networks, these divisions are rarely bridged, even in times of crisis.

New forms of social control

There are several cases in which internal institutions or groups of South African residents sought to reduce conflict potential by increasing control and surveillance over foreigners and other less powerful residents.

Initiatives to fingerprint all foreigners

Although the legal status of such fingerprinting initiatives is uncertain, attempts at documenting the local population may promote (perceived) equality before the law – a faith that everyone has an equal disincentive to commit crime and an equal chance of being caught if they do. Where they apply equally across the residents of an area, such practices may help to create a minimal level of generalised trust that provides a platform for other aspects of social cohesion. Unfortunately, in these particular cases, such practices are targeted only at ‘outsiders’ – the distrusted ‘unknowns’ – who are seen as being responsible for crime. The singling out of specific groups of people for such initiatives can foster the sense of unequal right to residence in an area, placing those who are targeted on the defensive and further polarising the society. Such registration activities are carried out by untrained individuals who are not necessarily conversant with migration law or human rights policies. When such efforts are undertaken in such contexts, there is little accountability, and there are no systems to monitor and regulate such activities. Thus, unless all residents of an area have adequate documentation and the process of registering/fingerprinting people is conducted professionally and with regard to human rights and dignity, such practices are much more likely to erode social cohesion by instituting and entrenching structural exclusion.

Surveillance of Foreigners

In Olievenhoutbosch, the CPF had put forward the idea of fingerprinting all residents of Choba informal settlement, including South African and foreign residents. This was intended as a crime-fighting strategy to be implemented by the CPF and SAPS.

At a discussion session about xenophobia hosted by the Jesuit Refugee Services and the City of Johannesburg in early 2011, a South African woman from Alexandra said she (and other landlords in the area) had recently decided to start checking tenants' papers, including those of long-standing tenants, which she had not done before.

Efforts to limit the number of foreign-owned shops in an area or price fixing agreements

Another legally questionable practice, which may nevertheless contribute to reducing open violence in the short term, is that of agreements placing limits on business practices within informal settlements. In some of our case studies, as elsewhere, foreign shopkeepers have agreed to limit the number of shops and increase their prices to levels charged by South African-run shops as a means of reducing tensions over business competition. Such agreements are formulated with the argument of claiming fair life chances for South Africans within spaces that are historically deprived and disadvantaged. In practice, such agreements work in the interests of South African business owners rather than poor residents, thereby strengthening another (class) division in the community. A member of the ANCYL in Freedom Park (GP) for example explains:

The community made it easier for the government to solve the shop issue because they refused to be dictated to by the business people or the government and made their own decision that they wanted to be able to choose where they could buy from. When the foreign shops were closed they decided not to buy from the local shops. The community said they wanted the foreign shops because they had cheaper prices and a wider variety of products, like a mini supermarket. They also can give people good on credit and therefore the community pledged to guard against their victimization. (ANCYL, September 2011)

Furthermore, legitimising such illegal agreements, which amount to price fixing and market division, may, in the future, encourage and legitimise other illegal practices such as limiting access to basic services for foreigners. Finally, as discussed in Section 4.2, even groups of the same nationality and profession are often internally 'divided.' This means that when agreements with members of a particular national group are entered, these are rarely accepted by all relevant stakeholders, causing the potential for further conflict when such agreements are 'broken.'

Vigilante justice

Mob justice by one in-group against a perceived outsider group is commonly related to the perceived dysfunctionality and consequent illegitimacy of the governmental structures that should uphold the law and ensure that justice takes its course (Tankebe 2009). Given the cynicism that often prevails with regard to official institutions, some communities see local, non-state, 'informal' leadership structures as the primary point of reference for conflict resolution. However, while communities often feel that these structures help improve conditions or reduce crime in an area, they are highly problematic due to the vigilante justice these structures tend to implement. According to a Zimbabwean respondent in Masiphumelele, the local neighbourhood watch programme is 'feared and will at times beat up people who are causing trouble in the community.'

