



GAUTENG
PROVINCE

THE BASE DOCUMENT

TOWARDS THE 9TH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

UNDERSTANDING GAUTENG'S CHANGING ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Implications and Challenges for the ANC-led
Democratic Movement and the Democratic
State during the Second Decade of Freedom

1 AUGUST 2004

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INTRODUCTION

WHY THIS BASE DOCUMENT

The year 2012 will mark the centenary of the African National Congress of South Africa. South Africa will celebrate its Second Decade of Freedom and Democracy in 2014. Both these events – the formation of the ANC in 1912 and its subsequent transformation into a mass revolutionary vanguard movement that effectively led the freedom struggle on all fronts and the consequent birth of a free and democratic South Africa in 1994 – stand out among the most pre-eminent events in South Africa's 20th century history.

The historical significance of the birth of the ANC is illustrated by how the movement's 90th anniversary celebrated in January 2002 was used to outline a road map for itself in the decade leading up to its Centenary:

As we mark the 90th Anniversary of our movement, we must look forward to the tasks we have to accomplish during the critical decade that will take us to the Centenary of the ANC. This will give us a much-needed road map, dealing with all aspects of our national and international life, as we advance to the Year 2012.

Clearly, the guiding principle of this road map must be the objective to move forward decisively to eradicate the legacy of racism, sexism, colonialism and apartheid. This is the central aim that must inform the detailed work done daily by the vanguard movement for the social transformation of our country and continent as well as our democratic state.

To ensure that we achieve this goal, we must set ourselves and our country bold but realistic goals to enable us to gauge the progress we are making. This will have to encompass all aspects of social activity, ensuring that we move forward in a balanced and integrated manner.

To discharge all these responsibilities, we must base our vision, programmes and actions on that historic manifesto of the people of South Africa, the Freedom Charter. This demands especially of our vanguard movement that we ensure that the Freedom Charter plays its central role in the formation of the new South Africa as a living document.

Thus it must be responsive to the new situation that emerged nationally and internationally, since it was adopted at the Congress of the People in 1955. The bold tasks it elaborated must be carried out within the context of the rapid changes that characterise modern human society.

[President Thabo Mbeki, January 8th Statement, 2002]

In response to the call made by the President on the occasion of the ANC's 90th Anniversary, both the Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) of the ANC in Gauteng and the Provincial Working Committee (PWC) have adopted a medium to long term approach to organisational and governance work. In both its practical organisational work and in theoretical-ideological work, the provincial leadership has emphasised the need for the cadres of the movement to put painstaking effort and energy in gaining an accurate and scientific understanding of the trends and conditions within each sector and level of the province. This method of work places high premium on the need for our cadres to understand the unique character of our province and its place and role in the struggle for national, continental and global sustainable development.

In the coming decade, we have to move to a situation wherein all cadres make it their duty to constantly understand what makes each community, region and the province in which they live "tick". This comprehensive understanding of the context has to become a necessary ingredient of effective political leadership at all levels because without such an understanding, strategic and tactical interventions that advance the cause of the NDR will be very difficult.

As part of this method of work, both the PEC and PWC undertook several initiatives that contributed to the “big picture” and “big ideas” contained in this Base Document:

- Between February and May 2003, the PWC visited all branches and ANC-controlled municipalities to assess their work and how they are impacting on community development. This exposed some of the positive and negative political trends within our branches and regions. This document draws important conclusions from the organisational and community-level trends observed during the PWC visit;
- Between June 2003 and May 2004, the movement undertook a massive Election Campaign that took the ANC leadership to all communities and sectors of the Gauteng population. Both the Election research and the door-to-door work of our volunteers helped to expose the movement to demographic and geographic trends across the province. This document draws important conclusions from the analysis of the 2004 election results and the immeasurable experience of our campaign workers;
- At the beginning of 2003, government initiated a process of assessing our progress in building a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, united and prosperous society since the movement assumed power in 1994. In October 2003, the National Cabinet released a discussion document titled *Towards a Ten Year Review*. This was followed by the Gauteng Provincial Government’s Ten-Year Report titled *A Decade of Change: Celebrating 10 Years of Democracy in Gauteng*. The publication of the *State of the Cities Report* by the South African Cities Network (SACN) in 2004 also served as an important source of enhancing our understanding of the trends and dynamics of the province in which the movement lives and leads. This document benefited from some of the incisive conclusions of these Ten-Year Reviews and Reports;
- In June 2003, the PEC took a decision to undertake its own scenario planning/strategic process that will help to position the ANC in Gauteng to continue to be the hegemonic political force in the medium-to-long term. This requires a medium-to-long term strategic approach to the task of building organisation. In pursuit of the PEC decision to develop a medium-to-long term approach, the PWC appointed an Organisational Review and Renewal Task Team (Convened by Cde Firoz Cachalia) to look into current and future challenges. The objectives of the Organisational Review, Renewal and Strategic Process were:
 - a) To identify, through research, trends and changes that are taking place in society and in the economy and assess their medium-to-long term implications and challenges for the ANC-led democratic movement and the democratic state;
 - b) In response to the above, to propose short, medium and long term strategies for building the ANC’s strategic capacity and financial sustainability that will enable it to remain the principal agent for change and a hegemonic political force in Gauteng by the Centenary, Second Decade of Freedom and beyond. This includes the Alliance, MDM and progressive forces in Gauteng in the next decade;

This Base Document is a result of a combination of very useful research carried by a team of researchers and activists who worked tirelessly to ensure that the Organisational Review and Renewal Task Team met its mandate, as well as a constellation of insights gained from our ongoing practical organisational and governance work, particularly the experiences of the 2003 PWC regional visits and the 2004 election campaign.

The Base Document has strategic information on trends that pose serious political, economic, social and organisational challenges for the ANC-led democratic movement and the democratic state. The Conference Task Teams that are responsible for drafting specific Discussion Papers will use the key conclusions and challenges identified by this Document to propose interventions that have to be made. However, the Document’s organisational value goes far beyond the process towards the 9th Provincial Conference: it is an information resource that can be used at different levels of the ANC, Alliance, progressive civil society and the institutions of the democratic state.

A PROVINCE IN TRANSITION

THE ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND POLITICS OF TRANSITION IN GAUTENG

Our task as the ANC, the task of the NDR, is to eliminate the basic causes of the national grievance wherever and in whatever form they manifest themselves, and to manage the multitude of contradictions within society in the interest of this objective. Indeed, **as we succeed in doing so, new social dynamics will play themselves out, redefining the challenges of the given moment as well as the political permutations that are consonant with these new challenges.**

[Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress]

a) Gauteng and the world we live in!

Since the mineral revolution of the late 1880s and the consequent industrialisation of South Africa, Gauteng has been at the vanguard of profound social and economic transformation throughout Southern Africa. Even a century ago, transport and communication networks reflected the province's central position as the nexus between the Southern African region and the global economy, thus assuming the status of the industrial heartland of the Southern Africa.

As gold spurred colonial conquest, the Witwatersrand became the hub of labour markets stretching throughout South Africa and beyond. The temporary migration of masses of people to this giant industrial and mining centre was systemically and brutally encouraged. Colonial conquerors used different means to unleash vast quantities of cheap labour that were required for profitable mining at deep levels. Gauteng's development was therefore planned as a process of under-development and forceful dislocation of Africans in the vast hinterland. Even after Africans were allowed permanent residence of "white South Africa", development continued to be predicated on their social, spatial, economic and political exclusion.

Today, there is only one country in Africa (Egypt) that has a larger economy than Gauteng, which produces 10% of Africa's GDP. For over a century, millions of Africans from throughout the sub-continent have seen Gauteng as the economic capital of Southern Africa, and therefore a province of "milk and honey" and boundless opportunity.

In the 21st century, the globalising character of capitalism is most evident in this province. New forms of production and technology are centred here. Trans-national corporations locate most of African operations here. The cultural and social mores of the global village find their strongest expression here, where wealth and global integration sit in obvious contradiction with extreme levels of poverty and a tendency towards social marginalisation.

In some instances, the impact of global economic and social change in South Africa has dovetailed with the legacy of social and economic exclusion inherited from apartheid to create new forms of fragmentation and while entrenching centuries of racial inequality.

Overcoming this uneven development and social exclusion remains the core objective of South Africa's ANC-led national democratic revolution. The ANC-led revolutionary forces and the democratic state pursue these developmental goals in a world that is not necessarily friendly to the humanist values of solidarity, cooperation, equity and social justice.

Globalisation has meant growing economic integration and, therefore, political and social interdependence. Values and cultures are transformed as people and ideas stream in from around the world. New ideas and movements are beamed across the planet through the mass media and internet have become the most potent instruments of ideological struggle and cultural revolution. The economic restructuring spurred by globalisation is driven both by the development of productive forces and the ideological agenda of neo-liberalism.

In the era of globalisation, the progressive and left project of state-led national development is constrained by a world economic system where crisis and instability remain the order of the day. The periodic destruction of resources, the reproduction of inequality and the volatility of the global macro-economy can act to undermine national development efforts of progressive and revolutionary movements all over the world.

Nevertheless, this era of globalisation has also presented new opportunities. For a small open economy, significant reductions in barriers to trade have meant that, more than in the past, global demand can augment the limitations of our small internal market through increased exports. The ideas, institutions and technologies of the most economically advanced nations have never been more available to countries wishing to leapfrog along the development ladder. Cutting edge technology and global innovation creates the potential for new solutions to social and economic development challenges. Progressives all over the world should seize these opportunities.

On the other hand, far from ending the division of the world into core and periphery that was the inheritance of the colonial system, the new era has intensified the global inequality of nations in both economic and political terms. Instances of gunboat diplomacy and the unilateral deployment of power, brutality and terror, renewed genocide and the rise of new forms of fundamentalism in both east and west, pose a serious threat to humanity.

This underscores the need for progressives to unite in an international movement that advances the principles and ideals of collective peace and security, human solidarity, multilateralism and sustainable development, representing the hopes and aspirations of billions the world's poor and marginalised. For decades, the ANC has located itself at the centre of international progressive forces. As South Africa's governing party, it continues to adopt domestic and foreign policy positions that position it within the ranks of the disciplined forces of the left.

Growing inter-dependence imposed by globalisation creates space for Africa, the developing world and the poor across the globe to advance progressive perspectives for new forms of global solidarity. In this context, the standing of South Africa has been enhanced at the core of the efforts of developing countries and Africa in particular to reverse the unequal power relations that define global politics and economics today.

South Africa is viewed as a beacon of hope, both in respect of these international efforts, and in terms of the successful unfolding of the NDR within the borders of the country. It is also in this context that we have set ourselves the critical task of extending this beacon of hope to all of Africa, to make the next one hundred years an African Century.

b) Economic Transition

The structure of the South African economy has changed profoundly over the last 30 years as a result of domestic as well as global factors. Since the 1970s there has been a significant erosion of the employment opportunities in the formal economy, against the backdrop of the exhaustion of economic apartheid. Jobs were shed in the context of a global shift away from primary and secondary industries towards the tertiary sector, particularly services. These trends have accelerated since the advent of the information and technology revolution, which has spurred productivity gains. This qualitative transformation of the productive forces has reshaped the mode of capitalist development. At the same time, neo-liberal ideologies have sought to extract maximum benefit from these processes for the rich and powerful, to the detriment of workers, the poor and developing countries.

The ANC came to power in the midst of this restructuring of the economy that was driven by the imperatives of global competitiveness. The late exposure of South African society to these global dynamics resulted in rapid and significant micro-economic restructuring. The democratic state adopted strategies to steer the economy toward a more sustainable and developmental growth path able to secure a shared prosperity among the people of our country and continent. These interventions have counterbalanced the trend toward labour shedding in the primary and secondary industries by contributing to the growth of new industries.

Today, services account for almost three quarters of employment in Gauteng province, with government and commerce being the single biggest employers in the province (see figure 1 on the next page). Overall, the occupational structure of the province has shifted towards the new economy sectors, which processes and produces information, and which requires upgraded skills.

Apartheid's legacy of skewed human development, combined with the continued existence of racially based labour market institutions and practices, means that while benefiting from social changes, black people have continued to be systematically excluded from these new economic opportunities. Economic growth has tended to be strongest in those sectors of the economy that are the least labour absorbing, and which require the highest levels of skill. In Gauteng, 31% of Africans above the age of 20 have had no high school education, while 8.4% have no education whatsoever. This means that close to 40% of Africans in this age group have limited chances of getting work in the formal sector, except as part of the cohort of unskilled, temporary or casual workers, who are poorly remunerated. This mismatch between the skills of our people and those required by the growth sectors in the economy is *the* central challenge of economic restructuring.

Growing investment in education has already yielded some progress as new generations of workers and professionals, better educated than their parents, become increasingly available to the labour market. Hundreds of thousands of black people at all levels of the occupational structure have benefited from the removal of apartheid restrictions, while affirmative action is beginning to result in a significant restructuring of the labour markets away from their inherited racial biases. Amongst Africans in Gauteng, employment as 'technicians and associate professionals' grew by 173% between census 1996 and 2001. Strong growth (93%) was also recorded in African employment as clerks.

The transformations led by government have laid the basis for future growth of the first economy. For example, there are signs that loss of jobs in Gauteng's manufacturing sector has turned around. Having adjusted to the pressures and pains of global competitiveness whilst also extending basic rights to workers, Ekurhuleni created 30 000 new manufacturing jobs between 1996 and 2001, an increase of 26%. Tshwane and Johannesburg also show strong manufacturing growth in recent years.

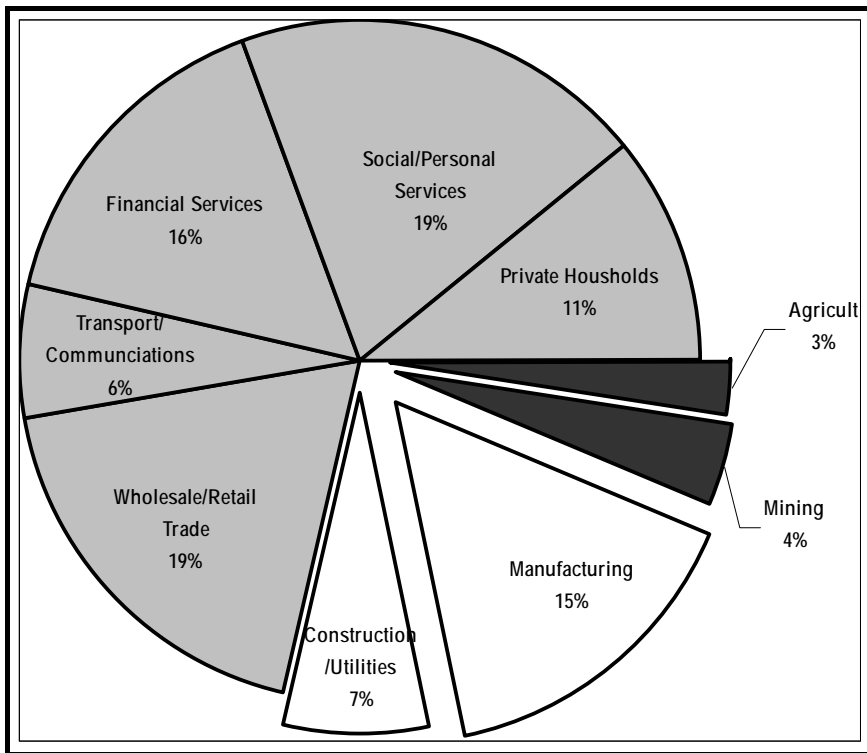


FIGURE 1: EMPLOYMENT BY SECTOR IN GAUTENG IN 2001

The service sector (in grey) dominates with trade (wholesale and retail), community social and personal services (which includes government), financial services and employment in private households exceeding 50% of the formally employed. The secondary sector (white) takes up most of the rest of Gauteng's economy, with the primary sector accounting for less than 10%. [source: Census 2001]

Nevertheless, we must also be alert to circumstances beyond the control of the nation-state, as well as the unintended consequences of our own interventions. In addition to the pressures of global competition, job losses have resulted from the transformation of the apartheid labour market and the extension basic citizenship and worker rights to the proletariat. Progressive legislation, combined with increases in the levels of unionisation, shifted power in favour of workers, and capital has responded by directing investment away from labour intensive sectors. In the most extreme instances, racist white employers retrenched simply to spite democracy.

Perhaps the most striking examples of this are those cases where government has acted to protect the most exploited and vulnerable workers. Take the case of domestic and farm workers. Significant improvements in conditions of work as well as remuneration have been recorded among these workers over the last ten years, as rights were extended to reverse a long history of super-exploitation. However, at national level it is estimated that between 1996 and 2001 more than 91,000 domestic workers have lost their jobs in South African cities.

Similar patterns can be seen throughout the economy. As the NDR has extended basic rights to workers, capital has restructured the working class in order to maintain profit levels, while at the same time improving the wages and conditions of those lucky enough to retain a formal sector job, particularly those at the core of new, knowledge-based production processes. Of course we cannot blame ourselves for advancing the rights of workers, particularly the most vulnerable.

The growth of the service sector, the turnaround in manufacturing performance, as well as increasing access to and opportunities for informal sector employment have meant that, overall, the last ten years have seen an increase in the number of people employed in Gauteng. But while the numbers employed have increased *slightly*, the numbers unemployed but seeking work have increased *dramatically*. Amongst the economically active population the 1996 census counted 2.6 million employed people in Gauteng and 1 million without a job. Five years later, there were 2.8 million employed people, but 2 million without a job; Gauteng's rate of unemployment had increased from 31% to 41%!

