Prof David Everatt, Executive Director of the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO), has over 17 years of experience in applied socio-economic and development research, designing and implementing monitoring systems, and programme evaluation. He has managed and/or participated in over 300 development projects, primarily in Africa. He was responsible for path-breaking research into youth marginalisation and out-of-school youth in South Africa in the early 1990s; his research into political violence was quoted by Nelson Mandela at the UN; he was the chief evaluator of the South African Constitutional Assembly between 1995 and 1997; and has served on successive ANC election polling teams since 1994 until the present. David designed civic education programmes in Kenya and Uganda, and led the Advisory Team reviewing Kenya's Governance, Justice, Law and Order Sector (GJLOS) Reform Programme. He also headed a 2-year study of sustainable livelihoods in the 21 poorest nodal areas in South Africa. He was Vice-President (sub-Saharan Africa) for the 'Sociology of Youth' committee of the International Sociological Association for 10 years, and now sits on their Advisory Board. David has published five books and his articles have appeared in local and international journals. David is (happily) married with two (wonderful) children.

Quality of Life in the Gauteng City-Region: a steady ship on a global sea of change

It seems that the pre-election low national mood is ubiquitous. As a senior government official argued recently, long-term planning for the future cannot start from 'despair'. Yet 'despair' – or anger, or scepticism, or whatever the correct adjective is – is everywhere, even in the briefing document for authors in this edition of *Focus*. Potential authors are advised that

> *The fundamental infrastructure and service delivery failures across South Africa's cities, owing to poor local government performance, point to a deep rooted complex of problems at a municipality level [sic]. The tension between issuing plans for sustainable design and urban renewal, and having to face up to the huge gamut of governance failures, presents opportunities for, as well as threats to, the future of our cities.*[1]

Governance failures, service delivery failures, failures of all sorts are apparently abounding in South African cities. Their failure – a political failure, let us be clear – is thus threatening our very survival, apparently, since sustainability or low carbon or 'green' options are a non-starter. Government is coloured with a single brush of failure, and the document feels free to assert:

> *Service delivery and infrastructure problems evident at the city level are, to a large extent, the consequences of poor governance and poor accountability within local government structures.*[2]

My piece is not a cheer-leading piece for government. But it does use *data* to make an argument. While some parts of the argument may support the notion of uneven performance across the different spheres

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and in different geographical locations, it does so not because it is politically driven but data driven. It does so by pointing to the service delivery successes that have marked Gauteng thus far, and which suggest that there is indeed a possible disconnect between a government pursuing a basic needs approach – exemplified by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)[3] – and a citizenry who in very large part now enjoy the basic amenities and need a new discourse. This discourse requires a new narrative that talks about how to take Gauteng to a higher plane, meeting needs tangible and intangible, a genuinely inclusive, more equal, Afropolitan city of the 21st century. If there is such a disconnect it is not simply to be laid at the door of 'state failure' – the easy argument – but requires a far more nuanced analysis of state performance, citizens' changing expectations, and how to tie them together into the future. Obviously, this piece does not claim to do this, but rather attempts to start a conversation on the matter.

Census 2011 tells us that where 75% of Gautengers lived in formal dwellings in 1996, that figure has now risen – despite massive population growth – to 80%. 11% still live in informal dwellings. 98% of people now have access to piped water, 96% have access to a flush toilet, and 87% access the national grid for lighting energy.

Gauteng: the RDP realised?

By 2011, Gauteng, which enjoys just 2% of national land cover, was generating 36% of national GDP[4] and the broader Gauteng City-region (including key economic nodes completely enmeshed in the provincial market such as Rustenburg and Sasolburg) produced 43% of national GDP. The province contains a fifth of South Africa's population, which will rise to a quarter (16 million people) by 2020. Given that services are provided to households not individuals, it is notable that there was an annual average growth in household numbers of 3,6% between 2001 and 2011, with 2,9 million households in Gauteng by 2011. Getting government, governance and delivery right, in Gauteng, are fundamental to the entire national project.

In many ways, delivery in Gauteng is a success story. According to *StatsSA*, the proportion of people with no formal education has dropped from 10% in 1996 to 4% in 2011, and half of those migrated into the province from elsewhere. Census

2011 tells us that where 75% of Gautengers lived in formal dwellings in 1996, that figure has now risen – despite massive population growth – to 80%. 11% still live in informal dwellings. 98% of people now have access to piped water, 96% have access to a flush toilet, and 87% access the national grid for lighting energy.