Previously, crime was a big problem in Nkaneng but this has changed since the inception of the CPF. The CPF is working really well but there are problems because they take the law into their hands. The CPF kill people who are accused of committing crime and awareness campaigns are required to train the CPF on their role and what is not allowed in the constitution of South Africa. (Community Development worker, March 2012)

Indicators: Interventions to control foreign residents are generally argued from the perspective that South Africans are disadvantaged and so *fair life chances* need to be restored. They are also often the result of lacking trust in *institutional effectiveness* by government in documenting or controlling foreigners, and so they may be perceived to increase public trust by replacing these functions at the local level.

Key challenges:

- Such practices are often unconstitutional and illegal, therefore contributing to undermining the rule of law which is the minimum basis for social cohesion.
- They are often based on faulty logic or incorrect facts such as the belief that SAPS has fingerprint information for all South Africans and that, therefore, only foreign criminals are difficult to catch.
- Even though such practices and agreements may reduce tensions and violence in the short term, the punishment for breaking an agreement or refusing to be fingerprinted (even though such refusal is in the person's legal rights) may be especially violent.

Key questions to ask about interventions

- Which type of intervention is most appropriate for addressing the specific social cohesion weakness/dimension in the target location?

- How have existing institutional methods and intervention styles been adapted to fit the specific location context, the social cohesion challenge and the necessary target groups?
- How are local social and political divisions addressed in the intervention design, including through the choice of local partners, participants, venues, etc.?

How are individuals or groups with discriminatory or violent agendas treated? Are they excluded or included in the intervention, and how?

APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

This Annex includes the research instruments we developed in order to collect data on social cohesion activities from institutions and residents of the communities we studied.

There are three methods:

1. **An institutional interview guideline:** to be used when speaking with people working for or with external or internal institutions doing work relating to social cohesion. This interview guideline includes questions about the institution's overall mandate and structure, the interventions it carries out, what these interventions aim to achieve, successes and barriers, and how the institution interacts within the specific local context.
2. **A community mapping guideline:** to be used with a few key informants to get an understanding of the community context in a particular area. This process aims to capture a community's spatial divisions, social and political groupings, institutional interventions, and conflict areas. These maps can then be used in other interviews (such as the focus groups) to initiate and structure conversations about community divisions, interventions, and conflicts.
3. **A focus group guideline:** to be used with small groups (maximum 10, preferably fewer than 7 persons) of residents. We chose to separate 'insiders' (in this case, South African citizens) and 'outsiders' (in this case, foreign nationals) into different focus groups since people are more likely to speak openly about community divisions if they assume other people in the group agree with them.

How to use these tools

All three instruments are structured as guidelines for an interviewer to follow in the course of an open and flexible discussion. This means that they are not meant to be followed strictly or word for word, but rather they can be used as a kind of checklist to see whether or not key topics (and relevant aspects of each topic) have been covered in the interview.

We have included these instruments in this report for two reasons:

1. To show how the information on which this report is based was collected; and
2. To enable other institutions to conduct their own research on these questions.
 - a. The mapping process is especially useful for gaining a quick but extensive overview of the location-specific context when planning a new intervention.

- b. The institutional interview guideline can also be used by an institution to clarify its own mandate, approach, aims, and context knowledge while planning a new intervention.

These instruments can be used and adapted freely. If you do so, please acknowledge the source by referencing the ACMS and this report.

INSTITUTIONAL INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

Provisos: We assume we already know if the organisation is working in the site in question on something related to social cohesion.

General Institutional Background

1. What is your institution's overall aim [mission/mandate]?
2. What is your history in [the areas under discussion]?
 - a. PROBE: What kinds of work have you done in [area under discussion]?
 - b. Has your work in [area under discussion] changed over time – how and why; location-specific or national?
3. I want to understand how your work in this area around managing tensions fits into your institution's normal area of work [mandate]?
 - a. PROBE: Is it your central focus [mandate]; is it just one of a number of areas of work, or does it fall outside your usual area of work?
4. Tell me about the work you have done around managing tensions or conflicts in [area under discussion].
5. [If applicable] Why did you select this location for this kind of work?
6. [If applicable] Is the work you do here any different from the kind of work you do elsewhere?

