# marginalisation
## in the GCR

## introduction

Despite its importance in terms of economic weight in South Africa and on the sub-continent, the Gauteng city-region faces many challenges. These include high levels of poverty, unemployment and social exclusion. South Africa is one of the most unequal societies in the world, and this stark reality is particularly evident in Gauteng cities and towns. Spatial concentrations of huge wealth sit alongside large informal settlements. And although there is gradual integration, the concentration of different population groups in specific areas previously designated for them by apartheid remains evident today.

Thus, while the Gauteng city-region has a diverse and fast growing economy, the labour market is not yet dynamic enough to accommodate the aspirations of all prospective workers. Economic activity is still patterned by assumptions and interactions inherited from the apartheid era that often limit the opportunities for new market entrants, especially young work-seekers. The result is a quality of life for some that matches, and often exceeds, that enjoyed by residents of developed world cities, but high levels of frustration and marginalisation for many others.

## where do we stand?

The 'new South Africa' emerged after centuries of violent imposition of white rule, which became increasingly vicious as the 20th century wore on. People of all races – though primarily Africans – were physically and psychologically scarred by the past, and many still carry psychological 'baggage' with them. So while we have found that the majority of citizens are enjoying high quality of life in the GCR, we deliberately went on to look for the clustering of psycho-social challenges that can lead to marginalisation.

We used a multivariate statistical analysis – with 28 variables from the 'Quality of Life' survey, many of which also appear in the broader 'Quality of Life' index – to focus on who was doing well, and who less so, in the GCR – and to see whether there exists a group of people who are pushed from the centre to the margins of the GCR.

The variables were grouped in ten dimensions, namely:

- relationships
- housing
- connectivity
- crime/safety
- participation
- health
- hunger
- alienation/ extreme views
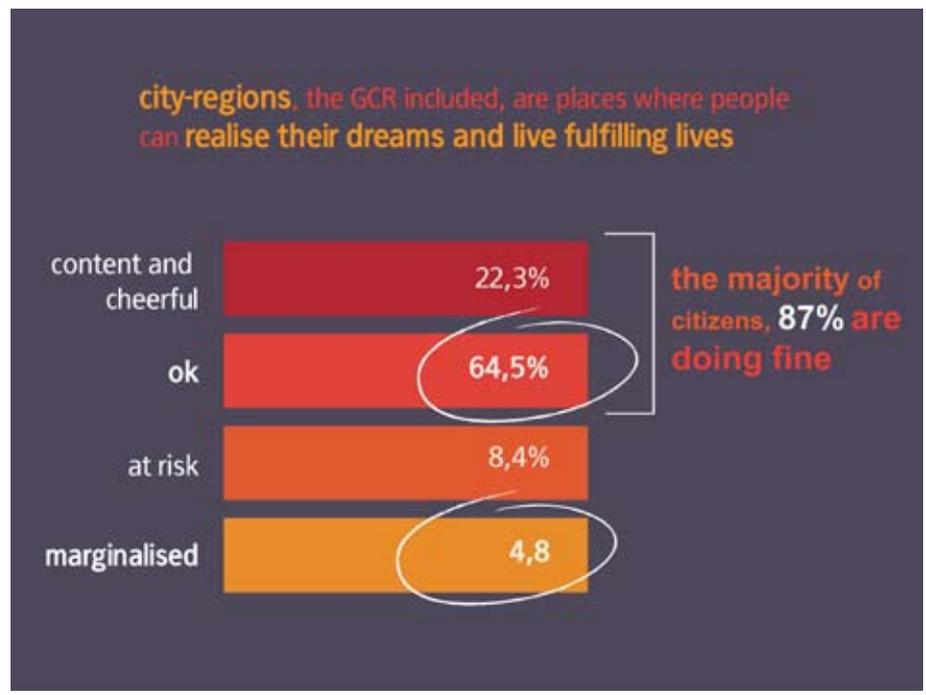- government
- life satisfaction.

