Exploring social capital and its links with democracy in Cape Town

Findings from the Cape Area Study 2003

by

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Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

This dissertation explores dimensions of social capital and its links with democracy in Cape Town, using data from the Cape Area Study 2003. The main theoretical and empirical approaches to the study of social capital in relation to democracy are critically analysed. The paper offers a descriptive overview of social capital, analysing facets beyond the widely used measures of general interpersonal trust and formal associational activism. While general interpersonal trust and associational activism in Cape Town are low, higher rates of social capital exist in other forms, such as neighbourly trust and informal networks of association with neighbours and kin. Factor and Reliability Analyses are applied to test dimensionality in the data finding that, in Cape Town, social capital is a multi-dimensional concept made up of distinct attitudinal and structural components. These facets are used to analyse the link between social capital and certain hypothesized outcomes linked to democratic stability, namely tolerance of diversity, civic commitment and political participation. The dissertation finds that interpersonal trust is a weak predictor of these outcomes and that associational activism can only sometimes be linked hereto. Other facets of social capital play a significant role in determining these outcomes, but no single variable is a consistently strong predictor hereof. The findings suggest that the dimensions of social capital vary in their functioning and link to the outcomes of tolerance of diversity, civic commitment and political participation.

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List of Acronyms

CAS 2003	Cape Area Study 2003
WVS	World Values Survey

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Chapter 1

Introduction

I begin this dissertation by introducing social capital and its theoretical and practical appeal for an emerging democracy such as South Africa. This discussion looks at the benefits of social capital for individuals, communities and the wider social framework of democracy. Following this I proceed to introduce the objectives of the dissertation, the main arguments as well as my empirical approach to the study of social capital in Cape Town. I provide a brief overview of the content of each chapter, giving the reader some insight the structure and flow of the dissertation.

The appeal of social capital for an emerging democracy

Social capital refers to the attitudinal aspect of trust and the structural aspect of associations or networks which are shared between people. Social capital is a productive resource vested in human relations and can be used to achieve narrower as well as broader political, social and economic outcomes (Narayan, 1999).

The growing interest in social capital can in large part be attributed to Robert Putnam's study of political institutions in Italy (1993). Putnam's work highlighted the importance of social capital ; in terms of general interpersonal trust and formal associational activity; as the main factor distinguishing strong political institutions from weak ones. The presence of social capital is said to nurture a cycle of behaviours and attitudes, the benefits of which filter upwards to strengthen democratic institutions (Putnam, 1993). These attitudes and behaviours include tolerance, co-operation, civic mindedness, political participation and generally harmonious interaction between citizens. The right of citizens to participate in the governance process is what distinguishes legitimate democracies from other regime types and civic participation is vital for sustaining a link between the people and the decision-makers (Verba et al, 1995). According to Putnam (1993) the sustenance of a participatory democracy may depend on generating sufficient amounts of social capital.

The suggestion that social capital may foster greater civic mindedness, tolerance and political participation makes it very appealing for an emerging democracy such as South Africa, especially in light of what the country hopes to achieve and the social challenges which it faces. South Africa's history is one of oppression, political unrest and segregation, the legacy of which still plagues it today. Along with these inherited disparities, the country has one of the highest levels of income inequality and poverty in the world, the highest rates of HIV/AIDS infection, alarming rates of unemployment and high rates of crime. These factors present immense hurdles to any initiative aimed at developing and sustaining democracy. Achieving democratic stability is not only about establishing democratic institutions, conducting free and fair elections and drawing up a Constitution. A range of other factors such as tolerance and co-operation amongst citizens as well as communication and co-operation between citizens and elected leaders sustain democracy. South Africa is struggling to achieve these very outcomes, all of which are said to been linked to social capital. How can social capital work to strengthen South Africa's democracy? In order to answer this question I discuss the relevance of social capital for South Africa's democracy.

Social capital may help forge links between people from different backgrounds and so doing promote integration and social cohesion (Stone and Hughes, 2001). According to Putnam(1993, 2000) individuals who actively participate in formal organizations, for example sports or recreational clubs and professional associations, have wider networks of association and are thus more likely to interact with people of diverse backgrounds, races and cultures. These interactive opportunities allow individuals to learn the social skills of tolerance and co-operation which may help mend the social divisions in society. This form of social capital – often referred to as bridging social capital - may be vital for building links between the many diverse cultural, ethnic and racial groups in a country like South Africa. The 'nation-building' campaign introduced by the Mandela government, was implemented to achieve a similar purpose i.e. to bring South Africans closer together and instill in society a sense of unity, while maintaining an appreciation for diversity.

Beyond this broad social functioning, social capital takes other forms and may serve a host other purposes. Firstly, social capital may help address the rational choice dilemmas of

collective action and the tragedy of the commons. As rational actors, individuals are expected to act in their own self-interest rather than to the benefit of the community, which inhibits resource sharing and collective action. Social capital may help address this, because it is argued that if community members have a sufficient supply of trust and reciprocity this may promote mutual co-operation, making resource sharing a plausible reality (Putnam, 1993; Fukuyama, 2000). Unlike social capital theory, rational choice theory does not account for the possibility that relations between community members may rest on sufficient trust and reciprocity so as to sustain co-operative behaviour and adherence to an unwritten code of mutual respect.

Secondly, citizens working in co-operation with each other may help fill the gaps in service delivery. Neighbourhood watch organisations for example, emerge because community members have taken to initiate safety and security schemes in a way that government is unable to. However, these organisations and forms of collective action cannot function without the necessary level of trust and relational activity between neighbours. This outcome can be linked to a form of social capital termed bonding social capital, which refers to trust and networks between people who share close connections with each other such as friends, neighbours and family (Mihaylova, 2004).

Thirdly, the citizen's role in the democracy does not end with the simple casting of the vote or the paying of taxes. Citizens have the responsibility to hold government accountable and make their voices heard in the policy process. But, as Putnam (1993) argues, holding government accountable depends on a very important prerequisite - social capital, which may induce co-operation and collective action. Rate payers' associations for example, are formal structures for holding government accountable at the local level and can only function effectively with sufficient trust amongst its members. These forms of civic and political participation are important for strengthening the participatory democracy. The state can assist in the creation and mobilisation of social capital by offering its citizens the freedoms of speech and association as well as providing channels for active participation in the government process (Holm, 2004; Landman, 2004; Fedderke, 1999).

Individuals may make use of social capital as a coping strategy as well as to access opportunities for long term personal advancement. People rely on the network of relations closest to them for various purposes, be it as a matter of daily survival or to obtain employment and access to certain information and services. The survival of these networks depends on trust and the expectation of reciprocity (Briggs, 1998).

Not only does social capital vary in extent, in the sense that some societies can be spoken about as having more or less social capital than others, but it also varies in type. Different types of social capital have the potential to yield varied outcomes, be it in relation to the individual, community or wide society (Stone and Hughes, 2001).

Aims of the Study

With so much being attributed to the stock of trust and associational activity in a society, it is easy to understand why social capital is such an appealing area of research and study. Researchers and academics alike have taken a keen interest in social capital and although the study of networks and trust are by no means new branches of social science, social capital has the appeal of bringing together trust and networks of association such that these two aspects of social life can be structured to satisfy both individual and societal objectives. For an emerging democracy, social capital may well assist in achieving of a wide range of political and social objectives.

While there is a wealth of evidence to substantiate the view that social capital matters, there remains many gaps in the development of survey research as a tool for empirically investigating the dimensions and outcomes associated with social capital. This is especially true in relatively understudied areas of the world such as South Africa. We know little firstly, about what the stock of social capital actually looks like and secondly, whether social capital leads to the outcomes of tolerance of diversity, civic commitment and political participation which are said to be beneficial for democracy.

Unlike most fields of study social capital it is not concentrated in a single branch of social science, but instead bridges the disciplines of political science, sociology, economics and anthropology. Although my preparation entailed delving into literature from across these fields, this dissertation is placed in the realm of political science and focuses on social capital in relation to democratic values and civic culture.

My interest in social capital rests with both the conceptualization and operationalisation of the concept within political science. Social capital is one of many facets of social and political life said to advance the civic culture, a supposed prerequisite for democratic stability (Inglehart, 1997). While the interest in social capital has grown, the development of this area of study has been concentrated in the West, resulting in the dominance of American and European theoretical understandings and conceptualisations. These theoretical approaches have shaped the dominant operational techniques applied in the study of social capital. Our knowledge of social capital has been heavily informed by the analysis of data from the World Values Survey (WVS).[1] But, while empirical evidence from the WVS suggests the presence of macro-level associations between social capital and democratic stability, we know little about its micro-level dimensionality and functioning (Norris, 2002). Furthermore, the WVS relies on a constrained and analytically limited number of measurement items to gauge social capital, focusing on general interpersonal trust and formal associational activity. The limits of this approach include that it does not allows us to analyze social capital as a situationally varied and multi-faceted concept.

There are many aspects of social capital which remain under-researched and many assumptions which have yet to be tested in the South. The dimensions and consequences of social capital are plausibly a matter of context and situation and we have little reason to believe that the theoretical and practical assumptions and understandings of social capital developed in the West play out in the same way in an African context. My concern does not centre on the broad notion that social capital matters, but instead rests with the assumptions that interpersonal trust

[1] The World Values Survey (WVS) is a "worldwide investigation of social and political change" It is a cross-country, time-series survey with samples from 80 representative democracies across the world. A total of four waves have been carried out since 1981 and the databank offers researchers the opportunity to analyse and compare changes in political and social attitudes and behaviour over time and across countries (See: www.worldvaluessurvey.org).

and associational activism are sufficient indicators of the stock of social capital as well as the prospects for the civic culture, tolerance and thus democratic stability in society. Together trust and associational activism are said to lead to greater interconnectedness, tolerance and civic responsibility amongst citizens (Norris, 2002). However, this understanding does not help us explain the peculiar case of South Africa, where according to WVS data, interpersonal trust is low but associational activism is high (Norris, 2002). My reasoning is that there is more to social capital than has readily been investigated and in order to deepen our understanding of the dimensions and impact of this concept we need to probe a wider range of dimensions of social capital.

It was with these considerations in mind that the Cape Area Study 2003 (CAS) was used to approach the study of social capital in Cape Town. CAS was designed and implemented by the Centre for Social Science Research (CSSR) at the University of Cape Town to explore various aspects of social and political attitudes and behaviours. 588 personal interviews took place across the Cape Metropolitan Area . The official Cape Metropolitan Area jurisdiction was the sampling frame from which the respondents were randomly selected, using a stratified cluster sample approach. [2] As a research assistant I took part in the questionnaire design, fieldwork implementation, data collection and data management processes of the survey, taking a specific interest in the module on social capital. For this module we focused on probing dimensions of social capital beyond general interpersonal trust and associational activism, investigating relationships held with neighbours and kin. While most studies of social capital focus on formal associational activity, we suspected that informal bonds might be more important to people in a developing socioeconomic context such as Cape Town. Similarly we endeavoured to investigate trust and reciprocity beyond the commonly used general interpersonal trust item, probing the quality of neighbourhood social capital.

This dissertation offers both a descriptive as well as explanatory analysis of social capital in Cape Town. I describe the stock of social capital in Cape Town in terms of interpersonal trust, neighbourly trust and formal associational activity as well as informal networks of association

[2] See Appendix A (Part1) for detailed information on the methodology, sampling and fieldwork operations which took place in process of conducting CAS 2003.

with neighbours and kin. These are the dependent variables to be used in the explanatory analysis, which investigates the association between facets of social capital and the hypothesized outcomes of tolerance of diversity, civic commitment and political participation. I test a range of hypotheses about the multi-faceted nature of social capital as well as the predictive validity of interpersonal trust and associational activism in relation to these outcomes. To provide an overview of my approach, I will discuss the contents of each chapter.

Chapter Contents

Chapter 2 is a critical analysis of the main theoretical and operational approaches to the study of social capital. My first critique relates to the treatment of interpersonal trust as a general and unvarying trait of the individual, which is generally measured using a single item. Secondly, I address the operational problems surrounding the WVS measure of interpersonal trust. Thirdly, I discuss networks of association and deliberate the assumed relationship between trust and networks. Fourthly, I assess the limitations of relying strictly on formal associational activity as an indicator of networks. Fifthly, I critique the assumptions linked to this approach, such as the expectation that the level of formal associational activity explains the extent cross-cutting social connections and tolerance in society. I conclude the chapter by discussing the analytical interpretations associated with general interpersonal trust and associational activism. Specifically, I critique the assumption that these aspects are sufficient in informing us about the individual's propensity to bridge certain social cleavages and display attitudes linked to civic responsibility. After critically reviewing the interpretations of social capital, I recommend an approach to social capital which is broader in appeal and relevance.

In Chapter 3 I introduce the measures of social capital used in CAS 2003, explaining the objective and reasoning behind each item. I raise two key questions, firstly about the stock of social capital and secondly about the dimensionality of the concept. To answer the first question, I provide a descriptive overview of social capital in Cape Town. The aspects of social capital described relate to general interpersonal trust, neighbourly trust, contact with neighbours and kin as well as the extent of formal associational activity. This analysis gives us insight into the stock of social capital in Cape Town, where people place their trust and the

extent of their networks. A striking observation relates to the low levels of general interpersonal trust but the co-existent high levels of neighbourly trust. And while formal membership in associations is low, high rates of contact with neighbours and kin suggest that strong informal associations are present. To answer the second question and test my hypothesis that social capital is a multi-faceted concept, I undertake Factor and Reliability Analyses. Using this approach I identify clusters within the data, constructs which tap into distinct facets of social capital. I conclude the chapter by discussing the dimensions of social capital observed.

In Chapter 4, I firstly present the descriptive statistics of survey items measuring the hypothesized consequences of social capital. These include tolerance of diversity, civic commitment and political participation in the form of engagement with local government and collective action. Generally, respondents display tolerant attitudes as well as a strong sense of commitment towards developing their communities. In terms of political participation, most respondents report never having interacted with their local Ward Councillor, but a reasonable percentage have or are willing to take up collective action of some kind. The second main component of the chapter is the explanatory analysis where I investigate the link between the dimensions of social capital and its hypothesized outcomes. I test a range of hypotheses about the predictive validity of general interpersonal trust and associational activism in relation to tolerance of diversity, civic commitment and political participation. The results suggest that interpersonal trust plays an insignificant role in explaining these outcomes. In terms of other dimensions of social capital, their predictive power in relation to these outcomes is inconsistent and varied. Formal networks of association help explain certain aspects of civic commitment as well as some forms of political participation. Neighbourly trust, the most robust construct in the dataset, is the strongest predictor of tolerance of diversity as well as respondents' sense of civic commitment.

In Chapter 5 I bring together the narrower and broader findings into an analytical interpretation. Throughout the paper I present a consistent argument for the evolution of the concept of social capital such that it extends beyond the limited framework of general interpersonal trust and formal associational activity. I refer to the specificities of the African

and South African contexts which call for deeper analysis into informal networks and behaviours. Given the exploratory nature of the CAS 2003 survey and data, I make suggestions for the development of more valid and reliable measures as well as specific areas of research which can be pursued in the future.

This dissertation finds that in the context of Cape Town, social capital is a multi-faceted and situational concept. In order to describe the stock of social capital we need to be specific about the aspects of social capital we want to investigate. Each facet is likely to be unique it its predictive validity and relying on one or two items restricts the development of our understanding of the consequences of social capital. Using the general interpersonal trust measure to capture the individual's overall attitude towards trust is a flawed exercise, because trust is something which varies over time and by circumstance. Similarly, formal associational activism tells us little about respondents' wider network of relations and the manner in which these shape civic attitudes and behaviours. Understanding social capital is about understanding its multi-dimensionality and situational functioning. In this way we can appropriately appreciate and interpret its value for individuals, communities and the democratic society as a whole.

Chapter 2

A critique of the dominant approaches to the study of social capital in political science: Conceptualisation and Operationalisation

Social capital inheres in the structure of relations between and among people (Coleman, 1990). It is the relational element of social capital that distinguishes it from economic and human capital: "to possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is the others, not himself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage" (Portes, 1998 cited in Narayan, 1999 : 6). Beyond this relational element social capital is a productive resource and the nature of interaction has implications for individual and group well-being, both beneficial and detrimental (Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 1993; Narayan, 1999) [1].

Social capital is an instrument that takes many forms and can be used to achieve a wide spectrum of outcomes. One such outcome is the strengthening of democracy. It is argued that social capital, in the form of general interpersonal trust and associational activism, produces benefits such as civic mindedness, co-operative behaviour and political efficacy which fortify democratic institutions (Putnam, 1993, 1995 & 2000 and Inglehart, 1990, 1997). In this chapter I offer a critical perspective on the study of social capital as a cultural explanation of democratic stability[2]. I will critically assess the most influential survey tools used in political science to investigate social capital and the main approaches which have thus far informed our knowledge and understanding of this concept.

Trust and networks of association are at the heart of social capital and my critique centres on the conceptualisation, operationalisation as well as the interpretive value of these variables.

[1] "It (social capital) is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly useable in the short or long term" (Bourdieu, 1986:251).
"Social capital here refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating co-ordinated action" (Putnam, 1993:167).
Social capital refers to the "the norms and social relations embedded in the social structures of society that enable people to co-ordinate and to achieve desired goals" (Narayan, 1999: 8).

[2] Inglehart defines culture as: "the subjective component of a society's equipment for coping with its environment: the values, attitudes, beliefs, skills and knowledge of its people" (1997:55). As he explains, understanding democracy is not only about understanding the political institutions of the democratic regime. We need to also understand people's responses and thoughts towards the democracy, i.e. the civic or political culture in society. Social capital is one of a number of cultural elements said to promote the civic culture (Inglehart, 1990:24).

Firstly, I discuss the assumption that trust is a consistent and unvarying concept that offers us complete information about the individual's propensity to trust others, regardless of situation or circumstance. Secondly, I discuss the operational problems surrounding the generalised trust measure used in the World Values Survey (WVS). Thirdly, shifting to a focus on networks, I critique the assumed interconnectedness between the level of trust and the extent of formal associational networks in society. Next I discuss the problems associated with measuring networks one-dimensionally, as the extent of the individual's formal associational membership. I also critique the assumption that associational activism is vital for the creation of bridging social capital. I conclude this chapter by surveying and critically assessing the implications of social capital for democracy, paying attention to the case of South Africa. If trust and associational activism are linked, how do we explain South Africa's low levels of interpersonal trust but relatively high rates of associational activism? What does this finding imply about the country's prospects for democracy? I address these questions and point out the relevance of context and the value derived from treating social capital as a situational, multi-dimensional concept. This approach may offer us a better understanding of how and where people shape their attitudes and behaviours to become co-operating, tolerating and civic-minded citizens.

Interpersonal Trust: Is there more to the picture ?

Trust is often seen as vital for ensuring that society functions like a finely tuned machine. As Newton (2000: 171) comments, "without trust in those upon whom we depend, daily life would be much more difficult, if not impossible for everyone but the lawyers who would make a lot of money". The importance of trust is echoed throughout the social capital literature. In sum, trust is an indicator of bridging social capital, it predicts the individual's networking capabilities and it facilitates lowered daily transaction costs by broadening access to information and opportunities (Coleman, 1988, 1990; Putnam, 1993 & 2000; Fukyama, 1995; Ingelhart, 1997; Woolcock, 1998; Paldam, 2000, Aldridge et al, 2002).

According to Almond and Verba (1963) trust is particularly crucial in the sustenance of a civic culture which is vital for democratic stability. The influential works of Robert Putnam (1993,

2000) and Inglehart (1990, 1997) similarly place special emphasis on general interpersonal trust as a prerequisite for effective democratic regimes. A large stock of interpersonal trust in a society is said to be associated with reciprocity, civic commitment and social cohesion (Stone & Hughes, 2002:1-2). While I have no doubt that trust matters, I am sceptical of the over emphasis of general interpersonal trust as an all-encompassing indicator of the propensity of humans to generally trust and co-operate with each other, to tolerate diversity and display a strong sense of civic responsibility. Indeed, trust is far more complex a concept than is readily assumed.

The dominant approaches to the study of trust and social capital in political science can be attributed to Robert Putnam (1993, 2000) and Ronald Inglehart (1990, 1997). Both scholars have made important contributions towards the development of democratic theory using mass opinion data, specifically through the World Values Survey (WVS). Putnam and Inglehart are both proponents of what Rose (1998:7) calls the 'social-psychological approach' to social capital. On this account social capital is defined in terms of a set of informally held attitudes and conventions which dominate in society without having to be enforced by law or authority. Specifically, this approach focuses on the culture of trust, reciprocity and tolerance from which extensive networks and voluntary associations emerge.

What distinguishes the social-psychological approach is that individuals are perceived to be consistent in their tendency to trust others, even in a diverse range of situations. [3] The situational consistency of trust is an assumption that is similarly made in Fukuyama's approach (1995) to the study of social capital. [4] By implication it is therefore possible to measure a person's stock of social capital by gauging his/her disposition to generally trust other people (Rose, 1998:9). The prevalence of this theoretical reasoning has shaped the main empirical approaches to researching social capital. Thus, social capital is predominantly defined and

[3] The other approaches which Rose(1998: 7 - 10) discusses is that of Coleman and Fukuyama. Coleman's political economy framework defines social capital as networks of relations, which are both instrumental and situational i.e. they are productive and functional to varied degrees and with varied purposes. Fukuyama asserts that culture is the source of trust and co-operation, which are the defining features of social capital. See also Hjollund & Svendesen (2000) for a discussion on theoretical approaches to social capital.

[4] The only variance which Fukuyama (1995) accommodates for is that trust varies by country. Similarly to Putnam and Inglehart he hypothesizes that our propensity to trust and co-operate is consistent from situation to situation within a country or cultural group, assuming that we will find homogeneity in social capital between individuals within a country, society or group (Rose, 1998:9).

measured in terms of a generalised disposition to trust, which is believed to capture the individual's level of trust towards others in all circumstances and situations.[5] Another feature of this approach is the insistence that trust and reciprocity are intrinsically linked to networks; the latter concept defined and measured rather narrowly in terms of the number of associations or organisations to which individuals formally belong.

The main critique I pursue here is directed at the assumptions and empirical tools underpinning this approach. Firstly, I criticise the supposition that respondents who display high levels of general interpersonal trust, are trusters in a variety of circumstances i.e. trust is an unvarying trait of the individual which we capture by measuring responses to the question 'generally speaking most people can be trusted'. Secondly, I critique the quality and interpretative value attached to the operationalisation of generalised trust as it is measured in the WVS.

The striking weakness of the social-psychological approach is that it relies on a constrained measure of social capital. By asking a single question about whether or not the respondent believes that other people can generally be trusted, it assumes that we gain sufficient insight into the complex decision-making process of individuals and their inclination to develop habits of reciprocity and co-operation with others. The utility of this measurement approach is that on gathering the data society can be split-up into two groups, distinguishing the trusters from the non-trusters. This is useful in making some clear cut descriptions about the stock of social capital in a society. But the key assumption underlying this measure, i.e. that "general trust is an expression of an internal and unvarying personality trait" (Newton, 2001: 203), is a problematic one.[6] As Newton (2001:203) points out, when answering the question of whether or not others can generally be trusted, respondents are probably thinking about the changing

[5] The WVS measure used to test general interpersonal trust is "Generally speaking would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful when dealing with people?", response options are:

1) Most people can be trusted
2) You can't be too careful when dealing with people
3) Don't Know

(Knack and Keefer, 1997:3)

This measure and data is widely used in political science to capture and analyse the *trust* dimension of social capital. This approach is open to much criticism.

[6] Inglehart (1997: 173) conceives of trust as a variable and not a constant in the sense that it is something that can increase or decrease over time and differs by society. But, he fails to apply the similar reasoning to the dimensions and variations in trust in terms of context and circumstances faced by individuals, by assuming that general trust is an adequate indicator of the individuals' likelihood to trust, no matter the situation.

external world around them and each person answers are based on their most recent experience of trust or the first experience which they are able to recall. Newton (2001:203) continues that, "Different forms of trust do not form a single, unified syndrome, as the social-psychological approach suggests they should". It is entirely probable that no such thing as a general disposition to trust exists because people display variable levels of trust in each circumstance and engagement. Hardin (1993) expresses a similar sentiment, remarking that trust is based on the continual accumulation and updating of experience. This plausibly leads to changing patterns of trust over time but is also indicative of the fact that we trust differently depending on who we are dealing with.

The study of social capital remains rather narrowly focused on the idea of a general disposition to trust, which is used to explain many other aspects political, social and economic life. Social capital is assumed to determine our attitudes and behaviours, be it towards familiar or unfamiliar individuals and groups as well as towards democratic values and institutions. Given that social capital is used to explain so much about individual interaction and societal welfare, it would be somewhat perilous of us to assume that trust is unvarying and that social capital, as an explanatory variable, can be studied as a one-dimensional and un-dynamic concept.

It may be worthwhile to investigate and evaluate the individual's radius of trust, probing the distinct nature of various relationships. Is it not reasonable to expect that the trust which individuals invest in their loved ones and family members differs to the nature and extent of trust vested in strangers or acquaintances and that there are different benefits associated with each type of relationship? I would say it most certainly is. It is far too simplistic to analyse so complex a concept as trust by treating it as situationally consistent – in the manner that Putnam (1993), Inglehart (1997) and Fukuyama's (1995) approaches do. To speak about social capital as though it has a static and generalised value is to diminish its usefulness as something which is adaptable and which takes on various forms (Hardin, 2003). Social capital must vary, since its functionality is unique to circumstance and context.[7]

[7] The study of networks (see for example Granovetter, 1973) places some emphasis on the manner in which people use different bonds to service different ends, depending on time and context specific needs.

In our quest to understand the nature of social capital we are, according to Coleman (1990) better equipped to do so if we design our research study to focus on particular circumstances, relationships and environments surrounding networks. By analysing social capital in this way we might better understand people's ability to work together and co-operate (Paldam, 2000:635). Following this approach, the empirical path would necessitate an analysis of the different types of relationships people forge as well as different forms of trust and how these are of benefit or detriment to personal and societal well-being. Our analysis would, for example, entail looking at the impact of the domain in which people live as well as studying patterns of reliance and survival strategies, with the assumption that there is no such thing as a general disposition to rely on others. Instead, people use different strategies and display relative amounts of trust towards others in each circumstance faced (Mattes et al, 2002:69).

Beyond these conceptual issues, there are a range of technical problems with the WVS measure of interpersonal trust. Firstly, in terms of reliability the question is double-barrelled and contains a double negative, making interpretation confusing for respondents. Moreover, the response options "Most people can be trusted" and "You can't be too careful when dealing with people" are not necessarily comparable opposites of each other. Perhaps if the second option were "most people cannot be trusted" we would then be offering the respondent a choice of two distinctly opposed response options, making analysis and interpretation more precise. Furthermore, the question has a forced-choice structure, offering no scaled measure of trust. Thus we are unable to test various strengths of inclination to trust others. Given that the WVS takes a cross-country approach, usage of the data assumes that general trust tells us the same thing and may have the same theoretical and practical consequences in each country. But the interpersonal trust question is not likely to have the same meaning in each country and this limits the interpretive and analytical value derived from the data.

As social scientists we need to be careful about what we read into the meaning to people's responses to the interpersonal trust measure. We have no information about whom respondents are referring to when answering since the question tests attitudes to society generally, as though it were a homogenous group of individuals who are equally known to the respondent. In effect, when interpreting the data we are working with a rather hollow set of responses;

'most people generally' is an invisible, non-descript group which we are expected to build our analysis and respondents' perceptions of trust around.