Per Intervention

Background

7. What is the official name of this activity (if there is one)?
8. What was/is your timeline for this work/[activity name] in this area (start, end, duration/ project or ongoing)?
9. How many people are/were part of this work?
 - a. PROBE: How many paid or regular staff?
 - b. How many volunteers or regularly involved in other ways?

- c. Were there any other people involved who do not fit into either of those categories? If so, how many and who were they?
- 10. Would you be willing to tell us your approximate budget for this work/[activity name]?
- 11. [If applicable] Where does the money come from to support this work/[activity name]?

Purpose & Impact

- 12. What is/was the key issue/problem this work/[activity name] is trying to address/resolve?
- 13. In an ideal world, what kind of intervention would be needed to resolve this issue? [What's the ideal state?]
- 14. What led you to choose the particular approach you have taken to the problem?
- 15. In what ways does your approach deal with the problem you are trying to resolve?
- 16. Do you know of other institutions or interventions that deal with other aspects of what is needed to resolve the issue? Who are they, and what do they do?
- 17. What are the different activities that fall within the work for [activity name]?

Per Activity

- 18. [If applicable] Let's talk about each activity separately, starting with [identify activity].
- 19. Did you partner with any other institutions, whether local or provincial/national, for this activity?
 - a. PROBE: [If applicable] Are these partnerships specific to this area and activity or broader working relationships?
- 20. What was the target group you were trying to influence using this activity?
 - a. PROBE: Why these groups/individuals over others?
 - b. Change behaviour or attitudes from what to what?
- 21. Whom did you identify to participate in this activity in order to reach the target group?
 - a. PROBE: Why these people/institutions over others?
- 22. In the end, who participated in this activity?
 - a. PROBE: Did the people you would ideally like to reach actually participate?
 - b. Did anyone refuse to participate?
 - c. Did anyone fail to participate for other reasons (identify the reason)?
 - d. What effect did this have on your ability to achieve the outcomes you want?
- 23. For those people and groups that did participate, what do think motivated them to participate (why did they choose to be involved)?
 - a. PROBE: What were the incentives for them to participate?

Per Intervention

24. How successful do you think your work here has been – scale of 1 to 10?
25. What has worked well?
26. What didn't go as planned?
 - a. PROBE: How did you deal with these unexpected problems?
27. What are the main challenges you face in doing your work in this area?
 - a. PROBE: Were/are any individuals or groups opposed to your work? Why? Did they do anything to obstruct your work?
28. How did you deal with these challenges?
29. Who do you feel has benefited the most from [activity name]?
 - a. PROBE: What makes you say this/how do you know?
 - b. How does this relate to the people you originally set out to influence?
30. Has your work led to specific changes in this area – different ways of doing things?
 - a. PROBE: What used to happen, and what happens now?
 - b. How do you know those changes are due to your work and not to something else?
 - c. Is it possible that any negative changes might have come about because of your projects or interventions?
31. How did you assess the effectiveness of your work here?
 - a. PROBE: From the start, did you have a plan for monitoring and evaluating your work? [Where applicable, ask for relevant M&E documents, plans, etc.]
 - b. [If not] What kinds of information do you use to see whether your work is having the effects you planned?
32. Have you had any feedback on your work from outside your institution/outside this community? [Has anybody made comments about your work?]
 - a. PROBE: What was the feedback? Was there any negative feedback? What did/will you do in response to the feedback?
33. Realistically, what results do you think can be expected from your work?
 - a. PROBE: What are the limitations/obstacles to achieving more?

Social Context Probes

That's all I need about your work specifically, but as we start our own work, I want to get a little background from you on the area.