The 28 variables appear below.

| dimension of concern | | indicator description |
|---|---|---|
| relationships | marriage/ relationship | dissatisfied/very dissatisfied |
| | family life | dissatisfied/very dissatisfied |
| | friends | dissatisfied/very dissatisfied |
| | trust | have to be very careful dealing with people |
| housing | dwelling | is dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with dwelling |
| connectivity | television, radio, internet | has no tv and no radio and no internet access |
| crime/safety | crime | was a victim of crime in last year |
| | safe in the day | feels somewhat or very unsafe during the day |
| | safe at night | feels somewhat or very unsafe after dark |
| | safe at home | feels somewhat or very unsafe at home |
| participation | participation | belongs to no civil society organisation at all |
| health | health status | self report health status is poor or very poor |
| hunger | adults | respondent had to skip meals due to lack of money in last year |
| | kids | no money to feed children at some point in last year |
| alienation/ extreme views | voting | didn't vote because my vote will not make any difference |
| | alienation | no-one cares about people like me |
| | politics | politics is a waste of time |
| | anomie | I can't influence developments where I live |
| | politics | country heading in wrong direction |
| | elections | the 2008 general election was neither free nor fair |
| | judiciary | the judiciary is not independent of political interference |
| | xenophobia | foreigners are taking benefits meant for South Africans |
| | race | blacks and whites will never trust each other |
| | press freedom | the media is not independent of political interference |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| government | government performance | dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with performance of all 3 spheres of government |
| | | government contribution to quality of life |
| | | no sphere has done anything for my quality of life |
| | local government communication | I don't want to hear from government at all |
| life satisfaction | life satisfaction | overall satisfaction with life |

## positive results

Even after analysing quality of life and finding positive scores, we were surprised to find that singling out psycho-social attitudinal variables, scores were still largely positive:



city-regions, the GCR included, are places where people can realise their dreams and live fulfilling lives

| | |
|---|---|
| content and cheerful | 22,3% |
| ok | 64,5% |
| at risk | 8,4% |
| marginalised | 4,8 |

the majority of citizens, 87% are doing fine

As the scores make clear, the vast majority of respondents (86.8%) were either absolutely fine or 'OK'. The 'content and cheerful' were quite remarkable – 22.3% of the sample scored from 0 to 0.9999 on the index. The scores reinforce the point made earlier: city-regions, the GCR included, are places where people can realise their dreams and live fulfilling lives.

Those we have labelled 'OK' – who comprise 64.5% of the sample – were themselves a very positive group, scoring between 1 and 3.9999 on the scale. If we remember that 1 is the best and 10 the worst end of the scale, and these respondents are scoring up to 4, it reinforces the point that the majority of citizens - 87% - are doing fine.

The category called 'at risk' includes 8.4% of respondents. They have been labelled 'at risk' precisely because they are scoring reasonably high – between 4.0 and 4.999 – and as such may move towards the 'OK' or towards the 'marginalised' categories, and should be a key target group for government interventions.



content and cheerful 22.3%

marginalised 4.8%

at risk 8.4%

ok 64.5%

In the core of the graphic we find 4.8% of the sample who have been labelled 'marginalised' because they are scoring high on five and more items in the index. These are people on the margins, with extreme socio-political views, high levels of alienation and anomie, often victims of crime and suffering high poverty, and disconnected from society either through media or not participating in civil society organisations.

# understanding the data

In order to better understand the sets of relationships among the data, we ran a factor analysis of the ten dimensions of concern. Factor analysis is a technique that looks for relationships among variables and may find that two or three observed variables (such as those in our index) in fact represent a new variable (an 'unobserved variable') – a set of relationships that would normally not be identified through standard cross-tabulations, correlations and so on. Factor analysis searches for these hidden relationships in order to unearth these new variables.