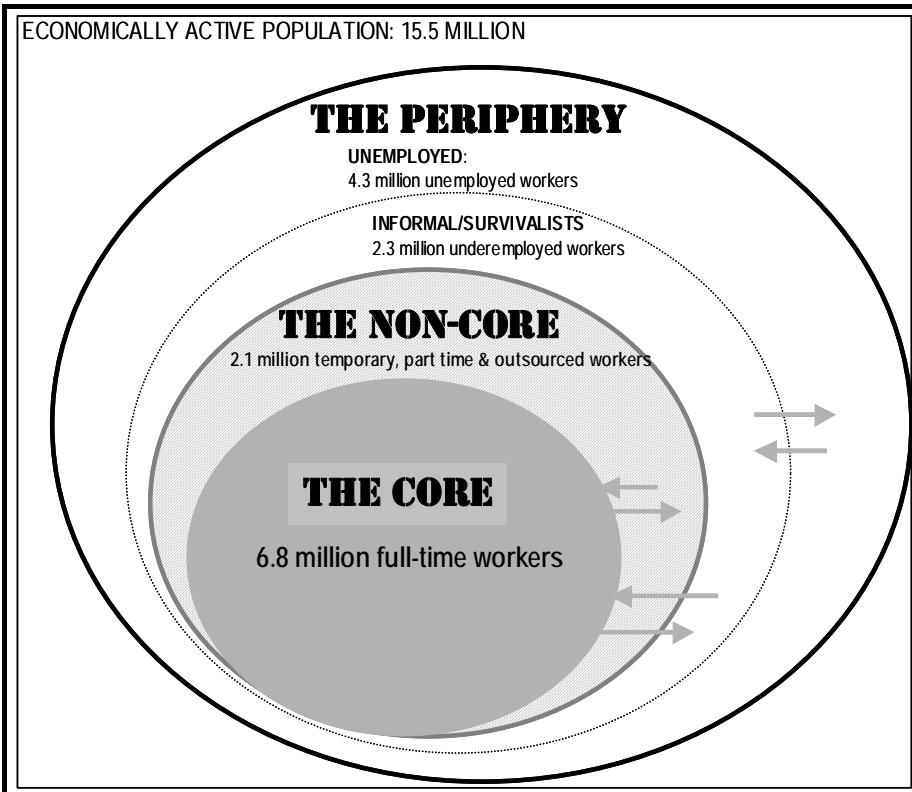


FIGURE 2: THREE FLEXIBLE ZONES OF WORK

[Adapted from Webster, 2004]

This overall 41% rate of unemployment obscures a sharp gender and generational differences. Many women have joined the ranks of the economically active, but have been unable to find jobs: the rate of unemployment among men stood at 35%, but was 47% among women. Young school leavers and graduates too have found it difficult to find work, with 70% of youth unemployed.

The *Ten Year Review* argues that “One of the major consequences of the change in the structure of the economy is that “two economies” persist in one country. The first is an advanced, sophisticated economy, based on skilled labour, which is becoming more globally competitive. The second is a mainly informal, marginalized, unskilled economy, populated by the unemployed and those unemployable in the formal sector.” (p97)

These ‘two economies’ are not mutually exclusive, separate compartments; they function together as part of a single economy, albeit structurally divided into a dualistic system. Most of the economic activities in the periphery are highly dependent on markets created by formal economic activity. For example, a hawker selling wage-goods in a township can only expand business to the extent that wages of the formally employed themselves expand. But the wages of the formally employed are placed under constant pressure by the existence of a vast reserve army of labour in the form of the unemployed and informal, underemployed workers.

Under the impact of global and national forces we have discussed, the two economies are reflected into three flexible zones of work, where workers experience different conditions of employment:

- 1) *The Core Workforce*: Workers that benefit directly from global integration, advances in worker rights and other forms of inclusion in social, economic and political institutions. Formal sector workers are generally highly organised in the trade union movement. Though their numbers have diminished, they still constitute almost half of the economically active population. While they enjoy higher salaries, secure employment and good working conditions, growing numbers of people depend on their wages. Men rather than women are more easily absorbed into this core of the labour market.

- 2) *The Non-Core Workforce*: Those pushed into more precarious and intensive working conditions become part of a non-core work force. The restructuring of the workplace is increasing the levels of atypical employment. This includes casualisation, fixed term contracts and working from home. Because of the temporary nature of their work, union organisation is much harder amongst the non-core workforce. The rights won by workers in the core of the economy are difficult to realise in an environment of poorly organised temporary and casual workers, where women are more likely to find work.
- 3) *The Periphery*: The peripheral zone consists of those who have been excluded from the formal economy and engage in informal income-generating activities on the margins. This includes the street traders and hawkers who sell basic commodities to the poor, memorabilia to tourists and food to urban workers. While some of those operating in the urban economy are able to secure relatively stable niches in markets created by formal sector economic activity, others find themselves excluded from such markets altogether and eke out a survival through dependence on welfare grants and the barter of goods and services.

Overcoming the divide between two economies will not be easy! For those on the periphery of the labour market, specific policy and programmatic interventions will be required to pull this category out of permanent unemployment or waged poverty. Programmes such as Zivuseni and Expanded Public Works programmes have the potential to be pathways and staircases back into the formal sector. In the longer run, continuing investment in education and training and aggressive skills development holds the possibility to correct the tendency towards permanent exclusion among the unskilled and low skilled, by correcting the mismatch between skills and labour demand. The dismantling of racial barriers to entry through affirmative action and black economic empowerment will also be an important to opening the economic core to greater mass participation

The shift to the tertiary sector, together with increasing employment in secondary sectors, holds the key to an increase in the number of quality and sustainable jobs, at least for those with appropriate skills. The ANC manifesto commits us to in the next decade to halve unemployed and poverty. This target could be achieved if the government steps up its strategic interventions in the economy through infrastructure investment and targeted interventions in labour absorbing sectors, providing focused support for SMME's, affirmative procurement policies and broad based BEE and by promoting co-operatives and sustainable livelihoods in the informal sector. These interventions should lead to the expansion and transformation of the core of the economy increasing its labour absorbing and wealth creation capacity, at the same time ensuring access into this core and transferring resources from the first to the second economy.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS: THE ECONOMIC TRANSITION

1. The first economy has shifted from primary and secondary industry to the tertiary sector, which now constitutes more than 75% of Gauteng's economy, and is increasingly integrated into the global economy. This shift is a result of global economic restructuring that has been underway since the mid-70's and involves the development of economic activity based on the processing and production of knowledge.
2. Under the apartheid state, the South African economy was unable to undergo a successful restructuring and this led to a situation went through a structural crisis that saw a permanent decline and by the dawn of democracy, it was already shedding jobs. Since 1994, the state's interventions have achieved macroeconomic stability and modest growth, while facilitating the shift towards the tertiary sector. Gauteng's contribution to the GDP has consolidated from 32% in 1995 to 34% in 2002.
3. Changes in production processes require a skilled workers and this is an area in which employment has grown particularly in the Gauteng economy. However, apartheid has bequeathed onto the economy a distorted human development and high numbers of unskilled labour as well as low skilled labour. The skills mismatch is one of the greatest challenges of the country's economic and social development. Sate intervention is required to ensure a coordinated and sustained education and training and skills development.
4. Unemployment remains high. The ANC's commitment is to reduce it by half in the next decade. The formal sector is increasingly segmented into a core and non-core workforce, while there remains a large periphery consisting of those who are unemployed or involved in the informal economy. The informal or second economy will remain an important source of survival and could generate significant productive activity and become a stepping-stone to wealth creation in the next decade. This is going to require a combination of interventions in both the first and the second economy.
5. The challenge for the second decade of freedom is to improve the quality of state intervention in both the first and second economy to meet the imperatives of shared prosperity and an inclusive society – higher and sustainable levels of growth, equitable ownership of productive assets through broad-based empowerment of black people, women and the poor, rapid skills development, qualitatively improved living standards for the majority, especially the poor and supporting sustainable livelihoods for the poorest. The success of the new Growth and Development Strategy of the province will be assessed on the basis of how far it ushers in an integrated set of interventions by the state at all levels to meet these imperatives of a shared and inclusive prosperity.
6. Economic restructuring, particularly the changing nature of work and the shift to tertiary sector of the economy poses very serious organisational challenges to the trade union movement, SACP, ANC, ANCYL and ANCWL – the highly skilled workers are young, women and black professionals who occupy the core of the economy but are increasingly found outside structures of the democratic movement. It is possible that COSATU membership is made up principally of the core workers, while the ANCWL and ANCYL membership are drawn largely from those in the non-core and periphery. Judging from the ANC's electoral performance, it is also possible to conclude that the movement does appeal equally across all the flexible zones of work, although the core does not actively participate in the political life of the movement.

c) Social Transition

The end of apartheid resulted in a huge in-migration of people to urban areas in South Africa. Since Gauteng's development had been predicated on the underdevelopment and impoverishment of its hinterlands, in-migration has been more dramatic here than in any other province. At the same time, patterns of circular migration, no longer enforced by colonialism and apartheid, have nevertheless continued into the new order.

Between 1996 and 2001, Gauteng's population increased by 20%, a growth rate of more than 4% a year. Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane are the three fastest growing metros in the country and Mogale City outstrips even these, with annual population growth of 5.3%! The vast majority of those flocking to the province have been black South Africans from other provinces. As a result the racial composition of Gauteng's population has changed: Africans grew by almost one and a half million, and now account for 75% of the people (see figure 3 on the next page).

As Gauteng's population has grown, it has also become more diverse, with people of different cultural and geographic origins congregated in the dense but fragmented urban spaces of the province. Many start off amongst the one third of Gauteng residents that live in informal housing. Informal settlements are often characterised by cultures and value systems distinct from the 'townships' or the 'suburbs' of old. The province has also attracted multitudes of Africans from across our borders, seeking economic opportunity and sustainable livelihoods in the province that has continued, for a century, to be seen as the land of 'milk and honey'.

Growth of the urban population presents the province with great opportunities. The entry into the province of new skills, investments and innovations and the location of large numbers of people in a single urban area generates huge potential for economic growth and social development. The increasingly diverse population with different value systems, cultures and identities forms the matrix from which innovation, growth and development could emerge; experience throughout the world shows recent migrants to be on the vanguard of entrepreneurship.

At the same time, increasing ethnic, cultural and social diversity could form the basis of new conflicts especially in the context of scarce resources and high levels of urban poverty. In informal settlements and townships, sporadic conflict and outbreaks of violence sometimes arise from lack of a shared sense of community.

Another feature of Gauteng's population is that it continues to be highly mobile. In the census about one fifth of Gauteng residents (one and a half million people) had moved from outside the province in the five years preceding 2001. Part of the continuing patterns of circular migration are the 1.4 million migrant workers that the province accommodates. It also includes people seeking temporary or permanent access to state (and private) services such as education, health or housing, which are perceived to be of better quality. Many traders and entrepreneurs come in search of small profit in order to invest elsewhere. Even amongst the permanent residents of Gauteng, strong social, economic, familial, religious and political ties are retained with the hinterland.

Gauteng contains the largest concentration of wealth in the Southern Africa, but also the largest disparities between rich and poor. Poverty and inequality remains an important feature of the lives of the majority of Gauteng residents. These disparities between the 'haves' and 'have nots' can polarise the province along social and political lines if not addressed. The richest sections of South Africa's population is found in suburbia of Gauteng, while the poorest sections of the population are streaming from rural areas into both the townships and informal settlements.

It is possible to provide more and better services (such as health, education, and housing) to a larger number of people who are concentrated in an urban environment. On the other hand, there is a possibility that increased demand for service provision cannot keep pace with the in-migration of people leading to an inability to effectively integrate the poor within the urban social fabric of the province.

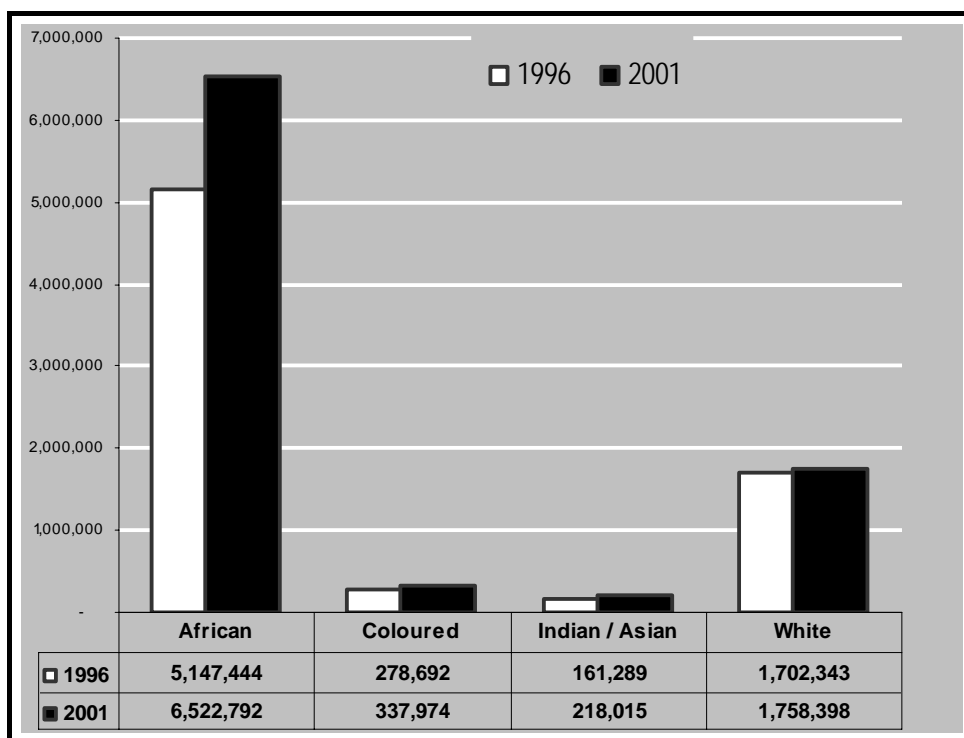


FIGURE 3: GAUTENG POPULATION IN 1996 AND 2001 BY RACE

The Census 2001 shows a large increase in the African population over five years. The Indian and Coloured populations also increased significantly.

Today 48% of Gauteng children live in poor households in the province with 51% of under fives living below the poverty line. HIV and AIDS has and will continue to expand the frontiers of poverty, as limited amounts of disposable income go to pay for treating ill-health of relatives and covering the cost of funerals.

The phenomenon of urban poverty has both the dimensions of asset and income poverty. Many Gauteng residents have benefited immensely from the government’s anti-poverty programmes such as housing delivery, provision of free water, electricity and sanitation, access to social grants, access to education and health care and land restitution. Without these publicly provided goods and services in the past ten years, levels of poverty and inequality would have been astronomically higher. However, income poverty remains the key factor in urban poverty. For the majority of the urban poor, sustainable livelihoods remains a great challenge even if they state has assisted them with social grants, houses and other basic services. And rapid population growth, driven by urbanisation, has meant that backlogs in service delivery have remained very high.

The economic and social changes that have occurred in the last ten years have had a profound impact on the nature of the household. While population growth in Gauteng has been dramatic, the increase in the number of households has been even higher. In Johannesburg alone the number of households increased by almost 40% between census 1996 and 2001: “This suggests that people are not simply moving into cities from rural areas and small towns, but that households already resident within the cities are splitting. In Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni household growth was a phenomenal annual 6.88% and 6.84% respectively” (SACN, p58)

Household splitting can take place for a number of reasons. In some cases people are moving out of backyard shacks and into new RDP houses. In others, women are taking advantage of the expanded welfare net to establish new homes for themselves and their children. This is reflected in the growing demographic importance of female-headed households.

But while the growth in households mirrors the advances of the NDR, it also takes place in the context of economic and social hardship. For the poorest, the household has become a place to retreat to. It is the major site for sharing economic resources such as housing and income through state grants such as old-age pensions, child, and disability grants and grants to those living with AIDS. In this context it is possible for sharp conflicts based on gender and generation to emerge around the allocation of household resources, which can lead to high levels of interpersonal and domestic violence.

Households also use social networks to cushion the effects of poverty, such as those provided by stokvels, churches, the ANC, trade unions and other structures with a long history in the community. But, arguably, the inability of political or union organisations to function effectively as sources of support has led to religious organisations playing a greater role in solidarity, healing, community building and teaching. Older women in the churches are central in house visits to care and pray for the sick and offer comfort and support for the bereaved families after funerals.

The phenomenon of greater levels of urban poverty is a result of increased urbanisation that cannot be matched with available economic opportunities. More people still feel it is better to move to Gauteng and live in an informal settlement even at the risk of going to sleep with an empty stomach, than live in the hinterland where there is something to eat but no chance of getting a job. This highlights the importance of countrywide sustainable development interventions so that that the city is not the only place or space where people can achieve sustainable livelihoods. The success of such interventions should be in interest of both rural and urban society, because of the dependency of the two on each other.

Government plans to address poverty and inequality over the next decade: employment generation through economic growth, popular access to education, assets and infrastructure, the provision of quality health care and the continued extension of social security measures should progressively eliminate poverty in our society. There are signs that the pressures of urbanisation may be abating and that population growth will slow, reducing the burden of the backlog on social and economic development.

Failure to succeed would intensify the political and economic exclusion of the majority, especially the poorest and most vulnerable. These are the challenges that will shape the future of the ANC as a political party.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS: THE SOCIAL TRANSITION

1. There has been significant urbanisation and in-migration from other provinces, the region and the continent coupled with significant mobility within Gauteng and between Gauteng and other areas.
2. Households and families are changing. In particular households are splitting into smaller units so much so that growth in households far exceeds population growth.
3. Despite huge advances in provision of basic services, backlogs remain the same due to in-migration: poverty and inequality is high. The phenomenon of urban poverty that is a function of lack of income needs to be tackled through a combination of measures that make sustainable livelihoods possible. Income-generating activities and food security are issues around which the movement and the state should mobilise around and support co-operative community efforts.
4. Apartheid patterns of spatial exclusion are being reproduced in new forms as people who are part of the first economy live in first society (suburbs), while those on the non-core and periphery (mainly Africans) live in townships and informal settlements. A new Gauteng of 2014 needs to break with this pattern, including turning the tide against the phenomenon of informal settlements. People living in informal settlements are more vulnerable to all social ills such disease, crime and manipulation by political and economic elites.

d) Political Transition

The struggle and sacrifices of the people over the past centuries have presented our generation with the unique opportunity to take South Africa into the new millennium with the overwhelming majority of its **people organised, mobilised and united around a programme of social transformation, premised on democratic majority rule.**

[Strategy and Tactics of the ANC]

The overwhelming national election victory of 1994 placed the ANC in a position to begin the process of transforming the architecture of government and putting in place progressive and transformative policies across all spheres of society, within the limits of the negotiated transition.

In the course of these developments, the ANC has developed an enormous experience in governance and statecraft in a global environment that is not necessarily friendly to progressive social change. The art of effectively using public resources and state power to pursue the objectives of the national democratic revolution did not come naturally; it had to be learned.

The ANC's success and ability to politically manage the complex political social and economic transformations over the last ten years enabled it to consolidate democracy. As it has done so, the overwhelming majority of people have clearly demonstrated their support in three general elections. Support for the institutions of democracy remains very high as demonstrated by consistently huge turnout, especially amongst the poorest sections of the population.

Comparing the 1994 and the 1999 elections the number of ANC votes increased by about 40,000 in Gauteng (see table 1 at the end of this document). The total number of votes (i.e. for all parties) declined from 4.2 million (1994) to 3.7 million (1999). In all other provinces (with the exception of Northern Cape) the overall number of ANC votes diminished between 1994 and 1999, while in Gauteng it increased. The large in-migration of rural residents to Gauteng, particularly Africans (see figure 3 above) is part of the explanation for the ANC's increase from 59% of the votes in 1994 to 69% in 1999.

