Provincial Government of the Western Cape

The Provincial Social Capital Formation Strategy with an emphasis on Youth

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Provincial Government of the Western Cape.
FORWORD

The Provincial Government of the Western Cape wants to turn the Western Cape into “A Home for All” where the principles of diversity, change, dignity, humanity, respect, community, and passion drive the everyday life of those living in the province.

The iKapa Elihlumayo strategy aims to grow the Cape through eight developmental priorities. One of these pillars is the Social Capital Formation Strategy which places an emphasis on the youth of the province. Social capital refers to institutions, relationships, norms and networks that shape the quality and quantity of society’s social interactions and enables collective action.

Opportunities and resources will be provided to prepare youth for the world of work and adulthood.

The outcomes of the strategy will seek to ensure that the province becomes a Home for All where citizens have a sense of well-being, where there is greater access to opportunities, services and information, where people live in safe communities, where citizens are civic-minded, and where strong families present a firm foundation for ubuntu at the community and wider level. This will be done through a collaborative effort between spheres of government, civil society, labour, and business.

It thus signifies an attempt to foster social cohesion and social inclusion in a province where some people still experience exclusion from a normative society.

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Integrated Social Capital Formation Strategy: Executive summary

Background to the focus on social capital
The 2003 Framework for the Development of the Western Cape Province captures the vision of iKapa Elihlumayo as: ‘A World Class province which cares for all its people, underpinned by a vibrant, growing and sustainable economy.’ The provincial government’s mission is to work together with all stakeholders to serve the province’s people through building social capital, building human capital, and enhanced economic participation and growth. One of the eight developmental priorities approved by the Cabinet in order to achieve the mission is building social capital, with an emphasis on youth.

The Western Cape’s focus on social capital is in line with the concept of social cohesion put forward in national government’s discussion document Towards a Ten Year Review. It is also in line with President Mbeki’s desire to address the challenges posed by the existence of two economies in the country.

Social capital is usually raised when discussing characteristics of the broader society. The Western Cape government has, in addition, coined the term ‘internal social capital’ to describe its vision of a government whose parts work together in an integrated way rather than in departmental silos. This integrated government must then find ways of working together with civil society that build and benefit from the latter’s strengths i.e. its social capital.

This strategy paper reflects the outcome of many months of work of the Social Sector cluster within the Western Cape government discussing the notion of social capital and how each of the departments separately, as well as in combination, can contribute to its strengthening. The paper attempts to create a framework for this work by defining social capital, describing the situation in the province which gives rise to the need to strengthen it, and describing some examples of initiatives that exemplify how government can do so. The final sections of the paper describe the institutional framework within which it is proposed to take the social capital formation strategy forward, and how this work will be funded.

Defining social capital
In large part what the terms ‘social capital’, ‘social cohesion’ and ‘social compact’ are referring to is the well-known South African concept of ‘ubuntu’. The concepts reflect a concern about the well-being of others, and a realisation that one’s own well-being will be harmed when the well-being of others is threatened.

Social capital is a more academic term that has become popular among some thinkers about development. Broadly speaking, social capital refers to the institutions, relationships and norms that shape the quality and quantity of social
interactions within a society. Some analysts refer to social capital as the ‘glue’ that holds society together.

Social capital can be both positive and negative. The Western Cape is home to a thriving negative form of social capital in the form of gangs. Gangs and many other forms of networking illustrate another potentially negative aspect of social capital, namely that creation of a network usually simultaneously creates ‘outsiders’ as well as ‘insiders’. The Western Cape province’s vision of a ‘Home for All’ requires that the social capital networks within the province embrace all its people, not just certain groups.

To help think about social capital and whether and how to promote it, it is useful to distinguish between different types, namely bonding, bridging and linking social capital. Bonding (or exclusive) capital refers to networking that happens within relatively homogeneous groups. This type of social capital can very easily lead to exclusion of others. Bridging (or inclusive) capital brings together people across different social divides. The third type, linking capital, refers to vertical alliances, such as between government and civil society, or between organised labour and organised business. The Western Cape’s interest is in strengthening bridging and linking capital.

Another useful distinction is between the three components of social capital: social networks (who knows who); social norms (the informal and formal rules that guide how network members behave in relation to each other); and sanctions (the processes that help to ensure that network members keep to the rules). Strategies to strengthen social capital need to consider each of these three.

The Western Cape legacy
The Western Cape has both strengths and weaknesses which will need to be acknowledged if the social capital formation strategy is to be successful. As in other spheres, the apartheid legacy affects social capital in that apartheid’s very essence was that it served to divide rather than unite. However, despite forced separation, people came together across race and even class divides in the struggle against apartheid in a strong example of bridging capital. More recently, too, in the post-1994 period, different groups have displayed an amazing willingness to work together to address problems. The above are positive experiences on which we can build.

The country’s Constitution establishes the participatory nature of our democracy. The province’s understanding of social capital formation sees participation as encompassing government working together with different actors within civil society to deliver services and generally ensure the population’s well-being.

There are legacies on which government can build in adopting this approach. There are, in particular, many examples from the social welfare sector even from
the apartheid years. In recent years there have been more examples of community members assisting with government service delivery, including in other sectors beyond social welfare.

Positive social capital is a means to achieving a range of economic and social goals as well as an end in itself. Government acknowledges, however, that social capital is not a cure-all. It is only one of eight development priorities of the province’s Framework for Development. It is nevertheless an important component that will assist in achieving the other priorities.

The Framework for Development sees the province’s initiatives in respect of social capital formation focusing, in particular, on the youth as they are among the more vulnerable members of our society in many respects, despite their physical advantages compared to those who are younger and older. Youth and the younger children who will soon be youth are the citizens of the future. In addition to youth, government plans to focus its social capital initiatives on those who are neediest, whether in economic, social or other terms. This is particularly important in a country such as South Africa and a province such as Western Cape where there are stark inequalities in economic as well as other respects.

The province’s strategy will focus on achieving the following outcomes in its objective of strengthening social capital:
- improved accessibility to government services and information;
- safer communities;
- citizens with a strong sense of well-being;
- citizens who are civic-minded; and
- strong families as a firm foundation for ubuntu at the community and wider level.

Profile of the Western Cape

The Framework for the Development of the Western Cape Province refers to the high crime rate, high poverty rates, early school leaving and slow delivery of appropriate housing as among the characteristics of the province necessitating the strengthening of social capital.

The rate of crime in Western Cape is higher than in other provinces for several of the most serious crimes. Murder, rape and armed robbery, in particular, are at very high levels. A significant proportion of crime involves gangs. High levels of alcohol and drug abuse also contribute to the crime rate.

In terms of the economy, the Western Cape is, overall, in better shape than most other provinces. The benefits are, however, not experienced by a significant proportion of the people of the province. As elsewhere in the country, unemployment constitutes a major problem. In addition, inequality between rich and poor is generally starker than in other provinces.
Ongoing demographic movements add to the province’s problems in terms of unemployment and inequality in that in-migration of both poorer people from Eastern and Northern Cape and wealthier ones from Gauteng have almost certainly exacerbated the inequalities in the province, and contributed to the unemployment rate.

In terms of education, while far more learners currently reach grade 12 than during apartheid, many subsequently are able neither to continue their education nor to find a job. The lack of opportunities even for those who finish grade 12 discourages those at lower levels, so that some choose to drop out and find other ways – including crime – of keeping themselves busy.

In respect of housing, the Western Cape province faces a backlog of 320 000. Many families have been on waiting lists for many years, if not decades. Their claims must be balanced against the needs of newer immigrants who previously were prevented from coming to the province, let alone owning property. Many of the province’s people live in informal and unplanned housing estates with little or no provision for recreational activities for children and youth. Others live in backyard shacks. These forms of housing provide opportunities for anti-social behaviour.

Spatial planning under apartheid resulted in most poor black communities being situated far from opportunities for work. As a result, those fortunate enough to be employed and those seeking employment still today tend to travel long distances on a daily basis. This commuting exposes the commuters to physical danger and risk of other crimes on the trains and minibus taxis.

Poor communities invariably suffer from poor health. As with income, there are stark inequalities between different areas of the Western Cape. The Western Cape performs better than other provinces in terms of HIV/AIDS. However, the overall prevalence rate of (2004) 15,4% is still cause for concern. The rate is higher for women than men particularly among the youth.

Strengthening social capital will not, itself, directly lead to job creation. It will, however, help to ensure that communities in which unemployment rates are high do not suffer all the different aspects of poverty to the same extent as they would otherwise. It will also create a more conducive environment for investment and job creation.

Profile of youth in the Western Cape
The situation of youth in respect of crime, poverty, health, housing and education is particularly worrying.

In respect of crime, the number of arrests of children under the age of 18 increased from 1 500 per month in 1999 to 3 000 in 2003. Street children, in particular, are often involved in crime, because of the lack of alternative
opportunities. In addition, recent research has revealed that learners in the Western Cape exceed the national average in terms of a range of indicators related to substance abuse.

Schools are often a venue for sale of drugs. They are also sites for recruitment of new gang members and for inter-gang fights. In addition, facilities and opportunities vary greatly between schools within the provinces. For example, in some schools there are limited, if any, sports facilities and no activities available after school lessons finish.

In terms of poverty and unemployment, in September 2004, the unemployment rate among youth was 26.8% compared to 9.3% for those aged 35-65 years.

In terms of health, there is an extremely high rate of homicide among young males aged 15-40 years in Cape Town. In addition, prevalence rates for HIV/AIDS are higher for youth than for those who are older.

Implementing programmes that support social capital formation
The initiatives described address social capital in a range of different ways. Some of the initiatives reflect ubuntu on the part of government, in the sense of a concern about exclusion. Some of the initiatives involve acknowledging and using existing social capital in communities. Some initiatives aim to build social capital or to avoid elements which tend to destroy it. Finally, some initiatives aim to destroy negative forms of social capital.

Crime
Many of the initiatives in terms of crime involve community participation. This is in line with the lead strategy of the Department of Community Safety (DCS), which is called Bambanani Unite Against Crime. Bambanani aims to mobilise communities to work with the police and other law enforcement agencies to fight crime.

For example, Bambanani’s Safer Festive Season programme works through volunteers who received training in how to work together with law enforcement agencies to reduce crime. The DCS jointly co-ordinates the Safer Festive Season programme with the lead agency, the South Africa Police Service (SAPS). Also involved are five provincial departments, most municipalities, and one parastatal (Metrorail). From outside government the partners include 13 community-based structures with more than 4,500 volunteers, a range of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and sports organisations, two private sector banks and the media. During 2004/05 this collaboration led to a further decrease of 2% in serious violent crime against the 18% decrease achieved during the 2004/04 period. Similarly, the DCS reported a further 5.5% decrease in motor vehicle accidents during 2004/05 against the 13% decrease achieved during the same period in 2003/04.
The DCS also promotes and supports community police forums and neighbourhood watches as ways of harnessing community energy. More than 4 000 volunteers from neighbourhood and farm watches have been trained. In addition, the DCS provides funding to an NGO which is building on the legacy of street committees in African townships to create a community-centered, first-level justice system. The committees deal with a range of minor problems relating to crime, health, rehabilitation of petty thieves, and retrieving stolen goods.

The Chrysalis Academy is one of several crime-related initiatives in respect of youth. The Academy aims to provide ‘youth at risk’ with positive role models and create community leaders of the future. Other youth initiatives include Youth Leaders Against Crime, Youth Peace Academy Clubs and the Drug Reduction Project.

The province has recently developed a strategy for addressing substance abuse which brings together the efforts of a range of departments. The strategy involves a significant shift from an institutional treatment-oriented model to one that is community-based and that enables community participation. The strategy is three-pronged, in that it aims at reduction in supply, reduction in demand, and an increase in treatment and rehabilitation options. The third prong will include the establishment of support groups for abusers and their families, the deploying of follow-up referral agents, community-based follow-up of those receiving assistance, and capacity building for social workers, nurses, helpline advisers and others so that they can provide counselling. The strategy will be coordinated by a steering committee elected by the Western Cape Substance Abuse Forum.