Despite these problems the WVS trust measurement and data remain widely used. This is probably because the WVS offers data on a host of political as well as socioeconomic variables which can be analysed in relation to social capital. It is also highly valued because it offers longitudinal data on over 80 representative democracies (Inglehart, et al 1998), enabling comparisons across countries as well as time. Logistically, surveys are expensive to implement and for researchers the relative accessibility of the WVS data and the opportunity for comparative analysis is sufficient to justify the use of the WVS's generalised trust data. Certain independent, cross-country survey projects (such as earlier rounds of the Afrobarometer[8] and the Eurobarometer) have adopted this question item to ensure comparability with WVS results. Even in light of these benefits, I argue that the development of the field requires some evolution in how we approach the conceptualisation and operationalisation of trust. We cannot be content to rely on problematic measures for the sake of convenience and comparability alone. It is important that we expand on the range and depth of measures used to understand and analyse social capital in various contexts.

Formal associational activism: an adequate indicator of networks?

Beyond the emphasis on trust and reciprocity, the study of networks is prioritised in the social capital literature. Networks are predominantly conceptualised and operationalised as associational activism, i.e. the extent of individuals' formal participation in organisations. Where trust is the attitudinal component, networks tap into what Norris (2002) terms the *structural component* of social capital. Networks of association are deemed equally as important as trust for the survival of democracy. Widespread membership in organisations indicates greater interconnectedness which in turn promotes social cohesion, habits of reciprocity and access to resources or support structures which are provided by fellow members (Putnam, 1995, 2000; Frank, 2004). Together with levels of trust, the extent of

[8] The Afrobarometer is a cross-country, comparative survey database comprising data collected across over a dozen democracies in Africa. The research project measures the political and economic climate in Africa and monitors changes over time (see : www.afrobarometer.org). The Eurobarometer performs a similar research function, but in the context of Europe.

formal associational membership in a society is said to provide us with a picture of the general level of social capital.

This approach to the study of networks is prone to a few problems of note. I tackle these problems by firstly addressing the assumption that trust and networks are intrinsically linked. Secondly, I critique the hypothesis that participation in organisations affords individuals the chance to form linkages across social divisions such as race, culture and class and further that these organisations are seen as adequate arenas for the development of certain social and civic skills such as tolerance and co-operation. Finally, I discuss the merits of informal networks, which are rather understudied aspects of social capital and which may be highly constructive in shaping our understanding of how and where people develop certain attitudes and social skills as well as form certain support structures.

de Tocqueville, in his analysis of American democracy, argued that membership in voluntary associations was conducive to democracy because human engagement creates widespread trust which strengthens political institutions (Newton, 2000). Taking the de Tocqueville approach further, both Inglehart and Putnam make claims regarding the relationship between interpersonal trust and networks as being "intimately intertwined and mutually supportive in any society that flourishes for any length of time" (Inglehart, 1997:188). By implication we should expect to find a strong and robust relationship between these two facets of social capital and democratic stability; because networks lead to trust, the benefits of which flow upwards into civil society leading to a more stable democracy (Paldam, 2000:636).

The direction of the relationship between trust and networks however, remains unclear. According to Inglehart (1997) networks occur as a result of trust and reciprocity, which are seen as crucial to political and economic co-operation. But according to Putnam, in *Bowling Alone* (2000 : 23), social capital is defined as 'connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them'. Here it is networks which are given priority as the defining feature of social capital, from where trust and reciprocity are derived. Although Putnam and Inglehart both advocate an interconnected relationship between these two dimensions of social capital, evidence in support of their claims

is decidedly lacking. In fact there is very little evidence to support either claim, that networks lead to trust or that trust leads to network formation. Indeed, 'survey research (in particular the WVS) shows no more than a weak and intermittent association between membership in voluntary associations and a willingness to express trust' (Newton, 2001:204). Norris (2002) makes a similar observation about the lack of evidence supporting the claimed relationship between trust and associational affiliation at the macro-level and Mattes et al (2002 : 71) making use of Afrobarometer data, found no relationship between trust and network usage as a survival strategy in Africa.

The fact that empirical research has time and again yielded this finding is somewhat discouraging. This is not to say that there are no grounds for the Putnam or Inglehart theory that trust and networks are related or co-dependent concepts, in fact it is a plausible assumption in many respects. However, the proposition that the one causes the other in some clear-cut fashion is a far too simplistic one to make given the dynamic and complex nature of human interaction. The problem may rest with the operationalisation of these concepts. The individual's general disposition to trust and the extent of their formal organisational membership does not provide us with sufficient insight into the nature of network and trust relations. The weak statistical correlations observed between these two variables may be alerting us to the possibility that we are stretching the analytical power of the measurements a bit too far. They may well be inadequate in helping us explain the intricately intertwined and situationally varied relationship between these two components of social capital. The nature and functioning of human interaction is sensitive to a number of context related factors. If we are to analyse the causality between networks and trust, we are likely to find that the Inglehart/Putnam hypotheses may hold some of the time and not others (Rose, 1998). The reasons for this may range from the uniqueness of context or alternatively that the survey items used are insufficient in offering us a robust understanding of the relationship between trust, reciprocity and networks of association.

Putnam (1993, 1995 & 2000) anticipates that associational activity will spur greater interconnectedness and organisational meetings are assumed to serve as adequate and appropriate arenas for the development of certain attitudes and behaviours such as tolerance

and civic responsibility. However, levels of associational activity alone tell us little about the functioning of networks and how they shape individual attitudes and behaviours. Knowing the percentage of people involved in organisational activity does not tell us about the shaping of certain social perspectives, the nature of relations with others nor the prospects for social cohesion. In order to understand the outcomes accrued from participation we need to probe this explicitly while also accounting for the role of informal associations and networks.

The informal networks and interactions which people experience daily may well be more insightful than formal associational activity in explaining certain outcomes. It is not unreasonable or illogical to expect that our interactions with others at school, work, in the family and neighbourhood are likely to have far greater significance in the origins of social tolerance, reciprocity and co-operation, than the limited and sporadic involvement of most people in organizations (Newton, 2000). Thus we may learn more about the sources of tolerance and attitudes towards diversity by studying the influence of informal networks.

As Rose (2000) notes, in African contexts, social capital is about both the informal and formal networks used by individuals and households to produce goods and services for getting things done and meeting basic needs. These networks and the quality of these relations rest on trust and the expectation of reciprocity. This is more likely than formal organisations to be the place where people forge bonds and learn the habits of co-operation and establish a sense of civic responsibility, which comes to strengthen democracy.

A critical review of the analytical interpretations related to interpersonal trust and associational activism

The WVS data has been used to test a range of hypotheses regarding the relationship between trust, associational activism and democratic stability. According to results from numerous waves of the WVS, South Africa is a society characterised by low levels of interpersonal trust (Norris, 2002) . In this section of the paper I critique the extent to which such findings can be said to shape our understanding of the prospects for democracy in terms of levels of tolerance, civic mindedness, political efficacy and co-operation amongst citizens.

Putnam (1993, 2000) makes some strong claims about the link between social capital and democracy, arguing that societies rich in social capital are also likely to have strong democratic foundations and thus large reservoirs of social tolerance, high levels of civic engagement, interest in politics, political efficacy and more effective institutions of representative democracy. "Those societies richest in social capital are all established democracies with some of the most affluent, post-industrial economies of the world" (Norris, 2002:153).[9] If in fact social capital does have these outcomes, a low stock of social capital could have negative implications for democracy. Norris's finding makes an important contribution to the development of social capital as a field of study, particularly at the macro-level. However, there still remains a gap in understanding the dimensionality and functionality of the concept on the micro-level.

Social capital is often spoken about as taking various forms such as bridging and bonding social capital and it is widely accepted that these function with varied purpose and outcome. But, while there is general agreement in the scholarship that social capital is a multi-dimensional concept[10], social capital is very rarely measured or investigated with this in mind. The lack of congruence between the theoretical assertions that social capital possesses many dimensions and the empirical measurement instruments and analyses which are decidedly one or at most two- dimensional is peculiar to say the least. Of course it comes down to accessibility of data and for many researchers the WVS is the most accessible and serves a broadest range of analytical purposes including comparability over time and across countries.

However, this consideration should not inhibit the development of a wider range of survey items designed to test the various dimensions of social capital which are believed to exist. While the Australian Institute for Family Studies (Stone, Hughes et al, 2001), the World Bank, with its *Integrated Questionnaire on Social Capital* (Grootaert, Narayan et al, 2004) and Piazza-Georgi's study of social capital in Soweto (2001), are but a few who have made some

[9] Norris (2002: 153) is careful to alert us that these findings do not imply causality between social capital and economic and democratic development, but merely that we should not ignore the associations observed between countries' levels of interpersonal trust and their level of political and economic stability.
[10] See: Putnam, 1993; Narayan et al, 1999; Widner & Mundt, 1998; Stone & Hughes, 2001; Piazza-Georgi, 2001

headway in this regard, much of the social capital research in the field of political science relies on only a few indicators of social capital. This limits the explanatory power which we can attribute to social capital as a determinant of various democratic attitudes and behaviours.

If we are to better understand the impact of social capital and convince policy makers of its influence and benefit, a more concerted effort needs to be made to expand on the investigative tools used to study this concept. This is even more important in the context of relatively under-studied regions of the world, such as South Africa, where only a limited amount of social capital-focused survey data has been collected. It is very likely that the nature of social capital here does not replicate the nature of social capital elsewhere in the world. Trust for example, is far lower in the few African states in the WVS sample (South Africa included) than almost anywhere else in the world (Norris, 2002). Norris (using the WVS data) concludes that Putnam's argument holds some ground because, social trust is distributed across countries in such a way that ties in very closely with patterns of socioeconomic and democratic development.[11] But to what extent does this predict the political and socioeconomic prospects of the country? The implication seems to be that because South Africa is characterized by very low levels of interpersonal trust, democratic stability and economic welfare may indeed be compromised. Assuming that social capital is context specific and multi-faceted, we have to question the extent to which the WVS measures are indeed applicable to the South African social, political and economic context.

The defining feature of the nature of social capital in (South) Africa specifically relates to low levels of trust. And while this finding has generated much intrigue, it is clear that low levels of interpersonal trust are a more complex phenomenon than Western studies assume. The tendency to associate these findings with a host of (negative) implications, with little effort taken to probe the scenario more closely, is a problematic one. In light of recurrent findings that African countries are low on the trust scale it is somewhat curious that the opposite of trust has not been more thoroughly investigated (Widner & Mundt, 1998:7-8). A constructive step would be to investigate the lack of trust more closely, measuring such things as scepticism and

[11] Inglehart (1997) also making use of the WVS data found a slight positive correlation between group membership and economic growth in poorer countries. Others using WVS data, such as Keefer and Knack (1997) have also shown a link between general trust and economic growth, drawing links to the strongest, most established democracies in the world.

the extent of vulnerability which people feel prone to in society. Rather than assuming that the lack of trust relates to a diminished propensity to bridge social cleavages and sustain a democratic culture, more needs to be done to understand differences in trusting and non-trusting behaviours.

As discussed, there is clearly more to networking than formal associational affiliation. By proposing, as Putnam (1993, 2000) does, that organisations are arenas for the development of bridging social capital, he assumes that they are heterogeneous and highly interactive, when in reality this is not always the case. South Africa is characterised (according to WVS data) by low levels of trust but relatively high levels of associational membership (Norris, 2002: 259). The counter-intuitive interpretation is that South Africans, though lacking in trust, are engaging in cross-cutting relations and are able to access an array of assumed benefits associated with associational activism. The benefits of these connections include broadened access to opportunities which may be provided by fellow members as well as the development of co-operative behaviour and democratic values (Frank, 2004). These conclusions are far too rigid and on closer inspection I expect to find that participation in associations does not necessarily lead to these outcomes.

Levels of associational membership in South Africa may be 'high', but it is worth noting that membership activity is primarily in religious organisations e.g. Churches or Mosques. This element adds a new spin on the analysis and implications of associational activity in South Africa. Religious groups are by their very nature homogenous in terms of religion and it is unlikely that members forge many cross-cutting bonds since these groups are also likely to be racially and ethnically homogenous. Furthermore, attending a religious service is not necessarily a highly interactive and engaging endeavour. It is also assumed that all groups are similar in their make up and functioning and thus perfectly comparable to each other as structures which offer some social and political benefit to society. This is of course a warped view of reality, not least because some groups have negative social objectives, as Fukuyama (2000: 102) notes in his reference to the Mafia and gangs. With these considerations in mind, it becomes clear that we gain only constrained information about the propensity of people to forge bridging ties and the use membership as an indicator of interconnectedness and

networking within a society is flawed on a number of different counts. Informal connections are under-estimated in the social capital literature as structures which can be used to attain the very objectives which are often attributed to formal associational activity. This imbalanced focus on formal networks needs to be corrected by a deeper analysis into the quality and implications of informal networks.

Trust cannot simply be assumed to function in generally the same way and be sourced from generally the same place in human thinking and experience, the world over. South Africa has a unique social and political background and in recognition of this we would contribute more to our understanding of social capital if we created a customised set of indictors, rather than adopt and conduct analysis using these very Westernised operational items. Clearly other aspects of trust and networks are worthwhile investigating and without getting a better handle on and empirically investigating the dimensionality of social capital in the South African context we can say little about the implications hereof. It may be that in this context general interpersonal trust matters a lot less than theory and the interpretation of WVS findings lead us to believe and perhaps the dynamics of trust in a non-Western society do not play out in exactly the same way they do in the West. Perhaps it not interpersonal trust, but other forms of trust and networking which play a bigger role in determining civic responsibility, co-operative behaviour and social tolerance, the kinds of attitudes and behaviours which are said to develop democracy. The social capital data which we currently have access to, do not afford us insight into these issues. Nonetheless, these are important issues to raise.

My proposition that social capital is a multi-dimensional and situational concept requires some empirical backing. With the objective of building on the measures used to analyse social capital, the Cape Area Study 2003 offered me the opportunity to describe and explore social capital in the context of Cape Town and its links with certain outcomes related to democracy. My chosen path of analysis is to look at the implications of both trust and networks - as applied in different situations- on attitudinal and behavioural aspects of political, social and civic life. The explanatory analysis will focus on the links between dimensions of social capital and the hypothetical outcomes of tolerance of diversity, civic commitment and political participation.

Chapter 3

An Innovative Approach to Social Capital: findings from the Cape Area Study 2003

Much of what is known and written about social capital in political science is based on the World Values Survey (WVS). The benefits of this approach include a comprehensive time-series and cross-country database of political indicators. However the WVS is decidedly constrained because it uses a single indicator to capture trust and reciprocity and has a limited focus on formal associational activity as a measure of networks.

In using survey research the approach is usually to base the measurement instruments, questionnaire structure and format on predetermined and theory-based notions of what social capital is. Piazza-Georgi (2001:2) comments that "most empirical studies done so far on social capital have used a deductive approach, gathering empirical data on the basis of pre-accepted categories, confirming or rejecting hypotheses about their effects on various social, political and economic indicators". Indeed, the study of theories of social capital and the review of empirical works undertaken by others did much to inform the questionnaire design process for the Cape Area Study 2003 (CAS 2003). However, this did not prevent us from experimenting with innovative approaches to questions and new ways of measuring social capital.

The design of CAS 2003 was undertaken with careful consideration for contextual distinctiveness in terms of social capital: network types, the nature of communities' web of social and economic dependence and the socio-political conditions faced by the population under investigation. For this reason, we did not adopt the same assumptions as our European and American counterparts. There is little to suggest that the measures designed abroad are universally applicable and meaningful. To better understand the nature of social capital a customized set of measures was deemed necessary. In particular, we focused on the significance of neighbourhoods, community and kin-based networks. Despite the importance of these structures in African settings (Rose, 2000; Widner & Mundt, 1998), most studies are decidedly lacking in terms of addressing these aspects of social capital. In CAS 2003, our

intention was to accommodate a broader analysis and in doing so, we investigated the concept as a situational and multi-faceted construct.

The objective of CAS 2003 was to address the lack of empirical exploration into social capital, with the use of survey instruments. [1] Essentially CAS 2003 was used as a vehicle to explore not only the distribution of social capital but more technically the use of newly constructed measures with the practical purpose of broadening the depth of research and understanding of this concept. The data offers an individual-level, cross-sectional view of social capital as it is distributed and functions in Cape Town. CAS 2003 was conducted with a sample of 588 adult respondents from the various racial and language groups in Cape Town. The CAS 2003 survey was conducted through personal interviews. These took place across seventy Enumerator Areas in the official boundaries of the Cape Metropolitan Area, which served as the sampling frame. The sample of respondents was randomly selected and a stratified cluster sampling approach was used. [2]

I begin this chapter by introducing the social capital measures used in CAS 2003. Since many of these items are newly designed, I will offer a brief introduction to the reasoning and intention behind each item. My analysis begins when I address a fundamental first question: *What is the stock of social capital in Cape Town?* The social-psychological approach would expect to find that each of our measures tap into the same underlying concept. Because this approach does not see social capital as a multi-faceted concept, but rather as a situationally consistent one, it would expect to find that respondents are consistent in their tendency to trust or distrust, no matter the circumstance or context presented. For example, we should find that

[1] The CAS 2003 survey was conducted in Cape Town, but it should be noted that the context of Cape Town is by no means used in this analysis as a city representing South Africa as a whole.

[2] The table below shows the adult population of Cape Town as in CAS 2003. Although the sample is racially representative as compared to Census 2001 data, it is not representative in terms of gender, since we over-sampled women and under-sampled men. The CAS 2003 data was weighted to account for this. For detailed description of survey design, fieldwork and sampling please see Appendix A (Part 1). The complete CAS 2003 questionnaire is included in Appendix A (Part 2).

CAS 2003 sample	*Men*		*Women*		*Total*	
	N	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
African	60	10	137	23	197	34
Coloured	96	16	141	24	237	40
Indian	5	<1	1	<1	6	<1
White	66	11	79	13	145	25
Don't know	3	<1	0	0	3	<1
Total	230	39	358	61	588	100

respondents' levels of trust in others generally will parallel their attitudes towards trust in neighbours. Furthermore, this approach assumes that we can answer the question about the stock of social capital by merging all the responses to the questions to become a unified all-encompassing variable capturing something which we then call social capital or that we can reduce all our measures to come up with a social capital index.

However, I have a different set of expectations. Social capital cannot be captured by a single item designed to represent many other elements of human nature, as the interpersonal trust measure is intended to. Similarly, understanding social capital does not simply mean merging all our items to create a social capital index on the assumption that they all tap into the same concept. Instead I view social capital as a multi-faceted umbrella concept, where each variable has a unique meaning and purpose, justifying the distinction between variables. Thus, to offer some descriptive insight into social capital in Cape Town, I will analyse the distribution of responses to each question posed, treating each variable as distinct. I anticipate respondents will make clear distinctions between their attitudes towards trust in various groups of people. The facets of social capital to be analysed are :1) general interpersonal trust, 2) neighbourly trust, 3) frequency of face-to-face contact with neighbours & kin , 4) frequency of phone/e-mail contact with neighbours & kin and 5) formal associational activity.

While I approach the data by assuming that each variable taps into a unique dimension of social capital, it is likely that some variables are so strongly correlated that one dimension is being measured by two or three variables. Indeed, this assumption begs a second, probably more important question regarding the nature of social capital. Specifically, *is social capital a multi-dimensional concept?* My hypothesis is yes, social capital is a multi-dimensional concept. In order to test this hypothesis, I undertake Factor and Reliability Analyses. This stage serves the dual purpose of testing the quality of the data, both in terms of validity and reliability and is a useful set of statistical tools for analysing patterns in the data such that we can observe how variables cluster together to form factors. In this way, dimensional components will be extracted, helping us understand which measures tap in to the same underlying concept and which ones are distinguishable from the rest.

My understanding of social capital is that it is linked to range of sub-concepts. These sub concepts are those attitudes and behaviours which constitute trust in others as well as formal and informal networks of association. The quantity and quality of trust and networks, as well as the link between them, is conditional upon situation and locality. We can only truly describe and explain the stock of social capital, once we are clear on the dimensions we want to investigate. These components make up the big picture and in my view this is more precise than relying on one or two measures to capture everything we want to know about social capital. Social capital's functionality rests in its ability to be applied to a range of situations and in relation to a range of different people. In light of this, the answer to the first question is that when inquiring about the stock of social capital in a society, there is no such thing as an all-encompassing, blanket measure to inform our knowledge and understanding hereof. It depends on what you are looking to learn about social capital and the contexts and situations you are interested in probing.

What is the stock of capital in Cape Town?

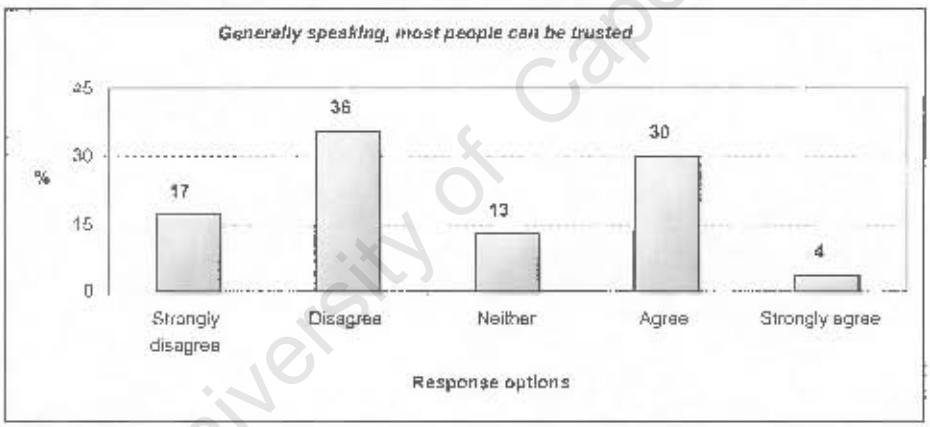
Analysis of Independent Variables : describing social capital in Cape Town

We tested a range of both attitudinal variables such as trust as well as structural components of social capital, that will serve as the independent variables in the explanatory analysis of the next chapter. Before I progress to that stage, I will discuss the variables and the main motivation for the design of each and follow this with an analysis of the descriptive statistics related to each variable. These findings will answer the first question posed about the stock and distribution of social capital in Cape Town. I will follow this by presenting my findings from the Factor and Reliability Analyses which were used to delineate between the various dimensions of social capital.

General Interpersonal Trust

The WVS and Afrobarometer data show that South Africa is characterised by low levels of general interpersonal trust[3]. Trust is a fundamental element highlighted in the social capital literature and research and in CAS 2003 we similarly elected to measure this concept, albeit slightly differently. To test general interpersonal trust we asked respondents to state their level of agreement to the statement: 'Generally speaking most people can be trusted'. [4] After identifying the methodological weakness of the WVS questions, we opted for a five-point likert scale set of response options, offering respondents a spectrum of options to test the strength of trust rather than presenting a forced choice set of responses. To improve on the design of this measure we refrained from asking a double-barrelled question.

Figure 3.1: Bar Chart displaying distribution of responses to General Interpersonal Trust item



In Figure 3.1 above, I observed a bimodal pattern of responses, with just over 30 percent of respondents agreeing that most people can be trusted and slightly more respondents, 36

[3] According to the 1990-1993 wave of WVS, only 28 percent of South Africans believed that 'most people can be trusted' and 70 percent believed that 'you can't be too careful when dealing with people' (Inglehart et al, 1998). An analysis of more recent Afrobarometer data yields a similar finding both nationally and in the Western Cape specifically:

Results from Afrobarometer Survey (2000) (Democracy Survey 1)	W.Cape (%) N=240	S. Africa (%) N=2200
Most people can be trusted	18	20
You can't be too careful when dealing with people	80	76
Don't Know	2	4
Total	100	100

[4] The problems with the concept of general interpersonal trust, as discussed in the previous chapter, are still considered relevant. But for this investigation we needed to ask a question on general interpersonal trust as a control measure, in order to test whether it is distinct from other items testing trust and reciprocity. It was thus necessary for us to measure this concept and in the analysis I keep in mind that we know little about who people are thinking about when answering this question nor the experiences upon which their answers are based.

percent, disagreeing with this statement. Grouping the two 'agree' categories (34 percent) and the two 'disagree' categories (53 percent), the data is then generally weighted towards distrust. This finding is somewhat in line with what we know about patterns of general interpersonal trust as observed in Afrobarometer data for example. Responses are however quite mixed and it is clear that even though just over half the responses lie on the disagreement end of the scale, the results are not overwhelmingly weighted towards distrust (as the Afrobarometer & WVS findings suggest). By using the likert scale we are offer respondents a wider set of responses to choose from and we get a more detailed perception of interpersonal trust than we would get from a forced choice response format such as that used in WVS and Afrobarometer.

Theory[5] would suggest that the low levels of trust observed is a preliminary but telling predictor of low levels of political participation, civic commitment and social tolerance in Cape Town. The accuracy of this will be probed in the next chapter, where an explanatory analysis of the implications of general interpersonal trust is undertaken.

Even when bearing in mind that we have no idea who they perceive as 'others', it is a matter of concern that people tend to distrust rather than trust. The tendency of respondents to distrust may be linked to a range of circumstantial elements, such as experience of crime or perceived rates of crime. Trust warrants deeper analysis, especially in terms of its sources and distribution. What experiences, perceptions or people do respondents have in mind when answering this question? Answers to this question are likely to vary greatly between respondents, but we may hypothesise that trust is related to a sense of victimisation; people might feel they have nothing to gain by letting their guard down or simply that they have no incentive to trust strangers. We thus need to probe further as to why people are so sceptical of others. These are crucial questions which have as yet been left unanswered and would be worthwhile pursuing in greater depth if we are to better explain low levels of generalised trust. While it is not my intention to take this path here, and CAS 2003 data was not designed for this form analysis, it is important to identify the significance of this topic in the development of social capital research in South Africa and more locally, Cape Town. Thus, future research should be geared at understanding not only where people do and do not place their trust but

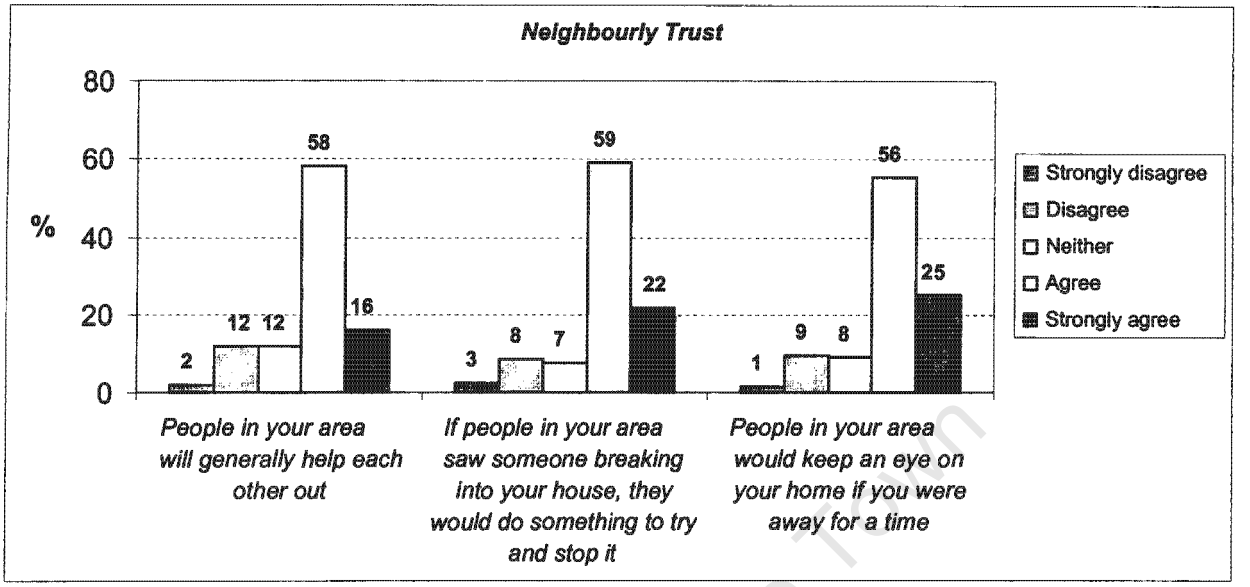
[5] The theory spoken about here refers to that of Putnam, 1993 and Inglehart, 1997.

more importantly why. For now what I can contribute to the study of social capital and trust in particular is to offer insight into trust and reciprocity located in a different context beyond the 'general' setting by focussing on neighbourhoods and kin relations.