But there is a second (albeit indirect) factor behind the dramatic increase in the ANC's percentage in Gauteng. This is the political disengagement of minority communities, especially whites, from the system of representative democracy. In Gauteng, the declines in voter turnout in 1999 and 2004 were overwhelmingly concentrated amongst parties that are largely composed of whites, such as the DP, NP, DA and white right. Turnout levels were significantly lower in minority communities than amongst the African majority.

Figure 4 on the next page shows the fortunes of various blocs of parties in Gauteng, based on the information in table 1 at the end of this document. It shows:

- A consistent decline in turnout of supporters of the DA combined bloc. Nationally the DA failed to achieve most of its objectives in the 2004 election. However, it did manage to 'unite the opposition' in Gauteng, where no other opposition party netted more than 3% of the vote, while the DA sits at 22%. This has resulted from its success in uniting the two streams of white politics – English-speaking liberal elites and Afrikaans-speaking conservatives, as well as bringing on board a significant minority of coloured voters formerly loyal to the NNP.
- At the same time the DA has failed to attract any significant new support beyond these meagre pickings from the NNPs carcass. The DA's average African support is less than 5% in Gauteng. While, its position as a 'united' opposition may lead to an even greater consolidation of anti-ANC voters into its camp, it is highly unlikely that the DA would be able to mobilise any electoral challenge to the ANC over the next decade.
- The white right parties, which include the VF+, appear to be stuck at 50,000 votes.

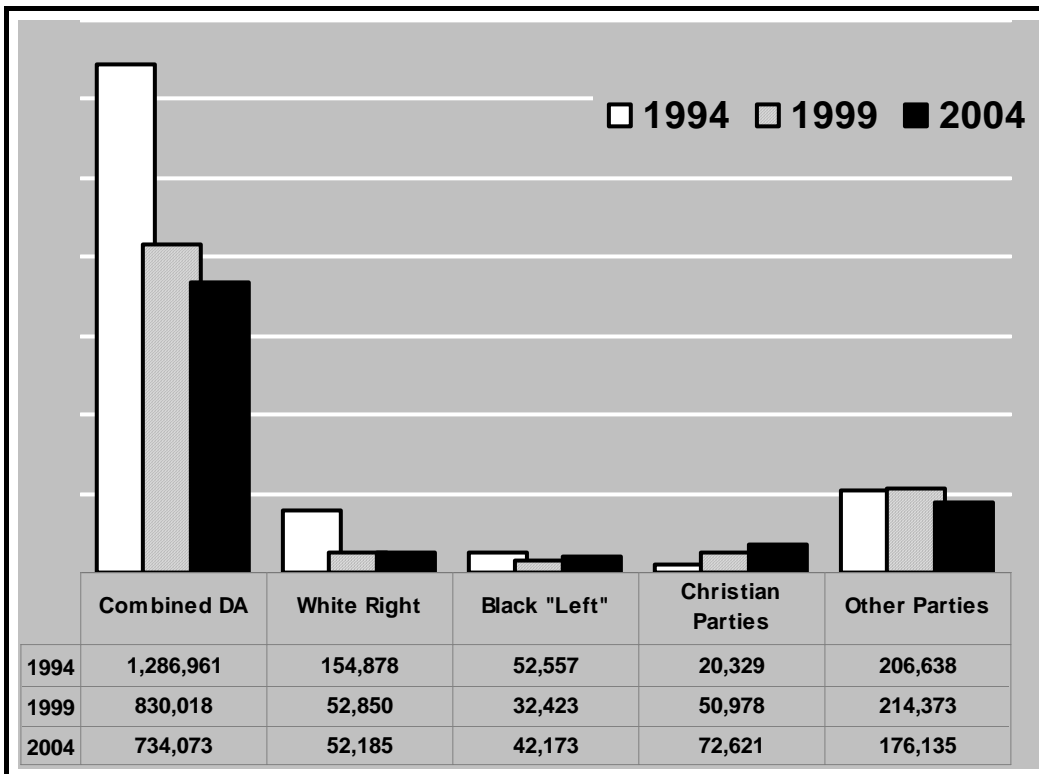


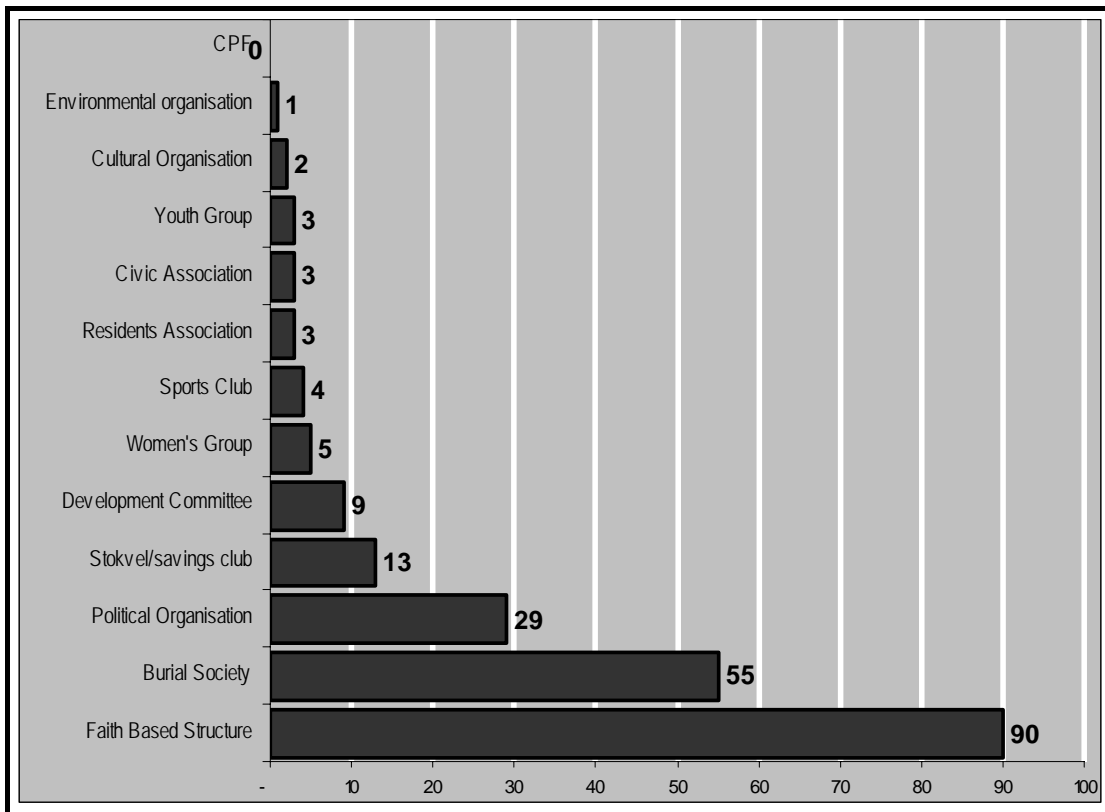
FIGURE 4: GAUTENG'S OPPOSITION IN THREE ELECTIONS

The graph shows the number of votes cast in Gauteng province for the National Assembly election in favour of various categories of party. The combined DA (DP, NNP, FA and DA) saw significant decline, with the DP proving unable to capture the full extent of NP votes cast in 1994. The white right and the black left parties also fared badly. The only parties that saw consistent growth, albeit from a very low base, are the right-wing Christian parties.

- The 'black left' which shows the combined votes of the PAC, AZAPO and SOPA is even worse off, being unable even to match the performance of the 'white right'. The PAC appears moribund, although Azapo saw significant growth from a low base, and demonstrated effective campaign capacity in the urban centres.
- The only group of parties to show consistent growth are the Christian right, which includes the ACDP, the UCDP and, more recently, the CDP. The growth in religious fundamentalism, and the use of charismatic churches to mobilise votes could become a factor in the future. However, even in 2004 these parties failed to net more than 100,000 votes.

It is clear that, as they fish from a shrinking pool of anti-ANC voters opposition parties (at least in the current configurations) have been forced to shelve their aspirations of posing an alternative 'historic project' to the ANC.

The political transition of the last ten years has profoundly affected civil society organisations. These now operate in the context of democratic rights and an accountable government. New types of groupings representing a narrower range of diverse interests have emerged. Organised formations, with clear membership and identifiable constituencies have to some extent been replaced by flexible networks of loosely associated individuals, all sharing an affinity with each other on the basis of one or another identity or calling. Ad-hoc community organisation mushroom around immediate grievances such as poor service provision or the threats posed by crime and violence. Using new information technology, which has democratised access to the mass media, small activist groups, dominated by fractions of the intelligentsia, have the capacity to project significant 'voice' across the body politic.



**FIGURE 5: GAUTENG AFRICANS, FORMAL HOUSING:
PERCENTAGE WHO ARE MEMBERS OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS**

% of respondents who said they were a member of ... [See table 3a and 3b at the end of this document for more details]

The MDM formations and other ‘organs of people’s power’, which emerged from the social ferment of the 1980s, have fundamentally changed. The creation of forums and institutions for them to engage the state (which constitutes a realisation of many historic demands of these movements) has to a certain extent led to their institutionalisation, which can easily result in a lack of dynamism and popular organisation. Rather than building mass structures through intense organisational work, political education and action, many of these structures have become bureaucratic and weak.

Against this background, the last ten years have seen a declining level of participation in political, sectoral and civic structures. One survey found that amongst Africans living in formal housing only 9% were members of a development committee, while none said they were members of a CPF (see figure 5) Only 3% of respondents said they were members of a civic organisation, although almost 29% identified themselves as members of a political party (no doubt all of them referring to the ANC).

Hoping to benefit from this groundswell in the diversity of civil society, and filling the spaces in community organisation that the ANC has vacated, various NGO’s have defined themselves as with the conscious objective of being watchdogs in the determination of the public agenda. This is to be expected and welcomed in a vibrant democracy. Civic groups focused on service delivery demands, ratepayers associations, CBOs, NGOs and other civil society formations are all extremely healthy features of the political life of our democracy. Such organisations assist in channelling expectations and potential grievances into structures, and organise what citizens are thinking and feeling into forums that government is able to engage with. They also alert government to issues bubbling up from below that they would have not other way of knowing about. Our branches have an important task to build relationships with all structures working in the community, whether we define them as progressive or not.

There are also those groups that call themselves ‘social movements’ and which have a clear political agenda that is both anti-state and anti-ANC. These forces mobilise on the basis of the weaknesses of democratic local government and the failure of our branches to interact with people continuously around problems that affect them, particularly around poor service delivery. While such forces are unlikely to constitute a unified national political platform able to contest the ANC, they could potentially challenge the ANC in local government elections where our local structures and councillors are weak. Also, given that their leaderships are dominated by an oppositionist fraction of the liberal intelligentsia, their international linkages and ability to determine the agenda of media-discourse cannot be ignored. The preface to Strategy and Tactics advises that these groups should be managed with tact: “History has shown, the leader of the revolution has to find creative ways of giving leadership to such structures and activities of civil society. This requires theoretical acumen, leadership skills and organisational capacity”

The results of election of 2004 suggest a significant widening of the ANC’s support, with constituencies that were previously hostile voting for the movement in greater numbers than before. Amongst Indians the ANC has the support of a clear majority of voters. Amongst Coloureds the ANC had one third, the DA another third and the ID a quarter of the votes in the 2004 election (see table 2 at the end of this document). There is also some evidence to suggest that some white voters have come out in support of the ANC, especially in areas where our campaign work during 2004 was strong. Therefore it could also be said that the ANC support has diversified and that is increasingly able to represent the whole ‘nation’. At the same time there are no signs of other political forces weakening the ANCs core support base, except sporadically.

The ANC is likely to remain the party of political consensus around the goals of the NDR, with no electoral challenger on the horizon and with civil society acting effectively only in relation to single-issue campaigns. For the ANC growing electoral success has enabled the acceleration of the pace of the implementation of the NDR, while the advance of the NDR generates even greater electoral support. In this context, the ANC has consolidated its position as the ‘natural’ party of the democratic transition, expressed in the increase in the proportion of votes cast in its favour throughout the country.

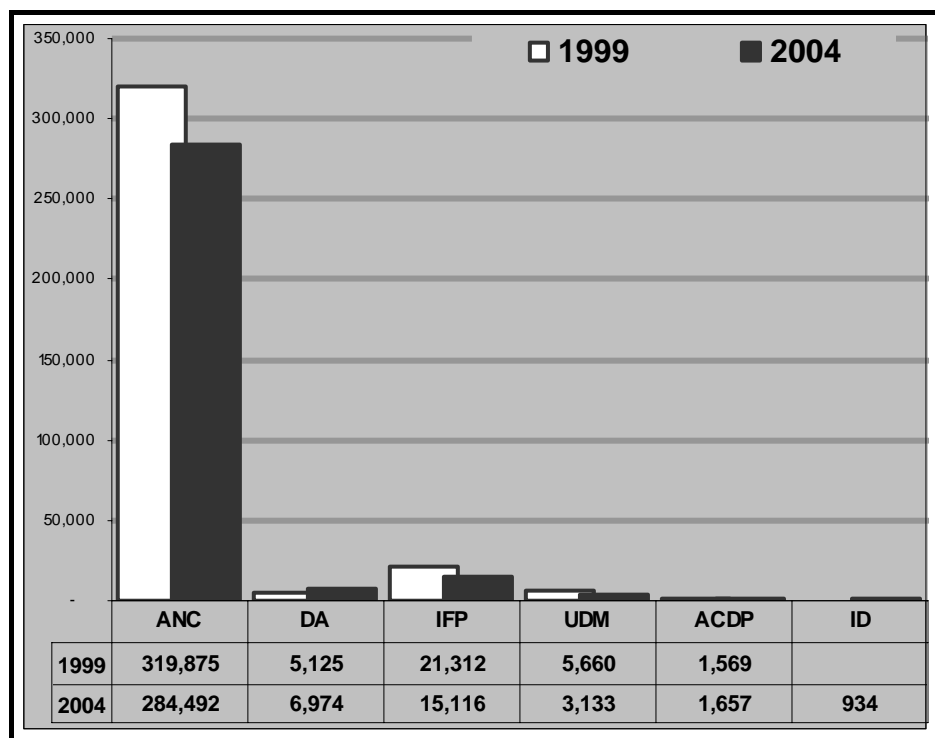


FIGURE 6: VOTES CAST IN SOWETO IN TWO ELECTIONS

The number of provincial ballots cast for various parties in the 1999 and 2004 elections. The ANC received fewer votes. The IFP and the UDM also received far fewer votes, perhaps to the benefit of the DA, which increased its number of votes slightly.

Nevertheless, there is no room for complacency, especially in Gauteng. In 2004 almost 200 000 fewer people voted for the ANC than in 1999. This must be cause for concern in a province where the population grows at 4% a year.

Figure 6 shows the number of provincial ballots cast in 28 wards that form the most of Soweto, where the ANC received fewer votes in 2004 compared with 1999. If we take all the African townships and informal settlements in the Gauteng as a whole, a net 270,000 fewer votes were cast for the ANC in these areas. It is possible that these lower turnout levels can be explained by the Easter holiday period, with high levels of mobility of the Gauteng population translating into lower turnout, as people did not return to the province for election day. It is also possible that long queues at voting stations dampened turnout, particularly in the ANCs core constituency. However, we also cannot ignore the possibility that these patterns reflect lower levels of participation in electoral politics and support for the ANC.

On the cultural and ideological front, Gauteng has some of the world's most advanced instruments and institutions of cultural reproduction or ideological assimilation. It is the capital of the country's mass media. It is a hub of some of the world's largest information and communication technology (ICT) companies and is Africa's technological heartland. Those in the core of the mainstream economy have easy access to ICT resources and other concentrations of knowledge. The province hosts some of the country's top universities, policy think tanks and research institutes and is the capital of our music and film industry. The province also has the largest number of political parties that contest elections, however small they may be.

Those who control or master the instruments of public opinion have an overbearing influence on the attitudes and tastes of large sections of the population, especially youth, who have access to newspapers, television, movies, internet and other forms of cultural consumerism in which the dominant values of greed, self-centredness and vice are churned out. The presence of all these cultural and ideological institutions and instruments on Gauteng's political landscape makes the terrain for ideological struggle profoundly complex.

Finally, some of the movement's finest cadres are also locate here: cadres who work in various government departments at national, provincial and local level, in parastatals, in the academic and research institutions, in the arts, in sports, in civil society formations and in the different industries of the private sector. The province also has a high concentration of veterans of the liberation struggle. Our ability to utilise all these cadres and veterans skilfully to strengthen political, organisational and ideological interventions of the movement and its allies in Gauteng's complex ideological terrain is something that must be addressed in the next few years. The movement has an untapped capacity to shape public opinion and urban culture. In addition to getting these cadres to be members of branches where they live, the movement needs to find create ways of using their knowledge, skills and their creative energies in forums where they can best contribute to the political and organisational work of the ANC.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS: THE POLITICAL TRANSITION

1. Many people across the province have strong faith in the ability of the democratic institutions to deal with their issues even in the face of ongoing high levels of urban poverty and inequality. However, the ANC and the democratic state need to double mobilisation efforts in order to widen the participation of citizens in the political processes. Research shows that the participation of citizens in community structures and political process is not impressive, including participation in the 2004 elections.
2. There is no electoral challenge to the ANC in the foreseeable future. This means that the ANC will remain the 'party of consensus,' drawing support from a broad range of social forces behind a common project of progressive transformation.
3. There is increasing support for the ANC as a whole but a decline in number of entrenched and committed supporters. Votes cast by the ANC's core constituency in Gauteng was lower in 2004 than in 1994, indicating less 'depth' in ANC support
4. The ANC has increased the 'width' of its support, with growing acceptance of its leadership role in minority communities. The ANC still has a real possibility to become the party of choice among national minorities as most of them are increasingly losing interest in the white opposition parties.
5. Civil society, although engaging fewer people within its ranks, shows a much greater level of diversity than in the past, with small groups able to exercise significant 'voice' in the body politic. The ANC and the democratic state need to find sustained ways of forming partnerships with those sections of civil society who have genuine interest in addressing the problems of development and service delivery to the poor. The faith-based organisations and movements are among the critical players this type of progressive civil society.
6. The role of oppositionist social movements, fundamentalist charismatic churches and smaller political parties is more expressed in communities where the ANC has failed to organise itself adequately. Branches are the most potent organs of the movement to tackle the challenge that may be posed by these forces at a ward level.
7. During the second decade of freedom, the ANC needs to pay a great deal of attention to questions of cultural transformation. Quite correctly, we have paid serious attention to addressing the material wellbeing of the majority of the population in the past decade. However, some distortion of the holistic development of the revolutionary process is beginning to show signs among sections of the youth get bombarded with the dominant moral values and images churned out as part of cultural imperialism. Ideological discourse should be and planned and organised more consciously in different centres of life wherever ANC cadres are found.