Poverty

Social capital is not the government's primary strategy for addressing poverty in the sense of creating jobs. Nevertheless, the social capital formation strategy includes prioritisation of previously disadvantaged communities in terms of provision of services.

Thus the Department of Social Services & Poverty Alleviation plans to increase the number of local offices in under-served areas. It will also employ an additional 64 community development workers, of whom the majority will be youth workers, and deploy them to areas of greatest need.

In terms of services, the Department plans to focus on early childhood development (ECD) and youth development. Over the next five years, it plans to reach 75 000 children by keeping the subsidy per child at its current level. In addition, the Department will fund 200 learnerships each year to increase the capacity of ECD teachers.

In respect of youth proper, the Department has established the Brawam-Siswam programme. This programme uses a peer mentoring approach in which learners in grade 9-11 will be mentored by second and third year university students. In
this way, students from marginalised areas who have overcome adversity can motivate younger learners to complete their schooling.

**Education**
The Truancy Reduction Project is a school-based project aimed at combating crime, as well as limiting the growth of gangs. In each of the targeted areas, four schools have been identified and allocated a full-time learner support officer (LSO). The LSO obtains the names of truant learners from teachers, locates the child and provides assistance which will help in getting the child back in school. In 2003, the project has had an 80% success rate.

The Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport is focusing its energy on the area of school sport. Firstly, it will continue to provide facilities and financial support for school games, particularly in poorer areas and schools. Secondly, it will extend its School Stepping Stones project into schools in the neediest areas. This project involves a system of learnerships which places full-time sports assistants in schools. The task of the assistants is to organise and coach sports activities in the afternoons.

**Housing**
Over the first ten years of democracy, the national and provincial departments responsible for housing focused on the quantity of housing built in an attempt to address historical backlogs. More recently the focus has shifted to considering quality as well as quantity. This includes consideration of how geographic location and provision of opportunities for social interaction contribute to creating quality human settlements.

The Department is aware of the impact the process of creating housing can have on the way it is viewed and the well-being of the communities. It will therefore continue to utilise partnerships such as the People’s Housing Process.

The new policy ‘Breaking New Ground’ should change the way in which housing is provided. It is envisaged that the N2 Gateway project will provide 130 000 housing opportunities over the next few years.

**Health**
The Department of Health’s Healthcare 2010 strategy reflects a focus on primary-level services, community-based care and preventative care. The strategy will decrease current inequities by giving preference to under-serviced areas when expanding primary care services. Improvements in health as a result of increased access to services should facilitate the building of social capital by freeing up people’s time and increasing their ability to engage in social interaction. Locally provided services should simultaneously encourage community ownership of the health facilities.

In implementing the strategy, the Department will aim to ensure that:
quality basic health services are provided at a primary care level in an accessible, efficient and appropriate manner; and

the Department makes appropriate use of existing social capital by promoting linkages between communities and government which allow communities to advocate for the delivery of equitable and professional health care services.

The Department will achieve the latter through establishing clinic and community health centre committees as provided for in the National Health Act of 2003. It will also work through the various development forums that have been created in different areas to bring together representatives of communities, NGOs, community-based organisations, government and, where appropriate, private sector representatives.

Institutional framework
The institutional framework for the social capital formation policy must provide for coordination between the different departments, as well as with local government, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs), trade unions and the private sector.

Cabinet is the apex of the provincial government and sets the overall strategic priorities, including for the social capital formation strategy. Cabinet’s position at the apex allows for it to ensure synergy between the social capital formation strategy, strategies in respect of the other five priorities, national strategies, and strategies of the municipalities within the province. The Cabinet’s instrument for effecting integration is the Premier’s Intergovernmental Forum (PIF) which, in turn, is served by the PIF Technical Committee. There will also be a technical task team operating under the DSSPA and social cluster which will provide advice in respect of the social capital formation strategy. The individual provincial departments are responsible for implementing the projects and programmes which make up the social capital formation strategy.

Municipalities are also key players if the social capital formation strategy is to succeed. It is at this level that community members can come together to express their needs and interests, and discuss how they can work together with others to achieve this. The departments from their side need to look for ways in which they can work with and through the various municipal level groupings.

Monitoring and evaluation
Each department has an internal monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system which it uses to monitor its progress. Monitoring mainly involves measurement of outputs, or deliverables, of projects and programmes. Evaluation is concerned primarily with outcomes, or impact. These measures go beyond deliverables to assess what changes the programmes and projects have brought about.
In respect of the social capital formation strategy, departments will remain responsible for monitoring of deliverables for each of their projects and programmes. The cluster, in contrast, will require a system that assesses the success of the strategy in terms of outcomes and allows it to report to Cabinet. For this it will want to measure outcome indicators and a selected number of output indicators from each of the departments to allow an assessment of the extent to which the different projects and programmes may be contributing to the outcomes.

**Funding the social capital formation strategy**

There is no dedicated budget to fund the Social Capital Formation Strategy. Each department is expected to re-organise their existing budget so that it is aligned to the strategy. New funding resources will however have to be made available for the funding of some new initiatives as reflected in the strategic and annual performance plans of departments.

The annexures to this document nevertheless highlights the shifts in core business that each department envisaged as it takes the Social Capital Formation Strategy forward. The strategy requires departments to redistribute existing and new resources to areas of greatest need and highest priority. For this reason government will have to increase it’s funding to the NGO sector who, as a significant partner also needs to deliver services within government’s new mandate and therefore requires strengthening of this important network.

Besides funding resources, human resources will also play a significant role in the successful implementation of the strategy. Batho Pele requires government personnel to be facilitators of the necessary linkages to ensure access to information and opportunities. As they go about their daily tasks administrators need to link people and organisations and scale them up from levels of desperation to levels that instill hope and access to services. Government employees will be supported in this work by community based care workers, community development workers, social development workers, learner support officers, sport coaches and volunteers.
Background to the focus on social capital

The 2003 Framework for the Development of the Western Cape Province captures the vision of iKapa Elihlumayo as: ‘A World Class province which cares for all its people, underpinned by a vibrant, growing and sustainable economy.’ The provincial government’s mission is to work together in an effective way with all stakeholders to serve the province’s people through:

- building social capital;
- building human capital; and
- enhanced economic participation and growth.

The eight developmental priorities approved by the Cabinet in order to achieve the mission again raised the importance of social capital, with a special emphasis on youth. The eight priorities are:

- building social capital with an emphasis on youth;
- building human capital with an emphasis on youth;
- strategic infrastructure investment;
- a micro-economic strategy;
- a spatial development framework;
- co-ordination and communication;
- improving financial governance; and
- provincialisation of municipally-rendered services.

The importance of social capital is explained as follows:

Increasingly evidence shows that social cohesion [and] social capital is critical for poverty alleviation and sustainable human and economic development. High crime, high poverty rates, early school leaving, slow delivery of appropriate housing [and] community building projects and the after-effects of the pre-1994 cultural, political and economic divide, all point to the necessity of building social capital in our communities. Such an intervention should aim to strengthen social ties and integration.

The Western Cape’s focus on social capital is in line with the understanding of national government. Thus the discussion document Towards a Ten Year Review notes the need for a social compact which brings together the formal institutions of government and civil society in joint action. The Review warns that if the activities of civil society are not ‘harnessed to the development project of the nation, they could increasingly become sites of contestation between government and civil society’¹. The document depicts the inter-relationship between such a social compact and other objectives of government in the following diagram:

Diagram 1: Framework for social partnership

The concepts of social capital and social compact both talk to the need for social cohesion and avoidance of social marginalisation and exclusion of members of society. In his State of the Nation Address of February 2004, President Mbeki raised this issue when discussing the need to address the challenges posed by the existence of two economies – a first-world prosperous one which provided decent conditions and income, and a third-world economy in which people were marginalised in low-paying work with poor conditions or unemployed. Like the Western Cape’s framework and the Review’s diagram, this speech again made the link between social capital and cohesion and economic prosperity for all citizens.

In line with the President’s call, the Western Cape’s Premier Rasool and his Cabinet have committed themselves to creating ‘A Home For All’ in the Western Cape. In particular, in his State of the Province address in May 2004, Premier Rasool committed the provincial government to addressing the problems of the second economy in order to eliminate social disparities within the society. In order to do this, the Premier introduced the concept of ‘Holism in Service Delivery’. This concept arises from the observation that at present different parts of government operate in isolation from each other, in silos. Holism requires that

- to articulate an encompassing framework to integrate activities of government
- to harness efforts of civil society to realize national development objectives

Social Compact as encompassing framework co-ordinating action between government and social partners
the different parts of government work together and recognise that the communities, households and individuals whom they serve are not made up of separate ‘health’, ‘education’, ‘economic’ and other components, but rather consist of the inter-relationship between these different aspects. The province has created the term ‘internal social capital’ to describe its vision of a ‘seamless’ government whose parts work together in an integrated way to promote the core principle of Batho Pele – People First. This integrated government must then find ways of working together with civil society that build and benefit from the latter’s strengths i.e. its social capital.

The Office and Department of the Premier are coordinating the drafting and implementation of the internal social capital formation strategy. The location of this responsibility with the Premier indicates the priority which the provincial government attaches to seamless operation. Many of the examples provided below of current and planned ways in which government plans to operationalise the social capital formation strategy illustrate the inter-sectoral approach which is central to seamless operations.

The draft strategy paper on internal social and human capital suggests that the starting point for the province to be ‘developmental’ is the belief that the greatest impact is made at the point of service delivery to ordinary people. The paper states that the province will only succeed in achieving its vision of iKapa Elihulmayo if it has:

- an organisational culture that promotes developmental outcomes and effective service delivery to the public;
- effective leadership across the different levels of the different agencies;
- human resource development and management systems that offer incentives and opportunities for empowerment, leadership and service;
- effective coordination systems, structures and practices; and
- effective communication to ensure that all staff buy into the vision of the Home for All campaign.

Promotion of internal social capital also means that the more than 68 000 employees of the province must see themselves as ‘change agents’. This extends beyond the workplace in that they will be expected to work simultaneously as members of their own communities and as civil servants to build the community-government links that are necessary for the social capital formation strategy to have its intended impact.

The province’s framework of 2003 notes that the building of social capital requires action by a range of departments, but mandates the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation (DSSPA) to take the lead in the initiative. The DSSPA is grouped together with the Departments of Health, Education, Community Safety, Local Government and Housing, and Cultural Affairs and Sport in the province’s Social Sector Cluster. This strategy paper reflects the outcome of many months of work of the departments within this cluster.
discussing the notion of social capital and how each of them separately, as well as in combination, can contribute to its strengthening. The paper does not attempt to provide a comprehensive picture of everything the provincial government and NGO sector are currently doing and plan to do in this respect. Instead, it attempts to create a framework for this work by defining social capital, describing the situation in the province which gives rise to the need to strengthen it, and describing some examples of initiatives that exemplify how government can do so. The final sections of the paper describe the institutional framework within which it is proposed to take the social capital formation strategy forward, and how this work will be funded.
Defining social capital

Definitions
The introduction to this paper refers to the terms ‘social capital’, ‘social compact’ and ‘social cohesion’. In large part what these notions are referring to is the well-known South African concept of ‘ubuntu’. ‘Ubuntu’ involves the notion that a person is a person only through other people. It thus reflects a concern about the well-being of others, and a realisation that one’s own well-being will be harmed when the well-being of others is threatened. The concept suggests a nation that celebrates and works together in its diversity, seeing its diversity as a strength rather than as a weakness.

Social capital is a more academic term that has become popular among some thinkers about development. Like human capital, it was developed as a parallel to the concepts of physical and financial capital used in economic analysis.

Broadly speaking, social capital refers to the institutions, relationships and norms that shape the quality and quantity of social interactions within a society. It refers to networks in a society that are based on trust and shared values. For the economist the notion is important as the trust and shared values make it possible to exchange goods and services. Social capital also provides a person or family with access to resources of others, rather than having to rely only on their own resources. Some analysts refer to social capital as the ‘glue’ that holds society together.