The story can continue, but the point at issue is simply to assert that an examination of data forces the reader to question some of the assumptions that seem to have taken on the power of truisms – such as 'service delivery failure' – which are in fact un-truisms. That there are protests in communities is absolutely correct, but they do not point to absolute poverty. In virtually every instance protests occur where some delivery has taken place, but not enough or not in the right place, in the eyes of local residents. There may well be failures in many instances – but to assert that this space is one of such profound failure that we have to trade off our future because poor government performance has left us with "fundamental" service delivery and infrastructure problems, is simply untenable.

Let's see how the residents of the city-region feel about Gauteng.

Quality of life: What is it, and why do we measure it?

The Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) released its second 'Quality of Life' survey, with a massive sample of almost 17 000 respondents in 2012. This follows the first survey in 2010, and thus allows some sense of change over time. Quality of Life itself – calculated using 54 variables covering everything from security to headspace, health to employment, values to community participation, shows a small but important increase in the mean (the average score) from 6,24 in 2009 to 6,25 in 2011.

The term quality of life is commonly used to evaluate the general well-being of individuals and/or larger units such as communities, cities or entire societies. In recent years, there has been a push to move beyond using Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as the measure of the key global ranking measure for countries. This is because it only measures the economy, not the people, and takes no account of the costs of the very economic growth it is measuring, which – in environmental terms, for example – may be creating the exact opposite of a healthy society. This push has included an incorporation of elements of the now-famous Bhutanese concept of 'Gross National Happiness' and has resulted in a renewed interest in 'Quality of Life' measurements.

However, city-regions can also be alienating in and of themselves, and/or can attract recidivists who can eke out a criminal life there more easily than in far-flung rural areas.

Quality of Life and cities

City-regions provide high-level quality of life for many citizens. The Gauteng City-Region, producing 43% of GDP, is no different, with some citizens living a lifestyle that would not be out of place in any of the great cities of the world. City-regions are meant to generate high-quality lifestyles, and offer exposure to art, music, galleries and concerts, safe spaces, green spaces, as well as work opportunities in globally competitive companies. The GCR does this, for many. However, city-regions can also be alienating in and of themselves, and/or can attract recidivists who can eke out a criminal life there more easily than in far-flung rural areas.

In the midst of a large, thriving city-region, however, there are inevitably those who do not 'make it', for a range of reasons. Place that city-region in a developing

country, and in a post-apartheid context, and the potential for severe fault-lines to criss-cross the space of the city-region is immediately apparent. This is particularly true of psycho-social issues, which may be present regardless of the job someone has, or the size of their monthly wage. After centuries of colonisation, culminating in segregation and then apartheid, it would be unrealistic to expect that after just twenty years of democracy, all traces of our violent and racist past would have disappeared. Moreover, the Gauteng City-Region was the site of the most intense xenophobic violence of the May 2008 outbreak that spread across the country – low-level on-going violence against 'foreigners' has remained part of the background noise in the GCR. The GCR is also witness to excessively high rates of violent crime, violence against women, and so on, all suggesting that the fault-lines run deep indeed.

This could also be achieved if we find specific target groups needing assistance, whether these are age cohorts, gender, people in specific sectors of employment and so on; also, whether they need service delivery, infrastructure provision, psycho-social assistance or some other intervention.

Measuring quality of life

In order to try and measure quality of life in the GCR, the GCRO runs a bi-annual survey. Embedded in the questionnaire are 54 variables – subjective and objective – that we combine into 10 'dimensions' of quality of life – again to try and measure both overall quality of life, and the 'drivers' behind quality of life either rising or falling. We also try to understand this spatially – where in this large, crowded space that is the GCR are people enjoying higher or lower quality of life – as well as by socio-demographic and other variables. This spatial point is particularly relevant in post-apartheid South Africa. Under apartheid, people lived in areas designated for them according to their race, and while here has been considerable post-apartheid residential desegregation, black citizens in particular, are still, in many cases, living in the townships created for them under apartheid. For some this may be a matter of choice; but as the OECD noted in its territorial review of the GCR[5], with median suburban house prices at 22 times the median average household income in Gauteng, it is apparent that the cost of living is locking many black South Africans into townships or RDP housing. This is not automatically associated with low quality of life, and it is precisely to understand these locale-specific dynamics that GCRO has such a detailed matrix of variables to try and understand and measure quality of life.