Neighbourly Trust

In undertaking CAS 2003 we had a specific interest in probing trust in neighbours, specifically the perceived quality of neighbourhood trust and reciprocity. To investigate this we presented respondents with three questions framed in the situational context of the neighbourhood. As discussed in the introductory chapter, neighbourhoods are important sites for the formation of bonds which can serve a range of social and policy objectives, ranging from social support structures to helping residents cope with concerns about crime and security. All these outcomes of social capital rest on trust between neighbours and a general tendency to co-operate. To measure these elements, we probed perceptions of the general helpfulness of neighbours, whether neighbours can be trusted to keep an eye on the home of another as well as be relied upon to stop a break in. Agreeing that ones neighbours are helpful is quite different to agreeing that they would stop a break in or take the responsibility of looking after one's home for a time. These questions gauge the level of trust and reciprocity vested in and expected from neighbours in normal everyday life. Comparing the level of trust in 'others generally' to the level of trust in neighbours is a key part of the analysis in this paper; such that I can test for any parallels in responses to these questions.

Figure 3.2: Bar Chart displaying distribution of responses to Neighbourly Trust items



Where the generic trust question yielded negative attitudes towards trust in others it is clear that questions posed in relation to specific groups, such as neighbours, yields quite the opposite result. In figure 3.2 above, the modal and median response across the three questions is 'agree' and for each item, more than 70 percent of responses lie across the 'strongly agree' and 'agree' categories. The general pattern of responses across all three questions is the same and respondents are clearly in agreement that their neighbours can be trusted to act out a range of tasks in assistance to their needs; from generally being helpful to more specific tasks such as preventing a break in or keep an eye on their homes when they are away. In terms of informal predispositions and expectations between neighbours these results are encouraging and indicative of the high quality of neighbourly relations. It is clear that respondents have a lot of faith in their neighbours and this informs us of the strong presence of neighbourhood-based social capital in this sample.

The prevalence of neighbourly trust observed here can plausibly yield a number of spin-offs. The findings suggest that the necessary social basis for community-level co-operation is present. If people display such a strong sense of trust in neighbours, it bodes well for the prospects of collective action and the development of such things as community forums and community policing initiatives, both of which are important for the maintenance and upkeep of

neighbourhood well-being. The perception that neighbours are generally reliable and trustworthy says much for the quality of relations between neighbours. This has implications for other aspects of neighbourhood life, and it is likely that the more trusting one perceives their neighbours to be, the more comfortable they feel calling on those neighbours for assistance in various times of need. The implications of neighbourly trust will be analysed later on. Following through with a path of social capital research focused on the neighbourhood would be an interesting and worthwhile endeavour. [6] One step which we have taken in this direction is to investigate informal networking between neighbours by probing the frequency of various types of contact which respondents experience with their neighbours.

There is a striking difference between the patterns of responses to the neighbourly trust questions versus that of general interpersonal trust. While respondents tend to distrust 'other people generally', they possess far more faith and trust in their neighbours. These contrasts are important and it clearly matters that we have framed our questions to fit specific situations and contexts.

Face-to-face contact

In response to the rather limiting emphasis placed on formal associations as the defining structural component of social capital, we took to investigate more informal structural dimensions such as face-to-face and telephone contact with neighbours and kin i.e. family and relatives[7].

The CAS 2003 data measures four structural dimensions relating to contact. The four items ask about face-to-face and email/phone contact in relation to two types of networks 1) family/relative and 2) neighbours. This provides useful insight into the amount of time people allocate to family and relatives versus neighbours. It will further allow me to analyse the distinctions between networks and the importance respondents place on different groups of

[6] One interesting point of departure from these findings would be to analyse these responses by neighbourhood using the Enumerator Area (EA)-level information. In this way one would be able to delve more deeply into a very context specific form of social capital at the neighbourhood level.

[7] The flaw in the design of this question is the grouping of *family* with *relatives*. It should be noted that in future we hope to address this issue by making a clear distinction between the variables testing contact with family and contact with relatives.

people who feature in their lives. I will firstly analyse the frequency distribution of face-to-face contact with neighbours and kin, moving then to look at phone and email contact for the same two groups.

Table 3.1: Percentage Frequency Table: Face-to-face contact with 1) family/relatives & 2) neighbours

	Everyday	Several times a week	Several times a month	Several times a year	Less than several times a year
	%	%	%	%	%
How often do you visit or speak to family or relatives?	39	**34**	16	7	3
How often do you visit or speak to neighbours?	45	**28**	11	3	14

(Percentage frequency in bold indicates median response)

Interestingly, Table 3.1 above shows that for both questions the median response is to visit or speak to family/relatives and neighbours 'several times a week'. It is clear that respondents enjoy frequent contact with both kin-based relations and neighbours, with 73 percent of responses falling across the 'everyday' and 'several times a week' categories for both these questions. In terms of neighbours specifically, the difference between the percentage of respondents who have 'everyday' contact and those who only see their neighbours 'several times a week' is 17 percent (i.e. 45 percent – 28 percent), where as for the same categories in relation to kin, the difference is only 5 percent (i.e. 39 percent – 34 percent). Face-to-face contact with kin is more evenly distributed between 'everyday' and 'several times a week' but on an 'everyday' basis face-to-face contact with neighbours exceeds contact with family/relatives.

At the other end of the response scale, 14 percent of respondents see their neighbours 'less than several times a year' versus the 3 percent who gave the same response regarding their family/relatives. In light of this, respondents enjoy slightly more frequent contact with kin, than with neighbours but generally there is a high rate of face-to-face contact with both groups. The implications hereof are positive because these connections are important for the development of mutually beneficial relationships between actors. Visiting or choosing to speak

to someone is a deliberate and most likely voluntary act of engagement and these informal associations spur outcomes which may serve a host of needs. The theoretical benefits associated herewith are well documented in the literature, and indeed the importance of both family and neighbours in daily survival and coping strategies is widely recognised.[8] The informality of these contacts makes them more accessible platforms for networking than formal organisations. Studies have shown that people call on those with whom they have close connections in various circumstances such as when seeking employment or even small monetary loans. Informal networks satisfy objectives in ways in which the state welfare system and market are unable. Keswell (2003:1) notes that "amongst poor South Africans it is multi-faceted support networks which may be in the form of kin, friends, neighbours or organisations, that can often mean the difference between survival and destitution". In these vulnerable environments, it is the interactions and engagements with other community members that allow people to share their risk and maintain a livelihood. Access to this kind of assistance requires some nurturing and one way to nurture these relationships is to maintain good contact.

Other forms of contact: E-mail/Phone

As mentioned we probed other forms of contact, specifically focussing on communication with family and relatives and neighbours via phone and email. We hoped that this would broaden our view of networks with these groups. Table 3.2 to follow shows the descriptive findings related hereto.

[8] See various publications by Australian Institute for Family Studies (1999, 2000 & 2001) on the importance of family and community structures in helping people get by and assisting in the attainment of certain ends for individual gain as well as for meso level benefits such as sustaining communities and family foundations. Briggs (1998) as well as Dominguez & Watkins (2003), discuss the value of these connections as a form of bonding social capital and also present findings in support of the argument that these bonds are essential for sustaining the welfare and basic daily needs of community members.

Table 3.2: Percentage Frequency Table: Phone/Email contact with 1) family/relatives & 2) neighbours

	Everyday	Several times a week	Several times a month	Several times a year	Less often
	%	%	%	%	%
How often do you phone/e-mail family or relatives?	17	32	**26**	4	22
How often do you phone/e-mail neighbours?	5	7	6	6	**75**

(Percentage frequency in bold indicates median response)

The results in Table 3.2 indicate the extent of contact people have with their neighbours and family/relatives, over and above the frequency of face-to-face contact. Given the high frequency of face-to-face contact it is not surprising that respondents make much less use of phone or email as a means of communication. Generally respondents rely on a greater combination of face-to-face as well as other contact means when it comes to kin-based networks, but as far as neighbours go there is a clear tendency towards face-to-face rather than email or phone contact.

It is not surprising that people have a high frequency of contact with their family/relatives through telephonic or email communication since relatives and family members may live far away but neighbours are more likely to be in close proximity. This is probably why 75% of respondents use these forms of contact with neighbours less than several times a year. While the median response for phone/email contacts with family and relatives is 'several times a month', the median in relation to neighbours is less than 'several times a year.' Looking at all the contact items, we have a good idea of the frequency and preferred modes of contact respondents make use of and it would be worthwhile taking a closer look at the benefits associated with the four types of contact.

We have gained invaluable insight into the dynamics with 'other' people as it contrasts to relationships within a specific context. It is clear that while trust in 'others generally' is low,

family and neighbourhood based networks are highly developed and by all accounts we have much more to learn with respect to the functioning and utility derived from the noted strength of these bonds.

Formal Associational Activity

To test the extent of formal associational membership we asked the respondents to tell us whether they were a leader, active member, inactive member or not a member at all to the organisations on this list:

Table 3.3: Percentage Frequency Table: Formal Associational Membership

Are you a leader or active member or inactive member in this kind of organisation?	**Active member**	**Inactive member**	**Not a member**
	%	%	%
Religious group e.g Church or Mosque	53	21	25
Sports Club or organisation	17	5	78
Group that does things for the community	14	9	77
Local self-help association e.g. stokvel or burial	9	8	83
Trade Union	8	8	88
Group that does things concerned with local matters such as a school PTA	7	6	87
Neighbourhood watch or street committee	6	7	86
A political party	5	13	81
Business or Professional Association	5	3	92
Another social club	.5	8	90
Other	.5	5	92

(Grouped under column headed 'Active Member' are the responses which were recorded as either leader or active member)

As is clear from the frequency distributions in Table 3.3 above, more than 50% of respondents are active in religious groups. In relation to the other groups in the table this level of participation is unparalleled. In fact, for the rest of the organisations in question, the

frequencies are considerably low, with very high levels of non-membership recorded across all these groups. The 'sports club' and 'group that does things for the community' are the only other groups with membership activity above 10% in the sample. All the other organisations ranging in type from social, political, community-based as well as professional organisations yield very low levels of membership.

Theoretically these findings suggest that the stock of social capital is low, even more so because many of the groups in question have a community development objective e.g. stokvels and street committees or in the cases of the political party and trade union groups, are important for the sustenance of political and economic accountability. In terms of trade union membership, we need to look at this in perspective, considering that 51 percent of our respondents recorded 'not having a paid job' of any kind, and are thus broadly defined 'unemployed'. Given these high rates of unemployment we should not be too surprised that trade union membership is low. As for formal membership in political parties, this measure does not necessarily suffice to inform our knowledge of support for political parties. In fact the CAS data shows that when asked whether they 'feel close to a political party', over 43 percent of respondents answered in the affirmative. I mention these results to emphasise the point that formal membership should not necessarily be interpreted as an indicator of anything more than how many people formally belong to these groups. They may tell us little about the strength of political efficacy and people's affinity to support and follow politics as concerned citizens of the democracy. However, the low levels of political party and trade union membership are not encouraging since both types of organisations might be important for democratic stability, as they may function to hold the state and the market accountable.

The low levels of participation in community or neighbourhood based groups should raise some alarm bells, since people are clearly not formally combining their abilities for the benefit of their community or neighbourhood. Formal associations of this kind have been emphasised, particularly in the Putnam approach (1993) , as vital to the sustenance of community life and the survival of civic and institutional structures. Community-based groups work to fill the gaps in the service delivery offered by the state. Beyond this function, formal organisations which represent the needs and demands of the community may help hold the government to

account, by having a say in the policy-making and governance process, making for a more participatory democracy. The low levels of participation in such groups in Cape Town suggest that there is much work ahead of our communities in the development of locally based organisations. This matter is of utmost importance in our democracy especially in a time when local and provincial government are making a number of attempts to encourage communities to stand together and work towards common security and developmental goals as well as in light of President Thabo Mbeki's call for greater volunteerism. [9]

However, our perspective on community development and integration needs to be more encompassing. It is not necessarily the case that low levels of participation in community-based organisations tell us about the sense of neighbourliness and co-operation. The extent of trust and reciprocity in the neighbourhood coupled with high rates of face-to-face contact observed in the CAS data may help explain the low levels of membership to formal organisations. It may be that a substitution effect is taking place whereby participation in formal organisations is substituted by informal networks. In a community where neighbours have a mutual sense of trust and co-operation to safe guard each other and secure collective well-being, there may be a lessened desire and need for formal organisations such as neighbourhood watches and community groups. Regular contact and trust are key components in the formation of support structures which do not need to be formally recognised as associations, but which suffice in securing the collective well-being of the neighbourhood.

This conclusion highlights the shortcomings of relying too heavily on formal associational membership as an indicator of the extent of interconnectedness in communities and thus as a measure of the quality of social capital. Other structural dimensions such as contact may well offer deeper insight into the dynamics of communities and their capacity to secure collective welfare. While formal connections are important, we need to develop our analysis of social capital in both forms: formal and informal connections, the latter which is clearly of a different nature and likely to reap an entirely untapped range of benefits. This may be context-driven and uniquely valuable to the African context. It is likely that informal networks are of greater

[9] See for example, 'Towards Integrated, Sustainable Communities', Western Cape Provincial Government Budget Speech 2005, on www.wcpp.gov.za. For various briefs and articles describing the provincial government's vision for building community organizations see also : www.capegateway.gov.za.

importance to the daily survival strategies of Africans[10] than formal networks, not least because the formal creation of organisations is costly in terms of time and money. The poor, who make up the bulk of the population, have less time for leisurely pursuits related to sports clubs and the opportunity costs of membership to an organisation often outweigh the benefits thereof. People are likely to be far more focused on their own survival and that of their family than joining a local community organisation.

I do not wish to question the value of formal organisations in society and I recognise fully the importance of such groups in meeting society's developmental objectives. However in order to build on our understanding of how these organisations function we need a deeper analysis into the value derived from membership and non-membership as well as the outcomes hereof.

Having offered a descriptive overview of social capital in Cape Town, the paper shifts to take an exploratory look at the CAS 2003 data, investigating the dimensionality of the data.

Is social capital a multi-dimensional concept?
Testing for dimensionality using Factor and Reliability Analyses

At the start of the chapter I raised two questions, the first one asking about the stock of social capital and the second one regarding the dimensionality of the concept. I dealt with the first question by showing the distribution of responses to a range of items measuring unique facets of social capital. This process gave a descriptive picture of social capital in Cape Town in terms of a few distinct elements. These results offered some preliminary indications that respondents are inconsistent in their attitudes towards trust, showing varied levels of trust in relation to others generally and neighbours. To test the presence of these distinctions throughout the social capital data, I applied Factor and Reliability Analyses.

My approach to describing social capital rested on the hypothesis that social capital is not wholly captured by general interpersonal trust and associational membership. In order to test this hypothesis and answer the second question about whether or not social capital really is a

[10] African here does not refer to a racial category, but merely to people, regardless of race, who live on the African continent.

multi-faceted concept, I apply Factor and Reliability analyses. I expect to show that general interpersonal trust is not an all-encompassing measure of trust, because respondents display varied levels of trust depending on who we are asking about. Similarly I anticipate that formal networks of association are distinguishable from informal ones. Alternatively, the data may support the Putnam/Inglehart treatment of the concept, i.e. that general interpersonal trust captures trust in every sense of the word, and indeed that there is nothing to distinguish it from other forms of trust and reciprocity.

In making use of the factor and reliability testing my approach is essentially an exploratory one. I am exploring the manner in which variables cluster together to form factors. I am also testing the quality of the measures in terms of consistency and validity, which is important given that many of the items are newly designed. This process will contribute to improving the study of social capital through survey instruments and the results will assist future endeavours to design good quality measurement items. [11]

The first step of this analysis involved the creation of a correlation matrix, indicating the strength of association between the independent variables. I ran the correlation analysis using the Kendall-Tau B co-efficient since all the variables are ordinal. Certain variables had to be recoded such that a higher score is indicative of more social capital.[12]

[11] To obtain more detail on factor analysis and reliability testing and the criteria used, please see Appendix 2.
[12] For recodes, please see Appendix 3. Summary statistics for each of the independent variables is also recorded in Appendix 3.

Table 3.4 KENDAL TAU-B CORRELATIONS: ALL INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		1 Trust others	2 Neigh-bours help out	3 Neigh-bours stop breakin	4 Neigh-bours watch your house	5 Visit/ Speak neigh-bours	6 Ph/ Email neigh-bours	7 Visit/ Speak Fam/ relative	8 Ph/ Email Fam/ relative	9 Rel. grp.	10 Trade Union	11 Prof. Ass.	12 Comm unity group	13 Local self-help	14 Neigh-bourh'd watch	15 Local matters grp	16 Sports Club	17 Social club	18 Politi-cal Party	19 Other
1	Trust others	1																		
2	Neighbours help out	.082*	1																	
3	Neighbours stop break-in	.101*	.454**	1																
4	Neighbours watch your house	.075*	.524**	.699**	1															
5	Visit/ Speak neighbours	-.057	.018	-.033	-.018	1														
6	Ph/Email neighbours	.000	.006	.054	.034	.014	1													
7	Visit/Speak family/ relatives	-.018	.001	.054	.023	.227**	.052	1												
8	Ph/Email family/ relatives	.052	.091*	.110**	.093**	-.104**	.193**	.197**	1											
9	Religious group	-.061	.022	.025	.027	.088*	-.006	.002	.073*	1										
10	Trade Union	-.003	-.065	.035	-.004	-.035	.008	.004	.090*	.084*	1									
11	Prof. Assoc.	.089*	.022	.107**	.067	-.133**	.103*	-.007	.098**	-.051	.107**	1								
12	Community group	.049	.031	-.020	-.012	-.009	.122**	.039	.101**	.115**	.163**	.107**	1							
13	Local self-help	.116**	-.063	.008	-.018	.118**	-.037	-.028	-.063	.020	.128**	.051	.243**	1						
14	Neigh-bourhood watch	.051	.034	.044	.040	.009	.122**	.063	.065	-.060	.051	.044	.276**	.101*	1					
15	Local matters group	.000	-.025	-.049	-.038	-.104**	.164**	-.021	.074*	.122**	.119**	.118**	.303**	.165**	.155**	1				
16	Sports Club	.097*	-.024	.029	-.024	-.068	.077	.007	.121**	-.028	.038	.113**	.138**	-.016	.107**	.112**	1			
17	Social club	-.002	.046	.009	.040	-.057	.044	.006	.505	.051	.032	.067	.138**	-.010	.066	.152**	.134**	1		
18	Political Party	.091*	-.086	-.006	-.035	.056	.111**	-.017	-.010	.000	.114**	.012	.162**	.257**	.161**	.182**	-.004	.007	1	
19	Other	-.054	-.057	.037	.199	-.302	-.683**	.212	.225	.080	.087	.230	.272	.087	-.228	.012	-.284	.129	.230	1

The correlation matrix, Table 3.4 on previous page, is useful in displaying the general patterns of association and offers a preliminary indication of which variables are likely to cluster together to form factors. It is clear that the correlations between the variables range from very weak to very strong and significant. The factor and reliability tests are the main statistical techniques which I applied in the investigation of data dimensionality.[13] I will refer back to the correlation scores throughout the paper, as I analyse these results in relation to the findings from the factor and reliability tests.

I applied factor analysis and reliability analysis to the independent variables, the measures of 1) general trust, 2) neighbourly trust, 3) face-to-face contact, 4) phone/e-mail contact and 5) formal associational membership and activity. In total, the independent variables are made up of nineteen question items. Because the process entailed observing and understanding the patterns which the data formed and the manner in which certain variables clustered together, the primary step was to insert all nineteen independent variables into the factor analysis test. Reference made to the *primary factor analysis* will refer then to this initial factor analysis test, the results of which shaped and directed the process of reliability testing, as well as a series of other factor analysis tests, where necessary.

The primary factor analysis gave an initial indication of how the variables were likely to be clustered to constitute valid and reliable factors or dimensions of social capital.[14] While beginning the process by observing the strongest loadings, any particularly weak or peculiar factor loadings were investigated further.[15] The final interpretation however came down to looking at both the factor analysis outcomes as well as the results of the reliability analysis with consideration for the correlation co-efficients observed in the correlation matrix. The results hereof will now be discussed as I present the factors and dimensions of social capital found in the CAS 2003 data.

[13] I applied Maximum Likelihood Factor Analysis. Constructs with an Eigen value over 1 is considered to represent a factor, and I only accommodated loadings >.30. The rotation method used was Direct Oblimin.

[14] In the *primary factor analysis* a total of 5 factors with Eigen values of over 1 were extracted with none of them accounting for more than 10 percent of the variance. Two factors with an Eigen value <1 were also observed, but were deemed invalid.

[15] The analysis entailed investigating the sensitivity of factor loadings to the range of variables in the analysis, i.e. testing the extent to which some items are affected by the items surrounding it. For the peculiar or very weak loadings, the variables attached hereto were taken out to observe the effect, if any, which they might have on the strength of the surrounding constructs. Furthermore, in order to study the sensitivity of the peculiar or weak loadings, their weakest correlates were removed to observe whether or not the loadings hereof improved.

General Interpersonal Trust

The correlation matrix offers the first sign of a weak relationship between interpersonal trust and the other independent variables in the analysis. In the primary factor analysis, the interpersonal trust item was clearly distinguishable from the other variables as it did not load with any of the independent variables and stood out as a single-item factor of sorts.

The interpersonal trust construct had an Eigen value of just 1.02 and a structure matrix loading of .316 and accounted for less than 2 percent of the total variance.[16]

The results from the factor analysis suggest that interpersonal trust is capturing a unique facet of social capital, distinguishable from the other variables under investigation. While this is an invaluable first step in separating out various forms of social capital, methodologically there is room for improvement. We clearly need to do more to build on this single item construct and design measures around this item to develop a stronger, more robust construct to measure the concept of interpersonal trust. Of course, interpersonal trust has to firstly be measured in relation to a specific group of people, once we've decided which aspect of trust we are interested in probing. For example, the concept of generalised trust is often interpreted as people's attitudes towards strangers. If we are interested in understanding people's attitudes towards strangers, then logically we should frame our questions to ask about trust in strangers, rather than non-descript group called 'other people generally'. In this way we can probe the circumstances in which people would and would not feel comfortable or find it necessary to trust strangers.

For our immediate analytical purposes though, we only have one item at our disposal in CAS 2003, which captures the interpersonal trust concept. I will take the analysis of this concept

[16] After testing the effect of removing the variables with which interpersonal trust was most weakly and negatively associated (based on the results in the correlation matrix), the factor analysis findings remained unchanged to the extent that interpersonal trust once again failed to load with the other variables. I also tested the effect of removing the neighbourly trust variables, since interpersonal trust is more strongly associated with these variables than any of the others; once again the results remained unchanged – interpersonal trust did not load with the any of the independent variables in the analysis. I ran a reliability test with only the interpersonal trust item and neighbourly trust items, the results being an Alpha of .61 which although not strong, is a fairly good indicator of reliability; however this may be attributed to the noted strength of association between the three neighbourly trust variables, which are only slightly being affected by the interpersonal trust item. Furthermore, the factor analysis results paint a picture indicative of neighbourly trust as distinct from general interpersonal trust.

further in the next chapter by testing its predictive validity in relation to certain socio-political variables such as tolerance of diversity, civic commitment and political participation.

Neighbourly Trust

The independent variables measuring respondents' perceptions of trust and reciprocity amongst neighbours and which I have labelled 'neighbourly trust', is by all accounts the most robust set of measures in the dataset. The factor loadings are consistently high[17]. These three items consistently cluster together and do not load on any other factor nor do they cluster with any other variables in the analysis. The factor was not in the least sensitive to the surrounding variables and the construct maintained its form through a series of factor tests. It is worth noting that these variables are quite distinct from the generalised interpersonal trust item and this is a key indication that we have, through the design of these measures, tapped into a different dimension of trust. The correlation matrix shows that these items are strongly correlated with each other. The reliability of these variables is strong (Cronbach Alpha = .795). It is clear then that not only is this factor distinct from the other variables, but that neighbourly trust is a valid and reliable construct containing three items which can be said to be measuring the same underlying concept.

Face-to-face contact

Based on the results of the factor analysis, the independent variables measuring the frequency of face-to-face contact with neighbours and family/relatives, are two unique rather than parallel indicators of contact. There is clearly a difference in what we are measuring when we speak of contact with neighbours versus contact with family/relatives since these variables did not form a factor.[18] It is unsurprising that these variables are weakly correlated since we can plausibly

[17] In the primary factor analysis, these variables made up the factor with the highest Eigen value of 1.8 and explained the largest percentage of the total variance at 10 percent. The structure matrix loadings were: .617, .802 and .905. When undertaking a factor analysis test containing only these three variables, a single factor was extracted, yielding an Eigen value of 2.13, with 71 percent of variance in the factor being explained by these variables. Factor loadings observed : .579, .780, .913.

[18] The variable measuring face-to-face contact with neighbours formed its own construct or factor with an Eigen value of 1.279 with a structure matrix loading of .974 and accounted for 6.7 percent of total variance in the primary factor analysis test. After testing the sensitivity of this score to the removal of generalised trust and neighbourly trust, the construct still maintained its form. This variable was clearly distinct from all the other items in the analysis.

expect that people have different patterns of contact when it comes to kin-based relationships and that of neighbours. As the reliability analysis of these two items confirmed, with an Alpha of .377, there is no more than a weak, unreliable and invalid relationship between the two variables, which have a Kendal Tau -B co-efficient of .239**. As such, we have tapped into two different structural dimensions of social capital with these two items. In the next chapter I we will investigate the predicative validity hereof and the utility derived from face-to-face contact.

Other contact: Phone/Email

The variables measuring phone/email contact with family/relatives and neighbours clustered together to form a factor but the construct is deemed invalid because the Eigen value was less than 1. The variables have a modest correlation (Tau-B = .226**) and an Alpha = .366, which is not very reliable. The only other variable to load on this factor was that of face-to-face contact with family/relatives but the construct was weak and unreliable[19].

To make a more acute interpretation, I conducted a factor analysis test using only these three variables i.e. the two 'other contact' items and the 'face-to-face contact with family/relatives' item, thus eliminating the effect which any of the surrounding variables may have had on the earlier findings. The results were still weak, failing to extract a factor with and Eigen value greater than 1. My interpretation of these results is that we are measuring two distinct concepts when we speak of phone or email contact with family/relatives versus neighbours. Once again, this result is not surprising since people tend to have different patterns of contact with family/relative connections than they would with their neighbours. As such with these items, we are tapping into two distinct structural dimensions of social capital – that of phone/email contact with a) family/relatives and b) neighbours.

[19] The question measuring face-to-face contact with family/relatives loaded with the two items measuring phone/e-mail contact with kin and neighbours, in the primary factor analysis, but they formed a construct with an Eigen value of less than one and thus was not considered a valid factor. Furthermore the three variables together scored poorly in the reliability testing, with Alpha = .376.

Formal Associational Activity

A particularly striking observation was that membership in religious organisations did not cluster with any of the other variables and instead was found to be a singular item construct, making up a factor with an Eigen value of 1.022, explaining 5.4% of the total variance in the primary factor analysis.

Another finding that warrants special mention is that the variables measuring membership in professional associations, sports clubs, other social clubs and other groups yielded no loadings on any of the factors. These items, I suspected, would be highly sensitive to the surrounding variables and I ran a series of factor tests, removing variables which were particularly weakly correlated with these variables, such as the 'contact' items. Throughout these tests, the items yielding no loadings.[20]

The following groups : trade unions, groups that do things for the community, local self-help organisations, neighbourhood watches, groups concerned with local matters and political organisations all loaded on the same factor, with an Eigen value of 1.405, explaining 7.5% of the total variance in the primary factor analysis. An analysis of the correlation scores between these six items, suggests that respondents display a similar degree of activity, or rather inactivity across these 6 groups. Running a reliability test with these six items, yielded an Alpha of .560, which is under the criteria of Alpha =.7 for more than three variables. However, these variables are similarly correlated and after running the factor analysis with only these six variables, a single factor was extracted, with an Eigen value of 1.7 and which explained 35 percent of the variance, indicating the validity of these items. With this finding it was deemed acceptable to group these six variables as measuring the same underlying concept of community and socio-political organisational activity.