34. What groups live in this area?

35. What are the main tensions in the area that we should be aware of?
 - a. PROBE: national, ethnic, economic, business interest groups, recent (SA) migrants, generations tensions?
36. What are the symptoms of those tensions?
 - a. PROBE: taxi violence, 'xenophobic violence,' threats against certain groups, demonstrations against the role of some groups?
37. Which leaders/institutions are most and least trusted by residents?
38. Who/which groups support the idea of managing tensions peacefully, and why?
39. Who/which groups are against the idea of managing tensions peacefully?
40. Do some groups have a better position in the area than others – explain?
41. When residents talk about 'the community' do you think they're talking about everybody living here, or do only some groups qualify as proper community members?
42. How did you deal with all of these tensions in your work in the area?

Map

43. Can you show me on this map where your interventions were focussed [location of meetings, where participants come from, boundaries between mandate of this institution vs. the next (e.g., end of CPF area)]?
44. Anything else relevant to your intervention that you want to point out on the map?

Demographic

45. I also need to record some background information about you as a participant, if you are willing to share some information about yourself.
 - a. Gender: M/F
 - b. Age:
 - c. Home language:
 - d. Main source of income/how do you support yourself?
 - e. Education level? Primary / Some secondary / Completed secondary / Tertiary
 - f. FOR COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS: What community groups are you a member of? [Could be ethnic/political/or other institutional groups]

Mapping and Walking Interview Template

Materials needed:

- Questions guide
- Sketchbook
- Transparencies book
- Metal clips
- Black, blue, red, green pens (2 of each colour)
- Notebook
- Satellite map of the area (2 copies)
- Cardboard roll for finished maps

Mapping process:

1. Ask respondent to draw their spatial map IN BLACK PEN on WHITE drawing block. Label the important locations (basic street names, shops, schools, churches, public buildings, etc.) and sub-section/area names. If new places come up in the later discussion, return to the original map sheet and add these places in BLACK, but marking them with a small star to signify that they were added later.
2. Once the respondent has finished the basic map, place it under the FIRST TRANSPARENCY sheet and label this sheet COMMUNITY (clip in place). Ask questions about community and make notes on this transparency regarding the answers. Use BLUE pen to label areas and groups of people, and GREEN and RED pens to note where groups of people interact well or badly respectively.
3. Place the map under a SECOND TRANSPARENCY sheet and label this INSTITUTIONS (clip in place). Ask questions about institutions and activities and mark locations and make notes on the transparency regarding the answers. Use BLUE pen to label institutions and activities and GREEN and RED pens to note where groups of people participate or not respectively.

Place the map under a THIRD TRANSPARENCY sheet and label this DANGER (clip in place). Ask questions about dangerous or uncomfortable/uneasy places and conflict hot spots and mark locations and make notes on the transparency regarding the answers. Use RED pen to label danger places, events, groups, or people who create conflict, etc. and GREEN for safe spaces or examples of people or institutions that have tried to reduce danger and conflict.

Drawing the Map (WHITE PAPER)

1. I want to understand this area and the people who live and work in it a bit better. Later we will walk around the area so you can show me some of the important places. But first I'd like you to make a map of the area as you experience it every day. Could you draw me a basic map of the area with some of the places that you think are important? Then we will talk more and add some more details.
2. Please tell me about this map. What are the different places you've drawn here?

Record in black pen — spatial map

PROBE:

- What kinds of things are done in these places?
 - Which places are used the most by people in [area] on a day to day basis?
3. Do different areas of this place have different names? Let's draw them in.

Interpreting the Map

[For all questions draw attention to the map and indicate findings on the transparencies on top of the map.]

Community (TRANSPARENCY 1)

4. Help me understand who lives in this area. Who are the people who live in [area]?

Add transparency layer and label community

5. Do people divide themselves into groups? [What groups?]

Record people/groups in blue

6. If we talk about the community in [area], who is included? Are there people who live here but are not seen as part of the community? [Are there people who live here but don't really belong here? Are there people who are said not to be 'wanted' in [area]?