Measuring quality of life also has policy significance. Quality of life analysis segments the population into cohorts of people doing more or less well. It also points to why this is the case (within the limitations of the variables we are using – the methodology is obviously restricted to the questions we asked respondents). It should help inform the targeting strategy of government (from all spheres), if we find that this or that municipality is falling considerably behind others – as is the case with Westonaria, for example (see below). This could also be achieved if we find specific target groups needing assistance, whether these are age cohorts, gender, people in specific sectors of employment and so on; also, whether they need service delivery, infrastructure provision, psycho-social assistance or some other intervention. It is equally important to know who is doing well, for a successful city-region unavoidably has to cater for all citizens and their (different) needs. The needy may require urgent government assistance: but city-regions need to look after the drivers of wealth, culture, growth and civil society as well, since they remain critical for the city-region to continue growing and developing economically,

socially, culturally and in other areas. Looking after those in need has to occur alongside creating the conditions for (equitable) growth and development, not at the expense of it. To make things more complex, this balancing act (replicating the national project) has to occur in a context of redistribution, attacking inequality, and lowering poverty levels.

Measuring quality of life can also help point in general terms to the type of problem facing different groups since the 54 variables fall into 10 dimensions that cover areas such as work/employment, security, infrastructure, health, dwelling, connectivity, community and so on. Moreover, by measuring these over time, we can see areas of improvement. For example, 'dwelling' improved between 2009 and 2011, indicating the impact of government's investment in building houses, but 'work' dropped, showing the impact of on-going long-term unemployment as well as the global economic recession. The same point applies to time-series measurement by locale – Ekurhuleni, for example, had dropped back from 6,28 to 6,10 (out of an ideal total of 10) by 2011 to the second worst-performing municipality in Gauteng, rocked by the impact of the global recession on its economic base as well as the challenges it is facing in service delivery.

Constructing the index

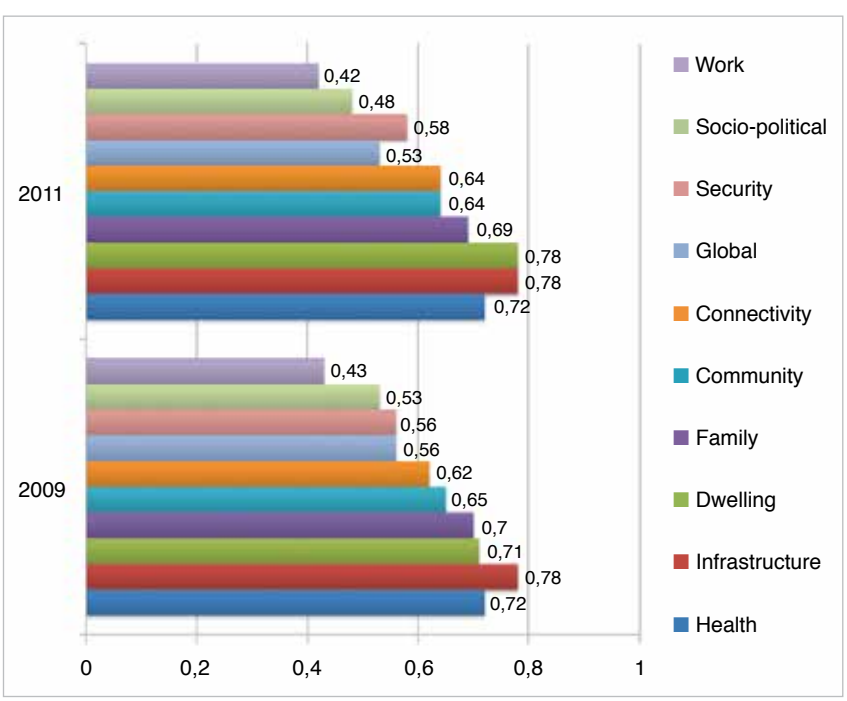
In 2001, Ross Jennings and I developed a quality of life index based on studies undertaken by other practitioners in the field of quality of life[6] and information gathered from focus groups with rural residents to tease out issues pertaining to quality of life. This approach was further developed for GCRO, to measure quality of life in an urban and city-region context. The indicators used are set out below (please note that some indicators are themselves derived from multiple individual questions). In all, there are 54 indicators, across the 10 'dimensions' of quality of life.