The analysis suggested three factors within the variables in the marginalisation index. Firstly, it identified a group who loaded high on dissatisfaction with their dwelling, were disconnected (had no TV or radio or internet) and were generally dissatisfied or highly dissatisfied with their lives. These three dimensions all loaded high on the factor, suggesting that dwelling type is related to connectedness and to general (dis)satisfaction, a grouping that is visually suggestive of people living in shacks on the fringes of the city-region, but shut out of it.

the **dissatisfied** factor **1**

dissatisfaction with dwelling

+ [TV crossed out]

not connected via the media

The second factor identified a grouping that is best described as 'the alienated'. The factor found that those who were deeply dissatisfied with all three spheres of government, were also likely to hold extreme socio-political views, and were also likely not to belong to any civil society organisation. In this group, government is disregarded, alienation and anomie feature strongly alongside racial mistrust and suspicion of the political and administrative systems of the state, and combine with isolation from civil society.



factor **2**
the **alienated**

dissatisfaction with all 3 spheres of government

**also**
- hold extreme socio-political views and racial mistrust
- likely not to belong to any civil society organisation

The third factor was fascinating, because it suggested that respondents scoring high on 'hunger' (i.e. were skipping meals themselves and/or were unable to feed their children) were also likely to have low self-reported health status – but (in two negative loadings) were connected via the media and were participative via civil society organisations. Labelled 'the poor', the factor reminds us that poverty and alienation are not and should not be seen as synonymous.

These factors suggest possible analytic categories that lie beneath the marginalisation index; a way of understanding relationships or describing linkages hinting that different approaches are needed with people falling into these different categories.
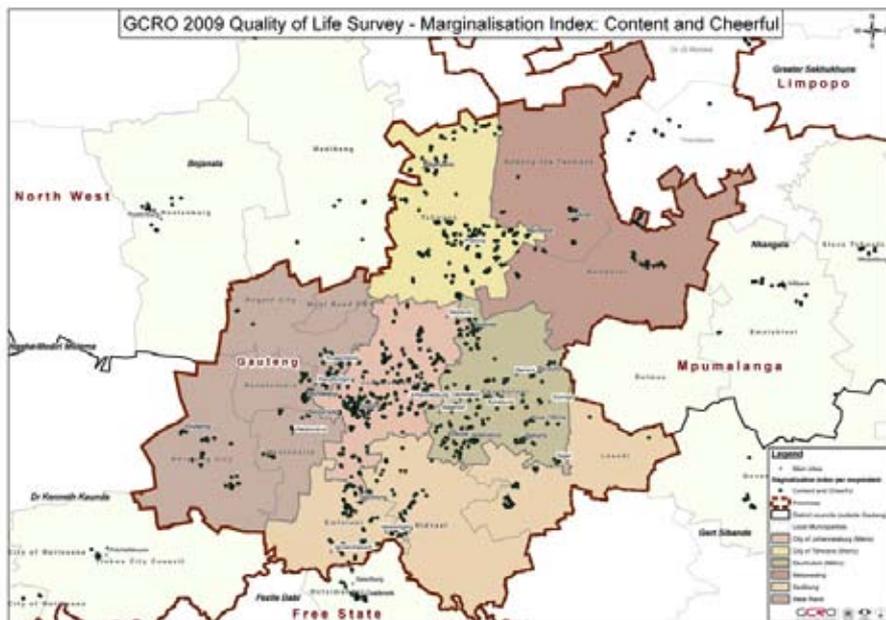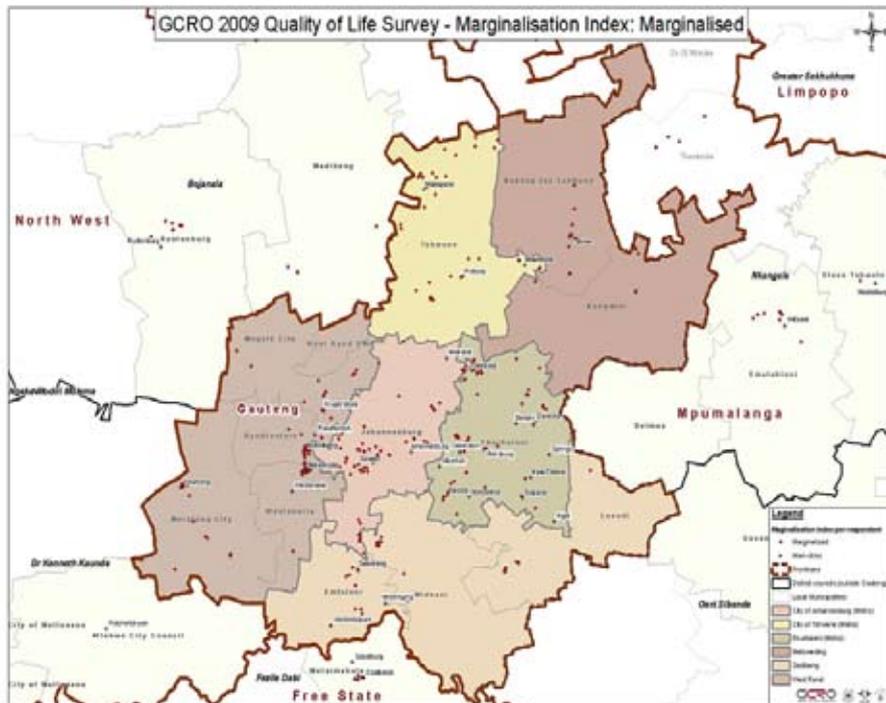
# profiling the marginalised