Some analysts tend to romanticise the notion of social capital. They point to the fact that while poor people may not have physical or financial capital, they have both human capital (their labour power) and social capital. As evidence of the latter, they point to the fact that when a poor person is really down and out, their neighbour might well help them with sugar or bread, despite the neighbour’s own dire poverty. Other analysts argue, in contrast, that there are fewer beneficial networks in poor communities than in better-off ones. Examples of networks in the better-off communities include the old boys’ networks and clubs of the wealthy. These analysts propose that strengthening social capital could assist in promoting economic and other aspects of well-being of those who are currently poor.

Woolcock and Narayan² suggest that the concept of social capital was first used in 1916. After a long silence, the concept reappeared in the work of Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Robert Putnam. Bourdieu³ (1986) defined social

capital as ‘the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition, or, in other words, to membership in a group.’ For Bourdieu what was important was not only the resources that an individual has him/herself, but also the resources that he or she has access to through networks with other people. Coleman defined social capital as ‘a variety of entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure. Unlike other forms of capital, social capital inheres in the structure of the relations between persons and among persons. It is lodged neither in individuals nor in physical implements of production.’ Putnam (1993) described the concept as follows: ‘Similar to the notions of physical and human capital, the term social capital refers to features of social organization – such as networks, norms, and trust that increase a society’s productive potential’.

The common element across the wide range of definitions available is that social capital can be understood as the connectedness between people that enables mutual benefit and collective action. Social capital is the wealth that common values give to a community. It is the general attitude of a community that brings about social and economic development.

The concept is, however, not without its critics. The problem of romanticism has already been raised. Critics argue that, by using the notion of capital to describe economic social goods, the concept is linked with the ideology of capitalism. Such critics ask whether a capitalist society can build and sustain social capital in a meaningful way if one finds fairly high levels of social capital in poor communities (in the sense that there is a high sense of belonging, common suffering and therefore an unwritten code that individuals should support each other and community issues), while in wealthier communities there are high levels of participation in community events for personal benefit (meaning low social capital). DeFilippis finds the concept fundamentally flawed on the basis of its failure to take into account issues of power.

**Social capital research in the Western Cape**
The above paragraphs present the theory of social capital. The Unit for Social Research at the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation has networked with research institutions in the province in order to understand what research on the topic has already been done or is planned in order to increase our empirical understanding of the issue. The Unit’s discussions with the institutions revealed that there is no published research in South Africa focusing

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on social capital formation as a public sector approach with an emphasis on the youth.

In order to fill the identified research gap, the Department initiated two studies in respect of social capital formation:

- ‘Brawam-Siswam’ involves action research around a mentorship programme which aims to address the high level of school dropout in the province. The initiative is a collaborative venture between the DSSPA, Department of Education, and the University of the Western Cape.
- An exploratory analysis of the stock of social capital, both negative and positive, in the Western Cape, to form the basis for intervention strategies aimed at building social cohesion.

Other partners in the research network are involved in complementary research initiatives, which include the following:

- The Unit for Religious Demographic Research at the University of Stellenbosch is exploring the mobilisation of faith-based organisations in Paarl, George and Khayelitsha;
- The School of Economics at the University of the Western Cape is conducting research on social capital in the Drakenstein area, with an emphasis on economic aspects;
- The Human Sciences Research Council has established a new unit, the Social Cohesion and Integration Research Programme, to investigate a wide range of different facets of social cohesion;
- The Centre for Social Science Research at the University of Cape Town has, since 2000, been conducting an ongoing series of surveys in Cape Town. The surveys are modelled on the Detroit Area Study which has been conducted annually since 1951 by the University of Michigan, and focuses on youth. The 2003 study is of particular interest as it addresses the issue of social capital and trust in communities in the Western Cape, and attempted to develop a methodology appropriate for measuring social capital in the local context.

**Different types of social capital**

Social capital can be both positive and negative. The Western Cape is home to a thriving negative form of social capital in the form of gangs. There is strong cohesion and trust within these gangs and there is economic benefit for members in being part of these ‘clubs’. However the outcome for the rest of society – as well as arguably ultimately for gang members – is negative rather than positive. There are also examples of community initiatives that start out as well-intentioned attempts to address real problems within the community, such as crime or drugs, but over time begin to adopt some of the negative characteristics of those they claim to oppose. A third negative example is when supposed self-defense activities turn into vigilante-ism. As elaborated on below, the province’s aim is to build positive social capital and find ways of breaking down negative social capital.
Gangs and many other forms of networking illustrate another potentially negative aspect of social capital, namely that creation of a network usually simultaneously creates ‘outsiders’ as well as ‘insiders’. One example of this is stokvels. These rotating savings clubs are often lauded as an excellent example of poor people coming together to help themselves and each other. However, the poorest of the poor, for example those with intermittent income, will usually be excluded from these clubs because others fear that they will not be able to contribute regularly. The province’s vision of a ‘Home for All’ requires that the social capital networks within the province embrace all its people, not just certain groups.

To help think about social capital and whether and how to promote it, it is useful to distinguish between different types, namely bonding, bridging and linking social capital. **Bonding** (or exclusive) capital refers to networking that happens within relatively homogeneous groups. An example is a school that attempts to ensure that its learners all come from similar types of homes. This type of social capital can very easily lead to exclusion of others. **Bridging** (or inclusive) capital brings together people across different social divides. Even here, there are likely to be similarities between members of the network that encourage them to join, however there is more diversity among the members than with bonding capital. Both bonding and bridging capital generally involve horizontal links between members of society. The third type, linking capital, refers to vertical alliances, such as between government and civil society, or between organised labour and organised business. The Western Cape’s interest is in strengthening bridging and linking social capital. In terms of the internal social capital formation, this means building communication and networks that go beyond the traditional departmental ‘silos’ and cut across employment categories and job grades.

Another useful distinction is between the three components of social capital: **social networks** (who knows who); **social norms** (the informal and formal rules that guide how network members behave in relation to each other); and **sanctions** (the processes that help to ensure that network members keep to the rules). Strategies to strengthen social capital need to consider each of these three. Creating inclusive neighbourhoods rather than the racially divided living spaces of apartheid would promote widening of social networks, as would opening up schools to a wider range of feeder neighbourhoods. School and extra-mural initiatives to teach young people life skills can assist with building positive social norms.

**The Western Cape legacy**
The Western Cape has both strengths and weaknesses which will need to be acknowledged if the social capital formation strategy is to be successful.

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As in other spheres, the apartheid legacy affects social capital. Apartheid’s very essence was that it served to divide rather than unite. In essence, it represented an explicit state strategy to reinforce bonding capital within racially-defined groups, at the same time as destroying bridging capital that existed across racial groups. One well-known example of the latter was District Six. Before forced removals, District Six housed a working class community that was very diverse in terms of race and religion. These people lived and played together and had a real sense of ‘community’. They lived near to work opportunities and were part of City life. This community was forcibly broken up, and dispersed to racially exclusive townships far from work opportunities. Similar forced removals occurred in other parts of the province, such as Ndabeni.

Despite forced separation, such as happened in District Six, people came together across race and even class divides in the struggle against apartheid in a strong example of bridging capital. This happened despite forced separation in schools, living areas and many other aspects of people’s lives.

More recently, in the post-1994 period, different groups have displayed an amazing willingness to work together to address problems. One institutional example of linking capital is the Growth and Development summit of November 2003 which brought together labour, employers, government and civil society to discuss how to build the province. The Provincial Development Council is another ongoing example of linking social capital.

The above are positive experiences on which we can build. There are also negative experiences.

Again as a result of apartheid policy, there are factors which can cause deep divides between different race groups and within race groups. Until the mid-1980s the Western Cape was a ‘coloured preference area’. This made it very difficult for African people to get jobs, except the most menial ones. As a result of the policy, there were even stronger restrictions on the movement of African people into what became the Western Cape province than into other ‘white’ areas. The laws were particularly harsh in respect of women. In addition to creating difficulties for individual women, the laws encouraged the destruction of family life and relationships, which are the most basic form of social bonding. The laws left many women bearing sole responsibility for children, sick people and the elderly.

Among African people, there was a division between the ‘borners’, who had rights to live in the Western Cape permanently, and the migrants who came here in search of a better life. During the eighties these tensions erupted in civil war between the ‘witdoeke’ and ‘borner’ groups in Cape Town’s informal settlements. Such behaviour was understandable, given the very scarce resources and opportunities available even to the ‘borners’. Differential access to housing meant that the different groups were physically separated, militating against the
possibility of bridging social capital across the two groups. As in the rest of South Africa, there was also strict segregation in terms of residence between the racial groups. Within and across race groups, there were further differences which caused division. In terms of religion, for example, the fact that different groups of slaves had been brought to the Cape from different parts of the world over the centuries to serve the white settlers resulted in a more diverse mix of Christianity, Islam and other religions than in most other parts of the country. All this militated against the building of bridging social capital.

Social capital and economic development
As noted above, the Western Cape’s vision sees iKapa Elihlumayo as being underpinned by a 'vibrant, growing and sustainable economy.' Social capital has an important role to play in promoting the economic development that is required for the vision to become reality.

Apart from generally limiting conflict and social instability, there are a number of ways in which the development of social capital can enhance economic performance by enabling collective action, promoting trust so as to reduce the costs and risks of economic transactions and facilitating networks that share knowledge and information. In particular, crime is frequently cited by businesses in South Africa and elsewhere as a factor which affects their operations and discourages investment. An as yet unpublished survey of the investment climate in South Africa conducted by the World Bank for the Department of Trade and Industry found that 30% of firms cited crime as a major or severe obstacle to doing business in the country. The research estimates that on average the costs associated with crime and security were equivalent to 1.1% of the value of sales, 3% of value added, and 5% of labour costs.

Social capital and participation
The country’s Constitution establishes the participatory nature of our democracy. This participation needs to extend beyond periodic voting for representatives. It includes participation in institutions such as the Provincial Development Council, where different actors with potentially different interests come together to discuss, debate and reach agreement on how to move forward.

The province’s understanding of social capital formation also sees participation as encompassing government working together with different actors within civil society to deliver services and generally ensure the population’s well-being. Accepting this approach will mean that government departments cannot continue doing ‘business as usual’. Government needs to see civil society as people who can help them achieve their mission, rather than as an obstacle, interferers, or people to be feared. Government also needs to abandon any idea that it ‘knows best’ and instead work with and build on the strengths and knowledge of communities.
At the local level, ward committees have strong potential as a basis for building social capital. In particular, the involvement of these committees and the public more generally in drafting local government’s integrated development plans provides a forum for government to listen to, learn from and incorporate the needs of different groups within communities. The imbizos organised by the different spheres of government provide a further method for ensuring that Batho Pele underpins all government’s plans and actions.

This new approach thus involves a new view of government-community power relationships and interaction. Instead of government working ‘for’ the people of the province, it will be working ‘with’ them. In the words of Harry C Boyte, instead of government officials and their expertise being ‘on top’, they will be ‘on tap’ for communities.\(^8\) In particular, the community development workers employed by local government will help to share government information with communities and make government more accessible to ordinary people. They will also help government understand the concerns of communities and individuals in relation to government delivery.

There are legacies on which government can build in adopting this approach. There are, in particular, many examples from the social welfare sector. Within this sector non-governmental and community-based organisations have for years provided parallel and supplementary services to individuals and families in need. In some cases these organisations have been partially subsidised by government. The bulk of the work has, however, been done voluntarily in the sense of without government payment. This generous contribution by civil society is an example of social capital. But it has often come at a cost, particularly for women, as they are the ones who most commonly do the unpaid and underpaid work.

In recent years there have been more examples of community members assisting with government service delivery, including in other sectors beyond social welfare. Within the social welfare sector, the faith-based organisations played a key role in the extension of the child support grant that helped government to roll out this grant to increasing numbers of caregivers of poor children. Within the protection services, ordinary citizens have worked voluntarily in community police forums and in a range of other formations described below in an attempt to ensure greater safety and security for themselves and their neighbours. Within the health sector, many people – again predominantly women – are providing home-based care services for little or no pay other than the satisfaction of helping those in need. All of these initiatives relieve both financial and other burdens of government while simultaneously giving people a sense of ownership and participating in solving society’s problems. The challenge for government is to take advantage of this participation, while ensuring that it does

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\(^8\) Boyte HC. 14 July 2005. ‘Silences and Civil Muscle, or, Why Social Capital is a Useful but Insufficient Concept for Governance’. Presentation to officials of the Provincial Government of the Western Cape.
not impose undue burdens on those who are ‘donating’ their time, energy and care in this way.