[20] I also tested the effects of removing each of these four items from the primary factor analysis one at a time, and then removing three of them and leaving one of them in the analysis, alternating between the four items to observe how they affect each other, but still none of the items yielded any factor loadings. Based on this, I decided to drop these variables from the next stage of analysis. These groups have very low levels of membership, for each item, more the 80 percent of respondents were recorded as not being a member hereto. This might explain the very weak results noted and perhaps we should try and capture membership to these types of organisations using a different set of items in future. The 'other group' variable had to be dropped from the Factor analysis anyway, because less than 80 percent of respondents responded to this question.

The overall conclusion from the factor analysis and reliability analysis is that there are a range of clearly distinguishable constructs being captured by our measures of social capital. Thus, we are able to speak about dimensions of social capital. This is the primary indictor that the Putnam/Inglehart assumption that the general interpersonal trust item is an all-encompassing measure of trust, and that associational membership adequately captures the structural component, is not supported in the CAS 2003 dataset. The results indicate that the independent variables can be grouped into distinct pockets – each one tapping into a unique facet of social capital. The factors observed are:

1. Interpersonal trust – single item construct
2. Neighbourly trust – three item construct
3. Face-to-face contact with family/relatives– single item construct
4. Face-to-face contact with neighbours– single item construct
5. Phone/Email contact with family-relative– single item construct
6. Phone/Email contact with neighbours– single item construct
7. Membership activity in a religious organisation– single item construct
8. Membership activity in a socio-political or community organisation - six item construct

Of the nineteen independent variables used in the factor analysis, a total of eight constructs were identified. In terms of the single item constructs, we could do more in future to build items around these measures in order to strengthen the validity and reliability hereof.

I also noticed that the data clustered in such a way that we can distinguish between various types of social capital. In particular we can distinguish between that which is generalised social capital (trust); bonding social capital, in terms of the neighbourhood variable as well as a more dense form of bonding social capital in terms of the kin-based variables. This may substantiate the view that social capital has a different nature functioning relative the relationship in question. An analysis of this finding may help us understand the dynamics, distinctions and comparisons between various relationships and different forms of social capital.

Summary of findings

In this chapter I addressed the descriptive question about the stock of social capital as well as the hypothesis that social capital is a multi-dimensional concept.

Analysing the CAS 2003 data, we observed low levels of general trust but high rates neighbourly trust in Cape Town. This finding highlighted the value of probing trust as a situational concept.

By exploring different types of network relations such as neighbourly and kin-based networks, I found that respondents experienced a high frequency of face-to-face contact with neighbours and family members, the latter group also being communicated with via phone and email on a fairly regular basis. In following the theoretical and empirical approach of the major social capital studies, we probed formal associational membership and activities finding that apart from religious organisations, membership levels are considerably low. In light of the strong sense of neighbourliness noted across the sample, the low levels of formal membership in community-based groups is somewhat understandable since people may be making use of informal measures to secure their well-being. These findings highlight the need for further investigation into the lack of formal associational membership on the one hand, and the prevalence and implications of informal associational activity on the other.

I used the independent variables in the application of factor and reliability analysis in order to test the quality of our measures with respect to validity and reliability as well as to test for dimensionality. As result of these tests, a number of dimensional components were identified, allowing for the assertion that the CAS 2003 data taps into various distinct dimensions and types of social capital.

In the next chapter I shift from descriptive to explanatory analysis, investigating the relationship between our independent variables (the dimensions of social capital) and our dependent variables of tolerance of diversity, civic commitment and political participation (the hypothesized outcomes of social capital).

Chapter 4

Linking social capital to its hypothesized outcomes

Social capital is said to be associated with tolerance, civic mindedness, institutional efficiency and a societal character where citizens are 'prepared to act collectively to achieve their goals' (Putnam, 1993: 182). While Putnam puts forward a convincing theory and indeed, he provides empirical evidence from Italy to support this, the assumption that this empirical relationship exists in the same way in all parts of the globe, is decidedly weak. Moreover, the social-psychological approach suggests that by using a few all-encompassing measures of social capital - particularly general interpersonal trust (to capture the attitudinal) and formal associational activity (to capture the structural), we gain enough insight into both the stock of social capital as well as its theoretical outcomes.

It is my intention to put aspects of this theory to the test in the context of Cape Town. In the preceding chapter I presented the descriptive findings, as well as offered some exploratory insight into the dimensions of social capital. In this chapter I will introduce the measures which make up the hypothesized outcomes of social capital under investigation in Cape Town. In particular I will analyze the link between social capital and the following concepts: 1) tolerance of diversity, 2) civic commitment and 3) political participation.

This chapter has two main analytical purposes. Firstly I offer a descriptive overview of these attitudes and behaviours in Cape Town. These results offer some insight into the stock of tolerance, civic responsibility and political participation and how it compares to the stock of generalised trust and associational activism. However, these observations do not test the relationship between the facets and outcomes of social capital. In order to test for this association, correlation analysis is undertaken. Thus my second analytical objective is to test a range of hypotheses about interpersonal trust and associational activism in relation to these outcomes.

Descriptive Analysis of Dependent Variables

In the literature review it was discussed that a range of factors deemed positive for democracy are expected to result from high levels of social capital. In the CAS 2003 questionnaire we asked questions related to 1) tolerance of diversity, 2) civic commitment and 3) political participation. These attitudinal and behavioural variables, to be introduced and discussed below, make up the dependent variables in this explanatory and predictive analysis to be presented later in the chapter.

Tolerance of Diversity

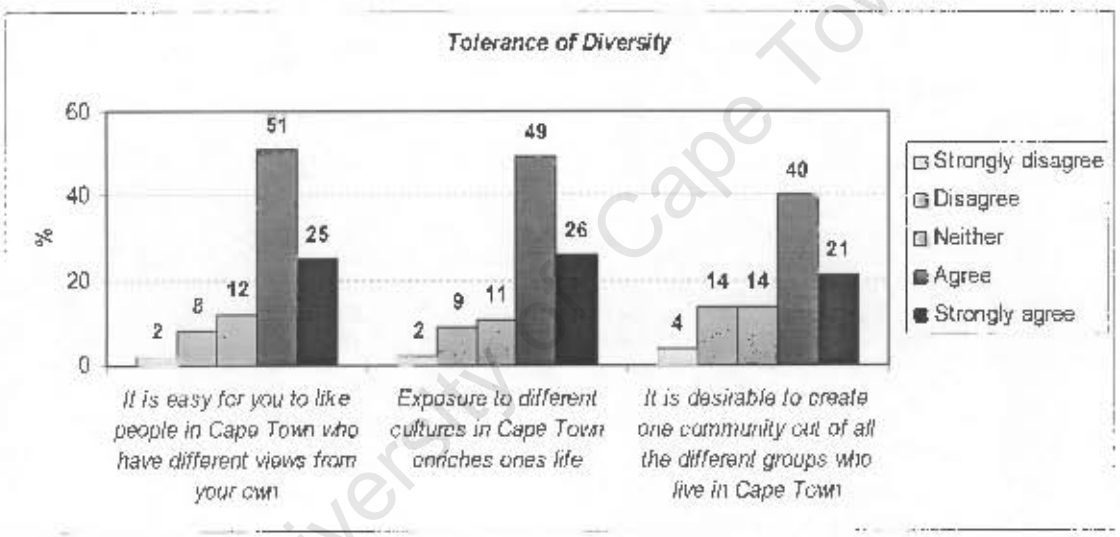
As with the rest of South Africa, segregation policies succeeded in burning bridges between the diverse cultural and racial groups in Cape Town. Rebuilding linkages between people of different backgrounds is important, not only for democracy but for correcting the many social imbalances inherited from the past. Thus, the willingness and ability of people to tolerate diversity is fundamental in building a more integrated society in Cape Town. In order to gauge tolerance of diversity, we tested the extent to which respondents are open to learning about and integrating with different people.

We presented respondents with three statements, the first one asking about their propensity to like people with different views, the second one about whether exposure to other cultures enriches one's life and thirdly whether it is desirable to create a single community out of all the people in Cape Town. These items are used as indicators of tolerance of diversity and allow us some basic insight into people's attitudes towards others, referring specifically to people who are different to themselves.

The framing of these questions in relation to 'people who are different' may be seen as insufficient in tapping into tolerance in the strict sense, such that tolerance is something we

subject onto a 'least-liked' group or person. [1] While I do not claim to be measuring tolerance of out-groups or least-liked groups in this strict sense, these items are sufficient in measuring the extent to which respondents are willing to tolerate a diverse Cape Town and the likelihood of their participation in this process given that they find it easy to like people with different views to their own and that they find mixing with other cultures to be an enriching experience. These types of attitudinal questions may do more to inform our understanding of the concept of bridging social capital than general interpersonal trust does.

Figure 4.1 : Distribution of responses to Tolerance of Diversity items



As is clear from Figure 4.1 above, across all three questions respondents consistently agree with the statements. This is more so the case with the first two items, where 76 percent and 75 percent of respondents agree or agree strongly that it is easy to like people with different views and that exposure to other culture enriches their lives, respectively. As for the third item 61 percent of respondents agree or agree strongly with this statement. While the modal response to each of the three questions is 'agree', people are more likely to disagree and strongly disagree with the statement 'it is desirable to create one community out of all the different groups who

[1] See for example discussion on the conceptualization and operationalisation of tolerance in Gibson, J. 1992. "Alternative Measures of Political Tolerance: Must Tolerance Be "Least-Liked"? in *American Journal of Political Science*. (Vol.36 No.2: 560-77).

live in Cape Town', than they are to disagree with the first two statements. These results are not in the least surprising since the third question asks not only about tolerating diverse groups, but whether these diverse groups should be integrated into one. The use of the words 'create one community' may be interpreted to mean that accepting and embracing other cultures amounts to sacrificing one's own, unique culture to adopt a singular Cape Town culture. This interpretation may have invoked disagreement in some respondents.

It is clear from the descriptive statistics that respondents generally favour interaction with others and exposure to different cultures. Not only do they feel capable of liking people who are different but they view integration as a socially favourable outcome. This is indeed an encouraging find, especially in light of attempts to remedy racial segregation, exclusion and social intolerance in Cape Town specifically.[2]

Compared to the stock of generalised trust in Cape Town, the attitude of tolerance towards diversity is far more prevalent. Clearly there is a lack of aggregate congruence between responses to the general trust item and attitudes towards diversity. I will investigate this further in the correlation analysis to follow later in the chapter.

Civic Commitment

According to the political culture paradigm, "a commitment to democratic values is a necessary condition for the consolidation of the democratic system" (Norris, 2000: 127). One such democratic value pertains to civic responsibility, the notion that citizens are not passive actors in the democracy and that their responsibilities go beyond the casting of the vote. Civic commitment sustains the democratic culture and may also assist in achieving the developmental and policy objectives of the state. Indeed, democracy benefits when citizens are conscience of their role and are willing to combine their efforts with fellow citizens as well as the state in pursuit of such development (Holm, 2004).

[2] The Western Cape Government's slogan *' A home for all'*, headlines initiatives to foster a society based on inclusion and integration and to promote a sense of equality while embracing diversity. Started in 2004 this campaign highlights the need for research into issues such as tolerance of diversity. In CAS 2003, respondents are expressing attitudes which bode well for the implementation of such initiatives geared at bridging the social divide in Cape Town.

Government has called upon South African citizens to take up their citizenry responsibility and secure the collective welfare and development of their communities, as a matter of democratic importance.[3]

As such, we sought to test the extent of civic commitment in Cape Town, firstly by asking about the importance of giving one's time towards community development. We also probed the respondent's sense of responsibility to act as a role model. To push the parameters further we tested the extent of commitment to the community when this is weighed against opportunities for personal prosperity. This measure tests the extent to which respondents are prepared to place the welfare of the community above their own.

Table 4.1: Percentage Frequency Table: Civic Commitment

	Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Neither**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**
	%	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**
We all have a responsibility to give our time and resources in order to develop our communities	2	4	11	**58**	20
You have a responsibility to act as a role model to young people in your community	1	3	8	**52**	32
You have a responsibility to stay and help build you community, even if it means passing up a better job or moving to a nicer area.	8	25	14	**35**	13

(Percentage frequency in bold indicates median response)

As observed in Table 4.1 above, over 75 percent of respondents agree that they have a responsibility to 'contribute time and resources' as well as 'act as a role model' in their

[3] The Mandela government launched campaigns such as 'Masakhane'. (See Mandela, 1995: Opening address at launch of Masakhane) The 'Masakhane' campaign was geared towards empowering community members to work towards common goals. In more recent times, President Thabo Mbeki has made a similar call on citizens for greater volunteerism and participation in community development projects as well as in securing the safety and well being of their resident neighbourhood. See *State of the Nation Address*, presented to Parliament by President Thabo Mbeki., 2002 and 2005, url::www.info.gov.za/speeches/son/ . See also Werstern Cape Department of Community Safety Budget Report 2004/5, which makes reference to plans in reaction to President Mbeki's call for greater volunteerism and national patriotism www.capegateway.gov.za/eng/pubs/speeches/2004/jun/74661.

communities and thus a strong sense of civic commitment is evident. For the third measure, which is arguably the most demanding scenario presented to respondents, it is not surprising that the frequencies across the two agree categories drops to 48 percent. The median and modal response for all three items is 'agree', thus the overall picture is positive and the results suggest that Capetonians are prepared to take an active rather than passive role in the development of their communities.

The results imply that respondents are not blind to their democratic role and in fact express attitudes which align very strongly with the notions of participatory citizenship. The strength of civic responsibility may tie in strongly with the earlier findings related to neighbourliness. Those who have good relations with their neighbours are likely to take an interest in the development of their existing surroundings. They may also view this development as the responsibility of community members such as themselves, rather than the state or an NGO. I will explore this proposition further, when I analyse the relationship between trust and contact with neighbours as it may predict the respondents' sense of civic commitment.

Political Participation

Participation in government decision-making and policy is a right afforded to citizens in a legitimate democracy. What do we mean by political participation? Verba, Scholzman and Brady (1995:37) define political participation by its purpose: "political participation affords citizens in a democracy an opportunity to communicate information to government officials about their concerns and preferences and to put pressure on them to respond". Democracy rests on the foundation that each citizen be granted equal say in government and that channels for participation be made available to achieve this (de Villiers, 2001). The flow of information between citizen and state is vital in sustaining a co-operative relationship between these actors as well as ensuring that the actions of government fit the demands of the people.[4] My interest in political participation pertains to its relationship with social capital. Members of

[4] Linking social capital which forges bridges between the people and political actors can be sustained through public participation, assuming that adequate opportunities for this interaction are provided by government (Woolcock, 1998).

societies with a large stock of social capital are expected to be active role players in the political and policy processes (Putnam, 1993).

While voting in elections is the most fundamental and popular form of participation, there are other channels which citizens may utilize to make their voices heard. Participation may take place collectively, for example as part of an interest group or civic organisation. However, there are various acts which citizens can take as individuals and participation need not be a group endeavour. In this light, I will look at both forms of political participation, that which involves citizens taking some form of collective action, as well as individual action.

(a) Engagement with Local Ward Councillor

Local government is closest to the people both in terms of physical proximity and policy interests. Unlike the National and Provincial spheres, Local government represents the specific consensus and negotiation of citizen interests in a particular jurisdiction and delivers not only basic services, but also opportunities for public participation (Oldfield, 2002). Elected local Ward Councillors play an important role in making government accessible to the people. Residents may use Ward Councillors to channel their views and raise issues which they feel need addressing. Ward Councillors represent the needs of local residents, they report and meet with residents on a regular basis and react to the concerns of the local community. This two-way street of relations is designed to ensure that residents have a voice and further that government pays attention to the needs and concerns of residents.

To what extent do citizens in Cape Town make use of the channels for participation with Ward Councillors? To answer this question we probed whether respondents ever wrote a letter to their Councillor, attended a meeting where the Councillor had spoken and if they ever spoke to the Councillor on the phone or face to face. Apart from attendance at a public meeting where the Councillor has spoken, these acts all place the onus on the individual to address the Councillor as a solitary actor, rather than as part of a group.

Table 4.2: Percentage Frequency Table: Engagement of Local Ward Councillors

	No, Never	Yes, Once	Yes, a few times	Yes, many times	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
How often have you written a letter to the Ward Councillor	**93**	3	2	1	100
How often have you attended public meetings where the Ward Councillor spoke?	**80**	7	6	5	100
How often have you spoken to the Ward Councillor face-to-face or on the phone?	**76**	10	4	3	100

(Percentage frequency in bold indicates median response)

The results from Table 4.2 above, suggest that participation in local government is infrequent, with over 75 percent of respondents stating that they have never had any type of engagement with their Ward Councillors. While these results tell us little about why respondents are not engaging, the descriptive findings do not bode well for efforts to sustain a participatory democracy. If people do not participate, their concerns, issues and problems will not filter through to the policy process and may not be adequately addressed by government. Similarly if citizens do not take responsibility for holding government accountable for its actions, decision-making will become an exclusionary rather than inclusive process.

How might we understand these results? Perhaps respondents are satisfied with local government services, giving them no reason to contact their councillor or perhaps this apathy is related to perceptions that Councillors are disinterested and inactive in dealing with issues when raised. From the CAS 2003 data we know that very few respondents feel capable of rating the performance of their Ward Councillor, probably because they don't know who their Councillor is. When asked to name their Councillor, more than 70 percent of respondents were unable to do so and when asked how well their Ward Councillor performs 5 percent said 'very well', 19 percent said 'well', 16 percent said 'badly', 8 percent said 'very badly' and a considerably higher 52 percent of respondents stated that they 'do not know'. I terms of satisfaction with service delivery, responses varied depending on the service in question, with over 70 percent of respondents stating that they were either 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with both electricity and water provision. However, respondents were generally less satisfied with

road repair/ construction and housing, with 55 percent and 63 percent stating that they were either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with road repair/construction and housing, respectively. It seems that a combination of factors may explain low levels of engagement with Ward Councillors, be it because Councillors are inactive and thus unknown to residents or that residents feel no reason to engage with their Councillors[5].

While these are plausible hypotheses, I am particularly interested in the role which social capital plays, if any, in explaining the noted level of inactivity. Do networks of association predict participation in local government? Are the low levels of generalised trust observed in Cape Town linked to the low levels of engagement with local Ward Councillors? Indeed the Putnam (1993) theory would support this finding, if it were the case. I will investigate further whether these low levels of public participation can be attributed to low levels of generalised trust.

(b) Collective action

While the forms of participation I have discussed thus far relate to individual action, there are a range of activities which can be undertaken alongside other citizens, be it formal or informal. The measures at our disposal allow for some comparison between the extent of individual and collective forms of political participation. To test the latter form of participation, we asked about whether citizens have ever and would ever, attend a community meeting, get together with others to raise an issue, attend a demonstration or protest march as well as sign a petition. The results are reflected in the table below.

[5] Another finding worth noting is the perceived extent of corruption in local government. In CAS we asked respondents 'how many officials in local government do you think are involved in corruption?', responses were as follows, All :10%, Most : 24%, Some: 34%, A few: 17%, None : 0% and Don't Know: 15%. Although this question does not specifically ask about Ward Councillors, the perceptions that local government is generally corrupt, may well explain some of the noted apathy of respondents to engage with their Ward Councillors.

Table 4.3: Percentage Frequency Table: Collective Action

Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. In the past year, please tell me whether you have done any of the following?	**No, never**	**No, but would if I had a chance**	**Yes, once**	**Yes, often**	**Total**
	%	%	%	%	%
Attended a community meeting	38	**23**	18	21	100
Got together with others to raise an issue	**51**	27	12	10	100
Attended a demonstration or protest march	**65**	20	6	9	100
Signed a petition	**52**	20	8	19	100

(Percentage frequency in bold indicates median response)

I observed from Table 4.3 above that while the modal response for each form of political participation is 'No, never', at least 20 percent of respondents indicated that although they hadn't undertaken any of these actions, they would do so if they had a chance. This is somewhat encouraging and gives us some indication that non-participation does not necessarily signal a lack of interest, but that it may instead be linked to a lack of time or opportunity. To get a better perspective on political participation I thought it worthwhile to add the percentage frequencies of the two 'yes' columns. The highest levels of participation, are noted with respect to attendance at a community meeting (39 percent) followed by signing a petition(27 percent) and getting together with others to raise an issue (22 percent). Attendance at a demonstration or protest is notably lower (15 percent). Respondents are not wholly inactive, and reasonable percentages are taking up their citizenry role to mobilise in response to certain issues and concerns. Thus, a fair amount of citizens have been and are willing to take part in various forms of collective civic and political participation.

Comparing these results to the extent of engagement with the local government, respondents are clearly more likely to take up political participation as part of a group than as an individual. Collective action may well be a more effective mechanism for drawing government's attention to certain issues. Indeed, when it comes to getting government to listen, there is some truth the old adage about strength in numbers. As such citizens may feel more empowered acting as part

of a group, rather than acting as a solitary voice in the governance process. From the CAS 2003 data we know that the idea of a group endeavour may well motivate participation; when asked whether they felt they would be able to 'get together with others to make elected leaders listen, 44 percent of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed and considerably less, (20 percent) either disagreed or strongly disagreed. These findings are encouraging especially when we consider that over 50 percent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that 'politics and government seem so complicated, they can't really understand what's going on'. Thus, despite their confusion with politics, many respondents do feel that as part of a group, they can make elected leaders listen.

It is clear that some forms of political participation are more favoured than others and the implications which various facets of social capital might have hereon will be analysed more closely in the explanatory analysis. Already the findings thus far suggest that there is something about groups and networks of association which may motivate public participation and civic action. Does organisational membership make political participation more likely? I will address this question and others relating to the link between social capital and political participation.

Drawing linkages with social capital

Linking social capital to tolerance of diversity

We have revealed widespread and general agreement that it is possible and indeed favourable to have a more integrated social and cultural life in Cape Town. These attitudes were labelled 'tolerance of diversity'. According to Putnam (1993, 2000) societies displaying high levels of social capital are likely to have strong democratic foundations and thus large reservoirs of social tolerance, high levels of civic engagement, interest in politics, political efficacy and more effective institutions of representative democracy. Using the WVS, Inglehart (1990,1997) and Norris (2002) observed a tendency for countries to be distributed in such a way that those with higher levels of interpersonal trust and associational activism, happen to be the countries which are considered to be the most socially tolerant, democratically stable and

economically well-off in the world[6]. These findings affirm, very loosely, the Putnam theory of an association between social capital and democratic, social and economic welfare.

I am specifically interested in one facet of this argument; that which suggests that the stock of interpersonal trust and the extent of formal associational membership are strong predictors of tolerance and attitudes towards diversity. Instead of assuming that general trust leads to tolerance of diversity and a greater sense of embracement of other cultures, we have at our disposal a set of measures designed to measure these outcomes more explicitly. Thus, I will be testing the correlation and predictive validity which general trust and formal associational activity displays in relation to these attitudes.

The first hypothesis is that *interpersonal trust is positively associated with tolerance of diversity.* The corresponding Null hypothesis is that *interpersonal trust is negatively or not at all associated with tolerance of diversity.* Secondly, I will test the hypothesis that *formal associational activity is positively associated with tolerance of diversity.* The Null hypothesis is therefore that *formal associational activity is negatively or not at all associated with tolerance of diversity.*

[6] Various indicators are used to define country status, such as Freedom House scores for determining the democratic stability of a country and the WVS tolerance measure as an indicator of the level of tolerance and UNDP figures for gauging economic welfare of a country. See (Norris, 2002 :183) and (Inglehart 1990 : 235).

Table 4.4 below displays the correlations between the dimensions of social capital delineated in relation to tolerance of diversity[7].

Table 4.4. Correlation Matrix: Association between social capital and tolerance of diversity

Kendall Tau-B Correlations ***Social capital in relation to tolerance of diversity***	Its easy for you to like people with views different to yours	Exposure to different cultures enriches ones life	It is desirable to create one community out of all the groups in Cape Town
Most people can be trusted	.035	.019	.059
Neighbourly Trust	.128**	.194**	.122**
How often you have face-to-face contact with neighbours	.076*	-.003	.027
How often you have face-to-face contact with family/relatives	.098**	.061	.029
How often you phone/email your neighbours	-.005	-.136**	-0.019
How often you phone or email family/relatives	.131**	.05	.001
Membership activity in religious organization	.028	-.033	.053
Membership activity in socio-political or community organizations	-.016	-.101**	.004

**. Correlation significant at the 0.01 level
*. Correlation significant at the 0.05 level

Some very interesting patterns are evident. Looking at the first row, it is clear that there exists no relationship between general trust and tolerance of diversity. Thus, we can infer virtually nothing about people's attitudes towards diversity by measuring their general disposition to trust other people. This finding contradicts the popular practice of equating interpersonal trust with bridging social capital. The use of interpersonal trust as a proxy for bridging social capital is widespread, but the results suggest that it is far too simplistic to presume that general interpersonal trust tells us anything about the stock of tolerance towards diversity.

[7] A factor analysis test was undertaken to gauge the validity of the *tolerance of diversity* measures. The results showed a single factor extracted, with an Eigen value of .998, which is just outside the border of our criteria for accepting a valid factor. The reliability analysis yielded an Alpha = .65 which is a sound indicator that these three variables are tapping into the same underlying concept. The value of these measures rests in the distinct manner in which each one taps into a different aspect of tolerance of diversity, thus I did not combine the three items to form a single construct. Instead the correlation analysis entailed looking at the independent variables in relation to each of the three tolerance questions separately.

Thus, despite low levels of trust in others generally; respondents in the CAS sample display positive attitudes towards diversity. Perhaps these findings indicate features unique to the Cape Town context; perhaps the respondents in our sample are outliers in the general picture. Indeed locality is important, and social capital needs to be studied not only as a concept which varies over time, but which also varies between places. It is plausible that general trust has less to do with bridging social cleavages and more to do with responses to crime and safety. In a society such as our own, one of the most violent in the world, it is not unlikely that people associate trust with vulnerability to crime and this may have little to do with whether or not people are willing to tolerate and integrate with people of other cultures and with different likes to their own.

In order then to thoroughly understand the relationship between trust and attitudes towards diversity, we would need to investigate the sources of social capital in more depth. I do not have room here to investigate the sources of interpersonal trust, and indeed the CAS 2003 data may not be suitable for testing the sources of trust. [8] But, we can certainly broaden our understanding of social capital and its implications by analyzing other social capital variables which may influence and explain tolerance of diversity more appropriately than the variable of general trust in others.

Formal associational activity similarly has an insignificant and weak relationship with respect to tolerance of diversity. Apart from a modest correlation (Tau-B = -.101**) between membership in socio-political or community organisations and the belief that exposure to others enriches life, there are no other statistically significant or substantively important observations. Associational activism plays virtually no role in explaining attitudes which are aligned with the notion of bridging social and cultural cleavages. And in the one instance of a significant relationship, the direction is negative rather than positive. This result is rather unexpected and may suggest that bonding social capital is working against bridging social

[8] Grooteart and Narayan et al (2004) note the difficulties associated with analysing trust as a dependent variable with the use of social survey data. Because trust is borne out of a complex array of historical, cultural, social and political as well as economic factors we can only assess very specific variables which may have an impact on trust, and are unlikely to be able to use multi-variate analysis to shape an overall view of the causes of trust. They suggest that qualitative research may serve this purpose better. In Appendix C (Part 2) I provide an analysis of some of the characteristics of 'trusting' versus 'non-trusting' respondents, showing that the CAS 2003 data does little to help us understand what distinguishes these groups of people.

capital.[9] It is likely that group members are closely knit and thus there is a lessened desire and will to embrace outsiders. New-comers and people from outside the circle may be perceived as potential free-riders and burdens to the community or group, giving members little reason to welcome them.