SOCIAL FORCES IN TRANSITION

THE CHANGING COMPOSITION AND CHARACTER OF SOCIAL FORCES IN THE PROVINCE

In carrying out these tasks [of the NDR], the emergent democratic state relies on the formal instruments available to it; but, above all, on the active involvement of members of society in changing their lives for the better. Both as individuals, and organised in political formations and various structures of civil society, **the citizens are the bedrock of fundamental change.**

[Strategy and Tactics of the ANC]

a) The position of New Generations in Gauteng

Gauteng is a young province. Two thirds of the population (67%) are under the age of 35. Compared to other provinces this is not particularly high; in South Africa as a whole 70% of the population is below 35. However, Gauteng has an unusually large concentration of working age youth: those between the ages of 20 and 35 constitute almost 40% of the population, whereas in other provinces they amount to 30% or less. 3.4 million youth of working age live in Gauteng, accounting for 25% of working age youth in South Africa.

In April 2004, the ANC machinery throughout the province succeeded in filling FNB stadium to capacity. A significant proportion of those who attended were young men and women who could not have been old enough to participate in the 'struggle' politics of the 1980s or earlier. The challenge in the next decade, for the ANCYL as well as the ANC, will be to translate this mobilisation into an organisation and the development of a new generation of cadres and leaders.

And we do not have room for complacency. In the 2004 Gauteng Provincial Legislature list not a single ANC candidate was under the age of 30. By 2009, therefore, a cadreship concentrated in the older age groups will have to organise a Gauteng electorate where more than 40% of the voters are under 35, and where about one third will have been born after the 1976 uprising.

The ANC must find ways to benefit from the regeneration and enthusiasm that only the youth can bring into its ranks. New generations are the raw materials from whom our next generation of leaders of the ANC are developed. Adept with new technologies, skilled with new competencies and globally connected, it is the new generations which will be able to integrate the cutting edge technologies into the organisational practices of an ANC in need of ongoing renewal.

Since the social ferment of the late 80s and early 90's youth membership of public organisations has declined substantially. Figure 7 (on the next page) shows the results of surveys into youth membership of political organisations. In 2000 57% of youth said they belonged to no organisation. In 1992 15% of youth said they belonged to a political organisation, 17% said they belonged to a youth organisation and 5% a civic. In 2000 only 4% said they belonged to a political organisation, 7% to a youth organisation and 1% to a civic. Church and sports organisations remain the most popular in terms of youth membership today, but are also well down from the high levels of membership associated with the social ferment of the late 80's and early 90's.

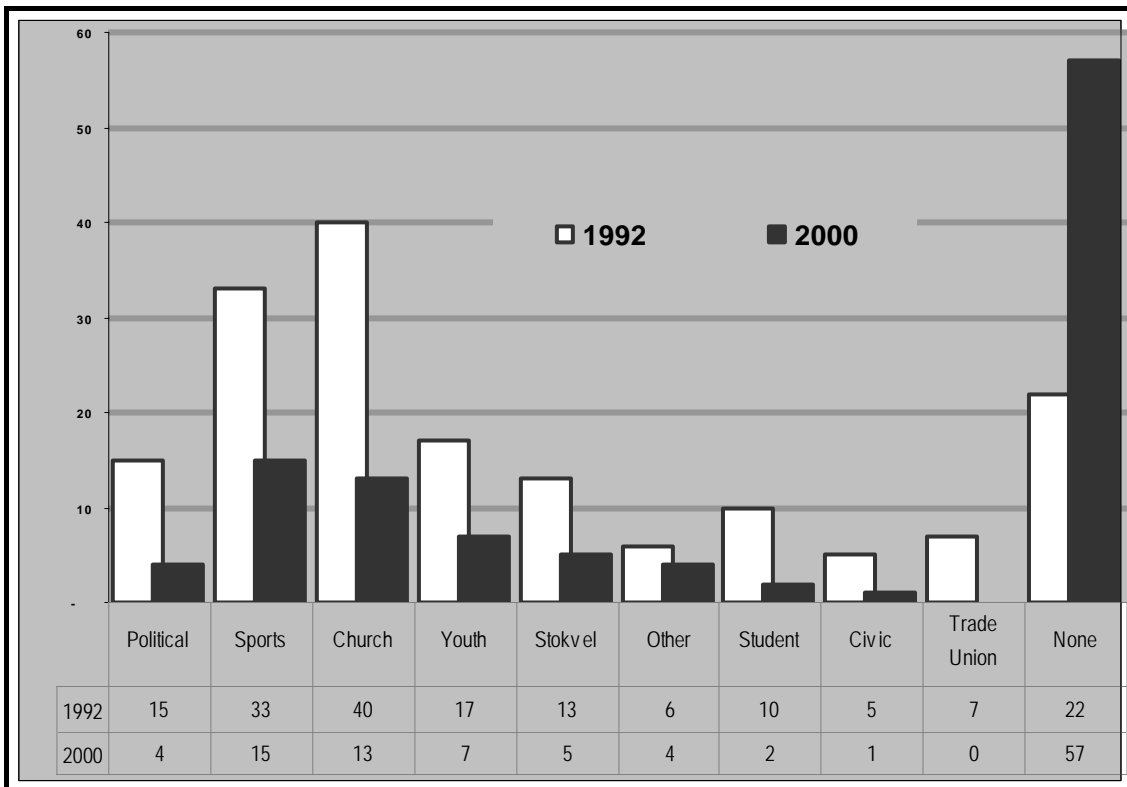


FIGURE 7: YOUTH MEMBERSHIP OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS (1992 AND 2000)

In 1992 22% of youth said they were not a member of any organisation. In 2000 57% of youth said they were not a member of any organisation. This apparent demobilisation is across the board, with fewer youth participating in political, sport, church, student, civic and trade union structures. Sport and church structures remain the most popular amongst the youth: source: Everatt and Jennings (2000)

Youth disengagement from the new institutions of democracy compared with older age groups is also apparent in the registration figures. Figure 8 (on the next page) shows the percentage of various age groups who are registered. Only 30% of 18-19 year olds are registered. It appears the older you are, the more likely you are to be registered

Young people, especially those who are most poor and vulnerable continue to be excluded and marginalized by society in general. Youth unemployment and poverty, together with the growing impact of HIV/AIDS present the youth with new challenges that their parents could hardly have imagined. Young people will turn to gangs and substance abuse when alternative places of inclusion such as schools, families and the workplace fail them.

Youth disengagement at its most extreme manifestation can result in sub-cultures of violent and criminal behaviour. Destructive masculine tendencies are particularly prevalent amongst young men, who are both the primary victims and perpetrators of violent crime in South Africa. The prevalence of a sub-culture of gangs that revolves around violence as a means of acquiring status presents significant threats to society at large, especially to young women.

However, such problems are by no means the norm in the youth sector. To suggest so would do a great disservice to the majority of young people who are not prone to violence or joining gangs. While only a small proportion of all youth are involved in crime and violence these actions have a disproportional influence in society. This warrants urgent attention to avoid the emergence of destructive cycles that can become self-perpetuating over decades.

Youth 'disengagement' is sometimes explained by invoking a powerful myth: it is said that youth are apathetic, apolitical, consumerists. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. Numerous opinion surveys show that, far from being 'apathetic' the youth are the most interested in politics and elections, are the happiest with process of change and the programme of the ANC, and are most optimistic about the future.

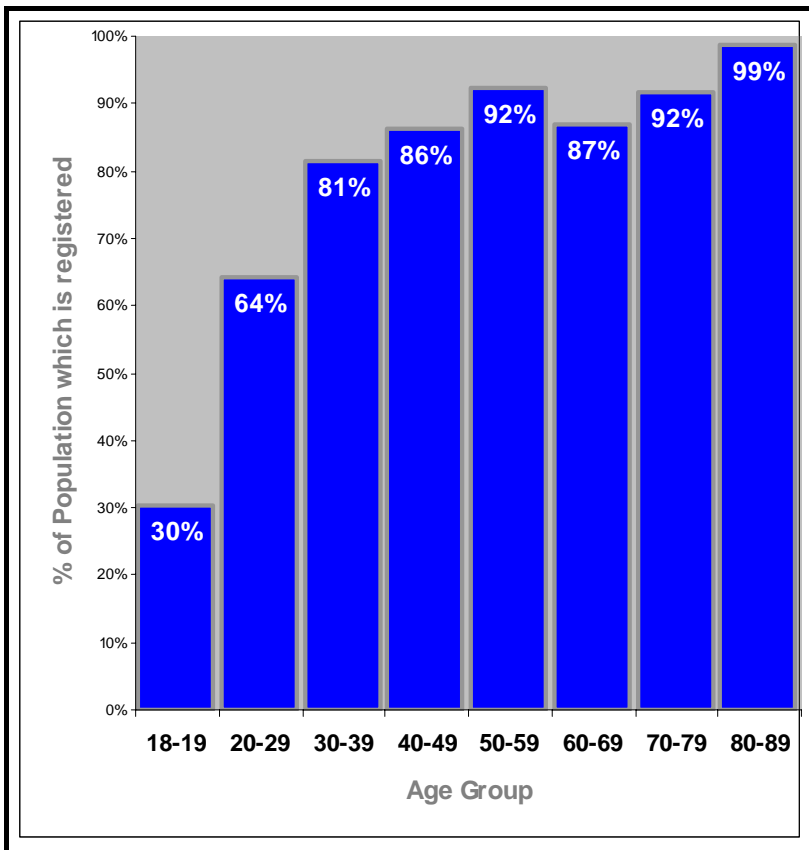


FIGURE 8: PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION REGISTERED BY AGE

Source: IEC website, and Census 2001 data.

It is not so much that youth are not interested in politics; rather it is the institutions of democracy are less interested in the youth. New generations are socially conscious and ready to translate their idealism and energy into activism for a better life. However, most do not see politics as the vehicle through which to exercise social responsibility

Traditional modes of political engagement tend to ignore and exclude the youth because they do not speak the language of the new generations. Consequently, young people have sought other means of channelling their energy and idealism. This has led to a renaissance of youth culture, not witnessed since the days of Sophiatown.

The emergence of Kwaito and other youth cultural movements are a fertile ground for the development of a truly South African, non-racial culture. Kwaito music, house, hip-hop and reggae which form a single cultural milieu amongst South African youth, strongly asserts African and black identity, is fundamentally non-racial and draws in large numbers of youth from all national minorities. This cultural movement is the social context in which a new subjective non-racialism is emerging, as a direct consequence of our own victories.

While obviously not as politicised as their 1970's and 80's counterparts, new generations are highly conscious of their identity as black people living in a society that has not achieved non-racialism. As a result they are largely sympathetic to the liberation movement, at least for now

But the majority of the 3.4 million youth of working age are not active in the structures of the democratic movement: ANC, COSATU, SACP and ANCYL and ANCWL. This poses a serious challenge to the approach we use to organise. Increasingly, it may be a sign that larger sections of society only relate to the movement during election time. This is dangerous because they can easily be swung away from the ANC if the movement does not have mechanisms of involving them actively in development campaigns and organisational life.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS: NEW GENERATIONS

1. While there is a decline of youth participation in traditional forms of youth organisation including political parties, there is the emergence of new forms of youth organisation particularly in respect of culture which holds the potential to develop into a truly South African non-racial culture;
2. Youth are not necessarily politically disengaged, rather political organisations including the ANC have not been able to successfully engage with their strong youth constituency;
3. Youth unemployment and poverty coupled with the impact of the HIV and AIDS epidemic continue to exclude and marginalise a significant proportion of young people.
4. While a minority of youth are involved in crime, their actions have a disproportionately disruptive impact on society.
5. The majority of the 3.4 million youth of working age are not active in the structures of the democratic movement

b) The status of Women in Gauteng

Apartheid colonialism also meant the systematic suppression of the talents, creativity and capacity of women to play their role in the ordering of the nation's affairs. Much more than any other sector, colonial oppression and a universal patriarchal culture, including socially constructed "gender roles", conspired to degrade women and treat them as sub-human. These gender roles permeate all spheres of life, beginning with the family, and are entrenched by stereotypes, dominant ideas, cultures, beliefs, traditions and laws.

Critical to the NDR is not only the affirmation of gender equality, but also ensuring that it is lived in practice by all South Africans, and finds conscious expression in all the policies and programmes of the nation. **Concerted efforts will have to be made to educate citizens to change their attitudes and practices regarding the roles of women and men in society, and to assert an approach to issues of race and class which consistently recognises the gender imprint within and among these races and classes.**

[Strategy and Tactics of the ANC]

The NDR and its related constitutional and legislative changes bringing about the emancipation of women have had a profound influence on both women and men. At the same time, concerted efforts at social inclusion, through provision of services, welfare and housing, amongst other factors, have liberated many women from some of the heaviest burdens of a patriarchal society.

These changes, together with the declining role of the rural economy have seen increasing numbers of women seek work in both the formal and informal economy. While more women than men are still unemployed and more women than men are in the most exploitative and low paying jobs, more women are also working in similar jobs as men at technical, professional and managerial levels, earning the same salaries. Nevertheless, men overwhelmingly dominate the core of the economy.

In all 35% of households in Gauteng are headed by women, higher than the national average. South Africa has long been characterized by high numbers of single women headed households, but the dynamics around these households could be changing, with women opting for such arrangements as opposed to being forced upon them by men who desert them. On the other hand, the burden of care in the context of unemployment, poverty and high levels of mortality is likely to fall disproportionately on female-headed households.

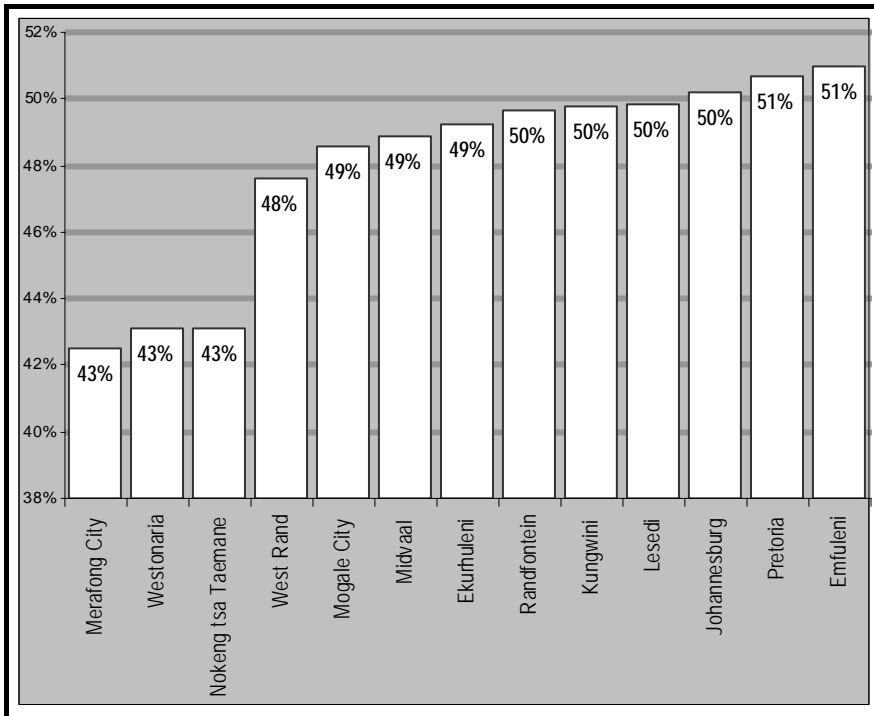


FIGURE 9: PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION WHO ARE WOMEN, BY MUNICIPALITY IN GAUTENG

As more women are able to participate independently in the economy and are not tied to their marriages or relationships with male partners, so it is likely that their position of influence in society increases. It is also possible that men could become threatened by the increasing power and independence of women and this could impact negatively on domestic relations. Available research points to no reductions in the levels of violence against women. Rape, femicide and other forms of violence and abuse of women remain endemic in our society. At the level of the household, domestic violence and other abuse of women is often related to the distribution of meagre resources.

It is not possible to tell how many women and men voted in the election, but in research done for the ANC in Gauteng 57% of women respondents said they would vote ANC, compared to only 47% of men. Commitment to the ANC is also higher among our women voters in Gauteng. Using the conversion model as before, we find that 56% of our committed supporters in Gauteng are women. Furthermore, men (56%) are considerably more likely to be unavailable to the ANC than women (44%). Women appear to form the bedrock on which the ANC is built in Gauteng – the task facing us is to ensure that they remain so into the future.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS: WOMEN IN GAUTENG

1. While there is increasing employment of women, there is also increasing unemployment of women; employed women are more likely to be in unskilled and vulnerable positions.
2. There is a significant increase in women headed households particularly in Gauteng, and large numbers of women have entered the labour market.
3. While women are increasing empowered in the public sphere, disempowerment and abuse of women remains a feature in the private sphere. There could be a relationship between these two phenomena.
4. Women are the bedrock of ANC support in Gauteng.

c) The conditions of workers and the changing world of work in Gauteng's economy

South African capitalism gave birth to a collective of black workers whose class position and social existence placed it at the head of the struggle for freedom. By dint of its activism and organisation, this class won the respect of all the other motive forces as the leader of the NDR. Along with the poor rural masses, **the working class stands to gain most from the success of transformation. Because of its organisation and role, and objectively because of its numbers and position in the production process, the working class is critical to this process.**

[Strategy and Tactics of the ANC]

A recent survey of COSATU members reached a number of interesting conclusions:

- The majority of respondents were male, aged between 26 and 45, and are increasingly becoming more skilled with high levels of education. 42% of respondents viewed themselves as 'skilled'. The majority are full time, permanent employees.
- There were high levels of trust in political parties and also in elected political institutions. More than 50% trusted political parties and elected institutions to defend workers' rights, although the vast majority believed a union was also necessary.
- The ANC remains the party of choice for workers, with 73% support for the movement, about the same as in 1994. 16% refused to say who they would vote for while only 5% said they would not vote. Only 7% felt that COSATU should form its own party.
- The majority of workers believed that there had been improvements in the levels of service delivery by government over the last ten years, although jobs, wages, HIV/AIDS and crime remained key concerns.

The organised working class remains solidly behind the movement. This is not surprising since in many respects they have benefited considerably from the extension of citizenship and worker rights as a consequence of the NDR. Although the context of poverty means that greater numbers of people are depending on their wages, their income and working conditions have dramatically improved.

A recent study of the manufacturing sector found that: "Rising labour productively has resulted in a slow but steady increase in labour remuneration. Average manufacturing wages in June 2002 were 21% higher than in June 1990 – with 2/3 of the increase post June 1995. Moreover, while more data are needed here, there are clear indications that the earnings of unskilled and lower paid employees in manufacturing increased more rapidly than those of the skilled and higher paid employees. Preoccupation with the employment numbers has led to a neglect of this important dimension of equity – for those in formal manufacturing employment, and more particularly for lower paid employees, there have been persistent and solid gains in remuneration." (Kaplan, 2003)

The union movement is increasingly concentrated within the core of the labour market. Within that core the shift away from manufacturing has changed the character of union organisation. Within COSATU the dominant role of the mining and manufacturing unions (in terms of membership numbers) has been reduced by the growth of public sector unions, such as NEHAWU and SADTU. Today, unions organising government employees account for 41% of COSATU members (see table 4 at the end of this document). Even in Cosatu's Wits region, which excludes Tshwane, public sectors workers account for a third of union membership (see table 5).