**The possibilities, limits and focus of the social capital formation strategy**
The Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation, as the leader of the social capital formation strategy, sees social capital as ‘the strengthening and establishment of networks, relationships, norms and values that contribute to the building of social cohesion, racial integration and the strengthening of a social safety net during times of crisis (economic, natural, and other).’ Our understanding of ubuntu makes us believe that positive social capital also has intrinsic value in its own right. It is thus a means as well as an end in itself.

Government acknowledges, however, that social capital is not a cure-all. It is only one of eight development priorities of the province’s *Framework for Development*. It is nevertheless an important component that will assist in achieving the other priorities.

Social capital has links with all the other development priorities of the province, but the links are particularly clear and strong in respect of human capital development.

The first link is based on the belief that higher levels of education tend to result in higher levels of trust and willingness to invest in social capital. A second, and related link, is that education, through both the formal and informal curricula, contributes to the development of social skills. These social skills, in turn, promote and are useful in organisational activities, whether these activities are related to sports, religion, culture, policing or something else.

While the above two links relate to how the promotion of human capital contributes to the formation of social capital, there are also links in the other direction. Thus the World Bank argues that ‘there is evidence that schools are more effective when parents and local citizens are actively involved. Teachers are more committed, students achieve higher test scores, and better use is made of school facilities in those communities where parents and citizens take an active interest in children’s educational well-being’.

The province’s lead strategy of human resource development focuses on all phases of education, from early childhood through general and further education, adult basic education and higher education. All these phases contribute to the growth of human capital. More generally, the human capital development strategy has as its overarching goal the development of the necessary knowledge, values, attitudes and skills that will enable the province’s people to make informed career and life choices, thereby equipping them to take responsibility for their own lives and its continuous improvement within a community context.

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However, just as there are both negative and positive forms of social capital, there are negative sides to human capital formation which the province needs to be aware of if the social capital formation and human capital development strategies are to reinforce each other in a way that contributes to the well-being of the province's people.

One example of a negative aspect of human capital development relates to the way that schools serve as institutions of social reproduction.\(^{10}\) If our schools, and the education system more generally, are designed in a way that recreates class, race and other forms of stratification, they will undermine social capital rather than building it. If school teachers and officials treat learners and parents in poor communities with disrespect and disdain, they will promote the destruction rather than the building of bridging capital.

It is far from inevitable that schools promote division and hierarchy in this way. Indeed, some of the poorest schools in the province have succeeded in promoting positive social capital. The task now is to determine why these schools have been successful and find ways of replicating that success.

The Western Cape Education Department (WCED) already has a range of programmes in place that can contribute to the development of social capital. At the time when they were introduced, these programmes were not overtly considered as social capital programmes. Nevertheless, programmes such as the WCED Racial Integration Strategy, the Values in Education Project, the Provincial Teacher Awards, the Safe Schools Project, the Tirisano Schools Choir Competition, HIV/AIDS programmes, Learner Support Units at Further Education and Training Colleges and the History Project all have potential to contribute to social capital formation.

As noted above, the Framework for Development sees the province's initiatives in respect of social capital formation focusing, in particular, on the youth. As elaborated below, youth are among the more vulnerable members of our society in many respects, despite their physical advantages compared to those who are younger and older. Youth and the younger children who will soon be youth are the citizens of the future. If they are part of positive social capital, our future looks bright.

In addition to youth, government plans to focus its social capital initiatives on those who are neediest, whether in economic, social or other terms. This is particularly important in a country such as South Africa and a province such as Western Cape where there are stark inequalities in economic as well as other respects. These inequalities militate against social cohesion and are, in turn, exacerbated by weaknesses in social cohesion. It is, for example, the inequalities

that, among others, fuel the high crime rate. Inequalities can also discourage investors who fear that they will result in unrest.

The geographic focus of the strategy will be the Presidential nodal areas, the crime hotspot areas, Project Consolidate areas, the 170 metropolitan informal settlements, and new human settlements which provide for mixed-income housing.

Objectives of the social capital formation strategy
The province’s strategy will focus on achieving the following outcomes in its objective of strengthening social capital:

- **Improved accessibility** to government services and information. This could include extending working hours, improving language accessibility, establishing call centres and helpdesks, increasing the number of service points and types of services, preferential procurement policies, employee assistance programmes for staff, and improved dissemination of information in communities. In addition to geographical proximity and hours of opening, accessibility is also about the way in which services are presented and delivered – about whether the approach is firmly based in the principle of Batho Pele. This outcome is based on the understanding that one cannot expect people in communities to contribute to government’s actions if they feel that government does not care about their well-being. Improved accessibility should foster trust between communities and government – a prerequisite for social capital formation.

- **Safer communities**. This would include strategies to address gangsterism, substance abuse, child abuse and neglect, domestic violence and truancy. It would also include initiatives to assist youth to obtain decent work through assisting with the acquisition of social and job-related skills, youth learnerships and internships and initiatives in respect of school sports and youth in trouble with the law. The Departments of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation, Community Safety and Education will be key players in achieving these objectives.

- **Citizens with a strong sense of well-being**. The Departments of Health, Education, Sports and Culture and Local Government and Housing will be key players in achieving these objectives. The hosting of the World Cup in 2010 provides significant opportunities in this arena. The focus on sport arises out of the belief that ‘A Child in Sport is a Child out of Court’. Health initiatives will include attempts to encourage youth in positive sexual lifestyles, and healthier lifestyles more generally. Housing initiatives will attempt to promote wellbeing at the community as well as at household and individual level. In terms of youth, the province will promote human settlements that provide the necessary public spaces and community hubs that allow for healthy interaction and recreation. Housing options will also be
developed that cater for those with special needs, including single mothers, people with disabilities, and older persons.

- **Citizens are civic-minded.** Civic-minded citizens with a sense of national pride and patriotism contribute to social cohesion and social inclusion. Initiatives in this area will start at the youngest ages, through early childhood development programmes, and continue through formal schooling and school recreational programmes. The establishment of community police forums provides an important link between communities and government. Their programmes also aim to spark a sense of civic mindedness in communities. For youth both in and out of school, government will initiate programmes such as Brawam-Siswam, youth leadership development and the Wolwekloof programme to develop civic responsibility and community development skills among youth. Government will also initiate intergenerational programmes which attempt to heal the rifts between youth and their elders.

- **Strong families** present a firm foundation for ubuntu at the community and wider level. Government will work together with other actors in attempting to strengthen family life. These initiatives will be based within a notion of bridging capital in which ‘Your child is my child’ (as part of the Hands Off Our Children campaign) rather than a bonding capital notion where people care only about their own family. Initiatives to achieve this outcome will include those around child trafficking, victims of family violence, and parenting skills. Fathers living apart from their children will be encouraged to pay adequate maintenance for the children’s care instead of thinking that the state’s child support grant absolves them of this responsibility. Community-based programmes for older persons and people with disabilities will allow them to contribute their wisdom and skills to the community at the same time as preventing marginalization. Partnerships between government and relevant ngo’s will be formed to minimize the risk of violence in the home through support of initiatives that aim to curb the presence of guns in communities.

In striving to achieve these objectives, government will draw on the existing social capital in different communities, and also endeavour to strengthen social capital, especially in disadvantaged communities. The Western Cape works from a strong base in this respect as there are approximately 2 000 NGOs available to take forward the social capital formation strategy with government. This process will involve give-and-take on both sides. Communities and their organisations will be contributing their energy, time and resources to assist government in ensuring that development occurs. Government, from its side, will need to ensure that it does not only draw on and use the energy, time and resources of communities, but that it also compensates groups and individuals for their contribution through providing resources and other support.
More generally, the social capital formation strategy will require government to use its financial, human and other resources in new ways. Like all other governments, the Provincial Government of the Western Cape does not have unlimited resources. It thus needs to ensure that it uses the resources available in a way that best promotes its key strategies, including the social capital formation strategy. Treasury will thus increasingly base its departmental allocations on the extent to which departmental budget inputs reflect a contribution to social capital formation in their different programmes. This might require that departments effect shifts in core business, for example the ongoing shift within the Department of Health towards primary health care. It might require that it reassess its organisation structure including, for example, the distribution of staff between head office and district offices, and employment of additional local delivery workers. Geographically, it will almost certainly require a reallocation of resources to ensure a focus on areas of greatest need, as planned in the DSSPA and Department of Health.

This chapter has described the overall approach and principles which underlie the Western Cape’s social capital formation strategy. A later chapter of this document provides more detailed examples of some of the initiatives which are planned or already underway.
Profile of the Western Cape

The Framework for the Development of the Western Cape Province refers to the high crime rate, high poverty rates, early school leaving and slow delivery of appropriate housing as among the characteristics of the province necessitating the strengthening of social capital. This chapter elaborates on these and other characteristics of the province. The chapter reflects available data, which are biased towards the metropolitan area of the City of Cape Town. The relative neglect of other areas is something that will need to be addressed in the interests of promoting social inclusion.

Crime
There are over 4.5 million people in the Western Cape Province, of whom one and a half million live in the Mitchell’s Plain and Khayelitsha areas. The rate of crime in Western Cape is higher than in other provinces for some of the most serious crimes. In particular, Cape Town, and Khayelitsha especially, have been referred to by the media as the ‘murder capital’ of the country. Rape and armed robbery are also at very high levels. Among other consequences, a high crime rate in a particular area makes it unattractive for investors. The lack of investment and jobs, in turn, results in high unemployment, which provides a fertile ground for a further increase in crime.

Prior to 1994, much of the violence experienced in the province was related to politics. Since 1994 violence is much more likely to be crime-related. Crime-related violence includes crimes against a person generated by feelings of anger and powerlessness, as well as crimes against property stimulated by poverty or the growing gap between the rich and poor. One response to the high level of crime has been gated communities, in which middle class people, both black and white, aim to protect themselves against perceived threats to their persons and property. This response both reflects the lack of bridging and linking capital between diverse groups and discourages the formation of such capital.

Khayelitsha and Kuilsriver policing areas contribute over 35% of all reported crime in the province. Crimes against women and children are especially prevalent in Kuilsriver, while Khayelitsha, alongside Nyanga, stands out in terms of murder and armed robbery. Violence against women occurs across the race, class and geographical spectrums. However, women from working class and poor African communities generally have less access to financial and other resources to enable them to secure their human and legal rights. In the province as a whole, 6315 rape victims were reported between April 2003 and March 2004. Of reported child abuse cases, over half involve sexual abuse and child trafficking.
A significant proportion of crime involves gangs. An estimated 47 gangs operate in Mitchell’s Plain, Khayelitsha, Gugulethu, and Nyanga. More recently, gangs have also been reported in rural areas of the Western Cape.

High levels of alcohol and drug abuse contribute to the crime rate. This problem spans urban and rural areas. In the latter, the alcohol problem is largely a result of the ‘dop’ system that was used historically to pay farm workers. The legacy of this practice is that the wine-producing areas of the Western Cape have the highest prevalence of foetal alcohol syndrome in the world. The babies born with this syndrome are, from the outset, severely disadvantaged. In urban areas, shebeens are often commonly used for the exchange of illegal goods and services. There are currently over two thousand illegal shebeens operating across the province.

**Poverty and unemployment**

The Western Cape economy is, overall, in better shape than that of most other provinces. Economic growth, for example, is expected to increase to a level above 4% in 2005.\(^\text{11}\) The benefits are not, however, experienced by a significant proportion of the people of the province. Further, growth of at least between 5-6% is needed if sufficient jobs are to be created. As elsewhere in the country, unemployment constitutes a major problem. According to the six-monthly labour force survey\(^\text{12}\), the official unemployment rate in the province stood at 18.6% in September 2004, more or less the same as the 18.4% of three years earlier. At each of these points the rate was higher for women than men (20.5% vs 17.0% in September 2004). The collapse of the clothing industry, which provided employment to many of the province’s women, has exacerbated the problem. The food, beverages and tobacco sector has also experienced significant job loss. Unemployment was also higher for African people than for those of other population groups – 34.3% vs 13.1% in September 2004.