Both interpersonal trust and associational activism are weak in explaining attitudes towards diversity and these findings fail to falsify the null hypotheses. The finding that associational activism is a weak predictor of tolerant attitudes, contradicts suggestions that formal membership in groups begets open-mindedness and liberal attitudes towards those who are different. Clearly the specific functioning of these organizations needs to be analysed in more depth before we can make either claim assertively and conclusively. But even in this basic analysis it is clear that civic and cultural organizations do not necessarily function as breeding grounds for integration and cross-cutting associations as Putnam (2000) assumes.

Accounting for the fact that the highest levels of membership activity in Cape Town is in religious organisations, respondents are unlikely to meet people from other religions at their local Church, Mosque or Synagogue. Generally, the level of member interaction at a religious meeting is likely to be minimal, leaving little time to discuss and address pertinent social issues such as diversity. Even in interactive religious sessions, members are unlikely to engage with people of other racial and ethnic groups, since many religious organizations still tend to be racially and ethnically homogenous rather than heterogeneous.

In CAS 2003 we probed the extent of racial and class homogeneity in religious organisations, the results are presented below :

What proportion of the other members of the group are of the same race and class as yourself?	**%**
All/Almost all	46
Most	19
Some	12
None/Few	3
Don't Know	20
Total	100

[9] See Briggs (1998) for discussion on bonding social capital in the neighbourhood and the implications hereof for neighbourhood welfare as well as greater society.

The general finding is that religious groups tend to be homogenous in terms of race and class rather than heterogeneous, with 65 percent of respondents stating that all/almost all or most other members are of the same race as themselves. These results affirm my expectation that religious groups in Cape Town are not integrated enough to offer broad opportunities for the development of cross-cutting social relations.

Furthermore, the decision to join an association is likely to rest in part on proximity and convenience and people are thus likely to join groups because they are locally based and easy to reach, rather than venture long distances into other suburbs or parts of Cape Town.

These considerations hamper any hope that organizations and groups easily bring together people of different backgrounds and cultures. Associational membership has many assumed benefits and outcomes, which of course require further investigation. But for now it is clear that one outcome which is weakly associated herewith is the development of open-minded and tolerant attitudes. As long as these organizations tend to be homogenous this trend is likely to prevail.

If associational activism is not influencing the formation of socially valued attitudes such as tolerance, then where are these views being shaped? One argument is that people are more likely to develop and discuss such issues in the context of safer, more familiar environments such as those shared with family, neighbours and friends (Newton, 2001). To investigate the probability of this further, the links between tolerance of diversity and other facets of social capital were analysed.

The three variables measuring norms of trust and reciprocity with neighbours were reduced to a single construct, named *neighbourly trust*. [10] It is clear that neighbourly trust has far more explanatory power than general trust in terms predicting attitudes towards 'diversity'. Although

[10] This was done using the Compute command in SPSS, whereby a single variable was created by effectively regressing the three items. As was noted, the results of the factor and reliability analysis indicated that these variables form a robust construct of measures tapping into the same underlying concept of norms of trust and reciprocity between neighbours. Thus, the correlation analysis was undertaken using this combined three-item construct in relation to the dependent variable(s), rather than applying these as three singular items.

the correlations are not strong, they are positive and statistically significant and relative to general trust, neighbourly trust is a stronger explanatory variable. This significant finding suggests that people who agree that neighbours are reliable and trustworthy, are likely to tolerate diversity more than those who do not. Neighbourly trust explains these attitudes in a way that general interpersonal trust fails to. Perhaps by offering respondents a scenario or context in relation to trust, in this case the neighbourhood, we stand to learn more about their attitudes on social issues such as diversity, rather than by simply assuming that the views on trusting others generally gains us insight into this.

In some respects I anticipated that neighbourly trust might foster negative attitudes towards others, in line with the Fukuyama (2000) argument that bonding social capital leads to 'outsider' effects; attitudes and behaviours which reject those outside the group. However, it is clear from our findings that this is not the case. Instead it seems that the perception of strong in-group relations between neighbours is positively associated with favourable views on diversity. People who believe that their neighbours are helpful and co-operative may well display open-mindedness and favourable views of other people because they are exposed to benevolent qualities in their existing environment. If people are familiar with habits of trust and reciprocity in the neighbourhood, perhaps this is also likely to be the place where socially positive attitudes are borne from, attitudes such as tolerance and open-mindedness.

Contact with neighbours was insignificant in explaining attitudes towards diversity, with only one positive and weakly significant observation noted, in relation to face-to-face contact and the ease with which respondents are able to 'like other people'. One peculiar observation relates to phone/email contact with neighbours which is negatively associated with the view that exposure to other cultures is life enriching (Tau-B = -.136**). Respondents who believe that habits of reciprocity and trust prevail in their neighbourhood may be more open-minded and tolerant of diversity, but face-to-face contact with neighbours makes for a relatively weakened tendency for respondents to display these attitudes.

Only two significant correlations emerged in relation to contact with family and relatives, both of which are positive. There is a weak association between agreement with the statement that it is easy to like other people who have different views, and how often phone/email contact is had with kin (Tau-B = .131**), as well as with face-to-face contact with kin, (Tau-B = .098**). This may be a sign that conversations with family and relatives plays a part in shaping individuals views on social issues such as diversity.

It is worthwhile mentioning that it is the attitudinal component of trust in neighbours rather than the structural measures of contact with neighbours which is more significant in explaining attitudes towards diversity. It is the perception about the environment in which we reside rather than our participation therein that makes more of a (positive) difference in our attitudes towards different people. In this light, the negative relationship between phone/email contact and agreement that mixing with other cultures is an enriching experience, (Tau-B = -.136**) suggests that perhaps contact with neighbours increases the likelihood of displaying reservations towards 'others' and people who are different, eluding to an insider-outsider effect. It is plausible that interaction with neighbours brings people closer to together in a way that discourages cross-cutting cleavages. This is an interesting find and Fukuyama's argument describes this situation more accurately, where this structural dimension of bonding social capital is functioning to produce exclusionary attitudes. [11]

From the correlation matrix in the previous chapter (Table 3.4) , it is clear that trust and contact with neighbours are very weakly and insignificantly correlated with each other, implying that respondents who perceive neighbourly trust to be prevalent, do not necessarily have frequent contact with neighbours. The information at our disposal about the dynamics and implications of relations with neighbours as they differ to perceptions of the neighbourhood is limited at this stage, but what is clear is that attitudinal components function quite differently to structural ones in terms of how they link to the social attitude of tolerance of diversity.

[11] See also Portes (1998), Putzel (1997) as well as Cox and Caldwell (2000) for further discussion on the impact of inward-focused bonding social capital and the manner in which it can inhibit the development and maintenance of cross-cutting ties.

The CAS 2003 data has offered some important preliminary indications that exploring more closely the significance of neighbourhood social capital in Cape Town would be a worthwhile path for future research. Not only have we learned that the quality of neighbourhood relations is good and that respondents have regular contact with their neighbours, but trust in neighbours is a key determinant of social attitudes, such as those towards diversity, which are deemed important for the growth of a stable democratic and social functioning. These consequences have been overlooked by research focused solely on general trust. In order to utilize social capital as an explanatory tool, there are benefits in treating the concept as multi-faceted.

Linking social capital to civic commitment

Next, I test the hypotheses that *1) interpersonal trust and 2) formal associational activity are positively associated with respondents' sense of civic commitment.* The corresponding Null hypotheses are that *1) interpersonal trust and 2) formal associational activity are negatively or not at all associated with the respondents sense of civic commitment.* Civic commitment, as discussed earlier is an important indicator of respondents attitudes towards their community and the developmental role which they perceive themselves playing as citizens in the democracy. [12]

[12] In order to test the validity and reliability of these items as measures tapping into the same underlying concept of civic commitment, Factor and Reliability analyses were conducted. A single factor was extracted and Eigen value of 1.32 was observed, with these variables describing 54 percent of the total variance. Reliability testing yielded an Alpha of .6. The correlation analysis was undertaken using the individual items, rather than regressing them to a single construct since each question tests a different parameter of the concept of civic responsibility. In this way we can test for variation in the associations between the dimensions of social capital and each form of civic responsibility.

Table 4.5. Correlation Table: Association between social capital and civic commitment

Kendall Tau-B Correlations ***Social capital in relation to civic commitment***	**Sense of responsibility towards developing community**	**Sense of responsibility towards acting as a role model in community**	**Sense of responsibility to build community, even if it means passing up a better job or moving to a nicer area**
Most people can be trusted	-.005	.021	.034
Neighbourly Trust	.158**	.131**	.061
How often you have face-to-face contact with neighbours	-.027	.034	.144**
How often you have face-to-face contact with family/relatives	.005	-.020	-.015
How often you phone/email your neighbours	-.005	.067	.124**
How often you phone or email family/relatives	.042	.023	.038
Membership activity in religious organisation	.120**	.134**	.097**
Membership activity in socio-political or community organisation	.093*	.099**	.127**

**. Correlation significant at the 0.01 level
*. Correlation significant at the 0.05 level

As shown in Table 4.5 above, interpersonal trust in relation to civic commitment yielded weak and insignificant results. In contrast, neighbourly trust is positively and significantly associated with the responsibility respondents feel towards generally developing their community and to act as a role model, with the former correlation slightly stronger (Tau-B =.158**) than the latter (Tau-B =.131**).[13] The perceived prevalence of trust and reciprocity within the neighbourhood is thus positively related to respondents' sense of commitment towards active participation in community improvement. However, the more demanding the responsibility, the lessened impact which neighbourly trust has as a determinant of civic commitment.

The impact of neighbourly trust diminishes significantly when commitment is spoken about in terms of the responsibility to the community which comes at the expense of self-advancement,

[13] Recalling the earlier comment that the meaning of 'community' is left open to the respondents, these findings serve as a preliminary indication that respondents understand 'community' to be something related to their neighbourhood.

with a correlation of .061. Face-to-face contact with neighbours has proven to be the most significant and the strongest correlate with this self-less form of civic commitment, with a Tau-B co-efficient of .144**. Phone or email contact with neighbours is also a key determinant here, with a correlation of .124**. It does not suffice that people feel they have good, trusting relations with their neighbours. In order to drive their sense of the responsibility to the community above their own selfish gains, the extent of actual contact with neighbours counts the more. Apart from this, the next strongest determinant is that of formal membership in socio-political or community- based organizations with a correlation co-efficient of .127**. A combination of formal and informal networks based in the context of the neighbourhood or community has the strongest predictive validity in explaining this attitude.

Another important observation relates to the correlation between membership in religious as well as socio-political or community organisations in determining attitudes towards civic commitment generally. In all cases there are positive and significant associations observable, indicating that to some extent formal networks, which played little role in shaping attitudes towards diversity, matter in explaining respondents sense of civic responsibility.

Generalised trust is a weak predictor of civic commitment, but associational activism is a positive and statistically significant predictor hereof, leading me to accept the first null hypothesis and reject the second null hypothesis stated in relation to civic commitment. In summary then, when it comes to attitudinal components, it is neighbourly rather than general interpersonal trust which matters more. In terms of structural components, it is a combination of contact with neighbours and membership in religious or socio-political or community based organisations which matters in explaining these attitudes. This is indeed unsurprising since people who have regular interaction with their neighbours are likely to show commitment to their neighbourhood as a way of contributing towards something which they have a connection or attachment to. It is easy to understand the significance of socio-political or community organisations in this regard, since involvement herein often entails taking some sort of civic action in response to the needs of the community whether it be representation in local government or offering social support and charitable services. A combination of both formal and informal networks are at play here and while formal associational activism is predictably

key, it is clear that informal norms and associations, which are often overlooked in the study of social capital, are equally as valuable in this regard.

The predictive power of the social capital dimensions are not consistent or steady in any sense. There has been a noted difference in the manner in which various components play a more or less predictive role in shaping attitudes, be it in relation to tolerance of diversity or civic commitment. One consistent pattern however relates specifically to general interpersonal trust which has offered little in terms of explaining these attitudes.

Having analysed at the implications of various facets of social capital on socially beneficial attitudes such as tolerance and civic commitment, my attention will now be focused on various forms of political participation.

Linking social capital to political participation

(a) Engagement with local government

Participation in local government was noted to be low, and sit is now my intention to test the link between social capital and these outcomes. I will test the hypotheses that *1) interpersonal trust and 2) formal associational activity are positively associated with the extent of political participation.* The corresponding Null hypotheses are that 1) *interpersonal trust and 2) formal associational activity are negatively or not at all associated with the extent of political participation.*

Table 4.6. Correlation Table: Association between social capital and engagement with Ward Councillors

Kendall Tau-B Correlations ***Social capital in relation to political participation***	**How often written a letter to the Ward Councillor**	**How often attended public meetings where the Ward Councillor has spoken?**	**How often spoke to the Ward Councillor face-to-face or on the phone?**
Most people can be trusted	.078*	.011	-.014
Neighbourly Trust	.009	-009	.004
How often you have face-to-face contact with neighbours	-.053	.055	.011
How often you have face-to-face contact with family/relatives	-.047	-.017	-.009
How often you phone/email your neighbours	.068	.178**	.071
How often you phone or email family/relatives	.043	-.020	.003
Membership activity in religious organization	.010	-.044	-.013
Membership activity in socio-political or community organization	.028	.222**	.082*

**. Correlation significant at the 0.01 level

*. Correlation significant at the 0.05 level

Table 4.6 shows that social capital does little to explain public participation in local government. [14] Despite the fact that levels of trust and public participation are both low, there is only a weak, moderately significant relationship between generalised trust and writing a letter to the ward councillor. One of the strongest correlations observed, (Tau-B = .178**) is between attendance at a ward meeting and frequency of contact with neighbours. This result suggests that contact with neighbours develops one's sense of commitment to the ward and thus motivates attendance to such a meeting. Attendance at a ward meeting is relatively strongly correlated with membership activity in a socio-political or community groups (Tau-B = .222**). It is likely that some of the organisations captured under this grouping function to

[14] In terms of face validity it is clear that these three items are all framed to test the extent of engagement with the local Ward Councillor. The correlations between these three variables, range between Tau-B = .233** - Taub-B = .328**. However, factor analysis yields an Eigen value of just less than 1 and the reliability testing results are weak, with Alpha = .57. While it was never my intention to group or cluster these variables for this analysis, it is clear that the three items are unique indicators of participation with local government and fall slightly shy of being considered a valid and reliable constructs.

secure community welfare and thus members have a vested interest in engaging with Ward Councillors. Trust does little to explain levels of individual participation with local government, leading me to accept the null hypothesis. In relation to associational activism though, I cannot wholly accept the null, because this variable plays some explanatory role here.

On this account a combination of formal and informal networks play a role in determining the extent of the individual's participation in local government. From the previous table we noted that these networks were strong predictors of respondents' sense of civic responsibility and it is likely that these results are linked hereto.

It is clear that social capital is weak in explaining the likelihood of ones engagement with Ward Councillors. There is little here to suggest that being a trusting or a non-trusting person, plays any role in determining whether one will be more or less politically active. Clearly there are other social or political variables which might better explain this apathy to engage with Ward Councillors. However, it is not my intention to investigate these paths. The most compelling finding is that social capital is a weak predictor of engagement with local Ward Councillors. This is in itself a valuable finding and suggests that social capital may not be as strong a determinant of the individuals' propensity to participate in the governance processes, as theory may have anticipated.

(b) Collective Action

Having made the observation of a weak association between social capital and engagement with Ward Councillors, it is not necessarily the case that social capital functions this way in relation to all forms of political participation and civic activity. To investigate this further, I have at my disposal measures to test the predicative validity of social capital in relation to political participation in terms of various forms of collective action[15].

It is my intention to test the hypotheses that *1) interpersonal trust and 2) formal associational activity are positively associated with the extent of collective action.* The corresponding Null hypotheses are that 1) *interpersonal trust and 2) formal associational activity are negatively or not at all associated with the extent of collective action.*

Table 4.7. Correlation Table: Association between social capital and collective action

Kendall Tau-B Correlations ***Social capital in relation to political participation***	Attended a community meeting	Got together with others to raise an issue	Attended a demonstration or protest march	Signed a petition
Most people can be trusted	.022	-.014	-.014	-.002
Neighbourly Trust	-.031	-.036	-.090*	-.035
How often you have face-to-face contact with neighbours	.161**	.055	.042	-.121**
How often you have face-to-face contact with family/relatives	.009	.039	-.013	.028
How often you phone/email neighbours	.132**	.166**	.112**	.100**
You often phone or email family/relatives	-.044	.047	.058	.177**
Membership activity in religious organisation	-.009	.071	.026	.036
Membership activity in socio-political or community organisation	.302**	.270**	.249**	.103**

**. Correlation significant at the 0.01 level
*. Correlation significant at the 0.05 level

[15] As with all the dependent variables, I do not intend to group these variables to form a single construct, since I want to understand the predictive power of social capital in relation to each item. However, I conducted the validity and reliability tests in order to test the quality of the items. These items are strongly correlated with each other, they are reliable (Cronbach Alpha = .72) and cluster to form a factor with an Eigen value of over 1.

In Table 4.7 above, two facets of social capital stand out as strong predictors of political participation. The first is that of membership activity in socio-political or community organisations. This variable yields relatively strong and statistically significant results in relation to respondents' participation in various types of collective activity, and is a particularly strong determinant of attendance at a community meeting (Tau-B =.302**), gathering with others to raise an issue (Tau-B = .270**) as well as attendance a protest march (Tau-B =.249**). The results suggest that these organisations offer citizens opportunities to mobilize together in response to certain issues. The benefits of formalised organisational activity are highlighted in this example and it is likely that these groups have the power to steer collective action and influence policy in a way that informal networks or individuals acting alone, are unable to.

Informal networks with neighbours, particularly as they are sustained through regular e-mail and phone contact goes some way in predicting the likelihood of respondents' participation in these activities. While this is not the strongest determinant, correlations are statistically significant and consistently so, across all four types of political participation. This may be an indication that bonding social capital in the form of neighbourly networks stimulates a heightened interest in the development and welfare of the community.

Regular face-to-face contact with neighbours is a positive and significant determinant of attendance at a community gathering but a negative determinant of signing a petition. Perhaps contact with neighbours motivates other forms of physical interaction with neighbourhood members, such as community meetings, better than it does less interactive endeavours such as the signing of a petition.

Kin-related variables play little role in determining these outcomes. Only a single positive and significant relationship was observed between phone/e-mail contact with kin and likelihood of signing a petition (Tau-B = .177**). It might be that interaction with family and relatives sometimes involves the deliberation of political issues which my lead to public participation, but minimally so.

Trust plays no role in predicting participation in group-focused collective action, thus I accept the null hypothesis. Associational activism did however play a role in explaining these activities, leading me to reject the null hypothesis here.

There are indications that citizens take preference to engaging in political and civic activity which takes place on a collective rather than solitary scale. Furthermore, social capital is a stronger predictor of collective action such as signing a petition or joining a protest march than it is of individual activities such as phoning or writing to the Ward Councillor. In this regard it is a combination of formal and informal networks which help explain people's willingness and actual involvement in various types of group-centred civic activity. Attitudinal variables played virtually no role in explaining these outcomes and it is clear that structural components capturing interaction with others does more to drive public participation, than citizens' attitudes and perceptions about trust.

Summary of Findings

On a descriptive note we found that respondents expressed positive attitudes towards diversity as well as civic commitment. Political participation in the form of engagement with local Ward Councillors was low, but relatively higher in terms of collective action.

The social capital literature and empirical analysis is often dominated with an over-riding emphasis on the general trust variable. In Cape Town however, this variable has held little relevance in explaining the outcomes of tolerance of diversity, civic commitment and political participation. Indeed, by breaking social capital down into various dimensions, we have gained a more acute view of the implication of each component as it affects certain outcomes that are theoretically derived from general interpersonal trust.

Both interpersonal trust and associational activism do far less to explain attitudes towards diversity, than theory suggests these should. This may be attributed to our lack of insight into how respondents shape their view on trust as well as the fact that associational involvement is predominantly in religious groups, which remain racially homogenous in Cape Town.

Neighbourly trust is a positive and statistically significant predictor of tolerance towards diversity, but regular contact with neighbours implicates negatively hereon, suggesting that this form of bonding social capital generates negative attitudes towards outsiders.

While generalised trust is a weak predictor of civic commitment, associational activism is a positive and statistically significant predictor hereof. Neighbourly trust explains more accurately respondents sense of responsibility to develop the community as well as act as a role model. However, it is regular interaction and contact with neighbours which is the strongest determinant of whether respondents are willing to place their civic responsibility above their own needs. Clearly bonding social capital here functions for the benefit of narrower, community-focused issues, quite opposite to its implications on more broadly favoured social attitudes such as tolerance of diversity in Cape Town. Formal networks of association such as those developed through membership in religious and socio-political and community-based groups, implicate positively on respondents sense of civic commitment. This suggests that participation in associations motivates a willingness to take an active rather than passive role in satisfying the developmental goals of the democracy.

Social capital does little to explain levels of individual participation with local government. Thus, despite the fact that generalised trust and associational activism are both low in Cape Town, these variables do not suffice to adequately explain the public's apathy to engage with local government. Political participation in the form of group activities is best explained by a combination of informal and formal networks, where respondents who are active in associations as well as those who have frequent contact with their neighbours are more likely to participate as citizens in the democracy. These network interactions may well be generating a sense of allegiance to the community and thus motivate active participation in the policy and governance proeess.

The Cape Area Study 2003 has served as a vehicle for exploring and analyzing the dimensions and implications of social capital as it relates to variables important for both the civic culture and developmental goals. By analyzing social capital as a multidimensional concept, we have

gained insight into the varied implications of each facets, in a manner which is unusual but crucial for the development of this field of study. What is unusual about this approach is that rather than resting our analysis of attitudes on interpersonal trust only and our analysis of networks on associational membership only, we sought to explore other facets and then understand the manner in which they affect certain social and political attitudes and behaviours. The implications of social capital differ by component type and situation, be it in relation to society generally or to the neighbourhood. It is clear that social capital is not only multi-faceted but a situation specific variable, and future endeavours to study the concept within the framework of quantitative political science stand to gain by building on this understanding of the concept.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

I wrote this dissertation with the objective of contributing to the development of social capital as a field of study in South Africa. Specifically I was interested in exploring dimensions of social capital in Cape Town and understanding its links to democracy. This objective was driven by a critical review of the existing theoretical and empirical approaches which are widely used to describe the stock of social capital as well as to interpret the links between social capital and democracy. The dominant theoretical and analytical approaches are useful because they allow us to speak about the extent of general interpersonal trust in society as well as make comparisons between societies in terms of trust. We care to know about general interpersonal trust because it is a productive resource and it has been linked a range of politically and socially beneficial outcomes. Trusting societies are also likely to be more harmonious and citizens are likely to possess the virtues of genuine concern for others, reciprocity and co-operation, creating a more civically minded and political aware social context. Similarly the extent of formal associational activity in a society is said to tell us about the degree of social engagement and tolerance, since associations are seen as appropriate contexts for the formation of cross-cutting ties and the development of open-minded attitudes as well as co-operative behaviour[1]. These theoretical conclusions seem to provide a simplified understanding of social capital and its outcomes, as though the links are clear and equally applicable in each context. Herein lies the problem. Too much interpretative power is placed on the simple measures of general interpersonal trust and formal associational activism. Social capital is far more complex a concept than is readily assumed.

While I agree that social capital matters, I question the manner in which social capital is predominantly studied and interpreted as a determinant of democratic stability. I address this concern by critically assessing the dominant approaches to the study social capital in political science, focusing on the 'social-psychological approach'[2]. I first comment on the assumed

[1] These theoretical summarizations are based on the writings of Putnam (1993, 1995, 1998), Inglehart (1990,1997), Rose (1998), Norris (2000) and Newton (2000).
[2] As discussed and defined in Rose (1998).

situational consistency of interpersonal trust and the treatment of trust as an unvarying personality trait of the individual. I argue that trust varies not only over time, but also by context. Individuals adapt their level of trust to suite the circumstance and are likely, for example, to trust their closest relations more than they do strangers or people who are mere acquaintances. The analysis of responses to the WVS general interpersonal trust item does not afford us insight into trust as it may vary in this way. Thus we have little knowledge of how trust between members of closer circles, such as friends and neighbours, shape and develop the types of social skills often attributed to general impersonal trust such as reciprocity, civic mindedness and co-operation. On a more technical note, the widely used WVS measure of trust may be unreliable because the use of the double-negative can make interpretation confusing for respondents and the forced-choice structure offers no scaled set of response options.

While trust and networks are assumed (by Putnam, 2000 and Inglehart, 1997) to be intricately intertwined concepts, there is no clear consensus on the direction of this relationship. Regardless of this, empirical findings do not support the hypothesis that general interpersonal trust and formal networks of associations are linked in either direction. This may be attributed to the overly simplistic measures used to inform our understanding of a rather complex relationship between trust in others and our propensity to forge bonds of association.

The outcomes of networks and trust are confusingly similar and it is expected that together these two components inform us about the stock of social capital and prospects for democracy in society. But the interpretation of trust and networks as intertwined predictors of similar outcomes does not help us understand the distinct consequences linked to networks, and the manner in which these may differ from consequences linked to trust. For example, South Africa's low levels of trust but high levels of associational activism cannot be explained by the Putnam/Inglehart theory which suggests that these two variables are positively related to each other. These are important distinctions to make and I argue that there is some benefit in treating the facets of social capital as distinct. It is clear that general interpersonal trust and formal associational affiliation offer us only limited insight into social capital and its hypothesized consequences.

The study of networks centres on an assumed set of consequences which are attributed to formal associational or group membership. Individuals who belong to groups are likely to forge bonds which bridge certain social cleavages such as race and class and are thus likely to become more tolerant and open-minded. However, this assumption ignores that in some societies, such as South Africa, organisational membership is concentrated in religious groups that are religiously, racially and ethnically homogenous, leaving little room for the formation of cross-cutting ties. Informal associations may play a far more significant role in shaping our attitudes and behaviours towards others. Because formal associational membership can be costly, informal networks are likely to be more valued by the poor, who in South Africa and Cape Town, are in the majority.

With these considerations in mind, I proposed an approach to social capital which encompasses other facets such as trust and reciprocity between neighbours as well as engagement with neighbours and kin relations. In this way we might gain a more acute perspective on people's attitudes towards trust in different groups of people and how these are linked to certain outcomes. But my proposal required empirical support. Thus, in order to investigate the dimensionality and consequences of social capital in Cape Town, I proceeded to analyse the CAS 2003 data.

I used the CAS 2003 data to answer two important analytical questions. The first question relates to the stock of social capital in Cape Town. My analysis revealed that the level of general interpersonal trust is low, a finding which is in line with what we know about interpersonal trust in South Africa, from other surveys such as the Afrobarometer and WVS. Neighbourly trust is significantly higher in Cape Town than general interpersonal trust and this descriptive finding was the primary indication that trust is a varying and situational concept. While people distrust others generally, the results suggest that neighbours are perceived to be trustworthy and reliable. Trust is not a static and generalisable quality of the individual and by posing the general trust item in relation to a non-descript group of 'others' we may be losing valuable insight into the dynamics of trust. Similarly we found that people have strong networks of association with their neighbours and enjoy regular contact with their neighbours

both in terms of face-to-face engagement and communication by phone or e-mail. Network relations with family and relatives are also upheld by regular contact. While informal networks are maintained by regular contact, levels of formal associational activity are low, with the exception of religious organizations which are relatively well attended.