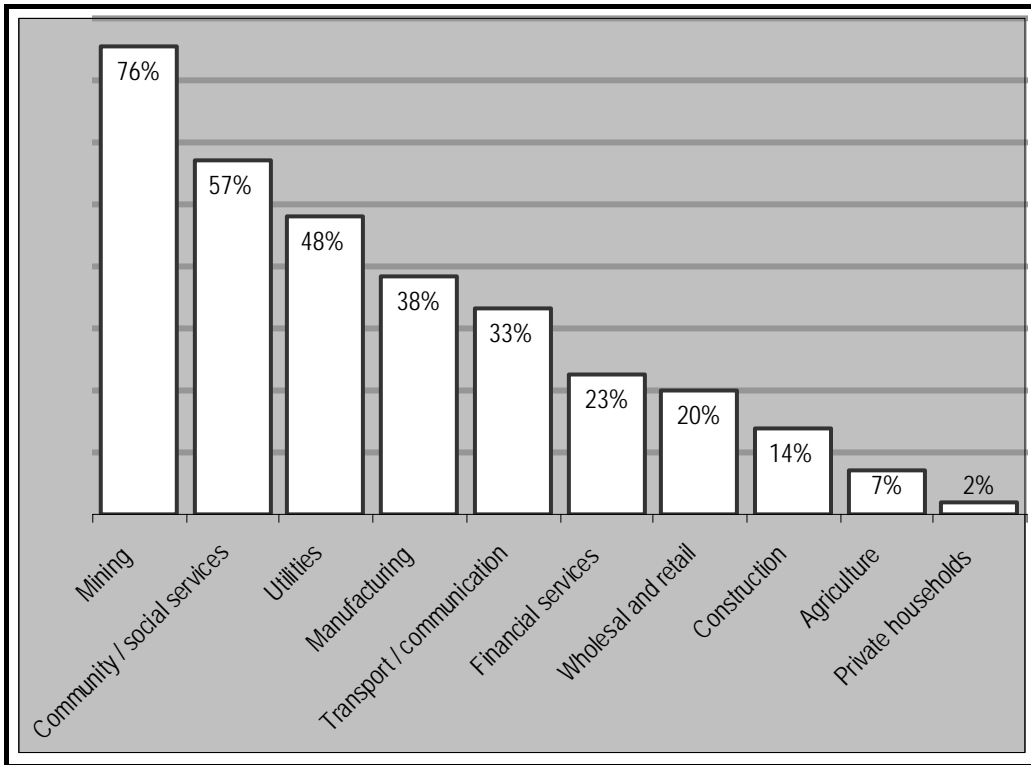


FIGURE 10: UNION DENSITY BY SECTOR IN SOUTH AFRICA

Union density shows the percentage of workers in a sector that are members of a union. Only 2% of people employed in Private Households belong to a union, while 76% of mineworkers belong to one. Before 1994, unions in government were virtually banned, union density in community and social services, which includes government now stands at 57%! [Labour force survey, 2004]

While union density is very high in general, growth in membership has been lowest in those sectors of the economy where new jobs are being created. The service sectors are harder to organise in since workers are not always concentrated on a shop floor but are dispersed around more diffuse working spaces. At the furthest extreme the separation of workers into separate and distant workplaces, such as for example domestic workers, makes union organisation very difficult, as revealed in figure 10.

The restructuring of the working class into core and non-core workers has also posed challenges, since many forms of atypical employment are designed precisely with the aim of undermining collective organisation. And, while some unions are beginning to organise workers in the non-core zone, there has been little success in organising those on the periphery. Indeed, there is a strong argument to be made that the organisational terrain in the periphery is so different to that of a traditional trade union that an altogether new form of organisation is required.

An example of innovation in the organisation of workers in the urban second economy is the Self Employed Women's Organisation (SEWU), which has organised in KwaZulu Natal since the early 1990's based in an 'on the ground' response to the changing nature of work. SEWU differs from traditional trade unions in the way it has had to redefine membership solidarity as well as the counterpart to which it directs demands and negotiates. The organisation has succeeded in engaging local government and negotiated improved conditions and facilities for street traders. In this way, SEWU has been able to circumvent the constraints of exclusion from the employment relationship and the protection of labour legislation, and established through negotiation a new form of inclusion in terms of local government regulation and resources.

This illustration of the possibility of organising on the margins of the formal economy raises important questions about the class character and trajectory of the self-employed, and thus the broader working class. Since a growing proportion of workers do not sell their labour to an employer for a wage, either being small entrepreneurs or unemployed the character of the entire 'working class' is bound to alter.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS: WORKERS

1. The organised working class remains solidly behind the ANC and the NDR, with very little support for the idea of a 'workers party'
2. The shift to the services sector, and towards a segmented labour market, has undermined the unity of the organised working class as workplaces become more diffuse and atypical forms of work undermine workplace solidarity.
3. In the periphery of the labour market entirely new forms of organisation may be appropriate, especially where the distinction between workers and entrepreneurs becomes blurred.

d) The relative weight of the Black Middle Strata and the emerging Black Bourgeoisie in Gauteng

The formation of a democratic government has also set in motion a rapid process of breaking the glass ceiling that blocked propertied and professional sections of the black community from advancement ...

At the same time, the policies of government have opened up a wide array of opportunities for small and medium enterprises. Other sections of the black middle strata are also benefiting directly and indirectly from opportunities created by government. Indeed, the rapid advance of these sections constitutes one of the most immediate and most visible consequences of democracy ...

However, in the overall, the **rising black bourgeoisie and middle strata are objectively important motive forces of transformation whose interests coincide with at least the immediate interests of the majority. They are, in this sense and in this phase, part of the motive forces of fundamental change.**

[Strategy and Tactics of the ANC]

The 2004 preface to the Strategy and Tactics document notes that the black, emergent capitalist class "needs to be organised and mobilised to serve the interests of reconstruction and development". While politically and socially significant, especially in Gauteng, this 'black bourgeoisie' remains tiny in numerical terms. In fact, by any measure they continue to be a small fraction of the capitalist class. Of thousands of executive directors of listed companies only 64 are black! The capital they own amounts to less than 1% of equity listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. In senior management of corporations and key economic professions black representation is also miniscule. In many respects the black bourgeoisie is still a fraction of 'capitalists in search of capital'. Nevertheless, black capital, concentrated in the mining and financial sectors is concentrated in Gauteng province.

Strategy and Tactics document warns us "In some instances what is hailed in the private sector as "black empowerment" is symbolic and devoid of real substance. There are possibilities that some of these forces are dictated to by foreign or local big capital on whom they rely for their advancement. There are possibilities too, that the path to riches for some can be directly via public office, sometimes through corrupt practices. Though such instances may be an exception to the norm, experience in other countries has taught us that, without vigilance, elements of these new capitalist classes can become witting or unwitting tools of monopoly interests, or parasites who thrive on corruption in public office."

While the black bourgeoisie remains tiny, the growth in numbers of the black middle strata has been phenomenal. This includes the various intermediate classes (i.e. neither labour nor capital) such as managers, professionals, small business owners, public servants etc. As education levels improve and the service sector grows it is to be expected that this black middle class will become even more significant.

Traditionally, South Africa's middle class has been racially defined as white and structurally separated from the majority. In contrast, the new black middle class has greater organic links through culture and family ties to the majority of the population. As a result, the economic power that they wield could be directed into patterns of consumption and investment which are less polarising than those traditionally associated with their white counterparts. The growth of an African middle class can form an important force for integration between the first and second economies, as well as provide a boost to domestic demand, thus spurring the creation of broader based economic activity.

However, this will not take place automatically: "Fundamental change also demands the redefinition of outlook, cultural values and moral attributes that characterise South African society. This is the realm of ideology; the battle of ideas; in which new values and mores that place humanism above greed and individual selfish interest need to be strongly asserted" (Preface to Strategy and Tactics, 2004).

Cultural, and political, divisions within the African majority and the increasing class differentiation within this bloc will have important implications for the ANC. As people experience growing gap in the lifestyles of the rich and the poor, along class rather than racial lines, consciousness of 'relative deprivation' is compounded, especially if only a select few are perceived to benefit from 'black economic empowerment' and affirmative action.

Intermediate strata, endowed with educational advantages and new political cultures, influenced to a greater degree by global trends, may increasingly seek alternative means of political expression, which by-pass ANC structures and engage directly with the state. Middle class politics may seek alternative forms of expression to that of the ANC branch. This poses the challenge of managing ANC branches that can transcend emerging class divisions (e.g. including 'maids and madams' within a single structure).

Historical experience, especially in developing countries points to the possibility of intermediate classes pursuing their own historic projects, independent from workers or capitalists. These could include radical reform movements, whether of the populist or of the revolutionary kind. As these classes pursue their historic project, in distinction from that of workers or capitalists, the politics of petty-bourgeois opposition may take the form of right wing (e.g. religious fundamentalist) or left-wing (e.g. socialist) ideology.

CONCLUSIONS: BLACK CAPITALISTS AND MIDDLE STRATA

1. The success of our transformation agenda has seen a significant growth and explosion of the black middle strata. Gauteng has benefited most from this growth. However, our organisation has not been able to address the consequences of this positive development of the deracialisation of the managerial and professional strata. The ANC needs to develop ways in which it can provide effective leadership to this sector, the majority of whom are particular the young women and young professionals.
2. There is no doubt that the black bourgeoisie are becoming an important factor in the politics and economics of the province. Most of them active very active members of the ANC. The ANC still needs to develop ways in which it can provide effective leadership to this sector.

e) The place of Coloured and Indian Communities

[Under apartheid] the Coloured and Indian communities, who, though accorded bigger crumbs from the masters' table, were essentially excluded from the court of the privileged, and themselves played a critical role in the struggle ... **This hierarchy of oppression was devised as a tool of divide-and-rule**, as an expression of the warped minds of the white racist ruling clique and as a tactic to buttress the forces which would have a stake in the system of apartheid to defend .

[Strategy and Tactics of the ANC]

According to census 2001 there 340 000 Coloureds and 220 000 Indians in Gauteng. The term 'minorities' can be highly misleading. These groups have never formed a single homogenous community; within each group there are numerous overlapping identities reflecting a diversity of class, culture and religion. What is more, the end of apartheid restrictions has resulted in significant inter-penetration of racial groups, especially in Coloured and Indian townships where Africans are now able to move in, both as formal residents and also as informal 'squatters'. As poorer South Africans have moved into these areas, which by dint of apartheid planning are often adjacent to the African townships, many wealthier members of the black minorities have migrated into formerly white areas.

As we build non-racialism and assert the African character of our revolution, we must avoid thinking along lines of a mechanical structuring of people into fixed identities, which ignores the increasingly complex and cosmopolitan character of our society. Whereas apartheid sought to define human beings on the basis of a single attribute (pigmentation), democracy enables the flourishing of humanity in all its diverse glory. Strategy and Tactics reminds us that:

The ANC recognises that individuals within [the] nation will have multiple identities, on the basis of their physiological make-up, cultural life and social upbringing. Such distinctive features will not disappear in the melting-pot of broad South Africanism. Neither does their association on the basis of one social attribute or the other constitute a denial of their other identities. But it is critical that the over-arching identity of being South African is promoted among all those who are indeed South African, as part of the process of building an African nation on the southern tip of the continent. The affirmation of our Africanness as a nation has nothing to do with the domination of one culture or language by another _ it is a recognition of a geographic reality and the awakening of a consciousness which colonialism suppressed.

It is important too, to de-bunk the myth that Coloured and Indian communities are middle class. In Gauteng, more than 80% of coloureds earn less than R6400 per month, while two thirds of Indians also fall into this category, indicating the continuing strength of the working class in both communities. Indeed, table 7 at the end of this document shows that the intersection between race and class remains very much with us in Gauteng, with whites dominating upper income categories, followed by Indians, Coloureds and Africans, in that order.

In the discussion of voting patterns above (the political transition), mention was made of the fact that the 2004 election saw a swing towards the ANC amongst Coloured and Indian voters. Figure 11 (on the next page) illustrates the average percentage votes received by various parties in Indian and Coloured Townships in Gauteng (more detail is provided in table 2 at the end of this document). It is not the first time that the ANC has demonstrated its clear majority amongst Indians in the province, although 2004 saw significant movement forward, especially in working class areas, leading to a clear 52% for the ANC. The DA lags far behind with only 28 percent of the popular vote. In Gauteng coloured townships the ANC and the DA are neck and neck with a third of the vote each, while the ID has netted a significant share of the vote. The NNP appears to have collapsed.

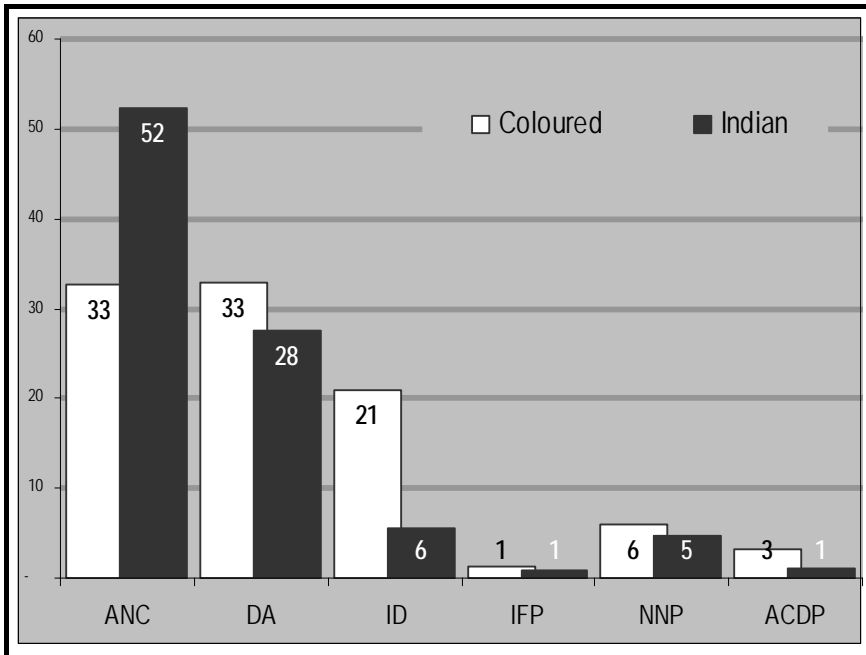


FIGURE 11: PERCENTAGE VOTES FOR PARTIES IN COLOURED AND INDIAN TOWNSHIPS IN GAUTENG

The figures are based on the average vote in selected townships and within selected racially homogenous voting districts. Further details, including patterns in particular townships, can be found in tables 3a and 3b at the end of this document.

However, before jumping to triumphant conclusions, we should note that these percentages were attained on the basis of very low voter turnout in both the Coloured and Indian community. Table 3 at the end of this document suggest that people in minority communities are also much less likely than the African majority to participate in civil society and community structures. This apparent disengagement from electoral politics must be a cause for concern.

Despite the fact that the NDR aims to liberate black people in general from economic and political bondage, some elements remain highly sceptical of the democratic state. In numerous surveys on perceptions of the government, Indian respondents appear more pessimistic even than whites. A recent survey asked the question: “considering everything, would you go back to apartheid”. 37% of Indian respondents said ‘yes’, even more than the proportion of whites (19%).

Perhaps behind these attitudes is a perception that “before we were not white enough, and now we are not black enough”. Although affirmative action has certainly benefited Coloured and Indian communities this perception remains strong.

Yet, some of the strongest ANC branches in the province can be found in Indian and coloured areas. The ANC’s commitment to nation-building and non-racialism means the movement must continue to pay special attention to Coloured and Indian communities in Gauteng. Whatever their electoral significance it is vital that we continue the work of building a racially inclusive Gauteng, where all people feel at home.

f) Capital and the White Middle Class

As in days gone by, South Africa's means of production in white hands: the owners of capital as well as the private sector managers and professionals that drive the process of capital accumulation are overwhelmingly white

The significant change over the last decades has been the trans-nationalisation South African of capital. Globalisation has meant that production processes operate across national boundaries; a single country functions as a link in planetary supply chains. Following decades of state protection of the domestic market and the enforced isolation of South African capital through sanctions the period since 1994 has seen the opening of markets for goods and capital. Many South African companies have taken the opportunity to transform themselves into global conglomerates with their assets and personnel located throughout the world and primary listings in London or New York.

More than most other developing countries, South Africa has a very strong financial sector. The opening of global financial markets and the concentration of finance capital in giant multi-national institutions located at the core of accumulation has qualitatively changed the environment in which South African 'finance capital' operates. Financial flows and networks of institutions are linked 'real time' into a global system. Gauteng is the only blip on the African map for transnational finance capital.

The province's middle class too remains overwhelmingly white, even though the black middle strata has grown strongly over the last few years. Census 2001 found that of all the individuals in Gauteng who earn more than R6400 a month 74% were white (see figure 12). Only 17% of people with high salaries are African even though Africans constitute 75% of the province's population. This pattern has important economic and ideological consequences: effective demand is structured along deformed patterns of income and consumption; consequently investment flows are distorted by the racially stratified social system.

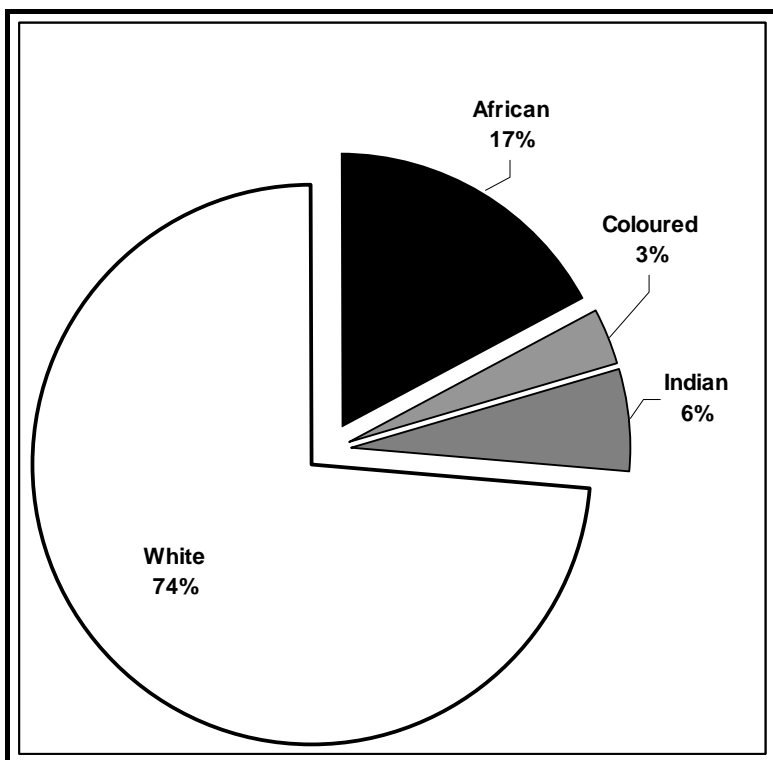


FIGURE 12: THE "MIDDLE CLASS" IN GAUTENG

Here, we define middle class (arbitrarily) as those earning an individual monthly income of more than R6400 in Census 2001. Income is measured only for employed people between the ages of 15 and 65.