Unemployment is a key indicator of poverty, and an important determinant of household income. Progress in addressing poverty differs according to the poverty line used. If one uses the very low poverty line of R100 per capita, the level of poverty increased slightly between 1995 and 2000. With a higher poverty line of R322 per capita per month, there is a one percentage point decline in the poverty rate, from 29% to 28%, over the period. While any improvement is welcome, the poverty rate remains unacceptably high.\(^\text{13}\)

The Western Cape is the second wealthiest province in South Africa. Nevertheless, 42.4% of the province’s households recorded an annual household

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income of less than R19 200 in the 2001 Census. The gini coefficient, an internationally recognised measure of inequality, stood at 0.62 in 2000, compared with the national figure of 0.60. As in the country as a whole, inequality in the Western Cape has worsened over recent years, up from a level of 0.58 in 1995.\textsuperscript{14} At the individual level, in 2003 only 3.4% of African formal sector workers earned more than R6 000 per month, compared to 9.5% of coloured workers and almost 57% of white workers.

Ongoing demographic movements add to the province’s problems in terms of unemployment and inequality. In particular, the 2001 Census confirms that the Western Cape is a destination both for poorer migrants from the Eastern Cape and Northern Cape, and for wealthier migrants from Gauteng and developed countries. During the five year period between 1996 and 2001, close on 200 000 more people moved into the Western Cape from other provinces than left the Western Cape to live in other provinces. Nearly three-quarters of in-migrants are under 36 years of age. Over four-fifths of these young in-migrants are from the Eastern Cape.\textsuperscript{15} These movements have almost certainly exacerbated the inequalities in the province, and contributed to the unemployment rate.

**Education**

In poor communities education is seen as one of the key pathways out of poverty. While some graduates are unemployed, the chance of being unemployed is much lower for those with education. Thus in 2002, the unemployment rate for those with only primary schooling was 29.3%, compared to 6.6% for those with tertiary education.

Nevertheless, while far more learners currently reach grade 12 than during apartheid, many subsequently are able neither to continue their education nor to find a job. The latest estimates suggest that 10 000 to 15 000 young people leave the schooling system each year with little hope of further education or employment opportunities. The lack of opportunities even for those who finish grade 12 discourages those at lower levels, so that some choose to drop out and find other ways – including crime – of keeping themselves busy.

Discussions of education often focus exclusively on primary, secondary and tertiary schooling. Yet children’s earliest experiences are extremely important determinants on their own future, as well as the current and future situation of their families and their communities in later life. The links between the province’s human capital development strategy and the social capital formation strategy were discussed above. This link needs to start as early as possible.


In the past, the majority of children were excluded from quality early childhood development (ECD) services. More advantaged children had access to high quality services, some less advantaged children had access to poor quality services, and the worst-off children had no access to services at all. The latter children were, however, those who needed these services most. ECD is meant to cover children from birth to nine years. However, services were and remain particularly scarce for younger children. Thus only 9% of children under 3 years are currently in ECD care, compared to 17% of those aged 3-4 years, and 35% of those aged 6-7 years. Coverage even of the latter group is far below the 100% coverage envisaged in respect of the year before formal schooling.

**Cultural affairs and sports**

Sports and culture provide opportunities for engagement in enjoyable activities that promote individual and community development. Such activities are obviously preferable to engagement in crime, which can be the chosen alternative when opportunities for sports and culture are limited or seem uninviting.

The Western Cape province has experienced a marked decline in participation in organised sport and cultural affairs over recent years. This is evidenced by the decline in the number of sports clubs and sports participation rates, as well as in the extent of organised school sport and cultural recreation. Thus, for example, participation in organised basketball declined from 4 300 to 700 members between 2002 and 2004, while participation in organised volleyball and softball declined from 4 030 to 1 700 and from 2 156 to 1 351 respectively.

The collapse of organised sport and cultural activities is particularly marked in poor, rural and township communities, while the activities continue in private schools and in public schools in wealthier areas. Of the 2 987 clubs in the province, 1 700 are located in the metropolitan areas, 768 in Boland and West Coast, and only 519 in the Southern Cape and Karoo.

The legacy of apartheid and the more limited private resources available in poorer neighbourhoods mean that these areas have far fewer facilities and opportunities for sports and culture. Where libraries exist, for example, they are likely to be smaller, and have fewer books and staff. The schools in poorer neighbourhoods are also less likely to have developed sports facilities, clubs, and other after-hours activities. As noted above, the 2010 hosting of the World Cup provides an important opportunity in respect of sports development.

**Housing**

The Western Cape province faces a housing backlog of 320 000 units. The backlog has been exacerbated by a significant decline in household size, from an average of 4,5 in 1996 to 3,8 in 2001. Many families have been on waiting lists for many years, if not decades. Their claims must be balanced against the needs
of newer immigrants who previously were prevented from coming to the province, let alone owning property.

In previous years the main trend in migration was from other provinces such as Eastern Cape, as well as rural areas within the province, to Cape Town. This movement has now been supplemented by migration from rural areas to secondary towns. Some areas have also attracted wealthy immigrants from Gauteng. These movements have created new areas of housing shortage outside of Cape Town, particularly in the Southern Cape.

Many of the province’s people live in informal and unplanned housing estates with little or no provision for recreational activities for children and youth. Others live in backyard shacks. Overcrowding within dwellings causes pressure and conflict and is in conflict with the need and right that each person has to privacy. These forms of housing encourage anti-social behaviour. Sheer population density often leads to conflict over space and facilities. Cramped living conditions create the climate for child abuse and gender violence. The lack of alternative living conditions forces many women and their children to remain in abusive situations. The design of buildings and public spaces and surroundings have enormous impact in terms of either discouraging or encouraging anti-social behaviour. For examples, if houses and stoeps look directly onto the street and people use those spaces, there is less likelihood of criminal activity, as criminals prefer dark, lonely, unobserved spaces.

Since 1994, the violence that was previously confined largely to black townships has moved into the inner city. The response from wealthier communities has been to create gated communities. This solution comes with a heavy price of social exclusion.

Spatial planning under apartheid resulted in most poor black communities being situated far from opportunities for work. As a result, those fortunate enough to be employed and those seeking employment still today tend to travel long distances on a daily basis. This commuting requires significant amounts of time and money. It also exposes the commuters to physical danger and risk of other crimes on the main forms of public transport, namely trains and minibus taxis. It provides limited opportunity for engagement in community-based activities which build social capital.

**Health**

Poor communities invariably suffer from poor health. Within the Western Cape, Khayelitsha sub-district performs consistently worse on virtually all health indicators, followed by Klipfontein and Mitchell’s Plain. Within sub-districts there are further inequalities. Thus the overall better performance of Nyanga compared to Khayelitsha masks very poor performance in many parts of Nyanga.
The infant mortality rate (IMR) for the Western Cape as a whole stood at 43 per 1 000 live births in 2003, compared to 42.5 per 1000 or the country (South African Demographic and Health Survey 2003-2004). The disparities in the Infant Mortality Rate within the province gives and indication of the intra-provincial differences. For example, Khayelitsha has an IMR of 44 per 1 000 live births, compared to South Peninsula with 13 per 1 000.

As with some other socio-economic factors, Western Cape is experiencing a less severe HIV/AIDS epidemic than other provinces of South Africa. The overall HIV/AIDS prevalence for the Western Cape in 2004 was 15.4%, significantly lower than the national prevalence of 29.5%. However, within the province there is wide variation in HIV/AIDS prevalence, ranging from 33.3% in Khayelitsha to 1% in the Blaauberg district. Higher levels of HIV prevalence are generally observed in urban areas than in rural ones. This has implications in terms of the scale of the HIV problem in the province as approximately 3.5 million of the 4.5 million people of the Western Cape reside in urban areas. The epidemic also disproportionately affects younger women aged 20-29 years, with the 25-29 year age group showing the highest levels of infection. In addition to having higher prevalence, women tend to bear a disproportionate burden in terms of caring for those who are ill, as well as for orphans. The number of AIDS orphans is on the increase, and will continue to grow after the number of infections has peaked as there is a lag between when people become infected and when they die.

In addition to the individual choices that play some part in driving the high infection rate, there are a range of social, economic and cultural factors that contribute towards making people vulnerable. Among these are the severe inequalities in terms of household income, employment status and the status of women, which result in migration, crime, destabilisation of family structures and high levels of sexual violence.

**Implication for the social capital formation strategy**

The various factors described above tend to reinforce each other. High levels of poverty result in desperate people who may turn to crime to satisfy their most basic needs. The inability to find work – especially for men who have been socialised to see themselves as breadwinners – can result in anger which gets taken out physically on women and children. Poor housing conditions, with limited security, create opportunities for crime that would not be available with better design. Poor housing conditions also provide a fertile breeding ground for disease and ill-health.

Despite these interlinkages, there is not a neat one-to-one relationship between the various factors in different areas. Mitchell's Plain, for example, performs better in poverty terms than some other areas, but is one of the worst in terms of crime. Similarly, while the Western Cape performs better than most other provinces on many socio-economic indicators, it performs worse in terms of

crime. One of the factors that prevent a neat one-to-one relationship is social capital. Where, for example, communities have lived together for many years and there is trust, crime rates are likely to be lower. The provincial government is determined to address all the problems mentioned above. It sees the strengthening of social capital as one of its weapons in this endeavour.

Strengthening social capital will not, itself, directly lead to job creation. It will, however, help to ensure that communities in which unemployment rates are high do not suffer all the different aspects of poverty to the same extent as they would otherwise. It will also create a more conducive environment for investment and job creation. This, in turn, may help to address the unemployment problem.
Profile of youth in the Western Cape

In South Africa the definition of youth covers people aged 15-34 years. This is a broader definition than used in most other African countries, where the cutoff is 25 years. As a result, the South African definition covers a much more diverse group, ranging from those who are still in school, to adults with school-age children of their own. In 2004, there were approximately 1.7 million youth in the Western Cape, accounting for over half (55%) of the population.

The situation of youth in respect of crime, poverty, health, housing and education is particularly worrying.

In respect of crime, the number of arrests of children under the age of 18 increased from 1 500 per month in 1999 to 3 000 in 2003. Street children, in particular, are often involved in crime, because of the lack of alternative opportunities. As at June 2005, there were an estimated 500 street children in the Central Business District of Cape Town.

Alcohol and drug abuse are among the key generators of violent crimes, particularly on the Cape Flats. Recent research has revealed that learners in the Western Cape exceed the national average in terms of past month binge drinking, past month dagga use, and lifetime (ever) use of mandrax and club drugs. In addition, a greater proportion of young persons in the Western Cape started drinking before the age of 13 years than in other provinces. An estimated 12 000 youth are or have been part of treatment programmes for substance abuse. Many more are not reached by these programmes.

Schools are often a venue for sale of drugs. Schools, and especially those in poorer communities, are also sites for recruitment of new gang members and for inter-gang fights. In some schools educators have been threatened with firearms and other forms of violence by learners and their parents and friends. Mitchell’s Plain, Khayelitsha, Bishop Lavis and Elsies River are some of the worst affected areas. For female learners there are additional dangers. The risk of sexual violence in schools, both from fellow pupils and teachers, can cause girls to perform poorly or to drop out.

Facilities and opportunities vary greatly between schools within the provinces. In the wealthier areas and better-off schools, there are extensive sports facilities and a range of extra-mural activities available. These help to develop the various aspects of a child, stimulate a sense of belonging, and keep the children off the street. In poorer areas and less privileged schools there are limited if any sports facilities and no activities available after school lessons finish.
In terms of **poverty and unemployment**, in September 2004, the unemployment rate among youth was 26.8% compared to 9.3% for those aged 35-65 years.\textsuperscript{17} Youth accounted for 76% of unemployed people but only 55% of the economically active age group (15-65 years).