How are these findings to be interpreted? Well, theory suggests that low levels of general interpersonal trust and low levels of formal associational activism are sufficient information to inform us that social capital in Cape Town is low and thus the prospects for the civic culture and democratic stability are weak. However, having probed other dimensions of social capital it is clear that the picture is more complex. Indeed, general interpersonal trust and formal associational activity are low, but the level of neighbourly trust is high and respondents have strong networks of informal association with neighbours and kin. While I agree that formal organizations play an important role in civic society, they do not provide the complete picture of networking. The findings indicate that people are connecting in more informal capacities, an outcome which may be linked to the opportunity cost of associational membership, such as time and money. Alternatively, there many be a lessened need to join formal associations such as street committees or neighbourhood watch organizations because local communities are sustaining their own welfare through informal mechanisms such as generally helping and protecting each other.

My decision to analyse the stock of social capital in terms of distinct facets rested on my hypothesis that social capital is indeed a multi-faceted concept. I was compelled to test this hypothesis and by applying Factor and Reliability Analyses to the CAS 2003 data I observed distinct dimensions of social capital. Interestingly, the variables clustered into groupings which match to some degree, the theoretical groupings of bridging and bonding social capital. Respondents distinguished between trust in others generally (bridging social capital) and trust in neighbours (a form of bonding social capital). Furthermore, networks clustered in terms of formal associations (which are linked to bridging social capital) and neighbourhood networks were distinguished from kin-based networks, suggesting that a thicker form of bonding social capital may be present. A few significant conclusions can be drawn from these results. Firstly, the results suggest that social capital is multi-dimensional concept, made up of a range of

distinct constructs. Secondly, when analysing social capital, we need to first be specific about which aspects we are interested in understanding and then design our measures accordingly. While CAS 2003 was a useful instrument for exploring dimensionality, there is significant room for improvement in its measures. In terms of the single item constructs, we can do more in future to build around these items so as to develop stronger, more robust indicators of these concepts. Certain measures which were dropped from the analysis, because of their weak validity and reliability, also need to be reviewed and developed further.

Before linking social capital to the hypothesized outcomes of tolerance of diversity, civic commitment and political participation, I provided a descriptive overview of these outcomes. I found that respondents generally displayed tolerant towards diverse groups, agreeing that it is easy to like people who are different, that exposure to other cultures is an enriching experience, and that it is desirable to create one community out of all the different groups in Cape Town. Similarly, respondents displayed a high degree of civic commitment, with most agreeing that they have a responsibility to give their time and resources to their communities and act as role models. Slightly fewer agreed that they have a responsibility to stay and develop their communities, even if this means passing up a better job or moving to a nicer area. These results clearly contrast with the findings about general interpersonal trust and suggest that while people do not generally trust others, they have developed those attitudes which are beneficial to the democracy, such as tolerance of diversity and civic commitment – outcomes which are usually associated with general interpersonal trust. The results are encouraging in terms of democratic attitudes and virtues in Cape Town. The extent of political participation is low, especially in terms of individual engagement with local Ward Councillors. Respondents are more likely to participate in some sort of collective action, suggesting that unlike the prospect of participating as a solitary actor, being part of a group might motivate civic engagement. This finding suggests that a form of bonding social capital may be encouraging political participation. Having analyzed the descriptive findings, I set out to investigate the extent to which these outcomes are linked to social capital.

There is little evidence to suggest that the use of a blanket measure, such as general interpersonal trust, is adequate in describing social capital and explaining certain hypothesized

outcomes. While macro-level data analysis shows that social capital, as measured only by trust and formal associational affiliation, correlates with national patterns of democratic stability[3], this approach does little to describe micro-level activities and attitudes and the outcomes associated with these. The link between the dimensions of social capital and its hypothesized outcomes required further investigation.

I set out to test a range of hypotheses about interpersonal trust and formal associational activism in relation to 1) tolerance of diversity, 2) civic commitment and 3) political participation. The most striking result from the explanatory analysis was the weak association between general interpersonal trust and the outcomes of tolerance of diversity, civic commitment as well as political participation. The results suggest that, in Cape Town at least, we can infer virtually nothing about individuals' propensity to tolerate diversity, express commitment to their communities and engage in various forms of political participation, by measuring their disposition to trust others generally. This result contradicts the theoretical argument that interpersonal trust is associated with these outcomes. While political participation and interpersonal trust are both low, these variables are not statistically associated, indicating that low levels of trust do not necessarily predict political apathy. Indeed, the analytical power which is often attributed to interpersonal trust appears to hold little ground in Cape Town. This may be linked to context specific factors which have not been uncovered or intervening variables which have not been analyzed. What we have learnt is that interpersonal trust is not as strong a predictor of social and political attitudes and behaviours as theory would suggest.

The other indicators of social capital performed relatively better than interpersonal trust, although no variable was consistently strong in predicting the hypothesized outcomes. Associational activism was a weak and statistically insignificant predictor of tolerance of diversity, a finding which once again contradicts theoretical expectations. Where we would have expected organisational membership to lead to greater interconnectedness and open-minded attitudes, the evidence suggests that this association is not present. This finding highlights the importance of incorporating context specific considerations into the analysis. In

[3] See Norris, 2002.

Cape Town, organisational membership is predominantly in religious groups which tend to be homogenous in terms of class, race and ethnicity. These homogenous contexts offer little to no room for the formation of cross-cutting associations. People are unlikely to be exposed to diversity and are thus also unlikely to develop the social skills of tolerance and integration in these environments.

How do the other facets of social capital fare in explaining these outcomes? Neighbourly trust was the strongest of predictor of tolerance of diversity and I supposed that this might be an outcome of perceived benevolent and supportive behaviour in the local environment, affecting attitudes towards others. I was surprised by this result because I anticipated that neighbourly trust, a form of bonding social capital, would lead to some sort of 'outsider' effect. Instead, it was the structural component of bonding social capital in the form of contact with neighbours which yielded this outcome, albeit only in terms of regular phone and email contact being negatively associated with the attitude that exposure to others enriches ones life. Contact with kin had only a weak association with the tolerance variables.

In terms of civic commitment, neighbourly trust in combination with formal and informal networks of association were its strongest predictors. Neighbourly trust is a statistically significant predictor of respondents' attitudes towards giving their time and acting as role models in their communities. But, it is not adequate in predicting respondents' propensity to stay and help build their communities at the expense of their own personal advancement. For this selfless form of civic commitment, it is the structural component of contact with neighbours which is the strongest determinant. This suggests that contact with neighbours nurtures a deeper sense of commitment than perceptions about neighbours, highlighting the distinct functioning of structural and attitudinal components of social capital. Another significant determinant of civic commitment was membership activity in both religious organisations as well as socio-political or community groups. The predictive power of these variables is not surprising since our measurement of civic commitment is framed in the context of the community which may be interpreted as the neighbourhood, and it is clear that the dimensions of social capital which tap into aspects of the neighbourhood or community have the strongest link with this outcome. This finding supports the theoretical expectation that

neighbourliness may foster a greater commitment to community development, as suggested by Putnam (1993). However, it is also clear that interpersonal trust plays no explanatory role in this regard, highlighting the importance of probing other situational and dimensional aspects of social capital, such as that in relation to the neighbourhood. This further demonstrates that general aspects of social capital such as general interpersonal trust are unlikely to affect or predict context specific outcomes, such as commitment to the community.

Interpersonal trust and engagement with local Ward Councillors are both low in Cape Town, but there is no evidence to suggest that these variables are linked. Low levels of interpersonal trust do not necessarily explain low levels of political participation. The social capital variables are generally poor predictors of engagement with local Ward Councillors. Only two statistically significant correlations were observed, phone/email contact with neighbours and membership activity in socio-political or community organisations. This specific result is encouraging because participation in these groups clearly plays some role in determining whether individuals are likely to take up this form of public participation.

Formal networks of association, particularly in the form of membership activity in socio-political or community organisations, are the strongest determinant of participation in collective civic action. This suggests that these organisations offer individuals opportunities and perhaps motivation to take up some sort of civic participation. Formal associations seem to serve the purpose of fostering both a sense of civic commitment as well as promoting civic participation. This finding aligns with theoretical expectations. Informal networks in terms of contact with neighbours and kin are also important and statistically significant determinants of collective action. Thus, we gain a more encompassing perspective of the role that networks play in predicting these outcomes, by studying both formal and informal associations.

This dissertation has offered an analytical exploration of social capital in Cape Town, by describing social capital and linking it to a set of hypothetical outcomes related to the civic culture and democracy. The findings suggest that there is analytical value in probing social capital as a multi-dimensional and situational concept. General interpersonal trust is not a catch-all measure of trust in others, since respondents clearly distinguish between trust in

others generally and trust and reciprocity shared with neighbours. Counter to what currently accepted theory suggests, general interpersonal trust is a weak predictor of tolerance of diversity, civic commitment and political participation. Instead these outcomes can be attributed to a range of other facets of social capital, which have not previously been explored in research focused on understanding the civic culture. Formal and informal networks are important determinants of some of these outcomes but not all, and it is clear that the functionality of social capital depends on the dimension in question. Attitudinal variables function differently to structural ones. Furthermore, evidence suggests that in order to understand context specific outcomes such as co-operation between neighbours, the relevant situational forms of social capital such as contact with neighbours are far more predictive than general and broader forms of social capital such as general interpersonal trust.

This exploration into social capital in Cape Town has satisfied a multitude of analytical objectives. When asking questions about the nature and functioning of social capital, the short answer is that there is no all-encompassing measure to capture social capital. Social capital can not be treated as an entity without recognition for it many parts. The dominant political science approaches to social capital, which rely on WVS data, do not help us explain context specific observations and in order to examine these we need to delve into the unexplored by probing facets of social capital which have not been widely analysed. In this way we might better understand the manner in which aspects of social capital shape democratic values, attitudes and behaviours. My analysis of the CAS 2003 data has served as a stepping stone in the development of new understandings of social capital and its links with democracy. Indeed, social capital is an evolving field of research and we have much more to learn. I hope that through this research I have made a contribution towards this evolution.

Appendix A (Part 1)

Survey Design and Fieldwork : Cape Area Study 2003

Background and Survey Design

The Cape Area Study is a survey of social and political attitudes and behaviour conducted in 2003 by the Centre for Social Science Research. CAS is part of an on-going series of surveys in the CSSR, headed by Professor Jeremy Seekings. CAS forms part of the Social Hubble project which is aimed at generating quality social science survey data for comparative studies involving in 5 cities, Cape Town (South Africa), Belo Horizonte (Brazil), Warsaw (Poland), Beijing (China), Moscow (Russia) and Detroit (USA). CAS was designed not only to generate socio-political data but also to develop research capacity and training amongst graduate students. The survey was conducted in part by undergraduate students from the University of Cape Town and in part by a commercial social research company.

CAS 2003 had three objectives:

1. To generate the data needed to develop new insights into the study of social and political attitudes and behaviour;
2. To develop questions that can generate the required data;
3. And to serve as a vehicle for building capacity in the collection and critical analysis of survey data.

(Seekings, J., Alexander, K., Jooste, T. and Matzner, I., 2004 : 3)

In 2003 I was offered the opportunity to take part in various stages of this project, ranging from questionnaire design, fieldwork and data management. I worked alongside another graduate student to train Undergraduate students in interviewing techniques and survey procedures, as well as overseeing the fieldwork. I have completed a range of research methodology courses in sampling, survey methodology and data analysis as well as worked on another CSSR survey (the first wave of Cape Area Panel Study in 2002). Thus, I was able to assist students in understanding and implementing survey research. Working on CAS allowed me to build on my own experience with survey research and data analysis. A key motivating factor in the design of CAS was to address the shortage of quantitative data dealing with issue of specific interest to us such as social capital, which is often studied using WVS or Afrobarometer data. CAS 2003 gave me the unique opportunity to collect and analyse data, based on newly constructed measures.

In terms of social capital CAS 2003 was designed with the following objectives in mind:

1. To broaden the debate on measuring social capital in the South,
2. To contribute to the development of quantitative data on social capital in South Africa,
3. To expand on the range of measures used to investigate social capital by studying it as a multi-dimensional concept,
4. Investigate the implications of various facets of social capital.

CAS 2003 thus served as a useful instrument for my exploration into the dimensionality and implications of social capital in Cape Town.

CAS 2003 covered the following topics :

- General and National Political Engagement and Attitudes
- Engagement with Local Government
- Civil Society
- Political participation
- Facets of social capital and aspects of community life
- Social Attitudes e.g. towards AIDS and diversity
- Perceptions of distributive justice and injustice
- Emigration
- Security
- Socio- economic and demographic background

(Please see Appendix A : Part 2 for full version of CAS 2003 questionnaire)

CAS 2003 was designed by Jeremy Seekings, Karin Alexander and myself, with advice from Robert Mattes. Fieldwork in coloured and African areas was contracted to Citizen Surveys. Fieldwork in white areas was conducted by senior undergraduate students taking the course Senior Political Analysis (POL334H), at the University of Cape Town. I was responsible for training and supervising student fieldworkers.

Fieldwork

The 400 interviews undertaken by Citizen Surveys, including 200 in each of the African and coloured samples, were carried out such that the population group (i.e. what used to be called the 'race') of the interviewer matched the population group of the respondent. Citizen Surveys have a large pool of interviewers who are resident in coloured and African areas on the Cape Flats and are fluent in the most commonly spoken languages of this region, namely Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa. This served to our advantage and while same-race interviewing may yield some bias, it is believed to elicit more accurate data (Seekings, J. et al , 2004 : 5).

Fieldwork in 'white' areas was allocated to the students, because of language constraints and because these areas were more accessible and generally safer. The twenty-two UCT students, responsible for interviewing the sample of 200 white respondents, comprised a racially diverse group, so that in 'white' areas, respondents were rarely interviewed by a student from the same population group.[1]

Fieldwork was conducted in the first three weeks of September 2003 in coloured and African areas and in September and October in white areas. Fieldworkers were trained in the relevant protocol of interviewing such as correct manners, dress code, proper introductions and the

[1] Although this situation was not ideal, there was some benefit in having a mis-match between the race of the interviewer and that of the respondent. As is noted : "In South Africa, it has always been assumed that there are racial interviewer effects, but to the best of our knowledge, this has rarely been examined. The CAS interviews in white areas provide a small sample with which one might begin to assess such interviewer effects. This is particularly valuable for CAS, since opinions towards other racial groups is a key theme of the questionnaire" (Seekings, J. et al., 2004 : 5).

importance of confidentiality. Training comprised workshops and practical exercises on the aims of the survey, interviewing techniques, administering the questionnaire and coping with scenarios that arise during interviews. Interviewers were instructed to be neutral and adhere strictly to the order, wording and framing of the questions. Interviewers were also advised to record observations regarding the neighbourhood in which the interview was conducted and, when necessary, the respondents' behaviour and attitude during the interview.

Interviews were conducted during the week as well as on weekends, and at various times of the day. Using university students as fieldworkers meant that special attention had to be paid to safety. The students worked in groups of four or five and had to report to the me before entering and on leaving their fieldwork sites. Each student was given UCT apparel and name tags for easy identification, a phone card and street maps. Interviews took between one and one and a half hours to conduct. As a token of our gratitude, each respondent in CAS 2003 was given a custom-made canvas 'UCT Cape Area Study' bag. Quality control was exercised by Karin Alexander and Citizen Surveys (for the coloured and African samples) and by myself for the sample in white 'enumerator areas' (EAs). Where necessary, fieldworkers were retrained to work through problems and queries that occurred during interviewing.

The Sample

The CAS 2003 sample comprised three separate samples, one each for areas with predominantly African, predominantly coloured and predominantly white populations. Members of the Indian sample were grouped under the umbrella of 'coloured'. Each sample was then drawn using a two-stage cluster sample. The database of EAs, as defined by Statistics South Africa during the demarcation phase of Census 1996, constituted the sampling frame. EAs are designed to be homogeneous with respect to housing type and size. Most EAs comprise between fifty and two hundred households. In metropolitan Cape Town as a whole, there are approximately 4710 EAs.

Selecting EAs

EAs were selected systematically to ensure that their probability of selection was proportionate to their population size. The 1996 Population Census indicated a total population for metropolitan Cape Town of 2 496 672. We were unable to use the 2001 Population Census because, at the time of sampling, sufficiently detailed data was still unavailable. The first stage of the sampling entailed selecting EAs. Using the Census Data we generated a list of EAs in Cape Town, together with data on the race of the head of household. The original intention had been to draw three samples of EAs, according to the majority racial group in the EA. Our objective was to select twenty predominantly coloured, twenty predominantly African and thirty predominantly white EAs. Technical problems meant that an alternative method was employed to select the target number of EAs. The census data were divided into three racial populations: white, coloured (in which we included Indian) and African, by EA. For each population group, we generated a cumulative count of the number of households in each EA, selected a random starting point, defined a sampling interval (selected to generate the required target number of EAs)[2] and selected the EAs for which the cumulative count of households

[2] The sampling interval was 17892 for the white sample, 62639 for the coloured sample and 32124 for the African sample.

was equal to the starting point plus multiples of the interval. This generated a sample of seventy EAs. This differed from the original plan in that the list of, for example, 'coloured' EAs included all EAs in which coloured people lived, not just the EAs which were predominantly coloured. This meant that an EA might be selected more than once (although, because the probability of being selected depended on the number of people in each population group in the EA, no one had a disproportionate probability of being selected than anyone else, overall). The twenty African and twenty coloured EAs were all predominantly African and coloured respectively, but the thirty 'white' EAs included several very 'mixed' EAs (perhaps because of desegregation since 1996 as much as the sampling method). Five of the thirty 'white' EAs were discarded on the basis that their residents were mostly non-white or that the areas were deemed unsafe for student interviewers. The sampling was conducted by myself, with supervision from Robert Mattes.

A list and map of selected EAs are available from the CSSR.

Selecting Households

The second stage of the sampling entailed selecting households within the chosen EAs, using aerial photographs (supplied by Statistics South Africa). These clearly display residential units, street names as well as public and non-residential buildings. We excluded people living in institutionalised settings, such as students in dormitories, people in prisons as well as residences of nursing or old-age homes.

The fieldworker manual used by the student and Citizen Surveys fieldworkers contained detailed instructions on the sampling of households and respondent selection. In each EA, our target was to conduct a total of ten interviews. A random start point was selected on each EA map. From the starting point, interviewers were instructed to count until they reached the tenth household in the street and conduct the first interview there. As a rule, interviewers were instructed to keep to the right hand side of the road when counting dwellings. From here, every tenth household was to be selected. Shops, places of worship, schools and business premises were excluded from the counting procedure. For blocks of flats, interviewers were instructed to start the walking pattern from the top floor of the block and work their way downward and select every tenth flat.

For the purposes of CAS 2003, a household was defined as:

- A group of people who 'eat from the same pot' daily.
- Only permanent residences of the household were included, thereby excluding visitors, domestic workers and household members who live elsewhere for the purposes of work or study.

Where multiple households were recorded on a stand, these were counted as separate households if they were: compounds of multiple spouses, block of flats, backyard dwellings for relatives, rented dwellings or workers' quarters, or had separate entrances. Each dwelling on a stand was counted as a separate household, unless the person or people living in the dwelling formed part of the main household, i.e. they ate out of the same pot.

Selecting individual respondents

After selection of the household, random selection of the respondent was undertaken following the 'next birthday' rule. Once inside the household, interviewers listed the names and birthdays of all household members over the age of eighteen. The individual who had the next birthday was selected for interviewing.[3] In cases where this person was a not at home, interviewers were instructed to revisit the household so as to conduct the interview with the sampled respondent. Interviewers were not permitted to replace the selected individual with anyone else in the household.

Refusals and Substitutions

If the person with the 'next birthday' refused, interviewers were instructed to replace the original household, not the respondent. Interviewers were to select the household lying directly to the right of the original household. If this proved unsuccessful, the household to the left of the original household was to be selected. In cases where the residents of the selected household were not at home, interviewers were instructed to make at least two call-backs before substituting the household. Substitutions and the reasons for them were to be clearly documented in the questionnaire.

The actual sample

The Citizen Surveys fieldworkers interviewed ten respondents per EA, as instructed, producing samples of two hundred respondents in African and two hundred in coloured areas. But the student fieldworkers were unable to complete their assigned interview loads. A total of 188 interviews were completed in white areas, spread evenly across the twenty-five selected EAs.

Almost one-third (29%) of the 588 interviews were in 'substitute' households. The proportion was lowest (15%) in coloured areas, highest (50%) in white areas, and mid-way (24%) for African areas. This pattern of substitution rates, and the alarming substitution rate in high-income areas, reflects a general problem in survey research in South Africa. When the sampled household could not be interviewed, fieldworkers had to try, on average, two houses before finding the substitute household. In one case, the substitute household was the ninth household visited after the sampled household.

The profile of our actual sample

Our actual sample is not precisely representative of the adult population of Cape Town as a whole, but the difference in racial composition is minimal, when we compare our statistics to the Census data. Using 2001 Population Census data, the adult population of Cape Town is as set out in table 1. The CAS 2003 sample is as set out in table 2. A small number of the CAS 2003 respondents gave their population group or race as 'other', adding 'South African'. In most cases we can deduce the population group, but in four cases (all male) it is difficult to say whether they are coloured or white.

[3] The questionnaire (A12) specified that interviewers should interview the household member with the most recent birthday , but the Citizen Surveys fieldwork manual instructed interviewers to select the household member with the 'next birthday'; the fieldworkers applied the next birthday rule.

Table 1: Adult population of Cape Town, Census 2001

Cape Town (2001 census)	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
	%	*%*	*%*
African (%)	15	16	31
Coloured (%)	21	25	46
Indian (%)	<1	<1	1
White (%)	10	11	22
Total (%)	47	53	100

Table 2: Adult population of Cape Town, CAS 2003

CAS 2003 sample	*Men*		*Women*		*Total*	
	N	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
African	60	10	137	23	197	34
Coloured	96	16	141	24	237	40
Indian	5	<1	1	<1	6	<1
White	66	11	79	13	145	25
Don't know	3	<1	0	0	3	<1
Total	230	39	358	61	588	100

In terms of race and gender, the CAS 2003 sample over-represents African women and under-represents African and coloured men. The data-set was weighted according to race and gender and recommended weights are included in a variable in the data-set. (Seekings, J. et al., 2004: 10)

Appendix A (Part 2)

CAS 2003 Questionnaire

19/08/2003	CAPE AREA STUDY 2003				
Checked by Interviewer	Interviewer sign	Date of back check	Household back-checked?		
Edited by	Sign	Supervisor signature	Yes	1	
Coded by	Sign		No	2	

Interviewer Name	

Household Selection Procedure

Select a random household. A household is a group of people who presently eat together from the same pot. Start your walk pattern selecting every 10th dwelling . Keep to the right side of the road. If a call is unsuccessful, use the table below to record your progress until you make a successful call. Circle a code number for unsuccessful calls only.

Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls	Household 1	Household 2	Household 3	Household 4	Household 5	Household 6	Household 7
Refused to be interviewed	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Person selected was never at home	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Household/Premises empty for the survey period	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Not a citizen/Spoke only a foreign language	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Deaf/Did not speak a survey language	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Other (specify)_____	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Not Applicable	997	997	997	997	997	997	997

Address of original household selected:

Section A: Interview record

Good Day. My name is ..... We are presently conducting a survey on behalf of the University of Cape Town to establish the attitudes of people living in Cape Town. We want to know what people like you think about a range of issues. We selected a random sample of households living in Cape Town, and you happened to be in this sample. The survey takes about 45 minutes to complete. The information you give us is confidential. We ask for your name and address and contact information *only* in case we need to contact you to check that the information was recorded correctly. We shall contact some of our interviewees in order to verify the information. Names and addresses will then be discarded; they will *not* be recorded on our computers. Personal information will never be made public.

NB. Record details of successful interview below

A.1	Respondent Name	
A.2	Community	
A.3	Address	
A.4	Telephone: Work	
A.5	Telephone: Home	
A.6	Cell phone	
A.7	Email	

A.15	Person ID
A.16	EA

INSTRUCTIONS TO INTERVIEWER: Record here the details of this interview.

A.8	Date interview conducted		
A.9	Time of interview		
A.10	Is this the household that was included in the sample or is it a substitute house selected because the sampled household was unavailable?	1. Sampled household	**Go to A.12**
		2. Substitute household	
A.11	*If this was a substitute household*, how many households were visited before this one in an attempt to find a substitute?		
A.12	Interviewer name		Interviewer code

A.12	**Who lives in this household who is *at least 18 years old*? When are their birthdays?** Note to interviewer: you must interview the person with the most recent birthday. Only consider people aged 18 or older.		Name	Birthday
		1		
		2		
		3		
		4		
		5		
		6		
		7		
		8		
		9		
		10		
		11		
		12		
A.13	Checked by			
A.14	Date checked			

A.15	**INTERVIEWER:** Record main material used for the walls of this residence. **ONE MENTION ONLY**	1.	Temporary shack (plastic, cardboard, plywood)		-1
		2.	Permanent shack (corrugated iron, mixed brick)		-2
		3.	Permanent building (brick, block)		-3
		4.	Other (SPECIFY):		-4
A.16	**INTERVIEWER:** Record main material used for the roof of this residence. **ONE MENTION ONLY.**	1.	Plastic, cardboard or plywood.		-1
		2.	Corrugated iron or zinc.		-2
		3.	Tiles.		-3
		4.	Thatch		-4
		5.	Other (SPECIFY):		-5
A.17	**INTERVIEWER:** Record the condition of the area in which the house is located.	1.	Are the streets tarred?	1. Yes	2. No
		2.	Are the streets clean	1. Yes	2. No
		3.	Are there streetlights?	1. Yes	2. No
		4.	Are there vacant plots in the area?	1. Yes	2. No
		5.	Do most houses have gardens?	1. Yes	2. No
		6.	Are the gardens well tended?	1. Yes	2. No
		7.	Are there many high walls and gates for security?	1. Yes	2. No
		8.	Do the houses appear to be in good repair?	1. Yes	2. No

Section B: General and National Political Engagement and Attitudes

Let us start with some questions about the general political situation in South Africa.

B.1.	**Overall, do you think that South Africa is going in the right direction or the wrong direction?**		
	Going in the right direction	Going in the wrong direction	Don't know
	1	2	9

B.2.	**How interested are you in public affairs, i.e. politics and government?**			
	Not interested	Somewhat interested	Very interested	Don't know
	1	2	3	9

B.3. **What are the most important problems facing the country that the government should address?**

Interviewer: Do not read out options; record up to three responses.	B3.1. First Mention **One answer only**	B3.2. Second Mention **One answer only**	B3.3. Third Mention **One answer only**
1. Job Creation / unemployment	-1	-1	-1
2. Crime and security	-2	-2	-2
3. Housing	-3	-3	-3
4. Education	-4	-4	-4
5. HIV/AIDS	-5	-5	-5
6. Health Care	-6	-6	-6
7. Poverty	-7	-7	-7
8. Corruption	-8	-8	-8
9. Violence / safety / security	-9	-9	-9
10. Discrimination	-10	-10	-10
11. Immigration	-11	-11	-11
12. Other (Specify)			
99. Don't know			

B.4.	**How often do you discuss politics with your friends or family? Frequently, occasionally or never?**					
	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Don't Know
	0	1	2	3	4	9

In political matters, people talk of "left-wing" (radical) and "right-wing" (conservative) attitudes, how would you place the views of the following on this scale, generally speaking? HAND SHOW CARD

		Left ←				Middle/Moderate			→ Right			Don't know
B.5	The African National Congress (ANC)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
B.6	The Democratic Alliance (DA)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
B.7	The New National Party (NNP)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
B.8	Yourself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

	Interviewer: Do not read out the names of the officials, they are there to enable you to simply tick a box.	Correct Name Given	Other Name Given	Know but can't remember	Don't know
B.9	**Who is the Deputy President of South Africa?**	Jacob Zuma: -1	2	3	9
B.10	**Who is the Premier of the Western Cape?**	Martinus van Schalkwyk: -1	2	3	9
B.11	**Who is the Minister of Finance?**	Trevor Manuel: -1	2	3	9

B.12	**Does the government spend more money on education or on defence?**				
	More on Education	Same on both	More on Defence	Haven't had a chance to find out about it yet	Don't know
	1	2	3	4	9

Now let us discuss the present government of this country, both the holders of office and the political parties.