Record exclusion info in red
Record inclusion info in green

7. Do different groups or types of people live in different areas, like rich and poor, employed and unemployed, or people from different language or cultural groups? Let's indicate which groups dominate housing in different areas.
8. Do different groups work in different areas? Let's indicate on the map.

Institutions and Activities **(TRANSPARENCY 2)**

9. What are the most influential institutions in the area? Lets draw them in, where their offices are, where their main activities area (prompt: churches, NGOs, political parties, schools, community meetings, CPF, street committees, patrols).

Add transparency layer and label 'institutions'
Label institutions and activities in blue

10. Who are the community leaders, and where do they operate? (Prompt: ward councillor, ward committee members, CPF chairperson, street committee leaders, block leaders, political party leaders, church leaders?)
11. For each institution or activity, which groups does that institution mainly represent and speak for? Who goes to the activities and who does not? Why do some people not go to these institutions and activities?

Label non-participation in red
Label participation in green

Danger and Conflict (TRANSPARENCY 3)

12. Let's talk about danger zones and places in the area where people feel uncomfortable. What are the dangers in this area? Who protects people from these dangers?

Add transparency layer and label 'danger'

PROBE:

- Where do people feel generally safe or comfortable? What makes them safe or comfortable?
 - Where do people feel generally unsafe or uncomfortable? What makes them unsafe?
 - Are there some places where only certain groups or individuals are unsafe? What makes them unsafe?
13. Of the places on your map, are there any groups who don't go to these places or who find it difficult to go to these places? [Referring to identified groups and places.] Let's look at the places on the map, like the [clinic, police, shop, mall, etc. – pointing to each].
14. Are there people/groups here who do not get along with others? Why don't they get along? Let's mark on the map the places where you have seen these tensions in people's behaviour (where do you see people insulting each other, fighting, and ignoring each other or violence)?
15. Are there specific cases of violence or open conflict that you can think of in the community? Can you show where they took place, or where they regularly take place (e.g., near shebeens, at council offices, in certain sections, etc.)? Who creates/starts such conflicts, and who is involved? Are there any people or groups who have tried or succeeded in reducing or stopping such conflicts?

Label danger areas and related groups in red
Label safe areas and related groups in green

Demographic Questions

16. Thank you for constructing this map for me; it's going to be very helpful. I'm going to ask you to take me on a walk around the area to show me some of the places you've marked here and tell me more about them so I can know about what they are like on the ground, not just on the map. But first, can I have some background information about you?

Record in black on corner of spatial map

- a. Gender (Male/Female)
- b. Age
- c. Highest level of education (Primary / Some secondary / Completed secondary / Tertiary)
- d. Home languages
- e. Main source of income/ how do you support yourself?
- f. Description of which part of the area you live in
- g. Institutional group membership (check all institutions are marked on community transparency with respondent marked in green as participating)

Walking component

Ask respondent to take you on a walk through the community to see some of the areas they have marked on the map and tell us more about them. Ideally the respondent can introduce us to friends, family, or service providers in the area, individuals who could help facilitate future focus group discussions and individual interviews.

Take note of important landmarks identifying different areas on satellite map.

During the walk, ask the respondent again: 'So, are there any places here that you don't really feel comfortable walking around in?' (Especially important for the 'outsider' respondent.) Note, if possible, whether or not there are any places the respondent does not take you or does not wish to go to and the reasons for that (e.g., the respondent might feel/say that the area is not 'important,' that 'nothing happens here,' that 'there's nothing to see here,' or that 'this place is for X people,' etc.

Having marked the satellite map, at the end of the walk ask participant if s/he can identify where any of the following boundaries lie: SAPS Sector boundaries, ward boundaries, township/neighbourhood boundaries, etc.