Broad areas	Subjective indicators (level of satisfaction)	Objective indicators
1 Global/ headspace	• Life satisfaction • Alienation • Anomie • Country going in right direction	
2 Family	• Marriage/relationship • Family life • Time available • Leisure time	• Ability to feed children/self
3 Community	• Trust community • Friends • Important to look after environment	• Membership of clubs, organisations, societies
4 Health	• Health affects work • Health affects social activities	
5 Housing	• Rating of dwelling • Rating of area/place	• Dwelling structure • Dwelling ownership • Overcrowding
6 Infrastructure	• Improvement in community • Water cleanliness • Water access • Electricity • Refuse removal • Cut offs/evictions	• Sanitation access

7	Education & connectivity	• Press is free	• Level of education • Telephone/cellphone • Radio/television • Internet connection
8	Work	• Amount of money available • Household status • Standard of living • Working conditions	• Employment status • Household income • No debt
9	Security	• Safety in area during day • Safety in area during night • Safety at home • Crime situation improved	• Victim of crime
10	Socio-political	• Politics is waste of time • Local election free & fair • Judiciary is free • Trust btw races • Foreigners taking benefits • Govt performance • Govt officials & Batho Pele	• Public participation • Voted in 2011 • Asked for a bribe

For each indicator, a score of 0 or 1 was allocated to each individual respondent in order to compute an overall score for the area. For each dimension, the score was then scaled out of 1. For each dimension, a maximum score of 1 was possible (working on the same 0-1 basis as the Gini co-efficient does). A score of 1 would reflect extremely high levels of quality of life in each of those areas. Taken together (see below), the closer to ten out of ten a respondent scores, the better their quality of life – this is a simple matter of adding the scores from the 10 dimensions together. Therefore, the higher the score, the higher the level of quality of life. The mean scores for each dimension, for both 2009 and 2011, are shown in the following graph.

Figure 1: Scores for all dimensions of quality of life, 2009 and 2011



In any exercise of this nature, the obvious question is whether or not specific variables should be weighted more than others. Given the extended unemployment crisis, for example, should unemployment – part of the 'work' dimension – not be weighted more than, say, membership of a civil society organisation, or satisfaction with dwelling, and so on. These are legitimate questions, and between 2009 and 2011 GCRO commissioned Ms Talita Greyling of the University of Johannesburg to use Principal Component Analysis – which applies weights to key variables as they emerge from the analysis – to see if our approach generated results that were very different from one using weights. The simple answer was 'no', although the nuance emerging from her analysis added value to our understanding of the quality of life index and which variables were most significant.

Given that social groups and state formations – local sphere entities – have shifted position between 2009 and 2011, it is worth noting that 'work' – which includes un/employment status, a decent work index as well as satisfaction with work indicators – remains the weakest area in the GCR, and dropped between 2009 and 2011. It is also notable that 'global' – which really refers to an all-round sense of well-being and includes alienation and anomie measures, as well as a range of life satisfaction questions – also dropped, quite significantly, reflecting the general findings of this survey, namely, a very low mood in the GCR. This is reflected in slightly lower scores for both family and community as well. Generally, psycho-social and work-related variables pulled the scores down.

Thus many of the areas in which local, provincial and national government works improved; but many of the less development-oriented issues, such as psycho-social and 'headspace' areas, deteriorated.

What pushes the scores up seem primarily to be infrastructural and other delivery projects driven primarily by government. Some may have been triggered by the 2010 World Cup, given that the GCR had three stadia hosting games, and the requisite infrastructure had to be provided. Whatever the case, while 'infrastructure' as a catch-all category remained high at 0,78, dwelling increased significantly (0,71 to 0,78), reflecting both objective and subjective indicators about delivery of houses and satisfaction with the respondents' own dwelling. Connectivity also improved, and – critical for the GCR – security also improved. Thus many of the areas in which local, provincial and national government works improved; but many of the less development-oriented issues, such as psycho-social and 'headspace' areas, deteriorated.

The results

For the 2011 survey, we had a 16 729 sample, we used the same basic methodology as in 2009. No variable or dimension was weighted above any other. Once the 10 dimensions were added together, the mean or average score across all respondents and all dimensions was 6,25 – a very slight rise from the 6,24 recorded in 2009. On the scoring matrix, a score of 10 would mean the respondent has perfect quality of life – using these variables, of course. At the other extreme, 0 out of 10 would mean that the respondent has no quality of life whatsoever. In both instances, this would entail scoring extremely high (in the first example) or extremely low (for the second example) on every variable and every dimension.