How well would you say the following office holders have performed in their jobs?

		Very well	Well	Badly	Very badly	Don't know
B.13	President Thabo Mbeki	1	2	3	4	9
B.14	Martinus van Schalkwyk, Premier of the Western Cape	1	2	3	4	9

And, how much do you trust the following officials and parties to do what is right: (Read out options)

		Never	Only some of the time	Most of the time	Always	You haven't heard enough about them to say	Don't know
B.15	President Thabo Mbeki	0	1	2	3	4	9
B.16	Premier van Schalkwyk	0	1	2	3	4	9
B.17	The African National Congress (ANC)	0	1	2	3	4	9
B.18	The Democratic Alliance (DA)	0	1	2	3	4	9
B.19	The New National Party (NNP)	0	1	2	3	4	9

Now I am going to read a series of statements. Please indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree with each one.

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
B.20	Politics and government sometimes seem so complicated that you can't really understand what is going on.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B.21	If you had to, you would be able to get together with others and make elected leaders listen.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B.22	You think that you do not have enough information about political life and the actions of the government	1	2	3	4	5	9
B.23	In this country, you must be very careful of what you say and do with regard to politics	1	2	3	4	5	9
B.24	Whether you vote or not, it will not make things different in the future	1	2	3	4	5	9
B.25	Who is in power makes a difference to what will happen in the future	1	2	3	4	5	9

B.26	**How interested do you think Members of Parliament are in what happens to you or hearing what people like you have to say?**	Not at all interested	Not very interested	Interested	Very interested	Don't know
		1	2	3	4	9

Many people do not vote in elections. Please tell me which statement is true for you:

	(Read out options)	**I decided not to vote**	**I was not able to vote**	**I voted in the elections**	**Election was not held in my area**	**Cannot remember**
B.27	The 1994 national elections?	1	2	3	4	9
B.28	The 1999 national elections?	1	2	3	4	9

Over the past twelve months, how often (if ever) have you contacted any of the following persons for help to solve a problem or to give them your views? (Read out options)

		Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't know
B.29	A City of Cape Town councillor	0	1	2	3	9
B.30	A member of the national or provincial parliaments	0	1	2	3	9
B.31	A political party official	0	1	2	3	9
B.32	Some other influential person	0	1	2	3	9

		Yes	No	Don't know
B.33	Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party? (If no, skip to B.35)	1	2	9

B.34 If yes, which one?

1. African Christian Democratic Party	1
2. African Muslim Party	2
3. African National Congress	3
4. Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging	4
5. Azanian People's Organization	5
6. Democratic Alliance	6
7. Freedom Front	7
8. Independent Democrats (Patricia De Lille)	8
10. Inkatha Freedom Party	10
11. New National Party	11
12. Minority Front	12
13. Pan Africanist Congress	13
14. United Christian Democratic Party	14
15. Other (specify)	15
99. Don't know	99

I now have a few questions about emigration:

		Yes	No
B.35	Are you a citizen or long term resident of South Africa?		
	(If no, skip to Section C)	1	2

		A great deal	Some	A little	None at all	Don't know
B.36	In the past year, how much thought have you given to moving to another country to live and work? (If none at all, go to question B.42)	1	2	3	4	9

If yes, have you done any of the following?

		Yes	No	Refused
B.37	Talked about it with friends or family?	1	2	9
B.38	Actively investigated your options?	1	2	9
B.39	Attended a seminar or seminars on emigration/immigration?	1	2	9
B.40	Applied for citizenship or a job abroad?	1	2	9
B.41	Other (specify)			

B.42	**What is the likelihood that you will emigrate from South Africa in the next five years?** (If unlikely or very unlikely, skip to question B.44)	Very likely	Likely	Unlikely	Very unlikely	Don't know
		1	2	3	4	9

B.43	**If very likely or likely, why? (Do not read out options. Record only one response)**	
	1. General economic situation	1
	2. The South African government	2
	3. Poor job prospects in South Africa	3
	4. Better money and opportunities abroad	4
	5. Family already abroad	5
	6. Security issues (eg. Crime)	6
	7. Other (specify)	7
B.44	**If unlikely or very unlikely, why?** (Do not read out options. Record only one response)	
	1. Too expensive/ can't afford to	1
	2. Cannot get a good job abroad	2
	3. Family are in South Africa	3
	4. Love South Africa/Cape Town	4
	5. Want to wait and see	5
	6. Other (specify)	6

Section C: Engagement with Local Government

Now let's talk about Cape Town.

C.1	**Here is a list of services provided by government in Cape Town. Which of these services should the city council devote most of its money and efforts to? Which would be second? And third?**			
	(Show response card list to respondent)	C.1 Most Important One answer only	C.2 Second Most Important One answer only	C.3 Third Most Important One answer only
	1. Electricity			
	2. Water			
	3. Health clinics or hospitals			
	4. Bus and train services			
	5. Minibus taxi Services			
	6. Police			
	7. Road repairs and construction			
	8. Sewage			
	9. Housing			
	10. Other (specify)			
	99. Don't know **(DO NOT READ)**			

For each of these services, would you say that you are very dissatisfied, dissatisfied, satisfied or very satisfied?

		Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	Don't know
C.4	Electricity	1	2	3	4	9
C.5	Water	1	2	3	4	9
C.6	Public health clinics or hospitals	1	2	3	4	9
C.7	Bus and train services	1	2	3	4	9
C.8	Minibus taxi services	1	2	3	4	9
C.9	Police	1	2	3	4	9
C.10	Road repairs and construction	1	2	3	4	9
C.11	Public Schools	1	2	3	4	9
C.12	Housing	1	2	3	4	9

Can you tell me who presently holds the following office. (Don't give name)

		Correct Name Given	Other Name Given	Know but can't remember	Don't know
C.13	The Mayor of Cape Town	Nomaindia Mfeketo: 1	2	3	9
C.14	Your local ward councillor	Name (Write in):		3	9

C.15	**Now I'd like to talk about your ward councillor. Does the ward councillor in this area report back to the voters on his/her activities? (If no or don't know, go to question C.18)**	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	9

C.16 **If yes, about how often? (Read out options)**

About once a week	About once a month	Every few months	About once a year	Don't know
1	2	3	4	9

C.17 **If yes, in what way? (Read out options)**

Public meeting	Pamphlets	Through others	Other	Don't know
1	2	3	4	9

	Interviewer: If yes to any of the following, probe frequency	No/ Never	Yes, once	Yes, a few times	Yes, many times	Don't know
C.18	Have you ever spoken with the ward councillor face to face or on the phone?	1	2	3	4	9
C.19	How often have you written a letter to the ward councillor?	1	2	3	4	9
C.20	How often have you attended public meetings where the ward councillor spoke?	1	2	3	4	9

		Not at all interested	Not very interested	Interested	Very interested	Don't know
C21	**How interested do you think City Councillors are in what happens to people like you or hearing what people like you have to say?**					
		1	2	3	4	9

Now I'd like your opinion on certain office holders in Cape Town:

How well would you say the following office holders have performed in their jobs?

		Very well	Well	Badly	Very badly	Don't know
C.22	Nomaindia Mfeketo, the mayor of Cape Town	1	2	3	4	9
C.23	The members of the Cape Town City Council	1	2	3	4	9
C.24	Your local ward councillor	1	2	3	4	9

And, how much do you trust the following officials to do what is right: (Read out options)

		Never	Only some of the time	Most of the time	Always	You haven't heard enough about them to say	Don't know
C.25	Mayor Mfeketo	0	1	2	3	4	9
C.26	The Cape Town City Council	0	1	2	3	4	9
C.27	Your local ward councillor	0	1	2	3	4	9

C.28 **And, how many officials in the local government do you think are involved in corruption?**

All	Most	Some	A few	None	Don't know
1	2	3	4	5	9

In the past year, how often (if ever) have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift or do a favour for a government official to:

		Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't know
C.29	... fix a traffic ticket	0	1	2	3	9
C.30	... get a license or some other document	0	1	2	3	9
C.31	... get services such as electricity or water	0	1	2	3	9
C.32	... get help finding a house	0	1	2	3	9

In some neighbourhoods there are problems. I shall read a list of problems. For each, can you please tell me how common it is in your neighbourhood, and where or who you would go to solve the problem.

		C33. How often does this problem occur in your area? (READ OUT OPTIONS, circle one response) (SHOW CARD, circle one only)	C34. To where do/would you go to solve this problem? (SHOW CARD, circle one only)
C.33 C.34			1: local government / councillor 2: national or provincial government / MP 3: some other influential person 4: a relative 5: a neighbour 6: a local organisation 7: contact police 8: no one 10: do it myself 11: other (specify) 99: don't know
	1. Noisy neighbours or loud parties	0 Never 1 Rarely 2 Sometimes 3 Often 4 Very often 9 Don't know	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 99
	2. Graffiti on walls or buildings	0 Never 1 Rarely 2 Sometimes 3 Often 4 Very often 9 Don't know	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 99
	3. Teenagers hanging around on the streets	0 Never 1 Rarely 2 Sometimes 3 Often 4 Very often 9 Don't know	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 99
	4. Drunks or tramps on the streets	0 Never 1 Rarely 2 Sometimes 3 Often 4 Very often 9 Don't know	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 99

C.33 C.34	**... continued**	**C33. How often does this problem occur in your area?** (READ OUT OPTIONS, circle one response)	**C34. To where do/would you go to solve this problem? (SHOW CARD, circle one only)** 1: local government / councillor 2: national or provincial government / MP 3: some other influential person 4: a relative 5: a neighbour 6: a local organisation 7: contact police 8: no one 10: do it myself 11: other (specify) 99: don't know
	5. Vandalism and deliberate damage to property	0 Never 1 Rarely 2 Sometimes 3 Often 4 Very often 9 Don't know	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 99
	6. Insults or attacks on someone's race or colour	0 Never 1 Rarely 2 Sometimes 3 Often 4 Very often 9 Don't know	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 99
	7. Homes broken into	0 Never 1 Rarely 2 Sometimes 3 Often 4 Very often 9 Don't know	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 99
	8. Cars broken into or stolen	0 Never 1 Rarely 2 Sometimes 3 Often 4 Very often 9 Don't know	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 99
	9. People attacked in the streets	0 Never 1 Rarely 2 Sometimes 3 Often 4 Very often 9 Don't know	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 99

Now, with the regard to the following municipal elections, please tell me which statement is true for you: (Read out options)

		I decided not to vote	I was not able to vote	I voted in the elections	Election was not held in my area	Cannot remember
C.35	The 1999 municipal election	1	2	3	4	9
		I would not vote	I would not be able to vote	I would vote	The election will not be in my area	Don't know
C.36	The next municipal election in 2004	1	2	3	4	9
C.37	If a municipal election was held tomorrow	1	2	3	4	9

C.38	**How do you pay for electricity?**	Municipal account	1
		Pay landlord/landlady	2
		Prepaid electricity	3
		I don't pay	4
		I don't have electricity	5
		I don't know	9
C.39	**In the past twelve months, have you ever been unable to pay your electricity bill?**	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	9
C.40	**In the past twelve months, has your electricity ever been disconnected because you were unable to pay?**	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	9
C.41	**How do you pay for water?**	Municipal account	1
		Pay landlord	2
		Prepaid water	3
		I don't pay	4
		I don't have a tap	5
		I don't know	9
C.42	**In the past twelve months, have you ever been unable to pay your water bill?**	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	9
C.43	**In the past twelve months, has your water ever been disconnected because you were unable to pay?**	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	9

C.44	**If your electricity was disconnected by mistake, what would be the best way to get it reconnected?** **Interviewer: Do not read options. Spontaneous mention, single mention.**	
	Just wait until it is reconnected	1
	Apply to have it reconnected	2
	Contact a friend who works for the city or Eskom	3
	Offer someone who works for Eskom a payment, or favour to get it reconnected	4
	Get someone you know to reconnect it (not an official)/ Reconnect it yourself	5
	Other	6
	Don't know	9

Section D: Civil Society

For the following statements, would you say that you agree or disagree with the sentiments expressed?

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
D.1	Generally speaking most people can be trusted	1	2	3	4	5	9
D.2	People, given the chance, would try to take advantage of you	1	2	3	4	5	9
D.3	People in your area will generally help each other out	1	2	3	4	5	9
D.4	If people in your area saw someone breaking into your house, they would do something to try and stop it	1	2	3	4	5	9
D.5	People in your area would keep an eye on your home if you were away for a time	1	2	3	4	5	9

In the last twelve months, how often (if ever) have you or anyone in your family ... (Probe for frequency)							
		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Don't know
D.6	Felt unsafe in your own home	0	1	2	3	4	9
D.7	Had your home broken into or had something stolen	0	1	2	3	4	9
D.8	Felt unsafe walking in your area during the day	0	1	2	3	4	9
D.9	Felt unsafe walking in your area at night	0	1	2	3	4	9
D.10	Been physically attacked	0	1	2	3	4	9

In the last twelve months, how often have you or your family _____? Was it: READ OUT OPTIONS						
		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Don't know
D.11	Gone without enough food to eat	0	1	2	3	9
D.12	Gone without medicine or medical treatment you needed	0	1	2	3	9
D.13	Gone without a cash income	0	1	2	3	9
D.14	Gone without enough clean water to drink and cook with	0	1	2	3	9
D.15	Gone without shelter	0	1	2	3	9
D.16	Gone without electricity in your home	0	1	2	3	9
D.17	Gone without enough fuel to heat your home or cook your food	0	1	2	3	9
And in the last month, how much of the time _____? Was it often, sometimes, rarely, or never?						
		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Don't know
D.18	Has your physical health reduced the amount of work you would normally do inside or outside your home	0	1	2	3	9
D.19	Have you been so worried or anxious that you have felt tired, worn out, or exhausted	0	1	2	3	9

Now, thinking of your family (both immediate and broader) and your neighbours:

D.20 D.21		D.20 How often do you visit or talk to them?	D.21 How often do you call them on the phone or email them?
	1. Family or relatives	1. Everyday 2. Several times a week 3. Several times a month 4. Several times a year 5. Less often	1. Everyday 2. Several times a week 3. Several times a month 4. Several times a year 5. Less often
	2. Neighbours	1. Everyday 2. Several times a week 3. Several times a month 4. Several times a year 5. Less often	1. Everyday 2. Several times a week 3. Several times a month 4. Several times a year 5. Less often

People sometimes ask other people to help them with something:			
D.22 D.23		D.22 **How comfortable would you be asking a neighbour to:**	D.23 **How comfortable would you be asking a member of your family or a relative to:**
	1. collect a prescription for you if you were sick	1. Comfortable 2. Neither 3. Uncomfortable 9. Don't know	1. Comfortable 2. Neither 3. Uncomfortable 9. Don't know
	2. help you by holding a ladder or moving furniture	1. Comfortable 2. Neither 3. Uncomfortable 9. Don't know	1. Comfortable 2. Neither 3. Uncomfortable 9. Don't know
	3. lend you R20 if you needed it	1. Comfortable 2. Neither 3. Uncomfortable 9. Don't know	1. Comfortable 2. Neither 3. Uncomfortable 9. Don't know
	4. lend you R200 if you needed it	1. Comfortable 2. Neither 3. Uncomfortable 9. Don't know	1. Comfortable 2. Neither 3. Uncomfortable 9. Don't know
	5. discuss a problem you had with your husband/wife or partner	1. Comfortable 2. Neither 3. Uncomfortable 9. Don't know	1. Comfortable 2. Neither 3. Uncomfortable 9. Don't know
	6. spend time with you if you were feeling depressed or down	1. Comfortable 2. Neither 3. Uncomfortable 9. Don't know	1. Comfortable 2. Neither 3. Uncomfortable 9. Don't know
	7. give you advice about an important change in your life – a new job or moving area	1. Comfortable 2. Neither 3. Uncomfortable 9. Don't know	1. Comfortable 2. Neither 3. Uncomfortable 9. Don't know

Now I am going to show you a list of groups or organisations that people join or attend:
Interviewer: **SHOW CARD**. Ask across, each series of questions 1 - 4 one group at a time.
In the fifth column (most involved) tick ONE BOX ONLY.

		1. Are you a leader or active member or inactive member of this kind of organisation?	2. How often, if ever, do you or have you attended meetings?	3. Have you contributed money to this group over the last year?	4. What proportion of the other members of the group are the same race and class as yourself?	5. In which of these groups are you most involved? ONE circle ONLY in this column
D.24	Religious group (e.g. church or mosque)	1. Official leader 2. Active member 3. Inactive member 4. Not a member 9. Don't know	0. Never 1. Rarely 2. Sometimes 3. Often 9. Don't know	1. Yes 2. No 9. Don't know	1. All/almost all 2. Most 3. Some 4. None/few 9. Don't know	-1
D.25	Trade union	1. Official leader 2. Active member 3. Inactive member 4. Not a member 9. Don't know	0. Never 1. Rarely 2. Sometimes 3. Often 9. Don't know	1. Yes 2. No 9. Don't know	1. All/almost all 2. Most 3. Some 4. None/few 9. Don't know	-2
D.26	Professional or business association	1. Official leader 2. Active member 3. Inactive member 4. Not a member 9. Don't know	0. Never 1. Rarely 2. Sometimes 3. Often 9. Don't know	1. Yes 2. No 9. Don't know	1. All/almost all 2. Most 3. Some 4. None/few 9. Don't know	-3
D.27	Group that does things for the community	1. Official leader 2. Active member 3. Inactive member 4. Not a member 9. Don't know	0. Never 1. Rarely 2. Sometimes 3. Often 9. Don't know	1. Yes 2. No 9. Don't know	1. All/almost all 2. Most 3. Some 4. None/few 9. Don't know	-4
D.28	Local self-help association (stokvel, burial)	1. Official leader 2. Active member 3. Inactive member 4. Not a member 9. Don't know	0. Never 1. Rarely 2. Sometimes 3. Often 9. Don't know	1. Yes 2. No 9. Don't know	1. All/almost all 2. Most 3. Some 4. None/few 9. Don't know	-5
D.29	Neighbourhood watch or street committee	1. Official leader 2. Active member 3. Inactive member 4. Not a member 9. Don't know	0. Never 1. Rarely 2. Sometimes 3. Often 9. Don't know	1. Yes 2. No 9. Don't know	1. All/almost all 2. Most 3. Some 4. None/few 9. Don't know	-6
D.30	Group concerned with local matters such as schools (eg. PTA)	1. Official leader 2. Active member 3. Inactive member 4. Not a member 9. Don't know	0. Never 1. Rarely 2. Sometimes 3. Often 9. Don't know	1. Yes 2. No 9. Don't know	1. All/almost all 2. Most 3. Some 4. None/few 9. Don't know	-7
D.31	Sports club or organisation	1. Official leader 2. Active member 3. Inactive member 4. Not a member 9. Don't know	0. Never 1. Rarely 2. Sometimes 3. Often 9. Don't know	1. Yes 2. No 9. Don't know	1. All/almost all 2. Most 3. Some 4. None/few 9. Don't know	-8
D.32	Another social club (eg. Knitting, book club, choir)	1. Official leader 2. Active member 3. Inactive member 4. Not a member 9. Don't know	0. Never 1. Rarely 2. Sometimes 3. Often 9. Don't know	1. Yes 2. No 9. Don't know	1. All/almost all 2. Most 3. Some 4. None/few 9. Don't know	-9
D.33	A political party	1. Official leader 2. Active member 3. Inactive member 4. Not a member 9. Don't know	0. Never 1. Rarely 2. Sometimes 3. Often 9. Don't know	1. Yes 2. No 9. Don't know	1. All/almost all 2. Most 3. Some 4. None/few 9. Don't know	-10
D.34	Other (specify)	1. Official leader 2. Active member 3. Inactive member 4. Not a member 9. Don't know	0. Never 1. Rarely 2. Sometimes 3. Often 9. Don't know	1. Yes 2. No 9. Don't know	1. All/almost all 2. Most 3. Some 4. None/few 9. Don't know	-11

In some areas in Cape Town there are street committees or neighbourhood watches or other groups like these:

D.35	**Is there such an organisation in your street?**	Yes	No	Don't know
		1	2 – go to Q. D37	9 – go to Q.D37

D.36	**How well would you say the street committee is performing its job?**					
		Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all well	Don't know
		1	2	3	4	9

In many areas, there are 'civic organisations' or ratepayers associations for people who live in different streets: eg. Hout Bay Residents Association

D.37	**Is there such an organisation in your area?**	Yes	No	Don't know
		1	2– go to Q. D39	9– go to Q. D39

D.38	**How well would you say this organisation is performing its job?**					
		Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all well	Don't know
		1	2	3	4	9

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the sources from which you get news or information about politics. How often do you get information from the following sources?

		Never	Several times a month	Several times a week	Every day	Don't know
D.39	Radio	0	1	2	3	9
D.40	SABC Television	0	1	2	3	9
D.41	E-TV	0	1	2	3	9
D.42	Newspapers	0	1	2	3	9
D.43	The internet	0	1	2	3	9

Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you have done any of them during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance?

		No, never	No, but would if had chance	Yes, once	Yes, often	Don't know
D.44	Attended a community meeting	1	2	3	4	9
D.45	Got together with others to raise an issue	1	2	3	4	9
D.46	Attended a demonstration or protest march	1	2	3	4	9
D.47	Signed a petition	1	2	3	4	9
D.48	Joined a boycott	1	2	3	4	9
D.49	Joined a strike	1	2	3	4	9
D.50	Occupied a building or factory	1	2	3	4	9

How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent a person infected with HIV/AIDS from.....? (ASK FOR EACH STATEMENT LISTED BELOW), very likely, likely, not likely or not at all likely?

		Very likely	Likely	Not likely	Not at all likely	Don't know
D.51	From teaching your children	1	2	3	4	9
D.52	From moving into your neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	9
D.53	From operating a business in your area	1	2	3	4	9
D.54	From sitting in the same classrooms as your child	1	2	3	4	9

Section E: Social Attitudes.

E.1	**Taking all things together, would you say you are ... ? READ OUT OPTIONS**				
	Very happy	Quite happy	Not very happy	Not at all happy	Don't know
	1	2	3	4	9
E. 2	**How much control do you feel you have over what happens in your life? READ OUT OPTIONS**				
	I am totally in control	I control most things	I have little control	I have no control	Don't know
	1	2	3	4	9

Please say, for each of the following, how important it is in your life. READ OUT OPTIONS

		Very important	Rather important	Not very important	Not at all important	Don't know
E.3	Family	1	2	3	4	9
E.4	Friends	1	2	3	4	9
E.5	Leisure time	1	2	3	4	9
E.6	Politics	1	2	3	4	9
E.7	Work	1	2	3	4	9
E.8	Religion	1	2	3	4	9

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements on society and your values. READ OUT OPTIONS

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
E.9	It is easy for you to like people in Cape Town who have different views from your own	1	2	3	4	5	9
E.10	Exposure to different cultures in Cape Town enriches your life	1	2	3	4	5	9
E.11	It is desirable to create one community out of all the different groups who live in Cape Town	1	2	3	4	5	9
E.12	A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled	1	2	3	4	5	9
E.13	Marriage is an outdated institution	1	2	3	4	5	9
E.14	It is okay for a woman to have a child as a single parent if she doesn't want to have a stable relationship with a man.	1	2	3	4	5	9
E.15	Individuals should have the chance to enjoy complete sexual freedom	1	2	3	4	5	9
E.16	We all have a responsibility to give our time and resources in order to develop our communities	1	2	3	4	5	9
E.17	You have a responsibility to act as a role model to young people in my community	1	2	3	4	5	9
E.18	You have a responsibility to stay and help build your community, even if it means passing up a better job or moving to a nicer area	1	2	3	4	5	9

	In your opinion: (Read out options)	Definitely yes	Probably yes	Probably no	Definitely no	Refuse to answer	Don't know
E.19	Sex before marriage is wrong	1	2	3	4	98	99
E.20	Abortion is wrong	1	2	3	4	98	99
E.21	It is okay for a married man to have sex with someone other than his wife	1	2	3	4	98	99
E.22	It is okay for a married woman to have sex with a someone other than her husband	1	2	3	4	98	99

	In your opinion: (Read out options)	Definitely yes	Probably yes	Probably no	Definitely no	Don't know
E.23	Do you think the government should provide free health care for people who need it?	1	2	4	5	9
E.24	Do you think the government should provide free health care for people with AIDS?	1	2	4	5	9
E.25	Would it be a good idea for the government to give job training to unemployed young people?	1	2	4	5	9
E.26	Should youth who are infected with HIV get this job training?	1	2	4	5	9
E.27	Would you be willing to look after a close family member with AIDS?	1	2	4	5	9
E.28	Imagine that you find out that one of your friends is HIV infected. Would you still be friends with them?	1	2	4	5	9
E.29	Would you drink from the same bottle of water as an HIV infected friend?	1	2	4	5	9
E.30	Imagine you meet someone you really like and he/she tells you that he/she is HIV positive, would you still go out on a "date" with him/her?	1	2	4	5	9
E.31	Do you think the names of people with HIV/AIDS should be made public?	1	2	4	5	9
E.32	Do you think that many people who get HIV infected through sex have only themselves to blame?	1	2	4	5	9

E.33	**When you hear the word "AIDS" what community or group of people first comes to mind?**	**Write in response. Single mention.**	
E.34	**Between a rich and a poor person: Who is more likely to get HIV/AIDS?**	A rich person	1
		A poor person	2
		Neither / the same	3
		Don't know	9
E.35	**Between a black and a white person: Who is more likely to get HIV/AIDS?**	A black person	1
		A white person	2
		Neither / the same	3
		Don't know	9
E.36	**Between a man and a woman: Who is more likely to get HIV/AIDS?**	A man	1
		A woman	2
		Neither / the same	3
		Don't know	9

Now we would like to know how you feel about different people in South Africa. Some people say that they like some groups and dislike others. How much do you like or dislike the following groups? Please use the scale where 0 means DISLIKE them very much and 10 means LIKE them very much. Use 5 if you neither dislike nor like them. (SHOW CARD)

	Group	Dislike ←										→ Like	Refuse to answer	Don't know enough about them
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
E.37	Blacks	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
E.38	Whites	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
E.39	Coloureds	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
E.40	Jews	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
E.41	Muslims	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
E.42	Christians	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
E.43	Illegal immigrants	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
E.44	Legal immigrants	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
E.45	Homosexuals	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
E.46	People who are sick with AIDS	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
E.47	People with tuberculosis	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
E.48	People with other sexually transmitted diseases	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99
E.49	People with cancer	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	99

Section F: Distributive Justice

Here are some statements about who gets what in society, and why. For each of these statements, do you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or disagree strongly?