Analysis Phase

- Scan the maps drawn. Construct from the maps and the actual ward map a merged map to use in focus groups and from which to select focus group participants.
- Have on hand a map on which all known boundaries are overlaid (e.g., SAPS Sector boundaries, ward boundaries, township/neighbourhood boundaries, etc.
- Compare the different walking maps by different respondents.

Interview Schedule: Focus Group Discussion

Insiders/Outsiders

1. Who lives in [name of area]?
2. Do people divide themselves into groups?
3. Are there people/groups here who do not get along with others? Why don't they get along?
4. Are there some groups who are seen as outsiders here?

Mapping Insiders/Outsiders and their Relationships

1. Here is a map that some residents helped us to draw. We want to make sure it is correct and complete. You can see [name some landmarks/places] here and here. Are there other important places that you think should be on the map?
2. You said that [group] are seen as 'outsiders.' On this map, can you show me the places where [group] live and work?
3. PROBE: What kind of work do they do in those spaces?
4. Are there places where everyone works/lives together, where I would be able to find both groups [depending on the tension groups identified] in the same space?
5. You said that [group name] don't get along with [group name]. Sometimes you might see these tensions in people's behaviour (like where you see people insulting each other, fighting, and ignoring each other or violence)? Can you point out on the map the places where you have seen group tensions coming out in what people do?

Probing Types of Conflict

6. What kinds of conflict have taken place in this area? What happened?
 - a. PROBE: Have there been any conflicts recently (for example, over crime, housing, services, politics, taxi routes, or business competition)?
 - b. Who were the different groups/people involved?
 - c. What are the kinds of issues they fight or disagree about?

- d. What actually happened to set off the conflict?

This section would need to be recorded and transcribed as it could not be recorded on the map.

7. Have the issues that caused the conflict been resolved?
- PROBE: How were they resolved?
 - Who were the actors involved in resolving the issue?
 - After it was resolved, did any more incidents happen that were caused by the same issue?
 - If the issue hasn't been resolved, then what is preventing it from being resolved?
 - Do you think that the same type of conflict is likely to arise in the future? Why?
8. Did anybody get hurt or have to run away from the area because of the incident? Please explain what happened. [We are trying to ask who started it.]
9. [If nobody was hurt or had to run away] Sometimes these incidents result in violence. Why did that not happen in this case?
10. If there are other incidents of **violent** conflict, what made violence happen in those cases?
11. Could similar conflicts happen again? If a similar problem occurred in the same place, what do you think would happen?
12. If there have been other conflicts where there was **no violence**, why was there no violence?
13. Could similar conflicts happen again? If a similar problem occurred in the same place, what do you think would happen? [Make question more concrete based on previous responses.]
14. What generally prevents violence during conflicts in this area?
15. Are there places on the map that have more or less violence than others? Why is this?

Interventions

Moving away from conflict, let's mark on the map the places where people from the same group work together.

This section would need to be recorded and transcribed as it could not be recorded on the map.

16. Where do people from different groups work together? [Show on map.]
17. That's interesting that people from different groups cooperate/get along/work together when [describe the circumstances they just outlined]. Why do you think they are willing/able to cooperate in this situation?
18. Over time, have you noticed any changes in people's ability or willingness to get along or work together?
 - a. PROBE: What has changed?
 - b. What do you think caused this change?
19. Do you know any people/orgs/events/activities that are trying to bring different groups together/help different groups to live side by side without problems?
 - a. PROBE: Who?
 - b. What have they been doing? Since when? Are they still doing it?
 - c. Why did they choose to do that, and why in this area?
 - d. Who did they work with? (PROBE: partnering orgs AND target group.)
 - e. Are they still doing it?
 - f. How did you come to know about it?
 - g. What did this 'intervention' (activity/committee) accomplish?
 - h. What have you seen that makes you say they accomplished that?
 - i. Why do you think they were able to accomplish this? Or why did they fail?
 - j. Has anyone else tried to tackle this issue here? [Go through probe questions again.]
 - k. Can you tell me about any other people/orgs/events/activities that are trying to bring different groups together/help different groups to live side by side without problems? [Go through probe questions again.]