In terms of **health**, there is an extremely high rate of homicide among young males aged 15-34 years in Cape Town (Scott V et al, 2003). Homicide is the most common cause of mortality in Cape Town, accounting for over one in ten of all deaths. The rates are highest in Khayelitsha and Nyanga. In 2002, more than 300 of Cape Town boys between the ages of 15-24 suffered a violent death.

HIV/AIDS is another cause of death or ill-health at a young age. The main cause of death amongst women in the Western Cape Province is HIV/AIDS. Prevalence rates for HIV/AIDS are higher for youth than for those who are older. While young men are more likely than women to be killed through homicide, young women are more at risk than men in terms of HIV/AIDS.

Among young women, the rate of teenage pregnancy remains unacceptably high. This is an issue that can only be addressed if both the young women at risk of falling pregnant and those who impregnate them are targeted.

Implementing programmes that support social capital formation

The previous chapters have described the situation in the Western Cape. This chapter presents examples of existing or planned initiatives of the Western Cape government which in some way involve social capital. The chapter is not comprehensive, in that it does not cover each and every initiative that involves social capital. Instead, it is intended to give an idea of the wide range of different actions which do and can form part of the social capital formation strategy. The chapter is organised largely in terms of the different social problems described in previous chapters. However, the inter-relatedness of the different social problems also means that some initiatives span more than one area.

For each of the factors, there is usually one government agency which predominates. For example, the Department of Community Safety is the key player in respect of programmes addressing crime. However, the chapter also provides examples where different agencies are working together, or working outside their traditional core area. This crossing of boundaries is part of what the province plans to promote in terms of its internal social capital approach of a more integrated, non-silo way of working.

The organisation by the core areas, each of which is aligned with one of the social cluster departments, is also not intended to suggest that it is only these agencies which can promote social capital formation. The Department of Transport and Public Works, for example, also bears a responsibility in terms of providing safe roads. The same department has a responsibility in terms of building schools which promote safety and healthy interaction of its users, including adequate and affordable provision for people with disabilities and older persons. The provincial office of the Department of Labour has a responsibility to ensure that workers ensure freedom of association, that collective bargaining is promoted, and that laws in respect of minimum wages and basic conditions of employment are enforced so that workers are not unduly exploited. The Department of Economic Development plans to facilitate and encourage the formation of representative sectoral and business associations that include small, black- and women-owned enterprises.

The initiatives described below address social capital in a range of different ways. Some of the initiatives reflect ubuntu on the part of government, in the sense of a concern about exclusion. The plans of the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation to expand the number of service points and staff constitute an example of this type. Some of the initiatives involve acknowledging and using existing social capital in communities. The plans of the Department of Health to work through existing structures are an example here. Some initiatives aim to build social capital or to avoid elements which tend to destroy it. The plans of the
Department of Local Government and Housing to build more integrated human settlements exemplify this approach. Finally, some initiatives aim to destroy negative forms of social capital. The initiatives of the Department of Community Safety in respect of gangs typify this approach.

Many of the initiatives described in this section focus on youth, in line with the determination of the Provincial Government to focus the social capital formation strategy on this section of the population. At an institutional level, there is a provincial Youth Commission which falls under the Department of the Premier. This body will play a key role in fostering youth development and youth leadership.

The social capital formation strategy also has important linkages to the work in the province of the Moral Regeneration Movement. This movement, by promoting values such as family strengthening and ethical leadership, provides further support for values that are critical for positive social capital formation.

**Internal social capital**

The draft strategy on internal social capital formation foresees all employees of the province as participating in a course which will help them understand iKapa Elihlumayo and a Home for All. A range of different community development workers working in areas such as health, education, crime, poverty alleviation and sport will be trained in community development methodologies. All staff will also be encouraged and assisted to become trilingual, so as to promote communication with communities and networking with other staff. This will be accompanied by other interventions to promote cultural understanding and tolerance and to counteract racist and sexist attitudes and behaviour. Beyond training, the performance management system will be developed to include performance measures related to Batho Pele.

‘Plough-back’ campaigns will be organised which encourage staff to support social capital-type activities in their own communities, such as support for a particular school. Special awards could be introduced to recognise those who put their energy into extra-mural activities of this nature.

**Crime**

Many of the initiatives in terms of crime involve community participation. This is in line with the lead programme of the Department of Community Safety (DCS), which is called Bambanani Unite Against Crime. Bambanani aims to mobilise communities to work with the police and other law enforcement agencies to fight crime.

Bambanani’s Safer Festive Season programme during December 2003 and January 2004 led to an 18% drop in crime. The programme worked through volunteers who received training in how to work together with law enforcement agencies to reduce crime. It covered a range of venues, such as trains, beaches,
farms, shebeens, and events such as the Minstrel Carnival. The DCS jointly coordinates the Safer Festive Season programme with the lead agency, the South Africa Police Service (SAPS). Also involved are five provincial departments, most municipalities, and one parastatal (Metrorail). From outside government the partners include 13 community-based structures with more than 4 500 volunteers, a range of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and sports organisations, two private sector banks and the media. During 2004/05 this collaboration led to a further decrease of 2% in serious violent crime against the 18% decrease achieved during the 2003/04 period. Similarly, the DCS reported a further 5,5% decrease in motor vehicle accidents during 2004/05 against the 13% decrease achieved during the same period in 2003/04.

The DCS also promotes and supports community police forums and neighbourhood watches as a way of harnessing community energy, and promoting participation and social networks.

Community police forums are the statutory structure intended for community-police interaction. The Department assists with the setting up of these structures and assists in sustaining them through funding of social crime prevention projects, training of members, and leadership development.

Neighbourhood watches are non-statutory groups which assist with patrols and other police activities in their area. The Department provides these groups with equipment and training, and also funds some crime prevention projects, for example in respect of missing children. More than 4 000 volunteers from neighbourhood and farm watches have been trained. Some watches monitor shebeens to ensure that they do not sell liquor to children under 18 years of age. Watches also patrol stations, trains and schools, and attempt to prevent gang activity and drug trafficking through their visible presence in communities. The Department of Transport & Public Works is cooperating with the DCS in respect of neighbourhood watch activity on the trains, through training and then employing the community members as part of the expanded public works programme. In so doing, it provides some remuneration for their work.

The Department hopes that in the future the activities of neighbourhood watches can be extended so that they become more like community development workers. For example, the volunteers could provide advice and referrals for women and children who are abused, as Bambanani volunteers and learner support officers are already doing in the pilot for the integrated substance abuse programme of the social cluster.

In addition to the community-police forums and watches, in many black townships there is a history of street committees. These structures were an important form of organisation during the apartheid years. The DCS provides funding to an NGO, the Restorative Justice Initiative, which manages a project, the Committee Peace and Safety Project, which is building on this legacy to
create a community-centered, first-level justice system. The training of these street committees started in Gugulethu, Langa and Khayelitsha during January 2004. Street committees deal with a range of minor problems relating to crime, health, rehabilitation of petty thieves, and retrieving stolen goods.

The Chrysalis Academy is one of several crime prevention-related initiatives in respect of youth. The Academy aims to provide ‘youth at risk’ with positive role models and create community leaders of the future. It accommodates 360 youth aged 16-22 years who go through a five-year programme which prepared them physically and mentally to face life’s challenges. It originally targeted only male youth but has since taken on some young women. Participants are provided with vocational skills in car maintenance, welding, bricklaying, metal and woodwork, electricity circuitry, sports coaching, and catering. They are also provided with computer skills and given career guidance. The youth are encouraged to join Chrysalis youth clubs, of which 13 have been established to date. The aim for 2005/06 and beyond is to create networks between the clubs and community policing forums, as well as to build links between the clubs and other youth in communities through projects such as ‘Protect our Future Generation’. The current curriculum of training will be adjusted to incorporate training in issues such as social crime and social justice as part of further alignment with the social capital formation strategy.

Other youth initiatives include:
- Youth Leaders Against Crime, in which the DCS recruits youth from areas affected by serious and violent crime and provides leadership and development training;
- Youth Peace Academy Clubs, where the Department provides funding to an NGO which encourages school learners to join clubs which teach the youth about the rule of law, democracy and citizenship;
- The Bambanani Safe Schools Programme with the aim of creating a safer environment in schools;
- the Drug Reduction Project, which identifies young people using drugs and assists them in accessing treatment and counselling services as well as increasing awareness of the dangers of experimenting in drugs. This project is a joint initiative of the DCS, DSSPA, NGOs, the Central Drug Authority and a range of other departments.

As noted in the situation analysis, the high level of substance abuse in the Western Cape is a contributory factor to the high crime rate. The province has recently developed a strategy for addressing substance abuse which brings together the efforts of a range of departments. The strategy has a special emphasis on methamphetamine (tik) which has emerged as a serious problem in the province, particularly among teenagers.

The substance abuse strategy is an excellent example of government’s new social capital approach. The strategy involves a significant shift from an
institutional treatment-oriented model to one that is community-based, that enables community participation, and that is affordable to poor people – and poor youth in particular. It thus draws on and hopes to build social capital in the community. It is in line with the aspect of the social capital strategy that relates to targeting of government resources where they are most needed, in that activities and resources will be channelled to areas where the rate of substance abuse is highest and where the consequences are most severe for poor people. It is also a good example of internal social capital in the way different parts of government will work together.

The strategy is three-pronged, in that it aims at reduction in supply, reduction in demand, and an increase in treatment and rehabilitation options. Supply reduction will target areas where drug dealers are known to be prevalent, as well as where substances are commonly available on the streets. Demand reduction will be achieved through mass communication initiatives in targeted communities in Mitchell’s Plain and Khayelitsha where the problem is rife. The information campaign will include door-to-door pamphleteering and information sharing, and referral of those who need assistance to community-based family support groups or detoxification units. Volunteers from the communities will be trained to do the door-to-door visits and paid for their work. Local drug action committees will be established in targeted areas. These will, wherever possible, be developed out of existing community-based structures such as the Mitchell’s Plain Tik Committee.

Already these first two prongs provide examples of social capital. However, it is in the third prong that the social capital approach will be most evident. This prong will include the establishment of support groups for abusers and their families, the deploying of referral agents drawn, among others, from Bambanani volunteers (50% of whom were neighbourhood watch volunteers) and community development workers, follow-up of those receiving assistance through a process similar to the directly-observed treatment (DOT) method used to combat tuberculosis, and capacity building for social workers, nurses, helpline advisers and others so that they can provide counselling. The strategy will be coordinated by a steering committee elected by the Western Cape Substance Abuse Forum.

On the side of government, the substance abuse strategy shows internal social capital at play in that a range of different government departments are working together, rather than in their separate silos. The key departmental actors and their roles are:

- Education, with its Safe Schools Project, and Joint Operation Centres at schools in areas where community-based counselling is promoted through door-to-door campaigns;
- Health, which will provide additional detoxification facilities at Stikland and make additional psychologists available for the door-to-door campaign and associated counselling;
- Cultural Affairs and Sports, which will provide testing in relation to sports participations;
Community Safety, which will involve the Bambanani volunteers in preventative and referral work and community awareness raising through the community police forums and social crime prevention projects, as well as through establishing local drug area committees in collaboration with the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation;

Social Services & Poverty Alleviation, which is responsible for the overall coordination and provision of additional funding, but which will also provide training in counselling, community-based treatment and additional bed-space in its facilities.

Non-government collaborators will include the South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (SANCA) and the Cape Town Drug Counselling Centre. These organisations will receive funding from government to enable them to appoint additional counsellors.

The Department of Social Services & Poverty Alleviation is a key actor in the area of violence against women and children. Already in 1995 the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation recognised that it could not address violence against women and children alone. It therefore worked together with other departments and partners in civil society to design the child abuse protocol. The protocol was subsequently adopted by the National Department of Social Development and rolled out to all other provinces.

While the Department itself provides services in respect of child abuse, NGOs are the main providers of services for adult victims/survivors of violence. Over the last seven years, the Department has participated actively in the Western Cape Network on Violence Against Women in an effort to contribute to the fight against violence against women. Based on its experiences of working together with others in addressing child abuse and violence against women, the Department has recently devised a provincial anti-rape strategy which will expand on activities currently being implemented.