On the other hand, as buffer zones between formally separated racial groups are developed, new lower middle class multi-racial communities are developing. More middle class elements amongst the black communities have migrated to traditionally white middle class areas in large numbers, although they remain a minority. The challenge of organising in these multi-racial environments will loom increasingly large for the ANC.

So too will the task of reaching out to enlightened sectors of white capital and the middle class. In this regard it should be noted that Gauteng accommodates the greatest concentration of cultural and ethnic diversity within the white communities. "Whites" themselves are not homogenous; it is an identity that includes Afrikaners, as well as South Africans descended from and strongly linked with a number of cultures, including British, Portuguese, Hellenic (i.e. Greek), Jewish, Lebanese to name a few. Each finds itself located at different places in the economy, and their relationship to the progressive forces may therefore not be the same.

Notwithstanding this diversity, there are powerful forces which homogenise middle class culture. As with capital ownership, middle class cultures have become increasingly global. Western values and cultural norms are predominant amongst South Africa's largely white middle class. At the same time, the legacy of centuries of racist ideology remains strong: fear of the black masses translates into a retreat behind barricades. Many South Africans live, shop and work in gated spaces designed to mimic the 'world class' environment, which is perceived to exist in European or North American capitals. These trends reinforce the social separation between the white middle class and the people as a whole.

The result can be the emergence of globalised enclaves of capital accumulation, spatially and structurally separated from the second economy. The circulation of capital, goods and services not only bi-passes the second economy, but considerable proportions of the surplus are dedicated to ensuring it does so. Amongst the most prominent aspects of this are the growth of the private security industry, as well as a plethora of institutional and cultural barriers to entry for emerging entrepreneurs.

Worryingly, voting patterns within the white community show an increasing lack of interest in direct participation in the institutions of representative democracy. This apparent disengagement from the electoral process poses hard questions. Are these communities disengaging because they believe that their voice will not be heard in the context of a dominant (and united) African majority? If so, will minority communities seek to pursue their political interests in other ways, ignoring elections and seeking to influence political processes from outside?

Given the huge shift, particularly in the white community, into cluster homes and other forms of gated community are we seeing the emergence of a new type of 'laager mentality', where whites attempt to separate themselves economically, socially and politically from developments in the broader country? If this is the case, then what will be the implications for the National Democratic Revolution, and its attempt to reverse the division of society into 'two nations'?

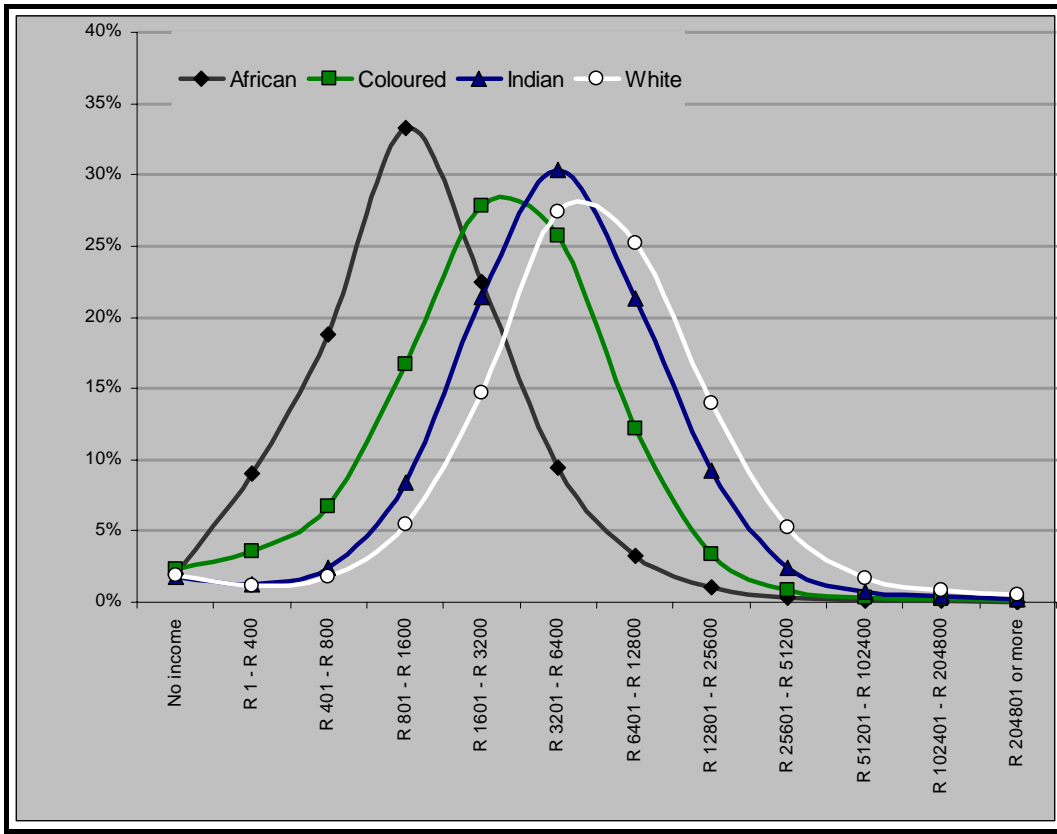


FIGURE 13: RACE AND INCOME IN GAUTENG

The census records the income of employed people between the ages of 15 and 65. Within each racial group the income structure of this demographic category is significantly different, with apartheid patterns of race-class intersection remaining very strong. For example, amongst employed Africans between the ages of 15 and 65 in Gauteng, 9% earn less than R400 a month, 19% earn between R400 and R800 a month, and 33% earn between R800 and R1600. In other words, 63% of employed Africans of working age in Gauteng earn less than R1600 a month. Only 3% of working Africans earn more than R6400 a month. For whites, only 10% earn less than R1600 a month, while 48% earn more than R6400.

SPACES IN TRANSITION

DYNAMICS WITHIN GAUTENG'S CHANGING SPATIAL LANDSCAPE

According to the SA Cities Network Report, by 2015 Gauteng will become a continuous urban extent with a population of almost 15 million people, larger than some of the biggest mega cities in the world. This vast urban landscape is characterised by some of the worst social manifestations of both apartheid colonialism – extreme levels of poverty and gross inequality coexisting side-by-side with opulence, coupled with a spatial and racial reproduction of the divide between the rich and the poor. In other words, the ‘first’ and ‘second’ economies find spatial expression in the racial geography of our cities, with their working class ‘townships’, middle class suburban sprawl and adjacent informal settlements, where a surplus population ekes out a living.

From a policy point of view, these apartheid patterns of social exclusion according to geographic location remain a challenge. In the context of rapid urban in-migration and significant roll out of housing stock, patterns of spatial exclusion have, in some instances been reinforced. The continuation of spatial distortions perpetuates economic, social and political exclusion of the black majority. At the same time, we see the emergence of new forms of spatial exclusion such as cluster homes and other types of gated communities, which define the contours of a new spatial apartheid.

In the next ten years, the NDR will have to make an even greater impact on Gauteng's spatial landscape by systematic reversing the legacy of apartheid spatial planning. State intervention should lead to the development of sustainable communities that are more integrated in racial and social terms. Without state intervention, globalisation's negative tendency towards increasing the gap between the rich and the poor will find new forms of spatial and racial expression in Gauteng communities – the poor (largely black) will be confined to the barren, dolomatic land and far-flung areas, while the rich (mainly white) inhabit the most convenient and productive land in Gauteng.

ANC Branches have to take up campaigns that advocate integration of communities and work with various local groups that raise concerns about environmentally unsustainable and socially undesirable types of development.

a) Informal Settlements

Presently, close to a quarter of Gauteng households (23.6%) live in informal dwellings. Around 2.6 million people live in close 500 informal settlements in the province. These areas are characterised by high unemployment and extreme levels of poverty.

To an extent, these settlements operate like transit camps, the first residential experience of new arrivals from rural South Africa and the rest of Southern Africa seeking prosperity in the province of gold. Some of the organisational implications of this status are alluded to in the Ten Year Review, which observes that:

“... at least a fifth of the population in [urban] centres are relative newcomers with few social connections to the established population... In urban areas, although in-migration may add to development potential, through the importation of economically active people, this migration risks overwhelming service delivery and employment opportunities. The new migrants do not have the same social connections and are increasingly resorting to informal networks to ensure their

survival. Some rural-traditional forms of collective organisation and exercise of authority are gaining ground, and a number of them seek to co-opt the democratic process to perpetuate these organisations”.

There are several factors, both objective and subjective, behind the rapid growth of informal settlements in the past fourteen years. Principally, South Africa's industrialisation and the violent destruction of the rural subsistence economy by successive colonial regimes are the main driving forces of urbanisation. The growth and flourishing of the mining and manufacturing base of the economy in the 40's right up to the 70's gave impetus to the forces of urbanisation, although the apartheid regime's influx control laws served to hold back and regiment this process. Towards the end of the 80's, the development of the struggle against apartheid made it impossible for the regime control the movement of the oppressed into urban centres. In this period, land invasions were part of an expression of the grievance against the apartheid state. When the walls of apartheid finally collapsed, the process urbanisation gained momentum.

Since 1994, the informal settlements have continued to grow at a very high rate. Despite the fact that government programmes have accommodated 2.5 million people in formal housing in the province, these programmes have been unable to keep pace with the rate of immigration. Informal settlements sprout in the context of this genuine lack of accommodation.

Nevertheless, various forces have attempted to exploit this situation for personal or political gain. In this category, there seem to be three sets of subjective forces at play. First, there have been many claims that some plot or farm owners have been behind the occupation of these pieces of land, so that the state is forced to buy such land at unreasonable prices. Such 'shack farming' activities are a challenge to the development process. Second, there are politically inspired informal settlements that are a result of opportunistic political groups and individuals who want to use the poor and homeless to achieve political gain. Third, some informal settlements that are pioneered by powerful individuals who intend to make a living out of the "criminal economy". In all these three cases, the poor are taken advantage of in the context of economic and social desperation. The inhuman social conditions under which people live make them vulnerable for all forms of crime and abuse, while service delivery is very difficult to provide in these areas.

It is for all these reasons that our vision is that of a province in which there are no more informal settlements. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that even the best-motivated and best-implemented developmental strategies have some 'destructive effects'. There will always be individuals and sections within communities that benefit from the status quo and seek to resist development, even if it is in the best interest of the overall community. Whether it is slumlords who are resistant to housing or land developments, migrants resisting the upgrading of hostels into family quarters, taxi owners resisting regulation and trying to corner lucrative routes for themselves, criminals resisting better measures for safety and security or war-lords and gun smugglers who are resistant to peace itself. In the context of a complex and rapid transition to formal status, informal settlements are likely to undergo various forms of trauma, while elements are likely to resist development as a whole. The possibility of opportunistic political groupings taking advantage in these processes is also high.

Politically, informal settlements continue to be highly organised, with strong criminal networks and numerous conflicts including high levels of political intolerance. While the ANC is the dominant party, the IFP, UDM and PAC are also active, sometimes sustaining no-go areas for the ANC. Informal dwellers are more likely than others to be strong ANC supporters. While a quarter (24%) of people living in formal dwellings are 'entrenched' ANC supporters, this rises to 31% among those living in informal settlements. 23% of formal dwellers are 'average' ANC supporters, while 35% of those living in informal settlements falling into this category.

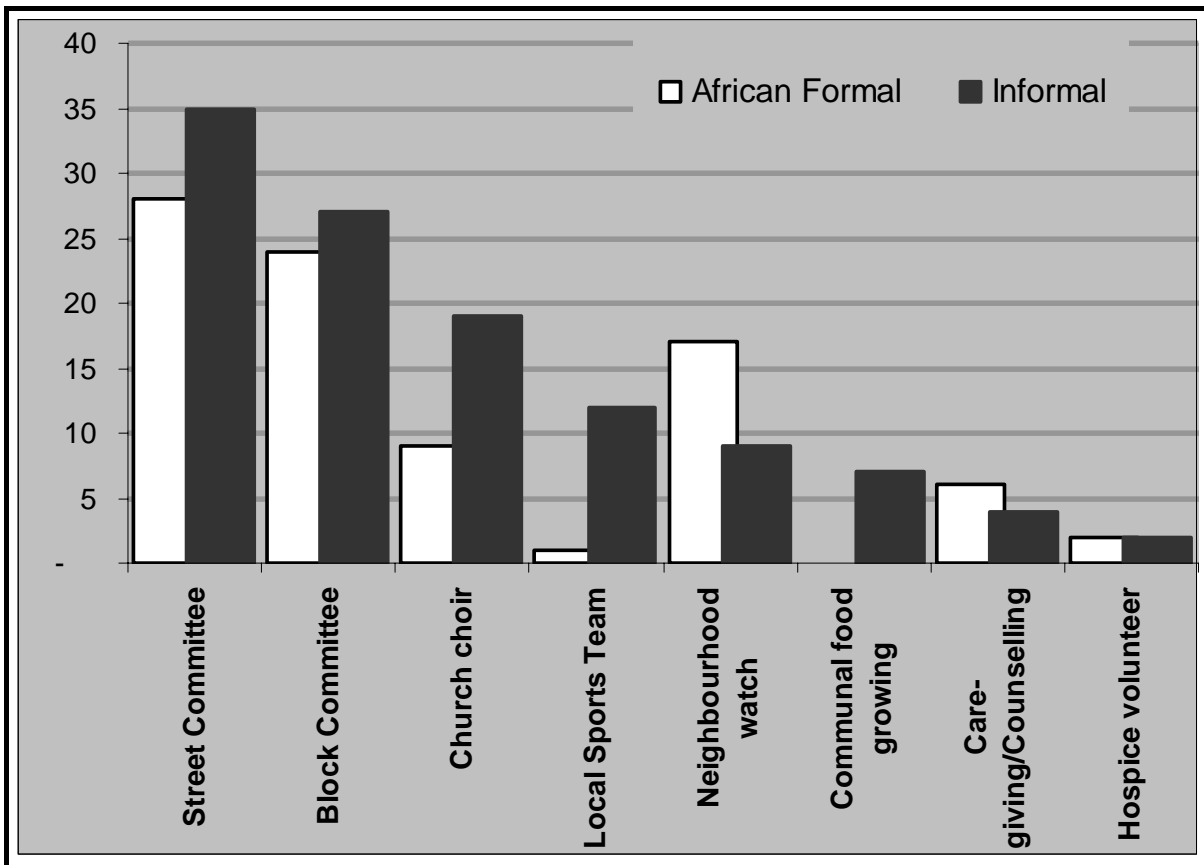


FIGURE 14: ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY-BASED ACTIVITIES AND STRUCTURES AMONGST AFRICANS IN FORMAL DWELLINGS AND RESIDENTS OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

More detailed data is contained in tables 3a and 3b at the end of this document.

According to survey data, people living in informal settlements in Gauteng have a more positive outlook on non-racial nation-building than their counterparts living in formal dwellings. A fifth (19%) of informal Gauteng dwellers agreed that “We are becoming a united nation”, compared with 15% among formal dwellers; 62% of respondents from informal areas agreed that “It will take a long time, but we are becoming a united nation”, true of 61% of formal residents; and where 19% of informal residents agreed that “We will always be a divided nation”, this rose to 24% among respondents from formal areas in Gauteng.

Politics is important to residents of informal areas – more important than it is to their counterparts from formal areas. Just over half (53%) of respondents from informal settlements rejected the notion that ‘politics is a waste of time’, while 46% from formal dwellings did so.

In a recent survey, respondents were asked which clubs, societies or organisations they belonged to. One in six (16%) residents of informal dwellings belong to no clubs or societies, markedly higher than the situation in formal areas. According to research conducted for the ANC, a substantial portion of those ‘disengaged’ from the electoral system reside in informal settlements. Nevertheless, residents of informal settlements are considerably more likely to belong to a political party than their counterparts. They will also be found in religious organisations, burial societies and sports clubs. They are three times more likely to belong to a Community Police Forum than formal residents.

Active participation in street and block committees is far higher in informal than formal areas, and higher also for participation in choirs and local sports teams. Relatively small proportions – from formal and informal areas - participate in care-giving and volunteering for hospices, but 7% of informal residents participate in communal food growing. These results point to a vibrant community life, where community participation is widespread.

b) Established Townships

Colonial authorities sought to confine Africans to native reserves on the rural periphery of urban development. Only once secondary industries emerged at the time of the Second World War did the reality of large permanent population of Africans in Gauteng become impossible for the racist state to ignore. Apartheid sought to respond to these pressures by ensuring that, while the white minority would realise the benefits of a diversified manufacturing base, black people in general and Africans in particular should remain spatially, psychologically and economically excluded. The creation of barrack-like townships, spatially segregated from the nodes of economic development, was a key mechanism in sustaining this unworkable vision. Reversing this legacy is among the basic objectives of the NDR.

Old townships have grown significantly in the past 10 years, while new townships have been proclaimed through the formalisation of informal settlements. Just over 4 million people in Gauteng live in townships – mainly African, Coloured and Indian working class and urban poor. Generally townships have a greater sense of community and are highly organised in terms of political, economic and social organisations, such as political parties, NGO's and CBO's. New middle strata sections have also sprung up in many townships, signifying the stratification of the township space itself.

This is also a good sign since, although the many among the black middle strata live in the suburbs, there remains a large section of the African, Indians and Coloured middle strata who continue owe their loyalty to the township space, if even it may be for sentimental reasons.

Generally, a situation has developed, consciously or unconsciously, wherein informal settlements tend to get better attention when it comes to development plans and allocation of resources. This has led to the decline in the conditions of community infrastructure in most established townships and certain suburbs. Simultaneously as we develop informal settlements and regenerate hostels, there has a need to continue to pay attention to the development of townships and their aesthetic transformation into safe, secure, economically viable and environmentally sustainable spaces where the majority of the working class and urban poor will continue to live, together with more affluent sections of the community.