'The marginalised' are unevenly distributed around the GCR, peaking in Westonaria (16.4%), Randfontein (13.8%) and Nokeng (9.1%): in the three metropolitan areas, they drop slightly below the overall score (at 4.3 - 4.4%). In this sense they are quite literally marginalised, viewed spatially.

At the other end of the scale, the 'content and cheerful' are considerably above the average score in Tshwane (27.1%), Johannesburg (25.5%), and Kungwini and Midvaal (both 25.0%). They are notably below average in Ekurhuleni (at 17.6%), suggesting that merely residing in one of the cities in this region of cities is an insufficient condition on its own to score high on the index.

Women were more likely than men to be marginalised, a situation that reversed among the 'content and cheerful'. Generally, men predominated in the top two categories, women in the bottom two. And of course race matters too: Africans are above average in the marginalised category, coloureds well below average, whites barely register and Indian respondents did not feature at all. Indians only featured in the top two categories.

At the top end of the scale, Indians (37.25%) scored high, as did whites (35.5%), followed quite closely by coloureds (31.5%) but dropping to 19.9% among Africans. The 'at risk' category comprised Africans (9.6%), coloureds (6.8%) and whites (1.3%).

## distribution of 'marginalised' and 'content and cheerful' respondents across the GCR





GCRO (2009) 'Quality of Life' survey

Analysing the scores against age suggests that the most marginalised age cohort (though more fine-grained analysis is needed here) comprises those aged between 46 and 65 – people who were born under high apartheid, are still of working age, and have either been by-passed by the 'democracy dividend' or have failed to adjust to life in a democratic South Africa. Looking at the 'marginalised' group, 4.5% of 18-35 year olds featured – looking like the sample average – dropping to 3.6% among those aged 36-45, but rising to 5.9% of those in the 46-65 cohort and staying high (at 5.1%) among the older cohort. The 'lost generation' of the 1970s – 'the 1976 generation' - who were visible in the youth studies of the early 1990s as needing help, continue to appear in marginalisation indexes, even as they age.

Did you know

the 'lost generation' of the 1970s - 'the 1976 generation' - who were visible in the youth studies of the 1990s as needing help continue to appear in marginalisation indexes, even as they age

**however**

- having no education at all does not preclude respondents from being 'happy people'
- 12.8% of those with no education found at top of the scale
- 16.3% found among the marginalised

**but**

- high levels of education correlate very strongly with lower risk profiles
- compared to 42.1% of the 'happy people' only 0.6% of the marginalised have tertiary level education

Commemoration sculpture: Hector Pieterson Trail, Soweto

One of the things sacrificed by the 1970s youth was their education, and education correlates very powerfully with the index (we return to this below). It is worth noting that having no education at all does not preclude respondents from being 'content and cheerful' at all – looking within those with no education we find 12.8% at the top of the scale and 16.3% among the marginalised – but having high levels of education does correlate very strongly with lower risk profiles: 0.6% of the marginalised had tertiary level education, compared with 42.1% of the 'content and cheerful'.