The department funds approximately 1 300 NGOs throughout the province. In the 2005/06 financial year, the budget for NGO subsidies came to just over R300m. These NGOs form a network whose work in the field of social service delivery enables greater access to social services by the poor, the vulnerable and those with special needs.

Poverty
Social capital is not the government’s primary strategy for addressing poverty in the sense of creating jobs. Nevertheless, the Department of Social Services & Poverty Alleviation understands one of its key roles as ensuring that poverty does not result in social exclusion. In particular, it aims to prioritise previously disadvantaged communities in terms of provision of services.
Currently areas such as Khayelitsha, Mitchell’s Plain, Bellville and Eerste River are severely under-resourced, especially in terms of staff. In Khayelitsha, which is a presidential nodal area, the ratio is 1 staff member to 17 316 people, in Mitchells Plain it is 1:10 230, in Bellville 1:9 086 and in Eerste River 1:8 157.

The Department plans to increase the number of local offices in Khayelitsha and Mitchell’s Plain, and to establish a district office in either Vredenburg or Malmesbury. In terms of staff, the Department will employ an additional 64 community development workers, of whom the majority will be youth workers, and deploy them to areas of greatest need. The latter include the presidential nodal areas, local government areas identified through Project Consolidate, the eight provincial crime ‘hot spot’ areas (Khayelitsha, Mitchells Plain, Guguletu, Nyanga/Philippi, Kuilsriver, Worcester, Kraaifontein and Oudtshoorn) and the 170 informal settlements in the metropole. Community development workers are seen as intermediaries between government and communities and have as their task providing access to information, services, and resources.

In terms of services, the Department plans to focus on ECD and youth development. ECD is important because the young children for whom it provides are the youth of tomorrow. Development patterns, norms and values are established at an early age, and a good ECD service will assist in ensuring that these are positive. ECD provision can also be of direct assistance in addressing poverty. Firstly, it frees up the household carers of the children, who are usually women, so that they can engage in income-earning activities in the knowledge that their children are safe. Secondly, it provides employment, admittedly low-paid, which is suitable for people with limited education – again mainly women.

The Provincial Government of the Western Cape has plans for an integrated approach to ECD which recognises the efforts of families and communities, and which includes options other than a centre-based approach, especially for younger children. In addition, government’s understanding of ECD is that it does not simply refer to a crèche or similar facility. Instead, it includes a range of services which ensure that young children develop to their full potential and are cared for and protected.

Government sees its role as covering eight areas of intervention, namely: policy and legislation to avoid the current confusion and possible duplication; capacity building of service providers, parent bodies and officials; regulation of infrastructure, provision of services to children, including health monitoring and birth registration; public awareness and education on the importance of ECD; institutional support to providers; support for alternative family and community-based provision; and research.

The Department of Social Services & Poverty Alleviation currently provides subsidies to 600 ECD facilities serving 50 000 children. The Department plans to expand its support to reach more facilities and children. Over the next five years,
it plans to reach 75,000 children by keeping the subsidy per child at its current level. In line with its policy of social inclusion, the Department will provide funding to allow unemployed mothers from poor communities to bring their children to ECD resource centres for two days each week. In addition, the Department will fund 200 learnerships each year to increase the capacity of ECD teachers. Private sector companies will be encouraged to complement government support through the 'Adopt a Crèche' programme.

In respect of youth proper, the Department established the Brawam-Siswam programme. One of the aims of this programme is to reduce the school dropout rate. This programme will use a peer mentoring approach in which learners in grade 9-11 will be mentored by second and third year university students. In this way, students from marginalised areas who have overcome adversity can motivate younger learners to complete their schooling.

The Certificate of Youth Trainer project is aimed at training youth from marginalized communities to become youth trainers in disadvantaged communities. The youth participating in this programme undergo training in issues of civic education, democracy building, project management, leadership, recreational activities and life skills. As a second phase they are then placed as interns in non-governmental organizations which provide them with work opportunities.

The Department will also be doubling its support to prevention of youth crime. This expansion will, among others, provide for the piloting of two programmes which offer an alternative to incarceration for youth in trouble with the law.

**Education**

The discussion of other sectors above already includes several programmes which work through schools. They are by no means the only school-based initiatives which are either already up and running or planned.

The Truancy Reduction Project is a school-based project aimed at combating crime, as well as limiting the growth of gangs. The project was piloted in fourteen schools in Manenberg during the period March to November 2000 as a joint venture between the Safe Schools initiative of the Western Cape Department of Education and the DCS. During the second phase of the project, July 2001 to June 2002, further areas were included, namely Khayelitsha, Mitchell’s Plain, Hanover Park, Bonteheuwel and Elsies River. In each area four schools were identified and allocated a full-time learner support officer (LSO). A total of 35 LSO’s have been appointed to date.

The LSO obtains the names of truant learners from teachers and then visits the learner’s house and speaks to parents, family members and neighbours. When the learner is located, the LSO escorts him/her back to school and establishes the reasons for the truant behaviour. The learner then attends counselling
sessions and, where necessary, is referred to other service providers inside or outside the community. The project has already achieved a good success rate. Of the 2,001 truant learners identified during the period August 2002 to June 2003, over 80% were placed back in school. In addition, the LSO’s also participate in social crime prevention projects via the schools, SAPS and community policing forums.

Educators, too, have a key role to play as drivers of social capital formation. In carrying out their core task of teaching, they can help to instill appropriate norms and values in learners.

As noted above, WCED has a range of programmes already in place that can be further fine-tuned to contribute to social capital formation. In addition to fine-tuning existing programmes, WCED plans to launch several new programmes that will create a platform for social networking and leadership development, as follows:

- Promoting the establishment of a Provincial School Governing Body (SGB) which brings together the various SGB structures in the Western Cape. The umbrella structure will provide member structures with opportunities for engaging with government on education policy and launching projects and programmes that can improve the quality of education governance and education in general;
- Promoting the establishment of a Provincial Representative Council of Learners to facilitate the involvement of learners in education policy development and educational projects and encourage their participation in leadership development initiatives and community development programmes;
- Promoting the establishment of a Retired Teachers’ Association so as to give retired teachers the opportunity to become involved in education development initiatives in school and within the community.

**Sport**

The bulk of the work of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS) is geared toward building social capital. In order to deliver its social capital initiatives in a more integrated manner, the department has developed the school cluster programme in the three presidential nodes of Khayelitsha, Mitchell’s Plain and Beaufort West, with a secondary focus on the so-called crime ‘hot spots’ and areas that are particularly poverty-stricken, such as Gugulethu, Manenberg and Oudtshoorn.

In terms of activities, the Department will put more energy into the area of school sport. Firstly, it will continue to provide facilities and financial support for school games, particularly in poorer areas and schools. It will ask for the cooperation of DCS in ensuring that fencing includes sports fields and that facilities are maintained. Secondly, the Education Department will be asked to assist the DCAS in encouraging more school learners to participate in sport and recreation.
activities. Such participation is seen as enhancing social cohesion, providing positive alternatives to anti-social behaviour for youth, and giving youth a sense of pride and hope.

The DCAS’s Sport Stepping Stones project is seen as a unique example of a programme that promotes social capital. The project involves a system of learnerships which places full-time sports assistants in disadvantaged schools. The project provides an alternative to anti-social behaviour for the young people in the schools while providing an employment opportunity for unemployed but enthusiastic and talented young people who are selected to be sports assistants.

The task of the assistants is to organise and coach sports activities in the afternoons. The assistants are also expected to recruit volunteers from among teachers, sports clubs and the community more generally to assist with the initiative. There are currently 187 sports assistants in Western Cape schools, servicing 125 schools in seven areas. The initiative has already resulted in an increase in the participation of schools in Manenberg in mini-cricket tournaments. Schools in Tafelsig have introduced girls’ football, which is new to the schools.

For the very young, the DCAS has a Grade R programme which provides opportunities for toddlers to participate in sport and recreation activities. The Junior Dipapadi programme caters for children between the ages of 3 and 14 years and complements the physical education programme provided in the schools.

Beyond schools, the Department provides financial and administrative support to sports clubs and association which reach both youth and older adults. To promote inclusion of those who might otherwise be marginalised, it has specific programmes such as Women in Sport, Girls in Sport, and Sport for the Disabled. Its sport youth camps train volunteers to deliver sport programmes in communities. The Department also organises large-scale events such as the SA Games and the Youth Day Competition.

The Minister for Cultural Affairs and Sport chairs the cabinet committee which has been established to ensure the success of the hosting of the World Cup in 2010. This committee will work together with others at local and national level to ensure that the event brings lasting benefits, particularly to poor communities. Such benefits will include economic ones, as a result of investment and job creation in transport, energy and sporting infrastructure, and tourism. In addition, the event should lead to the creation of facilities in poor areas and the expansion of interest in the benefits of sport as an alternative to anti-social behaviour.

The Siyadlala Mass Participation Programme is funded through a conditional grant from the national department and is designed to get more people to participate in 12 different recreational activities. The programme is an example of internal social capital and seamless government to the extent that it is being
implemented in 12 geographical areas as a partnership between the national, provincial and local spheres of government.

**Culture**

As noted above, the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport sees the majority of its work as being geared towards building social capital. Activities in respect of sport are described above. The following examples illustrate some of the ways in which this Department will contribute to the strategy in terms of its responsibilities in the area of culture:

- The Department will organise cultural evenings in the nodal areas. These events, which will be open to the general public but biased towards youth, will provide participants with meaningful and enjoyable activities as an alternative to engagement in crime.
- The Department will support small-scale festivals in different areas as a way of promoting the diverse cultures of the Western Cape and so enhancing bridging capital. It will, in similar vein, promote the equal status of the three official languages of the province, in particular by providing support for initiatives in respect of isiXhosa.
- The Public Holiday programme ensures that remembrance days are acknowledged and used to affirm diversity and bring communities together.
- The Heritage in Young Hands ambassador programme is a civic education initiative that imbues a sense of pride in the young people of the province.
- Like other departments, the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport will work with volunteers both in the sports arena and in cultural areas such as conservation bodies and friends of museums and libraries associations.
- Government will establish an Old Instruments Bank to facilitate provision of musical instruments to children from poor communities.
- The Wheelie Wagon programme will help to extend library services to the more rural areas of the province.

**Housing**

Over the first ten years of democracy, the national and provincial departments responsible for housing focused on the quantity of housing built in an attempt to address historical backlogs. Further, the location of many of the housing projects on cheap peripheral land was conducive to urban sprawl.

More recently the focus has shifted to considering quality as well as quantity. This includes consideration of how geographic location and provision of opportunities for social interaction contribute to creating quality human settlements. This concern, in effect, relates to social capital formation. Quality concerns include design issues, such as safe access to the toilet (especially important for women), the relationship of the house door to the neighbourhood, and ensuring that the design facilitates multi-functional use of the house, including economic uses such as running a spaza shop, crèche or hairdressing establishment or sewing. More generally, mixed use neighbourhoods will be promoted as a means of ensuring that areas are people-friendly and safe by
night. To promote bridging and linking capital, the province will encourage mixed-income neighbourhoods, as well as neighbourhoods in which newer immigrants and those who have lived longer in the province can learn to live and work together.

Another issue that needs to be addressed is tenure security and inheritance of the housing unit, as well as a range of options such as affordable rental for those who do not want to own their dwelling. The issue of affordability is becoming increasingly important in light of the property boom in the province. In terms of customary law the tenure security of women and children are threatened if the spouse dies. The Department of Local Government and Housing is committed to distributing templates for wills together with title deeds so that beneficiaries are encouraged to compile wills that protect the parties. In a case of divorce or separation the subsidised housing asset must be split between them because neither of them is eligible for a second subsidy. This is clearly untenable in the many cases of domestic violence in the province.

The Department is aware of the impact the process of creating housing can have on the way it is viewed and the well-being of the communities that eventually live in the dwellings. It will therefore continue to utilise partnerships such as the People’s Housing Process. The Department recognises that these processes often result in slower housing delivery than traditional approaches. The level of buy-in and empowerment compensates amply for the delays. The People’s Housing Process also is more likely than contractor-built housing of single units on individual plots to create unique and interesting neighbourhoods.