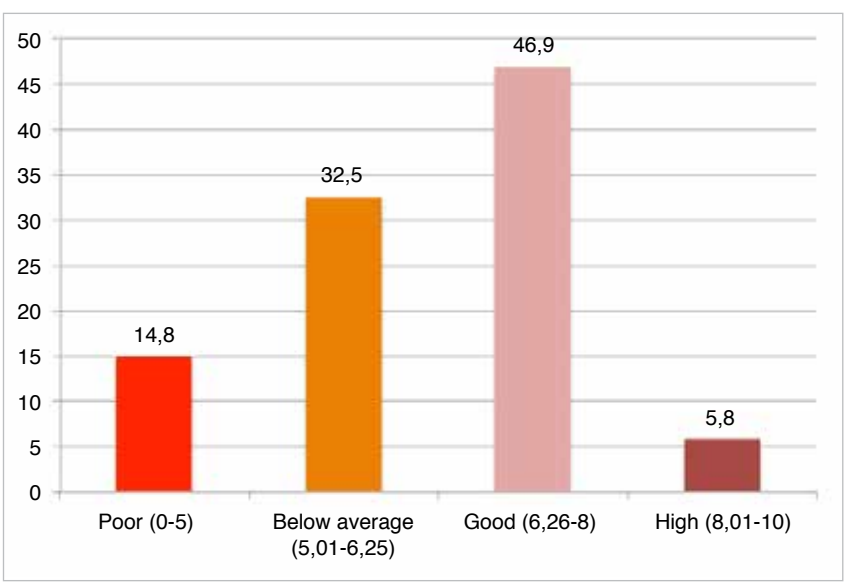
In both instances, no-one scored below 1,75 (out of 10) at all, and in 2011 – after the global damage wrought by the financial crisis – by 2,72 out of a possible 10 – do

we reach 0,5% of respondents. In other words, using this approach to measuring quality of life, and despite the deliberate impoverishment of black South Africans by apartheid, delivery of infrastructure and services has had a wide reach and helped many. At the opposite end of the scale, it is also clear that in both 2009 and 2011, the GCR had people enjoying a remarkably high quality of life. In all, 6% of respondents scored 8 out of 10 or higher.

That said, there are wide variations across the respondents who fell between the highest (at 9,55 out of 10) and lowest (1,75 out of 10). To make some sense of the data, we broke it four ways: any respondent scoring 8 out of 10 or above was taken to have "high" quality of life, a necessary product of a city-region as we saw earlier. Although an important part of the GCR, this 'high' category comprised just 5,8% of the sample – meaning one in twenty people enjoys high quality of life. The second highest category also included the largest proportion of respondents in a single category, namely the 46,9% of respondents enjoying 'good' quality of life – this was taken to be from immediately above the sample mean (6,26 – the mean was 6,25) to immediately below the 8/10 cut off for high, so they fell between 6,26 and 7,99 out of 10. Taken overall, therefore, the GCR can reflect positively on the fact that despite the global crisis and its domestic aftershocks, 53% of respondents in 2011 were enjoying high or good quality of life.

At the other end of the scale, we find another dichotomy, between those with 'below average' quality of life, and those with 'poor' quality of life. The first category are those scoring 6,24 (i.e. immediately below the mean score) down to those scoring half, or 5 out of 10. This category accounted a third (32,5%) of respondents, leaving 14,8% to score in the 'poor' category – i.e. anywhere from 1,75 out of 10 (the lowest score in the sample) to 4,99 out of 10. Where those enjoying 'high' quality of life (admittedly a smaller category) comprised 5,8% of the sample, the scale is tilted towards those doing less well, with 14,8% having 'poor' quality of life and 32,5% 'below average' quality of life. In the next section we look in greater detail at some of the psycho-social aspects of the indicators used here, where we extract relevant variables for a marginalisation index.