Politically, the ANC is the only party of significant size across the African townships (see figure 6 for voting patterns in Soweto). Other forces remain small but important, including issue-based civic groups, PAC, AZAPO, UDM and (in the hostels) IFP. The ANC is the largest party across Gauteng's Indian townships and commands significant support in Coloured townships. (see figure 11 and table 2).

The character of the ANC branches in townships has undergone many changes since the 1940's – from small elitist branches in the early 40's, to mass-based, activist-oriented and campaign driven branches in the 1950's, to huge township wide branches in the early 1990's. Since the advent of ward-based branches, ANC branches are smaller but the cadreship base is wider. The greatest weakness of ANC branches is the lack of coordination across wards.

c) Inner Cities

Around 500,000 people live in the inner cities of Johannesburg and Tshwane. The inner city is a very transient settlement area, people moving in and out rapidly resulting in similar social and political problems to that experienced in the informal settlements. The faces of Johannesburg and Tshwane inner city have changed dramatically of the past ten years, now reflecting an African kaleidoscope.

The inner-city regeneration programmes of the two cities are attracting the affluent back into the city centres. Inner-city spaces with very unique, dynamic and lively urban sub-cultures and a mosaic of Africa's diverse cultures present a potentially important node of development.

While the ANC is the dominant party, inner city branches are highly unstable; they have not yet mastered the art of mobilising the inner city population, and conducting international solidarity work that taps on the energies of progressive Africans from other countries in the continent.

d) Suburbs

About 2 million people live in historically white, middle strata suburbs. In the past ten years, suburban Gauteng has changed significantly as a result of the NDR. The growth of African, Indian and Coloured Middle Strata and emerging bourgeoisie, as well as foreign African nationals has shifted the racial makeup of lower middle class suburbs – in some areas 40% are black, although this varies across the province.

Gauteng suburbs are not homogenous. They are spaces characterised by racial and class differences. They represent a growing tendency towards social exclusion based on income. 'Economic apartheid' could serve as a basis of reproducing high-income suburbs that remain lily white.

Politically, Residents Associations are strong, with mobilisation taking place around crime, rates and municipal by-laws. In the Metro's the DA is the dominant party. The ANC's profile has improved tremendously in recent years, with significant voter shifts in its favour, although this may be the result of black people moving in.

ANC branches in suburban areas are performing fairly well and are learning new methods of organising in these areas. A new kind of community activism may be in the making, centred around activities such as house meetings, door-to-door work, participation in ratepayers associations, campaigns against racism and for equal access to facilities such as schools, CPFs and mobilising against street closures and opposing developments that endanger open spaces.

e) Rural Gauteng

Only 4% of Gauteng residents live in rural areas, and the rural population is shrinking due to urbanisation, as well as farm evictions, leading rural people to live in existing informal settlements or establishing new ones.

Many of the characteristic features of underdevelopment can be found in Gauteng's rural areas, which is an expression of geographic inequality within the province. Access to basic services, infrastructure and economic development has been skewed in favour of urban centres. Rural Gauteng is unlikely to develop and grow on its own without a conscious effort to integrate it with the main centres of the province – Gauteng's metropolitan cities owe it to their underdeveloped peripheries to do so.

The ANC has very loyal support amongst rural African people. The DA, NNP and FF have historically had the support of farmers, but consistent organisational work has lifted ANC support amongst Afrikaners.

A BETTER FUTURE IS POSSIBLE AND IN THE MAKING: A SHARED VISION NECESSARY

The strategic objective of the NDR is the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. This, in essence, means the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general from political and economic bondage. It means uplifting the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor, the majority of whom are African and female.

April 1994 constitutes a platform from which to launch this programme of social transformation. What this revolution still has to accomplish, is to overcome the legacy of a social system that was based on the oppression of the black majority. Political freedom constitutes an important part of this mandate. However, without social justice, such freedom will remain hollow, the pastime of those who can make ends meet.

The symbiotic link between capitalism and national oppression in our country, and stupendous concentration of wealth in the hands of a few monopolies therefore render trite the vainglorious declaration that national oppression and its social consequences can be resolved by formal democracy underpinned by market forces to which all should kneel in the prayer: "everyone for himself and Devil takes the hindmost". While formal democracy may present opportunities for some blacks and women to advance, without a systematic national effort, led by the democratic government, to unravel the skewed distribution of wealth and income the social reality of apartheid will remain.

[Strategy and Tactics of the ANC]

a) Progress of the National Democratic Revolution

During the 20th century right up to the dawn of freedom in 1994, the development of Gauteng's economy was predicated on a systematic underdevelopment and exploitation of Africans in particular and Blacks in general. At first, this meant confining them to rural ghettos outside the province, which were readily available as a result of conquest and land dispossession. Later, even though a permanent population was to be housed in the province's cities, black townships were deliberately designed as spaces that would give geographic credence to the political, social and economic exclusion of the urban black population in general and Africans in particular.

Politically, Africans were defined as foreigners in the land of their birth, and thereby denied all of the rights that modern citizenship takes for granted. *Socially*, they were excluded from the benefits that accompanied the formation of South Africa's distorted racial-welfare state. They were denied access to education, other than in the form of primitive indoctrination, and confined to barrack-like accommodation far away from the centres of economic activity. *Economically*, Africans were legally excluded from participating in markets, other than as cheap and unskilled labourers for hire. Any sign of African entrepreneurial activity was relentlessly and ruthlessly crushed. This greatly suppressed the emergence of a black middle class and thus hobbled domestic demand that could be generated by a burgeoning middle class.

Reversing this legacy is the basic objective of the NDR. During the first Decade of Freedom, the forward march of the NDR has indeed brought about real improvements in the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor, the majority of whom are African and female. In the past ten years, our country has made giant strides in moving towards the vision espoused in the Freedom Charter and the RDP:

- **Today, South Africa is a democratic country** with a government based on the will of the people. It has among the best Constitutions in the world, ensuring human rights, and dignity to all, irrespective of the race, gender, religion, language, as well as committing the state to expanding the floor of social and economic rights. All are equal before the law; the rights of women are recognised and are increasingly finding expression in real life; and the same applies to the rights of persons with disabilities;
- **Today, South Africa has a growing economy**, managed with skill by the ANC government. Since 1994, the economy has moved from a negative growth rate to a positive growth rate of 2.8% per annum, creating 2-million jobs. There has been a significant reduction of the debt and therefore more resources have been shifted towards funding health, education, housing, social grants, basic services and other infrastructure. Workers' rights are protected and employers and employees are working in an improved and more peaceful industrial relations climate. More and more black people and women are becoming professionals and laws and resources have been introduced to facilitate their active participation in the economy.
- **Today, South Africa has a caring government**, with land reform and restitution as well as housing programmes that have ensured that assets worth R50-billion have been transferred to the poor; with social security grants for pensioners, young children, people with disabilities and other vulnerable groups worth R48-billion per annum; with quality education open to all, a school feeding scheme for children from poor households, financial assistance to students in higher education and other new opportunities for the youth; with clinics being built close to where people live; with households being connected to water and electricity; with more people having access to telecommunications; and with laws to deal with the cancer of racism;
- **Today, South Africa is a country with a justice system that serves the people.** Guided by the Constitution and laws which are intended to prevent abuse. Police and other agencies, working with communities, are able to combat crime, prevent or stop any political violence, taxi violence, and terrorism. More and more, we are turning the tide against crime and corruption;
- **Today, South Africa is a partner among countries of Africa and the world**, working together to bring peace and development to our continent. With other countries and peoples of the world, we pursue peace, development and international relations that benefit all, especially the poor in our countries.

All these sweeping changes brought by the National Democratic Revolution have resulted in dramatic demographic shifts and remarkable social transformations. As a direct consequence of the victory of the NDR, millions of the formerly excluded have sought residence in the province, for the first time unhindered by the exercise of white power. Hailing from within South Africa's borders as well as from distant lands in the continent, multitudes have sought the advantages of urban residence at the hub of South Africa's development. At the same time, welfare grants and housing subsidies have served to sustain a vast increase in the number of households in the province, more of which are female-headed.

Development is a dialectical process: in many respects our victories are themselves the seeds of new conflicts at household and community level. These transformations of the urban landscape pose serious political, organisational and governance challenges for our movement. Government institutions are under increasing pressure to respond to the unending demands for access to social services and basic infrastructure. Informal settlements have been growing at a rapid rate even in the face of an outstanding record of housing and social infrastructure delivery.

In the past decade, the ANC has learnt the ropes of effective political management of governance institutions and it has built enormous skill in the use of state power and public resources to push forward the transformation agenda of the NDR. This vast experience and enormous skill has given the movement a great sense of confidence in preparing to tackle the twin challenges of poverty and unemployment in the next decade.

Nationally, the movement has adopted the following as its 2014 vision as outlined in the 2004 Election Manifesto:

- To reduce unemployment by half through new jobs, new jobs, assistance to small business, opportunities for self-employment and sustainable community livelihoods;
- To reduce poverty by half through economic development, comprehensive social security, land reform and improved household and community assets;
- To provide the skills required by the economy, build capacity and provide resources across society to encourage self-employment with an education system that is geared for productive work, good citizenship and a caring society;
- To ensure that all South Africans, including the poor and those at risk – children, youth, women, the aged and people with disabilities – are fully able to exercise their constitutional rights and enjoy the full dignity of freedom;
- To ensure that there is a compassionate government service to the people through national, provincial and local public representatives and public servants who are guided by the principles of Batho Pele; and citizens who know their rights and insist on fair treatment and efficient service;
- To massively reduce cases of TB, diabetes, malnutrition and maternal deaths, and turn the tide against HIV and AIDS, and, working with the rest of Southern Africa, strive to eliminate malaria, and improve services to achieve a better national health and reduction of preventable causes of death, including violent crimes and road accidents;
- To significantly reduce the number of serious and priority crimes as well as cases awaiting trial, with a society that actively challenges crime and corruption and with programmes that also address the social roots of criminality;
- To position South Africa strategically as an effective force in global relations, with vibrant and balanced trade and other relations with countries of the South and the North, and in an Africa that is growing, prospering and benefiting all Africans, especially the poor.

These are ambitious goals, the achievement of which is not going to be easy. In the words of the Ten Year Review document:

“South Africa is at the confluence of major possibilities arising out of the progress that has been made in the First Decade of Freedom...The advances made in the First Decade by far supersede the weaknesses. Yet if all indicators were to continue along the same trajectory, especially in respect of the dynamic of economic inclusion and exclusion, we could soon reach a point where the negatives start to overwhelm the positives.”

b) A Better Gauteng is Possible and in the Making

Today our people are not just living on the hopes, but are beginning to experience a better life for themselves. They are secure in the knowledge that their children are guaranteed even better opportunities to overcome poverty, marginalisation and the conditions that make them vulnerable to disease and illnesses...

As we celebrate our achievements, we know we still have a long way to go to meet our goal of a full growing economy that creates sustainable jobs, building sustainable communities and providing quality services to communities, especially in health, education, social welfare and housing.

Our experience during the past ten years has confirmed that the active involvement of the people in the process to bring about change is crucially important for success. Over the next five years and the next decade, we will continue to work together in partnership to overcome the challenges that still face us. We know that together, we can and will succeed.

PREMIER MBHAZIMA SHILOWA, GAUTENG PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT TEN YEAR REPORT, 2004.

In the past ten years, the ANC government has made great strides in making Gauteng a better province in which to live:

- Setting up the institutions of the democratic state, including developmental government at both provincial and local level. The unification of the 'white' core and 'black' periphery into single administrative and political structures creates the basis (for the first time in South Africa's history) for ongoing redistribution of resources from the geographic rich to the poor. In contrast to the global trend towards fragmented local government South Africa's model of developmental and integrated local government is the basis from which local and provincial integration can advance.
- Transformation of the public service is well underway and there are real improvements in the quality of service delivered by the public service. Innovative approaches to participatory governance have been introduced through a system of regular interaction between the three spheres of government and different sectors of the community. Gauteng is becoming renowned for having established a culture of a clean and corruption-free government.
- Gauteng has a growing economy that contributes 33.9% of South Africa's GDP, with an average growth rate of 3.3%. Largely the knowledge-based services and value adding manufacturing sectors have driven this growth. Government has led the process of investing R1 billion in strategic economic infrastructure through Blue IQ projects with the aim of stimulating economic growth that will create sustainable and quality jobs and integrating the province. The province has launched extensive set of public works programmes that have created short-term job opportunities for the poor and vulnerable.
- Massive delivery of houses worth R5 billion accommodating 2.5 million people. Over 90% of the households have access to water and electricity, while 89% have access to basic sanitation.
- Exponential increase in the provision of social grants worth R5.4-billion per annum, to people who need assistance - to the elderly, children and people with disability. More people choose to come and apply for social grants in Gauteng.
- Public schooling has significantly been transformed and improved. Provision of better facilities, improved discipline among learners and improved quality of teaching have all to what is increasingly becoming a good public system. There has been a 24% increase in matric results between 1999 and 2003. Gauteng public schools are now attracting more learners from throughout the country and continent.

- Access to public healthcare has improved significantly, with a specific focus on improved access by children, women and people with disability. Particular attention has been paid to expanding the primary healthcare clinics and turning around the public hospitals so that they can be in a position to provide quality healthcare to all the people. There has been a successful drive to turn the tide against diseases such as AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, diabetes, hypertension, malnutrition, cancer and other illnesses.
- The transformation of the criminal justice system has improved access to justice by all and the fight against crime and corruption has led to a rapid decline in politically-motivated violence and taxi violence. Major strides are being made in turning the tide against serious and violent crimes as well as reducing crimes against women and children, improved cooperation between the law-enforcement agencies and communities.

While we have made tremendous and encouraging progress towards building a province in which all aspects of life are reflective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society, there is no doubt that we are still far from building the kind of province we want to live in. What are the key challenges we face in the second decade? How do we translate the national 2014 Vision into a meaningful set of outcomes that guide the work of both the democratic forces and the democratic state in the concrete conditions of our province?

c) A Shared Vision for a Better Future is Necessary

A review of the past ten years and an analysis of the challenges for the next decade points out clearly that unemployment and poverty stand out as the foremost challenges of our times. We cannot talk of a better future without decisively tackling these twin challenges. Secondly, transforming the state and building its capacity to act as a coordinated, cohesive and effective instrument of change is another important challenge. The mobilisation of all sectors of society, including their resources, behind a shared vision is another challenge.

To tackle poverty and unemployment decisively depends on both a transformed state and the effective mobilisation of different sectors of society behind a clearly articulated shared vision. This requires that we translate the Manifesto into an overarching shared vision around which the state, civil society, communities and the private sector shall work together in a people's contract to build a better future. This overarching shared vision will answer the question around the kind of Gauteng we are seeking to build – economically, socially, politically! It is to this articulation of a shared vision that we now turn to.

The 20th century, through the discovery of gold and diamonds in the reef and the consequent waves of South Africa's industrial revolution, catapulted the PWV region as the vanguard and key driving force of the country's socio-economic development, based on the underdevelopment of the hinterland.

In the 21st century, the African Century, Gauteng has a very different role and responsibility as an industrial powerhouse of South Africa and the sub-continent. The democratic state has an express constitutional and electoral mandate to advance South Africa's national development goals and the imperatives of the Africa's Renaissance. In this context, Gauteng province and all its endowments have to be understood as a national and continental strategic resource that must once more be in the forefront of South Africa and Africa's development objectives.

Gauteng has entered the 21st century with a possibility to play an even greater role as an interlocutor of South Africa's relationship with the continent and Africa's engagement with the global economy. According to the *SA Cities Network Report*, It is expected that, by the year 2015 Gauteng will be a continuous urban extent with a population of almost 15 million people, rivalling some of the world's largest mega cities. As the urban population grows and develops, fragmentation and marginalisation that results from the social, political and economic exclusion of the majority must be reversed.

Integration will be the key to unlock resources to halve poverty and unemployment. The possibility of unity in action as single developmental region is a significant opportunity available to the province: the political mobilisation of several interlinked cities (a polycentric urban conurbation) in the direction of an overarching developmental effort. This presents daunting challenges and fantastic opportunities.

During the First Decade of freedom, the ANC in Gauteng has gained a lot of experience in statecraft: the art of using state power and public resources effectively to bring about fundamental social change. However, we have not always clearly articulated a vision for the kind of province in which we want to live. This has weakened our capacity to focus all the arms of provincial and local government and different sectors of society on a clearly articulated set of political, economic and social outcomes.

As we enter the Second Decade of Freedom, we need an increased effort around a clearly articulated shared vision for a better future. Within the context of the national 2014 Vision outlined in the 2004 Election Manifesto, we shall hereunder outline elements of what should ultimately constitute a Shared Vision for a Better Gauteng. This shared vision shall be the basis on which different sectors of society and the state work together to build:

1) *A province with a growing and labour absorbing economy in which the country's wealth is shared.*

Gauteng shall be in the forefront of the country's national effort to reduce unemployment by half through building a growing, integrated and globally competitive economy that meets the developmental imperatives of job creation, broad-based black economic empowerment, shared prosperity and an inclusive society. Workers, businesspeople, communities, women, youth, entrepreneurs, co-operatives shall be mobilised behind this vision so that they become active agents of economic transformation;

2) *A province in which the war against poverty is being won and sustainable livelihood is becoming a daily reality for most people, particularly the poor.*

Gauteng shall occupy the front ranks of the country's national effort to reduce poverty by half through a combination of interventions that mobilise state resources, private capital and social capital among the poor to achieve the goals of sustainable livelihood within the context of an inclusive and caring society. Self-reliant initiatives among the poor such as micro enterprises and cooperatives shall be promoted and encouraged through sustained institutional support. The mobilisation of the poor into active agents of their own social emancipation shall be key focus of the democratic state civil society and communities;

3) *A province that is a beacon of participatory governance, with an informed, empowered and active citizenry, in which the people do indeed govern.*

Provincial government and municipalities shall promote active citizenship and participatory governance by giving sustained institutional support to all organs, forums, structures and processes that seek to make people's power a daily reality. Different sectors of society shall be encouraged and empowered to participate in policy formulation and implementation as well as be partners in the broader process of social transformation and make their voices heard;

4) *A province that has made serious advances in human development wherein the population is healthy, educated, skilled and productive.*

Gauteng shall be in the forefront of contributing to the country's human development objectives through interventions that will lead to a sustainable provision of social infrastructure, healthcare, education and skills development that leads to an improved quality of life;

- 5) ***A province that has safe, secure, economically viable and environmentally sustainable communities.***
The province shall promote integrated human settlement patterns that are socially economically and environmentally sustainable - wherein all have access to decent housing on well-located land and there are no more informal settlements; wherein there is access to social amenities and public transport; wherein there are viable local economies in SMMÉ's and Cooperatives play an important role. Communities shall be mobilised so that they become active agents sustainable development;
- 6) ***A stable, safe and secure province in which the people live in peace and friendship.***
Gauteng shall strive to be a good example of successful and enduring partnership between the state, private sector and communities in the common goal to achieve a society that in which there is safety and security for all and province free from all forms of crime and corruption;
- 7) ***A province in which gender equality and full emancipation of women is becoming a daily reality in all spheres of life.***
Gauteng shall strive to be a good example of the progress towards the full emancipation and empowerment of women in that women are playing a key role in all sectors of society. Women shall be mobilised so that they become active agents of their own emancipation;
- 8) ***A province that is a beacon of integrated youth development and progressive youth activism in all spheres of society.***
Gauteng shall strive to be a good example of integrated youth development and active participation of youth in the economy, society and politics. The youth shall be mobilised so that they become agents of youth development;
- 9) ***A province in which all children enjoy human rights.***
The protection, care, holistic development and their safe and healthy upbringing of children shall be the common concern of the government, communities and households. Children shall be encouraged to take part in different cultural activities that enhance their own development and raise their level of awareness about key issues affecting their communities and society;
- 10) ***A province in which the elderly are treated with dignity and they enjoy all the benefits of living a caring and humane society.***
The elderly shall be engaged in different activities that integrate them in broader society and keep them healthy and happy;
- 11) ***A province in which people with disability enjoy human rights and are integrated into all spheres of life.***
The promotion of the rights and dignity accorded to people with disability in a caring and humane society shall be encouraged and while their equitable treatment shall be promoted in the economy, society and politics. People with disability shall be mobilised and organised so that they actively become agents of their own and society's development;
- 12) ***A province in which the imperatives of environmental protection and sustainable use of natural resources are an integral part of our social and economic transformation agenda;***

13) A province that is a home to Africa's best artistic, sporting, and cultural talent.