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
F.1	If you work hard you can get rich in South Africa today	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.2	It is easy for children from poor families to get a good education	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.3	If you get a good education, it is easy to become rich in SA now	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.4	The government should ensure that children from poor families have the same opportunities as children from richer families	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.5	People today are better off than their parents were twenty-five years ago	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.6	The value of the state old age pension should be increased	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.7	The government old age pension should be increased even if it means that people like you have to pay higher taxes	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.8	Many poor people are poor because they are lazy	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.9	Poor people pay too much tax	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.10	People like you pay too much tax	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.11	Taxation should be increased so that more money is available for the government to spend	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.12	The government should reduce the differences in income between rich and poor	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.13	The government should provide everyone with a guaranteed basic income (like it does for old people through the old-age grant)	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.14	The government should help the unemployed	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.15	Workers go on strike too often	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.19	Workers cannot get a fair wage unless they go on strike sometimes	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.20	It is bad for the economy for workers to go on strike	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.21	People will not take on extra responsibilities at work unless they are paid to do so	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.22	Large differences in income are necessary for South Africa's prosperity	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.23	The country needs more investment if the economy is to grow with a rising standard of living	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.24	People in this country live in need because society treats them unfairly	1	2	3	4	5	9
F.25	Most poor people have the chance to escape poverty	1	2	3	4	5	9

Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left, **10** means you agree completely with the statement on the right; **and** if **your views fall somewhere in between**, you can choose any number in between. **(SHOW CARD)**

F.26	Incomes should be made more equal				←	→				We need larger income differences as incentives for individual effort
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
F.27	Private ownership of business and and industry should be increased				←	→				Government ownership of business industry should be increased
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
F.28	The government should take responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for				←	→				People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
F.29	Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas				←	→				Competition is harmful. It brings out the worst in people
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
F.30	In the long run, hard work usually brings a better life				←	→				Hard work doesn't generally bring success, its more a matter of luck and connections
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
F.31	People can only get rich at the expense of others				←	→				Wealth can grow so there's enough for everyone
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
F.32	One should be cautious about making major changes				←	→				You will never achieve much in life unless you act boldly
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
F.33	Ideas that have stood the test of time are generally best				←	→				New ideas are generally better than old ones
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Consider the following two scenarios about court cases and, in each case, say which person is most likely to be found guilty:

F.34 **A white person and a black person each appear in court charged with a crime they did not commit:**

White person is more likely	They have the same chance	Black person is more likely	Don't know
1	2	3	9

F.35 **Now suppose a rich person and a poor person appear in court charged with a crime they did not commit:**

Rich person more likely	They have the same chance	Poor person more likely	Don't know
1	2	3	9

F.36 **Some people say that it is better for a country if different racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions. Others say that it is better if these groups adopt and blend into larger society. Which of these views comes closest to your own?**

Maintain distinct	Adopt and blend	Don't know
1	2	9

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about the problem of poverty in this country:

F.37	**Would you say that today a larger share, about the same share, or a smaller share of the people in this country are living in poverty than ten or twenty years ago?**			
	A larger share	About the same share	A smaller share	Don't know
	1	2	3	9

F.38	**Do you think that what the government is doing for people in poverty in this country is about the right amount, too much or too little?**			
	Too much	About right	Too little	Don't know
	1	2	3	9

F.39	**How would you describe the wages or salary you are paid for the job you do? (READ OUT)**							
	On the high side	Reasonable	A bit low	Very low	Student	Unemployed	Pensioner	Don't know
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

Would you say that the following professionals and labourers are paid what they deserve, too much or too little?

		Too much	About right	Too little	Don't know
F.40	Parliamentarians	1	2	3	9
F.41	Local councillors	1	2	3	9
F.42	Doctors	1	2	3	9
F.43	Company Managers	1	2	3	9
F.44	Electricians/Plumbers	1	2	3	9
F.45	Teachers	1	2	3	9
F.46	Nurses	1	2	3	9
F.47	Factory workers	1	2	3	9
F.48	Casual Labourers	1	2	3	9
F.49	Domestic workers	1	2	3	9

Section G: Vignettes

G.1	Until the 1960s Mr Abraham owned and lived in a house in a nice neighbourhood. But, because he was classified Coloured, he was forced to move away in terms of the Group Areas Act. **Should the Government now compensate Mr Abraham because his house was taken away?** Interviewer: do not read out options	1. Yes	
		2. No	
		3. Maybe / It depends	
		9. Don't know	
G.3	The government provides grants to some people in need, especially the elderly. I am going to describe a situation, and then ask you what the government should do to help the person involved. A worker has been retrenched from a company. He is a white man, in his 40s, married and with children. He is a dependable worker and is actively looking for work. **Should the Government provide financial assistance to this person whilst he/she is unemployed?**	1. Yes **Now go to G.5**	
		2. No **Now go to G.8**	
		3. Maybe / it depends	
		9. Don't know	
G.5	If YES: How much financial assistance should the Government provide per month?	R	
G.6	If G.5: Suppose that the Government said it had to increase taxes to pay for these grants to the unemployed. Do you still believe that the Government should provide financial assistance to this person?	1. Yes	
		2. No	
		3. Maybe / it depends	
		9. Don't know	
G.7	Suppose that a friend told you that people like this person spend their money on alcohol. Should the Government still provide financial assistance to this person?	1. Yes	
		2. No	
		3. Maybe / it depends	
		9. Don't know	
G.8	If NO: Suppose that this person was going to get sick or even die because he/she could not afford food. Should the government then provide financial assistance to this person?	1. Yes	
		2. No	
		3. Maybe / it depends	
		9. Don't know	
G.9	Suppose that this person's children were going to go hungry and drop out of school. Should the government then provide financial assistance to this person?	1. Yes	
		2. No	
		3. Maybe / it depends	
		9. Don't know	

Many people in South Africa cannot find work. In your opinion, how important is each of the following factors in understanding why people cannot find work? Please answer on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 indicates very important and 5 indicates unimportant.

		1. Very important	2	3	4	5. Unimportant	9. Don't know
G.10	Apartheid						
G.11	Current government policies						
G.12	Bad luck						
G.13	Personal irresponsibility or laziness						

Section H: Socioeconomic and Demographic Background

Finally, here are some questions about you, what you do, and so on.

H.1	**INTERVIEWER:** Record the gender of the respondent.	1. Male	1
		2. Female	2
H.2	**How old are you?**	Age in completed years:	
H.3	**Where were you born?**	1. Cape Town	1
		2. Outside Cape Town but in Western Cape	2
		3. Outside Western Cape but in South Africa	3
		4. Outside South Africa but in Africa	4
		5. Outside Africa	5
		9. Don't know	9
H.4	**What is your population group?**	1. Black/ African	1
		2. Coloured	2
		3. Indian	3
		4. White	4
		5. Other	5
		9. Don't know	9
H.5	**What language do you speak most often at home?**	1. English	1
		2. Xhosa	2
		3. Afrikaans	3
		4. Other (SPECIFY):	4

H.6	**Which of the following best describes you? Interviewer: Show Card**	
	1. Above all, I am black	1
	2. Above all, I am white	2
	3. Above all, I am coloured	3
	4. Above all, I am a Xhosa	4
	5. Above all, I am Zulu	5
	6. Above all, I am Afrikaans	6
	7. Above all, I am Christian	7
	8. Above all, I am Jewish	8
	10. Above all, I am Muslim	10
	11. Above all, I am South African	11
	12. Other (specify)	12
	99. Don't know	99

H.7	What is your religion? **ONE MENTION ONLY**	1. Anglican	1
		2. Baptist	2
		3. Catholic	3
		4. Dutch Reformed/Hervormd/Gereformeerd	4
		5. Full Gospel	5
		6. Jewish	6
		7. Methodist (including AME)/Presbyterian	7
		8. Muslim	8
		10. New/Old Apostolic	10
		11. Non-Denominational Christian	11
		12. Pentecostal/Charismatic	12
		13. Zionist	13
		14. None	14
		15. Other (SPECIFY):	15
		99. Don't know	99
H.8	What is the highest level of education you have successfully completed? (Do not count the final year you were in school if you did not successfully complete the year.)	0. No schooling/Grade 0/Little Sub-A	0
		1. Grade 1/Sub A	1
		2. Grade 2/Sub B	2
		3. Grade 3/Standard 1	3
		4. Grade 4/Standard 2	4
		5. Grade 5/Standard 3	5
		6. Grade 6/Standard 4	6
		7. Grade 7/Standard 5	7
		8. Grade 8/Standard 6	8
		9. Grade 9/Standard 7	9
		10. Grade 10/Standard 8	10
		11. Grade 11/Standard 9	11
		12. Grade 12/Standard 10/Matric	12
		13. Diploma/Certificate **from an institution other than a Technikon/University**	13
		14. Undergraduate Diploma/Certificate **from a Technikon** or University	14
		15. Undergraduate degree from a **Technikon**	15
		16. Undergraduate degree from **a University**	16
		17. Postgraduate degree or diploma	17
		18. Other (SPECIFY):	18
		99. Don't know	99

H.9	Are you currently studying?	Yes	No	Don't know
		1	2	9
H.10	If yes, at what level? (**Use codes above in H.8; write one in**)			

H.11	**What is your marital status?**	Single	Married	Cohabiting	Separated	Divorced	Widowed	Other	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
H.12	**Do you have any children?**	Yes		No		Don't know			
		1		2 – go to QH14		9 – go to QH14			
H.13	**If yes, do they live with you or elsewhere?**	With me	With relatives	Elsewhere		Don't know			
		1	2	3		9			

H.14	**How many rooms are in this residence? Include bedrooms, living rooms, kitchens, lounges dining rooms as well as backyard shacks if they are part of the household.** Exclude bathrooms, toilets and passages.	**WRITE IN THE NUMBER:** Rooms	
H.15	**Does the family own or rent this residence?** One mention only.	1. Own	1
		2. Rent	2
		3. Other	3
		9. Don't know	9
H.16	**What is the most often used source of drinking water in this residence?** One mention only.	1. Tap inside house	1
		2. Tap in yard	2
		3. Tap outside yard (i.e. public)	3
		4. Other (SPECIFY):	4
H.17	**What kind of toilet does this residence have?** One mention only.	1. Flush toilet	1
		2. Other	2
		3. None	3
H.18	**Is this residence connected to an electricity supply?**	1. Yes	1
		2. No	2

I now want to ask you some questions about any work that you are doing now or have done recently, and also what you might have done to look for work. When we ask about work in these questions, we are asking about anything that you have done for money, for payment in kind (such as food) or for family gain; this includes making money from selling things. Please tell us even if the work was not a proper job.

H.19	During the past 12 months, did you do any work for pay or gain?	1. Yes	1
		2. No	2
H.20	Do you currently have a job, or do anything to earn money, or do any work to help your family or friends earn money?	1. Yes	1
		2. No. **If NO, go to H22**	2
H.21	Do you have a regular pay job for one employer, do regular work for several employers at the same time, do odd jobs, work for yourself, or work for a family business? Multiple mentions possible	1. Regular pay job	1
		2. Work for several employers	2
		3. Odd jobs	3
		4. Work for self	4
		5. Work for family business	5

I am going to ask about your *current or most recent* work. If you have more than one job or business, you should answer about the one in which you spend the most time.				
H.22	What kind of work do/did you do in your current or most recent job or business? INTERVIEWER: Write the person's occupation or job title. (Record at least two words: e.g. waiter/waitress in restaurant, shop assistant, supermarket cashier) Identify precisely what the person's occupation is			
H.23	What is/was the name of your employer or the company that you work for? We ask this to help us understand the work that you do. The information is completely confidential. INTERVIEWER: If respondent works at a private household, tick box.		PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD	
H.24	What is/was the main business of your place of work? What does/did it produce, sell or do? INTERVIEWER: Main product or service of the employer or company, e.g. builds houses, sells food, repairs cars.			
H.26	Have you looked for work in the last month (including looking for a new job, if you already have one)?	1.	Yes (if YES, now skip to H.29)	1
		2.	No	2
H.27	Do you want work, even if you are not looking for it?	1.	Yes	1
		2.	No (if NO, now skip to H.30)	2
		8.	Don't know	9
H.28	Why are you not looking for work? Do not read out options; multimentions possible	1.	There are no jobs available / I was discouraged by the lack of jobs / there are too many people looking for work	1
		2.	It is too expensive to look	2
		3.	I cannot be bothered	3
		4.	I don't have time	4
		5.	I am at school / I am studying	5
		6.	I don't need money	6
		7.	I am too busy at home	7
		8.	Other (SPECIFY):	8
		9.	Don't know	9
H.29	What have you done to look for work in the past month, or what did you do when you last looked for work? Do not read out options; multimentions possible	1.	Sought assistance from members of my household	1
		2.	Sought assistance from friends / relatives who are not in my household	2
		3.	Contacted an employment agency or trade union / Placed or answered advertisement(s) / Looked in newspapers or on noticeboards	3
		4.	Enquired at workplaces, factories, homes, or other possible employers	4
		5.	Waited at a place where casual workers are hired	5
		6.	Other (SPECIFY):	6
		9.	Don't know	9

INTERVIEWER READ OUT: I would like to ask you a few questions about how families get and spend money. Remember that anything you tell us is confidential.

H.30 **How much money does this household receive in a typical month from everybody (including all earnings, pensions, grants and so on)?**

Interviewer: probe respondent for best guess. Use leading zeros.

Rand

R	R	R	R	R	R

8 - Refused

9 - Don't know

Interviewer: if respondent does not know or will not provide a specific income amount, show them the income card and ask the following:

H.31 **Referring to the categories on the card, how much money does this household receive in a typical month (including all earnings, pensions, grants and so on)?**

Interviewer: only answer if don't know or refused previous question

0.	No income	0
1.	R1 - R100	1
2.	R101 - R150	2
3.	R151 - R200	3
4.	R201 - R300	4
5.	R301 - R400	5
6.	R401 - R500	6
7.	R501 - R600	7
8.	R601 - R800	8
9.	R801 - R1 000	9
10.	R1 001 - R1 250	10
11.	R1 251 - R1 500	11
12.	R1 501 - R1 750	12
13.	R1 751 - R2 000	13
14.	R2 001 - R2 500	14
15.	R2 501 - R3 000	15
16.	R3 001 - R4 000	16
17.	R4 001 - R5 000	17
18.	R5 001 - R6 000	18
19.	R6 001 - R8 000	19
20.	R8 001 - R10 000	20
21.	R10 001 - R12 000	21
22.	R12 001 – R14 000	22
23.	R14 001 – R16 000	23
24.	R16 001 – R18 000	24
25.	R18 001 – R20 000	25
26.	R20 001 – R22 500	26
27.	R22 501 – R25 000	27
28.	R25 001 – R30 000	28
29.	R30 000 and over	29
98.	Refused	98
99.	Don't know	99

Section J: Interview Evaluation

To be completed by Interviewer only

Finally, here are some questions about you, what you do, and so on.

J.1	Record time at end of interview.		h	h	:	m	m	24 hour clock

J.2 **Language(s) used during interview?**	**MULTIMENTIONS POSSIBLE.**	
	English	1
	Xhosa	2
	Afrikaans	3
	Other	4

J.3 **How would you describe the respondent's vocabulary (the variety of words the respondent used during the interview to express his/her thoughts)?**	Below average	1
	Average	2
	Above average	3

J.4 **In general, how did the respondent act towards you during the interview?**	Hostile	1
	Neither hostile nor friendly	2
	Friendly	3

J.5 **Any additional comments about specific questions or data quality?**	

J.6 **POPULATION GROUP OF INTERVIEWER:**	African	1
	White	2
	Coloured	3
	Other	4

J.7 **GENDER OF INTERVIEWER:**	Male	1
	Female	2

Appendix B

Analytical Techniques : Factor and Reliability Analyses

Cape Area Study 2003 has a sample of 588 individuals, all of whom are over-18 and South African citizens, from the Cape Metropolitan Area. The data was analysed at the individual level, using SPSS.

Factor and Reliability analyses were used to identify dimensions of social capital as well as to test the quality of data in terms of validity and reliability. Validity testing is the assessment of whether or not a set of measures actually measure what they say they do, while the reliability testing assesses the consistency of responses to a certain set of questions. Factor Analysis tests construct validity and Reliability analysis was used to test inter-item consistency. A brief description of each approach is provided below.

Factor Analysis

While correlations between variables are useful for providing insight into the strength of associations, a more sophisticated technique is needed for the purpose of determining complex patterns of correlations among variables. Factor analysis serves this purpose since it identifies clusters in large sets of variables, and establishes a set of weights which are assigned to each variable in the cluster i.e. the extent to which each variable loads on the particular factor (Piazza-Georgi, 2001:8).

Factor analysis is useful for summarising the correlation between two or more variables, and thus reducing them to a single factor. For example, the correlation between two variables can be summarised in a scatter plot. A regression line could then be fitted to represent the 'best' summary of the linear relationship between the variables. By defining a variable that would approximate the regression line in the scatter plot representing the correlation between these two variables, we are able to capture the fundamental nature of the two items, thus reducing the them to a single factor. Respondent's single scores on this new factor could then be used in future to represent the core or essence of two items. This new item is the linear combination of the two variables, which we can weight equally in the generation of a single factor (StatSoft, 2003). The grouping of items or measures in this category depends in part on the strength of correlation between these items as well as the condition that these items are not so highly correlated with other items related to other categories of the social concept, to imply that they are measuring this instead. The logic behind this is that items measuring the same thing should correlate more highly with each other than with other items in the analysis(Rummel, 2004).

Factor Matrix loadings are interpreted as follows, if the loading is .5 this = 5^2 meaning that 25% of the variance of that variable is explained by the factor. Thus, the stronger the factor loading, the stronger the construct validity of the set variables in the factor are said to be. The Eigenvalue of the factor is an immediate indicator of how useful each factor is, and the higher the Eigenvalue the more of the total variance of its components is explained by that factor. An Eigenvalue of 1 is usually the criteria for accepting the factor as meaningful. If the Eigenvalue is less than one it means that the factor does not

explain more of the variance than any of the single variable would (Piazza-Georgi, 2001:10-11, 13).

For factor analysis, SPSS was set as follows:

- Extraction method: Maximum likelihood
- Rotation: Direct Oblimin (Oblique)

For instances when a single factor is extracted, I analysed the Factor Matrix loadings, since no rotation has taken place. When more than one factor was extracted and rotation has taken place I interpreted the Structure Matrix factor loadings.

Before interpreting the data using these techniques, we need to set certain criteria for acceptance of the results as indicative of having strong construct validity and reliability, such that we are able to distinguish between strong and weak results.

For Factor Analysis the criteria for assessment are such that:

- Eigen value of more than 1 will be considered as valid
- Suppress factor loadings of less than .3
- Factor loadings of .4 or below are considered weak
- Factor loadings between .4 and .6 considered moderate
- Factor loadings of .6 or more considered strong

Reliability Analysis

Reliability testing involves the analysis of the Cronbach's Alpha co-efficient to test the internal consistency of responses to a set of questions. Generally a reliability score of .80 indicates a strong internal consistency, but for newly developed measurement tools, (such as the social capital measurement items used in CAS) a reliability score of .60 is considered acceptable. A high value Alpha is usually used to infer that the measurement tool constructed is measuring a single underlying construct. As a general rule, Alpha should not be computed if less than 85% of the sample have not responded, since in cases where most respondents have not completed all the items on the measurement tool, a spuriously high Alpha may be obtained (StatSoft, 2003).

Testing for reliability is an important step in questionnaire design and development and when the Alpha falls below an acceptable level, further investigation needs to be done to determine the problem, which may be due to unclear wording or inappropriate use of terms within the question. Researchers also have to be aware of respondents going into 'response set' mode, whereby a battery of questions is designed such that respondents can develop a pattern of consistent responses to the set of questions, without giving much thought or distinguishing between each individual question.

For Reliability Analysis the criteria is that

- Testing is based on Cronbach's Alpha co-efficient
- Analysis is only undertaken when more than 80% of the sample have responded to the set of questions.
- Alpha co-efficient of .6 or more for two variables is considered an acceptable indicator of consistency.
- Alpha co-efficient of .7 or more for three or more variables is considered an acceptable indicator of consistency.

Appendix C : (Part 1)
Variable Recodes and Summary Statistics

For the validity and reliability testing as well as correlation analyses, variables were recoded for consistency in the directionality of the measures. This was to ensure that for all the items, a higher score meant 'more' social capital, in terms of what the item is measuring.

All 'Don't Know' responses were recorded as Missing. Missing variables were dropped from factor, reliability and correlation analyses.

Recodes : Independent Variables

General Trust Variable

Original Format	Recoded Format
1 = Strongly agree	1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Agree	2 = Disagree
3 = Neither	3 = Neither
4 = Disagree	4 = Agree
5 = Strongly disagree	5 = Strongly agree

Neighbourly Trust Variables

Original Format	Recoded Format
1 = Strongly agree	1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Agree	2 = Disagree
3 = Neither	3 = Neither
4 = Disagree	4 = Agree
5 = Strongly disagree	5 = Strongly agree

Face-to-face contact with 1) Family and Relatives and 2) Neighbours

Original Format	Recoded Format
1 = Everyday	1 = Less than several times a year
2 = Several times a week	2 = Several times a year
3 = Several times a month	3 = Several times a month
4 = Several times a year	4 = Several times a week
5 = Less than several times a year	5 = Everyday

Phone/Email contact with 1) Family and Relatives and 2) Neighbours

Original Format	Recoded Format
1 = Everyday	1 = Less than several times a year
2 = Several times a week	2 = Several times a year
3 = Several times a month	3 = Several times a month

4 = Several times a year	4 = Several times a week
5 = Less than several times a year	5 = Everyday

Associational Activity

Original Format	Recoded Format
1 = Leader	1 = Not a member
2 = Active Member	2 = Inactive member
3 = Inactive Member	3 = Active member
4 = Not a member	4 = Leader

Recodes: Dependent Variables

Similarly the aim was to be consistent in the directionality of the dependent variables, such that for the dependent variables the higher the, score the more positive the outcome of social capital.

Tolerance of Diversity Variables

Original Format	Recoded Format
1 = Strongly agree	1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Agree	2 = Disagree
3 = Neither	3 = Neither
4 = Disagree	4 = Agree
5 = Strongly disagree	5 = Strongly agree

Civic Commitment Variables

Original Format	Recoded Format
1 = Strongly agree	1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Agree	2 = Disagree
3 = Neither	3 = Neither
4 = Disagree	4 = Agree
5 = Strongly disagree	5 = Strongly agree

Political Participation: Engagement with local government variables

Original Format : unchanged

1 = No, never
2 = Yes, once
3 = Yes, a few times
4 = Yes, many times

Political Participation : Collective action variables

Original Format : unchanged

1 = No, never
2 = No, but would if I had a chance
3 = Yes, once
4 = Yes, often

Summary Statistics : Independent Variables

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	% Missing
General Trust	584	2.67	1.18	1	5	< 1%
Neighbours Helpful	573	3.74	0.93	1	5	< 1%
Neighbours stop break-in	568	3.90	0.93	1	5	< 1%
Neighbours watch your house	575	3.93	0.91	1	5	< 1%
Visit/Speak to neighbours	585	3.88	1.45	1	5	< 1%
Phone/Email neighbours	582	1.60	1.18	1	5	< 1%
Visit/Speak to fam/relatives	587	3.99	1.06	1	5	< 1%
Phone/Email fam/relatives	588	3.20	1.46	1	5	0 %
Active-Religious Org.	586	2.29	0.89	1	4	< 1%
Active-Trade Union	564	1.20	0.57	1	4	< 1%
Active-Prof./Bus. Assoc.	564	1.13	0.49	1	4	< 1%
Active-Community Org.	571	1.38	0.78	1	4	< 1%
Active-Local self-help Org.	568	1.27	0.62	1	4	< 1%
Active-Neighbourhood watch	568	1.20	0.55	1	4	< 1%
Active-Local Group, PTA etc	573	1.21	0.58	1	4	< 1%
Active-Sports Club	566	1.40	0.80	1	4	< 1%
Active-Another social club	571	1.20	0.57	1	4	< 1%
Active-Political party	570	1.26	0.59	1	4	< 1%
Active-Other	23	2.52	0.85	1	4	96 %

Summary Statistics : Dependent Variables

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	% Missing
Easy to like 'different' people	582	4.00	0.93	1	5	<1%
Exposure-other cultures enriches life	574	4.00	0.97	1	5	<1%
Desirable to create one community	559	3.63	1.12	1	5	<1%
Responsibility-give time to community	570	4.00	0 .82	1	5	<1%
Responsibility-act as role model	577	4.15	0.79	1	5	<1%
Responsibility-stay and help build	563	3.22	1.21	1	5	<1%
Spoken to Ward Councillor	543	1.27	0.67	1	4	<1%
Written letter to Ward Councillor	574	1.07	0.35	1	4	<1%
Attended public meeting	578	1.34	0.80	1	4	<1%
Attended community meeting	586	2.20	1.15	1	4	<1%
Raised an issue with others	586	1.82	1.02	1	4	<1%
Attended demonstration	586	1.53	0.87	1	4	<1%
Signed a petition	586	1.81	1.00	1	4	<1%

Appendix C : (Part 2) Additional Analysis related to General Trust

In an attempt to understand what distinguished the 'trusters' from the 'non-trusters', I created a profile for respondents by age, marital status, parental status, education level, employment status race and gender. *Trusting* refer to respondents who either agreed or strongly agreed that 'generally most people can be trusted' and *Non-trusting* refer to respondents who disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement. Respondents who answered 'Neither' or 'Don't Know' to this statement were not included in this analysis.

Total N = 508	**TRUSTING 39% (N=198)**	**NON-TRUSTING 61% (N = 310)**	**Row total (N)**
Age Profile			
18-30	31% (61)	36% (111)	172
31-50	43% (84)	43% (133)	217
51 and older	26% (50)	21% (65)	115
Column Total	***100 % (195)***	***100% (309)***	***504***
Are you married?			
Yes	47% (91)	45 %(140)	231
No (either single, divorced, cohabit. or widowed)	53% (104)	55% (170)	274
Column Total	***100% (195)***	***100% (310)***	***505***
Do you have children?			
Yes	75% (147)	72% (222)	370
No	25% (50)	28% (89)	139
Column Total	***100% (197)***	***100% (311)***	***508***
Highest level of education?			
No schooling	2% (4)	0.01%(5)	9
Grade 1- Grade 7	16% (31)	19% (60)	91
Grade 8- Grade 11	34% (66)	37% (116)	183
Grade 12	25% (49)	24% (74)	123
Diploma/Certificate	10% (19)	0.5% (18)	37
Undergrad diploma:tech/varsity	4% (8)	0.1% (5)	13
Undergrad degree: tech	.05 % (1)	0.1% (6)	7
Undergrad degree: varsity	5% (9)	0.2% (8)	17
Post grad degree or diploma	5 % (10)	0.5% (17)	27
Other	-	0.06% (2)	2
Column Total	***100% (197)***	***100% (311)***	***508***
Do you currently have a job?			
Yes	50% (97)	44% (137)	234
No	49% (94)	54% (166)	260
Skipped	0.01% (3)	0.01% (5)	8
Column Total	***100% (194)***	***100% (308)***	***502***
What is your race?			
African/Black	36% (71)	26% (82)	153
Coloured	28% (54)	52% (161)	215
Indian	0.01% (2)	0.01% (4)	6
White	36% (71)	0.20% (62)	133
Column Total	***100% (198)***	***100% (309)***	***507***
What is your gender?			
Female	59% (117)	60% (187)	204
Male	41% (81)	40% (123)	304
Column Total	***100% (194)***	***100% (308)***	***502***

The cross-tabulations above show the percentage of respondents who fall into the *trusting* and *non-trusting* categories in relation to various respondent characteristics. Thus we can get some idea of the profile of respondents, based on their level of trust towards others generally.

The profile of respondents who fall into the trusting category, look remarkably similar to the profile of those in the non-trusting category. Trusters tend to be slightly older than non-trusters, but marital status and whether one has children tells us virtually nothing about whether or not one will be trusting. In terms of education, trusters have higher levels of post-school education, with 10% in possession of a certificate or diploma, 5% having attained a university degree and another 5% in possession of a post-graduate degree, compared to the less than 1% of non-trusters who fall into each of these educational brackets. Trusters are slightly more likely to be employed, with 50% in possession of a job, versus the 44% of non-trusters who are employed. In terms of race, African and white respondents are considerably more trusting than coloured respondents and gender does little explain the trust.

It is clear that there is little to distinguish so called 'trusting' individuals from 'non-trusting' ones. As I have remarked throughout the paper, trust is far more complex an attitude than we could ever hope to capture by asking a single question. We have so much more to learn about the lack of trust, scepticism and how people form their attitudes around trust. While this analysis is not exhaustative and contains only a few explanatory variables, it suggests that survey instruments are not necessarily appropriate tools for investigating and explaining the sources of trust. If we are to use surveys for this purpose, we need to probe directly and explicitly respondents reasons for trusting some people more or less than others. Essentially we need to be asking not only 'what' questions but 'why' questions as well.

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