Figure 2: Quality of Life by category

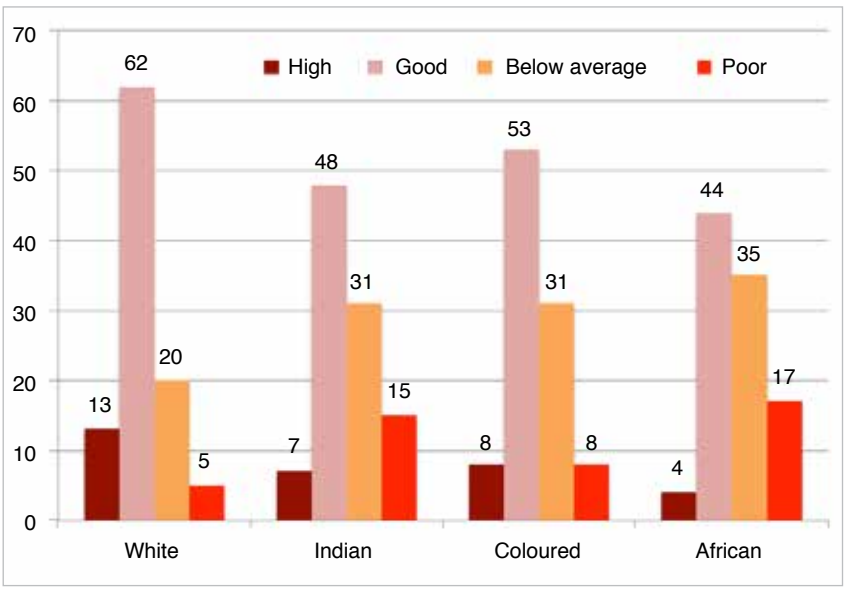


As Figure 2 makes clear, the overwhelming majority of respondents score above 5/10, but it is equally clear that almost three times as many respondents score 'poor' as score 'high'. We now briefly analyse who falls into these different categories.

Race

Given our post-apartheid context and the on-going salience of race in politics and development discourse, we start in typical South African fashion by analysing quality of life by race. It is immediately apparent that three times as many whites (13% of white respondents) enjoy high quality of life as do Africans (4%). In the middle, slightly more coloureds (8%) enjoy high quality of life than Indians (7%). Whites, coloureds and Indians are also more likely to have a 'good' quality life

Figure 3: Quality of life by race (2011)



The need for more thorough-going redistribution is apparent. Whites of course started from a higher economic base than most others, and are numerically far smaller than the African population, and have maintained their position. The intensity of the challenge is demonstrated by contrasting the 75% of whites who enjoy good and high quality of life in the Gauteng City-Region with the 48% of African respondents who do so.

Sex

Sex also makes a difference. More men (7%) enjoy high (5%) and good (49%) quality life than women (5% and 45% respectively). We have shown in a number of sections of this report how women are struggling to approach equality with men in the GCR, and this composite index merely underlines the point.

Age

Age, however, seems to matter more especially for the youngest cohort. Of respondents between 16 and 19 years of age just 3,% enjoyed high quality of life, the lowest of any age cohort, until we reach the pension age, where 4% of respondents

aged 65 and above had high quality of life. As we show elsewhere, the combination of race, sex and age – for young, African women – is a toxic mix that leaves many suffering at the wrong end of what the city region has to offer.