Marginalisation features more strongly among the unemployed (7.0%) than those in employment (2.5%), and the reverse is true at the top of the scale. But in the middle of the scale, looking at those out of work, 69.2% are in the 'OK' category and 12.2% 'at risk'. And of course money matters: among respondents who told us their households have no regular source of income, 17.5% were marginalised, 15.4% 'at risk', 61.5% were 'OK' and just 5.6% were 'content and cheerful'. As incomes increase, this reverses almost entirely – by the time monthly household incomes reach between R6 401.00 – R12 800.00, marginalisation has dropped below single figures and is scoring in decimal points.

These data need more detailed interrogation, analysis and mapping, but the very basic pattern given here suggests that indexing and multivariate analysis will provide more nuanced analysis than standard two-variable cross-tabulation that comprises so much survey reportage; and that such analysis is necessary if we are to provide new analytic perspectives rather than merely repeating that an admixture of race and sex (and, occasionally, class) affect life chances and world view.

Elsewhere, we use correspondence maps to analyse the relationships between quality of life and key variables; here we focus on marginalisation. Focusing on education, we find a remarkably strong correlation between higher education and lower marginalisation. It should be noted that this correspondence map is quite remarkable for the proximity of points and ease of analysis: it lays out very clearly the extent to which the marginalised core generally lack education; the point for those 'at risk' lies very close to those who completed only some primary education; the points for 'OK' and secondary education are actually on top of each other, the correlation is so close; and the 'SHP' (our 'content and cheerful') correlate very closely with tertiary education.

Education is clearly a critical deliverable: this is reflected in its apex position among the priorities of the Gauteng Provincial Government.
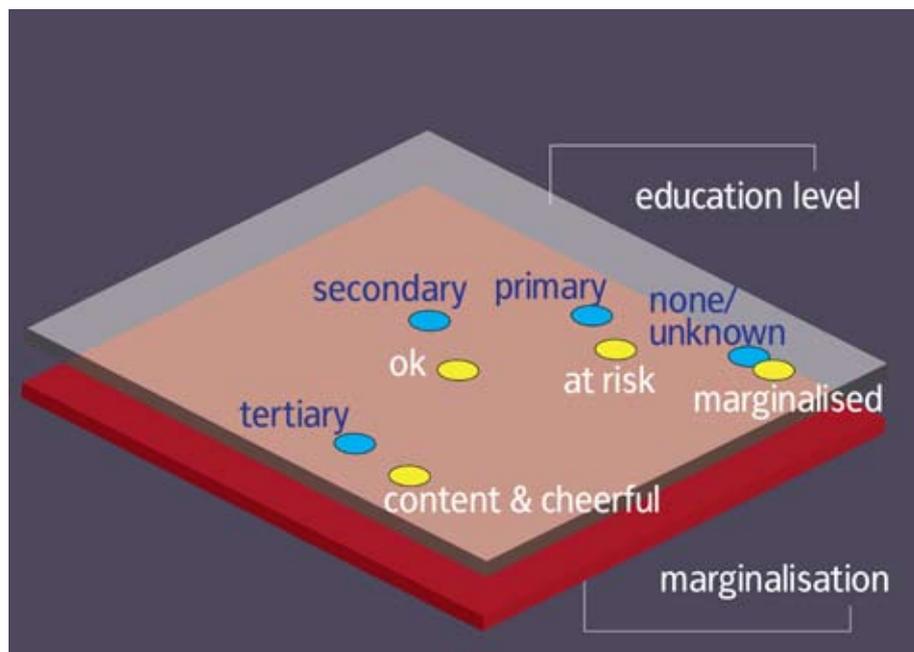


# key policy goals

The Gauteng city-region remains a place of contrasts, of wealth and poverty, of reconciliation and xenophobia, and so on. And while the city-region remains a magnet for migrants from South Africa and beyond, the majority of citizens are enjoying the quality of life provided by the biggest economy on the continent located in an emerging space – the city-region – that includes World Heritage sites alongside informal settlements, globally competitive industries alongside massive unemployment, suggesting that the key challenge facing all of us is the search for equality, for lessening the gap between the extremes, and making the city-region inclusive and sustainable.