The existing location of housing projects is conducive to continued urban sprawl. This is unsustainable in environmental terms. It also promotes poverty among those who have to live far from economic opportunities and social amenities. The Department will in future be promoting higher density settlements closer to opportunities and services. This will help to undermine the residential segregation imposed by apartheid, while improving economic opportunities for the poor. It will mean that poor people spend less time commuting and can spend more time with their families and the community more generally. It will also mean that these households spend less on transport and can use the money saved on enhancing the well-being of household members.

The new policy ‘Breaking New Ground’ should change the way in which housing is provided. It is envisaged that the N2 Gateway project will provide 22 000 housing opportunities over the next few years.

**Health**

Within the health sector globally, there is a growing interest in developing mechanisms that link the social and economic aspects of people’s lives and their impact on health. This interest is reflected in policies and interventions that adopt a primary health care and health promotion approach. This approach generally
goes together with a commitment to strengthening collaboration between the public sector and civil society organisations as a means of enhancing local health.

The Department of Health’s Healthcare 2010 strategy reflects a focus on primary-level services, community-based care and preventative care. This strategic plan was developed in response to a situation in which there are high levels of inequity in health service provision, and where primary level services are inappropriately (and at an unaffordably high cost) being provided at secondary and tertiary level. Health Care 2010 proposes that the focus of health service delivery be shifted to community and primary level care, with appropriate referral mechanisms to secondary and tertiary levels of care. The current inequities will be decreased by giving preference to under-serviced areas when expanding primary care services. Improvements in health as a result of increased access to services should facilitate the building of social capital by freeing up people’s time and increasing their ability to engage in social interaction. Locally provided services should simultaneously encourage community ownership of the health facilities.

Primary health care has intersectoral collaboration as one of its key principles. It thus fits in well with the notion of internal social capital. The Khayelitsha Task Team provides one example of such collaboration, as well as of collaborative work between professionals and ordinary people. The Team was launched in 1998 after a medical officer working at Nolungile Clinic in Site C discovered a high level of worm infestation in children attending the clinic. This not only affected the children’s health, but also their ability to concentrate in the classroom.

In order to address the problem, a collaborative initiative was established involving representatives from the local community (such as teachers, members of the school governing body, parents and NGO representatives), government representatives (such as nurses, environmental health offices, engineers and community sanitation officers) and researchers from the Medical Research Council and School of Public Health at the University of Western Cape.

The team is currently implementing an intervention at two levels: a schools-based programme and a community-based programme. The school-based programme involves regular de-worming, curriculum development and production of teaching materials, and improvement of water and sanitation facilities in schools. The community-based programme focuses on improving sanitation facilities in Khayelitsha more generally. This includes establishing a ward-based water and sanitation forum that will interact with the City of Cape Town and the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry.

The Khayelitsha Task Team established new structures that could both draw on local people’s knowledge and build their capacity. The Department of Health
plans, in addition, to support existing community-based structures to participate in its interventions. The Department is aware, however, that these structures should not be expected to take on tasks that fall within the ambit of government responsibility. For example, relying on poor women to provide care for people living with HIV/AIDS – whether their own family members or clients within a home-based care initiative - drains their social, emotional and financial resources and limits their ability to engage in wider community activities.

To avoid this happening, the Department will aim to ensure that:

- quality basic health services are provided at a primary care level in an accessible, efficient and appropriate manner; and
- the Department makes appropriate use of existing social capital by promoting linkages between communities and government which allow communities to advocate for the delivery of equitable and professional health care services.

The Department will achieve the latter through establishing clinic and community health centre committees as provided for in the National Health Act of 2003. It will also work through the various development forums that have been created in different areas to bring together representatives of communities, NGOs, community-based organisations, government and, where appropriate, private sector representatives. By working with and through these forums, the Department of Health will provide members of civil society with an opportunity to dialogue with health officials and provide feedback on the quality and accessibility of services at a local level.

The Department’s decision to allocate grant funding to municipalities was also motivated by its recognition of the importance of local level decision-making which reflects local needs.
Funding the social capital formation strategy

It is neither possible nor desirable to give an exact rand amount that government will allocate for implementation of the social capital formation strategy. This is so because the social capital formation strategy will affect the way in which a great many different initiatives of government work. Some of these initiatives already exist. In these cases, it is often primarily a question of how the initiatives are implemented and their budgets spent, rather than allocating new money, although in some cases the money will need to be topped up. Other initiatives will be newly introduced as part of the social capital formation strategy. However, giving the amount that is allocated for these initiatives will provide a misleading under-statement of government’s financial commitment to the strategy.

The annexures to this document nevertheless highlights the shifts in core business that each department envisages as it takes the social capital formation strategy forward. Each year these annexures will be supplemented by detailed business plans that explain how the departments plan to implement these shifts and what additional resources will be required to do so.

The social capital formation strategy requires that personnel in the departments making up the social cluster take the lead, and that they focus their energies in the poorest communities. This approach will involve redistribution – ensuring that available resources reach those who need them most – as well as, in some cases, allocation of more resources than previously voted or awarded.

The social capital formation strategy will, in particular, require increased allocation to strengthen social and NGO sector networks. Nominal annual increases which only keep pace with inflation will not be sufficient if the strategy is to succeed. Scaling up the existing organisations and networks and creating linking social capital through innovation will require new financial resources as well as redistribution of existing resources.

Existing NGOs will be financed so that they are able to meet the new mandates implied by the social capital formation strategy. They will also be funded to extend coverage to areas which are presently under-served and under-represented. Funding will also be made available for emerging organisations, especially in poorer and disadvantaged communities. Capacity building will be provided for both the older and new NGOs to assist them in operating according to a social capital framework in which they seek mandates from communities. Capacity building will also be provided to leadership of community-based organisations, such as chairpersons and executives, so that they can play an effective role in working with government.
The success of the social capital formation strategy also hinges on the success with which government can fully implement the Batho Pele principles in executing its daily tasks. Batho Pele requires government personnel to be facilitators of the necessary linkages to ensure that the people of the province have access to information and opportunities. The roles of a range of different categories of staff are vital. As they go about their daily tasks, teachers, doctors, nurses, social workers, and sport and cultural administrators need to link people and organisations and scale them up from levels of desperation to levels that instill hope and access to services. These government employees will be supported in this work by community-based care workers, social development workers, community development workers, learner support officers, sport coaches and Bambanani volunteers. These community-based workers will need to be provided with the necessary resources to carry out their work, and stipends to compensate in some way for their time and energy.

In the 2005/06 financial year the total budget for the social cluster stands at R17,8 billion (86,3 percent) of the province’s R20,6 billion budget. The bulk of the R8,6 billion spent on personnel in the social cluster is spent on education and health – on teachers, nurses and doctors, in particular. The increased access which will result from increasing the ratio of personnel to poorer communities should assist in building trust in government. This, in turn, assists in deepening social capital.
**Institutional framework**

The institutional framework for the social capital formation policy must provide for coordination between the different departments, as well as with local government, non-governmental actors such as NGOs, community-based organisations (CBOs), trade unions and the private sector. Previous sections of the strategy indicate how government sees the role of various non-governmental actors. This section focuses on the institutional framework within government.

**Cabinet** is the apex of the provincial government and sets the overall strategic priorities, including for the social capital formation strategy. Cabinet’s position at the apex allows for it to ensure synergy between the social capital formation strategy, strategies in respect of the other five priorities, national strategies, and strategies of the municipalities within the province. Cabinet’s strategy needs, therefore, to be informed by what it learns from other actors both about needs and achievements.

The Cabinet’s instrument for effecting integration is the **Premier’s Intergovernmental Forum (PIF)**. This forum brings together the Premier and his Provincial MECs and the Municipal Mayor and their Municipal Managers.

The PIF is served by the **PIF Technical Committee**, which is made up of the Director-General of the Province, the Cluster Heads, Provincial Treasury as well as representatives from Financial Managers of Local Government and representatives from SALGA. This committee provides policy and management advice to Members of the Executive Council (MECs), mayors, and other political heads who form part of the PIF.

Within the provincial sphere, the PIF and its Technical Committee are supported by **technical task teams** which operate under the lead departments and related clusters for each of the priority strategies. There will therefore be a technical task team operating under the DSSPA and social cluster which will provide advice in respect of the social capital formation strategy.

The social cluster, as noted above, is made up of the Departments of Education, Community Safety, Local Government and Housing, Cultural Affairs and Sports, and Health in addition to the DSSPA. This cluster bears primary responsibility for both the human and social capital formation strategies.

**Youth commission**

The individual provincial **departments** are responsible for implementing the projects and programmes which make up the social capital formation strategy. In order to ensure synergy, they must report to the cluster, and ultimately to the Cabinet, on progress in respect of these projects and programmes.
Municipalities are key players if the social capital formation strategy is to succeed. It is at this level that community members can come together to express their needs and interests, and discuss how they can work together with others to achieve this. Information from ward councillors, and from consultations in respect of the development of integrated development plans need to be fed into the relevant provincial departments. The departments from their side need to look for ways in which they can work with and through the various municipal level groupings. One of these mechanisms could be a replication of the cluster system on a local level. This will make it possible for representatives from national and provincial government to foster a closer relationship with municipalities. Working together closely with municipalities is a pre-requisite to ensure that the real needs of communities are addressed in a collaborative manner amongst all three spheres of government.
Monitoring and evaluation

Each department should have an internal monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system which it uses to monitor its progress. This system is ideally aligned with the budgeting system, so as to ensure that resources are allocated appropriately and used appropriately once allocated.

Monitoring mainly involves measurement of outputs, or deliverables, of projects and programmes. For example, the Department of Education monitors how many children attend school, the DSSPA monitors how many social grants are paid, the Department of Sports and Culture monitors how many assistants it has placed in schools, and the Department of Local Government and Housing monitors how many housing subsidies it provides.

Evaluation is concerned primarily with outcomes, or impact. These measures go beyond deliverables to assess what changes the programmes and projects have brought about. Outcomes are often the result of a range of factors, and cannot usually easily be attributable to a particular programme or project. For example, if the health status of children in the province improves, this could be a result of better delivery of health care services by the Department of Health. However, it is as likely that it is the result of an improvement in the economic situation or improved access to clean, safe water sources by households.

In respect of the social capital formation strategy, departments will remain responsible for monitoring of deliverables for each of their projects and programmes. To fulfill this responsibility, the annual workplans to be drawn up by each department will need to define as many indicators as are necessary to monitor each of its social capital formation initiatives. Where necessary, and especially in the first years of the strategy, the Premier’s Monitoring and Evaluation Unit will provide guidance to departments in defining indicators and establishing systems to collect the necessary data.

The cluster, in turn, will require a system that assesses the success of the strategy in terms of outcomes and allows it to report to Cabinet. For this it will want to measure outcome indicators such as the level of various forms of serious crimes, inequality in respect of income and other key indicators, and the number of households lacking decent shelter. The cluster will also want a selected number of output indicators from each of the departments to allow an assessment of the extent to which the different projects and programmes may be contributing to the outcomes. It might thus want to select about ten indicators from the larger number identified by each department.

At the provincial level, the PIF and Cabinet will want to focus on outcomes, but will want one or two output indicators from each departmental business plan.
The Millennium Goals, for instance, provide one framework of indicators. More research is required on indicator development. For monitoring and evaluation to be meaningful and appropriate it needs to take factors such as population size and migration trends into account.

In planning and undertaking monitoring, the departments will encourage the use of approaches that utilise and support social capital. In particular, departments will endeavour to utilise community members as monitors. Imbizos, for example, will be used as a barometer of people’s experience of government delivery.

To ensure that all voices are heard, and especially those of the marginalised, departments will where necessary provide separate spaces where groups such as women, youth, the less educated and others who might not speak openly in mixed settings, can be heard. Government will also ensure that the ways in which people provide feedback do not discriminate against those who are not comfortable in English or Afrikaans, or against those with limited reading and writing skills.
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