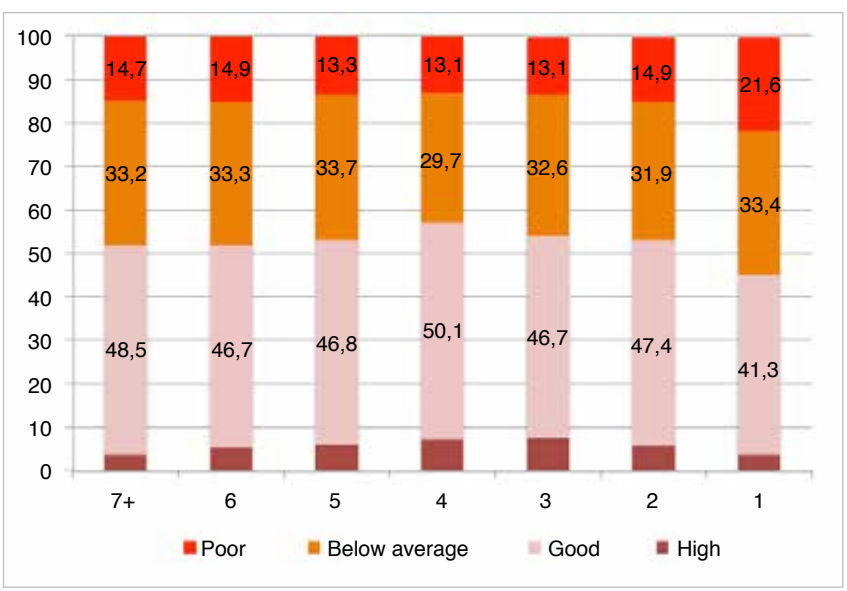
Household size and birth place

Household size also seems to have negative effects, either when people are 'living solo' – which accounts for a million people in Gauteng – or when household size exceeds 5 people. Place of birth also has an effect. People born in Gauteng are more likely to have high quality of life (6,2% of Gauteng-born respondents did so) or good quality of life (49,4%) than people born outside the province. Amongst non-Gauteng born respondents (regardless of whether they were born in or out of South Africa), just 5% enjoyed high and 42,8% good quality of life, while almost one in five (18,5%) were found in the 'poor' quality of life category.

Targeting support and interventions

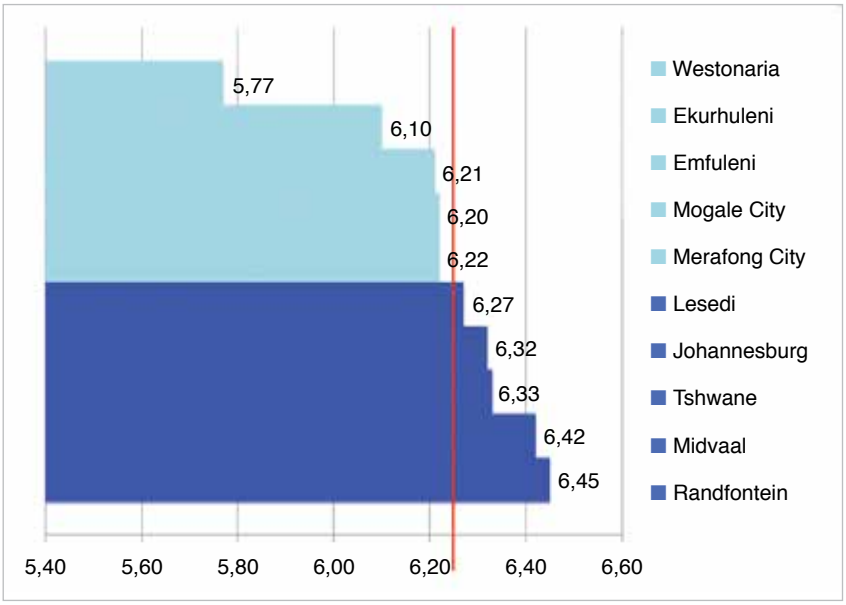
As we noted at the beginning of this section, measuring quality of life is not merely a fanciful way of looking at the top end of a city-region: it has policy implications, and should be used by local and provincial spheres of government to inform their targeting strategies. Currently, we have seen that to be at one or other extreme of the age spectrum; African, female; living alone or in a large household; and to be a migrant, all feature above average in the poor quality of life category. In contrast, to be white or Indian, living in a medium sized household, to be male, middle-aged and locally-born, is to feature above average in the 'high' and 'good' categories.

Figure 4: Quality of Life by household size



Finally, the results are analysed spatially, which is a key aspect of any targeting strategy.

Figure 5: Quality of Life by municipality



It is difficult to present results by municipality without feeding into local-level contestation and politicking, but it is equally important to note that the GCR includes some high-performing municipalities – notably Randfontein (0,2 above the mean) and Midvaal (0,17 above the mean, and having dropped from top-spot between 2009 and 2011), and two high-performing metropolitan municipalities – Tshwane and Johannesburg – but it also includes others at the wrong end of the scale. As a scale, there will always be 'winners' and 'losers', inevitable because all units have to be scored across a continuum. As such, it is unsurprising to find Westonaria propping up the bottom of the scale by some margin (0,48 below the mean). As a municipality, it consistently scores lowest in virtually all aspects of service delivery.

What is of possibly greater concern is to find one of the three cities in the GCR – Ekurhuleni – occupying second from bottom place, and some way behind the mean (0,15).