[Name community leaders and leadership groups that have not been mentioned, and ask whether they exist and have been involved in any interventions.]

List each one and discuss separately. Brainstorm these things onto a blank sheet for reference.

Probing idea for whole section:

*The last time that violence took place here [reference a specific incident] what happened?
Who intervened?*

20. What do you think should be done to bring people together/help different groups live side by side without problems?
 - a. PROBE: Why do you think this would be a helpful thing to do?
21. Has anybody tried this?
 - a. PROBE: If not, why do you think nobody has tried it?

Legitimacy

22. Referring to the list of actors who have intervened, ask: Which ones are only trusted by certain groups?
 - a. PROBE: Which groups?
 - b. Why do you think [group] trusts this actor when others don't? (Circle or label on map.)

Note the relationships between groups and actors on existing sheet.

23. Which ones are trusted by all groups, including outsiders (if any)?
 - a. PROBE: If you were attacked or threatened, who would you go to for help? Why would you go to this person over other people? Who would you not ever go to? And if that person/organisation couldn't help you, who would you go to next? Why?

- b. What if you were evicted from your home unfairly, or your children were not allowed to attend school? What would you do about it, and who would you approach for help?
- c. Who do you get support from when you need it? Who else gets support from [X]? Why do you think other groups don't go to [X]?
- d. If any of the obvious local actors have not been mentioned as influential, PROMPT: Are the CPF/councillor/community development workers/ward committee members trusted? Why have they not been involved in bringing different groups together?

Intervention Influence Mapping

- 24. Ok, I would like you to help me create a web of how all of these different groups are connected and how they affect you. In the middle of the web I am going to put a circle that says, 'People that manage tensions in [area].' Then, there are three different sized circles you can use to represent the different groups and actors that manage tensions. The largest circle has the greatest influence here, and the smallest circle has the least influence.
- 25. Prompt with names from sheet developed under Q17 – how influential is each – and draw onto the web.
- 26. Do any of these activities/organizations/events focus more on the needs and rights of certain groups? Do any focus on the needs and rights of outsiders? How?
- 27. Do any of these activities/organizations/events create tensions between some of the different groups we've talked about? [Prompt with identified group names if necessary.] How?
- 28. Let's check that we have all the activities/organizations/events that we said manage tensions on the web. Are there any others that you think should be on the web that we've left out, that manage tensions between outsiders and other groups in the area?
- 29. [Ask for more information on any actors added to the Q17 list at this point – who leads them, what do they do, etc.]

Intervention Probes

We have spoken to some organisations that did some activities here. We want to know a bit more about these.

For each intervention that we know about before the focus group, ask:

30. [Organisation] did [Activity] in your area in [time period]. Do any of you know about that?
31. [If yes] What did they do? When did they start? Are they still doing it?
32. b) Did you participate in any way? How did you hear about it? How did you come to participate? What was your part?
33. c) Where were the posters/meetings? Where did you see the posters/hear the radio ad/ attend a meeting?
34. [If some did not know about or participate in the activity] Why do you think you didn't get to hear about it while others did? Why didn't you take part? [Note if someone didn't for example attend a play but sent their children to it.]
35. (If applicable) What did you think of the picture/radio ad at the time?
36. What message do you think the poster/radio ad/play was trying to portray?
37. Who do you think the poster/radio ad/play was meant for (i.e., which groups)? Why?
38. What effect did this 'intervention' (activity/advert) have on the community? What effect did it have on you and/or your family/group? What makes you say that?

Show/play it if possible, and ask what they think of it now

Fill in the following table for demographic data of participants.

Participant Names (Real and Assumed)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Gender						
Age						
Area of residence within site						
Language group						
Livelihood activity						
Form of housing						
Institutional group membership						

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