Gauteng provincial government, municipalities and different sectors of society shall place the promotion and development of arts, sports and culture at the centre of nation-building, socio-economic development and social transformation in general. Different sectors of society shall be encouraged to participate in arts, sports and culture and community-based arts, sports and culture shall be promoted;

14) A united province which is a beacon of nation-building and a non-racial society.

Gauteng shall strive to be a good example of the progress that is being made in the deracialisation of the economy, politics, social institutions and communities;

15) A smart province that is the hub of Africa's scientific and technological revolution and is successful in bridging the digital divide.

Gauteng is already enjoying huge ICT infrastructure and the province has to be at the centre of the struggle to end the digital divide by ensuring that science and technology are harnessed to facilitate progressive social change. Gauteng provincial government and municipalities, civil society, various sectors of communities shall further position themselves to take the fullest advantage of the benefit of information and communication technology in pursuit of sustainable development, quality service delivery and popular participation;

16) A city province characterised by a seamless and integrated approach to governance and a holistic, compassionate and responsive government.

All spheres of government in Gauteng shall strive to function a single entity with integrated approach to service delivery, economic planning and social development, facilitated by an effective system of inter-governmental relations that is based on enhanced and revised roles of national, provincial and local government, with a single system of metropolitan local government;

17) A province in which the prevailing social values are those underpinned by progressive humanist values of co-operation, solidarity, respect for human life, equity and justice;

18) A cosmopolitan province that celebrates diversity in the true spirit of being a cradle of humankind and a home to all citizens of the world.

Gauteng shall promote a climate of cultural, racial, religious, linguistic, ethnic tolerance and diversity in which all South Africans, Africans, and citizens of the world can live in peace and friendship. There shall be mobilisation against all forms of discrimination and intolerances such as xenophobia, religious intolerance, racism, ethnicity, homophobia, etc.;

19) A province that plays an important role in Africa's Renaissance and contributes actively to the building of a better world;

20) A province in which the ANC organisational structures and the ANC-led democratic forces are positioned to remain the principal agents of transformation.

The ANC structures and the Alliance and progressive civil society shall strive to achieve highest possible level of social mobilisation and the best quality of organisation. The progressive forces shall be rooted among the masses in all communities of the province, across all national groups and social classes and remains a mass movement and governing party that keeps society actively mobilised in social change;

c) Conclusion

This base document has been prepared to stimulate discussion with the branches and structures of the ANC about how the organisation should meet the challenges posed by ten years of freedom. But we are of the view that these matters, including the future of the ANC itself, are of vital importance to all progressives in Gauteng and beyond.

We therefore call on all components of our democratic movement, as well as broader civil society, to make a contribution to these ongoing debates. In order to facilitate discussion within and outside our structures, we have identified questions for debate, which begin on the next page.

GENERAL QUESTIONS

- a) What are the implications for the ANC, SACP and COSATU of organising in the context of high levels of unemployment, underemployment and poverty?
- b) Will different mobilising strategies be required of the ANC and its alliance partners to organise in the periphery, where workers are less concentrated and more mobile and union membership rare?
- c) Do we need new and different strategies to mobilise and organise in the context of an increasingly cosmopolitan community, characterised by high population mobility and diverse cultures and languages?
- d) What opportunities exist for the ANC of increasing numbers people living close together in an urban environment?
- e) If new types of organisations, such as social movements outside the mainstream of organised politics or the ambit of the alliance occupy this space, how should the ANC and its alliance partners relate to them?
- f) What are the implications for the character of the ANC and the alliance of the changing composition and character of the working class?
- g) What are the implications for the ANC of ongoing globalisation and the rise of the information society?
- h) What will be the impact on the ANC of increasing class differentiation and inequality within the African majority?
- i) Is the ANC branch able to transcend racial and class divisions, especially in multi-class or multi-racial areas?
- j) In addition to branches, other there other forums that the ANC should create in order to engage with particular sectors?
- k) How should the ANC approach the mobilisation of the emerging black capitalists and middle strata?
- l) How should the ANC approach the task of winning over far-sighted sections of the white middle class and bourgeoisie?
- m) What new strategies and tactics should the ANC develop in the mobilisation and organisation of minority communities?
- n) How do we continue to maintain and deepen our support base in communities where members may be shifting in and out – to other informal settlements, from informal settlements to more formal communities?
- o) How should the ANC revitalise and renew the organisation in established townships?
- p) What impact does the changing economic, political and social status of women have for ANC strategies of mobilisation and organization of women?
- q) How should the ANC and the ANCWL mobilise and organise women across all racial groups and class divisions, in the context of the advances of the NDR and the continuing struggle against patriarchal relations?

- r) What is the appropriate way of mobilising and organising young people/new generations bearing in mind their changing backgrounds, cultures, values and attitudes?
- s) How should the ANC engage with cultural and social movements of the youth?
- t) What are the appropriate ways of building a new generation of youth leaders of the ANC – for today and for the future?
- u) What is the impact of ill health and high levels of death on the economy and society, and amongst the bedrock of ANC support and membership, especially the youth?

QUESTIONS FOR SECTORS

- Economic Transformation
 - Social Transformation
 - State Transformation
 - International Relations
 - Renewal of the movement
- a) What is the ANC's vision and strategic objective in that sector/area? Spend time clarifying what we are seeking to achieve in each of these five areas.
 - b) What progress has been made in the past ten years?
 - c) What remain the challenges?
 - d) What should be the main interventions in the next ten years?
 - e) What are the outcomes, targets and indicators of progress in the next five years?
 - f) What kind of ANC do we need at Branch, Regional and Provincial level to carry out the tasks outlined by your commission? What kind of cadres do we need for these tasks and how are we going to produce and reproduce these cadres?
 - g) What kind of ANCWL and ANCYL would we need to meet the challenges arising from the Base Document?
 - h) What are the challenges for the individual Alliance partners?
 - i) Any immediate governance and organizational tasks arising from the Commission?

QUESTIONS FOR BRANCHES, ZONES AND REGIONS

- a) How has your region changed in the past ten years - economically, socially, politically and spatially? What are the key conclusions and implications you can draw from the trends in your Region?
- b) How have these changes affected the ANC in the past ten years and how will the new trends affect the movement in the next ten years? What challenges does this pose for the calibre and quality of regional political leadership?
- c) What is the general character of communities in your region – townships, suburbs, inner-city, informal settlements and rural areas? What challenges does this pose for the character of the ANC and the quality of leadership at regional and branch level? What challenges does this pose for the quality of public representatives?
- d) What is your input around the vision for a better Gauteng?
- e) Arising from all these challenges and conclusions you have drawn for your Region, what are the key programmatic tasks and challenges for the REC and Branches in the next ten years? What kind of ANC do we need in the province, your region and branch?
- f) What are the challenges for the ANCWL and ANCYL?
- g) What are the challenges for the individual Alliance partners?

TABLES

TABLE 1:
PERFORMANCE OF GAUTENG PARTIES IN THREE GENERAL ELECTIONS

	1994	1999	2004
REGISTERED VOTERS	n/a	4,411,005	4,650,594
TOTAL VALID VOTES	4,208,301	3,708,318	3,408,308
% POLL	n/a	84%	73%
African National Congress (ANC)	2,486,938	2,527,676	2,331,121
COMBINED DA	1,286,961	830,018	734,073
Democratic Party/Alliance (DP/DA)	126,368	655,883	708,081
National Party (NP/NNP)	1,160,593	142,749	25,992
Freedom Alliance (FA)		31,386	
WHITE RIGHT	154,878	52,850	52,185
Vryheidsfront (VF/FF)	154,878	40,782	45,648
Afrikaner Einheidsbeweging (AEB)		10,922	
Abolition of Income Tax (AITUP)		1,146	
National Aksie (NA)			4,712
Pro-Death Penalty			1,825
BLACK "LEFT"	52,557	32,423	42,173
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	52,557	25,412	29,076
Azanian People Organisation (AZAPO)		5,293	8,670
Socialist Party of Azania (SOPA)		1,718	3,191
Black People's Convention (BPC)			1,236
CHRISTIAN RIGHT	20,329	50,978	72,621
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	20,329	43,359	55,991
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)		7,619	8,857
Christian Democratic Party (CDP)			7,773
OTHER PARTIES	206,638	214,373	176,135
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	173,903	131,296	85,500
United Democratic Movement (UDM)		79,627	33,644
Independent Democrats (ID)			51,921
Other Small Parties	32,735	3,450	5,070

TABLE 2:

ESTIMATES OF PERCENTAGES OF THE 2004 VOTE IN SELECTED TOWNSHIPS AND DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS

a) Gauteng Groups	ANC	DA	ID	IFP	NNP	ACDP	Turnout
Urban African	88%	4%	0%	3%	0%	1%	77%
Urban Indian	52%	27%	6%	1%	5%	1%	68%
Urban Coloured	36%	31%	20%	1%	6%	3%	68%

b) Coloured Townships	ANC	DA	ID	IFP	NNP	ACDP	Turnout
Bosmont	25	39	25	0	4	2	
Eersterust	41	26	22	0	5	3	
Eldorado Park	22	38	24	2	7	5	
Ennerdale	44	32	14	1	5	2	
Newclare	20	36	27	1	8	3	
Reiger Park	24	41	16	1	7	8	
Westbury	27	30	25	3	9	2	
Average	33	33	21	1	6	3	68%

c) Indian Townships	ANC	DA	ID	IFP	NNP	ACDP	Turnout
Alra	51	24	9	1	7	4	
Laudium	54	24	7	0	7	1	
Lenasia	52	29	5	1	4	1	
Average	52	28	6	1	5	1	68%

d) Other estimates	ANC	DA	ID	IFP	NNP	ACDP	Turnout
Soweto	88%	2%	0%	5%	0%	1%	77%
Eastern Cape Urban African	94%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	85%
Mpumalnaga Urban African	80%	12%	0%	1%	1%	1%	77%
KZN Urban Coloured	32%	35%	10%	10%	4%	5%	61%
KZN Urban Indian	28%	30%	1%	4%	3%	4%	62%
W. Cape Urban Coloured	26%	25%	15%	0%	24%	5%	62%

TABLE 3A:

MEMBERSHIP OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS BY RACE IN GAUTENG

(% respondents who indicated that they were members)

	African		Coloured	Indian	White
	<i>Formal</i>	<i>Informal</i>			
Faith Based Structure	90	71	95	95	88
Burial Society	55	48	22	23	8
Political Organisation	29	28	0	0	0
Stokvel/savings club	13	9	3	9	5
Development Committee	9	5	3	0	3
Women's Group	5	0	6	5	3
Sports Club	4	15	8	22	7
Residents Association	3	8	0	0	0
Civic Association	3	6	0	0	0
Youth Group	3	3	6	8	3
Cultural Organisation	2	0	0	5	0
Environmental organisation	1	6	0	0	2
Community Policing Forum	0	9	0	0	3
None	0	10	0	0	10

TABLE 3B:

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY STRUCTURES BY RACE IN GAUTENG

(% respondents who said they actively participate)

	African		Coloured	Indian	White
	<i>Formal</i>	<i>Informal</i>			
Street Committee	28	35	0	5	2
Block Committee	24	27	5	0	0
Neighbourhood watch	17	9	0	0	3
Church choir	9	19	3	11	0
Care-giving/Counselling	6	4	0	5	3
Hospice volunteer	2	2	0	0	0
Local Sports Team	1	12	25	12	13
Communal food growing	0	7	3	0	2

SOURCE: (CCS/SAGA/NDA Social Giving survey)

TABLE 4:
COSATU NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP BY SECTOR, 2003

UNION		MEMBERS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
National Union of Mineworkers	NUM	299,500	17%
National Union of Metalworkers of SA	NUMSA	174,200	10%
SA Clothing and Textile Workers Union	SACTWU	110,200	6%
Food and Allied Workers Union	FAWU	85,100	5%
SA Transport and Allied Workers Union	SATAWU	79,300	4%
Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing Wood and Allied Workers Union	CEPPWAWU	67,200	4%
SA Agricultural Plantation and Allied Workers Union	SAAPAWU	22,200	1%
	<i>Industrial</i>	837,700	47%
<hr/>			
National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union	NEHAWU	234,600	13%
SA Democratic Teachers Union	SADTU	214,900	12%
SA Municipal Workers Union	SAMWU	114,100	6%
Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union	POPCRU	75,900	4%
Democratic Nurses Organisation of SA	DENOSA	70,000	4%
SA State and Allied Workers Union	SASAWU	14,600	1%
SA Democratic Nurses Union	SADNU	8,700	0%
	<i>Public Services</i>	732,800	41%
<hr/>			
SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union	SACCAWU	107,600	6%
SASBO: The Finance Union	SASBO	58,700	3%
Communication Workers Union	CWU	29,300	2%
Includes SAFPU, PAWE, SAMA, MUSA	Other Service Unions	5,500	0%
	<i>Other Services</i>	201,100	11%
<hr/>			
	TOTAL	1,771,600	

SOURCE: SECRETARIAT REPORT, 8TH NATIONAL CONGRESS, COSATU

TABLE 5:
COSATU WITS REGION MEMBERSHIP*

	MEMBERS	% OF GAUTENG MEMBERS	% OF NATIONAL COSATU MEMBERSHIP
NUM	49,823	15%	17%
NUMSA	46,530	14%	27%
SACTWU	8,968	3%	8%
FAWU	14,460	4%	17%
SATAWU	19,850	6%	25%
CEPPWAWU	16,970	5%	25%
SAAPAWU	2,103	1%	9%
<i>Industrial</i>	158,704	49%	19%
NEHAWU	26,189	8%	11%
SADTU	21,766	7%	10%
SAMWU	28,012	9%	25%
POPCRU	20,776	6%	27%
DENOSA	10,017	3%	14%
SASAWU	3,616	1%	25%
SADNU	1,048	0%	12%
<i>Public services</i>	111,424	34%	15%
SACCAWU	25,016	8%	23%
SASBO	21,431	7%	37%
CWU	10,017	3%	34%
			0%
<i>Other Services</i>	56,464	17%	28%
TOTAL	326,592		18%

*Excluding Tshwane and Sedibeng due to demarcation (Source: COSATU Wits Regional Congress Report: July 2003)

TABLE 6:

GAUTENG EMPLOYMENT BY ECONOMIC SECTOR IN 1996 AND 2001

SECTOR	1996	2001
Agriculture	36,094	67,648
Mining	168,065	98,125
Manufacturing	327,588	399,270
Electricity Gas and Water	36,522	20,976
Construction	158,359	163,084
Wholesale and retail trade	351,762	485,427
Transport and Communications	170,093	168,478
Financial Services	318,708	412,589
Social, Personal and Community Services	421,125	516,389
Private Households	308,037	279,902
Undetermined	267,889	-
TOTAL	2,564,242	2,611,888

TABLE 7:

POPULATION GROUP BY INCOME CATEGORY IN GAUTENG FOR PERSON WEIGHTED, 15-65, EMPLOYED

	African	Coloured	Indian	White	TOTAL
No income	38,347	2,438	1,586	15,603	57,974
R 1 - R 400	170,162	3,720	1,113	9,894	184,888
R 401 - R 800	353,467	7,015	2,205	14,932	377,618
R 801 - R 1600	626,066	17,501	7,517	44,502	695,586
R 1601 - R 3200	421,774	29,208	19,162	121,044	591,188
R 3201 - R 6400	178,119	26,999	27,222	225,315	457,654
R 6401 - R 12800	61,320	12,815	19,088	207,217	300,440
R 12801 - R 25600	19,159	3,569	8,260	115,027	146,014
R 25601 - R 51200	6,316	887	2,174	43,033	52,410
R 51201 - R 102400	2,052	369	701	14,200	17,322
R 102401 - R 204800	1,101	182	402	6,691	8,375
R 204801 or more	854	87	183	4,183	5,307
Total	1,878,737	104,789	89,611	821,640	2,894,777

SOURCE: STATSSA

TABLE 8:
EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN GAUTENG

REGION	TOTAL POPULATION	WORKING AGE POPULATION [15-65]	EMPLOYED	UNEMPLOYED	NOT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE	DEPENDENCY RATIO*	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE
Jo'burg	3,225,800	2,372,644	1,085,547	647,039	640,058	3.0	37%
Ekurhuleni	2,480,300	1,791,501	761,047	516,011	514,443	3.3	40%
Tshwane	1,527,000	1,418,228	654,482	306,033	457,713	2.3	32%
Sedibeng	794,600	559,201	198,814	155,429	204,958	4.0	44%
West Rand	683,000	543,564	263,748	125,739	154,077	2.6	32%
Metsweding	126,400	112,466	55,187	21,718	35,561	2.3	28%
TOTAL	8,837,100	6,797,604	3,018,825	1,771,969	2,006,810	2.9	37.0%

* Dependency ratio shows the number of people in the whole population per employed person.
Unemployment rate is the ratio of the unemployed to the working age population.

TABLE 9:
VOTES CAST FOR THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IN TWO ELECTIONS

	1999	2004
Jo'burg	916,983	861,210
Ekurhuleni	704,733	645,916
Tshwane	550,344	523,851
Sedibeng	251,040	241,991
West Rand	202,051	190,037
Metsweding	37,828	41,053

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