What is of possibly greater concern is to find one of the three cities in the GCR – Ekurhuleni – occupying second from bottom place, and some way behind the mean (0,15). The manufacturing base in Ekurhuleni has taken considerable stress as a result of the global recession, but service delivery has also been poor, and unhappiness with the quality of service delivery in Ekurhuleni is correspondingly high. It must serve as a focal point for investment if it is not to enter a lengthy (or even a terminal) decline. It is notable that there is only 0,12 difference (out of 10) between the mid-range cities and municipalities, from Tshwane in third place to Emfuleni, third from the bottom. If targeting is to include a spatial element, this should help inform the provincial strategy.

Conclusion

'Policy-making in a time of despair' sounds more like the title of a Milan Kundera novel than a description of where we stand in Gauteng right now; yet the 'despair', if that is what it is, seems to be pervasive. It is important, however, that the realities

of our context and situation inform policy, much as they should inform opinion. This piece suggests that while the HSF may believe itself correct in telling authors that "fundamental infrastructure and service delivery failures across South Africa's cities, owing to poor local government performance, point to a deep rooted complex of problems", the data for Gauteng suggest something very different. Here we see growing cities, striving to meet the post-apartheid challenges. While their performance is uneven – see the contrast between, say Tshwane and Johannesburg on the one hand and Ekurhuleni n the other – they have (as have many local municipalities) performed exceptionally well in meeting the long-term post-apartheid goals of the RDP, and have survived the turbulence of the global crisis remarkably well. Gauteng is indeed rife with civic protest – but this is not the 'have nots' rising up against the 'haves'. If anything, it is the 'have somethings' protesting that they want more, and certainly angry with the 'have it alls' – those we saw above with near-perfect quality of life. That there is cronyism, poor performance by councillors and corruption in private and public sectors is not disputed at all. Those, however, are not the hallmark of this spatial unit, even though this may be ignored in the pre-election phase of politicking we have already entered.

The lesson seems to be that delivery has created conscious relative deprivation – i.e. people are aware of what they do have (and the results here suggest they value it) but are simultaneously aware of what they don't have, but others do. This is why most protest action occurs not in areas marked by the deepest poverty levels in Gauteng, but in areas where some 'development' has occurred. The underlying fault line that should most disturb us is less the supposed "service delivery failures" but the inequality that runs so deeply through the Gauteng City-Region – as through the country – and which presents an intractable enemy that few seem to know how to defeat. Government is obviously complicit – it sets the economic policy, tax regime, delivery framework and associated superstructure in which we operate and from which inequality derives. But it seems rather simplistic to lay all fault at the door of government. It is similarly simplistic to look to 'service delivery failure' or 'infrastructure problems' and assert that they result from 'poor governance and poor accountability'. It makes little sense to assume this is a convincing narrative merely because it is so widely repeated by the chattering classes. It seems, based on some basic analysis of empirical data, that the reverse is true: that service delivery successes – combined, certainly, with catastrophic unemployment, a sluggish national but better provincial growth rate, and so on – have created fault-lines that are breeding grounds for all types of discontent – xenophobia, homophobia, gender-based violence and the like. The point is not to deny failures, but to see them in an appropriate context.

This is not an apologia for government. It is an appeal to move away from trite truisms that are, in fact, untrue. Government has been singularly successful in meeting RDP targets. Hundreds of thousands of people are better off as a result. Could government have done better – of course, it always can and should. But people, rightly, want more than 'basic needs' – the basis of the RDP. Gauteng is a wealthy and highly sophisticated economy and society. It needs a far more sophisticated narrative to take us forward, now that so many people have had their 'basic needs' met. The narrative we need to develop may find purchase only in this space, and not in, say, Limpopo or North West. It is apparent that we need to develop a very new and improved future trajectory and associated narrative for this space, in order to consolidate gains made and to use them as a springboard to some kind of shared vision of the future.

NOTES
1 'Future of our Cities' briefing note.
2 Ibid.
3 African National Congress (1994) The Reconstruction and Development Programme (Ravan press, Johannesburg).
4 OECD: Territorial review of the Gauteng City Region (Paris, 2011)
5 OECD Territorial Review of the Gauteng City-Region (OECD, Paris)
6 See Jennings, R. and Everatt, D. 2001. Evaluation of the 1998/99 Community Based Public Works Programme: Consolidated Report.
7 Greyling, T. (2011) 'Measuring and understanding the well-being of the Gauteng City-Region's population' (mimeo, University of Johannesburg).
8 See Nyar, A. & Wray, C. (2012) 'Understanding protest action: some data collection challenges for South Africa', Transformation, 80, pp. 22-43.